NIGHT NOTES

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Index

INSTEAD OF A PREFACE..... 4
PART ONE 1995 27
PART TWO 1996 281
PART THREE 1997..... 476
PART FOUR 1998 624
PART FIVE 1999 753
THE AMBASSADOR'S DESIRE 864
The book "Night Notes" was promoted 868

INSTEAD OF A PREFACE

I welcomed the act of Macedonia's independence and sovereignty with great joy and admiration. A youthful dream, a life-giving dream and a far-sighted hope had come true. With all my heart, spirit and mind devoted in the early years and later together with the entire staff of the then Republican Committee for International Relations, later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both internally and externally, I invested my knowledge, experience, desires and selfless effort in its strengthening and affirmation, often participating in various gatherings and conferences at home and abroad. Our notes, reports and analyses were already gaining new content, new concepts and new engagement. It was difficult to free ourselves from the constraints of uniformity and conformity as well as the habits imposed by the previous regime. Personally, I replaced the joy and admiration of creating the Macedonian state with many obligations and tasks, some on my own initiative, others by the order and needs of the competent authorities. Among the numerous duties, I was also obliged to follow the Greek press, which published long commentaries, the content of which was most often hostile and directed against the Republic of Macedonia and aimed at proving its Greek origin. During those few years, the Greek press, which was then the only source of information about the Greek relationship towards the Republic of Macedonia, it was my responsibility to prepare appropriate summary information and analyses, which soon found their way onto the desk of the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, and other figures from the Macedonian state leadership. It was also an opportunity, especially with President Kiro Gligorov, to share opinions and always have uninterrupted opportunities for frequent meetings and discussions about the creation of the Macedonian state, its internal situation, its present and future, relations with neighbours, cooperation and affirmation outside the region, but also about the everyday difficulties caused by internal divisions

and external interference and pressures. We talked openly. In his tone of voice, his deep belief in Macedonia always resonated. Inevitably, this was transmitted to me as well.

I felt that my youthful dreams had come true, rooted more deeply in the stories of my ancestors than in the limited knowledge I received in school classrooms.

I remember my grandfather, sitting by the fireplace, in front of the faintly flickering flame of the juniper, in the evening hours he always read a thick, oily book in which the word Macedonia appeared most often. I listened carefully to his whispering and, although I understood little, that often repeated word, Macedonia and some names of men who were not in my village but, as it was said, were in the cities and forests, engraved themselves in my spirit, and with that name, I grew up in my family home that was lost in the Civil War. In the fire that consumed the house, my grandfather's thick, oily book also burned, which he, before sleeping, placing it under his pillow, with a deep sigh, as if reminding me, said:

- When the stem is cut from the roots, new shoots sprout. At the time, I didn't understand this big and profound thought, but as I grew, its meaning matured within me.

When, during the war, we children were gathered and taken to the coastal camp in the Albanian city of Durres, in the evenings our caregiver, whom we called Mother Evgenija, explained to us that marvelous word - Macedonia - in her own unique way.

-Macedonia, she said, those are our fields, meadows, forests, clearings, vineyards, rivers and springs, mountains and hills, songs and plows, stories, fairs, faith and churches, the ringing of the bell and cemeteries, weddings and celebrations, home holidays for name days and for the saint in whose honour our house is protected, and all of us who speak our language. And all of that together is called the homeland. And the homeland has its own name, just as each of us has our own Orthodox baptismal name given in memory of someone who came before us. And in that homeland called Macedonia, all who live in it are called

Macedonians. And we in our village, as in other villages and cities, are called Macedonians.

I remembered this lesson for my entire life and grew up with it even in foreign climes, where, having completed my education and gained more knowledge, I passed it on to others, who, although more educated than me, wanted to know more about my homeland.

I had the great honour, along with many others like me, to convey that knowledge of the past, of yesterday and today's existence to individuals from the outside world. Within the framework of my external activities, I met many intelligent, educated, well-read, thoughtful and experienced individuals, who harboured great admiration for the Republic of Macedonia.

For me, there is another, greater, perhaps the greatest honour, to carry, uphold and strengthen the name of my birthplace, as its representative, in the country that took care of me, raised and educated me and in which I became the first Macedonian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the sovereign and independent Republic of Macedonia, the land of my ancestors, and to raise the Macedonian flag high on the flagpole. That was not just a wish of mine, but a dream, a vision and a hope.

The rope up the flagpole was not easy.

In my diplomatic career The steps towards the flagpole began with my efforts to secure President Kiro Gligorov's participation in the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, under the patronage of the Polish President, Lech Walesa. Within the framework of the political changes that marked the eighties and nineties, an important event for Europe, and especially for Poland - which in this way most openly strengthened its influence and affirmation not only in Europe but also in the world – occurred after the well-known events related to the epochal socio-political changes in the late 1980s.

I learned about the planned ceremony during an official visit to Warsaw in late 1994 and took the opportunity to pay a

formal visit to the former Polish Ambassador in Belgrade, whom I knew well.

Namely, during the conversation held in the neighbouring restaurant behind the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he introduced me to the idea of the planned ceremony, for which invitations had already been prepared for all the Presidents or Prime Ministers of European countries and there was consideration of whether to invite the President of the Republic of Macedonia. The problem was the lack of arguments for the suffering in Auschwitz of inmates of Macedonian origin. To this I said that at that time today's Republic of Macedonia was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, whose members in the camps were recorded as Yugoslavs, so it is certain that there were also Macedonians among them. We agreed that upon my return to Skopje, I would write him a reasoned letter to justify the presence of President Kiro Gligorov at the planned ceremonies.

I regarded the act of President Kiro Gligorov attending the ceremonies as an opportunity to get to know and establish contacts not only with the Polish President, who at that time was an influential and respected person in Poland, but also in Europe, as well as with a larger number of invited Presidents and Prime Ministers, which would contribute to a wider representation of the Republic of Macedonia. In this way, I intended to justify the need for participation in the ceremonies and active involvement in all planned forums.

I shortened my stay in Warsaw by one day and returned to Skopje by plane via Sofia. The next day I requested an audience with the President and, in the presence of Ahil Tunte, I presented the information I had received. After a long conversation we concluded that it was very important and useful for the President to participate in the ceremonies. In this regard, a proposal was made for me to go to Warsaw and engage President Lech Walesa to send an invitation to President Kiro Gligorov.

I wrote the requested letter about whether there were Macedonians in the Auschwitz camp and sent it by fax to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw.

We eagerly awaited the invitation from President Lech Walesa. During those days I was in constant telephone contact with my well-known ambassador, as well as with a number of influential people I had met during my official trips to Poland. On January 17, the invitation signed by President Lech Walesa arrived by fax in my name.

I immediately translated it into Macedonian and requested a meeting with President Kiro Gligorov. He received me without waiting and after a short conversation it was decided that the entire organization regarding the participation of the Macedonian President would be entrusted to me and for that purpose I arrived in Warsaw by plane via Vienna on January 19, 1995 in the evening. After checking into the FORUM Hotel I telephoned well-known influential people.

The next day, January 20, at 09:00 in the Diplomatic Protocol Hall, the meeting with the Diplomatic Corps to which I was invited began. The Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, in his statement regarding the ceremonies and the number and names of the invited persons, omitted the Republic of Macedonia. Not a word. After the meeting ended, I entered into a long and persuasive conversation with him, during which he openly told me that if a delegation from the Republic of Macedonia would participate in the ceremonies, the Greek Ambassador in Warsaw had conveyed the message from Athens to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, in that case, the Greek Parliament would vote against the entry of the Republic of Poland into NATO and the European Union. He said this and left.

In the afternoon, evening and the whole next day I engaged in long and arduous meetings and conversations with my acquaintances who were former Polish politicians, former Polish Ambassadors in Belgrade, writers, and especially influential journalists, with whom I had found complete understanding, and in every conversation I reminded them of Polish national tragedies similar to the Macedonian ones (in my high school years, no one could match me in Polish history and literature). In those circles I was known as a promoter of Polish culture in

Macedonia, with over forty translated works of Polish classical and contemporary literature, and with numerous connections to prominent and influential writers and journalists, whose opinions often shaped Polish domestic and even foreign policy. Polish journalism was always a force. The old connections and numerous contacts at many different levels between Polish and Macedonian intellectuals and businessmen, as well as personal friendships, formed the basis of lasting ties and friendships between the two peoples. It was necessary to use them wisely and knowledgeably.

On the third day, at noon, Ambassador Hmielevski, as noted above, former Polish Ambassador to Belgrade (he spoke Macedonian fluently) and at the time director of the Second Department at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed me that written consent had been received from the office of President Lech Walesa for the participation of a delegation from the Republic of Macedonia headed by President Kiro Gligorov, and that the invitation had already been signed through the mediation of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Out of joy and satisfaction, as a sign of gratitude, I hugged Ambassador Hmielevski tightly. I ran to the hotel and passed on the good news via the special telephone.

The next afternoon I flew to Krakov, where I was transferred from the airport by an official car to the tightly guarded hotel exclusively intended for accommodating officials and their entourage. Getting out of the car, I stared at the balcony above the main entrance door.

- There it is - I said loudly - our Macedonian flag...

I felt my knees tremble, I bowed and entered the hotel. From my room, I called the office of President Kiro Gligorov and in an excited voice, said:

- Everything is fine. The eagle can fly.

In the evening, on January 24, at around 10:00, President Kiro Gligorov and his entourage landed at the Krakov airport where he was welcomed and greeted by a senior state official on behalf of President Lech Walesa.

The Mercedes convoy with the presidents of Macedonia, Albania, Ukraine and Latvia was slowly leaving the airport. There was no Mercedes with the Greek flag on it because Greek Minister Karolos Papoulias, who was supposed to represent Greece at the ceremony, when he learned that a delegation from the Republic of Macedonia would participate in the commemoration of the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, returned to Athens from Budapest in protest.

During the drive, I watched with pride and great excitement as the Macedonian flag flew on the right side of the car in which President Kiro Gligorov was sitting. It was an unusual, unique and singular sight, one that is experienced only once...

At that large international event, the official delegations were headed by the presidents of the European countries, for whom the invitations were personally signed by the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa. The Macedonian delegation was led by the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, accompanied by Ahil Tunte, Snezhana Osmani, Petre Nakovski and Andonova as a translator.

The two-day stay in Krakov was a time of numerous meetings of President Gligorov with the presidents of several countries, which I had arranged during my four-day working stay in Warsaw. The first was the meeting with the Polish President Lech Walesa, just an hour after arrival. Unusually cordial, pleasant, open, and close, as if the two presidents had known each other for many years. I was honoured to sit among them and translate their conversation, which covered the entire area of mutual cultural, economic and other relations as well as the readiness to expand and strengthen cooperation between the two countries, as well as the current situation in Europe and especially in the Balkans. The talks confirmed the closeness of the two peoples and the need to expand and strengthen mutual cooperation.

The next day, a huge column of cars headed for Auschwitz -Birkenau. In front of the big stage, on high flagpoles, flew four-meter-long flags of the countries participating in the ceremony. Among them was the Macedonian flag with the sun of Kutlesh. It was cold and snowing lightly. That did not stop the presidents from giving short speeches in their own name and on behalf of their countries, which were more like prayers. Then a walking tour of the Auschwitz camp. Silence, immense surprise and the question – is it really possible for one person to do such evil to another?

The stay in Krakov was an excellent opportunity for the interlocutors to get acquainted with the past, the current situation in Macedonia and its relations with neighbouring countries in frequent conversations and meetings. This was an opportunity to strengthen the international position of Macedonia. Contributing to this positive outcome were the numerous meetings and conversations with Polish and foreign journalists. The President used his very short free time for a short walk in the center of Krakov, where a large number of children and youth surrounded him and asked for his signature in their notebooks.

After active and successful participation in all the events planned in the program to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the German Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, tired and very satisfied in the evening, on January 27, 1995, the presidential plane took off for Skopje from the Krakov airport.

President Gligorov, visibly tired but also satisfied, asked me to sit next to him. Lightly tapping my knee (I don't know why exactly my knee), he said to me in a broken voice:

- Do you know, Petre, that you have done a great job?

- The credit, President, for participating in all the events is yours - I said.

- There is a difference - he said after a short silence and added: - Some work, others talk and some ruin things...

- It depends, President, on what they are talking about and with whom – I said and then there was a long silence.

I leaned back in my seat and thought about the days from January 19 to 24, spent in Warsaw, where in laborious conversations with many people I waged the battle for Macedonia, for its name, its flag and its place in the world. When I returned to the hotel, I wrote down the content of the conversations on pieces of paper until late at night. Later, already in Skopje, they served me to write an extensive report, which is now somewhere covered by the dust of oblivion. The new rulers have a very short memory for the past.

"Fasten your seatbelts," the pilot's voice echoed. This pulled me out of my thoughts.

We landed.

We got into the cars, which were waiting on the runway. Before the president got into the car he turned, hugged me and said:

- Peter, thank you for the excellent job you did.

- President, I thank you for the trust in the mission...

We set off.

Direction-Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia.

A bunch of journalists, a forest of cameras.

The President headed to his office. He looked tired. A press conference in ten minutes. In the meantime, the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Viktor Gaber, approached me, called me into the next room and quietly, as he always did with his interlocutors, smiling said to me:

- You know, we made some personnel changes at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and you...

- You haven't transferred me to the Administration for the Union of Independent States (formed after the collapse of the USSR)? - I asked, because a few months ago they had proposed to appoint me as the head of this newly formed administration. I did not want that. I wanted to stay in the Balkans. I had worked on Balkan issues for many years and saw no reason to head another administration.

- No, that's not it. There is another solution, which is ready, but we will discuss this on Monday. Come to my office early...

The next day, at the agreed time, I entered Viktor Gaber's office. The usual greeting, handshake, and a remark from him:

- Your face still shows fatigue.

-"It will pass," I tried to add some justification.

- Petre, during your absence – he paused and looked me in the eye for a long time. - We have made some personnel changes here – he paused and looked at me again and after a long silence, he continued: - Traiche Ilievski has been appointed to your position, so he will be the head of the Balkan Department and you... – he paused again and tapped his pencil softly on the desk.

I remained calm. I didn't let it show that I was very surprised and curious, and least of all upset. I sat calmly and patiently waited for him to finish his interrupted thought.

- And you... – he interrupted again. He was silent, looking me straight in the eyes.

- You have been relieved of that position...

I wasn't surprised because in those times such movements were common.

- Practically, as of today, you are relieved from work at the Ministry and are going for training. You are going to Warsaw. Stevo (the Minister) who left for New York yesterday and will return in about ten days, will introduce you to the details of your new position. Until then, start preparing today. You know what needs to be done. You will receive the decision appointing you as a special advisor today.

I received the news with surprise and after a brief silence, I asked:

- How long will the preparations take?

- Well, usually about three months. By the time Stevo returns, try to have the plan drafted on about ten or twelve typed pages. That's it for now. You can always count on me. See you...

I stood up, thanked him for the news and, before leaving, I said:

- Victor, I'll think about it.

I returned to my office, which was no longer mine. In solitude, walking from one corner of the office to the other, I thought about whether to accept or not. I could not shake off the question of the title – special advisor. Who, there in Warsaw, should I advise specifically, when we did not have our own diplomatic mission there, nor a person at the head whom I should advise? Burdened with this and many other issues, I returned home at 17:00 silent and sullen like a black cloud.

My wife Ditta and my daughter Tanja welcomed me warmly and after a short silence, Tanja asked me:

-Dad, what's wrong? Are you feeling unwell? What happened?

- I'm not going to work starting tomorrow – I said. - I've been let go...

Silence. Quiet. Surprise.

- What did you do wrong? Did they fire you?

- You could say that, but call Milenka (the older daughter) and all four of us will talk about something very important.

After half an hour, the whole family was sitting in the living room. I looked into everyone's eyes and slowly, with a trembling voice, I said:

- My dears, you are the most important to me, my family, and I want to consult with you. I will act as you decide...

Silence.

- Tell me - Ditta whispered softly.

- I'm in training starting tomorrow. They suggested I go abroad...

Tanja hugged me tightly and said loudly:

-Dad, you deserve to go and you will go. Don't even think about it. You will go...

- And what will happen to you? - I asked.

- Milenka and I are already adults. Milenka is already married, and so am I... Dad, you will go and take Mom with you...

- And where are they sending you? - Milenka asked.

- To Warsaw...

- You will go! – all three shouted happily.

The family decided: YOU WILL GO!

I accepted.

Two weeks passed, and during that time I prepared the plan for preparations and a draft of the theses. I submitted the plan to Gaber. He read it carefully and then said:

-Go ahead. We will hire Gordana (Gligorova, a hardworking and responsible girl) to arrange contacts with the relevant ministries, the Chamber of Commerce, MANU and other institutions, as well as other individuals.

In the meantime, Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski returned from New York. He received me for a conversation on February 15, at 15:30. The conversation was short, purely informative. That was his style. Short and clear and often unclear to the interlocutors which, of course, affected the work of the Ministry. Standing, as briefly as I could, I said to him:

- The preparation plan was drawn up about ten days ago and I hope to complete all planned meetings and conversations by April 15th.

- What?

At that moment, I didn't understand whether his "What?!" was a question or a rebuke. After he picked up the cigarette that had fallen from his hand (he was a heavy smoker), somewhat surprised, he exclaimed:

- Well, you should already be in Warsaw! I'm giving you only ten days to be ready. Visit the ministries, talk to some of our departments and on the 26th, wait and see what I have that day, yes, let's meet on February 26th. I've written it down. Now go.

- Well, I've already completed almost half of the meetings and discussions in the ministries. I'm also working on the theses...

- Leave your theses. It's important to leave as soon as possible. That's it. Done!

That, spoken out loud, meant for me work from 07:00 to 17:00. Every day, 4 to 5 meetings. All the people I spoke to had an open desire for cooperation with Poland. I would return home exhausted and pumped full of coffee.

I finished the preparations on February 25th and that same day, in the afternoon, I had a conversation with Gaber. After I introduced him to the work done, he said to me:

- Write the theses anyway. That's common practice.

- They're ready. I just need to type them up on the computer. You'll get them tomorrow.

I wrote down the questions for each Polish institution on a separate sheet of paper and they would be the basis for the talks with the Polish side.

On Monday, February 27, 1995, I met with the Minister. I informed him of the progress of the preparations, emphasizing that I had completed them and that I had encountered an open desire among all ministers, directors of major enterprises and the scientific, cultural, educational institutions, and even the tourist companies, for cooperation with the Republic of Poland.

- Anything else? - asked the Minister.

- Mr. Minister, let me note that with the title of special advisor, I will mean nothing to the Polish side. I have the impression that for them it may be incomprehensible, even laughable. As an advisor, I will not receive diplomatic credentials and, according to the rules, after three months I will have to leave Poland. As far as I know, the special advisor advises the ambassador. As an advisor, who will I advise there?

- I still can't open an Embassy in Warsaw... but I can, according to Gaber, open a liaison office. Do you understand?

- No...

- And what is better? What do you suggest?

- At least with the title – Minister-Advisor. That has meaning and weight.

- Agreed. Go to Gaber and tell him to change his decision...

- I have something else...

Before I told him what else I had, I needed to state that in the previous days I had a long conversation with Vania Toshevski, my former boss and a very experienced diplomat, and with Ahil Tuntev, advisor to President Kiro Gligorov, to whom I

explained that it depended on the title who would receive me and lead a serious conversation important for both countries. And as for the liaison office, we as an independent and sovereign country were lowly. We were not America, Taiwan and China. I found complete understanding with Toshevski and Tuntev but they emphasized that the decision did not depend on them. It was true, I told them, but pointing out the significance and importance could change the decision...

- Mr. Minister, allow me to express my opinion.

- Go ahead, let me hear it.

- Minister, if we go ahead with opening a liaison office when there is already mutual recognition, then we are reducing our importance and position. In diplomatic literature, as well as in the Vienna Convention, the term "liaison office" is not known. This term is a new coinage of American diplomacy related to US-Taiwan-China relations. Let us consider this, Minister, so that we do not do ourselves an unnecessary favour.

- Maybe you're right but check with the legal department and Gaber. Let them think about it.

The phone rang and that's where the conversation ended. I walked towards the door and before I went out, the Minister said to me:

- When you're done with everything, come and see me again. Wait, I don't want to forget. It's better if I tell you now. Don't expect any help there in Warsaw. You go alone and you'll be everything: secretary, translator, correspondent, telephone operator, typist, consular officer, economist, lawyer, security guard and maybe cleaner. Literally everything. Don't think about a car or staff right now. Maybe somewhere around April-May next year you can hope for some help, depending on the resources of the state. Maybe one more official, maybe even three, and that will be all. Even that will be a lot...

I smiled and said:

- Not a very bright prospect.

- And don't complain, like some do, who first ask for a residence and then a building for an Embassy... Got it? Oh, good health...

After such vividly expressed advice, I pondered whether to go or stay in the ministry where my pension awaited me in five years?

In the legal department regarding accommodation, there was another restriction.

The head of the legal department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was Verka Mitanoska. She acted as a godmother, telling everyone what to do and how. She was always the only one who was right. For her, all problems could be solved in a second, at most in two or three seconds, although the seconds sometimes lasted for days. "Seconds" was her favourite word, always spoken with a broad smile.

- And your problem – the long smile – will have to wait to be resolved. Namely, you can't have a residence there because you will be alone. That is why you have to find an Embassy facility that will also have an unofficial room, meaning a room in which you can sleep. Unfortunately, I can't solve this problem for you, at least not this year or even next year. As for your salary, we will solve that problem too but a little later. Excuse me, I have to go to a course now. I go to a course for a few hours every day. I am learning Turkish. Soon I will also go into the diplomatic service, ha - ha, ha- ha.

I don't know when Verka was sent to the Macedonian Embassy in Ankara, but I found out that Ambassador Trajan Petrovski clipped the wings of her self-confidence and boasting, turning seconds into a full-time job.

I came home late. Ditta, from her eyes, I could see that she wanted to tell me something.

- Come on - I said - tell me.

- Well, Milenka called and said that Mile will come tomorrow evening...

- And who is he?

- Tanja's boyfriend.

- And?

- And he will come to meet us.

- And?

- And it's best to call Milenka. She'll explain it better.

- Okay. Give me the phone. – Milenka, good evening. I am told that you have something to explain to me, right?

- Yes, Dad. And it is good news. Tanja's boyfriend will come tomorrow. Do you understand?

- Not exactly.

- Listen, he's coming to meet you and ask for Tanja. Do you understand now?

- Continue.

- What do you say?

- Let him come. Since Tanja has chosen him, your mother and I won't interfere. I wish them both happiness.

On March 3, 1995 at 13:00 in Gaber's office, in a broader setting, a last conversation took place, a common practice before leaving office. According to inherited custom, such meetings were held only in the presence of former ambassadors and not with embassy officials or candidates. The topic of the meeting - tasks of the Macedonian mission in Warsaw, which still did not have a clearly defined rank. In conversations with Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski, I tried (often in the presence of Ambassador Vania Toshevski) not to call it a "liaison office". I reminded him that there was no such term in diplomatic literature. Hence, in the final conversations I asked the same question. The answer was that for now the diplomatic mission in Warsaw would be a liaison office, until the Government decided otherwise, meaning that it could later be elevated to the level of an Embassy. I received strong support from Ambassador Vania Toshevski, as well as from experienced diplomats Petre Chokrevski, Naum Nachevski and others. However, those representing the Government stood firm on the new diplomatic coinage, arguing that since America had established this type of diplomatic representation why shouldn't we, who had barely created a state, follow the example of the Americans? The heated discussion was calmed by Gaber who

pointed out that the Government was willing to adopt another solution during the first half of March, such as a diplomatic mission.

After this explanation, I was asked to present and explain the theses. I based my presentation on the following points:
- geographical position: Poland-Europe - neighbours-relations,
- general characteristics of Poland - historical, social, economic, political, its foreign policy - aspirations for membership in NATO and the European Union,
- Polish-Macedonian relations and cooperation in various fields,
- tasks of the representative office in the field of economics, cultural and other types of mutual cooperation, needs and opportunities,
- on a bilateral level – signing a series of agreements as a basis for further cooperation,
- in cooperation and support of Poland, further affirmation and strengthening of our position in Europe and beyond.

The theses and my presentation were well received and praised. Later, I learned that future diplomats used them as an example of how to prepare theses.

At 12:00 President Kiro Gligorov received me. During the conversation, I presented my views on relations and cooperation with Poland (about which we had previously discussed in several meetings, and in my written reports and analyses, not only about Poland but also about Macedonian-Greek relations), which is why he trusted me. Here I would like to emphasize that it never happened that the President did not receive me. His trust in me was unlimited and highly valued.

-Anything else?

-That is all, President.

- Sit down – he asked me. – If you work like this, you will leave a good mark behind you. It seems that we are both in the same position – to work... Poland is the center of Europe and its significance is great and very important for Macedonia... – he paused for a moment then continued, lightly tapping his index finger on the small table with a broken marble slab. Poland is

very important to us. You, there in Warsaw, must be the voice of Macedonia. That is why I am sending the best I have in Macedonia there. I believe that this time, as before, you will carry out the task well. You will have difficulties, primarily from our own people, as I have. You will need endurance and courage and in that you will always have my support.

- Thank you, Mr. President - I said quietly, and he stood up, hugged me and said:

- When you come from Warsaw on official business don't forget to come back to me. Farewell and with faith...

I promised him and I never broke my promise. Our ties remained permanent until the end of his life, dedicated exclusively to Macedonia.

President Kiro Gligorov was one of the rare Macedonian greats and a man whose name should always be written in large golden letters, although some, due to personal ambitions, spread stinking dust around him and his name.

The day before leaving for Warsaw, at 13:00, in the large hall of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a cocktail was held, usually organized for all those who leave on a diplomatic mission. Almost the entire staff was present, as well as former diplomats - ambassadors: Vania Toshevski, Naum Nachevski, Petre Chokrevski, Peiovski, Zhivko, Chalovski, Tuntev, Kondev, Tegovski and others. Many congratulations, wishes and advice were given. Viktor Gaber delivered a fitting speech with many words of praise for my contribution to the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with special emphasis on my activities and efforts related to the protection of the national, minority and human rights of Macedonians in neighbouring countries.

After finishing the cocktail, I withdrew 5,000 (five) thousand dollars from the cashier, even though the cashier advised me to withdraw a larger amount.

- Take more – Simka insisted. - Others take ten or even more thousand.

- If - I said - I have nowhere to keep them. When I run out I will look for you.

At 19:00 we went to my cousin Risto Filiovski's house, who, together with his wife Rinka, had invited us to dinner. During the long conversation, the time of our childhood and youth spent in children's homes and boarding schools in distant countries came to mind. The frequent pauses in the conversation were filled with visible sadness for our birthplace and for the frequent lonely days in foreign countries, where no one ever asked us if we had mothers. We soothed the sadness with memories of our childhood games and mischief in our native village. There little lambs and shepherds, here with diplomas prepared and defended in Poland, which during the Civil War in Greece, accepted us and five thousand other Macedonians and Greeks, raised us and armed us with education. He has a master's degree in geography, I have a doctorate in political science.

A rare pleasant meeting and dinner, which has remained dear to me and in my old age, every time I remember it, tears well up in my eyes. We grew up together and shared good and bad everywhere. We were always together.

His departure separated us for eternity...

On the morning of March 8, 1995, Wednesday, the children came with bouquets of flowers. They congratulated their mother on International Women's Day and then we gathered for breakfast. Silence. There was no joking, joy and laughter, like the previous days. The looks were sad. Painful. It was clear that the separation was weighing on all of us. Milenka smoked non-stop, Tanja secretly wiped away tears. I was also feeling pain and the thought of giving up the mission for the sake of the children was boiling inside me more and more. I could hardly bear the clearly visible sadness of the children. We did not finish eating.

At 09:00 the official car arrived. Time to say goodbye. Hugs and tears. We were leaving. The most precious thing we had was left behind. I didn't say a word until we reached the border. A lump in my throat...

We arrived in Sofia at 13:30. We were happily welcomed by Stoian Rumenovski at the Macedonian Embassy. After a short

rest, he drove us to the Moscow Hotel. Before leaving he invited us to dinner.

We had dinner in the presence of his wife Vera and the counselor at the Polish Embassy in Sofia, Mr. Sobchak, with whom Stoian had good relations.

The day after March 9, 1995, Thursday, breakfast at the hotel. My thoughts were at home – with Milenka and Tanja. Ditta and I consoled ourselves and silently rejoiced that our children had grown up, were capable of independent life and that we had not left them alone, they already had their own families and jobs... But still, separation hurt....

During breakfast I called Gordana at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I asked her to inform me of whether a note had been sent to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding my arrival in Warsaw. She told me that it had not been sent. I realized that I would not be greeted at the airport as was customary for foreign diplomats. I called Matsiei Lukashevich, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" ("Rzeczpospolita"), and asked him if his driver could take me from the Warsaw airport to one of the Warsaw hotels?

After we said goodbye, he promised me that he would send the driver along with the journalist Rushard Biliski. Let me remind you that I helped the two famous and influential Polish journalists to be received by President Kiro Gligorov and the Speaker of Parliament, Stoian Andov, from whom they received extensive interviews that I translated into Polish. They stayed in Macedonia for a week and, with my help, were guests at the Struga Poetry Evenings, where Lukashevich read a poem from his poetry collection at "Mostovi". The interviews were published in a Polish newspaper, one of the most widely circulated in Poland, and were highly appreciated by the Polish public. I should also add that the two journalists received a letter of commendation from the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs for the interview with President Kiro Gligorov. Copies of the interviews and the letter of commendation are in my personal archive. And let me also mention that on January 19, 1995 when I was sent to Warsaw in

order to prepare the presence of President Kiro Gligorov at the ceremonies on the occasion of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, I handed Lukashevich a letter of gratitude from President Kiro Gligorov in which, at my suggestion, he expressed gratitude for his efforts through articles and information published in "Zhechpospolita" thus making a personal contribution to the affirmation of the Republic of Macedonia. Those two Polish journalists were some of the best lobbyists for Macedonia and remained so until their death.

By the way, after the opening of the Embassy, we established sincere friendly relations with Lukashevich and his wife Lena. They often visited us at the Embassy and we spent a large part of the weekends together at their summer house outside Warsaw where, in the company of other Polish journalists and politicians, the topics of conversation were the situation in Poland and Europe. I most often used such meetings to familiarize those present with the current situation in Macedonia, the position of the neighbours, especially Greece, and the past of Macedonia, which was an opportunity to get acquainted with its history. Such socializing was also an opportunity for journalists to publish more positive articles about Macedonia in Polish newspapers, which undoubtedly influenced the position of the Polish government and Polish society. I will never forget the speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Mr. Rosati, (he also attended the meetings at Lukashevich's summer house) who emphasized in the Polish Sejm (parliament) that Poland should help Macedonia, the youngest peace-loving state in Europe. The significance of that position lay in the official recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by its constitutional name.

It is worth underlining that Polish journalism in Poland, especially the daily newspapers "Zhechpospolita" and "Gazeta Viborcha", was a reflection of Polish society and acted as a check on Polish domestic and foreign policy, as well as on cultural and economic development and life. Their power also charted the course of Poland towards its efforts to join the European Union

and NATO. Hence the importance of contacts with journalists from those newspapers.

At 09:00 the driver arrived and we left for the airport. Stojan Rumenovski and the advisor at the Polish Embassy saw us off with a large bouquet of beautifully arranged flowers, which was handed to Ditta.

We took off at 10:50 and landed at the Warsaw airport at 12:00. Biliski was waiting for us outside together with the driver of the "Zhechpospolita". We checked into the "Grand" hotel, where four days ago the chairman of the Society of Macedonians in Poland, Mihail Gramatnikovsky, our schoolmate, had reserved a room for us. Small and dark, I immediately asked for a change. They assigned us a small apartment. Warm, clean, pleasant. After a short rest we went out into the city but due to the cold weather we returned to the hotel.

At 13:00 I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Hmielevski, whom I had met when he was the Polish ambassador in Belgrade, was absent. I left a message that I had arrived in Warsaw and in which hotel I was staying At 14:00 I sent a fax to the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informing them where I was staying, my phone number, room number 14, and fax numbers 621 9724 and 621 8747. Then a short phone conversation with Milenka and Tanja. At around 19:00 I called Ambassador Kinetski, former Polish ambassador in Belgrade and a sincere friend and supporter of the Republic of Macedonia. We agreed to meet the next day between 15:30 and 16:00 at the hotel.

The day after, Friday, March 10, 1995, we went to see Gotse Malezanov, a representative of Technometal-Vardar in Warsaw. In this way, we began establishing meetings with our citizens in Poland. A routine conversation with a promise to see each other more often.

At 15:30 I met with Ambassador V. Kinetski. We talked for a long time about my mission. He, in turn, shared his long diplomatic experience, offering his advice for my work. We devoted a considerable part of the meeting discussing the

situations in both countries. He promised me that I could always count on his help. He invited me to dinner.

The next two days, Saturday and Sunday, we visited Warsaw. The city was almost empty. The residents of Warsaw rested on their days off. In the evening, at18:00, we had dinner at Ambassador Kinetski's where we were welcomed in a very warm and friendly manner. We talked at length about the situation in the Balkans, which he had previously known very well, but with the collapse of Yugoslavia it had become unfamiliar to him. Hence his great interest in Balkan affairs, and especially in Macedonia, which, as the Polish Ambassador in Belgrade, he had often visited and established connections and acquaintances with a large number of personalities from politics, business and culture.

We returned to the hotel late.

Here I should end the preface with a note that the text that follows chronologically is illustrated with rich photo documentation that further enriches its content.

That's all for the preface.

PART ONE 1995

As of today, **Monday, March 13, 1995,** at 09:30 my diplomatic mission began in Poland. I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked for Ambassador Iezhi Hmielevski, with whom, after a short and very pleasant conversation, we arranged a meeting at 13:00.

From that day on, I decided that every evening, after finishing the day's activities, I would record everything I had done and not done, whom I had met, what we had discussed and agreed upon, what we had argued about, did not share the same position on, about conversations and meetings with Polish state authorities, ministers, secretaries, former Polish ambassadors, writers, journalists and foreign diplomats, correspondence and conversations with officials in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, welcoming and sending off delegations, the joys, sorrows, hopes. So every evening I kept the notes until the last day of my stay in Warsaw and thus a whole pile of unofficial, private documentation grew to about 2500 pages, along with a whole bag of photographs from meetings and signed agreements. Everything that was written down lay at the bottom of my home library for 25 years after the end of my diplomatic mission. In my later years, I decided to rewrite the entries I had kept and turn them into a diary, which might serve as a lesson for someone, which will remain in the archives or home libraries as a mark of Macedonian diplomacy.

At exactly the appointed time I entered the waiting room where Chaplinski, who was recently appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was waiting for me. Later, in Macedonia, he was accompanied by Shtul, known to our public for his efforts to open the so-called Shtul University.

Ambassador Hmielevski greeted me at the open door of his office. The same small office, cluttered with piles of papers, folders and newspapers, just like back then, when last December he personally informed me about the ceremonies and

commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau.

After exchanging the usual greetings and pleasantries, I proceeded to explain the purpose of my arrival in Warsaw. I emphasized that I had been sent to prepare the opening of the diplomatic mission of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

I was surprised by his dry and cold tone of voice. He said:

- We are surprised by the low rank of Macedonian representation. We expected that the Macedonian side would adhere to the letter and spirit of the exchanged notes of December 29, 1993 on the establishment of diplomatic relations at the level of Embassies and at the rank of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors. As far as I remember, you were also present at that meeting in Skopje. So, with this low level, you unexpectedly tied our hands. We searched and did not find in the diplomatic literature, nor in our practice, what the term "liaison office" means, and in our long-standing diplomatic practice that term is not used and means nothing to us. Of course, we knew eight days ago that you would come to Warsaw...

Ambassador Hmielevski paused, opened a folder, and handed me a copy of a note translated from English into Macedonian.

- Here you go - he said.

I picked it up and read:

Republic of Macedonia
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Number/ No.: 1104-1013/1

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour to inform that Dr. Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will arrive in Warsaw to open the Liaison Office of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw and to organize the

opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

Dr. Petre Nakovski has been appointed head of the Liaison Office of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia kindly requests the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland to assist Dr. Petre Nakovski in carrying out all formalities related to all these activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia also takes this opportunity to reiterate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland the assurances of its highest consideration.

Skopje, March 1, 1995

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

After I finished reading the note, I stared into Ambassador Hmielevski's eyes for a long time, and then I handed him the sheet.

This is a copy. You can keep it.

I felt sweat running down my shoulders. I felt as if I had been trapped. I had not expected such a conversation. I restrained myself as much as I could so that my disappointment and helplessness would not show, trying to remain calm, cool-headed and collected. I was thinking about how to respond to his remarks. Many thoughts were running through my head. Which one should I choose? I decided. Calmly, with short pauses, and in a more convincing tone of voice, I said:

- Mr. Ambassador this is only an initial, I would say, tactical step, which will only have a temporary character. I want to assure you that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia will soon make a decision to open an Embassy. My task is to find suitable premises, in which I will be very pleased to receive you with a glass of Macedonian wine...

God willing, said Ambassador Hmielevski, looking at his watch and adding that all the formalities regarding my stay in

Warsaw would be explained to me by the Diplomatic Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I realized that the time for the reception and the conversation was up. I stood up, thanked him for the meeting and the reception and, followed by the young Chaplinski, I left the Ministry. In rainy and very cold weather, I took the tram back to the hotel.

For the next few days, I devoted myself to finding suitable premises for the representative office. First, I contacted the Diplomatic Service. None of the premises offered were acceptable to me.

March 14, 1995, Tuesday

Late in the afternoon, I received a call from Stevo Popovski, a Macedonian, a permanent resident of Warsaw, married to a Polish woman. A special person. It is no longer worth wasting time and paper on him. He came to the hotel and offered to find me a facility for the representative office and immediately suggested a house belonging to, as he said, a great friend of his, who would be moving to Australia next month. The house was in a new neighbourhood, located at 60 Ciprijska Street. We went to see it. Area 300 square meters, price 2,300 US dollars. I liked it. I notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Skopje by fax and received approval.

March 15, 1995, Wednesday

At 11:00 I was received by Chajka, director of the Cabinet of President Lech Walesa. A cordial and friendly conversation. I handed him the original of the letter of January 31, in which President Kiro Gligorov expressed gratitude to President Lech Walesa for the invitation to participate in the ceremonies in Auschwitz-Birkenau and the hope that Macedonian-Polish relations would continue to successfully develop and strengthen. At the end of the meeting, Director Chajka handed me the text of

the Appeal for Peace to the Peoples of the World, read on January 27, 1995 in Birkenau.

March 16, 1995, Thursday

At 15:00 we went to Ciprijska 60 to look at the house once more. As I noted above, I liked the house. We made a record of everything that was left in the house, as well as the electricity, gas and water used, and agreed to sign the contract the next day at 20:00. We met in the hotel lobby. The owner of the house and Stevo Popovski seemed grumpy. I put the paper and a pen on the table and asked the owner of the house:

- Sir, did you bring a property deed and a certified statement that the house is not mortgaged?

The owner stood up and said nervously:

- I'm not giving up the house.

- Why? – I asked him.

- Because Popovski is asking for half of the agreed price - he said and left.

Stevo Popovski's wife tried to defend her husband. I interrupted her:

- Madam, Stevo is a very good man, but he has bad friends I said, and without saying goodbye I left the hall.

March 17, 1995, Friday

The scheduled meeting and conversation with Piekarski, the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, was canceled, his secretary informed me by phone - because the director had gone abroad on official business and would return on March 20th and that he would receive me the same day at 10:00.

I spent the day reading books by Sutor, an exceptionally educated and experienced Polish diplomat. All of his books are dedicated to diplomacy – theory and practice. I personally received them with his dedication when he was in Skopje two years ago.

March 18, 1995, Saturday

At 09:00 the Malezans arrived, with whom our relations were becoming increasingly friendly. We went shopping for things for the future household. We bought:
-a duvet (feather quilt, Ditta's big wish since school), two pillows and a small pillow, four towels, two sets of bed linen,
-two spoons, two knives, two forks, two teaspoons, three knives for cutting bread, cold cuts and potatoes,
-ten plastic cups, one plastic teapot, four dishcloths and a vase, two deep and two shallow plates, all with a red heart, in the hope that, if not today, then surely tomorrow we would move out of the hotel.

At exactly 13:00 the owner of the house called. He apologized for a long time, saying that he had changed his mind, explaining and promising that maybe on Monday he would definitely decide to give us the house.

I listened to him calmly and then said:

- Sir, you are an ordinary street swindler together with your friend Stevo Popovski. Then I called Stevo Popovski. I conveyed to him the conversation I'd had with his friend and told him that I no longer needed his services and that I saw no need for him to offer me any more services. I would handle the business with the premises through agencies.

The Malezans helped us carry our purchases to the hotel room and, grateful for the service, we heartily sent them off.

We returned to the room and spent the entire afternoon in silence.

March 19, 1995, Sunday

Cold. Yesterday still weighed heavily on me. To break the boredom, we left the hotel and wandered around the center of Warsaw.

March 20, 1995, Monday

At 10:00 I was received by the Director of Diplomatic Protocol, Piekarski. I had the impression that he greeted me very unpleasantly and coldly, as if he were not the same person I had met before when I had officially visited Warsaw several times, and especially in October 1993 when I led the Macedonian delegation for a whole month at the regular annual OSCE meeting dedicated to human rights. At that time, I had very useful conversations with him dedicated to the situation in the Republic of Macedonia, the relations between the two countries and the need for their strengthening and mutual cooperation in all areas, and on that occasion also about the very positive and friendly attitude of Poland in the past fifty years. Now he looked at me as if I had hidden something from him. I expressed my gratitude for the reception, we exchanged a few sentences about the rainy weather, and then he said:

- I'm glad to see you again but this time, of course, in a slightly different climate for both you and us.

First, he read me the note of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated December 29, 1993, which expressed a bilateral desire to open an Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the Republic of Macedonia, and vice versa, to open an Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland at the level of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors. From the minutes of the meeting held in Skopje, as stated, you were also present. You remember, don't you?

He paused and looked at me.

I confirmed.

- We regret - he said - that Macedonia wants to open a diplomatic mission of a very low rank and with the name "liaison office". We expected the opening of an Embassy. The term "liaison office" is incomprehensible to us, and even unknown. We do not know what it means. If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia insists on opening a diplomatic mission with that name, in that case, I regret to inform you that the Diplomatic

Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no legal basis to issue the head of that mission a diplomatic ID, a letter to open a bank account, or to allow the use of privileges provided under the Vienna Convention. And I also want to inform you that regarding the name and symbols, we will apply the Brussels model. The name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" must be written on the sign and the flag on the flagpole must not be displayed nor on the official car. We checked this in Brussels through our Embassy and found that the Belgian model is applied there. This is a political decision, which could be different tomorrow.

I listened attentively to Piekarski's presentation. I kept calm, taking care not to let my cheeks tremble, not to let surprise appear on my face, but the whole time I was seething inside. Those present, Rushard Korchevski, head of the Administration for Privileges and Immunities, and Kshishtov Pozhniak, an advisor, looked me straight in the eye.

After a long pause, I said:

- Mr. Director, thank you for the reception and for your presentation. I assure you that I have listened to you carefully and I would be pleased if you would accept that my mission will be carried out in the spirit of the talks that Presidents Walesa and Gligorov recently held in Krakov, at which the need for strengthening and successful development of relations and cooperation between our countries was strongly emphasized. I assure you that I will convey your expressed positions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia today. It will be my honour to discuss more pleasant, useful and promising topics at the next meeting.

Chief Korchevski looked at his watch. A sign that the meeting time was over.

I walked back to the hotel on foot. It was pouring cold rain outside. Burdened by the weight of Director Piekarski's presentation, I felt nauseous, I walked slowly and composed the text of the note from the meeting, that was important to me. After I took off my wet clothes, I sent the details of the conversations

by fax number 7/95 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. From that day on I became more and more anxious, but also persistent in standing firm on the ground, although I already felt that my health was deteriorating. The same thing happened to my wife, who after whole days alone, as if in a prison cell, sat in the hotel room. She simply longed for her daily teaching and domestic activities. In Skopje she was constantly on the move and here she was withering before my eyes.

After sending the fax, I called Ambassador Tegovski in Brussels with the following question:

Dear Ambassador Tegovski, Please tell me where the sign of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, in Brussels, is placed and what is written on it, where is the flag placed and whether it is used on the official car?

The fax response arrived half an hour later and read:

Dear Petre,

Regarding our telephone conversation, I would like to inform you and confirm that since the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Brussels, the signs with our constitutional name have been displayed on it. Given that the Embassy is located on the fourth floor of a residential building, two signs have been placed, one at the external entrance of the building and the other at the entrance to the Embassy premises, on which it is written in Macedonian and French: “Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia Brussels”. We regularly display our flag on the external window of the Embassy,and also on the official car when necessary. In contacts with the authorities of the host country, as well as with the Diplomatic Corps, the same sign is always displayed on our notes: Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.
Best regards, Jovan Tegovski (signature)

P.S. In the phone conversation, I asked Ambassador Tegovski to invite the Polish Ambassador for coffee so he could see what the Belgian model was like that they were bombarding me with in Warsaw...

I banged my fists on the table with joy and shouted:
- I have you now!
(A c*opy of the fax in the author's personal archive.*)

After recovering from the unpleasant encounter at the Diplomatic Protocol and enjoying Ambassador Jovan Tegovski's response, I began to call various agencies that mediated in finding apartments and office premises. The most favourable impression I got was from the agency "Zazhitska", owned by a woman with the same surname.

March 21, 1995, Tuesday

At 10:00 Mrs. Zazhitska called me and suggested that we go and visit several buildings together. She suggested that we first go to the elite neighbourhood "Zholibuzh", north of the center, where before the war, Marshal Pilsudski allocated plots of land for building houses for officers who had distinguished themselves in the war with the Bolsheviks. We visited several houses. Beautiful but expensive. We decided on a semi-detached house at 25A Bitomska Street. The ground floor and first floor - furnished. Price: two thousand American dollars. I accepted. The owner, a lady in her later years, was full of praise, emphasizing that this house had been used as a residence by the ambassadors of Belgium, Japan and Italy.

March 22, 1995, Wednesday

At 10:00 the receptionist told me that a lady was waiting for me in the lobby. I went down. A young, blonde girl in the company of an older lady. She approached me and asked:

- Sir, are you Nakovski?

- Yes, – I said. – And you are?

- I'm Krstevska. I came with my mother.

During the conversation, I learned that they were from a mixed Macedonian-Polish family. The father was Macedonian from the Kostur village of Pozdivishta and the mother was Polish. She had an older sister, a doctor. Both were married to Macedonians. They were born in Legnitsa, a city west of Vrotslav, from where they moved to Skopje, where she graduated from the Faculty of Economics. In addition to Macedonian, she had an excellent command of English. She married Zoran Krstevski from the village Kuchevishte near Skopje, and her sister, Emilia, was married to Dragan Avramchev who was a doctor with a medical degree in Skopje. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, they moved to Poland and lived in their recently built two-story houses in the town of Zhirarduv, 40 kilometers away from Warsaw. She continued by saying that she had heard that a Macedonian Embassy would be opened in Warsaw and that she would like to work as a secretary...

The conversation was interrupted by the arrival of another young, blonde lady.

- I am Dr. Emilia – she introduced herself with a smile; it seemed like we had known each other for many years. And from that moment on, we remained close to her and her parents and sister for many years. After the opening of the Embassy, she often visited us and in a way became our family doctor. Always smiling, friendly and helpful. We grew fond of her and her loved ones and now, in our old age, we remember them with nostalgia and heartfelt respect, grateful for the frequent friendly meetings and respect.

March 23, 1995, Thursday

At 14:00 I was called to the Diplomatic Protocol. They handed me materials regarding the meeting of the Trade Ministers

of the member countries of the Central European Initiative (CEI). I sent them to Skopje by express mail.

At 15:00 Zazhitska called me and informed me that the "old woman" had increased the rent for the house at 25 Bitomska Street and was asking for 2,500 US dollars. I called Gaber on the phone. He was gone. I called him at home again and informed him of the new price. With a heavy heart, he agreed that I should accept it.

March 24, 1995, Friday

At 09:00 I called Ketsman, a friend of Stojan Andov, a merchant in Warsaw. He was gone.

At 09:30 Zazhitska and I went to the "old lady's" house. I told her that the new price was high but she stubbornly insisted that I give her another $300. I told her: I'd give her $2,500 and went to look at the house again. I asked her to move some things to the basement and move others upstairs. I went back to the hotel where I called a disinfection and pest control agency. They asked me for $600. Expensive! I called Zazhitska and asked her to call the "old lady" on Monday to move out of the house. Ditta insisted that we pack. I said: Wait! I don't trust that woman until I put the house key in my pocket.

March 25, 1995, Saturday

At 09:00 I called the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (I had received his phone number from a previous meeting a year and a half ago). The secretary told me that he was in a meeting and that they would call back.

I had been preparing reminders for the conversations I planned to have with interlocutors in Polish ministries all day and, in doing so, I was using the notes from the conversations I'd had in Skopje during the preparations.

At 16:00 I spoke on the phone with the treasurer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Simka Isakovska, who informed me

that she had sent me 10,000 (ten) thousand US dollars to the Malezanov's bank account.

March 26, 1995, Sunday

It's pouring outside. Alternately – rain, then snow. At 13:00 lunch at Volodkovich's, a diplomat, first secretary of the Polish Embassies in India, Belgrade, then Paris. Now available. When he came to Skopje with his wife, he would visit us and bring us the latest books from contemporary Polish literature, which was always the first and most important topic of our conversations. Both he and his wife expressed great satisfaction that Macedonia would open an Embassy in Warsaw, and especially that it would be led by a proven friend of Poland. During lunch I didn't tell them anything about the disappointing contacts so far. With wishes to see each other more often, the very pleasant visit ended, in which Volodkovich gave many examples of his diplomatic activities, which were later of great use to me.

Late in the evening, Zazhitska called me. She suggested we go and talk to the "old woman" again. I told her flatly: - I've given up!

March 27, 1995, Monday

At 10:00 Zazhitska called and suggested we see one, two, or three locations. I accepted. We went to the Mokotuv neighbourhood, south of the center. She said there was a nice house there and if it wasn't abandoned by some Norwegian company, we could go in and see it.

- Drive – I said. If we don't make it there either, at least I'll get to walk around Warsaw that way.

After almost half an hour, making our way through the thick crowd of old, decayed cars brought mainly from neighbouring Germany (in Warsaw, the trams and city buses had been emptied. Everyone had their own car even if it was old. The fall of communism in Eastern European countries and here was

clearing up the rot of the wealthy West). We arrived at Dominikanska Street and stopped in front of number 15. An elderly gentleman came out of the house and asked who we were looking for. Zazhitska explained to him that we were looking for a property for a diplomatic mission and that in the rental housing listings, the house under this number was mentioned.

- I am the owner and my name is Malichovski, let's say the elder. The house you see is a twin. This part, from the street side, belongs to my son. For now, it is used by a Norwegian company, which will move out during the week. It is empty right now. If you want to look at the house, you are welcome.

We go in. There are still pieces of the Norwegian company's furniture.

We start from the bottom.

A large, clean basement, garage, laundry room, room for drying clothes, toilet, shower.

Ground floor: toilet, shower, hallway, one small room, kitchen, large room, about 50 square meters, two telephone lines.

First floor: three bedrooms, toilet, shower, two bathrooms.

Second floor: three rooms, toilet, shower.

Heating: central heating, gas.

Yard – about 1,500 square meters, iron fence.

Price: 2,800 (two thousand eight hundred) US dollars per month, paid in cash.

Once again, I looked at each room separately. After a few minutes of conversation and silence, I said:

- I'll take it.

Malichovski smiled with satisfaction and asked:

- Are you sure?

- As sure as I see you.

- If that's the case, here's my hand and for added security, as is customary, count out a thousand dollars as a deposit.

- Okay. Mrs. Zazhitska, write down that I gave Mr. Malichovski a thousand dollars and then have him sign that he received the deposit.

We said goodbye and agreed to sign the contract tomorrow in Mrs. Zazhitska's office.

- See you tomorrow, Mr. Malichovski, and you should also bring the ownership deed and a certified confirmation that the house is not mortgaged.

I called Gaber in the afternoon. He accepted my decision regarding the facility.

March 28, 1995, Tuesday

At 11:15 at Zazhitska's. She had already prepared all the documentation for signing the agreement. After half an hour, Malichovski arrived with his son. We reviewed all the documentation page by page and the attached ownership deed and a duly issued certificate that the house was not under mortgage.

At 12:45 we signed the contract. I paid the owner 5,600 (five thousand and six hundred) American dollars. From that amount he should pay Zazhitska her mediation fee. From the inside pocket of his coat, Malichovski took out a bottle of vodka and, opening it, said:

- Dear Mr. Nakovski, in Poland such occasions are celebrated with vodka. - He filled the glasses and we all toasted.

Mrs. Zazhitska drove me to the hotel in her old car where, after a short rest, I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the arranged meeting with the Deputy Minister, Mr. Tovpik. This meeting was not our first. We had our first meeting in October 1993 when I led the Macedonian delegation to the OSCE conference in Warsaw. And now, as then, we discussed the situation in the Balkans in more detail, and especially Macedonia. He was particularly interested in our equidistance in relations with our neighbours, and then he explained their triad to me. Speaking just before the end of the meeting, I said to him:

- Mr. Minister, allow me to raise a question regarding the issue of opening a diplomatic mission of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. – In a calm and measured manner, I conveyed to him the conversation held in the Diplomatic

Protocol, especially emphasizing the part about the use of the name and state symbols of the Republic of Macedonia.

Minister Tovpik took out a sheet of paper from a folder, which was an official memo from the meeting in the Diplomatic Protocol. He returned the sheet to the folder and said:

- Yes, that has been decided. We are to apply the Belgian model...

Long pause, we silently looked each other in the eyes. I broke the silence.

- Allow me, Mr. Minister, to hand you a copy of the fax from the Macedonian Ambassador in Brussels, the content of which pertains to the so-called Belgian model.

He took the copy and read the contents for a long time. A look of great surprise appeared on his face and he wiped the sweat from his forehead with the back of his hand, took a few sips of water from the glass, sighed and said quietly:

- We will check and decide... And please, don't be disappointed. Such mistakes do happen.

- I completely understand you and it would be much better if we resolved such serious matters soberly than letting them cast an unpleasant shadow over our previously excellent relations.

On the way out, the Minister said to me:

-Please do not be disappointed and have confidence in the sincerity of our efforts for even better relations between our countries.

The conversation lasted a full 60 minutes. I returned to the hotel at 16:00 and, under the weight of great fatigue, without undressing, I lay down and woke up the next day.

March 29, 1995, Wednesday

In the morning, the receptionist brought me an envelope from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs which, at my request, contained a list of Polish ministries and their phone numbers with whom I had requested to meet, in order to convey the wishes of the Macedonian ministries for cooperation. At 09:00 I received a

call from the Ministry of Defense. They had scheduled a meeting for March 30 at 10:00.

From this I understood that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already notified my future interlocutors.

At 18:00 we went to see Ketsman, Stojan Andov's friend. He received us indifferently and coldly. The conversation was interrupted. In front of me, leaning back in the armchair and with his legs spread wide, sat a short, stocky man, with a face devoid of any expression of satisfaction, praised as a very successful businessman in Poland. After a short, often interrupted conversation, he asked me:

- What interest does Macedonia see in opening an Embassy in Poland? - Ketsman asked me coldly.

I pretended not to hear the question and turned the conversation to the bad rainy and cold weather. We didn't finish the coffee that his wife, Fimka, had served. We got up and after a cold goodbye, headed back to the hotel. On the way, I asked Ditta:

- Did you hear what the little man said about the Embassy?

- I heard it and I didn't like it.

In the following days other people also called us for meetings. We didn't turn anyone down.

March 30, 1995, Thursday

At 13:30 at the Ministry of Justice, I was received by the Deputy Director for Foreign Relations (the Director was ill). A very cordial conversation. Among other things, the Deputy Director emphasized that he was honoured to be talking to a representative of Macedonia for the first time and that it was a great pleasure for him personally. During the conversation, I emphasized that the Macedonian Ministry of Justice was interested in establishing cooperation with the Polish Ministry and, within that framework, for the two ministries to exchange experiences and meetings at the level of ministers and relevant

services. He promised to inform the competent authorities in the Ministry of Justice about the content of the conversation, emphasizing that the contacts between the two ministries would contribute to the mutual exchange of experiences.

From 16:20 to 17:40 a conversation at the Ministry of Defense. They sent me an official car. I was received by Colonel Andzhej Bolevski. I conveyed the wishes of our Ministry of Defense for meetings between representatives of the two ministries. We continued the conversation on issues of our special interest, for which he noted that in the coming days I would be invited to a dicussion with higher-ranking officials. We exchanged phone numbers for contact.

March 31, 1995, Friday

At 10:00 I called Telesfor Novak, director of the Ministry of Justice, in order to make arrangements regarding the reception of the delegation of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Macedonia.

In the afternoon we bought a rubber mattress. Price: 185.00 zloti.

April 1, 1995, Saturday

At 09:00 I called Zazhitska and asked her to bring me the keys to the house for the future Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

April 2, 1995, Sunday

Tanja's birthday. We tried to reach her by phone but we couldn't get through. They kept telling us that the line we were calling was busy. A nice sunny day, we went for a walk in Lazhenki Park and in the evening, at 21:30, we finally managed to get through to Tanja, whom we wished a happy birthday with many good wishes and hoped to see her soon in Warsaw.

April 3, 1995, Monday

I got up at 05:00. At 06:00 at the Ministry of Justice, from where we left for the airport to welcome the delegation of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Macedonia consisting of Moisova and Tumanovski, whom we accommodated at the hotel "VICTORIA". They had flown in from Sofia.

I received the keys in the afternoon. At 17:00 Tumanovski and Malezanov visited the house of the future Macedonian Embassy. They liked it very much, even though it was completely empty. No furniture. Bare rooms.

April 4, 1995, Tuesday

At 09:30 at Pozhniak's in the Diplomatic Protocol. He approached me with open arms. I noticed a change in his tone of voice compared to the previous meeting. After a short conversation, he handed me forms with a request to fill them out and deliver them to him tomorrow (April 5) along with a note. We agreed that the name of our diplomatic mission in the note would read: Diplomatic Mission of the Republic of Macedonia, and that it would not be necessary to put a stamp (the stamps had not yet arrived). Before meeting with him, I spoke briefly with Mrs. Anna Nashatulska, one of the heads of the Diplomatic Protocol, an acquaintance of Mrs. Moisova. By the way, I should note that the previous day I had introduced Mrs. Moisova and Tumanovski, in more detail, to the position of the Diplomatic Protocol regarding the name and state symbols of the Republic of Macedonia. Mrs. Moisova, after listening to me carefully, tapping her finger on the table, in a determined tone of voice, said to me:

- Do not give in under any circumstances. You must endure, you must fight. You are here on the front line of defense of the name of Macedonia!

Her words, in contrast to the silence in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, were a great encouragement to me.

At 12:00 a meeting and conversation at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Interlocutors: the director of the Second Directorate, Ambassador Hmielevski, Vilchek, head of the Balkan department, and Chaplinski, as I understood, was responsible for taking notes of the conversation.

I prepared well for this conversation yesterday, for which the instructions I requested from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia were of great benefit and assistance.

After the usual greetings and an exchange of opinions about the weather, the conversation began. After a few welcoming sentences, Ambassador Hmielevski said:

- Mr. Minister Nakovski, it's your turn. Please go ahead.

At the beginning, I expressed my gratitude for the meeting, emphasizing that I would like to briefly inform those present about the conversation in the Diplomatic Protocol, where Director Piekarski introduced me to the Polish position regarding the decision to open a diplomatic mission in Warsaw, although I was sure that they knew from the official note what I had been told.

- Thank you, Mr. Ambassador, I have the honour of stating the following. Namely, the name of the country that I currently represent has the exclusive right for its use both internally and externally, and that right is respected by international legal norms, as well as in the basic principles of the United Nations, where its constitutional name is the Republic of Macedonia.

I paused for a moment. The faces of Chaplinski andVilchek - pale. Ambassador Hmielevski listened attentively and wrote intermittently.

Slowly, calmly underlining each word, I continued:

- The application of the Republic of Macedonia for admission to the UN (here I handed Ambassador Hmielevski the

document number C/251447 with which the application for admission to the UN is registered) reads Republic of Macedonia, not Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Resolution number 817 of 1993 states that the UN Council recommends that the Republic of Macedonia be admitted as a member under the specified name, although in the document before you, it states that the temporary name FYROM will be used until the disputes imposed by the neighbouring country are resolved, which means that its use is not mandatory for all UN members. In that sense, gentlemen, with Resolution 817/93 there is no ban or restriction, and cannot be, on the use of the name Republic of Macedonia. We regard the ban or restrictions regarding the use of the name Republic of Macedonia as political speculation with certain ulterior motives and in this regard I do not accept the restrictions and do not express my consent to the restrictions that were presented to me on March 20 by the Director of Diplomatic Protocol for the non-use of a sign with the name Republic of Macedonia, as well as for the non-display of the national flag on windows, balconies, flagpoles and on official cars, and that in the Diplomatic credentials, as well as in the list of the Diplomatic Corps, the name FYROM will be recorded, not the name Republic of Macedonia. Gentlemen, allow me to remind you that in the spirit of the adopted resolutions, the name of the state is an exclusive right and an internal matter of the state, and that right is respected and enshrined in international legal norms and in the basic principles of the UN. In that sense, the name of my country is the Republic of Macedonia. We regard the ban or restriction on the use of the name Republic of Macedonia to be political speculation with a certain political background, and regarding what has been stated, we do not agree with the restrictions that were stated on March 20, 1995 by the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, such as not displaying the Macedonian national flag on the flagpole, recording the name Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in diplomatic credentials, including in the list of the Diplomatic Corps the unconstitutional name, and the like...

I paused for a moment. I stared at the faces of those present, expecting their reaction. No one spoke. I continued:

- Gentlemen, for your information, as a child and youth, I spent many years in Poland and during that time I was raised and educated in the spirit of the Polish freedom-loving tradition, and from that environment, feelings of respect and love for Poland are deeply rooted in me, a country which in the distant tragic past fought with self-sacrifice to preserve the Polish name, language, Polish history, literature and culture, which as a testimony to my attachment, are my numerous translations into Macedonian of numerous works of Polish classical and contemporary literature, as well as the numerous friendly relations with prominent Polish writers and journalists who are a notable example of its affirmation in Macedonia. I am convinced that such activity of mine has built a small brick in the fruitful Macedonian-Polish relations and cooperation. I regret that at the beginning of my mission I have to present such arguments, however, as a Macedonian, who is closely connected to Poland, I am primarily obliged to protect the interests of my country and, in that spirit, to make efforts to strengthen and expand Macedonian-Polish relations, which have so far developed very successfully in all areas.

Ambassador Hmielevski interrupted me.

- Mr. Minister, I would have done the same in your place. We completely understand you but we also expect your understanding of our aspirations and ambitions...

- The Republic of Macedonia - I interrupted him - is a small country and will only get stronger and, with help, I would say moral help, from Poland it will increasingly strengthen its place in the world...

Silence. A quietness barely audible interrupted by the creak of Chaplinski's pencil, as he took notes of the conversation.

- Mr. Ambassador - I addressed Ambassador Hmielevski - thank you for your understanding and I would like to take this opportunity to repeat what I said to the Deputy Minister, Mr. Tovpik and at the same time hand you a copy of the fax from

Ambassador Jovan Tegovski regarding the so-called Belgian model and to emphasize that the restrictions put forward by the Director of Diplomatic Protocol, Mr. Piekarski, are unacceptable for the Macedonian side. I hope that the higher authorities will be informed accordingly in this regard and I expect a change of position in that direction.

Ambassador Hmielevski looked at his watch. I realized that the time allotted for the meeting and conversation had expired, so I said:

- Gentlemen, thank you for the warm welcome and for your patience in listening to me. Allow me to express once again my assurance and hope that Macedonian-Polish relations will continue to develop excellently.

- That, Mr. Minister, is also our wish - said Ambassador Hmielevski and with that the meeting ended.

The conversation was difficult and painful for me. I left the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs building satisfied and tense to the limit of my strength.

It was snowing outside and a strong, cold north wind was blowing. This refreshed me. I returned to the hotel exhausted but also satisfied.

Ditta had packed. She hoped that we would leave the hotel today. I collected all the bills and went to the hotel cashier to pay for the hotel services. For the nights I paid: 5,253.58 zloti, for phone calls and fax: 1,097.74 zloti or a total of: 6,351.32 zloti or 2,737.63 US dollars. Then I called Zazhitska. She came with her husband. With their help, we put everything we had in their car and left the hotel. Her husband was making his way through the stream of cars, cursing loudly. His wife warned him several times not to swear and he replied:

- There's nothing wrong with my swearing. It's just a relief and let Mr. Ambassador learn. He'll need it.

- He knows how to swear, Ditta announced, in several languages.

- It would be good to learn the latest Polish swear words too, he said, turning his head towards me, he added: - I, sir, swear

at the government every morning when I shave, and at night before I go to bed – at the president. You understand, right?

We arrived. I opened the door and slowly brought our things inside. The whole house was empty. Bare floors, bare walls, only the kitchen was furnished and according to the agreement the owner had brought a large refrigerator. We were left alone. There was nothing to sit on. We stood. Silence and in that silence I think I heard the voice of Zhivko, the person at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of equipping Embassies.

- Listen, Mile – Zhivko's voice echoed in my head. - Mile was the Charge´ d'Affaires at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Belgrade. – The Ambassador is already on his way to Belgrade. In the meantime, check if the water heater is on in the bathroom and if there is hot water. Check if there are clean towels, soap and shampoo. Go to the bedroom and see if the sheets are clean. Check if there is water and drinks in the fridge, especially whiskey, that's what the Ambassador likes the most...

Zazhitska's husband was right, when he said I would need new swear words. We spread the newspaper out on the stairs and sat down next to each other. We looked at each other and were silent. After a few minutes I broke the silence, asking Ditta:

- What do you think, will we last like this?

She looked at me for a long time and then said:

- Sure. I trust you.

I hugged her, pressed her tightly in my arms, kissed her on the forehead, saying:

- You are brave, girl. I love you very, very much.

The owner of the house came and brought a small tourist table and four plastic chairs. He wished us good night and left.

- It's good – said Ditta. – There's something to sit on - and with a damp cloth she wiped the chairs and small table, and then with a broad wave of her hand, she said: – Come on, Ambassador. The armchair is wide and soft.

I sat down in the armchair and, by hand, filled out the questionnaires for diplomatic identification cards. In four copies. Then I wrote the following note by hand, which I quote because it

was my first note, of course written in Polish, and here I include it in a Macedonian translation.

DIPLOMATIC MISSION
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Warsaw
.....
Diplomatic Mission
of the Republic of Macedonia
Warsaw

The Diplomatic Mission of the Republic of Macedonia presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour to request the issuance of diplomatic credentials to the head of the Diplomatic Mission, Minister-Counselor Dr. Petre Nakovski and his wife Ditta Nakovska.

The Diplomatic Mission of the Republic of Macedonia takes this opportunity to renew the assurances of its highest consideration to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland. PN
Warsaw, April 5, 1995
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Protocol, Warsaw.

I put the completed forms and the note on the little table and we went to the nearest grocery store. We bought food for dinner. Ditta placed the food on the wobbly tourist table. After dinner, already late, we went to the first floor where we chose a room about twelve square meters in size. Bare floor. What should we sleep on?

- Didn't we buy an air mattress yesterday?
- It's there in the bag.
- Bring it.

We set the mattress down and started inflating it. Ditta blew on one end, I blew on the other end, and in pauses to catch my breath, I think I heard Mitanova's voice: - Within the

Embassy, choose a room to sleep and rest. That will be your residence... ha, ha!...

In that residence we slept the night on the air mattress. In the morning all my bones ached. That kind of bed was not for me but it was what it was. At least it was warm even though the wind blew from everywhere. The windows let in the cold.

April 5, 1995, Wednesday

In the morning while I was shaving, I cursed Zhivko and Mitanova all day.

At 09:00 I went to Malezanov. I asked his secretary to type the note for me. From there to the Diplomatic Protocol to see Pozhniak. I gave him the forms and the note and returned to the mission. We were not yet an Embassy. Beata Ristovska, a Macedonian by her father and Polish by her mother, a graduate professor of the Macedonian language who had completed her studies in Skopje with a perfect ten. She asked to be employed as a secretary. I asked her to submit an application and the appropriate documents.

First lunch at the "Embassy". Soup and roast chicken. After lunch I prepared a large envelope with materials to send to V. Gaber via Tumanovski.

April 6, 1995, Thursday

Woke up at 05:00. At 06:00 at the "VICTORIA" hotel. Mrs. Moisova and Tumanovski were already waiting. With a car from the Ministry of Justice and accompanied by high-ranking officials from that Ministry, I went to the airport. I stood at the exit until the plane took off. Such was the custom in diplomacy – to stay at the airport until the plane took off. At 08:15 a technician from the electronics company came to install the fax machine and teach me how to use it. Now I didn't have to run to the post office to send faxes. I paid 600.00 US dollars for the machine. I placed it on the window sill next to the telephone.

April 7, 1995, Friday

Jon Ivanovski, a well-educated, polyglot and later the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia to France, arrived in Warsaw today for the Central European Initiative meeting and brought me an advance payment of my salary in the amount of 2,500 (two thousand five hundred) American dollars. We arranged to meet on Sunday.

I ran out of fax paper and went to the city center where I bought two rolls. At 18:00 the Avramchevs, fellow countrymen, whom I wrote about above, arrived. They invited us to dinner at the Sobjeski Hotel, from where we returned after bad, rainy weather at midnight. As we were leaving, they asked us if we would accept to be their guests on April 16th for the Easter holidays. We accepted. At that moment the fax machine rang. I heard only one sentence: "Dad, Milenka is on the phone." Then it stopped. Her voice was so sad that it made me feel very upset.

The emptiness without children is very big...

April 8, 1995, Saturday

At 17:00 Ambassador Kinetski arrived with his wife. He brought a small radio and a calendar. We toasted them with wine, and over a glass of vodka, had a long, pleasant and very useful conversation. A lot of instructive advice regarding diplomatic work, the result of his many years as an ambassador in several countries and his last ambassadorial mission in Belgrade.

April 9, 1995, Sunday

At 11:00 Jon Ivanovski and Goran Stevchevski arrived. Together we looked at the empty rooms. They said that when it was furnished, it would look like a real Embassy. The conversation revolved around their participation in the CEI conference, the situation in Macedonia, and the chaos in the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They left after an hour. I gave Jon an envelope with a request to deliver it to Gaber.

Due to the cold weather, around minus 5 degrees outside, we stayed "home". At 20:00 we spoke to Milenka on the phone. She said that they were having a hard time without us.

And it was even harder for us without them...

Below, I am attaching the full text of the letter to Gaber:

Liaison Office
of the Republic of Macedonia
Warsaw
April 9, 1995

Republic of Macedonia
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Undersecretary
Mr. Victor Gaber
Skopje

As of today, a month has passed since I've been in Warsaw. I have regularly reported on my activities so far by fax and telephone. I have been received here very cordially and warmly, and so far I have not been prevented from carrying out the assigned tasks, as well as making protocol visits and contacts with Polish ministries. However, our representation (for the reasons I reported) is almost anonymous due to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' refusal of the term "liaison office", since such a term is unknown in their diplomatic vocabulary and does not fit into their diplomatic practice. Not only did I initially have the impression that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was offended but now, after a month here, I am deeply convinced that the Poles perceived our decision to open a "liaison office" as an insult and humiliation. As I was told in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "no one has ever opened a diplomatic mission with such a non-existent name in Poland" and that in accordance with the exchanged notes on recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations, the two sides had agreed to open Embassies. It seemed that regardless of the fact that Poland did not have its

own Embassy in our country, the Polish side did not want a low level Macedonian representation because that would diminish their efforts to support us in the country and abroad. A high-ranking official in the Ministry of Justice told me that, "by doing so, you are reducing your own importance, which in turn reduces the importance of our efforts for your support". There are more such opinions and assessments and I would not like to list them, because I want to believe that the most correct solution regarding this issue will soon be adopted. And I will emphasize again: our diplomatic mission is anonymous. I contact the competent ministries for appointments and discussions by phone instead of, as diplomatic customs require, with a note. I do not write a note because I do not have either a letterhead nor a seal. I am not yet accredited, which means I do not yet have diplomatic identification. So according to the regulations, I am an ordinary foreigner, with the difference that the note of my arrival in Poland has been deposited with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I have already submitted a request for diplomatic identification in accordance with the instructions received. The request has been accepted. As usual, one waits a day or two but I have been waiting for almost ten days. Next week, especially after the Catholic Easter holidays, I expect more contacts with various ministries. In this situation, with the status I have, it is unlikely that the Republic of Macedonia will gain or lose its importance and position. One cannot continue to be anonymous: without a diplomatic status, without a seal, without a letterhead, without a sign, without a flag displayed. The most ordinary private foreign trade missions are in a better position.

The above does not mean that I intend to complain. On the contrary: I want our position here to be strengthened, I want my wide contacts, connections and acquaintances, as well as the good will with which the Polish side treats our country and people, and also me, to grow even stronger. This should be used before it is too late. Otherwise, it will be wasted along with the efforts invested a hundredfold!

Mr. Secretary,

I deeply believe that you will work to change this situation and that is why I am expressing my assessments so openly. I would also like to ask for the following: for the needs of the mission, to receive two telephones or to buy them here, a computer, a radio, a television, a subscription to "Nova Makedonija", regular receipt of promotional material on the economic and political situation in the country, as well as materials in the field of tourism. There is an urgent need to equip the office with the necessary furniture as soon as possible, however, given the representative character of the building and its interior, I propose that the interior should reflect our Macedonian spirit, as the conditions also require it. Hence, I ask that the architect arrive in Warsaw as soon as possible. An official car is also an urgent need. I believe that there is no need to explain, since you yourself know from your diplomatic practice, how necessary an official vehicle is.

I would like our ministry to consider the following: I suggest that the rooms in the building be fully equipped, both the offices and the living quarters for the staff (at least some of them). In this way, the issue of work and living would be resolved for a longer period of time, which means that future officials would not encounter the difficulties that I have faced. It is worth being practical within these limits and being frugal in the future. This would mean equipping the representative office with appropriate cutlery because, in the future, dinners and lunches will inevitably be organized here, just as all DKPs in the world do.

I may have written a lot but that's not all. I believe that in May of this year we will have a pleasant opportunity to meet in Warsaw and have a longer conversation in one of the corners of these beautiful rooms.

Until then, I remain with best wishes for good health.
Sincerely yours,
P. Nakovski (signature).

Attachment: application and CV from Miss Beata Ristovska, who personally came to the representative office and expressed her desire to work as a secretary. (My suggestion and recommendation is to hire her.) For your reference, I am also submitting catalogues of Polish office furniture and prices in zloti (1 USD equals 2.32 new zloti).

April 10, 1995, Monday

At 10:00 at the Polish Foreign Ministry - Consular Department, regarding the question of why five of our citizens were not allowed to enter Poland. They asked me for information about the suspects. In the afternoon, I received the requested information by fax from Skopje and handed it over to the head of the Consular Department, who promised me that the reasons would be carefully reviewed.

April 11, 1995, Tuesday

At 13:00 I called T. Chemerski at the Ministry of Economy regarding the issue of the group of Polish journalists who did not receive accreditation. I asked for data. He informed me that he would send it to me by fax.

An hour later I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking me to provide them with information regarding the visit to the Republic of Macedonia by Kinkel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany. In this regard, I contacted the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and received the requested information by fax, which I sent to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 16:37.

April 12, 1995, Wednesday

Jon Ivanovski dictated to me over the phone the composition of the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia that would travel to Krakov for the

CEI conference to be held from April 21 to 22. I asked him to confirm the composition by fax. After half an hour the fax arrived. Composition of the delegation: Stevo Tsrvenkovski, Nakovski, Ivanovski, Misailovski (he was always present where he was of no use), Stevchevski and Tripkova, as technical secretary.

I called the Diplomatic Protocol and conveyed the composition of the delegation.

April 13, 1995, Thursday

At 14:00 at my request, I was received at the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Affairs. Interlocutors – Kachor and Shcherbiniski, directors of departments in the Ministry. I conveyed the wishes of the Macedonian Ministry to them. They promised to get in touch and arrange future cooperation. We arranged the next meeting to be held after the Catholic Easter holidays.

At 14:30 I was received at the Ministry of Health. The entire conversation was about cooperation between the two ministries. After the meeting, I requested by fax from the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the content of the conversation be conveyed to the Macedonian Ministry of Health, with a reminder that the two ministries had previously agreed on a meeting in Warsaw.

At 15:00 a phone call from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They asked me to call back about an important matter. I took a taxi to the Ministry where they handed me a letter from President Lech Walesa in response to the letter from President Kiro Gligorov.

April 14, 1995, Friday

I have been sorting through the notes from the conversations all day. I checked what I had sent to Skopje so far. I asked by fax to be informed whether my faxes regarding the

conversations had been delivered to the relevant ministries. No answer. No answer regarding my status, the status of the representative office, no answer on whether our ministries and companies had accepted the offered cooperation, no answer as to whether or when I would be provided with stamps. Silence. Later I found out that almost all of our representative offices were under the jurisdiction of Risto Blazhevski, called Pirts, and Giorgi Misailovski, his assistant. Later, after the NATO bombing of Serbia, they would call me by phone almost every day (I had asked only to be contacted by fax) to get in touch with the numerous Polish companies that had offered and requested cooperation with Macedonian companies, and they put all the requests in a drawer. They hoped that Macedonia would return to the old flock but, in the meantime, their hopes were erased that in a possible new community they would be among the top diplomats. The little sparrow had flown away, Messrs. Blazhevski and Misailovski. There was no going back!

It's warm outside today, 12 degrees, sunny and pleasant weather.

April 15, 1995, Saturday

At 07:15 I called Kosturski, an advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, almost sidelined, without any responsibilities, but with connections and contacts with influential people, primarily close to President Kiro Gligorov. I told him what the state of affairs was here, in Warsaw, and that there had been no response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the readiness of the Polish side to cooperate with Macedonia. He said that he understood me and that he would talk to the President of the Republic.

It's Saturday and Warsaw hasn't woken up yet. The morning sun announced a warm day. The bells of the Catholic churches announced the first day of Easter. The churches were filled with worshippers. On the other side of the street, opposite the building of the Macedonian representative office, there was a

large, I would say enormous, Catholic church. Every hour, worshippers entered and left in shifts.

Around 10:00 we went for a walk in Vilanuv. A beautiful park. The palace of King Jan Sobjeski, the one who defeated the Turks near Vienna, was closed. We returned around 16:00. A fax arrived with information regarding the visit of the German Minister, Kinkel. I no longer needed it. From the fax I had received on April 13, which contained clippings from "Nova Makedonija" and "Vecher", I had prepared extensive information regarding Kinkel's visit and submitted it to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

April 16, 1995, Sunday

At 10:00 Avramchev arrived. He had invited us to visit on the Easter holidays. We left for Zhirarduv. A beautiful, warm, spring day. The Avramchevs welcomed us very warmly. I gave the three women, the mother and two sisters, three red roses, and old Dimitar and the brothers-in-law a bottle of wine. We returned to Warsaw at 18:30.

Today is the second day of Catholic Easter. According to the long, centuries-old tradition, believers go to church from early morning until late afternoon. With them, especially children, they bring baskets with beautifully decorated eggs, bread, cheese and pieces of sausage. The priest blesses them and the believers, leaving a portion for the souls, return home.

April 17, 1995, Monday

Today I am also "at home", that is, in the office. I am organizing notes. According to tradition, Poles splash water on each other for fun and health. No one is angry. The day is called "Wet Monday" ("Влажен понеделник") and almost everyone is doused with water that day.

In the afternoon we went for a walk. In the evening Tanja called.

April 18, 1995, Tuesday

At 09:00 I called Pozhniak at the Diplomatic Protocol and after the brief, usual conversation, I asked him what had been decided with the diplomatic ID cards.

- I don't have an answer yet but I know there is quite a lively discussion about it. As soon as I get an answer, I will contact you.

"I'll be patient," I said and thanked him for the information.

So accreditation was not certain. We continued with anonymity, but also wondering whether it would be better to pack up and return to Skopje, so whatever will be, will be.

At 10:00 State Secretary Mihalski received me at the Ministry of Finance. During the thirty-minute conversation, I informed him of the desire and readiness of the Macedonian Ministry of Finance to establish contacts and, within that framework, to initiate talks at an expert level on signing a cooperation agreement that would cover issues in the areas of investments, double taxation and other agreements under their jurisdiction, which would contribute to strengthening mutually beneficial cooperation. State Secretary Mihaliski emphasized that the Polish Ministry of Finance was pleased to be establishing contacts and cooperation with the Macedonian Ministry and expressed readiness in that sense, noting that the meeting and talks could begin in the second half of May, and cooperation agreements could be signed in June in Warsaw at the Ministerial level. He continued by stating that the Polish Ministry would make available all signed agreements with other countries as templates and emphasized that regarding future cooperation, the Polish Minister would expect an appropriate letter from the Macedonian Minister.

I sent the contents of the conversation by fax to Skopje.

At 15:10 the advisor to the Minister of Finance, Mr. Boni Kazhimiezh called me on the phone and suggested that a meeting

of experts from the two ministries of finance be held in Skopje from May 22 to 26. Immediately after the conversation, I informed the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this by fax, requesting feedback and proposals from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Macedonia.

I didn't get an answer.

In the meantime, I was called to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and after a brief, customary conversation, they gave me a copy of the note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. They told me that it had only arrived today, April 18th.

The content of the note reads:

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Number: 1104-1013/1

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour to inform that Dr. Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will arrive in Warsaw to open the Liaison Office of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw and organize the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

Dr. Petre Nakovski has been appointed Head of the Liaison Office of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia kindly requests the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland to assist Dr. Petre Nakovski in carrying out all formalities related to all these activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia avails itself of this opportunity to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland to reiterate the assurances of its highest respect.
Skopje, March 1, 1995.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND
WARSAW

(Copy in the author's archive)

I, under the pressure and insistence of Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski and Undersecretary Viktor Gaber, had left Skopje on March 8 and arrived in Warsaw on March 9, and the note dated March 1, 1995 had reached the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 18, almost a month after my arrival in Warsaw. This raises the question: who hid the note and sent it to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs a month after my appointment as Head of the Liaison Office?

Today marks 40 days of our stay in Warsaw. A day with sad symbolism. With expressions of regret for the Liaison Office, as is customary, we commemorated that period of 40 days, for which the lawyers in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had only one legal explanation: since the Americans are opening liaison offices, why shouldn't we follow their example?!

April 19, 1995, Wednesday

I woke up at five in the morning. I once again read that same note from March 1, 1995, which was given to me for review while I was in Skopje. Even then I told myself that the work would not go well with a "liaison office". The explanations and advice that Ambassador Vania Toshevski and I presented to Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski did not help, as he had only one explanation:

- I don't understand this, go to Gaber and his lawyers.

The work with the "liaison office" in Warsaw did not work out. I was bothered by the question: where did the "legal service" in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs find the legal basis? For me it was not enough what the lawyers Viktor Gaber and Verka Mitanovska told me:

- If the Americans can have a Liaison Office here, why can't we have one in other countries?

Is that a legal explanation?

Then I read them the note from 1993, which stated that the two countries would establish diplomatic relations at the level of Embassies and at the rank of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors.

I was trying to explain to myself: why had the promised government decision to establish diplomatic relations and open an Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw been withdrawn or had it been kept silent? What kind of game was this? Who was behind it? I remembered it very well: on July 6, 1994, at the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Tsrvenkovski and Olehovski in Warsaw, in which I also participated, the question of opening Embassies was raised. Then Minister Olehovski told Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski that Poland was ready to open an Embassy in Skopje, emphasizing that "this is something we really need right now", to which he received a confirmed answer from Tsrvenkovski.

In a conversation, I reminded Tsrvenkovski of this promise of his. The answer was brief:

"I don't remember," he told me.

I put the diplomatic notes aside and reached for the book "Diplomatic and Consular Law" by Julian Sutor. Here's what I read on pp. 42-43:

"Special quasi-diplomatic (quasi-diplomacy) and quasi-consular bodies."

Practice also knows cases of setting up special bodies, which actually perform the functions of diplomatic missions between states, namely political missions. This is usually practiced in a situation of incompletely regulated issues related to the concluded war. For example, Austria after the end of World War II until 1955, that is, until the signing of the State Treaty, which was a peace treaty, exchanged "political representatives" with various countries. (p. 42)

"Also in a situation where states do not recognize each other or when this is only partial, for example, de facto, they can, for the purpose of maintaining contacts with each other, open

permanent political missions, which bear various names. On the basis of a special agreement, these missions enjoy a certain part of the privileges and immunities. Such missions functioned until March 1979 in relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. They had a quasi diplomatic character and were called liaison offices. Such offices ceased to operate in March 1979 after diplomatic relations were established between the two countries and were renamed Embassies. A similar status is now enjoyed by the special "Institute" appointed by the President of the United States, which is authorized to represent U.S. interests in Taiwan, with which the United States ceased to maintain official diplomatic relations after the establishment of relations with the People's Republic of China in 1978." (p. 43)

Now I understood where the concept and practice of "liaison office" came from, and it was even clearer to me why my Polish interlocutors in the Polish Foreign Ministry and the Diplomatic Protocol had frowned and accepted our position on opening a Liaison Office in Warsaw with disapproval. Now I even understood the slightly mocking tone of a high-ranking official in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who quietly said: "Lord, forgive them, they do not know what they are doing."

The United States opened a liaison office in Skopje, as there were no diplomatic relations between the two countries. The U.S. was using its diplomatic experience, which in practice worked well and produced results, and both sides were satisfied.

And immediately, like a thunderbolt, the question arose:

- Why was the Republic of Macedonia, which had already established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Poland, opening a Liaison Office in Warsaw? Was it out of ignorance and lack of knowledge or under the influence of the American diplomatic experience, which in our case did not correspond with the agreed positions? I was more inclined to judge that this was merely subservience rather than ignorance, which now negatively reflected on the position of the "Liaison Office", which could only be called - ANONYMITY!

For practical reasons, only in the absence of diplomatic relations did the opening of “liaison offices”, “institutes”, “political representations” become necessary. I presented this understanding to the authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but someone should explain it to the legal service, the undersecretary and some others who “know a lot” (from that circle, let them exclude poor Stevo Tsrvenkovski, who by education, profession and work experience had nothing to do with diplomacy) about what a “liaison office” is and why, in conditions where diplomatic relations have already been established between the two countries, the Republic of Macedonia was opening a “liaison office” in Warsaw, which only humiliated and insultsedthe other side.

Starting today, in all faxes and reports that I send to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I will put the title “liaison office” in quotation marks.

It is always useful to read something else, not just the required reading in which the term “liaison office” does not appear. That coinage was borrowed and did not suit Macedonian needs at all. But someone succumbed to it.

At 09:30 the secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs called me and said that S. Tsrvenkovski had left for New York and would replace Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev at the CEI conference. I asked her to confirm the information by fax. During the day a fax arrived with the new composition of the delegation.

I went back to the book by Julian Sutor and, on page 44, read:

“When it comes to so-called quasi-diplomacy, it finds application in special situations, when in practice certain state functions abroad are performed by certain institutions outside the circle of diplomacy and consular service, using this position as a privileged status. They do not officially represent the state and do not have a diplomatic character, despite the fact that they perform some official functions with the tacit consent of the receiving state. Such functions can be performed in certain circumstances by, among others, chambers of commerce, tourist and information

agencies, etc. This form of quasi-diplomacy was used, among others, by Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia before and after the initial period of recognition of their independence in 1991 by several countries, but before the official establishment of diplomatic relations."

April 20, 1995, Thursday

A fax arrived. They announcee that a committee had been formed to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. The ceremonial academy would be held on May 5 in Skopje. They were requesting two representatives from Poland. I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. No one from the authorities was available. I would call on Monday, April 24.

Stoiche Jakimovski from the Macedonian Ministry of Finance called. They accepted a meeting and discussions at the expert level. They would also send a fax.

Today is Holy Thursday. According to Orthodox custom, Ditta dyed the eggs before sunrise.

During the day, I prepared a memo for Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev to help him in his talks with the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vladislav Bartoshevski, during the CEI conference to be held in Krakov.

In the afternoon Ditta and I went for a walk. We walked along the canal where Poles also walk. More dogs than people. Incredible affection for dogs of all breeds, including hungry street dogs. We always bring bread for them.

April 21, 1995, Friday

At 10:10 I flew to Katovitse. The day was calm, warm and sunny. On the plane, the unresolved status of the Macedonian representation was on my mind and constantly worried me. I was sure that until a new decision was made, the Polish side would remain silent. However, could internal divisions and political

tensions and upheavals push someone to take a different, more rigorous stance towards the Republic of Macedonia?

I was increasingly concerned and disturbed by the refusal of the competent Polish diplomatic services of the status of the Macedonian mission – a liaison office, instead of an Embassy, a position agreed on in Skopje in 1993. I am concerned that even their tacit relationship could end with possible negative and far-reaching consequences. This was reflected almost every day in all contacts with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Protocol.

The plane landed at the airport in Katovitse at 11:00. I was greeted by people from the Diplomatic Protocol, the liaison officer with the Macedonian delegation and the voivode (Mayor) of Katovitse. At 14:35 the small plane carrying the Macedonian delegation, headed by Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev, landed. After a short break, we set off by car for Krakov, where the airport was closed due to certain technical work. It was only the two of us in the car – Dimitar Belchev and I. I took this opportunity, during the entire trip, to introduce him to the problems and difficulties I had encountered. He agreed that we had made a big mistake with the Liaison Office and that another solution should be found as soon as possible. I gave him my text regarding some of my thoughts about the Liaison Office.

We arrived in Krakov before sunset. We quickly settled into our hotel rooms at the "FORUM" Hotel and went down to the conference hall. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the CEI member states and associated countries was already underway. It was chaired by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vladislav Bartoshevski, a highly respected diplomat who had frequently been arrested and imprisoned under the previous regime.

At 19:30 we left the hotel by bus and, according to the program, visited the old part of Krakov. At 20:00, in the oldest Krakov restaurant "Viezhinek" (Wierzynek), there was an official lunch for the ministers of Foreign Affairs, the ambassadors, the bosses and the delegations. Jon Ivanovski made every effort with

the Diplomatic Protocol to secure a place for, as he told them, the Macedonian Ambassador, meaning the head of the Liaison Office. He returned sweaty and nervous. He approached me and said:

- Nothing...

- Of course, Jon, nothing. Calm down. For me there is still no place there. I'll sit where the invitation has assigned me.

It is worth mentioning that after I filled out the registration form at the reception, Ambassador Hmielevski approached me, with whom we greeted each other warmly, hugging each other, and then he said to me:

- The invitation regarding the academy in Skopje, which is planned for May 5, was just delivered to me by my secretary. We need to find time to talk about it.

I agreed and, lo and behold, right now in the restaurant, on the ground floor, we were sitting next to each other with Ambassador Hmielevski. It was more useful for me here because I had something to talk about and someone to talk to.

The Ambassador told me that the invitation for the participation of two Poles in the festivities to be held in Skopje on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II was delivered late and that Poland, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sent its representatives everywhere. It was good that Macedonia invited us but it should send a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the same time an invitation, only after fulfilling this condition would we proceed as necessary.

- Regarding this remark (I would say due to the ignorance in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), I would inform the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but not until Tuesday, April 25 because we were closed before that due to the Easter holidays.

- It's late – he said. – And regarding your colleague's efforts to have you at lunch in the company of ministers and ambassadors, it is not possible, because according to Diplomatic Protocol, your Liaison Office does not have the rank of a diplomatic mission.

I did not react to this and we moved on to other topics, namely:

- The political consultations to be held around May 15.

- The Polish Ministry of Defense was willing to talk to the Macedonian one. In this regard, he suggested that I contact the Chief of the Polish General Staff, General Tadeush Viletski, through the mediation of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He believed that a meeting between the two chiefs was possible: Viletski-Bosinov. He further suggested that the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov, send an official invitation to the President of the Polish Sejm, Zich, who, according to his knowledge, was ready to accept the invitation and that such a meeting would be very useful for both countries.

After lunch, around 22:00, Jon Ivanovski approached me and said:

- Unfortunately, I couldn't do anything...

- Don't worry, Jon. The problem lies elsewhere and it's in Skopje.

- I know. They told me that in Macedonia you can be anything you want but, in this case since you are not accredited, for them, meaning the Diplomatic Protocol, you are just a member of the Macedonian delegation.

- Tell this to the "smart" people in Skopje. Did you expect any other answer? What other answer did you expect, other than the one they gave you? - I asked and did not expect an answer. I saw that he was very confused. - Don't worry, Jon - I patted him on the shoulder - The time for smart and sensible people will come...

We returned to the hotel around 22:30. In the suite of Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev, we once again "raised" the issue of the Liaison Office. Conclusion: a rash action had been taken.

I went to bed at 00:00. I woke up at 02:30 and couldn't sleep again. I thought about everything, including the "liaison office" case, and I was becoming more and more convinced that I had to write to President Kiro Gligorov and Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski.

SaturdayApril 22, 1995, Saturday

The day began exactly according to the schedule: 08:30 breakfast; 09:30 the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the CEI member states began.

At 12:20 Ambassador Hmielevski approached me. We walked further away from the table. He said:

- On May 3, Poland's national holiday, President Lech Walesa is hosting a cocktail party for the Diplomatic Corps. We would like to invite you, sir, but until then your Minister of Foreign Affairs should send a letter to our Minister appointing you as the acting official.

In a completely calm tone, I thanked him and asked him to say the same to Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev, who represented Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski here.

He agreed. I sat down in my seat. After two or three minutes, Dimitar Belchev came. I told him about the conversation with Ambassador Hmielevski.

After the press conference (12:40) we met: Hmielevski, Belchev, Misailovski and I. Hmielevski stated the same thing he had told me and asked in surprise:

- Why did you lower the level of your diplomatic representation so much? We have established diplomatic relations and you don't need, I mean Macedonia doesn't need, quasi-diplomacy.

Belchev:

- We have taken the first step, secured premises, now we will equip them, and as for the letter to your Minister, I promise you that you will receive it.

And Misailovski on this:

- We can write it too. I would write it myself.

Belchev: - Don't get involved in matters where you are not needed!

At 13:15 we left to visit the Royal Palace.

At 13:35 Piekarski, the director of the Diplomatic Protocol, approached me and said:

- Mr. Nakovski, during lunch Mr. Belchev will sit on the left side of Minister Bartoshevski.

- Thank you, Mr. Director - I told him - I highly appreciate this gesture and I will immediately convey it to Mr. Belchev.

And Belchev, when I told him the news, widened his eyes in amazement and said:

- This is unexpected and very, very significant. This is a sign of special treatment for our country.

I told him:

- Take advantage of the opportunity and be careful what you say regarding the diplomatic-consular representation. The gesture has meaning but it is not accidental.

During lunch (the conversation was conducted in German), Minister Bartoshevski and Undersecretary Belchev also raised the issue of our delegation. I glanced at them secretly and they at me as well. At one point, Director Piekarski leaned his head from behind the back of the representative of the European Bank and in a pleading tone, asked me:

- Mr. Nakovski, when will we receive the letter from your Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the Embassy of Macedonia in Warsaw?

I smiled and said:

- Soon, Mr. Director, and please just have a little patience and until then, I ask you to see me for dinner or lunch. There are other topics to discuss regarding the relations between the two countries. We don't have to discuss only the Embassy issue, right?

I accepted but after May 10th. Lunch ended. The conversation between Minister Bartoshevski and Undersecretary Belchev continued. I apologized, saying that I had to leave for Warsaw. I said goodbye. Minister Bartoshevski shook my hand firmly, saying – we will see each other in Warsaw. I thanked him for the kind and reassuring words regarding the relations between the two countries and left the room.

I quickly gathered my things from the hotel room and went straight to the train station in Krakov in the official car of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I arrived in Warsaw at 18:50. On the table was a fax from the Ministry of Finance. The proposal for a meeting and expert level talks was accepted.

Good. That was what I expected.

April 23, 1995, Sunday

Easter

If we had a table, we would set it solemnly for Easter according to all the old Orthodox customs, just as our mothers used to set it in our homes. Silently and sadly we greeted each other, broke red Easter eggs with our eyes filled with tears. For the first time, we welcomed and celebrated the Great Holiday without our children. Sadness and pain in our souls...

We used the day for a longer walk in the park in Vilanuv. At 18:00 I called Milenka. They were all together. We exchanged greetings and good wishes. We tried to leave the sadness behind during the long walk. We returned at 19:30. I decided to write a letter to President Kiro Gligorov and Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski. I wrote down my initial thoughts. I would write the letters tomorrow.

April 24, 1995, Monday

I sent a detailed report about the CEI conference in Krakov to the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I called the company “Polish Office Furniture” (“Polskie meble biurowe”). We agreed that tomorrow, April 25th at 09:00, their interior architect would come and quote a price, and then we would make a sketch of the ground floor and its furnishings.

As of today, I have completed all the planned protocol meetings in Polish ministries, relevant government offices and a number of private companies. I am satisfied with the talks, the

readiness and promises of the Polish interlocutors for cooperation with Macedonia.

In the evening I wrote the letters to President Kiro Gligorov and Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski and at 22:56 I sent them by fax.

I am attaching both letters below.

To
His Excellency
Kiro Gligorov
President
of the Republic of Macedonia
Skopje

Mr. President,

I am honoured to inform you that, although incomplete, the Macedonian diplomatic mission in Warsaw has been operating for the past two months under quite complicated conditions. The mission is located in its own premises which, in my opinion, can meet the needs of the Republic of Macedonia for the next ten years. There is still much to be done, primarily of a technical nature, but this will be a matter of time and financial possibilities.

The very news that our diplomatic mission is being opened in Warsaw delighted many of our Polish friends, our sincere lobbyists, as well as the Macedonian community living in Poland. Frequent phone calls confirm this almost every day. Unfortunately, only one Macedonian expressed great doubt about the need to open our mission in Warsaw. So be it, such people exist.

Mr. President,

I have long felt the need to write to you. If I have not done so, it was only because I hoped that the difficulties that arose would soon be resolved. However, they are of a deeper nature. I have regularly informed you in my telegrams but I feel that some things I should bring up in this letter.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed dissatisfaction from the very beginning with the low rank of the Macedonian diplomatic mission. The Poles did not expect that the Republic of Macedonia would open a "liaison office", a term which, according to Polish diplomatic theory and practice, means almost nothing. They also cannot find a legal basis to accredit the head of the "liaison office". They consider this to be quasi-diplomacy in a situation where the two countries have established full diplomatic relations.

I browsed through a lot of relevant literature and allow me to quote a few fragments from the book "Diplomatic and Consular Law" by Dr. Julian Sutor, which is a basic textbook in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1. **"Practice recognizes cases of establishing special bodies that actually perform the functions of diplomatic missions between states, namely political representations. This is usually practiced in a situation of incompletely regulated issues related to the aftermath of World War II. For example, Austria, after the end of World War II until 1955, that is, until the signing of the State Treaty, which was a peace treaty, exchanged "political representatives, political missions" with various countries. (p. 43)**
2. **Also, in situations where states do not recognize each other or when this is only partial, for example de facto, they can, for the purpose of maintaining contacts with each other, open permanent political missions, which bear various names. On the basis of a special agreement, these missions enjoy certain privileges and immunities. Such missions functioned until March 1979**

in relations between the United States and China. They had a quasi-diplomatic character and were called liaison offices. (sub.P.N.) They enjoyed diplomatic privileges and immunities. Such offices ceased to operate after diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. A similar status is now used by the special "Institute" called by the President of the United States, which is authorized to represent the interests of the United States in Taiwan, with which the United States ceased to maintain official diplomatic relations. (p.43)

3. **"When it comes to so-called quasi-diplomacy, it finds application in special situations (...). It does not officially represent the state and does not have a diplomatic character, despite the fact that it performs some official functions with the tacit consent of the host state. Such functions in certain circumstances can be performed, among others, by chambers of commerce, tourist bureaus, information agencies, etc. Such a form of quasi-diplomacy was used by, among others, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia before and after the period of recognition of their independence in 1991 by several states, but before the official establishment of diplomatic relations." (p. 44).**

So much for Polish diplomatic theory and practice, which has greatly affected our representation. Namely, for almost two months now I have not been accredited, I do not

have diplomatic credentials and I am practically a foreigner. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is accommodating me when making protocol visits to other ministries, however, it does all this quietly, raising the question: until when? According to Polish regulations, in such a situation and with an undetermined status in diplomacy, I practically have to report to the Office of Foreigners at the end of the third month of my stay in Warsaw and obtain the status of a foreigner.

The "Liaison Office" of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw is practically anonymous. I have a number of examples to give but I will focus only on one: on April 22 of this year, during the Conference of Ministers of the CEI member states, Ambassador Hmielevski called me aside and said: - "On May 3 (Poland's national holiday) President Lech Walesa will host a cocktail for the Diplomatic Corps. We want to invite you, we want Macedonia to be present, especially since the entry of each diplomat will be formally announced by their full name, position and country. I think that means something to Macedonia. However, in order for us to be able to do that, your Minister will have to write a letter to our Minister informing him that he is appointing you as the Chargé d'Affaires and that way you will be accredited with the Minister. Such are the rules in diplomacy..." I thanked him and asked him to convey the same to Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev.

Mr. President,

I know that everything I am writing to you is unpleasant, however, I would not be living up to the trust placed in me if I did not report on such important issues. This concerns the state and national dignity, the honour and pride of the Republic of Macedonia, not me.

Most likely out of ignorance and some admiration, here, a great power like the USA is opening a Liaison Office in Skopje, so why shouldn't we do the same? Yes, but the USA

opened a Liaison Office under conditions where they did not have diplomatic relations with the Republic of Macedonia. We are opening a Liaison Office in Warsaw in conditions of fully established diplomatic relations between the two countries. Personally I ask for nothing, but for Macedonia – I am asking for everything! I am asking for the status to be changed so that the name of the Republic of Macedonia is not ridiculed. Our country has a representative office in Warsaw, however, it is anonymous, not accredited, and has no right to diplomatic privileges and immunity. But above all, the most important thing is – our name, our dignity and honour – both state and national!

May 3, the national holiday of the Republic of Poland, is approaching. According to diplomatic principles and customs, if a diplomatic mission does not display its national (state) flag – the host country considers it an insult. Since I am not accredited, if I display our flag, then I could be subject to punishment for displaying the flag of a foreign country. These are the Polish regulations. If I do not display it, however, this could also be considered an offense.

Mr. President,

Please, use your authority and do everything in your power to change this status of anonymity as soon as possible. Call Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev and he will tell you everything that was said to him by senior officials of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and personally by Vladislav Bartoshevski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland. Please do not allow the name of Macedonia to be mocked or tarnished. I deeply and sincerely believe in you and solely because of your belief that I will perform this duty well, I take the liberty to write to you openly and honestly.

Please, Mr. President, accept my sincere espressions of deep and highest respect.
Sincerely yours,

Warsaw, April 24, 1995 Dr. Petre Nakovski (s.r.)

At the same time, I sent a fax to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with the following content:

Personally by hand for Minister
Stevo Tsrvenkovski

Mr. Minister,

I am sure that Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev conveyed to you the messages and greetings from Mr. Vladislav Bartoshevski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, as well as from Ambassador Hmielevski, and also his impressions from the conversation with me regarding the current status of our mission. For my part, I would like to add:

- **As I reported in my telegrams, on several occasions, the Polish Foreign Ministry tacitly accepted the opening of a Liaison Office and so far, almost two months later, I am still not accredited because they cannot find a legal basis to accredit a head of a representative office (liaison office) which, in conditions of fully established diplomatic relations between the two countries, lowers the rank, is contrary to the exchanged notes on the establishing diplomatic relations and represents quasi-diplomacy.**
- **Only countries that do not have established diplomatic relations open liaison offices.**
- **Our representative office already has excellent premises that can meet the needs of the Republic of Macedonia for the next ten years - all that remains is to equip it with the**

necessary equipment and furniture as soon as possible so that it can function normally.

-If the status does not change next month, in that case, after three months of residence, according to local regulations, I will have to register with the Foreigners' Office and obtain foreign status.

-Because I am not accredited, I still cannot open a bank account and I still cannot obtain diplomatic credentials.

-Our representative office is operating in a situation of anonymity, the Polish side has accepted it but for how long?

-Do whatever is necessary to change the status of the representative office.

-How should I act on May 3, the national holiday of Poland? If I display the Macedonian flag, the competent authorities could punish me for displaying the flag of a country whose representative office is not yet accredited, and if I do not display it, the hosts may feel offended.

-It is not without significance that Ambassador Hmielevski and Minister Bartoshevski want the Macedonian representative to be invited to the cocktail that President Lech Walesa will organize for the Diplomatic Corps on May 3, the national holiday of Poland but on the condition that you, Mr. Minister, write a letter to Polish Minister Bartoshevski stating that so and so is being sent to Warsaw to prepare the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw in the capacity of Chargé d'affaires. If there is no

letter to Bartoshevski, then there will be no accreditation. These are the rules. A diplomatic representative in a lower rank than ambassador is accredited to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that is precisely why you need to write him a letter.

I hope that you will have full understanding and will not allow Macedonia to further be ridiculed in this country. For me, I am not asking for anything that is outside the rules. Note number 1104-1013/1 of March 1, 1995 is assessed here as a complete lack of knowledge of diplomatic rules and customs. It is necessary to pay attention to both what is written and how it is written. The fact that the United States has opened a Liaison Office with us stems from the fact that there are no diplomatic relations between the United States and the Republic of Macedonia and this is allowed in diplomacy. However, when full diplomatic relations are established between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Poland, it has its own consequences and many negative aspects which, if the mistake is not corrected as soon as possible, could affect relations between the two countries.

I would like to inform you that I have also informed the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, about the problems I am facing.

I remain with expressions of highest respect and with the hope that you will urgently advocate for a change in the status of our representative office in Warsaw.

Warsaw, April 24, 1995. Dr. Petre Nakovski (s.r.)

April 25, 1995, Tuesday

As of today, I have completed all the planned protocol meetings and dicussions in Polish ministries and other state offices.

April 26, 1995, Wednesday

A very restless night. I keep waking up. Must it torment me? And the same questions over and over again - why such a lack of understanding, why such donkey-like stubbornness? Incomprehensible, but true. When my colleagues who left before me told me about the difficulties they encountered, it was incomprehensible to me. Now I am experiencing the same thing and I find it much harder. Come on, I tell myself, at least the difficulties come only from the host country, it is clear that here you have something to deal with, to manage, to show knowledge and skill. But how do you deal with your own? And others who are responsible for maintaining contact with the heads of diplomatic missions. Many telegrams and faxes often go unanswered. Rarely does anyone respond to questions, for months telegrams and faxes lie in their drawers or folders, which urgently need to be sent to the competent ministries and other state services. Go and find a way to justify yourself to the relevant ministries of the host country as to why there is still no response from the contracting party. Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev, on the road from Katovitse to Krakov, was telling me how his company sent its people as heads of trade missions abroad.

- As long as -he says- the apartment and the premises of the representative office were not furnished, the designated persons never left. Sometimes they even went for an inspection.

Unfortunately, such care does not exist now, with the exception of certain individuals. The custom (brought from Belgrade) has already taken root in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: everyone who comes from abroad brings with them a suitcase full of cigarettes and expensive drinks and perfumes, which end up in the drawers of the most responsible or with those who decide who will go abroad. This is how they ensure their favour. Macedonian diplomacy is on the wrong path. Aside from that, almost forgotten, are the famous experienced Macedonian diplomats whose knowledge and experience no one wants to use.

If you are not a member of the ruling party or do not come from the ranks or familial connections of the former rulers, do not think that you will ever go to work in a diplomatic mission. Those who have this opportunity through their knowledge and ability are rare.

At 09:15 I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The secretary told me that she had the letter I sent to the Minister on her desk, who had not yet arrived. I asked for Undersecretary Belchev. He was also gone. I left a message for him to call me back.

At 12:00 Vlado Simeonov called and reported that he had sent the wine prices by fax. Then Belchev called me. He told me that he had raised the issues we had discussed on the way from Katovitse to Krakov with the Minister and had prepared an appropriate official memo in this regard.

And... the most anticipated news: the issue of changing the status of the representative office was passed at the Government session. A decision was made to open an Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. I was relieved. A weight was lifted off my shoulders. Now, I told myself, things would proceed more smoothly. Someone had decided differently and so it would be! We celebrated the good news, albeit unofficially, sitting on plastic tourist chairs, together with Ambassador Kinetski and his wife who came at 19:45 and stayed until 22:00. The bottle of "T'ga za jyg" remained empty on the plastic table. This evening brought us even closer.

What would tomorrow bring?

With this question we went to sleep peacefully.

April 27, 1995, Thursday

From the contact at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I unofficially learned that the note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was ready. It was waiting for Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski to sign it. At 10:30 he had not yet arrived.

At 10:45 an invitation arrived by fax for the Union of Fighters of Poland to send a delegation to Skopje to participate in the celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism. I went to the headquarters of the Union of Polish Fighters. They thanked me and promised to make every effort to send a delegation.

At 14:00 I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. The secretary told me that the note was on the desk and that she did not expect the Minister to come to the Ministry today. Regarding the sign with the name of the country, at 15:30 I asked for Hriste Kotevski, head of protocol, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. First, he congratulated me on being appointed Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, then he told me that all the necessary documents, as well as the note and the letter, had been prepared and were just waiting to be signed. He said that they would certainly be sent tomorrow. Regarding the sign with the inscription "Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia" in Macedonian and Polish that should be placed on the front wall, they would tell me later. At 13:45 I called Ambassador Hmielevski and told him:

- Mr. Ambassador, I hope you will be pleased with the news that I would like to convey to you unofficially. Namely, I have been unofficially informed that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia has made a decision to open an Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw and that I have been appointed as Chargé d'Affaires.

- Sir, this is the best news I've heard in a while. Congratulations. And the note and the letter, when?

-Tomorrow.

- I am happy about the good news, and to avoid any delay, it is best to send the note and letter to Piekarski, the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, who will officially forward them to our Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry. I believe that in the meantime he will have time to prepare the invitation for the

cocktail at President Lech Walesa's on the occasion of the national holiday of May 3.

We agreed to meet after the holiday.

April 28, 1995, Friday

At 10:00 Lieutenant Colonel Dillon from the Veterans Affairs Department called and reported that due to the late receipt of the invitation and that the money to send delegations to other countries had already been spent, they were unable to send a delegation to Skopje to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism. He expressed regret and apologized.

At 10:15 I received a call from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and was informed that the Minister had signed the prepared note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; however, they would be late in sending it because an error was found in the text and they were waiting for a correction to be made, and then they would send it.

At 13:20 Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski's secretary called me.

- Petre – she said – she used the informal 'you' with everyone – It's done, five minutes ago the Minister signed the letter and note to the Polish Minister and they will be sent immediately.

I exhaled deeply, feeling relief as if a large and heavy stone had fallen from my neck. I thanked her and called the information service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia. They confirmed that the letter had been sent. I asked them to send me a copy, which I received half an hour later.

The letter, written in English and translated into Macedonian reads:

REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Bartoshevski,

I have the special honour to inform you that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia has made the decision to open an Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland. I believe that you share my opinion that the opening of a Diplomatic Mission of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland, as well as opening an Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the Republic of Macedonia will, I hope, represent a historic event in the relations between the two countries and will contribute to more substantial cooperation in all fields.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that Dr. Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, has been appointed as the Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, and I would like to kindly ask you to accept Mr. Petre Nakovski in the capacity of Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia. I am convinced that Mr. Petre Nakovski will fully carry out the mission entrusted to him, taking into account his qualities and diplomatic experience.

I take this opportunity to once again express my highest respect to Your Excellency.

Skopje, April 27, 1995 STEVO TSRVENKOVSKI
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Macedonia (s.r.)
His Excellency
Mr. VLADISLAV BARTOSHEVSKI
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Poland

Note: the letter and note (No. 1104-1942/1.) are dated April 28, 1995. (copy in the author's archive)

This date, **April 28, 1995**, marks the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland.

Starting today, the Macedonian state and national flag will fly in Warsaw.

In the empty living room, in the corner, on a dilapidated old tourist chair, Ditta sat holding the unfurled Macedonian national flag in her lap. The large golden sun lay on her knees. The sight was exciting. The needle easily passed through the red cloth and after a few minutes we threaded the flag onto the silver-coloured metal pole. We slowly fastened the pole to the balcony railing. The wind picked up the flag, spread it out, and waved it from north to south and back. I ran out into the street. I was speechless with excitement and joy. I entered the yard and on the wall under the flag with the sharp tip of a nail I scratched: MACEDONIA. Above the name that endured in slavery for centuries, under the sky of free Poland, our flag flies, the flag with our sun.

At such a sight, do you have the power to hold back tears of excitement and pride?!

I returned to the empty living room, placed the diary on my knee and wrote in large letters:

FROM TODAY, APRIL 28, 1995,
IN WARSAW, THE CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND,
WE ARE THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

And from today I will start again and continue my work with more dedication.

The opening of the Embassy was congratulated by the authorities of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries, ambassadors, numerous friends and sincere lobbyists from Polish political, business, literary, journalistic circles and numerous personalities who were friends of Macedonia. I expressed my gratitude to all of them for the recognition and support. But what surprised me the most and touched me deeply to the depths of my soul was the moment when, just three days

after the opening of the Embassy, a group of men and women knocked on my door with large bouquets of flowers in their hands. An endless surprise. I recognized them. These were my dormitory and school friends: Giorgi Statovski, now a doctor, a doctor of medicine and a respected anesthesiologist, Ioto Dimitrov, a famous sculptor and professor, Kole Naskov, a visual artist and university professor, Vangel Karpachovski, a respected surgeon, Paskal Donevski, a civil engineer, prof. dr. hab. Lefter Penovski and together with them their wives who were also academics. All former village children from Kostur, Lerin and Voden regions, in 1949 taken care of in Polish orphanages, raised and educated in Poland and today great promoters and lobbyists of Macedonia.

Here, now, in front of the entrance to the first Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, we, only a small part of the children from the far south, born in the part of Macedonia under Greece, victims of the Civil War, excited and proud stand in front of the entrance to the first Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the capital of the country that received us as children, cared for us, raised us and educated us. In her arms we grew up, became her grateful friends and wove our acquired education, knowledge, experience and love into the strong thread that permanently connects the two beloved countries – Macedonia and Poland.

There was no official opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

It was usual for such an event, in this case the first in the history of Macedonia, to be solemnly commemorated and the domestic public was informed accordingly through the media. Silence from the authorities in Skopje. Did ignorance and lack of personal culture and, on top of that, disdain and jealousy cast a shadow over the great and unique event?

But regardless, the first major step of my diplomatic mission had already been taken, and starting tomorrow the next step would bring new concrete results.

Was it easy for me?

With the opening of the Embassy in Warsaw, the Republic of Macedonia became an equal factor along with other foreign diplomatic missions in contacts with Polish state institutions, companies, associations, political, cultural, journalistic circles, etc., thus increasing the opportunities for broader contacts and cooperation.

The first outbursts of joy and satisfaction were slowly calming down and thoughts about carrying out the tasks related to my mission were multiplying.

As of today, I felt a change in the attitude towards the Macedonian diplomatic mission, which was already closer and warmer in contacts.

Over the coming days, I would prepare the list of protocol visits to foreign Embassies and renew contacts with Polish state institutions.

And I would not wait for time to overtake me. Contacts were already continuing in the new climate,.

April 29, 1995, Saturday

At 09:55 Mrs. Anna Shadurska from the Diplomatic Protocol called. She asked me to give her the exact address of our Embassy, to fax her a copy of the note and letter, and then said:

- We invite you and your wife to participate in the celebrations on May 3, the national holiday of Poland. Please come to Pilsudski Square at 11:00, to the monument of the Unknown Soldier, and at 16:00 to the Presidential Palace for cocktails.

I took the opportunity to tell her that as of today, the so-called Liaison Office had been renamed the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 12:45 the Director of Diplomatic Protocol, Mr. Piekarski, called me, and in a completely calm tone of voice, unlike previous meetings, congratulated me on the opening of the Embassy. We agreed to meet after the holiday for lunch or dinner.

In the afternoon I picked up the business cards with the following inscription:

Petre Nakovski
Charge´ d'Affaires
Ambasada Republiki Macedonii
ul. Dominikansk 15
02 – 738 Warsaw
tel./ 43 13 26

At 17:00, a courier from the Diplomatic Protocol delivered the invitations to participate in the celebrations for the National Holiday, May 3. The address of the Embassy was written on the envelope:

Mr. Petre Nakovski
Minister Councelor
Charge´ d' Affaires
FYR Macedonia
With spouse
Warsaw

In this regard, I would like to note that during the entire time of my stay in Warsaw, first as Chargé d'Affaires and then as ambassador, I constantly and persistently opposed the use of the letters F.Y.R. which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Protocol wrote before the name Republic of Macedonia, while all Polish ministries, services, offices and a large number of Embassies did not use those letters before the name Republic of Macedonia.

The text of the invitations translated into Macedonian reads: (originals in the author's personal archive):

THE PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND
Lech Walesa
Invites Mr. Petre Nakovski with his wife
to the celebrations marking the
NATIONAL HOLIDAY MAY 3

on May 3, 1995 at 12:00
on Marshal Jozef Pilsudski Square
in Warsaw
Place "S"

THE PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND
Lech Walesa with his wife
invite
Mr. Petre Nakovski with his wife
to a meeting on the occasion
NATIONAL HOLIDAY MAY 3
on Wednesday, May 3, 1995 at 16:00
at the Presidential Palace in Warsaw
Krakovskie Pshedmieshche 48/50

Attached to the invitations was pass No. 123 for the car with license plate WXV 9397 with a note that after use it must be returned to the relevant security service. I did not return it because, not having a car, I did not use it. (The original is in the author's personal archive.)

April 30, 1995, Sunday

A beautiful, sunny, cloudless day and warm, 16 degrees. Time for a walk but also time for work. Yesterday I spent the whole day preparing a monthly financial report. In the evening, at 20:20 I received a phone call from Dusko Giorgievski, who, together with the famous Macedonian actor Vukan Dinevski, dramatized my novel BED FOR THE WRETCHED. The drama had over a hundred performances and was broadcast several times by Radio Skopje. My friend surprised me. Many greetings and congratulations. At the end, he said that he was traveling to Austria and from there he would travel to Germany.

- Friend, stop in Warsaw too - I told him.
- Will you have a place for me to sleep?

- I have eight rooms and they are all empty. You can choose for yourself whether you want the bare floor or an empty corner and don't forget to bring a blanket with you.

The conversation ended with a long laugh.

May 1, 1995, Monday

Since the morning, I had been browsing the subject literature related to the execution of a diplomatic mission. I came to the conclusion that in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, those responsible were not very well-versed in this area. They did what they had probably heard incorrectly and even worse they practiced it incorrectly. They lacked the need for necessary and regular contact with the personnel of the diplomatic mission who were left to carry out all the work on their own initiative. I was amazed by the fact of underestimation and belittling, insensitivity to care for the people employed in the diplomatic-consular missions. Something must change a lot in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially the staff in responsible positions. Countless questions and countless lack of answers, most often silence that caused disappointment to some extent. I believed that with good will, professional knowledge and a positive attitude towards the problems related to the diplomatic mission in the service of the Republic of Macedonia, over time the conditions would change and, more importantly, the people. The thoughts expressed became my daily concern.

May 2, 1995, Tuesday

A cold, unpleasant, miserable day. I was 'at home' all day. I read the news in the daily newspapers, mostly news about divisions, arguments, accusations, insults, a picture of a divided and torn society, both politically and ideologically. I put the newspapers aside and turned to books that dealt with the issues of professional and quasi-diplomacy, the knowledge and experiences

of diplomats from various countries, instructive advice and warnings.

At 17:00 I turned on the old television that the owner of the house had brought me. First news: Zagreb had been attacked. I immediately called Lile Naumova, Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Zagreb. She confirmed. In an agitated tone of voice, she said that one of the explosions occurred about fifty meters from the Embassy and that she had called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Skopje and was awaiting instructions. It was possible that the Embassy would move to Liubliana. In the subsequent news on Polish television, there was increasingly disturbing information.

At 20:00 I called the Croatian Embassy in Warsaw. There was visible anxiety in the voice of the Ambassador, Dr. Ivan Brnelich. He said that the situation was disturbing and that he feared that escalation was possible and, as it started, it could become severe. We agreed to meet.

May 3, 1995, Wednesday

National holiday of the Republic of Poland. Red and white Polish flags were flying on the windows, balconies of buildings and on street poles. All of Warsaw was decorated with national flags. At 06:00, as tradition dictated, we raised the Macedonian flag on the balcony of the Embassy, and next to it the Polish flag. The few passersby stopped, looked and were probably surprised that an unfamiliar flag was flying on their street next to the Polish one. It was a beautiful sight.

Dressed in formal attire, we waited in front of the Embassy for a taxi to arrive. We got in and left. The taxi driver asked:

- Where?

- Marshal Jozef Pilsudski Square and I placed the permit number 123 in a visible spot on the windshield. In front of us, a line of Mercedes and behind them, us, in a taxi. We passed by the police officers and security who checked the list for the

authenticity and validity of the license. Grandstand “C “ was full with ambassadors, officials and their wives. We were among them. We slowly made our way and looked for a more open place with a view of the entire square where units from all branches of the Polish army were lined up. With every handshake with foreign diplomats, the name Macedonia was heard for the first time on this grandstand. The military orchestra opened the ceremony with the Polish anthem and at the same time, two officers slowly raised the national white and red Polish flag on the tall flagpole. A minute of silence. Twelve cannon salutes. A speech by President Lech Walesa followed. Then wreaths were laid at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier. The sounds of trumpets echoed to the beat of the old rebellious and freedom-fighting marches of long ago, the military parade began. With a marching step, the heartbeat of modern Poland marched forward. The end of the parade was marked by civilian delegations, above which a forest of flags fluttered.

The diplomats were getting into their Mercedes cars, which slowly left the large parking lot. A huge crowd of people walked towards the center of Warsaw. We walked among them, and stopped in front of the entrance to the Embassy, ten kilometers away from Marshal Jozef Pilsudski Square.

At 16:00 cocktails with the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa. Upon entering the large hall, I was announced:

-Pan Petre Nakovski, radca minister i Charge´ d`Affaires Macedonii w Warszawie (Mr. Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor and Charge´ d’Affaires of Macedonia in Warsaw).

It was of great importance to me that in the announcement before the entire diplomatic corps and numerous high-ranking Polish officials, the name – Macedonia, was pronounced without any additions. Macedonia sounded wonderful. With visible excitement I approached President Lech Walesa, nodded my head, and then looking him straight in the eye, I congratulated him on the national holiday and in turn did the same with his

wife, then with the President of the Sejm, (Parliament) Zich, the Prime Minister, Jozev Oleksi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bartoshevski and a number of other high-ranking state officials. Behind me walked my wife, doing the same thing.

After the announcement of the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and the celebration, a short ceremonial speech by President Lech Walesa took place, followed by activity in the hall, waiters offering a variety of drinks. Mutual introductions and acquaintances among the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and the hosts. I was unusually surprised when Prime Minister Jozev Oleksi approached me.

- Mr. Ambassador (he addressed me with the title ambassador), I am unusually happy that Macedonia has opened an Embassy in Warsaw. I, my dear, as a student in Macedonia, stayed for a month. I got to know that beautiful country inside and out, and I won't hide, one Macedonian woman as well. Together we spent unforgettable days, drank many bottles of Macedonian wine and rakija and, as you can see, I survived. I am very glad that Macedonia is now present in Warsaw. And the two of us will have to celebrate that...

Amazed by the meeting, the sincerity and warmth of the conversation, I promised him that I would soon have the pleasure and honour of sending him a bottle of Macedonian wine with the warmest intention of reminding him of his stay in Macedonia and with the expectation that the good memories would contribute to strengthening the cooperation between the two countries.

- Trust me. Macedonia is in my heart. Whoever visits it once, never forgets it. We will have the opportunity to see each other again. I wish you success...

In the months that have passed, this meeting and conversation encouraged me the most and filled me with hope.

During the cocktail I met a number of ambassadors with whom we exchanged business cards and promises of mutual visits.

A week later, through the Diplomatic Protocol of the Prime Minister, I sent Oleksi the promised bottle of Macedonian

wine “Alexandria” that I had bought at a winery in Warsaw which sold Macedonian wines.

May 4, 1995, Thursday

The secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia called. She said that Ambassador Dr. Ivan Brnelich wanted to speak with me. After greeting me, he asked if I would accept to have our morning coffee at his place. I accepted and at 09:00 we were already sitting together in the lounge furnished with beautiful old classic furniture. It seemed that the ambassador noticed my astonishment, so he said in Croatian:

- The furniture is beautiful, isn’t it? It cost one hundred thousand zloti and is a gift from a Macedonian who is the representative and head of a Macedonian company in Poland.

I wanted to tell him that I knew who that Macedonian was, but I refrained.

- Yes – I said – the furniture is exceptionally beautiful, and that Macedonian must be very generous. That’s how we are, generous, but we don’t accept gifts, which doesn’t mean there aren’t exceptions.

We continued the conversation regarding the latest events in the Republic of Croatia, which Ambassador Brnelich informed me about in detail, with a request that I appropriately convey them to Skopje. I promised him that I would do so today. After the conversation, which lasted half an hour, he walked me to the exit with a request to see each other soon. Shaking hands, he asked me:

- And does someone named Misailovski Dzhordzhe work in your Ministry?

- Yes, he came from Belgrade from the federal ministry.

- Did you meet him?

- Yes, just briefly.

It was a pleasure to meet you and I hope we will see each other regularly and collaborate.

- It would be my honour and pleasure, Mr. Ambassador.

In the following years, we met often and became good friends, and our wives became even happier friends.

At the Embassy I was waiting for a fax from the Ministry of the Republic of Macedonia requesting me to go to the Embassy of the Russian Federation and request information about Polish-Russian relations in light of the speech by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bartoshevski, in the German Parliament.

I called the Russian Embassy and asked to be received for a protocol visit to Ambassador Yuri Kashlev. They told me that the Ambassador had left for Moscow and that Chargé d'Affaires Viacheslav Fedorenko would be happy to receive me tomorrow, May 5, at 12:00.

May 5, 1995, Friday

At exactly 12:00, according to yesterday's agreement, I went to the Embassy of the Russian Federation. Chargé d'Affaires Viacheslav Fedorenko received me in his office. After the initial introductions and the usual conversation about the weather, we moved on to mutually informing each other about the situation in the two countries, with Fedorenko being most interested in Greece's relationship with Macedonia and the situation in the Balkans, then we moved on to the political climate in Europe and thus we reached the speech of Minister Bartoshevski in the German Parliament, on which Fedorenko informed me of the position of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Then we arranged to meet after Ambassador Kashlev's return.

I returned to the Embassy, wrote an appropriate note and sent it to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

May 6, 1995, Saturday

Nothing special today. Warsaw was practically empty. People were taking advantage of an extended weekend. At 18:00 Ana Traikovska, who was on duty at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, called. By profession, she was a career diplomat at

the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She advised me to insist that they send the appropriate financial resources for equipping the Embassy as soon as possible.

May 7, 1995, Sunday

From Turek and Konin (cities in Western Poland) at 11:00, Dr. Giorgi Statovski, a doctor and anesthesiologist at the Turek hospital, came to the Embassy with his wife Stavrula, originally Greek, also a doctor, and Ioto Dimitrov, a famous sculptor, who, as I have mentioned elsewhere, were accepted in Poland as children. A very cordial, pleasant and warm meeting and a long conversation about our shared fate, separations and days spent in children's homes and school desks, often remembering our hometowns. During the conversation, they expressed great satisfaction with the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, emphasizing that they were proud that their childhood and school friend was the first Macedonian ambassador in Warsaw, the first and only ambassador out of 28,000 Macedonian and Greek children taken during the Civil War in Greece and cared for in the Eastern European socialist countries.

Doctor Statovski, with tearful eyes, was just looking at the waving Macedonian flag and at one point he hugged me and, in a very excited and touched voice, crossing himself, said:

- Oh, my God, we already have our own country and our own Embassy with our own ambassador!

We hugged each other and stayed, for a long time, in a touching and emotional embrace.

All three of them had Polish citizenship. They were interested in whether they could obtain Macedonian citizenship. I told them that they could, however, Poland did not currently recognize dual citizenship.

We took them to Vilanuv for lunch. At 17:00 we returned to the Embassy and, after drinking coffee, our friends left. Both

they and we were sad and happy at the same time. Watching them get into the car and leave, I wondered:

- Why is the sadness so great after short meetings and farewells?

They went to their nests and we were left with a feeling of loneliness.

In two days, we would have been in Warsaw for two months. Two long and exhausting months. I turned to Ditta and asked her:

- What do you think, will we survive?

-With you, for sure, and don't think about the difficulties that are already behind us. Have brighter thoughts.

It's always great to have someone to support and encourage you...

May 8, 1995, Monday

In the morning, until 10:00, I watched a broadcast of the session of the Polish Sejm on television. President Lech Walesa spoke and, with his speech, both united and divided the Polish people. Listening to him, one got the impression that he started the presidential election campaign sharply and foolishly. In a state of great political turmoil and party divisions, this country did not need a speech that incited division. However, it was known that the Poles, not only now, but also in the distant past, had been overly burdened with emotions rooted in a difficult historical past and tragic national experience. Walesa was basically uneducated, but he was a leader raised from the foundations of Polish patriotism. He received support and encouragement from the greatest minds of the intellectual circles of modern Poland in his efforts and endeavours to change the imposed conditions and return to the authentic Polish reality. Poland was and is Europe and in today's Europe it was trying to find its place, belonging not only geographically but also historically. In divisions and disputes we did not differ. But we differed in something else. If in Poland the political atmosphere was created by highly educated and

experienced intellectuals and politicians, with the support of the broad masses of the people, and above all the working masses, in our country the political climate was created by uneducated individuals from the countryside without a single day of work, people from the street and taverns full of emotions, but empty of a political vision for the survival and development of the newly created state which, for them, and for the former rulers, became a profitable source of enrichment with amnesia for what a number of patriotic Macedonian minds had created. Unlike Polish politicians, who relied on the Polish tradition of love of freedom and the state and national interests that they defended even in a climate of humiliating divisions and quarrels, our politicians had found support for their ignorance, incompetence and greed for power outside of Macedonia. God forbid that humiliating sycophancy becomes a daily necessity.

The broadcast ended. Walesa stepped down from the podium and left the parliamentary hall. The quarrels continued in the Sejm.

We were no different here.

And one more thing for today:

On the first channel of Russian television there were more pictures of the demolition of monuments of Soviet soldiers in Poland.

Macedonian newspapers and television channels were increasingly reporting information and images of demolished and broken busts of Macedonian patriots and national heroes.

May 9, 1995, Tuesday

Today we began the third month of our stay in Warsaw. Day by day, everything that had been done so far was recorded. I will try to continue recording each passing day, if for nothing else, at least as a memory and perhaps as a lesson.

Since the early hours of this morning, I watched a broadcast of the military parade taking place on Red Square in

Moscow on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory over fascism. A magnificent sight.

Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksi went to Moscow despite Lech Walesa's opposition. Right-wing media on the offensive. Certain nationalist and Russophobic circles attacking. I had the impression that Polish-Russian relations were going downhill quickly.

After the broadcast, I sat down and wrote a telegram to the Investment Commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I wrote asking them to provide a stamp, a sign with the inscription "Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia", memos, Macedonian newspapers, to approve the purchase of a computer and printer, two telephones, a radio, a television, to regularly send promotional materials in the field of tourism and Macedonia in general, to approve funds for equipping the Embassy with the most necessary furniture, to hire a cleaner and a secretary, to determine the salary of the acting officer in accordance with Regulation No. 01-3186/1 of 20.8.1993. I suggested that the bedroom,which was part of the Embassy be fully furnished.

I had sent a telegram with similar content before but so far there had been no response.

May 10, 1995, Wednesday

The second day of the third month of my stay in Warsaw. After the change of status of the Macedonian diplomatic mission from Liaison Office to the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, I set two goals for my further actions: regular visits and talks in Polish state institutions with an effort to establish direct contacts with the relevant Macedonian institutions at the level of ministers or experts in all areas of cooperation and the initiation of bilateral meetings with foreign diplomatic missions in Warsaw with the aim of affirming the Republic of Macedonia in their countries. I would constantly link both goals with efforts in contacts to use the constitutional name Republic of Macedonia.

I hope that after May 17, when the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs returns from abroad, I will receive accreditation, which will make it easier for me to achieve the set goals.

Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had begun to think. Igor Popov, who replaced Verka Mitanovska, called me on the phone and said that the Investment Commission had met and decided to approve everything I had requested in my fax no. 50/95 of May 9. He emphasized that he would confirm the news to me by fax tomorrow. At the same time, he asked me to submit a draft (drawing) of the premises and a translation of the Polish text regarding the equipment. I sent him everything he asked for.

For the past few days, I've noticed a change in my wife's mood. She's visibly losing weight, which leads me to conclude that something is wrong with her health. And that's what worries me the most right now.

May 11, 1995, Thursday

Regarding the expulsion of five Macedonian citizens from the Warsaw airport, I asked the airport administration for an explanation of the reason. They had already compiled a report, according to which the five Macedonian citizens wanted to travel to Germany via the Warsaw airport, without proper documents. The border service, in accordance with the applicable laws, arrested them and sent them to Stargard Shchechinski to serve a three-month prison sentence for illegal residence and using Polish territory to travel to the West. I sent the full text of the report, translated into Macedonian, by fax to the Consular Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

Today we received the diplomatic credentials under number 140-D/1/95. Unfortunately, with errors. Only the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs used the name "F.Y. Republic of Macedonia", which caused constant arguments with certain officials in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unlike all

Polish ministries and services that used the constitutional name, "Republic of Macedonia" in their contacts with me and in their correspondence. And the second mistake: in my diplomatic credentials I was named as "Charge´ d'Affaires a.i.", whereas I was the permanent head of the mission, not temporary. I asked for a correction. As I was leaving the Ministry, I noticed that on the mailboxes mounted on the wall in front of the entrance to the Ministry, the Macedonian mailbox no longer had the inscription "F.Y.R. Macedonia", but only "MACEDONIA" in capital letters.

I returned to the Embassy and began to leaf through the Polish daily press. Long articles and comments about the disputes at the top of government. President Lech Walesa was publicly threatening to file a lawsuit in the Constitutional Court against Prime Minister Jozef Oleksi because he went to Moscow. The presidential election campaign was heating up. At the center were the disputes and arguments regarding Oleksi's stay in Moscow. Walesa was playing this card big but with small stakes, which seemed to be destroying his authority. In arguments he was weak. The results of the polls indicated this. Walesa held last place in the polls with 6% and Aleksander Kvashnievski was in first place with 28%.

The promised fax from Igor Popov did not arrive today. In the meantime, I received a fax with instructions regarding New Zealand's position on the property of the former SFR Yugoslavia. Namely, New Zealand had sealed all the property. In this regard, the instructions read, that I should contact the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to inform the authorities about the event. I should do the same at the Embassies of Slovenia and Croatia.

After completing the task, I called the secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and asked her whether the Minister had been given my telegram of May 4 regarding the possibility of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Bartoshevski officially visiting Macedonia. She told me:

-The telegram is on my table. It's too late to give it to him now. I'll remind him tomorrow.

So much for the conversation and much astonishment that a secretary was deciding important matters. It seemed that everything had gone off the rails in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

May 12, 1995, Friday

At 09:30 the secretary called me from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

- Petre – she said, the invitation for V. Bartoshevski has been written and the Minister signed it a moment ago.

- Glory to the Almighty – I said – and you shouldn't be sitting where you are sitting but where Maleski and Misailovski are sitting.

- But let them be and don't get upset.

- Of course I have no reason to be upset but send the invitation by fax.

At 12:00 I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing me that "Regarding your fax no. 50/95 of 5.5.95, we inform you that you have consent to:

1. Hire a secretary with a salary up to 800 DM;
2. Hire a driver with a salary up to 600 DM;
3. Hire a cleaner with a salary up to 400 DM.

For your needs, we have prepared the production of stamps, signs, memoranda and the purchase of a Macedonian stamp.

You also have consent to the purchase of a computer with a printer and two telephones, for which you need to submit offers. Signature: Gaber.

I tried several times to talk to Igor Popov by phone. In vain. The phone was constantly busy or he was not there. I called Gordana Gligorova and asked her to tell him to call me.

At 14:00 he called me and said:

-Biliana, the architect, is here with me, and together we are reviewing the layout of the premises at the Embassy in Warsaw.

During the telephone conversation, I provided more details and asked that the issue of equipping the Embassy be resolved as soon as possible. Biliana joined the conversation and emphasized that it did not depend on her and that she would be happy to come to Warsaw in order to assess what equipment was needed. Popov confirmed that such an option was being considered.

At 15:15 Malezanov's driver, a representative of FEROMAK – Technometal Vardar, in Warsaw, called me on the phone.

- Sir, a telegram from the Embassy of Macedonia arrived on our fax. What should I do?

- Forward it to the Embassy - I told him.

The invitation for Minister V. Bartoshevski to officially visit Macedonia was slowly coming out of the fax. It was written in English.

Why in English?

I was reminded of the day February 8, 1993, when an official delegation of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in Skopje. At that time, both sides agreed to conduct correspondence in Polish and Macedonian, which was a success for us because, in this way, the Macedonian language took its place in the ranks of diplomatic correspondence.

Was it important?

It seemed that someone really wanted to be English and had lost, or rather lacked, national awareness.

My knowledge of the Polish language opened all doors for me in Warsaw and no one asked me to communicate in English or any other language. For some, it did not matter which language was used or which script, Latin or Cyrillic, was employed. There

was no constitution for such people, only old habits or attachments.

After reading the fax, I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked for Ambassador Hmielevski. He was absent. I asked his secretary to tell him that I had received two important telegrams from the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that I would like to deliver them to him personally.

Minister V. Bartoshevski was in Israel. He would return on Saturday. If I didn't deliver the invitation today it would not arrive on his desk until Monday, along with many other important materials. That's why I decided to deliver the invitation today, telling the secretary that it was very urgent.

At 15:20 Artur Ozhehovski, an advisor to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called me and told me that Ambassador Hmielevski was too busy outside the building and had authorized him to receive me. I called a taxi and went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ozhehovski was waiting for me in front of the main entrance to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building. I handed him the invitation in his office on the second floor. He expressed his satisfaction, saying that it would be handed over to Minister V. Bartoshevski on Monday (May 15). I took the opportunity to convey to him the contents of the note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand, in which our side was informed that the Government of that country had seized all the property of the former SFRY and, regarding the division of the property, I informed him of the instructions received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

After the conversation I returned to the Embassy and sent faxes to several companies asking them to submit offers for equipping the Embassy. I received a whole bunch of offers by fax. I also received offers for the purchase of a computer, printer and telephones. During today and tomorrow, I would review them

and send them by fax to the Investment Commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

The big promises of a quick solution to the problem of equipping the Embassy somehow were not being fulfilled. Someone told me that I would have to wait a long time.

In the evening, around 18:00, Dr. Emilia Avramcheva arrived. She examined Ditta and prescribed a whole bunch of medications. She stayed until 21:30. Now, as a doctor, she worked at the local clinic and, in addition, she had her own practice. I was amazed by her optimistic mood and cheerfulness. She was full of energy and had many plans. Emilija often visited us and became our family doctor. We grew to respect and love her and her loved ones very much.

From the Diplomatic Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I received a copy of the letter delivered to BANK HANDLOWY, ODDZIAŁ W WARSZAWIE (Commercial Bank, branch in Warsaw) by which Petre Nakovski, the executive officer, had the right to open a current bank account. (copy of the letter in the author's personal archive).

May 13, 1995, Saturday

It rained all day. It poured. The day was boring. In the evening news we heard that in Greece, near the city of Kozhani, there was an earthquake that was felt in Skopje. In the late evening news, Polish television reported that the Social Democratic Party had chosen Aleksander Kvashnievski as its candidate for the president of Poland, who had been leading the polls for months. In the upcoming presidential elections his opponent would be the current president, Lech Walesa. The election campaign would begin on Monday.

May 14, 1995, Sunday

It rained all day. At noon Gotse Malezanov called. He said that a decision had been made for the commercial representative office to cease operations starting June 1. We agreed to meet at 18:00.

Television channels were unanimous in claiming that large mass protests would begin tomorrow, with the start of the election campaign.

May 15, 1995, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Finance contacted me by fax at 09:00, and then by phone asking to postpone the talks between the two ministries. They suggested that instead of holding the talks from May 22-26, they be moved to May 29-June 2, or a week later.

I immediately notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, by fax, of the proposed change in the time for the meeting and discussions, requesting that the fax be forwarded to the Macedonian Ministry of Finance.

I was surprised by the decision to close the representative office of Techno-Metal Vardar in Warsaw. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this, pointing out the harmfulness of such a step. I did not expect any positive action would be taken. Privatization was being ruthlessly swallowed up.

I was also surprised by the information I received from our compatriot Dimitar Mandzhunovski, my school friend and a citizen of Poland, that a group of Macedonians who came from Germany to establish private companies were staying in Warsaw. They did not report to the Embassy.

This afternoon I sent a letter of congratulations to the poet Vislava Shimborska, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, whose selection of poetry I had translated and published in Skopje, with a wonderful foreword by Ante Popovski.

Late in the evening Dr. Giorgi Statovski called me on the phone and informed me that a group of eight Macedonian-Polish families would be holding a meeting in Poznania and invited me to join them. I thanked him for the invitation with congratulations and wishes for a successful meeting, but due to commitments in Warsaw I regretfully told him that I would not be able to attend.

May 16, 1995, Tuesday

At 09:00 I called Ambassador Hmielevski. We arranged a meeting for Friday, May 19 at 11:00. Topics for discussion: consultations, my accreditation, Minister V. Bartoshevski's visit to Macedonia.

At 10:00 I went to the Bank Handlovu where I filled out the necessary forms to open a bank account. It would be ready on Thursday, May 18th.

The Polish Ministry of Nature Protection requested an explanation, by fax, whether Macedonia had a ban on the export of turtles in accordance with the Washington Convention. I contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax, requesting appropriate information from the competent institution in Macedonia. In the meantime, Marko Shapkarev (a Macedonian by father and Polish by mother) called me by phone and informed me that he wanted to transport 2,000 turtles from Macedonia to Poland. I explained to him that I was waiting for a response from Skopje regarding this issue.

At 17:00 the driver from the Bulgarian Embassy brought me an invitation to attend a performance by the BUFO Theater from Sofia (starting at 19:00) and then at 21:00 there would be cocktails on the occasion of the Bulgarian Culture Days. I called Ambassador Iani on the telephone (who always calls me Brother Macedonian and claimed that his grandparents came from Kukush), thanked him for the invitation and apologized for not

attending because I had a meeting with Polish businessmen at that time.

Gaber called me on the phone. He said that he had approved the purchase of two phones, a computer and a printer and that the architect Biliana would not come to survey the premises but, based on the measurements of the premises already obtained, would suggest what furniture would be needed to furnish the Embassy. Regarding the sending of an official car, Warsaw was also being considered but the issue would be resolved only after June 1st, after the budget was rebalanced, and only then would a decision be made to send an official car.

I could only hope but not believe.

May 17, 1995, Wednesday

Warsaw and several other cities in Poland had been hit by a wave of strikes. Polish media reported that on Friday, May 19 the current President of Poland, Lech Walesa, would officially announce his candidacy for a second term in office in Gdanisk.

Marko Shapkarev, son of Pando Shapkarev, a long-time Macedonian teacher in Poland, primarily known as a textbook writer, editor and publisher of Macedonian textbooks for the needs of Macedonian children in Poland, who had moved to Skopje five years ago where he lived alone, came to the Embassy unannounced. Marko had completed his art studies in Skopje, mastered the Macedonian language perfectly, married a Macedonian woman, a doctor from Kumanovo, and lived permanently in Warsaw. They had two pet stores but mostly dealt in the turtle trade. He congratulated me on the opening of the Embassy and offered to help if the need arose and made his car available for that purpose. He promised me that he would find a company to erect the flagpole, as well as for other needs of the Embassy. At the end of the visit he asked me to provide him with the legal basis for importing turtles from Macedonia. I told him

that the issue was ongoing because the Polish Ministry of Nature Protection had also contacted me about this problem. Regarding this issue, I told him that we would keep him informed.

In the afternoon I received a fax confirming V. Gaber's promises. Good, I told myself, the work has begun. Tomorrow I would buy a computer, a printer and two telephones from a well-known company.

Igor Popov called me on the phone. He told me that he was not sure where the equipment for the Embassy would be purchased. Tomorrow – he said – together with Biliana they would visit several companies in Skopje to see if there was suitable furniture there and then they would inform me.

In the afternoon Liupcho Arsovski called me. He said that Ane Giorchevski from Veles would travel to Warsaw to pick up her son, who was orphaned after the death of his mother, who was originally Polish. After the divorce she moved to Warsaw and now she wanted to take her son to Macedonia. He added that Vasil Shishkov, the son of actor Risto Shishkov, was also looking for his relatives in Poland. He asked me to help them in their efforts. I promised him that they could count on my help.

May 18, 1995, Thursday

I received in the mail, the Agreement from the Commercial Bank for opening a bank account in zloti and dollars.

The Polish Ministry of Finance called three times today asking for a response as to whether the Macedonian ministry had accepted the proposed deadlines for the arrival of their delegation in Skopje, in order to begin negotiations for signing agreements to avoid double taxation and the protection of investments.

Twice today I have inquired about this but have not received a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. And not only about this. I have the impression that someone has put themselves in the role of the

decision maker, and does that not mean hindering cooperation? Why such indifference? Does anyone read the faxes and forward them to the competent institutions? Is someone trying to diminish the role of the Embassy in this way? So far, I have not received a response to about 20 faxes regarding the activities for contacts and cooperation between the Macedonian and Polish competent institutions. Every day Polish companies call and offer cooperation, about which I inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in an appropriate manner, but there is no response. Until now we prayed, from now on they, the Poles, will pray for us.

I am far from thinking that this is pure sabotage but such behaviour does not lead to any other conclusion.

I persistently rang both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Ministry of Finance. Finally someone picked up the phone and answered:

- We accept a meeting and talks between May 25 and 29. I immediately informed Boni Kazhimiezh at the Polish Ministry of Finance about this.

At 20:35 I called Gotse Malezanov, privately, just to ask him how he was. The conversation expanded to the decision to close the representative office of Technometal-Vardar. Malezanov was disappointed. During the conversation, he told me that at the same time as the representative office was closed, the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce had invited about thirty Polish businessmen. This news surprised me. I asked myself: - Was there any coordination regarding cooperation with Poland, and with other countries, between the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce and the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Macedonia? Did this mean that everyone would achieve cooperation in their own way?

After the conversation, I sent the following telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia:

"The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw has learned that, at the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia, a delegation of about thirty Polish businessmen will arrive in Skopje in the first ten days of June. A group of officials from Macedonia, including an assistant to the Ministry of Finance, was visiting Warsaw. The purpose of the visit was to establish an exchange."

The question inevitably arises:

- Did the authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Ministry of Economy know about this? If they did, then why had the Embassy not been informed about this in order to be properly engaged? And these questions: - Was it even known in the Republic of Macedonia that there was a Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw and why certain institutions, and even individuals, established contacts on their own without cooperating with the Embassy? The impression remained that someone was very interested that the Macedonian diplomatic mission in Warsaw remain anonymous, so that things could be carried out through the Embassies of the countries of the former Federation. There were no miracles in this case. There was strict pragmatism and interests that were not in favour of the young Macedonian state which, unfortunately, they did not feel as their own and did not believe would survive.

Today, with a delay of 25 days, a response arrived from the Ministry of Culture.

May 19, 1995, Friday

At 11:00 meeting with Ambassador Hmielevski. Topic of conversation: The visit of Minister V. Bartoshevski and the upcoming political consultations.

Ambassador Hmielevski informed that Minister V. Bartoshevski had accepted the invitation to officially visit the Republic of Macedonia, but it would still be difficult to occur

before the presidential elections. We agreed that this issue would continue to be the subject of discussions during the time when political consultations were held. I emphasized that the planned meeting of Foreign Ministers should take place and it was certain that it would be of great benefit to both sides. I reminded that so far all the Foreign Ministers of the member states of the European Union, as well as from other countries, had visited Macedonia. Hmielevski accepted my argument, noting that certain changes were possible after the presidential elections.

Regarding the political consultations between the two ministries of foreign affairs, he proposed that they be held between June 9 and 12 (on June 15, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs would travel to Bulgaria).

We agreed to set the exact date for the consultations on Tuesday, May 23 and until then both sides should submit questions that would be the subject of the political consultations. Ambassador Hmielevski continued by informing that the Macedonian delegation would be hosted by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Meller. In principle, the Polish side's agenda envisaged that the Macedonian delegation would be received by Minister V. Bartoshevski, and the possibility of it being received by Ananich, a Minister in the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa, and by senior government officials was also being considered. He suggested that the Macedonian delegation, in addition to Undersecretary V. Gaber, should include a representative of the Consular Affairs Department and the Ministry of the Interior. He continued by emphasizing that the Polish side would like the consultations to cover political, cultural and economic issues.

Regarding my visit to the Ministry of Defense and the conversation I had there, I emphasized that appropriate consultations were being conducted and that a potential obstacle for the subject under discussion could be the UN Security Council's embargo against the Republic of Macedonia. I replied

that there was no embargo on the exchange of legal regulations and training. He agreed, saying that this argument was sufficient to make a positive decision, about which I would be informed in due course. He additionally suggested that I visit Piotr Stahaniachik, Director of the Consular Department, and arrange a visit to the Polish Ministry of the Interior, emphasizing that there were serious issues that required the two Ministries of the Interior to contact each other at the appropriate level.

In the end we agreed to meet on May 23rd.

The wave of strikes that began at the Warsaw tractor factory URSUS was spreading. A strike had been announced in Warsaw with the participation of half a million demonstrators.

At 12:00 I went to the representative office of Technometal-Vardar. There, without an appointment, I met with StanislavYaksa-Malahovski and Yan P. Drajchik, representatives of the Regional Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce. In the short conversation, they informed me that they were interested in establishing economic cooperation with businessmen from the Republic of Macedonia and for that purpose they were already preparing 30 Polish businessmen who would leave for Macedonia on June 5, at the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia, and before leaving they would submit to the Embassy the list of participants and the issues they would negotiate with the Macedonian businessmen. I told them that the planned visit was useful, without commenting on the arbitrariness, wished them success and left burdened with the question: - Did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia know about the invitation from the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce sent to the Regional Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce and, if it did, why was the Embassy in Warsaw not notified?

At 15:00 the company delivered the computer, printer and two telephones. The bill was 2,275 (two thousand two hundred and seventy-five) American dollars.

May 20, 1995, Saturday

All of Poland was gripped by strikes. The government was in session and decided not to have a dialogue with the strikers. The same ones (from URSUS), who in 1976 dismantled the rails, burned car tires in the same place. Rail traffic had been disrupted. New strikes in the weapons factories.

President Lech Walesa was silent.

An acquaintance of mine told me that everything was being done because of the presidential elections. They would blow off steam, he said, until the end of June and then the holidays would begin and a seeming silence would prevail.

Polish television announced in the news at 19:30 that Kvashnievski was leading the poll with 24%, followed by Kuronia with 12% and Walesa with 9%.

It rained and was cold all day. I organized my notes, read newspapers, exercised and learned to type on the computer.

In the evening I returned to yesterday's conversation with Ambassador Hmielevski. During the conversation he used the phrase on several occasions - "we have our own interests and we must defend them."

He looked at me inquisitively and persistently.

I understood that this referred to Poland's relations with Greece. Recently, contacts between the two countries had been increasingly intense due to Poland's aspiration to join NATO and the European Union. Due to the strengthening of Polish-Macedonian relations, Greece could negatively use its position in NATO and the European Union. I took advantage of the short pause and said:

- I fully understand and respect Poland's positions, as long as they do not negatively affect Polish-Macedonian relations. You are well aware of Greece's position regarding Macedonia and I would not like it to cloud the relations between Poland and Macedonia. It is clear that every country is obliged to protect its

state and national interests, and Macedonia does the same counting on Poland's support, which is marked by traditionally excellent relations and support over the past hundred years, in which a whole host of prominent Polish intellectuals, writers, scientists and politicians have played a prominent role. We are open to good relations between Poland and Greece, which we believe would have a very positive impact on our region. Personally, I think that Poland's position will increasingly strengthen in the coming period, and that is also in our interest.

Hmielevski interrupted me and said:

- Poland's national interest is entry into NATO and the European Union, so we want to have good relations with Greece.

- And we, Mr. Ambassador, be assured that the good relations of Macedonia with its neighbours, especially Greece, will put an end to the centuries-old bloody and hostile Balkan apple of discord. Macedonia's wishes and aspirations are directed towards such a goal. We are neighbours with countries that for now do not wish my country well. I believe that such relations are abnormal and contrary to a Europe that is constantly changing and bringing new values among peoples and states. We want good relations and cooperation but not with conditions and dictates. As far as I know, Poland is the biggest opponent of such behaviour. Hence our interest in continuing to have excellent relations with Poland, whose role in Europe will undoubtedly be increasingly important.

- I agree with your opinion – said Hmielevski and asked to move on to the question regarding the invitation to V. Bartoshevski to officially visit Macedonia.

"Sir," said Hmielevski, "it seems that this question is difficult. His entire calendar is full."

- I, Mr. Ambassador, only fulfilled his wish. The Minister requested an invitation and received it and said that he was entrusting all matters surrounding the visit to Ambassador Hmielevski, that is, to you sir.

He smiled and said:

- You overestimated me. An official visit by a Foreign Minister depends on the decision of the President of the country and the Prime Minister. But let's leave this issue for later.

I said that I wouldn't like to get into who decided and why, and that's where the conversation ended.

We agreed to meet for lunch on Tuesday, May 23. Maybe there would be something new by then. I assumed that the future conversation would not be easy either.

And something else from yesterday's conversation.

- Regarding the use of the sign with the name Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, the flag on the flagpole, the memoranda, the flag on the official car – I said – I will adhere to the restrictions that were set for me by Mr. Piekarski, the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol. Namely, I will apply the Belgian model...

Hmielevski smiled bitterly and said:

- Regarding that, I admit that an unintentional mistake was made. While we are on the subject, I would like to inform you, Mr. Ambassador that, in correspondence with the Macedonian Embassy, we will use the abbreviation "P.J." ("B.J.") in lowercase letters before the constitutional name...

- With small or large letters - I interrupted him – does not change anything, Mr. Ambassador...

- Such is the practice - I continued the interrupted thought - in all member states of NATO and the European Union...

- It is possible that it is so - I interrupted him - but you currently are not a member of either NATO or the European Union. If that is a condition for membership there, then your problem is solved, but I assure you that I will never use, in my correspondence with the Polish Foreign Ministry, uppercase or lowercase letters before the constitutional name - the Republic of Macedonia. I remind you that in all correspondence so far both sides have used the constitutional name and I do not understand

the insistence of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The world has already gotten used to the name Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Ambassador.

-That is true, but Greece...

- Greece, sir, has done us a huge favour. Thanks to its negative, and I would say hostile, attitude the world has not only learned but also gotten used to the existence of the new European state, the Republic of Macedonia, and even just the name Macedonia. The sympathies of the world are on our side. Count the countries, members of the UN, that have recognized us by our constitutional name.

I am aware that this part of the conversation was not pleasant for Ambassador Hmielevsk, but I was also here to defend and affirm the name Macedonia.

May 21, 1995, Sunday

It was not a day for walking. It rained and was cold. My wife and I stayed "at home " all day. We read yesterday's newspapers, sometimes we watched boring television.

May 22, 1995, Monday

It was finally a little warmer outside.

Igor Popov did not send me the promised coat of arms of the Republic of Macedonia, even though he had promised me several times. This seems like the saying: if not this Monday, then next Friday.

An invitation was received from the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia to participate in the reception hosted by Ambassador Brnelich on May 27th, on the occasion of the national holiday of the Republic of Croatia.

At 19:00 my wife and I went to the BUFO THEATRE (TEATR BUFFO), where the Bulgarian group "THEATER 13"

from Sofia was performing. Occasion: “Days of Bulgarian Culture”. An interesting performance using Bulgarian folklore. Almost the entire Diplomatic Corps was present.

During the break, a conversation with the Albanian Ambassador, Faja, a cheerful middle-aged gentleman, an architect by profession, studied in Krakov during the time of good relations between Albania and Eastern European countries, hence his good knowledge of the Polish language. The conversation constantly revolved around the fact that Albanians in Macedonia had no human rights.

- You are poorly informed, Sir. Albanians in Macedonia have all the rights that belong to minorities according to the Constitution and international agreements. And you should not forget that Albanians in Macedonia have their own political parties, members of parliament in the Macedonian parliament and a deputy speaker of the parliament.

- Yes but they don’t have their own universities, right? That bothers them.

- And you, Mr. Ambassador, did it bother you that you studied at Polish and not Albanian universities? You are educated and it would not be difficult for you to understand that behind the demands for so-called human rights, other goals are hidden. Is that so or not, dear sir?

To this Faja:

- It’s not exactly like that but now it’s important and mainly that we have good relations and are good neighbours, and what is being done is already your problem...

- It was created for us by some from outside with help from within, right?

The bell rang to announce the start of the second part of the play.

We returned “home” at 22:00. I had a bitter taste in my mouth from the conversation with the Albanian Ambassador.

May 23, 1995, Tuesday

The Albanian Ambassador called. He said that a forum on the topic of "Development of Democracy in Eastern Europe" would be held in Krakov from June 4 to 6. Macedonia was also on the list of participants. He asked if I had received the materials and if I would participate. I told him that I had not received the invitation. He gave me the phone number of the Foundation of the International Sector for the Development of Democracy. I thanked him and then I called Krakov. They apologized saying that when they were preparing the invitations, they did not know the address of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. He promised that they would send the materials and the invitation today.

At 10:30 Nikola Todorovski from Andov's office called regarding the invitation for the President of the Polish Parliament and said that the invitation was sent on March 31, 1995. I asked him to send me a copy by fax. He promised to send it immediately. I waited.

I spoke to Biliana – the architect – on the phone. She said that she had finished the planning of the premises and that she would call me tomorrow, May 24, after 09:00. Most likely, the equipment for the Embassy would be purchased in Poland. I called two companies and asked them to submit offers.

Because of the unfurnished premises, I could not begin my protocol visits with foreign Embassies in Warsaw. If someone came where would I receive them, where would I seat them? Everything was bare. The telephone, fax machine and typewriter were on the window sill. The computer and printer were on the floor on top of cardboard boxes.

May 24, 1995, Wednesday

Today I was surprised by my brother Risto, who lived in Perth, Australia. He called at 07:15. In an excited voice, he

congratulated me on the opening of the Embassy in Warsaw, saying that in Perth, Macedonians, especially those from Kostur, were proud to have a Kostur native as ambassador.

Viktor Gaber called me on the phone. We tentatively agreed that his visit to Warsaw would take place from June 9 to 12. Then I called Ambassador Hmielevski and informed him of Gaber's proposal. The interlocutor insisted that the proposed date be respected. During the conversation, he asked me why I was not in the Polish Sejm (Parliament) where Minister W. Bartoshevski was speaking. In a surprised tone I told him that I had not received an invitation, and he, surprised and astonished, suggested that I immediately call the Cabinet of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ask why I had not been sent an invitation. I told him that it would be better for him to call there.

After the conversation, I wondered if I should call. To check, I called the Slovak Ambassador, Marian, who told me that he had just spoken to Hmielevski, who had complained to him about why he was not in the Sejm and that he was currently writing a protest note regarding the fact that he had not received an invitation and suggested that I do the same. Just a few minutes later, the secretary of the office called me and, in a voice that was almost tearful, apologized to me for not having received an invitation and finally said:

- Mr. Ambassador, forgive me, I'm just a secretary here and others are responsible for sending invitations.

- Don't worry, Madam. Everything will be fine.

Heavy and laboured breathing into the earpiece, then sniffing.

However, I was still thinking about whether to send a note and complain. I decided to let them solve the problem themselves. Biliana called and asked me to send her additional data on the dimensions of the rooms. I measured them again in centimeters and faxed them to her at 15:00. She called me and said that she had received the requested data and that now the situation was

clearer and she would send her opinions on the layout tomorrow. An understanding and responsible lady.

The Romanian Ambassador called me and told me that he hadn't seen me at the festivities at the Bulgarian Embassy held on the occasion of the Bulgarian holiday of May 24, saying that according to his knowledge, it was a Macedonian, not a Bulgarian holiday.

I told him that I didn't step on thorns with my bare feet and that we would talk more about it at one of our frequent meetings.

May 25, 1995, Thursday

At 09:00 a meeting at the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia and at 15:00 at the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia. The meetings were related to the decision of the Government of New Zealand regarding the freezing of the assets of the former SFRY. The three of us agreed to coordinate a common position after receiving specific instructions from our Ministries of Foreign Affairs and only then jointly request a list of Yugoslav assets in Poland from the Polish government.

I returned to the Embassy and wrote a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requesting that they submit additional data and instructions regarding the Yugoslav property in Poland.

In the meantime, I had a problem with the cleaning lady who had been working at the Embassy for two days. Namely, I learned from an acquaintance that she had previously worked for some time as an employee at the Embassy of Greece in Warsaw in the visa department. I called her in for a meeting and she confirmed that she had worked there. I fired her the same day.

I phoned Dota Grantsaris, a Macedonian from the Kostur village of Kondorobi, a permanent resident of Warsaw and a school friend of my wife. A few days before she had been at the

Embassy and offered to work as a cleaner, do laundry and even cook. Given her closeness to my wife, since they were together and lived in the same home and school, I thought it would be inappropriate for me to hire her for that position. I was wrong and now I would try to correct my mistake. Dota worked as a cleaner in a Croatian company, and also as a cook in an Austrian company. Apparently they paid her 700.00 (seven hundred) zloti, which was about 412 marks, and I could offer her 400.00 marks. We agreed that she would come to the Embassy tomorrow.

May 26, 1995, Friday

Today I received by fax the plan for the layout of the equipment in the Embassy premises prepared by the architect Biliana. (copy in the author's archive). I liked it. Everything was good.

Misailovski, who was responsible for the meeting planned for June 9-12, called. In a commanding tone, he told me to contact Ambassador Hmielevski and tell him that the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed the proposed date for the meeting. I told him that I did not take orders and that whatever he wanted to tell me he should do so by fax.

Ambassador Hmielevski was in Budapest accompanied by President Lech Walesa, who was visiting Hungary.

A fax arrived from Misailovski. He asked me to prepare two pages of information on the political situation in Poland.

The Slovak Ambassador, Marian, called me and asked if I was watching TV right now. I told him that I was busy with other things but that I would turn on the TV right away.

On television there were live images from the demonstrations, a clash with police, there were injuries (about 30).

Until late in the evening, I wrote a letter in Polish to the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the Archbishop and Papal Nuncio

in Warsaw, Jozev Kovalchik. I would deliver it to him on Monday, along with a sample selection of poetry by Pope Voitila, which I had translated into Macedonian. Archbishop Kovalchik was a high-ranking religious and diplomatic figure and the letter must be short and very concise. I wrote the first version and didn't like it. I didn't like the second, third or fourth either. I threw the written papers aside and start writing again. I read each sentence several times, corrected words, crossed out entire lines. The new text seemed acceptable to me. I read it aloud several times and decided to submit this letter. (Copy in the author's archive)

Translated into Macedonian, the letter reads:

His Excellency Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik

Warsaw, 30.5.1995.
Apostolic Nuncio and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Warsaw

Excellency,

It is my honour to inform Your Excellency that, based on the Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Poland, within the framework of the successful development of mutual relations, on April 28, 1995, the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland was opened in Warsaw.
The Embassy is located in Warsaw, at Dominikianska Street 15 (tel.fax: 43 13 26).

02-738 Warsaw
ul.Dominikańska 15
tel/fax. 43 13 26

Informing you of this, I express my conviction that Your Excellency will accept our activity in the Diplomatic Corps, and we undertake to make our contribution to coexistence with the Diplomatic Corps in a dignified manner, respecting its norms and status.

As newcomers in Warsaw, not knowing the customs practiced in the Diplomatic Corps, we look forward to advice on whether to report on the opening of the Embassy ourselves or whether we can expect kind assistance from the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

I would like to attach a list of the Embassies of the countries that are represented in Warsaw with which the Republic of Macedonia has established diplomatic relations.

Please do not treat the limited circle of addressees in the Diplomatic Corps as a desire to avoid contacts with other missions.

Taking this opportunity, I dare to present the fruits of my labour as a translator.

I would like to ask Your Excellency to pay attention to the fact that the translation of the poems by the Holy Father was completed and published in 1988 and was presented to the Pope on May 24 of the same year. I hope that the book, esteemed Archbishop, will interest you.

Confident that I will have the opportunity to personally introduce myself to Your Excellency, please accept my expressions of respect.

Acting officer
Dr. Petre Nakovski

(Copy in the author's archive)

May 27, 1995, Saturday

Until noon, a walk in the Kabaty forest, south of Warsaw, a ten-minute metro ride. A beautiful sunny day, warm. The first such warm and pleasant day since we came to Warsaw. In the afternoon, I reviewed the Polish press. Main news: yesterday's strike and the clash between the strikers and police. The opposition claimed that the authorities were the organizers, and the authorities, on the contrary, that the strike had a political background. Both sides claimed that President Lech Walesa was involved in it. The slogans - with anti-communist content; slogans about the social problems of workers were rare. The discontent of the masses was used for political purposes, primarily for the needs of the upcoming presidential elections: the left was portrayed as communist, pro-Russian, traitorous, anti-national and against the interests of Poland in the sense that the country would be morally and politically destroyed. The strikes with their methods and organization - similar to those of the seventies and eighties. Polish society today was fragmented and, under the conditions of a multi-party system, politically divided. It seemed that the right-wing, morally supported by the Catholic Church and, of course, by Western structures, was primarily preoccupied with regime change and the fight against the communist past, and in these efforts had nothing to offer for the future. Lech Walesa, with the help of a large number of advisors from various fields, was skillfully managing the political game, relying on his popularity among the working class. Since his stay in Hungary, he demanded the irrevocable resignation of the government. At the moment, the right-wing was starting a strong campaign to elect its favourite - Lech Walesa.

May 28, 1995, Sunday

Strikes continued in Warsaw. Television commentary and analysis suggested that President Lech Walesa was the instigator of the workers' strikes.

May 29, 1995, Monday

Today, on the front wall overlooking the main street, we installed a sign with a bilingual inscription, in Macedonian and Polish:

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
AMBASADA
REPUBLIKI MACEDONII
WARSZAWA

At the same time, we raised the national flag with the sun on the balcony. I crossed myself and said aloud:

- Let it wave and confirm our Macedonian name for centuries. My wife ran out into the street and shouted from there:

- Come and see how beautiful it looks.

We took a whole bunch of photos. Let them remain as a memory for future generations. With them, we marked the small but very significant step that Macedonia was taking.

At 11:00 Ambassador Hmielevski called. We agreed to hold the political consultations and program from June 8 to 10. I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, for the first time written on the Embassy's letterhead.

Kazhimiezh Boni called, and then reported by fax that a delegation from the Polish Ministry of Finance would travel to Skopje on June 3 of this year. This was the first visit and I hoped that future visits, in due course in both directions, would be more numerous and useful. My efforts to strengthen cooperation between the two countries had begun to be realized.

May 30, 1995, Tuesday

Today I received an invitation to participate in the forum: "From Communism to Democracy - Threats and Opportunities", which would be held in Krakov from June 4 to 6. My stay in Krakov would mean a five-day closure of the Embassy, and during that time preparations for the stay would be underway and for holding political consultations between the two ministries. In the telegram I sent, I suggested that they send someone from the Ministry to attend the forum in Krakov.

I sent the letter and a copy of the Pope's poetry in a sealed white envelope today to the Papal Nuncio and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik.

May 31, 1995, Wednesday

I was surprised today by the Macedonian Ministry of Finance. They informed me by fax that they had not received any material from the Polish Ministry of Finance. I replied that they should request the material from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from Risto Blazhevski or Giorgi Misailovski, emphasizing that in Krakov I had personally, in the presence of Undersecretary Dimitar Belchev, given it to Secretary Tripkova.

Was it possible that they had messed up? With us, anything was possible, especially back then when something good did not need to be done.

Marko Shapkarev called and said that tomorrow at 08:00 workers from a company would come to prepare the base for installing the flagpole. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia sent me a fax requesting that I prepare information about the meeting of the presidents of eight European countries that took place in Hungary from May 26 to 27 this year.

I replied that I would prepare the information after I collected the data.

June 1, 1995, Thursday

At 08:15 the workers from the company came. I showed them where to prepare the foundation. In the middle of the yard, between the building and the fence, they started digging and then filled the hole with concrete into which they put four threaded iron rods. They said they would come on June 7 to install the six-meter-high flagpole.

Misailovski called me. In his style, he told me that in connection with the political consultations, the Macedonian delegation consisting of Viktor Gaber, Dime Giurev (from the Ministry of Internal Affairs) and Giorgi Misailovski would arrive in Warsaw on June 8 at 12:45. The delegation did not include the Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy, who, by virtue of his position, would be obliged to implement the agreed decisions from the political consultations. I said, in a note in English, that I would inform the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs about everything, and for his information I would send him a copy. I did not ask him why the Embassy was open, if someone outside its authority was acting arbitrarily? I did not write a note. I told myself that since they were putting up with someone like that, let them continue. Probably someone strongly supported him and I would not put my finger in the door.

Hmielevski called me at 16:00 and told me that the talks between the representatives of the Ministries of Internal Affairs should be held separately. I agreed. He recommended that I speak with Yan Vengzhin, director of a department in the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs. I called him and we arranged a meeting tomorrow at 10:00 at his place at 25 Rakovietska Street.

At 12:00 I spoke with Barbara Rogalska, editor of the Second Program of Polish Television. We discussed cooperation

between Polish and Macedonian television. She said she would arrange a meeting with the Director General for me. Mrs. Rogalska, with her information broadcast on Polish television, was an excellent lobbyist for us.

At 13:00 I spoke with Marek Mruvchiniaski, Director of the Foreign Relations Department at the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts. He would call next week and to arrange a meeting.

June 2, 1995, Friday

At 10:30 I was received by the Chief of Staff (Yan Vengzhiniaski) of the Minister of the Interior. We agreed on the program for the talks between the representatives of the two ministries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me by phone that they had accepted my suggestion that a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia participate in the meeting in Krakov, but they also requested my participation in the ambassadors' session (meeting on June 4). At 14:00 they informed me that Sashko Todorovski would participate in the forum in Krakov and would arrive in Warsaw by plane tomorrow at 16:40.

June 3, 1995, Saturday

I met Sashko Todorovski at the airport and took a taxi straight to the Embassy.

He was amazed by the unfurnished Embassy. We fed him and in the evening, at 19:00, I sent him to Krakov on the Intercity train.

In the evening around 20:30 I called Dr. Emilia Avramcheva. I told her that we wouldn't see each other tomorrow

because I was leaving for Krakov by train on an official trip. Dr. Emilia ended the conversation and called back about fifteen minutes later and said:

- An acquaintance of mine is traveling to Krakov tomorrow. Would you mind traveling with him and me joining as well?

I said that he would do me a great favour by doing so and that I would pay for the acquaintance's gas and daily allowance.

Dr. Emilia replied to this proposal of mine:

- Joking aside. That's out of the question. And would you mind if I join, and Ditta with me? You'll do your job there and we'll visit Krakov. Does that suit you?

I thanked her and we arranged to leave for Krakov tomorrow at 09:00.

June 4, 1995, Sunday

We arrived at 09:45. The car "Passat" ("Pasat"). We left for Krakov. He drove at 130-150 kilometers per hour. At 15:00 we arrived. Ditta, Dr. Avramcheva and the driver went to visit the city. I participated in the activities of the Forum on the topic "From Communism to Democracy - Threats and Opportunities". In fact, I would only participate in the session of the Ambassadors of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe accredited in Warsaw. Topic: "The New Form of European Security".

It was chaired by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Andzhei Olehovski.

Assessment: The Polish side was promoting its option for NATO membership to the ambassadors by pointing out the new trends that could make Central and Eastern Europe a training ground for the far-reaching games of the great powers and, in that sense, through the ambassadors, it attempted to engage the governments of the countries in the region.

The ambassadors actually read texts that were sent to them by their ministries. I asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to send me a similar text but not only did they not send it to me, they also did not respond to my telegram, except that I should participate in the session.

I considered it necessary to note that in front of each participant there was a nameplate with the name of the country. In front of me there was a sign with the name: MACEDONIA. (photo in the author's archive).

Participating in the discussion, I presented the following theses: The Republic of Macedonia, as a sovereign and independent state, in its foreign policy, actively adhered to the basic principles of the UN and former CEBS documents, as well as the Paris Charter for a New Europe. On these grounds, there was an active peaceful relationship towards neighbours and strict adherence to the equidistance model. It was the first to apply preventive diplomacy, reforms leading to a market economy were underway, it respected human rights in the spirit and letter of internationally accepted norms. Direction: inclusion in European integration processes; accession to NATO and the European Union. It rejected any form of entering into coalitions that were contrary to the European option. Through its activities to date, the Republic of Macedonia had contributed to maintaining peace and security in the region, thereby already establishing its place and making an active contribution to overall European security.

The session ended at 17:00 and at 18:00 we left Krakov. We arrived in Warsaw at 21:00. The driver categorically refused to accept compensation for gas and per diem.

June 5, 1995, Monday

I sent an appropriate note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about my stay in Krakov and my performance.

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia but it was not sufficiently legible. I asked them to resend it.

June 6, 1995, Tuesday

At 07:45 Colonel Ilia Nikolovski called regarding yesterday's fax. He said he would resend the fax.

Today the workers came and installed the flagpole. It was six meters high.

June 7, 1995, Wednesday

I raised the flag of the Republic of Macedonia on the flagpole at 08:00. I chose the largest flag of the five I had. Let it cover as much of the Warsaw sky as possible. I went out into the street. Our flag was flying with the sun, covering almost half of the front wall of the Embassy. I was happy and very excited. My wife joined me and we hugged and admired the view. We were proud that we had raised the Macedonian flag in Warsaw.

During the day, we definitively finalized the schedule for the political consultations. At the same time, we also agreed on the schedule for the talks between representatives of the interior ministries.

So far, I had received three offers for furniture. Prices ranged from 32 to 36 thousand zloti, or an average of about 15 thousand US dollars.

I constantly thought about whether I should choose the furniture and all the other equipment. I decided to let someone else do it. At least that way I would be free from gossip. There would always be someone who would find an excuse to say that I had no taste or that money was wasted, and if they were in my place, they would have chosen something nicer. There are people

like that everywhere. Especially in our country, such wise and jealous people flourish.

June 8, 1995, Thursday

At 12:45 at the airport, to welcome the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consisting of Viktor Gaber, Giorgi Misailovski and Dime Giurev from the Ministry of the Interior.

Head of the Macedonian delegation was Viktor Gaber, of the Polish delegation - Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Meller. Translator: Beata Ristovska.

The talks between the two delegations were held in the residential palace of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They were held without interruption from 13:30 to 16:00 and continued during lunch. Both sides exchanged opinions, noting that there was progress in relations and cooperation, but that it was necessary to hold as many meetings and talks at the level of experts and even ministers in order to increase cooperation confirmed by the signing of appropriate agreements in the field of economy, culture, science, education and other areas. (I have requested a statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia on this issue with several telegrams, but I have not found an understanding and it is only now that it is being discussed, as if they, Gaber and Misailovski, were the first initiators.) Gaber did not forget to point out that with the opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, certain activities had already been started and emphasized, as an example, that the arrival of a delegation from the Polish Ministry of Finance was already expected in Skopje.

The issue of the official use of the name Macedonia remained to be considered at the next consultations, which would be held in Skopje, with the same composition.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the successfully completed political consultations, and Deputy Minister Meller

emphasized that the success should be attributed to Ambassador Nakovski, for his selfless dedication, tact and knowledge, as he managed in a short time to establish contacts with all state institutions and thus demonstrated his inherent ability to introduce his country to Poland. I am pleased to emphasize that the cooperation between the Macedonian Embassy and Polish state institutions, particularily with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is at a high level, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Nakovski, for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude, recognition and hope that he will continue to strengthen the cooperation between Poland and Macedonia.

End of official talks.

The talks between representatives of the Ministries of Interior would be held tomorrow at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

June 9, 1995, Friday

At 09:00 the Macedonian delegation was received by Viechorkievich, a high-ranking official in the Polish government. During the meeting, both sides emphasized that relations between the two countries were developing excellently and that, in this sense, it was necessary to continue to make efforts for more frequent contacts. The interlocutor congratulated the opening of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. At 11:15 the delegation was received by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, V. Bartoshevski. They exchanged opinions on cooperation in all areas, and expressed satisfaction that there was already a Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. He was given the original invitation to officially visit Macedonia. He thanked them, emphasizing that the visit was his great desire and that, despite his busy agenda, he would make sure to visit Macedonia.

The afternoon was scheduled for rest. Victor Gaber told me that he would like to visit the Embassy tomorrow.

Tired, I returned “home”. I told my wife that the delegation from Macedonia would be coming to the Embassy tomorrow.

- Okay but where will they sit?

- There, where we are - I said.

- Go to the neighbours and ask them to lend you a table and four chairs, and then go and buy crystal glasses and drinks, vodka, whiskey and juices. Let’s welcome them properly.

- I won’t borrow a table and chairs but I’ll buy the rest.

June 10, 1995, Saturday

At 09:00 I took a taxi to the villa complex where foreign delegations were usually accommodated. Viktor Gaber and Dime Giurev were already waiting for me in the courtyard. We arrived at the Embassy by van. They entered and fell silent. We visited all the rooms in turn.

-And where do you sleep? - asked Gaber.

I opened the bedroom door and said – here.

- On an rubber air mattress?

- Well, not on a king-size bed, Victor.

We went down to the large empty lounge.

- Where do you work?

- Here - I showed him the window sills where the telephones, fax machine and typewriter were placed and on the floor the computer and printer.

I turned around and invited everyone for a drink. On the rickety tourist table was a bottle of vodka, whiskey, juices and plastic glasses instead of crystal ones.

- Help yourselves - I said – whatever you like.

Frozen, speechless, they helped themselves. Silence. Gaber looked around and said:

- The premises are excellent and it’s a pity that they are bare and empty. How much money do you need to furnish them?

- You mean the Embassy? - I asked.

-Yes.

-Well...send somewhere around 35 to 40 thousand marks and come and see after July 1st...

- I believe that you will receive them in about ten days.

- I trust that you will keep your promise.

The visit to the Embassy ended and with the same van, accompanied by a police car, we went to Vilanuv to visit the royal palace of the Polish King Yan III Sobjeski, who defeated the Turks near Vienna.

June 11, 1995, Sunday

Before we left for the airport, I handed Victor Gaber a reminder about the Embassy's needs.

At our farewell he said to me:

- First, buy a bedroom set and equip the kitchen so you can live properly. We will take care of the rest quickly. It's a shame to leave such beautiful rooms empty.

The plane's departure to Vienna was delayed by half an hour.

At 14:00 I returned to the Embassy.

June 12, 1995, Monday

I prepared letters to diplomatic missions in Warsaw all day long, informing them that on April 28 the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia was opened in Warsaw and, according to diplomatic custom, I would be honoured to be received on a protocol visit. My business cards had not arrived. Tomorrow I would print a larger number and send the letters with a short biography by mail.

June 13, 1995, Tuesday

Today I expected a representative of the company "FAMA" to come to the Embassy to prepare a bid for the necessary furniture. The Diplomatic Protocol called me and asked which holiday Macedonia celebrated - Ilinden or September 8. I told them - both.

June 14, 1995, Wednesday

In the late morning I took a taxi to the main post office and from there I sent 82 letters to the Embassies in Warsaw. I called several of my friends – writers and journalists.

June 15, 1995, Thursday

At 09:30 Gaber called me on the phone. He informed me that he had ordered 35,000 (thirty-five thousand) marks to be sent to me and that the architect Biliana would be arriving in Warsaw, and gave me her phone number for contact. After the conversation I shouted out loud:

- Finally, things are moving and I promised myself that if the promised money arrived, then by July 1st I would completely equip the Embassy, according to the advice of Biliana, whom I called by phone to ask when I should expect her arrival in Warsaw. She said that her arrival was possible on Monday or Tuesday, about which she would inform me by phone or fax. This was good news. The bad news was the telegram signed by Misailovski, in which he reported that he would also travel with Biliana to help choose the most necessary equipment. I immediately replied by fax that I did not need his help and advice at all and it was best if he did not call me again for private requests.

June 16, 1995, Friday

I sent by fax the requested list of signed agreements between Poland and Yugoslavia that I had received from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Simka called and told me that today she sent me thirty thousand American dollars to equip the Embassy.

June 17, 1995, Saturday

A calm and warm day. My wife and I went downtown to check out the prices of kitchen and bedroom equipment. Everything seemed expensive and we returned empty-handed.

June 18, 1995, Sunday

We spent the day walking in the Kabati forest. In the evening I wrote postcards to my children and friends in Skopje, Canada, Australia, Germany and to my wife's relatives in Greece.

June 19, 1995, Monday

I organized my notes. The deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" ("Republic") called me on the phone and invited me, along with his wife Lena, to lunch at 15:30 at a Chinese restaurant. We accepted. The conversation during and after lunch covered a bit of everything. He suggested that I write an article about minorities in Macedonia. I asked him to write it, and I would provide him with the necessary information. He agreed.

At 17:00 in Vilanuv, his wife opened the exhibition of paintings by the children participating in the Little Bitola Monmartre.

June 20, 1995, Tuesday

Today I had a meeting with the Ambassador of the Republic of Slovakia, Marian Servatka. The meeting and conversation lasted from 13:30 to 14:30. The occasion was a protocol visit and some current issues in the relations between Macedonia and Slovakia.

It turned out that Ambassador Servatka knew modern Macedonia, its culture and historical past well, as well as relations with neighbouring countries. He had participated in the Seminar on Macedonian Language and Literature in Ohrid. In addition to participating in the seminar, he used his stay in Ohrid for several days to visit Macedonia. He said that he was personally very attached to Macedonia and that whenever he was given the opportunity, he lobbied for its affirmation. He emphasized that Slovaks were very friendly towards Macedonia, and the reason for such a relationship lay in the historical past, which through St. Cyril and Methodius brought the two peoples closer together. He emphasized that his country also had problems with its neighbours – the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Ukrainians, who behaved towards Slovakia in a humiliating and condescending manner, and that it was difficult for him to break this barrier because the diplomatic missions of his neighbours jointly acted to reduce the importance of his country. The attitude of the Czech Republic and Hungary was particularly disparaging and negative. He pointed out that Slovakia had major problems with the Hungarian minority, which numbered around 600,000 and acted similarly to the Albanian minority in Macedonia. We exchanged similar opinions on this.

At the end of the conversation, I raised the issue of Slovakia's unilateral suspension of visas for citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. I highlighted the example of the non-issuance of visas to members of the Cultural Association "11

November" from Kumanovo who had to travel to Poland via Ukraine.

Ambassador Servatka emphasized that such a decision was made due to the frequent use of Slovak territory by citizens of the Republic of Macedonia for money laundering, drug trafficking, as well as transporting and selling drugs to Poland and through its territory to Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Ask the Macedonian side, with prior notice to provide a list of members, through a note to inform the Slovak side, which would then issue visas to groups and individuals without any hindrance.

Ambassador Servatka and I became good friends, we often met and exchanged opinions. We were friends until the end of his diplomatic mission in Warsaw, and so were our wives.

June 21, 1995, Wednesday

Simka called me and complained that she couldn't find the address of the Embassy in Warsaw and that's why she was late sending the stamp. I said that I sent all my telegrams by fax written on a letterhead. At the bottom was the address of the Embassy. Letter by letter I dictated the address.

What could I say? It seemed like someone was very interested in the failure of the Macedonian diplomatic mission in Warsaw. The words of President Kiro Gligorov were prophetic, who, at the meeting before I left for Warsaw, told me that I would encounter difficulties in Poland, but mostly in Macedonia. If I had been faced with difficulties in the host country, I would have managed, I would have coped, however, how could I deal with some people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 12:35 Biliana Ivanovska, the architect, called. She said that she would be arriving in Warsaw tomorrow (June 22). I told her I would meet her at the airport.

The Greek Embassy returned the circular note for the protocol visit by mail without any comment. Letters arrived from

other Embassies setting a date for protocol visits and expressing satisfaction.

June 22, 1995, Thursday

An unusual meeting with the Papal (Apostolic) Nuncio and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik, on the occasion of the farewell of the Iraqi Ambassador. A few steps before the entrance to the apostolic representation stood a short priest dressed in an archiepiscopal cassock and a red cap on his head. With outstretched arms and a gentle smile, he welcomed and greeted the ambassadors. Then it was my turn. I stood in front of him, eye to eye. He stretched out his hands and asked:

- With whom do I have the honour?

- Your Excellency, Macedonia greets you...

- Ah, dear Mr. Ambassador of Macedonia, my dear Ambassador Petre Nakovski...

I was amazed. I said to myself - how did he know my first and last name when we were meeting for the first time?

(It seems he remembered it from the note.)

- I am glad. I am very pleased and happy that Macedonia also has its representative among us.

He hugged me, I leaned my head on his right shoulder (such is the custom) - Dear Nakovski, dear Ambassador of the famous and beautiful Macedonia, welcome to the hall and from now on I ask you to visit me in the coming days. Welcome and I will say a few pleasant words about you - he smiled and winked at me mischievously.

The hall was filled with Ambassadors or Chargé d'Affaires. I used the time to greet the Ambassadors of Croatia and Slovenia and in the process conveyed to them the news from Polish television, according to which Poles, after the abolition of visas with Greece, would be able to travel without visas throughout Europe except in the countries of the former SFRY.

They were surprised and said that they would request a note of explanation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I returned to the reception. His Excellency, the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik, reading a previously prepared text, said kind words about the Iraqi Ambassador and after handing him the silver plate (upon departure, all Ambassadors and Chargé d'Affaires attend the Apostolic Nuncio's farewell and receive a plate made of pure silver, for which each Embassy pays 37 zloti) said:

- Distinguished Excellencies, it is my pleasure to welcome Dr. Petre Nakovski, Chargé d'Affaires – here he paused and invited me to stand next to him and continued – to congratulate him on behalf of the Republic of Macedonia and on my behalf and yours on the opening of the Embassy. I hope that we will greet him warmly and cordially (applause).

Ambassadors approached me, greeted me, congratulated me and arranged meetings with me. Some jokingly told me that it was obvious from the first day that I would receive special treatment from the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, that he had not welcomed them that way. At the end of the meeting, the Apostolic Nuncio briefly stopped me and, firmly shaking my right hand, said that he would like to see me one of these days and that he would inform me of the date of the meeting in a letter.

I returned to the Embassy unusually excited by the unexpectedly warm welcome and treatment from the Apostolic Nuncio.

At 12:00 I went to the House of Literature for the award ceremony for the best translation of the year. The winner was Danuta Chirlich-Strashiniaska, well known in the Macedonian literary community, for her translation of the play "Sarajevo " by Goran Stefanovski.

At 12:30 my wife and I went to the airport to meet the architect Biliana Ivanovska, who was coming to Warsaw to see the premises of the Embassy to decide what furniture was needed.

The plane landed on time. We took a taxi from the airport straight to the Embassy. Biliana looked around the premises, saying that Macedonia would have the most beautiful Embassy in Warsaw. After a modest lunch, we took her to the Forum Hotel and agreed that she would come to the Embassy by taxi tomorrow at ten o'clock.

June 23, 1995, Friday

From 10:30 to 17:00 we visited several companies. We liked the furniture at the company "EVEREST" and agreed to sign a contract for the furniture tomorrow. Total price about 25,000 US dollars. Lunch at the restaurant "FLIK". Three men were having lunch at our table. One of them approached us and asked where we were from. We told him that we were from Macedonia. I introduced myself to him, telling him that I was the Charge´ d'Affaires of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. The gentleman was surprised, said that he was glad that Macedonia was present in Warsaw and then introduced himself, saying that his name was Aleksander Kvasnievski. That was how I met the future president of Poland, with whom I had excellent relations during the entire mandate of my diplomatic mission. We returned to the Embassy late. A modest dinner and around 22:00, we took Biliana back to the hotel by taxi.

June 24, 1995, Saturday

We went looking for furniture again. This time to see bedrooms. We saw some beautiful bedrooms at an Austrian company. The store was closed today. We would go back on Monday. Tomorrow, Sunday, we arranged to visit the old part of Warsaw.

June 25, 1995, Sunday

From 11:00 to 15:00 we visited Warsaw, the Old Town, then the Royal Palace in Vilanuv. The weather was rainy.

June 26, 1995, Monday

In the morning, after breakfast, we went looking for a bedroom set. In the Austrian company's store, we saw a beautiful bedroom set and an even more beautiful dresser but they were too expensive for our means. My wife couldn't take her eyes off the bedroom set. In the following days we bought it.

We bought suitable kitchen equipment at the "EVEREST" store.

The same day at the airport. We sent Mrs. Biliana Ivanovska to Skopje by plane via Vienna, who had recommended that we buy furniture from the company "EVEREST".

June 27, 1995, Tuesday

A fax arrived from the Consular Affairs Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They reported that the Public Prosecutor's Office in Shchecin-Zahud had filed charges against three Macedonian citizens, Albanians by nationality, for attempting to illegally cross the Polish border in order to go to Germany. They were now in prison in Stargard Shchecin.

I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the case.

At 11:00 at the dean of the Diplomatic Corps, the Apostolic Nuncio, was sending off three Ambassadors. The Indian Ambassador approached me and informed me that the Republic of Macedonia and India had established diplomatic relations. After the ceremonial farewell, I returned to the Embassy and asked Gaber by phone which countries the Republic of Macedonia had established diplomatic relations with up to March

7 of this year. I needed this information to use in meetings with the Ambassadors accredited in Warsaw. He said that probably seven or eight. He was not sure if there were that many.

At 14:00 a truck arrived in front of the Embassy, and the officer of the company, with which we had agreed to buy the furniture, unloaded two armchairs wrapped in black plastic wrap and handed me a whole stack of papers –the furniture purchase agreement and asked me to sign it. I tore the wrap off and what did I see? Old and, in places, torn leather. I asked him where he had got them from? I threw the papers at his feet, telling him to get rid of them immediately, along with the armchairs, before I called the police.

June 28, 1995, Wednesday

I called the company "FAMA" and arranged for the boss to come tomorrow at 09:00 with furniture brochures so we could discuss the purchase.

From 09:30 to 16:30 the entire Diplomatic Corps was at the training ground in Radich, where a special unit demonstrated an exercise for the protection of diplomatic missions.

June 29, 1995, Thursday

A special day. Our anniversary.

We were celebrating 36 years of marriage, through good and bad. Behind us were happy, beautiful, but also turbulent days and two daughters – Milenka and Tanja. All our happiness that we dreamed of so much.

I gave my wife a gold necklace with a pendant with the image of the Virgin Mary.

In the afternoon they brought the table and six chairs for the kitchen and bedroom furniture. Finally, we lay down in a bed as it should be. For three whole months we lay and slept on the

rubber mattress. We often joked, saying – we still need water to swim.

June 30, 1995, Friday

I received a response regarding the payment of taxes in the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the exemption from paying taxes by diplomats accredited in the Republic of Macedonia.

At 10:00 I signed the contract with the company "FAMA" for the furniture. They were to deliver half of the furniture by July 5, and the entire set within 14 days of signing the contract.

Price, total 44,697.73 zloti of which:
Net: 35,972.00 zloti
Transportation and installation: 1,798.60 zloti
VAT: 8,309.53 zloti
Total: 46,382.13 zloti
Discount: 1,382.40 zloti
For payment: 44,697.73 zloti
Without VAT: 34,864,23 zloti
In the USA: 15,027.68 (dollar-zloti ratio - one dollar - 2.32 zloti)
The whole set – leather.

July 1, 1995, Saturday

We bought additional equipment for the kitchen and it is almost fully equipped.

The Polish press published information that all foreigners entering Slovakia would have to pay 15 US dollars. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this.

July 2, 1995, Sunday

I sent a congratulatory message to Prof. Stefan Meller, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of being awarded a high French decoration.

July 3, 1995, Monday

The Estonian Embassy informed me by note that it had been open and operating in Warsaw since June 20, 1995.

I paid 10 zloti to the Apostolic Nunciature as a contribution for the joint gift for the Belarusian Ambassador who had previously retired.

I have not transferred any money to the company "FAMA" yet. I will transfer it to them when they bring the entire set of agreed equipment.

Today I issued the first travel document.

I received an invitation that for the first time does not say "P.J.", but only the Republic of Macedonia to participate in the ceremonial session of the Polish Sejm that will be held on July 6 at 17:00. Helmut Kohl will speak. Then at 20:00 there will be a reception in the Sejm on the occasion of the meeting of parliamentarians of the member states of the Central European Initiative.

At the reception in the Sejm, we had a longer conversation with Ilinka Mitreva, Igor and Kazakova – parliamentarians from Macedonia. We were also joined by Milchakov, the Bulgarian Ambassador in Warsaw.

We agreed that tomorrow, July 4, at 18:00, they would visit the Embassy, which was still not equipped.

On the way back to the Embassy (by taxi, of course), this time I tried not to delve into the reasons for the condescending attitude towards Macedonian diplomacy by the people (diplomats) who worked in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and were now employed in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who did nothing, gossiped and slandered each

other, and were surprised that the staff from the former team wrote analyses, covered topics, while most of the newcomers could not even write a simple note, some were amazed, saying that this was not a ministry but some institute where topics in the field of foreign policy were processed and analyzed. That's how we worked, we respected and valued each other. Now chaos reigned in the Ministry. They, let's call them Belgraders, came to work when they felt like it, stayed for a few hours and if you wanted to find them, then look for them in some cafe´ in Skopje. Only some of them had taken up managerial positions. And the frequent change of Foreign Ministers was introducing more and more disorder. It did not escape the impression that the Ministry had been beheaded and that some were waiting and hoping that Macedonia would enter some new alliances, and hence they believed that the situation in which Macedonia found itself was temporary and they were biding their time? There was much to think about, and even to suspect some hidden intentions and expectations. I understood why there were no answers to many of my faxes in which I reported that numerous Polish businesses were seeking cooperation with Macedonian firms, looking for goods that were not available in Poland, and could be found in Macedonia. Those who were in charge remained silent.

July 4, 1995, Tuesday

The Macedonian parliamentarians did not come to the Embassy. They were allegedly too tired, so they decided it would be better to rest, take a nap, like they napped in the Macedonian parliament. Such people and many others like them would not create a respected state.

God forbid if I make a mistake.

July 5, 1995, Wednesday

From 09:00 to 16:00 at the Embassy, technicians installed the telephone network, and workers from the company "FAMA" installed the delivered equipment in the Embassy rooms. The furniture was leather and looked beautiful.

At 13:00 meeting at the Polish Writers' Association. A useful conversation with the president of the Association, poetess Liudmila Marianska. We agreed that one of their poets would participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings, and in the fall to consider the possibility of a group of 4-5 Polish writers traveling to Macedonia for talks with the Writers' Association of Macedonia for further cooperation.

I did not feel well today. I felt more and more that my health was failing.

July 6, 1995, Thursday

At 17:00 in the Sejm. The entire Diplomatic Corp was in the gallery. Helmut Kohl spoke. Many promises for Poland's admission to the European Union and NATO. He banged his fist on the podium and claimed that Europe was not Europe without Poland, that Europe needed a new kind of cooperation and friendship. It would be great, he said, if such cooperation were to be achieved as soon as possible, in which a new Europe would be born, after almost 1,000 years of hostility.

I watched the Poles with attention. Their faces looked skeptical. Especially at the moment when they heard the sentence with which Kohl emphasized that the border of Europe was not at the Oder and Neisse rivers.

It is worth recalling here that this border was set by the decisions of the Yalta Conference, where the great powers, the USA, the USSR and Great Britain carried out a new division of Europe. According to that agreement, Poland expanded westward to the Neisse and Oder rivers, from where in 1945 about eight million Germans were expelled and that territory was settled by

Poles from the large, lost territories in the East, which went to the USSR, and with the fall of communism, to Belarus and mostly to Ukraine.

Kohl's speech in the Polish Sejm received widespread publicity in Poland, where doubts were raised about the statement that the border of Europe did not end at the Neisse and Oder rivers. Some newspapers also published comments expressing concerns that Germany might, in the future, turn the European Union into a Fourth Reich and thus return to the 1937 borders.

Let's return to the Sejm where, after the speech, a large number of Polish parliamentarians asked Helmut Kohl some not-so-pleasant questions. Among others, the President of the Sejm, Jozef Zich, asked Kohl how he would explain the event that took place in Frankfurt a week ago, where 300 Poles were beaten and expelled, and whether this was not a kind of revenge? And a second question: - How would he explain the threats of numerous Germans who visited the western parts of Poland, that one day they would return and make ordinary slaves of the Poles?

Kohl's speech in Poland was received with great bitterness and suspicion.

At 19:00 I returned to the Embassy where Mrs. Lena, Lukashevich's wife, was waiting for me at the entrance. Together we went to Zaleshe, to their summer house. The company - a wide circle of journalists, famous commentators. The topic of the lively and heated debate - Kohl's speech in the Sejm. No one approved of it but everyone condemned it in their own way. I remained neutral. Despite the heated debate, we spent a very pleasant evening, where I took the opportunity to tell the sad story of Macedonia's past and the attitude of its neighbours.

July 7, 1995, Friday

At 11:00 a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The topic of the meeting: Bilateral relations, assessed to

be developing positively and that they would need to be intensified after the holidays.

I booked plane tickets for the children via Sofia. We were waiting for them on July 29th. We missed them very much.

At 15:00 we traveled to the town of Shedliutse. There, the famous Macedonian painter, Niche Vasile would open a solo exhibition. The hostess, his wife, a Polish woman by origin, placed the Macedonian flag, which I gave them, on the front wall, next to the Polish flag. Although I do not understand much about painting, I gave a short speech of praise. After the opening of the exhibition, a meeting with the mayor and other personalities.

July 8, 1995, Saturday

I bought a few newspapers this morning. During the day I read the comments regarding Helmut Kohl's stay in Poland and his speech in the Sejm. Tomorrow I will write a note about the event.

July 9, 1955, Sunday

I wrote a summary of Kohl's visit to Poland and his speech in the Sejm as well as its coverage in the Polish press. The comments were negative. Highlights of disapproval, comparisons with Brand's policy regarding Polish-German relations. Some newspapers praised Prime Minister Oleksi who discarded the slogan "Together in Europe", while others criticized him. Some newspapers published photos of demonstrations in Germany with slogans "Poland to be accepted into the European Union as soon as possible", which would fulfill the hopes of the expelled Germans in 1945 to return to their properties. Such demands were well received by the Polish public, claimed the Polish press.

July 10, 1995 Monday

At 11:00 a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Defense. A reminder and continuation of the conversation held on March 30 this year. They accepted everything we requested. I returned to the Embassy very satisfied.

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Culture and Arts. The Minister would receive me on July 15th at 10:00.

July 11, 1995, Tuesday

Some men came to the Embassy. Confident. They said they were from Electro-Macedonia and wanted me to urgently arrange for them to get an Austrian transit visa. I called the Austrian Embassy and asked them to issue transit visas for four Macedonian citizens. They agreed. I told the newcomers that they were waiting for them there. One of them collected their passports and went out. One of the three, with a frown on his face and looking like a hungry dog, said:

- Why did Skopje need to open an Embassy in Warsaw? Wasn't the SFRY Embassy enough for them?

- Skopje did not open an Embassy, but Macedonia. And here you don't talk about the dead! – I said and asked them to go to the waiting room. They looked more like smugglers than employees of Electro-Macedonia.

At 12:00, Miodrag Shaurek arrived. From afar, he opened his arms in greeting, then crossed himself and said loudly:

- When I saw our flag flying, I could not hold back my tears. It's pride...

Kind, wonderful, cheerful, filled with joy Miodrag Shaurek, known throughout Macedonia and behind him his wife, Teresa, Polish by origin, but already a naturalized Macedonian. She spoke Macedonian perfectly. Blessings, outbursts of joy and satisfaction. How many children's shows directed by Shaurek

were broadcast on Macedonian television to the sounds of the piano on which Teresa's fingers always played lovingly!

- You have decorated the Embassy beautifully, and the building looks like a Macedonian house. Today my day has been brightened. And let me tell you, Warsaw is more beautiful when the Macedonian flag is flying.

I invited Miodrag and his wife, Teresa, into the office and asked them to sit in the place of honour. At first they refused but I insisted, telling them that such distinguished people belonged there. A long, pleasant, cheerful conversation not clouded by the unpleasant conditions in Macedonia. Miodrag and I spoke in Macedonian, and our wives in Polish. I did not notice when the hour had passed. Miodrag looked at his watch and said:

- I don't know how many times I've been to Poland. All my visits are pleasant and dear to me, but this one, today, is the most pleasant and dearest. And I must admit that I drank the best coffee in Warsaw at our Macedonian Embassy.

We said a very heartfelt and moving goodbye to dear Miodrag Shaurek and his wife, Teresa.

July 12, 1995, Wednesday

Today is St. Peter's Day.

I was touched by the telegram the children sent me: "Dear Dad, we congratulate you on your name day with wishes for good health and success. We love you. Greetings to Mom as well."

I was received in a courtesy visit by the dean of the Diplomatic Corps and Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik. The conversation lasted from 10:00 to 11:15. He was most interested in the history of Macedonia, relations with neighbours, the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece and Bulgaria, as well as the rights of minorities in the Republic of Macedonia, the relations with neighbours, and most of all, the relations with Greece. I answered the questions asked by the

Apostolic Nuncio in detail, citing specific examples from the past, during which we jointly found similarities in the tragic histories of Poland and Macedonia. I introduced him in detail to the current situation in the Republic of Macedonia and its relations with neighbours, the rights of Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria, as well as the rights of minorities in the Republic of Macedonia. I familiarized him in more detail with the reception of several thousand Macedonian refugees, victims of the Civil War in Greece, about the selfless assistance that Poland provided in the areas of housing, employment, healthcare, upbringing and education of Macedonian children, the publication of a set of textbooks for Macedonian schools in Poland, and Macedonian-Polish economic and especially cultural relations.

At the end of the reception, the Apostolic Nuncio expressed gratitude for the extensive insights he gained from the conversation, emphasizing that a note about this meeting and conversation would soon be placed on the table of the Holy Father, with whom he had personal friendly relations.

In parting, he asked me to meet more often, saying that he would always find time for conversations and that I could always count on his help in the interest of the good and progress of Macedonian-Polish relations.

To this I replied that today's meeting was a great honour for me.

Honestly, I did not expect that he would give me so much attention, and the meeting overall was an excellent opportunity to introduce the Apostolic Nuncio to Macedonia.

In the afternoon, my wife and I went to visit the old part of Warsaw, although we had been there many times. At one point, she asked me to wait for her and went into a jewelry store, from which she came out with a beautiful large gold ring with an engraved inscription "To my husband Petre - Ditta, 1995".

- On the occasion of St. Peter's Day and all other future happy occasions, wear it with health - she said.

Such moments in life are rare.

July 13, 1995, Thursday

At 14:00 lunch with the Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Ivan Brnelich. During lunch we talked about the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ambassador Brnelich believed that the situation there was developing dangerously. He was surprised that some high-ranking Poles in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs were big Serbophiles and working hard to strengthen the pro-Serbian lobby. In his opinion, they used all means and were strongly supported by certain former Yugoslav merchants who remained in Warsaw and were now working for Serbia. He stressed that he had no doubt that there were supporters from Macedonia among them but their influence, due to low income, was almost insignificant. Smuggling peppers and Turkish jeans on a truck did not fill pockets. To make a good profit, you needed trucks and well-developed smuggling channels. Albanians from Macedonia were the best at this. They did not smuggle peppers and jeans but something that brought in more money.

Continuing the conversation, he said that he knew, through his own channels, that Macedonian merchants were in contact more with the Serbian Embassy than with the Macedonian one. That was sad. I told him that it was difficult to erase overnight, the influence of Serbian culture, the church, the education system, military service, intermarriage and many other forms of denationalization that had been carried out for eighty years. I think that you, in Croatia, are not completely free from the remnants of the influence exerted by Austria-Hungary, Italy and even Germany. We have only just begun to live in the new era and we will slowly free ourselves from the difficult past, but I think that in this new era the influences will continue, though they will not be one-sided, rather mutual, and that mutuality will

certainly bring us closer and we will respect each other more. In order to achieve this, a change of generations must take place and then both you and we will be what we want to be. We will certainly free ourselves from the influences of the past, but we will fall under new influences that will be imposed on us. Globalism and cosmopolitanism are knocking on our door.

During lunch, we exchanged other opinions, and the meeting was not our last.

In the evening Rishard Biliski, a journalist for the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" "Rzeczpospolita", our good acquaintance and lobbyist, came to the Embassy. I gave him the text on the situation of minorities in Macedonia, which I had promised to Lukashevich, the deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper, a few days ago. Along with my text, I also gave him the interview with B. Handzhiski published in "Nova Makedonija". He promised that they would be published in the coming days.

July 14, 1995, Friday

At 10:00 I was received by Vaclav Yanas, Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. A very open, cordial, pleasant and most importantly – very fruitful conversation. During the 45-minute meeting, I introduced him to the very fruitful cultural cooperation between Poland and Macedonia so far.

We agreed:

- The Ministry of Culture and Arts would finance the publication of an anthology of Macedonian poetry;

- would conduct appropriate discussions for the filming of the movie "The Yellow Rose" and would make efforts to find the documentary film about the stay of Macedonian and Greek children in Poland, filmed in 1950 in Zgozhelets;

- next year Poland would participate in the Ohrid Summer Festival with opera singers;

- no later than October this year, would organize a promotion of the Macedonian film “Before the Rain” (we would provide them with a list of dialogues);

- accepted the opening of an exhibition of terracotta icons, and was also interested in organizing an exhibition of Macedonian medieval icons.

We agreed that further discussions regarding the aforementioned activities would be conducted at the level of experts from both sides.

We devoted the rest of the conversation to what had been done by the Macedonian side to affirm Poland in Macedonia. I informed the Deputy Minister that Macedonian television had already broadcast several series of Polish films. Additionally, a number of novels from Polish classical and contemporary prose had been translated and published, as well as a number of poetry collections, and that the Polish poet Tadeush Ruzhevich was the recipient of the Golden Wreath at the Struga Poetry Evenings. A selection of poems by Pope Vojtila had been translated and published and was presented to him at the festivities on the occasion of May 24. At the upcoming Struga Poetry Evenings, an “Anthology of Polish Contemporary Poetry” would be promoted and that the International Day “Two hundred years since the Birth of the Polish Poet Adam Mitskievich” would be marked in an appropriate manner, as well as other cultural activities that contributed to enriching cultural cooperation.

We ended the meeting with a promise to meet on other occasions.

On the way back to the Embassy, I met the Romanian Ambassador Yoan Grigoresku, with whom we had already established excellent relations and we often met on various occasions. He always claimed that his ancestors, somewhere around a hundred years ago, moved to Romania from Macedonia

for work. I told him that they were probably Vlachs. - No, he said, I insist that they were Macedonians. That is why the conversation with him was always very cordial. He said to me: - Let's go, for a coffee and there, without being seen on the street, we can talk.

During the conversation, I learned that Ambassador Yoan Grigorescu was born in 1930, so he was six years older than me, and had been involved in writing since he was young, but mostly in filmmaking. He was active in the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime, being part of the leadership circle, and was wounded, but fell out of favour due to disagreements over certain positions of the new government and, because of that, was sent as Romania's Ambassador to Warsaw. He complained to me that he had not managed to sign a single agreement with Poland so far, that he had encountered misunderstandings on the part of the Poles regarding Romania's request to join the Central European Initiative and had asked for support from the Republic of Macedonia. He spoke negatively about the Greek attitude towards Macedonia. He said that he had good relations with the Greek Ambassador in Warsaw and suggested that he introduce me to him. I accepted. Continuing the conversation, he noted that Romania and Macedonia had good relations, which were also reflected in the meeting and talks between the presidents of the two countries in Krakov in January 1995. After finishing his coffee, he asked me:

- How did you get here?

- Now by plane – I said – but before that I was in Albania as a child, and then for three months in Romania, in Oradea and then in Poland. I traveled on foot, by truck and by train...

- So you didn't stay to earn a living in Romania, like my ancestors?

- In Romania, more precisely in Bucharest, those who were not eradicated, the leaders of the Greek communists, remained and continued their activities.

I told Ambassador Grigorescu, at length, the story of my journey and the journey of my fellow Macedonians.

Accidents brought people closer together and shared open conversations eased their pain.

After the meeting with the Romanian Ambassador, I walked back to the Embassy. On the way, I thought about whether my note about the talks at the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be delivered in time to the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia. Who there understood about culture? Would there ever be any understanding from the former provincial teacher Aliu, who had moved from Kosovo to Macedonia and became the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia, and those Zheliki, Iovankas and similar ladies who were more dedicated to chatting over coffee and smoking cigarettes? Well, there were also annual vacations and knowing the speed with which important issues were resolved, I doubted that this note, like many others, would gather dust on Risto Blazhevski's desk. It occurred to me to write a letter to some intelligent people who understood the word culture and were dedicated to it, but they were outside the walls of the ministries.

It started to drizzle lightly. A taxi stopped next to me. The taxi driver raised his head and with a gentle smile asked me:

- Shall I give you a ride, Mr. Ambassador?

- Thank you, I will walk.

From the Mokotuv neighbourhood, where the Embassy was located, all the taxi drivers knew me, because I most often used their services.

A big surprise awaited me at the Embassy. The furniture set had been delivered and arranged according to the plan of the architect Biliana Ivanovska. I looked around and was amazed. The previous emptiness was gone. Now the premises resembled an Embassy. So, whoever came after me would have something to sit on, somewhere to work, somewhere to rest, and would most

likely complain and brag that if he were in my place now, he would buy much nicer furniture. Such people in Macedonia were not counted on one hand.

July 15, 1995, Saturday

It was a slow day off but for me it was filled with organizing and writing notes. Rest would come another day.

July 16, 1995, Sunday

It had been raining since dawn on Sunday. The Church of St. Dominic, which is located opposite the Embassy, was crowded with worshippers. It rained and kept raining, and the worshippers came and went, some entering and others leaving. This happened every hour. The worshippers had a set time to go to church and they stuck to it. There was the great order, obedience, peace and quiet there.

July 17, 1995, Monday

Nevertheless, I wrote letters to Ante Popovski, Jovan Pavlovski and Boris Vishiniski. I asked them to use their influence to ensure that at least part of what I agreed on regarding cooperation in the field of culture was implemented. I trusted them.

The children congratulated me on my birthday by phone – July 17, 1937. But that day is not my real birthday. My Polish teacher made it up for me. He didn't line us up properly, he asked and wrote down who was born when. When he came to me, I told him that Aunt Evgenia, the woman who was entrusted with the children who were taken abroad, the boys from my village who were born between 1935 and 1937, including me, recorded all of

us as being born in 1937, and she didn't even know the day and month for her own children, let alone the others. The teacher wrote down the year for me and then asked me what day and month it was today. I told him what month it was today and he wrote down July, and then he started counting and counted that I was in seventeenth place in line. He told me: - Now you should remember that you were born on July 17, which means the seventh month of 1937. That's how it was written, and that's how I was, according to my teacher's mind, born on July 17, 1937, and much later I found out that in the church records, which are kept in the municipal archive of the Kostur municipality of Nestram, it was written that I was born on June 15, 1936. So now I am more inclined to believe the priest who baptized me.

A letter arrived from Tanja. We were very happy.

Our Tanyushka has grown up, entering the course of life that brings both joy and worries, sadness and pain. I read and reread her letter and feel her sadness. I too am sad. I feel like crying and calming my soul and heart with my tears. Our Milenka and Tanja, I want you to know that we miss you very much and that I really want you to sit on my knee, to hug you and stroke you, to hear you hum softly. We are sad because we are not together, but your mother and I also rejoice, our dear girls, that you are coping with the difficulties that life imposes and that will always and everywhere follow you and you do not run away from it, but face it and defy it when it becomes difficult.

Just a little longer, just a few more weeks and we will be together, albeit briefly, but always together.

We are waiting for you...

July 18, 1995, Tuesday

The secretary called and said that the Minister had not yet signed the order to send the car.

-Yes, I'll wait, I said and started to review today's Polish press. Lots of news about the upcoming presidential elections. A complete reflection of divisions and separations in Polish society. Everyone saw democracy in their own way, judged communism and those who ruled and still rule. Pearl after pearl of advice.

I checked the bill for the second part of the furniture. I found that the company was again charging me for shipping and assembly. Tomorrow I would call the "agent " (that's what they call the delivery men) and clear the bill.

Tanja called me. The tickets - she said - are not correct, they say that we are flying on July 14 and returning on July 29, but it should be the other way around, meaning we fly from Sofia on July 29 and return on August 14. I called "Balkan" and we corrected the mistake. I took the opportunity to book plane tickets for us to Skopje with a departure to Sofia on September 7.

Today I signed the employment contracts for a secretary and a cleaner.

Ambassador Mirchev called me from Liubliana. He is coming to Warsaw for a congress that will be held on August 11. I prepared what he asked for.

July 19, 1995, Wednesday

A long night conversation with the sculptor Yoto Dimitrov. He was interested in exhibiting his works in Skopje. I promised him that I would make sure to help him.

July 20, 1995, Thursday

At the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at their request, I was received at 11:00. I had a conversation with officials from the Europe I Department, responsible for European integration and United Nations systems. They asked me to convey the views

of the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the consultations on the 50th UN General Assembly.

Regarding the issue of the Republic of Macedonia's accession to the European Council, they stressed that Poland would provide Macedonia with its full support. At the end of the conversation, they expressed their gratitude and hope.

Today, President Lech Walesa vetoed the Law on the Privatization of Large Enterprises.

A cause for major arguments and insults in the Polish Sejm.

July 21, 1995, Friday

A storm of arguments in the Sejm. It seemde that the Polish right was falling apart. Aleksander Kvashnievski's chances of becoming president of Poland were growing every day.

Craftsmen came to the Embassy and installed a door in the kitchen. Now the office was taking shape, which was difficult to separate from the large living room.

An invitation to participate in a cocktail to be held on July 25 arrived from the Embassy of Switzerland. It was addressed with the constitutional name - Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Belgian Embassy. I met several influential Polish parliamentarians. In our conversations, they promised me that they would personally and politically engage in supporting Macedonia. In their presence, the Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop Jozev Kovalchik spoke very nicely about Macedonia.

At 22:00 Paskal Gilevski called me on the phone. An encouraging and friendly conversation.

I learned that Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski had been absent from the Ministry for the fifth day. The pile of unsigned resolutions and decisions on his desk grew every day. Among

them was the decision to send a car for the needs of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw.

From contacts with some Macedonian Ambassadors, I learned that their information and faxes had not received any response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nor any instructions.

I was no exception.

I was pleased that with a lot of effort and dedication I had furnished the rooms in the Embassy with modern and very beautiful leather furniture. Now the premises had the appearance of a real Embassy. It was good to have a little satisfaction, despite the fact that there, in Skopje, at the headquarters, meaning the Ministry, someone behaved silently and with condescension. This was also claimed by my colleagues - Ambassadors, who hoped that better times were on the way.

Personally, I doubted it because I knew who gave advice there and who disrupted.

July 22, 1995, Saturday

A very hot day: 33 degrees. Hot and humid. We took down the two old chandeliers, with three bulbs each, hanging in the living room and went into town with Ditta to buy new ones. We visited several shops and finally found a shop in the old part of Warsaw with old classic chandeliers, each with twelve bulbs and numerous hanging crystals. While Dota's husband installed them, Dota, our cleaner and schoolmate many years ago, dusted the leather furniture. Between the two windows stood the Macedonian flag. The beauty of the living room filled my eyes when the 24 bulbs, hidden among the numerous crystals, sparkled on the ceiling. Only the floor was bare, but despite that I could now receive Ambassadors and other dignitaries on protocol visits.

July 23, 1995, Sunday

Friday afternoon – visited Warsaw and walked through its parks. Afternoon – wrote reports.

July 24, 1995, Monday

At 13:00 at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at their request. A repeated conversation regarding the consultations for the 50th session of the UN General Assembly. This time I was received by the authorized Minister. I suggested that their representative travel to Skopje for consultations. He agreed. From the Embassy I sent a note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

My secretary Vaska called me and said that the Minister was back and would probably sign the decision about the car today or tomorrow, and there were rumours that it would probably fly...

I interrupted her and said:

- Let it fly, just faster and lower...

The Polish critic Piotr called me on the phone. We agreed that he would deliver the anthology of Polish contemporary poetry to me by October 10. In this regard, I wrote to Jovan Pavlovski, president of the Writers' Association of Macedonia, with a request to receive the Anthology of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry by the same time. From the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia, which I believe was previously informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the reciprocal publishing of anthologies, and so on, still – silence. Probably Minister Aliu, recently immigrated from Kosovo, and now Minister of Culture, was too busy learning the Macedonian language, so maybe that was why there was no answer.

There were still four days left until the children arrived. A lot...

July 25, 1995, Tuesday

At the cocktail at the Swiss Embassy, I had a long conversation with the Deputy Minister of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Meller. The conversation was about his visit to Macedonia. We agreed to meet at dinner, to which I had invited him, and then we could agree on certain details. He accepted. Regarding the conversations I had, the Ministry of Culture would help to facilitate the publication of anthologies and the opening of exhibitions.

Late at night I checked to see how many of my telegrams had not received a response. In total, I had not received a response to 28 telegrams submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. All with important messages.

Why was there no answer?

July 26, 1995, Wednesday

Giorgi Misailovski called. He asked me:

- Why were the congratulations on the occasion of the August 2 holiday sent through the Polish Embassy in Vienna and delivered to Tafchiovski? Check it – he ordered me – and report back.

First, I told him that our Embassy should make arrangements with the Polish Embassy in Vienna, to send me the text of the congratulatory message, and to confirm by fax what he was asking of me, and that if the answer to that question was within my competence, then I would request a response from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note during the day. After two hours, I received everything I asked for from Misailovski.

The greeting was in German accompanied by a translation in Macedonian. I wondered why Ambassador Tafchiovski had

received the greeting cards but had not returned them to the Polish Embassy with an appropriate response?

As promised, I sent the following note to the Diplomatic Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
No. ARM/V/12/95

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw sends its respects to the Diplomatic Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour to convey the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to receive an explanation as to why the congratulations on the occasion of the National Holiday of Macedonia, August 2, were sent via the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Vienna and to remind that, so far, similar congratulations were conveyed through the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Belgrade or directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and whether this should this mean that the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Vienna is authorized to represent Poland in the Republic of Macedonia through Vienna?

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its astonishment over the aforementioned case and asks why the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw was not used and, in this regard, has the honour to remind of its existence and activity.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia also informs that it has instructed the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Vienna to refuse the receipt of such or similar materials from the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Vienna in the future.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw takes this opportunity to reiterate once again the assurances of the

highest consideration to the Diplomatic Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland. PN

Warsaw, July 26, 1995
Diplomatic protocol
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Poland
Warsaw Embassy Seal

I sent a copy of the note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

The tourist posters from Struga arrived. They were sent by the Struga City Council. I will distribute them to various Polish travel agencies tomorrow.

July 27, 1995, Thursday

At 10:00 I took the note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I called the Warsaw City Council. I asked to meet with the mayor Jastshembski, whom I had met after the earthquake in Skopje, when in the autumn of 1964 a large group of Polish urban planners had arrived from Poland, he was among them, and I was hired as a translator. They scheduled a meeting for August 3. So far, I have found two from that team: Stanislav Jankovski and Janush Cherpinski, who visited me in the first days of the opening of the Embassy. Jankovski promised to visit me after the holidays.

All newspapers published information about the resignation of Tadeush Mazovietski from the position of UN Special Rapporteur on the Protection of Human Rights after the collapse of the SFR Yugoslavia and strongly condemned the war in Bosnia. Before that, he was the first Prime Minister of Poland after the fall of the previous regime. With the help of a Polish journalist, who was a permanent correspondent for Radio Warsaw in Sofia and at that time, December 1991, was staying in Skopje, I met him in the restaurant of the Skopje hotel “Continental”. We talked for a long time about the rights of Macedonians in

Bulgaria, and especially in Greece, as well as about the reception in Poland of Macedonian and Greek children and civilians, victims of the Civil War in Greece. During my diplomatic mission in Poland, I had several meetings with Tadeush Mazovietski that resulted in his active engagement in favour of the Republic of Macedonia. He was its lobbyist and supporter. He greatly appreciated my work invested in the translations of Polish literature into the Macedonian language. He was surprised when I told him that I had about thirty works of Polish classical prose and contemporary Polish poetry behind me. Culture, he said, binds and unites people, nations and states more permanently than politics. Culture leaves lasting connections while politics can improve, confuse, or break them. His advice in carrying out my diplomatic mission was unusually useful to me. Our conversations were open and cordial, and this brought us closer together. The door to his office was always open to me.

A strong, unyielding politician and a person who selflessly stood at the forefront of Polish national interests. He was like flint, difficult to break.

July 28, 1995, Friday

Tomorrow our children are coming by plane via Sofia. We are eagerly awaiting them.

The Polish press, television and radio continue to comment harshly on Mazovietski's resignation. According to the comments, he was allegedly proved incapable of putting pressure on the UN to end the war in Bosnia. I remember that in a conversation after his resignation he told me that the war in Bosnia was not local in nature, but was the result of the interests of the big powers.

On the occasion of the upcoming Ilinden holiday, I sent congratulations to the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, the Speaker of the Parliament, Stojan Andov, Prime Minister Branko Tsrvenkovski and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stevo Tsrvenkovski.

July 29, 1995, Saturday

Today we waited for the children. The plane would take off from Sofia at 15:45 Bulgarian time and land in Warsaw at 16:40. We were already at the Warsaw airport. The plane was delayed. It landed at 17:00. We were all joyful and happy.

July 30, 1995, Sunday

Our day was like a holiday. We were all together at the same table. The evening and the day were good, and God willing may all days be good. Young Malichovski, the owner of the house that is now the Embassy, offered show the children part of Warsaw today in his car. They agreed and were gone the whole day. They returned tired but very satisfied.

July 31, 1995, Monday

At 09:00 interview for Radio Warsaw II program. Topic of the interview – Macedonian-Polish cultural cooperation, then the "dispute " with Greece. Extensive information from the distant past to the present. The journalist was surprised by the negative attitude of Greece towards Macedonia. I hoped that millions of Poles heard the conversation.

August 1, 1995, Tuesday

A useful, satisfying and pleasant conversation with Jakub Boravski, Director of the Bureau for Interparliamentary Relations in the Sejm. First of all, we discussed establishing contacts and visits of representatives of the parliaments of Poland and Macedonia. In this regard, the possibility of a visit by the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia to Poland in September was considered, for which an appropriate official invitation would be required. We agreed to meet on

August 8, because by then I should receive a response from our Assembly.

A letter arrived from the city authorities requesting that "The Embassy, given that the building in which the Embassy was located did not meet the requirements for placing a traffic sign for exclusive parking in front of the Embassy, should submit an appropriate request for placing a traffic sign for exclusive parking in front of the Embassy." Illegible signature and stamp.

That same day I sent a fax to the city authorities stating that I would act according to their instructions. The following day, in the afternoon, an appropriate traffic sign was placed in front of the Embassy.

August 2, 1995, Wednesday

Ilinden – Macedonian national holiday.

We raised a larger flag on the flagpole.

Several phone calls from Macedonians with congratulations for the holiday, and some, in addition to the congratulations, asked if there would be cocktails at the Embassy. Not a word from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, let alone appropriate instructions regarding the celebration of Ilinden.

They called from the Sejm, Bureau for European Integration. We arranged a meeting on August 8th.

Congratulations arrived from the Embassies of: Croatia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Russian Federation, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine, Belarus, Austria, Italy, Albania, Hungary.

I will thank them tomorrow.

A bright, sunny, warm day. After breakfast we walked to Vilanuv, the most visited place by Poles and foreigners every day. A walk in the park, the children were particularly impressed by the part of the park with the most diverse flowers and fountains. Then a visit to the royal palace, as well as the halls with old weapons and paintings from different times and various painters.

After returning to the Embassy, I read a comment in the newspaper "Nova Makedonija" according to which a purge in the state administration was expected in the coming days and that on August 3, the government would undergo changes.

August 3, 1995, Thursday

Reception and useful conversation with the Mayor of Warsaw, Jastshembski. As mentioned elsewhere in the diary, he participated in the preparation of the urban plan for the reconstruction of Skopje after the earthquake. His wish was to meet with the Mayor of Skopje and use the meeting to establish cooperation between the two capital cities. He asked that the meeting be held during this year.

At 13:00 lunch with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Meller and Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper "Zhechpospolita", Machei Lukashevich. During lunch, several issues were raised in the field of mutual relations between Poland and Macedonia, with the assessment that they were developing usefully. Deputy Minister Meller was particularly interested in the current situation in Macedonia and relations with its neighbours and, as he said, the requested information would greatly serve him in building the position of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding his upcoming visit to Macedonia. He said that his ministry was closely monitoring the situation and would undertake activities in an appropriate manner to support the Republic of Macedonia, for which cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw would be of great benefit. Lukashevich also joined the conversation, emphasizing that the pages of the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" were publishing more and more positive information about the Republic of Macedonia, which would contribute to its affirmation, noting that the newspaper's editorial staff had already established excellent relations and cooperation with the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw.

We agreed that the next meeting would be held at the premises of our Embassy.

August 4, 1995, Friday

The Diplomatic Protocol faxed me the congratulations from President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Jozev Oleksi and Minister Bartoshevski on the occasion of the Ilinden holiday. I forwarded them to Skopje the same day.

The children decided to return home a week early. They would leave on Monday, August 7th.

Today we connected the second phone line.

An invitation arrived from the Embassy of Ukraine, addressed to FIROM, to participate in cocktails on the occasion of the national holiday of Ukraine. I called the Ukrainian Ambassador, with whom I had already established excellent relations, and our wives were very cordial friends, and reminded him that Ukraine recognized Macedonia with its constitutional name. He apologized, said that an unintentional mistake had been made and put all the blame on his secretary.

The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, which I had requested be sent to me from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived today after a delay of four months. I was not surprised. There had been no response to a large number of my telegrams for six months. This could be understood as a reason for multiple occasions, and my response to someone's irresponsibility was to defiantly stand on the side of hope.

August 5, 1995, Saturday

Around 20:00 Rishard Biliski, a journalist at the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" and an outspoken lobbyist for us, called me. He said he was preparing questions for an interview with retired general Atanovski and asked me to translate them into Macedonian. I accepted.

We stayed up late with the children. We talked about everything and anything. We would still be together tomorrow. They were leaving on Monday.

August 6, 1995, Sunday

Together with the children, we spent the whole day in "Lazhenki" park, one of the most beautiful parks in Warsaw. Here also was part of Poland's tragic but proud past, marked for remembrance and memorialized with numerous monuments. Lunch at the restaurant located in the center of the park.

August 7, 1995, Monday

And... the children left. The plane to Sofia took off at 07:00. We stood there until it disappeared over the horizon. We were sad and silent as we returned. Now we were alone again. Their bright and cheerful laughter and jokes that filled us with joy for seven days were gone. We were very happy together with them. The feeling of some great emptiness had overcome us. Now we also felt the pain of our mothers when they sent us off into the unknown. Now we understood how difficult it was for them in the days and years when they had no opportunity to see or hear us. They lived, the poor ones, with hope. We were far away. In the unknown. Now we were alone and not lonely because at every moment, every day we could hear each other, talk to each other, laugh, tell each other when we would see each other. Such a thought filled us. We would live a life that was made up not only of joy, but also of pain and sadness, but above all that was hope...

And time continued to flow.

At 12:00 I took a taxi to the "European" hotel where Ambassador Dimitar Mirchev was waiting for me, who had come to Warsaw from Liubliana for a scientific symposium. We arrived at our Embassy in his car. He spoke very highly of the equipment of the premises. In a cordial conversation, but also with many remarks about everything that was happening in Macedonia, as

well as the way in which some people conducted Macedonian diplomacy, we did not notice how three hours of shared time had passed, filled with worries and bitterness for the future of the homeland. Ambassador Mirchev was an experienced diplomat, professor, erudite, an elite Macedonian intellectual the likes of whom others would wish to have, a man of principles and integrity, but he was also very disappointed by the people who conducted foreign policy in an amateurish manner and who, with their ignorance and unhealthy ambitions, were pushing Macedonian diplomacy toward the bottom. Difficult and painful were the conversations in which the feeling of powerlessness prevailed, in which the main role was played by cowardly individuals anxious to reach positions for which they had no knowledge. Unfortunately, says Mirchev, dear Petre, there is a lot of influence from outside and even greater obedience from within. To this, I said that in my assessment, in the future we certainly expected greater interference and pressure from outside in our affairs and even greater obedience and subordination from within.

Ambassador Mirchev stood up, walked around the office and said:

-You've arranged the Embassy well and you've chosen a good location. Your office is good too.

We agreed to continue the conversation at dinner, which we scheduled for 20:00.

August 8, 1995, Tuesday

He did not come to the meeting scheduled with the Parliamentary Committee for European Integration. The proposal was theirs and they called me twice on the phone and asked if I would attend the meeting. I went. I waited for half an hour in the waiting room. No one came. And I did not ask for anyone. Dignity made me leave. I stood up and left. On the way, I thought to myself: Macedonia may be able to beg but not to bow its head and plead.

As soon as I entered the Embassy, the phone rang. On the other end, a request to speak with the Ambassador. I recognized the man by his voice. I told him that the Ambassador was at a meeting with the Parliamentary Committee for European Integration. Silence, and then a whole chain of apologies, claiming that the chairman of the committee had fallen ill and therefore did not go to the meeting. I told him that I would convey it to the Ambassador, and as for the meeting in which the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for European Integration was interested, they should inform him that the Ambassador is ready to accept a meeting at any time, but will not wait in the waiting room. Regards and respect, sir, and I hung up the phone. My wife, who was listening to the conversation, reprimanded me:

- Be careful because someone will tell you that you made a fuss.

At 20:00 dinner with Ambassador Dimitar Mirchev. The entire conversation was about the situation in Macedonia, and especially about the situation and work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, with the assessment that it was led by incompetent personnel, closely connected to the personnel from the previous regime. He had his own assessment of everyone who was in a leadership position. He did not have a very good opinion of certain individuals in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They were legally educated but not communicative, they did not have their own opinion, they doubted everything, even their own shadow. Astonished by such insights, I said that in Macedonia little was said about it, to which he replied that in Macedonia there is silence and that silence is one of the reasons for its tragedy.

The dinner, or rather the conversation, ended late. In parting, we agreed to stay in touch.

I had met Ambassador Dimitar Mirchev in Skopje after the collapse of the SFRY. From my friendship with him I learned a lot. I also learned that in Slovenia he was loved and appreciated but in Macedonia he was slandered and hated.

August 9, 1995, Wednesday

At 10:00 a meeting with Soltis, director of the publishing house "Book and Knowledge" ("Książka and Wiedza"), one of the oldest and largest publishing houses in Poland. We discussed publishing an Anthology of Macedonian contemporary poetry. He said he would accept it and publish it as best he could. We agreed to meet again and think about the possibilities for reciprocal publishing of other literary works.

I was contacted by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked whether September 22nd of this year would be accepted as a day for a return visit by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Meller. I replied that in my opinion the proposed day was acceptable and asked them to confirm the proposal by fax or note to the Embassy and, in the meantime, I would consult with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

August 10, 1995, Thursday

I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the upcoming reciprocal consultations, highlighting the request of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the talks to be held in Skopje on September 22nd.

Today marked the end of half a year of my mission in Warsaw. Over the past six months, I had visited all Polish ministries and state offices, made protocol visits to several Embassies, and had contacts with Polish business firms. I had sent about 300 telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and only received a response to 28.

August 11, 1995, Friday

I received a beautiful letter from Ambassador Dimitar Mirchev full of gratitude and praise for the short but very fruitful and useful meeting in Warsaw.

I again sent a note to the Polish Foreign Ministry asking them to provide me with a list of signed agreements between Poland and the SFRY.

Journalist Rishard Biliski came to the Embassy unannounced. He asked if I had the latest information on the situation in Bosnia, to which I replied that I did not. He boasted that he had the latest agency information on what was happening in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and even Macedonia. I listened to him carefully. Biliski then moved on to the situation in Poland and emphasized that Kvashnievski would certainly win the presidential elections. At the end of the meeting, he gave me the questions for the interview with Dr. Handzhiski. I promised him that he would receive the translation of the questions by tomorrow afternoon at the latest.

August 12, 1995, Saturday

I carefully read the protest of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the decision of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs according to which every foreigner entering the Czech Republic would have to pay 280 US dollars per day. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this by fax. In the same fax I also sent the questions regarding Dr. Blagoi Handzhiski.

August 13, 1995, Sunday

Reading professional literature in the field of diplomacy, following daily TV news.

August 14, 1995, Monday

I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia asking whether Skopje Brewery would participate in the International Beer Fair, with a request to forward the text of the telegram to the brewery. The Skopje Brewery responded that it was not interested in participating in the beer fair.

I sent the report on the talks I'd had with the Polish Ministry of Defense a month ago with a request that it be delivered to the Macedonian Ministry of Defense.

August 15, 1995, Tuesday

Today was a major religious holiday in Poland. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was celebrated. At the same time, Poles were also celebrating the 75th anniversary of the victory over the Bolsheviks in 1920, popularly known as the "The Miracle of the Visla" ("Чудото над Висла").

At 15:00 Viktor Gaber called me on the phone. He said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia would immediately send a letter to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary requesting that Macedonia participate as an observer at the CEFTA meeting to be held from August 16 to 17 in Warsaw, emphasizing that I should immediately contact the Embassies of the mentioned countries. In this regard, I asked him:

- Since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia directly contacts the ministries of the aforementioned countries, in this case, what is the need for me to immediately contact their Embassies in Warsaw and find out which other countries are members of CEFTA?

At the end of the conversation, I told him that this approach undermined the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, and that the request made over the phone should be sent to me by fax, and that it was already too late because the CEFTA meeting starts tomorrow, August 16.

There was no response to my request, and I had notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the CEFTA meeting by fax ten days ago, so I assumed that someone remembered to pass it on to Gaber very late.

I learned that only today had the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy received my telegram of August 1. In this regard, they asked to receive the questions from the relevant Polish Ministry that would be the subject of the talks. I received the questions two days later and sent them with an announcement that the meeting between the two ministries could be held between September 20 and 27 this year.

Today Shaurek and his wife Teresa arrived at the Embassy unannounced.

- We came, he said, to meet before our departure to Skopje and drink the best coffee that only your wife knows how to brew.

In the almost one-hour long, very pleasant and cordial conversation, I found a little bit of peace. A rare moment of relaxation and calm in my soul.

August 16, 1995, Wednesday

Until noon I prepared the quarterly financial report. Gaber called again about the CEFTA meeting. I told him that I had spoken at the CEFTA headquarters and was told there that the CEFTA meeting was of a working nature and that no observers were expected to participate.

I did not know why the man was in such a hurry to go where he was not invited.

At 19:00 we went to the concert organized on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Polish victory over the Bolsheviks in 1920. I noticed that those present experienced that historical event deeply and with pride. After the concert, the mayor of Warsaw invited us to a cocktail reception. I congratulated him on the anniversary but we did not stay for the cocktail reception,

saying that I had serious obligations waiting for me at the Embassy.

August 17, 1995, Thursday

And again it was confirmed that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs was far behind the current situation in Europe. The phone rang. From that side Misailovski. He was asking for information about CEFTA. He said that Ambassador Dimitar Mirchev explained something to them but they did not think it was enough. I told him to submit the request by fax. End of conversation. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia they did not know what CEFTA was, which countries were members, under what conditions one could participate as an observer or become a member.

So why did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia have a Department for European Integration?

I called the CEFTA headquarters and asked for a meeting. They would see me tomorrow.

Biliana Ivanovska, the architect, called me and asked if the furniture was arranged according to her plan and if I was satisfied. I answered affirmatively. At the end of the conversation, she told me that it had been decided to send me a car but they were waiting for the order to be signed by the Minister. I realized that I would be waiting a long time.

August 18, 1995, Friday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs called me to go to the Ministry of Foreign Trade Relations, where my interlocutor would be Mr. Yaremchuk. During the conversation, he informed me in detail about the procedure for admission to CEFTA, which was a complex and closed free trade organization and very conservative. I also received the Declaration from 1994 when CEFTA was formed. I sent it to Gaber by fax.

I received good news from the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts. They had decided to screen the film "Before the Rain", were requesting dialogues as soon as possible and had formed a committee to search for the documentary film made in 1950 about Macedonian and Greek children admitted to Poland.

The same day I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a request that it be forwarded to the Macedonian Ministry of Culture.

I spoke to Tanja that evening. The wedding was set for September 21st of this year. I wished them the best of luck and said that I would make sure that her mother and I would be present.

August 19, 1995, Saturday

At 12:45 a fax arrived from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs - a response to Stevo Tsrvenkovski's letter regarding the participation of the Republic of Macedonia at the CEFTA meeting.

The poor people in the Directorate for Europe: they had mixed everything up! Once they wrote Macedonia, then the Republic of Macedonia, then the FY Republic of Macedonia. This in a way justified the position of Ambassador Hmielevski, who claimed that some high-ranking officials in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs were not aware of which country they lived and worked in, or even for whom they worked. In a conversation with me, he said that we had to decide which name we would use for the country– whether one or three. Joking aside, but the trouble was here.

August 20, 1995, Sunday

Nothing to note, except that it was very warm today, unusual for Poland.

August 21, 1995, Monday

It seemed that working in Warsaw, I would slowly uncover the nonsense that was being done in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I was constantly bombarded with faxes convincing me that the Republic of Macedonia was a member of GATT and that I should strive to strengthen the cooperation of the Republic of Macedonia with GATT. I contacted the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation and asked them to provide me with the list of GATT member countries. The Republic of Macedonia was not on the list. To convince those in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia who claimed otherwise, I sent them the list by fax.

The same day I spoke with Yaremchuk at the Ministry of Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries. He gave me the text of the "Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on Economic Cooperation" in Polish and suggested that if we became a member of GATT this year, it could be signed. Ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia to address the Polish Ministry of Trade in writing, requesting that the Republic of Macedonia be invited to the CEFTA meeting in Brno, which he would chair and use the opportunity to familiarize those present with the content of the letter. I sent the proposal by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

As far as I remember, I translated the text of the same agreement from Polish into Macedonian in the fall of 1992. Now, probably, the text had been thrown away somewhere or lay forgotten in a drawer.

August 22, 1995, Tuesday

Until 10:00 I was preparing for the meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the topic: The position of the

Republic of Macedonia on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. At 11:00 I was received by the Deputy Director of the Europe I Department, Tomash Orlovski. A pleasant man, with a calm face. During the one-hour conversation, I introduced him to our positions in more detail. He listened to me carefully and said that Poland treated Macedonia with recognition and sympathy. At no point did he use the name FYROM, only Macedonia. At 12:00 I left the Ministry.

When I returned to the Embassy, I learned that Done Begalovski had called from Zakopane, where the Cultural and Artistic Association from Struga was participating in the 27th International Folklore Festival of Mountain Countries.

I would like to take the opportunity here to dedicate some space in my notes to Done Begalovski, who came from the village of Pozdivishta, Kostur. As a 16-year-old boy, he completed the first Macedonian teacher training course that was held in the fall of 1947 in the village of Zhelevo. In March 1948, he left for Yugoslavia with thousands of children, and then to Romania, where in March 1949, together with hundreds of his peers, he was mobilized and sent to Prespa to reinforce the units of the Democratic Army of Greece. At the training ground in the Prespa village of Medovo, these mobilized children were recognized by their parents who, after the exodus of the children, were mobilized as an auxiliary force for DAG. Protests and threats broke out, which led to the DAG General Headquarters transferring the mobilized children to Albania, where they were placed as reserves in the refugee camp of Prenjes, where they continued with military exercises. After the heavy defeat of DAG on August 30, 1949, 80 of those boys and girls were flown to Poland and placed in the resort town of Solitse-Zdrui, where at the end of October 1948 and the beginning of April 1949, minor children from the Kostur region and a smaller number from Voden region had been housed. Here I met Done Begalovski and many other boys who were still dressed in military uniforms and every afternoon paraded along the main street singing partisan battle songs, which had previously been sung by the partisans in

Vardar Macedonia and had been automatically transferred to Aegean Macedonia, where they were sung by the Macedonian partisans, DAG fighters. On September 1, 1949 the school year began in Poland. Macedonian children also began to study in the large halls of the resort homes. They appointed Done Begalovski and Vasil Martinovski, who had completed the fifteen-day course in the village of Zhelevo, as teachers for the subject Macedonian mother tongue. By the way, I will note that I will devote more space to Vasil Martinovski on another occasion. What did those two child-teachers teach us children? What they learned in the course – the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet, partisan songs and they told us stories that we already knew from our grandparents. In October and November 1949, Poland accepted about fifteen thousand refugees, Macedonians and Greeks, victims of the defeat of the Civil War and settled them in the city of Zgozhelets and the surrounding agricultural cooperatives. At the end of the year, they collected both Macedonian and Greek children from the picnic areas in Zgozhelets and settled them in the former German military barracks. I found myself there too, in the sixth block, where my teacher was Vasil Martinovski. In May 1950, the infamous anti-Yugoslav and above all anti-Macedonian communist hunt began. From then until 1954 everything that was Macedonian was not considered Macedonian but Tito's, and therefore it was necessary to erase it. They erased the Macedonian Cyrillic on the school board, wrote some Bulgarian-Russian and took the chalk from Vasil Martinovski's hands and gave him the reins of the horse-drawn cart in one of the nearest agricultural cooperatives, where he loaded and unloaded sacks of potatoes and carrots onto the carts. Only in 1954 was he allowed to move to the city of Vrotslav, where we got to know each other better, became very close friends and... but in another place. Done Begalovski remained in the German barracks as a teacher, for which he was covered in the darkness of gossip and slander. In the 1951-52 school year, the children were transferred far away to northwestern Poland, to the town of Politse, near Shchecin. Among them were me and Done Begalovski, who continued with

the purely folk church-village education in the Macedonian language. He was a teacher, an amateur, with a natural and divine gift. He did not bother to complete a specific education. The only thing he learned well was excellent playing of the harmonica and his great efforts to form a choir which, dressed in Macedonian folk costumes sewn by the tailor Kosta Penovski and his wife Levka, in July 1955 participated in the International Youth Festival in Warsaw, where for the first time on its streets, squares and numerous stages, Macedonian folk songs and dances were heard. If there was something that was necessarily commendable to note about him, it was his love for Macedonian culture, which he promoted everywhere with his harmonica. In 1977 he moved to Struga. Without any profession, he earned his living sporadically as a grocery store clerk and, with his excellent knowledge of Greek and Polish, he was often hired as a tourist guide and translator, and he also collected mushrooms and medicinal herbs, selling them to supplement the modest household budget. He lived modestly, always smiling, a friend to many Struga residents and never complained about anything. He was a sincere friend to me and therefore now and always I will remember him with pain and respect.

The cultural and artistic society from Struga encountered difficulties regarding their return to the country due to the demand of the Slovak border authorities to pay 3000 (three) thousand German marks, which they did not have. If they did not pay, they would have to take the long route through Ukraine from where, after a long journey, they arrived in Zakopane. That was the reason for the phone call of Begalovski, who asked for help from the Embassy. In this regard, I called the Slovak Ambassador several times. He was not there.

At the same time, I received a call from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy asking if Macedonia would participate in the meeting in September. I called Minister Sabriu and conveyed the request from the Polish Ministry. He confirmed positively, and I asked him to confirm his participation by fax.

Immediately afterwards, a person called me, who introduced himself as Dimitar Moisovski, who lived in Warsaw and urgently asked me to see him. I agreed. He came. All his trouble was connected with the concern of helping him establish contacts with Polish traders. I gave him several addresses of Polish companies that were looking for contacts with Macedonian trading companies.

Begalovski called me again. I told him that I was aware of the problem and that I would look into it.

I called the Slovak Ambassador, Marian Servatka, again. We had a short conversation and I conveyed the request that the members of the Cultural and Artistic Society from Struga be exempted from the requirement to pay for visas. He told me that he would contact the relevant Slovak authorities and to call him tomorrow.

The promised fax from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy did not arrive.

August 23, 1995, Wednesday

Cocktails with the Ukrainians (16:00-18:00). Very crowded, mostly military personnel. I had a number of meetings and conversations with diplomats to whom, in most cases, at their request, I conveyed the views of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

August 24, 1995, Thursday

Conversation with the Chargé d'Affaires of the Hungarian Embassy. A mutual exchange of views on the situation in both countries. The Hungarian diplomat informed me that Hungary gave and would continue to give full support to Macedonia, and regarding the CEFTA meeting in Brno, it would advocate for Macedonia to participate as an observer.

The meeting with the Czech Ambassador did not take place because an important delegation from Prague had come to Warsaw.

August 25, 1995, Friday

The secretary from the Slovak Embassy called and said that the visa issue was being resolved. They needed to bring the passports to the Slovak Embassy. I called Begalovski and told him to come to Warsaw and bring the passports of the KUD members. Most likely, the KUD members from Struga would be exempted from paying.

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, unsigned. They were asking at the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights to report the participation of the Macedonian delegation at the OSCE meeting.

It seemed that someone in the Ministry did not know that Macedonia has been participating regularly in the KEBS meetings held in Warsaw since 1993. As a reminder, throughout October 1993, I had personally led the delegation with my assistant Jon Ivanovski. I suppose I knew who the applicant was.

At 14:00 Begalovski and the head of the KUD arrived at the Embassy. Without further delay, I sent them to the Slovak Embassy, from where they returned with free visas. I immediately called the Slovak Ambassador and thanked him, telling him that I considered the act of exempting them from paying visas to be an excellent sign of cordial friendship.

We kept Begalovski and his friend for lunch. They stayed until 18:30. I sent them by taxi to the train station, from where they took the train to Zakopane.

August 26, 1995, Saturday

A day meant for rest but painfully boring. At 12:00 Ireneush Shlupkovski, with a Macedonian father and a Polish mother, arrived from Shchechin. He gave the impression of an

educated, intelligent person. Talkative. Excessively burdened with emotions. He handed me a letter requesting that a Macedonian library be opened in Shchechin. I praised him for the initiative and asked him how many Macedonians there were in that city. He said that besides him there was another one but he was more of a Greek because he often traveled to Greece and praised it a lot. He claimed that the Polish authorities treated the Macedonians in Poland incorrectly, and he, as he said, as the top and most educated historian, always used the opportunity to talk to the Poles about the history of Macedonia and the genocide that Greece had committed against it and, because of that, the Republic of Macedonia must take revenge on Greece. He said that together with the president of the Macedonian Society, who lived in Gdanisk, they would soon participate in the meeting of the overseas committee of VMRO based in Berlin. He said that together they constantly sent appeals to the Polish authorities, including the president, newspapers and television, in which they demanded that Poland recognize the Macedonians in Poland as a national minority, not as an ethnic group, and to grant them all human rights. I asked him - how many Macedonians are there in Poland? He said somewhere around one hundred to two hundred. He offered to be hired at the Embassy as a historical advisor.

August 27, 1995, Sunday

A day without print media but with a lot of television, most widely commenting on the resignations of two of President Lech Walesa's closest associates: Vahovski, advisor, head of the Cabinet, state secretary, former personal driver; The St. Catherine's Convent with a margin of 5 members over Gronkievich-Valtz, governor of the Polish National Bank, with the mandate of presidential candidate. Lech Walesa had dropped out. The Polish episcopate sent an open message to the Polish faithful not to vote for a candidate from the previous regime.

From 10:00 to 14:00 we went for a walk in the largest Warsaw park where we listened to a Chopin concert performed in

front of the Chopin monument. Then we visited the botanical garden. A nice day. Our entire conversation was about our children and the upcoming trip to Macedonia.

August 28, 1995, Monday

Very changeable weather. Cold and rainy.

From 12:00 to 12:45 a conversation with Palishevski, a senior official at the OSCE's Bureau for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

The Polish press and TV channels were full of news and commentary about the political situation in Poland and the parties' positions on the upcoming presidential elections. The Catholic Church was the most active in favour of the right.

August 29, 1995, Tuesday

Meeting with the Ambassador of Romania. We discussed the current situation in Poland in light of the upcoming presidential elections. We were betting on Aleksander Kvashnievski.

August 30, 1995, Wednesday

At the cocktail at the Apostolic Nunciature, meetings and bilateral talks with the Ambassadors of: China, Lithuania, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Turkey, Sweden, India. Each in their own way offered support to the Republic of Macedonia. The Chinese and Albanian Ambassadors suggested that I visit them. I accepted.

The issue with the airline tickets has not yet been resolved. The Polish airline LOT did not have an agreement with the Macedonian airline, so it could not sell tickets to our citizens, even to me. I scheduled a meeting with the director of LOT.

At 18:00 Dimitar Mandzhunovski, a Macedonian from Vodensko, my school friend, a permanent resident of Warsaw,

married to a Polish woman, came to the Embassy. Mihal Gramatnikovski, president of the Association of Macedonians in Warsaw and the surrounding area, was supposed to come with him. He was also from the group of abducted children, he came from the Prespa village of Rudari. He did not come for health reasons. Dimitar Mandzhunovski worked as a journalist. He asked me to introduce him in more detail to the goals of the KEBS meeting and whether representatives of non-governmental Macedonian organizations of Macedonians from Greece, Bulgaria and Albania were expected to arrive and whether the Embassy would organize a meeting with them. I said that non-governmental organizations had their own ways of acting and in that case the Embassy would not organize a meeting with them. It could receive individuals but not entire delegations. I suggested that the Association of Macedonians in Poland should make efforts to organize meetings for Macedonians from different parts of Macedonia not only with Polish non-governmental organizations, but also with NGOs from other countries. In this way, more would be learned about the rights of Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. Mandzhunovski agreed and promised that he would present the proposal to the board tomorrow and that the proposed format was much more useful.

August 31, 1995, Thursday

A rainy and cold day.

At 10:00 I visited the director of the State Archives of Poland for old documents. It was a very useful conversation in which I stated that the Archives of Macedonia was interested in establishing cooperation and, within that framework, was particularly interested in various types of collaboration, primarily in the exchange of experts, literature in the field of archival science, archival research, education of personnel, exhibitions of archival materials and, for that purpose, the archives could sign an appropriate cooperation agreement.

At 18:00 cocktails at the Embassy of the Slovak Republic on the occasion of Constitution Day – a national holiday. An occasion for multiple meetings and conversations. The meeting with Zhelinski, spokesperson for civil rights in the Sejm (Parliament) was special. He kept me in a conversation that lasted 25 minutes. He showed extensive knowledge of the Balkan situation and issues and a great interest in Macedonia. At the end of the conversation, he promised that at the upcoming session of the European Council he would vote for the admission of the Republic of Macedonia. He condemned Greece for its, as he put it, "uncontrolled and humiliating behaviour towards Macedonia".

September 1, 1995, Friday

At 11:00 at the Polish Ministry of Finance. I returned to Kazhimiezh Boni the texts of the agreements on investment protection and double taxation. He suggested that the agreements be signed in Warsaw on October 6-7 this year by the Prime Ministers or ministers.

September 2, 1995, Saturday

It was raining and cold. We decided to travel to Skopje via Sofia. Departure from Warsaw on September 11, at 11:05, arriving in Sofia at 14:00, and then to Skopje by taxi. Return to Warsaw on September 23 via Sofia.

In the evening, around 19:30 Jon Ivanovski arrived at the Embassy. He was participating in the meeting of the CEI (Central European Initiative) coordinators, and was on assignment in Vienna. He complained that there was no help from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

I didn't comment.

September 3, 1995, Sunday

It rained all day. It was cold, minus ten degrees. Insulting words about the candidates for President of the country were published in the press and on TV channels. It was announced that the day of the presidential elections would be announced on September 6th and then the big circus would begin.

September 4, 1995, Monday

Very cold day. Telephone conversation with Deputy Minister Meller regarding the trip to Skopje. At 19:00 dinner with Piekarski, Director of the Diplomatic Protocol.

September 5, 1995, Tuesday

Separate meeting with the Czech and Albanian Ambassadors at their request. Topic of discussion: mutual relations. The Czech – cold, spoke with long pauses. He complained about the fact that a large number of Macedonian citizens lived in the Czech Republic and were engaged in illegal activities; primarily drug trafficking.

The Ambassador of Albania, Faya - calm and open. He was satisfied that the relations between Macedonia and Albania were developing excellently, that there was an increased movement of people and goods on both sides, that there was a large exchange of tourists and he expected even closer ties between the two countries. At the end of the conversation, he expressed regret that certain individuals, and even groups of Albanians in Macedonia, with their uncontrolled actions, were disturbing interethnic relations, which cast an unwanted shadow on the relations between Albania and Macedonia, which was very undesirable.

At 18:00 dinner with the Ambassador of Slovakia, Marian Servatka, at his invitation. We discussed the situation in Poland before the Presidential elections, predicting Kvashnievski, and for the longest time we talked about the possibilities for expanding

economic and cultural cooperation between Slovakia and Macedonia.

September 6, 1995, Wednesday

I prepared notes and telegrams all day about the activities so far. I will send some of them through diplomatic mail.

The dates for thePresidential elections were announced. The first round on November 5, the second round on November 19.

I noticed that my health was deteriorating. Ditta complained to Dr. Emilia. She examined me and assessed that I was exhausted. She prescribed me some medication and recommended that I stay in bed for a few days and that she would examine me again in a week.

September 7, 1995, Thursday

At 09:00 a protocol reception at the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China. He personally greeted me at the entrance to the Embassy, which I considered a great honour for Macedonia. A short man, with wise and clear eyes. He spoke to me in Polish and after we shook hands and introduced ourselves by name, surname and position, he took me to his office, the size of half a football stadium. Everything in the office was large. The armchairs were large also. He invited me to sit down and it felt as if I had sunk into the large leather armchair. A young lady, bowing low, placed a tray on the table on which there were a variety of sweets, a white jug with a colourful dragon drawn on it and two small, white porcelain cups. The Ambassador raised the porcelain cup and asked me to do the same. He toasted and slowly sipped the drink. Following his example, I did the same but I could barely stand, not only the smell, but also the taste of the drink.

- The drink was made of rice, sixty degrees – said the Ambassador. – The best in China. Would you like another one?

Out of respect for him and his country, I didn't refuse even though I could hardly stand the smell and it made me want to vomit.

We talked in Polish. The essence of the conversation – Macedonia with its past, present and relations with its neighbours. Then we moved on to cooperation in all forms.

After a meaningful conversation, I said goodbye in Chinese. He liked that and responded with a big smile.

I walked back to the Embassy very satisfied and with the smell of Chinese rice wine.

On the occasion of the Independence Day of the Republic of Macedonia, I sent congratulations by fax to the President of the Republic, Kiro Gligorov, the Speaker of the Parliament, Stojan Andov, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

September 8, 1995, Friday

Independence Day of the Republic of Macedonia. I did not receive any instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the celebration of the holiday. An ordinary working day. I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a meeting regarding the reciprocal visit to Skopje. The Polish delegation would include Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Meller and Ambassador Hmielevski, Head of Department I. We agreed to meet once again before leaving for Skopje.

At 13:00 the Malezans came to the Embassy to wish us a happy holiday. A beautiful bouquet and a bottle of whiskey. No one else showed up. The patriots – the merchants were not here. Later, Ambassador Viktor Kinetski arrived with his wife. They presented Ditta with a beautiful bouquet of red roses. Nice words on the occasion of the holiday and then a long and pleasant conversation. We treated them to a piece of cake and a drink of their choice. A modest lunch at the nearest restaurant.

September 9, 1995, Saturday

Today we also marked half a year of diplomatic service in Warsaw. Six months of painstaking work starting from scratch and crowned with many meetings, conversations, contacts and the most important thing in the modern history of Macedonia, the opening of the first Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. Six months of work measured by exclusively positive and very useful results, but also by days of disappointment puncuated by perseverance and defiance. Hundreds of telegrams sent and very rare responses. No cooperation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Difficulties? Yes but only from certain people in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. With the difficulties that I faced here, in Warsaw, I dealt with knowledge, tact, patience and defiance, but it was difficult with people who lacked backbone, were jealous, half-witted, incompetents, slanderers. And now I also remembered the warning of President Kiro Gligorov who, before my departure for Warsaw, honestly told me:

– You will encounter difficulties but mostly from here, from Macedonia.

And so it is, and God willing it continues to be so! But, despite everything that has been achieved, I carry with me an intention that I will convey to President Kiro Gligorov at the first meeting.

September 10, 1995, Sunday

Gloomy, foggy weather. We packed up. On the road tomorrow – flight to Skopje.

September 11, 1995, Monday

By taxi at 10:00 to the airport. The flight to Sofia was delayed by an hour. At 12:00 we landed in Sofia from where we traveled by taxi to Macedonia. Tanja and Mile were waiting for us

at the border crossing and together in their car we arrived in Skopje late in the afternoon. We were all home together.

September 12, 1995, Tuesday

At 08:30 I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Viktor Gaber and I agreed to meet tomorrow, Wednesday, at 13:00. Several phone conversations with friends, including Ante Popovski and Jovan Pavlovski, with whom we met at the Writers' Club.

September 13, 1995, Wednesday

At 09:00 a meeting with Viktor Gaber. A discussion about our diplomatic mission in Warsaw and my activities. He stressed that he was very satisfied with my work. We continued the conversation regarding the upcoming political consultations and the reception of the Polish delegation consisting of Deputy Minister Meller and the Director of the First Directorate, Ambassador Hmielevski.

I reminded Gaber that the rest of the equipment for the Embassy should be delivered, including an official car. He pointed out that he had already signed the decision. He told me to call Simka and Vera Mitanova. After the meeting I went to Simka and Mitanova. Simka confirmed that she had paid for the car and Mitanova told me that everything would be resolved during the day. I asked Secretary Vasilka to schedule a meeting for me with President Kiro Gligorov, the President of the Assembly, Stojan Andov, the Prime Minister, the Mayor of Skopje, the Minister of Culture, the Minister of Financ, and the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia.

September 14, 1995, Thursday

Liupka Vasilevska called me and said that the Minister and Prime Minister had returned from New York and that I had a

meeting scheduled for 13:00 with Ahil Tuntev. I went exactly at the scheduled time. A pleasant and long conversation. He was interested in the attitude of the Polish authorities towards Macedonia and whether I had understanding on their part. I told him that so far I had not encountered any difficulties or obstacles and that I had never been refused meetings or conversations, and that they treated Macedonia with sympathy. He said that he had read some of my telegrams and praised me for my activities in carrying out the tasks arising from my mission. He asked me to meet him again, after the meeting with President Kiro Gligorov and the Speaker of the Assembly, Stojan Andov, before my departure. Satisfied with the meeting, I returned home in the afternoon.

At 15:00 the Ministry of Culture called me and scheduled a meeting with the Minister for Tuesday, September 19 at 11:30.

In the evening, Macedonian television broadcast news that a temporary agreement with Greece had been signed. Because of this, a large group of VMRO-DPMNE members demonstrated on Macedonia Square.

September 15, 1995, Friday

At 10:00 I was received for a 30-minute conversation by the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov. I handed him the invitation from the President (Marshal) of the Polish Sejm, Jozev Zich, to officially visit Poland. In the conversation we also discussed the signed interim agreement, for which I expressed the opinion that for now it might be useful, but in the future only Greece would benefit and that, in the meantime, Macedonia would have to strengthen relations and ties with the countries that recognized its independence and be cautious of the so-called international community, which was favourable to Greece. Andov continued by asking about the situation in Poland, its relationship with Macedonia and its relations with its neighbours, especially Greece, emphasizing that we must strengthen good economic,

cultural and political ties with Poland because the importance of that country in Europe was very significant. In this regard, I said that it was necessary to maintain active contacts and meetings between high-ranking state officials between the two countries and, within that framework, to sign agreements in various areas. In that sense, I emphasized that the Embassy had undertaken a series of activities and was in constant contact with various Ministries that expressed a readiness to establish any type of cooperation. I emphasized that in those efforts I did not have sufficient support from the competent Ministries, especially from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. To this, Andov said that over time everything would fall into place. I think I understood his thought well. At the end of the meeting, he thanked me for the achieved results, promising that I could count on his support.

At 10:00 I was received by the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov. There was no one present. After the usual greeting, I stood by a small table covered with a broken marble slab. The President looked at me strangely and said:

- Sit down, what are you waiting for?

-Mr. President, with all due respect and recognition, I would like to ask you to allow me to use this phone to call my wife in Warsaw and tell her to pack her bags and come home, so that I do not have to go and waste the state's resources.

He frowned at me and quietly, as only he knew how, asked me:

- What does this mean?

- This, esteemed President, means that due to the belittling and humiliating attitude of certain circles within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and above all due to the constant demand and pressure to join the ruling party, I wish to resign...

He looked at me calmly, then grabbed the lapel of my jacket and, pulling me hard, shouted:

- Sit down! They do the same to me...

I sat down and we looked at each other. The President placed his right hand on mine and slowly, quietly, said:

- Dear Petre, now your home is in Warsaw and you will work there, and from this phone call your wife, tell her not to worry and say hello to her from me. Okay?

A knock on the door. The waiter came in with the coffee.

There were no others in the President's office. We talked privately. At the beginning, the inevitable topic was relations with Greece. I said that despite the signing of the interim agreement, Greece would always dispute the existence of Macedonia as a state, but for no, the agreement could be useful for us to gather ourselves and take a breath. The agreement would remain in effect until internal changes occurred in Greece itself, caused primarily by Western influence and pressure from the big powers. By the way, Mr. President, to some extent we should be grateful to Greece. Drowning in anti-Macedonianism, it affirms us throughout the world. Who knew anything about modern Macedonia before?

The President laughed heartily and I continued. Macedonia is small but a big bite for the big ones. We need wisdom and persistent affirmation of the Republic of Macedonia in the world using the computer and creating strong professional diplomacy. The interim agreement will only temporarily calm the anti-Macedonian spirit in Greece, the roots of which have been built up over decades with the help of the educational and legal systems, the church, the army and international relations, - elements that we currently lack. Macedonia and Greece will have good neighbourly relations when the generations on both sides change. The current generations are too burdened with negative emotions that are the result of the dark past. And I, Mr. President, am not free from those emotions either.

I wanted to add something else but the President interrupted me:

- Petre, although I know your attitude towards Greece, I want to tell you that so far you are the only diplomat who has told me that. Thank you.

He was excited but did not give the impression of being tired. He radiated energy, which caused amazement, surprise, belief and respect. He asked me:

- And how is it in Poland?

- Similar to our situation. The parties, or rather, I would say, the newly minted and immature leaders stir things up a lot, but thanks to the power of the Polish intelligentsia, which is most concerned about the fate of Poland after the major changes, the recklessness of the young leaders does not prevail, unlike our intelligentsia which, I have the impression, has its mouth full of water. Despite all disagreements, the country is moving forward with an effort to prepare from the ground up for entry into the European Union. Poland has always been part of Europe and, after the tragic changes, wants to return to Europe. Hence, I believe that with such a Poland our ties should be strengthened even more. In this regard, Mr. President, I would like to emphasize that in the execution of my mission, so far I have not encountered any obstacles from the Polish authorities but rather an open desire for cooperation, sympathy and support. In this regard, there is no difference between the parties and political leaders. I tell him at length about the situation in Poland, about its great sympathy for Macedonia and about its desire for cooperation. I received offers every day. But I must point out with regret that Macedonian companies, formerly called trade missions, worked for Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. They are rare, those who visited our Embassy, who instead of holding their gatherings and meetings there, used the club at the Serbian Embassy, while ours seemed not to exist for them.

An unpleasant mark of bitterness on his face. He said that these were remnants of earlier times and he believed that time would erase them.

I said that at a time of great competition, with such an attitude, Macedonia was losing the Polish market, which was open primarily to Macedonian agricultural products. I emphasized that there was a need for more frequent contacts with Polish businessmen, and in that sense the Embassy had undertaken

actions to sign 7-8 agreements, about which our Ministry of Foreign Affairs was regularly informed but there was no response. I assumed that the telegrams had not been forwarded to the relevant Ministries, business companies and other state institutions.

The President listened attentively to the course of my presentation. He rarely interrupted me, taking an interest in certain details.

At the end of the conversation, he expressed satisfaction with my work, emphasizing that strengthening cooperation with Poland was very important for Macedonia and that he would personally strive to ensure that relations between the two countries were exemplary. Be assured, he said, that you have my support and that you will always have an open door to me.

He shook my hand and gave me some advice:

- Don't be disappointed. We are now building a state from scratch. You started the mission from scratch and are leading it well but you will still have difficulties. I have them too.

At the end of the meeting, I asked him to accept a small, modest token of respect from my wife and me, not for his office, but for his home – an oil painting with a view of Old Warsaw.

I returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The moment I entered the secretariat, Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski came out of his office. He looked at me somewhat surprised and asked me with an ironic smile:

- What are you doing here? Did the Poles kick you out of Warsaw?

I was amazed. I froze and the question stuck to my tongue:

- To see, Mr. Minister, how soon you will fly.

And soon the Minister flew to London, not as a Minister, but as an Ambassador.

In those turbulent nineties, when the state of Macedonia was barely getting back on its feet, with great and difficult efforts, the departures of ministers were very frequent. Only those who had other hopes remained.

It was common for the Minister to receive the Ambassador for a conversation. Unfortunately, the then Minister was not familiar with this custom, just like many others.

Do I have a comment? No! I leave that opinion to others.

I'd rather go back home. My family and peace are waiting for me there. That's what I call happiness.

September 16-17, 1995, Saturday-Sunday

Two whole days of happy moments with family. It was good.

It was good that we were together.

September 18, 1995, Monday

At 08:00 a meeting and conversation with Boris Vishiniski. He expressed his readiness to cooperate with Polish writers and publishers. He was ready to print the Anthology of Contemporary Polish Poetry but was currently having financial difficulties. He asked me to raise this issue in the meeting with the Minister of Culture.

At 11:30 a meeting with the Minister of Culture. The secretary said that he was busy and asked me to wait. I waited. Thirty minutes passed and I got up to leave. At the same time, a man came out of the Minister's office, whom I later learned was an actor. I entered the Minister's office. He did not get up. A brief dry greeting across the desk. He did not say - sit down. Standing, measuredly and briefly I introduced him to certain projects in the field of cultural cooperation. The Polish Ministry of Culture was interested in showing the film "Before the Rain" in Poland and asked to be provided with a copy and a list of dialogues; publishing an Anthology of Contemporary Macedonian and, in turn, Polish contemporary poetry; in Warsaw, at the National Museum, an exhibition of Macedonian terracotta icons, cooperation between the writers' associations of Macedonia and

Poland and the publishers. He wrote without looking at me. He did not comment. He stopped writing and said to me:

- Everything will be reviewed and you will be notified.

I did not take up any more of his time because I knew there was someone waiting in the waiting room with whom, I assume, he'd have a more interesting conversation.

I went to the writers' club to meet with Jovan Pavlovski and Ante Popovski. After greetings, Ante asked me:

- How did it go at the Ministry of Culture?

"Very cultural," I said.

This was a reason for long laughter.

There was always something to talk about with them.

September 19, 1995, Tuesday

For the first time in six months, I managed to find some time to rest and take a nap. At 17:00 Petre Popovski, my school friend and peer, arrived. We have been friends for forty years. We spent our childhood together in children's homes and our youth in Skopje. His only flaw is smoking. He lights up cigarette after cigarette, and that's why his favourite drink - coffee - always gets cold. He doesn't drink wine, only liquor. He is warm-hearted, always smiling, a joker. He works at the Skopje Ironworks as an electrician. He doesn't like the signing of the interim agreement. He says that it is one of the big games of the West and thinks that the policy that the government is persuing is a bad policy for Macedonia. He shakes his hand in front of my eyes and asks:

- What kind of country are you going to build when you have half a million disloyal people and every day the country fills up with all kinds of newcomers? My father fought against the Italians, the Germans and the Ballistas and in that damned Civil War he ended up in Romania with one foot. His right leg was cut off by an American bomb on a hill in Gramos and he always told us that he was fighting for Macedonia, and now some so-called politicians whose diapers are still drying on the line will tell me that the Americans are our greatest strategic friends. Such

strategic friends have no friends anywhere. For friends tomorrow there can only be bombs. I don't trust them and I don't like them. You know, I'm an ordinary worker not a politician, just an ordinary worker, I don't have a university degree at home, but even without it I can see clearly what is right and what is wrong. Maybe my mind deceives me but not my eyes...

With a deep sigh Petre paused, took a sip of the already cold coffee, and said:

- Let it be some comfort to us that at least in one part of Macedonia we already have some kind of little state. Honestly, I don't like what is happening but it is a small consolation that encourages and gives a little hope...

- Well, Petre – I interrupted him – those who came before us also lived with hope, so I think that hope has been left to us. Everything else depends on us and those who are yet to come.

- You say? Ditta - he turned to my wife, whom he knew from the children's homes in Poland - make some coffee. - And then he asked:

- Will you stay for another day or will you leave for Warsaw soon?

- Just two more days - I said.

- Okay, there's time for some coffee.

He got up. Petre left and never came back for coffee.

When I ask my wife to make me coffee, I always say make it for Petre too but more bitter.

September 20, 1995, Wednesday

Final preparations for Tanja's wedding. Some joy, some sadness, some pain and tears. Our second one will also take flight in life... We say may it be with luck and great joy... In such moments, regardless of how great the joy is, the tears of the mother and father are heavy. It has always been said that this is how it is in life.

In the afternoon I met the Polish delegation at the airport. They were accommodated at the GRAND Hotel and had dinner at a restaurant near the Vardar. Hosted by Viktor Gaber.

September 21, 1955, Thursday

At 08:30 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we were making final preparations regarding the political consultations between the delegations of the two ministries.

During the negotiations, I insisted that our side emphasize that we valued the relations between the two countries as excellent, open, friendly, sincere and with visible mutual sympathy and respect, and that for their further development we expected both ministries to be engaged in supporting the initiatives of the Macedonian and Polish institutions for their further expansion in all areas; that we expected Poland to support the Republic of Macedonia internationally, and that when signing bilateral agreements and in mutual communication we should strive for the Polish side to use the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia.

We also discussed the possible positions, demands and reactions of the Polish delegation. I expressed the assessment that the Polish delegation would primarily strive to use the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" in mutual relations and would cite as a reason that such a position was based on its far-reaching state and national interests. I was well aware of this from frequent discussions on this topic and reliable information sources. I emphasized that an integral part of the consultations should be the use of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia.

One of our team members interrupted me, pointing out that we would present solid arguments based on positions already agreed upon with other countries.

Gaber often joined the conversation, expressing the view that it was up to us to create a good, friendly climate for open discussions, that our positions should be in the spirit of the

changes taking place in Europe, that we should be measured but specific and that we were fully committed to strengthening cooperation. In that sense he saw the goal of the upcoming consultations as emphasizing our determination to strengthen mutual Macedonian-Polish ties, to underline that the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries should be actively involved in mutual cooperation. He emphasized that he accepted my position, and that an essential point in the talks should be the issue of the use of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia by the Polish side.

I returned home at 15:00. The whole family was waiting for the wedding guests to arrive. Tanja was already shining in her wedding dress, beautiful, wonderful. Next to her was Milenka, a bride seven years ago. With tears in my eyes I said to Ditta:

- Tanja will fly away from us too.

Ditta gave the impression of courage and joy, she was smiling but in her eyes you could see a deep, inexpressible sadness. I hugged Tanja and held her for a long, very long time, like back then when she was a baby, I held her in my arms and she reproachfully said:

- Dad, just don't cry.

We all tried to be cheerful and joyful, and that's how we welcomed the wedding guests. Noise, commotion, jokes. We took Tanja by her arms and led her to the groom.

- Son-in-law, Mile, we give you Tanja for life, to love and cherish her, may your life together flow happily like clear water in the clearest stream.... may you love and respect each other.... – I wanted to say something more but I couldn't find the voice.

At 17:00 the line of cars honking – straight to the registry office. A short speech by the registrar, signatures, congratulations, hugs. In the yard, an old Roma man was scraping something like a song on an even older violin, accompanied by a little ragged Roma boy who was tapping on a kettle drum, his eyes pleading. I gave them a thousand and the scraping of the old violin and the knocking of the drum got louder and louder. A bunch of children were collecting the money that we had thrown into the yard for

good luck. According to all our Orthodox customs and faith, the wedding, with the blessing of the priest and the congratulations of the large number of wedding guests, concluded in the Cathedral Church of St. Clement. From there we went to the large hall of the GRAND hotel restaurant. We were greeted by loud and cheerful music and loud applause for the newlyweds. At the table, sitting with us were Deputy Minister Meller and Ambassador Hmielevski. I had invited them on behalf of the newlyweds to see what a Macedonian wedding looked like. They congratulated us. They joined in a traditional Macedonian dance where their steps got mixed up. It turned out that not everyone knew how to dance the Macedonian oro. The dance and the music, the joy and the celebration lasted until dawn. Only we returned home sad, carrying with us the greatest wish and prayer - for Tanja and Mile to be very happy...

September 22, 1995, Friday

After breakfast, at 09:00, political consultations began between representatives of the Macedonian and Polish Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the same composition as in Warsaw.

The meeting was chaired by Viktor Gaber, who, after welcoming the Polish delegation, opened the consultations by expressing his satisfaction that the two delegations, in the same composition, were meeting again this time in Skopje and hoped that they would take place in the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship. Both delegations stressed that relations between the two countries were excellent and had become even stronger after the opening of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, during which Deputy Minister Stefan Meller highlighted with selected words of praise and recognition the dedication and effort of the Macedonian head of the Embassy who, not only with his hard work, experience and knowledge, contributed significantly to Polish-Macedonian relations and proved to be a person fully dedicated to strengthening and expanding Macedonian-Polish relations and cooperation. In this regard, he said that we

appreciate that Macedonia sent a true person to Warsaw, who has fully devoted himself to strengthening and expanding Polish-Macedonian relations in all areas, thus proving himself as an excellent experienced diplomat, who has been generously and warmly welcomed by us. This is not only recognition but also gratitude for his efforts to develop relations between the two countries in the new political climate. He is a person whom we have accepted with sincere friendly feelings into our diplomatic environment, in state institutions, as well as in economic and cultural circles.

Mr. Meller paused for a moment, then turned to me and said:

- Mr. Ambassador, I personally want us to remain good friends even after the end of your mission in Poland.

I promised him that this would be the case.

Honestly, it was awkward for me to hear words of such great recognition. But it is what it is...

During the talks, I only intervened once with the remark that in the coming period, at the initiative and with the efforts of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, there would be a series of contacts, talks and agreements, as well as meetings at expert and ministerial levels, in order to advance mutual Macedonian-Polish relations. In that sense, I suggested, the current political consultations should also raise the issue of legally regulating the agreements in accordance with national legislation and international legal norms.

This caused a wider discussion, as both sides had different opinions regarding the wording of the signatures. Three variants prevailed in the discussion. First: - “For the Republic of Macedonia” and “For the Republic of Poland”. Second: “For the Macedonian Government” and “For the Polish Government” and the third variant – “For the Macedonian side” and “For the Polish side”.

While the discussion about the wording of the signatures was ongoing, for which the Polish side insisted on using the Macedonian-German wording, which was known to them,

probably from German sources, V. Gaber was trying to find another solution that would use the constitutional name of our country. Misailovski briefly left the hall and returned with a blue folder that he handed to Hmielevski, who, after reviewing the first and last pages of the text, handed the folder to Meller, who read only the title and immediately put it in his briefcase and whispered to Hmielevski – this is exactly what we need.

The details of the discussion were in the minutes and we would see the results later.

During the coffee break, I quietly said to Meller in private:

- Mr. Minister, I am sure that after five or six years this entire debate about signatures will be pointless.

- Where does that certainty come from? – asked Deputy Minister Stefan Meller.

- From there, Mr. Minister, that one day Poland will solemnly recognize our constitutional name - the Republic of Macedonia.

- God willing! - said Meller and hugged me.

I was not wrong.

In 2003 the President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kvashnievski, during his official visit to the Republic of Macedonia, announced the decision of the Polish government to recognize our constitutional name. In this regard, I must emphasize that during the entire period of my five-year diplomatic mission in Poland, during every meeting with President Kvashnievski, his political advisor, Maikovski, with ministers, high-ranking state officials, politicians, MPs, prominent journalists, writers and a number of other intellectuals, in every conversation I persistently raised the request for recognition of our constitutional name, reminding them of their tragic and bloody past similar to ours. I always encountered understanding in those conversations.

It has been shown that politics has short legs but it also takes dangerous steps, while national memory and state interests have lasting significance.

The political consultations ended at 17:00 and, after a late lunch, the Polish delegation flew to Warsaw.

September 23, 1995, Saturday

Already packed and ready to go, we were waiting for the children. At 07:00 we all gathered. A little joking, a little laughter and more sadness. I said – no tears. We were parting again for a longer time. At 09:00 the official car arrived which took us to the airport in Sofia, from where we flew to Warsaw at 15:50. A peaceful flight. I was reading and analyzing the text of the temporary agreement. I knew that in the next few contacts with the Diplomatic Corps it would be the main topic of conversation. At 16:30 we landed at the Warsaw airport. Cold. We arrived "home" by taxi. On the table in the secretariat a pile of letters. We called the children by phone.

September 24, 1995, Sunday

My day was spent reading the mail, the press and talking about everything we had experienced in Skopje.

September 25, 1995, Monday

I sent a note to the Polish Ministry of Justice and attached the texts of the agreements on legal assistance in civil and criminal cases; on the mutual enforcement of court decisions in criminal cases and the text of the Extradition Agreement. At the same time, I asked them to provide me with a copy of the laws on state administration, local self-government of the capital city, as well as on local elections.

At 12:00 I had a meeting with the Archbishop and Papal Nuncio, J. Kovalchik. I handed him an album monograph about Macedonia. He kept me for a longer conversation regarding the temporary agreement. He spoke very highly of our foreign policy and assessed the agreement as a positive contribution to peace and

security in Europe. He emphasized that, during the day, he would send an appropriate note regarding the conversation to the authorities in the Vatican.

September 26, 1995, Tuesday

At 11:00 cocktails at the Apostolic Nunciature on the occasion of the completion of the diplomatic mission and the departure of the Chinese Ambassador. I had several meetings with Ambassadors and Chargés d'Affaires. The main topic of the talks was the interim agreement. The interlocutors emphasized that the Republic of Macedonia had achieved a major diplomatic success and that it had put peace, security, good neighbourliness and cooperation at the forefront above all emotions.

At 13:00, at my request, I was received by Jan Voronietski, Director of the Department for the UN System at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The topic of the conversation: getting acquainted with the activities of the Macedonian delegation at the 50th anniversary of the UN General Assembly, and on this occasion I also raised the request to stop the use of the name "FYROM" by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Protocol. He promised me that he would discuss this with the Department for Rights and Law.

September 27, 1995, Wednesday

At 09:00, after prior notice, Prof. Dr. Iezhi Jatskovski came to the Embassy. In the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was responsible for preparing a monthly bulletin on the overall situation in the Republic of Macedonia, its relations with countries of the region, Europe and beyond. His assessments were basically positive for the Republic of Macedonia. A copy of the Bulletin was delivered to all diplomatic foreign missions in Warsaw, as well as to the Embassies of the Republic of Poland abroad. After handing me a copy of the Bulletin, he asked me to provide him with materials on Macedonian constitutionalism

from 1946 to the present, as well as the texts of the decisions of ASNOM. I promised him that I would assist him.

The same day I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia urgently requesting that the requested materials be delivered to me. Since they had not been delivered to me after fifteen days, and the professor had called me twice by phone, I decided to ask for help from a friend of mine who worked at the Institute of National History. That same day, in the afternoon, I received a complete set of the requested materials by fax.

Is there a comment on this?

At 10:00 I had a conversation with Jakub Boravski, Director of the Office for Interparliamentary Relations of the Polish Sejm. During a longer conversation about mutual relations and cooperation, he suggested the following dates for the official visit to Poland of the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov: from November 8 to 11 or from November 15 to 18 1995.

At 13:30 a telephone conversation with L. Jaremchuk from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Trade. We agreed on a date for a meeting of experts from the Ministries of Foreign Trade of both countries. In principle, we agreed that the meeting would be held in Warsaw in the last week of October this year.

I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with the following questions: which day was acceptable and who from the Macedonian delegation would sign the agreement; would an official car be sent to me by October 1st or should I request a special permit from the Diplomatic Protocol with an identification number for movement and inclusion with a rental car in the official convoy?

September 28, 1995, Thursday

At 09:30 Misailovski called me on the phone regarding the signing of the agreements. He said that he had spoken to Hmielevski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the

phone and that Hmielevski would call me to convey his instructions (meaning from Misailovski).

Strange! Misailovski took the right of a Polish diplomat, a director of the Administration, to give him instructions.

I called Ambassador Hmielevski and asked him to convey to me the instructions he had received from Misailovski. Ambassador Hmielevski, in an insulted tone of voice, said that Misailovski had presented himself as competent and authorized regarding the relations between Macedonia and Poland, and therefore took the liberty of calling him, about which he personally felt offended, and asked that Misailovski be told not to call again and that there were people in the Polish Ministry to give instructions. To this I told him that since that was the case, then I considered their telephone conversation a private matter and that anything that went outside the Embassy would have no meaning or obligation.

I wrote a note about this conversation and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Macedonia.

Comment? I would really like to hear it!

At 12:30 from Gdansk, by fax, I received an "Open Letter to the Government and Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia". The content referred to the Interim Agreement and was a reflection of condemnation with many curses. Signatories: Mito Aleksovski, T. Gadovski, Ireneush Shlupkovski. I sent the original text to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Let them evaluate it there.

From 18:00 to 20:00 cocktails at the Chinese Embassy on the occasion of the 46th anniversary of its existence as the People's Republic of China.

September 29, 1995, Friday

At 11:00 I was called to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After a short, customary conversation, I was handed a letter from Minister Vladislav Bartoshevski to Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski regarding the signing of the interim agreement.

Minister V. Bartoshevski expressed satisfaction and recognition and believed that the efforts made would continue for the benefit of the peaceful regulation of relations with the neighbours. That was briefly how he summarized the content of the letter.

At 12:00 in the same Ministry, a meeting and discussion with Malgozhata Dmohovska, Director of the Department of Laws and Agreements. Topic of the discussion: negotiating certain elements of the text of the Agreement on the Protection of Investments and Double Taxation and the remarks made by the experts from both Ministries. She expressed satisfaction that the text of the Agreement had been accepted by both sides without major remarks and was expected to be signed on October 6 at the headquarters of the Polish Government.

At 20:00 Mihal Gramatnikovski, President of the Association of Macedonians in Warsaw, called me. In a high-pitched voice and using offensive language, he stated that together with Dimitar Mandzhunovski, they were preparing a protest letter to the Government of the Republic of Macedonia expressing their opposition to the signing of the interim agreement, and that the letter would be signed by all Macedonians living in the world.

September 30, 1995, Saturday

My mentor, Prof. Dr. Karol Fiedor, came to visit us from Vrotslav with his wife. We spent two beautiful, wonderful and useful days together. Among other things, the professor told me that the copy of my doctoral thesis "Macedonian Children in Poland" had disappeared from the library of the University of Vrotslav. I had to guess who took it.

The end of the month but not the end of a very dear memory. In that month I got to know my wife better, with the baptismal name Aphrodite and shortened to Ditta. That's what everyone who know her calls her, that's what I call her and more often Ditenka. I do not want to dwell on this too much. We knew each other as children in homes in Albania, Romania and Poland.

We grew up together and fell in love. Then and now she has beautiful blue eyes, like the blue of the sky. I often tell her – Ditenko, open your eyes so I can see the sky. We have been married for 36 years and the fruit of our marriage are our two beautiful daughters – Milenka and Tanja.

Sunday, October 1, 1995

Together with the Fiedor family, after breakfast we went to Vilanuv. We visited the exhibition of Polish portraiture from the 16th century to the present. After lunch, they left for Vrotslav by train. Spending time with Prof. Dr. Fiedor and his wife, a pediatrician, was one of the most pleasant, carefree and peaceful days we had experienced in Warsaw so far. Two free days that we will remember for a long time.

October 2, 1995, Monday

Fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. They reported that regarding the signatures under the agreements, the Polish positions were not accepted. Our side requested that the signatures read: "For the Macedonian Government", while the Polish side requested that their signature read: "For the Government of the Republic of Poland".

I expected new negotiations and tensions to begin. We agreed to negotiate in the interest of good relations.

At 15:00 the inauguration of the 1995/1996 student academic year. Very solemn and following all the traditional and eternal academic rituals.

October 3, 1995, Tuesday

A tough day. Tanja called me on the phone with a worried tone in her voice.

- Dad, there has been an assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov's life! It is not known if he is alive!

I was speechless. The other phone rang. It was Milenka. The same tragic news.

I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Silence. I kept trying to call. Finally, an unknown female voice answered. She confirmed that an assassination attempt had been made and that the President was probably alive. The other phone rang. The journalist Biliski from the daily newspaper "Zhechpospolita" was on the line. He said that the editorial office was constantly receiving news from foreign news agencies about an assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov. He asked me to give a short statement. I told him that I was too busy at the moment. End of the conversation.

I quickly wrote and sent a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requesting increased security for the Macedonian Embassy.

To the Office of the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, a telegram with wishes for his speedy recovery.

Polish radio and television broadcast increasingly disturbing news. Phone calls from various Embassies with expressions of sympathy.

At 10:00 I was summoned to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After expressing their condolences, I was handed a letter from the President of Poland, Lech Walesa, to the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, condemning the assassination attempt and expressing hope for a speedy recovery.

I returned to the Embassy at 11:30 and immediately telephoned Victor Gaber. He confirmed the assassination attempt and said that the President was in the hospital and conscious.

The conversation continued regarding the signing of the agreements. He emphasized that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia would strive for the agreements not to be signed according to the Macedonian-German agreement. I asked him to provide me that position in the form of instructions. I pointed out to him that with such a categorical position, he was

playing the game of double standards and questioned how it was possible to be flexible with some and stubborn with others. In this regard, he said that we must have a better position in relations with Poland, taking into account the fact that Poland had always supported us in the past and that he hoped that it would do the same this time. To this I told him that today's Poland was not yesterday's Poland and that those who led it now looked beyond the river Bug to the East and the Oder River to the West. He stuck to his position and I sought ways for a compromise regarding the signing of the agreements, which could only bring us closer in the current complex European and International situation, and I was sure that good relations with Poland would strengthen our position in Europe. Let it be as you decide, as long as it is wise, and I will work according to instructions even if they are contrary to my beliefs, and you, there in Skopje, would do well to act like the old tailors, who measured seven times and cut only once.

At the end of the conversation, he said that it was not even known whether he would travel to Warsaw for the CEI meeting with the announced delegation, and it was certain that the Prime Minister would not come.

To this I said:

- You know, you decide.

I did not assume, I knew very well whose "well-intentioned" advice Gaber was receiving.

October 4, 1995, Wednesday

Today, like yesterday, a large number of Poles, individuals, institutions and organizations called and expressed their regret and condemnation of the assassination. Several Ambassadors also called, including Iani Milchakov, the Ambassador of Bulgaria, who in conversations with me claimed that his roots were Macedonian because his ancestors came from Kukush. Macedonians who lived in Poland permanently and were originally from Aegean Macedonia, also called. Unfortunately, no voice of regret reached the small street vendors.

At 19:00 at a cocktail hosted by the OSCE, several Ambassadors and heads of delegations approached me, expressing their condolences and wishes for the speedy recovery for President Kiro Gligorov, and asking about the perpetrators of the assassination attempt.

No information from Skopje regarding the assassination attempt and the health of President Kiro Gligorov.

I learned quite by chance that the Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the European Council on September 28th of this year. Was it so difficult to inform the Embassy about such an important event?

October 5, 1995, Thursday

I read in PULS last night that on October 5 this year the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia would make a decision to change the state flag. At 22:00 I heard news from Radio Skopje. “Tomorrow the Assembly will hold its... the radio was crackling... Session and will make a decision to change the flag, which will take effect immediately.... again crackling. Nothing else could be heard. Radio Warsaw II was on the same wavelength as Radio Skopje.

We had given in to the Greeks. Would this be the first concession not only to the Greeks, and would this first concession be the last for those around us and those further away from us, or would it turn into a series of concessions and a chain that would lead to our destruction? Would this not be the beginning of future concessions?

Deputy Minister Stefan Meller called me on the phone and, on his own behalf and on behalf of Ambassador Hmielevski, who was absent, expressed his heartfelt condolences regarding the assassination attempt.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that the Prime Minister and the Minister would not travel to Warsaw.

Biliana Ivanovska (the architect) called me on the phone and informed me that the carpets had been sent by cargo and tomorrow they would deliver the rest of the equipment for the Embassy by plane. In the phone conversation, she said that the President's health was good and that all of Macedonia was shaken and depressed, people did not even talk among themselves, that Macedonia was silent. On the other hand, she said, there was fear that the political situation in the country could worsen and that Parliament was discussing the new flag vehemently.

End of conversation.

I rested my hands on my hips and thought about the fate of Macedonia. One betrayal had been committed with the change of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia to FYROM, the assassination attempt on the President and now the debate in Parliament on changing the state flag to something else, which was already a second betrayal. Such easy surrender, that shame and subservience, I was sure would lead to even greater betrayals in the future. How did such people come to be, who shaped the fate of Macedonia under pressure?

If only that misfortune, the tragic event, the assassination attempt on the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, could shake the conscience of all Macedonian generations and awaken Macedonian national awareness for national unity. Only that, national unity was the salvation for Macedonia, which some had made a wasteland. But I believed that Macedonia would recover one day.

In the evening hours, I received by fax the Declaration of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the assassination attempt on the President of the Republic. It simply noted that a criminal act had been committed.

Finally, after a long wait, I received the list of the Macedonian delegation to participate in the CEI meeting. I informed the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note.

Composition of the delegation: Dr. Liube Trpeski, Minister in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Viktor Gaber, Undersecretary, Dr. Petre Nakovski, Chargé d'Affaires at

the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, Jon Ivanovski, National Coordinator of CEI, G. Misailovski, member of the delegation, Goran Stevchevski, associate.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Ministry of Relations faxed me a request to submit several samples of the new flag to the organizer. I immediately replied that I was not familiar with what the new flag looked like and that I could submit several samples of the previous one to the organizer. They replied that they would send it with the delegation and that I should immediately raise the new flag on the flagpole in front of the Embassy.

In the afternoon, at the Warsaw airport, along with a representative of the organizer, I welcomed the Macedonian delegation.

October 6, 1995, Friday

With the car of the representative office of Technometal - Vardar, with Austrian registration that I had already declared yesterday in the Diplomatic Protocol, at 10:20 I left for the Warsaw airport. I entered the reception area without difficulty. A warm welcome from the officials, expressions of regret and wishes for the recovery of President Kiro Gligorov. At 11:30 our plane landed carrying L. Trpeski, V. Gaber and G. Misailovski.

I left the driver from Malezanov at the plane to pick up the packages containing the kitchen equipment and the crystal set. V. Gaber handed me a large package, saying that it contained several samples of the new flag and that I should raise one on the flagpole today.

In the morning at 07:15, with trembling hands, I took down the national flag with the sun and raised the new national flag on the flagpole. I gently folded the flag with the sun, which had filled the eyes of passers-by for almost a year and confirmed the existence of Macedonia, and placed it in a place of honour in the Ambassador’s office. When my mission was over, I would

take it with me to Skopje. Let it be a memory for my future grandchildren.

I admit: it was with pain that I took down the flag with the sun. I felt that I was missing something very much...

Accommodation at the "VICTORIA" hotel and immediately afterwards, according to the program, a breakfast meeting attended by the chairpersons of the delegations and heads of diplomatic missions. I noticed that our delegation was at the lowest level. Prime Ministers and Ministers were present. I tried to have our delegation consist of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order to hold a meeting and talks with the Polish Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. They did not come. I believe they were prevented by the assassination attempt. At 18:30 a meeting with the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Discussion regarding mutual wishes for economic and cultural cooperation.

At 19:00 a reception with President Lech Walesa. I took Minister L. Trpeski by the hand and introduced him to President Lech Walesa, who in the short conversation inquired about the situation in Macedonia, and especially about the health condition of President Kiro Gligorov, emphasizing that he deeply regretted that such a great misfortune had befallen his friend Kiro Gligorov and friendly Macedonia.

At 20:30 dinner, actually lunch. The invited heads of delegations and heads of diplomatic missions were welcomed by Prime Minister J. Oleksi. We introduced ourselves. He remembered me from the previous meeting at the Presidential Palace. I presented L. Trpeski.

- Oh, Macedonia! Beloved Macedonia! As a student in 1968, I spent two months in Macedonia. Beautiful country! And you Mr Ambassador, how are you feeling?

- Like you, Mr. Prime Minister, in Macedonia.

- Wonderful. So we have similar experiences. It has been a pleasure.

We were sitting at the round table: Ukraine, Slovenia, Romania, Slovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Belarus, Macedonia. An

open, often humorous conversation, with occasional suggestions. I told the Ukrainian Ambassador that the Skopje pharmaceutical giant "ALKALOID" was planning to build a similar factory in Ukraine. The Ukrainian stared at me for a long time and said excitedly:

- We really need such a factory. I will inform our ministry about this hopeful news today.

October 7, 1995, Saturday

The meeting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers took place in the large conference hall of the Polish Government. Our delegation (without the participation of Gaber and Misailovski) was sitting to the left of the entrance. In their place was a new flag and a cardboard tape with the inscription MACEDONIA, while in the press room there was tape with the inscription FYROM. I went to the organizer and told him to remove the tape with FYROM and put a tape with the inscription MACEDONIA in its place, similar to the one in the conference hall. He told me that he would consult with the authorities. In the meantime, I saw Gaber and Meller arguing on the sidelines and they soon entered the next room.

Before the meeting began, I approached Prime Minister J. Oleksi and asked him to condemn the assassination of President Kiro Gligorov. He fulfilled my wish. The Ambassadors of Slovenia, Bosnia, Croatia, Italy, Hungary and others did the same, and the Ambassador of Ukraine spoke most impressively.

The meeting for us, despite the low level, I considered to have been very successful. During the contacts and talks, our positions regarding the relations in the region were affirmed. In all documents, as well as in the media, the name MACEDONIA was used. Unfortunately, the successful efforts of Minister L. Trpeski were overshadowed by the position of Viktor Gaber, who categorically stated that the agreements would not be signed, and even those that would follow, if the Polish side did not accept an equal position, rather than according to the Macedonian-German

agreement. He pointed out that he had a rather sharp conversation about this with Deputy Minister Stefan Meller. I thought about telling him that these and future agreements would be signed even without his consent.

In the afternoon, the delegation visited the Embassy where they stayed for a short rest and a modest cocktail. During the cocktail, V. Gaber told me that he had had a sharp conversation with Meller and that he would write him a letter regarding it, which he would send by mail to the Embassy, and that I should personally deliver it to him.

Due to a high fever and deteriorating health, I did not go to the airport to see the delegation off.

Sunday, October 8, 1995

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that the film BEFORE THE RAIN was shown at the 21st Warsaw Film Festival and they regretted, that despite the invitation, no one from Macedonia was present. On my part, I insisted that the film be specially promoted, which was also in accordance with the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts, with the participation of the Macedonian Minister of Culture, for which an invitation was also sent. The film was shown, the Minister did not come. On our part, the opportunity for additional meetings and discussions to expand cooperation in the field of film art and the promotion of Macedonian film in Poland was missed. My efforts, hard work, persuasion and sending telegrams were in vain.

Ministers and high-ranking officials in Skopje seemed to know best how to promote Macedonia.

October 9, 1995, Monday

Today marked nine months since I took office in Warsaw. A short but also very long and difficult period. On another occasion I will try to write something about how I experienced this time. Or, in another case, let it remain as it is now written on

these pages of the diary, and maybe in the future someone will put an end to the bad or well-done work.

I took the tram to the center where the OSCE conference was being held. I was assigned by duty, to be the head of the Macedonian delegation composed of young, inexperienced but ambitious boys. But here was the experienced Jov Ivanovski, the heart and mind of the Macedonian delegation. I instructed the boys on how to act in case they were interrupted in their presentations by members of the Greek delegation.

At 12:00 I returned to the Embassy where the news was waiting for me that the carpets had arrived by cargo. Malezanov and I went to pick them up. They sent me back because I didn't have a certified certificate.

Afternoon at an OSCE session. The head of the Greek delegation greeted me in the hall. He asked me if I would be speaking at the session. I told him that a member of the Macedonian delegation would be speaking. He asked that the name Macedonia not be mentioned in the speech but rather our state or country. I told him that in this hall we talked about justice, truth and respect for identity and the world was informed about that. He chewed on this for a while and then said:

- And our speaker will talk about our efforts for good relations and in that sense will welcome the signing of the Interim Agreement.

- We will find a way to respond - I told him and asked him: - Are you going to keep interrupting us and arguing with us like in 1993? (At that time, I was leading the Macedonian delegation for a whole month at the OSCE Conference in Warsaw and someone from their group was constantly following me, monitoring with whom I was in contact and what I was saying, and what I said they remembered well and found a way to blacklist me.)

- No - he said. - Those were the instructions then.

- Well, if that's the case, then don't interrupt our speaker now.

You promised me and you kept your word.

I told Goran to include a short sentence in the text of his speech to underline that the Republic of Macedonia advocated for friendly relations with neighbouring Greece and, in that spirit, expected a reciprocal attitude.

The chairman announced the Macedonian speaker. Goran slowly read the text in Macedonian. The Greek listened carefully to the English translation. He frowned at the use of the name Republic of Macedonia but did not interrupt. After the speech was over, he approached me and said:

- It was good but there was no need to use the word Republic of Macedonia, just FYROM.

-That's his right, sir...

- Yes, but...

- Be patient like a good neighbour. See you tomorrow.

After two hours I returned to the Embassy.

October 10, 1995, Tuesday

Ditta's birthday. Congratulations, a fitting gift and lunch in the old part of Warsaw.

I brought the carpets in a van. Handmade. Beautiful. We laid them down. Now the Embassy's salon had a different look and to make it even more beautiful, a few artistic paintings characteristic of our Macedonian landscape were needed. It would be great if it were like this, as it was in the salon and in the premises of the Embassy of the Czech Republic. They, the Czechs, had an incredible taste for their traditional art. We were far from them.

At 09:00 I had a phone conversation with Hmielevski. We arranged to meet after I received the Macedonian-French agreement, which I was completely unfamiliar with.

The letter from Gaber to Meller arrived by fax. It was in English. I sent it to Meller by fax. I do not know the content. Time will tell what he wrote to him.

October 11, 1995, Wednesday

Anniversary of the uprising in Vardar Macedonia. On that occasion, I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with congratulations.

A beautiful warm autumn day. A protocol visit by the Ambassador of Thailand.

October 12, 1995, Thursday

A fax arrived from the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management regarding the upcoming meeting of Ministers of the CEI member states to be held in Warsaw from December 7 to 8 this year. I forwarded the contents to the relevant Polish Ministry. This was the first time that I had received a response to my telegrams.

At 10:00 I received pleasant news – the Republic of Macedonia had been admitted to KEBS.

At 12:30 Prof. G. Dimirovski, President of the Association of Refugee Children, who was leading the Association's delegation at the Human Rights Conference being held in Warsaw, which also included representatives of Macedonians from Greece and Bulgaria, arrived at the Embassy. He said that he had written a text for his speech but had a disagreement with Sidiropoulos regarding some parts of the text. He asked me to intervene since I personally knew everyone from the joint delegation by name and surname. I told him that personal disagreements did not fall under the Embassy's jurisdiction and that I would not like to participate in disputes that were characteristic of the traditional divisions among Macedonians. He asked if I would receive the entire delegation during the day. I said - privately - yes, officially - no. I also told him: - you are a non-governmental organization, act as such and do not quarrel.

October 13, 1995, Friday

A journalist from the newspaper "ZHECHPOSPOLITA" called. He asked me to organize a meeting for him with the members of the Macedonian delegation participating in the human rights conference. I promised him and the meeting, which I was absent from, took place. The questions concerned the human rights of Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece.

At 11:30 I had a conversation with Palishevski, the main manager of the conference. We discussed the position of the delegation from the Republic of Macedonia at the round table. He said that he was waiting for a response from Vienna regarding this issue. After about twenty minutes, he approached me with a telegram in his hand and said:

- I have an answer from Vienna. I should place the Macedonian delegation between Lithuania and Liechtenstein according to the French alphabet.

I thanked him and returned to the Embassy. On the desk there were two telegrams – one from the Apostolic Nuncio Kovalchik and one from the University of Science and Technology in Vrotslav.

The telegram from Apostolic Nuncio read:

Dear Sir,

Please accept our deepest condolences for the assassination attempt on the life of President Kiro Gligorov.

I join the wounded President in suffering, offering the gift of prayer for endurance in the pain and a speedy recovery.

With respect
+ Jozev Kovalchik, N. Ap.
Dean of the Diplomatic Corps

Dear Sir
Dr. Petre Nakovski,
Charge´ d'Affaires
Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia
Warsaw

Vrotslav 1995.10-04
Dr. Petre Nakovski
Embassy of Macedonia
In Warsaw,
Dominikańska Street 15
On behalf of the staff at the Institute of German and European Studies at the University of Vrotslav and my own, we strongly protest against the attempted assassination of Mr. Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia.
At the same time, we wholeheartedly support all steps taken by the Macedonian people and its Embassy in Warsaw on the path of proper regulation of relations with neighbours.
Prof. Dr. Hab. Karol Fiedor.

I sent both telegrams in the original and in the Macedonian translation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a request that the telegram from the Apostolic Nuncio be published in the press and that they send me a clipping from the newspaper. Additionally, I wrote that the clipping from the telegram from the Apostolic Nuncio would certainly be sent to the Vatican, which undoubtedly would have appropriate significance.

October 14, 1995, Saturday

In the Polish press, heavy mutual accusations between the candidates for President of Poland. The presidential election campaign was heating up.

At 21:00 on the Second Program of Polish TV in the show "Panorama" the news was announced that as of today the Republic of Macedonia was a full member of the OSCE and that Greece had lifted the embargo. Several inserts from the "Bogorodica" border crossing were shown.

The large Catholic church in front of the Embassy was open all night. Crowds of worshippers went in and out. The

occasion was to pray before Our Lady of Fatima, who, according to accounts, appeared to three shepherds in Portugal in 1915.

October 15, 1995, Sunday

This morning, the police dispersed the cars that were parked in front of the Embassy. I was surprised by the determination. I had not asked them to come. Although the Embassy was opposite the church, among the multitude of parked cars the devil does not sleep – said one of the policemen. Quarrels, swearing, and even fights for a parking space were not uncommon, and this junk that looks like a car brought from the West suffers.

Last night I received a phone call from Prof. Fiedor, my mentor, and Dr. Statovski. The professor was urging me to take on habilitation under his mentorship. Statovski was coming for a medical check-up. I sensed a certain concern in his voice, which I had never noticed before. We had known each other since childhood. We grew up together in homes and were close friends. I asked him to come to the Embassy for a visit after the check-up. He accepted. He came in the afternoon. He was pale. There was no longer that mysterious smile in his eyes, which was his trademark. I realized that something was wrong. After a long conversation, I found the courage to ask him if everything was okay with his health. In the voice of a carefree man, he said to me:

- Everything is fine. I was diagnosed with cancer of the right kidney and was advised to have it removed.

He said this so calmly and carefreely, as if it were a joke.

- And you are drowning in these papers – he pointed to the desk. – He took one of the letters and said: - This handwriting is familiar to me. You correspond with Mito Aleksovski from Gdansk, right?

- No. He wants me to correspond with him.

After lunch, I sent him to the train station by taxi. On the way back, the taxi driver, who had been silent the whole time, suddenly asked:

- Do you see, Sir, what is happening in our country? The Russians are gone and now we are supposedly free because the Americans came, who promised us that milk and honey would flow through the streets of Warsaw. And both are getting more expensive. Do you see those black clouds, Sir? They say they are Russian and that they will cause a lot of rain. Everything that is bad in our country is only Russian oil. And, to hell with you... - he shouted at the driver who almost caused a traffic accident. - Well, do you see, Sir? Is that culture? During socialism, we respected each other, and now we just curse each other. That is criminal, respected Sir (By the way, in Poland no one curses their mother, like we do in Macedonia). And you, respected Sir, what do you think?

During the ride, I heard from the taxi driver the latest news about what had happened yesterday in Warsaw, and indeed in Poland.

- Are we there? How much do I owe you?

- Just a small amount. Two hundred and fifty zloti. Here you go, my dear Sir.

Expensive. He was one of the illegal taxi drivers.

In Warsaw, on just one long taxi ride, you would learn all the latest news from the taxi driver, which you would not hear on the radio or television and which you would not read in any newspaper. The taxi driver learned everything from his customers.

The KEBS human rights meeting was ongoing. The representatives of the Macedonian NGOs had no common position. I would say everyone was marching to the beat of their own drum.

October 16, 1995, Monday

At 09:00, Jon Ivanovski called me and asked for advice regarding our place at the OSCE table. He said that he had been told to sit in the place assigned according to the French alphabet, with which he did not agree. He asked for an opinion. I told him to express dissatisfaction, something like a protest that would highlight our position and thus put pressure on the organizer and not to sit down until I reached the center. At 10:00 I went to the center by bus. I asked for Mr. Palishevski, the main organizer. In a short conversation, I expressed our position to him. He said that he agreed but, regarding our place at the OSCE table, he must consult with Vienna. I told Jon to immediately contact A. Tavchievski, our representative in Vienna, who was responsible for this issue. We did not receive an answer from him. Mr. Palishevski decided that our representative should sit between Malta and Liechtenstein.

At 12:00 I returned to the Embassy. I called Mrs. Yaremchuk at the Ministry of Trade regarding the upcoming talks. She said that consultations with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs were still ongoing. We agreed I would call on Wednesday (18.10.1995).

At 13:00 Verka Mitanova from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called. She said that nothing was yet known about whether an official car would be sent to me. As a consolation, she asked me not to worry.

Polish television reported that in the presidential trial elections held in the city of Vzheshnia, candidate Aleksander Kvashnievski was leading with 48.8%, Walesa was leading with 12.7% and the remaining 15 candidates were in the range of between 4% to 10%.

October 17, 1995, Tuesday

At my request, at 11:00 I was received by Jakub Boravski, Director of the Bureau for Interparliamentary Relations of the Polish Sejm. I conveyed to him the information that due to the recent events that took place in the Republic of Macedonia (the

assassination attempt above all), the official visit of the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov, to Poland was being postponed and it was proposed that it be held in the first quarter of 1996. Director Boravski expressed understanding, saying that it might be better to hold the visit next year because he hoped for better times for both Poland and Macedonia.

I took advantage of the meeting to tell Director Boravski that due to some very important provisions in the Preamble and the signatures of the competent persons, the signing of the already prepared agreements had not taken place, which would delay the process of signing or drafting the planned agreements for a certain period of time. I raised this issue in hopes that he would inform the authorities and that they would respond accordingly.

I did not wait for his comment. I thanked him for the reception and the conversation, emphasizing that I would have the pleasure of seeing him again in the future. Upon leaving the office, Director Boravski said:

- This door will always be open for you.

He kept his word.

October 18, 1995, Wednesday

Under number 10-4331/1 dated 18.10.1995, I received the following telegram today:

"Based on the reference used in the UN, institutions or individuals of certain states often use the abbreviation FYROM. Under pressure from Greece, it is particularly present at international governmental and non-governmental gatherings (in written information, letters, nameplates, badges, etc.) In this way, an attempt is made to impose the abbreviation of the temporary reference as the name of our country.

In view of the above observation, we point out the need to protest most vigourously in all such cases. If, for various reasons, it is not possible to use the constitutional name of our country,

then initiate the use of the entire reference: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

In doing so use the following arguments:

- accurate citation of the content of UN Security Council Resolution 817/93,

- the letter from Papoulias to S. Tsrvenkovski (September 13, 1995 in New York) stating that Greece recognizes our country within the existing internationally recognized borders under the provisional name FYROM,

- in official talks as well as in communication, the Greek side uses the full reference.

Signature: V. Gaber, Undersecretary"

I intentionally included the text of the telegram to confirm that Undersecretary V. Gaber, probably due to being too busy, did not read my telegrams relating to the subject in question. I assumed that he was not the only one.

October 19, 1995, Thursday

During the day I prepared the financial report for June and July and faxed it to Simka.

The presidential election campaign was heating up.

October 20, 1995, Friday

Cold and cloudy. The newspaper "Gazeta Viborcha" on page 6 under the title MACEDONIA published information stating:

"The President of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, left the hospital yesterday. Two weeks ago, there was an assassination attempt on his life. He was injured on the head, almost lost one eye and underwent many operations."

At 12:00 at a reception at the Embassy of Hungary organized on the occasion of the anniversary of the Revolution in 1956. Many invited. Mostly military personnel, the number of Ambassadors was small. A larger number of those present, and

above all the Ambassadors of: Croatia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Belarus and Bulgaria, inquired about the health condition of President Kiro Gligorov. They expressed satisfaction when I told them that he was feeling well and that he had been receiving treatment at home for two weeks.

Unfortunately, there was no information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding this tragic event.

October 21, 1995, Saturday

Cold day. Alternating rain-snow-rain-strong wind-colourful clear sky. I was busy almost all day preparing financial reports for July-August-September. A pile of bills.

From Macedonia (from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) no news, no instructions, as if the Ministry did not exist.

We spoke to Tanja on the phone. Today marked one month since her wedding. May they spend many years in good health. Congratulations, Tanche.

October 22, 1995, Sunday

The day offered a long walk. Yesterday's cold storm was gone. We went for a walk in the park in Vilanuv. Crowds of people. It seemed that half of Warsaw had come here today. We returned around 14:00 and after lunch we watched the TV news. The presidential election campaign was going crazy today too. A rare day when I could rest.

23 **October 1995, Monday**

After a previously scheduled meeting, today at 11:00 I was received by Prof. Dr. hab. Iezhi Skovronek, Director of the General Directorate of the Polish State Archives.

After the brief customary introduction and the expressed gratitude for the reception, I handed him the invitation from the

Director of the Archives of Macedonia, which expressed the desire for cooperation, mutual visits, the result of which would be the signing of a cooperation agreement in the field of archival science, which would include the training of archival staff and their improvement within the framework of processing archival documents, and the like.

Director Skovronek expressed gratitude, emphasizing that he would personally establish contact with the Director of the Archives of Macedonia, and would emphasize that he accepted the idea of cooperation.

I took the opportunity to introduce him to my archival activities, which resulted in the defense of a doctoral thesis at the University of Vrotslav entitled: "Macedonian Children in Poland 1948-1968" and that I was still interested in documenting the stay in Poland of Macedonian refugees, victims of the Civil War in Greece.

During the long and unusually useful conversation, Director Skovronek expressed his satisfaction and gratitude for the proposal for cooperation between the State Archives of Poland and Macedonia, stating that he wholeheartedly supported the initiative for signing an agreement, and he promised me that the archive funds relating to the acceptance, upbringing, education of children, employment and health care of Macedonians living in various places in Poland would be at my disposal.

At the end of the meeting, we agreed on new meetings with specific proposals for cooperation and preparations for a prompt meeting of the Directors of the State Archives and signing of the agreement.

At 15:00 the Polish Chamber of Commerce informed me by phone that the meeting of the Chambers of the CEI member countries was postponed to December, which I communicated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

At 15:00 a conversation with Boris Vishiniski regarding the Anthology of Macedonian Poetry. He promised to send me the complete selection by the end of November.

At 16:45 I got a phone call from "Vardar Film". They promised to send me a copy of the film "Before the Rain" and a list of dialogues by the end of October.

Finally things had started moving and we would see how long it would take to get there.

October 24, 1995, Tuesday

At 09:30 a telephone conversation with Ms. Yaremchuk from the Ministry of Foreign Trade regarding the timing of the arrival of Macedonian experts in Warsaw. She said that she had not yet received a response from the First Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, emphasizing that there was a person in that Directorate who was a great supporter of Greece and was blocking in every possible way all forms of cooperation between Poland and Macedonia. I, she said, see no reason but my superiors are persistently waiting for a political decision from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and therefore cannot make a decision on the arrival of experts from Macedonia in October.

The information worried me but I didn't want to comment on it over the phone. I thanked her for the conversation, emphasizing that the next conversation would be more optimistic.

I didn't want to tell her that I knew that person by name and surname and that our relations were on and off and that at every meeting I made a great effort to refrain from emotions, but I persistently defended the positions for which I was sent here to represent. I did not give in and this attitude of mine caused admiration among many interlocutors in Polish Ministries, which they openly expressed to me with sincere encouragement.

Mrs. Gerasimova from the Archives of Macedonia kept her word. Today, the package with the materials on Macedonian constitutionalism that was requested from the Polish Institute of Political Science arrived. I requested those materials from the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in June. I had waited in vain.

In the afternoon, a journalist from the editorial office of the magazine "Let's live longer" ("Да живееме подолго") came to the Embassy. He asked for information about the winter tourist centers in Macedonia. He said that he would publish a major article. I told him what I knew but that was not enough. In this regard, I promised him that I would request appropriate information from a Macedonian tourist agency. I sent a telegram with the request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Silence.

Verka Mitanova called me on the phone. She said that the car had arrived in Skopje, had been sent for a technical inspection, that the plates were already being prepared and that when everything was ready it would be sent. I thanked her for the news. A few minutes later she called me back and said that everything was ready.

I could only hope that the car would reach Warsaw by the end of November!

October 25, 1995, Wednesday

A cold but sunny day. I continued to have conversations about Macedonian wine and had several phone conversations with various companies in this regard.

October 26, 1995, Thursday

At 10:00 the 5th Polish-Macedonian scientific meeting began, organized by the University of Warsaw. I only attended the opening and then returned to the Embassy.

A fax arrived with information that the Minister of the Interior, Frchkovski, had resigned. This information was confirmed to me by Tanja (my daughter) in a phone conversation.

According to the information, Frchkovski claimed, contrary to B. Tsrvenkovski and S. Andov, that the assassination attempt had no political background.

Evening cocktails at the Austrian Embassy organized on the occasion of Austria's national holiday. I had several meetings with various Ambassadors. I had a longer conversation with Hmielevski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He took me aside and said:

- We have confirmed information from our special services that the head of the Russian special services was in Sofia on October 24-25, 1995 and discussed with his Bulgarian counterpart the failed assassination attempt on President Kiro Gligorov.

I left the cocktail party an hour early.

The list of dialogues for the film "BEFORE THE RAIN" had arrived.

At 20:30 the Macedonian participants of the Fifth Meeting, organized by the University of Warsaw, arrived at the Embassy. They were satisfied with their participation and performances.

October 27, 1995, Friday

I organized the notes from yesterday's meetings and conversations.

At 18:00 there were cocktails hosted by the Embassy of the Czech Republic. A longer conversation with Hmielevski. We concluded that by not signing the Agreement on the Protection of Investments and Double Taxation we had stalled the process of signing agreements, which was discussed twice during political consultations in Warsaw (8-9.6.1995) and in Skopje (21-22.9.1995).

During the conversation, Hmielevski said:

- We expect to receive the promised agreement signed between Macedonia and France. Then we will apply the same formula.

At that point, he began to justify it to me by saying that Poland had its own interests and that in that sense it wanted to maintain good relations with Greece, because otherwise Greece could stop Poland's entry into NATO and the European Union.

To this I said:

- Dear Sir, that is true, but whether Poland will be a member of NATO and the EU will ultimately be decided by someone else. Last year is not like this year. The changes are visible. He is someone who knows very well the place, significance and influence of Poland in Europe and beyond. The stakes are high.

When I talked to him, I always saw in his eyes a reflection of sincere and well-intentioned sympathy for Macedonia, while in the tone of his voice I heard sounds of official duty.

As for the signature formula under the agreements, the mistake was made in Skopje.

October 28, 1995, Saturday

It was cold and raining all day. On TV we watched the Presidential election campaign. The candidate was Kvashnievski. In the afternoon, warmly dressed, we went for a short walk. Because of the cold weather we returned quickly.

Journalist Biliski called me and said that he had a great time in Macedonia, where he was very well received and that he had been helped to collect interesting materials that he would gradually publish in the newspaper "ZHECHPOSPOLITA". We agreed to meet in the coming days.

October 29, 1995, Sunday

At 14:00 a Serbian driver from Kochani came to the Embassy. He had returned to Warsaw all the way from the Slovak border because the Slovak authorities did not want to give him a visa. He begged me to help him and told me that he had gone to the Serbs but they had kicked him out. He complained that they

had treated him badly and when he asked them for the address of our Embassy, they told him that there was no such Embassy in Warsaw.

- I left offended – he said – and asked a policeman where the Macedonian Embassy was. He put me on his motorbike and brought me to the door. Well I thought it would be like before but they insulted me, cursed my mother and finally kicked me out. It wasn't like that in Yugoslavia. In the past, you would go to the Yugoslav Embassy as if you were at home, they would welcome you warmly and even ask you if you were hungry or thirsty. Today it's the opposite.

My wife asked him:

-What would you like to drink, tea, coffee, juice?

-Anything is fine but first I would like to eat something...

After eating the fried bacon and eggs, he said:

- What kind of people are you? You don't know me, nor do you recognize me, yet you welcomed me and fed me. And now what do we about the visa?

- Now, I said, you will go to a hotel and tomorrow after ten o'clock we will arrange the visa.

October 30, 1995, Monday

At 10:00 I called the Slovak Ambassador Servatka and presented the case of our countryman's plight. He said to come at 12:00 and he would get a visa. Two days later, our man called from Kochani, thanked me for the help and said that he would constantly pray to God to give us good health and long years. I returned the same wishes.

At 18:00 cocktails at the Turkish Embassy. In addition to other meetings, a meeting with the Chargé d'Affaires of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). I pointed out to him the inappropriate behaviour of some officials at his Embassy towards Macedonian citizens and whether, in this way, they would confirm their constant claim of fostering good

relations with the Republic of Macedonia? He began to apologize claiming that he was not aware of the case and that he would take measures in the future to prevent something similar from happening again. He assured me that such behaviour of some officials was not a reflection of a negative attitude towards Macedonians and that his country was deeply interested in maintaining excellent relations between the two countries, and in that sense his Embassy would also foster such a relationship. To this I told him that the offended Macedonian would tomorrow tell people in Macedonia in houses, cafe´s and at meetings with friends about how he was received, and that this would certainly create a negative climate. Who would lose in this case? He said that he deeply regretted it and apologized and wanted this unpleasant incident not to be used as a negative act in our relations. As a sign of goodwill, he apologized once again and said that it would be his pleasure to have coffee together at his Embassy next week, for which he would send a suitable invitation. To this I told him that the unpleasant case required that we drink coffee at the Macedonian Embassy where I would hear his current apology. He looked me in the eyes for a long time and finally said:

- As confirmation that we are friends, I accept the invitation.

During the reception I had meetings and conversations with several high-ranking diplomats. No one failed to ask about the health of President Kiro Gligorov and about whether that criminal act would negatively affect the internal affairs of the state. I assured my interlocutors that the situation in the Republic of Macedonia was calm, although I knew that some were very agitated.

During the reception the conversations with some senior representatives of Polish Ministries were also interesting, who assured me that they were working intensively to find a formula for signing agreements between the various ministries of the two countries. I expressed my satisfaction with such an announcement and said:

- The best formula is equality. You sign for the Government of the Republic of Poland or for the Ministry of the Republic of Poland, we for the Ministry of the Republic of Macedonia or for the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. Any other formula puts us in an unequal position. As far as I know, Poland is very sensitive and does not tolerate being placed at a disadvantage, so why is it doing this to the Republic of Macedonia, which is an internationally recognized state and a member of the UN?

One of the interlocutors said:

-With good will and patience we will achieve success.

I replied: - I hope it's equal for both sides.

This time too, as in all meetings at various receptions and cocktails, and even during personal meetings with individual high-ranking state officials, the issue of the formula for signing agreements with Poland was always raised by me in the spirit of our Macedonian interests.

October 31, 1995, Tuesday

In the morning before seven o'clock someone persistently knocked on the door. I asked - Who is it?

- I am Simeon Mitev, a driver. Open up please.

I opened it for him and brought him into the waiting room.

- Welcome Simeon, and tell me what trouble brought you here?

- Well, I don't know your name or who you are here, they stole my passport and the Slovaks won't let me continue. They told me to go to Warsaw and complain to the Macedonian Embassy.

- What are you doing?

- I'm a driver. There's a TRUCK in the parking lot loaded with soil from Estonia. A rose grower in a village near Bitola buys soil in Estonia. It's black and they say it's good for flowers.

By the way what's your name, tell me what to do with this passport?

My wife came out of the kitchen, greeted Simeon and asked him if he wanted coffee and something to eat.

- I would like to have coffee but before that, if it's not a bother, I'd like to have a bite to eat if there's a restaurant nearby.

We fed Simeon Mitev and sent him off with a travel document. On his way out, he said:

- Well, Mr. Ambassador, you don't know what kind of people you and your wife are. You welcomed me with kind words, fed me and issued me a passport. Thank you very much and know that I will share this everywhere.

When saying goodbye, I said:

-Go ahead Simeon and good luck, watch your pocket and don't forget when you come to Warsaw, we should see each other again for good. This home is a Macedonian home.

The case of Simeon and the driver from Kochani was not the last. We welcomed, gave water and food to many of our people, and even more so to those who came to us in the morning straight from the train station, arriving from the prison near Shchechin where they had served three months for illegally attempting to cross the Polish-German border. I also remember the case of the boy from Strumitsa. He fell in love with a Polish woman, who soon returned to Poland. The lover could not stand it and went to look for her but his beloved had left for Germany. The lover swam across the border river Nisa and, unfortunately for him, fell into the hands of the German border guards who handed him over to the Polish border guards, and he received three months in prison. He came to the Embassy frozen, dirty and hungry, with neither money nor a passport. We sent him by plane to Sofia. He returned the money for the plane ticket to the cash desk of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and sent us a postcard from Strumitsa in which, in addition to his gratitude, he wrote that his father had instilled in him a love for Poland. We even had one person who said that he had a master's degree in music, who had smuggled musical

instruments, mostly drums and small drums. He said that he went to concerts with a group of musicians. In an old van, he carried old musical instruments to Poland and transported new ones to Macedonia. The Polish customs officers always wrote in his passport that he was carrying musical instruments but eventually they discovered his smuggling, for which the master of music received a two-month prison sentence.

I will write about many other such and similar cases when I have more free time.

November 1, 1995, Wednesday

Today is All Souls' Day in Poland. A day off. A day of remembrance and commemoration. A day to visit loved ones whose tombstones and crosses are cleaned and decorated with autumn flowers. Flames flicker in thousands of lamps in cemeteries and under hundreds of memorial plaques built into the walls where the Warsaw Uprising fighters were shot. Everywhere there are flowers and lamps that spread light for the souls and warmth for the living. Today Warsaw and all of Poland breathes in peace and mourns for the dearest ones. Painful and sad in their hearts.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia told me that the protocol with Greece had been signed and would be sent to me in English. It made me very happy. It seemed that some in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had forgotten the constitutional provision regarding the use of the Macedonian language.

The impression was that they did not learn to write in Macedonia.

November 2, 1995, Thursday

A few phone calls from various trading companies. They were interested in cooperating with similar Macedonian companies. During the day, I organized the previously received

offers and faxed the list to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

Friday, November 3, 1995

At 12:00 the Polish poet and journalist for TV Warsaw, Sobieshchanski, arrived at the Embassy. He wanted to write about the Struga Poetry Evenings and was asking for a contact. I gave him the phone number of the Directorate of this world poetry event and a tape of this year's poetry meetings in Struga.

A fax arrived signed by Misailovski and Stojanovski. Once again they were trying to sign cooperation agreements between various Ministries according to the German-Macedonian formula. They still had not realized that by doing so they had prevented the entire process of negotiating and signing agreements. With their stubborn insistence they had undermined all my hard work. Did anyone in charge at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia know what these two were doing? Was it just their initiative or had they been instructed to do so?

From whom should I ask for an explanation?

November 4, 1995, Saturday

I decided to review the telegrams sent in the period from March 9 to November 3, 1995. In total I had sent 239 telegrams but had received a response to only 40. The content of the telegrams referred in particular to my daily activities within the framework of numerous meetings and conversations with high-ranking officials in the Polish Ministries of economy, agriculture, culture, trade, defense, contacts and meetings with officials from both countries, as well as a large number of meetings with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. The responses primarily referred to offers for trade cooperation between small companies, which suggested that narrow personal interests were at stake.

When it came to telegrams from important interstate cooperation - there was no response.

This was clear to me, so I wondered if it was clear to some in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia? I completely understood that frequent changes of officials were the reason why no one wanted to be responsible. I believed that someone in the Ministry would conduct a purge and introduce order. A broom was needed, very much needed, without which there would be no advancement in international cooperation. It was time, necessary and must happen as soon as possible. Writing about this, I returned to the day when President Kiro Gligorov sent me to Warsaw (Stevo Tsrvenkovski did not like it) only one thought tormented me deeply. Namely, would I cope with the difficulties I would encounter in Warsaw? It had been shown and confirmed that I had coped well and with that I had gained the recognition and affection of the Poles, meaning the Polish State Institutions and the Diplomatic Corps. What hindered me the most now was the resistance, the condescending and belittling attitude regarding certain individuals in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. My difficulties came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. This assessment was not just mine and did not apply only to me. Through telephone or personal conversations, the same was confirmed by other Macedonian diplomats who came directly from Skopje, not by the returnees from Belgrade who hoped that Macedonia would return to the Serbian fold, and they would receive high diplomatic positions as a reward. The assessment was too harsh but one did not know. They say – the devil does not sleep...

Every day I came to the conclusion that I would not be a victim of jealous and corrupt people and destroy my health in that way, and therefore I was seriously considering writing to President Kiro Gligorov that I would resign and return to Skopje. Should I? I think I should because my family needs me healthy. What benefit would I have if I returned from here with ruined health? And that health, I feel that I am losing it. At the same time, the thought crossed my mind that this time of pressure and

underestimation was not a time for weakness of spirit, but a time for an act of complete dedication to carry out the entrusted task. Therefore, I rejected those dark thoughts and decided to continue steadfastly to persist in this task because I was not cut from the same cloth and sewn with the same needle and thread as some in Macedonia!

November 5, 1995, Sunday

It was not a day to go out. It was cold and raining. I read newspapers, watch TV, sometimes I took a nap.

On the TV news at 19:00, information that 28 million Poles would vote in the Presidential election and that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated that morning.

At the end of the news, information was given that in the first round, Kvashnievski was leading with 34.8%, and Walesa with 33.3%. 15 candidates were participating in the first round of the Presidential election. The second round would be held on November 19.

On TV, positive and negative comments about both news items.

November 6, 1995, Monday

Today we received great and very happy news. Milenka called and told us that Tanja was expecting. Good luck, Tanche!

Your happiness is our happiness. We expect the same happy news for Milenka. May God help us.

Snow fell in Skopje and the temperature dropped to minus 12 degrees.

The Ambassadors' Wives Club was organizing a sales exhibition on December 4th of this year with items characteristic of the respective country. The items would be sold and the money donated to the association of children with special needs. In this regard, I contacted Hriste Kotevski at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a request to consider the possibility of our

participation, emphasizing that such an act also had a positive meaning for Macedonia. He told me that regarding this proposal I should contact someone named Popov, whom he did not know. I spoke with Popov who told me that he was not responsible for such activities. When asked who was responsible, he replied that he did not know.

What a shame! Due to lack of knowledge in the case, we as an Embassy, State and people would remain anonymous!

I received some good news. The company car had been registered and a driver had been assigned to bring it to Warsaw.

November 7, 1995, Tuesday

At 11:00 I went to the Embassy of the State of Israel to sign the book of condolences on the occasion of the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. I expressed my condolences to the Ambassador on behalf of our Embassy and on my own behalf.

On the way back, I felt bad. My health was failing and I felt worse almost every day. Dr. Emilia examined me and recommended rest and quiet. I heard the same thing from my wife every day. It was good that she was here with me. I couldn't have endured it without her. She cheered me up and comforted me. That's why I loved her even more.

November 8, 1995, Wednesday

I stayed in bed all day. My guardian angel, my wife, would not let me watch TV or read the newspaper.

November 9, 1995, Thursday

The day was the same as yesterday. In the afternoon, Dr. Emilia came, examined me, and the same song – rest.

November 10, 1995, Friday

Today I was feeling better. I got up and at 10:00 went to the Polish Sejm to meet with Ghali Boutros which, in addition to a large number of Polish parliamentarians and Senators, was attended by the entire Diplomatic Corps. Boutros gave a short speech in which he expressed gratitude for the meeting, then answered questions and mentioned Macedonia three times without the usual additions. He highlighted it as an example where preventive diplomacy was successfully carried out with the participation of soldiers from Scandinavian countries and under the leadership of the experienced Polish diplomat and Deputy Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Henrik Sokaliski.

At 14:00 I returned to the Embassy where a fax was waiting for me from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing me that tomorrow, Saturday, Giorgi Jankovski would travel to Warsaw, to bring the official car, warning me that there might be problems with the Slovak border services. I replied that I would discuss this with the Slovak Ambassador in Warsaw. I called the Slovak Ambassador Servatka and asked the driver Jankovski cross the Slovak border without any problems. He told me that he would immediately call the Slovak Consul General in Budapest.

November 11, 1995, Saturday

Today was the national holiday of Poland. After 125 years of Poland being divided in 1794 between Russia, Austria-Hungary and Prussia, on November 11, 1918 it united and reappeared on the European map. Today it was strong and had great significance in Europe. Our admirer and ally.

At 09:00 I received a fax with the following content:

"To all DKPs of the Republic of Macedonia abroad

Today in Brussels, with the expiration of the "silence procedure", the decision of the NATO Permanent Council to respond positively to the request of the Republic of Macedonia to join the NATO "Partnership for Peace" program has been

confirmed. With this, the Republic of Macedonia becomes an equal participant in the NATO "Partnership for Peace" Program. It is expected that the Republic of Macedonia will formally sign the Framework Document of the Program in Brussels as soon as possible."

Excellent news, which would serve me well in my talks with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I would have a basis to persistently emphasize the need for an equal status for both countries, even though I had been doing so at every opportunity.

November 12, 1995, Sunday

At 15:40 Giorgi Jankovski called, who, together with Kiril Kozakov, had arrived in Warsaw bringing the official car. They were waiting in front of the "SOBJESKI" hotel. I immediately called a taxi and went to the appointed place. Warm regards and thanks. I went ahead in the same taxi and they were behind me in the official car, an AUDI A6. We put it in the garage and during lunch they told me about their experiences on the way to Warsaw. Last night, in Slovakia, they slept in the car locked in a church lot for fear of someone attacking them. They brought curtains, flags, three boxes full of 24 bottles of ZHOLTA brandy, 24 bottles of wine, coffee – greetings from Milenka, and pictures from Tanja's wedding. After dinner I sent them by taxi to sleep at the "GRAND" hotel.

November 13, 1995, Monday

I was unable to arrange plane tickets for drivers Giorgi Jankovski and Kiril Kazakov to Sofia today. The Bulgarian Ambassador Iani secured plane tickets for me to Sofia for tomorrow, for which I thanked him with a bottle of ZHOLTA.

In the evening, Ambassador Kinetski arrived at the Embassy with his wife and son Adam. We had a long and open conversation about his diplomatic experiences and impressions in India and Yugoslavia. At the end of the stay, his son asked me to

hire him as a driver. I agreed due to our acquaintance and his very positive attitude towards Macedonia. We had met in Skopje when he came on official visits as the Polish Ambassador in Belgrade.

November 14, 1995, Tuesday

At 18:00 dinner with my wife, hosted by Marian Servatka, the Slovak Ambassador. I was amazed by the beauty of the residence. A small country but with great ambitions to be noticed. Well, maybe in the future, the next Macedonian Ambassador would have something similar, unlike me with a residence of only one bedroom with an area of 20 square meters and a small bathroom. This was at the request of someone from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. We stayed until 21:00. The conversation covered issues of cooperation between the two countries in the fields of economy and culture, and there was also talk of considering the possibility of signing appropriate agreements to strengthen the cooperation between the two countries.

November 15, 1995, Wednesday

Ambassador Hmielevski called me on the phone. He asked me to meet him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs tomorrow at 12:00. I agreed.

Today I would sign the Agreement for Adam Kinetski as a driver at the Embassy.

I called V. Gaber and informed him that tomorrow I had been invited to a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I told him that I assumed that the meeting would be devoted to the upcoming visit of Deputy Minister Meller to Greece. Regarding the meeting, he advised me to emphasize during the talks that our relations with Greece were good, that a visa protocol had been signed, a green card, that there were efforts to resolve the name issue painlessly for both sides and that the “Partnership for Peace” agreement had been signed. This was

a repetition of my reports, and what was new in his instructions was that a French-Macedonian agreement would be signed on November 22. This agreement, he said, would open "the blockade set up by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the Preamble and the name". I took the opportunity to ask him if I should insure the car with full coverage (5,000 US dollars). He said to insure it only against theft.

Throughout the day, I prepared exhaustively for tomorrow's conversation at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

November 16, 1995, Thursday

At 06:30 I sent Jankovski and Kazakov to the airport. By 11:00 I had reviewed the Macedonian and Polish press.

At 12:00 a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A pleasant and friendly welcome, coffee in Meller's office. Mutual information. I spoke about the current relations of the Republic of Macedonia with its neighbours, with a special emphasis on relations with Greece after the signing of the Interim Agreement and about the activities undertaken by both sides. I spoke at length about this issue, mentioning without comment the heated debate conducted in the Greek Parliament, the only point of which was the Macedonian issue. I also informed the interlocutors about the membership of the Republic of Macedonia in the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the signing of the "Partnership for Peace" agreement.

The interlocutors informed me about their activities focused on efforts related to Poland's membership in NATO and the European Union. In this context, Mr. Meller would travel to Athens during the week, and from there he would like to obtain information about Macedonian-Greek relations.

The conversation and meeting lasted 45 minutes.

I walked back to the Embassy and the whole time I was thinking about the fact that we were already becoming a necessary factor in Poland's relations with Europe and NATO.

How, in what way and with what staff should we make use of our position now and in the future?

November 17, 1995, Friday

The official car had been technically inspected and insured against theft. Tomorrow the driver would pick up the diplomatic plates with the number WA 93 500 and then appropriate alarm devices would be installed. I didn't have a car – I complained, now I have a car, I'm afraid it will be stolen. The fear of my car being stolen would last as long as I was on duty.

I received instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia according to which I should not issue visas to persons who requested a visa to enter Macedonia in order to perform religious activities without the consent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I had not had such a case so far.

November 18, 1995, Saturday

It was cold, a strong cold wind was blowing. Lile Naumova, Chargé d'Affaires at the Macedonian Embassy in Zagreb and our friend, called us on the phone. She asked us if we wanted guests. We invited her to come to Warsaw.

All over Poland, at the call of the head of the Polish Catholic Church, Archbishop Glemb, prayers were being held directed to God for tomorrow's Presidential elections, for Lech Walesa to win. We would see if the Lord God would hear the prayers.

November 19, 1995, Sunday

In the morning at seven o'clock, the Presidential elections began. Despite cold and rainy weather (heavy snow was falling), crowds of people entered the church opposite the Embassy and after prayers went to vote. Radio and TV reported that the

elections were being held peacefully, there were no incidents and the relevant authorities were maintaining order. At the same time, they announced that at 20:00, TV channels would broadcast a debate in which representatives of Polish political parties would participate and that politicians from Brussels, Moscow, Kiev, Berlin, Paris, Washington, and others would be invited. During certain breaks, the election results were announced. After 20:00 it was announced that 9,762,000 or 51.72 % voted for Aleksander Kvashnievski and 9,058,000 or 48.28% voted for Lech Walesa.

Aleksander Kvashnievski was elected President of the Republic of Poland in the first round and he made a statement at 23:00.

The distortions and assessments made in the television debate differed but most were in favour of A. Kvashnievski. The reactions reflected the general political situation in Poland. Namely – that the election of A. Kvashnievski confirmed the sentiment of Polish society towards socialism; that the election result was a humiliation for Poles and Poland; that the success of A. Kvashnievski was a failure for Poland; that the elections confirmed that Polish society was divided and experiencing a crisis; that once L. Walesa lost – the Catholic Church lost too.

November 20, 1995, Monday

A day of various comments in the media. The defeated side tragically experienced the electoral failure. Walesa said that he had received a strong slap from someone but he would strike back in the next elections. The Ministers of Defense, the Interior and Foreign Affairs submitted irrevokable resignations.

November 21, 1995, Tuesday

Prime Minister Oleksi, it seemed more for public appearance, asked the ministers not to resign. They did not listen to him so he made a new statement, emphasizing that those ministers did not work for Poland, but for one person and that in

10 days at the latest he, not the President, would appoint new ministers.

Polish television broadcast a brief, dry report that U.S. President Clinton had spoken with Lech Walesa and Aleksander Kvashnievski.

Radio Skopje reported that President Clinton had announced the armistice signed by Croatia-Bosnia-Serbia. Here the leftist media commented that the United States would even write them a constitution.

November 22, 1995, Wednesday

A day that I remembered very well, among many other days in my life. On this day in 1985 in Vrotslav, I defended my doctorate on the topic: "Macedonian children in Poland 1948-1968".

At 18:00 at the cocktail hosted by the Lebanese Ambassador on the occasion of his country's national holiday. Meetings and short conversations with several Ambassadors and other participants at the cocktail. The main topic was the Presidential elections and their impact on Polish society, as well as on Poland's foreign policy. I also met and briefly spoke (in Polish) with the new Ambassador of China, who suggested that I visit him next week. In the conversation with the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, in view of the developments in the relations between Croatia-Bosnia-Serbia, I asked them to consider the possibility of securing the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia by posting a guard. To this, the Director said that he would send a letter to the appropriate service with a request to place a guardhouse in front of the Embassy of the FYROM. I immediately interrupted him and said:

- Mr. Director, not in front of the Embassy of the FYROM but in front of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, and if you have some time left, come by and see what's written on the sign and enjoy a glass of Macedonian wine...

November 23, 1995, Thursday

It's minus 9 degrees outside. It's cold for me. It's snowing lightly.

I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in which I suggested that the congratulatory message from President Kiro Gligorov to A. Kvashnievski on the occasion of his election as President of Poland be sent in Macedonian, emphasizing that such an act also had a positive significance.

At 12:00 a meeting with Prime Minister Jozev Oleksi and the Diplomatic Corps. Extensive presentation by the Prime Minister on Poland's foreign policy after the Presidential elections.

The Croatian Ambassador handed me a copy of the letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia regarding the succession of the property of the SFRY. He said that after the signing of the Dayton Protocol, the Serbs would seek to claim all property. Croatia would demand its share. He suggested that the Republic of Macedonia should do the same.

November 24, 1995, Friday

At 08:50 in the hotel "GRAND" at a meeting with Natsev from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management. He would participate in the CEI meeting. Due to my deteriorating health, I would not accompany him.

November 25, 1995, Saturday

All day in bed. I was forbidden to get up, to read, to write. I lay down, looked at the ceiling, thought and was silent.

November 26, 1995, Sunday

I felt better today but could not get up.

November 27, 1995, Monday

After a morning of loneliness, many phone calls. The most precious was a phone conversation with Tanja. In an excited voice, she said to me: - Dad, I went for an ultrasound. There is a heartbeat. I am already carrying another life. - Good luck, my dear child - I told her in a trembling voice. Tears are also brought with joy and should not be wiped away.

The congratulatory message from President Kiro Gligorov to the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kvashnievski arrived. By the way, Kvashnievski resigned as the party President yesterday and returned his party credentials, stating that he wanted to be the chairman of all political options. Today I would translate the congratulatory message into Polish and together with the Macedonian text tomorrow, with a note, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I would request an audience in the office of the new President. I would also send a similar congratulatory message on behalf of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

Dr. Giorgi Statovski called me from the hospital. After exchanging greetings he informed me that he was going to have a serious operation tomorrow. I told him that I would visit him.

Todor Uzunov, a very dear friend of mine, but not from my generation, called me from the airport. He was three or four years older than me. He asked to see me. Todor arrived in Poland from Bulkes in Yugoslavia and together with Leonid Gogarovski, Paskal Paskalevski, the only poet who glorified the epic of the Democratic Army of Greece in the difficult battles of Gramos and was also the editor of the Macedonian newspapers, bulletins and leaflets that were printed in Prespa during the Civil War (in 1954 he moved to Sofia), and Pando Shapkarev who had relocated to Warsaw where in the fifties he was responsible for preparing and printing textbooks for Macedonian schools in Poland), in Zgozhelets at the print shop, they published a BULLETIN in the Macedonian language. Only he and Leonid remained in the

editorial office, who until their retirement at the end of the nineties worked in the printing house in Vrotslav where the newspaper ("DIMOKRATIS") "DEMOKRAT" was printed in Macedonian and Greek. We were very close friends. With Todor, who was waiting at the airport to fly to Sydney to be with his brother, in a cordial conversation in the airport restaurant we talked about our mutual friends from our youth and the years we had together in Vrotslav.

November 28, 1995, Tuesday

I always remembered this day, November 28, with pain. For 47 years it had been hammered into my memory like a nail that never rusts. I remember the day of the great and long separation. I was barely eleven years old then. It was almost noon, a light rain was falling and the surrounding mountains were shrouded in thick black clouds when the column of fifteen trucks, carrying children from some Kostur villages who until that day of March 25, 1948 were being held in a camp in Drach, slowly entered Prenjes. And there, in Prenjes, a large village that until 1943 was an Italian military base, in rotting barracks, large horse stables and empty warehouses the refugees from the Kostur villages were accommodated, who, during the great battles in the Gramos region that lasted 70 days and nights, were forced to leave their native villages and find shelter here. I heard a loud voice – they are coming – and then I saw how, like a storm, women in black, men in their late years, ran from the barracks and stables. Those were our mothers and fathers. Names were heard, shouting, hands held high,and sad and pleading crying were heard. The trucks drove slowly, not stopping in front of the outstretched hands, the shouts, the cries, the pleas to stop just for one touch, just for one kiss, just for one warm hug, just, perhaps, for one last look. Those were our mothers and fathers. In that difficult meeting and great farewell, those who ran alongside the trucks and we who were in the trucks cried painfully and sadly. And when the trucks took the winding uphill road, then hundreds

of waving black scarves sent us off into the unknown. I have described this event in more detail in my novel BED FOR THE WRETCHED published in 1985.

A year later, in the classroom in the small town of Solitse Zdrui, Poland, I stood in front of a large map of Europe and looked for my village on it. I couldn't find my village on the map and I wasn't in my village. A great distance separated us.

Burdened with this memory, my wife and I went to a reception at the Albanian Embassy.

Before that, before noon, we went to the hospital to visit our friend Dr. Statovski. He had surgery yesterday.

I have translated the letter from Dr. Yane Miljovski, sent to the Polish Minister of Finance, into Polish and would deliver it to the Polish Minister of Finance and the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs tomorrow. It concerns the succession of the property of the SFRY.

At 18:00 we entered the Embassy of the Republic of Albania. A very cordial meeting with Ambassador Enver Faya. He spoke Polish perfectly. In the years after World War II hundreds of Albanian youth were sent to study in Eastern European countries. Among them was Faya who studied architecture in Krakov. The conversation with Faya was in the spirit of the usual phrases about good neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation. We agreed on a protocol meeting.

During the cocktail I had a long conversation with Mr. Hmielevski, now acting director of the First Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When I mentioned to him that I would be seeking a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the succession of the property of the SFRY, he said bitterly:

- We received letters on that issue from Croatia and Slovenia, and now Macedonia is also joining in. I have the impression that you want to block a new Yugoslavia (at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he was considered a great supporter of Yugoslavia).

November 29, 1995, Wednesday

At 12:00 in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I handed them the letter from the Minister of Finance Dr. J. Miljovski. During the conversation, the interlocutors emphasized that they still expected to receive a copy of the Macedonian-French agreement and then they would decide on the formula for signing the agreements. (I did not tell them that I was also waiting for such a copy). This time too, I took the opportunity to draw attention to the persistent use by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the name FYROM. In this regard, I said that in this way they did not respect the constitutional name Republic of Macedonia and, in this regard, I would raise the issue to a higher level.

November 30, 1995, Thursday

In accordance with local protocol customs, the delivery of congratulations from heads of state to the newly elected President was announced in writing to the Office of the President. The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, adhering to this, informed the Office by letter, from whom the Embassy received a letter stating that it would be informed of the day on which the new President would be presented with the congratulatory letter from President Kiro Gligorov. Adhering to this diplomatic custom, I sent a letter to the Office of President Aleksander Kvashnievski with a request to personally deliver the congratulatory letter from President Kiro Gligorov on the occasion of his election as President of the Republic of Poland.

Two days later at 12:30 I was received by Danuta Vaniek, head of Aleksander Kvashnievski's election campaign. I handed her the congratulatory letter from President Kiro Gligorov and the Embassy in connection with the election of Aleksander Kvashnievski as President of the Republic of Poland. During the conversation, I presented the positive results of the contacts with the competent Polish Ministries, emphasizing that both sides,

Poland and Macedonia, had a great interest in broader cooperation in all areas. I emphasized that in the past, cooperation between Macedonia and Poland had developed excellently in the field of economy, especially at the cultural level. I emphasized that in Macedonia, the sympathies of the Macedonians towards Poland were very strong and that there was a certain dissatisfaction due to the use of the unconstitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I reminded that in the UN both the Secretary General and the majority of members used the constitutional name, so I saw no reason for Poland, with which we had long-standing traditional cooperation and friendship, not to use our constitutional name. I continued by saying that I was very satisfied with the contacts established so far in all Polish Ministries where I had been received with sincere sympathies and wishes for strengthening mutual cooperation.

Mrs. Vaniek thanked me for the congratulations and promised that she would personally work to ensure that the name issue was satisfactorily resolved.

At 18:00 a cocktail at the Romanian Embassy and from there at 19:00 a cocktail at the Lao Embassy. My wife and I returned "home" tired.

December 1, 1995, Friday

I received a fax from Petros Binos, a Macedonian from Voden, who ran a company in Skopje that sold southern fruits. He was interested in cooperating with a Polish company. I sent his fax the same day to a Polish company that was interested in buying southern fruits.

At 12:00 Ambassador Kinetski arrived at the Embassy. We talked about the elections, he was satisfied with the election of a member of the party to which he belonged. I briefly conveyed to him the conversation with Mrs. Vaniek. He promised that he would also advocate for the use of the constitutional name.

At 15:30 I visited my friend Dr. Statovski in the hospital. After the surgery he said he felt good, although there was great pain and sadness in his eyes.

December 2, 1995, Saturday

My health was not the best. I had rested all day. Ditta would not let me enter the office. She insisted on keeping me still.

December 3, 1995, Sunday

A whole day of rest.

December 4, 1995, Monday

It was cold and snowing heavily. Ditta at a regular meeting with the Ambassadors' wives at the Swedish Embassy.

At 12:20 we visited Dr. Statovski in the hospital. He said that he felt well and would go home on Wednesday.

After several requests from me (from April to today), I received the Law on Consular Fees from the Department of Consular Affairs. If it were a turtle it would have arrived sooner. This was an example of how things worked at the Headquarters (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). I was still waiting for a response to 40 of my telegrams regarding the requests of Polish companies for cooperation with Macedonian ones. I had the impression that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs either did not read the telegrams or did not deliver them to interested companies.

December 5, 1995, Tuesday

A telegram arrived informing me that Minister Angelov would arrive in Warsaw tomorrow. I will meet him at the airport.

Invitations arrived from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, V. Bartoshevski, for a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps to be

held on 12.12.1995 and a similar meeting on 20.12.1995 from L. Walesa.

At the cocktail organized by the Embassy of Thailand, in addition to other meetings and conversations with several Ambassadors, I met and talked with the Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia. The conversation concerned the proposal of the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to hire a lawyer regarding the property of the SFRY in Poland. He told me that there was no interest in this matter. Croatia, he said, recognized the statehood of Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia did the same.

In this regard, I had not received any information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the latest initiatives.

At 22:00 Radio Skopje reported that Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski would participate in the NATO meeting tomorrow in Brussels. So we were entering deep waters. With this argument, I would tell my Polish interlocutors that we would soon become equal partners.

December 6, 1995, Wednesday

I received an invitation from the publishing house ("Wydawnictwo Naukowe") to participate in the promotion of the book "Writers of the World". The address read: Embassy of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

I telephoned the lady and thanked her for the invitation but I told her that the address was wrong. The lady said they had received such an address from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Another female voice answered, apologized and asked me to dictate the address to her. After 20 minutes, I received a fax with the following content:

Warsaw, 6th of December 1995

His Excellency

Dr. Petre Nakovski
Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia
Dominikanska Street 15
02-738 Warsaw
Fax 431326

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

We would like to thank you for calling and confirming your attendance at the promotion of the Encyclopedic Dictionary "Writers of the World".

At the same time, we sincerely apologize for incorrectly addressing the invitation envelope and for the inconvenience this caused you.

With deepest respect,

Editor-in-Chief
Barbara Petrovlin-Skovronska

This was not the first time I had drawn attention to those who addressed their shipments with FYROM. I had even had cases where I had returned such shipments unopened.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Embassy of Finland. Through the mediation of the Romanian Ambassador, I met the Ambassador of Greece. A nice meeting. We talked in Greek about neutral issues. We agreed to meet after New Year and then, in a peaceful atmosphere, we would also discuss the relations between our countries.

At 20:40 at the airport. The plane from Vienna was an hour and a half late. I was waiting for Dr. Ivan Angelov, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management. Accompanied by the Polish Minister, we went straight to the "MERIOT" hotel and, after a short rest, had dinner together.

December 7, 1995, Thursday

The meeting of the Ministers of Agriculture within the CEI began at 09:00. Before that, I entered the conference room to check what name was on the nameplate placed on the table where the Macedonian Minister was supposed to sit.

FYR of MACEDONIA – it said on the sign. I took it and went to the person in charge of seating. I told him that if there was a sign with that name on the table, the Macedonian Minister would not participate in the Conference.

He looked at me in surprise and asked:

- And who are you?

I showed him my diplomatic credentials.

- Okay, if it is about those letters, I'll bring a new one. You want it to say MACEDONIA, then we'll write a new one. And who came up with that ugly name for you, Mr. Ambassador?

- Friends – I said.

We had solved this problem but another one came up. The Minister had forgotten the text of his speech on the table in his office. I suggested that he call his secretary and tell her to fax it to him. Twenty minutes later the forgotten speech arrived. While the Minister was talking to his secretary, I took a small Macedonian flag from the official car and placed it next to the sign that said MACEDONIA in large Latin letters.

At 17:00 I returned to the Embassy and found a message from Dushko Giorgievski from Skopje.

"Greetings to my friends," - he wrote. Dear Petre, I received a letter from Australia. Your WRETCHED ... will go under a different title. I am sending you this joyful news for which I am also happy." (This is about the novel "BED FOR THE WRETCHED" directed by him.)

At 19:00 Kole Naskov arrived from Vrotslav with his Polish wife and son. He is a distant relative of Ditta. At the age of 4, he was taken with the children to Albania, then Romania and eventually settled in Vrotslav, where he graduated from art in a secondary school and then the academy of art. He became a famous painter. Tomorrow, at a ceremony by the President of Poland, Kvashnievski, he will receive a professorial nomination.

We warmly congratulated that once poor boy from the Kostur village of Ezerets on his nomination for a university professor.

From the reception organized by the Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture at the Embassy, my wife and I returned "home" at 22:30.

December 8, 1995, Friday

At 08:15 the official meeting of the Macedonian and Polish Ministers of Agriculture began. An open and substantive conversation. They agreed that by the first quarter of 1996, state-level experts from both sides would prepare texts of the agriculture agreements and, after their bilingual harmonization, they would sign them in Skopje.

The interpreter of the conversations (now and at future meetings) was Dimitar Mandzhunovski, (rarely the secretary Beata Ristovska, Macedonian by her father) a permanent resident of Warsaw, married to a Pole and a good friend of mine with whom we grew up together in children's homes. He graduated from the Faculty of Physical Education in Warsaw and now worked as a journalist.

In the afternoon, I put the official car at the disposal of the Macedonian Minister, who was visiting Warsaw with his secretary. He arrived at the Embassy at 16:50. A long two-hour conversation about many things. Unfortunately, the Minister did not find a single word of praise or kindness for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

What can I say?

December 9, 1995, Saturday

At 07:00 together with Minister Angelov, at the airport. They announced that the plane to Munich would take off at 08:55. Together with his host, the Polish Minister, we sat in the VIP area and the conversation was on various topics, but mostly about the forms of mutual cooperation.

When they announced the boarding of the plane, I gave Minister Angelov a special envelope with a request that he personally give it to Gaber at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. The envelope contained confidential reports.

December 10, 1995, Sunday

Today, in the hotel "MARRIOTT" organized by the club of the wives of the Ambassadors, a sales exhibition of various items characteristic of the respective countries was being held. The income would be donated to sick children, and the exhibition would certainly be beneficial for the participating countries. Macedonia was not present with anything, although on 10.10.1995 I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by telegram and asked to send appropriate items characteristic of Macedonia by DHL. I did not receive a response.

When I told Minister Dr. Ivan Angelov yesterday that Macedonia would not participate in this event since nothing had been sent, he calmly told me, without surprise:

- Don't be upset. The majority of Macedonians, and probably those in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia as well, do not feel Macedonia as their own country. Such an attitude confirms how much foreign influence over time under Serbia and the 45th ideological penetration have brainwashed Macedonians. That's it, comrade.

December 11, 1995, Monday

Meeting of the Diplomatic Corps with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Vladislav Bartoshevski. After the presidential elections, he submitted an irrevocable resignation. In his one-hour speech (the text of the speech, typed on twelve pages, was given to each attendee), he outlined the basic points of Polish foreign policy, which had been continuously pursued since

1989. He left the impression that he was not disappointed and it seemed to me that, with his expressed desire for the future Minister to continue actively implementing the current engaged and pragmatic foreign policy, he gained great sympathy from the Diplomatic Corps. We repeatedly thanked him for the frequent meetings and excellent cooperation.

In the afternoon G. Misailovski came to the Embassy unannounced. I did not know the reasons for his stay in Warsaw and I did not ask for an explanation. After drinking coffee, he asked me to give him money for hotel expenses and for some of his needs in Vienna. I told him that I would seek approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for this and if I received approval, I would fulfill his wish. He did not accept my proposal and left without saying goodbye.

December 12, 1995, Tuesday

A cold day and snow fell non-stop. The newspaper only noted yesterday's meeting of V. Bartoshevski with the Diplomatic Corps with a few lines, but devoted a lot of space to Lech Walesa's statement that he would soon form a new political right-wing movement.

Today I received a response from the Director General of the Polish State Archives with agreement for cooperation with the Archives of Macedonia. Excellent news. The envelope had the constitutional name written on it – the Republic of Macedonia. The first part of the numerous meetings and discussions in this area had been completed.

Excellent and the best news in the last two months.

December 13, 1995, Wednesday

I paid the owner of the house where the Embassy is located for January, February and March of 1996. I instructed the secretary to buy New Year's cards for all Embassies, and the driver to deliver the cards to the Embassies by placing them in the

mailboxes of the Embassies in the lobby of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs building, and to mail the remaining greetings to the Ministries, companies and people listed on the list that I had left on her desk, for which I had also given her a certain amount of money for postage stamps.

The secretary looked at me with a frown and said:

- I'm not here for that work.

And the driver repeated the same thing.

- Okay – I said in a calm tone. – If that's what you're convinced of, then from tomorrow onwards look for work somewhere else. And I don't want to see the mug you have been drinking coffee from all day on the table anymore. You'll drink coffee in the café during your work break, and the driver's seat is in the waiting room and must always be ready when needed for official purposes. Got it?

December 14, 1995, Thursday

The Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Kovalchik, before the cocktail on the occasion of the farewell of the Indonesian Ambassador began, greeted me very warmly at the entrance to the hall and said to me:

- My dear friend, I hope that today's signing of the peace treaty in Paris will allow Macedonia to strengthen its sovereignty and independence. And let me also tell you that after reading the album you gave me, I became very attached to Macedonia. Tell me how is the President? I pray for him, that God will give him the strength to recover as soon as possible. Send him my regards.

I thanked him for his kind words and promised him that I would send my greetings to the President today. I asked him to accept my invitation to have lunch together after the New Year.

- For me, he said, that would be a great pleasure.

During the cocktail, I reminded the Ambassadors of Croatia and Slovenia about the Macedonian proposal to hire a lawyer to establish the assets of the SFRY in Poland. They had a different opinion. We agreed to meet next week.

At 14:00 the Slovak Ambassador called me. He suggested that on December 26th at 12:00 we meet for lunch with our wives in the old part of Warsaw. I accepted.

December 15, 1995, Friday

Despite the promises, the Macedonia-France agreement was not sent to me by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. They told me not to expect an increase in the staff of the Embassy.

This meant that I would have to continue to perform all tasks myself.

At 12:30 at a cocktail at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, organized on the occasion of the arrival of the new Chinese Ambassador. Many guests were invited. The tables were overloaded with a variety of Chinese food and you could smell the strong smell of Chinese liquor, which almost none of the Europeans drank. The Europeans looked for the tables with a huge number of glasses of vodka. Something similar happened not long ago at the Embassy of Romania, when the main dish served was mamaliga, a dish that seemed to be a rare and unfamiliar dish to those present. Personally, I avoided all the tables and spent the entire time in the company of several Ambassadors and senior Polish officials, with whom I renewed contacts in pleasant conversations and listened to the latest comments on the events in Poland after the Presidential elections. I used the opportunity with my interlocutors to exchange opinions on the situation in the Balkans, and especially on Macedonia.

When I returned to the Embassy, I saw a pile of New Year's greeting cards on the table. I spent the whole afternoon signing them.

December 16, 1995, Saturday

Cloudy. Rainy. Cold. I checked the Polish press. Demonstrations in Warsaw. One against the other under the same waving flag and anthem.

December 17, 1995, Sunday

"At home" all day. Cold outside.

December 18, 1995, Monday

We, like the Poles, began preparations for the New Year 1996. We bought an artificial Christmas tree and decorations. We put it in the living room. Next to it was the national flag.

December 19, 1995, Tuesday

Today I packed up the flags with the sun, except for one, which I put on a small flagpole in the office. On each one, I stapled a piece of paper with the inscription:

" This flag was first flown from the window of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw on May 3 at 06:00 and flew until June 6 at 19:00, 1995."

And the other one:

"This flag was first raised on a flagpole in the courtyard of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw on June 7 at 08:00 and flew until October 7 at 19:00 1995."

(Dr. Petre Nakovski, Charge´ d'Affairs)."

(The flags are kept in the author's archive)

And while I was doing this, from the Office of the Sejm, the courier brought me a calendar for 1996 and an envelope from Boravski with a handwritten address:

“Pan Zoran Novakovic, Charge´ d’Affaires a.i. Federecyjnej Republiki Macedonii, ul. Dominikańska 15’’. (No need to translate, it was understood).

I was startled but quickly collected myself. I told the secretary to open the envelope slowly and very carefully. Inside was a circular note in which the Office of the Sejm asked the Diplomatic Corps to participate in the inauguration of the new President, which would be held in the Sejm on December 23, 1995.

I photocopied the envelope and the note, then glued it together and wrote in large letters “ZWROT” (returned) in large letters, and the driver took it to the Sejm.

A new envelope arrived from the Sejm addressed to: Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia along with a few sentences of apology.

December 20, 1995, Wednesday

I watched the Sejm session on TV. It was heated, with insults.

December 21, 1995, Thursday

I received a New Year’s greeting card from President Kiro Gligorov - an icon with the Virgin Mary and Christ.

The stormy session of the Sejm continued today. It seemed that the Poles would see off the old year with quarrels among their parliamentarians and because of that they would have sad, bitter and gloomy Christmas holidays. But regardless of that, Warsaw was immersed in all the colours of the lights that shone in the days and nights to welcome the Christmas and New Year holidays. The whole of Warsaw was one beautiful Christmas tree.

December 22, 1995, Friday

Nothing new that could be interesting. The mutual spats continued in the Sejm, and outside it was snowing non-stop and was cold, minus 14 degrees.

December 23, 1995, Saturday

At 12:45 in the Sejm, the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kvashnievski, would take the oath. The entire Diplomatic Corps was in the gallery. I went early and sat in a nice place with a view of the entire Parliamentary Hall.

President Aleksander Kvashnievski inaugurated his Presidential program for the next five years, in a 30-minute speech. While he was delivering his inaugural speech, demonstrations took place in front of the Sejm. Organizer – the far right.

My good friend, the Slovak Ambassador, Marian Servatka, whispered to me as we left the Sejm: - I have the impression that the Poles are exhausted from the election campaign, tired of politics, divided and quarreling.

December 24, 1995, Sunday

CHRISTMAS EVE. Peaceful, quiet, sad but hopeful.

"At home", meaning it was just the two of us at the Embassy. A modest dinner and lots of memories. In our places, there in Kostur Region, we celebrated Christmas Eve the same evening as the Catholics. Sitting next to each other, we remembered how the whole family sat around the common family table and waited, for our mothers to secretly throw the first meal into the yard so that all the spirits would be fed and the new year would bring abundance and joy, and how they gathered us and how our mothers sent us to the border and how, holding onto their skirts, we cried and sobbed, how we spent the first night of our separation struggling to fall asleep on the damp autumn ferns under the full moon, listening to distant gunshots and the

booming of cannons... We didn't sleep that night but we just kept telling ourselves that tomorrow, maybe the day after tomorrow we'd return home and wait for new Christmas Eves at home. We were children of war and partisans, and that war, which they called civil, drove us far from home and since then we never sat around the family table again. We grew up far from home where we did not celebrate Christmas Eve, we did not wait to experience the joy of Christ's birth because in children's homes it was forbidden. We remembered quietly, hugging each other and then we were silent for a long time. In the past years when there were such holidays, we were silent and grew up in silence because someone had taken away our childhood joy and taught us to celebrate the holidays of others, unknown to us. And we got used to growing up under the shadow of other people's glories. We sat quietly and wondered - now, when Christ's birth was celebrated, what were our mothers doing without us? We went to bed with our eyes full of our childhood and tears for our loved ones...

The past brings both joy and unhealed pain...

Christmas Eve – the bells were ringing, announcing the birth of Christ:

- Christ is born!
- He was indeed born!
- For many years!

December 25, 1995, Monday

Visiting Dota and Giorgi Grantsaris. Our school friends in the fifties, born in the Kostur village of Kondorobi. Dota works at our Embassy as a cleaner. Giorgi was an electrical engineer. They invited us to lunch on the occasion of the Christmas holidays. They did not intend to move to Macedonia, the children had created mixed families, had their own apartments and good jobs. They all spoke Macedonian well and maintained contacts with their relatives in Macedonia and their native village. They had almost adopted Polish customs and traditions, had adapted to the Polish way of life and the Polish climate. I believe that in these

fifty-something years of life they would have difficulty adapting to another place.

We were welcomed very warmly and with friendship. The apartment was small but beautiful and warm, tidy. They treated us to traditional Polish dishes typical of the holiday. We would remember this day for a long time, especially the kindness and warmth with which we were welcomed.

December 26, 1995, Tuesday

It was the second day of the Christmas holidays. Warsaw was almost empty. Rarely did anyone walk with a swaying step on the streets of Warsaw. The people of Warsaw were either at home celebrating or taking a rest from the celebrations.

At 13:00 at the "Stone Steps" restaurant in the old part of Warsaw, the Slovenian Ambassador hosted a luncheon for the Ambassadors of Croatia and Macedonia. The conversation mainly focused on the succession of the SFRY property and joint activities.

In the afternoon, the last page of the Macedonian-French agreement, signed with the full name of our country, arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I had been waiting a long time for this. Tomorrow I would request an appointment at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

December 27, 1995, Wednesday

Today I received New Year's greetings from Milenka and Tanja and their husbands, from A. Tuntev, G. Tsrvenkovski, J. Veselinov, L. Arsovski.

December 28, 1995, Thursday

Cold. Minus 15 degrees outside. Light snow was falling. Congratulations arrived from several Embassies, Ministries, journalists, friends.

December 29, 1995, Friday

Last working day in 1995. Radio Warsaw just reported that during the night, Warsaw was the coldest European capital – minus 20 degrees.

At 11:00 they brought the photocopier. It was small but I hoped it would get the job done.

December 30, 1995, Saturday

A new Polish Government was formed today. Dariush Rosati has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. I sent him a congratulatory message by fax. Additionally, I would send him a printed congratulatory message by letter through his office. That was the custom.

At 12:00 at the Embassy I organized a modest cocktail for the Macedonian colony in Warsaw. It was nice, at least, to be in the company of your compatriots for a few hours. You had the feeling that you were in Macedonia and the satisfaction that the Macedonian song and dance warmed up with Macedonian wine and brandy added a little Macedonian beauty to the beauty of Warsaw.

December 31, 1995, Sunday

Last day of 1995. In the "GRAND THEATRE" ("TEATR WIELKI") the ballet "SWAN LAKE" was performed for the Diplomatic Corps and high Polish officials. After the performance all those present were treated to a glass of champagne. We returned to the Embassy late after cold and snowy weather.

I sat alone in my office and recalled the days that had passed until the end of this year.

Over the past thirty years since my move from Poland to Skopje, I had met writers, journalists, politicians, publishers and many people from the fields of literature and culture, politics and

diplomacy. The large number of friendships and my extensive translation of works from Polish classical and contemporary literature brought me recognition and respect from Poland. Those facts and all my official visits and conversations strengthened acquaintances, cooperation and trust.

I didn't notice when darkness fell, marking the end of today's cold day and the approaching end of this year.

My wife called me for dinner. We had a modest dinner and our thoughts were with our children, from whom we were separated by a great distance, which we shortened with the deepest heartfelt wishes. And this dinner was the last of this year, which ended with loud music, shouts of joy and great wishes and hopes broadcast by all television channels.

It was midnight. We were sad and went to sleep with sadness...

Staring at the ceiling, I wondered what my year was like?

Was it easy?

Was it difficult?

PART TWO 1996

Thus ended 1995 and tomorrow I would begin the second year of my diplomatic mission. What awaited me? What would it be like? With good wishes and hope from what I had sown, I hoped there would be a good harvest.

I would start my second year tomorrow.

January 1, 1996, Monday

I started my first working day in the New Year 1996 at 07:00 in the morning.

I was collecting notes and thinking about how my engagement in the New Year 1996 would proceed. I was not sure that it would be easy to overcome the new challenges, and there would be many. The most important thing would be the continuation of negotiations to expand and strengthen mutual cooperation between Macedonia and Poland in all areas through meetings at expert and ministerial levels, drafting and signing agreements, maintaining active contacts with high-ranking state officials, with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and efforts for further affirmation of the Republic of Macedonia. I hoped that things would start to get sorted out in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, and hence the hope that cooperation between the existing staff in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Diplomatic and Consular Missions would be strengthened. This hope, even if it was an assumption, it opened up the perspective of my engagement in 1996**.**

January 2, 1996, Tuesday

I looked through the Polish daily press. On the front pages, there was information about the alleged misunderstandings between President Kvashnievski and Prime Minister Oleksi.

It was cold outside. The power was out.

January 3, 1996, Wednesday

Due to the lack of electricity, the Embassy was cut off from the world. There was no telephone connection either. I called the post office. I was promised that a team would come during the day to carry out an inspection. They did not come.

January 4, 1996, Thursday

In the afternoon a team of electricians arrived. They found that the cable was cut. They installed a new one. The post office reported that the entire neighbourhood had no telephone connection. Several teams were hired to repair it. They promised that I would have a telephone connection during the day.

In the evening I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing me that Risto Blazhevski, nicknamed Pirts, would maintain contacts and cooperation with the DKP members from Central and Eastern Europe.

January 5, 1996, Friday

I finished the translation of the play "A Very Diplomatic Lunch" by Kshishtov Iviniski and would send it to Boris Vishiniski tomorrow. The play would be published in the magazine "Cultural Life", within the framework of the collaboration that I discussed last September with the editor-in-chief of the magazine "BORDERLINE" from Suvalki ("POGRANICZE" from Suwałki), a small town in the very northeast of Poland. A letter arrived from the editorial office of the magazine "POGRANICZE" announcing that they accepted the cooperation between "CULTURAL LIFE" and "POGRANICZE". They proposed to organize a meeting in the spring of 1997 within the series of meetings entitled

“REMEMBERING THE OLD CENTURY”, which would be entirely dedicated to Macedonia. Topic: culture, traditions, faith, cultural contacts with Poland.

I sent the news by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a request to forward it to the Ministry of Culture and the editorial office of “CULTURAL LIFE”.

January 6, 1996, Saturday

Koleda. The coin was found in the piece for the house. Telephone conversation with Milenka and Tanja. From 21:00 to midnight we watched a broadcast from the Orthodox Cathedral in Moscow on TV. A beautiful service.

January 7, 1996, Sunday

The entire right-wing press and television developed a huge campaign of pressure against Prime Minister Oleksi, demanding that he resign.

The weather softened a bit. It was two or three degrees warmer.

January 8, 1996, Monday

The Polish text of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture arrived. During the day and part of the night, I translated it into Macedonian and tomorrow I would fax it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a request that it be forwarded to the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture.

From now until the end of my service, I would also be the translator of all texts of agreements, either from Polish to Macedonian or from Macedonian to Polish, and of all amendments after the comparison and amendment had been made.

I hoped that the response and the Macedonian text from the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture would arrive soon, provided someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia did not "forget" to forward it to the relevant Ministry, which had often happened.

Today there were problems with the telephone connections again. I sent a letter to the Main Post Office regarding this.

At 12:00 Ambassador Hmielevski called me and scheduled a meeting for January 10 at 14:00. I assumed the conversation would be about the use of the name when signing the agreements.

Polish President A. Kvashnievski was leaving for Germany and then France tomorrow. This was his first trip abroad as President. The press wrote that his visit to Germany and France was connected with the demand for Poland's faster accession to NATO and the European Union.

Prime Minister Oleksi was on vacation. The storm around him was not subsiding. The right wing was demanding his resignation.

Lech Walesa visited his old workplace at the Gdanisk shipyard and announced that he would take a job as an electrician.

January 9, 1996, Tuesday

I completed the translation of the text of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture and sent it to Skopje.

January 10, 1996, Wednesday

At 14:00 a conversation with Ambassador Hmielevski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I handed him a facsimile of the first and last pages of the Macedonian-French agreement. He left me with the impression that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs would quickly resolve the name issue. During the 30-

minute conversation, we jointly assessed that we could sign 7-8 agreements in 1996.

When I returned to the Embassy, I found a whole pile of telegrams on my desk from various Polish companies expressing a desire for cooperation or seeking contacts with similar companies in Macedonia. Today and tomorrow, I will send them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonian translated into Macedonian.

I once again requested an appointment at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to deliver the congratulations from Minister Stevo Tsrvenkovski to the new Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dariush Rosati.

At the end of the day there was some good news: at19:00, Radio Skopje reported that today Macedonia and the European Union had established diplomatic relations and that an Embassy of the European Union would soon be opened in Skopje.

January 11, 1996, Thursday

In Poland it is traditional for the Presidential Palace to organize a meeting of the newly elected President with the Diplomatic Corps. Ambassadors are required to wear tuxedos and their wives long dresses.

On that occasion, we received the following invitation in Polish, and I am presenting it translated into Macedonian:

The President
of the Republic of Poland
Aleksander Kvashnievski
with his wife
invite
Mr. Petre Nakovski
with the Wife
to come
on New Year's Eve
on Monday, January 15, 1996 at 19:00

to the Presidential Palace
Tuxedo, long dress Krakovskie Pedmieshche 48/50

(Original in manuscript**)**

At the same time an invitation arrived from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dariush Rosati, who was organizing a reception for the Diplomatic Corps on January 22, 1996.

And here I had a problem with the tuxedo. There was no problem for my wife. She had several long dresses and it was just a question of which dress to wear. It was too late to have a tuxedo made and too expensive to buy one. I had to ask if there were any private individuals in Warsaw who would rent such clothes. I found one. My wife and I went. I put one on, I looked a little like Charlie Chaplin, I put on another, even worse. Finally I borrowed one in which I felt more comfortable. I paid 300 zloti and signed a note stating that I would return it within a week.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that at 15:30 the head of the Balkans Directorate, Mr. Wilchek, would like to meet me in his office. I went. He was interested in the latest developments in the Balkans. I told him that I would not like to interfere in the affairs of third countries. I took the opportunity to inform him that yesterday, i.e. on January 10, the Republic of Macedonia and the European Union had established diplomatic relations and that the Union would soon open an Embassy in Skopje. In the continuation of the conversation, I emphasized that it was necessary to set a time for consultations between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs, to specify the date for the visit to Poland of the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov, to begin talks on signing cooperation agreements, to hold a meeting of experts to regulate the agreements, and further I emphasized our interest in the membership of the Republic of Macedonia in CEFTA and the hope that we would have the support of Poland. The interlocutor confirmed that Macedonia could count on support.

A letter was waiting for me at the Embassy from President Kvashnievski's Office informing me that he would soon receive me.

January 12, 1996, Friday

According to the telegram received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I requested an appointment at the Department for International Legal Affairs. They replied that the meeting could only take place next week.

In the afternoon I sent a fax with a request to be forwarded to the Office of the President of the Republic of Macedonia with the following content:

In accordance with local protocol customs, the presentation of congratulations from heads of state to the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kvashnievski, on the occasion of the ceremonial assumption of office as President, is announced in writing in the President's Office.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, adhering to this, announced with letter No. ARM/V/32/95 the delivery of the congratulatory letter from the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, dated 19.12.1995.

The Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, in a letter dated 2.1.1996 (delivered by mail), informed the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia that such a meeting with President Aleksander Kvashnievski was planned.

The Embassy learned that a large number of heads of diplomatic missions in Warsaw also received a similar response and that in addition to congratulations, President Aleksander Kvashnievski would also be presented with written messages from the Presidents of their countries.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, considering that similar written messages represented an opportunity for contact between the Presidents and an opportunity to communicate through correspondence, in order to convey the

basic messages, wishes, needs and hopes for the promotion of bilateral cooperation, as well as announcing invitations for official meetings and visits, suggested that such a message from the President of the Republic of Macedonia be delivered to the President of the Republic of Poland through the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

Past experience confirmed that such messages had proven useful and yielded enviable results.

President Aleksander Kvashnievski organized a New Year's reception for the Diplomatic Corps at the Presidential Palace on January 15, 1996, and Minister Dariush Rosati organized a New Year's reception for the Diplomatic Corps on January 22, 1996, for which the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia also received official invitations. Nakovski

January 13, 1996, Saturday

Milenka's birthday. We congratulated her warmly on the day over the phone.

January 14, 1996, Sunday

Now, in the winter, Sundays were the most boring. There were some notes to finish and the rest of the day was spent relaxing in front of the TV or napping.

Today since 12:00 the central heating had not been working. I called the owner of the house to check on the boiler. He did not come until 21:00. He said that something was wrong and that he would call a repairman tomorrow. It was minus 10 degrees outside.

January 15, 1996, Monday

The day started badly in the morning. The heating wasn't working, the secretary called and said she was sick. It was cold in the morning.

At 12:00 an extended congratulatory message from President Kiro Gligorov to President Kvashnievski arrived by fax, with a proposal for a meeting and talks at the highest level. Who was this smart guy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia who sent two different congratulatory messages in addition to the one from the Cabinet of President Kiro Gligorov?

At 16:00 we started getting ready for the New Year's meeting with the Polish President. I was wearing a tuxedo for the first time and tried not to mix up the pieces. I felt uncomfortable in such clothes.

At 18:15 we set off. At 18:25 we entered the Palace. An honourable salute from the Presidential guard. I received a slip with the serial number 76 and the inscription B.J. REPUBLIKA MACEDONII. With my fingernail I slowly scratched the letters V.J. The line moved slowly. The Ambassadors were first followed by their wives. We slowly climbed the stairs covered with a red carpet. In front of the entrance to the large hall, an honourable salute from the guards. On the left stood the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol and a little further on President Kvashnievski, next to him his wife and further on the members of the Cabinet and a whole row of high-ranking state figures. On the right in line are the Ambassadors and their wives. The Director of Diplomatic Protocol took the slip and loudly called out the name of the guest, his position and the name of the country. It was my turn. He took the slip of paper with the number 76 from my hand, thought for a moment, cleared his throat and said loudly:

- Mr. Petre Nakovski, Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia with his wife Mrs. Afrodita. I greeted President Kvashnievski with a low bow, congratulated him on his election and then greeted the others in his circle.

A welcome speech by President Kvashnievski, in which the emphasis fell on foreign policy. After him the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, Archbishop Kovalchik, spoke. After the speeches champagne was served. The President moved among the guests. He went from group to group. He took a picture. With his

wife, we stood in the circle of the Ambassadors of Croatia and the Czech Republic and their wives. The President came up to us. He greeted everyone and first talked to the Czech Ambassador, then to me. He asked about the health of President Kiro Gligorov. I briefly conveyed to him my congratulations on the occasion of his election and my wishes for cooperation and a meeting. In the short conversation, I reminded him that we had known each other for a while. He thought a little and said that we met in June last year at the restaurant "FLIK" in the company of Ambassador Kinetski. Yes, I remember. We had a great time and I learned a lot about Macedonia then. I reminded him that he had told me then - if I am elected president, I will call you for a longer conversation. It will happen. And now let's take a picture. He called the photographer and said to him:

- Take a picture of us with Macedonia.

After almost half an hour, the Director of the Diplomatic Corps, whom I already knew well, approached me, shook my hand and said:

- Mr. Nakovski, why did you scratch out the letters V.J.?

- Because, Mr. Director, they were written incorrectly.

- "Clever", he said with a smile and went to greet the other guests.

During the meeting, I had conversations with several Ambassadors and Polish officials.

We returned to the Embassy at 21:30 unusually satisfied but also tired.

January 16, 1996, Tuesday

Around 09:00 Jon Ivanovski called me on the phone. He told me that if I didn't mind, regarding our membership in CEFTA, he would talk to someone named Zaharski or Zaharovich. I told him that I had not received any instructions on this issue but he must keep in mind that the condition for admission was that at least one member supports us. He said that Slovenia would certainly support us. I told him that Slovenia was

not a member of CEFTA and that it would not be admitted to CEFTA until January. I further told him to check carefully and that it was more important for us to sign an agreement with Poland because this country played the most important role, and I had coordinated the text of the Agreement in July 1995 and it was located in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Jon said that he knew nothing about this.

I wondered, if Jon Ivanovski was authorized to contact CEFTA why hadn't he been given the text of the Agreement? I had the impression that someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was muddying the waters.

The invitation from Minister Ivan Angelov to the Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Food Industry and Agriculture, Mr. Iagieliniski, arrived by fax. An official invitation copied from a fax was not accepted. I would wait for the original to arrive and only then would I request an admission to hand it to the Polish Minister.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me by fax that tomorrow, January 17, in Skopje and Athens, the flags of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece would be raised on the balconies of the buildings housing the Liaison Offices.

The secretary didn't come to work today either.

January 17, 1996, Wednesday

Mrs. Elizhbieta Kaspshitska, a correspondent for the "LOS ANGELES TIMES", called me on the phone and asked for information about Macedonia. I dictated it to her over the phone.

They called from the Polish Sejm. Mr. Boravski was requesting to meet. We arranged to meet tomorrow at 10:00. The purpose of the conversation - agreeing on a date for the official visit of the Speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov.

The Polish media reported that the military prosecutor had received additional evidence of J. Oleksi's alleged collaboration with the KGB. The affair was gaining wider scope.

I received the following "instruction" from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia:

"During President Kvashnievski's New Year's gathering with the Diplomatic Corps, take the opportunity to personally present President Kvashnievski with the congratulatory letter from President Kiro Gligorov. During the presentation take the opportunity to highlight the part of the letter that expresses our readiness and goodwill for meetings at the highest level."

Since when and by whose authorization did someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assume the responsibilities of the President or his Cabinet?

The person (or persons) who wrote the above instruction did not know or was well aware of what entrapment or intent to trick was. At a diplomatic reception in front of 200-250 attendees, including many journalists and agents, an envelope is not publicly handed to a President, especially since the congratulatory message had long ago been delivered, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had been informed about. The person who signed it should have known that messages or congratulations are delivered privately or in the presence of someone from the Cabinet, and the person delivering the message uses the opportunity to express opinions, wishes and hopes for strengthening relations and cooperation in all areas. Unfortunately, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, there seemed to be many players trying to set someone up and accuse them of ignorance. They did this with great ease and insidious jealousy.

After the affair with J. Oleksi, the right-wing bloc was hunting for new agents, including Miller and Miechislav Rakovski, prominent figures in the previous regime. The right-wing media is jubilant.

A similar hunt and rejoicing are not absent in Macedonia.

January 18, 1996, Thursday

From the Cabinet of President Kiro Gligorov I learned that a second, additional congratulatory note to President Kvashnievski was not sent. So someone had done it on their own or by someone's orders. At noon, Misailovski called me on the phone and, in a very confident and commanding tone of voice, asked me if I had received, as he said, the extended congratulatory note to President Kvashnievski on the occasion of his election and the instructions. So the author of the additional congratulatory note and instructions called himself. I told him:

- Learn that such congratulations are not given at public gatherings but that it goes through the Cabinet. Your call is nothing more than an insidious underestimation and at the very least provocative. Explain to me what your frequent phone calls to various Polish Ministries are supposed to mean and you ask them to explain to you how far the issue of cooperation agreements has come and what should I tell the people you are talking to when they ask me who this Misailovski is and what function he has in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs? And regarding CEFTA, who is in charge, you or Jon? As far as I know Jon is in charge of CEFTA.

Silence and then Misailovski said:

- Regarding the instruction, I may not have thought it through deeply but that doesn't mean it's not important. If you think I was wrong, I apologize, and in that sense I would ask that the matter be considered closed because it won't happen again.

To this I told him that the Embassy was responsible for contacts with Polish institutions and one should not interfere where it was not required.

Through a live connection to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I sent the annual report for 1995.

January 19, 1996, Friday

Due to certain shortcomings in the previous operations of the Embassy, I decided to write an Order regarding the operations and conduct of the employees. Among other things, I wrote:

1. Given that the Embassy is a representative state institution of the Republic of Macedonia abroad, the staff is obliged to come to work in clothing befitting the institution, the driver in a navy blue suit, white shirt, black tie and black shoes, especially on days when official guests are received. In particular, the staff comes to work formally dressed in cases of holding cocktails, receptions, visits of high-profile persons and similar occasions. Working hours begin at 08:00, end at 16:00 and the driver stays at work later, according to needs.
2. The break for breakfast and possibly for other personal needs lasts from 09:30 to 10:00 every day. Outside the time designated for the break, eating, cooking and drinking tea or coffee in the Embassy premises is prohibited. In this regard, technical staff may not stay and use the kitchen and kitchen utensils (except for the secretary for official purposes) and the refreshments (coffee, tea, sugar, bottled water, juices, alcoholic beverages, etc.).
3. The staff is required to safeguard the inventory at the Embassy and will personally bear the costs of any damage caused through their fault.
4. For security reasons, all persons seeking admission to the Embassy must have their reasons for admission checked and, only after obtaining permission from the supervisor, are directed to the waiting room, which must be clean, tidy and ventilated and where smoking is prohibited. After their departure an inspection is mandatory. Visitors are allowed into the

Embassy only one person at a time, after prior notification to the supervisor, and after obtaining permission are directed to the waiting room. Only those persons approved by the Embassy supervisor are allowed into the lounge.

5. In the absence of the supervisor, visitors are not received at the Embassy.
6. The space designated for the secretariat is occupied solely by the secretary.
7. It is prohibited to remove any documents from the Embassy, or to provide information and advice orally or by telephone without the knowledge and permission of a superior.
8. The driver is obliged to check the proper condition of the company car every day and check the technical condition of the electrical and telephone connections, the water supply network and the lighting, and if he is unable to repair any issues himself, he must call a service.
9. The cleaner, after finishing work, must check that all windows and doors to the basement and other rooms are locked.
10. The use of telephones for personal purposes in the city, country and abroad is prohibited, with the exception of emergency needs.

At 13:00 Jon arrived and together we went to a meeting at the Ministry of Economy. Interlocutors from the Polish side were Mr. Zaherski, Director of the Administration, Mr. Kovalchik and Mrs. Bozhena Borkovska. Jon hesitated and struggled to explain our interest in joining CEFTA. Without success. I took the opportunity to raise the issue of signing a trade cooperation agreement between Poland and Macedonia, to which Zaherski responded that the entire meeting should have started with this

topic because, in order to join CEFTA, a trade agreement must be signed with at least one CEFTA member state. Jon jumped in on this, claiming that such an agreement had been signed with Slovenia, to which Zaherski replied that Slovenia was still waiting for accession. Jon was mistaken here but, despite the failure, the Polish interlocutors emphasized that the door was open if Macedonia fulfilled the condition – signing a trade agreement with at least one CEFTA member state. Upon leaving the Ministry, I asked Mr. Zaherski to receive me at a time that would suit him. He accepted.

January 20, 1996, Saturday

At 13:00 a certain Alia Shaban came to the Embassy. He said he had just come from the prison in Goleniuv where he had been imprisoned for illegally crossing the Polish-German border. He had no documents. He said he lived in Skopje, at 12 Kosta Abrashevik Street, where his wife and five children also lived. With tears in his eyes, he begged me to help him return home to Macedonia. I asked him if he was hungry. He said he hadn't eaten anything for two days but felt uncomfortable asking. My wife fried eggs for him and made him tea. In the meantime, I called the Ministry of Internal Affairs to check his identity. They confirmed that he was our citizen and I could issue him a passport. While eating, he kept repeating – oh, how good it is for a person to have support somewhere, I'm glad we have our Embassy here. You helped me a lot, and I don't even know how to repay such kindness.

I handed him the passport and the plane ticket to Sofia and, as I saw him to the door, I said:

- Send my regards to your loved ones and never leave them alone again.

He turned around, hugged me and, with tears in his eyes, he said:

- Desolate poverty. Blessings for the kindness and may the Lord keep you in His embrace. Such goodness is not forgotten.

Two days later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me by fax that Alia Shaban had returned the borrowed money to the treasury.

January 21, 1996, Sunday

A cold day and a day for rest and reading.

January 22, 1996, Monday

At 13:00 in the Palace on "Foksal" Street, a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps with the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Dariush Rosati. After his speech dedicated to the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland, he held separate meetings with diplomats. When it was my turn, I took the opportunity in a short conversation to express my satisfaction with the good Macedonian-Polish relations and the hope that they would continue to develop positively. I emphasized that a prerequisite for the further development of relations was the signing of a series of agreements but, unfortunately, their implementation was limited by the problem of the use of the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia. Minister Rosati replied that he was aware of the problem, emphasizing that we would resolve this issue with good will. He expressed satisfaction with the engagement of the Embassy of Macedonia in strengthening contacts and ties with Polish state institutions and noted that in the near future he would like to meet personally because he had heard enough words of praise for the Macedonian Ambassador. Regarding this praise, I said that it was the result of mutual understanding and sincere sympathy and respect for peoples, their historical tragic experiences and cultural traditions.

During the meeting, I met with several Ambassadors with whom we exchanged views on mutual cooperation.

Minister Rosati's meeting with the Diplomatic Corps lasted about two hours.

I returned to the Embassy and there were about a dozen men standing in front of the door. I received them one by one. All of them were prisoners, released last night, from the prison in Stargard Shchechiniski in northwestern Poland. They had served a three-month sentence for an illegal attempt to flee from Poland to Germany. The prison authorities paid for their ticket to Warsaw with a recommendation that the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia would take care of them. I contacted the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I did not receive approval to issue a passport for only one person because he was not our citizen. I gave the others passports and money for plane tickets to Sofia with a signed statement that they would return the money to the treasury of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the evening twelve more came to me with the same requests. I sent them to the special camp for foreigners. I would call them to come after the inspection was completed.

I am still waiting for the Polish Ministry of Agriculture to receive me so that I can present the Minister with the invitation for an official visit to the Republic of Macedonia.

January 23, 1996, Tuesday

At 10:00 I spoke with Hmielevski about the agreements and their signing with the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia. He said that the situation was a bit complicated. We are waiting, he said, to see how the talks in Belgrade that started yesterday will end. I asked him – what do the talks in Belgrade have to do with the issue we are discussing. And also. Do you know, Sir, that talks are being held in Belgrade to establish diplomatic relations between the Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and opening Embassies? Silence, and then he asked me:

- Can we meet tomorrow?

To this I said:

- Mr. Ambassador, meetings and conversations with you are always my great pleasure.

January 24, 1996, Wednesday

At exactly the agreed time 09:00, the officer on duty brought me into Hmielevski's office where I greeted him warmly and amicably. We had the usual exchange of opinions about the weather while we drank coffee. Then the conversation on the agreed topic began. Unfortunately, our conversation did not proceed cordially and amicably. The Franco-Macedonian agreement was not enough for him. He again took up the thesis that in the efforts for Poland's membership in NATO and the European Union, Poland could be pressured by Greece if we signed cooperation agreements with the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia.

I told him that such an argument did not hold much water. The Republic of Macedonia was already a member of a large number of international organizations and in that case it did not encounter any opposition from Greece. Knowing the history of the formation of the Greek state, I was confident that in due course it would change its attitude towards the Republic of Macedonia. Greece was a creation of the West and it was the West, I would say, within the framework of its interests, for a specific use, that had changed governments there, appointed Ministers despite the great patriotism and national spirit of the Greeks, whom I greatly appreciated. The West was doing that now. It would act the same way with us. When we enter the sphere of Western interests, then your Ministry will also change its attitude and recognize us with the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia. Let us not forget, Mr. Ambassador, that we live in a time of great and far-reaching interests. Over time, under pressure from the West, Greece, as our people say, will lie down on flour, and we will also be forced to give in. I am sure that we will also find people similar to your Targovitsa. (*Note for the future reader: -Targovitsa: a town in former Eastern Poland where on May 14, 1792, with the help of the Russian Empress Catherine II, a confederation was formed by a group of Polish magnates in order to annul the Polish constitution adopted on*

May 3 of the same year – that day is celebrated as a national holiday in Poland – the group, through its activities, led to the second partition of Poland between Russia, Austria-Hungary and Prussia. The group of magnates has been declared as eternal traitors to Poland). We understand each other, right? When those interests are achieved, then we will be an equal member of the West and therefore I personally hope that under pressure from the West, Greece, which has always been and is under its influence, will play a new sirtaki again. We are a meek and patient people. What I mean is that patience, crowned with the great hope for freedom, will take us to great waters. And I assure you, Mr. Ambassador, that under no circumstances and in no conversation with you or any other interlocutor will I put aside raising the issue of the use of our constitutional name. Sacred things endure for countless centuries.

He listened to me carefully, and then said:

- I have complete understanding. In many conversations I support Macedonia and your views and persistence. But know that state interests are not the personal opinions of individuals...

- I - interrupting him – have a complete understanding of Polish state interests and such an understanding has been conveyed to the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which fully supports Poland in that sense. I personally know the historical fate of Poland, Mr. Ambassador, its position in Europe and I am also familiar with the attitude of the Pole when it comes to its destiny. Hence, my entire presentation is connected to the fate of Macedonia. The name is our mark, our existence, just as for you, the name is your mark and your existence. Your fate and past are no different from ours. Wherever you take it – it hurts...

Silence. We looked into each other's eyes. Poland and Macedonia were in our gaze.

Ambassador Hmielevski picked up the phone and ordered coffee. Then he asked:

- Could political consultations between the two Ministries be held in March this year?

- Personally, I see no obstacle but I will respond after consultations with my superiors in Skopje. And since we are at the end of the meeting, let me tell you that your Ministry and the Diplomatic Protocol in correspondence with the Embassy use the name FYROM, while almost all Polish state institutions, not to mention scientific institutions, media, cultural and literary associations, as well as many companies, use the constitutional name - the Republic of Macedonia.

- Do you have evidence?

- I'll deliver a whole pile of copies to you tomorrow.

We shook hands with a promise to stay in touch.

At 10:00 I was received by Roman Iagieliniski, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, to whom, after a brief conversation, I handed over the invitation from Minister Ivan Angelov to officially visit the Republic of Macedonia.

At 13:30 the Marshal of the Senate hosted a cocktail for the Diplomatic Corps. I took the opportunity to inform the Albanian Ambassador that, in addition to the already delivered 120,000 tons of wheat, Macedonia was preparing another 100 tons for Albania. Since the Albanian press had not published a word about this, I jokingly asked Ambassador Faya if we should also send a few thousand pens for Albanian journalists to write at least a brief note about the aid provided? According to the Romanian Ambassador, Romania sent Albania 5,000 tons, which was written about by the entire Albanian press. Ambassador Faya said that he was very angry about this, personally offended and would respond accordingly to the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the evening news on TV, the Warsaw military prosecutor's office announced that it had initiated an investigation against Prime Minister J. Oleksi for alleged espionage in favour of Russia. Immediately afterwards J. Oleksi addressed the nation. With a dramatic tone of voice he rejected all accusations but also accused the Polish right and certain groups of special forces of attempting to overthrow the democratic order.

January 25, 1996, Thursday

A very cold day, minus 20 degrees. I followed the news on Radio Warsaw and TV all day about the crisis that had arisen. I went to bed late.

January 26, 1996, Friday

The cold weather continued. The bitter debate between the right and the left continued. I spoke to some Ambassadors on the phone, just to say hello. They said they were closely monitoring the situation and that it was not good for Poland.

January 27, 1996, Saturday

I was in bed all day. My thoughts were with my daughters in Skopje. I missed them so much. I was not feeling well. I probably needed some rest and peace.

Regarding the political situation in Poland, it is worth noting that today at the Fifth National Convention, Jozev Oleksi was elected president of the Social Democratic Movement. According to the news, right-wing parties and organizations gathered about 1000-1500 demonstrators, especially young people. And in Zakopane, right-wingers met President A. Kvashnievski with a large banner that read – "Kvashnievski go home, no one invited you here." The left reacted to this by assessing that those who judged that Lech Walesa was capable of destroying Poland were not mistaken.

Listening to the news about the situation in Poland and the statements of some Ambassadors, I am increasingly convinced that the so-called transition that began after the fall of communism in Eastern European countries, and also in our country, I would say has brought so much division, injustice, intolerance, disunity, discord and hatred, that one is left to wonder - where is the much-desired democracy?

As a child, I grew up, was raised and educated in Polish orphanages and boarding schools, completely separated from the authentic Polish environment, which deprived me of the opportunity to get to know the Polish people and their authentic history more deeply. I knew them as much as was written in the school books of the then regime's educational system and the inseparable and strong influence and pressure from the semi-literate cadres of the Greek Communist Party, which had placed semi-literate and, in most cases, almost illiterate peasants, until recently fighters of the Democratic Army in the Civil War, as educators and teachers in both homes and schools, that I did not have the opportunity to get to know even the past of my people, about which I only knew as much as my grandfather had told me and as much as was sung in Macedonian folk songs. Learning the alphabet, reading and writing gave me the opportunity not to forget my native language and in that sense the aforementioned Macedonian educators and teachers did a huge and truly enlightening and patriotic job. The opportunity to get to know the Polish people more deeply was given to me during my high school education but mostly afterwards. The involvement or entry into the Polish environment, the daily communication with Poles and, I would say, the insatiable reading of books with historical content, as well as books in the field of artistic literature, even those that were banned by the authorities, opened the doors through which I slowly but steadily entered the past of Poland and discovered the spirit of the Poles. Until then, I did not know that side in which was recorded the rise, but also the fall of Poland, its internal discord, political divisions, dismemberment by its neighbours, erasure from the map of Europe, the tragic and bloodily suppressed uprisings among which the epochal literary works were written, in which the spirit of national freedom always smoldered. This in some way influenced my further school education.

Every day I set aside a little time to browse the Polish daily press, in which I found the past, yesterday's past, and

discovered the Poland of today, once humiliated in the past, afflicted but always proud.

And now?

I had in my hands the daily newspaper "ELECTION GAZETTE" ("IZBOREN VESNIK") from January 17, in whose supplement "Books" by Adam Mihnik, editor-in-chief of the newspaper, a review of the book "Memoirs" by Adolf Rudnitski was published. The review is entitled "History written in the heat".

According to Mihnik, Rudnitski once wrote in 1984:

"I don't know this country, I don't understand it. Complete psychological dependence on the West, the result of eternal slavery, distrust of every government, an expectation of new slavery. A country that is (...) chronically rebellious and fragmented. A deep chasm between the lower class and the intelligentsia, a land perpetually available for purchase with a broken penny, a land of disorder, vodka and clergy."

And a little further down:

"In the middle, the Visla is dry. Let's be clear - no one is worried for a moment about the national fate, they constantly feel the oppression of tomorrow. Perhaps this trait deforms them to the point that they cannot be surprised. They do not want to be like that at all, as they are, they are completely secure in terms of their character, in terms of the daily lack of civic courage and the very generalized lie."

That was enough reading for today.

January 28, 1996, Sunday

Today I was busy browsing the Polish press again.

"Poland and the Poles are divided, as if they are at a crossroads" - writes Miechislav Rakovski in today's Tribune ("TRIBUNA"), once known for his sharp journalistic pen in the weekly Politics ("Politika"), later Prime Minister and ending his political career as General Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party.

"Now I know - writes Rakovski - why we were enslaved for 123 years, deprived of our own state - I heard from an elderly gentleman who approached me on the street. Yes, I also know. Before our eyes, the foundations of the state are being destroyed, authorities are falling, the political and social order is being destroyed. Poland, which stood out among the nations with a peaceful transition through the difficult period of the transformation of the system, that Poland too is moving into the past. It is entering a period of self-destruction. Soon the old belief that Poles can not govern themselves will return. And it seemed that things were finally going well."

I included these quotes only for the purpose of comparison with what was happening here and in our country. Are there any similarities?

The game was not just Poland. It included the entire East of Europe and in the entire future game there were more players, however, in the current political situation, it was claimed that the loser was called Poland.

(Note: the entire text is in the manuscript of the Diary.)

January 29, 1996, Monday

At 08:00 Boris Vishiniski called me. He said that he would send me the selection of Macedonian poetry soon. At 10:00 a telephone conversation with the Polish critic Piotr Domanietski, who was preparing the selection of Polish contemporary poetry. We arranged a meeting on February 1.

A letter arrived from the Director of the Polish State Archives and the text of the draft cooperation agreement. I translated it into Macedonian and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and to the Director of the Archives of Macedonia.

Shortly afterwards a congratulatory letter arrived from the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, B. Handzhiski, to Stanislav Dobzhaniski on the occasion of his appointment as Minister of Defense of Poland. I called the Polish

Ministry of Defense, spoke with Colonel Psheshlovski, who promised to call tomorrow and inform about the day of the presentation of the congratulatory letter.

At 19:00 my wife and I were at the "ZAHENTA" gallery for the opening of the exhibition of works by Polish artists.

On our way back to the Embassy we learned from Radio Warsaw that Serbia and Montenegro had recognized the Republic of Macedonia. Later, Radio Warsaw broadcast news that Athens had denied the news. In the news on TV PANORAMA at 21:00 it was announced that New Yugoslavia was not recognized by the Council of Europe because of its stance towards Macedonia. We turned on a Greek TV channel. We heard that Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis said in a statement on Greek television that "our Serbian friends will not betray us and will not recognize Skopje with the name Republic of Macedonia".

At 22:00 Radio Skopje reported that the Government in Belgrade had adopted the draft proposal for the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia but it did not announce when the recognition would take place. The Greeks put conditions on Serbia with the use of the Thessaloniki port if it recognized Macedonia with its constitutional name.

January 30, 1996, Tuesday

I called Stojan Andov's Cabinet by phone. Dime, the Head of the Cabinet, in the conversation, told me with an uncertain voice that various options were being considered regarding the interests of the person and the party, which were placed above the interests of the State. This made me think that Andov's planned visit to Poland would not take place.

The Polish government resigned. My scheduled meetings with ministers would have to wait.

January 31, 1996, Wednesday

The text of the Agreement on Phytoprotection and Quarantine arrived from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management of the Republic of Macedonia with many remarks. I contacted the relevant Polish Ministry, informed about the changes and arranged a meeting with experts from the Ministry for tomorrow, February 1, at 10:00.

At 17:00 Radio Warsaw reported that Vlodzhimiezh Chimoshevich, the current Deputy Speaker of the Sejm, had been nominated as the new Prime Minister. In the top news it was reported that the Union for Freedom had nominated Vladislav Bartoshevski for Prime Minister. Tomorrow at 10:00 the name of the new Prime Minister would be announced.

My friend, Dr. Statovski, was back in Warsaw for surgery. I will visit him this afternoon.

February 1, 1996, Thursday

At 09:30 I had a phone conversation with the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture. I pointed out that I had received the text and that today, at 10:00, I would submit the text of the Agreement to the appropriate Polish ministry.

The agreement (text) that they sent me reads: *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and the Government of the Republic of Poland*, instead of an agreement between the two Ministries. Yesterday afternoon, I translated it into Polish and noted the differences on a separate sheet of paper. There were no major differences but the Polish experts noted that the Macedonian text lacked certain legal technicalities proposed by the Polish experts, which we jointly compared in the two texts. The Polish side accepted, in principle, the remarks made in the Macedonian text but underlined that in the coming days it would give its own legal interpretation arising from Polish legislation, as well as from the existing practice derived from similar agreements already signed with other countries, as well as from agreements with the European Union. During the conversation, the Polish experts emphasized that they would also include the

Macedonian comments in the text. At the same time, they noted that they would submit the already agreed text for review to the Government's legal service because the Macedonian Ministry proposed that the Agreement be intergovernmental. After receiving positive approval, they proposed that the Agreement be signed in Skopje.

Since I was not an expert on such issues, I only took notes with the promise that I would submit them to the Macedonian Ministry during the day. And when it seemed that the conversation was coming to an end, Mrs. Zavadzka called, stating that there could be certain difficulties regarding the name, and perhaps the language, and hence certain consultations would have to be carried out with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To this I said that in this case the Macedonian language should be respected, which Poland had always recognized as an official language.

End of conversation. I returned to the Embassy and faxed the notes of the conversation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a request that they be forwarded to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management.

I have been waiting for the second week to be received by the Director of the Department of International Law, Mrs. Mohovska, and I am constantly told that she is absent. The request was related to the use of the Macedonian language when signing contracts. Mrs. Mohovska had a great understanding of this problem and I hoped that her opinion, from a legal point of view, would be positive.

Tomorrow I will request, with a note, to be received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dariush Rosati.

The noon news on TV announced that the new Prime Minister of Poland is Vlodzhimiezh Chimoshevich. I sent the information to the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a proposal to congratulate him on his election. By the way, I have often talked to Chimoshevich at various receptions about Macedonia-Poland relations. In all the conversations he spoke very positively about Macedonia

February 2, 1996, Friday

Regarding the Agreement between the Ministries of Agriculture of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Poland, I reported that the time for signing was by 15.2.1996 (in the meantime, the visit to Skopje of the Polish Minister of Agriculture and Deputy Prime Minister Iagielinski is expected) is a short time for the preparation of the Agreement, which I expressed. At around 10:30 Risto Blazhevski from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called me by phone and confirmed that the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture had expressed its consent and that I should inform the relevant Polish Ministry about this. I asked him to confirm this by fax, not by telephone. At the same time Blazhevski informed me that the Ministry of Agriculture proposed that the visit of the Polish Minister be carried out in May of this year. The Polish Ministry accepted the proposal and asked me to confirm the proposal with a note.

February 3, 1996, Saturday

It has been snowing all day. Heavier snowfall and a drop in temperature to minus 25 degrees are forecast.

At 18:00 the owner of the building where the Embassy is located arrived and asked for a rent increase of 300 dollars, which meant I would have to pay him 3,100 per month, whereas until now I was paying him 2,800 American dollars. I told him that I would consult with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and as soon I got approval, the problem would be resolved, but before that we would sign an annex to the agreement stating that he would not request another increase until five years had passed. He did not accept, claiming that the tax amount changed every year.

The conversation disturbed me. I was afraid that I would not get approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

Republic of Macedonia, and therefore I would have to leave the building and look for other premises, which meant moving and big expenses. I was worried about the owner's request. If I did not get approval, then – moving.

At 22:00 Radio Skopje reported that tensions between Athens and Belgrade were increasing. Serbia was demanding the indefinite use of the Thessaloniki port or to receive part of it under perpetual rule. This was a condition for not recognizing Macedonia with its constitutional name. Athens proposed one of the docks, to which Serbia did not agree.

At the center of the dispute, of course, was Macedonia.

February 4, 1996, Sunday

At 11:00 we attended a Mass dedicated to Croatia, and at 12:00 an exhibition - destroyed sacred objects in Croatia. The organizers were the Polish and Croatian Catholic Churches, but the main organizer was the Embassy of Croatia. A noticeable absence of representatives of the Diplomatic Corps.

Our Embassy also made several proposals for organizing similar exhibitions but my telegrams regarding this remained unanswered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Perhaps we would have more understanding when we had a minister or chiefs who know what such or similar exhibitions meant for the affirmation of Macedonia.

20:00, Greek TV broadcast news that a government crisis was expected in Skopje, which could have negative consequences for the internal situation and that the conflict between the liberals and the social democrats was intensifying.

They really nailed the timing to bite at each other.

February 5, 1996, Monday

I informed the two Polish Ministries, Foreign Affairs and Agriculture, that the dates for Minister Iagieliniski's visit to Skopje were being postponed to another time.

At 11:00 I was at the Writers' Association of Poland (the new one, the old one was called the Union of Polish Writers, which included both older and contemporary top creators). I had many influential friends in both associations, most of whom participated in the Struga Poetry Evenings. For 30 years, I was their regular host and translator of their poems. Hence, my contacts and cooperation with them were lasting and fruitful. I did not know exactly how many Polish poets participated in the Struga Evenings but I think it was no fewer than 600-700. Both associations had their headquarters in the same building and, when needed, used the large hall by agreement, for various events, meetings, promotions and the like, to which I was regularly invited. I respected their differences and therefore did not take sides, although some people criticized me for that.

In the one-hour conversation with the critic Piotr Mativietski (a member of the new society), we agreed on the selection of contemporary Polish poetry. Mativietski insisted that the selection should not include poems by members of the old society. I did not want to object, although my wish was that the selection include poems by poets of both societies. I decided not to interfere in the selection because I wanted to maintain contacts with both societies, considering above all the benefits of mutual cooperation and relations with Macedonian writers. In the end, we agreed that the selection would be delivered to me on February 12 and that from that day I would begin translating Polish poems into Macedonian.

At 12:00 at a cocktail at the Irananian Embassy. A weak attendance from the Diplomatic Corps.

February 6, 1996, Tuesday

Outside, minus 17 degrees. Everything was frozen by the cold and covered with frost. The trees look beautiful, as if covered with a white sheet. The streets were empty. The occasional gentle breeze blew frost off the trees, which sparkled

like tiny pearls under the cold, clear sky. The sight captivated with its beauty...

At 13:00 lunch will be held at the residence of the Croatian Ambassador, Dr. Ivan Brnelich. A beautiful property, tastefully arranged, which testified that the owner and architect must have had a high culture of living.

Present at the lunch were the Ambassadors of: Albania, Macedonia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania. The host, Ambassador Brnelich, greeted the guests and welcomed them with a smile. Everyone sat down in the place where a card was placed with their name, written in beautiful calligraphic Latin script. We all spoke Polish, slipping in a word or two from our native language. The lunch was modest but rich in jokes and an exchange of opinions and assessments of current situations. The end of the lunch was announced by the Romanian Ambassador who, toasted with many expressions of gratitude addressed to Ambassador Brnelich, suggested that we meet at least once a month in the same company. We accepted with applause.

In the afternoon we visited our friend Dr. Statovski in the hospital. He was in a good mood but there was pain in his eyes.

The Embassy received a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the consultations between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs. They suggested that the consultations be held at an expert level. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed.

There had been no response from Stojan Andov's office yet.

Next week I expected to meet with the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rosati. In the conversation, in addition to the wishes for greater cooperation in all areas, as well as contacts at expert, ministerial and the highest levels, I would also raise the issue of signing the agreements under the constitutional name.

Radio Skopje, in the news at 22:00, announced that the President of the Republic of Macedonia, regarding the crisis in the country, would address the public.

February 7, 1996, Wednesday

In the morning I had a short phone conversation with Milenka. She said that everyone was fine but she was also worried about the unpleasant conditions in the country.

I received a fax of President Kiro Gligorov's address calling on the leaders of political parties to find a common position in the interest of the country. I carefully read the text of the address and asked myself:

-Will the "pampered" sit at the same table and will concern for the fate of the state prevail over personal ambitions?

Mitanovska informed me that I had permission to sign a new lease agreement for the house where the Embassy is located up to the amount of 3000.00 (three thousand) US dollars. I replied that the owner was asking for 3100 (three thousand and one hundred). If they did not agree then I would have to move.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that for objective reasons the official visit to Poland of the President of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, Stojan Andov, was being postponed. In this regard, I requested a meeting with Boravski, in the Polish Sejm.

A new government of the Republic of Poland was elected today.

A short while ago, Radio Skopje reported that the Mayors of Bitola and Lerin met in Bitola and discussed cooperation.

Finally some good news.

February 8, 1996, Thursday

They informed me by fax that I did not have consent to sign the amount of 3,100 (three thousand and one hundred) American dollars for the rent of the house. So I would have to move, look for new premises and the cost of that would be much higher.

I spoke on the phone with a representative of Stojan Andov's office. He confirmed that the visit was being postponed and instructed me to explain it to the Poles as best I could. A clever operator.

I went to the Sejm at 10:00 by prior arrangement with Boravski. During the conversation, I explained to him that the visit of the President of the Macedonian Assembly was being postponed due to objective reasons related to the expected reconstruction of the Government. Boravski expressed his understanding and said that during the second half of 1996 they would find a new date for the visit. At the end of the conversation, he emphasized that he had complete understanding for Macedonia and asked me if there was any setback in mutual relations. I responded favourably but at the same time I raised the issue of the use of the constitutional name of Macedonia when signing agreements. In this regard, Boravski advised me to request a meeting with Professor Geremek, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I returned to the Embassy and, by phone, asked Vladimir Simeonov, who was the head of the Department for Foreign Economic Cooperation with foreign countries, if he was familiar with my telegrams regarding economic cooperation with foreign countries. In a surprised tone of voice, he told me that he had not seen a single telegram of mine so far.

The end of the conversation with no further questions and no comment, which I leave to others.

Today seemed to be the coldest. At 07:30 the thermometer showed minus 20 degrees. Problems with the heating. I called the owner. He came, tinkered with it and then asked for help from the service. I would face a difficult conversation with him today about the rent. Would he agree for me to pay him 3,000 (three thousand) dollars or would he ask for more? A long persuasive conversation ended with me agreeing to pay him 3,000 dollars but this time I set a condition: that we sign an annex to the contract stating that he would not ask for an increase until March 31, 2000. He said he would think about it. He came in the evening and

agreed to sign the annex but to have it notarized by a lawyer. I agreed.

Low temperatures were announced for tonight - below minus 25 degrees in Warsaw and even lower in some regions of the country.

February 9, 1996, Friday

Coldest night: minus 22 degrees and in the northeast of the country minus 28 degrees.

At 11:00 the Romanian Ambassador called me and asked to meet with him. I accepted and after half an hour I entered the Romanian Embassy. The Ambassador greeted me at the main entrance and we headed to his office. At first we talked about the weather and the current political situation in Poland. Then he changed the subject and expressed interest in Macedonian-Serbian relations, for which he received a positive response. He was interested in the position of the Vlachs in Macedonia. I told him that they were loyal citizens of Macedonia, enjoyed all minority rights, had their own cultural and artistic societies through which they celebrated their holidays and customs. He asked me if it was true that their number was over a hundred thousand. I told him that there were many and perhaps even more in Greece, where they were very influential. Some claimed that the Vlachs in Greece were so deserving that everything that had been built was their work, except for the Acropolis. In the continuation of the conversation, the interlocutor emphasized that Romania would participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia and in this regard wanted to use the services of Macedonian construction companies and asked me to tell him if there were any. I told him that in Macedonia there were well-known companies: Pelagonija, Ilinden, Beton, Mavrovo, which were affirmed on the foreign construction market.

At the end of the conversation, I gave him a cassette with Macedonian folk songs.

At 21:30 I spoke to Milenka on the phone, who jokingly congratulated me on the election of the new minister. His name is Frchkovski and she said that the new ministers would be announced tomorrow.

February 10, 1996, Saturday

A cold and windy day. It was minus 20 degrees outside. I gathered notes for the annual report. At 22:00 on Radio Skopje I heard the news about the composition of the new Macedonian government.

February 11, 1996, Sunday

A whole day of rest. It was snowing outside, minus 17 degrees, a cold wind blowing in through poorly sealed windows.

February 12, 1996, Monday

I prepared a reminder for the scheduled conversation with the Polish Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Stefan Meller, scheduled at his request. So far, I have had several meetings and conversations with him. Meller is a well-known scholar, well-educated. It was difficult to have a conversation with him. Sometimes he was direct in conversation and there were moments when he unexpectedly interrupted, throwing in surprising questions, in order to corner the interlocutor. In such cases, I did not remain silent. To his surprising questions, I immediately answered with questions of my own. It was an excellent method to force the interlocutor to abandon his intended intention. Because of his behaviour I was always on the alert.

February 13, 1996, Tuesday

Exactly at the agreed time, 10:00, I was already in the Ministry lobby. The officials with whom I often had meetings

were already accustomed to my punctual arrival. I never allowed myself to be kept waiting, so they jokingly said, “Set your watches according to Nakovski’s exact arrival.” I always arrived exactly on time for any meeting. So now, at exactly 10:00, the official on duty brought me into the Office of Deputy Minister Stefan Meller. A very warm, friendly welcome and greeting with the inseparable couple - Deputy Minister Meller and Ambassador Hmielevski, Director of the First Department. After the usual conversation about the weather and drinking coffee, Deputy Minister Meller announced.

- Mr. Ambassador (that is how he addressed me, even though I was not nominated for that title) I am glad that we have the opportunity to meet again and therefore I would like to express my most cordial and friendly satisfaction and gratitude for today’s meeting. I wish that our conversation about the achievements in the field of bilateral relations between the two countries will take place in a sincere atmosphere. In this regard, allow me to express my appreciation, dear Sir, for the very positive contacts already established with almost all Polish Ministries, as well as with associations in the field of culture, business organizations, the media, personalities from the political world and good relations with the Diplomatic Corps, and above all, with due respect, to express my gratitude for the excellent and friendly contacts with our Ministry. That, dear Sir, not only contributes to your recognition but also to the affirmation of Macedonia.

I listened very carefully to Meller’s words of praise and was curious to discover what he was aiming at.

- I believe – continued Meller – that you will agree with the idea that meetings and conversations, as well as today’s meeting, lead to better mutual understanding and finding forms and proposals for better bilateral relations. In this sense, I hope, today we would like to use the opportunity to exchange views on strengthening bilateral relations but also to inform us about Macedonia’s relations with its neighbours and beyond. Welcome, the floor is yours – said Meller.

- Esteemed gentlemen – I began – allow me to express my deep gratitude and respect for the meeting and the expressions of recognition. With great attention, pleasure and respect I listened to the thoughts of the Deputy Minister, Mr. Meller, and within the scope of my authority, I will make sure to present the requested information, but above all the wishes of the Macedonian side for the strengthening of bilateral relations between Macedonia and Poland.

At the beginning of my presentation, I emphasized that as of the 9th of this month we had a new government in which Frchkovski has been appointed as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. I then introduced them to the general situation in the Republic of Macedonia, its relations with its neighbours, as well as to the international activity of Macedonia. I emphasized that in the period since the last political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland and Macedonia, which were held in September last year in Skopje, the Republic of Macedonia has been admitted to the OSCE, to the European Council, signed the Partnership for Peace program, established diplomatic relations with the United States and the European Union and, at the same time, Macedonia has been recognized by a large number of countries with its constitutional name...

- Bulgaria was among the first to recognize it, wasn't it? - Hmielevski said affirmatively.

- That's right – I said after a short silence and then asked: - Gentlemen, when we are about to be recognized by Bulgaria, let us go back for a moment to 1918, to be precise on November 11, when Poland, after more than a hundred years, gained independence and became a respected country in Europe. Imagine if at that time, on that month or day, someone would say, okay Poland gained independence and we recognize it as a state but we do not recognize the Polish people, Polish history, the Polish language, Polish culture and literature, Polish customs... That is what the Bulgarian recognition of the Republic of Macedonia is like. They recognize it only as a state. Gentlemen, how would you explain this?

I did not wait for an answer because I knew the Poles well when it came to their feelings and attachment to their homeland and national identity and, without expecting an answer, I continued:

- In addition to the above, I would like to inform you that the Republic of Macedonia has already joined a number of international associations and, in the spirit of the Interim Agreement between Macedonia and Greece signed in New York, is experiencing an upswing in relations with Greece. In this regard, liaison offices have been opened in Skopje and Athens, national flags have been raised and plaques have been placed on the walls of diplomatic missions. At the beginning of February, the first political consultations between Macedonia and Greece were held in Skopje, the result of which was the signing of a visa protocol, a review of overall relations was carried out, a plan was made for the signing of new agreements to promote cooperation in the region within the European Union and international organizations, as well as cooperation between border municipalities, which has recently been achieved through visits by the Mayors of border municipalities and cities of both countries; at the same time, agreements have been signed on rail, road and air traffic, and there has been a large movement of people and exchange of goods between the two countries.

At this point Meller interrupted me, asking what the relations were like between Macedonia and Serbia.

In this regard, I said that for now, relations were stagnating due to the fact that if Serbia recognized Macedonia then Athens would put conditions on Serbia's use of the Thessaloniki port, and hence the bargaining continued.

I continued by referring to the relations between Macedonia and Poland. I expressed my satisfaction with the results achieved so far in the promotion of bilateral relations, the Embassy did not find any obstacles in contacts with Polish entities and in that sense an excellent climate of mutual trust and desire for strengthening and expanding cooperation in all areas had been created. However, unfortunately, at least for now,

despite the great expectations and hopes, in a certain way the cooperation was stagnating. The reason for the delay lay in the limitation of signing the already prepared agreements with the constitutional names, which included agreements on investment protection, double taxation and the preparation of agreements on trade cooperation, quarantine, cultural cooperation, as well as cooperation in the field of education and archival science is underway, for which draft texts have already been prepared and meetings at the expert level have been held.

Deputy Minister Meller asked for a short pause, and then after a brief thought, said:

- Unfortunately, it is true that the signing of agreements is stagnating, which has a negative impact on relations between the two countries. They said that with mutual efforts and goodwill, this problem would certainly be overcome. They further emphasized that Poland was interested in improving relations with Macedonia in all areas and would make efforts to change the situation, but they needed a strong argument to overcome the Greek pressure. They emphasized that these days they expected the official visit of the President of the Greek Parliament to Warsaw, and in the coming days the election of the President of the European Parliament, who is Greek, was expected, so they expected stronger pressure with conditions that if Poland recognized Macedonia with its constitutional name, then Greece would veto Poland's admission to NATO and the European Union, which was the highest priority of Polish foreign and domestic policy. They asked to be provided with a list of countries that had recognized Macedonia by its constitutional name, as well as a list of signed agreements that their International Legal Relations Department could use as a basis for preparing a position regarding the signatures. They also asked to be provided with topics that would be the subject of the consultations regarding the upcoming political consultations. In the continuation of the conversation, the interlocutors emphasized:

- We are closely monitoring the problem and analyzing it thoroughly, as we jointly emphasized with a desire to promote cooperation. In this regard, I would like to emphasize that we found ourselves faced with an incomprehensible question for us. Namely, during the political consultations last year in Skopje, Misailovski gave me the Macedonian-German agreement according to which the agreements bear the signature "For the Macedonian Government" on one side and "For the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany" on the other. The difference is that the aforementioned agreement does not contain the constitutional name - the Republic of Macedonia, as the constitutional name of Germany does - which is the Federal Republic of Germany. The difference is visible, isn't it? In the meantime, some French - Macedonian agreement appeared, with which, unfortunately, I was not familiar. And something else. On October 7th of last year, Gaber called me out of the hall where the press conference was being held and told me in the hallway that the Macedonian side did not find the preamble of the agreements proposed by the Polish side acceptable, but did not say what the Macedonian preamble should be, which is missing in the drafted agreements. How do you evaluate this position?

- I said, I would not like to comment on Gaber's position, but he does not diverge from the official position of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. For his part, the problem is that he expressed such a position in an inappropriate place and at an inappropriate moment, where I assume emotions got the better of him, an inappropriate step that, unfortunately, happens even to experienced diplomats. On this occasion, allow me to emphasize that the official position of the Republic of Macedonia is that agreements should be signed with the constitutional name, which will confirm the equal status between the signatories and the states. Nothing more. That is why I advocate for the application of the principle of equality. Now the question is in what way and on what basis the two independent states will cooperate. I think there is no need, gentlemen, to convince you, since I doubt that you would perceive my further

presentation as giving a lecture. But once again, I emphasize that I adhere to the principle of equality.

Meller interrupted me.

- Sir, I assure you that we do not see this as giving a lecture but as a friendly exchange of opinions. Allow me to express my satisfaction and gratitude for the open conversation. I am confident that we will find a solution for all problems. I assure you that Poland stands by your side, as it has so far.

At the end, the interlocutors expressed satisfaction with the discussions and promised that they would invite me to a meeting again in the coming weeks.

We exchanged a few more compliments and that ended the meeting.

Ambassador Hmielevski accompanied me to the exit of the Ministry.

At 11:00 I returned to the Embassy. I was preparing a note of the conversation. In the evening, at 22:00, Radio Skopje reported that President Kiro Gligorov addressed the public again today. It also reported parts of his speech.

The tone of his voice was sad, anxious, worried. The address was short and concise but painful.

And another piece of news was reported by Radio Skopje. The number of Scandinavian soldiers in Macedonia had increased within the framework of the so-called preventive diplomacy (UNPREDEP) in order to prevent the war from other parts of the former Yugoslavia from spreading to Macedonia. So there was a danger of vultures circling over Macedonia.

I am increasingly disturbed by the bad things happening to Macedonia. It is filled with deceivers, both from within and mostly from outside.

February 14, 1996, Wednesday

In the daily newspaper “Rzeczpospolita” I read that “a flock of swans was flying over the field. One swan did not notice the electric cable and it tore off her head. The male swan did not

leave his dead mate and did not let anyone come near. He sat next to her for three weeks."

I was touched by this part of the report. If only people had at least a little of the swan's love, loyalty and devotion... Why were they becoming more and more hostile towards each other?

Radio Skopje reported that Bangladesh and Macedonia had established diplomatic relations.

February 15, 1996, Thursday

At 13:30 Malezanov came to the Embassy. He said that his business was not going well, that merchants who were trading on the black market had appeared, and that they had good connections with some of the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They complained that the Macedonian Ambassador did not help them in business and that he was in contact with Polish institutions more than with them, so according to them, Macedonia gained nothing from such a person.

I told him that I knew those busybodies on both sides. Some complained because I did not help them with smuggling, and others were upset because he, and not I, was the Ambassador.

I am writing this to confirm the conviction I carried since the first day it was heard that I had been chosen to open a Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. Jealousy had no limits. It was like dirty, smelly water that always found a channel. One day I would leave this duty and leave a ready ground for some know-it-all. I already wish him now to get his mind together so that he does not mess up the clean slate. He will find a good foundation but whether he will solidify it, we will see.

February 16, 1996, Friday

The new Polish Prime Minister, Vlodzhimiezh Chimoshevich, held a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps at 11:00. In his short speech, he basically repeated the points from his speech in the Sejm the day before yesterday. He emphasized

that in foreign policy, good relations with neighbours, priority would be given to joining NATO and the European Union and conducting a peaceful policy within the UN.

In the second part of the meeting, I met with the heads of diplomatic missions. Introducing myself, I took the opportunity to convey to him the congratulations from the Macedonian Prime Minister and the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw on the occasion of his election as Prime Minister of Poland. He expressed his gratitude, said that he had heard a lot about Macedonia and that he wanted to visit it. I told him that Macedonia was wide open to friends and that his visit would be a confirmation of the good mutual relations and their further development.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Embassy of Lithuania. In a short conversation with the host, I expressed my satisfaction with the good bilateral relations and a desire to meet soon. I met several newly arrived Ambassadors, as well as personalities from the worlds of culture, politics and the media.

February 17, 1996, Saturday

The weather has warmed up but it's not yet time for walks. I continued with the translation of the poems of Polish poets from the planned selection for publication in Macedonia. The promised Macedonian selection had not yet been delivered to me.

Businessman Trpevski called me on the phone and invited me to a meeting with a group of Macedonians. I accepted.

February 18, 1996, Sunday

From early morning I continued with the translation of the panorama of poems by contemporary Polish poets.

At 10:45 Ana Traikovska called me on the phone. She was on duty at the Ministry. And now, she said, the most important thing for you - congratulations on your new boss.

-And who is that lucky person?

- Sit down, hold on to your chair and listen. There is talk that they are appointing Estref Aliu as Ambassador to Warsaw, who moved to Skopje from Kosovo two or three years ago, learned Macedonian and was appointed Minister of Culture. Are you kidding me?

- Why not? Isn't he a good man?

- I think so too...

A few more words about some who returned, we exchanged wishes for good health and that was the end of the conversation.

I relayed the conversation with Ana to Ditta. At first she was silent and then she said:

-If they are moving him from the minister position, then they have to find him another place where he won't interfere where someone else is teaching. Write to the President and let's see if he approves.

- We'll wait and see.

February 19, 1996, Monday

I won't be working today. I'll be resting.

February 20, 1996, Tuesday

Today I will finish the work I left from yesterday.

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature – farewell to the Ambassador of Argentina. Half of the Diplomatic Corps did not come. Probably the bad weather contributed to this. The Director of the Diplomatic Protocol approached me and, after greeting me, said:

- Dear Mr. Nakovski, I am glad to see you. How are you? I heard that you complained about our using the name Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in our correspondence...

- I did not complain, respected Director, but reminded that the constitutional name of the country I represent in Poland is the

Republic of Macedonia. And you, Mr. Director, persistently use that invented and imposed name.

- "For now it will be like that and I personally would like it to change as soon as possible," he said.

- Be sure of that. The reasons for such use of the name are known to me. I have been told more than once that Greece's pressure on Poland is threatening. I fully understand and sympathize with that but I am sure that someone else will decide on Poland's wishes to join NATO and the European Union, even against the will of God if He were of Greek origin.

He looked me straight in the eye for a long time. He held out his hand to me and said:

- Sir, I admire your persistence. We will meet again.

- The pleasure will be mine, Mr. Director.

Of course, the conversation was not satisfying or pleasant but one must defend one's own interests, even when the most bitter pill must be swallowed.

It seemed that the note about my conversation with Meller and Hmielevski had also reached the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, who probably received instructions for the correspondence with our Embassy to be addressed to the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

At the Embassy two letters were waiting for me. One from my brother in Perth and one from my cousin in Skopje.

Regarding the situation in Poland, it is worth noting that the referendum on general privatization failed, for which SOLIDARITY expressed dissatisfaction and, in connection with this, announced strikes and street demonstrations. Lech Walesa, who had suggested it, stated that the failure of the referendum was his personal failure.

February 21, 1996, Wednesday

Meeting with the Mayor of Warsaw, Bogdan Jastembski, whom I knew personally. He was one of the group of Polish engineers and architects who, after the earthquake in Skopje,

prepared the urban plan for the reconstruction of the city, and I worked with them as a translator. The Mayor suggested that on February 13 or 15, we hold a meeting at the Embassy with the Poles who were involved in the construction and reconstruction of Skopje. I accepted the proposal with pleasure.

In the continuation of the conversation, the Mayor reminded me that this year Warsaw would celebrate 400 years since it became the capital of Poland and in this regard he thought it would be good for the Mayor of Skopje to participate in the festivities, for which he would send an invitation. I promised him that I would send a telegram regarding his proposal today.

At the end of the meeting, we agreed to meet more often.

(Note: to my telegram regarding the participation of the Skopje Mayor in the festivities in Warsaw, I was told that due to being too busy, the Skopje Mayor could not participate. I wondered – wasn't there someone else in the city who could come to Warsaw? The loss was ours!)

February 22, 1996, Thursday

On the occasion of the religious holiday of Lent, a luncheon at the Embassy of the Russian Federation.

Present were the Ambassadors of: Croatia, Serbia-Montenegro, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Belarus, Romania, Estonia, the Apostolic Nunciature, Slovenia, Ukraine, Macedonia.

A friendly conversation with the Russian Ambassador Kashliev, who spoke very positively about Macedonia, saying, among other things, that Macedonia was the cradle of Slavic literacy.

At the Embassy a fax was waiting for me in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that tomorrow (February 23) in Skopje an agreement would be signed with Serbia-Montenegro for mutual recognition under the constitutional name.

February 23, 1996, Friday

At 10:00 the Ambassador of Romania, Grigoresku, arrived at the Embassy. He was the first Ambassador to visit our Embassy. The entire conversation focused on current issues in Romania and Macedonia, as well as relations with neighbouring countries. He was especially interested in our relations with Serbia, Albania and Greece. He spoke about Macedonia with great sympathy, claiming that his ancestors came from our region.

Before noon I faxed the comments from the Polish Ministry of Agriculture regarding the contracts.

February 24, 1996, Saturday

The weather was cold and that's why we didn't go anywhere. I read news from the Polish press.

February 25, 1996, Sunday

Today – Shrove Tuesday. Commonly, due to the residual influence of the Serbian language, they are called Prochka, while in my Kostur region – we call this religious and folk holiday z*apostenie,* which means we forgive each other's sins, and believers begin the great fast, which according to faith lasts 40 days until Easter. The holiday is marked with wishes for the forgiveness of sins, with many expressions of hope for good health, happiness and prosperity, a rich feast around which old folk customs and traditions take place. We talked to the children and wished each other good health, happiness and an early spring reunion.

From 12:00 to 13:45 we walked along the canal, where the water was frozen like stone, on which hungry geese, ducks and pigeons walked, looking for food. Every time we go there for a walk, we carry a bag of bread with us and feed the hungry birds. Besides us, there are other walkers, who walk dogs of various breeds.

I spent almost the entire afternoon reading the book "HISTORY OF POLAND". It was very important, during various meetings and conversations, to stand out by knowing the history of the host country, and this was very well received by the Polish interlocutors. It also benefit me because during the conversation, by emphasizing the similar tragic destinies of the two countries and peoples, I created a situation that made us closer. Knowing and comparing similar tragic events from the past of the two peoples made the relations of the diplomat and the interlocutor closer, regardless of the official position in the state hierarchy, and the sympathies and connections more lasting. During my diplomatic mission so far, I have constantly tried to know the history of the host country and the spirit of its people as well as possible. I am convinced that a diplomat who does not know the past of the country in which he serves and the spirit of its people cannot establish close human connections, but only official contacts. During my mission, I mad sure to get to know Poland and the Polish people as well as possible. In a way, my success in bringing the two countries and peoples closer together and ensuring lasting mutual cooperation would depend on this.

February 26, 1996, Monday

I received a letter from the Institute of Geography at the Iagieliniski University addressed to FYROM. I called them and told them that the address was wrong. They understood and apologized profusely.

In the evening, at 22:00, Radio Skopje broadcast the news that we had a new government and the statement of the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liubomir Frchkovski. "We - he said - have an obligation to discuss the differences regarding the name, but not to change the name." His statement was not bad.

February 27, 1996, Tuesday

At 07:30 a letter arrived by fax from Kiro Doichinovski, Director of the Archives of Macedonia, to the Director of the Polish State Archives, Skovronek, and the text of the Cooperation Agreement, translated into very poor Polish. I contacted Violeta Gerasimova, Deputy Director, and asked her to send me the Macedonian text. At the same time, I asked that the text be accompanied by a courteous letter expressing satisfaction for the future cooperation and emphasizing that the Macedonian text was only a draft. Two hours later, the requested texts arrived. During the day, I will translate them into Polish and personally hand them over to Director Skovronek.

By telephone I arranged meetings with Hmielevski on Thursday at 14:00 and with the director of the Polish State Archives on Friday at 10:00.

February 28, 1996, Wednesday

It was cold and snowing. More meetings with clients today.

February 29, 1996, Thursday

The conversation with Hmielevski began with the usual phrases about the weather and health. He seemed to be sitting on thorns. His phone rang every minute, the secretary was gone, so he had to pick up the phone himself. He was visibly upset and I sat there patiently waiting.

- "Excuse me," he said, "I'm very busy."
- Because of your departure to Slovakia, right?
- How do you know?
- I read the newspapers – I said. (I learned about his going to Slovakia from the Slovak Ambassador, Servatka). Mr. Ambassador, I see that you are very busy, so I would suggest that we postpone the conversation until you return from your official trip.

He said there was no need to postpone, since new events happened every day, and to the secretary (who appeared and apologized) he said not to connect him over the phone with anyone except Meller or the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rosati.

- Well, Mr. Ambassador Nakovski, now we can talk peacefully.

I briefly introduced him to the latest developments in Macedonia, and especially to the latest developments in relations between Macedonia and Greece, which were developing positively.

- And what about the name?

I gave him a photocopy of the statement of the new Macedonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, L. Frchkovski, which he read aloud in Macedonian (he knew Macedonian in addition to his excellent knowledge of the Serbian language – he had studied Slavic studies and was the Polish Ambassador to the SFRY) in which it was stated that we had no obligation to change the name, but we did have an obligation to discuss the differences. In addition, I gave him a facsimile of the Macedonian-French agreement for his inspection, saying that we were also checking and you have confirmation of that.

- Can I photocopy it?

- I suggested that instead of photocopying it, it was better to request it from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I noticed that he was not comfortable, so I reminded him that the Polish side claimed that no such agreement existed.

After reading it, he thought for a moment and then said:

- We sincerely want to see a positive resolution to the imposed name issue but I would like to remind you once again that we are under pressure from Greece regarding our request for NATO and European Union membership. That is our most important political priority right now.

To this I said:

- In no case does Macedonia have the desire to prevent Poland from pursuing its national interests. On the contrary. That

would be beneficial for us as well because we consider Poland to be our very close ally. Therefore, I consider that the use of our constitutional name when signing agreements is an exclusive issue between Macedonia and Poland. I assure you that we will see the time when Greece changes its position because someone else is dictating to them how to behave. We will continue to discuss this issue and I will not stop raising it in every conversation we have, as well as in other places.

I am pleased that with Ambassador Hmielevski, despite our differences, we still find mutual understanding.

At 16:00 a meeting with the Mayor of Warsaw. He handed me an invitation for the Mayor of Skopje to officially visit Warsaw.

March 1, 1996, Friday

We are starting the second year of the diplomatic mission in Warsaw. What awaits us? What will it take and bring, will hopes and wishes come true? A question that we will have an answer to by next year at the same time. Let's just hope for the best.

All day a snowstorm with fine snow.

At the agreed time, I went to the Directorate of the Polish State Archives and I handed, to the Director, the draft Cooperation Agreement and the letter from the Director of the Archives of Macedonia. We had a longer conversation about Macedonia and relations with neighbouring countries. We agreed to meet again.

At 17:36 I received the following fax:

"Regarding your fax No. 68/96 of March 1, 96, we are sending you the Agreement signed between the Republic of Macedonia and Switzerland, which we hope you will use to maximum benefit. If the Polish side continues to delay with a negative response, we will ask for a new consideration in the bilateral matter, which should be delivered by diplomatic mail. V. Gaber."

I was amazed by the requirement to change the position on bilateral relations and I wondered if this was already the government's stance or the personal stance of the one who was demanding such a solution?

For our part, we were trying to sign agreements with Poland using the constitutional name, while at the same time signed agreements with other countries with "THE MACEDONIAN GOVERNMENT", such as the Macedonian-German, Macedonian-French and Macedonian-Swiss agreements. How could I show this copy to my Polish interlocutors? I didn't have to because during the political consultations that took place last year in Skopje, Misailovski arbitrarily gave Meller the text of the Macedonian-German agreement. Meller only saw the first page and told Hmielevski – this is exactly what we need – he quickly put it in his diplomatic bag. At the end of the political consultations, the Poles also suggested that the signature should read "For the Macedonian government". However, someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia was insisting that the signature should read "For the Government of the Republic of Macedonia".

Who was playing this double game? Or maybe someone wanted to disrupt the excellent relations with Poland, and then blame me for any potential damage?

At 18:00 cocktails at the Bulgarian Embassy. Due to the large number of guests, only a short conversation with Ambassador Iani Milchakov. We arranged a meeting. I met several people from the local community and newly arrived Ambassadors.

March 2, 1996, Saturday.

I decided to rest today. Despite the cold weather, my wife and I went for a longer walk. Thick, dark clouds above us.

March 3, 1996, Sunday

All day I prepared notes for the scheduled conversation with Deputy Minister Stefan Meller. Basically, in the conversation I would repeat what I regularly emphasized in previous meetings and conversations.

March 4, 1996, Monday

At 09:00 a group of 5 Albanians arrived at the Embassy. They said they came from the prison in Stargard Shchechiniski and that they had no documents or money to return home. They had been in prison for three months because of an illegal attempt to go to Germany through Poland. I called the Ministry of Internal Affairs where they confirmed that they were our citizens and that I could issue them a passport, but the problem was the money. I told them to go to the refugee camp and when I received confirmation that their relatives in Macedonia would deposit 300 (three hundred) dollars each in the Treasury of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, then I would call them and issue them a passport and money. A week later confirmation arrived that the relatives in Macedonia had deposited the money in the treasury of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I called them and issued them a passport and a total of 1450.00 US dollars.

March 5, 1996, Tuesday

Today I received the texts of the agreements with Germany, France and Switzerland. In all the aforementioned agreements, the signature formula is: For the Macedonian Government - For the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany" and with France and Switzerland the same formula is used. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia was trying to have the signature formula with Poland read: "For the Government of the Republic of Macedonia - For the Government of the Republic of Poland".

Gaber called on the phone. He asked me if I had received the texts of the agreements with Germany, France and Switzerland. I replied that I had. After a short pause, Gaber continued:

- Give the agreements to Meller personally and tell him that our position is that we will sign the agreements with Poland only with the constitutional names of both countries, otherwise we will be forced to change our position regarding bilateral relations.

I received this with astonishment and said to him in a calm voice:

- So far, all my activities in Poland have been in efforts to use our constitutional name in all forms of relations and cooperation with Poland without any conditions, and what you told me about bilateral relations seems like a threat to me, so confirm it in writing by fax or call the Polish Ambassador and tell him what you are asking of me.

This request of mine was not arbitrary but rather a cover for any possible future accusations that I was acting on my own authority.

At the end of the conversation, I asked for permission to go to Skopje for consultations. I was told that in early May, the new Minister would gather all the Ambassadors and Chargé d'Affaires in Skopje.

March 6, 1996, Wednesday

It seemed like a peaceful day but the conversation with Gaber weighed on me. If from time to time I felt a bit of relief, it was the desire for those in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to think more broadly and for things to flow more smoothly.

March 7, 1996, Thursday

I received a request from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to submit the laws on the

organization of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I was not sure that I would be able to obtain them because the organization of any Ministry is a classified document. In this regard, I called Hmielevski by phone and asked for an appointment. He received me at 12:00. After the usual conversation, I suggested to him that a meeting between Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati at the CEI Conference to be held in Prague would be useful. He confirmed that such a meeting would be very useful but, before that, it would be necessary to prepare a plan for what they would discuss. I said that there was enough time until the Conference and the relevant services could prepare a plan for the possible meeting. I continued by telling him that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia was considering a suitable new organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that would meet the tasks and needs of the young Macedonian diplomacy and, in that sense, experiences from the laws on the organization of Ministries from other countries were already being used. Given that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a long tradition, the principles of its organization would be useful for us and could be used in the drafting of the Law on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia. After a brief thought, he said that he would personally help but that he had to consult with his superiors, about which he would inform me as soon as possible.

I received the text of the Polish Foreign Affairs Act (somewhat shortened) a week later. I sent it but I did not receive confirmation that it had been received.

March 8, 1996, Friday

At 13:00 a meeting with Deputy Minister Stefan Meller at his request. While I was waiting for him to come from Minister Rosati, Hmielevski kept me company. During the conversation, I told him that the Republic of Macedonia was no longer the same as it was yesterday, meaning a few years ago. I reminded him that Macedonia was already a member of almost all international organizations in which Poland was also a member, which meant

that the two countries were already equal on the international level, and in some areas we were even ahead of Poland. As confirmation of this, I gave him the excerpt from "New Macedonia" which talked about our admission to the OECD.

- This – he said - is unexpected. Congratulations...

- And judging by how things are going for you, it might be even more unexpected if I inform you that we will also be a member of NATO.

- Well, that's not bad. In that case, we would avoid the pressures and threats from Greece.

- We – Mr. Ambassador – face pressures and threats from Greece every day but we persist. I am afraid that someone else in my place would ask themselves – is Greece so strong that Poland has become dependent on it? I know that the problem lies in the unanimity that is accepted in NATO and the European Union, and Greece is taking advantage of that.

The conversation was interrupted by the entrance of Meller, who, after greeting us, asked us to go to his office.

- Mr. Ambassador - began Meller - I asked you to meet me before my departure to a new position, and on this occasion it is my duty to express my gratitude for the mutual understanding crowned by the fruitful cooperation between us, for the numerous contacts with almost all Polish state institutions and for the wishes for further development and strengthening of relations between Macedonia and Poland. In that sense, please accept my recognition for your efforts. I would like to emphasize that Poland is interested in further improving relations with Macedonia and, for its part, will make efforts to develop relations in an upward direction. We will continue to support all initiatives for signing cooperation agreements in all areas, and within that framework we will also seek a solution for the signature formula. I sincerely hope that in due course, after our accession to NATO and the European Union, relations will intensify and we will also resolve the issue of the use of the constitutional name. This is also the opinion of the new Minister of Foreign Affairs with whom I had a long conversation a short while ago.

I thanked him for the recognition expressed, wished him much success in his new position, and emphasized that I would continue to sincerely advocate for the comprehensive improvement of relations between Poland and Macedonia.

Meller went to Paris to serve as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland and from there, after four years spent in France, he was appointed to the same position as Ambassador to the Russian Federation where, unfortunately, he died suddenly.

I will forever remember him as my warm and great friend of Macedonia.

March 9, 1996, Saturday

We have been in Warsaw for a year now. We went for a walk and spent the entire time reflecting on how and what we had been through.

March 10, 1996, Sunday

At 19:50 I finished translating the Panorama of Polish Contemporary Poetry. A real relief!

March 11, 1996, Monday

Mrs. Dmohovska, Director of the Department of International Relations, did not attend the scheduled meeting due to her departure on annual leave. Instead, I was received by her deputy, Dr. Halina Ognik. At the moment of greeting, she gave me the impression of being an intelligent but also good-natured person. Topic of conversation: mutual cooperation agreements, their comparison and negotiation at the expert level. With carefully chosen words and full attention to the mutual relations and cooperation between Macedonia and Poland, I raised the issue of the prompt signing of the already prepared agreements in accordance with the constitutional principles.

Mrs. Ognik expressed satisfaction with the fact that she was given the opportunity to meet and talk with a representative of Macedonia for the first time, and said that there were certain difficulties in connection with the signing of the agreements, which she hoped would be overcome as soon as possible and that it was desirable to continue negotiating in the interest of the development of good relations between the two countries. Unfortunately, she emphasized that today politics had prevailed over law, hence the certain restrictions. I responded that the signatory parties, in the spirit of international relations and within the UN framework, were already equal. Macedonia was already a member of almost all international organizations, and therefore there was no reason for regional interests to prevail in relations with Poland. Unfortunately, this was happening to us. I emphasized that I was aware of Poland's priorities in terms of its foreign policy and state interests, but I was surprised by the fact of a certain subservience imposed by our southern neighbour.

During the further conversation, Mrs. Ognik expressed full understanding for our efforts to sign the agreements with the constitutional name, that she personally supported such an effort, but noted that although Macedonia had already established good relations with many countries in the world, at the beginning of its independence it made the cardinal mistake of changing the name from the Republic of Macedonia to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and changing the flag. Forgive me, but I must say that this is a rare case of concession. You have made a terrible mistake. You accepted the will of Greece and its allies. Every step you take is a concession. As far as I know, a large number of countries supported you, while you succumbed to the pressures of Greece which, due to the formula of signatures on the treaties, exerts not only pressure but also threats on Poland. Of course, this is far from the spirit of international law.

My silence at the moment was a confirmation of her assessments. With what arguments could I refute her findings?

- We - she said - as a legal service will give positive consent to the signature formula, but this will still depend on the current political stance.

- That is what I expect from you, dear Madam – I said. – The position of your Administration from a legal standpoint is of great importance and represents great support for us, for which, if you allow me, Madam, I would like to express my most heartfelt gratitude.

To follow up the conversation, we agreed that the experts' meeting would be held in the last week of March.

I was surprised by her calming tone, which left me with the impression that she was very sympathetic to us, but she did not omit the question of whether I would accept the agreements being signed with the formula "For the Macedonian Government" and "For the Polish Government"?

Regarding the question asked, I said:

- Madam, governments are executive bodies of states that have their own names, meaning the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Poland. The best formula is to highlight the constitutional name.

At the end of the meeting, as I was leaving, she said to me:

- Dear Sir, you are said to be very tough in defending the interests of your homeland and that you are the only diplomat who, over the course of a year, has achieved such incredible progress in relations and cooperation between the two countries.

- Dear Madam, you flatter me very much. Thank you for the recognition and I will be very grateful for your good intentions and support. I hope that you will find time for new meetings and talks in the interest of greater cooperation between Poland and Macedonia.

- Have confidence - said Mrs. Ognik in farewell.

March 12, 1996, Tuesday

Snow, sleet, then sun and again thick clouds and snow. Cold. More phone calls with various companies seeking cooperation with companies from Macedonia.

The Office of President Aleksander Kvashnievski told me that they would soon request a meeting with me.

At 15:00 Ambassador Kinetski arrived. A long conversation regarding my activities. He promised that at the appropriate level of his ruling party he would discuss the agreements and signatures.

I received the text of the Law on Foreign Affairs from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I will translate it into Macedonian tonight.

March 13, 1996, Wednesday

This morning I translated the last six pages of the Law from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 13:30 Voronietski, Director of the UN Department, received me. I introduced him to the Security Declaration and handed him the text in Macedonian and English. I also handed him the letter from President Kiro Gligorov to Mubarak regarding the conference against terrorism. I then introduced him to the Macedonian-Greek negotiations being held in New York regarding the name and the political reactions in Greece. I expressed hope that, within the framework of the UN as well as in the Security Council, cooperation between the two countries would continue and, in that sense, we expected support from Poland.

At 15:00 Misailovski called me and asked me to call the Polish Foreign Ministry and inform them that Minister L. Frchkovski would accept meeting with Polish Minister D. Rosati during the Conference to be held in Prague on March 20 and 21 this year.

March 14, 1996, Thursday

President Kvashnievski's Office informed me that due to being too busy, the meeting was being postponed.

March 15, 1996, Friday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that a meeting of the Council of Ambassadors would be held in Skopje from May 1 to 5, to which I had been invited. I sent a fax requesting that I use my annual leave for 1995 in May.

March 16, 1996, Saturday

A whole day of rest.

March 17, 1996, Sunday

Walk and lunch in the old part of Warsaw.

March 18, 1996, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that it proposed that the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia and Poland be held in Prague at the Praha Hotel, at 10:00. The Embassy of Slovakia confirmed that the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Slovakia and Macedonia was planned to be held in the same hotel in room number 100 from 16:45 to 17:15. I sent the information by fax to Skopje.

I spoke with the administration of the Polish entertainment group, which was organizing the children's festival that would be held in Warsaw in June. They agreed that a children's group from Macedonia would participate in the festival. They would provide me with more detailed information tomorrow.

I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this by fax.

March 19, 1996, Tuesday

At 09:00 the secretary called and said she was sick. Lately, she had been missing work more and more often, claiming to have health problems.

I was her replacement and my wife often acted as the secretary.

March 20, 1996, Wednesday

At 13:00 lunch at the Albanian Ambassador's residence. Invited were the Ambassadors of: Ukraine, Macedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania. A very pleasant atmosphere in which opinions were exchanged in general and in particular on the situation in Europe, mutual cooperation and relations. The next meeting in the same composition was announced by the Bulgarian Ambassador Iani Milchakov, and then a similar meeting would be organized by the Macedonian Embassy.

The Ukrainian Ambassador handed all those present sealed envelopes containing the statement of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the decision of the Russian Duma to annul the Belovezha Accords.

At 22:00 on Greek TV I watched the debate regarding the Macedonian issue. Some of the interlocutors pointed to the negative results of the negative stance of certain circles in Greece, while others emphasized the need to establish good neighbourly relations with Macedonia, others claimed that Greek society was not ripe for cooperation with the Republic of Macedonia since it was still in the shadow of Greek nationalism.

March 21, 1996, Thursday

Demonstrations all day in Warsaw over frequent and unsolved murders.

March 22, 1996, Friday

Today newlyweds celebrate. We sent congratulations to Tanja and Mile.

I received several telegrams by fax. I had the impression that the new Minister had started to restore order in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

A note arrived from the Department of International Legal Relations of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirming readiness for a meeting of experts regarding the Poland-Yugoslavia agreements.

March 23, 1996, Saturday

Ana Traikovska called me on the phone. She said that the new Minister was introducing order in the Ministry.

March 24, 1996, Sunday

Nothing to noteworthy.

March 25, 1996, Monday

At 12:30 a reception for the British Queen in the courtyard of the Presidential Palace.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me by fax that the meeting of the Council of Ambassadors and Envoys would be held on May 6 at 10:00.

I was also informed that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia and Poland, at their meeting in Prague (March 20 this year), agreed to use the formula “For the Macedonian Government” - “For the Polish Government” when signing agreements. The necessary solution had finally been adopted, which would greatly facilitate my work. I hope that during this year we will sign more cooperation agreements.

March 26, 1996, Tuesday

Since I did not receive a response to my telegram regarding the arrival of the group of experts for talks with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the succession of the agreements, I called Gaber, who told me that he was already on another duty and that for this matter I should call Branko Stojanovski, who would probably lead the group. I called Branko Stojanovski and he replied that no one had told him anything about such talks. I told him what Gaber had told me.

- "No one told me that I would lead the group. If that's the decision, then I will come, but is that important?" asked.

- I'll ask the Minister - I told him - and then I'll call you.

- Well, not that far? Don't call the Minister. We'll solve the matter without him.

On the other phone, Mrs. Halina Ognik from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs called me and said that they were ready for the talks and were waiting for the Macedonian group. I told her that I would call her in an hour regarding the group's arrival.

The conversation with continued again.

- Petre, time is very short. I only received your telegram sent on March 21st yesterday. Such discussions require preparation and I have other obligations as well.

- Okay, then I'll ask the Minister.

- Don't, Petre, don't call him. We'll sort things out. You try to find another time.

I called Mrs. Ognik on the phone. I asked her to change the time for the talks. She told me that the talks could be held on April 2-3 of this year.

I called and told him the new date. He said he would call me back in half an hour. I waited and didn't get a call. He didn't call.

At 14:30 I went to the Sejm where the British Queen was to deliver a speech to the Deputies. In the long speech interrupted

by applause, among other things, the Queen emphasized that Europe needed the Polish people and Poland, and Europe was needed by Polish people and Poland. Everyone stood up. Long applause. At the end, the Queen concluded her speech with a promise that Great Britain fully supported Poland's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union.

The expected call from did not come. It was not until 20:00 that the person on duty at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs called me to say that Branko and someone else would arrive in Warsaw on April 1st.

March 27, 1996, Wednesday

I continued writing the annual report for 1995.

Twice I urged to provide me with the composition of the delegation and I still have no response.

Ambassador Hmielevski called me and told me that the talks in Prague between Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati were very useful. Minister Frchkovski invited Polish Minister D. Rosati to visit Macedonia and during the visit two agreements would be signed. He asked that an official invitation be sent to him.

March 28, 1996, Thursday

I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but this time directly to Minister Frchkovski. I wrote that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had informed me that the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Prague (March 20) was assessed as very positive by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I asked that an official invitation be sent to Minister D. Rosati to visit Macedonia.

I am already convinced that for important matters it is best to address the Minister directly.

The response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Frchkovski, arrived four hours later. The response stated:

"1. In the talks held in Prague between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, D. Rosati and L. Frchkovski, the Polish Minister stated that the variants proposed by us were acceptable.

2. We fully accept the proposal of the Polish side, your fax number 97/96. Use the upcoming negotiations regarding succession for the definitive agreement on the signing formula.

3. Attached is the letter from L. Frchkovski addressed to Minister D. Rosati. Take the opportunity during the lecture to clarify the arrival date."

It took almost a year for this to happen. My conviction was confirmed that someone was using their power to prevent the signing of the agreements and to make my efforts and work futile.

How many requests and initiatives had gone unanswered?!

No one could convince me that someone was very interested in this.

And today I asked Branko again to confirm the composition of the delegation and the time of arrival in Warsaw. I waited all day for nothing. The answer came only at 18:00, a time when the services were not working. The gentlemen were in no hurry and the state could wait.

At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by the Greek Ambassador. Together with his wife, we congratulated him on the Greek holiday of March 25th. He was surprised. Later he asked if we could meet. I accepted. Next to him was a young man, whom the Ambassador introduced as his secretary and said that he was my *synchorianos,* meaning my fellow villager. I asked him whose child he was. He said that he was the son of Lefka. At the moment I could not remember who Lefka was because in my village, Krchishta, there were several girls and women with the same name. I asked if we could meet. He agreed. The Ambassador, Georgios Alexandropoulos, after greeting the guests, approached me once again and expressed his pleasure and gratitude for the congratulations on the occasion of the national holiday of March 25th and asked if we could meet next week. I accepted. During the reception, I had meetings and conversations with several Polish politicians, Diplomats, and above all with former Polish

Ambassadors in Athens, who, as they expressed, were very familiar with the negative situation in relations between Macedonia and Greece. All conversations with the interlocutors were an opportunity for them to get to know Macedonia better. In the meantime, I was itching to remember who Lefka from Krchishta was, whose son now worked at the Greek Embassy. I approached him and asked him which family his mother came from and what her last name was, because in my village there were several girls and women named Lefka. All he knew was that his mother came from the Kostur village, which is now called Polianemos, the old name was Krcishta, and that she was the caregiver of 20 children who were taken to Albania in March 1948 and that from there, with many other children from the Kostur villages, she went to Romania and from there to Poland. Now I remember! It's her, I said to myself. Lefka, who was my caregiver, she was Koliovichka, after her husband Kolio, that's what they called her in the village and we in the camp in Durres, in Albania, after her husband, the political commissar of a battalion who died in the fall of 1947 fighting the Greek army. She was the second victim of the Civil War from my village. And when it was decided to take the children to Albania and Yugoslavia, I was in Lefka's group. I remembered that modest young and quiet widow, who never took off the black scarf from her head. The blackness that blackened her life was always her great sorrow and the unhealed wound in her soul for her beloved Kolio. She was expelled from the orphanage in the Polish town of Zgozhelets by the Greek party committee with the excuse that she was a Tito agent because her husband, Kolio, had served in the OZNA after the disbandment of the Aegean Brigade. And before that, he fought against the Italians and the Germans, clearing the Kichevo, Gostivar and Tetovo regions of Ballists. He was among the first to return to Greece and, as a political commissar of a battalion of the Democratic Army of Greece, he died in combat with the Greek national army. He was the second victim of the Civil War after 17-year-old Riste, the only child of the Jovanovtsi family. Lefka, my caregiver... now rested in the cemetery in the

town of Valbzhih. She married the Greek teacher at the school in Kroshchenko, a village in which the so-called collective farm NOV ZHIVOT was formed, where about 3 thousand refugees from Greece were resettled, the majority of whom were Macedonians from Kostur and Prespa. She left behind her now-adult son, Dime, christened Vladimir in honour of Lenin, whom his father admired, and with the Greek teacher she gave birth to two sons and a daughter. The eldest was christened Georgos, with whom I was now talking.

March 29, 1996, Friday

A peaceful day. It was beginning to smell like spring. President Kvashnievski was on an official visit to Belarus. The right-wing press was on the offensive against the visit, which it viewed as bringing Minsk closer to Moscow.

I was organizing notes.

March 30, 1996, Saturday

Nothing to note from my mission today. Sunny outside. In the afternoon, an unprecedented snowfall.

March 31, 1996, Sunday

I continued writing the annual report.

In front of the Embassy a van was parked in the prohibited parking area. There were two men in uniform inside. I asked them why they were standing there. They told me they were from the Embassy protection unit and had come to remove the parked cars in front of the Embassy.

April 1, 1996, Monday

At 20:00 at the airport to welcome the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, which

arrived in Warsaw as an expert group regarding the succession of agreements.

April 2, 1996, Tuesday

It's Tanja's birthday. We sent her a telegram with congratulations.

At 08:30 I finished writing the annual report for 1995. One less problem.

At 11:00 the consultations on the properties began. Both delegations were well prepared. was leading the talks well. Unfortunately, he made a rash move. He handed the original invitation from Minister Frchkovski to Minister Rosati to a third-party person. In this way, I lost the opportunity to meet with Minister Rosati, which had already been scheduled. Now it made no sense to hand Minister Rosati a copy during the possible meeting. Unfortunately, acted improperly, either intentionally or out of ignorance.

From the course of the talks, I felt that the Polish side was not willing to accept the formula for signatures with the constitutional name. Break, lunch and the talks ended today at 18:00.

April 3, 1996, Wednesday

The second day of talks. The expert part went excellently. The Polish side, while the talks were being held, were not informed about the decision accepted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Rosati and Frchkovski at the meeting in Prague. In the meantime, the Director of the First Directorate, Iezhi Hmielevski, urgently submitted a letter to Mrs. Katazhina Mohovska, informing that the Ministers had agreed that the prepared agreements should be signed with the formula "For the Macedonian Government" and "For the Government of the Republic of Poland", and that the Macedonian position paved the

way for the signing of the agreements that had already been prepared and agreed.

I requested a copy of the letter and received it.

I must admit that I did not agree with the fact that on our side the agreements would be signed without using the constitutional name – Republic of Macedonia. But someone else had already decided otherwise.

April 4, 1996, Thursday

Today marked one year since we became residents of the building that housed our Embassy. Moments of memory filled with a lot of effort flowed by. Back then, that day we felt very lonely, abandoned, disappointed. So far, time has not managed to overshadow those bad memories and experiences and cast the dust of oblivion over them.

At 09:00 we continued the talks. We did not agree on the issue of the signature formula. We left that issue to be resolved at a higher level.

After the lunch I hosted our delegation, at 17:00 I sent them to the airport.

April 5, 1996, Friday

At 11:00 a meeting with Meller. Discussion regarding Minister Rosati's visit to Macedonia. I proposed that Minister Rosati visit Macedonia in the second half of May this year. He said that it would be difficult to carry out the visit at that time due to other urgent obligations, but on his part he would make efforts to use the proposed time.

On the occasion of tomorrow's Catholic Easter holidays, I presented him with a bottle of our "Kratoshia".

At 12:00 at Prof. Skovronek's, Director of the Polish State Archives. I conveyed the request of the Director of the Archives of Macedonia to participate in the seminar – Round Table and

that the participation be used for signing a cooperation agreement. He agreed.

It's finally getting a little warmer outside. It already smells like spring.

Macedonia and the United States signed an investment protection agreement. I sent a proposal for signing a similar agreement between Macedonia and Poland to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia last year. I did not receive a response. Someone blocked it.

April 6, 1996, Saturday

Today I decided not to work at all. I would use the day to take a walk and find some pleasure in it. That was what everyone did. Today I would not work and no one would praise me for my slave-like work.

Come on, Ditta, let's go.

We went to the beautiful Lazhenki Park.

April 7, 1996, Sunday

Catholic Easter. All day and night the church on the opposite side of the street was full. Believers, whole families, some entering, others leaving the church. The resurrection of Christ was being celebrated.

At 14:00 Ana Traikovska, who was on duty, called me. She told me a lot of new things regarding the personnel changes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Some were desirable and expected, others were traumatic.

April 8, 1996, Monday

I received a fax that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia had signed an agreement on mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations at the Ambassadorial level.

The Polish media devoted extensive coverage of this event, referring to our country by its constitutional name - the Republic of Macedonia.

April 9, 1996, Tuesday

At 11:40 Rishard Biliski, a journalist for the newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA", called me and congratulated me on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Biliski was an excellent expert on the situation in the Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He published numerous articles and analyses, including interviews with President Kiro Gligorov, always using the constitutional name. He asked me for an interview regarding the event. I told him that I would think about it.

April 10, 1996, Wednesday

I sent the secretary and the driver to pay the bills for the electricity, water and gas used. They left at 13:40 and returned at 16:30. I was not satisfied with their work. Since I was waiting for a secretary and driver to be sent to me from Macedonia, I could not fire them for now.

April 11, 1996, Thursday

A fellow countryman called me and told me that his belongings had been stolen at the train station. He didn't even have a passport to return home. I wrote down his name and surname and told him to come to the Embassy. In the meantime, I called the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and asked them to check if he was our citizen. They said that I could issue him a passport. We fed him and sent him to the airport by bus.

April 12, 1996, Friday

At my request, at 09:00 I was received by Stanislav Dobzhaniski, Minister of National Defense of Poland. Purpose: to deliver the greetings from Blagoi Handzhiski, Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, on the occasion of his appointment as Minister of Defense of Poland.

Minister Dobzhaniski thanked me for the congratulations and said that he would respond soon. He was interested in the situation in Macedonia. I told him that Macedonia had managed to prevent itself from being drawn into the war, emphasizing that thanks to the policy pursued by President Kiro Gligorov (he was interested in the President's health at that point) peace and security had been preserved in the Balkans, which had contributed to Macedonia gaining respect and trust in the world.

During the 45 minute conversation, he elaborated on Poland's aspirations for NATO membership, underlining that with this step Poland did not threaten the security of its eastern neighbours, as Moscow was trying to present it. He emphasized that Poland was striving for a new security system in Europe, which was integration with Western structures, and as for the differences between Warsaw and Moscow, he said that Poland had opted for a long-term dialogue while simultaneously expanding and strengthening all forms of cooperation.

At his request, I informed Minister Dobzhaniski more broadly about the internal situation in Macedonia and its relations with its neighbours, with a special emphasis on relations with Greece and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in light of the agreements signed in New York and Belgrade, the policy of equidistance, preventive diplomacy (UNPREDEP) led by Polish diplomat Henrik Sokaliski, as well as military cooperation with the United States and Turkey, the joint Macedonian-American exercises in Macedonia, as well as the activities of the Republic of Macedonia on the foreign front, which resulted in the signing of the Partnership for Peace program, membership in the OSCE, the European Council, etc. In doing so, I emphasized that

Macedonia was also fully oriented towards European integration and that it rejected all options for joining any alliances, confederations, relations, etc. except for within European structures.

Minister Dobzhaniski then put on the table the reminder of last year's talks that I had in the Polish Ministry of Defense regarding the cooperation between the two Ministries and armies. He emphasized that Poland and the Ministry he headed were ready for full partnership cooperation with the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia and its armed forces and that it had the expertise, techiques and good intentions to be involved in the modernization of the Macedonian army. He underlined that he personally felt the need to meet with the Macedonian Minister, which also stemmed from his deep sympathy for Macedonia and the Macedonian people but before that, he emphasized, it would be useful to hold a meeting at the level of experts, in order to professionally determine the modalities of cooperation. Otherwise, he said that the proposals that were put forward last year were completely acceptable to him and that he saw no obstacles to cooperation between the two armies.

At the end of the conversation, he asked me to convey his wishes for a meeting with Minister Blagoi Handzhiski and for a successful management of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. Seeing me off at the exit of the office, he asked me to meet in the coming days. I accepted and thanked him for the reception and the conversation.

At 13:00 at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I was received by the Deputy Minister, Mr. Ianas. The discussion focused on the current cooperation between Macedonia and Poland in the field of culture and arts. I introduced him in detail to the achievements so far. I emphasized that in the field of literature, remarkable results had been achieved, which were an excellent basis for further successful and fruitful mutual cooperation. I emphasized that over the past thirty years, a significant number of literary works from Polish classical and

contemporary Polish prose and poetry had been translated, with 42 works translated and published in my own translation alone, the beginning of which, in my translation, started with the publication in 1963 of the novel "THE MOTHER OF KRULEVTSI" by the prominent contemporary Polish writer Kazhimiezh Brandis, which was the first literary work directly translated from Polish into Macedonian, which opened the process of translating and publishing works from contemporary and classical Polish literature. I further reminded, that in my selection in Krakov in 1974, an Anthology of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry was published under the title "POEMS FROM OHRID", and that I was personally involved in establishing contacts that led to fruitful cooperation between Polish and Macedonian literary journals, and that also on my initiative, fruitful cooperation was established between Polish and Macedonian theaters and operas. In my translation into Polish, in 1973, on the stage of the Wyspianski Theater in Katovitse, the play "DARKNESS" by the Macedonian writer and playwright Kole Chashule was performed, and in return, also in my translation, the Drama Theater in Skopje presented the play "TRAP" by Tadeush Ruzhevich, who was the winner of the Golden Wreath at the Struga Poetry Evenings. Contacts and performances of the operas from Lodzh and Skopje were established (the Lodzh Opera in Skopje and Tetovo performed the opera "HALKA" by Moniushko, and in Lodzh, the Skopje Opera performed the opera "Tsar Samoil"). I reminded that a large number of poems by Polish and Macedonian poets had been published in Polish and Macedonian literary magazines, that over 600 Polish poets had participated in the Struga Poetry Evenings so far, and for almost thirty years in Struga I was their host and translator of their poems, and that on my initiative in 1973 an EVENING OF POLISH POETRY was organized in Struga with the participation of 18 Polish contemporary poets.

I continued by saying that it was a special pleasure for me to select and translate poems by Pope Voitila, which were

presented to him in Rome during the festivities dedicated to Saints Cyril and Methodius.

He promised me that he would soon organize a meeting with the Minister and that the Ministry would finance the selection of Macedonian contemporary poetry as a substitute for the publication in Macedonia of the panorama of contemporary Polish poetry, for which I informed him that my translation of the panorama had already been sent to Skopje.

At the end of the meeting, I handed him the copy of a list from me of translated and published works of Polish literature and a second copy of a list of Polish and Macedonian literary magazines, as well as cultural institutions from both countries that had established cooperation, emphasizing that Macedonia remained interested in enriching its national culture with the values of Polish culture.

At the end of the conversation, Deputy Minister Ianas expressed satisfaction with the cooperation so far and emphasized that he personally and through the relevant services in the Ministry would be engaged to continue the cooperation between the two countries and asked me if I had been awarded for such activity and work. I said that I had been awarded the medal of MERIT FOR POLISH CULTURE by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts along with a diploma and badge from ZAIKS.

- For such work, that is very little, Sir.

April 13, 1996, Saturday

Holy Saturday. Tomorrow is a Christian holiday, Easter. I listened to the address of the head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, Archbishop Mihail.

Greek television reported that on April 17th of this year, Macedonian-Greek talks would continue in New York. Frchkovski stated, in Finland, that no one had the right to impose a name on us under international law.

In the evening, my long-time colleague Lile Naumova called me from Zagreb (we worked in the same office for ten

years). During a very friendly and cordial conversation, I asked her if she was satisfied with the new Ambassador. She told me that she had nothing against him as a person but that she rejected his practices and attitudes and was returning to Skopje.

I said:

- Save me a seat!

In response she said to me:

- So we think the same.

April 14, 1996, Sunday

Easter.

Christ is Risen.

For MANY YEARS!

In the morning, the children called us with congratulations on the Great Holiday. We went to a service at the Russian Orthodox Church. There were two Orthodox churches in Warsaw, a remnant of the time of Russian rule in the last century and earlier. Now they were under the administration of the Polish Orthodox Church.

After the service we returned, had breakfast, broke red eggs and remained silent because the joy far away from the children also left a mark of sadness on our faces.

April 15, 1996, Monday

At 09:15 I called Unger, the Chief of Staff of President Aleksander Kvashnievski. His secretary answered the phone. She recognized my voice and called Mr. Unger. During the conversation he told me that I was on the list for reception by President Kvashnievski and that I would be received as soon as possible. I told him that I would soon travel to Skopje where, in a meeting with President Kiro Gligorov, I would not be comfortable telling him that his letter had not yet been delivered to President Kvashnievski, so I would have to return it to him.

- No, Sir, don't do that. I will personally ensure that the President receives you as soon as possible.

A little aggressiveness does pay off.

During the day, I was received by Dr. Janush Genshitski, Director of the Department of Vocational and Targeted Education at the Ministry of National Education. I introduced him more broadly to the education system in Macedonia and the readiness of our Ministry of Education to establish cooperation between the two Ministries and, in that sense, I proposed to hold a meeting at the expert level with the aim of exchanging experiences. He accepted the proposal and noted that he would inform the Minister in the coming days.

April 16, 1996, Tuesday

I received the following telegram from the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia:

"We inform you that companies interested in obtaining information about cooperation requested from the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia, must pay 50 marks in the name of the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia into its account at AD Komercijalna Banka Skopje."
With special regards
Advisor
Lidija Karanfilova"

I cannot convey such a condition to Polish companies seeking cooperation with Macedonian companies.

Colonel Nikolovski from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia called me on the phone. He said that he was astonished that he had not received a response to several of his telegrams regarding military cooperation between the two armies. I told him to seek an answer from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and dictated to him the numbers of my telegrams.

In this regard, the question remained as to why my telegrams were not forwarded to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia?

April 17, 1996, Wednesday

During the day several Polish companies telephoned me seeking to establish contacts with Macedonian companies.

At 17:00 Professors Temkov and Muhich arrived at the Embassy. A long, pleasant and instructive conversation. Conversations with highly educated and cultured interlocutors are good and instructive.

April 18, 1996, Thursday

At 09:40 in the Sejm. Meeting with Solana, the NATO Secretary General. All the Members of Parliament were on their feet. Continuous applause, they received him with wild enthusiasm, believing that he would open the way for them with some magic wand that would take them into NATO. I noticed that several MPs were sitting. I assumed that they were not supporters of NATO, and he, Solana, was simply smiling from behind the parliamentary rostrum and it seemed that, with his ironic smile, he was lying the whole time. Faces grimaced and frowned when Solana mentioned, on several occasions, that NATO gave Russia a privileged place. Who would understand this and how?

After the meeting in the Sejm, Bojan, the Slovenian Ambassador, and I went for coffee where we discussed the whole atmosphere in the Parliamentary Hall and Solana's speech. At the exit of the cafe, I met Professor Iviniski (a member of the ruling party) and, after a short conversation, he asked me to meet him tomorrow at 13:00 in his office in the Sejm.

At 12:00 in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A difficult 45 minute conversation with Ambassador Hmielevski regarding our constitutional name. He kept saying – FYROM and RYFM. I did not hold back. I reminded him of the time when part

of Poland was not called Poland but the Polish Governate, because the Poles had raised and lost uprisings three times. We, I told him, will not raise uprisings but will tame the madness of those who change our name with our dignified right to preserve our Macedonian name. He sought justification in the fact that those times were gone forever and that Poland was now Poland, an important slogan of the present time. To this I said that before, and even more so now, Macedonia is Macedonia.

At 18:00 at cocktails hosted by the OSCE. Several meetings with diplomats and Polish politicians. Most of the discussions were about Solana's speech and promises. Many positive and even more negative comments.

April 19, 1996, Friday

By 12:00 I sorted out yesterday's notes. At 12:50 I arrived at the Sejm for a meeting with Professor Iviniski, a close associate of President Aleksander Kvashnievski and a member of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was also known to speak 14 languages. He received me warmly. He was most interested in my diplomatic mission in Poland. In the longer conversation, I presented all the problems I had encountered so far, in a reasoned and completely calm manner. Among other things, I told him that the attitude expressed by certain circles in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs could lower the level of what had so far been excellent political, cultural and economic relations, because the signing of seven already prepared agreements had been blocked. I then provided a more detailed briefing on the situation in Macedonia and its relations with its neighbours, who had shown no goodwill for neighbourly cooperation with Macedonia which, in my deep conviction, was a reflection of the old, unrealized great-power ambitions. In contrast to those conditions were the relations of Macedonia with Poland, which with great sympathy and desire was willing to cooperate with Macedonia in all areas. I did not leave out the issue of the delay in delivering the letter from President Kiro

Gligorov to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, for which I had been waiting four months. Professor Iviniski expressed his regret and said that he would personally discuss this issue with President Kvashnievski.

In continuation of the conversation with Prof. Iviniski, I told him that so far Macedonia had been visited by all the Ministers of the member states of the European Union, senior officials from the USA, the EU, Prime Ministers and other senior state figures. This led to a wider affirmation of Macedonia in the face of the blockades imposed on us by Greece. I emphasized that the official visit to Macedonia by senior Polish officials and vice versa from Macedonia to Poland would have a very positive impact on the relations between our countries. I emphasized that meetings at the level of experts from various fields were of great significance and importance, as they would lead to a closer acquaintance, exchange of experiences, which would also lead to strengthening and expansion of mutual cooperation.

Professor Iviniski listened carefully to me and occasionally took notes. At the end of the conversation, he said that he was very pleased with the meeting and emphasized that, within his capabilities and authority, he would make efforts for Poland to participate more actively in the international affirmation of Macedonia.

At the end of the meeting we agreed to meet occasionally.

April 20, 1996, Saturday

At 09:30 the ceremonial session of the Warsaw City Council began in the Grand National Theater on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the transfer of the Polish capital from Krakov to Warsaw. This was done by King Sigismund, who was of Swedish origin, and it was said that Warsaw was closer to Sweden for the Swede than distant Krakov. The entire Polish Government, the cream of Polish scientists, university professors, prominent writers and the entire Diplomatic Corps participated in the ceremonial session.

I had received an invitation to this great ceremony two weeks ago and used the time leading up to the event to leaf through several pages of historical books dedicated to the past 400 years. They described the rich and very tragic past marked by the division of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary, by its erasure from the map of Europe, by three tragically ended uprisings, by great literature in which the national spirit of the Poles and the hope that Poland would revive and reclaim its place in Europe were permanently preserved. It revived as before and even now its voice was heard and appreciated in the world.

After the ceremonial speeches and the awards were given – a glass of champagne for everyone.

Professor Iviniski took me aside and told me that he had arranged a meeting with President Kvashnievski for me. I told him that it was a great honour for me and wanting to say something more complimentary, at that moment President Kvashnievski, making his way and greeting those present, approached me and as if we had known each other for a long time, shook my hand, saying:

- Ah there you are, Mr. Ambassador. How are you? Professor Iviniski told me everything. On my behalf, contacts with you will be maintained by Prof. Iviniski and my advisor for political affairs, Mr. Maikovski. Goodbye for now, and after some time we will have a longer conversation.

That was it for the meeting. He went to greet others.

I returned to the Embassy satisfied.

I smelled the strong scent of blossoming linden trees. It was already spring.

April 21, 1996, Sunday

At 10:00 I went to the airport, to the Austrian company, to book plane tickets on the Warsaw-Vienna-Skopje route and back. The ticket costs 44 dollars, departure from Warsaw on May 5 at 12:00, arriving in Skopje at 17:40. Return from Skopje to Warsaw

on May 15 – I would use a small part of my annual vacation, the rest of the stay - business meetings.

April 22, 1996, Monday

By phone at 10:10 I called Gordana Gligorovska at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked her to schedule a meeting for me with Ministers Frchkovski (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Chokrevski (Ministry of Interal Affairs), Handzhiski (Ministry of Defense) and Unkovski, Ministry of Culture.

At the scheduled lunch at the "ARKADIJ" restaurant, in the old part of Warsaw, Deputy Minister Meller and Ambassador Hmielevski arrived on time. They ordered a la carte. Modestly. We stayed from 12:30 to 14:00. The conversation was basically about the situation in Macedonia and relations in the region. Meller was particularly interested in Macedonia's international activities (he used the name Macedonia in the conversation).

I informed the interlocutors about the visit of L Frchkovski to the Scandinavian countries and the official visit of Macedonia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, where the constitutional name was used in the talks, and a meeting between Presidents Gligorov and Havel had been arranged. I further emphasized that recently, Macedonia had been visited by a large number of foreign high-ranking state figures and delegations, which confirmed the growing interest of the world in Macedonia, especially the visits from member states of the European Union and NATO.

Meller congratulated Macedonia for increasingly asserting itself in the world as a peaceful country, emphasizing that Poland would not be left behind in deepening relations with Macedonia, especially since both countries had decided to link their future with European integration and such aspirations would bring us even closer together. Hence, he said, the Polish Foreign Ministry was already preparing the calendar of visits for the second half of 1996, and at the same time he expressed regret that the calendar was full and there were no opportunities for mutual visits at the

high and highest level between the two countries. He promised that at the end of June he would inform me of the planned meetings and visits to Macedonia at the level of Ministers, Prime Ministers, Speakers of Parliaments and Heads of State. He asked for our patience, especially since Poland, after the changes made after the Presidential elections, had begun to implement major activities on the international level, especially with its aspirations to join NATO and the European Union. He emphasized that Poland would continue to support Macedonia internationally, as it has done so far.

I used the short break in his presentation to remind him that several cooperation agreements had already been prepared and had been waiting to be signed for a long time.

Meller expressed regret that the two sides had not yet found a formula for the signature but hoped that this problem would also be resolved, as it was in the interest of both countries.

We ended the lunch with wishes for new meetings where we would discuss new successful achievements in mutual relations.

April 23, 1996, Tuesday

Nothing new. Free time to think.

April 24, 1996, Wednesday

The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management of the Republic of Macedonia called and asked if the Polish Minister of Agriculture would be able to travel to Skopje by May 7 or if the visit could take place in June. I replied that I would only be able to answer on Friday.

The Diplomatic Protocol informed me with a note that on May 3, the national holiday of Poland, President Aleksander Kvashnievski was organizing a reception. I was asked to confirm my participation. I confirmed that I would participate.

An invitation also arrived from the Sejm to participate in the meeting organized by the President of the Sejm, Zich, on the occasion of the national holiday of May 3rd. The meeting would be held on May 7th. I replied that due to my departure to Macedonia, I regretted that I would not be able to participate. I sent my warmest congratulations and an expression of hope that upon my return to Warsaw, I would have the honour of being received by the President of the Sejm in order to congratulate him on the national holiday.

April 25, 1996, Thursday

Under the patronage of UNESCO at 10:00, organized by the Polish Committee, the International Conference on the Role of the Teacher in the Education System began. A few days ago, I reported this to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and received a fax response that no one from Macedonia would participate so, accordingly, I was authorized to attend as an observer, which I informed the Committee about. I went to the "SOLEC" hotel where the Conference was being held. On all the tables there were signs with the names of the countries from which the participants had come. I looked for the place with a sign with the name of our country. There was none. I asked one of the organizers where the seat for the representative of Macedonia was. He said that he did not know but that he would go and ask. A lady came with him and, without greeting me, asked me who I was. I told her. Well, Sir, sit down over there, she said. Don't worry, I will seat you somewhere. She showed me a place where there was no sign. I said that the place without a plate with the name of the country was not for me. So for now, she said, sit there and I will bring a sign right away. She brought it with FYR Macedonia in English. When I told her that this was not the name of my country, she began to insist that it should be exactly that, as it was written. Go there and sit down. At that moment, I demonstratively left the hall and returned to the Embassy. After half an hour a male voice called me.

- PRJM Embassy?

- No! Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, Sir.

- Sorry, I didn't know. Can I reach the Ambassador's advisor, Mr. Nakovski?

- No! Nakovski is the acting officer, Sir, if you know what that is.

- Sorry, I didn't know. And I'm calling because there was a small oversight with the nameplate...

I immediately interrupted him and told him in a sharp tone that his organizer, called the Committee and so on, was a non-governmental organization that had no right to determine the name of the country from which the invited person came.

I hung up the phone and got back to work. After about fifteen minutes, the secretary called me and said that a man and woman had come to the door and wanted to see me.

- Take them into the waiting room. Let them wait there.

I went down to the waiting room after about twenty minutes. They introduced themselves as some of the organizers and came to apologize and ask me to attend the meeting.

- "We, Mr. Ambassador, have come to apologize for the unintentional mistake," the woman said, handing me a bouquet of red roses. I refused to accept the flowers or go to the gathering. I did not accept a conversation.

Regarding the incident, I contacted Sashko Todorovski about the event (he had sent me a fax informing me that no one from Macedonia would participate) and told him what I had done. He praised my action and advised me to react most strongly about the case to a high-ranking official from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I did so at a reception at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where I noticed a small number of Ambassadors.

April 26, 1996, Friday

At 10:10 I received a telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the following content:

"In reference to your fax no. 131/96 of 25.04.96.

We inform you that it is necessary to protest at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, given that the Polish Committee is semi-governmental, citing the facts regarding the registration of the candidacy of the Republic of Macedonia. Given the fact that an apology has been expressed to you concerning the 'incident', we ask you to attend the meeting unless the abbreviation is written on the plate with the name of the country. Todorovski, s.r."

I did not go to the meeting because at 11:30 I was received by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Roman Iagieliniski. I handed him the invitation from the Macedonian Minister Parakeov. He thanked me and said that his official visit to Macedonia could take place between July 30-31 and August 1, 1996.

At 13:10 Voronietski, director of the UN System Department, called me. He apologized for the incident of April 25 claiming that it was an unintentional technical error that was not directed against Macedonia. I told him that he would receive an appropriate note in this regard by order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

April 27, 1996, Saturday

My wife and I spent the day taking a long walk in the Kabati Forest, not far from Warsaw.

April 28, 1996, Sunday

Today marked the end of one year since we had been at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. As for what I did, how I did it, whether I did it well or poorly throughout 1995 and part of 1996 would be evaluated by those in charge, and

the most precious to me would be the evaluation of those who read my "NIGHT NOTES".

From tomorrow, I would continue with the same enthusiasm and effort. I would seize the time that suited my Macedonia the best.

April 29, 1996, Monday

Mrs. Ognik, the Deputy Head of the Department of International Legal Relations, who received me at 12:30 was not prepared for a conversation. My questions regarding the formula for signatures under the agreements were met with the following response:

- "We work according to our regulations," she said.
- And is it written in those regulations of yours that we are not allowed to use the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia?

She was silent. She was surprised and looked at me questioningly. Then she said:

- You are right. I would also defend the interests of my country that way, Sir.
- Madam, thank you for your honesty and I am sure that tomorrow or the day after we will have the same opinion. Can I hope that you will find time for another meeting?
- "Of course, I'd be happy to," she said and escorted me to the exit.

Before this meeting at 12:00, I was received by Mrs. Borovska, who "took care" of Macedonia in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. She had the same role during the existence of the SFRY. She gave me the text of the Agreement on Economic Cooperation in which the corrections of the Polish Ministry were included.

At 15:00 Dr. Boicheh Chaika, a close associate of President Kvashnievski, called me. He said that the President was very busy and that on his behalf, tomorrow at 16:00, I would be

received by his advisor for political affairs and a very close associate of the President, Mr. Andzhei Maikovski.

April 30, 1996, Tuesday

The Ambassador of Bulgaria, Iani Milchakov, hosted a traditional lunch at his residence today at 13:00, to which the Ambassadors of: Romania, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Croatia, Ukraine, Macedonia and Albania have been invited.

I had met Ambassador Iani Milchakov in 1993 when I led the Macedonian delegation at the OSCE meeting that was held in Warsaw throughout October. Since then we had become quite close. He said that his grandfather and grandmother came from Kukush, who claimed until their deaths that they were Macedonians, and that he too, through that bloodline, felt the same way even though he was in the service of Bulgaria. At all meetings he addressed me as a brother Macedonian. He often came to my aid when I needed to get a plane ticket to Sofia for one of our people.

The lunch was held in a very pleasant atmosphere, with a lot of jokes but also with certain attitudes and assessments regarding the current situation in Poland. We listened with particular attention to the statement of the Ukrainian Ambassador, who spoke with regret about the difficult situation in Ukraine. The conversation with the Romanian Ambassador, who was sitting beside me, was very open. He also said that his roots were somewhere in Macedonia, from where his ancestors migrated to Romania a hundred or more years ago. During the conversation he invited me to lunch after my return from Skopje.

At the end of this meeting, we agreed that the next traditional luncheon would be organized by the Macedonian Embassy between May 21 and 31 of this year.

At 16:00 I was received by the Minister in Kvashnievski's Cabinet, Mr. Andzhei Maikovski. After Mrs. Vaniek, he was considered the second most influential person. The meeting began pleasantly with mutual compliments. I handed him the letter from

President Kiro Gligorov to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, which contained the proposal for a meeting and talks at the highest level.

Mr. Andzhei Maikovski apologized that due to his busy schedule, President Kvashnievski was unable to receive me, but it had already been agreed that we would meet and talk on May 3 at the reception on the occasion of the Polish national holiday. I expressed the hope that the proposal of the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov would be accepted. This was followed by a longer discussion in which the following issues were highlighted:

1. The international position of the Republic of Macedonia and its membership in international organizations.
2. Relations with neighbours, which cannot be assessed as positive.
3. The frequent visits of foreign figures, especially from the West and the USA, their pressures and our concessions in order to strengthen our position on the international stage. I also emphasized that, unfortunately, visits by Polish representatives were rare, except for the already conducted political consultations between the two Foreign Ministries with a special focus on a request for a formula for the name.
4. I spoke in more detail about the very positive contacts achieved so far with Polish institutions, the agreements reached for cooperation in all areas, as well as the readiness to establish direct contacts between the relevant ministries at the level of experts and ministers.
5. I had noticed that regarding the formula for signing agreements, I encountered a certain reluctance on the part of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, despite the cordial and friendly contacts and conversations that are regularly held.
6. Regarding the use of our country's name, I pointed out that correspondence with all ministries, except the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Protocol, which use the abbreviation FYROM, is conducted with the constitutional name. As proof of this, I handed him an envelope with copies.

(Maikovski looked at the copies attentively, and on his face – an expression of surprise and dissatisfaction)

7. I pointed out that due to such a stance, the signing of the already prepared agreements had been blocked and that arguments like "Greece is restricting Poland" did not hold water because Poland already had a strong position in the West and in the world.
8. I emphasized that Poland had strongly supported Macedonia over the past sixty years, as evidenced by extensive cultural and economic cooperation. I listed facts that confirmed the high level of cooperation between the two countries.
9. I expressed the opinion that it was my great desire to create an atmosphere of goodwill that would strengthen cooperation in the spirit of European integration that both countries desired.

At the end of the conversation, Maikovski expressed his satisfaction with the open and honest conversation and promised that he would accurately convey the content of the conversation to President Aleksander Kvashnievski and that, within his capability, he would strive for Poland to become an even greater supporter of the young Macedonian state. We said goodbye with a promise that we would meet more often in the future. The meeting ended at 17:00.

I returned to the Embassy where an invitation from the Embassy of Lithuania was waiting for me to participate in the opening of an exhibition of Lithuanian industry. On the invitation there was a map of Europe, showing the borders of the SFRY and the Baltic Republics. I went there and immediately asked to see the Lithuanian Ambassador. I showed him the invitation and asked him if he knew that there was a country in Europe called the Republic of Macedonia and why it was not on his map? He

apologized for a long time, blaming the services and promised that it would not happen again, claiming that Lithuania treated Macedonia with great sympathy.

I received greetings from the Macedonian statesmen to the Polish ones by fax and immediately sent them to the Diplomatic Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

May 1, 1996, Wednesday

We went for a walk in the Kabati forest. The weather was warm, spring was in full bloom. For the first time since I had been in office in Warsaw I felt calm, but the meeting and conversation with Mr. Maikovski kept running through my mind.

May 2, 1996, Thursday

A walk in the park in Vilanuv.

May 3, 1996, Friday

Today is the National Holiday of Poland. Two hundred and five years since the proclamation in 1791 of the first Polish Constitution (the first in Europe, after the American one). With the invitation in my pocket, at 11:40 we were already at the ceremonial stand reserved for the Diplomatic Corps.

In beautiful, sunny and warm weather, the main ceremonies took place on Victory Square. President Kvashnievski gave a short and concise speech. After the 12 cannon salutes, echelons of all branches of the Polish army paraded magnificently.

At 13:30 a reception in the garden of the Presidential Palace hosted by President Kvashnievski for the Diplomatic Corps.

Not a single head of the political parties was at the reception.

For me, the reception was unusually busy. I had meetings and conversations with a larger number of Ambassadors. I spoke twice with President Kvashnievski in the presence of Maikovski. We agreed that I would bring him an official invitation from President Kiro Gligorov to visit Macedonia. Throughout the entire conversation he only used the name Macedonia. He told me that Maikovski had conveyed to him the content of the conversation held on April 30 and that he was personally interested in Macedonia and Poland successfully cooperating. We marked the meeting with joint photographs.

At 16:00 we returned to the Embassy filled with satisfaction from the many meetings and conversations held during the reception.

May 4, 1996, Saturday

All day we had been anticipating tomorrow's trip to Macedonia. We were looking forward to spending a few days with our children and meeting more of our friends.

May 5, 1996, Sunday

We were already packed and filled with joy. We were going to Macedonia to our children. At 11:30 we were on the way to the airport and at 12:10 we took off for Vienna. A peaceful flight. We waited five hours to take off for Skopje. An hour before landing – a storm. The sky above Skopje was clear. We landed and got caught up in the chaos. We retrieved the broken suitcase. Outside the airport hall – meeting with the children. Tears and joy.

May 6, 1996, Monday

At 08:20 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I was surprised by the changes. It was clear that the new management had put things in order. Now it

was pleasant to enter the building that bore the important name. In all the offices - computers. There were no large frames with the image of the Marshal on the walls. Instead artistic paintings hung, most of them works by our visual artists. I had the impression that I was entering a new building, unlike the one I had left a year and a half ago.

Warm greetings to my colleagues. At 10:00 in the large hall, clean and airy, the meeting of the Council of Ambassadors began. The first speaker was L. Frchkovski, recently appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. He elaborated on the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I liked the sentence:

- So far, diplomacy had already ended with partisanship and it was time for it to be modern, equipped with new personnel and technology. Then there was a discussion. The first to speak were the eternal regular debaters, with the same vocabulary as the previous regime. They knew, the poor things, and adapted easily. Some would say they were faltering. That is what they had left from the time of convenience, when they were everything and anything. There were also clever statements in which today was appreciated as a turning point in Macedonian diplomacy. Many interesting and clever proposals were made, filled with hopeful progress.

I returned home at 10:00.

May 7, 1996, Tuesday

The second day of meeting the Ambassadors and Charge´ d'Affaires. The first speakers were the current minister, people who were still taking their first steps in the country and often made mistakes. They spoke using many foreign words, which they had brought from the places where they supposedly got their masters, doctorates, or specialized studies, and some even spoke Macedonian poorly, yet they were ministers. Then some of the Ambassadors spoke. In their discussion, the most important emphasis was placed on pointing out the many shortcomings in communicatons with Headquarters and the readiness of the staff.

At 13:00 a gathering at Vodno, villa no. 1. A meeting and working lunch with President Kiro Gligorov, who greeted and shook hands with everyone beforehand. He stood upright. A group photo was taken. The President spoke for 45 minutes, standing, about domestic and foreign policy, as well as the upcoming tasks of Macedonian diplomacy.

After lunch I went to a meeting at the House of the Army of Macedonia, where I was received by the Minister of Defense, Blagoi Handzhiski, whom I informed about the meetings I'd had with senior representatives of the Polish military who expressed their readiness to appropriately assist the Macedonian army.

In the evening at 20:00 a working dinner at Government. I returned home at one in the morning.

Almost two days separated from the family.

May 8, 1996, Wednesday

A whole day with the children. A rare day of pleasure and happiness.

May 9, 1996, Thursday

With Paskal Kamburovski, my school friend, at his cottage in Kuchkovo, a metallurgical engineer, one of the directors of the Skopje Steelworks.

May 10, 1996, Friday

A whole day with the family.

May 11, 1996, Saturday

In the family circle.

May 12, 1996,

In the family circle.

May 13, 1996, Monday

Various meetings at the Ministry and meetings with colleagues.

May 14, 1996, Tuesday

I was received by the Minister of Culture, Unkovski. During the conversation, I presented the planned activities regarding cooperation with Poland in the field of culture – publishing activities, cooperation of theaters and operas, organizing exhibitions and other activities in the field of culture and art. He said that within the framework of his authority I could count on his support.

May 15, 1996, Wednesday

In the family circle.

May 16, 1996, Thursday

In the family circle.

May 17, 1996, Friday

This day, in addition to the days I spent happily with my family, was very important to me. At 11:00 I was received by President Kiro Gligorov. Before that I had a half-hour conversation with the Minister of Defense, Blagoi Handzhiski, and then a conversation with the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, Parakeov. Subject: Cooperation with similar Polish Ministries and the need for mutual visits.

The meeting and conversation with President Kiro Gligorov was very warm and substantial. I informed him in detail

about my activities, as well as the situation in Poland, its willingness for active cooperation with Macedonia in all areas, as well as the difficulties I faced in cooperation and contacts with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. At the end of the conversation, he praised me for the results achieved, said that I could always count on his support and, in more difficult cases, to contact him personally. At the end of the meeting, he handed me an invitation for President Kvashnievski to officially visit Macedonia.

May 18, 1996, Saturday

On a family weekend with Risto Filiovski, my cousin. At 19:00 a family dinner in one of the Skopje restaurants.

May 19, 1996, Sunday

Within the family circle. A shared lunch and preparations for returning to Warsaw.

May 20, 1996, Monday

We were ready for the trip. At 15:30 an official car from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia arrived. We will come to Skopje in August. At 17:00 we flew to Vienna and at 20:00 we landed in Warsaw.

The fourteen days spent in Skopje were days of joy but also days of strenuous meetings and persuasion.

May 21, 1996, Tuesday

Sorting incoming mail.

May 22, 1996, Wednesday

The daily grind begins again.

At 12:00 at the Polish Ministry of Defense. I handed them the invitation from the Macedonian Minister of Defense for three Polish military experts to visit Macedonia.

At 12:30 at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I handed the letter from Minister Frchkovski to Minister Rosati about meeting in Vienna on May 30 or 31 this year. Director Marganiski received me. And here there was a small misunderstanding. When he handed me an envelope addressed with a lower case 'p. Petre Nakovski', I refused to accept it, saying that I was not a private person here. He turned pale. He apologized and immediately re-addressed the envelope with my full title.

In the evening cocktails at the Hungarian Embassy. I met with the Polish Minister of Defense, Dobzhaniski, who thanked me for the greetings from Minister Handzhiski and for the invitation, and said that the conversation with the Ministry representative had been conveyed to him. I also met with Meller who asked me to meet him in the coming days.

May 23, 1996, Thursday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature. We were sending off the Greek Ambassador whose mission in Warsaw had ended. We greeted each other as if we had known each other for a long time. A pleasant, I would say friendly conversation. I wished him luck in his new position, and he told me that he would be very pleased if we met in Athens, to which I replied that I was already inviting him to a private meeting in Skopje.

At the Embassy I received some unpleasant news. They told me that one of the ALUMINA workers had fallen seriously ill and needed hospital treatment. I barely managed to get him admitted to the hospital because he didn't have any health insurance documents with him.

At 18:00 a cocktail at the Bulgarian Embassy on the occasion of May 24, which was celebrated in Bulgaria as the holiday of Bulgarian education. I just greeted Ambassador Iani

Milchakov and left with the excuse that I was going to a cocktail at the Sejm. There I met with several Ambassadors, and the most pleasant meeting and conversation for me was with Mr. Maikovski.

May 24, 1996, Friday

At 09:00 Maikovski's secretary called and told me that Maikovski would see me on May 28 (Tuesday) at 13:00.

May 25, 1996, Saturday

A walk through the old part of Warsaw.

May 26, 1996, Sunday

I have a problem with the driver. He is late for work, the car is not clean, he argues in the parking lots with the Ambassadors' drivers who complain to me. He is the son of Ambassador Kinetski, whom I know very well, and who helped me a lot in the first months of my mission. It is uncomfortable for me to fire him but I am forced to by the situation. I told him that I expected a driver from Skopje to arrive in the next few days, so I would have to terminate the contract. He was offended and left.

May 27, 1996, Monday

In the texts of the agreements on plant protection and veterinary cooperation, I incorporated the corrections made by Polish experts. I sent the full text by fax to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management.

May 28, 1996, Tuesday

I sent a shortened version of the expose´ of the Polish Minister D. Rosati to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

Republic of Macedonia. I specifically highlighted the part of the expose´ with the suggestion that it be mentioned in the talks between Ministers Rosati and Frchkovski at the meeting in Vienna on May 30-31.

The exerpt of the exposé reads verbatim:

“ Our intention is to support activities that stabilize the independent existence of Macedonia and to strengthen our bilateral relations with it.”

This afternoon I sent a letter to Minister Dariush Rosati thanking him for the publicly expressed support by the speaker of the Polish Parliament.

At 13:00 I was received by the State Secretary, Mr. Andzhei Maikovski. After the usual brief conversation I handed him the invitation from President Kiro Gligorov to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, officially inviting him to visit Macedonia.

During the already official conversation, I expanded on the points presented during the conversation held on April 30 this year.

Mr. Maikovski informed me that he had received a written order from President A. Kvashnievski to request from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs a statement regarding the reasons for the delay in signing the cooperation agreements. He asked me for information regarding the name FYROM, for which I informed him in detail about the UN Security Council Resolution 817.

At 15:15 Ambassador Kinetski came to the Embassy. I expected him to complain about the termination of the employment contract with his son. I gave him the rest of his salary and he thanked me because his son had worked at our Embassy for seven months. He said goodbye calmly and left. I never saw him again. I assume he was offended.

In the evening, on the occasion Croatia’s Independence Day, Ambassador I. Brnelich hosted a classical music concert in

Vilanuv. A quartet brought from Zagreb performed. I enjoyed the wonderful musical performance with great pleasure.

May 29, 1996, Wednesday

At 10:00 a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Defense, International Relations Department. A longer conversation with Colonel Gabriel Liberatski and three of his associates. It was agreed that a group of Polish military experts would visit Macedonia, as guests of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, from October 5 to 10, 1996.

National holiday of the Republic of Croatia. On this occasion, Ambassador I. Brnelich was hosting a cocktail in the evening. It was an opportunity to meet with newly arrived Ambassadors. New acquaintances and agreements for protocol visits.

May 30, 1996, Thursday

Promotion at 10:00 on the "11 October" bus from Skopje. Organizer "POL MAC". A beautiful and affirmative event. Representatives of the factory participated, led by the director.

At 13:00 a meeting and discussion at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at their request. They called me in connection with the upcoming visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, D. Rosati, to Greece. Usually, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted such talks, in order to gain insights into the latest internal conditions and relations with the host country's neighbours. Before me, the Albanian Ambassador had come out of the Ministry. In the beginning, I noted that I would not like to talk about Greece's relations with third countries. I pointed out that there was a visible improvement in Greece's relations with Macedonia, and I said that the two countries had signed a number of protocols and were currently negotiating cooperation agreements, letting them know that Poland was lagging behind Greece. I reminded them that there was still no accredited Polish

diplomat in Skopje, which was not in line with the exchanged notes on establishing diplomatic relations at the Embassy level, and that Poland was represented in Macedonia through the Polish Embassy in Belgrade. During the conversation, they expressed interest in the role of UNPREDEP and Greece's position. They promised that during Rosati's visit to Greece, the Polish Minister in his conversation with his Greek colleague, would emphasize that within the framework of current international relations, he would mention that Poland would support Macedonia in the UN Security Council and would assist its economic development. At the end of the conversation, they promised that they would like us to meet after Rosati's return from his visit to Greece. I accepted.

May 31, 1996, Friday

At the Embassy, I organized a traditional lunch for a group of Ambassadors. The Ambassadors of the following countries attended: the Russian Federation, Croatia, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania.

June 1, 1996, Saturday

The directors of FAS "11 October" came to the Embassy. A longer conversation about cooperation with Poland and the possibilities for its greater development and more frequent meetings at the level of experts and businessmen.

June 2, 1996, Sunday

On a longer walk in the Kabati forest. In the afternoon I called the driver from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who worked as a driver at the Polish Embassy in Tirana, to find me a driver for our Embassy. He will come tomorrow.

June 3, 1996, Monday

At 13:00 the driver, with whom I had arranged a meeting yesterday, arrived. I told him that I needed a professional, hardworking, loyal, clean, cultured driver with knowledge of the Diplomatic Protocol. He promised that he would bring one in about ten days.

The Deputy Director General of the Polish State Archives, Kurovski, called me on the phone. He said that they had received a letter from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that they were not allowed to sign an agreement with the name Republic of Macedonia, but only with the abbreviation FYROM. The letter, he said, was signed by a certain Hmielevski.

I expected such a response and at the first opportunity to meet with Hmielevski, I would remind him of the part of Minister Rosati's expose´ regarding his position on Macedonia. However, in this case the political position prevailed, not the wishes for good cooperation. I had the impression that the formula for the use of signatures would cast a shadow over the good wishes for a long time. In this case too, patience and perseverance were required. For now, the formula for signatures was an obstacle that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was strongly pressing.

June 4, 1996, Tuesday

The Deputy Director of the Polish State Archives called again. He asked me to listen carefully. I agreed. He said that due to the fact that no intergovernmental agreement on cultural cooperation had been signed, which also included cooperation between the archives, he proposed that the two archives sign a separate agreement on cooperation at the expert level, which would include the basic needs for cooperation, such as exchange of experiences, training and forms of processing archival materials, etc. This approach would be practiced until a positive solution was found for the signature formula. The agreement would only name the archives, not the countries.

Regarding such a proposal, I reminded him that Archives were state institutions and contained the adjective Polish or

Macedonian Archives. To this, he said that the interest in cooperation was still current and efforts would be made to seek a solution.

I continued by telling him that a round table would soon be held in Ohrid to discuss archival problems. It would be good for Prof. Skovronek to participate in that meeting, where he and Director Doichinovski could coordinate on the forms of cooperation. I asked him to send me the text of the prepared separate agreement. He sent it to me after about twenty minutes, and I sent it to Director Dojchinovski in a Macedonian translation.

I received a call from Mrs. Violeta Gerasimovska, Deputy Director of the Archives of Macedonia. I relayed the conversation with the Deputy Director of the Polish State Archives to her. She said that she was waiting for the proposed text and would get back to me after reviewing it. They would send an invitation to participate in the roundtable in Ohrid.

During the day I had two more phone conversations. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs told me that the translator had not yet brought the text of the Economic Cooperation Agreement. When they received the Economic Cooperation Agreement, they would send an invitation to Warsaw for a delegation of Macedonian experts to visit.

I received a call from the Ministry of Culture and Arts and was informed that a month ago the Ministers of Culture of Poland and Macedonia had met in Stockholm where the Macedonian Minister promised the Polish Minister that he would send him an invitation to participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings. The invitation had not yet arrived. Was the invitation still valid? During my stay in Skopje, at the meeting with Minister Unkovski, we discussed this topic. Then he promised me that he would send an invitation immediately. The invitation still hadn't arrived. I told my interlocutor that I would immediately urge him and that the promised invitation would certainly arrive in the coming days. And so it did. I personally handed it to the Minister.

June 5, 1996, Wednesday

I hired a new driver. Salary $350.00.

By 10:00 I had completed the translation into Macedonian of the text of the Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation.

At 10:30 I left for the reception in the courtyard of the Presidential Palace of the Italian President, Scalfari. The driver took the wrong street. He turned into side streets but we arrived on time. On the left side, the entire Diplomatic Corps was already lined up. I quickly found my place in the line.

After the official welcome, during the greetings with the Diplomatic Corps, President Kvashnievski paused for a moment and, greeting me, told me that he was very grateful for the invitation from President Kiro Gligorov to visit Macedonia. He added that his associates would arrange with me next week on the time of the official visit.

Finally something that was satisfying.

At the Embassy, two telegrams were waiting for me from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, in which Minister Parakeov officially invited the Polish Minister to visit Macedonia from July 30 to August 1, 1996.

Today in "NOVA MACEDONIA" I read that Gaber had presented his credentials to the Italian President. The man who, in his own way, advocated for the improvement of Macedonian-Polish relations had left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

June 6, 1996, Thursday

Today is a big Catholic holiday in Poland. The driver didn't come to work. He went to a procession. He showed arbitrariness from the very beginning. I'm thinking of replacing him.

June 7, 1996, Friday

And today the driver didn't come to work until noon. He called in the evening. He said that he had been out visiting somewhere and drank a little too much and that's why he didn't come to work. I warned him that he could look for another job.

I received a response by fax from Doichinovski, Director of the Archives of Macedonia, regarding the proposal of the Polish colleague. He was not satisfied. I called him and told him that on June 12 at the Conference in Ohrid, the two Directors would have the opportunity to talk and reach an agreement.

A letter arrived from Minister Frchkovski to the Polish Minister, Rosati. I will deliver it to him on Monday.

June 8, 1996, Saturday

In Warsaw very hot, plus 33 degrees. Compiling notes from the meetings.

June 9, 1996, Sunday

They announced great heat for today, plus 34 degrees. Writing all day.

June 10, 1996, Monday

The driver arrived after 11:00. He asked for a salary increase of 500.00 US dollars. I told him to request such a salary elsewhere and politely asked him to leave the Embassy, and before that I paid him the rest of his salary for the current month. I contacted the former driver who worked at the Polish Embassy in Tirana. I told him that his friend no longer worked for me and if there was another candidate, then he could come with him for an interview. They arrived in the afternoon. I told him the conditions and we agreed on a salary of $400.00 and he could start working today. He agreed, saying that he would do a good job and that he knew Warsaw very well. I hired him.

At 13:00 a meeting at Mr. Iagieliniski's place. I was greeted by Mrs. Maria Zavadzka, who was responsible for contacts with Macedonia. I handed over the invitation from Minister Parakeov. He confirmed the date of the official visit to Macedonia, July 30-31 to August 1, 1996. He would travel on a special plane. He suggested that I accompany him. Zavadzka raised the issue of the agreements. She said that there could be difficulties on the part of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the name. Iagieliniski said that a compromise solution would be found. I emphasized that we attached great importance to the visit and hence its success would also depend on the signing of the agreements. I informed Parakeov about the visit.

I called the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. Colonel Nikolovski was in an important meeting. The officer on duty said that I would soon receive a response regarding the arrival of a group of military experts in Warsaw.

I congratulated Ognen Malevski, by phone, on his new position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

June 11, 1996, Tuesday

I asked the secretary to call the former driver, Adam, and ask him to bring the flagpole from the car. He said he would bring it if he was paid $450.00. The driver of the Czech Ambassador brought me a flagpole for 20 zloti.

I called Erol Hasan, the Assistant for Economic Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He said that the Macedonian delegation for economic relations with Poland would arrive in Warsaw on the 15th, and the trade talks would be held on June 16th and 17th.

Finally, after several telegrams from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they sent me the note regarding the talks between Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati in Vienna. It reads:

"Regarding the talks between Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati in Vienna on June 1, 1996, among other things, the

necessity of signing bilateral agreements was jointly acknowledged.

On that occasion Minister Rosati confirmed that, from the Macedonian side the repeatedly proposed reference ("For the Macedonian Government" and "For the Polish Government") was acceptable to them.

Of course, you should continue to insist on signing under the constitutional name or "For the Government of the Republic of Macedonia" and only in the event that they do not accept these variants, would you accept the third option. What is relevant is that the signing parties are named identically. Maleski. s.r."

I really needed this for future conversations. Now I could speak differently.

With the letter from Minister Frchkovski and this document, at 15:30 I requested a meeting and went to see Marganiski, Director of the Europe I Department. After our usual greeting, I said to him:

- I would like to convey to you my satisfaction with the very positive talks between Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati held in Vienna. I am glad that a positive understanding has been reached for the signing of the agreements. I continued by emphasizing that the Republic of Macedonia had already signed several bilateral agreements with Macedonia's constitutional name with the following member states of the European Union – France, Austria, Denmark and Sweden, and that at the same time we had signed several protocols with Greece. I emphasized that Macedonia expected a similar treatment from Poland towards Macedonia, which had always behaved with unlimited piety and recognition towards Poland, and such feelings must continue to be nurtured.

The interlocutor agreed with my adevice and once again asked for patience, emphasizing that Poland also needed understanding in relations regarding certain aspects of its foreign policy.

June 12, 1996, Wednesday

At 10:00 I was received by Rapatski, Director of the Office of President Kvashnievski. After our usual greeting, he asked me with a dry smile:

- What are we going to talk about? And for what purpose?

I felt uncomfortable but, with some effort, I thanked him for the reception and then informed him of the conversation I'd had on June 5 of this year with President Kvashnievski about our desire for him to officially visit the Republic of Macedonia, to which he replied that he accepted. He also said that I would be in contact with his associates. I told him:

- Mr. Director, this is the purpose of my visit.

- "I expected that," he said. "It is acceptable." He stood up and took a large notebook from the drawer of his desk, opened it, leafed through it a bit, and said:

- Regarding the visit, we propose two dates. The first between November 12 and 16 and the second between December 10 and 14. The visit, dear friend, must have precisely defined goals. We propose the following program for the visit. Political talks between the Presidents, a speech by President Kvashnievski in the Macedonian Assembly, bilateral talks with businessmen, a cultural event that would reflect Polish-Macedonian cultural ties, a meeting of the President with students and youth, signing of an agreement on friendship and cooperation, a meeting with the Polish colony. These are just proposals that we will have to agree on. We will meet again in the next 48 hours.

I thanked him for the conversation and returned to the Embassy.

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature, to send off the Bulgarian and Canadian Ambassadors.

At 16:30 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of the Russian Federation.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Embassy of Slovakia on the occasion of the arrival in Warsaw of the President of the Slovak Parliament.I had many conversations and contacts.

June 13, 1996, Thursday

Finally it rained. It rained all night. A big drop in temperature. It dropped from 30-33 to 15-17 degrees.

At 11:45 I went to the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I handed Deputy Minister Polak the invitation from Minister Unkovski to officially visit Macedonia together with his wife and to participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings as his guest. I gave Deputy Minister Ianas, with whom I met separately, a bottle of "Zholta" (Macedonian brandi). During our long conversation, he promised me that there would be no financial problems with the financing of the publication of the Anthology of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry. He said that the money would be transferred to the publishing house tomorrow.

The daily newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA" published a short story about Minister Rosati's visit to Greece. The purpose of the visit was to win the favour of Athens for Poland's entry into the EU and NATO. They agreed to sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation, and during the year the Greek President would officially visit Poland.

I received an invitation from the Embassy of Belarus to visit the Beloveckata Prashuma Forest. I accepted.

June 14, 1996, Friday

At 11:30 Tome Dimitriu, my close friend and immigrant from the Kostur village Dolno Papratsko, which no longer exists, just like my village, which was destroyed by the Greek Civil War in 1948, called me from Shchechin. As children, we were together in Albania, Romania and Poland. We grew up and studied together. He completed his secondary education in Shchechin, and I in Vrotslav. We lived in children's homes and boarding

schools until our independence as adults. He married a Pole, received Greek citizenship and often traveled to Greece for business purposes. Tome warmly congratulated me on the opening of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, and was especially happy that I was leading it. I promised him that I would invite him to be one of the guests of honour at the first reception organized at the Embassy. A few days later I sent him an invitation. Tome did not come to the reception. I received a telegram from his wife informing me that Tome, waiting in front of the ticket office to buy a train ticket to Warsaw, died of a heart attack at the train station in Shchechin. I did not hide my pain and tears. For a moment I felt lonely because when a friend leaves, a part of you also leaves. Quietly, very quietly, together with my wife, who also knew him, we said: Tome, my dear, rest in peace far from your native Dolno Papratsko and may the Polish land be easy for you...

June 15, 1996, Saturday.

My birthday. I have already noticed how my birthday has changed, so I won't repeat it now. We celebrate it modestly every year.

June 16, 1996, Sunday

It's been a long day. I'm organizing my notes.

June 17, 1996, Monday

I am without a driver today.

I received an invitation from the Mayor of Krakov asking me to participate in the central celebration of the 400th anniversary of the transfer of the Polish capital from Krakov to Warsaw. The invitation stated – mandatory tuxedo, white shirt and black tie, and wives in long dresses. This time, unlike last year, I did not borrow a tuxedo, instead in the afternoon my wife

and I went downtown and bought a tuxedo, both mine and one tailored for my wife.

June 18, 1996, Tuesday

I received many phone calls during the day. More and more calls from companies with requests to establish cooperation with Macedonian companies. A tourist company also called, seeking contact with a Macedonian company. I sent telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding those requests but there was no response.

"VITAMINKA" from Prilep sent a fax with a long list of offers. I called representatives of two Polish companies and gave them the offers. They were willing to cooperate and offered to create a joint company. They said that they would invite a delegation. In the following days and months I did not receive any information about the promised cooperation.

In the afternoon a gentleman came and, on the recommendation of a good friend of his, a driver at the German Embassy, offered to be employed as my driver. We had a long conversation, in fact an open investigation. I told him I would think about it and to call back tomorrow.

June 19, 1996, Wednesday

The driver candidate came back. I told him what my requirements were. I offered him a monthly salary of $350.00 and, after a month, I might increase it. He accepted. I gave him the car keys. It didn't look like he was very interested.

June 20, 1996, Thursday

At 13:12 Director Rapatski from the Presidential Office called. He confirmed that President Kvashnievski's visit to Macedonia was scheduled for November this year. He would call

again on Monday (June 24) or Tuesday at the latest and confirm the final date of the visit.

June 21, 1996, Friday

There have been no replies to my telegrams from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for days. All I could do was wait patiently.

At 17:00 I participated in the promotion of the selection of poems entitled "IN THAT TERRIBLE MOMENT". There were about 50 people in the hall of the House of Literature. The Croats in Warsaw were very active in terms of their affirmation - they often organized exhibitions, concerts, promotions of translated books. Today's promotion was in the spirit of not forgetting but also hatred. The poems in the selection included reflections of Croatian patriotism and Croatian hatred that called for reckoning and more reckoning.

"Who needs that?" some of those present whispered.

Due to health reasons, I did not attend the cocktail organized by the OSCE.

June 22, 1996, Saturday

It was a rainy and cold day. I went out to the store. I would take a break from meetings, conversations and writing.

June 23, 1996, Sunday

It was a quiet day, no phones ringing, just the cawing of ravens, as big as chickens, cawing in the tall trees in the courtyard of the monastery cathedral. It was late. We watched the news and found out that Andreas Papandreou had died.

June 24, 1996, Monday

I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and asked for instructions regarding the death of Andreas Papandreou, whether I should send a telegram of condolences to the Greek Embassy in Warsaw or go and sign the book of condolences? I did not receive a response during the day. I arbitrarily decided to go to the Greek Embassy, just as all the Ambassadors went, and in the book of condolences I wrote a few sentences of condolences and signed in large letters - on behalf of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

Finally a response arrived from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. Polish military experts would be received in Skopje from August 5 to 9 this year. I asked for Colonel Liberatski at the Polish Ministry of National Defense and conveyed the news to him. He promised that by June 27 he would send me accurate information about the date of the Polish delegation's departure.

At 16:00 I had lunch at the hotel "SOBJESKI" with Machek Lukashevic, Deputy Editor of "RZECZPOSPOLITA". During our conversation he promised me that the newspaper would publish more and more often information about Macedonia. Then from 18:00 to 19:30 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Spain. It was a beautiful building built on a purchased plot, completely covered with white marble, with a beautifully landscaped garden. An old and centuries-old colonial state must have a lot of foreign money for such beauty. We know where and from whom that money came. We were just starting out so we were tenants. Perhaps, after some time in the future we would have our own building covered with white Prilep marble.

June 25, 1996, Tuesday

At 10:45 I was in the courtyard of the Presidential Palace, attending a reception held for the Ukrainian Ambassador. At 11:15 I had a conversation with Voronietski, director of the UN Department at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During our long conversation regarding the agreements, he expressed the

opinion that compromises had to be made. I told him that the long delay brought a dose of negativity but we would continue to be patient, because we wanted relations between our two countries to continue to develop positively. We ended the conversation with a promise that we would continue to seek a positive solution.

At 18:00-19:00 I attended a cocktail hosted by the Embassy of Slovenia. I had a long conversation with Ambassador Hmielevski. This time, too, the issue of signatures was the main topic. During our conversation, I asked him what his impressions were of Minister Rosati's visit to Greece. He said that the Polish side considered that the objectives of the visit were not achieved, and therefore considered it unsuccessful.

At the cocktail I had the opportunity to meet the Minister of Education, Mr. Iezhi Viatr, who expressed his willingness to get to know the Macedonian education system better and, for that purpose, was willing to officially visit Macedonia in the second half of August this year. I promised him that I would convey his wish to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia tomorrow, with a request that it be forwarded to the Macedonian Ministry of Education as soon as possible, which would certainly accept his visit.

June 26, 1996, Wednesday

At 9:30 I had a conversation at the Polish Ministry of Transport regarding the request and proposal of our Ministry, which requested 1,000 permits and a meeting at the expert level to conduct talks on signing an agreement in this area. I was told that the Polish side would grant 500 permits this month, and another 500 later. They proposed that their delegation's stay in Macedonia be from September 5 to 7 this year.

June 27, 1996, Thursday

I had a telephone conversation with Rapatski, director of the Office of President Kvashnievski regarding the planned visit

to Macedonia. Rapatski disappointed me. He said that in November Kvashnievski would go to Rome for a meeting with the FAO and in this regard he considered that it would be best to postpone the visit to the spring of 1997. We agreed to be in contact regarding this issue.

At 13:30 I received a call from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management. It was a lady from the legal department. She said that she had been to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia where she had spoken with Branko and together they had found some loopholes in the text of the Agreement. I knew that would be upset. She said that the interdepartmental agreement would not be signed because, according to , it was "empty". I told her that it was her obligation to fill the gap and if she did not know how, then she should consult with those who did know, and that I did not decide on such matters.

Vele Smilevski, who worked there as a Macedonian language tutor, contacted me on my behalf from Prague. He said that a delegation of students from a Skopje high school would travel to Warsaw and participate in a seminar dedicated to the high school graduation. He asked me to help him. I told him to call me when he arrived in Warsaw and I would act according to my authority.

Regarding the Agreement we discussed above, I called and told him to review the text of the Agreement with me. I read it to him and at the same time asked him:

- Is this valid?
- It doesn't apply.
- Is this valid?
- It's valid, and the above also applies. We continued.
- Branko - I said to him - let what is valid remain, and what is not valid delete and propose something new.
- You're right.
- If that's the case, then call Vladanka and tell her what you told me. End of conversation.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Bulgaria. We sent off the Ambassador. There were only a few people present. I greeted Ambassador Iani Milchakov, wished him success in his new position and to often recall our joint meetings and conversations, which sometimes had a bitter taste.

June 28, 1996, Friday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that Giorgi Misailovski would be coming to replace me. I didn't mind but I didn't decide either, although I had previously said that such a person would only do harm because he was not respected in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I also told Maleski that it would be better if they sent someone else. He told me that it had already been decided and that someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia was very supportive of him.

June 29, 1996, Saturday

Today marked 37 years of my marriage to Ditta.
My health is not the best. I stayed in bed all day.

June 30, 1996, Sunday

It's raining, pouring. At 20:50 I was at the airport to meet Veselinka Ivanova, who would be participating in an International Education Seminar. She stayed at the Embassy overnight.

July 1, 1996, Monday

I had a conversation with Liberatski at the Polish Ministry of Defense. He informed me that by July 10 he would provide me with the list of the delegation that would travel to Skopje and his remarks regarding the agreement.

I called Rapatski (at the President's Office) and we arranged a meeting for tomorrow (July 2) at 10:00.

Misailovski sent me an "Operational Letter" full of reminders, lessons, and praises.

(The integral text can be found in the manuscript of the diary (notebook no. 2, p. 284).

July 2, 1996, Tuesday

The Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Macedonia sent me the texts of the agreements by fax. I scheduled a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Agriculture for tomorrow at 10:00. I called Ms. Borkovska at the Ministry of Economy and she confirmed that the expert-level talks could be held from September 1 to 10 this year.

Mr. Malahovski from the Chamber of Commerce called me and said that on July 10 a meeting with the Vice President of the Sejm was possible. At 10:00 I had a conversation in the Office of President Kvashnievski. I informed Rapatski that our side had accepted the proposals put forward at the meeting held on June 13. After this meeting I went to the Apostolic Nunciature to send off two Ambassadors.

A telegram arrived by fax from the Ministry of Education with the following content:

" To the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, Warsaw

Dear Mr. Nakovski

We thank you for the steps taken and for your initiative to have Mr. Iezhi Viatr, Minister of Education of Poland, stay in Macedonia. We take this opportunity to inform you that it is our pleasure to host Mr. Viatr and to have conversations for cooperation on the education plan between our two countries, on regulating contractual cooperation and some specific initiatives. In addition to the talks, if time permits, Mr. Viatr will be organizing a visit to

the University "St. Cyril and Methodius" and to some cultural and historical monuments, according to the interest expressed.

We ask that you keep us informed of the further steps you will take in this regard and to specify the date of the visit.

Attachment: invitation.

Minister

Dr. Sofia Todorova, signature, stamp"

I translated the invitation into Polish and then called the Ministry with a request to be received by Minister Viatr, in order to hand him the invitation from Minister Dr. Sofia Todorova. After a short pause, I was told that Mr. Minister Vatr would be happy to receive me tomorrow at 12:00.

The conversation at the Polish Ministry of Agriculture was postponed to Thursday (July 4) at 10:00.

July 3, 1996, Wednesday

At 12:00 I was received by the Minister of Education, Mr. Iezhi Viatr. He expressed his satisfaction with the invitation to visit Macedonia, noting that he would be able to go during this month, for which they would notify us by July 12 and submit their draft text of the Cooperation Agreement. At the end of the meeting he asked me to thank the Minister for the invitation and that he would be happy to travel to Macedonia.

July 4, 1996, Thursday

It took three hours to reconcile the texts of the two agreements but we failed to reconcile them. We agreed to continue tomorrow.

July 5, 1996, Friday

We continued with the harmonization of the agreement texts. We found many differences, so I proposed that during this week I would translate the Polish text into Macedonian and vice versa, Macedonian into Polish, and that both texts would be harmonized by experts. My idea was accepted.

In the evening at 19:00 two gentlemen came to the Embassy. They introduced themselves as members of the Polish Parliament and showed me their membership cards. During our long conversation, they stated that they intended to establish a Polish-Macedonian parliamentary club. I praised the idea. On leaving, they left me their business cards. The next day I checked at the Office of the Sejm as to whether they were members of the Sejm or not. I received confirmation that they were. I called them back and arranged to meet.

July 6, 1996, Saturday

In the morning at 7:00, we took Ivanova, who was attending the education seminar, to the airport. I gave her a letter for the Minister, Dr. Sofia Todorova.

July 7, 1996, Sunday

I did not do anything today. I relaxed by reading newspapers and magazines.

July 8, 1996, Monday

At 12:30 I was at the Sejm. We agreed with Boravski on the date for Tito Petkovski's official visit to Poland. Tito Petkovski was the President of the Assembly of the Republic Macedonia. The agreed date was October 7-10, 1996.

The delegation of the Polish Ministry of Agriculture would fly to Skopje on a government plane on July 30, 1996.

At 19:00 a dinner was hosted by the Ambassador of the Czech Republic. Present were the Ambassadors from: Ukraine,

Macedonia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Romania and Meller, Hmielevski and Marganiski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the dinner, Ambassador Hmielevski told me that there was an accurate record of the meeting of Ministers Frchkovski and Rosati in Vienna. Why was I not informed? We arranged a meeting on Friday, July 12th.

July 9 1996, Tuesday

At 11:00 the President of the United States was sent off.

At the Ministry of Education I urged the Macedonian language lecturer, Lidija Tanushevska, to continue her work at the University of Silesia.

At 12:00 I was at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. In the absence of Minister Podkaniski, I handed over the invitation from Minister Unkovski to his deputy. They chose the option of holding the visit during the Struga Poetry Evenings.

The Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture announced that all comments regarding the texts of the agreements were acceptable. I informed the Polish Ministry of Agriculture of this.

July 10, 1996, Wednesday

At 17:00 I had lunch with the Vice President of the Sejm and the President of the Polish Chamber of Commerce. We had a discussion regarding the current economic relations between our countries.

The Polish Ministry of Education informed me that Minister Viatr would travel to Skopje on July 31st, on a regular plane via Vienna.

July 11, 1996, Thursday

A day of GREAT JOY. Our granddaughter was born. I called Tanja by phone at the hospital and we happily

congratulated her. We were under the influence of great joy all day. My wife immersed herself in frying pitulitsi.

I was informed by the Polish Ministry of Education that the date of the visit of the Minister of Education, Iezhi Viatr, to Macedonia had been changed. They proposed that the visit be held from July 21 to 23. They also provided me with the text of the Cooperation Agreement. The new date was accepted by the Macedonian Ministry.

July 12, 1996, Friday

I am tormented (it seems I am too burdened with it) by the issue of agreements whose only obstacle to signing is the name. I cannot get rid of the impression that both sides bear responsibility. Gaber and Misailovski on our side with their insistence that the agreements be signed as with Germany and on the other side Hmielevski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who, together with someone else, insisted on applying the signature with FYROM.

The action of the Europe I Department in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in my opinion, was nothing more than a defense against Greek threats, according to which if Poland signed the agreements with the constitutional name or in some other form close to the constitutional name, then the Greek Parliament would veto Poland's admission to NATO and the European Union. These were Polish national goals whose diplomacy was now, in the new, post-communist times and turmoil, engaged in the defense of state interests and Poland's place in Europe.

More than once during our meetings, I told Ambassador Hmielevski that the Greek position was an act of open and aggressive threat, adding that if the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs insisted on a hard line to sign agreements with FYROM, then in that way it was supporting Greece in blocking and destabilizing Macedonia. At that time, he looked at me angrily and claimed that he had always been a great supporter of

Macedonia but, in state interests, personal feelings were not taken into account.

Ambassador Hmielevski was not very respected by the Diplomats of the former Eastern European communist countries, especially by those from Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, who openly told me this, but I appreciated and respected him because of his very positive attitude towards Macedonia, which in his conversations with me he openly expressed his affection for, claiming that sometimes, due to such an attitude, he clashed with some people from the Ministry. I had reason to be grateful to him because at the end of December 1994, during one of my official stays in Warsaw, I received information from him about the gathering of the Presidents of European countries in connection with the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, which would be held in Krakov on January 24 and 27, 1995 with a visit to the camp and his efforts to have the President of Macedonia invited to that gathering. During frequent meetings and conversations in his office, he asked me to speak Macedonian, which was his desire to enrich the Macedonian language, which, in addition to his main subject - the Serbian language - during his studies at the University of Warsaw, he also listened to lectures on the Macedonian language, hence his sufficient and satisfactory command of Macedonian. He had a weakness for Macedonia, he loved it, but in the service he performed he respected rules.

In diplomacy, the basic game was the game of defending state interests. We both adhered to this rule with due mutual respect, although there were moments when we argued, but we never crossed the line of decency.

Today, from information published in “Nova Makedonija”, I learned that an agreement worth 22 million marks had been signed to establish a Macedonian-Turkish joint bank. The agreement was signed in Ankara in Turkish and translated into Bulgarian. There was great outrage in Skopje.

And here in Warsaw, in the whirlwind of issues we were debating, we had forgotten that today was St. Peter’s Day.

July 13, 1996, Saturday

A beautiful sunny day today good for going for a walk. A car stopped in front of the Embassy and Dota and her entire family got out. Then another car arrived, from which the twin sisters got out - Lena, visiting from Canada, and Ksantipa. We had been in the same orphanage as children and studied together in the same classroom until the end of primary school. Then we were separated for many years. It is an exciting moment when, after many years of being apart, you meet friends who are already approaching their sixties, without forgetting the painful and difficult childhood steps towards the border in March 1948. Our eyes filled with tears and the joy was both great and sad.

They invited us to go with them to their summer house outside Warsaw. We accepted. We listened to Macedonian folk music and songs from the Valandovo festivals on a cassette during the entire ride. We felt like we were in Macedonia.

We spent a wonderful time next to the forest and the green meadow. It was a rare day full of laughter and Macedonian dancing which we will remember for a long time.

July 14, 1996, Sunday

At 10:00 Jaksa Malahovski from the Polish Chamber of Commerce came to the Embassy. We discussed the possibilities for economic cooperation between Poland and Macedonia.

Mrs. Zavadzka from the Ministry of Agriculture called. She said that most likely Minister Iagieliniski and the delegation would fly to Macedonia on the regular flight via Amsterdam on July 30, and would return on August 2 at 07:00. In connection with this, the program for the visit that I received from the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture would have to be changed.

My repeated attempts to contact Rapatski by phone were unsuccessful. The secretary said he was away and would probably be back in two hours, and then she would call. The case of

Colonel Liberatski from the Polish Ministry of Defense was similar. Finally, around 15:00, I managed to get him on the phone. He excused himself by saying he was abroad and that he had ordered his colleague to prepare the agreed information, and the man was surprised that it had not yet been delivered to me.

I heard on TV that a cultural and artistic group from Macedonia performed in Liublin. The Embassy was not informed about the stay and performance.

I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and reminded them that a note regarding our candidacy for a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council had not yet been submitted. They promised me that they would check and call me immediately. Unfortunately, no response was received.

July 15, 1996, Monday

The Polish Ministry of National Defense confirmed the date of Minister Blagoi Handzhiski's visit to Poland - from August 5 to 6, 1996. They also confirmed the composition and date the Polish military experts would visit Macedonia. The dates were from August 8 to 9, 1996.

Mrs. Zavadzka from the Ministry of Agriculture called and asked for the program for the Polish Minister's visit. I told her that I was waiting for it to arrive at any moment and would deliver it to her immediately after I received it. I am still waiting and it seems that they are in no hurry in Skopje.

July 16, 1996, Tuesday

At 17:00 I attended a meeting (party) at the residence of the Ambassador of the Russian Federation in the resort town of Konstanchin, outside Warsaw. It was a beautiful place surrounded by forest, several buildings, large courtyards with ornamental shrubs and sports fields. About twenty Ambassadors were

present, walking in small groups among the flower alleys, surprised by the size and equipment of the residence.

July 17, 1996, Wednesday

I called the Slovak Ambassador and told him that I was surprised by the fact that the mail he sent me was addressed to FYROM, which was not the practice before. He said that he was surprised and that he was sure that it was a mistake that his secretary or deputy had made. He apologized and emphasized that it would not happen again. All mail in the future would be addressed to the constitutional name.

The Ministry of Agriculture called regarding the arrival of the Polish delegation and requested information on what time the plane was landing at the Skopje airport.

Mrs. Zavadzka called and said that the Polish delegation would most likely fly on a special plane. I suggested to the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture that they consider the possibility of the plane with the Polish delegation landing in Ohrid, from where the visit to Macedonia would begin. The suggestion was accepted by both Ministries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that I should join the Polish delegation. I informed the Diplomatic Protocol about this, which approved my travel on the same plane.

In the afternoon, my neighbour told me that suspicious people had been hanging around the Embassy for several days. In this regard, I sent a note to the Diplomatic Protocol requesting that the Embassy's security and protection be increased.

It seemed to me that the car was a subject of interest.

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia informed me that they were cleaning out the library and had found quite a large number of Macedonian books and were asking what to do with them. I said that I was interested in seeing them. We agreed to go at 12:00. They received me in a friendly manner, we talked about relations between Macedonia and Yugoslavia,

both confirming that they were developing satisfactorily, as well as about the situation in the region. They said that they could not be assessed as positive and suspected that destabilization could be expected in the coming years, especially in Serbia-Kosovo relations, which could also have a negative impact on Macedonia due to the increasingly aggressive behaviour of the Albanians. They did not wait for my comment and I was not in the mood to get involved in events that might be happening. In continuing the conversation, the interlocutors expressed great dissatisfaction with the attitude of certain individuals from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards some members of their Embassy. The conversation was interrupted by an official who invited us to go into the room where the books were kept. Turning over the scattered books, among them I found the poem "SLAVES" by Venko Markovski, printed in 1944 and still with uncut pages, which meant that no one had read the book in the past 52 years. A bibliophile's copy. A rarity. For a few minutes, with a feeling of great excitement, I cleaned off the dust and then said that I would only take this book, and let them hand over the others to the library at the University of Warsaw.

In my office at the Embassy, the poem "SLAVES" stood in a prominent place until the end of my diplomatic mission. I did not cut the pages of the thick paper because I felt as if I was slaughtering and tearing something born at the time when the Macedonian partisan state was being born and created.

The book remains like that in my home library.

July 18, 1996, Thursday

I received a call from the Europe I Department at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and they asked me to come to a meeting at 12:00. The topic of the conversation was cooperation in the field of plant protection and veterinary medicine, and the visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dariush Rosati to Macedonia. The interlocutors from the Europe I Department and the Department of International Legal Relations expressed their

position on the topic of the conversation, that the agreements were acceptable to the Polish side but the signature might be an obstacle.

In response, with additional arguments, submitted by me to the Ministers of both countries, I emphasized that at the meeting and talks between the Ministers held in Vienna on June 1, 1996, the two Ministers agreed that the Preamble to the agreements should state: "The Government of the Republic of Poland" and "The Macedonian Government", and that the signature formula should read: "For the Government of the Republic of Poland" on the one hand and "The Macedonian Government" on the other hand or "By authorization of the Government of the Republic of Poland" or "By authorization of the Macedonian Government". Gentlemen, I said, it is my honour to remind you of what was agreed.

The interlocutors looked at each other inquisitively and one of them said:

- We are aware that this does not correspond to the sympathies, the level of mutual excellent relations and the wishes for further expansion and deepening of bilateral relations between our two countries, but at the same time we would not like to worsen relations with Greece, which in the case of the name is very active and aggressive in this field and causes us problems internationally and in bilateral relations, and when the name issue is resolved, then for Poland the signature will be a technical issue.

I felt nervousness overcome me, I restrained myself and slowly, but with a firm tone of voice, said: - Gentlemen, I am here to defend the name of my country and within that framework to make an effort to expand and strengthen mutual relations, and not to listen to what Greece would do to Poland, and the lesson of defending national interests and defending the name I have not learned only in Macedonia, but I learned it previously from you, the Poles, in the gymnasium in Vrotslav. Gentlemen, let me just remind you that I am a Polish student and I have learned well how the Poles have always defended their name and nation for

centuries with great sacrifices. I have not forgotten that lesson of personal and national dignity...

There was silence. The interlocutors were visibly surprised. I knew where the Poles were hurt most– the fate of Poland, and that was where I touched them. The conversation continued. We concluded that regardless of our differences, both sides continued to believe that effort should be made to strengthen cooperation in all areas. When the meeting ended I say goodbye by shaking hands with everyone and saying that the next meeting would be more pleasant.

July 19, 1996, Friday

The Ministry of Education and Physical Culture of the Republic of Macedonia confirmed that they had accepted Mr. Viatr's, the Polish Minister of Education, official visit.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs called and confirmed that they had submitted to the competent services the request for permission to fly over and land the military aircraft JAK-40, which would travel to Macedonia with Minister Iagieliniski and his entourage, as well as the request for approval for the bodyguard to obtain a permit to carry weapons.

The Ministry of Defense reported that the date for the military delegation's visit has been accepted.

July 20, 1996, Saturday

We returned from our walk at 15:30. Milenka called us on the phone and gave us some sad news – my brother-in-law Giorgi had passed away. I took the news of his passing hard. Life was not easy for him living in the village Dobrolishta in Kostur Region. When he was a child he worked as a cattle herder, a shepherd and a labourer. When he was a young man he fought against the Italians, Germans and Greek nationalist detachments. Then when he left with the brigade and went to Bitola he fought in battles against the Ballists in Kichevo and Gostivar Regions.

For a short time he served in the Yugoslav People's Army and fought in the Greek Civil War as a volunteer for three years. Ordered by the Party, he then dug canals in Tashkent for eight years instead of studying. From Tashkent he moved to Skopje and stayed there like many of his comrades. He was from the generation infected with the spirit of freedom and great dreams and hopes.

July 21, 1996, Sunday

It was a boring, rainy day perfect for a day off.

July 22, 1996, Monday

I arranged a meeting with Director Rapatski from the Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, to take place on July 25 (Thursday) at 11:00. I expected he would inform me of the date of the announced official visit to Macedonia by President Aleksander Kvashnievski.

At 11:00 I had a conversation with Dr. Jan Voronietski, Director of the Department for the UN System at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

July 23, 1996, Tuesday

I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in response to Ognen Maleski who called and said that my proposals presented in the two previous telegrams had been accepted, and Misailovski would explain the details to me. I told him to confirm this by fax.

Misailovski, in his own style, first boasted that thanks to his efforts and explanations regarding the signatures, everything had been accepted, but he emphasized that my explanations and arguments were the most important. Of course, it was important that the problem was solved and things would work out. From today on, we were opening a new page in Macedonian-Polish

relations. I contacted the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the important news and asked some of the interlocutors who had participated in the meeting held on July 18, to come to the Embassy so that I could give them the important news. After about fifteen minutes they arrived and, after greeting them, I opened a bottle of champagne.

- What is the occasion? One of them asked.

- The occasion is the acceptance of the proposals for the use of signatures agreed in Vienna between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

- Finally - said Hmielevski - we removed the thorn.

After a brief conversation on the occasion of the agreement, and before leaving, I gave everyone a bottle of Macedonian wine.

July 24, 1996, Wednesday

I was very relieved to hear the news of the agreement reached between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This agreement paved the way for me to be more actively engaged in harmonizing the texts of the already drafted agreements and their signing.

July 25, 1996, Thursday

I had a conversation with Rapatski at the agreed time. Unfortunately, he did not fulfill the agreed promises. During our conversation, which lasted about fifteen minutes, he informed me that due to his busy schedule, President Kvashnievski's official visit to Macedonia was planned to take place towards the end of 1996.

This time I didn't believe him at all.

July 26, 1996, Friday

At 12:30 I was at the Polish Writers' Association. I had a long conversation with President Marian Gzheshchak about future

cooperation between the writers from both our countries and the renewal of the Cooperation Agreement.

I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Belarus. Only a few representatives from the Diplomatic Corps were present. I met Prime Minister Gzhegozh Kolodko, the architect of economic reforms in Poland. He expressed great interest in the situation in Macedonia and said that he would request a meeting with me in due course.

July 27, 1996, Saturday

From 11:00 to 15:00 we went for a walk in the Kabati forest.

July 28, 1996, Sunday

At 20:30 I was at the airport waiting for Misailovski, who wouuld replace me until August 31, 1996, due to me going on vacation.

July 29, 1996, Monday

I negotiated with Misailovski about expanding the work of the Embassy. We started out with the use of a computer. He admitted that he only wrote by hand and never used a typewriter. He left the typing of his texts to the typists. For this I praised him a lot.

I had a telephone conversation with the Ministry of Agriculture regarding tomorrow's reception of the Polish Delegation at the Ohrid airport.

We were preparing for tomorrow's trip.

July 30, 1996, Tuesday

At 14:30 we arrived at the airport and at 15:00, we took off for Ohrid on the special military plane, the Yak-40. This

would be the first time for me leading an official delegation in Macedonia consisting of: Roman Iagieliniski with his wife, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry, six accompanying persons and myself with my wife.

The flight was calm until we were somewhere over Serbia and entered black clouds on our way to Ohrid. I looked out the window.

The day before we took off for Ohrid, Roman Iagieliniski handed me an envelope with a request to give it to Minister Frchkovski. Due to being too busy during my stay in Skopje, I forgot to give the envelope to Minister Frchkovski, and only found it in the inside pocket of my jacket after returning to Warsaw. Of course, out of curiosity, I opened it (it was not glued) and what I read on a plain sheet of paper, handwritten in the Latin script can be found in the manuscript, notebook III , p. 19.

Of course it was wrong for me to read someone else's letter but the content made me think a lot.

The plane landed in Ohrid at 20:00. The delegation was welcomed by Minister Parakeiov and his closest associates. Girls in traditional costumes, according to Macedonian tradition, treated the guests with bread and salt. The guests were accommodated at the "Metropol" hotel. (The program for the stay can be found in the manuscript, NOTEBOOK III, p. 18).

July 31, 1996, Wednesday

After breakfast we visited some Ohrid sights, then on the road to Resen we visited "AGROPLOD", where a meeting and talks between the Deputy Prime Minister and the Director took place. We then visited the orchards, in which Deputy Prime Minister Iagieliniski showed great interest because he himself owned a large, 600-hectare orchard. After visiting the plant we were on the way to Kavadartsi. There, we visited the vineyards which had ripe grapes, where everyone had the opportunity to

pick a bunch. We then went to lunch in the center of Kavadartsi. After lunch we headed for Skopje. The guests were accommodated in the "GRAND" hotel and had dinner in Nerezi, in St. Panteleimon, organized by Minister Parakeov.

August 1, 1996, Thursday

I was received and had a 45-minute conversation with Branko Tsrvenkovski, Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia. During our conversation, Deputy Prime Minister Jegieliniski emphasized that Poland would unreservedly support Macedonia and within that framework would continue to expand and strengthen relations and cooperation. He emphasized that he was very pleased to have seen only a part of Macedonia's beauty and that he had learned a lot about its past from the Ambassador of Macedonia in Warsaw during the flight from Warsaw to Ohrid. He emphasized that there were broad opportunities for cooperation between our two countries in all areas and that such opportunities should be used as soon as possible by companies from both sides. Among other things, he stressed that (I quote verbatim) "the agreements that will be signed today are a good start, and discussions are already underway to sign agreements for cooperation between the Ministries of culture, education, transport, state archives, tourism, for the exchange of experts in various fields, which are also the result of the enormous effort and commitment of your Ambassador, who has already established extensive contacts with Polish state institutions, parliamentarians and senators, business organizations and associations from various circles. He is valued as an excellent Diplomat, and most of all as a sincere friend and erudite. Mr. Prime Minister, you sent to Poland a man who represents Macedonia with dignity, defends the Macedonian name and Macedonian identity, and the fact that we are here together today is his merit, and I thank him most sincerely with the greatest respect and recognition."

The conversation ended with expressions of gratitude for the cooperation so far and with the hope that it would be even

stronger in the future, and with heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of tomorrow's holiday, Ilinden. Finally, Deputy Prime Minister Jadieliniski presented Prime Minister Branko Tsrvenkovski with an invitation to officially visit Poland.

He spoke similarly about me at the press conference, so I must admit that I was not comfortable hearing the praise so publicly directed at me.

The agreements on vegetation protection and veterinary cooperation were signed by Deputy Prime Minister Iagieliniski and Minister Parakeov. However, as it turned out the Polish representatives had no authority to implement the agreements because there was no seal on the Polish side. It turned out that Mrs. Maria Zavadzka, chief specialist in the Department for Foreign Cooperation, had forgotten the seal in Warsaw. I intervened in the confusion that arose, saying that I would take the agreements to Warsaw and, after the Polish seal was affixed, I would send a copy for the Macedonian side to Skopje by diplomatic mail.

At 20:00, after eating lunch and sightseeing in Skopje, we took the Polish delegation to the Skopje airport from where they flew back to Warsaw.

August 2, 1996, Friday

Today was a festive day but with riots on Mechkin Kamen. A reflection of the political situation in the Republic of Macedonia, the divisions and painful ambitions.

August 3, 1996, Saturday

My vacation started today. I would be in Skopje with my children until August 10. From August 11 to 17 we would visit our native villages in Kostur region, (mine no longer exists, it was razed to the ground during the Greek Civil War). We would then spend some time with Ditta's parents in her native village Ezerets. From August 18th to the 24th we would be in Struga, on August

25th we would return to Skopje. On August 30 I would meet with Ministers and draft agreements for further cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Poland.

On August 29 at 14:00, I had an appointment to see President Kiro Gligorov. A long conversation about further cooperation between Macedonia and Poland, during which he said that we should strengthen relations with this country and in that sense initiate as many meetings at the ministerial and expert level as possible, as much cultural and economic cooperation as possible, and efforts to sign agreements that would determine the specific cooperation. He emphasized that he was satisfied with the results achieved in relations with Poland and that he was sure that Poland would support us not only now but also in the future. I believe, he said, that you will continue to make efforts as you have done so far and do not be disappointed because of some irresponsible actions of certain individuals in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They are causing me difficulties too, but for the sake of Macedonia we must endure that too. At that moment, I felt very encouraged. Then we talked for a long time about the situation in Macedonia, relations with neighbours and Macedonia's international position. At the end of the meeting, the President thanked me for my work so far, expressed his satisfaction and wished me to continue in the same way. We greeted each other very warmly, wishing that our next meeting would be more cheerful.

August 30, 1996, Friday

At 06:00 we were at the airport.

At 13:00 the 6-member group of Polish parliamentarians who formed the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group arrived at the Embassy. Our conversation concentrated around strengthening cooperation and the upcoming official visit of the delegation to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. It was noted that the number of the group was increasing, and asked that a meeting with Tito Petkovski be included in the program.

I promised them that I would make sure the requested meeting took place.

August 31, 1996, Saturday

Worked on my notes.

September 1, 1996, Sunday

I rested and then prepared for tomorrow's work day.

September 2, 1996, Monday

At 08:30 I sent a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Protocol informing them that I had returned to Warsaw and was continuing my diplomatic mission.

At 09:30 I had a meeting at the Ministry of National Defense of Poland. We discussed the program agreement in connection with the official visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, B. Handzhiski. During our conversation, I emphasized that the preamble of the agreement should read – On behalf of the Ministries, not on behalf of the Ministers.

I received a call from the Ministry of Finance and was informed that Minister Kolodko would be in Macedonia from September 12 to 13, visiting Ohrid.

They requested information from the Ministry of Economy about the arrival of the expert group from Macedonia in Warsaw.

September 3, 1996, Tuesday

I got up early and started translating the program for the official visit of the Minister of Defense, B. Hadzhiski. I finished a total of eight pages by 09:30.

They called the Polish Ministry of Transport and Communications and requested information regarding the stay in

Macedonia of a group of Polish experts, for which negotiations were underway several months ago.

The Polish Ministry of Defense informed me that my remark regarding the preamble to the Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministries of Defense of the two countries had been accepted.

September 4, 1996, Wednesday

I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Transport. I was informed that they were canceling the trip of the Polish expert group because the Macedonian side had not submitted the requested comments on time. I asked if they were planning another date. They said that it would depend on the Macedonian side.

I got a call from the Polish Ministry of Economy and was asked if the group of Macedonian experts would definitely be in Warsaw from September 9 to 10? I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. They said they didn't know anything about that and that they would find out and let me know.

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Gzhegoszh Kolodko, contacted us again regarding his trip to Macedonia.

Since I did not receive a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I called the Minister of Finance, Taki Fiti, directly and suggested that he accept the proposed date of September 12-13. At the same time, Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko would also discuss the signing of the agreements for the protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation. I had discussed the aforementioned agreements with the Polish Prime Minister Vlodzhimiezh Chimoshevich, who accepted my proposal. Minister Taki Fiti accepted.

The Macedonian Ministry of Defense called and asked me to send them the program for Minister Handzhiski's visit. I sent it to them and then called the special flower shop and asked them to

prepare a wreath that Minister Handzhiski would lay on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. I called the company that prepared cocktails and receptions and arranged for them to prepare a cocktail at our Embassy on September 6 at 18:00, in honour of the guests from the two Ministries of National Defense.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Slovakia on the occasion of the national holiday. I met and spoke with several current and newly arrived Ambassadors, as well as with a large number of people from various Polish backgrounds.

At 20:30 I was at the airport welcoming the delegation of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia led by Minister Blagoi Handzhiski.

September 5, 1996, Thursday

At 08:00 the Polish Ministry of Finance called me regarding Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko's visit to Macedonia and whether the Macedonian texts of the two agreements that should be signed during the visit were ready. I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia but they said they knew nothing about them. I reminded them that a few months ago, I had sent the Polish texts translated into Macedonian in order to harmonize them with the Macedonian ones. I got the same answer from the Ministry of Finance.

At 08:45 I attended a ceremonial welcome of the Macedonian military delegation in the courtyard of the Ministry of Defense. The guards were lined up and next to them were representatives of the Polish army orchestra. After walking along the red carpet and bowing to the Polish flag, the Ministers of Defense, Dobzhaniski and Handzhiski, stood on the stairs. Next to Minister Dobzhaniski were two Polish generals, to Dobzhaniski's left was Minister Handzhiski, next to him was General Koteli and I stood next to General Koteli. There was silence and a moment later a huge thunder of one hundred and twenty musical instruments and four drums playing. They thundered the Macedonian national anthem "Today over Macedonia..."! It was

loud, like thunder over the Macedonian mountains. I had heard the Macedonian anthem played many times before but this time it was a miracle. I glanced secretly at Minister Handzhiski. Tears were running down his cheeks. General Koteli stood erect like a marble sculpture. He saluted military style. All of us from the Macedonian delegation were excited. This was difficult to describe in words and cannot be described with a pen. It has to be experienced.

From 09:00 to 10:00 talks were held, which were followed by the signing of the Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministries of Defense of our two countries. A cordial handshake took place and champagne was served. It seemed that among all those present, I was the most excited because both Ministers approached me and, toasting with champagne, said:

- Mr. Ambassador this is solely your success and merit. – I stood before them speechless. I did not expect such praise.

After the signing of the Agreement, according to the program, from 10:15 to 10:50 a meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Visner; at 11:00-11:30 a meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Pietrevich; 11:45-12:45 a meeting with the Parliamentary Committee on national defense; 14:45-15:00 a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; 15:10-17:15 a visit to the Royal Palace and a walk through the old part of Warsaw.

September 6, 1996, Friday

At 09:00-10:30 the Macedonian Delegation visited the National Defense Academy; at 11:00-12:00 a visit to the military camp, a flight over Warsaw in a military helicopter; 14:30-15:45 a visit to the museum; 18:00-20:00 cocktails at the Macedonian Embassy.

I returned to the Embassy early due to preparations for the cocktail. On the table was a fax with the following text:

"On several occasions, we have verbally suggested to you to be careful in the talks regarding the signing of bilateral agreements, emphasizing that you strictly adhere to our instructions. Despite this, regarding the agreements for the avoidance of double taxation and investment protection, you have proposed formulations on your own initiative and forced visits, accepting Polish arguments that also contain elements of pressure on our side."

You are well aware that the agreements have not been signed to date due to Poland's rigid and inconsistent position. Please, in the future, accept with greater reality the proposals from the Polish side that relate to bilateral agreements and not only to agreements.

We also draw attention to the fact that communications with other Macedonian authorities and institutions should take place through this Ministry, for which you have instructions. B. . s.r. press.

Pure slander. Everything was lies and pressure. This was not Stojanovski's style. Stojanovski did not belong to those who had the ability and knowledge to write. I knew whose work it was. Let me just note that, so far, I had not received any instructions or suggestions and I had always sent all my faxes first to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Why they were not forwarded on time to other Macedonian bodies and institutions was something those who received them from me needed to answer. And one more thing: the message was sent to me only six days after my conversation with President Kiro Gligorov, who fully approved my work (see conversation held on August 29 this year). I was sure that the slander would continue. There were experts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for dirty work, and they even personally came forward.

Minister Handzhiski and his wife arrived at the Embassy an hour before the cocktail. He noticed that I was not in a good mood and asked me why I was not cheerful. Instead of an answer

I gave him the message. After reading it several times, he asked me to give him a copy and said that in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, anyone who reached a higher position thought that he or she was already a Minister and made decisions on their own. This was just slander and this message would reach both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and President Kiro Gligorov. If it were so, as he wrote here, I certainly would not be here today. Don't worry, continue working as you have been doing. It is difficult to put a padlock on mouths full of slander and jealousy.

This was not the first stumbling block. They had tried to trip me up before. And it wouldn't be the last.

We would probably have continued the conversation but the Polish participants in the talks and the signing of the Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministries of Defense of the two countries appeared at the door. Generals, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors in ceremonial uniforms and adorned with orders and medals. Twenty people in total had arrived.

(The text of the message and my notes regarding the slanders made, as well as photographs from the signing of the Agreement, can be found in the manuscript, NOTEBOOK III , p.27).

September 7, 1996, Saturday

At 06:45 we were at the airport. At 07:15 we said farewell in the VIP lounge and at 07:45, the plane departed for Vienna.

From the implemented program, one could assess how much importance was given to the Macedonian Military Delegation, which was confirmation of the excellent Polish-Macedonian relations in the area of military cooperation.

September 8, 1996, Sunday.

Today is a National holiday; Independence of the Republic of Macedonia. I sent congratulation notes to the state

leadership. On the occasion of Independence Day, I organized a modest cocktail at my own expense for a group of Macedonians living in Warsaw and the surrounding area.

September 9, 1996, Monday

At 08:45 I had a conversation with Bani from the Polish Ministry of Finance. He confirmed that he had received the amendments to the agreements and that, in his opinion, they were acceptable. He would ensure that he responded appropriately by the end of the week, after consultations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 08:55 I received a phone call with Borkovska from the Ministry of Economy. I informed her that our group of experts would travel to Warsaw between September 23 and 25. She said that time was acceptable to he, but she would have to consult with the Minister. She promised to call back.

At 09:00 I had a phone conversation with Boravski. We agreed to meet tomorrow. The meeting was about the program for the upcoming official visit of Tito Petkovski, scheduled for October 7-11 this year.

At 09:10 I had a telephone conversation with Novui, Director of the Ministry of Transport, regarding the signing of a transport agreement.

I received the text of the Air Services Agreement and I was also expecting the text of the Traffic Agreement, following the official talks.

During the day I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax regarding the investment and taxation agreements, as well as the date for holding meetings at the expert level.

September 10, 1996, Tuesday

At 11:00 I was at the Apostolic Nunciature, sending off the American Ambassador.

At 14:00 Boravski called me and informed me that he would submit the draft program for Tito Petkovski's official visit by September 23rd.

September 11, 1996, Wednesday

I sent the texts translated into Macedonian of the Air and Road Traffic agreements to the Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a request that they be submitted to the appropriate institutions.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Macedonia called me and asked me to ask the relevant Polish Ministry to reconsider the date of Minister Parakeov's visit to Poland. I asked them to send the request by fax.

At 11:00 MP Bzhezhiniski called me and informed me that a bilateral Poland-Macedonia group would be formed in the Polish Sejm tomorrow at 13:00.

At the ceremonial reception, French President Jacques Chirac greeted me and asked how President Kiro Gligorov was doing and when the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia had been opened in Warsaw. He asked me to send greetings to President Kiro Gligorov on his behalf. While greeting me, President Kvashnievski said that the possibility of a meeting between the Polish and Macedonian Presidents was being considered, about which I would be informed by his Cabinet at the appropriate time.

In the note sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I suggested that it would be more useful for the Polish President to first officially visit Macedonia, given the country's already strengthened position in Central and Eastern Europe.

September 12, 1996, Thursday,

At 12:00 I was received in the Office of President Kvashnievski by Rapatski, Director of International Relations.

The topic of the conversation was the official visit of President Kvashnievski to Macedonia. Rapatski suggested that the Presidents of the two countries meet in New York. To this, I said that the meeting in New York would be beneficial, however, President Kvashnievski's visit to Macedonia would have historical significance in the relations between our countries, and the Macedonian people would perceive the act of the visit as a sign of recognition of the independence of the Macedonian state and as support for the further development of mutual relations and cooperation in all areas.

- We would appreciate such an eventual visit - said Rapatski.

When I heard the word – eventual – I immediately asked him if there was a change in the Polish attitude?

- There is no change but we are looking for the most appropriate term, which would be most useful. I think that for a start it would be best to arrange a meeting of the Presidents in New York.

- The idea - I said - is useful. That would be a good start, but an official visit to Macedonia would have a completely different dimension. Not only historical but also moral. Keep in mind that the President will meet with the people. Do you understand me?

- I agree with you and I will convey that to the President. You said it very well - historical and moral. Finally, Mr. Ambassador, I would like to express the opinion that we must cooperate because it is of mutual interest.

- I think so too and that's why I'm here.

Let's agree to see each other again on September 18th at 10:00.

September 13, 1996, Friday

Mrs. Gerasimovska from the Archives of Macedonia called and asked how the talks regarding cooperation between the Archives of the two countries were going. I told her that if I was

contacted regarding this issue by fax, then I would reply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

Mrs. Langovska from the Ministry of Transport and Communications called. She asked me to get in touch with the relevant Polish Ministry and request the texts of the agreements. I told her that the texts had been faxed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and that she should request them from there.

It seemed that someone at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had forgotten to forward them to the Ministry of Transport and Communications.

September 14, 1996, Saturday

Due to the rainy and cold weather we didn't go out today.

September 15, 1996, Sunday

I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the new organization of the Polish Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. I suggested that the Macedonian delegation should also include representatives of business associations.

September 16, 1996, Monday

At 08:45, the Deputy Director General of the Polish State Archives called. He said that it was possible to receive a delegation from the Archives of Macedonia only after October 11 of this year and for the Archives of Macedonia to send its observations regarding the cooperation.

At 09:00 representatives from the Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce, headed by Director Malahovski, arrived at the Embassy. During our conversation, they said they would cooperate with Macedonian businessmen.

The Ministry of Transport and Communications of the Republic of Macedonia called and said that they could not find the texts of the agreements in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. They asked me to send them copies.

It seemed that someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia hads forgotten what they were paid for.

I called the Ministry and promised to send them a copy.

The Archives of Macedonia announced that their delegation might arrive in Warsaw after October 20, this year.

At 19:30 I attended a cocktail at the Mexican Embassy.

September 17, 1996, Tuesday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia reported that on September 22, this year, a delegation consisting of Kapsarova from the Ministry of Economy and Mitrevska from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia would arrive in Warsaw, in order to negotiate a cooperation agreement with the Polish Ministry of Economy. They asked me to meet them at the airport and provide them with hotel accommodations.

September 18, 1996, Wednesday

At 10:00 I was in a conversation with Rapatski. During our conversation we repeated the previous positions, during which Rapatski underlined that the meeting of the Presidents in New York had already been agreed and would last 30 minutes, enough time for an exchange of opinions. At the end of our conversation he underlined that both Poland and Macedonia would build their own destiny and that both countries were of great importance to Europe. To this I said that Poland, which is in the north, and Macedonia in the south of Europe should, with joint efforts, build the road that cuts through Central Europe and unite the north with the south, hence the need for joint

cooperation. At the end of our conversation Rapatski underlined that the Polish side was working on finding the most suitable date for official visits.

At 12:00 I received a call from the Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce asking if Macedonia would participate in the wine fair. In this regard, I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, requesting a response from the appropriate institution.

At 13:00 a call from the editor-in-chief of the monthly magazine "Get to Know the World" "Poznaj Swiat". He offered to dedicate the entire issue to Macedonia, and then he would organize a competition with prizes, prepare a longer report that would be broadcast on radio "BIS", whose programs were broadcast by 27 other radio stations, and planned to organize an exchange of students and folklore groups.

I thanked him profusely for the wonderful initiative.

I sent an appropriate note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding this.

I must emphasize that I had never received a response to similar initiatives.

Comment?

At 14:00 I had a conversation at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The topic of the conversation was Rosati's official visit to Macedonia. Rosati was the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, who would sign three agreements during his stay and during his meeting with his Macedonian colleague, would exchange views on further cooperation. Rosati's visit was planned for the period from October 7 to 11, this year.

September 19, 1996, Thursday

I attended a cocktail at the Czech Embassy. Ambassador Hmielevski informed me that Greek President Stephanopoulos would be officially visiting Warsaw from October 21 to 23, 1996. I smiled and said that they would have the opportunity to hear him slander Macedonia in his own style.

September 20, 1996, Friday

Several commercial companies have called and are looking to establish contacts for cooperation with Macedonian companies. So far, I have received about 200 such requests but there has been virtually no response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

"TIKVESH" replied that they wanted to participate in the International Wine Fair in Bidgoshch. I sent them the phone number of the Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce to establish contact.

A representative of the company "ZELMOT" S.A. came to the Embassy seeking cooperation with a Macedonian company that produced electrical products. He left me advertising materials. I sent a note to Macedonia by fax.

September 21, 1996, Saturday

At 08:40 we left for Konin, visited the sculptor Ioto Dimitrov, my school friend from the Kostur village Tsrnovishta. From there we went to Turek to visit Dr. Giorgi Statovski, a famous anesthesiologist, also my school friend. In the evening we returned to Warsaw filled with memories of our childhood in orphanages and on school benches.

September 22, 1996, Sunday

During the day I compared the texts of the Economic Cooperation Agreement. The Macedonian text contains 25 articles, and the Polish 17. Someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had supplemented the Macedonian text, which was previously accepted with certain remarks.

Tonight I went to the airport to welcome Mrs. Kapsarova and Mrs Mitrevska who were coming to Warsaw as experts on the

Economic Cooperation Agreement. During the talks they would harmonize the Polish and Macedonian texts.

September 23, 1996, Monday

At 09:30 I was at the Ministry of National Education. I handed the Deputy Minister and two of his assistants the letter from the Minister of Education, Dr. Sofia Todorova, and the amendments to the Agreement which they accepted, and we arranged for Dr. Sofia Todorova's return visit to Warsaw to be held from October 9 to 11, 1996.

At 10:00 I went to the FORUM hotel where Kapsarova and Mitrevska were staying. In the short conversation we had, I found out that the corrections in the Polish text that the Poles themselves had made had not been read by them. At 10:15 we went to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation where we were very warmly welcomed by the hosts. After exchanging greetings the talks began. As it turned out, the two ladies were only familiar with the Macedonian text of the Agreement and were not familiar with the Polish text, which I had translated into Macedonian and sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in May of this year. I should also emphasize that in August the Polish Ministry resubmitted the text to the Embassy, and Misailovski had taken it to Skopje. I do not know when the text was submitted to the Ministry of Economy, so, as it turned out, the two ladies had come unprepared and it took very little for the talks to be interrupted.

I joined in the conversation and suggested that the Macedonian side's oral presentation be heard, and that in the afternoon the texts be harmonized so that work could be done without going to a second round of negotiations, since there were no major differences in the texts. The proposal was accepted and by 13:00, without much fuss, the first round of talks ended.

After lunch I returned to the Embassy and had the text typed up on a computer. I was sure that they would re-organize

the text today and I was sure that everything would be completed successfully without any difficulties tomorrow.

Mitrevska called from the hotel and said that at 21:00-21:30 they would bring the revised text for me to type up, and in the meantime they would go for a walk in Warsaw.

In the evening news, Polish radio announced that Presidents Gligorov and Kvashnievski would meet in New York. This was good news and, to some extent, crowned my work and the efforts and labour invested.

September 24, 1996, Tuesday

The talks continued starting at 09:00 and lasted until 15:00. They agreed on the text. It was agreed that the signing of the Agreement would take place in Skopje in the first 10 days of November this year. At 19:00 we had a joint dinner. I was not pleased that our ladies barely participated in the informal conversation.

September 25, 1996, Wednesday

At 06:00 at the airport. The ladies reminded me that they hadn't returned the money they had borrowed; said they had spent it and would return the loan to me in denars in Skopje. Kapsarova had one zloti left and, when she wanted to give it to me, I told her to keep it as a souvenir.

I felt bad that they hadn't said thank you for the welcome, the dinner, the help, or the send-off. Maybe they forgot?

At 13:00 the 6-member group of Polish parliamentarians who formed the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group arrived at the Embassy. In the conversation regarding the strengthening of cooperation and the upcoming official visit of the delegation to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, they noted that the number of the group was increasing, and asked that a meeting with Tito Petkovski be included in the program.

I promised them that I would make sure the requested meeting took place.

September 26, 1996, Thursday

Around 15:00 the Office of the Sejm sent me the program for the official visit. I asked over the phone to include a meeting of the Polish-Macedonian bilateral group with Tito Petkovski. They agreed.

Mrs. Zavadzka from the Ministry of Agriculture called me and asked for a meeting on Monday or Tuesday regarding the text of the Agreement on Cooperation between the two Ministries.

I received an invitation to a cocktail from the Turkish Embassy addressed to FYROM. I told the secretary to call the Turkish Embassy and tell them that I refused to accept the invitation the way it was addressed because Turkey had not recognized Macedonia by its constitutional name.

The secretary of the Turkish Embassy apologized several times, saying that an unintentional mistake had been made and asked that the invitation be canceled, and that she would send a new invitation addressed by the constitutional name. Of course, it was not her fault, but the Diplomatic Protocol which, despite my repeated interventions, had not entered the constitutional name Republic of Macedonia in the book-list of Embassies, but FYROM, from which the secretaries mechanically copied the address of our Embassy.

At 15:30 a woman I did not know called me on the phone and before introducing herself, asked if I could help her with her interest being credited to her savings account in the bank in Veles. I asked her to come to the Embassy. About half an hour later, an elderly woman arrived at the Embassy. Word for word, we got to how she ended up in Poland.

She said the Germans captured her in 1944 and sent her to work in Germany. There, in the camp, she met a Polish man whom she married after the war ended.

“So you fell in love in dire times,” I interrupted.

"You could say that," she replied. "I am now 73 years old, I have been living in Poland since 1946 and my name is Makedonka. That's what they christened me when I was born."

We looked at each other in silence for a long time. I was excited and speechless. My wife served us coffee.

"Daughter, a glass of water please, if possible," she said to my wife.

She drank slowly, sip by sip, and then said:

"I see you have a lot of work, as for me I will ask you, Mr. Ambassador, to see me some other day. I will call you. And now I am leaving. Thank you for your kind welcome."

I stood up and kissed her hand and slowly walked her to the exit door. I returned to the office and remained silent and burdened for a long time by what the Macedonian woman from Veles had told me.

Friday, September 27, 1996

The tourist exchange opened in Warsaw. I had no information whether any Macedonian travel agency was participating.

September 28, 1996, Saturday

Rumours had reached me from Skopje that someone else was being chosen to take my place. They said that an Egeiets (from Aegean Macedonia) could not lead Macedonian diplomacy in Warsaw.

September 29, 1996, Sunday

The day was foggy and not good for walking. Black ravens cawed on the opposite side of the road,I n the tall linden trees that grew around the Dominican Monastery, as if foreshadowing dark days ahead. Rarely did anyone make their

way through the fog. A feeling of an empty day, stripped of human movement.

At 22:00 Naum Nachevski called me on the phone. An old journalist and experienced diplomat. A wonderful man with whom I had worked at "NOVA MACEDONIA", where he was my editor, and then at the Ministry from where we secretly led the movement for the human rights of Macedonians in Greece. Together we prepared delegates to go to Brussels, and then to Copenhagen where, well-trained, they announced their activity to the world. Together, he and I carried out our patriotic dedication day and night. During our conversation, he told me that I would probably get someone to help me. I told him that I badly needed someone. We agreed to talk more often.

September 30, 1996, Monday

At 08:35 a telegram arrived from "TIKVESH". They announced that Kiro Chekorov would be arriving to participate in the VI International Wine Fair in Bidgoshch and asked me to organize contacts for him.

October 1, 1996, Tuesday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that Tito Petkovski would be accompanied by three inspectors from the Ministry of the Interior. I spoke with Boravski about this, who said that he had nothing against it, but that it should be at Macedonia's expense. He made it clear to me that we did not trust the Polish Special Forces and left the impression of being offended.

October 2, 1996, Wednesday

At 16:00 I visited the Polish Minister of National Defense, Stanislav Dobzhaniski. The purpose of my visit was to give Dobzhaniski a letter of thanks from the Minister of Defense of the

Republic of Macedonia, B. Handzhiski, on the occasion of his official visit to the Armed Forces of Poland. I took this opportunity to express my gratitude for the excellent reception, the wonderful organization of the visit, the attention, warmth, sympathy, as well as the high honours with which Minister Handzhiski was received in Poland. I expressed my hope that the Macedonian Armed Forces, on behalf of Minister Handzhiski, would similarly receive the Polish Minister of National Defense next year during his official visit to Macedonia.

Minister S. Dobzhaniski expressed Poland's readiness to assist Macedonia in building its armed forces.

I also gave Minister S. Dobzhaniski a set of photographs from the talks, the signing of the Cooperation Agreement and the cocktail at the Embassy.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of China. I was very warmly received by the Chinese Ambassador, who tried to speak a few Macedonian words. During the cocktail I met with several Diplomats with whom we exchanged opinions, as well as with high-ranking Polish state officials. Particularly interesting were the conversations with the Ambassadors of: Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania and Albania.

October 3, 1996, Thursday

Senator Shumula called me from Helmno and asked me to receive him, along with two businessmen, on October 14 at 11:00. I accepted.

At 11:15 I called Boravski and informed him that there would be certain changes in the composition of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation, about which I would call back.

At 13:00 I had lunch with Chaika, one of the Directors in President Kvashnievski's office and his very close associate. The conversation revolved around mutual relations and how to expand them, for which he would also advocate through his authority.

October 4, 1996, Friday

I prepared the cooperation agreement in the field of agriculture and sent it by fax.

I arranged with the reception and cocktail service to prepare a cold cocktail to be held at the Embassy on October 9th at 18:00.

I arranged a meeting with Ianas, Deputy Minister of Culture and Arts, to be held on October 14th at 10:00.

October 5, 1996, Saturday

At 10:00 I attended a meeting at the Office of the Sejm, to get an agreement on the program for the official visit of the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. I reminded the interlocutors that until now, the Office of the Sejm had used the constitutional name of our country, in all addresses to the Embassy, while now on the title page of the program instead of "Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia" it was written "Macedonian National Assembly". They emphasized that they would not use the name FYROM, and they believed that the proposed name did not change the essence of the name of the Assembly, which in Polish practice was also used in cases with the names of other Foreign Parliaments.

I agreed with the proposed program but I urged Tito Petkovski, President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, to meet with as many Polish senior state officials as possible. He accepted my recommendation.

I translated the program and sent it to Skopje, from where I received no response regarding the name.

According to the news, Vislava Shimborska had won the Nobel Prize for Literature. I received a telegram from Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski asking me to convey congratulations to her on their behalf and on behalf of Macedonian writers, and that the publisher "DETSKA RADOST" would publish a second edition of her poetry which I had

translated. I informed the Polish Ministry of Culture and art about this.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail party at "Polytechnic" hosted by the Embassy of Germany.

At 20:30 I met the security inspectors at the airport. I took them to the "VICTORIA" hotel, where the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation would be accommodated.

I received a fax signed by Misailovski, reporting that the security inspectors would not be coming with the Delegation… But they were already in Warsaw.

During the day, invitations were sent to Macedonians living in Poland to participate in the meeting with the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation led by Tito Petkovski and the Minister of Education, Dr. Sofia Todorova, which would be held at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia on October 9 at 18:00.

October 6, 1996, Sunday

From 09:00 to 10:00 Polish businessmen arrived at the Embassy. We had brief discussions about cooperation with Macedonian businessmen.

At 10:00 the Macedonian police officers arrived. After giving them a brief introduction about the route from the airport to the "BELVEDERE" Palace, at 11:00 we went to the main Polish police headquarters and to the department for the security of foreign nationals where discussions were held regarding the security of the official visit of president Tito Petkovski to Poland.

I received the text of the Agreement on Economic Cooperation and Trade by fax. The translation into Polish should be ready by October 14 this year.

At 20:15 the text of Tito Petkovski's speech arrived.

October 7, 1996, Monday

At 10:00 I sent Vislava Shimborska a congratulatory message from the Embassy and from Ante Popovski and Petre

Bakevski on the occasion of her receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature.

I gave Tripkova the text of Tito Petkovski's speech to have it translated to Polish. During the day I performed the translation into Polish, and told the secretary to make sure she worked to better understand the Polish language.

October 8, 1996, Tuesday

Prepared a more detailed introduction to the text of the program for the visit of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation. We had many meetings and conversations.

At 18:00 I was at the airport. After half an hour of waiting the special plane from Skopje landed at the military section of the Warsaw airport. The official welcome was led by Kshishtov Bzhezhiniski, MP and President of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary Group and other officials. Accommodations were made at the hotel "VICTORIA INTERCONTINENTAL".

At 20:00 dinner at the Embassy for the entire delegation.

October 9, 1996, Wednesday

At 09:30 the delegation met with Deputy Prime Minister Roman Iagieliniski.

At 10:45 a wreath was laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

From 11:00 to 12:00 we went to Zhelazova Vola, Chopin's birthplace, where a Chopin concert in honour of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation was held.

At 16:30 we attended a meeting with the President of Poland, Mr. Aleksander Kvashnievski.

October 10, 1996, Thursday

At 10:00 I attended a meeting and discussions with Mr. Jozef Zich, Marshal of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland and the signing of a cooperation agreement between the two parliaments.

At 10:55 I met with Dariush Rosati, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At 14:45 a meeting with Clemens Shcherski, Minister of Industry and Trade.

At 16:00 at the airport welcoming Dr. Sofia Todorova, Minister of Education and Physical Culture.

By the end of the day I was tired, drained and exhausted. I returned to the Embassy with a temperature of 38 degrees and lay down to rest, but at that moment I remembered that today was my wife Ditta's birthday. I got up and went to pick up the cake I had ordered and a bouquet of red roses from the nearest flower shop.

October 11, 1996, Friday

I sent congratulations on the holiday of October 11th.

At 10:00 I met with MP Bronislav Geremek, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

At 11:00 I met with Mr. Adam Struzhik, Marshal of the Senate of the Republic of Poland.

At 12:00 I attended a cocktail hosted by Kshishtof Bzhezhiniski, President of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary Group.

At 15:00 I met with members of the Polish group from the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

I attended a press conference at 16:00.

At 18:00 I had a meeting with some Macedonians at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw.

October 12, 1996, Saturday

At 07:30 I was at the "VICTORIA" hotel for a send off of the delegation, which left by car at 08:15, headed for the town

Dombrova Gurnicha. They flew back to Skopje by special plane from the Balitse airport near Krakov.

From the meetings we had with high-ranking Polish officials, it was not difficult to conclude how much importance and attention was paid to the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation. All conversations confirmed the closeness of the two countries, the importance and desire for cooperation in all areas.

(Notes from the meetings and photographs can be found in the manuscript NOTEBOOK III, p. 60)

At 10:00 I joined the delegation led by Dr. Sofia Todorova, Minister of Education and Physical Culture. Accompanying her were Snezhana Korubin, an advisor, who actually played the role of a reporter for Radio Skopje, and Bozhin Donevski (professor) in the role of translator. He spoke Polish terribly, did not distinguish between tense and gender and was completely at odds with cases and did not use them at all. And it was he who was called from Prilep by the Minister and brought to Warsaw to be her translator.

Donevski conducted the conversation with Minister Viatr very carefully and with great civility.

During their conversation, Minister Viatr often asked me to help the translator.

It was noticeable that the talks with Mr. Viatr, the Minister of National Education, flowed in the spirit of the wishes for mutually beneficial cooperation and ended with the signing of a cooperation agreement between the two Ministries. Unexpectedly, Minister Viatr gave Minister Dr. Sofia Todorova a medal of merit in the field of education.

October 13, 1996, Sunday

From 06:00 to 10:00 I worked on the report of the official visit of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation to Poland. It was a rare successful meeting.

We went out for a short walk and upon returning I continued writing the report and finished it at 19:30.

October 14, 1996, Monday

At 09:30 Ambassador Hmielevski called me and we scheduled a meeting for Thursday at 11:00. Tomorrow at 09:00, I would have a conversation with Borkovska from the Ministry of Economic Cooperation.

Despite my deteriorating health, I went to the reception for the Norwegian King, confident that I would meet with President Kvashnievski, and I would take the opportunity to express my satisfaction with the successfully completed official visit of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation and the expressed readiness of both sides for comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

October 15, 1996, Tuesday

From 09:00 to 12:00 I was at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation. We were negotiating the harmonization of the Polish and Macedonian texts of the Agreement on Economic Cooperation and Trade. I then had to translate the texts from Polish to Macedonian and vice versa. It was no different than with all the texts of the agreements.

October 16, 1996, Wednesday

At 08:30 I went to send off the Norwegian King.

From 10:00 to 10:45 I met with the Deputy Ministers of Culture and Arts, Ianas and Polak. The topic of conversation was about our achievements so far and future cooperation. The need for expanding cooperation in the field of culture was highlighted. It was agreed that the Ministry would finance the publication of the Panorama of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry. Accepted.

The photographer who was filming the meetings of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation came to the Embassy. He asked for 450 US dollars for 70 photos. I had not received

approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to buy them with money from the Embassy's budget. I only bought twenty at my own expense.

I learned unofficially from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia that Tripkova would be sent as an administrative officer and Mikana as an advisor for consular-economic issues.

At 16:00 I went for lunch with Lukashevich, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA". We agreed that a more extensive article about the visit of the Macedonian Parliamentary Delegation would be published in the nearest issue of the newspaper, and later a report about Macedonia by journalist Rishard Biliski.

October 17, 1996, Thursday

A fax arrived with the names of the delegates from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, headed by Minister Parakeov. I faxed it to the relevant Polish Ministry.

That evening I called Zhivko Apostolski at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. He confirmed that Mikana had been appointed to come to Warsaw as an advisor for consular and economic issues. And, in an ironic tone of voice, he said:

I wish you good luck and let me also add that I too, am not happy that they are sending her to you. And let me tell you another thing, everyone here has spoken very highly of you. Be strong and keep doing what you're doing. Talk to you later.

Zhivko, you made me very happy!

October 18, 1996, Friday

Mrs. Zavadzka called. She provided me with the program for the visit of the delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture. I asked her to prepare a special program for the directors of "TIKVESH" and "AGROPLOD".

At noon the driver asked me to see him for a conversation. He wanted to be released from the job. He said that he didn't like how the job was and that he wasn't satisfied with the salary, that he could earn more as a taxi driver. I didn't object. I wanted to fire him anyway starting November 1st. Let him work as a taxi driver.

The Office of Mr. Kolodko, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, asked if it was possible to receive an invitation on November 19 for Mr. Kolodko to visit Macedonia and on that occasion to sign the agreements for the protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation. I said that the agreements were not ready, to which they replied that they would speed up their preparation. Regarding the invitation, I said that I would inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia after the consultations, adding that I personally supported Mr. Kolodko's visit to Macedonia with great pleasure.

October 19, 1996, Saturday

Eleven letters of gratitude arrived from Tito Petkovski's office to the individuals he met and spoke with during his official visit. I will translate the letters of gratitude into Polish and request that I personally deliver them to the Diplomatic Protocol, taking into account the opportunity to meet with the high-ranking individuals to hear their impressions and that in this way not only official but also personal contacts would be strengthened, which could be very useful in my future work.

October 20, 1996, Sunday

It was cold today, not a good day for walking.

October 21, 1996, Monday

The letters of thanks have already been translated and the envelopes addressed. I will wait for the Diplomatic Protocol to inform me of the day to deliver them.

At 14:45 I was welcomed by the President of Greece, Stephanopoulos, who arrived in Poland on a three-day official visit. While greeting the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, President Kvashnievski introduced me as the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia. Stephanopoulos widened his eyes, stared at me and, after a long sigh, said in Greek:

- I am very glad to meet with another of my neighbours in Warsaw.

I replied in Greek:

- It is an honour, Mr. President, for me to greet His Excellency, my southern neighbour, with hopes and wishes for excellent neighbourly relations. I wish you a pleasant stay in Warsaw.

- Do you speak Greek?

- Just enough to say hello to good neighbours.

The Albanian Ambassador, who was standing next to me, later asked me:

- What did you talk about with the Greek?

- For hopeful things - I said.

- Nice - he said - but you'll have to wait a long time...

At 20:30 I was at the airport to welcome the 7-member delegation from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management of the Republic of Macedonia, led by Minister Nikola Parakeov.

October 22, 1996, Tuesday

From 08:15 to 08:45 I attended a courtesy meeting and talked with Parakeov and Roman Iagieliniski. It was an open and cordial conversation. From 09:15 to 10:30 I visited and had conversations at the Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury. I picked up a lot of interesting information useful to us.

At 14:00 I separated from the delegation and went to a meeting in the Sejm where, as is customary, the distinguished guest met with Polish parliamentarians and the Diplomatic Corps and delivered a fitting speech on the current relations between our two countries and the economic and political situation in the world, especially in Europe. When Stephanopoulos finished his part of his speech, unexpectedly and to the great surprise of those present, he very sharply and aggressively attacked Macedonia and then Turkey. Everyone turned their heads towards me. I was the only one who had not put on headphones. I listened to the unusually aggressive speech without translation, with which the Greek convinced those present that Macedonia was Greek and that he would never agree to the new state using the name Macedonia, because Macedonia historically was and is Greek and that because of Macedonia, Greece had shed rivers of blood in the wars with Bulgaria. At that moment, I touched the Bulgarian Ambassador who was sitting next to me with my elbow. He said to me quietly: - Let the dog bark. He continued by accusing Skopje of pursuing an expansionist policy towards Northern Greece, which also had the support of Turkey, to which he devoted several minutes of sharp remarks, underlining that historically Turkey was Greece's greatest enemy.

Stephanopoulos' speech was received with bitterness. On the way out, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Poland approached me and, making the sign of the cross in front of me, said that the Greek had been lying all along. He asked me to meet him next week. Unfortunately, the meeting did not occur because he passed away.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Apostolic Nunciature organized to mark the 18th anniversary of the pontificate of Pope John Paul II. A number of Ambassadors approached me and in a brief conversation condemned Stephanopoulos' speech. The Apostolic Nuncio and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps (to whom I congratulated the event) approached me and said:

-I heard that the Greek insulted the guests at the meeting with the parliamentarians and the Diplomatic Corps. Why did he need to be so rude?

To this I said that this was common in the daily rhetoric of Greeks when it came to something that did not belong to them but was taken by force, and that in the Sejm hall I felt as if I was at a pre-election rally of the kind held in Greece when it came to Macedonia.

I returned to the Embassy and sat down to draft a protest note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(Notes can be found in manuscript, NOTEBOOK III , p. 72)

October 23, 1996, Wednesday

The entire Polish press as well as electronic media published parts of the Greek President's speech, underlining that he used the Polish Parliament to conduct improper propaganda against third countries.

According to the program, the delegation of the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture traveled to Skiernievitse to visit the Institute of Horticulture, a huge apple plantation, as well as the cooperative in Lovich where one of the largest fruit, vegetable and milk processing factories was located.

The planned gala dinner did not take place due to Minister Parakeov's high temperature and the necessary presence of Deputy Prime Minister Iagieliniski at a Sejm session.

October 24, 1996, Thursday

This was the last and most important day of the Macedonian delegation's stay, the day of signing the Cooperation Agreement between the two Ministries. The scheduled bilateral talks did not take place at the scheduled time due to the absence of Deputy Prime Minister Iagieliniski, who was attending a

session of the Sejm. Mrs. Zavadzka was doing everything she could to get Iagieniliski out of the Sejm.

At 11:15 Iagieliniski arrived. The journalists ran to their cameras. The two Ministers sat down at the ceremonial table and signed the Agreement. Applause and the obligatory champagne. I congratulated the two Ministers, and Deputy Prime Minister Iagielieniski hugged me and loudly said:

- Congratulations Mr. Ambassador, all the credit belongs to you because you worked the most to bring us to this ceremony.

(Photographs of the signing of the Agreement in the manuscript, NOTEBOOK III).

After the joint lunch I invited the delegation and hosts to the Embassy for coffee. At 17:00 we left for the airport from where the Macedonian delegation flew to Macedonia.

October 25, 1996, Friday

A quiet day, no phone calls and no visits.

October 26, 1996, Saturday

Despite the cold weather we took the metro for a long walk in the Kabati Forest.

October 27, 1996, Sunday

I reviewed the Polish press. It continued to publish comments regarding the speech given by the Greek President at the meeting with the Polish parliamentarians and the Diplomatic Corps. There was general condemnation. I arranged the newspaper clippings in a separate folder.

October 28, 1996, Monday

Mrs. Mirgos, Chief of Staff of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, called. She said that the issue of signing the Agreements was on the right track.

October 29, 1996, Tuesday

From 18:00 to 18:45 I attended a cocktail at the Turkish Embassy. A representative of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs told me that the Agreements on investment protection and avoidance of double taxation had been harmonized. He recommended that I seek out Mr. Kazhimiezh Bani tomorrow for verification and further procedure.

At 19:10 I attended a cocktail at the Czech Embassy. I met and had a long conversation with J. Viatr, Minister of National Education. He was satisfied with the conversations he'd had with Minister Sofia Todorova. Minister Viatr introduced me to Janush Korvin-Mike, President of the Main Council of the Union of Real Politics and member of the Sejm. He spoke very positively about Macedonia, which he had visited as a student. At the cocktail I also met Iezhi Bishak, Director of the Bureau at the Ministry of Culture and Art, responsible for the culture of national minorities. In our short conversation he said that the issue of the rights of national minorities had not been resolved in the best way in Macedonia. I asked him where he had got that wrong information. He said that he had spoken to an Albanian the other day. I told him that in terms of minority rights, Macedonia had exceeded all world standards regarding minority rights and, to make sure, he should visit Macedonia. He asked:

- And who would cover the costs of the stay?

– The one from whom you receive such information. And let me tell you that, in the institution where you work, the authorities have a very positive opinion of Macedonia. I think you have chosen bad company for collecting information about the rights of minorities in Macedonia.

Unfortunately some people could not sleep peacefully without slandering Macedonia.

October 30, 1996, Wednesday

At 11:00 I met with Boravski. During our conversation, I asked him to give me the text of the Greek President's speech. He said that Stephanopoulos did not speak according to the agreed text, with which the Polish side expressed dissatisfaction.

At 11:30 the President of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group and his Deputy arrived at the Embassy. They expressed their indignation at the insulting and aggressive anti-Macedonian speech of the Greek President, for which they sent a protest note to the Greek Embassy in Warsaw. In the continuation of the conversation, they said that they had already scheduled a meeting with the Minister, Dariush Rosati, and would request the implementation of the agreements that would be the subject of the meetings and talks between Tito Petkovski and his Polish hosts.

At 13:00 I went to lunch at the Slovak Ambassador's place. Present were the Ambassadors of: Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Ukraine and Hungary as well as Minister Dariush Rosati. The main topic of conversation was the insulting speech given by the Greek President. Minister Rosati noted that the Greek Ambassador had been summoned to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this regard.

During the lunch, a Club of Polish-speaking Ambassadors was formed, for which Minister Rosati expressed great satisfaction and gratitude.

October 31, 1996, Thursday

Ambassador Hmielevski called and asked me to confirm whether the dates November 28-29 of this year were okay for Minister Dariush Rosati to visit Macedonia. I promised him that I would request a response from Skopje today.

This afternoon I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with the following content:

Reference: Your number 350/96

1. **Please convey that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. L. Frchkovski, is pleased to accept Foreign Minister D. Rosati's request for a visit on November 28-29, 1996.**

2. **We agree with the proposed topics for discussion, and the aforementioned agreements will be signed.**

3. **We will submit to you our proposal for the Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and a draft text of the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and Poland as soon as possible.**

4. **Please inform us as soon as possible about the date and time of Minister D. Rosati's arrival in Skopje, as well as the composition of the delegation, so that we can prepare a program.**

5. **Please submit an attachment regarding the preparations for the visit with your view on Macedonian-Polish relations, as well as on the topics that the Polish side will raise. – O. Maleski, sr.**

I called Ambassador Hmielevski and told him that the date had been accepted and that it would be good to meet after All Souls' Day and arrange some issues regarding Minister Rosati's official visit.

I must note that the aforementioned telegram was a rare response to dozens of my telegrams. And as for point number 5, couldn't someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

Republic of Macedonia at least read some of my telegrams and compile an appropriate note?

Of course I would act according to the demands set forth in the telegram because that was also part of my obligations.

November 1, 1996, Friday

Today is All Souls' Day. All of Poland, according to centuries-old tradition and respect for the deceased, would be at the cemeteries today and tomorrow. The living would make offerings for the deceased loved ones. The deceased would be remembered. In Polish cemeteries, there was no food and drink, like it is in ours. Only flowers and light for the souls from the flickering flame of a candle or from the lamps arranged on the tombstone. The custom of bringing food and drink had long been gone and disappeared along with the adoption of the Catholic faith. It was mentioned at the beginning of the play "OLD PEOPLE" ("DZIADY") by Adam Mitskievich. At dusk and before midnight, Polish television, as always, broadcast footage from the Warsaw cemeteries. All of Poland was lit. The day and night were day and night for those who had departed for eternity and now their resting places were covered with flowers and illuminated with a flickering light. Day and night of mourning. Silence, tomblike silence and occasional sighs in which are those who were and remained always dear and unforgettable in memories.

At 10:30 the Romanian Ambassador, Grigorescu, called me and asked to meet. We were having a conversation in a café near the Romanian Embassy. Grigorescu was interested in my assessment of Stephanopoulos' speech. I told him that it was an exploitation of the Polish Sejm for propaganda against third countries and that I had reacted most strongly to the Polish authorities in this regard.

November 2, 1996, Saturday

I prepared a memo all day in accordance with the requirements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

November 3, 1996, Sunday

I packed the financial reports for July, August, September and October and will send them to Skopje via one of our delegations. I continued to prepare the requested note for the needs of Minister L. Frchkovski, who will use it in his talks with the Polish Minister, Mr. Rosati, and I constantly wonder what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia is doing with my telegrams? Does anyone read them?

I doubt it.

November 4, 1996, Monday

As of today I have a new driver. He seems professional, polite and careful.

The Chargé d'Affaires of the Turkish Embassy called and asked me to see him. I scheduled a meeting with him at 15:00. Our conversation was about Stephanopoulos' speech. He asked if I had the text of the speech. I gave him a copy. He thanked me and left very satisfied.

I'll wait to hear how the Turk reacts.

November 5, 1996, Tuesday

Rapatski called me and asked me to see me. The conversation lasted about 40 minutes. He spoke very highly of the meetings and talks he had with Tito Petkovski, and the talks and meeting Minister Sofia Todorova had with Minister Viatr and the signing of the Agreement on Cooperation between our two Ministries of Education. He also asked me for my opinion regarding Stephanopoulos' speech. I expressed my displeasure and regretted that the Polish side had allowed him to use the

Polish Sejm for propaganda against third countries. Unfortunately, he said, we did not expect this and accordingly informed the Greek Embassy of our position. To this I told him that self-confident and pampered by the West, Greece did not accept pedagogical advice and that you could be sure that it would exert threatening pressure on Poland when it came to expanding relations between Poland and Macedonia, and even object to our current conversation.

I had frequent conversations with Mr. Rapatski. We found common ground on many things and there were some that ended in bitterness, but at least we were honest.

At 12:00 at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the upcoming visit of Minister Rosati to Macedonia. I was briefed on the program for the visit.

Minister Rosati would be accompanied by his wife Teresa and with a delegation whose composition would be communicated to me in the coming days and he would fly on a special plane directly from Warsaw. The Polish side hoped that Minister Rosati, in addition to having talks with Minister Frchkovski, would be received by President Kiro Gligorov, President of the Assembly Tito Petkovski and Prime Minister Branko Tsrvenkovski, and discussions would be held on the following issues:

-mutual political relations and the cooperation plan during 1997;

-economic cooperation and the difficulties that arise in its implementation;

-exchange of opinions regarding agreements on mutual cooperation and the issue of the name when signing agreements;

- talk about issues in the field of culture, education and tourism;

-discuss the issue of the Albanian minority in Macedonia and Poland's position;

- define Macedonia's expectations from Poland regarding European integration;

- define Macedonia's position regarding Poland's candidacy for OSCE chairmanship;

- discuss the possibility of Poland's Minister opening a Polish Embassy in Skopje;

- discuss the situation in the region with special reference to relations with neighbours;

-define Macedonia's position on Montenegro's integration;

-UNPREDEP;

-signing of agreements;

- arrange a meeting with the head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church;

- schedule a press conference;

-The Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to submit a program regarding the official visit of Minister Rosati.

According to the interlocutors, the Polish side attached great importance to the visit and considered it very important in the relations between our two countries.

I sent the above text to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia this evening, for which I will await a response.

November 6, 1996, Wednesday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs called me and asked for permission to fly the special Yak-40 aircraft. I forwarded the request by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 8:40 I was at the airport to welcome t Ilir Liuma, Deputy Minister of Health of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 15:30 Ognen Maleski called and asked me to go to Skopje two days before Rosati's arrival. I suggested that it would be useful for me to accompany Minister Rosati and introduce him to Macedonia's past during the flight, thus establishing closer contacts in the future. After a brief consideration, he said: - accepted.

November 7, 1996, Thursday

At 08:00 I went to the hotel where Deputy Minister Liuma was staying. After I met with him I took him into the hall where the Forum was being held. He spoke about the topic in French.

At 15:30 I attended a meeting and had discussions with the Polish Deputy Minister of Health. We agreed to have the experts meet and after that the signing of an agreement between the two Ministries in March 1997.

November 8, 1996, Friday

At 09:00 Ambassador Hmielevski called me. He said that upon his return from Turkey on Wednesday or Thursday, he would provide me with the list of the delegation that would accompany Minister Rosati to Skopje.

November 9, 1996, Saturday

At 14:00 Mikana called me on the phone. She said that she had been assigned to the Embassy in Warsaw as an economic and consular advisor and that Misailovski was her big competitor, but Minister Frchkovski did not agree to him.

I congratulated her for her courage.

November 10, 1996, Sunday

At 10:30 Deputy Minister Liuma arrived at the Embassy. He was satisfied with his stay in Warsaw and the conversation he'd had with his Polish colleague. He expressed his gratitude for the help. At 11:00 I sent him to the airport.

November 11, 1996, Monday

Today is Poland's national holiday, Independence Day. Poland gained its independence after its partitions between Russia, Austria-Hungary and Prussia, 123 years ago. I sent a corresponding congratulatory message to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, the Polish state leadership and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 17:00 I attended the opening of a book exhibition and documents dedicated to Independence Day at the National Library.

Preparations for Minister Rosati's official visit to Macedonia have begun in earnest.

The Polish-Balkan Chamber informed me that they had already completed preparations for informational activities for organizing alternating trade exhibitions in Poland and Macedonia. A company from Chenstohova asked me for addresses of sports clubs. A company from the city of Krasnik also asked for cooperation in the chemical industry. A company from Lodzh that produced confectionery products was looking to import sour cherries from Macedonia. Other companies also contacted me during the day, for which I sent an appropriate note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

November 12, 1996, Tuesday

I sent the text of the Avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance accepted our remarks. This ended a difficult part of the negotiations.

November 13, 1996, Wednesday

At 11:30 I visited Voronietski. I handed him the Resolution on the preservation of international security - preventing the violent disintegration of states. I received positive comments.

At 12:00 I went to see the Deputy Minister Economic Cooperation with foreign countries. I handed him the invitation from Bekir Zhuta to visit Macedonia with the purpose of signing an agreement on economic cooperation and trade. He received it with pleasure and planned to travel to Skopje on December 2 this year.

At 12:30 I was received by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Roman Iagieliniski. I handed him the letter of thanks from Tito Petkovski. We had a brief conversation about the situation in our region.

November 14, 1996, Thursday

At 12:00 I went to the Ministry of Culture and Arts. Present were: Deputy Minister Tadeush Polak, Giorgi Boichevski from the Macedonian Ministry of Culture and myself, Petre Nakovski. During our conversation, the issue of signing an agreement on cultural cooperation was discussed. Both parties agreed that a three-member Polish delegation would arrive in Skopje in December 1996. Their task would be to finalize the text of the Agreement at an expert level, which would then be signed in February 1997 and within that framework, a promotion of the Panorama of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry in my translation into Polish, whose publication was expected to take place on January 15, 1997, the opening of the exhibition of Macedonian terracotta icons in the National Museum in Warsaw and the screening of the film "The Yellow Rose" filmed in a Polish-Macedonian co-production.

At the end of our conversation, Undersecretary Giorgi Boitsevski informed Deputy Minister Tadeush Polak on the latest archaeological excavations in Macedonia and asked Poland to provide appropriate assistance in clarifying the found artifacts, to which Deputy Minister Tadeush Polak promised that he would engage his best experts in connection with the request made, as well as with the protection of monuments in Macedonia.

At 15:00 I went to the publishing house "Book and Knowledge" ("KSIĄŻKA i WIEDZA") where the director informed me that the Panorama of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry would be published on January 15, 1997.

At 14:00 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We discussed the program for Minister Rosati's official visit to Macedonia. We agreed to another meeting tomorrow.

November 15, 1996, Friday

At noon I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Repubic of Macedonia with the program for Minister Rosati's official visit to Macedonia. I translated it into Polish and faxed it to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. My proposals were basically accepted. Namely, on November 28 at 13:00, Rosati would meet with Minister Dr. Liubomir Frchkovski, at 14:00 the signing of bilateral agreements on investment protection and avoidance of double taxation would take place. In the evening he would meet with Michael, the head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. On Friday, November 29, 1996 a reception and talks would be held with Prime Minister Branko Tsrvenkovski, at 11:00 a reception and talks with Tito Petkovski, at 12:00 a reception and talks with President Kiro Gligorov and at 13:00 a press conference.

After a joint lunch at "Maracana", they would depart for Ohrid at 15:00 and from there a flight to Warsaw.

November 16, 1996, Saturday

At 17:50 the WOT TV channel (Warszawski Osrodek Telewizyjny – Warsaw Television Center) broadcast a report about the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw.

November 17, 1996, Sunday

It is peaceful outside. I wish it was the same in my soul, where so much bitterness has accumulated.

November 18, 1996, Monday

I visited the Polish Ministry of Finance to harmonize the texts of the agreements.

November 19, 1996, Tuesday

A traditional meeting of about fifteen Ambassadors' wives was held at the Embassy. This took place about once a month in in various Embassies. Coffee, juices, cakes and lots of stories about their country and traditional customs. It was truly mutual getting to know one another meetings. Today it was my wife's turn.

November 20, 1996, Wednesday

At 9:00 I called the Polish Ministry of Finance and informed them that the Macedonian side had agreed with the proposed wording of the Investment Protection Agreement. Both they and I were relieved because, after 16 months of work on the agreements, the end had finally arrived. On November 28 the agreements would be signed in Skopje.

At 12:00 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I delivered a letter from Minister L. Frchkovski to Minister Rosati.

Great news:

-Three agreements would be signed in Skopje.

At 13:00 I received a call from the Ministry of Finance – Office of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko. They requested a meeting and discussion on November 26 or 27 regarding his visit to Macedonia. We agreed to hold the meeting on November 25 at 11:00.

At 15:00 a telegram arrived signed by Misailovski. He asked me to send him the information regarding Minister Rosati's visit to our Embassy in Vienna. There was no explanation – why in Vienna. Immediately afterwards B. Stojanovski called and asked for the same. And he did not explain – why? His telegrams had the character of an order and exuded rudeness and lack of personal culture. I called Maleski and asked why Misailovski and Stojanovski were asking for the information about the visit? He said he did not know and that he would find out.

November 21, 1996, Thursday

On both sides we continued with the preparations for the official visit of Minister Rosati to Macedonia. The visit was considered very important for the furthering of relations and cooperation between our two countries. The entire burden rested on my shoulders.

I continued writing the requested information on the past relations and cooperation between Poland and Macedonia.

November 22, 1996, Friday

At 08:00 Andzhei Ochepka, Director General of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Poland, called me for a meeting.

He explained the purpose of the conversation was Gzhegozh Kolodko's (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland) official visit to the Republic of Macedonia at the invitation of Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia or the Minister of Finance. He said that Polish-Macedonian relations were developing increasingly more intensively and that it was necessary to determine the priorities of cooperation between our two countries on the spot. He further emphasized that despite the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dariush Rosati, would soon officially visit Macedonia, there was a need for further expansion of high-level contacts.

On the political level, Poland had continued to support our country now and would in the future and, within its capabilities, as well as the broad ties and contacts it had with many countries in the world, to be a sponsor in the process of the Republic of Macedonia's rapprochement with European institutions, international economic, trade and financial organizations. On the economic front, together with the responsible and competent authorities in the Republic of Macedonia, possibilities for expanding mutually beneficial economic, trade and financial cooperation should be examined, as well as the exchange of experiences regarding the market economy and privatization, the training of personnel in the fields of economics and finance, establishment of joint companies, sharing Poland's experiences concerning the European Union, OECD, CEFTA, negotiating the signing of an appropriate agreement between the two Ministries of Finance, as well as other issues that would have been previously agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

The Director General of the Ministry of Finance expressed hope that Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Gzhegozh Kolodko would have the honour of being invited to officially visit the Republic of Macedonia and, in addition to the talks with the Minister of Finance and the Deputy Prime Minister, would be received during the visit by President Kiro Gligorov, the Speaker of the Parliament and the Prime Minister.

Due to his busy schedule, Mr. Gzhegozh Kolodko would make the visit from December 20 to 22, 1996. He would arrive in Skopje on a special plane accompanied by three of his associates and one bodyguard.

Embassy note: *Gzhegozh Kolodko is considered the architect of economic reforms in Poland and the West. An economist by profession. He has enormous influence over the largest Polish businesses, import-export companies, banks and the media. In Poland, it is appreciated that his efforts contributed to joining the OECD, the European Union, as well as the Polish economy's high level of growth.*

The Embassy suggested accepting Mr. Gzhegozh Kolodko to visit the Republic of Macedonia and holding the proposed meetings.

In the afternoon the Polish Police Headquarters delivered a letter to me by courier, informing me that an international conference would be held in Warsaw from December 2 to 3, 1996, and that a representative of the Macedonian Ministry of the Interior was expected to participate. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

Late at night I finished writing the requested information and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

November 23, 1996, Saturday

I hope I can rest today.

At 22:30 I watched a rerun of the show "Ambassadors - Macedonia".

Once again I was asked to leave for Skopje two days before Minister Rosati's visit.

November 24, 1996, Sunday

I made preparations for my departure to Skopje.

November 25, 1996, Monday

At 08:25 I flew from Warsaw airport to Vienna and from there to Ohrid. I arrived in Skopje in a company car at 18:20.

November 26-27, 1996, Tuesday-Wednesday

I had consultations regarding Rosati's visit.

November 28-29, 1996, Thursday-Friday

We had the official visit of Minister Rosati according to the program. Three agreements were signed: investment protection, avoidance of double taxation and economic and trade cooperation.

It was an excellent, very useful and necessary visit.

I received an invitation from the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Macedonia, Taki Fiti, for Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko to officially visit the Republic of Macedonia.

November 30, 1996, Saturday

I spent all day visiting my children.

December 1, 1996, Sunday

I returned to Warsaw via Vienna.

December 2, 1996, Monday

At 12:00 I was at the Ministry of Finance. I presented Mrs. Mirgos, Head of the Cabinet of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, with the invitation from Minister Taki Fiti to officially visit Macedonia.

December 3, 1996, Tuesday

I was at a meeting and had a conversation with the Apostolic Nuncio. He was interested in the participation of the delegation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in the Eucharistic Congress to be held from May 25 to July 1, 1997 in Vrotslav. I said that I was not informed about the holding of the announced congress. We moved on to the visit of Minister Rosati to Macedonia, which I told him was very successful.

At 13:00 I had lunch at the Romanian Ambassador's residence. The Slovak Ambassador was also there.

December 4, 1996, Wednesday

I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Macedonia of the Republic of Macedonia requesting that they inform me whether the Macedonian Orthodox Church would participate in the Eucharistic Congress in Vrotslav.

December 5, 1996, Thursday

Mrs. Mirgos from Kolodko's Office informed me that the Deputy Prime Minister thanked him for the invitation and that preparations for the visit were underway but they had not yet determined the composition of the delegation and did not know whether they would fly on a special or regular plane.

At 12:00 at the "SHERATON" hotel, attending a ceremony on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the establishment of the Slovenian-Polish pharmaceutical company "LEK-POLSKA". The event was organized by the Embassy of Slovenia. It was a rich program. First a musical concert and then an elaborate cocktail. The Romanian Ambassador, who was always the most cheerful at cocktails, watching how the guests were enjoying themselves, told me:

- The pharmaceutical factory "LEK" from Liubliana must have made a lot of money to host such a lavish feast.

At the cocktail I met the new Greek Ambassador. A seemingly calm man, who introduced himself as Chryssanthopoulos and during the conversation said that he came from a leftist family. I told him that we were similar in appearance, origin and neighbourhood and that we would have the opportunity to meet again. He accepted.

I had a meeting with Maikovski, political advisor to President Kvashnievski. We discussed Rosati's visit. In this regard, I said that the visit was very successful and opened up new opportunities for cooperation, but much greater results would be achieved if President Kvashnievski officially visited Macedonia. He said that they were working on that.

December 6, 1996, Friday

It was cold and snowing. The street was almost empty. A monk passed by and entered the large monastery courtyard through the wide iron gate. His tracks were immediately covered by the falling snow. From my office window I could no longer see the black figure moving.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Finnish Embassy. It was modest with only a few guests.

December 7, 1996, Saturday

I read a long article in the newspaper "ŽEČSPOPOLITA" about Vislava Shimborska, this year's winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. The article also mentioned my name as the translator of Shimborska's poems into Macedonian.

December 8, 1996, Sunday

I took the day off, reading, watching TV, napping.

December 9, 1996, Monday

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. They were looking for the composition of the delegation that would travel to Macedonia, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko. I called Mrs. Mirgos. She promised me that she would provide me with the list in the coming days.

An invitation arrived from the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia for the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group to visit Macedonia in February 1997.

December 10, 1996, Tuesday

At 9:30 I was at the Ministry of National Education. I presented Minister J. Viatr with a letter of thanks from Tito Petkovski. During our conversation, he was interested in Minister Rosati's visit. He emphasized that Poland was very interested, within its capabilities, to support Macedonia in strengthening its statehood, hence high-level meetings were useful. He suggested considering the possibility of his visit to Macedonia, with the aim of strengthening cooperation between the two Ministries of Education.

My health was not the best. At 16:00 Ditta called Dr. Emilia who prescribed appropriate medication.

December 11, 1996, Wednesday

The Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Macedonia called and requested the list of the delegation to be led by Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko.

Lile Naumova called me from Zagreb. We had a pleasant and cordial conversation. She announced that she was considering requesting a transfer to The Hague.

December 12, 1996, Thursday

I received a call from Mrs. Mirgos from the Office of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko. She said that she was going to submit the list of the delegation today and that in connection with my possible accompaniment of Kolodko, according to the rules of Diplomatic Protocol, I would not be able to fly on the same plane. She pointed out that the Deputy Prime Minister wanted me to accompany him but I had to sign a statement that I would fly at my own risk. As a joke, I told her that nothing could happen to me because I was under the care of the Almighty and there was no need to write a statement. She asked if my wife would also travel. I said: I don't go anywhere without her.

December 13, 1996, Friday

At 10:00, at the invitation of the Slovak Ambassador, Marian Servatka, I went to a lecture at the Slovak Institute.

At 15:30, Miriana Petrovska called and said that she would soon be coming to the Embassy as an advisor for economic issues. I wished her a safe journey and good luck.

The Ministry of Finance provided me with the list of the delegation**.**

December 14, 1996, Saturday

At 18:15 I called Ante Popovski. We talked about the cooperation between the writers' societies. Among other things, he told me that he had seen President Kiro Gligorov who told him that only Nakovski was an active and very practical diplomat and that all the others were just party figures, not diplomats, and that pressure was being exerted to replace Nakovski with a diplomat from among those who worked in Yugoslav diplomacy and a senior activist of the ruling party.

I know those who covet my place.

December 15, 1996, Sunday

It was snowing heavily. It was cold. I used the time to organize my office paperwork.

December 16, 1996, Monday

I had a telephone conversation with Mirchev, our Ambassador in Liubliana. We exchanged opinions on the situation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Nothing positive.

December 17, 1996, Tuesday

At 09:30 I was at Boravski's. I handed him the invitation from the Macedonian-Polish Parliamentary group to visit Macedonia. In the 15-minute conversation, the excellent cooperation between our two countries was highlighted.

I sent a letter to Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia,.

(Copy can be found in manuscript, NOTEBOOK) III , p. 120)

At 15:30 I received a fax from the Polish Ministry of Finance with the following content:

"Dear Ambassador,

Regarding the fact that we still do not have information about the program for the visit of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Mr. Kolodko to Macedonia scheduled to take place from December 20 to 22, 1996, I express my concern and kindly request from Mr. Ambassador, an urgent response.

With expressions of respect,

Anna Mirgos"

I read and reread the telegram and thought to myself – eh, Sister Mirgos, you should know that I am also upset and what can I do when someone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia doesn't even read my telegrams, but pretends to be smart and worried as if to torpedo every proposal.

I know who those experienced troublemakers are but if no one there can do something to them, I can do the least.

I once again requested the information from both parties.

December 18, 1996, Wednesday

Preparations for Kolodko's visit continued. Perhaps the expense incurred would yield some benefit.

I received the program for the visit, translated it into Polish and sent it to Mrs. Mirgos.

At 12:40 I returned to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and handed over the text of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Macedonia and Poland. They asked me for texts of similar agreements that Macedonia had signed with other countries.

Despite the opposition of some in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I received permission from Minister L. Frchkovski to accompany Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko during his official visit to Macedonia and participate in all meetings and discussions.

Unfortunately, some still could not grasp the significance of acquaintance with high-ranking figures, which opened up opportunities for broader contacts that served as a tool for expanding cooperation. But what they did not learn earlier, they would not learn now. It seemed that jealousy, self-confidence and arrogance were eroding them and, because of that, they harmed themselves.

December 19, 1996, Thursday

The Panorama of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry, entitled "Red Grapes," was published, for which I put in a lot of effort. I received 5 copies from the publisher.

At 12:00 a regular lunch at the Slovenian Ambassador's residence. Present were Ambassadors from: Slovenia, Macedonia, Estonia, Hungary, Ukraine, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania.

The flight to Vienna was delayed. I would have to look for a flight to Skopje via Munich. Mrs. Mirgos called and said that my wife and I would be flying to Skopje in the company of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko.

At 16:00 I was at the Embassy of the Russian Federation. Farewell to Ambassador Kashlev.

December 20, 1996, Friday

At 19:10 the special plane Yak-40 took off for Skopje. During the flight from Warsaw to Skopje, the Deputy Prime Minister read the poems from the Panorama of Macedonian Poetry that I had given to him with a dedication, and he said with satisfaction that such things strengthened the friendship between countries and peoples. Then he asked me to tell him about Macedonia and together we discovered the similarities in the historical tragic past of both peoples. Before landing he told me that he had completed a course on the history of Macedonia and on the relations between the two countries, on the economic, and especially on the rich cultural cooperation and on everything I had done so far. Grabbing my right hand tightly he said:

- You are not only fit to be an Ambassador but also a professor. Pursue both of your fateful roles.

We landed at Skopje airport at 23:15. A ceremonial welcome was put on by Minister Taki Fiti and accompanying officials.

December 21, 1996, Saturday

At 09:30 official talks between the two Ministers, Taki Fiti and Kolodko took place.

At 11:00 we had a meeting with Prime Minister Branko Tsrvenkovski.

At 12:00 we had a meeting with Tito Petkovski, President of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia.

After lunch, hosted by Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Liube Trpevski, talks between the two Deputy Prime Ministers continued.

December 22, 1996, Sunday

At 09:15 we had a meeting and discussions with Iorgo Shundovski, Minister of Urbanization, Construction and Environmental Protection.

At 10:00 we had talks at the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia. A free conversation about mutual cooperation. At one point, the President of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce stood up and, waving his hands, said that until now Macedonia had good cooperation with Poland, but now the cooperation was stagnating. To this, Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko said that since the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, a series of agreements had been signed and numerous visits of experts and Ministers had been exchanged. Here, this is your Ambassador go and ask him.

Amazed the President of the Chamber then turned to me and asked:

-And why am I not aware of this?

I could not hold back and said:

-Probably because you are more interested in the monopoly of Technometal-Vardar or your favourites from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not deliver my telegrams to you, Mr. President!

No one probably expected such a reaction. I asked the translator Grigori Popovski to literally translate my reaction to the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Kolodko, who said to the President of the Chamber of Commerce:

- Now you know?

At 11:30 we had a meeting with Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia.

The talks were mainly dominated by the desire for comprehensive cooperation between the two countries, with Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko sharing his experience and knowledge regarding economic changes in Poland, emphasizing that the most important aspects were reforms in the overall organization of the state, investments and integration into European and world organizations, for which Poland was ready not only to share its experience, but also to help in the international affirmation of Macedonia. He emphasized that in cooperation with Poland, meetings and talks at the level of experts, ministers, businessmen, broader cooperation in culture

and tourism were necessary. He emphasized that thanks to the efforts of Ambassador Nakovski, enviable results had been achieved so far, which should continue to be strengthened. At the end of the meetings and talks, he thanked us for the warm reception, emphasizing that Macedonia had a representative in Warsaw who was fully dedicated to the cooperation between Poland and Macedonia, and thanks to his efforts, I had the honour today to meet and talk with the state leadership of Macedonia.

The meetings and conversations took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere. A rare successful meeting and useful conversations in which I was a participant the entire time.

At 12:30 breakfast in the assembly restaurant and half an hour later departure for Ohrid on the special plane. At the airport a traditional welcome with bread and salt was offered by girls dressed in folk costumes, accompanied by the local leadership and headed by the director of Macedonian customs, an old acquaintance of Kolodko. We had lunch with traditional Macedonian dishes and plenty of wine.

The day was dedicated to visiting the sights of Ohrid and a late afternoon departure for Warsaw, where we landed at 22:50. Upon departure from the Warsaw airport, Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko thanked me and invited me to a meeting.

At the Embassy desk I found a fax with this content:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs – to all DCMs.

We inform you that on the occasion of the New Year and Christmas holidays, the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, will host a reception for the Diplomatic Corps in the Republic of Macedonia on January 10, 1997, to which the heads of the DCMs of the Republic of Macedonia will also be invited.

Chief of Protocol

Iana Petkovska

So, in two weeks we had to go back to Skopje.

December 23, 1996, Monday

This part of the meeting at the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce should not be left out of the manuscript "Night Notes." The president, confident in himself and in the style of the previous regime, said:

- From this place I claim that after independence we have not signed a single agreement with Poland. Whoever does not know this is better off herding sheep.

Kolodko interrupted him and told him that so far, since the establishment of diplomatic relations, five agreements had been signed. Petreski just smirked. Kolodko loudly said that he had the impression that this conversation was just a waste of time. In Poland, Kolodko was known for his sharp tongue, and here, in the middle of Skopje, he was like that too.

It's not worth me jotting down nonsense, even though it's a hallmark of our times. I closed my notebook and went to sleep.

December 24, 1996, Tuesday

Catholic Christmas Eve. The streets of Warsaw are empty. Poles gather for Christmas Eve dinner where the table barely holds the twelve traditional Polish dishes.

December 25, 1996, Wednesday

It's cold and snowing.

At 19:15 we were at the airport to meet Lile Naumova, who would be our guest for a few days. She worked at the Macedonian Embassy in Zagreb as a Chargé d'Affaires.

December 26, 1996, Thursday

The Second day of Christmas, Catholic holiday and preparations for welcoming the New Year 1997. It was a peaceful pre-New Year's Day. We had long and pleasant conversations with Lile Naumova. For ten years we worked together in the same office where Dragan Ianiatov was also a colleague, a clever, tactful, well-read and cultured colleague.

Our conversations concentrated on both the good and unpleasant days spent in the institution now renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Until then, we were a good, close-knit team, especially while Tomislav Simovski was alive. And then things went awry, especially when the Belgrade or federal diplomats came. All smart. They waited and just waited to be sent to the diplomatic service of the new Macedonian state that was still strengthening.

December 27, 1996, Friday

We sent New Year's and Christmas greetings to the Macedonian state leadership. We also sent greetings to the Polish state institutions, the President, the Prime Minister, Ministers, cultural and political figures and representatives of the Diplomatic Corps.

I went to the airport and booked a plane ticket for January 9, 1997, returning to Warsaw on January 12.

It's cold outside. Minus 22 degrees.

December 28, 1996, Saturday

All three of us, Ditta, Lile and I, went shopping in the city. It was not a good day to go out and walk around the shops because it was cold. Warsaw was almost empty. There were no customers in the shops either. We returned home frozen at 14:00.

December 29, 1996, Sunday

We visited the palace in Vilanuv and the exhibition of art and paintings from various eras.

December 30, 1996, Monday

Today I was supposed to go to the Vietnamese Embassy to sign the book of condolences for the death of their President. I didn't go because the driver was late for work.

At 15:15 we sent Lile Naumova to the airport. She was returning to Zagreb.

December 31, 1996, Tuesday

The last day of the year. It will be remembered for the good successes in carrying out the diplomatic mission, the meetings, visits, talks and agreements for cooperation between Macedonia and Poland, the excellent relations with the competent Polish institutions, the useful meetings and talks with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, but also for the inadequate cooperation expressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

It was a difficult but successful year.

PART THREE 1997

In the middle of the week, I began the third year of my diplomatic mission. With the same effort, desires and hopes, this year too, I would continue on the same path, as before, for a greater presence of Macedonia in Poland and Poland in Macedonia, and a joint step into the future.

January 1, 1997, Wednesday

In the morning we wished each other a Happy New Year, and also received phone greetings from the children.

A little joy but a lot of sadness.

January 2, 1997, Thursday

A copy of the letter sent to the relevant Macedonian Ministry arrived from the Polish Ministry of Transport.

It's minus 20 degrees outside.

January 3, 1997, Friday

At 09:00 the Slovak Ambassador, Marian Servatka, called me. He invited us to dinner at his residence tomorrow at 18:00.

At 12:00 the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts called us regarding the signing of the Cooperation Agreement between the two Ministries. They asked for information on whether they could expect a representative of the Macedonian Ministry of Culture to arrive between January 15 and 17 this year. We arranged a meeting.

I notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

In the evening, at 21:00, Borko Zafirovski, Deputy Minister of Culture, called me and confirmed that he would be arriving in Warsaw during the proposed period.

January 4, 1997, Saturday

At 06:20 Vlado Blazhevski called me from Kiev, who a month ago had opened a Macedonian Embassy there. He provided a lot of information about the situation in Ukraine and a lot of dissatisfaction with the cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. That was the extent of our conversation with a promise that we would talk again.

At the dinner at the Slovak Ambassador's residence, we discussed economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. We agreed that it was necessary for appropriate business companies to establish contacts, to hold meetings of experts and high-ranking officials, to establish joint companies

and to participate jointly in international economic and cultural events, as well as to cooperate in the field of tourism.

January 5, 1997, Sunday

Because of the cold weather we didn't go outside.

January 6, 1997, Monday

New Year's greetings arrived from President Kiro Gligorov to President Kvashnievski, the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Senate and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I will deliver the greetings to them with a note via the Diplomatic Protocol.

That is the protocol.

At noon an invitation arrived to participate in the traditional New Year's meeting organized by President Kvashnievski on January 8 for the Diplomatic Corps and senior Polish figures. An opportunity for meetings and conversations.

January 7, 1997, Tuesday

An invitation for Borko Zafirovski arrived from the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts. I translated it into Macedonian and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I hoped they would pass it on to him in time.

Borko Zafirovski called and said that he would be accompanied by two people whose names he would provide tomorrow.

January 8, 1997, Wednesday

We arrived at the Presidential Palace at 18:45. We were in the 68th place in the queue. We slowly moved towards the large hall. The Director of the Diplomatic Protocol announced the

invited guests who greeted President Kvashnievski and his entourage.

Many meetings and conversations. I was particularly impressed by the conversation with Minister Dariush Rosati, who assessed Polish-Macedonian relations as excellent. We had short conversations with the Ambassadors of: Hungary, Belarus, Romania, Albania, Great Britain, Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Belgium, and Greece.

January 9, 1997, Thursday

At 10:50 B. Zafirovski called regarding his arrival in Warsaw.

At 13:15 at the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts. We were agreeing on a program for Zafirovski's stay.

Ioto Dimitrov from Konin called. He wanted to meet with Borko Zafirovski.

At 15:15 Vaska Tripkova called. She said that Minister Frchkovski had ordered her to come to Warsaw to serve as a secretary at the Embassy.

January 10, 1997, Friday

At 10:30 I met with the head of the Customs Office.

At 11:00 I met and had a conversation with Soltis, director of the publishing house "KSIĄŻKA I WIEDZA" in connection with the publication of a selection of poetry by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski.

At 13:15 the secretary of the Greek Embassy called and said that Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos wanted to speak with Ambassador Nakovski. Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos suggested that we meet for a modest breakfast at his residence on January 20. He would send an invitation. I thanked him for the invitation and said that I would accept the meeting with pleasure.

I needed to prepare for the conversation.

In the evening news, Polish television announced that from 1997 to 1999, Krakov would be the International City of Poetry, and in 2000 it would be the cultural capital of Europe.

Vislava Shimborska took over the patronage.

An opportunity to be present.

January 11, 1997, Saturday

Despite the cold weather we went for a long walk. Very refreshing.

January 12, 1997, Sunday

Took the day off. Read the Polish press and a translation of Ante Popovski's poems.

January 13, 1997, Monday

Today is Milenka's birthday. We called her this morning and congratulated her.

Invitations were sent for the promotion of the Panorama of Contemporary Macedonian Poetry, which would be held at the premises of the Cultural Center in the Old Town of Warsaw.

A phone conversation with Boris Vishiniski. He complained about not being invited to the promotion in Warsaw. I told him that it depended on the Ministry of Culture and to contact Borko Zafirovski.

Ognen Maleski called me. He told me that the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had a very positive opinion of me and was considering changing my status.

At 13:45 a reception for the President of Romania.

At 20:40 I met Borko Zafirovski, Miriana Popovska and Gligor Stoikovski at the airport. I took them to the hotel "EUROPEJSKI".

January 14, 1997, Tuesday

At 14:00 Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, who was on vacation, called. In the short conversation, he expressed satisfaction with his stay, the meetings and discussions held in Skopje. He asked me to send him photos. I told him that I had not received them yet. I promised him that when I received them, I would immediately send them to him. He said that he would prefer to receive them in person as that would be an opportunity for us to meet.

At 18:00 Borko Zafirovski and Miriana Popovska arrived at the Embassy. They stayed there until 22:00.

January 15, 1997, Wednesday

At 08:45 sending off the Romanian President.

Borko Zafirovski followed the agreed program during his stay in Warsaw.

(See the manuscript text of the program, the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation, my notes and photographs, NOTEBOOK III, p. 152)

January 16, 1997, Thursday

Held talks at the Ministry of Culture and Arts From 11:00 to 12:00.

At 13:30 I attended the promotion of the Panorama of Contemporary Macedonian Poetry under the title "RED GRAPES" selected by Grigor Stoikovski. A large number of guests were present, including mainly famous Polish poets who participated in the Struga Poetry Evenings. After the promotion we went to lunch.

At 17:00 I attended a cocktail with former Prime Minister Valdemar Pavlak. I had a long conversation with him regarding relations and cooperation between our two countries, as well as

meetings with the Ambassadors from: the USA, Ukraine, Belarus, Slovakia, Serbia and Greece.

January 17, 1997, Friday

At 09:45 I attended the talks at the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts between Minister Podkaniski and Zafirovski. The excellent cooperation in the field of culture to date was highlighted and the need for its further expansion was underlined.

At 10.15 the Cooperation Agreement between the two Ministries of Culture was signed.

January 18, 1997, Saturday

A visit to the National Museum and discussions about jointly organizing art exhibitions.

In the afternoon Zafirovski met with Ioto Dimitrov, a Macedonian from Kostur, one of the top sculptors in Poland. The possibility of organizing an exhibition of his works in Skopje was discussed.

January 19, 1997, Sunday

We arrived at the airport at 11:30. Farewell to Borko Zafirovski who left for Skopje. Present at the send off were Tadeush Polak, Deputy Minister of Culture and Director Tsvech. The plane departed for Skopje at 12:15.

January 20, 1997, Monday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia told me that they would soon send me an advisor for economic issues. I didn't ask who it would be but my colleague from Zurich called me on the phone and told me the name of the future advisor, warning me to be very careful and not to argue because connections were at stake.

At 13:30 my wife and I went to the scheduled lunch at the residence of the Greek Ambassador, Mr. Chryssanthopoulos. We were greeted at the wide-open door. We handed the Ambassador a bottle of wine and his wife a bouquet of red roses. They had a beautiful residence. They welcomed us like we had been their acquaintances for a long time. The living room was small, with many family photos on the walls. We talked about the weather, which for us southerners was very cold. After about twenty minutes we moved to the dining room. We talked more than we ate. We talked about ourselves as neighbours and thought out loud how to be better neighbours. The past divides us and does not portend better times, said Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos. To this I said that the new generations in both countries would have the main say and they would open new paths with regards to politics, business, economy, culture, education and even tourism in the foreseeable future. Like in Western Europe. Unfortunately, I continued, we are still Balkan people and neither the West nor the East likes that. I expressed hope that new winds would start blowing which, unfortunately, we might not live to see. Well it is our duty, Chryssanthopoulos interrupted me, to work on that, to bring those winds as soon as possible.

The conversation about cooperation and friendship between the two countries was long. The time of the meeting passed quickly. We thanked each other for the meeting and the delicious lunch, promising to see each other again soon. We did not talk about my wounds and the wounds of my compatriots because they would probably start to hurt a lot. Let them remain in memories and for those who would come later to open wide paths in the joint search for ways to coexist.

We returned to the Embassy with the feeling that we had opened the door slightly to good neighbourly encounters and promising times.

January 21, 1997, Tuesday

Zoran Iachev informed me that the possibility of raising the level of my diplomatic rank was being considered.

January 22, 1997, Wednesday

At 12:00 at a cocktail hosted by the President of the Senate.

At the Embassy, I invited the owner of the company "FAMA", from whom I had bought furniture, in order to furnish another office.

January 23, 1997, Thursday

At 11:00 I met with Chaika at his request. He was interested in the latest developments in the region.

I received a letter from Prof. Kole Simitchiev, the champion of Macedonianism in Poland. He was seriously ill. He was now in the vicinity of Warsaw with his daughter.

He wrote:

January 17, 1997

Dear Petre,

Thank you for not forgetting me and inviting me to important meetings. I am very sorry that I cannot attend. You know very well that I have dedicated my entire life to our homeland. I was a partisan and fought against the occupiers, then a participant in the Greek Civil War from the beginning to its end. Here in Poland I have found my new homeland. In my university lectures and in my published scientific papers, Macedonian literature, folk art, culture and history occupy a central place. It was the same before my retirement. Two years before my retirement, my heart stopped beating. An anesthesiologist saved me. After that, it happened again. I have arrhythmia and high blood pressure 220/110, my lungs are

weak, I have difficulty breathing and I cannot move without Nina's help. I am a member of several scientific societies but I have not been to any of the meetings, even after receiving invitations. I receive invitations from the Rectorate of the University of Vrotslav several times a year to attend various ceremonies, I also receive invitations from the Council of the Faculty of Philology, but I have not attended since 1988. In recent years, I have lost 26 kilograms.

I have to see the cardiologist every 7 days. If you see me, you'll see that I'm not the same Kole you knew from 1956.

Yesterday the cardiologist wouldn't let me move. I had high blood pressure and had to lie down.

I'm sorry that this is happening with my health and I couldn't attend yesterday's meeting.

With warm regards to Ditta and to you from Nina and Kole.

P.S. The cardiologist does not allow me to go to the airport when our daughter and her family return from America on January 28th.

Kole Simitchiev

(The original letter can be found in the manuscript, NOTEBOOK III, p. 160)

That's what Prof. Kole Simitchiev wrote to me and that's how I quoted him. He wrote a lot but he didn't write anything about the fact that in 1950, the organs of the Communist Party of Greece in Poland behaved as if they had their own state in a foreign country, in which their secret police acted freely. In the wide-cast net with which Yugoslav and Tito agents were sought, Kole was also found and slandered, sent for re-education in a state agricultural cooperative near the city Zgozhelets, where he collected potatoes, carrots and sugar beets, loaded and unloaded bags into tractor trailers and trucks, and only at night, under the

small flame of a candle, did he expand his knowledge from the books secretly brought to him from his Polish friend, the director of the cooperative and also a university professor at the "Polytechnic" in Lviv, now part of Ukraine. Two years later, he took over the Department of Old Slavonic and Ancient Greek at the University of Vrotslav. Under his supervision the newspaper "DEMOKRAT" was published in the Macedonian literary language, but not in the Macedonian Cyrillic script, for which he was in constant conflict with the Greek party committee. With his care and in close cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Education, he founded Macedonian schools in Zgozhelets, Politse, Legnitsa, Kroshchenko and Liskovate, and as the chief inspector he often visited and taught the teachers for whom he organized special one-month courses every year in July. And not only that. Through his work, dedication, cooperation and help from the Polish authorities, together with Pando Shapkarev, he prepared and with financial assistance from the Polish Ministry of Education, published a set of textbooks for primary Macedonian schools in Poland. And how much needs to be written about his scientific works, about which he wrote very modestly in his letter full of pain? He often came to Skopje and spent his days in libraries and scientific institutes and with his great friend, Blazhe Koneski, he had endless scientific discussions. And so until 1991, when the new authorities forgot him, and the current ones do not remember him, Kole Simitchiev remained the great champion of Macedonianism in Poland and beyond. Unfortunately, the great deserving Macedonians are forgotten today by the great semi-literate and greedy Macedonians. And now, as I think of this teacher and friend, it hurts me that I did not find the time to go to the Vrotslav cemetery and light a small candle so that there would be a little light for the soul of the great, but very modest Kole, a partisan, a slave, a professor, a teacher, a scientist and a friend.

I don't know what day that great torch of Macedonianism went out, and I wonder why we forgot our deserving children so easily?

January 24, 1997, Friday

The chairman of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group, MP Bzhezhiniski, called me and asked to meet. He came to the Embassy and we discussed President Kvashnievski's planned visit to Macedonia.

January 25, 1997, Saturday

I received news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia that Minister L. Frchkovski had signed the decision for my promotion.

At noon I met with the Romanian Ambassador, who during a casual conversation said me:

- Petre, if it depends on you, do not accept anyone who has not been on diplomatic work at least once. And even such people are idlers. I have two of them. They will come, they will complain and the whole job will be yours and the responsibility for the unfinished obligation will lie in your hands, and on top of that they will spy on you. I, he said, do not speak English and will not sort things out with the Poles in English. They value those who speak their language the most. Do you understand me?

January 26, 1997, Sunday

I've been going through my nightly notes all day. There are mistakes but I will not fix them.

January 27, 1997, Monday

At 15:20 the Deputy Minister of Culture and Arts, Tadeush Polak, arrived at the Embassy accompanied by an unknown man, who introduced himself as General and Doctor Barchikovski. From the longer conversation I learned that General Barchikovski was the chief surgeon at the secret military hospital on the island of Volin under the codename "250" where

about 2,000 fighters from the Democratic Army of Greece were treated. He spoke at length about the hospital, about the relations between the wounded Macedonians and Greeks and at the end of the conversation he said that his former Greek patients had invited him to Greece and expressed his desire to go to Macedonia to meet his Macedonian patients.

He published a book about the "250" hospital entitled „SZPITAL GRECKI NA WYSPIE WOLIN" ("The Greek Hospital on the Island of Volin") and gave me a copy with a dedication "To the dear Mr. Ambassador Nakovski with expressions of cordiality."

After his departure I sent a note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia indicating that it shouldvbe forwarded to the Fighters' Union with a request that they consider the possibility of General Barchikovski receiving an invitation for a visit.

January 28, 1997, Tuesday

At 10:00 I arrived at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. Discussion with Tsvech regarding further activities to expand cooperation. We agreed that the Macedonian side would submit its proposals by February 10, and that expert talks would be held in Skopje by the end of the same month.

Ognen Maleski called me. The conversation was about some technical issues. He confirmed that L. Frchkovski had signed the decision for my promotion, that no one was against it and that I had been highly praised and held up as an example.

The following question was immediately raised:

The decree appointing me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary was published in the Official Gazette on October 16, 1997. From January to October, that is, eight whole months, in whose drawer was the decision signed by Minister L. Frchkovski kept? Who hid it?

January 29, 1997, Wednesday

At 11:00 I had a conversation with Mrs. Halina Ognik, Deputy Director of the Department of International Legal Relations. I handed her the Macedonian text of the government agreement on cultural cooperation and asked to receive the Polish text.

January 30, 1997, Thursday

At 08:55 Slavianka from the Ministry of Finance called me. She said that the pictures from Kolodko's visit had been sent by mail. I reminded her about the return visit by Minister Taki Fiti.

At 10:00, a working breakfast was organized by Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko with the participation of 32 Ambassadors from Central and Eastern Europe and some Asian countries. Topic: Promotion of his book on Poland's economic successes and establishment of a foundation to assist countries in transition.

January 31, 1997, Friday

I had an unpleasant conversation with the driver who was constantly late for work. He persistently asked me to increase his salary. I told him that if he was not satisfied, he could look for another job.

February 1, 1997, Saturday

This evening we watched a live broadcast from Solun – the declaration of Solun as the 13th European Capital of Culture. Our Minister of Culture, Unkovski, was also present. The speech of Prime Minister Simitis left a positive impression on me, in which he stressed that Solun had always been a crossroads of different cultures, a city where members of different nations had

lived and still live, each with their own language, culture and customs. The impression was opposite from the speech of the Greek President, who stressed that Solun had always been Greek and continued to be so in the old national-chauvinistic style that still had deep roots in Greece. While Simitis spoke the language of a European, the Greek President had confirmed himself as a true nationalist. The statements of Simitis and those given by the Greek President would certainly be a topic of discussion for a large number of diplomats tomorrow.

February 2, 1997, Sunday

We went for a long walk in the nearest park. It was cold.

February 3, 1997, Monday

The text of the Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministries of Finance arrived by DHL. I would translate it into Polish in the next few days, and then the Polish text into Macedonian. The experts would compare them.

February 4, 1997, Tuesday

Professor Andzhei Herman, a consultant to the Polish Ministry of Finance and president of the "TO KNOW NOW" foundation, came to the Embassy. We had a long conversation about cooperation projects that would be jointly implemented with the help of the foundation. I promised him that he would receive the Macedonian proposals by February 20. After his departure, I sent an appropriate note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to inform them of our conversation.

At 11:00 the radio announced that Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko had resigned. President Kvashnievski accepted it.

The letter from Minister Taki Fiti to Kolodko and the Cooperation Agreement text arrived.

Ambassador Hmielevski called and announced that on February 20 of this year a group of two to three people, high-ranking officials of the Polish Ministryof Foreign Affairs, would travel to Skopje in order to make technical preparations for the opening of a Polish Embassy in Skopje. He asked that the group be given appropriate assistance. I promised that I would immediately inform the authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and that he could be sure that if the group requested it, they would receive the necessary assistance.

February 5, 1997, Wednesday

Outside there was slush and heavy snow was falling. It reminded me of the day 35 years ago, on February 5, 1962, when we set off by train to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

Gordana Gligorova, diligent and always very helpful and hardworking girl, called me. She said that Tripkova's appointment had already been signed for her to come to Warsaw. At noon I received a copy of the approval by fax signed by Minister L. Frchkovski, which said that Vasilka Tripkova was assigned to work at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw as a technical secretary.

Today I terminated the contract with the secretary Beata Ristovska, an excellent worker. She learned a lot and worked hard. She gained experience and knowledge. She managed well. I promised her that whenever delegations from Macedonia came, I would recommend her as a translator. I expressed my gratitude to her for her work and for the excellent cooperation. Tripkova, who had yet to learn how to be a secretary, was coming to take her place. I suggested that Beata stay at work until Tripkova arrived. Beata agreed to stay at the Embassy until the new secretary arrived.

In a phone conversation, a colleague told me:

- So far everyone who knows you has been happy with you and praised you. When they heard who they were sending to

you, they said - too bad for Petre. You know now that we all feel sorry for you.

I didn't feel relieved.

February 6, 1997, Thursday

At 12:00 with Mrs. Mirgos's at the Ministry of Finance. I handed her the letter from Minister Taki Fiti addressed to Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko, who resigned a few days ago, and the draft text of the Cooperation Agreement.

I asked her to say hello to Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko from me.

February 7, 1997, Friday

Today's day reminded me of the day we arrived in Skopje in the morning of 1962. From Subotitsa to Skopje under the watchful eye of two civilians. Not accompanied by either of them, nor even out of necessity. We arrived in Skopje in the morning. Knee-deep snow. Straight from the train, they put us in a gray van and, accompanied by two state militiamen, unloaded us in the Idrizovo prison. There was a large hall with about fifty iron beds in it. I had the flu at the time. I lay down in one of the beds and covered myself with a smelly blanket. The driver who brought us there shouted: - Where is the writer and threw two copies of the magazine "RAZGLEDI" at me, in which my poems were published with a wonderful foreword by Gane Todorovski, with whom I remained friends until the end of his life. So we arrived in Macedonia, which was our dream, and straight into the main prison in Idrizovo. Fifteen days of interrogation and arguments with the inspector. And what we went through later I might write about in my other notes.

Now today, we are in Poland again. The day, like then, is gray and gloomy and snow is falling nonstop.

Ditta went to the usual meeting of Ambassadors' wives.

February 8, 1997, Saturday

I received a telegram requesting (from all DCMs) extensive information about the building in which the Embassy is located, including photographs. I informed the signatory of the telegram that I had sent such information to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in 1995, and that the inspection and survey were carried out by an expert (architect) who had specially come to Warsaw for that purpose. I suggested that they check the archives. I fulfilled the request, just in case.

February 9, 1997, Sunday

At 22:30 I had a telephone conversation with Zhivko Apostolski. Among other things, the issue of staffing the Embassy was discussed. He said that they would send me people who had already 'eaten their bread' in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. For their ignorance and inaction he said, you will be held responsible.

I trusted Zivko and accepted his advice, which was an honest reflection of his many years of diplomatic experience.

February 10, 1997, Monday

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the FORUM Hotel hosted by the Iranian Embassy. A large portrait of Khomeini hung on the wall, the floor was covered with thick rugs and there were piles of religious books on the tables.

In addition to other personalities and Diplomats, I met with Minister Rosati, whom I informed that an agreement had been reached with the Ministry of Culture and Arts to open an exhibition of Macedonian terracotta icons at the National Museum. He praised the initiative, noting that it was a very good step in the area of cultural cooperation.

February 11, 1997, Tuesday

At 10:00 Ms. Barbara Pshigoda from the Warsaw Curatorium came to the Embassy. She was interested in the possibilities for of students and youth exchange groups. I directed her to the signed agreement between the Ministries of Education.

At 12:00 Anatoli Brizhati, Consul General at the Embassy of Ukraine, and Andrei Deshtitsia, Second Secretary, arrived at the Embassy. They were interested in the Macedonian-Polish experiences in drafting and signing cooperation agreements. They wanted to apply a similar method.

February 12, 1997, Wednesday

I met with Tsvech at 10:00 and discussed expanding cultural cooperation between our two countries.

February 13, 1997, Thursday

Around midnight I finished the Macedonian translation of the Law on the Protection of the Polish Language. I will send it to Skopje. Maybe it will be used to pass a similar law on the protection of the Macedonian language?

February 14, 1997, Friday

I met with Soltis from 10:00 to 11:00. He was the director of the publishing house "KSIĄŻKA" I WIEDZA". We discussed the publication of a selection of poems by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski. I would also need to discuss this issue with the Deputy Minister of Culture, Mr. Ianas.

At 12:00 I met with the Romanian Ambassador. We exchanged views regarding the political situation in Poland.

The Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Culture invited Tsvech and Orlovski to go to Skopje to coordinate the future text of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation with Macedonian experts.

February 15, 1997, Saturday

I am translating the Polish text of the Economic Cooperation Agreement into Macedonian.

February 16, 1997, Sunday

Today I did the same thing as yesterday and it's snowing heavily outside.

February 17, 1997, Monday

I sent the text of the Law on the Protection of the Polish Language to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

February 18, 1997, Tuesday

At 14:00 I met with Prime Minister Vlodzhimiezh Chimoshevich and the Diplomatic Corps. During the informal cocktail conversation with Minister Rosati and Chimoshevich we discussed Frchkovski's visit expected after April 15 this year.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Embassy of Lithuania.

February 19, 1997, Wednesday

I did not attend the cocktail at the Hungarian Embassy due to poor health.

February 20, 1997, Thursday

At 14:00 I had a conversation with Ian Granat, Director of Minister Rosati's Cabinet. He received me very cordially. Purpose of the visit: questions that would be the topic of the Frchkovski-Rosati talks. At the end of the conversation, he noted

that the return visit would probably take place on April 24-25 or May 14-15 of this year. He expressed the opinion that President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Poland would probably take place in the fall of 1997. He promised that by the end of this month he would provide me with a concrete answer about the visits.

February 21, 1997, Friday

I spent the whole day in bed. That's what Doctor Emilia recommended.

February 22, 1997, Saturday

Same as yesterday. Dr. Emilia called and asked how I was feeling. I replied that I was fine. She would not allow me to get up and work.

February 23, 1997, Sunday

I spent the day in bed but I felt better.

February 24, 1997, Monday

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing me that Minister Frchkovski would not be going to Poland in May this year. The return visit was postponed to the second half of 1997 or the first half of 1998.

February 25, 1997, Tuesday

At 10:00 I signed the book of condolences opened at the Chinese Embassy on the occasion of the President's death.

At 11:00 I met with Marian Servatka, the Ambassador of Slovakia. He shared with me part of the conversation he had with the Slovakian Minister of Culture in Bratislava. Namely, the Slovak Minister expressed a desire to visit Macedonia and discuss

cultural cooperation between our two countries with the relevant Ministry.

At 14:00 Malahovski, the president of the Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce, arrived at the Embassy. He presented the idea of organizing a promotional seminar in April dedicated to Macedonia in Warsaw.

February 26, 1997, Wednesday

Fifth day without a secretary. She's sick with the flu.

I attended a meeting at 13:00 at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the three directors who were in Skopje regarding technical issues surrounding the opening of a Polish Embassy. They expressed great satisfaction with the contacts and assistance received from the authorities in Skopje.

The newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA" published an interview with the Bulgarian President P. Stoianov. A larger part of the interview was dedicated to Bulgarian-Macedonian relations. During the day I translated the article to Macedonian and sent it by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

The president of the Polish Shooting Organization came to the Embassy. An unpleasant conversation. He told me that an International Shooting Competition would be held in Warsaw from February 26 to 28. He complained that the Macedonian team had not yet arrived and that they had not delivered a Macedonian flag and a cassette with the Macedonian anthem. I told him that there was a company in Warsaw that made all kinds of flags to order. I then gave him our flag and a cassette with the anthem without any obligation to return them.

Our shooting team in Skopje was sent without certified weapons and therefore had to wait two days at the border to enter Poland. After appropriate intervention by the Embassy with the Polish authorities, they were granted entry.

February 27, 1997, Thursday

I arrived at the Ministry of Finance at 09:00. I had a conversation with Mrs. Mirgos regarding the official visit of Minister Taki Fiti. She promised me that next week she would provide me with the program for his stay.

I got a call from Polish television reminding me that they were still waiting for the materials regarding the planned show about Macedonia.

I was also waiting for someone from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to understand what such a show would mean for the affirmation of Macedonia.

February 28, 1997, Friday

Petrovska refused to prepare a note regarding the planned seminar to be held in Warsaw on April 10 this year, organized by the regional Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce, and to participate as a representative of Macedonia. She said that she was sent here to be an advisor, not some note-taking clerk and to participate in some seminar which she had no idea about.

The seminar was held without a representative from Macedonia.

At 13:00 the Bulgarian Embassy called and, on behalf of the Ambassador, asked me to participate in a modest reception on the occasion of the end of the visit of the Bulgarian President to Poland. I accepted. In fact, in the presence of a large number of Ambassadors, it was a promotion of Bulgarian wines. I took the opportunity to talk to the Ambassadors of Croatia and Romania.

At 14:00 Ognen Maleski called me and after our official conversation, he asked me how Advisor Petrovska was doing. I told him what happened and said that it would be best to take their advisor back to Macedonia, who would certainly be more useful in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia than here.

March 1, 1997, Saturday

Yesterday the Croatian Ambassador told me that almost every week he received various instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding activities and contacts with the Polish authorities. I unfortunately, instead of instructions, received prohibitions signed by a certain Stojanovski who ordered me not to initiate visits or draft agreements. One day I will look for him and ask him if he knows why I was sent to Warsaw? Or maybe he or someone like him are after my position? Connections are in their hands and they can easily change the current decision.

March 2, 1997, Sunday

On Greek satellite television, during the evening news, we saw dramatic images of events in Albania. We saw wounded, killed and beaten people, anarchy and devastation. Everyone carried two or three Kalashnikovs. Military warehouses were being emptied, everything that was found in the warehouses was stolen. Was this revenge against the previous regime?

March 3, 1997, Monday

I participated in two cocktail events. One at the Bulgarian Embassy and the other at the Moroccan Embassy. The only topic of conversation was Albania. The Albanian Ambassador did not attend.

March 4, 1997, Tuesday

The National Museum informed me that the Insurance Bureau was requesting a very large sum of money to insure the terracotta icons. The exhibition was scheduled to open on March 14. Further discussions had begun regarding the insurance.

The events in Albania were becoming increasingly tragic. Greek TV reported that the 8th division of the Greek army was moving towards the Greek-Albanian border.

March 5, 1997, Wednesday

In my conversation with Tadeush Polak, Deputy Minister of Culture and Arts and Tsvech, Director of Administration, we agreed that the exhibition of terracotta icons will be opened on March 20 this year. Regarding the insurance, I informed them that the Macedonian side was reducing the insurance of the icons by about 300,000 DM. We agreed to meet again on March 10.

Natska, a typist at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, called. She said that "RUEN" from Kochani was looking for help in establishing contacts with similar Polish companies. I promised her that I would help and that they should confirm the request by fax. During the conversation, she congratulated me with a sweet laugh on the strengthening of the staff.

I said - greetings to everyone from us and good health.

March 6, 1997, Thursday

At 11:00 I arrived at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We discussed Minister Frchkovski's visit to Poland. They suggested that the return visit be held on April, 24 and 25 1997. They also handed me the schedule of meetings with senior Polish officials. The interlocutors stressed that the events in Albania could be dangerous not only for Albania but also for peace in the region and beyond. They proposed that an information channel urgently be established between Skopje and Warsaw, i.e. between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs, regarding the events in Albania, which would enable the exchange of opinions, assessments and possible joint action on the international stage. In that sense, they proposed that ad hoc consultations be held.

At 12:30 a meeting with the Ambassadors of Croatia and Slovenia. We discussed the situation in Albania and Poland. There was no difference in our assessments.

March 7, 1997, Friday

The Ministry of Finance reported that Minister Taki Fiti's visit could take place on March 24.

March 8, 1997, Saturday

Congratulations with flowers on Women's Day.

March 9, 1997, Sunday

Two years ago today, we arrived in Warsaw. Today we will begin our third year in diplomatic service. I would like it to be as fruitful as the two previous years.

March 10, 1997, Monday

At 09:00 I spoke with Tsvech at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I informed him that I had translated the agreed Agreement on Cultural Cooperation text into Macedonian and sent it to the authorities in Skopje.

Regarding Minister Unkovski's visit, it was proposed that he arrive in Warsaw on the 19th and conclude the visit on March 23rd.

Tashko Teodosievski called me regarding Minister Frchkovski's return visit. He thought it was early and was asking for my opinion. I told him to read my telegram carefully. He said he had read it and to call Ognen Maleski.

Ognen Maleski again asked me to present arguments for why it was necessary to hold the visit earlier. I told him that Poland was taking on an increasingly important role in Central and Eastern Europe and that it was therefore in our interest to gain its support for membership in CEFTA, OSCE and for membership in the UN Security Council; that Poland maintained a certain balance in relations with Greece, which was confirmed

by the successful visit to Poland of Prime Minister Simitis and the visit of the Speaker of the Sejm, Zich, to Athens; and within that framework, Poland could, in the interest of peace in the region, influence the Greek position towards Macedonia and that it was in our interest in Macedonia for UNPREDEP to remain, led by the Pole Sokalski.

In response, Maleski said:

- Okay, you convinced me but I don't know if these arguments will be enough for Frchkovski.

At noon Secretary General Zoran Iachev called me. He said that the issue of appointing an Ambassador was in the process. He asked me how the economic affairs advisor was doing at work. I praised her but emphasized that it would be better if such a talent were sent to another Embassy. I understand – he said, and the conversation ended.

Tripkova called and said she would be arriving in Warsaw on Wednesday, March 12. I wished her a safe trip.

Today we sent the secretary Beata away with expressions of gratitude for her work so far and with a large bouquet of roses.

The Ministry of Finance announced that Minister Taki Fiti could not travel on March 24 due to being too busy. I informed the Polish Ministry.

March 11, 1997, Tuesday

I received a fax requesting that, for the purposes of the protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I submit materials regulating the immunities and privileges relating to diplomatic missions and their members.

In this regard, I replied that the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw pointed out the fact that the basic document regulating privileges and immunities is the Vienna Convention of April 18, 1961. This international document is composed of 53 articles, 26 of which refer to the issues of privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions and their members. I suggested that they study the Convention.

How does one comment on such ignorance?

How could Macedonian diplomacy progress with staff who did not want to read and learn?

March 12, 1997, Wednesday

At 10:00 Rapatski called from President Kvashnievski's Office. He said that the invitation for President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Poland was ready and that I should pick it up at 11:00. (The invitation is in the manuscript, NOTEBOOK III, p. 224)

The new secretary arrived from Skopje.

March 13, 1997, Thursday

At 11:00 a conversation with Chaika. He said that President Kvashnievski's planned visit to Macedonia was postponed due to his busy schedule. They would look for another date. A new meeting was arranged for March 17 at the same time.

March 14, 1997, Friday

At 10:00 a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at their request. The discussion was about the situation in Albania and its impact on Macedonia.

At 11:45 at the National Museum for the exhibition of terracotta icons from Vinitsa was being set up. I was informed that the exhibition would open on March 20 at 15:00.

I returned to the Embassy where a letter from the Ministry of Culture was waiting for me. They informed me that Minister Unkovski, his entourage and journalists would be arriving in Warsaw on a special plane and that Zlatko Teodosievski, in the role of an expert, would arrive on March 17 to make the final preparations for the signing of the Cultural Cooperation Agreement. He called me on the phone and said in a loud voice that if the agreement was not signed, Minister Unkovski would not come. I asked him how he knew that the agreement would not

be signed. That is what they say here and that there are many mistakes. So I wonder what you are doing there? he asked. I waited for him to stop talking and then asked him:

- Sir, did you read the document?

- No, he said, but it is claimed that it is poorly written.

I told him:

- So write a better one. But if you haven't read it, then it's best for you not to interfere where you don't belong. Others are satisfied with what we're doing here and approve of what we are doing. I'll tell you more when you come to Warsaw and now don't waste my time.

End of conversation.

That evening at 22:00 I called Deputy Minister Borko Zafirovski at home. I relayed to him my conversation with Zlatko Teodosievski. Zafirovski was very surprised.

At 14:55 a fax arrived from the Macedonian Orthodox Church Archbishopric informing me that at the 46th Eucharistic Congress (I wrote about this earlier) to be held in Vrotslav, the MOC would be represented by Proto-deacon Dimitar Belchovski. Immediately afterwards, a fax arrived in which the Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, Mihail, expressed his gratitude for me establishing contact with the organizer of the Congress.

March 15, 1997, Saturday

It's cold and has been raining all day.

March 16, 1997, Sunday

We didn't go out anywhere. It's not a good time to go for a walk.

March 17, 1997, Monday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature. We sent off the Italian Ambassador.

In the afternoon, a conversation with the secretary and the advisor, to whom I explained some of the rules applicable to working at the Diplomatic-Consular Mission with regards to security measures, contacts with the authorities of the host country, relationships with clients and taking care of promoting Macedonia.

They gave me the impression that they were confident and knew what to do.

March 18, 1997, Tuesday

At 11:00 a meeting with Rapatski and Chaika. I told them that President Kiro Gligorov had accepted the invitation to officially visit Poland in May 1997. We agreed to meet again regarding the visit next week.

At 12:00 at the National Museum where the exhibition of the terracotta icons was being set up. The organizers gave me 40 tickets to invite Ambassadors and dignitaries.

I was told from Skopje that Minister Unkovski would not come to Warsaw. His associates, especially the so-called experts and specialists, had messed things up.

March 19, 1997, Wednesday

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Russian Federation Embassy. A wonderful concert of traditional Russian folk songs.

March 20, 1997, Thursday

Today I was outside the Embassy all day.

At 10:00 I visited Vilanuv.

At 11:00 a press conference regarding the exhibition.

At 13:00 a joint lunch.

At 15:00 the exhibition of terracotta icons opened. Many people attended. High-ranking officials, personalities from the field of culture and art, journalists, writers, poets and a large

number of representatives from the Diplomatic Corps. Speeches were made by the Polish Minister of Culture and Zafirovski. I was in the company of several Ambassadors.

I am proud to say that I managed to organize such an exhibition.

A hard and tiring day. Cold and snowy.

March 21, 1997, Friday

I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Finance. They complained that they still hadn't received the promised materials and photos.

March 22, 1997, Saturday

A fax arrived of the text of the speech given by Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, at the Chamber of the Republic of Macedonia, regarding the pyramids, and especially regarding the TAT savings bank. It was a dramatic speech full of threats and promises that he would push the matter to the end. He did not want a second Albania to take place in Macedonia and promised to fight to eradicate the evil that took place.

Personally, I did not trust him.

I called Ognen Maleski and told him that he had made a mistake. I didn't need a correspondent and translator here. I needed a secretary. In response he told me that the secretary who came had her previous job description changed and was issued a new one with the title of correspondent-translator due to a promotion, meaning a higher salary.

Comment?

March 23, 1997, Sunday

At 11:00 at the airport seeing off Zafirovski, who was returning to Skopje.

March 24, 1997, Monday

I received a call from MRTV Skopje and was asked for help in obtaining viewing material from the terracotta icon exhibition. I called the management of the Polish television and asked them to provide MRTV with a recording of the exhibition. They promised that they would send the requested recording material the next day.

March 25, 1997, Tuesday

March 25th reminded me of another great, tragic and unique day, which is still an unhealed wound in my memory. On that day, during the evening hours in 1948, thousands of children were sent by their mothers across the Greek border into Albania. And 75 years later they still have not been allowed to return. Since then, I have kept my homeland in my memory and sadness, which I have described in my novels: Bed for the Wretched, And A Stone Too is Soil, The Great Decline, The Great Lie, On the Road with Time, Kalina, On the Road of no Return and several other books. And now, half a century later, I am sorting through the notes which I wrote every day in the evening hours, with thoughts and sadness of always wanting to be back in my birthplace. While desiring to visit the place where I was born I was only allowed to reach the border where our Macedonia was divided. I was always turned back at the border where Macedonia borders Macedonia. Now, as I write this, I am already 89 years old and I have a great desire to go back to my birthplace and for the last time drink the cold water from the spring that I described in the novel "KALINA". Maybe God will have mercy on me and open the way for me.

From 12:00 to 14:00 at a cocktail at the Greek Embassy organized on the occasion of the Greek national holiday. We were warmly welcomed by Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos and his wife, to whom I presented a bouquet of red roses. After the Ambassador greeted all the invited guests, he approached me and

we talked for a long time about mutual relations, without delving into issues that divided us. What can be drawn as positive from the talks was the expressed desire to strengthen economic cooperation, to have more frequent contacts and cooperation between Macedonian and Greek businessmen and greater movement of people and goods and the creation of a climate of trust.

March 26, 1997, Wednesday

The weekly magazine "POLITIKA" published a two-page article about Macedonia entitled "ENEMIES OF THE SUN". A brief overview of Macedonia's history and the current situation. Some time ago at the Embassy, we talked with the author for two hours and, who received a lot of information now printed in the article.

At 14:00 Malahovski paid me a visit. We discussed the seminar dedicated to the Macedonian economy that would be held in Warsaw on April 10, 1997.

March 27, 1997, Thursday

At 14:00 lunch at the residence of the Hungarian Ambassador. Present were the Ambassadors of: Romania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Albania, Croatia and from the Polish MFA, Minister of Foreign Affairs Rosati and Ambassador Hmielevski. They congratulated me on the successfully organized exhibition of the terracotta icons, and then the conversation turned to the situation in the Balkan Region, with a special focus on Albania, of which the Albanian Ambassador spoke about in more detail.

Minister Rosati gave a half-hour lecture on Polish aspirations of entering NATO, the significance of the Russian-American meeting in Helsinki, and then in an informal conversation he addressed the events in Albania, which according to him had taken central stage in the region. The Albanian

Ambassador tried to provide certain justifications but his arguments were lost in the general discussion. During lunch I briefly informed everyone about Pangalos's visit to Skopje, Solana and other personalities, as well as about the humanitarian aid that Macedonia provided to Albania. The meeting was very interesting and very useful. In the end, we agreed to meet again after Catholic Easter.

March 28, 1997, Friday

The regional Polish-Balkan Chamber of Commerce sent me a letter - a response from the President of the Economic Chamber of Macedonia, informing me that no representative from Macedonia was assigned to participate in the seminar. On this occasion, the organizers expressed regret but were also surprised at the lack of interest on the part of the Macedonian side.

I too wondered why?!

March 29, 1997, Saturday

Catholic Easter. The holiday of hope was celebrated.

March 30, 1997, Sunday

Second day of Easter. The celebration continued**.**

March 31, 1997, Monday

At 11:00 Erol Hasan, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, called me and informed me that no one from Macedonia would come to the announced seminar, which was a frivolous action by the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce and suggested that I participate.

This sounded like the question: - Is there a pilot in the airplane?

At 11:00 Mrs. Gerasimova from the Macedonian Archives called me. She asked if the Polish side was interested in cooperating with the Archives of Macedonia. Two years ago I had discussed this issue, hence the call from Mrs. Gerasimova. I promised her that I would visit the new director this week.

April 1, 1997, Tuesday

At 10:00 the Romanian Ambassador Grigorescu called me and asked to meet him. Albanian Ambassador Enver Faya also came to the meeting. Ambassador Grigorescu suggested that we address the Diplomatic Corps with a request to appeal to their governments to allocate greater humanitarian aid to Albania. To this I said that Macedonia, without any appeals, had already sent a third humanitarian aid package of wheat and would continue to help Albania.

April 2, 1997, Wednesday

It's Tanja's birthday. We called her and wished her a happy birthday.

At noon I spoke with Soltis, director of the publishing house, who informed me that he had received the money from the Ministry of Culture and Arts and that he would be printing the Macedonian Contemporary Poetry Panorama in the coming days.

April 3, 1997, Thursday

The Diplomatic Protocol provided me with the new Polish Constitution. I will translate it into Macedonian and send it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

April 4, 1997, Friday

Today marked two years since we came to this house, which was now the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

Quite a lot of interesting material had been collected about the situation in Poland. I gave some of it to the secretary (with the title of correspondent-translator) to translate. She had been typing two pages for a week. She said it was difficult for her because she did not understand many words. I told her to be patient until she learned them.

The Polish Ministry of Defense called me and said that there were certain difficulties regarding the return visit of Defense Minister Dobzhaniski. They suggest that the visit take place after June 20, and most likely in the second half of this year.

April 5, 1997, Saturday

I spoke to O. Maleski on the phone regarding Frchkovski's upcoming official visits (April 24-25, 1997) and President Kiro Gligorov, whose visit was still being arranged. From Geneva, accompanied by a bodyguard, Frchkovski would be accompanied by T. Teodosievski and a few others. Maleski asked me – how is the new staff? I told him that she was having difficulty adjusting, lacked knowledge and that the way of working in an Embassy was different than working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

April 6, 1997, Sunday

It snowed all night. Last night it snowed more than it had snowed the entire winter in Warsaw. "ALUMINA" Director Kostoichinovski, Engineer Petrovska and Risto Pajkovski, its representative in Poland, came to the Embassy. "ALUMINA " had problems in Poland and was seeking to solve them through the Embassy. In our conversation, however, they did not reveal what problems they were having.

April 7, 1997, Monday

I called Petrovska at 08:30 to discuss Frchkovski's upcoming visit. I told her to prepare the material on economic cooperation between the two countries. She said she would not do it because it wasn't her job.

- Madam, you were sent here to work as an advisor on economic issues.

- That's true,but not to prepare materials like you ask me to. I'm an advisor here, not a writer of materials.

At 10:00 Donetski, a journalist who worked for Polish television, came to the Embassy. He was currently preparing a program about Macedonia, which would be broadcast on May 16 of this year. Donetski asked to record a conversation with me in the studio on April 24. I told him that on April 24 and 25 I would be busy with the visit of an important person from Macedonia visiting Poland. We gave him a whole bunch of photographs and other materials about Macedonia. We would arrange another date for the recording.

At 11:00 Chaika from the Office of President Kvashnievski called me. He said that the date for President Kiro Gligorov's visit had not been set. I told him that I would wait for the good news.

At 13:30 I called the publishing house "BOOK AND KNOWLEDGE" and in a conversation with the director Soltis we agreed that tomorrow I would deliver the translation of the poetry selection by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski.

April 8, 1997, Tuesday

The Diplomatic Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked me for information about the date of Minister Frchkovski's visit to Poland. So far I had asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia four times and received no answer. In the meantime, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia asked me to submit biographies of the Polish President, Prime Minister, Minister of

Foreign Affairs, President of the Sejm and the Senate. I sent them by fax the same day.

April 9, 1997, Wednesday

The Economic Affairs advisor did not prepare the requested documents. To avoid an argument I prepared them myself.

April 10, 1997, Thursday

Talks are still ongoing regarding Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov's official visit to Poland. I was asked by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to inform Maikovski by a note that the Macedonian side accepted the date of May 14-15 this year. I said that I would consult with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and then I would respond.

At 09:00 I went to the Chamber of Commerce club where a seminar dedicated to Macedonian-Polish economic cooperation was to be held. During the night I prepared my presentation. The seminar was to scheduled to start at 11:00 but the secretary wrote that it would be held at 10:00.

The hall was empty and I had to wait an hour.

At 16:31 I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia asking me to prepare topics of discussion for the conversation between the Foreign Ministers. I expected that they would do that at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I sent them a reminder.

April 11, 1997, Friday

A telephone conversation with Tashko Teodosievski regarding the text of the Cooperation Agreement between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. I told him that both texts, Polish and Macedonian, needed to be harmonized. For that purpose, I was already translating the Polish text into Macedonian and

would submit it to him this week. He told me that only the Macedonian text was being considered. I told him that so far we had compared all the texts of the agreements and supplemented them with the necessary notes. He did not accept it. He insisted on signing the Macedonian text without the Polish notes that I had already received. He stood his ground.

April 12, 1997, Saturday

By noon I had translated the notes from the Polish text of the agreement into Macedonian. In the afternoon I faxed them to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

April 13, 1997, Sunday

We went on a trip outside Warsaw. We returned in the evening.

April 14, 1997, Monday

Six of our citizens came to the Embassy, who until yesterday were prisoners serving in Shchechin prison for attempting to escape to Germany. After consultations with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I gave them money to return to Macedonia. The money was a loan. They signed an agreement that the money would be returned to the treasury of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I was having more similar cases.

In the evening I attended a concert given by young musicians at the Embassy of the Russian Federation. Ambassadors, ministers, and figures from the artistic community were present. During the break, I had several meetings with representatives from the Diplomatic Corps. I had a long conversation with the Prime Minister of Poland, who was willing to visit Macedonia and stay for a few days on vacation.

April 15, 1997, Tuesday

The Diplomatic Protocol of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs urgently requested me to provide them, via a note, of the composition of the delegation of the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the time of landing in Warsaw. In this regard, I spoke by phone with Tashko Teodosievski, who was involved in drafting the agreement. After an hour I received the composition of the delegation and the time of its arrival in Warsaw. He insisted that the Macedonian text of the agreement be signed. I told him that the ministers would decide on that.

April 16, 1997, Wednesday

I devoted almost the entire day to preparations for Frchkovski's visit.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Syrian Embassy.

April 17, 1997, Thursday

In the morning a fax arrived about the composition of the delegation and I immediately sent it with a note to the Diplomatic Protocol. The secretary of the Diplomatic Protocol called me on the phone and said that there would be a meeting at 11:00 regarding the arrival of Minister Frchkovski. They asked me to attend the meeting.

In the afternoon I received a telephone call from Tashko Teodosievski who informed me that the Polish comments had been accepted but he thought the Macedonian text was better. I told him again that the minister should decide on that.

(Note: the text of Frchkovski's program of stay is found in the manuscript of the diary, binder IV, page 14).

April 18, 1997, Friday

At 20:15 I went to the airport to meet the Ministry of Education and Physical Culture of Macedonia delegation. Minister Dr. Sofia Todorova did not come. After that she told me that in Skopje these days there would be interesting developments regarding the bank pyramid schemes (TAT and others), a big affair in which many were involved and that the thread was slowly starting to unravel.

I didn't ask anymore, I just thought to myself:

- It's gloomy over Macedonia...

April 19, 1997, Saturday

It was a peaceful day. My wife and I went in the city to buy gifts for our granddaughter Marija.

April 20, 1997, Sunday

A meeting was organized by the Ministry of Defense at 20:00 at the "SHERATON" hotel for the participants of the defense seminar and the Diplomatic Corps.

April 21, 1997, Monday

The Diplomatic Protocol contacted me and asked me to provide them with sheet music of the Macedonian anthem. They had asked for the same thing last year and received it.

April 22, 1997, Tuesday

We didn't yet know whether Frchkovski would be received by President Kvashnievski, who was in Italy, and by Prime Minister Chimoshevich, who I was told was very busy. I made efforts to have Frchkovski received by other high-ranking state officials.

April 23, 1997, Wednesday

The Diplomatic Protocol provided me with the final text of the program for Frchkovski's visit and meeting. I translated it and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

I finished writing the annual report for 1996 and will send it to Skopje via diplomatic mail.

April 24, 1997, Thursday

At 11:00, we welcomed Minister Frchkovski at the military section of the Warsaw airport. He had a short rest at the VIP lounge and was accommodated in one of the government villas. Tashko Teodosievski made corrections to the Agreement on his own initiative. I gave the two texts to Frchkovski. He reviewed them and said categorically that we would sign the Polish text.

Talks began before noon. They were open and in a good mood. Both sides were satisfied.

April 25, 1997, Friday

The talks continued. They lasted an hour. After the ceremonial signing of the Agreement, a wreath was laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The military orchestra played the Macedonian anthem.

After lunch we took a short break and visited the Embassy. Frchkovski inspected the working premises. He expressed satisfaction. While I was preparing the large envelope with materials, Petrovska and Tripkova spoke quietly with Frchkovski.

On the way to the airport, Frchkovski praised me for my activities and the results that I had achieved so far and told me to continue what I was doing, and lightly patting my knee, he said:

- They told me you are strict. Don't give in.

Another successful visit has ended.

(Photos of the meeting and conversations in the diary manuscript, binder IV, p. 18)

April 26, 1997, Saturday

I missed recording my conversation with the counselor in "NIGHT NOTES", which I would like to mention here. When scheduling her work, I assigned her to stay at the Embassy and issue visas, so she would not be present at the meeting with the ministers. She wasn't happy and didn't accept the assignment.

On her way out, she angrily said:

- I am a pure Macedonian, born in Macedonia not like some other people...

This was unbelievable! Despite what had been done to Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia; i.e. the Atrocities committed against them by the Greek government, some people still showed hatred towards them. Due to their misfortune under the Greek regime, these people found shelter in the People's Republic of Macedonia, where they earned their bitter bread with hard work and a lot of sweat, and with virtue and pride they said where their roots were. Of course, this hit me where it hurt the most.

During my time in Skopje, I had experienced this kind of insult more than once and I always told myself that someday, those patriots would realize where they were eating their bread and where their national dignity, feeling and spirit lay.

In life, unfortunately, one had to swallow a lot of bitterness.

April 27, 1997, Sunday

Today is EASTER.

CHRIST HAS RISEN!

We celebrated the holiday with all our Macedonian Orthodox customs.

At 20:40 at the airport I welcomed the delegation of the Macedonian Ministry of Transport and Communications. I accommodated them at the “GRAND” hotel.

April 28, 1997, Monday

The expert discussions began at 10:00 at the headquarters of the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy. The Polish representative, Director Shcherbinishki, headed the discussions. At 10:45 I left the meeting and went to the TV studio to record a program about Macedonia, which will be broadcast on May 16 this year.

April 29, 1997, Tuesday

Second day of the expert group talks. Many errors were found in the texts of the agreements and were corrected during the discussion. In the end, satisfaction was expressed with mutual understanding and the protocol was signed.

April 30, 1997, Wednesday

The Minister of Culture and Arts called me and, after a short conversation, asked me if there was any chance that General Dr. Barchikovski, chief surgeon in the secret hospital where about two thousand wounded DAG fighters, Macedonians and Greeks, were treated, could be invited to visit Macedonia with the main purpose of meeting with his patients, just as the Greek wrestling association had done. I told him that I was waiting for a response from Skopje and that I hoped it would be positive.

May 1, 1997, Thursday

There were demonstrations in Warsaw. All under the same white-red flag but with various written and shouted slogans.

It was a beautiful sunny day. My wife and I went for a walk to Vilanuv. In the afternoon I translated Ante Popovski's poems. Many of his thoughts corresponded to my beliefs and desires. Beautiful poems that breathed the spirit of Macedonian identity.

May 2, 1997, Friday

We spent the day in the Kabati forest. Green, fragrant, it seemed like a bird sang on every branch. Where did so many singers come from?

In the evening I browsed the Polish press and some magazines. In the magazine "VPROST" I found an extensive article about the economic developments of some European countries.

Macedonia was last.

We sent the following greetings to President Kiro Gligorov on the occasion of his birthday:

His Excellency
Mr. Kiro Gligorov
President of the Republic of Macedonia

Our dear President,

On the occasion of your birthday, allow us, our very esteemed Mr. President, to extend to you our warmest congratulations with our most sincere wishes for good health and a long life.

We take this opportunity to express our deep conviction that, as before, you will continue to lead our Homeland in peace and prosperity, and with your spirit and example, you will continue to inspire and encourage us to love Macedonia selflessly, warmly and wholeheartedly and to work with all our strength, knowledge, experience and feelings of respect for its affirmation and good name.

With the warmest feelings and expressions of the highest respect, we join in all the best wishes that the Macedonian people, foreign statesmen and friends are sending you today.

Your loyal servant
Dr. Petre Nakovski
And his wife Ditta

Saturday, May 3, 1997

May 3rd was a national holiday in Poland. A crowd of people had gathered on Victory Square, echelons of all branches of the Polish army, groups of scouts in various uniforms and flags, many flags, and at the top on the tall white mast were speakers which played the Polish national anthem. Twelve artillery volleys were fired and the national white-red flag was raised, under whose shadow, on the main tribune, stood the state leadership and a little further on stood the entire Diplomatic Corps. A solemn speech was given by the President of the state, and wreaths were laid. Many delegations laid wreaths and flowers. Then the Polish army put on a parade. The pride of the Polish nation marched.

At 14:00 a formal reception in the presidential garden was organized by President Kvashnievski for the Diplomatic Corps and high-ranking state officials. Upon entering the reception hall, I was introduced as the Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

It was similar to previous years but not the same for me. In addition to meetings and conversations with a large number of Ambassadors, I had the honour three times to meet, talk and take photos with President Kvashnievski, with whom the discussion concentrated around cooperation between our two countries and the need for its expansion.

After that I met with the following diplomats;

-Dobzhaniski, Minister of National Defense, who expressed his willingness to come to Macedonia for a reciprocal visit and vacation in Ohrid with his wife;
-The Minister of Justice with whom we arranged an official meeting and who underlined that he would invite the Macedonian Minister of Justice;
-The Minister of Internal Affairs who was ready to meet with his Macedonian counterpart;
-The Director of the State Museums with whom a meeting was arranged, a proposal was made to organize exhibitions;
-Danuta Vaniek with whom we discussed President Kiro Gligorov's official visit to Poland;
-Director of the Polish State Archives with whom I discussed in principle the signing of a cooperation agreement, and in the coming days we planned to officially meet and discuss certain details of cooperation;
-The Deputy Prime Minister who promised to organize a meeting for me with Prime Minister Chimoshevich, who was currently in the United States, as well as with other Polish state officials.

May 4, 1997, Sunday

I'm noting my impressions from yesterday.

May 5, 1997, Monday

Marek Vavzhkievich, President of the Polish Writers' Union, called me and asked to meet at 10:00 at Soltis's place. Soltis was director of the publishing house "BOOK AND KNOWLEDGE". We agreed to negotiate future inter-publishing cooperation. I agreed.

Even today, congratulations from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia arrived on the occasion of Poland's May 3rd national holiday. I sent them by a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the afternoon I received a fax from Secretary General Zoran Iachev and Undersecretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia Ognen Maleski, asking me to provide them with a work reference of Vasilka Tripkova, correspondent-translator at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia and for Miriana Petrovska, advisor at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. The fax also contained many praises for my activities and work.

May 6, 1997, Tuesday

I wrote the requested references, which I completed late at night.

May 7, 1997, Wednesday

I faxed the requested information in the morning.

(The integral text (seven typewritten pages) can be found in the manuscript, volume IV, page 28.)

At 11:00 at a reception at the Sejm. I had a long conversation with Mr. Zich, President of the Sejm. We discussed the situation in Macedonia, cooperation with Poland, relations with Macedonia's neighbours, especially with Greece, which he assessed as very negative. He expressed a desire, as he said, to at least visit Macedonia one day. I promised him that I would strive to fulfill his wish.

May 8, 1997, Thursday

Today my driver asked me to terminate his employment contract. He said that many tourists were already arriving in Warsaw, from whom he could earn more as a taxi driver. I agreed and paid him.

I had a long telephone conversation with Mrs. Daria Nalench, Director of the Polish State Archives at her request. The conversation was regarding cooperation between the archives.

She said that she was ready to sign an agreement with the Archives of Macedonia, however, according to the instructions from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the obstacle was the preamble and the signature. I told her that so far the Archives of Macedonia had signed more than 30 agreements with the name State Archives of Macedonia.

We ended the conversation with a desire for new conversations in which we would try to find a common solution.

At 11:00 at a reception for Demirel, the President of Turkey. At 14:00 I attended his lecture at the Sejm. At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by President Demirel. I met the Turkish Ambassador, who promised to come on a protocol visit one of these days. I told her that it would be a great pleasure and honour for me and that we would have a lot of things to talk about.

May 9, 1997, Friday

I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Defense regarding the exercise that was to be held from May 12 to 17 this year. I contacted Colonel Nikolovski, who confirmed that the exercise would to take place and that they were expecting to meet with Colonel Oshiniski from Poland. The same Ministry confirmed that Minister Dobzhaniski would travel to Macedonia for a return visit in June or July.

In the afternoon the driver from the Croatian Embassy called me and recommended that I meet a gentleman who wanted to be my driver. I made an appointment with him for 18:00. He arrived exactly at the appointed time. A short, stocky man with a mysterious and kind smile on his face. He said his name was Zbigniev and that he had spent his entire working life as a driver, that he had worked as a government driver for about twenty years and that he was now retired and 62 years old. The conversation lasted almost an hour. I told him that I would hire him on a trial basis and if it was confirmed that he was good, we would sign a permanent contract with a salary of 300 dollars. He accepted.

At 19:45 at the invitation of the Slovak Ambassador, we went by taxi to a reception at his residence. Ambassador Servatka and his wife Viera welcomed us very warmly. We talked about the weather, the situation in Slovakia, Macedonia and had a long conversation about the situation in Poland. It was an open exchange of opinions. The hostess, Mrs. Viera, offered us modest but beautifully served snacks.

May 10, 1997, Saturday

Walking around the old part of Warsaw was our favourite way to relax from everyday worries. We did that today also.

May 11, 1997, Sunday

We went to the Chopin concert that was held every Sunday under Chopin's monument in one of the largest and most beautiful parks in Warsaw. A huge number of people attended to listen to that unique music, which soothed but also disturbed, took you back to the past and stirred memories. We listened to the music of the one and only piano Chopin rhapsody under the weeping willow. The sounds of that wonderful Chopin music brought us home.

May 12, 1997, Monday

Mr. Zbigniev, my new driver, arrived and after greeting us asked us to call him Zbisho. I gave him the keys to the car. He took it out of the garage, looked at it inside and out, then drove around and when he returned, said:

- Mr. Ambassador the car is faulty. It needs to be serviced.

I told him to take it.

I contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with a notification that a Polish group of experts would be arriving in Skopje on May 18 or 25 to negotiate the text of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation between Macedonia

and Poland with Macedonian colleagues and to inform the Macedonian Ministry of Culture about it. Knowing the previous practice in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I also contacted the Ministry of Culture just in case.

I called the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and reminded them of the conversation regarding the signing of a cooperation agreement. They replied that they would schedule a day for a meeting and discussion. I then called the Main Customs Administration. They accepted to meet.

The Directorate of the Polish State Archives informed me that the director would receive me tomorrow at 13:00.

The new driver left a good impression on me. I was satisfied.

May 13, 1997, Tuesday

I received several invitations to go for cocktails. There I met and had conversations with a number of Ambassadors.

May 14, 1997, Wednesday

I met with Grigorescu, the Romanian Ambassador. During our conversation, he asked me how the work with my new staff was going. I said it was good but could be better.

He then said: - Dear Petre – we often addressed each other by our first names – I now have a lot of worries and a lot of work that I have to do by myself to fulfill my obligations. In order to have peace of mind, I don't make my staff do the work. If I do that, then I will be criticized and will get a bad reputation which will reach Bucharest. If you push them, then you will definitely get a headache. And let me ask you another question - can we go for a pint of beer?

-If it's for relief, my friend, let's not waste time, I replied.

In the afternoon, the Ministry of Agriculture of Macedonia called and reported the participation of five of our companies at

the “POLAGRA” fair. I informed the competent Polish Ministry about the participation with a note.

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me by fax that they would send their experts to Skopje to harmonize the texts – Macedonian and Polish – for cultural cooperation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, in agreement with the Ministry of Culture, authorized me to conduct the talks according to the instructions that they would send me in the coming days.

Unfortunately I didn’t get anything.

May 15, 1997, Thursday

Regarding my fax about the work engagement of Tripkova and Petrovska, I received a response according to which, within the framework of the new organization of the Macedonian DCMs, a new rulebook was being prepared that would precisely determine the obligations of each employee. I had to wait, but I was confident that I would not see anything like that because I was sure that the law of “close connections” reigned in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

I received a telegram from the President of the Republic of Macedonia with the following content:

Mr. PETRE NAKOVSKI
Acting executive
Warsaw

I thank you for the congratulations on my birthday, confident that with joint efforts we will achieve our priority foreign policy goals – peace in our region and a place in a united and prosperous Europe.

With respect,
KIRO GLIGOROV
handwritten signature

May 16, 1997, Friday

With the active participation of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, in the educational session, today, May 16, 1997, from 13:25 to 14:05, the first program on Polish television aired a show titled *Macedonia – Guest of the educational program of Polish television.* The show consisted of a multitude of cultural, historical, geographical, ethnographic, musical, archaeological and other information prepared within the framework of the signed agreement between Macedonian and Polish television. The program, with the assisstance of the Charge´ d'Affaires of the Macedonian Embassy, was prepared by journalist Kshishov Danetski and hosted by Agata Konarska.

After the show ended, many viewers, including representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, called the Embassy and Polish television to express their gratitude for enriching their knowledge about Macedonia.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw awarded television viewers, who called in with the most successful answers to three questions related to Macedonia, an album about Macedonia, a set of records with Macedonian folk songs, and a videocassette "Macedonia".

May 17, 1997, Saturday

I heard on the radio that there were demonstrations in Skopje demanding that the government resign immediately.

I received several phone calls praising yesterday's show on Polish television dedicated to Macedonia.

May 18, 1997, Sunday

We dedicated the day to visiting Polish Catholic churches and museums.

May 19, 1997, Monday

I sent a letter of gratitude to the Polish television on behalf of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, for the broadcast of the program dedicated to Macedonia.

May 20, 1997, Tuesday

I closely followed the information on Polish-Ukrainian relations. Today in Kiev - President Kvashnievski. A meeting with the Ukrainian Ambassador. Mutual acquaintance with the historical past of both countries.

I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requesting approval to organize a cocktail on the occasion of the September 8 national holiday. Although there are three months until then, preparations must begin now.

May 21, 1997, Wednesday

Today I read some sad news in the newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA". Vatslav Kopchiniski passed away on May 13, 1997, at age 89. Kopchiniski was the man who in 1948-1949 organized the acceptanc of Macedonian and Greek refugee children and in the next twenty years on behalf of Poland, wholeheartedly devoted his life to take care of them, their accommodations, health, upbringing, education and employment. My wife and I and five thousand other Macedonian and Greek children were his pupils. He called us MY CHILDREN. My wife and I went to the cemetery and laid a wreath at his eternal resting place. On the red ribbon we wrote: *FROM YOUR GRATEFUL CHILDREN.*

In the political circles in Warsaw there was great interest in President Kiro Gligorov's visit to the United States. They thought that Macedonia might be invited to the NATO meeting in Madrid before Poland.

I called the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Rzeczpospolita" and asked him why the Republic of Macedonia was not on the published tourist map of Europe? He apologized for the mistake and promised that a correction would be published in tomorrow's issue.

May 22, 1997, Thursday

Two businessmen came to the Embassy. They said they were interested in establishing cooperation with Macedonian businessmen within the framework of the free trade zone being built in Legnitsa. I asked them to provide me with more information.

Rumours were surfacing in Skopje that Vasil Tupurkovski might or could likely to be named the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was not surprising. Ministers in Skopje were changed like socks.

May 23, 1997, Friday

Today I had a meeting scheduled with Rapatski, Director of International Relations in the Office of President Kvashnievski. According to the telegram I received yesterday, I should inform him that President Kiro Gligorov had other visits scheduled for November, so the possible dates for a visit to Poland were October 15-30 or November 24-28, 1997.

Advisor Miriana Petrovska tried to refuse to attend the FARE meeting, organized by the Polish Ministry of Agriculture, saying that agriculture was not her specialty. She went in the official car. She did not submit any notes for the meeting.

I received a letter from the Deputy Minister of Culture, Borko Zafirovski, informing me that it was possible for two Polish experts to go to Macedonia and, together with Macedonians, harmonize the Cultural Cooperation Agreement text. At the same time, he proposed that a Polish ensemble attend the folklore festival.

In the evening I read an interesting article in “PULS”, speculating about possible changes in the upcoming reconstruction of the government. One minute Frchkovski was leaving, then Kierim was coming, and if not Kierim then possibly Tupurkovski.

Where would such games lead Macedonia? The question was self-evident!

May 24, 1997, Saturday

It was raining and I spent my time reading.

May 25, 1997, Sunday

We watched an old TV recording from Belgrade. Tito, in a marshal’s uniform, greeted the Yugoslav youth who congratulated him on his birthday at the stadium.

Monday, May 26, 1997

I informed the Polish Ministry of Culture about Deputy Minister Borko Zafirovski’s proposals. They replied and said that due to limited financial resources, it would not be possible for the Polish experts to travel to Skopje.

I informed Zafirovski of this and he replied that they would submit their comments and that I would have to take over the entire work from now on. At the end of the conversation, he said:

- I want to congratulate your new boss!

- Thank you, and who might that be?

- Handzhiski. Your previous boss accepted a position as a professor, after destroying Macedonian diplomacy, sending worn-out friends, and above all female friends as Ambassadors and advisors. And let me tell you that an extraordinary session of the Parliament is scheduled for Wednesday, May 28. It is being said publicly that Prime Minister Crvenkovski has announced a

change of 8-9 ministers. This is not a reconstruction, but a new government. This, Ambassador, is worrying...

- And I, Mr. Minister, am concerned about the issue that is still unresolved: the financing of the two poetry collections by Macedonian poets that have already been translated into Polish. I will be seeking an appointment with Mr. Podkaniski, Minister of Culture and Arts, in the next few days. Excuse me, they are looking for me on the other phone.

Today at my request, President Aleksander Kvashnievski received me. We had a very cordial and meaningful conversation. He showed great interest in the situation in Macedonia. He pointed out that he expected the official visit of the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov to take place between 15 and 30 October or between 24 and 28 November 1997, and in this regard he asked me to be in constant contact with his political advisor Mr. Maikovski. At the end of the meeting, he handed me a beautiful brochure with the text of the new Polish constitution with his full signature.

May 27, 1997, Tuesday

I had two pieces of good news. The first was that the date for the official visit of President Kiro Gligorov to Poland had been set (October 29-30, 1997) and the second was that the Polish Ministry would finance the publication of poetry collections by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski.

I received no information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the changes in the Macedonian government.

May 28, 1997, Wednesday

Radio Skopje reported that the Parliament did not vote for the new government. The old one fell and there would be early parliamentary elections.

A gathering of the Presidents of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine was organized to take place in Tallinn. There were rumours that President Kvashnievski had ambitions to be the leader in the Region.

In the evening at a cocktail hosted by the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia. There I met with Ambassadors and personalities from the Polish political, economic and cultural circles. Everyone was interested in Macedonia. I had a separate conversation with the Secretary General of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs We arranged a meeting for May 30 at 9:00.

May 29, 1997, Thursday

I had a telephone conversation with Zoran Iachev regarding annual leave. He said that a list for the use of annual leave was being prepared about which I would be informed.

May 30, 1997, Friday

At 14:00 the Deputy Minister responsible for Europe received me at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He asked for more information about the situation in Macedonia. Latest news – new government.

May 31, 1997, Saturday

Pope John Paul II arrived in Poland. All of Poland was on their feet. Unprecedented security measures. Cold and raining.

June 1, 1997, Sunday

I sent telegrams to Boris Rikalovski and Blagoi Handzhiski with congratulations on their appointment as Ministers – Boris Rikalovski for Economy and Blagoi Handzhiski for Foreign Affairs.

June 2, 1997, Monday

I decided to write an extensive letter to Blagoi Handzhiski, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order for him to gain insight into past activities, successful achievements in relations between the two countries, the engagement of the Embassy staff, as well as the connections and relations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

Deputy Minister of Culture, Zafirovski, told me that they had no serious objections to the text of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation. He proposed that the Polish folk ensemble perform on July 10 during Podkaniski's (Polish Minister of Culture) stay in Ohrid.

At 13:00 Boravski called from the Office of the Sejm. He asked if Macedonia would accept a one-day visit by the President of the Sejm, Jozef Zich, on June 14 of this year. I called the Office of the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia and requested a conversation with President Tito Petkovski. He agreed that Jozef Zich could travel to Macedonia, but not for just one day, rather for several, and that he would be received with full honours.

I took the opportunity to ask him about my promised promotion. He told me that right now my chances were easier because the one who was against my promotion, Frchkovski, was no longer there.

June 3, 1997, Tuesday

I called Boravski and told him that on June 14, Tito Petkovski would be abroad, so he suggested that Josef Zich's visit take place at another time with a stay of several days.

June 4, 1997, Wednesday

I finished the letter to Minister Blagoi Handzhiski – nine typed pages. I will hand it to him personally at our first meeting.

(Copy in the author's archive, binder IV, p. 65)

June 5, 1997, Thursday

At 9:10 Boravski called me and asked the Macedonian side to accept a visit by Josef Zich in the period from June 13 to 14. I told him that he would receive an answer during the day. Tito Petkovski's office informed me that they accepted the visit accompanied by the Chargé d'Affaires of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw. I called Boravski and informed him that the proposed date had been accepted. Boravski thanked me on behalf of J. Zich and dictated the following information to me: the President of the Sejm, Josef Zich, will land in Skopje on June 11 at around 13:00 on a government plane and will fly to Warsaw on June 13 at around 13:00.

The Ambassador of Belarus called me and suggested that I, along with a group of Ambassadors and their wives, go on a two-day excursion to Belarus. I accepted.

June 6, 1997, Friday

Skopje sent me the draft program for Josef Zich and I translated it into Polish and delivered it to Boravski. Minister Blagoi Handzhiski approved that I travel to Skopje together with the Speaker of the Polish Sejm.

June 7, 1997, Saturday

At 08:45 we left for Brest, Belarus by minibus. Ambassador Victor organized and acted as a tour guide of this excursion. Before arriving in Brest, we visited a collective farm on the way. We were greeted by wonderful ordinary Belarusians who introduced us to their Belarusian customs, songs and national costumes. They spoke on every topic. I noticed that a lot was changing with them. There was still something from the Soviet

era, which was now changing, but they still jealously preserved their national roots.

We entered Brest, a city respected for its human dignity, heroism, loyalty to the homeland and respect for all those who defended the Brest Fortress for days. Here is where, in the morning hours of June 22, 1941, the German-Soviet war began, in which the USSR lost 26 million people. The entire area, together with the ruins of the fortress, have been converted into a large museum with many monuments. Young men in military uniforms carrying Kalashnikovs over their shoulders patrol the large courtyard from one end to the other. They guard the memory of the great tragedy. Ambassador Viktor gave us a short lecture, which Belarusian television filmed. Each of the Ambassadors also gave a short interview, including myself (the Macedonian one).

(Photos attached, in binder no. 4, p.68)

June 8, 1997, Sunday

After breakfast we visited the museum in the Belovezhskaya Pushcha Forest. I will never forget the visit to the building in whose large hall, at a round table, the Treaty on the Dissolution of the USSR was signed. I sat on the chair on which one of the signatories had sat. I was amazed. Leonid, the Ambassador of the Russian Federation, approached me and, patting me on the shoulder, quietly said:

- One thing has failed but another is being born that will be more humane, more advanced and more powerful than the failed one.

Russians believe in themselves.

We returned to Warsaw at 19:00. Two days later, Gabor, the Hungarian Ambassador, gave me a copy of the videotape recording the excursion.

June 9, 1997, Monday

I had several phone conversations with various Polish companies looking for business contacts in Macedonia. After my last conversation, I had faxed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia asking for names of Macedonian companies that might be interested. I knew many were interested but I had no idea why no one was getting back to me.

From18:00 to 20:00 I attended the so-called "goulash" gathering at the Hungarian Embassy.

June 10, 1997, Tuesday

I again received suggestions from both sides regarding J. Zich's visit to Macedonia. I had the impression that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia did not read my faxes. Was that underestimation, disorder or ignorance? I had not lost hope. Someone someday would bring order.

At 12:00 a meeting at the Ukrainian Embassy. About 20 Ambassadors were present. The Ukrainian Ambassador gave a lecture on the latest situation in Ukraine, its relations with its neighbours and beyond. This prompted me to think about organizing a similar meeting of Ambassadors.

I telephoned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and in a conversation with Tasko Teodosievski I was told that everything was ready to welcome President Zich of the Polish Sejm.

June 11, 1997, Wednesday

I got up at 04:30. I checked if I had put the necessary materials in the diplomatic briefcase. My wife was preparing gifts for the children, especially for our granddaughter. Time was passing slowly. I felt a kind of restlessness.

At 08:20 I received a call from the Office of the Sejm. They told me that due to an urgent and very important meeting with President Kvashnievski and Prime Minister Chimoshevich, the President of the Sejm (I thought the trip was being canceled)

had to be back in Warsaw no later than 19:00 on June 12. Accordingly, the visit to Ohrid was canceled. I was relieved.

We arrived at the airport at 10:30 and took off for Skopje at 11:00. There were only three passengers in the small airplane. The President of the Sejm, my wife and I. We talked during the entire flight from Warsaw to Skopje. Our conversation was filled with questions and answers about Macedonia's past and present, about Poland's role in caring for the the five thousand Macedonian and Greek children, the dedication to their care, upbringing and education, and then, after the defeat of the communists in the Greek Civil War, Poland accepting over ten thousand more refugees. The second man in the Polish state leadership listened to me attentively telling him about Macedonia's occupation and division, about the terror and forms of denationalization imposed on the Macedonian people, about their uprising against the Ottomans and resistance against the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbian Chetniks, Germans, Italians, Albanian Ballisti and dealing with the most difficult enemy – domestic traitors. I informed him about the creation of the Macedonian state within the framework of the Yugoslav federation and the current Macedonian state which constantly struggled for its place in the world. I also informed him about the merits of Polish Slavists and scholars in the defense of the Macedonian language and Macedonian identity, about the achievements made in the area of overall cooperation between our two countries, about the translated and published literary works of Polish literature and about many other facts that connected our two nations. We compared the tragic fate of our two nations. After two hours and twenty minutes we landed in Budapest to refuel and after an hour of waiting, the flight continued to Skopje, where we landed at 15:20. A red carpet was rolled out. A worthy welcome. Strictly according to diplomatic protocol.

After we took the President to the villa "Macedonia", with an official car we visited Tanja. It was a great joy having our children and granddaughter Marija in our arms, who was now eleven months old.

June 12, 1997, Thursday

During the two-day stay, President J. Zich had meetings and talks with Tito Petkovski, Macedonian Assembly President, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, Boris Rikalovski, Ilinka Mitreva, Blagoi Handzhiski and other officials, as well as with members of the parliamentary groups. During this meeting, an unpleasant exchange of views occurred between J. Zich and the Albanian parliamentarians, who repeatedly claimed that they had no rights in Macedonia, to which they were met with a sharp response and warning from the President of the Sejm, Zich, who in a sharp tone underlined that in modern Europe, minorities should be loyal to the state in which they live and that if Albanians had no rights in Macedonia, then you as members of the Macedonian Assembly would not be sitting at the same table with him.

On the second day of his stay, President J. Zich visited the sights of Skopje and held a press conference in the Parliament at which he spoke very positively about his stay and the meetings he had in Skopje, which confirmed the excellent relations between Macedonia and Poland and expressed wishes for further expansion.

The official translator, upon my recommendation, was Grigori Popovski.

The President of the Polish Sejm expressed a lot of praise for me at all meetings. Let me also take this opportunity to also hightlight the words of Minister Blagoi Handzhiski, who, when President Zich spoke very highly of me, said the following:

- Mr. President of the Polish Sejm, we are not in the habit of praising our Ambassadors but when we hear such words of praise from such high-ranking figures as you, we are glad to have such people.

Unfortunately, I cannot dismiss the thought that in order to be a true state, Macedonia would have to learn a lot, freeing itself from the constraints of habits acquired during the times of

subjugation. Macedonia will rise when it experiences a change in its generations. The current ones are standing on shaky legs. Only the new generations can create a new Macedonia. This desire and hope never left me.

I am pleased to note that the visit was not only necessary but also very successful.

After landing in Warsaw Airport at 19:00, Joseph Zich, President of the Sejm, hugged me and said:

-Thank you for everything I learned a lot from you. I will have something to tell my grandchildren and friends. One day we will meet at a good gathering. The door of my office is always be open to you. See you.

(Note: the program for the visit is attached, binder no. 4, p. 72)

June 13, 1997, Friday

I am compiling my impressions from the trip with President J. Zich, the meetings, conversations and our stay in Skopje.

June 14, 1997, Saturday

We took a walk outside Warsaw.

June 15, 1997, Sunday

At 17:50 Joseph Zich, President of the Polish Sejm, spoke on the "PANORAMA" show on the Polish Television second program, about his visit to Skopje and his meetings and talks with Macedonian government figures. This was ten minutes worth of a highly commendable promotion of Macedonia. It was illustrated with a large number of photos.

June 16, 1997, Monday

Today advisor Miriana Petrovska was leaving for Skopje to go on her vacation and would probably not return. I learned that Zoran Iachev, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, had been replaced. In his place - Dancho Markovski, a career and experienced diplomat. During a telephone conversation with Deputy Minister Zafirovski, I requested an immediate answer regarding the visit of the Minister of Culture and Arts of Poland, Mr. Podkaniski. He said that he would inform me during the day. He sent me a telegram confirming that the date of the visit was set for July 4-7 this year. I then informed the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts.

I called the Office of the Sejm and, in a conversation with the Secretary General, asked if I could get a copy of what President J. Zich had said on the Warsaw Radio and TV regarding his visit to Skopje. He promised me that I would receive the information this week.

June 17, 1997, Tuesday

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that Mrs. Elizhbieta Vikrentovich was in charge of preparing the Cultural Cooperation Agreement.

I received a call from the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and was informed that the delegation of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia would arrive in Warsaw on July 4th to participate in the Sixth Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. I was not obliged to accompany them, as confirmed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

June 18, 1997, Wednesday

My school friend Naso Dzhongovski, a native of the village Statitsa, Kostur Region, a doctor and gynecologist with his own clinic, called me from the USA. He had completed his medical studies in Poznani. He congratulated me on the opening

of the Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw and boasted that he had his own gynecological practice.

June 19, 1997, Thursday

At my request, I was received by Dariush Rosati, Director of the Cabinet of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. During our conversation, I informed him that the Republic of Macedonia has been invited to a NATO meeting to be held in Madrid from 8 to 9 July and that the Macedonian delegation would be led by Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia, who would be accompanied by Blagoi Handzhiski, Minister of Foreign Affairs. I emphasized that our presence at the meeting could be an occasion for an informal meeting with the Polish delegation. He replied that other Ambassadors had also made similar requests for meetings with President Kvashnievski and Minister Rosati and that he saw no reason why the two delegations (Macedonian and Polish) could not meet and that he would officially inform me about it. We both expressed hope that the possible meeting would contribute to the strengthening of mutual relations and cooperation. We ended the conversation with a promise to meet again.

The Polish border authorities were not allowing our citizens to transit through Poland to Sweden. Those who managed to reach Stockholm had complained to our Embassy. In this regard, Ambassador Tihomir Ilievski called me and asked me to intervene and talk with the appropriate Polish authorities. I spoke with Mr. Shimaniski, head of the consular department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He told me that these were probably Macedonians who wanted to transit using old Yugoslav passports, rather than the new Macedonian passports. He confirmed that those who had new Macedonian passports would not have problems transiting through Poland to Sweden. The same applied to those who were seeking residence in Poland. I called Ambassador Ilievski and conveyed the explanation given to me by the Polish authorities. Ambassador Ilievski suggested that we

both suggest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia that consultations be held with Polish consular authorities in order to sign a consular convention. I agreed and informed him that from June 6 to 9, 1995, Gaber and Misailovski stayed in Warsaw and, at my suggestion, they had signed an appropriate consular document regarding transit, but it seemed they had misplaced the text. At that time, they were interested in the Embassy from Warsaw being transferred to Prague and Poland would be covered from there. Continuing the conversation, Ambassador Ilievski suggested that I cover the Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and asked whether I would agree. I said that it did not depend on me.

At 12:00 a reception for the President of Lithuania. Poles have a traditional fondness for this country. In the past, they had a common state – a personal union – the Lithuanians provided a king, 54 years old, and the Poles a queen, young at 18 years old. Now their only problem was the poor position of the Polish minority, which in recent years had been the majority.

My scheduled meeting with Zdzhislav Podkaniski, Minister of Culture and Arts, took place at 14:00 and lasted 45 minutes. We set the date of his visit to Macedonia for July 6-9 this year, agreed on the composition of his delegation and discussed issues related to the publishing the selection of poetry by two Macedonian poets. Each side would cover the costs of printing. We agreed to meet for dinner at the Embassy in the presence of Dobzhaniski, Minister of Defense, and Iageliniski, former Minister of Agriculture, Food Industry and Deputy Prime Minister.

June 20, 1997, Friday

I had a telephone conversation with the new Secretary General, Dancho Markovski. The conversation was about current issues relating to Tripkova and Petrovska's jobs. He said that the issue of Petrovska being withdrawn was being considered and, as for Tripkova, the proposal was that she be withdrawn as well.

In the evening we went to a reception hosted by Polish businessmen outside of Warsaw. There we met the entire Diplomatic Corps and a large number of state officials. In addition to meetings with a large number of Diplomats, I also had a meeting with Iagieliniski, former Minister of Agriculture, with whom I opened the way for signing cooperation agreements. We agreed to meet again on Monday.

June 21, 1997, Saturday

A typical day with some sun and light rain. I took a short walk along the canal with the ducks. A press review. Rest.

June 22, 1997, Sunday

Biliski from the newspaper "Zhechpospolita" called me at 19:00. He asked for an appointment for tomorrow to arrange an article about tourism in Macedonia. I told him that I would expect him at 11:00.

The Sejm Office informed me that during the day they would bring me a tape of Pesident Zich's comments from his stay in Skopje.

June 23, 1997, Monday

Biliski arrived earlier than scheduled. He brought me the promised information. We reviewed the text together and added a few new comments. The report would be published in the weekly issue of the newspaper.

June 24, 1997, Tuesday

At 13:00 I had lunch at the Romanian Embassy. Present were the Ambassadors of Romania, Hungary, Macedonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Albania, Slovenia, Croatia and four people from the Polish Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, headed by Dariush Rosati, Minister of Foreign Affairs. We spent more than an hour of casual conversation about the current situation in Europe, then each of those present spoke about the current situation in their country. Minister Rosati spoke about Polish foreign policy, especially about Poland's aspiration to join NATO and the European Union. I spoke about Macedonia's activities on the international level, among other things, about the visits of President Kiro Gligorov to China and the United States and about the upcoming participation in the meeting in Madrid. I continued by emphasizing that Macedonia, with its foreign policy, seeks to be a factor of stability in the Balkans.

Two congratulation notes arrived from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One was for Frchkovski on his departure and the other for B. Handzhiski on taking over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They were signed by Minister Rosati.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Spanish Embassy and at 19:00 I attended a promotion of a poetry collection at the Writers' Association, and from there I attended a reception hosted by the Latvian Ambassador on the occasion of his departure to Rome.

June 25, 1997, Wednesday

The promised text of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation with Poland had not yet arrived from the Macedonian Ministry.

A letter from arrived from the Polish Ministry of the Interior from Minister Leshek Miller to his Macedonian counterpart T. Chokrevski, informing him that due to his busy schedule he was postponing the meeting and emphasized that he was interested in meeting as soon as possible. I translated the text of the letter into Macedonian and sent it by fax along with the original.

June 26, 1997, Thursday

The invitation for the Minister of Culture, Zdzhislav Podkaniski arrived. I translated it into Polish and faxed it to the Ministry of Culture and Arts.

At 14:45 we left for Vrotslav, where tomorrow there would be a ceremony on the occasion of the anniversary of my mentor, Prof. Karol Fiedor. We had been traveling on flat land and in beautiful weather all the time. A long, wide, endless patch of green flat land. In Vrotslav we stayed in the university hotel. We did not have the opportunity to see Prof. Kole Simitchiev, the greatest promoter of Macedonian studies in Polish scientific circles. He had written and published several scientific papers in Polish dedicated to the Macedonian language, folklore and Macedonian literature. He was the chief inspector of Macedonian schools in Poland (14 in number), chief editor of textbooks (I keep one set in my library in Skopje) which, together with Pando Shapkarev, he edited and published with the financial support of the Polish Ministry of Education. Also Prof. Simitchiev, together with Vatslav Kopchiniski, were the main organizers of the teacher training courses for Macedonian and Greek teachers during the summer months.

In the evening we called our friend Tode Uzunov, who came from a village in Lerin Region, and due to the persecution of his father by the Greek authorities, the entire family found salvation in Yugoslavia, in the famous and notorious village Bulkesh, which was completely allocated to the Greek refugee communists by the Yugoslav authorities. In fact, it was a camp where a large number of ELAS commanders were settled and where future commanders and political commissars who fought in the Greek Civil War were prepared. There, Tode's mother died of typhus, and his father and older brother returned to Greece as volunteers and fought in the ranks of DAG. His father died on Bikovik, a mountain above Kostur, and his brother, wounded in the bloody battle for Lerin, was treated in Katlanovo from where he fled at night and settled in Skopje, from where he emigrated to

Australia in the late fifties. Tode, along with other children from Bulkes, was moved to Poland in August 1949, to the city Zgozhelets, which was the main center for the abducted children and Macedonian and Greek refugees in Poland, whose fate was most often decided by the CPG committee. The committee also decided on Tode's fate. Tode also found himself caught up in the anti-Macedonian crackdown during which the Macedonian leadership were declared Tito's agents. Labeled as a Tito agent, he was expelled from home and school and placed in an agricultural farm where he was an excellent collector, loader and unloader of potatoes, carrots, sugar beets and other agricultural products. In 1950, the Greek-Macedonian newspaper DIMOKRATIS-DEMOKRAT began to publish in Vrotslav. Typesetters and printers were needed. Tode knew the Cyrillic alphabet and, together with two others like him, were employed in the printing house. There he learned to form words letter by letter and then to write them on a linotype, and he continued that craft until his retirement. Why did I devote so much space to him in my notes? Because we were very good friends. A rare calm, good-natured and warm-hearted man. A rarity in kindness. Years later I learned that he had fallen ill with a serious illness. Tode has gone and rests in the cemetery in Vrotslav. And now, while writing these few lines, I see the always smiling and good-natured Tode. Rest in peace, dear Tode, that is how it was written for you.

June 27, 1997, Friday

After the ceremony, in honour of my mentor, we went with him to the dean of the University of Vrotslav where the rector received me. During our conversation, he expressed the desire to establish cooperation between the University of Vrotslav and the University of Skopje. I took the opportunity to express my gratitude for the fact that a large number of Macedonians had obtained higher education, master's degrees and doctorates in various fields at the University of Vrotslav, who were today valued specialists in Macedonia.

At 14:45 we left for Shchavno Zdrui, formerly Solitse Zdrui. Our goal was to visit that beautiful town where we, about 1,500 Macedonian children aged 3 to 14, were accommodated. The first steps, after we arrived, were taken to the place in the park where we children from my village took a photo under the big lilac tree. The group photo reached our parents thanks to mother Evgenia who paid for the photo. That photo has been published in many publications today and is circulating on the Internet. From Solitse we left for Londek Zdrui. This town was also one of the most beautiful resorts and health spas in this part of Poland. Macedonian children from Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions were accommodated here on October 28, 1948. I have dedicated more space to this in my doctoral thesis entitled "Macedonian children in Poland 1948-1968". By visiting these two towns our childhood came alive within us, but far from our home.

June 28, 1997, Saturday

Burdened with memories of that time, we returned to Warsaw in the evening.

June 29, 1997, Sunday

A special day, a day to remember. A day that marks 38 years of our marriage. We received congratulations from our daughters. We celebrated in a Warsaw restaurant.

June 30, 1997, Monday

Malezanov called me. He told me that the representative office of "Technometal" in Warsaw was being closed. What could I possibly do when I found out that everything that had been built so far in the Republic of Macedonia had been destroyed?

From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Dancho informed me that Petrovska had been

dismissed and that I should not wait for them to send me a replacement.

At 10:00 the Moldovan Chargé d'Affaires visited me. He looked at the second part of the building and said that he was interested in opening an Embassy there.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Chinese Embassy organized on the occasion of Hong Kong's reunification with China. Many guests were invited. We watched a live televised broadcast of the reunification. I congratulated the Chinese Ambassador.

July 1, 1997, Tuesday

Some phone calls from Polish people complaining about high fees and poor treatment they received from Macedonian border officials. I told them I was sorry and asked them to send me their complaints in writing.

July 2, 1997, Wednesday

Again more phone calls with complaints about the poor attitude of the Macedonian border authorities. I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding this.

At 10:40 journalist Hunovska from the Warsaw TV Center arrived at the Embassy. She wanted to travel to Struga and film the Struga Poetry Evenings. I asked her to submit an appropriate written request or contact the SVP Directorate in Struga directly.

At 11:10 we welcomed the Queen of the Netherlands. She arrived thirty minutes late.

The newspaper "ŽEČPOSPOLITA" published a full-page report on Macedonian tourism.

In the evening I attended a cocktail at the Belarusian and Thai Embassies, just to congratulate them.

July 3, 1997, Thursday

The Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that Minister Podkaniski would be flying to Macedonia on July 6 at 08:00. I said I would attend the send-off.

Dancho, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, called me. And this time he told me that due to lack of money they would not be sending me someone to replace Petrovska. Do the job yourself, I am satisfied with you, he said, and added, you can raise the cleaner's salary by fifty dollars. He ended the call by saying hang in there.

July 4, 1997, Friday

We sent off the Queen of Netherlands at 08:20.
Lile Naumova from Zagreb called me at 14:35. Among other things, she told me that she faced similar difficulties as me.

The Polish Ministry of Culture called me and told me that the text of the intergovernmental agreement on cultural cooperation, for which I had invested months of work, had been signed by Prime Minister Chimoshevich. I was relieved.

At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by the American Ambassador Ray on the occasion of July 4, the national holiday of the United States. A huge courtyard, the residence was drowning in greenery and ornamental shrubs. And what was inside? God knows, I thought. I took a look then compared what I saw with the conditions in which I started working and living. Here I met several former and current Polish Ambassadors, ministers and writers. The benefit of going to cocktails was only to affirm Macedonia as much as possible. I always did that.

At 20:40 I welcomed the Parliamentary Delegation from Macedonia, which would participate in the 4th OSCE session.

July 5, 1997, Saturday

I attended the 4th OSCE session. The chairman's speech was boring and meaningless. The speaker of the Polish Sejm, J.

Zych, and the President of Poland, A. Kvashnievski, were more interesting.

At 20:30 a cocktail held in the restaurant and courtyard of the Sejm.

July 6, 1997, Sunday

At 07:15 at the airport for the farewell of Minister Podkaniski to Macedonia. In the VIP area before departure we agreed to meet at his place on July 9th.

At 19:30 a reception at "BELVEDERE" in Lazhenkovo Park for the participants of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the Diplomatic Corps. I noticed that all members of the Parliamentary Delegations were together with their Ambassadors or acting representatives of their countries. The Macedonian delegation was scattered.

July 7, 1997, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Defense called and said that the return visit of the Minister of Defense, Stanislav Dobzhaniski, would take place from July 23 to 31. He would fly on a special Yak-40 plane accompanied by his wife and I with my wife. I conveyed the news to Colonel Nikolovski by phone, who accepted the proposed dates.

At 18:00 the Macedonian delegation arrived at the Embassy. They showed no interest in the achieved results and activities. At 20:00 a reception for parliamentarians and the Diplomatic Corps was organized by the President of Poland at the Presidential Palace. During the reception, I met and talked with Ministers Stanislav Dobzhaniski, Dariush Rosati, as well as with several state officials and Ambassadors. I also met with representatives of the Greek delegation with whom I spoke in Greek about the need for mutual cooperation and for establishing contacts at various levels. The Greek Ambassador emphasized that this was positive but the name issue was an obstacle, which

for now, as he put it, was a thorn in mutual relations. I told him that future generations would certainly remove the thorn but now our peoples should be given the chance to live as good neighbours and asked him if the current conversation bothered him. He said he was satisfied with the conversation. I told him that good relations could be discussed at any time but that required good will and a desire for mutual understanding without the hatred left to us by the bad past. He again replied that the name was an obstacle, to which I told him that the name was a sovereign right of both the individual and the people and was a monopoly of someone else because of emotions stemming from the past, and it could be changed by force, violence, terror, threats, cultural genocide, and even betrayal. I am familiar with all that, Sir, I said.

We ended the conversation with the Greek Ambassador's suggestion that we meet again soon. I accepted.

July 8, 1997,

I spent all day organizing my notes from the past few days.

July 9, 1997, Wednesday

It was a quiet day, without faxes and phone calls. At 19:20 at the airport to meet Minister Podkaniski, who was returning from Macedonia. Before that, President Kvashnievski's plane landed. He had been in Madrid accompanied by Dobzhaniski Minister of Defense. Minister Dobzhaniski told me that he met two Macedonians, Minister Handzhiski and Lazar Kitanovski, Minister of Defense, in Madrid. He emphasized that the conversation he had with them was very useful.

July 10, 1997, Thursday

At 13:00 a reception for US President Clinton (*see note, binder IV, p. 117).* At 15:00 a meeting with Prof. Iviniski, a

parliamentarian and member of the Polish parliamentary group in the European Parliament, and at 17:00 a meeting and conversation with Dobzhaniski, the Minister of National Defense. At 20:00 dinner with Zdzhislav Podkaniski, Minister of Culture and Arts.

July 11, 1997, Friday

It was my granddaughter Marija's first birthday. We sent congratulations and greetings.

In the afternoon a reception hosted by the Minister of National Defense on the occasion of Poland's invitation to NATO accession negotiations. I congratulated Minister Dobzhaniski and, among other things, told him that I hoped we would have Poland's support in the future. To this, he said:

- Macedonia can certainly count on our support and assistance. We know about Macedonia's tragic fate and great wisdom, and whose President, in the most difficult conditions, showed the courage to maintain composure and demonstrate great political maturity and responsibility before his own people and chose peace in order to preserve his young state's sovereignty. Poland will have understanding and, so far, has affirmed and will continue to affirm Macedonia.

During the reception, I met and spoke with President Kvashnievski. I complained to him that he did not mention Macedonia in his speech yesterday on the square in front of the Royal Palace.

To this he said:

- Dear friend, I did that for tactical reasons. I have a great feeling of sympathy for Macedonia and it will always have my support.

At this moment I thought: Macedonia doesn't just need feelings of sympathy but something more, but that's good too, at least he meant well.

The reception was attended by the heads of the Diplomatic missions of 16 NATO member countries as well as of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine,

Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Bulgaria, Albania and Macedonia.

During the reception, I met and talked with the Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions. Among other things, he told me that a meeting dedicated to minority rights would be held in Warsaw in November. He suggested that Macedonia register for attendance and that its delegation be thoroughly prepared. Regarding the announced OSCE meeting, we scheduled it for September.

July 12, 1997, Saturday

Catastrophic flooding in southwestern Poland. Polish television was broadcasting live.

July 13, 1997, Sunday

The water level in some cities, such as Vrotslav, reached the first floor of buildings. The Sejm and the government held an emergency session. There were calls for help. So far, 33 people had lost their lives and the number of flood victims was growing by hundreds of thousands every day.

July 14, 1997, Monday

I sent a letter to Blagoi Handzhiski, Minister of Defense, regarding the planned visit to Macedonia of the Polish Minister of Defense, as well as approval for organizing a reception on the occasion of our September 8 national holiday. (*See text in binder IV, p. 123.)*

As of today I am without a secretary. She went on vacation.

July 15, 1997, Tuesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature saying farewell to the Ambassador of Israel, a Polish Jew. I noticed that a number of Ambassadors from Israel were of Polish origin, raised and accredited by Poland.

I contacted the Polish Ministry of Culture regarding the publication of the two poetry selections by A. Popovski and P. Bakevski.

The Macedonian Ministry of Defense sent me the program for the visit of the Polish Minister of Defense to Macedonia. I called Minister Dobzhaniski's office to let them know. They scheduled a meeting for me for tomorrow at 08:30. Just in case, they also told me there was the possibility of canceling the visit due to the catastrophic floods.

July 16, 1997, Wednesday

I arrived at the Polish Ministry of National Defense at 08:30. I was received by the Chief of Staff. He informed me that, due to the catastrophic floods, the Prime Minister had banned all travel by Ministers. Accordingly, Minister Dobzhaniski's visit was being postponed for the time being. I informed our Ministry about this and they told me that the invitation was still valid.

At 16:30 my wife and I traveled to the town of Shedlitse where a folklore festival was being held, featuring the participation of the Macedonian group KUD "Tsvetan Dimov". Our girls and boys performed well compared to other folklore groups. After the concert I went back stage to meet our performers. I told them who I was and I congratulated them most warmly on their success, telling them that today they were the Ambassadors in Poland.

July 17, 1997, Thursday

I managed to obtain free visas for the members of the "Tsvetan Dimov" Cultural and Artistic Association from the Czech Embassy.

I received a phone call from Rapatski from the Office of President Kvashnievski. In our short conversation, he informed me that the invitation for President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Poland was slowly but surely being prepared. I told him that the news made me very happy and that we would share the joy together.

July 18, 1997, Friday

It was a day of mourning. All flags in Warsaw were flown at half-mast. I also lowered the Macedonian flag in solidarity with Poland.

At 15:00 the Ambassador of Slovakia arrived at the Embassy with his wife Viera. During a modest snack we had an open conversation about the situation in Poland, the speeches given by Clinton and Kvashnievski, as well as the situation in our countries.

An envelope arrived from the Office of President Kvashnievski, containing the following text in Polish. I translated it to Macedonian. Here is what it said in English:

FROM THE PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND Warsaw
18 July 1997

Dear Mr. President!

It is my honour and great pleasure to invite you, Sir, to officially visit the Republic of Poland.

The process of democratic change in Poland and Macedonia have created beneficial conditions for expanding bilateral contacts between our countries and for deepening cooperation in the international arena.

Having personal respect for you, Mr. President, as well as for your contribution to the peaceful achievement of independence of your Homeland and the stabilization of the situation in the Region, and taking into account the traditions of friendship and cooperation between nations and states, I welcome your visit on October 29-30, 1997.

Expressing my hope for the opportunity to visit soon, I send you my best wishes.

With respect and friendship,

Alexander Kvashnievski, sr.

To His Excellency
Kiro Gligorov
President of the Republic of Macedonia
Skopje

On the same day, I faxed the invitation in Polish and its translation in Macedonian to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. At the same time, I faxed a corresponding letter with suggestions to the Embassy.

(*See text in binder number IV, p. 133).*

July 19, 1997, Saturday

It rained all day. We were stuck in the Embassy due to the bad weather.

July 20, 1997, Sunday

It rained all day today. It poured.

July 21, 1997, Monday

At 09:00 Colonel Nikolovski called me. He asked about Dobzhaniski's visit. I told him that the Polish Ministry of Defense had informed me that due to the catastrophic floods, the visit was being postponed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that in connection with the floods in Poland, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia had decided to send humanitarian aid in the form of tents, blankets and canned food. I wondered if that was the best thing to do but, as they say, you don't look a gift horse in the mouth. So I decided to propose something else, considering it to be of greater value.

I prepared a telegram in which I proposed that instead of tents and blankets, the Government of Macedonia accept about thirty Polish children, who would spend their vacation in Macedonia under the care of the Macedonian Red Cross. I explained that those children would be some of the best advocates of Macedonia and its permanent friends in the future and that such a gesture by Macedonia would resonate very positively in Poland and among the Diplomatic Corps. The sooner the approval arrived, the greater the affirmation for Macedonia. The Embassy would place the news in the Polish press, electronic media and competent institutions in an appropriate manner.

I sent the telegram by fax and eagerly awaited a response.

July 22, 1997, Tuesday

At 8:00 Dancho Markovski called me on the phone. He said:

- Your proposal is brilliant. The government has accepted your proposal. Report where necessary and, if the Polish side accepts, we will start preparing accordingly here.

I will immediately send a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding this decision.

July 23, 1997, Wednesday

At 18:30 at a cocktail at the Egyptian Embassy. A small number of guests attended, especially from the Diplomatic Corps. I congratulated the Ambassador on his holiday, met some familiar figures from Polish political circles and left after half an hour.

July 24, 1997, Thursday

Ognen Maleski called me. He said that there was still no decision regarding the planned cocktail for September 8. He emphasized that my proposal to accept a certain number of Polish children as a reflection of humanitarian aid due to the catastrophic floods in Poland had been accepted by the Government and that I was commended for the idea.

Malahovski came and I gave him the invitation to participate in the tender for the construction of the "CHEBREN" hydroelectric power plant.

July 25, 1997, Friday

Regarding the proposal to accept Polish children, I received the following telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia:

"In connection with the catastrophic floods that affected the southwestern regions of the Republic of Poland, which claimed about sixty victims and caused enormous material damage, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, at its session on 23.7.1997, decided to provide humanitarian aid by accepting 40 (forty) children with accompanying staff for a one month-long vacation (during August and September) at the Center for Personnel and Recreation of Children and Youth of the Macedonian Red Cross on Lake Dojran. During their stay, the children will be provided with constant health care.

With this, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia wishes to express the traditional attitude of our

country towards the population affected by natural disasters and the feeling of friendship towards the Polish people close to us and friendly Poland, which provided the Republic of Macedonia with significant humanitarian assistance after the earthquake in Skopje.

The above-mentioned assistance will be implemented through the Macedonian Red Cross in cooperation with the Polish Red Cross. Ognen Maleski, s.t. press.

On the same day, a telegram arrived from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia with the following text:

To:
H.E. d. Stanislav Dobzhaniski
Minister of National Defense
Ministry of National Defense
of the Republic of Poland"

"Dear Mr. Minister Dobzhaniski,

I am following the information about the consequences of the major floods that have hit your country with a heavy heart. I am using this opportunity to express my condolences to the families of the victims.

I fully understand your commitment to eliminating the consequences of the disasterous flood. I would also like to inform you that I am pleased to accept your proposal to begin your visit in the Republic of Macedonia on August 20 of this year.

Expressing my respect, allow me to express my wishes for the speedy normalization of the situation in your country and to wish you successful results in the performance of your responsibility and duty, good health and personal success.

Dr. Lazar Kitanoski, sr.

Regarding the Government's decision, I wrote a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, copied the two telegrams and requested an urgent meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They received me at the next session. I handed them the note and copies of the telegrams. They were surprised. They did not expect such a gesture from Macedonia. They thanked me and said that they would immediately inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rosati, the Cabinet of President Kvashnievski, the Cabinet of Prime Minister Chimoshevich and the Polish Red Cross. After reading the note and the telegrams again, Ambassador Hmielevski was visibly excited thanked us and said:

- The decision by the Macedonian government, I have no doubt was made at Ambassador Nakovski's suggestion and is one of the greatest investments in Macedonian-Polish relations because those children will remember and talk about Macedonia for their entire lives. Mr. Nakovski, please convey Poland's gratitude to Macedonia for this wonderful and unique gesture of humanity.

(The note and telegrams can be found in the manuscript, binder number IV, p.135)

At 15:45 I received a telegram approving my annual leave for 1997 to be taken from August 4 to 31, 1997.

At 18:30 at a cocktail at the Swiss Embassy. It was very modest. It showed that the rich don't splurge like the poor.

July 26, 1997, Saturday

The rain continued. We had telephone conversations with our children and rested.

July 27, 1997, Sunday

It was still raining. We read newspapers, magazines and watched television.

July 28, 1997, Monday

I received a call from the Polish Red Cross. They thanked the Macedonian government for its decision. They said that they had not yet decided which city or villages suffered the most from the floods and which children to send to Macedonia. They, however, had begun the appropriate preparations and had contacted the Macedonian Red Cross.

I called Simka at the MFA and gave her the information. She promised to send it.

At 13:30 at the Polish Ministry of National Defense. I had a conversation with Minister Dobzhaniski. We agreed on a new date for his visit to Macedonia – from August 19 to 24, 1997.

I went to the airport and bought tickets to Skopje from the Austrian company. Departure from Warsaw to Vienna was on August 4th, and return to Warsaw on August 31st.

At 19:30 at a cocktail at the Royal Palace. It was organized by the Embassy of Peru. There I met familiar Ministers and Ambassadors and had short and interesting conversations.

July 29, 1997, Tuesday

Yesterday the post office brought me a whole stack of "NOVA MACEDONIA" and "PULS" newspapers. I looked them over but found nothing that could make me happy. The value of the denar had fallen, production was declining, there were no investments, the gray economy was flourishing, the parties were fighting, the Albanians were rebelling, they were demanding a parallel government and state, for which the authorities in Gostivar beat them up.

This morning I received sad news from Dota (our cleaner). Mihail Gramatnikovski, our school friend, originally from Rudari, a village in Prespa Region, President of the Association of Macedonians in Warsaw and the surrounding area, had passed away. He worked at the Ministry of Health and often visited us at

the Embassy. The funeral was today at the cemetery in his wife's village. We sent a telegram of condolence. Our generation was slowly diminishing. It was dying in distant lands, separated from loved ones and their wish to see their birthplace and rest there was unfulfilled.

It was a sad, very sad day...

I used today's meeting with the Mayor of Warsaw to inform him about the Macedonian government's decision. He said that he did not expect such a gesture. We talked at length about his personal participation and that of his colleagues in the preparation of the Skopje urban plan. We had known each other since then and every time we met we always had a lot to talk about.

After the meeting I returned to the Embassy. I leafed through the newspapers again and found two agency news items. I quote them without comment.

The first one reads:

"The Republic of Macedonia will request exclusion from the UN if the Security Council proposes that our country be registered under the name Republic of New Macedonia."

The second one reads:

"The language dispute between Bulgaria and Macedonia did not arise independently, but after a friendly persuasion exerted on Sofia by Belgrade and Athens - claims the Sofia newspaper "KONTINENT". According to agency reports, the goal was for Bulgaria to slow down the development of relations with Macedonia until Greece and Serbia decided what to do with the new state, thus achieving a balance between Greece's non-recognition of the name, the Serbia's refusal to establish the border and the Bulgaria's non-recognition of the Macedonian language."

This was exactly what I often discussed with Polish politicians and journalists, as well as with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. That was the main purpose, aside from invitations, of my meetings and for attending cocktails.

July 30, 1997, Wednesday

The time to leave for Skopje was approaching. Ditta was busy packing a whole pile of clothes and toys for our granddaughter Marija and something for our children. I didn't have time for that because I was still busy with my official duties. At 13:00 I met with Rapatski. Our conversation was about President Kiro Gligorov's upcoming visit to Poland and about the floods. We agreed to meet again on September 1st.

July 31, 1997, Thursday

Two letters arrived by fax in the late afternoon hours. One was from Ana Trajkovska from Skopje, and the other from Lile Naumova from Washington. Ana wrote to tell me about the chaos in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, and Lile wrote to tell me that she was returning to Skopje permanently for several reasons, "but the most important one - she writes - (I will quote part of it) is that as a Macedonian I seem to have come to the wrong place. That's how it is when you build a multi... multi, well there is no place for domestics abroad and vice versa."

I kept both letters.

August 1, 1997, Friday

I sent a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the ratification of the veterinary and plant protection agreements.

Regarding the interest in cooperation between high schools from both countries, I wrote a letter to the Warsaw

Curatorium informing them that the State Medical School in Bitola accepted cooperation with a similar one in Warsaw.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that, due to lack of financial resources, organizing a reception on the occasion of the September 8th Macedonian national holiday was not approved.

August 2, 1997, Saturday

Today in Macedonia, Ilinden 1903 is celebrated, and here in Warsaw, the 53rd anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 is observed.

The press and media devote a lot of space to this tragic Polish date, dominated by the question of whether it was necessary or not and reflections on the fate of Poland. "Gazeta Wyborcza" published an extensive article entitled: *Was the Warsaw Uprising necessary?* Here is a thought extracted from the article:

"It should be borne in mind that, both then and now and in the future, the fate of Poland does not lie exclusively in the hands of the Poles. It depends on the nature of great power governments and on international political constellations."

This thought leaves you wondering: **w*hat was it like, what is it like and what will it be like with Macedonia?***

August 3, 1997, Sunday

Today we are thinking about tomorrow's trip to Skopje. After a long separation, we will be with our children and we will be happy with our granddaughter Marija. That is not all that awaits me in Skopje. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia on August 5 at 08:30, a scheduled meeting with the Secretary General, then a reception with the Minister, then a meeting with President Kiro Gligorov, then with

the Minister of Defense, then at the Registry of Emigrants, then at the Archdiocese and I should finish the meetings sometime by Friday. Polish Minister of Defense Dobzhaniski will arrive in Skopje with his wife on August 19, and after the official and business meetings with his hosts, I will accompany him on vacation in Ohrid, at the ARM resort, in Sveti Naum, until August 24. My wife and I will also vacation there. During his stay, Minister Dobzhaniski will be received and will stay for lunch with President Kiro Gligorov, and in the following days he will visit Ohrid. I will be with him the entire time. He will return to Warsaw on the 24th in a Yak-24, and my wife and I will return to Skopje on August 25, where we will baptize our granddaughter on August 28. Then I will have another meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. On August 31 at 17:10 we will take off for Vienna and at 20:40 we will land in Warsaw. That will be it for our vacation.

August 25, 1997, Monday

Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski received me at 10:00. He praised me for my activities in Warsaw. We talked about relations with Poland and cooperation agreements. We agreed that Polish Prime Minister Chimoshevich would officially visit Macedonia and, in that sense, Prime Minister Crvenkovski gave me an invitation for the Polish Prime Minister.

August 26, 1997, Tuesday

Once again President Kiro Gligorov received me very warmly at 14:00. Ahil Tuntev was present. We had a long conversation about Macedonian-Polish relations and cooperation in all areas in the future, the need to strengthen the staff at the Embassy, to raise the level of the head of the Embassy, the role of Poland in Central and Eastern Europe and the President's upcoming visit to Poland. The President emphasized that in addition to economic and other cooperation, political relations

with Poland were of great importance for Macedonia and that additional effort was needed in that direction. At the end of our meeting the President gave me a letter of gratitude to give to President Kvashnievski for the invitation to officially visit Poland.

After my meeting with the President, a working meeting was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding President Kiro Gligorov's upcoming visit to Poland, at which details of the visit were agreed upon. I was promised that someone would be sent to assist.

August 27, 1997, Wednesday

I was received by Minister B. Handzhiski. I gave him a brief overview of my activities so far, and he expressed satisfaction with my work. Certain details were agreed regarding President Kiro Gligorov's official visit to Poland. We discussed the results of Minister Dobzhaniski's visit and actions to be taken to further strengthen our relations with Poland. There would be no staff additions to the Embassy this year.

The following days, August 28, 29 and 30 until departure we spent with family and friends.

August 31, 1997, Sunday

We arrived at the airport at 15:45. The parting was sad.

At 17:00 departure for Vienna. We landed in Warsaw at 20:45 and arrived at the Embassy at 21:15.

September 1, 1997, Monday

I wrote a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and personally delivered it along with the invitations translated into Polish.

(Copies of the invitations can be found in the manuscript, binder IV, p. 153)

September 2, 1997, Tuesday

Rapatski called. He informed me that by September 22, I should receive a brief program for President Kiro Gligorov's official visit. He suggested that a preparatory group arrive in Warsaw on September 13 in order for the two sides to agree on the detailed program for the visit.

September 3, 1997, Wednesday

I received an invitation from the British Embassy to participate in a memorial service to be held at St. Martin's Church on the occasion of the death of Princess Diana. I went to the British Embassy and wrote the following in the book of condolences:

Macedonia sincerely mourns the untimely and tragic death of Princess Diana. Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, Dr. P. Nakovski.

I personally expressed my condolences to the British Ambassador.

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature, the Ambassadors of Venezuela and India were sent off. In a conversation with the Ambassador of Mongolia, I learned that he was not issued a visa to go to Greece because of his contacts with the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia.

At 13:00 Bogdan Shcherbiniski called me from the Ministry of Transport and asked for information on whether it was possible for the Road Transport Agreement between Macedonia and Poland to be signed on September 20 in Warsaw. As a reminder - the expert talks were held in Warsaw on April 28 and 29 this year and the text was initialed. In the meantime, there had been a change of government and hence the delay. I told Shcherbiniski that I would inform him as soon as possible.

September 4, 1997, Thursday

On the occasion of September 8, I sent congratulations to the Republic of Macedonia's state leadership.

At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by the Slovak Embassy where I met with several Ambassadors and Polish officials. I talked to the Greek Ambassador, Leonidas Chryssanthopoulos, who approached me asking about mutual relations and the need for cooperation. He suggested we meet for dinner. I accepted.

September 5, 1997, Friday

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that due to Minister Podkaniski's vacation, Minister Unkovski's visit scheduled for September 14-17 was being postponed. They promised to schedule a new date.

September 6, 1997, Saturday

With Milenka and Ditta visiting the old part of Warsaw. We had lunch at the Chinese restaurant.

September 7, 1997, Sunday

I received a fax from the Albanian Embassy. They informed that a book of condolences would be opened in its premises from 8 to 10 September 1997, on the occasion of the death of Mother Teresa. I went and wrote a few words as an expression of sympathy. The Polish media devoted more space to her, emphasizing that she was born in Skopje, to a Catholic family. I had no information on how that event was commemorated in Skopje. I am sure that the Albanians will make a prestigious issue of the death of Mother Teresa.

Today I finished writing the analysis "Poland before the negotiations for joining NATO".

(The text can be found in the manuscript, binder no. IV, p. 159.)

September 8, 1997, Monday

Today is a national holiday in Macedonia. Independence Day. Tonight I will host a modest cocktail for a group of Macedonians who live and work in Warsaw.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called and urgently asked me to send them my biography.

September 9, 1997, Tuesday

I called the editorial office of "ZHECHPOSPOLITA" and requested a correction to the birthplace of Mother Teresa.

September 10, 1997, Wednesday

This morning, at 10:00, I signed the book of condolences opened at the Albanian Embassy. I wrote the following:

"Macedonia mourns the death of Mother Teresa and is at the same time proud that a child was born on its soil who became a symbol of love, faith and a mother to the world. From the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia, Dr. Nakovski."

September 11, 1997, Thursday

I went to Kielitse to visit the Fifth Modern Weapons Fair. I returned the same day.

September 12, 1997, Friday

I finished writing the text for the needs of ARM.
(See manuscript, binder IV, p. 160).

September 13, 1997, Saturday

They changed my phone/fax number to 8 43 13 26. We went for a walk in the afternoon.

September 14, 1997, Sunday

We visited the Botanical Garden and then went for a walk in Lazhenki Park.

September 15, 1997, Monday

Two Polish parliamentarians-businessmen invited me to lunch. We had a disscussion about their desire to invest in Macedonia. So far, other Polish businessmen had expressed similar wishes and requests. There had been no response to such initiatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

September 16, 1997, Tuesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature to send off the Albanian Ambassador. Then at 12:00 at a cocktail at the Mexican Embassy. At 14:00 I met with Shtindil, the Czech Republic Ambassador.

At 16:00 Zdzhislav Podkaniski called me from the Minister of Culture. He asked me to convey that the Macedonian Minister of Culture, Slobodan Unkovski, was expected in Warsaw from September 24 to 26. He also suggested that we have dinner together on September 23, 1997 at 18:00.

September 17, 1997, Wednesday

Organizing materials into binders.

September 18, 1997, Thursday

A telegram arrived from the Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Culture informing me that Minister S. Unkovski

would not be able to visit Poland on the proposed date due to being too busy. I spoke with him on the phone and asked him to propose a date. He said he could visit in November, about which I informed the Polish Minister.

September 19, 1997, Friday

Organizing materials in binders and reviewing the daily press.

September 20, 1997, Saturday

Nothing to complain about today.

September 21, 1997, Sunday

Today Parliamentary elections in Poland. At the polling stations 28 million agitated, mutually offended and divided Poles were expected to turn out.

September 22, 1997, Monday

I scheduled a meeting with Rapatski for September 24 at 12:00 regarding further preparations for President Kiro Gligorov's upcoming visit to Poland.

I spoke with Jatsek Palishevski, Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions based in Warsaw. We arranged a meeting for September 24 at 17:00.

September 23, 1997, Tuesday

A quiet day, no phone calls.

September 24, 1997, Wednesday

I attended a meeting in President Kvashnievski's office at 12:00. We discussed the details of the upcoming visit and the composition of the accompanying persons. Unknown for now.

At 19:43 I received very urgent instructions by fax:

I wrote down the appropriate order.

(See appendix in the manuscript, binder no. IV, p. 168).

Due to possible threats, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that I arrange for increased protection measures, especially as the date of the visit approached.

September 25, 1997, Thursday

Security units were stationed in front of the Embassy all night. I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 11:00, where people from the Diplomatic Protocol were leaving, and asked to meet with Klinger, Head of the Department in the Western Europe Division. I explained to him that I had received a request for increased security necessity for the protection of the Embassy. He promised to supply it but asked me to confirm my request with a note, which I sent by fax during the day. They set up a small guard house in front of the Embassy. An armed soldier was present there at all times day and night.

September 26, 1997, Friday

At 11:00 I attended a scheduled meeting at the Ministry of Construction and Spatial Management. I was received very warmly and given extensive information, as well as the laws on construction, land management, ownership and the conditions for purchasing real estate by domestic and foreign persons.

September 27, 1997, Saturday

We went on a trip outside of Warsaw. We visited an old castle with old weapons on display.

In the afternoon I wrote a note about the meeting held on August 26, 1997 in President Kiro Gligorov's office regarding his official visit to Poland.
(Handwritten copy, binder IV, p. 179.)

September 28, 1997, Sunday

We stayed at the Embassy all day. I reviewed articles from the Polish press. Macedonian newspapers arrived very late but may contained important information on domestic events.

September 29, 1997, Monday

I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and handed over the letter from Minister Handzhiski to Minister Rosati and to Blinker who was replacing Hmielevski.

Ana Trajkovska called me; she had recently returned from diplomatic work in the United States. She wanted to come to work in Warsaw. I told her that I would welcome her but that it did not depend on me.

I called the publisher Soltis and informed him that the Ministry of Culture had informed me that Minister Podkaniski had approved the publication of poetry collections by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski, which would be paid by the Ministry of Culture.

September 30, 1997, Tuesday

Today I received some unexpected news: the proposal for my appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland was accepted at the Government session yesterday. Milan Spiridonovski told me this by phone.

Was I happy? I received the news calmly, saying aloud:

- This is a new burden, to which Milenka said loudly:

- Dad, you've done that before!

The newspaper "NOVA MAKEDONIJA" modestly marked the Government's decision with the following published information:

"Petre Nakovski Ambassador to Poland. The President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, based on Article 84, paragraph 1, item 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, appointed Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor and the current acting officer at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland."

At 18:00 a cocktail at the Chinese Embassy. Many meetings and short conversations. I also met with Chryssanthopoulos, the Greek Ambassador in Warsaw, who complained to me that the Macedonian border authorities had not given a visa to a Greek diplomat. I told him that he must have had the wrong passport.

Ditta was at "tea" today, a regular meeting of the wives of some Ambassadors. The hostess was the wife of the Slovenian Ambassador. During conversations, the wife of the Bulgarian Ambassador said that the Macedonian language was a dialect of Bulgarian, to which Ditta reacted sharply, noting that the Bulgarians, who were originally Tatars, were assimilated by the indigenous Slav speakers and as such had accepted the Old Slavonic language and the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet. The Bulgarian woman, offended, left the meeting.

And on some occasion, I will ask:

- Since when are all Bulgarian linguists by profession?

I am sure that former Bulgarian Ambassador Yani Milchakov would reprimand his wife for saying such things on such an occasion.

At the cocktail at the FORUM Hotel, hosted by the organizer of the Poznani International Fair, on the occasion of tomorrow's opening of POLAGRA, I met with several Polish businessmen, parliamentarians and Senators with whom I had discussions about

the possibilities for greater cooperation with businessmen from Macedonia.

October 1, 1997, Wednesday

The head of the protocol of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management of the Republic of Macedonia called me and asked when the International Fair "POLAGRA" in Poznani would open. When I told her that it would open on October 2, meaning tomorrow, she was shocked. Then she said -I thought it was in November. I replied - even if it starts in November, it will still be too late. Preparations, Madam, for such events take months. It is best to start preparing for next year, I concluded. Angrily she said: - I'll remember, to which I said I would like that very much.

October 2, 1997, Thursday

Gordana Gligorova from the HR Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called and congratulated me on my promotion.

October 3, 1997, Friday

I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was asked to attend an 11:00 o'clock meeting to discuss President Kiro Gligorov's upcoming visit to Poland. Present at the meeting were Hmielevski, Klinger and Cherpeniski. After our greetings they asked me the following questions:

1. Would President Kiro Gligorov be interested in receiving the leaders of the parties that entered the Sejm at the residence?

2. The Polish side suggested that President Kiro Gligorov lay a wreath (at different times) at the Tomb of the Unknown

Soldier, at the Warsaw Uprising Monument and the Warsaw Ghetto Monument.

3. The Polish side also suggested that agreements on cultural cooperation and international traffic be signed in Warsaw during his visit.

4. If the Sejm is not in session and commissions are not formed, President Kiro Gligorov should meet with representatives of the Sejm in the hall of the Academy of Economics, political parties, businessmen, public figures and the Diplomatic Corps (the text of the speech should be provided for translation, it can also be in English).

5. The toasts should be translated into Polish and Macedonian.At the end of the meeting, I said that I would inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the suggestions and questions raised today.I returned to the Embassy, contacted the Diplomatic Protocol and scheduled a meeting for October 6th.

I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Defense complaining that the Polish military delegation had not been provided with an interpreter.

At 17:18 I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requesting an agreement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland to appoint Petre Nakovski as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to Poland.With a cover letter under number 14-7773/3 dated 3.10.1997 signed by Secretary General Dancho Markovski, the note written in English and translated to Macedonian read:

"**State Coat of Arms, Republic of Macedonia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, number 14-7773/2"**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its high regard to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour

to request an agreement on the appointment of His Excellency Petre Nakovski, Minister Counselor and Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland, with residence in Warsaw.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia expresses its confidence that the Republic of Poland will agree to the appointment and will accept His Excellency Petre Nakovski in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland, enabling him to fulfill his duties in accordance with international norms and in the interest of the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the honour to attach a biography of His Excellency Petre Nakovski.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland the assurances of its highest consideration. sr, round seal.

Skopje, October 2, 1997
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
WARSAW
(Copy in manuscript, binder IV, p. 179)

I immediately sent the original of the note by diplomatic mail to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

October 4, 1997, Saturday

We spent the day visiting the old part of Warsaw.

October 5, 1997, Sunday

I usually get up very early, before 05:30, on Saturdays and Sundays. I use that time, before the official flow of work begins, to try to throw in a sentence or two in my two novels, which have been waiting for me for years to finish. And yet time is short. Diplomatic engagements do not allow one to think about creative work. It cuts off creative thought, and time flows… At least for now...

October 6, 1997, Monday

We sent Milenka to the airport this morning. She will fly to Skopje via Vienna. The working group for the preparation of President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Warsaw will arrive on October 12, 1997.

October 7, 1997, Tuesday

In the afternoon, the Polish Diplomatic Protocol sent me the program for the stay and work of the group that will travel from Skopje in connection with the upcoming state visit. I translated it and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

October 8, 1997, Wednesday

The secretary didn't come to work. She called late in the afternoon and said she had been to the doctor.

Ana Trajkovska called me and congratulated me on my promotion. I also received congratulations from other colleagues from Macedonia and abroad.

October 9, 1997, Thursday

Spiridonovski called me and asked for the program of the visit. I told him that it had been sent to the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I received the Macedonian program, translated it to Polish and sent it to the Diplomatic Protocol.
(A copy of the programs and a list of the delegation can be found in the manuscript, binder IV, p. 185)

October 10, 1997, Friday

Today is Ditta's birthday. A telegram arrived from our children with congratulations. We went for lunch in the old part of Warsaw.

Marked VERY URGENT, a telegram arrived with the following content:

Subject: Accreditation of Mr. P. Nakovski

Regarding your fax, we would like to inform you that we agree that Mr. Petre Nakovski, Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, may travel to Skopje in order to receive the credentials for his appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to Poland, which he will have to present on 22.10.97 at 10:00 to the President of the Republic of Poland, A. Kvashnievski.

During his stay, Mr. Nakovski will have meetings with President Gligorov, Prime Minister Crvenkovski and Minister Handzhiski, and his stay will also be used to organize the upcoming official visit of President Gligorov to Poland. S. Todorovski.sr. round seal.

I had a long conversation with the Director of the Department of Information and Promotion of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation, which was already prepared to be signed on 29.10.97.

October 11, 1997, Saturday

On the occasion of the Macedonian holiday, we sent congratulations to the state leadership**.**

October 12, 1997, Sunday

At the airport at 13:35. The plane from Zurich was 35 minutes late. I waited for the working group to arrive. Finally the plane landed. I took the working group straight to the Embassy. After a short break, tea, coffee, everyone served themselves as they wished. I then gave them the program for the visit and took them to the hotel.

Group composition: Iana Petkovska, head of the group, a high-ranking official in the Cabinet of President Kiro Gligorov, I did not know her, Boichev – a career, experienced, educated, cultural diplomat, Teovski, I did not know him either.

All three boasted that they were familiar with the program and had no objections. I told them that the talks could be difficult because the Head of the Diplomatic Protocol, who would lead the meeting, was a very experienced and a strict diplomat who paid attention to every detail.

According to the agreement, I went to the "GRAND" hotel at exactly 08:00 where the working group was located. After breakfast we went to the headquarters of the Diplomatic Protocol.

The meeting began at 09:30 and lasted until 11:30. The program for the visit was accepted. The only obstacle was the use of the constitutional name, which Boichev advocated for the most and he had my support. Also, together with Boichev, I insisted that the Declaration of Cooperation be signed with the constitutional names of our two countries. After the meeting ended we went out. By 14:00 we had examined all the facilities, places and rooms where the President would stay. The next day, with cars from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, along with the department for the security of high-ranking state figures, we measured the distance from the airport, the distance from one intersection to another, and all the way to the "BELVEDERE" Palace, where the President would be accommodated. We measured the drive in minutes and seconds. We agreed that for the entire duration of the visit, the Macedonian flag would fly on

the flagpole above the roof of the "BELVEDERE" Palace, which I insisted on.

October 13, 1997, Monday

During the day the group was received at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Office and Cabinet of President Kvashnievski. We discussed the visit and our effort to have the Declaration of Cooperation signed by the presidents using the constitutional names of both countries. After lunch, organized by the Diplomatic Protocol, we went to the airport and departed for Skopje.
(For the material from the group's discussions, see the manuscript, binder IV, pp. 188-192)

October 14, 1997, Tuesday

Mrs. Shadurska called me from the Diplomatic Protocol at 15:00. She informed me that my agreement had been approved and shortly after the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, Mr. Piekarski, confirmed it.

Regarding the agreement I received, I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requesting permission to travel to Skopje and, during my stay, to be received by President Kiro Gligorov, Prime Minister Crvenkovski and Minister Handzhiski. Two hours later I received a response that my request had been aproved.

The Diplomatic Protocol dictated the order of presentation of my credentials. On 21.10.97 at 12:30 I would be received by the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, at 13:30 in the absence of Foreign Minister Rosati, I would be received by Deputy Minister Grela, on 22.10.97 at 12:00 I would present my credentials to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, and at 14:00 I would lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

At 22:30 Lukashevich, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper "ZHECHPOSPOLITA", called me on the phone and

asked for help in getting an interview with President Kiro Gligorov. He would send me the questions by fax.

October 15, 1997, Wednesday

I translated the declaration into Polish. During the day I prepared the materials I needed to take to Skopje.

October 16, 1997, Thursday

I got up at 04:30. I made notes for the the last two days in the "NIGHT NOTES" diary. The fourth binder is full.
I'm ready for the trip.

The following was published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia on October 29, 1997, No. 55, p. 2311 under number 1050:

Based on Article 84, paragraph 1, line 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, no. 52/91), the President of the Republic of Macedonia has issued a

DECREE

ON THE APPOINTMENT OF AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPONETARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA TO THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Is appointed

I

Petre Nakovski, Minister-Counselor at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Poland, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to Poland, based in Warsaw.

II

The Minister of Foreign Affairs shall execute this decree.

III

This decree shall enter into force immediately.

Number 49 October 16, 1997

President of the Republic of Macedonia

Kiro Gligorov, s.r.

Skopje

At 07:00 I took off for Vienna and at 13:30 I landed in Skopje.

As I traveled, flying to Skopje via Vienna, I wrote down my thoughts. Purpose of trip: To get my credentials of which I needed to deliver a copy to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 21st and 22nd, and the original to President Aleksander Kvashnievski.

I waited a long time for my appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to Poland. I dedicated and self-sacrificed these past two difficult years, with full dedication and devotion to diplomatic work, the whole time was exhausting for me. When my promotion was announced, I was left with a beautiful feeling of admiration. Ditta and my children were happy. I accepted the act as usual, with a sense of something that remained behind me, something that could already be stamped, filed in a binder, and closed in a drawer with a note that two years of effort lay there and that from here begins a new arduous journey along the path of desires and hopes. Not to mention the work that lay ahead and that from here on a new arduous walk along the path of desires and hopes would begin. Two whole years in motion, meetings, conversations, persuasions, making new acquaintances and friendships not for personal interest or gain but for the Fatherland. I got used to the difficulties and overcame them not with some written rules, but

with daily practice of the profession called diplomacy and nothing I did ended without success. My hosts, interlocutors, diplomats and politicians, acquaintances and friends became accustomed to my persistence and I to their understanding.

When I was informed that I had been promoted, I was almost indifferent, but I was concerned when I was told that the presentation of the credentials was scheduled for 22.10.97. Wasn't that a short time? In this regard, I contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Office of President Kiro Gligorov. They told me that they would publish the decree appointing me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Poland on October 16 or 17, and that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia would prepare my credentials. I received permission to travel to Skopje to collect my credentials and, in accordance with my request, they would organize a reception with President Kiro Gligorov, Prime Minister B. Crvenkovski and Minister Handzhiski. All three receptions were on 17.10.1997.

The flight continued peacefully. Occasionally clouds appeared. I thought about the meetings and conversations that awaited me. How they would unfold in the first official visit of the first Macedonian Ambassador to the Polish President. A historic act in recent times and in the life of the Macedonian state. The responsibility was enormous. New relationships in contacts with the hosts and the Diplomatic Corps in the function of an Ambassador and certainly more work. On the way from purchasing my ticket to Skopje, before I left, Ditta said to me:

- When you return from Skopje in the role of Ambassador, don't work as hard as you have been working so far.

I said:

- Surely, if they send me workers, then I will fulfill your wish.

The flight continued. My thoughts were with Ditta. Ditta would be alone for three days. And I would be flying south. In the afternoon, my beloved daughters Milenka and Tanja, and my granddaughter, Marija, would be in my arms. My children would replace my sadness with joy.

The plane began to descend. We flew through thick clouds and below us the green fields of Austria became visible. The sky over Vienna was covered in thick clouds. A few circles and the plane landed.

There was a long layover at the Vienna airport for the flight to Skopje. It was now 09:45 and the departure for Skopje was at 13:45. It was gray and boring outside, which made me want to take a nap. The time passed with short walks, sitting from chair to chair and yawning.

I was traveling to Skopje to pick up an important document, a new responsibility, a new burden, new worries, to take on the role of Ambassador, which would take up a large part of my life. At the same time this was my dream, my goal and a hope for many people. As we returned from the airport where we had been to buy tickets to Skopje, Ditta said to me:

- I don't know about you, but at first I was very happy, and now after going through hard times, somehow that long wait for you to be promoted, I feel somehow calmer. And you?

- I don't care anymore.

The difference was in the change of title, in the new diplomatic passports, in the new diplomatic ID cards and business cards. It was difficult before and it will certainly be more difficult now. A new step and new worries.

This waiting for hours for the plane to take us from Vienna to Skopje was torture. It was going very slowly. I was trying to gather my thoughts, to sort out my thoughts regarding tomorrow's meetings and talks. I was sure that they would not be formal, but filled with content imposed by the new political climate after the parliamentary elections that led to a change of government and a new course in Poland's domestic and foreign policy, and within that framework, my engagement as an Ambassador. First and foremost would be the official visit of President Kiro Gligorov to Poland and the necessary talks and efforts to sign the Declaration on Mutual Relations with the constitutional names of the two countries. This was where the debate would be intense. The spirit of the partisans was gone in Macedonia, it seemed that the

partisan songs had been sung and in their place, a wave of foreignness took over, as if we wanted to be contemporary, modern. As a reminder – the Polish people had no state for 123 years, but they had national unity and thus regained and restored their state. Poland became Poland again.

That was what I was thinking while waiting for the departure time for Skopje. Finally, the call came and we started boarding the plane, everyone took their assigned seats, the flight attendant spoke first in Hungarian, then in English and explained what to do in case of an emergency. We took off at 14:05. Beside me sat a man from Bitola. He couldn't stop talking. He spoke in the Bitola dialect with English words imbedded in it. He said that he had been a pechalbar in Los Angeles for forty years, his family was mixed but, he said, for his whole life, his soul, heart and thoughts had been in Bitola. He said that since he was a child, he remembered many songs about Bitola and Macedonia, and he hummed them into my left ear. I wondered how many such nostalgic people we have scattered around the world, and how many will take the same path?

The lights came on and an announcement was made telling us that we would be landing at Skopje airport in a few minutes. We landed safe and sound. My children were there to welcome me. I did not expect anyone from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to be there but I knew that in other countries Ambassadors, especially newly appointed ones, were solemnly welcomed and accompanied by officials. Our people did not know that but I hoped that one day they would learn.

October 17, 1997, Friday

I arrived at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at exactly 08:30. I went straight to Secretary Dancho Markovski. He congratulated me on my promotion and then we agreed on the work plan.
1. At 10:00 working meeting in the Office of President Kiro Gligorov.
2. At 11:15 a reception with Minister Handzhiski.

3. The planned reception with the Prime Minister would not take place as he was absent.
4. At 14:30 a reception with President Kiro Gligorov.
5. Replaced old passports with new ones.

The working meeting began with a discussion regarding the "Declaration". I expressed the opinion that the text corresponded to our wishes and aspirations, however, I expressed a negative opinion regarding the title and the formula of the signatures, emphasizing that the Polish side would not accept the title and signatures with the constitutional name. Ahil Tuntev interrupted me and emphasized that Poland had always been on our side, and now we should expect the same, so let our proposal be a kind of experiment. To this I said that now Poland was a different Poland, whose main priority was NATO and the European Union and in this regard suffered pressure and threats from Greece, which would veto any document or agreement signed with our constitutional name. I said that I estimated that the signatures by highlighting the names and functions of the signatories also determined the constitutional affiliation. Namely, it was known of which country the signatories were Presidents. The Polish side would certainly accept such a formula.

I expressed the same opinion in my conversation with President Kiro Gligorov, who said that my opinion was acceptable but he could not act otherwise, because he would be accused by the current opposition of being against the position of the current government in international relations. I suggested in my private conversations with Kvashnievski that he very openly emphasized that for us, as well as for them, the name was the basis of our existence. I further emphasized that in all contacts with Polish state officials, parliamentarians, politicians, journalists and writers, with Kvashnievski and with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, I always emphasized our constitutional name – the Republic of Macedonia.

That's great, my dear Petre but there is a difference in our functions, said Gligorov. I said that I understood that but we

would have to make a decisive stand some day. Then Gligorov said, I, in my private talks with Kvashnievski, will raise the name issue very openly and sharply. I know that he will understand my position, but he will also say that now Poland will place its entire interest above all else on joining NATO and the European Union and in that sense there is no difference among Polish politicians. That is also our goal in Macedonia. You know very well how things are here. We missed many useful opportunities and accepted foreign influence and interference in our affairs which, unfortunately, had support from within. It is very difficult to deal with such people. But with skill and patience we will set Macedonia on its feet. And you push to continue your work in Poland as before. I am very pleased with you.

These words were the greatest recognition for me. The opinion of President Kiro Gligorov meant a lot to me. I thanked him for his decision to appoint me as Ambassador and promised him that I would not disappoint him. At the end of the conversation, he told me that we would have more to say in Warsaw. I wished him good health and after a big hug I left his office.

The meeting with Handzhiski lasted only a few minutes. He was very busy.

I picked up my new passports at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the secretary told me that she had received a message from Handzhiski who scheduled a meeting with me for 18:00. We met at the agreed time. We discussed current issues in relations between Macedonia and Poland and their advancement, as well as Macedonia's needs. He congratulated me on my promotion and promised me that I had his support.

October 18, 1997, Saturday

There were many calls on my home phone. Friends and even strangers were congratulating me on my promotion. Ante Popovski also called and asked to meet at 10:00. We met at the Writers' Club.

All I had to do today was pick up my credentials. At 09:00 I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at 12:00 they gave me two envelopes made of parchment-like paper. One for President Kvashnievski and the other for me – as a souvenir.

At 15:45 we left for the airport. My children accompanied me. We said our goodbyes and at 17:05 the plane took off. After a few minutes of flying, I left Macedonia as its Ambassador. It was a peaceful flight and we had a peaceful landing in Vienna with a long wait for take off to Warsaw. I sat on a bench recollecting what Ante Popovski told me. He said:

- We have known each other for a long time and we think the same way. And what I want to tell you now is that I am very happy that you are our first Macedonian Ambassador to Poland. You have achieved this with a lot of effort, dedication, sacrifice and knowledge. From a village child in your native Aegean Macedonia, along many beaten paths in a foreign land, you have reached the highest position - Ambassador of Macedonia. That is a big step and we, your friends, are happy that the first Macedonian Ambassador to Poland has emerged from that most long-suffering part of Macedonia.

I didn't say a word. I just hugged him tightly.

Then came the call for departure to Warsaw. It seems to me that the flight would never end.

When we landed, my wife and my driver Zbisho were the first to greet me with a bouquet of red roses, followed by officials from the Diplomatic Protocol. We took a short rest in the VIP lounge and went straight to the Embassy. My wife, opening the door for me, said in an excited voice:

- Your Excellency, Ambassador of Macedonia, please enter the Macedonian Embassy.

October 19, 1997, Sunday

I spent the entire day resting.

October 20, 1997, Monday

The first session of the new Sejm began today at 11:00. The Diplomatic Corps was also invited. After the session I went to the Diplomatic Protocol where I received the regulations outlining the procedures for presenting credentials. I would have to study them carefully.

I received by fax the Macedonian text of the "Declaration" to be signed by Presidents Kiro Gligorov and Aleksander Kvashnievski. Unlike the Macedonian, the Polish text did not contain the constitutional names of the countries. All my comments had been included in the content of the "Declaration".

I received a telegram informing me that the Macedonian delegation would include representatives of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce, who would sign a cooperation agreement with the Polish Chamber. I informed the Diplomatic Protocol about this by phone. They told me that the Polish Chamber would take over that part.

Several congratulations arrived by phone and fax on the occasion of my promotion.

(For the materials from the working group discussions regarding President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Poland, see manuscript, binder V, pp. 212-219.)

October 21, 1997, Tuesday

At 12:30 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver a copy of my credentials. I was received by Marek Grela, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and several other persons. He congratulated me on my promotion as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. During our conversation, both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries and it was emphasized that all conditions for further development had been created. Deputy Minister Grela emphasized that the upcoming visit of President Kiro Gligorov would contribute to strengthening relations, and emphasized that Poland highly appreciated the contribution of

President Kiro Gligorov in the creation of the modern sovereign and independent Macedonian state and his efforts to preserve peace and stability in this part of Europe.

I took the opportunity to hand Deputy Minister Grela the Macedonian text of the Declaration and, in doing so, emphasized that the Macedonian people regard Poland with great respect, widely benefit from its experience in implementing economic reforms and for the support it has given us and continues to give us internationally.

During the conversation, I did not leave out the issue of the use of our constitutional name. In this regard, Deputy Minister Grela said that certain circumstances in Poland also imposed the use of that imposed name; but in all meetings and conversations, as well as in public appearances, none of the Polish interlocutors would use that controversial name.

At 13:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature at the request of the nuncio, Archbishop Kovalichik. We discussed the latest events in Macedonia and the upcoming visit of President Kiro Gligorov to Poland.

At 16:30 Nina (Stavrula), wife of Dr. Giorgi Statovski, called me on the phone and in a sad voice, said:

- Petre, he is gone...

I realized that my dear friend had died. The receiver fell from my hand. I sat down on the armchair and covered my eyes with my hands.

Can all the pain be contained in the palms of your hands?

The funeral was the next day, the same day I was expected to present my credentials to President Kvashnievski.

May the telegram of condolences, God willing, ease their pain.

October 22, 1997, Wednesday

The Diplomatic Protocol informed me that at 11:00 the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol would arrive at the Embassy in an official car, accompanied by a lieutenant of the Polish army,

and they would take me to the Presidential Palace in order to present my credentials to President Kvashnievski. First we repeated the exercises specified in the memo that the Protocol had sent us a few days ago - upright posture, gaze, smile, hand movements and number of steps. The memo, in words and drawings, specified in detail the ceremonial act of presenting the credentials. End of exercises. I was expected to dress in formal attire with the envelope with the credentials in a special black leather bag which would be carried by a lieutenant who was the aide to the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol. A black Mercedes parked in front of the Embassy door. The lieutenant ushered us in. After about fifteen minutes, we arrived at the entrance to the courtyard of the Presidential Palace. On the left side, the guard of the Polish army was lined up, a little further was the orchestra of the Polish army. At a given signal, the Macedonian and then the Polish anthems were played. A moment later, together with the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, I, on his right, passed in front of the guard. In the middle of the road, I bowed before the Polish national flag, stood up and loudly shouted in Macedonian:

- Hello soldiers! (Здраво војници!)

The assembled guards responded loudly.

I trembled with excitement and pride – all together in my step and my mind. The road led to the main entrance of the palace, above which the Macedonian and Polish national flags hung on the left and the right. The entrance was about ten meters away but it seemed to me that the road had no end. We went inside a large hall. About ten steps away were President Kvashnievski and three of his advisors, on my right Ditta, next to her the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, who signaled me to proceed. I walked as expected, according to the instructions described in the memo. I greeted President Kvashnievski with words of cordiality and asked him to accept my credentials. He expressed gratitude and praise and we went inside a smaller hall, where we exchanged opinions in private for fifteen minutes.We discussed the general assessment of relations between our two countries deemed excellent and expressed a desire for further

strengthening and cooperation in all areas. During the entire conversation he called our country Macedonia, which left a special impression on me. After we ended our conversation I joined my wife in the other hall, accompanied by the Director of Diplomatic Protocol. When we went back to the Embassy in the same car and celebrated the moment with champagne.

At 14:00 I lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, passing in front of the guard. A captain of the Polish army told me in detail about the urns containing soil from all the battlefields in the world where Polish soldiers fought and died with the slogan "For our freedom and yours". Afterwards I wrote a solemn dedication in the large book, placed on supports, and signed it. This is how I signed it:

Dr. Petre Nakovski, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland.

Accompanied by a large number of spectators, the guard of the Polish army passed in front of me with a steady step.

This was the end of the ceremonial act of presenting my credentials and a new beginning.

(Photos and videotape can be found in the author's private archive)

October 23, 1997, Thursday

Discussions continued in the Diplomatic Protocol on the technical issues of the visit. Previously planned meetings with the new Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other senior officials were being canceled, as the new Polish government had not yet been formed.

I left the meeting to go see Rapatski for a consultation regarding invitations to the gala dinner at the Presidential Palace.

An official from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, (from the Embassy Department for Security of the Diplomatic Corps and Foreign Dignitaries Officially Visiting Poland) came to see me at the Embassy. We discussed the Embassy's security procedures

during President Kiro Gligorov's stay and meetings with Macedonians living in Poland. His meeting with Macedonians was planned to take place at the Embassy on the day of his arrival in Warsaw from 19:00 to 21:00. I gave the official the list of Macedonians to whom I had sent invitations. On this occasion it was worth noting that within the framework of my duties, over the past three years I had regularly collected data on Macedonians in Poland, whose names and addresses I kept on a diskette and had been in regular contact with them. The official reviewed the list, wrote down a few more names, gave me his business card with a request to personally contact him personally in case of any problems.

After he left I went to the Diplomatic Protocol where I joined the discussions about the technical details regarding Gligorov's official visit.

I spoke privately with the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol regarding President Kiro Gligorov's introduction at the gala dinner. I told him that he should be announced as the President of the Republic of Macedonia, and I as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia. That's the way it should be done, I said, because Kiro Gligorov has been officially invited to Poland as the President of a state whose constitutional name is the Republic of Macedonia. He was silent for a moment and then said he would consult with his superiors.

October 24, 1997, Friday

During the talks, a serious obstacle arose regarding the signing of the Declaration with the constitutional name. Boichev would not deviate from that position. Due to already scheduled meetings, I left the meeting and used the time for meetings and discussions at the Polish Chamber of Commerce and the Ministries of Foreign Economic Cooperation, Agriculture, Culture and National Defense.

I received congratulations from many Embassies on the occasion of my promotion as Ambassador. The Ambassador of Great Britain sent me a very nice congratulatory message.

October 25, 1997, Saturday

I continued with meetings and discussions throughout the day in the aforementioned Ministries and was in constant contact with our working group, which was making excellent progress, utilizing Boichev's extensive diplomatic experience.

At 14:00 the journalist Biliski came from "ZHECHPOSPOLITA" and brought me the interview with President Kiro Gligorov, which the editorial office had received by fax in Macedonian. I translated it into Polish during the night and sent it by fax to the editorial office of "ZHECHPOSPOLITA".

October 26, 1997, Sunday

During lunch Boichev noticed that the list of invitees to the meeting with President Kiro Gligorov did not include the names of some Macedonian businessmen who had cooperated with Polish partners. I told him that I did not deal with smugglers and that was why they were not on the list and would not be at the meeting. To this he said:

Keep in mind that they will slander you viciously.

I said: Our profession, Boichev, endures such recognition.

October 27, 1997, Monday

Congratulations arrive in large numbers. I spent the whole day sorting through notes from meetings and conversations. I read all the congratulatory notes. Some read as follows:

- I don't know you personally, but from what I have read in your books, you are a man to be respected and

trusted. I send you my warmest wishes of encouragement and perseverance...

There are other similar greetings, which will be included in the manuscript "NIGHT NOTES".

October 28, 1997, Tuesday

Final preparations were made before President Kiro Gligorov's arrival in Warsaw. I, together with the Director of Diplomatic Protocol and several other officials waited in the VIP lounge. The plane landed at 16:40. Mr. Piekarski, Director of Diplomatic Protocol and I boarded the plane. I greeted the President warmly and then introduced the Director of Diplomatic Protocol, who had the honour of welcoming Gligorov on behalf of President Kvashnievski. After a short break in the VIP lounge we got in the official cars and, with the appropriate security escort, drove straight to Palace "BELVEDERE", above whose dome on a high flagpole flew the Macedonian national flag. While room arrangements were made I took the opportunity to photograph the dome above which our national flag was flying. This was a historic moment and I hurried to take a few photos, in order to immortalize the act – to remind future generations of this important moment. We took a break, then at 19:00 we gathered at the Embassy hall so that President Kiro Gligorov could meet with Macedonians who lived and worked in Poland. Most of them were from Aegean Macedonia. Everyone wanted to personally greet the President and say something to him or give him a gift. He was very excited. He did not expect such a cordial reception. His wife sat in a large leather armchair and, amazed by the sight, said something to my wife who was responsible for accompanying her until the end of the official visit. I don't know what she said. The President was swarmed by the visitors. I had difficulty getting through to him. Finally he asked me to show him my office. I made my way through the crowd and asked my closest friends to make way. We climbed the stairs, as I held him under the arm, to the first floor along with our wives. The

President stopped in front of the wide-open door of my office. He looked at me for a long moment and then said:

- Petre, I like this, I like it a lot. Your office is perfectly sized, you have excellent working conditions. It's not big but there's no need for a bigger one. Anyone who wants to work will be satisfied with a smaller room. It's better than mine. As you know I don't have such an office. Mine is modest and it's enough for me. I want to congratulate you and wish you even greater success. And do you have a residence?

- Yes I do, Mr. President, I replied. It's on the same floor and just one door away from here.

We went downstairs. It was approaching 20:00. The services signaled that according to protocol, the meeting was over. We took the presidential couple to the "BELVEDERE" Palace, where an official room was also assigned for us but we returned to the Embassy to sleep.

October 29, 1997, Wednesday

At 12:00 the Mercedes with President Kiro Gligorov entered the spacious courtyard of the Presidential Palace and headed towards the main entrance, which was decorated with Polish and Macedonian state flags. The official visit had began. Solemnly. The Presidents greeted each other and hugged, then mutual introductions of the accompanying persons followed. A military officer reported that the Polish army guards were lined up in his honour. The national anthems were played by the orchestra, then with calm measured steps along the red carpet the President bowed before the Polish flag and saluted the guards that had lined up. Then he greeted the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. Thus ended the first act under the snow and the second began in the premises of the Presidential Palace and continued according to the previously agreed program. The program was extensive. I had carefully collected all the material and placed them in a 5-ring binder of the manuscript of my "NIGHT NOTES". We entered a small conference room. The tables were set up in the shape of the

Cyrillic letter “П”. The Director of the Diplomatic Protocol showed us who should sit where. At the head sat the Presidents, on the left the Macedonian delegation and on the right the Polish delegation. I noticed that the eight Polish Ministers were holding blue binders in front of them, from which each later presented the success of his department regarding the cooperation between Poland and Macedonia. The members of the Macedonian delegation did not even carry a single piece of paper. Nobody said anything. Before starting the meeting, President Kvashnievski greeted our President with very warm words, expressions of satisfaction and respect, spoke using only the name Macedonia. His short, literally five-minute speech was very eloquent. He used friendly words when speaking about Macedonia and expressed satisfaction with the achieved cooperation and desired improvements. At the same time, looking at me, he emphasized that the truly achieved level of cooperation was largely due to the Macedonian Ambassador, to whom this composition should express gratitude and recognition. Then he asked our President to speak, who first thanked him for the invitation to officially visit Poland, to get to know its economic development better and then talked about future cooperation between Macedonia and Poland. Since the time, according to protocol, was over, at the request of the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, Kvashnievski asked us to move to the hall where journalists were already waiting for the press conference to begin. Everything that was said and how is all collected in the manuscript of these “NIGHT NOTES”, in order to remain as a mark of the time in which Macedonia fought for its survival and in which any potential researcher will find very interesting material.

I sat on the side and listened attentively to the speech given by President Kvashnievski, who consistently only used the name Macedonia and struggled to explain the reasons for not signing the Declaration with the constitutional name. I knew the reason for that and had, about a month ago, informed the authorities in Skopje. There they did not take seriously the threats from Greece, which had officially notified the Polish side that

Greece would veto Poland's entry into NATO and the European Union if it signed any agreement with Skopje with the constitutional name. Polish national interests were directed towards the West, not towards Macedonia. Unfortunately, President Kiro Gligorov's reaction was short and very bitter. He said that we believed in Poland, which had supported us so far and that it would continue to support us now, but the opposite had happened. These words were quickly picked up by the Polish and world press with very negative assessments and disappointment on our part.

The declaration was not signed. I watched as Kvashnievski struggled in his presentation to find an explanation and justification so as not to disappoint his guest. His claim that Macedonia could always count on support from Poland, even in changing circumstances, did not materialize. He confirmed that promise several years later during his first official visit to Macedonia.

During our stay at the royal palace, we had lunch together in the company of our wives on all days of our stay. During lunch, the topics of conversation were the current situation in Macedonia and the strengthening of relations and cooperation between Macedonia and Poland. The President always spoke calmly, with small interruptions and with his gaze fixed somewhere far ahead of him. I am very grateful for those meetings and conversations, which for me were a real school in which I learned a lot. It was a great honour to be in the company of such a man from whom one could only learn good things. He was a great man, loved and respected by some, hated by others. My sincere feelings for him are deep and my respect is the greatest for the man who walked his path thinking only of Macedonia's future.

That's how things will remain in my memory.

The ceremonial evening organized by President Kvashnievski in honour of President Kiro Gligorov was extraordinary. Ministers, high-ranking state figures, politicians, scientists, cultural figures, writers, journalists… all were present.

The men wore tuxedos and the women long dresses. After the anthems, ceremonial speeches were delivered in the mother tongue with translation into Macedonian or Polish. The basis of the speeches were the desire and hope for further successful cooperation between our two countries in all areas and gratitude for what had been achieved.

Every official visit was basically a success.

The official visit was successful, very successful because it was the first time that the first Macedonian President visited a country with a thousand-year-old statehood and great importance and influence in Europe, a country always friendly to Macedonia. It was successful because it was the first time at the state residence "BELVEDERE" that the Macedonian flag was flown. Successful because the Macedonian state flag was unfurled on the streets of Warsaw, successful because for the first time the wide Warsaw boulevards were decorated with Macedonian and Polish flags, successful because, for the first time, a Macedonian President entered the wide courtyard of the Presidential Palace in whose honour the representative guard of the Polish army was lined up. It was successful because for the first time the Macedonian and Polish anthems echoed in that huge courtyard in honour of our first President. It was successful because for the first time the Macedonian flag was flying over the main entrance of the Presidential Palace, successful because for three days Macedonia was present throughout Poland and Macedonia was talked about, written about, by hundreds of representatives from the Diplomatic Corps with whom we had the honour of shaking warm right hands, hands of peace. It was successful because it opened up new opportunities for friendship and cooperation and, in this way, Macedonia sailed into the great waters of world politics. Such meetings, talks and agreements would be repeated many times, changed and supplemented depending on current needs and mutual interests, but the kind of meetings we had were historic for Macedonia and will forever be unique and unrepeatable. For such things, one needed not only a head but also knowledge, the ability to think intelligently and wisdom and

skill in finding new ways to open new perspectives for cooperation. The current potential failure necessarily imposed the need for wise contemplation. There was no experimentation in foreign policy. There was a sober, and sometimes even aggressive defensive stance. The opposite step and reflection was just pouring poisonous water into the boiling cauldron of hatred in the hands of Macedonia's enemies. I was the kind of person who, for three whole years, with painstaking work, complete dedication, devotion and self-sacrifice, and through many obstacles, introduced and educated my Polish interlocutors from various backgrounds – as well as representatives of the Diplomatic Corps about Macedonia, but not with that Macedonia that some falsely praised, others humiliated; not with that Macedonia that was written about and proven not according to its true face, past and present, but depending on the interests of the great powers and neighbouring kingdoms, domestic traitors and spies and a bunch of foreign agents of all colours, but with the real Macedonia which lay deep in my soul and in that name I faithfully served. That was how I was and that was how I would remain and that is probably how I would be remembered.

In the afternoon, after a short stay in the VIP lounge at the Warsaw airport, where I received the highest praise for my work from President Kiro Gligorov, in the company of senior Polish state officials, we escorted the President to the plane and stood there until the plane entered the horizon leading south.

Have a safe flight, President Gligorov, I said out loud.

October 30 and 31, 1997, Thursday and Friday

Today there was no rest. I sorted through the notes from the past days. Chaotic, disorderly, to preserve the time in which things happened, to leave a mark, a trace of how Macedonia walked through Polish land. Good or bad – I believed that after many years someone would carefully read them and provide a good or bad assessment.

November 1, 1997, Saturday

I was still preoccupied with the impressions of the official visit and the reactions of the Polish, international and Macedonian media. It would be like this for a long time. Positive or negative – all contributed to Macedonia's affirmation in the world.

November 2, 1997, Sunday

During this snowy and very cold weather, we spent the day taking a long walk in Lazhenki Park.

November 3, 1997, Monday

Polish journalist Stiliniska called me at 11:00. She said she would be traveling to Greece, visiting Solun, and then some cities in northern Greece. She asked me to give her addresses of Macedonians from that part of Macedonia. I told her that looking for addresses of Macedonians from that part of Macedonia was not necessary because it was enough for her to say that she wanted to talk to Macedonians, then they would call her themselves. I wished her a safe trip, and upon returning to Warsaw I would wait for her to have coffee with me at the Embassy.

November 4, 1997, Tuesday

The cameraman who filmed President Kiro Gligorov's visit called me. He said that he would bring the tape later that day and that I should pay him 500.00 zloti for the service. I agreed.

Tanja called in the evening.

November 5, 1997, Wednesday

The new government of Poland has been formed. Buzek was elected Prime Minister. Minister of Foreign Affairs was Prof.

Geremek, a good acquaintance of mine. I sent a note to the Diplomatic Protocol requesting that the new ministers and the Prime Minister receive me for a customary protocol visit.

I called Colonel Iezhi Griz from the General Staff of the Polish Army. He said that the issues that the two chiefs discussed in my presence during Kiro Gligorov's official visit had been sent to the appropriate professional services. As soon as an appropriate decision was made, I would be informed.

Today at 15:00 Vladislav Bilut, Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of Poland in Skopje, announced a protocol visit. I received him with pleasure. After congratulations we had the usual conversation regarding relations between the two countries.

November 6, 1997, Thursday

The editor-in-chief of the weekly "POLITIKA" called me at 09:00. He asked for a short interview regarding current relations between Poland and Macedonia. I agreed. He also informed me that soon, before the Crete Conference began, the weekly would publish something very positive about Macedonia.

November 7, 1997, Friday

At 10:00 I made a protocol visit to the Apostolic Nunciature. I was received by the Nuncio, Archbishop Kovalchik. In a short and cordial conversation, I was promised that I would be invited again.

At 13:00 Zoran Novakovich, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Warsaw, visited me to offer congratulations and exchange views on mutual relations, and at 14:00 the Ambassador of India came for a protocol visit. After fifteen minutes of very cordial conversation, he expressed wishes for better acquaintance and development and advancement of mutual relations.

November 8, 1997, Saturday

I downloaded Kvashnievski's statement from the videotape, given to me at the press conference, and faxed it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic ofMacedonia.

November 9, 1997, Sunday

It was cold outside and snowing. It was a day without a walk.

November 10, 1997, Monday

At 08:45 a session of the new composition was held in the Sejm. The entire Diplomatic Corps was present. The new Prime Minister Iezhi Buzek outlined the goals of the new Polish government in his speech.

November 11, 1997, Tuesday

Today is Poland's national holiday. After being torn apart between Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary for 123 years, on November 11, 1918, Poland regained its national independence and found itself on the European map once again. On this occasion, I sent notes of congratulations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the relevant state institutions.

November 12, 1997, Wednesday

With prior notice, today at 10:00, I went on a protocol visit to see the Greek Ambassador, Mr. Chryssanthopoulos. He welcomed me personally and very warmly. After thanking him for the reception, I introduced myself by name and surname and added that I was coming on a protocol visit as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. He congratulated me on my promotion. I told him that with the new position I wished to express hope that the relations

between our countries in the name of peace and good neighbourliness would develop for the good of our peoples and that in that sense certain efforts had already been made as a result of the meetings held by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Culture and that the meeting and talks between Prime Minister Simitis and President Kiro Gligorov, which would be held at the Conference in Crete, would also move in that direction.

Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos stressed that he fully accepted the expressed wishes and hopes and that it was mutually beneficial for relations to develop at an enviable level. He continued by reminding me that the CSCE Conference on Human and Minority Rights would begin its work in Warsaw these days and asked that, in the name of creating a good climate of mutual relations, there should be no conflicting positions between the two state delegations, and if such a situation should arise, the reactions should be more moderate. To this I said that the delegation of the Republic of Macedonia at the Conference would advocate for the realization of human and minority rights in the spirit of the decisions made and accepted, and if it encountered sharp and aggressive resistance from the Greek delegation, then it would act accordingly. As for the presence of young people who will travel to Warsaw, I said, they are Greek citizens and they will demand that Greece respect their human and minority rights. That is their right.

The conversation exceeded the fifteen minutes scheduled for a protocol visit and, at the suggestion of Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos, we agreed to meet with our wives for dinner at the newly opened Greek restaurant.

At 12:00 a meeting with new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Prof. Bronislav Geremek, with the Diplomatic Corps. During our long conversation, Prof. Geremek outlined the basic goals of Polish foreign policy.

At 14:30 I paid a protocol visit to the Malaysian Embassy. The Malaysian Ambassador welcomed me very warmly and the entire time was interested in the situation in Macedonia, especially its past and relations with its neighbours.

November 13, 1997, Thursday

Since 1993, I had led the Macedonian delegation participating at the CSCE Conference, which was held every year in October or November in Warsaw. Since then, Speaker Jon Ivanovski and I had contacted various representatives of foreign delegations, mostly Polish politicians and state officials.

Today I had to leave the meeting early because at 13:00 I had to meet with the Turkish Ambassador, an elegant, tall, blonde Turkish woman named Somoz Unaidin. She was coming to pay me a protocol visit. We met in front of the Embassy entrance and I invited her to my office for a cup of Turkish coffee. We talked about Macedonian-Turkish relations and, as it turned out, she was very well informed about everything that was happening in Macedonia and, during our conversation, she expressed Turkey's readiness to stand by Macedonia's side at any opportunity. She promised that in all meetings and conversations with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps she would always lobby for Macedonia. At the end of our conversation, which was conducted through an interpreter, after congratulating me on my promotion, Mrs. Unaidin thanked me for our meeting and invited me for coffee at the Turkish Embassy. I sent her off with a beautiful bouquet of red roses.

At 19:00 at a cocktail hosted by the OSCE. There I met with the Greek Ambassador and continued the same conversation we had during the protocol visit.

November 14, 1997, Friday

I went to the Polish Sejm at 10:00, had a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps and with M. Plazhiniski, the new President of the Polish Sejm. His speech on the new compostion of the Sejm, regarding economic development and foreign policy was bland, withered, drained. In the afternoon I went to the OSCE meeting.

November 15, 1997, Saturday

I rested reading the daily Polish press.

November 16, 1997, Sunday

A short walk along the canal. In the afternoon I had lunch with the Macedonian participants of the OSCE Conference.

November 17, 1997, Monday

I didn't have internet. I was told the network was down.

November 18, 1997, Tuesday

The Macedonian newspaper "NOVA MACEDONIA" arrived. I read a long article by Nevenka Mitrevska in defense of President Kiro Gligorov, his merits for Macedonia and his opponents without their names. The newspaper "PULS" also arrived. I read an article by Mirche Tomovski, who wrote about President Kiro Gligorov's visit to Poland, which ended as follows: "In short, it was not about signatures and papers, but about deeper diplomatic and political needs."

The current active diplomatic service was also included in this grid.

November 19, 1997, Wednesday

I continued with the activities to establish direct contacts with the new ministers and the civil services. Today I managed to establish contact with the Road Construction Agency, which was also of interest to our side. I arranged for talks at the expert level to be held on November 27-28, 1997.

Through my effort, today at the 8th Festival of Documentary Films in Lodzh, the Polish-Macedonian documentary "Across the Lake" will be screened.

At 19:00 representatives of the Macedonian non-governmental delegation from Greece, who were participating in the OSCE Conference, arrived at the Embassy but Voskopulos did not join them. I will not mention their names for obvious reasons. During our conversation, they expressed their views on adhering to the existing declarations on human and minority rights but also that they intended to form a political party. I suggested that they make efforts to confirm their existence and prove themselves, which meant to integrate into Greek society with their national culture and above all with efforts to organize dance groups, village celebrations and fairs, participate in various folklore festivals with Macedonian dances, songs and music, and to use the Macedonian language in daily life. I also pointed out to them that any political action would lead to their condemnation as foreign agents. The conversation in this regard lasted until 23:00 when, after dinner, they left the Embassy. The next day I invited Voskopulos to lunch, with whom the conversation took a completely different course and was conducted in the spirit of the documents of the European Union and the decisions and documents of the OSCE. The impression he left on me was: an educated, mature, thoughtful and promising politician.

November 20, 1997, Thursday

We got our internet back. I had several phone calls and random conversations with various Ambassadors. I was informed by phone by the new Prime Minister's Office that there would be a meeting between Prime Minister Iezhi Buzek and the Diplomatic Corps tomorrow at 11:00.

November 21, 1997, Friday

The new Prime Minister's meeting with the Diplomatic Corps began at 11:00. The Prime Minister gave a short welcoming speech then, one after another, the Ambassadors and Chargé d'Affaires approached him, introduced themselves and

congratulated him on his new position. It was my turn. I introduced myself, congratulated him in Polish and he, with a smile and a little surprise, asked me where I had learned to speak Polish so well and whether others in Macedonia also spoke Polish so well. I told him that Macedonians had a special feeling of sympathy for Poland and some spoke Polish even better than me.

I took advantage of the meeting to greet the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. Geremek, to whom I conveyed the congratulations from Minister Handzhiski. After a short conversation, I wished him success and took the opportunity to invite him to lunch at the Embassy. He said that he would gladly accept the invitation. We agreed to meet after December 1, 1997.

After the meeting with the Prime Minister, I visited President Kvashnievski's office. I was received by the Deputy Director, to whom I handed over the letter from President Kiro Gligorov, a thank-you note regarding the recent official visit, and the text of the speech delivered at the Conference in Crete.

At 14:00 I returned to the Embassy.

November 22, 1997, Saturday

I would still have to handle all translations from Macedonian to Polish and vice versa, as well as all correspondence myself. They had sent me what made their job easier but made mine harder.

November 23, 1997, Sunday

Even though it was cold, we dressed warmly and took the metro for a walk in the Kabati forest.

November 24, 1997, Monday

At 19:30 at the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia we had dinner with the Ambassador of Greece, Chryssanthopoulos, and his wife. We had the usual introductory conversation, without

delving into the Macedonian-Greek controversial issues. I think that there would be a place for that during future meetings. We noted that the delegations of Greece and Macedonia at the OSCE Conference refrained from aggressively raising the controversial issues related to human and minority rights. The Greek Ambassador expressed satisfaction that the representatives of the Macedonian NGO from Greece acted correctly.

We agreed to meet after the New Year.

November 25, 1997, Tuesday

I went to the Sejm at 12:00. I handed over the congratulatory letter on his election from the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia to the President of the Sejm. After a short conversation regarding relations between Macedonia and Poland, which we assessed as very positive, I moved on to the Senate to see the new President, Mrs. Gsheshkoviak and congratulated her on her election. I had a short conversation about Macedonian-Polish relations and further efforts to improve them. She promised that with her authority she would help to sign all agreements for mutual cooperation between our two countries. In the end, she emphasized that she had followed with great interest the gathering in Crete where, in her opinion, President Kiro Gligorov spoke very positively about relations and peace in the Region.

November 26, 1997, Wednesday

I had a short visit at the meeting of European TV centers. Editor Stalin Lozanovski from Macedonia participated.

At 20:40 at the airport to welcome the expert delegation from Skopje, which was coming to Warsaw to participate in the talks on the construction of highways.

November 27, 1997, Thursday

Talks will be held at the Agency for Construction and Exploitation of Highways from 10:00 to 13:00. The two delegations would exchange expert opinions.

At 15:15 welcoming the President of Kazakhstan. At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Albanian Embassy hosted by the new Ambassador on the occasion of tomorrow's national holiday. At 19:30 at a dinner hosted by the Roads Agency.

November 28, 1997, Friday

The road delegation had its final talks at 09:00. I attended a reception with the Deputy Minister of Transport's. Gratitude was expressed for mutual understanding and interest in further cooperation and maintaining professional contacts. At 11:00 the delegation visited the Embassy and returned to Skopje in the evening.

I received a letter informing me that the Polish-Macedonian Society "VARDAR", from Skopje, would travel to Poland on December 1, 2 and 3 to organize "DAYS OF MACEDONIAN CULTURE". My role was to give the group support with Polish institutions and assistance with visits to Warsaw museums.

November 29, 1997, Saturday

I had a meeting with Mr. Sutor, author of numerous books dedicated to diplomacy and consular relations. We had a long and very useful conversation with practical advice regarding my diplomatic mission. We agreed to meet again after the New Year.

November 30, 1997, Sunday

I reread Nevenka Mitrevska's comment again. I couldn't help but be surprised that such things were happening in the barely resurrected Macedonia.

December 1, 1997, Monday

At 09:00 I received a call from Niesito, Director General of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who informed me that Prof. Geremek, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had accepted my invitation to join me for lunch at the Embassy. He said the Professor gladly accepted and proposed that the lunch be held on December 4, 1997. I accepted and immediately instructed my secretary to prepare invitations for the Ambassadors from Romania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Ukraine, Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary and Bulgaria to attend the lunch.

I called the director of the company that professionally prepared lunches, dinners, cocktails and receptions for officials. We agreed to meet today at 13:30.

At 11:00 the Embassy of Albania called and asked me to receive the Albanian Ambassador for a protocol visit on December 5, 1997. I accepted.

At 15:40 the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that the Chiefs of General Staff of the armies of Poland and Macedonia met in Germany, about which I would be called in for a discussion on December 14.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Romanian Embassy on the occasion of a national holiday. I had conversations with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and various figures from Polish political circles concerning the situation in Macedonia and the wider Region, especially Kosovo, for which the assessments were that Kosovo was a dangerous hotbed. I spent a long time talking with the Turkish Ambassador who, in private, emphasized that the European Union had made an irreparable mistake in relation to Macedonia, by supporting Greece, which threatened everyone with a veto. The Ambassador underlined that Macedonia could have full confidence in Turkish support. All other conversations were in favour of Macedonia.

December 2, 1977, Tuesday

A technician came to check on the internet connection. He said he had found the problem and fixed it but a few hours later the same problems reappeared.

There was a lot going on in the Polish political scene. There was something similar here. We were not much different in that regard.

December 3, 1977, Wednesday

The promised meeting with the Minister of Transport scheduled for today did not take place due to his busy schedule. I need to arrange another meeting with him to sign the International Transport Agreement. I will try to meet in the coming days.

I have not received a response to any of my telegrams from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for an entire month.

December 4, 1997, Thursday

The Slovenian Ambassador called me at 09:00 and informed me that, due to urgent obligations, he would not be able to stay until the end of our lunch with Minister Geremek. I expressed my regret.

The Embassy catering company had already set the table at 12:00 and with my participation the seating arrangement was made (menu and seating arrangement attached to the manuscript, binder V, page 277).

The invited guests began to arrive between 13:00 and 13:15. I welcomed them all at the main entrance. We stood in a circle in the middle of the lounge where the two waiters served us Macedonian drinks. The main guest, of course, was Minister Geremek with his tobacco pipe and warm smile, accompanied by Machei Shimaniski, Director of Administration at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After almost half an hour of casual conversation, I invited the guests to take their places at the table. I briefly toasted, expressing special pleasure that we had the honour

of being in the company of the respected Prof. Geremek (as he liked to be addressed), which, as the host, was a special honour for me. Professor Geremek stood up, swallowed a drop of rakia, looked everyone in the eyes and quietly, in an excited voice, said that for the first time he was participating in a lunch in the company of diplomats from different countries of Central Europe who had their own specifics, and he felt especially pleased and grateful for being the guest of the Ambassador of friendly Macedonia for whom on this occasion he had the honour to express his respect for its hard-won independence, which at the moment reminded him of the Polish and Macedonian tragic historical past. A long, exciting pause. Prof. Geremek slowly, measuredly raised his glass and said:

- Distinguished Excellencies, allow me to express my immense pleasure on the occasion of today's meeting, and to extend special gratitude to His Excellency, Ambassador Nakovski, and to express my great desire. I would be happy to be given the opportunity to visit Macedonia.

To this I said that the doors were wide open for friends in Macedonia and that he was welcome to visit at any time.

During the lunch, the main speech was given by Prof. Geremek. Occasionally, those present interrupted him by asking him questions in the field of European integration, to which he answered extensively in the spirit of Polish interests. Then his attention turned to the situation in Macedonia with a special emphasis on the situation in the Region, and he emphasized that in the Region the problem of minority rights could cause undesirable destabilization. In this regard, he asked me what I thought about it. I said that Macedonia strictly adheres to international acts and norms but it was not possible for this problem to be solved only in the interests of a minority that in many cases was not loyal and that other interests were hidden behind its demands and that any attempt to incite actions that were contrary to the constitutional order leads to destabilization not only in the country, but also in the Region. Hence Europe, and within that framework, Poland cannot but be an active factor.

Macedonia is firmly committed to the European option, hence its position on equal status of minority rights. In this regard, Prof. Geremek said that there were no differences between us regarding these currently very topical issues.

The lunch was an excellent opportunity to exchange views on current events in Europe and beyond.

Upon leaving Prof. Geremek, hugging me, said that he would invite me to a meeting as soon as possible.

Today was one of the best days I had spent in Warsaw.

December 5, 1997, Friday

At his request, today at 11:00 I received Osmani Kraja, the new Albanian Ambassador for a protocol visit. The conversation was about mutual relations and wishes for their improvement. I interrupted his attempt to raise the issue of the rights of Albanians in Macedonia with the position that this was a Macedonian internal issue and that any request raised in third countries constituted interference in internal affairs. I emphasized that Macedonia is a constitutional state and everyone is obliged to respect the constitution and laws and within these frameworks to be loyal regardless of their ethnic origin. I personally thanked him for the help Albania provided, during the Civil War in Greece, devotedly treating our partisans in its hospitals in Korcha, Elbasan and Tirana, and also for accepting a large number of refugees from endangered villages and hundreds of children, among whom I was one, emphasizing that such a humane gesture on the part of Albania could not be forgotten and is always mentioned with expressions of great gratitude and that this should bring us closer together now and in the future. In the end, I thanked him for the visit with a promise that we would see each other again.

December 6, 1997, Saturday

We went on a walk in very cold and snowy weather.

December 7, 1997, Sunday

I gathered materials and read the daily press.

December 8, 1997, Monday

Given the unrest in the city, I sent a note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requesting that the protection of the Embassy be strengthened.

On separate visits, at my request, I was received by the directors of the Europe-West Department and the Promotion and Information Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Purpose of the visit: To explore the possibilities for signing the prepared intergovernmental agreements on cultural cooperation and international transport. I found complete understanding with both interlocutors and they also confirmed that since the new government had already been formed and appropriate personnel changes had been made, all conditions for signing the already prepared agreements had matured. The Polish side estimated that the agreements could be signed by December 22, 1997 and would accept any person at the head of a delegation proposed by the Macedonian side. If the proposed date was unacceptable, then the aforementioned agreements could be signed after January 5, 1998.

I received a telephone call from the Ministry of Transport and Maritime Economy regarding the signing of the International Transport Agreement. The invitation of the Macedonian Minister of Transport and Communications, Mr. A. Bedzheti, inviting Polish Minister, Mr. Moravski to visit Macedonia and sign the Agreement on International Transport had been accepted. The visit could take place during January or early February 1998.

Given the fact that the texts of the agreements had been accepted and technically prepared, I suggested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia that the date of December 22, 1997 be accepted for a delegation from Skopje to travel to Warsaw in order to sign the agreements.

December 9, 1997, Tuesday

At 12:00 the Polish Ministry of Transport informed me that the possibility of Minister Moravski traveling to Skopje in January in order to sign the agreements was already being considered. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax.

December 10, 1997, Wednesday

In a telephone conversation, Risto Blazhevski told me that efforts would be made to sign the agreements by December 22, 1997. I told him that I would establish contacts and initiatives for cooperation between the two countries and that they would implement them.

December 11, 1997, Thursday

The traditional sending and receiving of Christmas and New Year greetings has begun. Our greetings in Macedonian and Polish had the following text:

MERRY CHRISTMAS AND HAPPY NEW YEAR 1998 WISHES FROM THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN WARSAW (signature of the Ambassador)

Our greeting card was modest but full of symbolism: three lit candles in a bouquet of the most diverse flowers.

Christmas and New Year greetings were sent to the President of the country, the Prime Minister, the Ministers (with the greeting card and a bottled beverage), high-ranking state officials, friends - writers, journalists, party leaders and the entire Diplomatic Corps.

Additionally, we sent Christmas cards to the Ambassadors with whom I maintained closer contacts, namely: China, Great

Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Croatia, Austria, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Belarus and neighbouring countries. In addition to a greeting card also sent a bottled beverage. Such was our custom.

Our driver would deliver the cards and gifts over the coming days.

December 12, 1997, Friday

Lunch with M. Lukashevich, first deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper "ZHECHPOSPOLITA", which often published positive news and comments about Macedonia.

December 13, 1997, Saturday

Today Poland remembered the tragic day when martial law was introduced on the night of December 12-13, 1981. Each medium recalled that day in its own way. Today Poland was invited to officially begin negotiations for membership in NATO. New price increases were introduced which caused mass dissatisfaction. The price increases were accepted by the Sejm and would be valid starting January 1, 1998.

December 14, 1997, Sunday

Because of the cold we did not go for a walk today. The mainstream media reported today that Poland had been invited to negotiate for its entry into the European Union. The act was being hailed as a great success for Polish foreign policy, as a success of Poland's far-reaching strategy and a success for forward thinking Poles.

I have been waiting for days for a response to my telegrams from Skopje and I have received no response. The silence continues to this day.

December 15, 1997, Monday

I was busy all day sorting out the accounts for the preparation of the financial report.

December 16, 1997, Tuesday

At 10:00 Ivanka Kimova called, from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia, and informed me that yesterday the Government had authorized Borko Zafirovski, Deputy Minister of Culture, to sign the agreements on cultural cooperation and that Kimova and Demiri, who would arrive in Warsaw on December 17, would accompany him and that I should wait for them at the Warsaw airport at 20:40.

After my conversation with Ivanka, I called the Polish Ministry of Culture and conveyed the information to Mrs. Malgozhata Viezhbitska. There was surprise in her voice. I told her that I would inform the Ministry about the information I had received with a note. I asked that appropriate measures be taken to receive the delegation from Skopje. Director Tsvech, with whom I had prepared the Agreement, joined the conversation and said that he was not sure whether the Agreement would be signed, since no authorized person had been designated.

At 11:15 I called Deputy Director Shimanievski from the Central Europe Department. After I informed him of the situation, I pointed out the possible negative political reactions if the visit was canceled because they had not yet determined who on the Polish side would be authorized to sign the Agreement. After half an hour I asked to speak with Minister Podkaniski, whom I knew personally and had several meetings with. I informed him of the problem. He said not to worry. He would personally sign the Agreement but after the New Year and most likely towards the end of January.

I was relieved. A heavy weight had been lifted of my shoulders.

I called Zafirovski and asked him to accept the Polish proposal. He agreed.

December 17, 1997, Wednesday

At 18:30 I attended a cocktail organized by the Japanese Embassy on the occasion of the birthday of the Japanese Emperor. I had several meetings and conversations. I took the opportunity to give Prof. Geremek the part of the speech given by President Kiro Gligorov in the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia. The part on foreign policy and in connection with the official visit to Poland was underlined, as follows:

"Macedonia is achieving successful cooperation with the countries of Central Europe with which we are going through a similar path of transformation. The results of the official visit to Poland are encouraging for new initiatives to enrich cooperation in this region, both on a bilateral level and in relation to common aspirations towards the European Union and NATO."

December 18, 1997, Thursday

With the formation of a new government and the engagement in negotiations for accession to NATO and the European Union, the political climate in Poland was experiencing changes. In this regard, I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to provide me with instructions on what actions the Embassy should undertake.

December 19, 1997, Friday

Poland is preparing for Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. There is a stir in political circles. There are reports that the ground on which Prime Minister Buzek stands is not the most secure. This is a current topic in the conversations of representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. Changes are expected.

And how is it in Macedonia? Is there at least a slight pause in the arguments between the leaders of the numerous parties?

December 20, 1997, Saturday

A day without significant events. A chance to take a breath.

December 21, 1997, Sunday

Today we employed one of God's commandments – six days of work, the seventh day of rest. So we rested.

December 22, 1997, Monday

In accordance with protocol, I visited Zoran Novakovich, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We had one of our usual conversations which turned into a political discussion. He said that he was happy because it was not Shesheli who was elected President, but Milutinovich. You know, he said, that for you too, if Shesheli was elected it would have been a disaster. He also showed interest in the situation in Macedonia and its relations with Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, and especially about Albanian activities in Macedonia. With us, he said, you will not have any problems.

We agreed to meet again next year, 1998.

The Embassy received a lot of New Year's greetings from Ministries, Embassies and individuals.

December 23, 1997, Tuesday

I am still waiting for a response to my last hundred telegrams. There is only silence. In the coming year I will apply the same tactics regarding contacts, meetings and conversations as I did in the past three years.

In the afternoon, a letter arrived from the Polish Ministry of Culture informing me that it had been agreed that the delegation of the Macedonian Ministry of Culture would travel to

Warsaw in order to sign the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation on January 28, 1998.

Wonderful news. I immediately informed Zafirovski by phone.

December 24, 1997, Wednesday

Christmas Eve. Today and tomorrow, Christmas holidays would be celebrated throughout Poland. Bells were ringing loudly in all Catholic churches.

Thursday, December 25, 1997

Visiting Dota and Giorgi Grantsaris, our school friends from the Kostur village of Kondorobi, now Metamorfosi.

December 26, 1997, Friday

I spend the whole day preparing the monthly financial report.

In the afternoon, I received a telegram from the Macedonian Ministry of Transportation stating that a delegation, to sign the Agreement on International Transport, would arrive in Warsaw on February 4 and 5, 1998.

December 27, 1997, Saturday

At a luncheon hosted by Ioan Gligorescu, the Romanian Ambassador.

December 28, 1997, Sunday

We went for a long walk in the cold weather. At 17:00 our neighbours invited us for tea.

December 29, 1997, Monday

I was contacted by the Polish Ministry of Transport and informed that it was their wish for the International Transport Agreement to be signed in Skopje in the first ten days of February 1998.

I wrote in my diary that during 1997 I had sent 400 telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of theRepublic of Macedonia and had received barely twenty replies.

December 30, 1997, Tuesday

At 09:30 Stanislav Dobzhanski, former Minister of National Defense, visited me. The conversation was strictly confidential.

For tomorrow, December 31st, the last day of 1997, we had reserved tickets for the New Year's Gala Concert at the Grand National Theater.

December 31, 1997, Wednesday

At 19:00 we attended the New Year's gala concert at the Grand National Theater. The entire Diplomatic Corps, ministers, politicians, etc. were present. The concert ended with a joint toast and a glass of champagne for everyone.

We returned to the Embassy late. We called our children and wished them a Happy New Year 1998.

At midnight we sent off the old year, whose events I recorded in my night notes and then welcomed the New Year 1998.

What would 1998 be like?

PART FOUR 1998

Today is January 1, 1998, Thursday.

I was starting my fourth year of graduate service in Poland. The day began with similar efforts as the last years; meetings, conversations, persuasions, disappointments, expectations… but this year was with greater experience, knowledge and hopes. Thinking about this, it occurred to me that Vasilitsa was celebrated on this day in my hometown, as well as in the wider region, especially by families who had people named Vasil and everything that came from that name.

Vasilitsa was celebrated more and more cheerfully than the New Year in my village. Vasilitsa was a family day but also a village holiday. From the earliest morning hours, even in the dark, the "arapins", boys dressed in sheepskin, would walk along the village streets, shouting and ringing bells and big drums, waking up the entire village. Something like today's carnivals but very different. These were customs that our oldest ancestors left us as a legacy.

I remember the last time the village celebrated Vasilitsa was in 1946. It was more a celebration in fear and silence (from the Greek authorities. RS) than in joy and hope. There was less talking and even less singing out loud. After WW II restored the old-new (Greek RS) order – no one spoke, sang or thought (in Macedonian RS) except in the language of the rulers (Greek RS) and people no longer visited the homes and families that celebrated Vasilitsa which killed the family glory and joy of the entire village. That was what the new post-war (Greek RS) government wanted. Order was maintained with a fist, a stick, a court sentence, prison, or exile to a hot, dry island. But despite that, after the service, the believers dressed in ceremonial clothes, went to visit people and celebrated Vasilitsa in their native language. The oldest ones said that it was not appropriate to celebrate Vasilitsa in any other way. And those boys who first woke up the village with ringing bells and beating drums, with shouts and songs honouring Vasilitsa in 1946, welcomed the next Vasilitsa in 1947 in the cold dugouts and trenches in the Macedonian mountains and forests, not with bells, drums and songs but with rifles and empty stomachs. Forcibly dragged from

their warm beds, for some they were partisans, for others fighters of the Democratic Army of Greece. And so Vasilitsa was not celebrated in my village in 1947. The village bell occasionally rang mournfully, bringing sad news from the mountains and hills. And the next year, in 1948, Vasilitsa was again not celebrated in my village. We, the little ones, who wanted to wake up the village on Vasilitsa with shouts and songs, with ringing bells and beating drums, were gathered up and taken far from home, to where we lost the warmth and hugs of our mothers.

And the following year, 1949, at harvest time, when grains and corn were harvested in the fields, they (the Greeks RS) used American napalm bombs to crush my villagers and not only them but also the resistance on Mounts Gramos and Vicho.

And then?

Then the people from my village, hungry and uprooted, celebrated Vasilitsa on the bare ground in the stinking barracks and stables of Prenjes, in Albania, in the hated Skopje sheds, in the bare stubble of Elbasan and Pegin, in the cargo ships and freight trains that took them to Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and beyond the deserts, all the way to Tashkent in Uzbekistan. And it seemed that all this would burn their spirits forever, they would melt away, they would forget their customs, faith, songs, dances, names, language and how to celebrate Vasilitsa. This was a perpetrated act to uproot my villagers and make them forget everything including Vasilitsa.

Now, with my forehead resting on my palm, I am reminded of my village and my villagers.

Can I now, on the first day of the New Year 1998, forget my village and the joy that Vasilitsa brought?

My memory cries out!

January 2, 1998, Friday

I read more articles from the Macedonian press. But as per my mission I can only propagate words that serve as an ornament for Macedonia to diplomats and residents who live in this

country. How can I justify the ugly picture? Sometimes I feel like not looking at the Macedonian press at all, but how will I know what is happening in Macedonia, when I do not receive the necessary news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Many questions with an even greater lack of answers.

January 3, 1998, Saturday

Still I have not been contacted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. It seems like everything has been turned off.

January 4, 1998, Sunday

I finished preparing the financial report. I will send it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia tomorrow.

January 5, 1998, Monday

Henrik J. Sokaliski, former head of UNPREDEP in Macedonia, came to the Embassy. We had a long, pleasant and useful conversation. He was very complimentary about the new contacts with President Kiro Gligorov, B. Handzhiski and L. Kitanovski.

I received a phone call from the director of a company that trades in military defense equipment. He said that he was recommended by the former Minister of National Defense of Poland, S. Dobzhaniski, who'd had appropriate discussions about it in Macedonia. We arranged a meeting for tomorrow at 10:00.

January 6, 1998, Tuesday

At 10:00 I met with the director of the company that trades in military defense equipment. We agreed that further

discussions and agreements would be held between the competent services of the two armies.

I received the magazine "PULS" from 18.12.1997. I read an article entitled "A Conspiracy Without Intent" and concluded that one should simply not believe everything that was written. Macedonia needed to come to its senses. It was time for those who led it to start maturing.

Today is Orthodox Christmas. The Nativity of Christ. We watched a broadcast from Moscow. It was wonderful! The service was more like a solemn magnificent concert! Two priestly choirs sang with angelic voices!!!

January 7, 1998, Wednesday

The Ministry of Culture and Arts called by phone. A protocol visit was arranged for January 26 at 15:00. A visit to the Ministry of Communications was arranged for January 21.

January 8, 1998, Thursday

Colonel Ilija Nikolovski from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia called me on the phone. He was interested to know whether there was any progress in the talks regarding cooperation in the field of defense. I told him that I had already held meetings and discussions, the content of which was appropriately conveyed to B. Handzhiski, Minister of Defense.

I sent the following proposals for cultural cooperation for 1998 by fax to the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts, as an addition to the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation:

1. Opening of the exhibition "Szopki Krakovkie" from the Ethnographic Museum in Krakov and in Skopje.

2. Working visit to Poland, 3-4 days, by a representative of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, in order to agree on a program for cooperation between the two institutes.

3. Within the framework of cooperation between the Iagiellonian Library in Krakov and the National and University

Library in Skopje, a mutual exchange of one expert should be carried out with a stay of 10 to 15 days.

4. The Macedonian Cinematheque in Poland to display part of its collection in cooperation with the Film Academy in Lodzh.

5. Macedonian participation at the Krakov International Film Festival.

6. Publishing poetry collections by two poets from Macedonia and Poland.

7. Participation of Polish poets at the Struga Poetry Evenings.

8. Participation of the SHLONSK QUARTET at the "Ohrid Summer" festival.

9. Participation of a Polish translator at the International Translators' Meetings in Tetovo.

10. Participation of Macedonian poets at the "WARSAW AUTUMN" festival.

The daily "GAZETTA VIBORCHA" published a report under the title "Postcard from Sofia (but mainly from Macedonia)."

(The entire text in Polish and translated into Macedonian is attached in binder No. VI, on p. 1 2).

January 9, 1998, Friday

At 12:00 I made a protocol visit to the Polish Academy of Sciences. I was received by Prof. Leshek Kuzhmitski, President of the Academy, and by the Director for International Relations. We exchanged views on cooperation between PAN and MANU. The two interlocutors were interested in the situation in Macedonia, relations with neighbours and opportunities for cooperation between Poland and Macedonia.

January 10, 1998, Saturday

We went for a walk in the Old Town of Warsaw. It was cold. We came back early. The Polish press is increasingly writing that the Balkans will burn.

January 11, 1998, Sunday

We went for a walk along the canal. It was crowded with people. Lots of them were walking with their pets.

It's almost the middle of the month and not a single piece of information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

January 12, 1998, Monday

This morning I received two telegrams from the Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Defense. As requested, I contacted the Polish Ministry of Defense authorities. A positive response was received on both issues – a meeting in Vienna and the expansion of the cooperation program in 1998, as per our proposal.

They finally called from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and asked for confirmation whether the proposed date, January 28, 1998, for the arrival of our delegation from the Ministry of Culture in Warsaw had been accepted. I confirmed that it had been accepted.

Risto Blazhevski called me. He praised my initiatives.

January 13, 1998, Tuesday

We congratulated Milenka on her birthday. She was with us this time and we celebrated the day together in the afternoon in the Old Town of Warsaw.

I received an invitation from Leshek Miller, President of the Polish Social Democratic Party. He invited the entire Diplomatic Corps to a meeting on January 22 at 12:00.

January 14, 1998, Wednesday

It has been confirmed by fax that the Skopje Chief of Police will participate in the XX Conference of Chiefs of Police. Accordingly I should meet him at the Warsaw airport on January 18 and take him to the designated location where the Conference would be held.

I was contacted by the editorial staff of the magazine "Kobjeta i Zhiche" ("Woman and Life") and asked to put them in touch with a similar Macedonian magazine. They wanted to collaborate. I promised them that I would help.

The New Year's greeting card sent to Prof. Kole Simitchiev in Vrotslav was returned by the post office. The address was misspelled.

January 15, 1998, Thursday

At my request, I paid a protocol visit to the rector of the University of Warsaw, Prof. Dr. Vlodzhimiesh Siviniski. Prof. Dr. Kshistof Vrotslavski was also present. They expressed satisfaction with our cooperation so far. It was proposed to expand similar cooperation to our exact sciences, economics and medical science.

A New Year's meeting with President Aleksander Kvashnievski and the Diplomatic Corps was held in the Presidential Palace at 19:00. Kvashnievski put on a long presentation on Poland's domestic and foreign policy. After the ceremonial speech, I had a short meeting with Kvashnievski who was interested in the health of President Kiro Gligorov and assessed his recent official visit to Poland as useful, noting that he would most likely make a return visit to Macedonia in August 1998, for which I would receive a more precise answer during January.

During the traditional New Year's meeting, I met and talked with several Ambassadors and senior Polish state officials.

Their main interest was the situation in the Balkans and especially in Macedonia.

(The text of Kvashnievski's address translated into Macedonian in the manuscript, Binder VI, p. 18)

January 16, 1998, Friday

Today we are waiting for our children and granddaughter Marija to arrive from Skopje. We are happy that we will see them.

Many New Year's greetings arrived, including a New Year's greeting from President Kiro Gligorov.

January 17, 1998, Saturday

We were with our children all day. The weather was rainy and not good for a walk.

January 18, 1998, Sunday

I met the chief of Skopje police at the airport. He expressed a desire to see the Embassy and then I would take him to the designated place. We talked in the office.

January 19, 1998, Monday

At 09:00 I was received on a protocol visit by Moravski, Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy. Two of his advisors and department directors were present. Young, somewhat discouraged, he gave me the impression of being insecure in his job. I briefly informed him about Macedonia, as well as our interest in developing mutually beneficial cooperation. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the achieved results and wishes for better success. Usual words and diplomatic jargon.

Specifically, we discussed the date for signing the intergovernmental agreement on international transport and

agreed that the Polish delegation would travel to Skopje on February 4, 1998.

At 13:00 I visited Mrs. Hanna Suhotska, Minister of Justice and former Prime Minister. She received me with a smile and said: "**I have the honour to receive and meet the first Ambassador" of a sovereign and independent Macedonia that is very dear to me."** I replied with the same pleasure, emphasizing that I was very happy to have been given the opportunity to meet the first woman Polish Prime Minister, and now the first woman Polish Minister of Justice, about whom I had heard only words of praise. We sat down opposite each other. During the conversation, I realized that she was well informed about the situation in Macedonia and about Macedonia but, despite that, she asked me to inform her about the latest situation. I spoke to her about yesterday's and today's Macedonia and about a future Macedonia, which together with Poland would take a friendly step towards the rise of mutual cooperation in which I also saw the need for exchange of experiences and signing appropriate agreements in the field of justice. To this, Minister Suhotska replied that she would personally engage in promoting cooperation between the two Ministries, promising that I would be provided with all the texts of the laws that Poland had already signed with the member states of the European Union.

Expressing my gratitude to her, I emphasized that Macedonia would highly appreciate the assistance offered. At the end of the conversation, I expressed hope that I would be greatly honoured if the Minister would take some of her precious time to visit the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. She promised that she would not forget the invitation

January 20, 1998, Tuesday

At 09:00 I attended a meeting with, Janush Oshikievich, Minister of National Defense. After our usual greetings we got down to business. He said that they were sticking to their promise but were seeking assistance and the implementation of what was

agreed on in Skopje during Minister Dobzhniski's stay and in the spirit of the Gligorov- Kvashnievski and Chiefs of General Staff talks.

The next course of the conversation has been included in a separate note.

January 21, 1998, Wednesday

The scheduled visit with the Minister of Communications was rescheduled to January 28 at 12:00.

At 10:00 I went to the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I had a longer conversation with the Minister. It turned out that the texts of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Culture were not well aligned. We agreed to compare them again. After that conversation I spent two hours working at the Ministry, and then another three hours at the Embassy.

I didn't go to the briefing at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs because my secretary forgot to inform me.

January 22, 1998, Thursday

At 08:30 my driver handed me a note, saying:

- Your secretary called me and urgently asked me to go and see her. I went and she told me that if needed, there was a folder (number) in drawer (number) containing a document (such) that you will need for today's meeting and discussion...

The surprise was endless.

January 23, 1998, Friday

The text of the Cultural Cooperation Agreement was approved. The Minister of Culture or his deputy needed to come to Warsaw to sign it at the end of the month.

I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to let them know that this year in Poland and in the world it had been declared the year of Adam

Mitskievich; the greatest Polish poet. The occasion was the 200th anniversary of his birth. I proposed that the event be commemorated in Macedonia as well, for which I would submit my proposal tomorrow.

At 13:45 Leonid Drachevski, the Russian Federation Ambassador, had invited me to lunch. We had a general discussion about relations between Macedonia and Russia without delving into the events in Poland.

January 24, 1998, Saturday

I sent a telegram with a proposal regarding the 200th anniversary celebration of the birth of Adam Mitskievich under the auspices of UNESCO. In the proposal I wrote: Publish a small collection of Polish poems translated into Macedonian. With them also include the "Crimean Sonnets"; the pearl of Polish poetry. I also suggested they erect a bust of Mitskievich in Struga (sponsored by the Polish Ministry of Culture). The above proposals could also be a subject of discussions during the stay of the Macedonian delegation that would sign the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation.

January 25, 1998, Sunday

We did not go out at all due to the cold weather. We spent the day with our children and our granddaughter Marija.

January 26, 1998, Monday

At 10:00 a protocol visit to the Department of Tourism and Physical Culture. During our conversation the attendees expressed interest in cooperation in these areas.

January 27, 1998, Tuesday

I scheduled a visit to the Minister of Education for February 11, 1998.

At the New Year's reception organized by the Polish Peasant Party, I met with several representatives of the DKP and some Ministers from the previous government. I had a long conversation with S. Dobzhaniski, former Minister of National Defense. It was a pity that he was not in the same position. With his effort, we would have completed a lot of work. The Polish side was still interested in the exchangers from the Skopje "Metalski Zavod Tito".

At a cocktail at the Indian Embassy. Only a few guests attended.

I sent the program by fax to Skopje regarding the Macedonian delegation's stay in Warsaw, the talks and the signing of the Cultural Cooperation Agreement.

(The full text of the Agreement and the program of the stay, can be found in the manuscript, Binder VI, p. 32.)

The meeting with the Main Customs Office was rescheduled for February 3rd.

I attended a discussion at 11:30 at the Ministry of Culture regarding the Cultural Cooperation Agreement. Details were agreed.

It was cold today. Our children went out into the city and returned two hours later.

They said it was not a good time to visit museums. It was very cold...

January 28, 1998, Wednesday

At 11:00 a protocol visit to the Ministry of Communications. We had the usual conversations.

At 12:00 at a meeting organized for the Diplomatic Corps at the Senate headquarters by the Marshal of the Senate, Prof. Dr. Alitsia Gsheshkoviak. Upon meeting I handed over the invitation from Tito Petkovski requesting that she officially visit

Macedonia. She expressed gratitude and proposed a meeting in the coming days, for which I would be officially invited.

At 14:00 I was urgently summoned to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the following issues: Poland's position regarding UNPREDEP, Macedonia's participation and at what level in the Francophonie Conference in Paris (9-10.2.1998) and an agreement on setting a date for holding political consultations between the two Ministries. After the meeting I informed our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 20:40 I went to the airport to welcome the Macedonian Ministry of Culture delegation headed by Deputy Minister, Borko Zafirovski.

Tomorrow will be a sad day. Our children will be going back to Skopje.

Tomorrow from 10:00 to 11:30 talks will be held at the Polish Ministry of Culture. The talks will be in the spirit of my proposals that I had previously presented at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture. The text from both sides would be accepted with approval and satisfaction. Gratitude would be expressed to the expert Fich from the Ministry of Culture and to myself, the Macedonian Ambassador who had been harmonizing the Macedonian and Polish texts for days into one text. They would agree to publish a Panorama of Macedonian Contemporary Poetry in Polish.

At 12:30 they would sign the two documents – the Agreement and the Cultural Cooperation Agreement.

Note: For the schedule of the stay and the texts of the Agreement and the Protocol see: Binder No. VI, p.32).

January 29, 1998, Thursday

In the morning we went to the airport. We sent our children off to Skopje.

Have a safe flight and happy arrival home and see you again soon!

At 09:00 at the Ministry of Culture and Arts – prior to signing, a new comparison of the agreements for cultural and educational cooperation was made.

At 12:30 the Agreements were signed.

(Photos in the manuscript, binder VI, p. 32)

January 30, 1998, Friday

It was a day of visiting and talking. Topic: Bi-lateral relations and their promotion, opinions and forms of cooperation.

January 31, 1998, Saturday

It was a clear day. At 10:00 the entire delegation, accompanied by a representative from the Ministry of Culture and Arts, traveled to Zhelazova Vola to attend a Chopin concert. A joint lunch.

February 1, 1998, Sunday

It was a very cold day. At 07:30 we were at the airport. I sent off the delegation to Skopje led by Borko Zafirovski.

Not good news from Skopje. Local issues, divisions, inter-party disputes. All to the detriment of Macedonia.

February 2, 1998, Monday,

I visited the editorial office of the newspaper "ZHECHPOSPOLITA" at 13:00. I had a long conversation with the deputy editor-in-chief Machei Lukashevich and journalist Rishard Biliski.

February 3, 1998, Tuesday

I visited to the Customs Administration. The main topic of discussion was: drafting and signing a Cooperation Agreement

between the Customs Administrations of Poland and Macedonia. They promised that by the end of the month they would give me a proposal for initiating talks between experts from the two customs administrations.

February 4, 1998, Wednesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature, sending off the Chinese Ambassador, who stayed in Warsaw for only two years and was reportedly returning to his country due to retirement.

In the afternoon I finished the financial report for January 1998.

Liliana Dirian, editor-in-chief of the magazine "WOMAN", called. She asked me for a contact in the Polish magazine "WOMAN AND WIRE". I gave her the magazine's address. She told me she would be coming to Warsaw in April to arrange cooperation.

Late at night I received a notification that from 19 to 22 February of this year, the regular annual consultations with the Ambassadors and heads of missions of the Republic of Macedonia would be held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. In this regard, the heads of the DCM were required to arrive in Skopje on the 18th, and their return was scheduled for Monday the 23rd of February 1998.

Thursday, February 5, 1998

My protocol visit to the Marshal (President) of the Sejm, Machei Plazhininski, was rescheduled for another date due to my departure for Skopje.

At 12:30 the Embassy was visited by Malahovski and Viezhhovska from the Polish Chamber of Commerce, who were officially staying in Skopje. They praised that the talks they had on January 28 were very useful and promising. They planned to organize an exhibition of Polish products in Skopje. We agreed that they would submit their specific proposals to the Embassy of

the Republic of Macedonia for the better realization of the planned exhibition.

February 6, 1998, Friday

I booked plane tickets from Warsaw to Skopje and back via Vienna. I would leave for Skopje on February 17 at 08:30.

At 13:00 a visit and conversation with the Minister of Economy, Mr. Janush Stainhov. During our conversation, the Minister informed me that the competence of this Ministry included industrial policy, domestic and foreign trade, was responsible for creating legislation in the field of economy and supervised the work of the offices of trade counselors abroad.

During our conversation we confirmed our mutual interest in cooperation between the Ministries of our two countries and in that sense the Minister expressed his readiness to help if needed, especially since, as he put it, Macedonia was a young country and certainly would encounter difficulties in the competencies of its Ministry. It was further emphasized that a large number of Polish and Macedonian companies were already engaged in economic cooperation. The Minister suggested that both sides approach the promotion of their economies, using various types of fairs and other economic events, and through personal contacts and visits, establish conditions for broader agreement on the possibilities of expanding cooperation in various economic areas, among other things. According to Minister Stainhov, it was very important for Macedonia to sign the WTO agreement as soon as possible, which would give both countries much greater opportunities for free trade. He emphasized that Poland would continue to support Macedonia in its membership to CEFTA. For my part, I emphasized that the Embassy, within the framework of its competences, would wholeheartedly engage in activities to increase economic cooperation between our two countries. The conversation ended with a promise for both sides to stay in contact in order to invest further efforts to expand economic relations.

February 7, 1998, Saturday

We went for a long walk through the shops of Warsaw to buy gifts for our children and granddaughter.

February 8, 1998, Sunday

I finished the translation, into Macedonian, of the Polish Law for Foreigners before midnight, which had previously been requested by the Macedonian Ministry of Interior.

February 9, 1998, Monday

By noon I had translated the Polish text of the planned agreement made between the customs of Poland and Macedonia, into Macedonian.

February 10, 1998, Tuesday

At 13:00 at the Directorate of the Polish State Archives. We resumed our talks on inter-archival cooperation.

At 19:00 we attended a ballet performance of "ZORBA THE GREEK" at the Grand National Theater. It was a wonderful performance, especially the finale (when it turned out that Zorba the Greek was Macedonian. RS)

February 11, 1998, Wednesday

I met with Prof. Pienionzhek, Director of the Adam Mitskievich Museum and president of the 200th anniversary of the birth of the great national poet, at 13:00 in his office in Stare Miasto – the Old Town (the old part of Warsaw). He received me very warmly in the company of Prof. Kshtishtov Vrotslavski, an acquaintance of mine from the time when he was Polish language lecturer at UKIM. Prof. Vrotslavski had introduced Prof.

Pienionzhek to me before so we knew each other, so our conversation was very open, giving the impression that we had known each other for a long time.

During our conversation, while drinking coarsely ground and steamed coffee (in Poland they do not brew coffee in a small pot like we do in the Balkans, which we usually call Turkish coffee, except for the Greeks who call it Hellenic coffee), I presented them with the idea of including Macedonia in the commemoration of Adam Mitskievich's jubilee – the same idea that I had proposed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax the other day with a request to be sent to the Ministry of Culture and the Struga Evenings Council. I suggested that during the International Poetry Festival, during the Struga Poetry Evenings, a bust with the image of Adam Mitskievich be placed on the shore of Lake Ohrid and a poetry collection should be published including "**The Lausanne Lyrics", "The Ode to Youth" and "The Crimean Sonnets"**.

The two professors, especially Prof. Pienionzhek, fell silent. Prof. Pienionzhek stood up slowly, hugged me tightly, saying that this was an unexpected and incredibly great gesture of respect for the poet and an honour for Poland. Then he turned, opened a cupboard from which he took out an old bottle, three glasses and asked:

- Can we have one? This is an old Polish drink called Medovina (mead), which Mitskievich loved very much.

We toasted.

- Well - he said slowly - you have moved me to tears Ambassador. Thank you. Let's have one more and I will go and convey this great and joyful news to President Kvashnievski. And you, Professor Vrotslavski, knew that a small Macedonia like this could do such great things, eh? Simply a miracle!

- Indeed Professor – said Prof. Vrotslavski – when there are people like our friend here.

This meeting and conversation was among some of the happiest moments for me during my mission in Poland.

At 15:00 I paid a visit to the Minister of National Education, Miroslav Handke. We dedicated the conversation to cooperation in the field of higher education, with proposals for student exchanges, study and scholarship and other useful forms. I also took the opportunity to introduce Minister Handke to the idea of commemorating the anniversary of Adam Mitskievich. He listened with great surprise and gratitude, promising that he would soon introduce this idea to Prime Minister Buzek.

We agreed to meet again.

February 12, 1998, Thursday

I remained at the Embassy until 11:00 working on current affairs. At 12:00 I visited the Polish Writers' Association. I met and had a conversation with the President of the Association, Marian Gzheshchak. We talked about Mitskievich's anniversary. We agreed that the poetry collections of two poets would be published in Poland and Macedonia. From the Macedonian side, I recommended the poets Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski. I informed him that I would request an appointment with the Minister of Culture and Arts in the coming days in order to ask the Ministry to sponsor the creation of the bust of Adam Mitskievich. He promised me support.

At 13:00 at the Bulgarian Embassy for a tasting of Bulgarian wines. About 20 Ambassadors were present.

At 17:00 Iezhi Zakshevski, a member of the Polish Sejm, visited me at the Embassy. He informed me that my idea for closer cooperation between the two parliaments, to form a Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group in the Sejm, was accepted and today such a group was formed and he was its President. I expressed my gratitude to him with a promise that today I would inform the President of the Assembly of Macedonia with a proposal to form a similar group in the Republic of Macedonia.

At 18:00, at his invitation, dinner with Leonid Drachevski, Ambassador of the Russian Federation in Warsaw. Our wives were also present. Our conversation mostly concerned the

situation in Macedonia and wishes to develop relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Macedonia in the spirit of mutual understanding.

February 13, 1998, Friday

At 13:00 I was received by Mrs. Joanna Vnuk-Nazarova, Minister of Culture and Arts. A very talkative person. A musician by education and a composer by profession. I noticed that she had information about me and Macedonia written down on a piece of paper and she often used it during the conversation. I expressed my gratitude the reception and for the opportunity given to me to present my views on the current and future cooperation in the field of culture between our two countries, and especially to introduce her to the idea of celebrating the anniversary of Adam Mitskievich in Macedonia. I had the impression that she was very pleased. She said that this was the first announcement by representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and that she highly appreciated the step of the Macedonian Embassy and that in that sense she would personally engage in making the idea come true without any difficulties. I expressed my gratitude and we agreed on a new meeting regarding further activities.

This evening I received the program for the annual consultations of Macedonian Ambassadors in Skopje.

February 14, 1998, Saturday

We went for walk in the Kabati forest.

February 15, 1998, Sunday

I sent a note to the Diplomatic Protocol, the Apostolic Nuncio and the Diplomatic Corps informing them that I would be officially absent from February 17 to 22, 1998.

February 16, 1998, Monday

I had several telephone conversations regarding the visa regime. I also had a telephone conversation with the Director of the Europe-West Department. I informed him that Macedonia was already actively involved in the commemoration of Adam Mitskievich's anniversary by publishing a selection of his poetry and placing his bust on the shore of Lake Ohrid. He expressed gratitude and for the information received he would prepare an official note which he would submit to Minister Geremek upon his return from abroad.

February 17, 1998, Tuesday

At 07:30 I was at the airport. After half an hour the plane took off for Vienna. At the airport in Vienna I met Iovan Tegovski, Ambassador to Belgium, EU and NATO, Iordan Veselinov, Ambassador to Canada and Mrs. Atsevska, Ambassador to the USA. In a conversation about everything and anything - the five-hour wait was over and we took off for Skopje.

I had a joyful meeting with my children and granddaughter Marija.

February 18 – 21, 1998, Wednesday-Saturday

I attended the annual counseling session for Ambassadors in Skopje.

(The program, as well as certain of my notes can be found in binder No. VI, p. 49)

February 22, 1998, Sunday

At 16:50 I left Skopje for Vienna. Our family was again divided. Half in Skopje, half in Warsaw.

February 23, 1998, Monday

At 10:00 a meeting at the company “CENREX” where I handed the director an invitation from Lazar Kitanovski, Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, inviting him to go to Skopje.

At 18:30 at a reception hosted by the Ambassador of Estonia. The Ambassadors of the USA and Romania, as well as the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were interested in the position of the Republic of Macedonia regarding UNPREDEP. I answered briefly: Macedonia would not accept civilian control. It was more suited to preventive diplomacy, which was very successfully conducted by Scandinavian soldiers under the leadership of the Polish diplomat, Henrik J. Sokalski.

February 24, 1998, Tuesday

Dancho Markovki called me and urgently asked me to send him the Polish privatization laws via DHL. I had translated them a long time ago and sent them during the day**.**

February 25, 1998, Wednesday

News arrived that Vasil Tupurkovski would form a new political party.

The sixty that already exist and shake Macedonia, it seems, are not enough.

At 11:00 a call from the Romanian Ambassador who asked to meet with me. He asked for more information about UNPREDEP and our relations with our neighbours. Regarding UNPREDEP, I directed him to seek information at the UN office in Warsaw, and regarding relations with our neighbours I fulfilled his wish.

February 26, 1998, Thursday

The director from "CENREX" called. He said that high-level consultations were being held regarding the Macedonian side's request. We would have to wait for a concrete answer.

February 27, 1998, Friday

At 11:00, at his request, I attended a meeting with Rapacki in President Kvashnievski's office. He wanted more information on Macedonia's relations with its neighbours, especially with Greece. The conversation lasted about an hour.

Today I completed the Annual Report of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia for 1997. It is worth noting that during the reporting period, the Embassy sent 430 telegrams to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, in addition to meetings with Polish ministers, senior Polish state officials, party figures, representatives of companies, associations, journalists, parliamentarians, writers and others, it also held 194 meetings with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, primarily Ambassadors.

(See attachment in Binder No. VI, p. 52)

February 28, 1998, Saturday

We stayed at the Embassy all day due to the bad weather.

March 1, 1998, Sunday

This day, March 1, reminds me of my childhood. I remember and will never forget when my mother woke us up early in the morning, washed our cheeks with her hand and then gave us honey to sip, in which there was a dogwood bud, and red and white threads were tied to our fingers and forearms. They were called martinki. The honey so that we would be as hardworking as bees and the dogwood bud so that we would be as healthy as the dogwood. This and many other customs were passed down from generation to generation since ancient times.

With these and many other beliefs, they marked their survival. When in 1948, a bad year, we were uprooted us from our hearth, the martinki, honey, and dogwood bud disappeared.

This morning, I woke up with a martinka on my wrist. My wife had made the martinka during the night. That red and white martinka brought us back under our sky and into the arms of our mothers who were in our memory and in our oblivion...

Mar 2, 1998, Monday

I had a meeting at 11:00 with Iezhi Novak, Director of the Security Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He inquired about Macedonia's position regarding UNPREDEP. I told him that Macedonia would not accept civilian control. He was surprised. I pointed out the consequences of the OSCE's actions. He said that Poland advocated for UNPREDEP to remain in Macedonia, but the Contact Group - the USA, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy - opposed and interfered in this. He asked the Macedonian side to urgently respond on how it will proceed. I told him that such a request represented a kind of external pressure.

I was not satisfied with today's meeting.

I am going on a protocol visit to the Minister of Agriculture.

March 3, 1998, Tuesday

Today I had several meetings at the Bulgarian Embassy, which marked the March 3 national holiday. The main topic of the talks was Kosovo. A heated conversation took place between the Serbian and Albanian Ambassadors. The Albanian Ambassador constantly stuck to the idea that all Albanians should live in one state. Some of the Ambassadors objected to this and said that this kind of thinking would lead to war.

March 4, 1998, Wednesday

The Romanian Ambassador called me on the phone. He invited me for coffee. I accepted. I knew what his problem was. He wanted to know what Macedonia's position was on UNPREDEP and what was next, even though I had already told him this before. We had a long conversation. At the end he said that Macedonia was right.

More and more disturbing news was coming from Kosovo.

March 5, 1998, Thursday

At the Sejm at 09:45. The entire Diplomatic Corps was in the gallery, waiting with great interest to hear Minister Geremek's presentation on Polish foreign policy. I expected that as the OSCE Chairman, he would also mention the Balkans where events in Kosovo were particularly boiling from which the European tragedy could begin.

March 6, 1998, Friday

I received the interview with President Kiro Gligorov published in "PULS". I am reading it carefully and taking notes of the more interesting points. I will need them.

March 7, 1998, Saturday

We hosted a modest cocktail at the Embassy on the occasion of tomorrow's International Women's Day, for the wives of the Ambassadors with whom my wife is close. I gave everyone a red rose.

March 8, 1998, Sunday

I started the day with congratulations on the occasion of March 8th, continued with a walk in Vilanuv and ended it with dinner at a wonderful restaurant in the Old Town of Warsaw.

March 9, 1998, Monday

Today I began the fourth year of my diplomatic mission in Poland. Since my first day, every evening, I regularly sat down and wrote down my daily activities, creating a diary in which I briefly recorded meetings, conversations, events, expectations, hopes, personal experiences, the weather and everything else that happened in this part of my life. Let there be a trace of what I have done and will continue to do. Maybe in the future it will be useful to someone for research in writing the history of Macedonian diplomacy, maybe someone will learn something.

Four years of my life are preserved in the night notes.

Four years of dedication, self-sacrifice, and hope.

At 14:45 I attended the welcoming of the President of the Czech Republic.

March 10, 1998, Tuesday

I visited with the Slovak Ambassador, Servatka. During our conversation, Servatka expressed great dissatisfaction with the statements made by Havel and Kvashnievski with which they treated Slovakia paternalistically. Regarding Geremek's statement that his possible visit to Belgrade could contribute to reducing tensions between Serbia and Kosovo, he said that it would not be successful. Belgrade would not accept any external plan that would lead to its harm. The Serbs, he said, had their own strong national dignity. He further emphasized that Geremek worsened relations with Slovakia and thereby squandered the role of OSCE chairman. Unfortunately he was not present in the Belgrade, Pristina, Tirana, Skopje area where tomorrow things could heat up.

It was a talk about serious reflection and admonition.

March 11, 1998, Wednesday

We sent off President Havel. When he was told that he was shaking hands with the Macedonian Ambassador, he asked me in Polish:

How is it there in Macedonia?

It's quiet, Mr. President – I replied in Polish. The city sanitation teams have finished cleaning up after yesterday's rampage by Albanians in support of Kosovo.

Those were provocateurs, Mr. Ambassador, he said.

You, Mr. President, know best from Prague, - I said, looking him in the eye and squeezing his hand tightly.

The Albanian Ambassador, Kraja, who was standing next to me, greeted Havel without a single word.

At 20:00 we watched a broadcast from Belgrade on the satellite channel. A program was broadcast with the title: "What the Albanians want". They showed footage and reported on the demonstrations in Tetovo and Skopje. It was horrible. Madness of a wild crowd. At the end of the broadcast on the screen was the text:

"How big will Albania be? Probably as many as the of victims it will claim, how many cripples and refugees and burned houses there will be."

March 12, 1998, Thursday

I sent a fax with the invitation with which the Customs Administration of Macedonia invited a delegation from the Polish Customs Administration to visit Macedonia in order to agree on the text of the Cooperation Agreement between the two administrations.

At 14:00, at my request, Director Shimaniski received me at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The topic of our conversation: The situation in Macedonia after the events in Kosovo, with special reference to the demonstrations of

Albanians in Tetovo and Skopje, Poland's position on UNPREDEP, for which he said that Poland advocated for UNPREDEP to remain in Macedonia. Regarding the behaviour of Albanians in Macedonia, he stressed that he did not expect a quick calming of the situation, and therefore believed that urgent measures were needed to find solutions that would not allow destabilization in Macedonia and the wider region.

I must emphasize that I did not receive any information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the events in Tetovo and Skopje.

March 13, 1998, Friday

Risto Blazhevski, now the Minister's assistant, called me on the phone in the morning. He was interested in Poland's reactions regarding the demonstrations of Albanians in Tetovo and Skopje. I told him that I would prepare the appropriate information in the coming days. Regarding Kosovo and UNPREDEP, he said that we would resolve the issues together with representatives from the United States who would be arriving in Macedonia in the coming days.

March 14, 1998, Saturday

Radio Skopje broadcast an interview with President Kiro Gligorov at 22:00, during which, among other things, Gligorov said:

"We prefer American forces... "

I wonder: will this solve all the problems in Macedonia?

March 15, 1998, Sunday

At 18:45 Risto Blazhevski, the Minister's assistant, called me on the phone. He said, I am still in the office and what are you doing? I told him that I was waiting for information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

regarding UNPREDEP, about which the Poles were very interested, and that I learned that some of our Embassies had already been informed about it. Yes, he said, you are right, we should have informed you as well but, look, there are some inconsistencies. An omission was made.

I got the impression that in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, Risto Blahzevski was the only person who had the courage to admit a mistake.

March 16, 1998, Monday

At 11:30 I was called to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs where the Director of the Europe-West Department informed me that Minister Geremek and a group of his associates would be travelling to Tirana on March 19 this year and from March 20 at 12:00 to March 21 at 12:00, would be staying in Macedonia. I told him that I was surprised to hear that because Minister Handzhiski had sent an invitation for Minister Geremek to officially visit Macedonia, where he would be welcomed with full honours.

I returned to the Embassy and delivered the news.

I immediately received a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia stating that due to Van der Broek's visit to Macedonia at the same time as the planned talks in Ohrid, the Macedonian side was proposing to postpone Minister Geremek's visit.

I asked for a connection with the Director of the Europe-West Department and conveyed the information from Skopje to him. Geremek, unfortunately, did not want his trip to be postponed and insisted on being accommodated. I called Risto Blazhevski by phone, informed him about Geremek's request. He told me he would call me back in half an hour. I waited. Blazhevski called back and said that Geremek's visit could take place on March 20 at 17:00. The proposal was accepted.

March 17, 1998, Tuesday

At 10:00 at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I was received by Deputy Minister Rataiski in the presence of Kshishtof Tsvech, with whom we prepared the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation. I informed both men about my proposals in Struga during the International Poetry Festival on the Ohrid coast. My proposal, of course, was to erect a bust of Adam Mitskievich and have a collection of his poetry published, concluding with the "CRIMEA SONNETS." Also, to invite Cheslav Milosh as an honourary participant and to promote a panorama of contemporary Polish poetry which I had translated.

The men agreed to have their Ministry sponsor the creation of Mitskievich's bust and two collections of poetry by two Macedonian poets. In return, the poetry selection of two Polish poets would be published in Macedonia.

Regarding the implementation of the proposals presented, the men asked us that we stay in touch.

March 18, 1998, Wednesday

At 12:30 I was received for a protocol visit by Machei Plazhiniski, Marshal of the Polish Sejm. We had a general discussion about relations between our two countries and expressed wishes for their expansion.

I had to rewrite the letter that Paskal Gilevski sent to Cheslav Milosh. Today I started the literal translation of the "Crimean Sonnets" by Adam Mitskievich.

March 19, 1998, Thursday

I finished the literal translation of "Crimean Sonnets" after midnight.

At 10:30 I signed the book of condolences at the Yemeni Embassy.

At 13:00 at the airport sending Minister Geremek to Skopje.

Ahil Tuntev called me on the phone. He asked me to give him information on the welcoming and care of Macedonian refugees, in Poland, from Aegean Macedonia.

I then sent the following letter to Gane Todorovski, now our Ambassador in Moscow:

(Original in Binder VI, p. 72):

Warsaw, March 19, 1998.

Very respected and Dear Gane,

I am sending you the literal translation of "CRIMIAN SONNETS" by Adam Mitskievich, which are considered pearls in Polish classical poetry. I am convinced that they will sound as beautiful under your pen as they do in Polish. And that is precisely why I have the courage to ask you to translate "CRIMIAN SONNETS" which, together with other poems by Adam Mitskievich, will be published in Macedonia before the start of the Struga Poetry Evenings.

The occasion for this is not an everyday thing. This year marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of Adam Mitskievich, an anniversary that is entered in the UNESCO register. By publishing a poetry selection and erecting a bust of Adam Mitskievich in Struga, Macedonia is marking this important anniversary in its own way, and at the same time proving and confirming that it knows how to appreciate great people and create lasting bridges. Of course you, with your translation of the "Crimean Sonnets", will be the most reliable and powerful pillar of that bridge that will connect the cultures of Macedonia and Poland, and my smallness will throw a tiny lump under it and will continue modestly and shyly, as much as the forces and the Lord God will allow, to dig and dig, to break and crush rocks and to expand that difficult path and to deepen the field of cultural life...

I have already discussed the wish you expressed to me yesterday on the phone and I will be able to call you next week. Until then, I remain with my best wishes for good health and

further creative successes, and many greetings to your esteemed wife.

Greetings from my wife Ditta and I hope to hear only good news.

With expressions of highest respect,
Petre

March 20, 1998, Friday

V. Kostoichinovski, director of "ALUMINA", arrived at the Embassy at 10:00. He was the person who had signed a contract with the Polish main post office in Warsaw worth 2.5 million dollars. He was now in a dispute and sought the Embassy's involvement.

I sent a congratulatory message to the Tunisian Ambassador on the occasion of their national holiday.

In the evening I attended a reception at the Hungarian Embassy celebrating their national holiday. There I met some new Ambassadors.

At 00:30 I arrived at the airport and, together with figures from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, welcomed Minister Geremek (that's our custom) who, after visiting Tirana, briefly stayed in Skopje.

March 21, 1998, Saturday

I've rested all day, reading "War and Peace" by Tolstoy. There were demonstrations in Warsaw over price increases.

March 22, 1998, Sunday

We took a walk in the surroundings of Warsaw.

March 23, 1998, Monday

I received news that Vasil Tupurkovski had announced his Democratic Alternative party. I don't believe he will remain on the political scene for long.

March 24, 1998, Tuesday

There was political turmoil all throughout Poland. I had several phone conversations with some Ambassadors without commenting on current events.

March 25, 1998, Wednesday

Today marked 50 years since our departure (refugee children) from our homelands. I wrote about this in the novel "THE STONE TOO IS EARTH", as well as in "BED FOR THE WRETCHED". The gathering and taking away of children, their arrival and care in Eastern European countries, their upbringing and education should not be forgotten. I had been burdened with memories of those times all day. The day took me back fifty years.

At 12:00 my wife and I attended a reception at the Greek Embassy on the occasion of the Greek national holiday, March 25. A big surprise for me was meeting the secretary, actually the translator at their Embassy. It turned out that he was the son of my caregiver, Koliovitchka, that's what we called Lefka after her husband Kolio, who died in the fall of 1947 as a fighter in the Democratic Army of Greece. Lefka married a Greek teacher to whom she gave birth to two sons and one daughter. Well this one, Giorgos, who I met today was the first son from a mixed marriage. I will write more about Lefka and her fate on another occasion. Meeting Giorgos reminded me of my native village and filled me with memories from my childhood, and the rest of the day I was burdened with sorrow...

Ah, my memories are awakening... My native soil is calling...

March 26, 1998, Thursday

I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Bangladesh. I had a long conversation with Chaika, Deputy Director for International Relations in the Office of President Kvashnievski. Topic of conversation: The situation in the Balkans, Polish-Macedonian relations, the celebration of the anniversary of Adam Mitskievich in Macedonia.

March 27, 1998, Friday

The Polish media reported that on April 1st this year at 23:20, the Polish television would screen the documentary film "Macedonian Book of the Living".

March 28, 1998, Saturday

Nothing special to celebrate. A day to remember.

March 29, 1998, Sunday

Due to the cold day, we didn't go for a walk today. I continued to read the novel "WAR AND PEACE".

March 30, 1998, Monday

I attended a gala concert on the occasion of Adam Mitskievich's jubilee.

March 31, 1998, Tuesday

I wrote a letter to Cheslav Milosh informing him that the Struga Poetry Evenings Council had invited him to participate in the International Poetry Festival in Struga.

April 1, 1998, Wednesday

At 18:00 dinner at the Slovak Ambassador's residence. It was a small gathering of about a dozen Ambassadors and their wives.

April 2, 1998, Thursday

Today is Tanja's birthday. We called her early in the morning and wished her a happy birthday.

Risto Blazhevski called to tell me that a delegation from the Macedonian Ministry of Education and Physical Culture was coming to Warsaw.

April 3, 1998, Friday

I translated the text of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Physical Culture and Sports into Polish and sent it to the Department of Sports and Tourism. Negotiations would be held in Warsaw from April 21 to 24 this year and the Agreement was expected to be signed.

April 4, 1998, Saturday

We purchased a wide variety of goods at the French shopping mall for the needs of the Embassy.

April 5, 1998, Sunday

Today is a big pre-Easter Catholic holiday. A procession was held in front of the church and along the entire street.

April 6, 1998, Monday

At 09:30 I arrived in the Department of Sports and Tourism. We had a discussion regarding the Agreement and the

stay of the delegation from Macedonia and the signing of the Agreement for Cooperation in the Field of Sports.

At 11:00 I handed over the translated texts of three agreements that should be harmonized with the Polish texts and signed between the Macedonian and Polish Ministries of Justice.

I sent a letter to the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informing them that the Ohrid Summer Council had decided to accept the Schlonski Quartet. Along with the letter, I also submitted promotional material for the church choir from Skopje, which was scheduled to perform at the Orthodox Church Music Festival in Hainuvka in May of this year.

In a telephone conversation with Tsvech from the Ministry of Culture and Arts, I learned that the publishing house "KSIAZKA I WIEDZA KSIAZKA"("Book and Knowledge") sent a letter requesting a price for publishing a selection of poetry by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski.

April 7, 1998, Tuesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature to send off the Mexican Ambassador. From there to the House of Literature for the official opening of the Adam Mitskievich Jubilee. A wonderful performance was given by artists from Katovitse.

At 15:00 a meeting of Polish-speaking Ambassadors would take place at the Romanian Embassy, accompanied by sampling Romanian wines.

At 16:00 the Ukrainian Ambassador Petro Sardachuk called and informed me that today the Ukrainian government had made a decision to use the constitutional name of our country - the Republic of Macedonia.

I thanked him most sincerely for the news, telling him that Macedonia would greatly appreciate Ukraine's generosity. I invited him to meet with us at our Embassy.

April 8, 1998, Wednesday

I attended two exhibitions: one at the Warsaw Mayor's Office and the other at the House of Literature. Both exhibitions were dedicated to Adam Mitskievich. At the opening, Macedonia was praised for the activities it had undertaken in connection with the anniversary.

At 16:00 a briefing was held at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs where the Ambassadors were informed about the talks between the Foreign Ministries of Poland, Norway and Denmark. The host Iezhi Novak, who led the briefing, mentioned Macedonia by its constitutional name several times. I thanked him for that in private.

April 9, 1998, Thursday

The Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that Cheslav Milosh will not participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings due to health reasons and age.

April 10, 1998, Friday

The new Chinese Ambassador arrived at the Embassy accompanied by a Chinese woman who spoke excellent Polish. Ambassador Chen Wei spoke poor Polish but the Chinese woman was helping him. He expressed his pleasure at the opportunity to meet with a Macedonian Ambassador for the first time, to whom he wished much success and progress for his country, with which China was interested in establishing very close relations and to cooperate in all areas. He expressed interest in the situation in Macedonia. He believed that cooperation with China could be of great benefit to Macedonia and in that sense his government was interested in establishing closer contacts with the Government of Macedonia. He was also interested in the situation in the Region.

I thanked him for the visit and for China's expressed willingness to cooperate with Macedonia, underlining that Macedonia had always treated China with great recognition for its

progress and that cooperation between the two countries could only be of great mutual benefit.

Upon leaving, Ambassador Chen Wei emphasized that China supported Macedonia and asked me to maintain contact more often. I promised him that I would always be happy to find time to meet with his excellency.

April 11, 1998, Saturday

Today is Holy Saturday of Catholic Easter. It was a peaceful day. I had no meetings. A rare day of rest for me.

April 12, 1998, Sunday

Today all of Poland is celebrating Easter. It's just the two of us walking in Lazhenki Park. You could smell the aroma of spring.

April 13, 1998, Monday

According to an old Polish custom, today Poles pour water over each other. No one gets angry, no one gets offended. It has been that way for centuries.

April 14, 1998, Tuesday

It was a peaceful day. My great wish. Finally a little breather.

April 15, 1998, Wednesday

At 10:45 I met with the President of Hungary. I dismissed the driver and walked back to the Embassy. It was my wish to see Warsaw better.

April 16, 1998, Thursday

I read unsatisfactory and unpleasant news in "NOVA MACEDONIA". Especially about President Kiro Gligorov. What was being written about him now seemed to me like a second assassination attempt on him. Those who physically failed to remove him were now morally defiling him. Who was interested in that? So, where are you going, Macedonia?

April 17, 1998, Friday

I had no activities outside the Embassy. I wasted my time reading the news delivered by "NOVA MACEDONIA".

April 18, 1998, Saturday

I continued preparing the annual report. I am almost finished.

April 19, 1998, Sunday

Today is Orthodox Easter. We attended liturgy in a Russian church.

April 20, 1998, Monday

We got up very early. We sent Milenka to the airport. She returned to Skopje after a long stay with us in Warsaw. The plane took off at 08:10 and we returned home sad. Parting with loved ones was always difficult**.**

April 21, 1998, Tuesday

I sent the program for the visit of the delegation of the Ministry of Education and Physical Culture to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia by fax. I was unable to establish a telephone conversation with Risto

Blazhevski to inform him that on April 23 of this year I had scheduled a meeting with the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group.

April 22, 1998, Wednesday

We attended Easter dinner at the Embassy of the Russian Federation. The Ambassadors of: Macedonia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, FR Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece were invited with their wives.

We greeted everyone with the words Christ has risen, He has truly risen.

Two Russian priests blessed the meal and then we all sang "FOR MANY YEARS."

We spent the Easter holidays according to our Orthodox customs.

April 23, 1998, Thursday

Negotiations by the delegation of the Ministry of Education and Physical Culture began in Warsaw today. They were taking place in the spirit of mutual understanding. Both sides were satisfied.

At the Sejm at 12:00 to attend a meeting with the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group. I met with the members, gave a 45-minute presentation on the historical past of Macedonia, the current situation, the past and present cooperation between the two countries and outlined the necessary efforts required for further development of cooperation in all areas. At the end of the meeting I handed the group an invitation to visit Macedonia.

April 24, 1998, Friday

At 09:00 members of the Macedonian delegation, Taki Dzikov and Sofka Peevska, arrived at the Embassy followed by

the representative of the Polish side with whom we agreed on the text of the Agreement.

At 11:00 at the Greek Embassy, I signed the book of condolences displayed on the occasion of the death of Konstantinos Karamanlis.

At 12:00 the Agreement was signed.

In the evening we invited Taki and Sofka to dinner at the Embassy. We had a long conversation about our homeland. It was one of those rare pleasant encounters that would be remembered for a long time.

April 25, 1998, Saturday

I worked on finishing the annual report until 17:00. It's done! A big weight has lifted off my shoulders. Ditta returned from a visit to Ukraine organized by the wife of the Ukrainian Ambassador in Warsaw. She was tired but very satisfied.

April 26, 1998, Sunday

It was a beautiful, sunny April day. We went for a long walk in the nearest park.

April 27, 1998, Monday

This morning we took the Macedonian delegation to the airport. They were returning to Skopje with the agreement.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I counted barely a dozen Ambassadors, none from the old or new leadership of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not a single Polish Minister. I got the impression that official Poland and most of the Diplomatic Corps boycotted the reception. Present were people from business firms and Serbian sympathizers.

April 28, 1998, Tuesday

At 09:45 at the reception for the President of Estonia. I had no other activities today. You could say it was a day off.

April 29, 1998, Wednesday

Just like yesterday.

April 30, 1998, Thursday

I prepared greetings on the occasion of May 3, Poland's national holiday.

At 18:00 at a reception at the Embassy of the Netherlands and, after a short stay, I attended a reception at the Israeli Embassy.

At 19:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature, a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps with Cardinal Augustino Sorano, Secretary of the Vatican.

May 1, 1998, Friday

I sent a letter to the Ministry of Education regarding the enrollment of the children of employees in the appropriate educational institutions in Warsaw and to award them a scholarship. This was an Embassy obligation, in accordance with the Vienna Convention. In this regard, the children of the secretary were enrolled.

(Copies of the letters can be found in the manuscript, binder VI, p.109.)

At 18:30 at a reception at the Royal Palace on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel. The security was unprecedented. I congratulated the Ambassador and, after a short stay, together with other Ambassadors, went to a reception organized by the Dutch Embassy on the occasion of the Queen's birthday. From there, at 19:00, I went to the Apostolic Nunciature for a second meeting

with Cardinal Sorano. In our short conversation, he told me that he knew very well and was friends with Mirchev, the Macedonian Ambassador, from whom he had received a selection of poetry from the Pope, as he put it "translated by the Macedonian Ambassador in Warsaw". That would be me. He blessed me and continued to shake hands with the other diplomats.

May 2, 1998, Saturday

It was a sunny, warm day. Everything was green outside, flowers were blooming and birds were singing. This was what the Kabati forest was like today, where we stayed all day.

May 3, 1998, Sunday

Today is Poland's national holiday. At 11:40 we were already at the grandstand in the central square where the festivities would take place.

At 13:30 President Aleksander Kvashnievski hosted a reception for the Diplomatic Corps in the garden of the Presidential Palace. It was no different from previous ones.

May 4, 1998, Monday

We sent a birthday greeting to Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia,.

May 5, 1998, Tuesday

I called the director of the House of Literature and asked him to write a foreword for the Macedonian edition of Adam Mitskievich's poems. He agreed.

May 6, 1998, Wednesday

At 11:00 I signed the book of condolences at the Croatian Embassy on display on the occasion of the death of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

May 7, 1998, Thursday

I got a call from the Sejm and was asked when it would be most useful for the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group to officially visit Macedonia. I suggested they visit during May this year.

We received a thank you note from President Kiro Gligorov for the congratulations we sent him on his birthday.

May 8, 1998, Friday

I was at the Ministry of Culture and Arts at 10:00. Arrangements regarding the celebration of the anniversary of Adam Mitskievich. I was promised that the Ministry would sponsor the creation of the bust.

May 9, 1998, Saturday

At a reception on the occasion of Europe Day. Victory Day over fascism was being celebrated in Moscow. I sent a congratulatory message to the Ambassador of the Russian Federation.

May 10, 1998, Sunday

We walked around Warsaw and visited museums.

May 11, 1998, Monday

I organized my official notes.

May 12, 1998, Tuesday

At the invitation of the Senate of the University of Warsaw, I participated in a conference dedicated to xenophobia.

May 13, 1998, Wednesday

I had a phone conversation with the Albanian Ambassador who asked me to issue visas to three Albanian citizens. I agreed.

May 14, 1998, Thursday

Today I finished the financial report for April 1998.

At 19:00 at a cocktail hosted by the Mayor of Warsaw for the participants of the Fifth Tennis Match of parliamentarians from: Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Germany and Estonia. I had a brief conversation with the Ambassadors of the above-mentioned countries.

May 15, 1998, Friday

The Fifth Parliamentary Tennis Competition opened at 09:00. Our four representatives were confident to place high.

At 11:00 at a meeting with the Ambassadors of the CEI countries. It was organized by Ivan Brnelich, Croatian Ambassador in Warsaw. Present were the Ambassadors from: Italy, Macedonia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Albania, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Austria and a representative from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The meeting was informative and opened opportunities for meetings and discussions with the Ambassadors.

At 18:00 at the opening of a glass exhibition (17th and 18th centuries) at the National Museum of Poland.

May 16, 1998, Saturday

I prepared the diplomatic mail. Tomorrow I will hand it over to the parliamentarian-tennis players with a request to hand it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. The results would be announced at 19:00 and diplomas awarded. Our team came in at eleventh place.

May 17, 1998, Sunday

We visited the military museum.

May 18, 1998, Monday

Due to health reasons, I spent the day lying down.

May 19, 1998, Tuesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature. Sending off the Ambassador of Venezuela, who gave a long speech.

May 20, 1998, Wednesday

I visited the Polish Sejm and watched the session take place from the gallery.

May 21, 1998, Thursday

It was a day without activities. I spent it reading newspapers.

May 22, 1998, Friday

We attended the opening of an exhibition about Split. A wonderful speech was given by Ambassador Ivan Brnelich. We congratulated him wholeheartily.

May 23, 1998, Saturday

There was a report about Ohrid on the internet. The author was a Bulgarian and he referred to Ohrid as being Bulgarian. I didn't see the whole report.

May 24, 1998, Sunday

It rained all day. We spent the day like we were under house arrest.

May 25, 1998, Monday

I spent the day at receptions at the Bulgarian, Chinese and Angolan Embassies. We had many meetings and conversations with several personalities from the Diplomatic Corps and the Polish political, economic, media and cultural circles.

May 26, 1998, Tuesday

At 12:00 I met with Shimaniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I delivered the greetings from Macedonian statesmen to the Polish ones on the occasion of Poland's May 3, national holiday. I reminded him once again of several issues that, so far, had been the subject of negotiations and adjustments. He promised to discuss them with the authorities.

At 18:00 dinner at the Hungarian Ambassador's residence. Present were the Ambassadors of: Slovenia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, Czech Republic, Croatia and Slovakia. The dinner was held in a pleasantly decorated room two floors below ground.

May 27, 1998, Wednesday

I had a telephone conversation with Dancho Markovski. He informed me that I would soon be getting a first secretary.

I had a long phone conversation with Gane Todorovski, our Ambassador in Moscow. He informed me that he had already translated Adam Mitskievich's sonnets. He said he would send them to me by fax next week.

At 18:00 at a reception hosted by Ambassador Brnelich on the occasion of Croatia's national holiday.

May 28, 1998, Thursday

Risto Blazhevski called me on the phone. He said that government delegations were coming to Warsaw frequently and, according to his knowledge, they did not contact the Embassy. I asked him – in that case, what are my obligations? None – he said. They do not even inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This confirmed the chaos that reigned in the country.

Comment?

At 12:30 Grigori Popovski called me on the phone. He had arrived in Warsaw as a translator together with the choir ST. KLIMENT OHRIDSKI and was immediately traveling to Hainuvka, where the 17th International Festival of Church Choirs would open on May 30. He said that the choristers were expecting the Macedonian Ambassador in Warsaw to come to their concert and that they wanted to visit the Embassy on June 1. I told him that I would be happy to receive them but due to urgent obligations, I would probably not be able to travel to Hainuvka.

May 29, 1998, Friday

I had meetings and talks with two former Polish Ministers during the day.

Risto Blazhevski called again. He asked me to provide him information about which Polish diplomatic missions in Warsaw covered the Baltic Republics.

May 30, 1998, Saturday

Despite what I said, we left for Hainuvka in the morning. We arrived at the opening of the festival and, with great pleasure, watched the performance of our church choir. The singing was beautiful. The admiration knew no bounds. After the performance I went to the members of the choir, congratulated them and the conductor on their wonderful performance, emphasizing that their performance was a big step in Macedonia's affirmation. We agreed to meet at the Embassy in Warsaw.

We returned to the Embassy in the evening.

May 31, 1998, Sunday

For the first time since our stay in Warsaw, we went for a weekend away from the city.

June 1, 1998, Monday

At 09:30 the bus with the members of the ST. KLIMENT OF OHRIDSKI choir parked in front of the Embassy. We spent a whole hour having very pleasant socializing with the members of the choir, for whom I organized a modest cocktail.

June 2, 1998, Tuesday

At 12:00 at a meeting with Shimaniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 18:00 at a reception held at the Italian Embassy.

June 3, 1998, Wednesday

I arranged current materials at the Embassy.

June 4, 1998, Thursday

At 09:45, Tsvech, the Director of International Relations at the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts, informed me that they

had determined the poets who would participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings and that the bust of Adam Mitskievich had been cast.

The Greek Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos called me and informed me that the visa for my wife to go to Greece to her parents had been approved.

At 18:00 at a reception with the Latvian Ambassador in a small circle. Present were the Ambassadors of: Romania, Macedonia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania and the Czech Republic. The reception was held at the Ambassador's residence outside Warsaw. It was a beautiful building with a garden, a large terrace and the inside was decorated with old paintings. Almost all the Ambassadors livee in residences, except for the Macedonian one who lived in a 20 square meter room in the Embassy.

Comment?

June 5, 1998, Friday

"NOVA MACEDONIA" published a statement from B. Handzhiski after his return from Romania. Among other things, it said: "On our part there was a readiness to sign international acts with the signature 'for the Macedonian government and the Romanian government'."

Every minister had his own solution.

June 6, 1998, Saturday

It was a day without outdoor activities.

June 7, 1998, Sunday

Just like yesterday but with a short walk.

June 8, 1998, Monday

I requested permission for the overflight of the plane in which Tito Petkovski, President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, would travel to Stockholm on June 11.

At 13:00 sending off Marian Servatka, the Slovakian Ambassador. Present were the Ambassadors of: Ukraine, Romania, Macedonia, FR Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Lithuania, President A. Kvashnievski and four members of his cabinet. It was an opportunity to exchange views with the Polish President.

June 9, 1998, Tuesday

I was informed that permission had been obtained for the Macedonian plane to fly over to Stockholm. I called Skopje.

At 18:00 at a reception hosted by the British Embassy in honour of the Queen's birthday. Almost the entire Diplomatic Corps and Polish politicians and ministers were present. I had meetings and conversations with several personalities.

June 10, 1998, Wednesday

At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by Ambassador Leonid Drachevski on the occasion of the national holiday of the Russian Federation. I met with many invited guests and had discussions on topics of mutual interest.

June 11, 1998, Thursday

Today is a Religious Catholic holiday. The main streets of Warsaw are full of believers.

At 19:30 I went to the airport. There I met with the President of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, who was traveling to Stockholm via Warsaw. His face showed fatigue which gave me the impression that the man was disappointed in things. We had a conversation about the situation in Macedonia.

June 12, 1998, Friday

At 13:00 at a diplomatic lunch at the Yugoslav club. There were Ambassadors from various countries. It was a cozy corner where a large number of Poles and Serbian sympathizers gathered in the evenings. The most common topics of conversation and debate, with loud Serbian music, was Kosovo.

June 13, 1998, Saturday

A large group of Macedonian journalists was staying in Warsaw. We met at the Embassy. They were young, educated and cultured. They were active in Warsaw – sharing materials, meeting with Polish and foreign journalists and spreading the name Macedonia. They were proud of their newly formed association which, with my active engagement (engagement of the Macedonian Ambassador), has been accepted into the international federation with the name - Macedonia.

Gane Todorovski, our Ambassador in Moscow, faxed me the manuscript translation of "Crimean Sonnets" by Adam Mitskievich. I began to transcribe them on the computer.

June 14, 1998, Sunday

We traveled to Poznani for the International Wine Fair. Many came around our stand to taste our wines. It was a great success.

June 15, 1998, Monday

We returned to Warsaw in the evening.

June 16, 1998, Tuesday

The Polish newspapers were full of information about NATO exercises over Macedonia. Most of the information was

about the fact that the planes mostly flew along the Macedonian-Yugoslav border.

At 18:00 the Romanian Ambassador hosted a breakfast which was attended by 18 Ambassadors and the President of the Polish Sejm, Machei Plazhiniski. Casual discussions on various topics of mutual interest.

June 17, 1998, Wednesday

Sofka Ashikova called me from Skopje. I did't know her but she claimed to know me and was asking me to support her to come and work at the Embassy in Warsaw. She said that a call for sending staff to Embassies had been announced and she wanted to come to Warsaw. I told her that it would be best for her to go and talk to those who decided on personnel policy. During the day others called me and asked for support.

The dance of relationships had begun and I didn't know how to dance that dance.

At 18:00 at a farewell reception held at Ambassador Servatka's residence.

June 18, 1998, Thursday

I went to meet with the director of the Adam Mitskievich House of Literature. I asked director Pienionzhek to write a preface to the Macedonian edition of the collection of poems by A. Mitskievich translated into Macedonian. He accepted and promised me that he would also look for suitable illustrations.

June 19, 1998, Friday

At 10:00 at the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I was received by the Ministry's political advisor, Jaroslav Filei. I handed him the invitation from Minister Slobodan Unkovski, as well as the musical materials for the Minister, who was a composer by profession.

June 20, 1998, Saturday

Due to health reasons, I did not go to the gala concert in Pienchitse organized for the Diplomatic Corps.

The Sejm informed me that the delegation of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group would not travel to Skopje at the agreed time because an emergency session of the Sejm was scheduled at the same time. They proposed that the visit be done on June 24-28, 1998.

June 21, 1998, Sunday

We hosted a luncheon at the Embassy at 14:00. It was attended by the Ambassadors of the Russian Federation and Slovakia with their wives Irina and Viera. We spent a very pleasant day.

June 22, 1998, Monday

I did not attend the reception at the Guatemalan Embassy due to Ombudsman Branko Naumovski's arrival in Warsaw. I met him at the airport at 10:30. He arrived by plane from Sofia.

I called the Sejm and conveyed the news that the proposed date of June 24-28 for the visit to Macedonia was not acceptable. Our side was proposing the date of July 5-8.

They called from the Polish Ministry of Defense and asked to receive information about the exact time of arrival and departure of the Macedonian military delegation from Warsaw. I called the Ministry of Defense and they promised me that I would receive the requested information tomorrow.

At 22:00 I spoke on the phone with Lile Naumova, a colleague with whom I had worked in the same office for about ten years. Always collected, every word measured, intelligent, educated, with diplomatic experience, knowledge and the ability to make friends.

Naumova interrupted me and said:

- Ashikova came to me and asked about you. I told her that Nakovski, with whom I worked in the same office for more than ten years, requires knowledge, diligence, self-initiative and punctuality in performing work duties, and does not tolerate slackers. I suggested that she ask people who worked for him and find out from them what Nakovski is like.

- And you, how is your health? she asked. Take care...

By the way, let me say here that 25 years after this conversation took place, my colleague Vasko (Vasil) Panovski successfully completed his diplomatic career as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw. And those who showed him the high threshold did not cross even the lowest one.

June 23, 1998, Tuesday

Jaroslav Firlei, political director at the Ministry of Culture and Arts, called me at 09:00, and informed me that Minister Ioanna Vnuk-Nazarova had accepted the invitation to travel to Struga in order to unveil the bust of Adam Mitskievich and meet with Minister S. Unkovski. He confirmed that the money for printing the poetry collections by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski would be transferred next week.

At 09:00, I called the Ministry of Defense and informed them of the arrival time of the Macedonian military delegation in Warsaw.

At 10:30 I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in a conversation with the Deputy Director of the Europe-West Department, reminded him that I still had no information on whether a decision had been made regarding the signing of the Archival Cooperation Agreement. He promised to inform me after talking to the authorities.

At 18:00 at a reception at the Australian Embassy and from there went to dinner in Vilanuv hosted by the Polish Ombudsman

in honour of the Macedonian Ombudsman, who was on an official visit to Poland.

June 24, 1998, Wednesday

The news on Kosovo was more alarming. Holbrooke was on tour in Belgrade, Pristina and Skopje. And so were the Russians. Handzhiski went to Athens. Before leaving he categorically stated that there would be no changes regarding the constitutional name of Macedonia. Greece was threatening to veto. Solana was also threatening and threatening. NATO generals said that NATO was going to bomb Yugoslavia. Europe was going crazy. The Balkans are smoldering again. There was no worse news.

June 25, 1998, Thursday

At 09:00, Tsvech from the Ministry of Culture and Arts called me. He said that the money would be transferred to the publishing house tomorrow. We agreed to meet on June 29th.

At 18:00 at a cocktail hosted by the Ambassador of Slovenia on the occasion of the national holiday. I met with diplomats and other personalities, the most common topic of conversation was Kosovo and the Region.

June 26, 1998, Friday

I dealt with current affairs at the Embassy. At 12:00 at a reception on the occasion of the opening of new working and official premises of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions in the old headquarters of the Diplomatic Protocol. Only a few people from the Diplomatic Protocol attended.

At 13:20 at the residence of the Hungarian Ambassador. A cocktail on the occasion of the departure of the Slovak Ambassador.

June 27, 1998, Saturday

Due to bad weather, we postponed our visit to the city of Kazhimiezh near the Vistula River.

June 28, 1998, Sunday

Bad, rainy weather.

June 29, 1998, Monday

I got a call from the Polish Ministry of Defense. They asked me to find them a translator who could translate from Macedonian to Polish. I recommended my former secretary who worked at the Embassy, as well as Dimitar Mandzunovski, a Macedonian from Voden Region, a school friend of ours, who was a permanent resident of Warsaw and was married to a Polish woman. They said that after they checked out those two, they would decide whether to accept them or not.

June 30, 1998, Tuesday

I got a whole pile of mail. I worked through it the entire day. I booked plane tickets for a flight Warsaw-Skopje and back. My wife got a visa to enter Greece, she was going to her parents. I was denied a visa. The Greek Embassy told me I was unwelcome.

July 1, 1998, Wednesday

I informed the Polish Ministry of Defense by letter regarding the composition of the Macedonian military delegation and the time of its arrival and departure. The delegation, headed by Colonel General Filip Koteli, would arrive in Warsaw on July 6 and leave for Skopje on July 9. Ditta would also leave for Skopje with the delegation, and after a short stay to see our children, she would leave for a few days to see her parents at the Kostur Region lake.

Today I received a thank you call from Marian Servatka, Slovakian Ambassador, who on his departure thanked me for the excellent cooperation and friendly company we kept.

At the Embassy I called Melon, the owner of the company authorized to prepare the halls in which Embassies organized ceremonial receptions, cocktails, dinners, lunches, etc. We agreed to rent the hall at the "KRÓLIKARNIA" palace where I would host a reception on the occasion of September 8, Macedonia's national holiday. We would agree on the cost details later.

July 2, 1998, Thursday

I issued visas to four Greek diplomats.

July 3, 1998, Friday

At 10:00 I met with Shimaniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In accordance with the request received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I asked him to provide me with information regarding the methods and forms of border marking, the technical and staffing capabilities of the services. He promised me that he would provide me with the requested information by July 15.

At 12:00 Iezhi Zakshevski, President of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary group, arrived at the Embassy. We discussed the upcoming visit to Macedonia.

July 4, 1998, Saturday

It rained all day and all day I was preparing the financial report for June. Croatia beat Germany 3:0. I sent a congratulatory fax to Brnelich, the Croatian Ambassador.

July 5, 1998, Sunday

We didn't go for a walk because of the rain. We watched on TV how the Peloponnese in Greece was burning.

July 6, 1998, Monday

At 11:00 I, together with senior officers of the Polish army, welcomed the Macedonian Army delegation at the military airport.

At 13:00 Croatian Ambassador Ivan Brnelich called me. He asked if I had received the information - a joint letter from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina that had been delivered to Geremek, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs?

I told him that this was the first time I had heard of such a procedure. I called Risto Blazhevski. He said that he knew nothing about such a letter but he would check. A half an hour later, Svetlana Geleva called me and said that she would send me a copy of the letter immediately. I received the copy and called the Croatian Ambassador. We agreed to request a meeting with Minister Geremek.

At 14:30 Pascal Gilevski called me and said:

I was in Rome and met and shook hands with the Pope. A great man.

Yes, I know. I've heard, I said.

Let's talk about Struga. The erection of a bust of Adam Mitskievich is a big deal. Make sure that Cheslav Milosh comes to Struga, he replied.

I wrote him a letter on behalf of the Embassy and urged him through the Ministry of Culture and Arts to attend. He would not be coming due to health reasons, I said.

It's a shame, Struga would have gained more glory, he replied

July 7, 1998, Tuesday

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature for a send off of four Ambassadors.

At 20:35 Greek television showed footage of the Turkish Prime Minister's car accident on the Skopje-Bitola road.

I wonder: will we continue to promote our country in such a bad way?

July 8, 1998, Wednesday

I joined the program of talks between the military delegations in accordance with the instructions received from the Macedonian Ministry of Defense. The main words were given by the heads of the delegations.

In the afternoon at the Embassy, I received the ARM delegation, along with three Polish generals and a colonel, and prepared a modest snack complemented by Macedonian wines.

Thursday, July 9, 1998

At 11:15 at the airport VIP lounge. I was sending off the ARM delegation back to Skopje. Ditta was with them.

I returned to the Embassy and immediately felt the loneliness. I was alone. I tried to calm the loneliness by listening to music.

July 10, 1998, Friday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia sent me by fax the statements of Minister Handzhiski and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Klaus Kinkel, who was on an official visit to Macedonia. I read them carefully.

July 11, 1998, Saturday

Today is my granddaughter, Marija's birthday. She's two years old. I sent her a heartfelt congratulations by phone.

Sunday, July 12, 1998

According to the new calendar, today is PETROVDEN (Petre's name day RS). I received congratulations from my daughters and sons-in-law. Ditta also congratulated me from Kostur. According to the old calendar, the day in my hometown is celebrated on June 29. I remember on that day our house was full of guests, not only fellow villagers but also people from the surrounding villages. Relatives from Dmbeni, Kosinets, Lobanitsa, Smrdesh, Dolno Papratsko. In my grandfather Giorgi's yard there would be a spit with a lamb roasting over it. I was his favourite grandson. The day before Petrovden, my mother, may God bless her soul, said to me: tomorrow, my son, I will fix you up (dress you up) in the most beautiful clothes. And so she did. Festively dressed, I ran around with my friends playing. At some point I fell in the mud and, to my great shame, appeared in front of our guests all dirty. In the evening, mother washed my beautiful clothes and when they dried I watched her smooth them, fold them, caress them, smell them and it seemed to me that she put her whole maternal soul into them. The last time my mother dressed me in beautiful clothes on PETROVDEN was in 1947. At the time my clothes were moldy because the chest with them inside was hidden in a deep damp pit dug under the house. A war was raging during that PETROVDEN. The following year, 1948, was worse, the holiday was not celebrated at all. There were no children left in the village. I remember us crossing over the Greek-Albanian border into Albania at sunset and that day in my village and in many other villages, the joy and laughter of children disappeared, mothers were left with empty laps and grandfathers fell silent because there was no one to tell stories to. We grew up under a foreign climate and did not celebrate birthdays and name days according to our Macedonian customs. To celebrate religious holidays was not revolutionary, we were

told. Instead in classrooms and school halls, on boulevards and squares we were told to celebrate the birthday of Stalin and other criminals who wanted to be the new gods, killing our God within us.

Today is PETROVDEN and I am alone and in this solitude of mine I remember parts of my childhood and it seems to me that in the long summer and night silence my memories are flooding back reminding me of days gone by. My native soil too is calling, beckoning me...

When I sleep, I dream of my mother. I see her standing on the hill that rises slightly above the village, calling to me. Unfortunately, I can't hear her voice. I wake up covered in sweat. I reach for my notebook and pen and, through tears, I begin to write:

There was a mother named Fimka. She had big and small children.

She waited for them on the top of a hill, standing gazing at the sky.

Crossing herself and praying:
- Lord God Almighty, Golden Mother of God,
Please make it possiblefor them to come back to me.
The big children back from the war and the small children
Back from exile... and
Let them knock on my door alive and well...
Oh, dear Mother of God, let them knock on my door.
Let them run around the courtyard and in the chambers,
Let them sing in my garden, in my beautiful garden,
In the ripe vineyard, in the green meadow... oh my God...
God, Lord, almighty and generous,
Please bring back my children big and small, bring them back
And put them in my lap and in my bosom forever,
Let them grow and recover, and then let the drum beat,
Let the bells ring for weddings, for births and for happiness.
Like a river, let them flow, please God...

When will they come back to me God, when? Oh my God...
O God, let your anger subside and let me be happy.
Please make my pain and sorrow burst into joy.
Take away the gloom, God, and brighten the sky,
bridges and rivers, and open the roads wide
so that my children, big and small, may return
as the swallows return, oh God...
Oh, God... my children, God, give them back to me, oh God, oh God...
God, Mother of God, who knows suffering and pain…
My children, Mother of God, give them back to me... oh God...
Oh God...! on the top of the hill a mother's cry echoes,
Sadly, her prayer is lost on the uphill, on the downhill,
She took the downhill and the mountain trembled...
The big children were swallowed by the darkness...
The small children did not return from exile...
And on the top of the hill a wailing is still heard.
A mother's great prayer...
In the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight...

That's how I dreamt of my mother, who couldn't wait to gather her children, big and small, into her lap and bosom...

I sent the text to "NOVA MACEDONIA" and it was published in the sub-page "LIK" under the title " 1948 THE GREAT PRAYER OF A MOTHER". A few days later, Gane Todorovski called me from Moscow and, with a trembling and broken voice said to me:

> **I read the great prayer of your mother, actually from all our mothers from Aegean Macedonia. I burst into tears. That prayer opened up a great pain for me...**

I said to myself: - Who will heal Gane's great pain, who for me now is the voice of Macedonia?

July 13, 1998, Monday

Today there was a commotion at the Embassy. Many foreigners, our citizens, who had come to Poland for various reasons, were looking for passports to return to Macedonia. The Yugoslav red passports were no longer valid.

July 14, 1998, Tuesday

The printing house delivered the invitations at 11:00. I will be sending these out to invite people for the September 8th celebration.

The text on the invitation read:

On the occasion of the National Holiday of the Republic of Macedonia - Independence Day, the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia and Ditta Nakovska have the honour to invite you to a reception on Tuesday, September 8 from 18:00 to 20:00.

Krulikarnja Palace R. S. V. P.
113a Pulavska St. 843 13 26

July 15, 1998, Wednesday

At 15:30 the twin sisters Lena and Ksanti came to the Embassy together with Dota. They came from the Kostur Region village Pozdivishta. Forty years had passed since the time we were together in the same home and studied together in primary school in the same classroom. We grew up together and shared both joy and sorrow. Lena went to Canada where she married a Canadian, Ksanti stayed in Warsaw, married a Pole (who recently passed away) and I went to Macedonia, where I married Ditta (christened Aphrodite). Thus our childhood companionship was broken up and only today we are together. We didn't know the fate of the others from the boarding house. We knew that fate

scattered them around the world. We remembered them by name. We were all now gathered together in our memories.

We spent the entire afternoon talking about our childhood and youth.

Lile Naumova called me. From the tone of her voice, I could tell she was very disappointed. That's why I asked her to call me back the next day. Just a few minutes later, Ana Trajkovska called. We talked about the situation at the Ministry.

July 16, 1998, Thursday

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that Minister Nazarova would arrive in Macedonia on the 20th and return to Warsaw from Struga on the 22nd. So the unveiling of the bust of Adam Mitskievich was planned for August 21st.

I would take the bust by plane to Skopje and from there the Council of the Struga Poetry Evenings would take over.

At 18:00 a reception at the Iraqi Embassy.

July 17, 1998, Friday

I called Mrs. Nalench, Director General of the Polish State Archives. I asked her if a decision had been made to sign the Agreement on Cooperation between the Archives of Poland and Macedonia. She said that she had received a letter from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which there were three proposals regarding the signatures but it did not have the name "Archive of Macedonia". I asked her to inform me in writing about the position of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She promised she would.

Tsvech from the Ministry of Culture called me and informed me that the director of the Department for the Affirmation of Creativity, Mrs. Agnieshka Komar Moravska, was responsible for ensuring the timely casting of Mitskievich's bust and that I should be in contact with her regarding this issue.

The publishing house " **Kshonska i Viesa"** sent me the covers of the poetry selections by Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski. I faxed them to the authors who responded with satisfaction.

I noticed that on the mailboxes at the airport, on the streets, in front of hotels, as well as in front of the Main Post Office, on the sticker with the names of the countries, the constitutional name of Macedonia with the telephone code was also written. Also, our name – Macedonia, could be read in various advertisements, maps, information brochures, directories, etc. This is confirmation that my persistent and constant efforts in conversations, meetings at receptions, cocktails and other contacts were already yielding results. This satisfied me and pleased me.

I also remembered this day for something else which left an impression on me lasting to this day. I remembered, in 1950, our teacher lining up our group of boys age 14, some even 15, and one by one writing down our first name, last name, day, month, and year of birth. When it was my turn and when the teacher asked me what my name was and when I was born, I first told him my name, first and last, and then, when it came to my birth, I told him that our caregiver, whom we called mother, had written down the year of birth for us boys from my village as 1937 but not the day and month. The teacher looked at me curiously and said:

Remember this; your year of birth is 1937 and your month of birth is July because today is July, and your day of birth is 17 because you are in 17th place in the line. And this is how my date of birth was written in the teacher's notebook. According to my teacher I was born on July 17, 1937 and that is exactly what was written in all my documents. To this day, that date was the date of my birth which exists in all my documents. But the truth about my birth is a little different. In 1987 my brother Risto, whom I had not seen since 1947, who lives in Perth, on his way to Skopje passed through the Kostur village Sveta Nedela, now Agia Kiriaki, and examined the church records in which he found my name and date of birth. According to those records I was born on

June 15, 1936. And so, according to my teacher I was born on July 17, 1937, and according to the church records, which are reliable, I was born on June 15, 1936. So now I have the opportunity to celebrate two birthdays. But as a family, I only celebrate the day my mother gave birth to me and PETROVDEN, which my relatives and friends congratulate me on.

Ditta returned to Skopje. The Greek authorities did not allow her to stay with her family for more than ten days. And when she asked the municipality to obtain a birth certificate for me recorded in the church books, they said that such a thing did not exist.

July 18, 1998, Saturday

We went for a walk in Vilonov. We visited the exhibition: "Old oil portraits" by various artists.

July 19, 1998, Sunday

I finished reading the novel "WAR AND PEACE" by Tolstoy.

July 20, 1998, Monday

Mrs. Komar Moravska from the Ministry of Culture and Arts called me. She said that Mitskievich's bust was expected to be ready by July 28th.

July 21, 1998, Tuesday

Today I started writing the invitations for the September 8th reception according to a pre-prepared list. I gave part of them to the correspondent-translator but she did not finish the job. I am now filling out 220 invitations by myself for Ambassadors, ministers, politicians, parliamentarians, journalists, writers and

Macedonians who are residents of Warsaw and other cities in Poland.

July 22, 1998, Wednesday

I received many phone calls from Polish people I didn't know. They asked for information about whether Macedonia was a peaceful country because they wanted to visit it, and had heard that nearby Kosovo was seething. I told them that Macedonia was peaceful and they could feel free there.

July 23, 1998, Thursday

We had floods in southwestern Poland. There are many flood victims. We had bomb explosions in Skopje and Kumanovo. It was the work of extremist Albanians.

At 18:30, I attended a cocktail party at the Egyptian Embassy. A had a long conversation with General Gongor regarding the situation in Kosovo.

July 24, 1998, Friday

I continued writing invitations for September 8. I met with Shimaniski at 12:00 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I briefed him regarding the situation in Macedonia. Before that I had a brief chance to meet and talk to the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Zoran Novakovich. We agreed to talk tomorrow and meet on Tuesday.

Finally, the Adam Mitskievich bust issue has been resolved. Together with Mrs. Moravska, I will travel to the town of Ilizha on Monday, which is about 150 kilometers away from Warsaw, where Mitskievich's bust is being cast in the foundry. From there we will transport it to Warsaw.

July 25, 1998, Saturday

I received a letter from the Director General of the Polish Archives. It said:

Very Honourable Mr. Ambassador!

I would like to politely inform you that the Polish archival service is interested in signing a cooperation agreement with the Macedonian archive.

We propose that in the text of the Agreement, which we should sign, a compromise formulation be used that would refer to your country, for example:

- **Agreement... between the Director General of the Polish State Archives and the Director of the Macedonian State Archives;**
- **Agreement between the Director(s) of the State Archives in Warsaw and in Skopje;**
- **Polish-Macedonian Agreement on Cooperation of the State Archives.**

Hoping for your understanding, please accept our deepest respect.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hab Daria Nalench

I called Shimaniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and conveyed the contents of the letter to him. Mr. Shimaniski abruptly said:

- The agreement will be signed with the "Archives of Macedonia" - and asked me to send the letter to him by fax.

July 26, 1998, Sunday

This morning, Rishard Biliski, our famous journalist and friend, called me. He said that he had been preparing the interview with President Kiro Gligorov all night. He would

publish it tomorrow. He sent me a copy by fax. I attached it to the manuscript in binder no. VII, p. 26.

At 11:00, Zhivko Apostolski called me on the phone. He was on duty at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. We had a long conversation about the situation in Macedonia and especially at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the end of the conversation, he said: - We are beginning to restore order at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I collected the invitations for the reception in a box and gave them to the driver to send them out by mail. But before that, I decided to check whether the addresses were written correctly. I found many mistakes in the addresses on a large number of envelopes written by the correspondent-translator.

July 27, 1998, Monday

At 09:00, together with Mrs. Moravska, we left for Ilizha to pick up the bust. Unfortunately, we couldn't fit it in my trunk. The manufacturer will bring it to Warsaw in his vehicle tomorrow at 13:00.

Around 19:00 dinner with the Ambassador of the Czech Republic, Karel Schindl at his residence. Present were also the Ambassadors of Croatia, Ukraine, the Chargé d'Affaires of Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania. The dinner was in honour of the Ambassadors of Croatia and Hungary. I was surprised to learn that Gabor, the Ambassador of Hungary, had been recalled. The dinner was modest but heartfelt. The act was important. Sincere words of friendship were exchanged. I arranged a meeting with Brnelich and Gabor for tomorrow and, if there is time, I will take them to lunch.

During and after dinner, in a more relaxed atmosphere, words of regret flowed because our company, which had existed for almost four years and turned into a club of sincere friendship, would soon be dissolved. Words of disappointment were also spoken. It was okay that Ambassadors were replaced. That was a common thing. But recalling one because they did not belong to a political party that won the elections? This was the case with the

Hungarian Ambassador, who in a certain way expressed exactly such inappropriate behaviour towards him. It was similar with the Bulgarian Ambassador. Word was he too would soon be recalled. The Ukrainian Ambassador jokingly said:

- I'm closest to home. I don't care if someone else comes up with something similar. I did my job as the first Ambassador of independent Ukraine. The Croatian colleague did the same and I envy the Macedonian Ambassador who has been dealing with all the problems and challenges alone for three and a half years, and for that everyone, everywhere praised him.

- If anyone, without insult or underestimation, said the Croatian Ambassador, Brnelich, worked hard and dedicatedly and always had time for all of us, it is our Macedonian friend, Ambassador Nakovski. I admire him. He did as much for his young country alone as some Ambassadors have done in their entire mandate or life. And let me also say that as far as I know, no other Ambassador has brought so many delegations and negotiated so many agreements. By God, colleague, we will remember you for your diligence, knowledge and kindness.

I did not expect such compliments but I am grateful for them. In a different way but with the same goal. I expressed my opinion about my fellow Ambassadors, saying that such an atmosphere and such companionship represented enormous support and help.

July 28, 1998, Tuesday

I sent congratulations to Macedonian statesmen on the occasion of August 2, the Ilinden holiday.

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts informed me that they had brought Mitskievich's bust to the Ministry.

The Romanian Honourary Consul in Gdansk came to the Embassy and brought with him an acquaintance of his, whom he recommended as the Honourary Consul of Macedonia in Gdansk and the surrounding area, where eight million people lived. I thanked them for the visit and promised them that I would inform

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this during the day. We parted with a promise to see each other soon.

At 11:00 the Croatian Ambassador arrived. He was interested in the situation in Kosovo and its impact on Macedonia.

In the evening hours TV Warsaw announced that the poet Zbigniev Herbert, a very warm friend of mine whose poems I had translated and published in Macedonia, had passed away.

They brought Mitskievich's bust to the Embassy. From here I will take it to the airport tomorrow.

July 29, 1998, Wednesday

This is my last day in Warsaw before going on vacation in Macedonia.

I sent a note to the Diplomatic Protocol Office informing them that I will be taking annual leave outside Poland from August 1 to 31. The secretary will take over my duties in my absence.

At 12:30 at a lunch hosted by the Ambassadors of Croatia and Hungary.

On the occasion of the August 2nd, Ilinden holiday, I received a congratulatory message from the former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, now President of the The People's Democratic Party, Roman Iagieliniski, with whom I had excellent relations.

I packed my luggage last night. I need to be at the airport tomorrow at 06:00, and fly at 07:00. I will take off for Vienna, from where, after a five-hour layover, I will take another plane to Skopje.

July 30, 1998, Thursday

When we arrived at the airport, my driver and I loaded Mitskievich's bust on a cart and took it to the airport warehouse.

After a short stay in the VIP lounge where I was sent off by representatives of the Diplomatic Protocol.

We started boarding the plane and took off for Vienna at 07:05. It was a peaceful flight with clear skies. We landed at 08:15 and spent five boring hours waiting to take off for Skopje. Finally we received the call to board the plane and left for Skopje.

I skipped the line at passport control. I then declared Mitskievich's bust at customs. The customs officer asked me who it was for. I told him that it was for the Struga Poetry Evenings. He said that some people were here asking if something like that had arrived. He then let me go. Outside of customs Ditta and Milenka were waiting for me. From there we went straight to Tanja and to our granddaughter Marija. This was one of my happiest days. Today I am with my whole family. It is a great joy.

July 31, 1998, Friday

At 09:00 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for a pre-scheduled meeting with Secretary General Dancho Markovski. I waited. Fifteen minutes passed. I waited. Twenty minutes passed. I stood up and said to him: - Dancho, you continue doing what you're doing. I will come back tomorrow or never… When you finish look for me.

The bureaucracy was never like this. Now, whoever has the need, the nerves and the time waits. I just wanted to see him.

August 1, 1998, Saturday

The whole family went for a walk. We had lunch at the monastery restaurant in Skopska Crna Gora.

August 2, 1998, Sunday

Today is Ilinden, a great Macedonian holiday. Macedonia celebrates this holiday but in a divided manner. More of a party celebration than a national one.

August 3, 1998, Monday

We spent the day with friends outside of Skopje.
We were with the children every evening.

August 4, 1998, Tuesday

At 12:00, a conversation with Risto Blazhevski. We discussed our achievements so far in cooperation with Poland. He praised my activities. We assessed that relations were developing successfully regardless of the issue related to the use of the constitutional name. Regarding the return official visit of the Polish President Aleksander Kvashnievski to Macedonia, I suggested that it be carried out in April or May 1999.

August 5, 1998, Wednesday

At 9:00 at the Writers' Association of Macedonia. We agreed that Mitskievich's bust in Struga should be placed on the shore of the lake west of the hotel and his name and surname should be written in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts.

August 6, 1998, Thursday

We sent Adam Mitskievich's bust to Struga by van.
They called me to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and handed me a document based on which, as an Ambassador, I could carry a weapon for my personal security.

August 7, 1998, Friday

I stayed home. I rested. My granddaughter Marija is next to me. We sing whatever. Tanja and Mile came.
I called President Kiro Gligorov's office. I reported my stay in Macedonia. After about ten minutes they called me and

told me that President Kiro Gligorov wanted to see me. They told me they would let me know when later.

August 8, 1998, Saturday

Ditta and I stayed home. Tanja, Mile and Marija went to lunch, and at 21:30 they took us out for ice cream.

Our children give us a lot of time and attention.

August 9, 1998, Sunday

In the morning we went to the cemetery to visit the graves of our parents to light a candle for them, so that they would have some light and to pray for their souls and wish them a peaceful rest. The graves have been neglected, overgrown with grass. We cleaned them with our bare hands. The cross on my mother's tombstone was broken. I tried to fix it. Some without faith, conscience, honour and feeling – defiled the graves, broke the slabs and crosses.

Peace and tranquility to your soul, mother. Your eight children send you their love, without whom you were left alone.

That's how it was written for you.

On another occasion, perhaps I will write more about the part that fate has prepared for us.

My parents were two opposite characters. My mother was synonymous with kindness, hard work and patience, my father – a strict man. The most difficult year of my childhood was 1947. Then, it seems to me, was the year during which I grew up. That year, my older brothers were gathered for military service and everything that was needed for work fell on the shoulders of my mother and I. I worked as hard as an adult. Not even ten years old I plowed and sowed and herded sheep, goats and cattle and everything else that was done in the countryside. Then came 1948, the year of the great separation, the year of desolation. That is remembered and the memory of it weighs heavily on me. My

mother loved me and always found time to look after me. And as I write this passage, I remember a verse from the great Russian poet, Mikhail Yurievich Lermontov:

The terrible fate of father and son
To live apart and to die in separation

Yes, that's right. Our fate was terrible. We were not happy in this world.

As I noted about this and much else related to this, if God gives me health and time, with anguish in my soul and pain in my heart I will try and write more about this...

August 10, 1998, Monday

At 08:00 we left for Struga where we with Tanja, Marija and Mile spent the entire time socializing all day until August 18, when some new activities began for me. I sent a telegram to the Diplomatic Protocol in Warsaw informing them of the current address where I was staying.

The pedestal for Adam Mitskievich's bust is almost ready. The concrete is drying under the hot sun. I hope that Mitskievich's greatness will endure.

We have had eight days of vacation and peaceful walks along the Drim waterfront.

(Photos in binder No. VII, p. 53)

During the remaining days of my vacation we were accompanied by Mr. Dobzhaniski, the Polish Minister of Defense and his wife, who was accompanied my wife. The program included meetings at the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia, talks with military personnel of the ARM, a one-week vacation at the ARM camp in St. Naum, a visit to the historical and cultural sights of Ohrid and Struga and a meeting and lunch with President Kiro Gligorov.

August 18, 1998, Tuesday

The telephone in the hotel room rang loudly. The hotel receptionist told me that I had received a telegram from Warsaw. It was labeled very urgent. I translated it into Macedonian. This is what it said:

" **For Ambassador Dr. Petre Nakovski. Urgent. Ministry of Culture and Arts, Department for International Cooperation. For Mr. Dr. Petre Nakovski, Ambassador of Macedonia to Poland. Dear Mr. Ambassador, We would like to inform you that due to her busy schedule, Minister Mrs. Nazarova was prevented from traveling to Macedonia on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Adam Mitskievich. State Undersecretary Zhurovski will travel to Macedonia and will be accompanied by the Chargé d'Affaires, Bilut."**

I immediately called Deputy Minister Borko Zafirovski and gave him the news.

August 19, 1998, Wednesday

We promoted the Panorama of Polish Contemporary Poetry.

(Photographs in the manuscript, BINDER VII, p.65)

August 20, 1998, Thursday

At the airport to welcome Zhurovski, the Polish Ministry of Culture representative. All further organization and care was left for Mrs. Kimova to look after.

August 21, 1998, Friday

After the official talks, at 13:00, the ceremonial unveiling of Mitskievich's bust took place. Speeches were delivered by

Zhurovski and Zafirovski. The Macedonian Minister of Culture did not come.

On the way back to the hotel, I was told there had been a call for me. My daughter Milenka had called and left a message to call back. I called her and she gave me sad news: Kole Popovski, our longtime friend whose family we had been friends with for a long time, had passed away.

Kole Popovski was from the Kostur village Galishta. He had fought in the ranks of ELAS, then marched in Bitola, fought against the Balisti in Kichevo and Gostivar regions, served in the Yugoslav People's Army as an artilleryman, then a guard and was a candidate to study at a military academy. His path took him to Gramos and he fought in the ranks of DAG for three years. Seriously wounded, he came out alive from the secret hospital in Poland and got a job as an educator in an orphanage. In 1950, after a short course, he became a Macedonian language teacher. He was my teacher in the fifth grade in Zgozhelets. He was a typical folk teacher. He taught me to read and write in the Cyrillic script. That's all he knew and that was a lot in those days. When I became a teacher, we worked in the same school in the town Politse. He taught the Macedonian children music, mostly Macedonian folk songs, and I taught them the Macedonian language, history and geography. Everything in the spirit of Macedonian-ness. Because of that, some people denounced us, labeling us Tito's agents. Yes, we were agents who agitated for Macedonia but not for Tito.

Kole, who dedicated his youth and mature years to Macedonia, had left us. He joined the Macedonian fighters on the other side.

We sent a telegram of condolence and a promise that we deeply shared their pain to our dear friend, and his wife, Tina, from the Kostur village Sheshtevo, who was a teacher her entire working life and was awarded Polish honours for her merit in raising children, and before that, a caregiver for a group of children taken away in 1948, and to their two sons Grigori and Aleko**.**

Kole and his comrades did not need a monument. What the deserving ones needed was only a modest word from people for remembrance. Someone might destroy the monument, desecrate it, defile it, without thinking that they were also defacing their own honour. But a good word would remain forever.

August 22, 1998, Saturday

After a short visit to Ohrid, we attended a reception held by President Kiro Gligorov for the participants and guests of the Struga Poetry Evenings. During my greeting with the President, we agreed to meet during the week.

In the evening at 22:00, a portrait of the Chinese poet Lu, this year's winner of the Golden Wreath, was put on display at St. Sophia.

August 23, 1998, Sunday

In St. Naum we had a long conversation with Mayor Rade Kitanovski regarding the possibilities of establishing contacts with Poland. In that sense, we agreed on some forms of cooperation in the field of culture, and above all in the field of tourism. I promised him that I had good contacts and connections in Warsaw in the field of culture and that during September he could expect an exchange between our cultural and artistic societies, and as far as tourism was concerned I would make sure to talk to tourist companies, but for that I would also need appropriate promotional material for Ohrid's tourist offers. He promised me that he would send me such material by mail during the week.

We arrived in Skopje at 19:00.

August 24, 1998, Monday

I took a day of rest after three tense days in Struga.

Around 10:00 I received a call from the Office of President Kiro Gligorov and scheduled a meeting for tomorrow at 15:00.

August 25, 1998, Tuesday

I went to the Customs Administration where the manager and I talked about the upcoming signing of an agreement between the customs administrations of Macedonia and Poland.

The President's Office announced that the meeting scheduled for 15:00 was postponed to 16:00. Then they informed me again that the scheduled meeting was postponed and would now be held at 18:00.

At 18:15 I entered the office. The President greeted me warmly, apologized for the delays which were caused due to other very important meetings. During the 45-minute conversation, I brought him up to date regarding the internal situation in Poland, the current efforts in the field of its foreign policy and for entry into NATO and the European Union, as well as the current relations with its neighbours, the attitude towards the Russian Federation, which was taking on increasingly negative forms and the very fruitful bilateral cooperation with Germany. I then moved on to the Macedonian-Polish bilateral relations, emphasizing that enviable results had been achieved so far, which had already been confirmed by several signed agreements, and that a phase of signing other agreements was ahead, which were under preparation. I emphasized that Poland was interested in strengthening relations and cooperation with Macedonia but the only obstacle was the signatures, if we persistently strove to use the constitutional name. I suggested that we continue to expand and strengthen bilateral relations in all areas and not put the name issue at the forefront. I said that I was convinced that this issue would also be resolved in time after Poland joins NATO and the European Union. This position was confirmed to me in one of the conversations with President Kvashnievski, who said that Poland wanted to expand its influence in the Region and Central Europe

through Macedonia, which would strengthen its position in NATO and, above all, in the European Union. I believed that we should use such a position appropriately. In one of the conversations, President Kvashnievski emphasized that after Poland achieved the set national goals, it would then make the decision to officially visit Macedonia (he did not use the constitutional name, but only Macedonia) and then, as he officially emphasized, Poland would recognize Macedonia with its official name.

I continued by saying:

- Mr. President, I personally believe that we should be patient, but also persistent and to some extent aggressive. In that sense, I believe that it is necessary not only to be patient, but also to be well prepared through the exchange of delegations, visits, meetings, talks, signing agreements, expanding contacts between competent institutions, and even private entities to strengthen bilateral relations. It is very important, in my opinion, to have and strengthen trust with Poland. In my mission, I constantly insist on this and find understanding and support. Unfortunately, in the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the views are different, often dependent on the frequent change of ministers and personal ambitions. I firmly support the position that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia must prepare a cooperation strategy separately for each country.

The President listened to me carefully, took notes and when I finished, he looked at me for a long time and then said:

- Petre, you seem very tired, even weakened compared to our last meeting. I know that it is difficult for you to work alone. You have achieved a lot, you have justified my trust. I did not make a mistake in sending you. I consider you one of our best and most successful Ambassadors. Unfortunately, we have those who have achieved nothing so far but have promised a lot, and some have even forgotten about their role and obligation. You have learned a lot and done a lot. Continue as you have done so far.

I told him that I was very encouraged by this but I believed that the Embassy in Warsaw needed to be strengthened

in terms of staff, emphasizing that I had suggested the same thing to the authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I asked them to send capable career diplomats, and some, even beginners, who were eager to work and motivated to build their diplomatic careers. The President slowly stood up, shook my hand strongly, patted me on the shoulder, wishing me good health and new vision.

I must admit that the meeting encouraged me a lot.

August 26, 1998, Wednesday

I was home all day today. I turned off my phone. I wanted to take a breather, rest, take a nap, get some sleep.

August 27, 1998, Thursday

I went to the Writers' Club. I met with several writers, both famous and novices. They all asked me to make sure that collections of their poetry were published in Poland, just as the collections of Ante Popovski and Petre Bakevski were published. I didn't promise them anything.

August 28, 1998, Friday

Great Mother of God. Today Macedonia celebrated the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Today at 18:00 we went to the Cathedral of St. Clement of Ohrid to baptize our granddaughter Marija. Afterwards we had a joint dinner.

August 29, 1998, Saturday

Friends and acquaintances came to see us. We wanted to see them before tomorrow's departure for Warsaw.

August 30, 1998, Sunday

We had lunch with our children. After lunch we left for the airport. Milenka was coming with us to Warsaw. As was usual, this time too we were sad to leave our homeland.

We took off for Vienna at 17:25.

We said goodbye Skopje...

Our luggage didn't arrive in Warsaw. After checking, they told us it was left in Vienna. They would bring it tomorrow.

August 31, 1998, Monday

This morning I sent a note to the Diplomatic Protocol informing them that the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia had returned to Warsaw and had assumed his relevant duties.

All day I was checking the mail.

At 18:00 at a cocktail at the Turkish Embassy organized on the occasion of the Day of the Turkish Armed Forces. I had meetings with the current Ambassadors and was introduced to new Ambassadors. The most common topic of discussion was Kosovo and its effect on Macedonia and the region.

The director of the Polish State Archives complained to me that Macedonian Customs had not let her pass through the line even though she had a diplomatic passport. She said that she was disappointed because they kept her at the border a little longer. I told her that I was sorry and that Macedonia is in a rather tense situation like the one in Kosovo, it was understandable and that there was increased control regardless of the type of passport.

I assumed the director had said something to the Macedonian Customs people...

September 1, 1998, Tuesday

At 09:00 I called the office of the Minister of Defense to arrange a meeting to deliver the invitation and the program for the meeting of the Defense Ministers of NATO members of southeast

Europe: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and members of the Partnership for Peace Program. The Minister was not there. I was told they would let the Minister know I called.

At 11:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature for a send off of the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Zoran Novakovich. He was returning to Belgrade to the position as First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At 12:30 for a bus promotion at a factory outside Warsaw. FAS "11 October" was participating with its own bus.

Today I was supposed to leave for Krakov where a large International Conference of Slavicists and Linguists was being held. I learned about this conference in Struga from Prof. Milan Giurchinov. At the time I asked him to submit a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requesting that our Embassy be involved in this conference. I asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for information about the conference and instructions on the Embassy's involvement. No one knew anything about such a conference being held in Krakov. What should I do?

September 2, 1998, Wednesday

I sorted through my mail and responded to requests.

At 12:00 at a reception at the Slovakian Embassy on the occasion of their national holiday. I met with several Ambassadors and Polish politicians, ministers, parliamentarians, journalists. I had a long conversation with Brigadier General K.... regarding the cooperation of the Defense Ministries.

September 3, 1998, Thursday

I attended a number of cocktails (receptions): 17:00 at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 18:00 at the Embassy of Chile, 18:30 at the Embassy of South Korea, 19:30 at a working-informative dinner for Ambassadors of European

countries hosted by the State Secretary, Prof. Mihal Kulesha on the occasion of the administrative reforms in Poland.

September 4, 1998, Friday

At 10:00 I met with Melon, owner of the company authorized to organize receptions and cocktails at the request of the DCM, who arrived at the Embassy. We made arrangements for the final preparations for the reception that I would organize on September 8th on the occasion of the Macedonian national holiday, the Republic of Macedonia's Independence Day. The number of guests we invited was about 300.

At 14:00 I signed the book of condolences on the occasion of the tragic death of the Ambassador of Mongolia.

At 14:30 at the Ministry of Defense. I gave the Chief of Staff an invitation to participate in the NATO meeting to be held in Skopje on September 26, 1998.

September 5, 1998, Saturday

It was a beautiful sunny day. I can already smell the scent of autumn. After a short walk, I organized my materials and leafed through the daily press.

September 6, 1998, Sunday

At 09:20 at the airport, the military section, where at 09:50 the farewell ceremony for the remains of the Mongolian Ambassador would take place. The entire Diplomatic Corps was present.

September 7, 1998, Monday

At 11:15 in the courtyard of the Presidential Palace, attending a reception for the President of Austria.

Preparations for tomorrow's reception were being made with intensity, nervousness, anxiety and excitement. In the evening on the occasion of Independence Day, I sent my congratulations to President Kiro Gligorov, Tito Petkovski, Branko Crvenkovski and Blagoi Handzhiski.

September 8, 1998, Tuesday

Today is the Republic of Macedonia's Independence Day.

We checked with Melon once again. Everything was in order. There was a large, huge Macedonian flag and smaller flags mounted above the front entrance of the palace where the reception will take place. Everything was in the colours of the Macedonian flag.

At 13:00 attended the send off of the Austrian President.

At 17:15 my wife and I, in formal attire, were already standing in the hall of the KRULIKARNIA PALACE. A few minutes later the first guests began to arrive. Ambassadors, politicians, members of the Sejm, writers, journalists, friends, Macedonians. Congratulations, handshakes, hugs, wishes. In total we welcomed 280 guests out of the three hundred that were invited.

The reception ended at 20:00. This was the first reception of the first Macedonian Embassy, hosted by the first Macedonian Ambassador in Warsaw. The reception was an excellent act and a way to affirm our country, both among Poles from various backgrounds and services, and among the Diplomatic Corps accredited in Warsaw.

The entire course of the reception was recorded on a videotape that is in my archival collection.

September 9, 1998, Wednesday

I rested after yesterday's event. At noon I received a huge surprise. A representative from the hotel "MARIOTT" brought a large cake 50x40 cm made to look like the Macedonian flag with

the inscription: The MARIOTT would like to congratulate the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia on its Independence Day. (Photos in the manuscript). I immediately faxed a thank you note to the hotel management.

September 10, 1998, Thursday

At 12:00 at the Apostolic Nunciature for a send off of the Ambassador of Great Britain.

September 11, 1998, Friday

I paid the company that organized the reception.

September 12, 1998, Saturday

The internet was down. I couldn't access the Macedonian media.

September 13, 1998, Sunday

At 23:30 Polish television showed the Macedonian film "Before the Rain".

September 14, 1998, Monday

The following invitation arrived from the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, which I translated into Macedonian.

(The original can be found in the manuscript, BINDER VII, p. 87.)

Orthodox Metropolitan Warsaw 14.9.1998
Warsaw and all of Poland
His Excellency
Mr. Petre Nakovski

Ambassador of Macedonia
Warsaw
Your Excellency,

From October 10 to 16 this year, His Holiness Bartholomew, Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch, will be visiting our country.

On October 11 at 09:30, His Holiness will celebrate a solemn Divine Liturgy at the Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Magdalena in Warsaw, at Al. Solidarno 52.

I cordially invite Your Excellency to the Holy Liturgy, and after its conclusion to a joint lunch at the hotel on Parkova Street at 14:00.

With expressions of respect,
-Sava
Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and of all Poland

On the same day, an invitation arrived from the President of Poland, Mr. Aleksander Kvashnievski, which I translated into Macedonian:

"The President of the Republic of Poland, Aleksander Kvashnievski, and his wife invite Mr. Petre Nakovski to a meeting on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the discovery of polonium and radon, which will be held on Thursday, September 17, 1998.
Presidential Palace
Krakovske Przemysłowieść 48/50 At 19:00."

September 15, 1998, Tuesday

At 15:00 I had a conversation with M. Shimaniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I handed him a copy of the Selection of Poetry by Adam Mitskievich translated into Macedonian, as well as a copy of the letter of thanks from President Kiro Gligorov to President A. Kvashnievski. Once again, I raised the issue of the agreements whose texts were

awaiting signature, and especially the Agreement on Inter-Archival Cooperation.

He promised to talk to the authorities. But I don't think he will achieve anything because, from what I learned, he was preparing to leave for Liubliana to take up the position as Poland's Ambassador

September 16, 1998, Wednesday

The weather was cold and rainy. At 08:45 we sent off the President of Portugal.

In the evening I attended a cocktail at the Mexican Embassy, which was held under a large tent.

September 17, 1998, Thursday

At 09:15 I attended the opening of the International Conference dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the discovery of polonium and radon. I then attended a reception hosted by President A. Kvashnievski.

Only one scientist from Macedonia was present, whose institution did not report his presence to the Embassy.

September 18, 1998, Friday

I received a phone call from Krakov from Kafka, former Polish language lecturer at UKIM. He asked me to attend a lecture given by Stoian Kiselinovski, who was an amateur in linguistics. He was a historian by profession. Due to prior commitments in Warsaw, I did not go.

September 19, 1998, Saturday.

I spent the day reading the daily press and resting.

September 20, 1998, Sunday

We went for a walk in Lazhenki Park.

September 21, 1998, Monday

At 10:00 I had a conversation with Mrs. Danuta Hibner, head of the presidential office. I presented her and President A. Kvashnievski with a copy of the bilingual edition of poetry by A. Mitskievich. During our conversation, I informed her about the situation in Macedonia and its surroundings. We devoted most of the conversation to Macedonian-Polish bilateral relations, which were constantly on the rise. I expressed gratitude to the Polish state institutions that received me with sincere sympathy and their readiness for meetings in which the desire for good relations between Poland and Macedonia was always expressed.

At the end of the meeting, Mrs. Hibner promised that within the framework of her responsibilities, she would strive to ensure that relations and cooperation between our two countries would continue to strengthen.

September 22, 1998, Tuesday

My meeting with Rataiski, Deputy Minister of Culture and Arts, was postponed and moved to September 24 at 11:00.

September 23, 1998, Wednesday

The lunch with Deputy Director M. Shimaniski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was more of an official nature, but the situation in Kosovo and Albania and the possibilities for their interference in Macedonia inevitably came up. I emphasized that the situation in Macedonia was stable and that the election campaign was currently underway. We arranged another meeting before his departure to Liubliana.

Thursday, September 24, 1998

I met with Rataiski, Deputy Minister of Culture and Arts at 11:00. I had a long conversation about our current cooperation in the field of culture, the translated and published books by Polish authors, the cooperation between publishers and editorial boards of literary magazines, theaters and operas and other forms of cultural cooperation. He promised me that cooperation in the field of culture would continue to develop smoothly and in this regard an appropriate interstate agreement would be signed. I reminded him that we were already working with experts from the Ministry on the preparation of the Agreement.

We agreed to meet more often.

September 25, 1998, Friday

I met with Zdzhislav Rapatski, Director of International Relations in the Office of President Kvashnievski, at 11:00. I presented him with a copy of the bilingual edition of a collection of poetry by A. Mitskievich. Regarding his question about the situation in Macedonia, I emphasized that Macedonia was the only politically, militarily and economically stable country in the region. We also discussed President Kvashnievski's upcoming official visit to Macedonia, during which I expressed my hope that an agreement on friendship and cooperation between the two countries would be signed using the constitutional name. He said that this was also his wish.

At 12:00 I attended a meeting at the headquarters of the party Union of Democratic Forces, to which the Diplomatic Corps was invited. The purpose of the meeting was to introduce activities related to the local elections. I had the opportunity to meet with several Ambassadors.

September 26, 1998, Saturday

I was preparing the financial report for August all day.

September 27, 1998, Sunday

We went for a walk in the park in Vilanuv.

September 28, 1998, Monday

I attended a concert by Goran Bregovich in the evening. It was a wonderful concert interwoven with the folklore of the entire Balkans. Many recognizable Macedonian melodies and songs were sung. The hall was full. The Polish audience felt the Balkan melody and greeted it with long applause.

Tomorrow, Milenka would return to Skopje via Vienna.

September 29, 1998, Tuesday

At 11:00 I was at the Ministry of Culture. I met with Deputy Minister Zhurovski. I expressed my condolences on the death of his father and then we talked about the signing of the Agreement on Archival Cooperation and other forms of cultural cooperation. He expressed satisfaction with his stay in Struga and expressed gratitude for the installation of A. Mitskievich's bust, emphasizing that all the credit belonged to me.

September 30, 1998, Wednesday

Stevo Popovski came to the Embassy. He was interested in whether a Macedonian honourary consulate would be opened in Poland and that he was interested. He would personally open it in Gdansk. I told him that such things were not done so easily and it would be good to inquire somewhere else. He left dissatisfied. After he left, Mito Aleksovski, a resident of Gdansk, married to a Polish woman and father of two boys, originally from the Kostur village Sheshtevo, called me by phone. Mito was a child refugee who landed in Poland at the end of October 1948, with a large group of Macedonian children from the Kostur, Lerin and Voden regions. Mito was cared for, raised and educated in Poland. He

completed university with an engineering degree thanks to Poland. He was now hated by Polish institutions and the media because of the frequent insulting letters he sent them. Now, he said he would open an honourary consulate in Gdansk and be an honourary consul, and that he had the support of Macedonian Prime Minister Liupco Georgievski for this because he was a member of the VMRO overseas bureau based in Berlin, and that honourary consuls in Poland could only be patriots like him.

I wasn't surprised by what he said. I congratulated him on his desire and advised him to inquire about how honourary consuls were appointed.

I didn't know him personally but I had all the correspondence, a copy of which I received from Polish authorities.

At 14:20 Zhurovski called me. He said that regarding our conversation yesterday, he had already spoken to the authorities in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He said that they told him that there was a willingness to sign the Agreement on Cooperation between the Polish Archives and the "Archives of Macedonia", which was what I was trying to do. He then asked me to be patient because a Greek delegation would be visiting Warsaw these days.

I thanked him for the information.

October 1, 1998, Thursday

At 14:00 I attended the opening of the student academic year. It was very solemn. The professors were dressed in medieval clothes, in the spirit of a centuries-old tradition.

At 15:00 I was at the Ministry of Education having discussions regarding scholarships. I expected advice from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia but only received silence. I was not pleased that the Polish interlocutors had introduced me in detail to the content of the Agreement. We agreed that a group of experts would prepare a

new text and that it would be signed during the official visit of the Minister of Education, Dr. Sofia Todorova.

At 19:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Nigeria, and at 20:30 I went to the airport to welcome Dimitrie Dimishkovski, President of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Macedonia, and Josif Talevski, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Macedonia.

October 2, 1998, Friday

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail hosted by the German Ambassador in the hall of the Warsaw Polytechnic. It was unprecedented splendor. The reception was sponsored by large German and Polish companies. Over a thousand guests were present. I had conversations with several Ambassadors. I was particularly impressed by the Ukrainian Ambassador, who told me that there was a great revolt in Russia and Ukraine over NATO's intention to bomb Serbia. He said that in the spirit of Slavic solidarity, a large number of volunteers were signing up and that this would also attract large flows of weapons to Serbia from Ukraine and Russia, and that NATO's threats were dangerous, and a possible bombing could have much greater consequences, and no one could claim that the bombing would be limited in terms of territory and time.

October 3, 1998, Saturday

After meeting and talking with their Polish counterparts, judges Dimishkovski and Talevski called and asked to see me. I told them that I would be at their hotel at 15:30. Later the judges visited the Embassy in Warsaw. The judges stayed at the Embassy until 19:00. We had a pleasant, long and intelligent conversation. In addition to the daily issues, we also discussed official current issues in the field of the judiciary and the need to establish cooperation with the Polish judiciary and maintain more frequent mutual contacts. They emphasized that the talks with the

Polish colleagues were successful and they would return home very satisfied. At the end of their stay, they praised the arrangement of the Embassy and expressed wishes for further successes in cooperation with Poland.

October 4, 1998, Sunday

At 11:00 I sent Dimishkovski and Talevski to the airport.

October 5, 1998, Monday

Avramovski from the Ministry of Urban Planning called me. He said that since he did not know how to send materials by fax, he would send the necessary materials by mail and asked me to deliver them to the appropriate Polish Ministry. I promised him that I would personally take them.

I had a telephone conversation with Risto Blazhevski. He wanted to know if the Embassy in Warsaw could cover the Baltic States. I told him that it could but that was not for me to decide, but for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I know, he said, but I just wanted to know.

At noon the courier from the Bulgarian Embassy brought me an envelope addressed to FYROM. I refused it. I told him to remind the Ambassador to call my country by the name Bulgaria recognized it.

I read on the internet that the election campaign in Macedonia was heating up. Vasil Tupurkovski was being attacked the most.

October 6, 1998, Tuesday

At 10:00 I received a call from the Polish Ministry of Ecology. The person on the other side said that the Polish side accepted the initiative for a visit by a Macedonian team from the relevant Ministry. The delegation would be led by a certain Tome Trombev and on that occasion a cooperation agreement would be

signed. However, the Polish Ministry had not been officially informed of the announced intention. He emphasized that first discussions should be held at the expert level, and then an appropriate text of the Agreement should be prepared, and its signing would follow only in 1999.

It was not convenient for me to say that the Embassy had not been informed of such an undertaking at all, so I said that the Polish position was acceptable.

The mess was made worse by L. Avramovski who, without consulting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Embassy in Warsaw, on his own initiative began talks with a group of Poles working in Skopje, who, as I learned later, promised him mediation. Thus, the whole thing turned out to be fruitless. But they found an excuse. They blamed me, the Ambassador, for not being sufficiently engaged in the matter and asked for my resignation for their own omissions.

October 7, 1998, Wednesday

At 16:30 a group of Macedonians arrived at the Embassy, who were participating in some seminar in Warsaw that I had not been informed about. They talked a lot about their participation and stayed until 18:00.

October 8, 1998, Thursday

Sefer Musli, director of the Albanian editorial office, called from MRTV. He said that he would come to Krakov on October 14th, where an International Film Festival would be held, at which MRTV would present its film. He asked me to attend. I told him that the invitation was a great pleasure for me but I would only attend the screening if my obligations in Warsaw allowed it. Unfortunately, I did not go to Krakov but I did congratulate him by fax, apologizing for my absence.

At 14:30 Meshkov called me, said he was an MP and was asking for my opinion on Sofia Ashikovska, who was very

interested in working at the Embassy in Warsaw, emphasizing that her husband was a very good friend of his. I told him that I was interested in knowledgeable and able people, not in people with connections; especially in those with poor work ethics.

October 9, 1998, Friday

Ankitsa Krstevska called from the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and said that Ilinka Mitreva would arrive in Warsaw on October 23, to participate in the meeting of the chairmen of the Parliamentary committees on foreign affairs and asked me to book a hotel. Half an hour later I called her and told her that a room had been reserved at the FORUM Hotel, in the center of Warsaw.

At 12:00 I signed the book of condolences at the Uruguayan Embassy. The president had died.

October 10, 1998, Saturday

Today is Ditta's birthday. Congratulations arrived from our children. We celebrated the day at the "FLIK" restaurant, in the old part of Warsaw.

October 11, 1998, Sunday

A Church Service was held in the Orthodox Church in Prague (part of Warsaw) at 09:40, on the occasion of the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew's visit to Poland. The Liturgy, with Patriarch Bartholomew's services, along with the ones given by Metropolitan Sava, from the Polish Orthodox Church, lasted until 12:00. After that there were speeches and church awards were presented.

The Ambassador of Ukraine asked me:

- Don't you sense any anti-Russian accents in Bartholomew's speech?

"There's something to that," I said.

The Ambassadors of: Ukraine, Macedonia, Belarus, FR Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova and Greece were invited to the liturgy. The Ambassador of Turkey also attended the luncheon while Ambassador of the Russian Federation was not present at either the service or the lunch.

The luncheon was held at 14:00, at the "PARKOVA" hotel.

Metropolitan Sava introduced me as follows:

"His Holiness, the Ambassador of Macedonia."

His Holiness Bartholomew looked me up and down, adjusted his glasses and silently extended his hand in greeting.

I spoke to him in Greek and said: Your Holiness, it is my honour...

With a tone of astonishment, he smiled and asked:

You speak Greek? And then said: I'm glad. For the church, son, everyone is God's child.

The Ambassadors watched the meeting with curiosity.

The lunch was modest and there were many speeches accompanied by singing "*For Many Years".* Metropolitan Sava mingled among the Ambassadors and asked:

Who among the Ambassadors will speak?

The Romanian Ambassador suggested that I do it but I did not accept, bearing in mind that our church was not yet recognized, so it could be perceived as a provocation by Bartholomew. I suggested that the Romanian Ambassador speak and he asked me:

What should I say, Petre?

Just say what the Patriarch said and you will receive a medal, I replied.

I have a whole bag of those medals, he said.

And so the Romanian Ambassador spoke about the love of God, then for peace, for understanding between religions and everything in that style. When he came back I said to him:

Well, you spoke better than Bartholomew. I didn't know you were such a good speaker. You just forgot to mention the Patriarch...

October 12, 1998, Monday

The radio reported that today the NATO Council would meet and decide whether to attack Yugoslavia. Last night Holbrooke and Miloshevich remained in their positions. Polish Prime Minister Buzek stated that Poland would participate in the attack against Yugoslavia in all forms.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia sent me the interview with President Kiro Gligorov by fax. (*See attachment, BINDER VII, p. 110.*)

I went to a reception at the Embassy of Spain. Very modest, but the Embassy was entirely covered in white marble.

October 13, 1998, Tuesday

At 10:45 I went to welcome the President of Slovenia, Milan Kuchan, who arrived today on a two-day official visit to Poland.

The Polish media interviewed its listeners. There was harsh reaction from its listeners regarding Poland's intention to participate in the attack on Yugoslavia. Most of the listeners answered with a sharp NO! They were against Poland participating in the attack on Yugoslavia!

October 14, 1998, Wednesday

At 08:45 Milovan, President of the Writers' Association of Macedonia, called me. He asked if I had contacted the Polish Writers' Association, as a cooperation agreement was planned. I told him that on October 16 this year at 12:00, I had a meeting scheduled with the President of the Association. After the meeting I would send out information.

Ankitsa Krstevska from the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia called. She asked if a hotel had been reserved for Ilinka Mitreva and asked that another room be reserved for her. I

promised her that I would make the reservation. She said that this was her first time staying in Warsaw and that she would like to visit some sights and then go to a duty-free shop and that I should accompany her. I said:

- Madam, I am an Ambassador in Warsaw, not a tour guide.

I don't know if she understood me.

Risto Blazhevski sent me a telegram with the following content:

"Attached for your information and consideration, we are submitting a letter from Mr. Miechislav Ostoiski, Director of the Department for International Cooperation at the Ministry of the Environment, Natural Resources and Forests, submitted to the Fund for Protection and Improvement

As far as I remember, I had sent a telegram about the aforementioned issue a month ago, indicating the procedure for establishing cooperation.

So I wonder: who should introduce whom?

In this regard, Liupcho Avramovski, Director of the Environmental Protection Fund at the Ministry of Urbanism, Construction and Environmental Protection, who was eager for cooperation, was not satisfied with my explanation of how cooperation was established, so without consulting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and the Embassy, he entered into correspondence with Miechislav Ostoiski, Director of the International Cooperation Department, who wrote him a letter and sent a copy to the Embassy.

Why am I writing this note? To say that in Macedonia there is no coordinated work between Ministries and everyone works according to their own will.

As a reminder, I would like to emphasize that the time for discussions, negotiations, preparing texts of agreements and their signing takes a year, two, and in some cases even more, which requires extensive knowledge of the issues at hand, appropriate

experience, patience, negotiating skills and appropriate diplomatic culture.

Thursday, October 15, 1998

At 20:00 a reception on the occasion of the Third International Conference on Human Rights. Discussion with several individuals regarding this issue, with a special emphasis on the problem of the rights of Macedonians in neighbouring countries.

October 16, 1998, Friday

I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding Avramovski's concern of having to travel to Warsaw to establish cooperation with the appropriate institution. In response, I advised them to carefully study the letter from Miechislav Ostoiski, Director of the Department for International Cooperation, dated October 7, 1998.

October 17, 1998, Saturday

It was a beautiful day, warm, sunny, pleasant autumn weather, the so-called babie lato (in our country they call it gypsy summer, in Canada they call it Indian summer), of which today we are taking advantage to go for a long walk.

October 18, 1998, Sunday

Today Macedonia has Parliamentary elections. No information or instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. Silence. It's Sunday.

October 19, 1998, Monday

Regarding the Parliamentary elections, no information has been released from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia today. Polish journalists and diplomats called the Embassy requesting information about the results of the Parliamentary elections in Macedonia. The phones at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia are silent.

October 20, 1998, Tuesday

Even today I have no information on the results of the Parliamentary elections.

At 11:00, on a protocol visit, I received Alexander Iordanov, the new Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria in Warsaw. He told me that before being appointed Ambassador, he was a professor at the University of Varna, then President of the Bulgarian National Assembly, and that he had signed Bulgaria's recognition of Macedonia as a state. I praised him for that and asked him if with that signature he had recognized the Macedonian nation, history, language and culture, to which he said that this would still be a matter of negotiations and agreements, as it befits good neighbourly relations. To this I told him that his tailor's measuring tape with which he wanted to measure and shape the future of Macedonia was wrong. Iordanov drank every drop of his whiskey but the coffee remained unfinished. It seemed to him that it was a bit bitter.

At 19:00 I went to the Grand National Theatre, to attend a gala concert in honour of the 20th anniversary of Karol Voitila's election as Pope Paul II. The invitations were printed on special paper and in the same style, and entrance tickets were carefully checked by security personnel. It looked like the entire Polish cream and Diplomatic Corps was there. Instead of playing music, people recited poems by Voitila and parts of his speeches. During the intermission, a large number of those present left the theatre. We endured and stayed until the end. (The invitation and tickets can be found in the manuscript, BINDER VII, p. 125.)

October 21, 1998, Wednesday

Ankitsa Krstevska (from the Parliament) called me and said that she and Ilinka Mitreva would not be coming to Warsaw for the October 24 Conference. Reason: the results of the Parliamentary elections and preparations for the second round. Risto Blazhevski confirmed the same to me over the phone.

I called the Sejm and justified the absence of the delegation from Macedonia and canceled the room reservations at the hotel.

Henrik J. Sokaliski (the one who led UNPREDEP in Macedonia) called me and asked me to receive him on October 23 (Friday) at 10:00. He was always welcome to come and see me. He was an experienced diplomat and a sincere friend of Macedonia.

At 12:00 the general director of the company "HERBAPOL" called from Liubliana, a company that was interested in buying medicinal herbs from Macedonia. In the former Yugoslavia, the company was a major buyer. He asked me to help him establish contact with the Macedonian company. I promised him that I would help him. I did not receive any response from Skopje.

October 22, 1998, Thursday

At 18:30 I attended a reception at the Apostolic Nunciature on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Voitila's election as Pope. I had a long conversation with the Greek Ambassador. He asked me to talk to the Macedonian delegation which was to participate in the Human Rights Conference that was to begin on October 26 in Warsaw, not to create unnecessary situations. I asked him if he was referring to the non-governmental groups. He said yes, then I told him that there would be no non-governmental groups from the Republic of Macedonia. And if there are non-governmental groups from Greece and they raise the issue of their human rights in Greece,

that is your problem. They are your citizens and judge for yourself whether they are right or not.

October 23, 1998, Friday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia contacted me and asked me to lead the delegation from the Republic of Macedonia to the Human Rights Conference. They did not send any instructions.

At 10:00, at his request, I received Henrik J. Sokaliski. During our conversation he informed me that his mission in Skopje had ended, about which he was proud and very satisfied, because he had also made a modest contribution to preserving peace and stability in the Republic of Macedonia. He emphasized that he was still strongly impressed by the realization that a small country such as Macedonia, in a very bad and difficult environment, had found its place in the Region, had preserved its composure and stability, and had thus gained recognition and friends not only in Europe, but also in the world, and was increasingly appreciated as a serious and very important factor, especially in southeast Europe.

I expressed my great gratitude to him for his role in leading UNPREDEP and preventive diplomacy and his dedication to Macedonia, and that Macedonia would now and in the future highly value his friendship.

In a warm and very friendly atmosphere, the conversation lasted almost two hours, during which Mr. Sokaliski emphasized that he was ready to make his knowledge, experience and sympathy available to the Macedonian Embassy at any time.

As I was leaving, I told him that I viewed him as a sincere friend and that the doors of the Embassy would always be open to him, even without prior notice. We agreed to go for a weekend visit with our wives next week.

Until the end of his life, we maintained friendly contacts, often corresponding via the Internet or talking on the phone. Twenty-two years after this and many other meetings, I lost one

of my best, warmest and most valued friends. Such people are rare in the world.

October 24, 1998, Saturday

At 08:30 I attended the European Dialogue Conference, held in the Polish Senate hall. There was no official delegate from Macedonia. I had taken that role. Ilinka Mitreva was supposed to come but she didn't.

October 25, 1998, Sunday

Paskal Kamburovski called me and told me that there was no winner in the first round of the Parliamentary elections. According to him, the VMRO-Democratic Alternative coalition would win in the second round.

Today is a beautiful and pleasant autumn day. Golden leaves are falling from the trees.

October 26, 1998, Monday

Today the annual Human Rights Conference begins. I finally received instructions to lead the two-member delegation from Macedonia. Another heavy stone around my neck.

I met Ambassador Troni in the lobby during the break. We went to the Embassy for coffee. We had the usual conversation about his impressions of his stay in Skopje.

I did not attend the reception at the Austrian Embassy at 18:00 due to health reasons. I sent a congratulatory note.

October 27, 1998, Tuesday

I attended the welcoming of the President of Moldova in the courtyard of the Presidential Palace.

I got a call from Bitola and was told that three of their employees who came to Poland to buy tractors had their E -2000

Mercedes with everything inside stolen. They asked me for help. I called the Warsaw police and then asked the people from Bitola to fax me a certificate of citizenship so that I could issue them travel documents to return to Macedonia. I expect them to come to the Embassy tomorrow.

October 28, 1998, Wednesday

The people from Bitola arrived at the Embassy at 07:45. They were distressed and depressed. During our conversation it turned out that they were a father and son, owners of the company "SINPEX". While I was preparing their travel documents (passports) my wife prepared breakfast for them, and I sent the secretary to the airline to buy tickets for the Warsaw-Sofia route on my account. They arrived safely in Bitola from where they sent me the following telegram:

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
02-738 Warsaw
POLAND
His Excellency Mr. Ambassador Petre Nakovski
We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to you.
To you and your staff for your selfless help and patience in the moment when we were afraid and powerless before the inconveniences occurred.
We hope we will meet again and have the opportunity to repay you for everything you have done for us.
Huge thanks and best wishes
Signature SINPEX-BITOLA, registered office

October 29, 1998, Thursday

At 13:00 the deputy director of the company "HERBAPOL" came to the Embassy and asked if the company from which they bought medicinal herbs still existed. I told him

that I would ask and let him know. We agreed to meet next week. In this regard, I sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with the address of the Polish company.

October 30, 1998, Friday

I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia containing the materials "STRATEGY FOR JOINING NATO AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN MACEDONIA", with a request to submit them to the competent ministry.

October 31, 1998, Saturday

Due to the bad, rainy and cold weather, my wife and I didn't go outside all day. We read newspapers and watched TV.

November 1, 1998, Sunday

The second round of Parliamentary elections was taking place in Macedonia today. We will find out who won late tonight.

November 2, 1998, Monday

All Souls' Day is being celebrated throughout Poland. Polish radio reported that the VMRO-Democratic Alternative coalition won the Parliamentary elections in Macedonia with 59 MPs.

At 15:00, at my request, the Director of the Department for Central and Southern Europe received me. He was interested in the elections in Macedonia. I handed him a letter from Handzhiski to Minister Geremek informing him that Macedonia expressed its readiness to join the Club of Friends of Albania, as well as the program for attracting foreign investments in Macedonia and the Strategy of Macedonia for joining NATO with a request to forward them to the appropriate Polish authorities.

November 3, 1998, Tuesday

I have not yet received any information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding the elections.

November 4, 1998, Wednesday

The secretary of the director of the Department of Security Policy (a close associate of Geremek) called my secretary and told her to tell me to go to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to pick up the letter regarding the establishment of a club of countries friends of Albania. She was told that an official would be waiting for me in the lobby at 11:00. The secretary accepted this request and passed it on to me. I, of course, refused to receive any letter in the lobby because I considered it insulting and humiliating for an Ambassador and contrary to diplomatic norms.

At 16:00, Iezhi Zakshevski, a member of the Polish Sejm and President of the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary Association, arrived at the Embassy. He was interested in the elections and the situation in Macedonia in light of the Kosovo events. He suggested that I meet with the group. We agreed to hold the meeting in the first half of December.

At 17:00 Dr. Avramcheva arrived brought the statute of the Polish-Macedonian Association. (See attachment in Binder VII, p. 140) and a list of registered members.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the residence of the Slovak Ambassador (Ondrej Nemchok), on the occasion of the start of his Ambassadorial mission. I congratulated him and wished him success and close cooperation.

The Greek Ambassador approached me and, during our brief conversation, praised the performance of the Macedonian delegation at the Human Rights Conference which, as he said, emphasized many aspects of friendship with Greece, while the Bulgarian one complained that two Bulgarian journalists were

banned from entering Macedonia. I also had a long conversation with the Lithuanian Ambassador who proposed we increase cooperation between our two countries and initiate mutual visits by heads of state, governments, ministers and experts.

November 5, 1998, Thursday

I received a group of representatives from the company "HERBAPOL". The company was interested in buying medicinal herbs from Macedonia.

Regarding this, I once again sent a fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. I still have not received a response to the previous request.

November 6, 1998, Friday

At 10:00 I received Iezhi Shitkievich, who introduced himself as a film artist. He was interested in whether he could shoot the film "Raging Money" in Macedonia and explore possibilities for co-production with a Macedonian film studio. I told him that it would be a good step for cooperation in the field of film art and in this regard to submit a proposal.

And to this day, there is not a word from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about the election results.

At 18:00 I went to dinner at the "SHERATON" at the invitation of Andzhei Polak from Gdansk, who offered to serve as Honourary Consul of Macedonia based in Gdansk. The deputy director of the Diplomatic Protocol was also present. He introduced himself as the owner of a large trading company with 20 thousand stores with food items on a territory where 8 million inhabitants use his services, and that he has his own helicopter and a large number of trucks and trailers. According to Polish law he meets all the requirements for such a position. I told him that I would send the appropriate information to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia tomorrow and, in the

meantime, he should submit his request for an Honourary Consul of Macedonia to me.

November 7, 1998, Saturday

I sent a letter to the Deputy Minister of Culture, Rataiski, regarding their proposal to publish an anthology of Polish children's stories in Macedonia. I suggested we meet.

November 8, 1998, Sunday

Today was a calm but cold day. The Polish television reported that the government coalition was on the verge of collapse and that early parliamentary elections were possible.

November 9, 1998, Monday

A congratulatory message arrived from President Kiro Gligorov to President Aleksander Kvashnievski, congratulating him on the 80th anniversary of Poland gaining its independence in 1918, which was celebrated every year as a national holiday in Poland with a ceremonial reception for a large number of Polish dignitaries and the entire Diplomatic Corps. I also sent a similar congratulatory message on behalf of the Embassy.

November 10-11, 1998, Tuesday-Wednesday

Celebrations are being held throughout Poland to mark the 80th anniversary of Poland's independence. I attended a formal session at the Sejm and the Senate and a concert in the evening at the Grand Theatre. After that I attended a reception for invited guests with the Diplomatic Corps hosted by Prime Minister Buzek. The main ceremony was held on November 11. The Polish army held a parade on Pilsudski Square where a solemn speech was given by President Aleksander Kvashnievski. In the afternoon I attended a gala reception held for a large number of

prominent Polish figures from all fields in the presence of the Diplomatic Corps. I had the opportunity to briefly talk to various dignitaries and congratulate them on behalf of the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia. This included President Kvashnievski and Prime Minister Buzek, as well as ministers, famous politicians, members of the Sejm and the Senate. I also had brief conversations with a large number of Ambassadors.

(The invitations are kept in the manuscript, BINDER VII, p.147)

November 12, 1998, Thursday

No news from Macedonia.

November 13, 1998, Friday

I read on the internet that the new government in the Republic of Macedonia will be made up of a three-way coalition.

November 14, 1998, Saturday

I received an invitation from the Founding Committee of the Polish-Macedonian Society to participate in the founding assembly that will be held on November 14 at 14:00, at the Palace in Radzheiovitsa, in the House of Creative Work of the Ministry of Culture and Arts.

At 12:00 we left for Radzheiovitse where the Polish-Macedonian Society will be founded. The hall was full. Poles and Macedonians from various professions attended. I noticed prominent figures from the fields of politics, culture, science and the media. Speeches were met with approval and satisfaction, evoking memories of their stay in Macedonia. The establishment of the society was unanimously approved. A short welcoming speech was also given by me, the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, who had a notable role in the initiative and preparations.

November 15, 1998, Sunday

I received an invitation from the editorial office of the newspaper ("RZECZPOSPOLITA") to participate in the promotion of the book " **Do not shoot at the night bird"** by the famous journalist, friend and affirmer of Macedonia, journalist Rishard Biliski. Invited were famous figures from political circles, prominent journalists and writers, as well as the Ambassadors of: Yugoslavia, Albania, Croatia, Slovenia, the UNHCR Office, military personnel associated with the UN peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia and a large number of readers.

The promotion will be held on November 18th this year at 10:00, at the Editorial Office headquarters.

I replied that I would be happy to attend the promotion.

November 16, 1998, Monday

At 09:30 the Romanian Ambassador called me and invited me to dinner on Tuesday at 18:30. He was hosting the dinner in honour of the Ukrainian Ambassador, who was returning to Kiev on December 1st of this year. I accepted the invitation.

November 17, 1998, Tuesday

Vlado Avramovski called me from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. He said that he was now the new Secretary General. I congratulated him. He asked me how I was doing with my financial problems. I told him that I only had 750.00 US dollars in my account. End of conversation.

November 18, 1998, Wednesday

At 10:00 I participated in the promotion of Rishard Biliski's book. Here I met with former Prime Minister Tadeush

Mazovietski, who asked me to meet with him one of these days. I also had a brief conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bronislav Geremek.

I was contacted by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management and informed that they had sent me the "Wine List of the Republic of Macedonia". I told them that I would display it on the board in front of the Embassy and asked them to also send me picture books through which Macedonian viticulture and winemaking would be promoted.

November 19, 1998, Thursday

Due to heavy traffic, I didn't make it on time to the welcoming ceremony held for the President of Kyrgyzstan.

November 20, 1998, Friday

I received an invitation from the Marshal (President) of the Sejm, Machei Mlazhiniski, to participate in the parliamentary debate on the draft law on the ratification of the Treaty of Membership in the North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington on April 4, 1949, for which the first speaker will be the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bronislav Geremek. The debate will be held on November 20, 1998 (Friday) at 10:00. Please take your seat by 09:55.

Geremek gave a short speech, followed by the heads of the parliamentary groups. Miners were demonstrating in front of the Sejm, who before the fall of communism were the most influential and best-paid group of workers in Poland, and now were unemployed because the mines had been closed. The debate in the Sejm was heated but no one opposed Poland's entry into NATO.

The director of the Statistical Office of Macedonia, who is participating in a seminar in Warsaw, arrived at the Embassy in the afternoon. Our conversation was about the elections in Macedonia.

November 21, 1998, Saturday

I spent the day reviewing the daily press briefing for the current week.

November 22, 1998, Sunday

It was very cold outside, minus 15 degrees. I reviewed the Polish daily press.

November 23, 1998, Monday

At 10:00 I received Shatkievich from the film studio ORBITA FILM. I conveyed the information to VARDAR FILM and got their consent of cooperation and gave him the current address for contact.

Tihomir Ilievski, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, called me and told me that he could not find the materials regarding the secretary and asked me to send him another copy. I told him there was no need because someone would hide or destroy it again.

At 17:00 I had lunch (at the Embassy) with the Ukrainian Ambassador. He, I and our wives, Ditta and Nadezhda, had been friends for a long time. We stayed until 19:30. We had an open and friendly conversation, mostly relating to the past of our two countries and peoples. Ambassador Petro Sardachuk was leaving for Kiev on December 1 to serve as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. We congratulated him on his new position and wished him success.

November 24, 1998, Tuesday

Zigmund Broniarek, one of the most famous and popular Polish journalists and reporters, came to the Embassy. He is the author of several books, among which the most popular and most

translated is the book “DON’T LOOK FOR FRIENDS FAR AWAY, AND ENEMIES CLOSE BY”. During our conversation he expressed gratitude for the way Macedonia marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of Adam Mitskievich and his indignation that the Minister of Culture did not come to unveil the bust, for which he wrote a very harsh article. We talked for a long time about Macedonia’s and Poland’s past, with special reference to the partitions and cultural genocide. We also talked about Poland’s involvement in welcoming a large number of Macedonian refugee children, wounded DAG fighters and refugees, victims of the Greek Civil War. He expressed regret that he had not visited Macedonia so far, but if his health and age allowed he would certainly visit and his visit would be reflected in his articles. On leaving, he gave me a copy of the aforementioned book with a dedication.

President Kvashnievski’s office brought me a videotape of his speech at a press conference in Brussels, where he emphasized that Ukraine, Moldova, and Macedonia should be admitted to the EU.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informed me that on November 27 at 07:30, a charter plane with the Macedonian basketball team and a group of fans would land at the Warsaw airport. A match would be held with Poland for the European Championship. The “comrades” from the Basketball Federation of Macedonia said that they did not know that there was a Macedonian Embassy in Poland. After our conversation, they sent a telegram to “Ambassador Novakov” with a request to check whether the organizer of the match had a Macedonian flag and a cassette with the Macedonian anthem. I checked and it turned out that there was nothing like that. I had to give them one from my reserves that I had at the Embassy.

November 25, 1998, Wednesday

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature, to send off the Ukrainian Ambassador.

November 26, 1998, Thursday

I attended a cocktail at the Albanian Embassy organized on the occasion of the 85th anniversary of Albania's independence.

The Secretary General of the Polish Basketball Federation called me and said that the Greek Ambassador in Warsaw had requested that the name Macedonia not be used during the basketball game which was to be held in Warsaw on November 28. He asked: - What should we do? I asked him who was the host, you or the Greek Ambassador, so act like a host. I also suggested that he tell the Greek Ambassador not to mix sports with politics.

November 27, 1998, Friday

My wife and I went to the airport and waited for the plane to land. A surprise, among the group of basketball fans stood our daughter Tanja and our granddaughter Marija.

Before the game the hallway was full with Macedonians holding the Kutlesh flag. Macedonian songs were playing from the speakers. Polish television was broadcasting live. Ditta, who stayed at home with Marija, would record the match on videotape.

Despite the Greek Embassy's opposition regarding the name and symbols, the match took place with a victory for our team.

At 20:10 we were at the airport. Marija took her picture with the best basketball player, Petar Naumovski. The athletes and fans boarded the plane singing Macedonian songs. The flag of Kutlesh flew above their heads.

November 28, 1998, Saturday

Risto Blazhevski called and asked me to send a sharp note to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the Greek Ambassador's behaviour.

November 29, 1998, Sunday

It was not a good day for a walk. It was too cold.

November 30, 1998, Monday

I received a fax about the composition of the new government. I sent congratulations to L. Georgievski, N. Kliusev, D. Dimitrov, V. Kambovski, and S. Klimovski.

At 18:00 I attended a big reception at "POLMOT", one of the richest companies in Poland.

December 1, 1998, Tuesday

At 13:00 after reviewing the Polish press, I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to meet with Tombiniski. I handed him the list of the new government of Macedonia, which he had asked me for by phone, and then I asked him to give me the program for Poland's preparations for joining NATO and the European Union. The conversation continued with small talk about the basketball match and the reaction of the Greek Embassy. He then asked me to provide him with copies of the agreements signed with the constitutional name, which the legal service of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had requested. He said that they were preparing a change regarding the name.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Romanian Embassy on the occasion of the national holiday. I learned that an official visit by the Greek Prime Minister, Simitis, to Poland had been announced.

At 19:00 I attended a cocktail at the Czech Embassy.

December 2, 1998, Wednesday

Eshtrev Aliu sent a telegram informing me that he could not come to Warsaw where the 6th Conference dedicated to the "Harmonization of the EU Visa Regime" would be held on December 7-8 this year. I was authorized to participate. In this regard, I sent a report to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the meantime, I was officially notified that the Conference had been canceled.

December 3, 1998, Thursday

Taki Dzhikov called me. I informed him that the Polish Minister of Sports Iatsek Dembski proposed to stay in Skopje from January 11 to 14, 1999. He agreed. I asked for confirmation.

December 4, 1998, Friday

At 10:00 I received journalist David Varshavski (Jewish), who was the editor-in-chief of the European magazine "MIDRAS". During our conversation he informed me that at the invitation of the "Soros" Foundation on December 6, he would travel to Skopje where he would stay for 3-4 days. He asked me to make arrangements for him to be received by President Kiro Gligorov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister and Tupurkovski. I told him that he would have to wait for me to get approval. That was the end of the conversation. By the way, in Warsaw journalistic circles he was known as a master of inventing sensational stories.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of Finland where the wife of the Russian Ambassador handed me an invitation for Ditta to participate in a farewell lunch.

Among other meetings at the cocktail, I met with Metropolitan Sava, head of the Polish Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Sava was willing to meet with a Macedonian bishop as soon as possible, at an unofficial, but introductory working

meeting. He asked me to mediate. He invited me to lunch on January 10, 1999.

At the cocktail, at his request, I met with the newly arrived Bulgarian Ambassador. During our brief conversation, he told me that he would like to meet me for a modest lunch but his predecessor, Alexander Dimitrov, who was sent back to Sofia faced disciplinary measures because he had left the cash register empty. As a result, the new Ambassador didn't have money even for a modest lunch.

I told him that I would treat him to lunch.

December 5, 1998, Saturday

I called the Embassy of the Russian Federation and asked for Viacheslav Fedorenko, who is the Charge d'Affaires in the absence of the Ambassador. We met in April 1995 during our first protocol visit. After exchanging greetings, I asked him:

- Dear Viacheslav, did the Russian government change its position regarding the Republic of Macedonia because the invitations are addressed to FYROM?

- Absolutely not. And why do you say that. What gave you that idea? he asked.

- Well, invitations are addressed to FYROM, I replied

- Destroy them, there has been a mistake. I'll order new ones to be written immediately. The secretary must have made a mistake, looking at the book with the list of Embassy addresses. Sorry he said. We'll send new ones immediately.

At 15:00 the first secretary of the Russian Embassy brought new envelopes with the address: Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia-Warsaw.

December 6, 1998, Sunday

I sent the text of the Agreement, translated into Macedonian, for cooperation between writers of Poland and Macedonia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of

Macedonia, as well as a note from the conversation I had with Sava, Metropolitan of Warsaw and all of Poland.

December 7, 1998, Monday

From 09:00 to 13:00, I participated in the sixth Budapest Group Meeting. We discussed ways and forms of combating illegal migration and organized crime. Included among the participants were security authorities from all the Polish services. Instead of sending someone from the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs, however, the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent me. I had no jurisdiction in the issues that were the subject of the Budapest Group meeting. I did not see a single Ambassador but only experts at the meeting.

The Office (Cabinet) of President Aleksander Kvashnievski informed my Embassy that the Mrs. Iolanta Kvashnievska, wife of the Polish President, was organizing a reception for the wives of Ambassadors accredited in Warsaw on December 17, 1998, on the occasion of the upcoming Christmas and New Year holidays, which would be covered by Polish television.

The invitation emphasized that all invited Ambassadors' wives should be dressed in their national dress.

Appreciating that this was an excellent way to promote Macedonian folklore heritage, I urgently sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia to borrow a traditional costume from some cultural and artistic society and send it by DHL to the Embassy in Warsaw.

December 8, 1998, Tuesday

Late at night, Ambassador Jordan Veselinov called from Ottawa (Canada) and said that the Polish Ambassador to Canada would be arriving in Warsaw in the next few days and wanted to see me. I replied that I would be expecting him.

December 9, 1998, Wednesday

At 10:00 I attended a protocol visit with the new Ambassador of Croatia. We mutually informed each other about the situation in both countries. He left me with the impression of a pleasant, cultured, educated and intelligent man. We agreed to see each other more often and cooperate.

My wife attended a farewell lunch with Irina, wife of the Russian Ambassador.

December 10, 1998, Thursday

I went to the Apostolic Nunciature at 11:00, to send off the Russian Ambassador, Leonid Drachevsky, who gave a short farewell speech.

I received an invitation from the Embassy of the Russian Federation with the following text:

"On the occasion of the completion of the diplomatic mission in Poland, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation and Irina Drachevska have the honour to invite Mr. Petre Nakovski and his wife to a reception on December 10, 1998 at 18:00."

December 11, 1998, Friday

At 11:00, at his request, I had a meeting with Rapatski in the Office of President Kvashnievski. He was interested in the results of the parliamentary elections, the situation after the elections and relations with our neighbours. I told him that everything was going smoothly in Macedonia. He said that this would strengthen bilateral relations, which were developing very well. I confirmed to him that our relations were on the rise, noting that I expected Poland to change its position regarding our constitutional name. Rapatski expressed satisfaction with our meeting.

December 12, 1998, Saturday

No activities.

December 13, 1998, Sunday

Today Poland remembered its experience with martial law. A major topic for the media. Due to bad weather we did not go for a walk.

December 14, 1998, Monday

I received a Christmas and New Year's greeting from Sava, Metropolitan of Warsaw and all of Poland.

December 15, 1998, Tuesday

Today I finished writing the Christmas and New Year's greetings.

At 10:00 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to meet with J. Tombiniski, from whom I received the legal regulations on the basis of which the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is organized and operates. At my request, I also received the program for Poland's preparations for joining the European Union.

I also sent New Year and Christmas greetings to President Kiro Gligorov and other state figures in Macedonia.

December 16, 1998, Wednesday

Today at the Apostolic Nunciature we are sending off the Ambassadors of Uruguay, Malaysia and the Netherlands.

I sent the driver to the post office to mail my greeting cards.

This afternoon, I received a telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing all

Embassies that Liubitsa Vasilevska, a long-time employee and typist at the Ministry, had passed away in New York. I sent a telegram of condolences to her family.

Today marked 16 days since the formation of the new government in the Republic of Macedonia, and I have still not been officially notified of its composition. I learned that some of our other Embassies had not been notified either.

Is there anyone in the Ministry who cares?

Henrik J. Sokalski called me. He was interested in news from Macedonia and the activities of the Polish-Macedonian Society. He suggested that Tadeush Mazovietski be elected president of the society because of his reputation in Europe.

At 22:10 Polish television interrupted the program and announced that the US was bombing Belgrade. World news centers interrupted their programs and broadcasts to announce the fatal news. I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. No one answered. I called Ana Traikovska, who told me that no one was answering the phones.

And again I wonder: is there anyone in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, just like the question: is there a pilot in the plane?

December 17, 1998, Thursday

I attended a meeting and had lunch with Tombiniski, Kshizhanovski from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Polak, who wanted to be the honourary consul of Macedonia in Gdansk. The conversation was about the bombing of Yugoslavia and the dangers for Macedonia and the region. I learned that the Scandinavian soldiers had been withdrawn from Macedonia and UNPREDEP no longer existed.

Polish television broadcast the reception that President Kvashnievki's wife had organized for the Ambassadors' wives this evening. They were all dressed in folk costumes characteristic of their country of origin. It was an excellent presentation and affirmation of cultural heritage. Only the wife of the Macedonian

Ambassador was not participating in the reception because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia did not send a Macedonian folk costume.

Greetings to the minister and to Blazhevski.

December 18, 1998, Friday

Today at 09:30 Zheliniski, the Ambassador of Poland to Canada, came to the Embassy. We had a pleasant conversation regarding the mutual relations between Macedonia and Poland. He talked about his contacts with the Macedonians in Canada who had lived in Poland after the Greek Civil War and who, in their conversations with him, always expressed their great gratitude to Poland for taking care of them, their upbringing and education, and for Poland's contribution to good relations between Macedonia and Poland.

At 10:30 Mr. Leshchiniski arrived and brought the anthology of Polish children's stories that had been promised to be published in Struga.

At 14:00, on the occasion of the upcoming Christmas and New Year holidays, I served modest snacks to the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group at the Embassy. The reception was also attended by Macedonian businessmen, as well as Henrik Sokaliski, who spoke about the role of UNPREDEP in preserving peace and the successful results of preventive diplomacy, and in his own way spoke very vividly and well about Macedonia.

At the end of the meeting, I presented each of the parliamentarians with a bottle of Macedonian wine.

December 19, 1998, Saturday

Today I prepared the financial report for November 1998 and sent it by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

December 20, 1998, Sunday

We called Lile Popovska (wife of our former student Grigori Popovski, in Politse and now our friend) and congratulated her on her election as Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Development.

December 21, 1998, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Defense called me and asked me to send them Minister Kliusev's biography. Kliusev is the new Minister of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. I am ashamed to admit that I did not have his biography, so I said that my fax was being repaired and I expected it to be working in the coming days and I would be happy to fax it to them. Despite my repeated requests, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia had not provided me with the composition of the Government, including the biographies of its members. I called Blazhevski again and again he promised me that he would send me the requested information today.

I have learned to endure. This was one of the characteristics of the mission.

At 11:00 I visited Andzhei Zaraichik, Deputy Director General of the Confederation of Polish Industry, Trade and Finance. An influential person. In accordance with the instructions received earlier, I handed him the material "Strategy for Attracting Foreign Investments" and we discussed the participation of Polish investors in Macedonia in more detail. He promised to provide me with a list and a note on Polish investors.

December 22, 1998, Tuesday

The Polish people are preparing for Christmas Eve. And then they will celebrate Christmas for three days. They will celebrate in the circle of family and in the spirit of their centuries-old church and national tradition that has preserved them as a people in the past.

And it's snowing heavily outside...

I learned that Pangalos will be in Skopje today and I don't expect him to bring an olive branch.

December 23, 1998, Wednesday

Today:

- 08:30 I went to the airport to deliver the package with medicines;
- 09:30 Prof. Stronzhek came regarding the pictures for the board;
- 10:00 Involved in settling the accounts;
-12:00 Journalist Kshizhanovski came over to pick up illustrated materials about Macedonia;
-13:00 I had a conversation at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding further activities in mutual cooperation;

At 13:20 a Christmas and New Year greeting arrived from the Deputy Prime Minister Ianush Tomashevski.

December 24, 1998, Thursday

In the spirit of Catholic Christmas, I presented the soldiers guarding the Embassy with modest gifts, treated them to a glass of brandy, and later my wife brought them a thermos of tea.

We in Kostur region call Christmas Eve Krachun. That's what Romanians and Moldovans call it too.

December 25, 1998, Friday

Today Catholic Christianity celebrates the birth of Christ, the greatest holiday throughout the centuries, the holiday of family, of home, peace, joy and hope.

We will celebrate Orthodox Christmas in thirteen days. Now, while the church bells of the neighbouring church ring loudly, we sit alone, remembering our childhood and our loved ones, the roads we traveled that led us here, to Warsaw. Alone,

but richer with life experience and knowledge and with an experience filled with separations, memories and thoughts about that "once upon a time" lived under the eaves of our houses and warm fireplaces. Alone, and far from from our loved ones, but happy to be able to see each other on occasion...

December 26, Saturday

Warsaw is resting after the big celebration. We are resting too. Europe does not sleep, does not rest. It is looking for new solutions to the old solutions it created itself.

December 27, Sunday

Despite the cold weather, a large number of people are walking along "NOVI SVIAT" street to the old part of Warsaw. We decided to join them.

December 28, 1998, Monday

I received a whole bunch of Christmas and New Year cards. Greetings from President Aleksander Kvashnievski's Office, from the Marshal of the Sejm, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Polish-Macedonian Parliamentary Group, the Alliance of the Democratic Left, ministers, businessmen, writers, journalists and diplomats. Almost all addressed to:

His Excellency
Mr. Dr. Petre Nakovski
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Republic of Macedonia
ul. Dominikańska 15, Warszawa
(Part of congratulations notes can be found in BINDER VIII, p. 200)

December 29, 1998, Tuesday

I received an invitation from the Adam Mitskievich Museum of Literature addressed to:

J.E. Petre Nakovski Ambasador Republiki Macedonii, ul. Dominika ńska 15 02.-738 Warszawa.

At 18:00 I attended a ceremonial session on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Adam Mitskievich. The hall was full. Present were: the state leadership, ministers, high-ranking cultural and scientific figures, ambassadors… The anniversary was held under the patronage of President Aleksander Kvasdhnievski.

A lady approached me and said to me:

- Mr. Ambassador please come to the front row.

I felt very honoured by this gesture and recognized for Macedonia.

The main speech was given by the director of the Adam Mitskievich Museum of Literature. Unfortunately, in his speech he forgot to mention Macedonia's participation in the celebration of the anniversary. I told Sokaliski, journalist Broniarek and the president of the Polish Writers' Association, Gzheshchak, about this, emphasizing that I felt offended. They said they would seek an explanation for the omission.

December 30, 1998, Wednesday

At 11:00 I met with the Romanian Ambassador at his request. He complained to me very angrily that Director Pienionzhek did not mention Romania in his report. He said he would send a sharp note. He considered the action humiliating, insulting and scandalous.

December 31, 1998, Thursday

At 18:10 we left for the Grand National Theater – for a gala New Year's concert. The city was beautifully decorated.

The concert began with parts of “Gypsy” then with parts of “La Gioconda”. Huge admiration and long-lasting applause for the performance of parts of “Swan Lake”. During the intermission everyone was treated to champagne. After thirty minutes the second part of the concert began. Parts of “La Traviata”. The concert ended at 22:00. During the champagne reception everyone was given a Champaign glass as a souvenir.

At 22:30 we returned “home”. We were sad. We had been in a foreign country for four years without our children. We said goodbye to the old year, 1998, by raising a glass of champagne and welcomed the New Year 1999 with many congratulations that our children sent us by phone.

To many more years of happiness and health.

PART FIVE 1999

On the old calendar from 1995 that hangs in the hall in front of the cabinet, I wrote: the end of four years of hard work, the efforts, achievements, successes, disappointments, desires and hopes that marked 1995, 1996, 1997 and 1998. With the same enthusiasm I begin 1999, hopefully the last in the execution of my mission. In the past years, governments, ministers, general secretaries have changed and the young state has not managed to keep up with progress. Who is leading it?

January 1, 1999, Friday

I have been recording daily activities for four years in the late hours of the night. I will continue doing it this year with the thought and hope that perhaps in the future my notes will serve as a lesson to someone or as an example of whether this is how things should or should not be done. I am sure that some will approve and some will disaprove. But no one will escape the truth.

So, just as the saying “With God forward “ is ingrained among the people, with the same efforts, desires and enthusiasm,

today I step into the new year with the hope that this year too I will be a good plowman and sower of useful and hopeful harvests.

January 2, 1999, Saturday

I only wanted good news from Skopje. But that was not the case.

Ana Traikovska and Lile Naumova called me on the phone, wished me a Happy New Year and, in our conversation, told me that the new minister, Aleksandar Dimitrov, had an interview on TV A1 in which he emphasized that it was he who would fix Macedonian diplomacy. How? First by withdrawing, according to him, the incompetent ambassadors, primarily the dissenting ones, and by announcing competitions in which he would determine, probably with the help of Tupurkovski, who was more capable. The first step would be an appointment based on an order received from above, that was the safest, then based on party and friendly ties. That was the easiest. Knowledge and experience did not count. The rules that he set would count.

Today, the New Year's celebration and sobriety are still going on in Warsaw, so to fill the daily void, I read the article ("Kużnice dyplomacji") "The Forging of Diplomacy", published in the weekly "WPROST". I read that:

The United States, Japan, China, Austria, Germany, France, Great Britain and Russia had been building and perfecting their academies for diplomats for centuries.

I further read that in recent years Slovenia, Estonia, Romania, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Croatia had opened their own academies. Macedonia was not mentioned. Perhaps because it had such reformers of diplomacy like A. Dimitrov, so it did not need an academy for diplomats.

I further read that "the diplomat in the age of globalization, the Internet, international terrorism, is not just the elegant and eloquent gentleman who is constantly present in political salons. For today's diplomat - the authors wrote - or for today's ambassador or consul, it is not enough to just know

history, law or diplomatic practice, he or she must be well-versed in economic issues, know how to use a computer and know the language of the host country. Accordingly, diplomacy is the work of professionals, and yesterday's times are gone.

These rules were my daily guide in carrying out my mission.

I put the weekly aside for a moment and asked myself:

- Why hadn't an academy been opened in Macedonia yet? Where were the old, experienced Macedonian diplomats in the service of the SFR Yugoslavia?

If the Macedonian diplomats from the old Yugoslav diplomacy (who were bothered by Lazar Moisov and his ilk) were used, then not a single clerk, or even a courier, son or nephew would have crossed the threshold of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Macedonia had diplomats with names that radiated knowledge and experience and dedication. And now? Now those who were the first in the world to convey the truth about Macedonia were declared incompetent, while for advisors, correspondents-translators and secretaries they sent non-professionals, individuals with big ears on which the telephone receiver hung until the ministers on the other end finished the conversation. They knew how to use that investment - they became diplomats - migrant workers.

But I do not remain hopeless – I believe that when smart and capable individuals come to power, Macedonian diplomacy will find the place it deserves.

The walk in the cold weather cooled me off.

At 22:30 I finished the financial report for December 1998.

January 3, 1999, Sunday

Ambassador Vlado Blazhevski called me from Kiev. He wished me a Happy New Year and I returned his gesture.

January 4, 1999, Monday

Today was the first working day of the new year 1999. I reviewed and arranged all the letters, notes and telegrams I had sent to Polish state institutions, meetings and conversations I had with high-ranking state figures and ambassadors and other documentation.

A person from the Diplomatic Protocol brought me a book with the list of diplomatic and consular offices, representative offices in Warsaw, in which for the first time, after my frequent and persistent requests, on page 138 in the header is written in large letters MACEDONIA. I placed it open in a place of honour in the office.

A young man came to the Embassy and said that his name was Igor Ilievski and that he had come to see me on the recommendation of Prime Minister Liubcho Georgievski and Minister of Internal Affairs, Pavle Traianov. I received him in the waiting room. He said once again that he had come on the recommendation of those two with a verbal order to accept him to work at the Embassy. He said he spoke Polish and English and was studying postgraduate political science, had completed his high school diploma and university in Poland, that his mother was Polish and his father was Macedonian, that he met with high-ranking Macedonian state officials on December 26 and 28, 1998 and that he is the son of a high-ranking official in the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs. He said he was born in Skopje in 1977 and after his father died, he and his mother left Macedonia and moved to Poland. He had a Macedonian citizenship. That's all from his biography. I asked him if he had any documents. He handed me copies and asked me to send them to Skopje by diplomatic mail. I told him that his documents would arrive in Skopje faster by DHL. The conversation ended there.

A. Dimitrov, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, called me on the phone. I congratulated him on his election and on the New Year. I told him that I was seeking permission to come to Skopje on a working visit from January 11 to 15 this year. He agreed, however, he suggested that I should go after January 20. I

accepted. We agreed that I would submit an appropriate written request. I told him that several Polish ministries were waiting for draft texts of cooperation agreements and I emphasized that I would come to Skopje with a full basket of proposals for cooperation between the two countries.

January 5, 1999, Tuesday

Risto Blazhevski (probably with good intentions) caused confusion regarding the visit to Macedonia of the Polish delegation from the Department of Physical Culture and Tourism, which was already prepared for the trip. He sent a fax and then the text of the Agreement, proposing to postpone the visit for a week, during which time both sides would agree on the text of the intergovernmental agreement and sign it in Skopje. I called Taki Dzhikov to ask if this had been agreed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia or was it just Blazhevski's proposal. Taki was surprised and immediately asked that the visit be carried out as agreed.

January 6, 199, Wednesday

At 10:00 I had a conversation at the Ministry of Transport regarding the signing of the Agreement on Civil Air Transport. I had submitted the Macedonian text to them with a note last year. During our conversation, I was told that the agreements could not be signed in the first quarter of 1999. I was promised that I would receive a written response next week. The text of the Agreement was acceptable with minor corrections.

At 12:00 I visited the Customs Administration. Our text, which I sent them with a note back in 1997 was under review, but the experts would only be able to negotiate during 1999. The Polish customs service was multifaceted, hence the long negotiations.

I had a long conversation at the Polish Ministry of Defense.

I received a letter from the director of the Adam Mitskievich Museum and the House of Literature. The director wrote that the gathering did not have a jubilee character, hence he did not mention Macedonia, but emphasized that at the initiative of President Kvashnievski, a ceremonial closing of the jubilee year will be held in the Presidential Palace on January 19, and then the grand celebration of the jubilee that Macedonia marked by publishing a bilingual collection of poetry by Adam Mitskievich and by unveiling his bust in Struga will be prominent, for which the Macedonian Ambassador in Warsaw has special merit.

(Original letter in manuscript, BINDER VIII, p. 224)

January 7, 1999, Thursday

Today is Orthodox Christmas. January 7 and 8 are non-working days but, by prior agreement today I have scheduled a conversation with the Director of European Integration and International Cooperation at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration. The conversation was about mutual cooperation. They were willing to sign a cooperation agreement, with the note that the agreement should be international in nature. The expert talks could begin in April this year in Warsaw. We agreed that each side would propose its own text for the agreement.

January 8, 1999, Friday

At 10:00 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I had discussions regarding the draft agreements from previous years submitted by us to the Ministry of Justice (3), Interior (1), Transport (1), Labour (1), Customs Administration (1) and Archives (1).

We agreed with the experts to speed up the negotiations.

At 18:30, being invited by President A. Kvashnievski, I attended a traditional New Year's meeting in which the entire Diplomatic Corps and high-ranking Polish figures participated.

The President gave a fitting New Year's speech and then joined the guests. I had a short conversation exchanging a few sentences regarding the situation in Macedonia and Kosovo. The meetings that involved a number of Ambassadors centered around Kosovo. Almost all involved expressed satisfaction with the preservation of peace in Macedonia.

January 9, 1999, Saturday

It was snowing heavily outside. I continued with the preparation of the 1998 annual report.

January 10, 1999, Sunday

Our walk to Vilanuv didn't work out. The strong and cold wind forced us to go inside a Chinese restaurant.

At 17:30, at the invitation of Sava, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, we attended a concert of "Carols" with the performance of four Orthodox choirs in the church of St. Mary Magdalene. We listened to wonderful church Orthodox music for two hours. In addition to the large number of believers, the Ambassadors of: Bulgaria, Greece, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Belarus, Romania, Moldova, the Chargé d'Affaires of Ukraine and the Russian Federation were also present. At the end of the concert, we congratulated each other on the Orthodox Christmas and the New Year 1999. After that Metropolitan Sava invited all the Ambassadors and their wives to a reception.

It was an incredible surprise for all when Ditta presented Metropolitan Sava with a loaf of bread with a coin and a bottle of Macedonian red wine. The Metropolitan kissed the loaf, crossed himself three times, poured the wine over it and began to slowly break it. A piece was given to each person. The concealed coin ended up in Metropolitan Sava's piece of bread.

During the reception, Metropolitan Sava, in a separate private conversation, told me that the bishops of the Polish

Orthodox Church had agreed at a high level to recognize the Macedonian Orthodox Church, but that meetings, conversations and more contacts were needed before that could happen.

Mrs. Sonia Banda, Chargé d'Affaires of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, approached me and in a short conversation told me that the purpose of the presence of NATO forces in Macedonia was to allegedly save the verifiers, and for NATO to occupy Kosovo, which could have tragic consequences for the entire region, and especially for Macedonia. I thanked her for the information and we agreed to meet in the coming days.

January 11, 1999, Monday

A congratulatory message arrived from the Primate of Poland (head of the Polish Catholic Church) with the following content, which translated into Macedonian reads:

"Your Excellency,
Dear Mr. Ambassador,

This year's feast of the Nativity of the Lord and the upcoming 1999 year bring us directly into the jubilee year 2000, which has religious as well as social significance. We joyfully await the New Year, as a century of peace and unity in all spheres of human life.

I wish that all efforts undertaken bear fruit of goodness, and that God's blessing be upon all people of good will.

Thank God for the memory and Godly gifts.
- Josev Cardinal Glemp
Primate of Poland, s.r.

During the day, I also received a congratulatory message from the Orthodox Bishop of Liubliana and Helm, Abel.

(The originals addressed to His Excellency Petre Nakovski, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia in the manuscript, BINDER VIII, p. 132)

January 12, 1999, Tuesday

Many congratulations and invitations to participate in receptions and cocktails at state institutions have arrived.

January 13, 1999, Wednesday

Today is Milenka's birthday. Congratulations and gifts.

At 11:00 I went to the Ministry of Justice. I had a conversation with Tsishek, to whom I handed three texts of agreements in September 1998. This was my third conversation with him. He always used the same argument: let's wait for the name issue to be resolved. These agreements, he says, are interstate. I received a letter from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs - he stammered quietly - informing me that no country had recognized Macedonia. I couldn't stand it, so I asked him:

- Am I speaking to a Pole or a Greek? That is what the Greeks claim and, for your information, please consult the Bulletin published every month by the Polish Academy of Sciences. From there you will at least learn how many countries have recognized Macedonia. I thanked him for the reception and the conversation and warned him that I would request an audience with the minister regarding the texts of the agreements. When he was sending me away, I did not understand anything he said from his stuttering.

January 14, 1999, Thursday

The man from Gdansk called and asked if there was any information regarding his request to be an honourary consul of Macedonia. I told him that I was waiting and as soon as I received information, I would immediately inform him.

I called Risto Blazhevski and asked him if any decision had been made. He told me that he personally thought differently. They would appoint a Macedonian who lived in Gdansk. I told him that he would not be wrong if he read the norms or legal rules on how to appoint an honourary consul.

January 15, 1999, Friday

I had a meeting and discussions at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. I was surprised by the willingness and desire of the expert groups who were ready to begin harmonizing the Macedonian and Polish texts of the agreements during February.

This afternoon a response arrived from the Polish Ministry of the Interior and Administration. They announced that they were interested in signing an intergovernmental cooperation agreement. The response was the result of the talks I'd had on January 7 this year.

There has been no response from the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Defense.

January 16, 1999, Saturday

We did not go to the "Slavonic Ball" because of the flu. The weather too was cold.

January 17, 1999, Sunday

I spent most of my day reading the daily press. Lots of information about the political crisis. The fall of Prime Minister Buzek's government was being predicted**.**

January 18, 1999, Monday

Businessman Pivnik came to the Embassy. He was interested in importing wood and gravel from Macedonia for the

new railway line and road that his company was building. I asked him to submit his offer to me in writing.

After sending it, I thought:

- Will this offer also perish in someone's drawer in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia? Because so far many offers there had been collecting dust in people's drawers. As for the gravel, Macedonia had stone but who would break it up?

At 16:00 I had a meeting with Baltserovich, the new Prime Minister.

January 19, 1999, Tuesday

An invitation arrived from the Office of President A. Kvashnievski. At 12:00 the closing ceremony of the jubilee on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Mitskievich's birth will be held in the presidential palace. In his short but very rich speech, Prof. Pienionzhek, among other things, noted that in Macedonia the jubilee was marked by the publication of a bilingual collection of Mitskievich's poetry, and in Struga, on the shore of Lake Ohrid, his bust had been erected.

After the ceremony, I had a brief conversation with President Kvashnievski, who thanked me for my initiative to mark the anniversary.

January 20, 1999, Wednesday

Today I did current office work. At 15:00 I had a meeting with Machei Lukashevich, deputy editor-in-chief of "ZHECHPOSPOLITA".

January 21, 1999, Thursday

I had a telephone conversation with Mihailo Peshev and Mitko Boiadzhiski regarding the tourist offers in Macedonia and the possibilities for meetings with Polish travel agencies. I

promised them that they could count on my support and engagement.

I had a meeting with Leshek Miler, President of the Social Democratic Party.

January 22, 1999, Friday

Peshev, director of "KOMPAS", called me on the phone. He said he was satisfied with my answer and asked me to get in touch with Polish travel agencies with a proposal to jointly organize a promotion of Macedonian and Polish tourism in Warsaw. I accepted and asked him to send me the proposal in writing.

January 23, 1999, Saturday

I went to a reception at the Embassy of Cuba.

January 24, 1999, Sunday

I organized last week's activities.

January 25, 1999, Monday

The book "Ancient Macedonia" by Hammond is sold in bookstores in Warsaw. I bought a copy.

Sokaliski called and invited us to dinner.

Throughout the dinner, the hosts, Mrs. Maria and her husband Henrik J. Sokaliski, constantly evoked memories and experiences from their several years of stay in Macedonia, where Sokaliski led the Scandinavian soldiers within the framework of UNPREDEP's preventive diplomacy. We spent a rare and wonderful evening, one of the best we experienced during our entire stay in Warsaw. It was an unforgettable dinner.

January 26, 1999, Tuesday

The "script" for the presentation of Macedonian tourism in Poland arrived by fax from "KOMPAS".

I attended a reception at the Belgian Embassy on the occasion of the Ambassador's departure. I didn't see a single Ambassador. I then attended a cocktail at the Hungarian Embassy.

Tihomir Ilievski and V. Efremovski from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requested information about the work of my employees. I sent it to them.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Embassy of India.

January 27, 1999, Wednesday

I went to the Ministry of Culture and held a conversation regarding the participation of Polish poets at the Struga Poetry Evenings and the participation of our church choir at the Church Choir Festival in Hainuvka.

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature for the send off of the Ambassadors of Brazil and Belgium.

January 28, 1999, Thursday

I received the new Mongolian Ambassador on a protocol visit.

January 29, 1999, Friday

At 10:00 I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I had discussions regarding the security of the Embassy in view of the turbulent events in Macedonia, over which a storm is looming.

I received a fax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia marked URGENT – Subject – Instructions.

(The integral text can be found in the manuscript, BINDER VIII, p. 260)

January 30, 1999, Saturday

A political storm was brewing in Skopje over the establishment of diplomatic relations with Taiwan, which in return promised one billion dollars. Of course this offer was made for other purposes, not for Macedonia's benefit. The Taiwanese in Taiwan were not so naive as to give a billion dollars just like that. In my opinion, Macedonia had entered a bad deal. I was sure that China would break off diplomatic relations with Macedonia, not provide support internationally, stop helping to build Koziak and the UN Security Council would vote against UNPREDEP remaining in Macedonia. UNPREDEP packed its bags and left, which opened the way for new, unforeseeable bad consequences for Macedonia and above all for Serbia.

The Macedonian Foreign Minister ran to Taiwan to thank them for the billion. Television broadcast footage of the ceremonial welcome, looking like the Taiwanese were welcoming an American president. He was their favourite. The footage showed how, after the ceremonial dinner in his honour, he was holding his champagne glass poorly. He didn't know how to act, but if he continued to be a minister he would learn.

Radio Skopje reported that he returned from Taiwan without the promised billion.

January 31, 1999, Sunday

Today I decided not to work, but to listen to Radio Skopje which broadcast news that was not useful for Macedonia.

February 1, 1999, Monday

At 10:00 I received Ondrei Nemchok, the new Slovakian Ambassador to Warsaw on a protocol visit. We discussed possible cooperation between our two countries. Ambassador Nemchok

expressed hope that Macedonia would support Slovakia in its bid to join the UN Security Council.

During the day I finished the financial report for January 1998.

According to Radio Skopje, problems were still brewing in Macedonia regarding its relations with Taiwan. This act had further divided the people - threats, insults, divisions and everything else that had tarnished Macedonia in recent years.

February 2, 1999, Tuesday

At 11:30 I went to a scheduled meeting at the Department of Tourism. I presented the "KOMPAS-TOURIST" proposals for organizing the promotion of Macedonian tourism in Warsaw. The proposals were accepted.

I informed the director of "KOMPAS" that the interlocutors suggested that the presentation be held after March 10, 1999 because before that all Polish travel agencies would attend the travel fair in Berlin. If "KOMPAS" wanted to participate there, they should contact Katazhina Sobieraiska and Marek Golkovski.

I sent a fax to Minister Dimitrov requesting that he grant me a three-day working stay in Macedonia, which I would use for meetings with the new government and state institutions, from which I would note their interests in cooperation with the relevant Polish institutions.

February 3, 1999, Wednesday

This afternoon I received an instruction regarding Macedonian-Chinese relations.

(See BINDER VIII, p. 266)

February 4, 1999, Thursday

At 11:00 I went to the Sejm to deliver a thank you letter for the congratulatory message from the President of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, Savo Klimovski, on his election.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Bulgarian Embassy organized on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the establishment of Bulgarian-Polish diplomatic relations. During the reception, I had several meetings and discussions. Those present were mostly interested in Taiwan-Macedonia relations.

February 5, 1999, Friday

At 10:00 the secretary of the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Bureau in Warsaw called. She asked me to see Huang Hsinti, head of the Bureau.

I accepted and arranged a meeting for February 8th of this year at 10:00, at the Embassy.

I worked on notes and reports about yesterday's meetings and conversations until 14:40.

I read online that Macedonia had lost its voting rights in the UN because it owed $90,000 in unpaid membership fees for the last two years.

February 6, 1999, Saturday

I didn't have any activities. I read newspapers.

February 7, 1999, Sunday

We went for a walk and then had lunch at a Japanese restaurant.

February 8, 1999, Monday

I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia regarding my request for a work permit in Macedonia.

The secretary told me that Risto Blazhevski was in charge of that, and the Secretary General Vlado Efremovski, with whom I spoke, said that he knew nothing and laughing, added:

- Patience, Ambassador.

Of course, one must have patience when dealing with people like that.

At 10:00 the head of the Economic and Cultural Bureau of Taiwan in Warsaw arrived at the Embassy. In very poor Polish, he said that he was coming on the orders and instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in order to meet with the Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw, to establish contacts and to propose cooperation within the framework of the relations that will develop between Macedonia and Taiwan. He emphasized that Taiwan has a great desire to meet Macedonia in order to strengthen its economy, for which it will give it one billion dollars. He asked me to introduce this to the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps during receptions, cocktails and separate meetings. I listened carefully and did not comment.

I looked at my watch. The person I spoke to realized that the end of the visit was approaching. He thanked me for the welcome and left me a whole pile of colourful materials about Taiwan on his way out.

My request for a work permit in Skopje was not approved.

February 9, 1999, Tuesday

In "Gazeta Viborcha" I read David Varshavski's commentary regarding the Conference dedicated to Kosovo being held in Paris. At the end of the commentary, the author predicted that Albanians in Macedonia would demand greater autonomy, otherwise they would cause incidents.

Information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia was not arriving. From a conversation I had with an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I realized that the only thing visible in the Ministry was a big mess.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs was constantly abroad and there were whispers that he was coping poorly.

At 18:30 I attended a reception at the Iranian Embassy. They had piles of books in various languages with religious content. I was surrounded by people who were interested in the situation in Macedonia and the region.

February 10, 1999, Wednesday

Milenka returned to Skopje.

According to "RZECZPOSPOLITA", Liupcho Georgievski will officially visit Sofia at the invitation of the Bulgarian Prime Minister and the question of whether Bulgaria is reconciling with Macedonia?

February 11, 1999, Thursday

I spent some time reading the agency news about Macedonian-Bulgarian relations.

At 19:00 I attended a reception at the Albanian Embassy organized on the occasion Pascal Milio's stay in Warsaw. Pascal was the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was an intelligent and cultured person. We spoke Greek. At the reception I met with Geremek, and other Polish ministers and with a number of ambassadors with whom I had brief conversations.

February 12, 1999, Friday

The Polish media reported that Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary would become members of NATO on March 12, 1999.

It was cold in Warsaw and a strong cold north wind was blowing.

February 13, 1999, Saturday

We didn't go out today because of the cold weather.

February 14, 1999, Sunday

Today is just like yesterday.

February 15, 1999, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that a decision regarding the archives had been made. The archive cooperation agreement will be signed with the "Archive of Macedonia". A letter will be delivered to the Directorate of the Polish State Archives next week.

The Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Policy informed me that the date of negotiations on the text of the convention has been postponed to March 24-26, 1999.

The Polish State Agency of Foreign Investments, through the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed the Embassy with a proposal that the Director of the Agency for Reconstruction and Development, Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, accepted the official visit to visit Poland at the invitation of the State Agency for Foreign Investments, during April-May 1999. They were requesting information from the Agency as to whether the invitation was acceptable.

I informed the Polish Ministry of Culture and the Foundation of Church Music Festival in Hainuvka, by letter and fax, letting them know that the "MENADA" choir from Tetovo, Macedonia, will be participating.

February 16, 1999, Tuesday

Today, the representative of "GORENIE" visited me.
I attended a reception at the Lithuanian Embassy.

February 17, 1999, Wednesday

I watched a TV broadcast of President A. Kvashnievski addressing the nation. Today the Polish people are united, delighted that Poland will soon join NATO.

February 18, 1999, Thursday

I received news that L. Georgievski in Skopje, was making statements and giving interviews left and right. He was being helped by Santer, Solana and other friends.

February 19, 1999, Friday

Risto Blazhevski called and requested information regarding the Polish and Dutch prime ministers' position on the Second Euro-Atlantic Conference to be held in Warsaw from May 10-12, 1999.

February 20, 1999, Saturday

According to stories broadcast by Polish radio, the Albanians in Kosovo are making a lot of demands and if these demands are not met then NATO will bomb Yugoslavia. Polish journalists contacted me and asked how this would affect Macedonia.

February 21, 1999, Sunday

Great bets. Who should I forgive and who should forgive me? Let it remain fifty-fifty.

February 22, 1999, Monday

Zdravko Stamatovski called me from Opole, who (I only found out today) had been privately invited to work at the University as a Macedonian language lecturer. He has difficulties obtaining health insurance and doesn't know what to do. I

suggested that he get appropriate health insurance with his employer.

February 23, 1999, Tuesday

At 11:30 I attended a meeting at the Sejm with the President of the Slovak Parliament.

February 24, 1999, Wednesday

I attended a reception at the Estonian Embassy at 12:00. At14:00 I attended a reception at the residence of the Slovak Ambassador.

February 25, 1999, Thursday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs called and asked for information regarding Vasil Tupurkovski's consent to officially visit Poland. I said that I was still waiting for an answer. They asked me to expedite it**.**

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature, to send off the Indonesian and Romanian Ambassadors. There were only two of us left from the old group: the Slovenian and me. We were a great group, who often met and maintained mutual connections. I miss everyone.

A young lady from Krakov called me on the phone regarding the event **"Krakov European Capital 2000"** and asked for the fax number of the Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Culture. She said that they had agreed, through correspondence (when?), to exchange exhibits. I told her that this was a serious event and it should be organized within the jurisdiction of the state and, it would be a good idea if the Embassies of both countries were also informed.

I received an invitation from Sheremetiev, the Polish First Deputy Minister of National Defense, asking me to participate in a meeting of Polish-speaking ambassadors. In addition to the

ambassadors, a large number of senior Polish army officers were also expected to participate in the meeting. The interlocutors were mostly interested in the situation in the region. The Ambassador of Sweden, in a conversation with me and in the presence of several other ambassadors, said that if the UNPREDEP mission were to be terminated due to a possible veto by China, such an efficient preventive mission would be terminated and emphasized that Macedonia had done a lot to affirm preventive diplomacy and continued to contribute to the stability of peace in the Region with its policy.

Matthew Kaane, the UN Permanent Representative in Warsaw and Coordinator of the Development Program, expressed interest in the further development of Macedonia-Taiwanese relations, emphasizing that he personally understood the motives of the new Macedonian government, which unexpectedly took such a bold step. The main topic of the talks was the situation in the Balkans.

February 26, 1999, Friday

Today President A. Kvashnievski signed the Treaty on Poland's Accession to NATO.

I learned from the internet that China vetoed UNPREDEP and that NATO soldiers were arriving in Macedonia every day – English, French, American, German. I have the impression that something is boiling in the Balkan cauldron. I also learned from the internet that Ambassador Giorgos Kaklikis had been appointed head of the Greek Liaison Office. MIA reported that Germany will give Macedonia 350 jeeps. It seems to me that too much scrap metal will be given to us. Like those – the tanks from Bulgaria. The same source reported that around 10,000 NATO soldiers are expected to be stationed in Macedonia, who will be part of the NATO mission in Kosovo. The border with Macedonia is being reinforced. Macedonia is returning to fear, unrest, hopelessness. A foreign soldier – is fear.

Our children called me and said – Dad, we are already living in fear!

And this is now one of the truths about Macedonia...

February 27, 1999, Saturday

At 09:00 Henrik Sokaliski, head of UNPREDEP, called me. He expressed regret over China's veto in the UN Security Council. We arranged a meeting.

February 28, 1999, Sunday

There are many promises from the West on the internet about aid to Macedonia.

I called Ana Traikovska. During our phone conversation, she told me that major personnel changes were being prepared at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that there was chaos and uncertainty.

March 1, 1999, Monday

Around 12:00 Igor Ilievski arrived at the Embassy. We had a pleasant conversation. He returned to Skopje and in a very short time was appointed Undersecretary and then Ambassador in Prague.

March 2, 1999, Tuesday

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that a letter had been sent to the Directorate of the Polish State Archives recommending that the Agreement on Cooperation between the Archives of Poland and Macedonia be signed.

I have been trying to get this done for four years now.

Finally, I succeeded.

During a telephone conversation I had with Assistant Professor Dr. Daria Nalench, Director of the General Directorate

of the Polish State Archives, it was proposed that the Agreement be signed in Warsaw from April 19 to 21 and from April 26 to 28, 1999.

I received a call from the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Cooperation Bureau in Warsaw and was invited to a meeting with a group of Macedonian journalists (where are they from?) to be held on March 9th of this year. After additional verification, it turned out that they were Taiwanese journalists who would be arriving in Warsaw after visiting Macedonia.

MIA reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan) Jason Hu arrived this afternoon on a four-day official visit to the Republic of Macedonia. The high-ranking guest from Taiwan was welcomed at the Skopje airport by his Macedonian counterpart, Aleksandar Dimitrov, Minister of Economy, Zhanko Chado and the Minister of Information, Redzhep Zlatku.

March 3, 1999, Wednesday

Today I got the flu. Despite my condition, I went to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to talk with Tombiniski. We exchanged information about the situation in the Balkans and then I gave him part of the note that the British Embassy in Skopje had delivered to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. In part the British note read:

"(...) wherever the phrase "Government of Macedonia" appears, in the titles, preamble or operative paragraphs of the Treaties, the phrase "Government of the Republic of Macedonia" should be used, while wherever the word "Macedonia" is used, the phrase "Republic of Macedonia" should be used. The Embassy hopes that the Government of the Republic of Macedonia will be satisfied with these proposed amendments."

I didn't notice that Tombiniski was surprised. I assumed that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was informed about

the UK's position, hence the letter to the General Directorate of the Polish Archives.

I received an article entitled "Macedonia-Taiwan-Beijing" from my good friend, the famous Polish journalist Zigmund Broniarek, published in ("TRYBUNA") on February 23 of this year. Very positive about Macedonia. (Attached in Polish in the notes, BINDER IX, p. 321.)

At 18:00 I attended an exhibition dedicated to Adam Mitskievich.

At 18:30 I attended a cocktail at the Moroccan Embassy.

March 4, 1999, Thursday

At 18:30 I attended a cocktail at the Bulgarian Embassy on the occasion of the national holiday and the official visit of Prime Minister Ivan Kostov to Poland. Ambassador Jordanov introduced me to Prime Minister Kostov, with whom I had a brief conversation regarding Macedonian-Bulgarian relations.

I learned from the internet that on March 11 and 12, at the invitation of A. Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mihailova, would be visiting Skopje.

MIA reports that 28,000 NATO soldiers will be stationed in Macedonia.

March 5, 1999, Friday

I had a telephone conversation with Peshev regarding the promotion of Macedonian tourism in Poland. Shortly afterwards, he sent me a telegram proposing that the presentation be held on March 19 in the Embassy lounge starting at 12:00. The composition of the delegation would be announced later.

March 6, 1999, Saturday

The Satellite TV channels are mentioning Macedonia more and more often and showing a variety of not very positive reports.

March 7, 1999, Sunday

Because of the flu we didn't go for a walk.

March 8, 1999, Monday

I congratulated Ditta on Women's Day.

Zakshevski called from the Polish Sejm and asked me to send him the musical notes of the Macedonian anthem**.**

March 9, 1999, Tuesday

At 10:00 the courier from the Polish State Archives brought me the Polish text of the Agreement on Cooperation with the Archives of Macedonia. During the day, I will translate it into Macedonian and send one copy by fax to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and another to the Directorate of the Archives of Macedonia.

At 11:00 I met with Tadeush Mozovietski, which had been arranged long ago. The entire conversation was dedicated to Macedonia. He expressed satisfaction with the conversation, emphasizing that he had gained new insights that were a certain refresher to his previous knowledge about Macedonia. He praised President Kiro Gligorov's decision to open a Macedonian Embassy in Warsaw, which could always count on his support and advice.

At 19:00 we were invited to dinner by the head of the Bureau for Economic and Cultural Cooperation between Taiwan and Poland. We were informed that Taiwanese journalists, who had been in Macedonia a week ago, would also be present at the dinner.

I don't believe there are more richly furnished rooms anywhere in Warsaw than in this place. There are huge armchairs all made of leather, thick multi-colored rugs, large vases, walnut furniture with carved figures of animals, trees, birds, mountains, all in accordance with centuries-old Chinese traditions. The Taiwanese attract the naive in this way. We tried their food but did not touch our chopsticks. We stayed for an hour and a half. The Taiwanese journalists tried to interview me.

I didn't give them an interview.

The Taiwanese probably complained to someone in Skopje because the following day I received a reprimand.

I had a late night phone conversation with Lile Naumova. She said that a decision had recently been made, allegedly due to financial difficulties, to close the Macedonian Embassies in Kiev, Bucharest, Sarajevo and Warsaw. Given the current situation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, this did not surprise me. However, my thoughts went in a different direction. Closing an Embassy was an irreparable mistake. Once lost trust, dignity and honour was a multiple loss of trust that would be difficult to regain.

Personally, I didn't feel affected, but I felt that Macedonia would be affected.

March 10, 1999, Wednesday

At 19:00 I attended a farewell cocktail hosted by the Romanian Ambassador, Ioan Grigorescu, a wonderful man and friend. Often during very sincere conversations he claimed that his ancestors came from Macedonia. They moved to Romania a long time ago seeking work. And despite the fact that he felt like a dedicated Romanian, he said that he also felt a little like a Macedonian. He always smiled but in his eyes, you could see sadness and pain. His smile too looked sad. He was one of the first people involved in the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime. He was wounded during the turbulent events and was member of the first post-communist government. But, due to disagreement,

divisions and discord, he was sent to Poland to serve as an Ambassador. He considered this both a reward and a punishment. In love with cinematic art, Romanians also knew him for his film reports in which he had brought the beauty of Romania. We often met in Embassies, at receptions and cocktails and in private for coffee or tea.

During the same reception, I had a cordial and friendly conversation with the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China. Some Ambassadors from western Europe expressed their opinion in the conversations that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Macedonia and Taiwan was a very brave step taken by Macedonia. The topic of the conversations with Polish officials continued to be the promotion of mutual cooperation.

As we left the Embassy, we said our long goodbye to Ioan Grigorescu with a warm embrace. When I crossed the threshold of the Embassy, I said to him:

- Good bye, big Romanian and little Macedonian.

March 11, 1999, Thursday

At 9:15 we welcomed the President of Iceland.

At 10:20 I attended a meeting and had a long conversation with the Ambassador of the Czech Republic. He complained that smugglers and similar types from Macedonia had overrun the Czech Republic. I jokingly told him that at least the Czech police would have something to do. He asked me to consider the possibility of cooperation between the competent police authorities of our two countries. I told him that the Czech Republic was a very open country but, unfortunately, to its own detriment. He was interested in when a Macedonian Embassy would be opened in Prague.

I received a letter from the Polish journalist and my very good acquaintance, Zigmund Broniarek. He published his articles in almost all Polish newspapers and magazines. He was a popular journalist and publicist. He sent me an article which he had

published in the magazine "PLOTKI, MALE I GRUBE RYBY". I will quote part of it here:

"Did they forget Mitskievich in Macedonian?"

One of the first translations of Mitskievich's poetry appeared in the Macedonian language during Mitskievich's anniversary, thanks to the Macedonian Ambassador to Poland, Dr. Petre Nakovski, who also made the selection of our poet's poems. The selection, published in Macedonian and Polish, is entitled "Lyrical Songs". It's wonderful foreword was written by Professor Janush Odrovonzh-Pienionzhek. However, as we learned at the ceremony on December 29, 1998, at the Museum of Literature "Adam Mitskievich", which ended the Mitskievich anniversary, Professor Odrovonzh-Pienionzhek did not mention the Macedonian translation of the "Lyrical Songs", which were not present at the exhibition in the museum. ***So far, Mitskievich has not sent a diplomatic protest.***

I called Broniarek and thanked him for the article.

March 12, 1999, Friday

At 11:15 I was visited by Kostetski, advisor to the President of the Polish Parliament, the Sejm. He was interested in the situation in Macedonia. These days, all people were interested in Macedonia. It was a pity that it was not for the better.

I attended a big celebration on the occasion of Poland's accession to NATO at Jozevf Pilsudski Square.

March 13, 1999, Saturday

The flu has hit me again.

March 14, 1999, Sunday

At 12:00 I attended a reception organized by Prime Minister J. Buzek for the Diplomatic Corps and a large number of Poles from various services on the occasion of Poland's entry into NATO. During the reception with the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defense, President of the Senate, President of the Sejm and other Polish senior state officials, I congratulated Poland on its accession to NATO. In our brief conversations people asked about the situation in Macedonia and the neighbourhood and expressed their confidence that Macedonia would continue its efforts to preserve peace in the region, emphasizing that they admired it for managing to remain stabile despite everything that was happening in the region. They emphasized that Macedonia could count on broad support from Poland for its accession to NATO.

March 15, 1999, Monday

At 12:00 I attended a reception at the Hungarian Embassy on the occasion of the national holiday.

A letter arrived from the Macedonian Archives signed by Director Violeta Gerasimova. She expressed gratitude for the success achieved in signing the inter-archival agreement. She hoped the Agreement would be signed in Warsaw, where a delegation of the Macedonian Archives would visis Poland from March 19 to 21. The delegation would consist of Dr. Zoran Todorovski, Violeta Gerasimova and would be joined by Ambassador Dr. Petre Nakovski.

(The letter can be found in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 333. Included is also my entire correspondence in Polish with Andzhei Polak, who offered to be honourary consul, which Risto Blazhevski declined).

March 16, 1999, Tuesday

Minister Dimitrov called. In a nervous voice he threatened that there would be negative consequences for me because I did

not give the Taiwanese journalists an interview. In response, I told him that he did not scare me with threats and that he was talking to an Ambassador, if he knew what that was. There was silence on the phone. End of conversation.

March 17, 1999, Wednesday.

Nina from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called. A calm, shy, hardworking woman, eager to work at some Embassy. She told me that there was a call for applications and wondered if I would support her if she applied to come to Warsaw. I told her that I needed people exactly like her and that if I was asked for my opinion, she would certainly get it. I felt a tone of grateful sobbing in her voice. I said to myself: - people are happy if they hear a single word of praise, just one kind word and they express that happiness with a burst of tears.

At 14:00 members of the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group Zakshevski and Podkaniski came to the Embassy. They were interested in organizing an official meeting with the Macedonian corresponding group. I accepted the proposal and promised that they could count on my support.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Embassy of Ireland.

March 18, 1999, Thursday

At 11:20 I was at the airport welcoming the tourist delegation from Macedonia.

An invitation arrived from the Greek Embassy. Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos and his wife were inviting us to a reception on the occasion of the March 25, Greek national holiday, to be held March 25 at the Greek Embassy premises, starting at 12:00.

March 19, 1999, Friday

We did a promotion of Macedonian tourism in the premises (lounge) of the Macedonian Embassy. Representatives from thirty Polish travel agencies visited the promotion from 13:00 to 14:50.

March 20, 1999, Saturday

At 18:30 I was at the airport sending off the tourist delegation.

March 21, 1999, Sunday

Rainy weather. I took the day off.

March 22, 1999, Monday

The Polish media was reporting increasingly worrying news about Kosovo.

At 15:00 a joint Polish-Macedonian tourism promotion was organized by the Polish travel agency "GROMADA". Due to having the flu, I did not attend.

March 23, 1999, Tuesday

I received news that due to the situation in Kosovo, an atmosphere of fear and war psychosis reigned in Macedonia.

At 20:00 I met the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy delegation at the airport, which would hold expert-level talks with the relevant Polish ministry.

March 24, 1999, Wednesday

At 9:00 I had a meeting with the experts from the ministries of labor and social policy. The talks were conducted calmly and with full understanding.

At 20:00 Polish television reported that NATO had bombed Yugoslavia.

The war had began!

March 25, 1999, Thursday

Today my wife and I mourned 51 years since we left our homeland. I remember that after sunset our mothers sent us to the Albanian border. There in the field, near the Albanian village Trstenik, we gathered ferns to sleep on. I often see my village in my dreams, and, although it no longer exists, it has been in my thoughts for 51 years...

At 12:00 at a reception at the Greek Embassy on the occasion of the national holiday. Many meetings and conversations regarding the NATO attack. The longest conversation with the Greek Ambassador.

A difficult day and more difficult information.

March 26, 1999, Friday

The expert group discussions ended successfully. At 10:00 the Macedonian group arrived at the Embassy. We held a short briefing on the course of the discussions. We served modest cocktails and left for the airport. We arrived at the airport at 12:00. The delegation returned to Macedonia via Sofia.

NATO continues to bomb Yugoslavia.

March 27, 1999, Saturday

We watched a live broadcast on Polish television during the day regarding the situation in Yugoslavia.

March 28, 1999, Sunday

We are following a live broadcast from Yugoslavia. The Serbians are defying NATO. Serbia endured bombing at night and organized concerts, singing and dancing during the day.

March 29, 1999, Monday

I received more and more phone calls. Polish journalists are looking for information about the situation in Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo. Risto Blazhevski called me and said that the situation in Macedonia was calm and in that spirit I should inform everyone here.

March 30, 1999, Tuesday

I received a call from the Directorate of the Polish State Archives. They said they had received a letter from the Archives of Macedonia requesting a translation of the Polish text of the Agreement in order to harmonize it with the Macedonian text. I asked for Gerasimova and told her to request the Polish text from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

Journalists from various Polish newspapers called requesting accreditation.

The Ministry of the Interior and Administration requested that I meet the minister tomorrow at 17:50. I accepted.

Wednesday, March 31, 1999

My meeting scheduled yesterday with the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration was rescheduled for today at 15:00. I attended as requested.

The meeting was about the situation in Macedonia. The Minister was interested in the development of events, given that due to the war in Kosovo, a large number of Albanians had fled to Macedonia, and whether humanitarian aid was needed for the refugees and in what form.

I told him that Macedonia had accepted around four hundred thousand refugees, provided them with the necessary assistance and continued to take care of them despite its own difficulties. I emphasized that in the current situation, Macedonia was taking all possible measures to help the refugees. However, the situation was dramatic and on the verge of a humanitarian disaster.

April 1, 1999, Thursday

At 14:30 I attended a meeting at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at their request. The topic of conversation was the situation in Macedonia, the acceptance of refugees from Kosovo and whether humanitarian aid was needed.

In the evening, my wife and I watched a TV broadcast of the bombing of Yugoslavia. We admired the Serbs for their endurance. The war continued and they defied it with song and dance, gathering en masse in the squares, protecting the bridges. As I watched the war on TV, I had the feeling that it was taking place in my office and reminded me of the Greek Civil War. Back then, I watched the war hidden in a rock cave, now I was watching it on the TV screen. The suffering and misfortunes of the war then and now were indistinguishable.

All I watch on TV is the war...

April 2, 1999, Friday

Today is our daughter Tatjana's birthday. We called her this morning to congratulate her and wished to see her soon.

At 11:00 I received Dmitro Pavlichko, the new Ukrainian Ambassador to Warsaw, for a protocol visit. We were old acquaintances, we met in 1996 in Struga at the Struga Poetry Evenings, where he participated as a poet from Ukraine and hence our conversation was more open and cordial. We promised to see each other more often.

At 14:30 I had lunch with Henrik J. Sokaliski. We talked a little about Yugoslavia and a lot about Macedonia and the war.

April 3, 1999, Saturday

More and more tragic news is coming from Macedonia. The number of refugees in Macedonia is increasing. Showing on television was a huge mass of refugees pushing each other at the Blatse crossing. Two elderly Albanians had lit a fire and were waiting for their coffee to boil in a blackened kettle. They seemed to be unaffected by the cries of the unfortunate refugees and the echoes of the bombs in Serbia.

We recorded everything on videotape.

April 4, 1999, Sunday

It is Easter today. Christ is born. The church bells in Warsaw are ringing accompanied by joyful voices.

There is no one to officially talk to today.

Christ is born!

The bells are ringing.

The center of Belgrade is being bombed by NATO aircraft.

A dramatic situation is unfolding in Macedonia and it's on the verge of a humanitarian catastrophe.

We received Easter greetings from Sava, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and all of Poland.

At noon I attended a meeting with Metropolitan Sava in the presence of the Ambassadors with their wives from Orthodox countries. Metropolitan Sava gave a short Easter speech and greetings and... stunned looks - Ditta, the wife of the Macedonian Ambassador, approached Metropolitan Sava and handed him a large loaf of bread with fifteen red Easter eggs stuck in it. The Metropolitan crossed himself, bowed deeply, stood tall above everyone and in a moved voice said:

- May God bless Macedonia, from where Orthodox Christianity spread with this bread and red eggs. May God bless you, child of God, and all of you who have come here to celebrate the great holiday together. Take some of the bread and break the eggs.

The bread was passed from hand to hand in pieces. This was a great surprise for SAVA, the Polish Metropolitan, and those present.

This day will long be remembered in the Polish Orthodox Metropolis.

April 5, 1999, Monday

We watched a river of refugees flowing towards Macedonia on television, with whom Macedonia would have to share its poverty.

Russian TV reported that the first Russian volunteers had arrived in Novi Sad.

Greek TV announced that it would open an air route to transport Albanian refugees from Kosovo to Greece.

I received news that not a single Greek plane had landed at Skopje airport.

Macedonia closed the border but, under pressure from NATO, opened it again and received another hundred thousand Albanians from Kosovo.

April 6, 1999, Tuesday

At 10:30, at my request, I was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bronislav Geremek. Present were Stanislav Komorovski, Director of the Cabinet, and Hana Dalevska-Greni, Advisor in the Department for Southeast Europe.

The topic of conversation was the current situation in Macedonia and the refugee problem.

(More about the conversation can be found in the official note, in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 349)

April 7, 1999, Wednesday

Iezhi Zakshevski, president of the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group, arrived at the Embassy at 10:00. We had a discussion regarding the situation in Macedonia, refugees and possible dangers for the country. He offered collective humanitarian aid.

April 8, 1999, Thursday

Two invitations arrived from the Marshal of the Sejm. The first requested that I attend the session of the Sejm starting at 11:30, dedicated to the basic guidelines of Poland's foreign policy, which would be reported on by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bronislav Geremek. The second invitation, again from the same Minister of Foreign Affairs, requested that I participate in the ceremonial screening of the film "OGNIEM I MIECZEM" which was based on Henrik Sienkievich's novel "With FIRE AND SWORD" directed by Iezhi Hoffman, which will take place at 19:00 at the "Relax" cinema.

In the presence of the entire Diplomatic Corps, I carefully followed Minister Geremek's presentation. It was dry, with a lot of praise for NATO and the USA. Poorly related to the events in Yugoslavia where the country was burning.

The general assessment was similar by some diplomats – Geremek will probably talk about this part of southern Europe when it gets hot under his feet.

After the session of the Sejm, journalists and diplomats approached me and asked me about the situation in Macedonia and the neighbourhood. I responded cautiously, emphasizing that in view of the events in Kosovo, Macedonia was flooded with refugees from Kosovo and Serbia, which could lead to a humanitarian catastrophe, and that Macedonia was making enormous efforts within its capabilities to accommodate the refugees, whose number was over four hundred thousand people.

At 19:00 the aforementioned film was screened for the Diplomatic Corps, which triumphantly depicted the events of the Polish-Ukrainian war in which Poland won. At the end, Geremek appeared on stage, called Ukrainian Ambassador Dmitro Pavlichko, raised his right hand and said, with a bitter smile, that in the past Poland and Ukraine were enemies but now we are friends.

We saw the tragic and bloody past on the screen, and on the stage we watched Ambassador Pavlichko almost being humiliated, who did not utter a single word.

As we left the cinema we were all given a floppy disk with the film recorded on it.

April 9, 1999, Friday

At 09:00 I received journalist Stiliniska from the newspaper "RZECZPOSPOLITA". In tomorrow's issue she will publish an article about the situation in Macedonia.

At 10:00 I met with Leshek Miller, president of the Social Democratic Union. The topic of conversation was the situation in Macedonia and the region, the refugee issue and the necessary humanitarian aid.

At 14:00 I attended a meeting in the Sejm with the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group. I gave them a general idea on the situation in Macedonia and the region.

At 15:00 in the absence of President Kvashnievski, who had scheduled a meeting with me through his office, I was received by Maikovski, his political advisor. The topic of conversation was the situation in Macedonia and the region.

(More information about the meetings that took place, can be found in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 354)

I hope that the dangers will be overcome and those responsible will start thinking more about the fate of their country.

The Internet was silent.

April 10, 1999, Saturday

An Orthodox Easter greeting arrived from Metropolitan Sava.

I did a review of today's Polish press. There was a lot of information generated on the situation in our region. NATO continued to bomb Yugoslavia. The Serbians were proudly and with dignity defying the evil.

I admired them.

April 11, 1999, Sunday

Today is Orthodox Easter. We went to liturgy in the Russian Orthodox church. Beautiful singing by the church choir.

Refugees from Kosovo arrived in Warsaw. They complained that they were being treated badly in Macedonia, that they were not receiving bread, water, or medicine and that was why they had to seek help in other countries.

The newspaper "TRIBUNA" published an article with information that the refugees were drug traffickers and that some had already been arrested.

April 12, 1999, Monday

At 10:30 I met the Macedonian wrestlers at the airport and sent them by train to Minsk, Belarus.

They called me from the TV channel "Kropka nad i", one of the most watched TV channels in Poland, and asked me to give them an interview. The show will be hosted by journalist Oleinik, known for her harsh criticism and malicious questions and, as they say, without any integrity.

After consulting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, I accepted.

At 12:00 I received representatives from business firms and the Bar Association from Lodzh.

At 13:30 I received the Croatian Ambassador, Karakas. We discussed the situation in both countries in light of the war in Yugoslavia.

At 14:30 I received Kshzhanovski and Polak. They said they wanted to go to Macedonia. Polak said he wanted an appointment with the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the intention of being accepted as an honourary consul of Macedonia based in Gdansk.

At 19:00, speaking on Polish television, Prime Minister J. Buzek said that Poland would provide humanitarian aid to the Kosovo refugees on the condition that they remain in Macedonia or go to Albania and Montenegro. Foreign Minister Geremek renewed the proposal to grant Kosovo a special status or to form a confederation (Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo).

April 13, 1999, Tuesday

At 10:30 I went to see the Directorate of the Polish State Archives where we harmonized the text of the Agreement on Cooperation between the archives of Poland and Macedonia.

Gerasimova from the Archives of Macedonia called and said that due to the situation in the Region, the agreed date for arriving in Warsaw was being postponed and proposed a new date - from April 26 to 28.

The Polish side accepted the proposal.

At 14:00 the president of the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group called and said that they would start an action to collect humanitarian aid for the refugees.

At 21:45 a driver from TVN came and took me to the studio. The broadcast started at 22:20. The topic of the interview was the situation in Macedonia, refugees from Kosovo, the dangers for Macedonia, the bombing of Yugoslavia and the rights of Albanians in Macedonia. The interviewer tried to ask me provocative questions but failed.

After 23:00 I began receiving telephone calls at the Embassy from various cities in Poland. Lots of congratulations,

praise and satisfaction because I did not succumb to journalist Mrs. Oleinik's provocative questions.

I recorded the entire interview on videotape, which can be found is in my private archive.

Here is what Iezhi Katchmarek had to say:

April 18, 1999

"Dear Mr. Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw

I watched your interview on television last Tuesday.

I would like, Sir, to express my admiration, respect and gratitude for the content of your responses against the aggressive attacks of Ms. Oleinik. You responded beautifully and with dignity, and in this way you gained recognition and even greater sympathy for yourself, your people and your country from many Poles.

With expressions of respect,

Iezhi Kachmarek"

April 14, 1999, Wednesday

At 11:00 I attended a meeting and had a conversation with journalist Hoffman from the newspaper "TRYBUNA". I rejected the report by journalist Piotr Goretski broadcast at 19:30 on Polish television that claimed, among other things, that "Macedonia and the Macedonian authorities were not interested in Polish humanitarian aid reaching the Albanians as quickly as possible. And that this was also the impression of the Polish Embassy in Skopje."

Regarding this, I contacted the Polish television and the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, emphasizing that the report broadcast from Skopje was pure disinformation and that I never commented on the report.

Sava, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, sent me the following invitation, which I have translated:

His Excellency
Mr. Petre Nakovski
Ambassador of Macedonia
Warsaw

Christ is risen! (in Greek)
Christ is risen! (in Macedonian)
Christ is risen! (in Polish)
Excellency,

On the occasion of the great Easter holiday, I cordially invite you to an Easter concert on the 15th of April. 1999 at 18:00 (Thursday), which will be held at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Warsaw, Solidarity Alley 52.

After the concert, I invite you to an Easter gathering at the residence of the Metropolitan.

With expressions of respect

- Sava, Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw and of all Poland

April 15, 1999, Thursday

At 10:00 I was urgently summoned to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They handed me a letter proposing that Macedonia support the candidacy of Novak, a Polish person, for OSCE Secretary General.

There was also another reason for me being summoned. Namely, with a very calm tone, Jan Tombiniski, director of the Department for Southeast Europe, told me that on the instructions of Minister Geremek he was obliged to inform me that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had received news that the Polish team that arrived in Macedonia with several trucks loaded with humanitarian aid for the refugees in Macedonia was encountering difficulties in customs clearance and unloading of the Polish goods. In the end Mr. Tombiniski asked for greater mobilization and expressed hope that the Macedonian side would show greater

activity and wanted to believe that, despite the objective difficulties, the problem would be resolved.

Regarding the complaint, I said that due to the crisis situation, the Macedonian authorities were conducting strict control of all types of incoming goods, hence the delay in customs clearance and the control of goods. Unfortunately, automatic weapons and ammunition were found in the truck of a foreign country, hence the strict control of incoming goods.

In order to speed up customs clearance and control, I suggested that the Polish goods such as clothes, blankets, food, medicines, children's toys, etc. be packed in separate boxes, which then would speed up unloading and the goods would reach the refugees faster. In the end, I expressed gratitude for the humanitarian aid sent, but I also noted that unfortunately some Polish media outlets were reporting information contrary to the truth about the current situation.

We agreed to inform each other about any possible omissions.

April 16, 1999, Friday

The newspaper "TRYBUNA" published the interview I had given them, in today's issue under the headline "THE DESTABILIZATION OF MACEDONIA THREATENS WAR IN EUROPE."

(Included in Polish the interview can be found in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 259)

Regarding the situation in Macedonia that arose especially after March 25 this year, I undertook a series of activities in order to familiarize the competent Polish state institutions, as well as the Diplomatic Corps, in this country, with my accreditation, with the overall situation in the Republic of Macedonia, with special emphasis on the refugee problem, economic damage, threats to destabilize the country, as well as Macedonia's positions regarding the crisis in the region.

April 17, 1999, Saturday

Boris Vishiniski called me on the phone. During our conversation, he said that a kind of madness had begun to reign in Macedonia, which could be called Bulgaromania, and that the Writers' Association of Macedonia was protesting because the Ministry of Culture had earmarked a lot of money for publishing Bulgarian literature.

That's how things went wrong.

I learned that the Minister of Foreign Affairs was preparing instructions on how ambassadors should work. Some people asked if he himself was able to do his own job, never mind ours?

More and more disturbing news is coming from Macedonia.

April 18, 1999, Sunday

Polish TV reported that General Clark, the NATO commander, was not well received in Macedonia and there were demonstrations with slogans chanted - Yugoslavia today – Macedonia tomorrow!

April 19, 1999, Monday

The Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts submitted a letter to our Embassy informing us that it was prepared to accept 8 to 10 candidates from Macedonia each year for advanced training in Krakov through various seminars, courses and other forms. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this.

At 17:45 I welcomed the President of Chile.

At 18:00 I attended a cocktail at the Syrian Embassy.

April 20, 1999, Tuesday

I received information from the Department of European Security of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland regarding the NATO Summit to be held in Washington on April 25 this year according to the 3+9 formula, i.e. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary and the nine countries aspiring to join NATO, including Macedonia. They requested confirmation that Macedonia would participate. I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia about this.

April 21, 1999, Wednesday

Risto Blazhevski called and said that he knew nothing specific about the NATO meeting in Washington.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Israeli Embassy on the occasion of the national holiday. I had many meetings and conversations regarding the situation in Macedonia.

This evening I received news from Skopje that President Kiro Gligorov failed to gather the party leaders in one place. He allegedly threatened to declare martial law and dissolve the government.

News coming out of Skopje is getting worse and worse. One gets the impression that the divisions between the Macedonian politicians is not contributing to peace in Macedonia. National unity no longer exists.

April 22, 1999, Thursday

I'm still working on the annual report for 1998. It weighs like a stone around my neck. I have to finish it tomorrow. No response has arrived regarding the NATO meeting.

April 23, 1999, Friday

Polish television reported that the Serbian television building was bombed. There are wounded and killed.

Today NATO celebrates 50 years since its formation.

At 08:30 a fax arrived, it was a letter from L. Georgievski to Prime Minister J. Buzek asking Poland to support Macedonia's entry into NATO.

At 14:00 I handed the letter to Director Tombiniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who promised to immediately fax it to Prime Minister J. Buzek, who is now in Washington. **(Copy of the letter can be found in manuscript, BINDER) IX, p. 366)**

April 24, 1999, Saturday

At 16:00 Polish radio announced that in the coming years, Slovenia and Slovakia would be admitted to NATO first, followed by Bulgaria and Romania. Macedonia was not mentioned.

At 17:00 I was at the airport. My wife and I were welcoming the Macedonian Archive delegation, consisting of Dr. Zoran Todorovski, Violeta Gerasimova, Deputy Director, and Grigori Popovski, translator, who, on April 27, will sign the Agreement on Cooperation between the Polish State Archives and the Archives of Macedonia.

April 25, 1999, Sunday

We went for a walk with the delegation through the Old Town of Warsaw, visiting museums and exhibitions.

April 26, 1999, Monday

According to the plan, as required, I accompanied the delegation until noon.

April 27, 1999, Tuesday

After three years of effort, work and long and persistent discussions with Polish state institutions, I finally achieved my

goal today at 11:00. The Cooperation Agreement was finally signed in the ceremonial hall of The Directorate of the Polish State Archives and the Archives of Macedonia. The Agreement was signed by the director, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Daria Nalents and Dr. Zoran Todorovski.

After signing the Agreement, the delegation visited Warsaw on its own and returned to Skopje via Sofia the next day.

In the following days, I received written notes of thanks from both directorates for the hard work and effort put into the signing of such an unusually important agreement.

The Director of the Archives of Macedonia, Dr. Zoran Todorovski, wrote:

Your Excellency,

It's a pleasant feeling when a long-planned activity is successfully completed.

I am pleased that we have signed the Agreement on Cooperation between the Archives of Macedonia and the General Directorate of the State Archives of the Republic of Poland for 1999-2001.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the colleagues who accompanied me, I would like to express my gratitude for the kindness and attention you extended to us during our stay in Warsaw.

With respect
Director,
Zoran Todorovski, Ph.D., sr.

(The originals of the letters of thanks, the text of the Agreement, the plan for the delegation's stay in Warsaw and photographs of the signing of the Agreement can be found in the manuscript of the diary, BINDER IX, p. 370).

The president of the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group called me from Gdansk and informed me that he had sent letters regarding humanitarian aid to the Polish news agency,

radio and television stations at the local and Polish level, as well as an appeal in the form of leaflets to Polish citizens.

At 12:00 I attended a reception at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which marked Constitution Day. The main topic of the talks with diplomats and other persons was the situation in the region.

At 14:00 I received the Australian Ambassador for a protocol visit.

April 28, 1999, Wednesday

At 10:00, at my request, I was received by the Nuncio of the Apostolic Nunciature, Archbishop Jozef Kovalchik. I informed him in detail about the situation in Macedonia.

At 12:00 I received representatives of the company "HOLAND". They were interested in selling agricultural machinery in Macedonia.

At 14:00 I was received by Novakovski, a minister in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Iezhi Buzek. In our conversation which lasted about 45 minutes, I informed him in detail about the situation in Macedonia. I expressed our gratitude for the humanitarian aid sent, emphasizing that due to the war in Yugoslavia and the influx of a large number of refugees from Kosovo, Macedonia continued to suffer enormous losses, but was making a great effort to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe.

Minister Novakovski expressed understanding and regret for our difficulties and will brief Prime Minister Buzek on the content of our conversation.

April 29, 1999, Thursday

At 16:00 I attended a meeting at the Ministry of Finance.

April 30, 1999, Friday

I issued five visas to Greek citizens.

At 18:30 I attended a reception organized by the Embassy of the Netherlands. I was approached by representatives of the Diplomatic Corps who wanted to know more about the situation in Macedonia.

May 1 and 2, 1999, Saturday and Sunday

We spent the weekend in Mierki, a government lakeside resort, 190 kilometers from Warsaw. On May 2 we visited the Grunwald Museum where, on July 15, 1410, one of the greatest battles took place between the combined forces of Poles, Tatars, Czechs and Lithuanians on one side and the Crusaders on the other, who suffered a defeat and the monastic order of the Crusaders ceased to exist.

May 3, 1999, Monday

Today is National Day in Poland. A grand celebration was held at Jozef Pilsudski Square.

At 11:40 after the raising of the flag, the twelve artillery volleys and the usual fitting speeches and wreath-laying, we watched the ceremonial Polish army parade.

At 13:30, like in previous years, President A. Kvashnievski hosted a reception for the Diplomatic Corps and senior state officials.

The conversation with President Kvashnievski and his political advisor, Maikovski, was about the situation in Macedonia and the Region. It was the same with other personalities. They emphasized that Macedonia had suffered a lot in the current situation and the international community would need to make an effort to help it. In almost all of my answers, I emphasized that Macedonia was exposed to a humanitarian catastrophe due to the influx of a large number of refugees, which was dangerous not only for Macedonia but also for Europe.

This evening, MIA reported that British Prime Minister Tony Blair was visiting Macedonia and that another 220,000 Albanians had entered illegally from Kosovo into Macedonia.

May 4, 1999, Tuesday

Polak, the candidate for honourary consul, called and said that tomorrow he would travel to Skopje where he planned to discuss with the authorities his proposal to be appointed honourary consul of Macedonia in Poland. I wished him a safe journey and success in his talks. I knew that they would reject him and I knew who they were planning to appoint to that position. I also knew that they did not know the rules. It was important that he was a party follower.

An invitation arrived from Machei Plazhiniski, Marshal of the Sejm, who, on the occasion of the national holiday, the proclamation of the Constitution on May 3, 1791, was organizing a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps on May 4, 1999 at 11:00.

May 5, 1999, Wednesday

Andzhei Thuzhevski called and informed me that on May 19 (Wednesday) the Writers' Union of Poland would be holding an evening of Macedonian poetry. He asked me to participate and if possible, bring a Macedonian poet from Skopje. I praised the initiative, promised to participate and that I would inform the Writers' Union of Macedonia.

In this regard, I immediately contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and suggested that at least two poets come and use their presence to sign an agreement for cooperation between the two writers' societies. A half hour later, Risto Blazhevski called me and said that Minister A. Dimitrov did not maintain any contacts with the Writers' Society of Macedonia and did not see the need for any Macedonian poet to travel to Warsaw, and that I should also consider whether to participate or not. That was the conversation.

May 6, 1999, Thursday

At 14:00 I received the president of the Polish Writers' Association, Marian Gzheshchak. We discussed future cooperation with the writers' associations.

There were difficulties with the arrival of the delegation from the Ministry of Transport and Communications.There were disagreements between members. I had never had so many difficulties organizing a visit and the stay of a Macedonian delegation, and everything was ready. It was a matter of personal ambitions – who should lead the delegation.

I hoped they would find a solution during the day.

May 7, 1999, Friday

At 9:00 I received Polish journalists. I had an informative conversation regarding the situation in Macedonia. Most misinformation was clarified.

At 12:00 I had a meeting and conversation with Rapatski from President Kvashnievski's office. The topic of the conversation was the situation in Macedonia. At the end of our conversation I told him, as I told many of the others, that the destabilization of Macedonia meant war in the Region from which flames would engulf all of Europe. He told me that he would convey this to the president. I told him that I had told the president this when we spoke at the reception. At the end, he asked me to see him in the coming days. I agreed.

At 13:00 I received Gadzhinovski, a member of the Polish Sejm. He informed me that a delegation of Polish members of parliament would travel to Belgrade and would probably also visit Skopje. He asked if it was safe.

I told him he would see for himself on the spot when he arrived.

Macedonia had already become famous for "bad things".

Who would put Macedonia back on the right path?

At 15:00 Polak called me from Skopje. He said that, together with Kshizhanovski, he met with Risto Blazhevski at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia and that they were received very coldly. He used his stay to meet with the president of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce. He was very pleased with the conversation and the opportunities from Macedonia to import agricultural products that he will sell on the Polish market.

I expected this kind of behaviour from Risto Blazhevski. We had repeatedly agreed that he would receive these people politely and explain to them the reasons why he could not appoint Polak as the Macedonian honourary consul. Now I began to suspect that it was Blazhevski who halted and prevented many of my initiatives for cooperation with Poland. And not only him. Some of the Macedonians who worked in Yugoslav diplomacy, I had the impression, hoped that Macedonia would return to the old fold and pursue Yugoslav diplomacy.

May 8, 1999, Saturday

Polish radio reported that NATO had bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. They said it was a mistake and apologized. The Polish press marked it as if it were a simple theft.

May 9, 1999, Sunday

Today is Victory Day over fascism. On Russian television we saw a modest military parade on Red Square.

At 20:30 I went to the airport to meet the Macedonian delegation that will participate in the UNDO Conference.

May 10, 1999, Monday

We welcomed the King and Queen of the Netherlands, then later went to the airport and welcomed Minister Bobi Spirkovski.

At 18:00 I attended a concert organized on the occasion of the opening of the UNDO Conference;

At 18:00 – 19:00 I was at a theater performance;

At 19:00 I had a meeting with Baltserovich, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance;

At 19:00 – 21:00 I attended a dinner hosted by Baltserovich for the participants of the Conference and the Diplomatic Corps.

May 11,1999, Tuesday

From 09:00 to 13:00 I participated in the UNDO Conference.

At 19:15 I received the Macedonian delegation at the Embassy. I prepared a modest snack.

May 12, 1999, Wednesday

Our delegation presented itself well at the Conference. It also marked its presence with its own stand. Slobodan Uzunov showed both knowledge and resourcefulness. Someone like that should work in an Embassy.

After lunch we went to the airport to send off the delegation, which will return to Skopje via Sofia.

May 13, 1999, Thursday

I had several phone conversations with Polish companies interested in cooperating with Macedonian ones. They were showing a lot of interest in various agricultural products.

News arrived that a reorganization of the Macedonian government was imminent.

May 14, 1999, Friday

A telegram signed by V. Efremovski arrived. It read as follows:

"By order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in accordance with the regular changes in the diplomatic-consular and administrative-technical composition of the DCMs of the Republic of Macedonia abroad, we inform you that employees who have worked in the representative office for more than three years can expect notification of their return to the home country, for which specific instructions will be given as soon as possible.

Here was a chance for L. Georgievski and, above all, for Dimitrov to deal with dissenters and replace them with loyal ones.

In the afternoon I had a confidential telephone conversation with officials in the defense ministries of both countries.

May 15, 1999, Saturday

The Polish Red Cross informed me that a convoy of 12 trucks with humanitarian aid will leave for Macedonia on May 18th.

Risto Blazhevski called and asked me to request materials from the Polish Ministry of Development regarding ways to establish industrial zones.

Kshizhanovski, who was in Skopje with Polak, called. He said he felt very offended by Risto Blazhevski's attitude.

May 16, 1999, Sunday

It was a cold and rainy day. An opportunity for rest.

May 17, 1999, Monday

Andzhei Thuzhevski came to the Embassy in order to make arrangements for the evening of Macedonian contemporary

poetry organized by the Writers' Union, which will be held on May 19 this year.

At 10:35 I went to the airport to welcome the delegation of the Constitutional Court of Macedonia, consisting of Dzhunov and Spirkovski, who will participate in the two-day XI Conference of European constitutional courts, which will also consider the request of the Macedonian Constitutional Court to be admitted to full membership on May 19.

At 16:30 Dzhunov and Spirkovski came to the Embassy and stayed until 18:00. We talked about anything and everything. We had modest snacks. They were satisfied with the premises and its equipment. They praised my engagement in the rise of Macedonian-Polish relations in all areas.

At 18:00 I attended a reception held at the Norwegian Embassy.

May 18, 1999, Tuesday

At 11:00 I was at the Apostolic Nunciature for a send off of the Ambassadors of Egypt and Pakistan.

At 12:00 I attended a Bureau for International Relations briefing at the Office of the President of Poland. The topic of discussion was the Fifth International Forum of the Bertelsmann Foundation to be held in Warsaw from June 25 to 26. Macedonia was invited.

At 14:00 I attended a press conference at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. There was poor attendance. Chargé d'Affaires, Sonja Banda, presented a whole series of arguments, all related to the ongoing war.

At 19:20 I was at the airport to welcome Minister Bobi Spirkovski, who will participate tomorrow at the Conference of European Transport Ministers.

At 20:20 I attended a reception organized by the Bertelsmann Foundation for the Diplomatic Corps and other dignitaries.

May 19, 1999, Wednesday

Two parallel international conferences were held in Warsaw today. One involved the judges of constitutional courts and the other the ministers of transport and in the evening there was a dinner dedicated to contemporary Macedonian poetry.

Before the start of the Conference of Transport Ministers, Maia Ortakova called me by phone and told me that she had come up with the idea of calling Minister Spirkovski to organize meetings with Polish ministers.

In response I said to her:

- Mrs. Ortakova, regarding your idea, I would like to inform you that meetings between ministers are scheduled through the Diplomatic Protocol, to which the Embassy sends a note stating the reasons for the meetings, and the Diplomatic Protocol forwards the note to the appropriate ministry. The time for coordinating the meeting date may last a short time or several days, depending on the availability of the appropriate minister.

At the Conference of Presidents of Constitutional Courts, the discussion was quite heated. Unfortunately, the Constitutional Court of Macedonia was not on the list for accepting new members. Dzhunov told me this during the break. I noticed that he was nervous and very excited. I went to the President of the Polish Constitutional Court, who was chairing the Conference. We had met two years ago when I went to him for a protocol visit. Then he kept me in conversation for an hour and a half and the whole time we talked about relations between our two countries, and mostly about the tragic past of Poland and Macedonia in which we noticed many similarities. I took the opportunity to tell him something about the Macedonians under Greece, as well as about their fate after the Greek Civil War and about the selfless help that Poland provided to several thousand children and refugees, including myself, emphasizing that Macedonia deeply appreciated this act of great humanity. He stared at me for a long time and said:

- If necessary, Poland will continue to provide all possible assistance to the much-suffering Macedonia, which is very close to me. I thanked him for these words and said to him:

- Professor, today is an opportunity for you to help Macedonia.

He stared at me for a long time and asked:

- How?

- To admit the Constitutional Court of Macedonia as a full member.

He thought briefly, then took the form on which the name of the Constitutional Court of Macedonia was written in English and wrote in English and Polish: - received and signed with a broad sweep.

I was so excited that I could barely find the words to thank him.

I handed the rolled up form to Dzhunov. A photograph was taken at the moment of handing it over, which is kept in my private archive.

The dinner dedicated to contemporary Macedonian poetry was a great success.

The Minister of Transport's appearance was also successful.

Today was Macedonia Day in Warsaw.

May 20, 1999, Thursday

At 13:55 we went to the airport for a send off of Spirkovski, Minister of Transport.

May 21, 1999, Friday

At 12:00 I attended a reception at the Hungarian Embassy.

News from Macedonia – changes in the government. 60,000 new refugees entered Macedonia from Kosovo.

May 22, 1999, Saturday

We went for a walk in Vilanuv. It's already getting cloudy. A storm is expected. We'll be back soon.

May 23, 1999, Sunday

MIA had complementary news about Prime Minister L. Georgievski.

At 21:30 I had a phone conversation with an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I sensed disappointment in her voice and I understood a lot. There was chaos in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. The minister worked arbitrarily and did not consult with anyone except his mentor. They measured and they cut. Words of praise for his deputy, who recently arrived from the USA, whom I do not know, they say that he is open to cooperation, communicative and is increasingly being accepted by the public due to his critical stance towards refugees from Kosovo and the advisors to NATO and the European Union.

May 24, 1999, Monday

I had a conversation with the Director of the Political Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, with whom I discussed the opportunities for cooperation between our two ministries of Internal Affairs regarding human trafficking and drugs. I suggested that meetings and discussions be held on this issue at the level of experts, and then arrange for a meeting between our Ministers of Internal Affairs. The Director agreed to present my proposal to the minister during the week.

At 19:00 I went to the Bulgarian Embassy for a celebration of the Day of Education. Ambassador Iordanov introduced Saints Cyril and Methodius as Bulgarian educators. It was a lame presentation. A large number of ambassadors left the Embassy, including myself.

May 25, 1999, Tuesday

The Office of President Kvashnievski sent me the application forms for participation in the 5th International Forum of the Bertelsmann Foundation by fax, which I sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with my note.

May 26, 1999, Wednesday

We traveled to Poznani to attend the International Fair of Wine, Agricultural and Dairy Products. We visited the Macedonian wine stand. Due to obligations, however, we returned to Warsaw the next morning.

May 27, 1999, Thursday

At 10:00 I was at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I was received by Director Komorovski. We had a conversation regarding events in the Region and the situation in Macedonia.

At 11:00 I was at the airport receiving the choir "MENADA" from Tetovo, which will participate in the Festival of Orthodox Choirs in Hainuvka. The plane arrived late, so I didn't go to the scheduled meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture at 13:00. I called to make my excuse.

At 15:00 I was at the airport receiving the Macedonian parliamentary group that will participate in the Spring Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. The plane was one hour late.

From 19:45 to 20:15 the Macedonian parliamentary group visited the Embassy. I treated them to coffee and Polish vodka.

I received news that there were now 275,888 refugees from Kosovo in Macedonia.

MIA reported that Prime Minister L. Georgievski had postponed his official visit to Taiwan three times.

May 28, 1999, Friday

At 09:40 I attended the plenary session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, which was being held for the first time in Warsaw. Kosovo was the main topic. Everything else was under its shadow. There were opposing opinions expressed. The delegate from the Macedonian group, an Albanian, defended the KLA. The Macedonian delegation disbanded. There were visible divisions. It was composed of various political parties. They had a hard time finding their way in conversations and an even harder time at cocktails and receptions. How do you explain to them that receptions and cocktails are not for eating and drinking but for renewing acquaintances, for exchanging opinions and information, for establishing new contacts, friendships, negotiating and discussing cooperation, for gaining knowledge about what was happening in one's own and other countries. And for that, knowledge and education and personal culture were also needed. That required entering the midst of the world elite.

On the occasion of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, separate receptions for the delegates and the Diplomatic Corps were hosted by Kvashnievski, President of Poland, and Plazhiniski, President of the Polish Sejm.

May 29, 1999, Saturday

At 15:00 my wife and I left for Hainuvka where the XVIII International festival of church Orthodox music is being held, in which the choir "MENADA" from Tetovo will participate.

May 30, 1999, Sunday

The results of the festival will be announced at 11:00. The conductor of "MENADA" received an award in the conductors' group and the choir was pleased with its participation.

At 12:00 a gala concert was held. The Belarusians were excellent. They had beautiful voices.

At 20:00 we returned to Warsaw.

May 31, 1999, Monday

At 10:00 (until 12:00) I attended a briefing at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs where representatives from the Polish Ministry of the Interior and Administration were present. The topic of discussion was Polish humanitarian aid for refugees and organizing crisis services.

At 18:30 I attended a reception at the Croatian Embassy on the occasion of Statehood Day. During the reception, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed me that on June 9 this year, Geremek, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, after visiting Tirana would visit Skopje.

After the reception, I returned to the Embassy and informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about Geremek's planned visit to Skopje.

June 1, 1999, Tuesday

At 09:10 I was at the airport for the send off of the parliamentary delegation to Skopje.

A telegram arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia according to which Geremek's visit to Skopje, due to the absence of the minister, was proposed to take place from June 14 to 18. I informed the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note.

June 2, 1999, Wednesday

There are more and more negative articles about the Albanians in the Polish press, without a single word of praise.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Italian Embassy. A Polish brigadier general told me that a Polish battalion (consisting of 800 soldiers and officers with all their equipment in several railway cars) would be stationed in Macedonia. In the

continuation of our conversation, he asked me if the Bulgaria-Macedonia railway line was in good condition. I told him that such a railway line did not exist and the general, wide-eyed, exclaimed: - Is it possible? And we at headquarters thought... - No, it does not exist, General, I said. The general called two senior officers and conveyed the information to them, saying that NATO bureaucrats wanted to ruin the action in order to prove that the Polish army was incompetent. He asked me what the condition of the Bulgaria-Greece railway line was. I told him to ask the Bulgarian or Greek Ambassador about it. At the end of the conversation, he asked me to inform the Macedonian side that Poland wanted the Polish battalion going to Kosovo to be stationed closer to Macedonia. I told him that the closest place to Macedonia was Kachanik but the climate there is bad. He asked me to meet with him on June 7 or 8.

June 3, 1999, Thursday

Today is a religious holiday in Poland. There will be no work for four days. NATO continues to bomb Yugoslavia.

June 4, 1999, Friday

News arrived that L. Georgievski left for an official visit to Taiwan via the US (why specifically via the US?). Vasil Tupurkovski was with him, I don't know if he was just accompanying him or as the main person for the Taiwanese billion and without the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

14,000 new NATO soldiers entered Macedonia. Kliushev was angry and demanded that they pay for everything. Western guests continued to visit Macedonia. They praised Macedonia, admired the authorities and patted them on the back. Some left and others come. Certainly not for a kebab at Destan's.

June 5, 1999, Saturday

At 11:00 the special plane carrying Pope John Paul II landed at the airport in Rembiehovo, near Gdansk. The Pope had come to Poland for a visit. The visit will be held under the motto "God is love" and "There is no solidarity without freedom."

At 11:30 Pope John Paul II began a several-day visit in Poland. The entire nation is captivated and enchanted by the Pope. Never and nowhere has the Pope been more welcomed than here. To a person who does not have the feelings and fascination of the Polish people, all this may seem abnormal. However, this is Poland in which faith, regardless of affiliation, through the Pope, at least today and until the end of the visit, will overcome all problems - economic and political, ideological and religious divisions and everything will be in the spirit of faith and the teachings that the Pope will give from monumental pulpits specially installed in 21 cities. Polish television will cover not only Poland but also the whole world via satellite.

It is worth noting that Poland is not a mono-national state. In that number of almost 40 million inhabitants, besides Poles, there are Belarusians, Ukrainians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Roma... And religion is not mono-national. In addition to dominant Catholicism, Orthodoxy and various other religious deviations exist equally. All are Poles, under one flag and one anthem and loyal to the common homeland.

And here the question cannot be avoided: - And how is it with us?

June 6, 1999, Sunday

The news coming from the South leaves no room for optimism. Macedonia is still filled with Albanian refugees and others from the former Yugoslavia. In meetings and conversations with diplomats, the question I am most often asked is: - Will Macedonia survive in such a situation?

I answer not out of self-confidence but out of conviction that it will certainly survive.

I believe in her perseverance.

June 7, 1999, Monday

I received the laws for the protection of the market and industrial and agricultural products, I had requested from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

June 8, 1999, Tuesday

At 10:30 I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver greetings from Macedonian statesmen on the occasion of May 3, as well as the letter from L. Georgievski to Prime Minister Iezhi Buzek. I also received the laws on the establishment of free economic zones. Our conversation consisted mainly of explanations regarding the situation in the Region and the problem with refugees in Macedonia.

Director Tombiniski informed me that Poland was preparing a battalion to join NATO's ground forces after the Peace Treaty with Yugoslavia was signed. The battalion with all its equipment would be stationed near Macedonia.

During my conversation, I told my interlocutors that Slovenia would most likely introduce visas for Macedonian citizens, and asked whether Poland was also considering such an idea? Tombiniski said that this issue had been discussed and it had been concluded that for the time being it was not necessary to take such measures because there was no threat of an influx of cheap labour from Macedonia. Such a measure might be taken after Poland was admitted to the European Union. I reminded him that Slovenia and the Czech Republic had introduced a visa regime and since this spring Macedonia had also acted reciprocally towards these countries. He asked me: - Does that mean that Macedonia would also take such a measure towards Poland? After a short thought, I said: - Gentlemen, Macedonia will not be an unguarded vineyard.

I think they understood me.

June 9, 1999, Wednesday

Finally, after long discussions, something started to move regarding the participation of our companies at the International Fair "POLAGRA" in Poznani. A fax arrived from the Macedonian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management with the names of Macedonian companies that would participate in the Fair. I informed the relevant Polish ministry and the fair management in Poznani about this by fax.

Peace in Yugoslavia is in sight. Today at 22:00 a corresponding agreement was signed in Kumanovo.

June 10, 1999, Thursday

At 09:00 I received journalists from the magazine "POLITIKA".

At 10:00 I attended a protocol visit with the new Indonesian Ambassador to Poland.

At 11:00 I received Prof. Stronchek from the University of Warsaw. He is a linguist and speaks Macedonian beautifully. He was looking for Macedonian literary works.

At 16:00 I attended a reception at the Embassy of the Russian Federation. All diplomat conversations with me were about the situation in Macedonia.

June 11, 1999, Friday

I received an invitation with the following content, which I translated:

The Marshal of the Sejm and the Marshal of the Senate of the Polish Republic, Machei Plazhiniski and Alitsia Gsheshkoviak, have the honour to invite you to the Ceremonial Session of the Members of Parliament and The Senators to which HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II will address the SEJM AND SENATE OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC on June 11, 1999 at 10:20.

Parliament of the Republic of Poland R. S. V. P.
Special seat - arrival time 09:45.
Box D
Seat 211

Due to the Pope's visit, the authorities were asking citizens to refrain from using their vehicles, as traffic in Warsaw would be restricted. Unprecedented security measures were taken to protect the Pope. No vehicles were allowed to be parked within fifty meters of where the Pope's car would pass.

I left the Embassy at 08:45 and parked in a special place designated for the Diplomatic Corps. I walked with the Croatian Ambassador along the path that was under strict control and spoke about the latest events in Yugoslavia. We appreciated that the situation might still be difficult and very complex.

At 09:30 we entered the parliament one by one, through three controls from a separate entrance, and each sat in the place indicated in the invitation. The program was carried out exactly as planned. The Pope was also punctual. All the people in the hall stood up. The Pope greeted everyone standing, then sat down in the armchair and read his speech casually but with a confident and powerful voice. The act was historic. It was the first time a Pope had entered the Polish parliament and given a speech. The Pope's speech was often interrupted by thunderous applause and cheers. After the speech we all moved into a large hall, where the Pope presented everyone with a plaque with his image on it. Then a group photo was taken of the Pope with the Diplomatic Corps. (The invitation, the full text of the Pope's speech in Polish and photographs can be found in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 407)

June 12, 1999, Saturday

We didn't go for a walk today. We watched the news about Kosovo on television and read newspapers full of articles and comments about the situation in southern Europe. There was nothing pleasant.

June 13, 1999, Sunday

All of Warsaw and Poland was sitting in front of the television watching the million believers gathered on Pilsudski Square. A meeting with the Pope was held. He conducted a service outdoors. The streets were almost deserted. Millions from home or church were watching the broadcast and praying. There were mostly young people present. The Polish Catholic Church must have worked very hard to recruit all those young people. They were the pillars of the faith.

June 14, 1999, Monday

Before going to the meeting at the Presidential Palace (at 12:00) I called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. No one knew anything about the holding of the 5th International Forum of the Bertelsmann Foundation. I also called the Prime Minister's Office. They didn't know anything there either. I faxed a list of presidents, prime ministers and ministers who would participate in the Forum. There was no Macedonian representative on the list. Why? Had it come to this point that the Prime Minister did not know that an important international gathering was taking place?

June 15, 1999, Tuesday

It was reported on television that at 10:00, the Pope did not appear before two million believers gathered outside Krakov. It was announced that he was ill with a fever and a temperature of 38 degrees. There was anxiety among in the population.

Kosta Stoimenovski, the personal advisor on everything to Prime Minister L. Georgievski, called me on the phone. He said that the Prime Minister would not come to the Warsaw Forum and that someone else would probably come but he still did not know who would come.

June 16, 1999, Wednesday

Stoimenovski called me and told me that Miliana Danevska and he, Kosta Stoimenovski and a bodyguard (he was needed the most!) were coming to the Forum. Risto Blazhevski also confirmed Danevska's arrival by fax. I personally informed the organizers of the Forum and they included the names of the Macedonian delegation in the list of participants.

June 17, 1999, Thursday

I received another phone call from Risto Blazhevski. He said that M. Danevska would not be coming because at the same time she had to travel to Germany. Now they were thinking about who to send. He would call me back tomorrow.

June 18, 1999, Friday

A fax arrived from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia informing me that no one from Macedonia would attend the Bertelsmann Foundation forum.

June 19, 1999, Saturday

I had an unplanned, very brief meeting with President Kvashnievski on a weekend outside Warsaw. A favourite vacation spot.

June 20, 1999, Sunday

At 13:00 I attended the official opening of the Honourary Consulate of Latvia based in the town of Radzheiovitse. I met with the Ambassadors of Slovakia, Latvia, Albania, Estonia and the Czech Republic.

June 21, 1999, Monday

An acquaintance called me from Skopje and said that the Minister of Foreign Affairs was speaking on TV and claimed that he only appreciated three Ambassadors who were sent to serve after VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Alternative came to power. All the others were Gligorov's favourites and would soon be unemployed. I told him not to get excited because Gligorov knew who was worth their salt. He knew who worked hard and was successful.

June 22, 1999, Tuesday

I did not go to the Bertelsmann Foundation forum meeting because Risto Blazhevski informed me that no one from Macedonia would participate. In the meantime, Kosta Stoimenovski called me and said that he and the minister without portfolio, Radovan Stoikovski, would participate from Macedonia at the Forum. Although it was very inconvenient and even embarrassing for me, I announced them over the phone, but before that I asked them to confirm their presence by telegram.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the British Embassy. There was a huge number of guests. It was hard to have a conversation because the Scottish bagpipes were very loud.

June 23, 1999, Wednesday

At 10:00 we welcomed Leonid Kuchma, the President of Ukraine. It was raining heavily so the entire formal welcome was over quickly.

At 12:00 I attended a gathering at the Ministry of Agriculture. We were tasting agricultural products.

At 13:00 I had a friendly meeting with Piotr Sardachuk, former Ukrainian Ambassador in Warsaw, now Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was a very warm and open meeting. We exchanged opinions on the situation in our countries. He said that according to the assessments of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, Macedonia would have big problems with Albanians in the future, just as Ukraine had with disloyal Russians, Hungarians and Romanians.

At 15:00 the Ukrainian President met with Polish parliamentarians and the Diplomatic Corps in the Sejm.

June 24, 1999, Thursday

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature for a send off of Boian Grobovshek, the Slovenian Ambassador.

At 13:00 I attended a meeting in the Sejm with the Polish-Macedonian parliamentary group. We had a discussion regarding the situation in Macedonia with a special emphasis on the refugee problem.

At 15:00 Henrik J. Sokaliski arrived at the Embassy together with his wife, Maria. I received them in my office and the entire time our conversation was about the situation in Macedonia and the region.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Australian Embassy held on the occasion of the national holiday.

At 20:30 I was at the airport to welcome Stoikovski and Stoimenski, who will participate in the Bertelsmann Foundation's 5th International Forum.

June 25, 1999, Friday

At 11:00 I attended a cocktail at the Apostolic Nunciature organized in honour of Foreign Minister Geremek. The Nuncio, Archbishop Kovalichik, thanked him for his participation in organizing the Pope's visit.

At 13:00 former mayor of Warsaw Marchin Shvienchitski, arrived at the Embassy. He introduced himself as a member of an international commission that was supposed to travel to Kosovo and examine the situation on the spot regarding the issue of establishing a new administration. He said that he knew nothing about Kosovo and asked me to tell him more about what Kosovo

was like in the SFRY, what rights the Albanians had and what they did not have, and so on. I spoke for two hours and he just took notes. At the end of the conversation, he said to me: - I learned a lot of things that I knew nothing about. I learned a lot from you, Ambassador, you are a living encyclopedia.

After he left I thought to myself:

- These are the kind of ignorant people who are sent to where the fate of thousands of people would be decided. Unfortunately, such people also come to Macedonia...

At 18:00 I attended a reception organized by the Embassy of Slovenia on the occasion of the completion of the diplomatic mission of Ambassador Boian Grobovshek. I had more meetings and discussions regarding Macedonia, which after a bad start was becoming increasingly popular among diplomats.

June 26, 1999, Saturday

From 10:00 to 12:00 I was at the Bertelsmann Foundation forum. There I met famous political figures, presidents of states, prime ministers, ministers, etc. Among them were our Kosta Stoimenovski, the advisor on everything to the Macedonian Prime Minister, who declined to participate in the Forum, and the minister without portfolio, Radovan Stoikovski, a smart guy unlike Kosta. I had the impression that the smartest people in Europe had been gathered, with certain exceptions. Unfortunately, Macedonia sent the lowest level of people in this delegation. Radovan Stoikovski's speech was received with attention and interest, while Stoimenovski's walk around the conference hall was repulsive and boring.

June 27, 1999, Sunday

The Conference ended at noon. The Macedonian delegation spent some time in our Embassy before returning to Skopje. Stoimenovski's first reaction was a loud promise about

President Kiro Gligorov's portrait hanging in the salon of the Embassy about which he said:

- Why did you hang this guy's portrait here? When I come here as the next Ambassador, I will break and burn it.

Minister Stoikovski reacted to this and, in a nervous tone of voice, said to Stoimenovski:

- Congratulations, future Ambassador. From now on, it is clear that you will only be ruining things, instead of improving them. With people like that, Macedonia was certain to suffer.

It is worth noting that Stoimenovski came to Warsaw as the Macedonian Ambassador but he no longer had the opportunity to smash and burn the portrait of the one who elevated Macedonia. On my departure for Skopje I packed the portrait of President Kiro Gligorov, painted at my expense by a famous Warsaw portraitist, and I still keep it at home. And Stoimenovski was quickly returned to Skopje by Minister Ilinka Mitreva for inactivity. That was how all the media in Macedonia reported it.

June 28, 1999, Monday

It was a day without activities, I used it to rest on a bench in the nearest park.

June 29, 1999, Tuesday

Today my wife and I celebrated forty years of marriage.

Our children called to congratulate us. We had a festive lunch in the old part of Warsaw.

June 30, 1999, Wednesday

At 14:00 I had a conversation with Tombiniski at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He informed me that Poland was interested in participating in the reconstruction of Yugoslavia and that it would be good to do so through Macedonia. I told him to submit a proposal to me in writing with an explanation.

At 19:15 I was at the airport to meet a delegation from the Macedonian Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the Social Insurance Institute. I waited in vain. I checked the information and it turned out that the plane from Skopje had not taken off.

July 1, 1999, Thursday

I received a fax informing me that the plane with the delegation headed for Warsaw would be landing at 11:30. I went to the airport to meet them. I made reservations at the "GRANT" hotel for them and at 14:00 I joined the talks. I did the same at 19:00 and that is why I unable to attend the reception at the Embassy of Pakistan.

July 2, 1999, Friday

From 09:15 to 13:00 I attended at a conference discussing "The Balkan Wars 1991-1999 - Causes and Consequences" for which I had received an invitation a few days ago. I did not participate in the discussion. Some of the participants claimed that they had personally participated in the organization of the events together with some figures from Western agencies.

(The invitation and the program of the Conference in Polish can be found in the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 426)

From 17:00 to 21:00 I attended cocktails, first with the Americans and then with the Belarusians.

July 3, 1999, Saturday

At 06:00 I was at the airport for a send off of part of the delegation heading back to Skopje.

July 4, 1999, Sunday,

Due to the high temperatures (32 degrees) and very humid air, I stayed "at home" all day.

July 5, 1999, Monday

Just like yesterday.

July 6, 1999, Tuesday

Just like yesterday.

July 7, 1999, Wednesday

At 11:00 I received a group of builders (company owners) who said that they were interested in participating in the reconstruction of Yugoslavia together with Macedonian companies. I told them to submit a written offer.

At 14:00 I received the owner of a company from Toruni that produces medical supplies. He was interested in selling medical supplies in Macedonia and even building a factory. I asked him to submit a written offer.

After 40 years I met Dime Donovski, son of Kolio and Lefka, whose father died in the fall of 1947 as a fighter of the Democratic Army of Greece. I have already written in my night notes about Lefka (known as Lefteria to some, Koliovitska to others), who married a Greek in Poland whose first son, Giorgos, now worked as a translator at the Greek Embassy. We went to dinner with Dime and Giorgos.

We had a long conversation about painful memories.

July 8, 1999, Thursday

A Polish man whom I did not know brought fifteen Albanians to the Embassy. He said they were refugees from Kosovo and were seeking travel documents to return home or go to Macedonia.

I refused to issue them passports.

July 9, 1999, Friday

Throughout the day, refugees from Kosovo (how did they get to Poland?) constantly came to the Embassy, looking for passports.

At 18:30 I attended a reception at the Argentine Embassy.

At 19:30 we went to the airport. We went to meet Milenka, Tanja and our granddaughter Marija. The plane was 45 minutes late. Our children will stay in Warsaw for a short time, until July 21, which will shorten our joy.

For the first time since I've been in Warsaw, I feel free from worries and responsibilities. One day my wife told me that she hadn't seen me smile and be so happy in a long time. Today we are all very joyful and happy.

July 10, 1999, Saturday

We spent the entire day with our children. We reminisced about the time when they were as young as Marija. Our conversations concentrated mostly on our past and family affairs. One of these days when I have more free time, we will visit Warsaw and the take our talkative and cheerful granddaughter to the zoo, where she loves to be taken. We, however, do have a problem with Marija – she doesn't want to eat. Her grandmother has been running after her in the yard with a plate in her hand.

July 11, 1999, Sunday

Today is Marija's birthday. She's three years old. She got a lot of toys. We are happy that today she is our greatest joy. The day is hers and ours.

Today is also St. Peter's Day. A big holiday in Macedonia. It is also my name day.

July 12, 1999, Monday

I received an invitation to participate in the celebrations marking the liberation of the infamous German concentration camp Maidanek. I asked Skopje to provide me with data on Macedonian Jews.

Risto Blazhevski called and said that work was underway to appoint an honourary Macedonian consul in Poland. Secretary General Efremovski still had no information on whether receptions would be organized on the occasion of September 8, Macedonia's Independence Day. They said they were waiting for the Minister of Foreign Affairs to decide.

July 13, 1999, Tuesday

At 09:00 I went to the Ministry of Culture and Arts. I had a conversation with Tsvech. I handed him two invitations for two Polish poets to participate in the Struga Poetry Evenings and the text of the address to poets in the world.

No news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia.

July 14, 1999, Wednesday

At 08:45 the President of Armenia was welcomed. Prime Minister L. Georgievski congratulated Clark, the American general, on his victory. Was that what his advisor advised him to do?

Bombs were no longer falling on Serbia. The Serbs were the moral victors.

July 15, 1999, Thursday

I attended a reception at the French Embassy. A speech was given by the Ambassador without translation. The French Prime Minister was also present. Around 2,000 guests were milling around in the huge French courtyard. The reception was one of the poorest and most unsuccessful receptions. The French

tried to please the Poles with a glass of champagne and some wine and cheese.

It was been noted that wealthy countries did not spend much money on receptions.

July 16, 1999, Friday

At 13:00 I had a meeting with "ENERGOPOL", a Polish company that wanted to enter the Macedonian market. It had been agreed that they would provide me with an offer and a schedule for their visit to Macedonia.

At 19:00 I attended a reception held at the Embassy of Iraq.

(In the manuscript, BINDER IX, p. 438) attached is the ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN WARSAW FOR 1998.

July 17, 1999, Saturday

Visited King Jan III Sobieski's royal palace in Vilanuv. King Jan defeated the Ottomans near Vienna. I took a stroll through the flower park landscaped according to the French model.

July 18, 1999, Sunday

I took a walk around Warsaw.

July 19, 1999, Monday

The expected materials on the Maidanek camp have not arrived. Risto Blazhevski, who called today, said that the Jewish community in Skopje had not delivered them to him. In the same conversation, he told me that on September 25 and 26 this year, the Prime Ministers of the right-wing governments of: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria will meet in

Gdansk. He was also interested in L. Georgievski participating in this meeting.

I called the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and they told me that they knew nothing about holding such a meeting.

July 20, 1999, Tuesday

At 12:00 I attended a reception at the Swiss Embassy. The new ambassador spoke highly of Macedonia and told me that he would come to see me for a protocol visit next week.

According to his remarks, the Albanian Ambassador is convinced that the only salvation for Kosovo is independence.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Embassy of Colombia.

July 21, 1999, Wednesday

At 09:25, we were at the airport to see our children depart for Skopje. It was a sad day.

At 14:00 I attended a meeting at the Directorate of the Main Post Office of Poland, for which the Skopje company "ALUMINA" was building the main entrance. They had financial misunderstandings, in which I did not get involved.

July 22, 1999, Thursday

At 12:00 I attended a reception at the Egyptian Embassy. Poor response from those invited. Summer vacations had begun, hence the low attendance.

July 23, 1999, Friday

At 08:00 we left for Liublin where, at the invitation of the director of the "MAJDANEK" museum, we participated in the festivities marking the 55th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi Maidanek concentration camp.

We were escorted on the ceremonial stage where a place was reserved for us next to the place where Zdzhislav Podkaniski, Minister of Culture and Arts, was sitting. After the museum director gave his ceremonial speech, we were escorted towards the camp's main building. We went through an alley which had signs with the names of countries written on them, burning torches and national flags were raised high on flagpoless. The signs read: MACEDONIA, MACEDONCZYCY, MACEDONIAS with the Kutlesh sun flag flying high. We lit a candle next to the torch with the inscription MACEDONIA and continued on to the main house where, written in a book, were the names of those killed in the camp. On the page where MACEDONIA was written, I wrote an appropriate message in Macedonian.

(Photographs of this can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 5).

At 14:00 we had lunch hosted by Mr. Voitas, Marshal of the Local Parliament of Liublin. Several representatives of local businesses attended the lunch. We had discussions centered around economic and other types of cooperation.

At the initiative of Minister Zdzhislav Podkaniski, we visited the Castle and the Orthodox Church, whose iconography closely resembled those of Macedonian churches. This church was built secretly in secret rooms of the Castle. From there we visited the city and had dinner in the company Voitas, Marshal of the local parliament, Minister Podkaniski and another person who was the owner of a large company. We agreed that a larger group of businessmen would visit Macedonia at the end of August, for which I said I would get personally involved.

July 24, 1999, Saturday

At 08:30 I had breakfast with Voitas and the minister. After breakfast, the driver came up to me and complained that he was not feeling well. We took him to the doctor, who said that it was best for him to remain under medical supervision, that he

should not drive and that they would keep him in the hospital for a while. How were we going to get back to Warsaw? I decided to drive myself, even though I had not driven for four years but then Voitas offered me his driver. I accepted and we set off for Warsaw. Before leaving the city, the driver said:

- If you wish to go somewhere else, I am at your disposal. I am free today.

We had always wanted to visit the villages Liskovati and Kroshchenko, where at the beginning of 1951, by personal order of Nikos Zahariadis, leader of the Communist Party of Greece, over three thousand Macedonian and Greek refugees were resettled in the vacated Ukrainian houses. In 1947 in this region called Bieshchadi, fierce fighting was waged between the Polish army and Ukrainian nationalists and the remnants of the German Nazis who suffered a catastrophic defeat in the joint action carried out by the Polish, Czechoslovak and Soviet armies. The Polish authorities relocated all Ukrainians from this region to Northwestern Poland. Hundreds of Ukrainian houses remained empty. It was in these two villages that refugees forced out of Greece were given shelter. The villages once again came to life after they were emptied. And we the child refugees from the Greek Civil War who lived in children's homes, were taken there for summer holidays. (More about the conditions in those two villages in my novel "ON THE ROAD OF NO RETURN"). Now there are almost no houses in those villages. The temporary residents - the Greeks moved to Greece and the Macedonians, some set off for Bulgaria, others for Yugoslavia-Macedonia and others went to overseas countries. The village Kroshchenko is on the border, there is a border crossing to Ukraine only three or four kilometers away. Of the inhabitants, there are only railway workers, border police, customs officers, five or six mixed Greek-Polish families, a small shop and one Macedonian called Lazo (**photo in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 8**) who came from the village Konomladi, Kostur Region, who, with his Polish wife, two sons and a daughter, did not leave the village in which there were once over three hundred houses and two churches. The

largest house, the communists turned into a cultural center - a cinema, a theater stage and a hall for party meetings in which in 1952, under the leadership of Zahariadis, a Macedonian so-called revolutionary organization under the name ILINDEN was formed. This was another big fraud? The church was no longer there, it was burned down. The old oaks around it were also burned down. The three hundred or so wooden houses which existed are no longer there. The only way one could tell that they even existed is from their foundations that are now overgrown with thorns. The hatred from the bad times experienced then has not faded. I took pictures with my video camera (a cassette in the manuscript) and we slowly walked towards Lazo's house. His wife, who spoke Macedonian quite well, welcomed us. Lazo also came out but with a relaxed step. We had a warm and cordial conversation. The wife did not offer coffee. Lazo was a fighter in the movement against the Italians and Germans, a corporal in the Democratic Army of Greece, and a three-year participant in the battles of Gramos and Vicho. After he was badly wounded in the last battles on Gramos, Lazo was treated in the secret hospital in Poland. After he offered us vodka he said that he was always in quarrels with the Greek Ambassadors who occasionally visited his few Greek compatriots and lay flowers on the graves of those who remained forever in that once desolate part of the world. I learned that every year, a special bus from Greece came here bringing the descendants of those who were resting in the new cemetery in Kroshchenko, clean the graves covered with white marble, put flowers on them and covered them with the Greek flag, while the graves of the Macedonians were without names and overgrown with weeds. And we, at the old cemetery, in the village Liskovate, which no longer exists, are looking in the tall grass for the plaque that Grandpa Mitre from Smrdesh had placed on the grave of Grandma Marija on which he had carved the following message with a chisel:

"Here lies Marija Karkorova from the village Smrdesh, Kostur Region, Macedonia."

We looked for the grave but didn't find it. It was probably bulldozed when the site was leveled along with the other tombstones and crosses.

We returned to Warsaw with tearful eyes and with pain and anguish in our souls.

July 25, 1999, Sunday

At 08:00 the driver arrived at the Embassy and apologized for what had happened to him in Liublin. I patted him on the shoulder and said that this could have happened to anyone. I told him to go home and get a good rest. The poor guy was full of gratitude.

July 26, 1999, Monday

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia requested an invitation from the Polish authorities to be granted to L. Georgievski to participate in the meeting of right-wing prime ministers of the countries of Central Europe. I had been told that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs hds not heard of any such meeting.

July 27, 1999, Tuesday

I took the opportunity to do some office work.

July 28, 1999, Wednesday

We visited one of the most beautiful parks in Warsaw.

July 29, 1999, Thursday

Risto Blazhevski called for the second time and asked me to arrange an invitation for L. Georgievski to participate in the Conference of Prime Ministers of Central European Right-wing

Governments. I told him that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had told me that such a conference was not planned for now and, if it was planned, then L. Georgievski would certainly be invited.

The man could not wait to find himself in the company of European prime ministers.

July 30, 1999, Friday

The director of "ALUMINA" and his representative in Poland came to the Embassy. They asked me to intervene in the resolution of the financial disputes with the Polish Post Office. I said that I was not responsible for such matters.

July 31, 1999, Saturday

At 12:00 I visited one of the most beautiful buildings being constructed in Warsaw. It was being built by a Turkish company whose owner is a Turk who was born in Bitola and moved to Turkey with his parents as a student in the 1950s. He spoke poor Macedonian but we understood each other. I invited him to visit me at the Embassy.

At 09:00 my brother Risto called me from Australia. We had a painful conversation. The fate that others imposed on us forced us to only communicate over the phone.

I was called by Polish radio and asked to give an interview regarding the situation in Macedonia and the losses from the war against Yugoslavia. I said that I was very busy with urgent obligations.

At 19:00 I had dinner at Sokaliski's. Among those present were academician Tome Serafimovski and Tome Ketsman.

We sent congratulations to leading state figures in Macedonia on the occasion of the ILINDEN holiday.

Academician Serafimovski and Tome Ketsman came to the Embassy. After last night's dinner at Sokaliski's, we spent two hours together having a relaxed conversation.

After sending my guests off, I called the driver into my office. He was visibly afraid when he looked at me straight in the eyes.

- Pan Zbisho (that's what we called him but his name was Zbigniev) come and sit here next to me so we can have coffee together, I said.

Zbisho moved his feet with restraint and said quietly and somewhat shyly:

- Mr. Ambassador, excuse me, but it is not proper for a driver to sit with an Ambassador and drink coffee with him. As you know, the driver's seat is next to the car and...

- Pan Zbisho don't give me advice, just sit here next to me.

My wife brought coffee and joined us.

- Mr. Zbisho I would like to ask you for a favour. My wife and I would like to go on vacation for a few days starting tomorrow. We would like to go somewhere where there are forests, meadows and as few people as possible.

- I know a place like that. I'll talk to the director right now. Can I go?

- You can but first finish your coffee.

Zbisho swallowed once or twice and said:

- But what kind of person are you, Mr. Ambassador, to sit with the driver as if he were your closest friend and drink coffee together? I have driven high-ranking state and party figures and ambassadors, but this is the first time I have had to drink coffee with an ambassador... Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador, for the honour. May I go now?

August 1, 1999, Sunday

Tomorrow ILINDEN will be celebrated in Macedonia.

Pan Zbisho came earlier and said that if we were ready we could go.

We went on a three-day vacation to TRUITSA, in the Bieshchadi Mountains, at a government resort recommended to us by our driver, Juzho.

At noon we arrived in TRUITSA, that's what the sign said. We turned left and saw the familiar hill in front of us. There were five wooden villas. (photos in the notes, BINDER X, p. 14) We settled into the lowest villa but, after a short time, the director came and said that he had reserved the upper villa for me and asked us to go with him. We went upstairs, he opened the door wide and in front of us was a large, beautifully decorated bedroom. I filmed it with my camera.

- This is where Tito slept - said the director.
- What? What did you say?
- You heard me right, Mr. Ambassador.

He then said:

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Prime Minister Piotra Jaroshevich (who was assassinated; assassins still not found) decided to turn part of the almost devastated Bieshchadi Mountains into a national park. In a place called TRUITSA (the name of three former, now defunct Ukrainian villages and three rivers) he ordered the construction of five villas entirely made of wood. For this purpose, a large group of workers of political prisoners was formed who built the five villas and then a small airport. In fact, it was not a national park but a large, almost unlimited hunting ground where the secretaries general of the Eastern European countries, including Tito, gathered every autumn and hunted: roe deer, deer, bears and even wolves, whose stuffed heads decorated the walls of the ceremonial hall, the dining room and other rooms where the guests went.

After hearing this, I told the director – I'm staying in the lower villa.

We spent the days (August 2, 3, 4) walking through the large meadows where we discovered traces of deer, roe deer, wild boars and wolves and more often than not we saw whole herds of deer and roe deer grazing peacefully. It was a wonderful place to relax – clean air and silence.

In the evenings we lit a large fire in the fireplace where we burned whole oak logs and had a glass of Macedonian wine (I always carried a few bottles of wine in my trunk). We then joined a professor from the Warsaw Polytechnic, a great expert on the Region, who was vacationing there with his young wife. For hours, we listened to the tragic history of this part of the world and learned a lot about what was happening there towards the end of World War II, especially in the period up to 1947. In what the professor told us, we also found part of our fate in Aegean Macedonia.

(The notes of the experiences and what we heard from the professor can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, pp. 23-25 and 27-32.)

August 5, 1999, Thursday

The following telegram arrived on the resort's fax machine, the number of which I had sent to the secretary at the Embassy:

"Number: 07-8184/1 Date: 8/5/1999
Mr. Ambassador Nakovski,

In order to initiate a procedure for recalling the existing and appointing new Ambassadors of the Republic of Macedonia, and following the meeting with the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Liubcho Georgievski, it has been agreed that your return to the Republic of Macedonia will be on September 15, 1999.

I kindly request that you promptly initiate the procedure for organizing farewell meetings in the country of accreditation. It is also necessary to undertake all other activities related to the termination of your position as Ambassador, in order to meet this deadline.

Minister,
Aleksandar Dimitrov, sr."

The telegram did not surprise me. I expected something similar after Kosta Stoimenovski's visit to the Embassy, who, with his posture and behaviour, openly announced that he would be the next Ambassador to Warsaw and the threat regarding the destruction of the portrait of President Kiro Gligorov, seemed to let me know that the new authorities would soon begin to purge diplomats who did not share their views. In short, with the return of career diplomats, the destruction of Macedonian professional diplomacy, but also the careers and ambitions of the protagonists, starting with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and their shadow advisors, was already beginning.

I must admit that I received the telegram with a certain spiritual relief and with the conviction that I would now be free from people burdened with jealousy and intolerance and, to a certain extent, would preserve my declining health.

I called the driver on the phone with a message to come tomorrow and pick us up between 10 and 11.

August 6, 1999, Friday

We left TRUITSA at 11:20 and arrived in Warsaw at 18:00. Before entering the city the driver said:

- Mr. Ambassador, when your mission is over then I will tell you what happened where you were.

- Yes, a gentleman did tell us something but how did you know about what happened?

- Sir, I worked as a government driver when the villas were being built. Did you see the stones on the foundations and the fireplaces? They are all washed stone. Two others and I carried them in trucks from the rivers and piled them up under Zakopane. They were smooth and had been washed for centuries. Three hundred kilometers of road.

- But the villas and the fireplaces are also beautiful - said Ditta.

- Yes, ma'am, they are beautiful but the pain and suffering of the builders was immeasurable. They were built under the rod and whip. When I think about it, I just want to cry. Great disasters have happened there, ma'am, very great ones.

Pan Zbisho only told us that much but we had learned a lot from the Warsaw professor.

We arrived at the Embassy burdened by what we had learned.

August 7, 1999, Saturday

I reviewed the incoming mail and then set about preparing the financial report for July 1999, which took me all day.

August 8, 1999, Sunday

I organized the binders in the special room for storing official materials. I wrote the year, month and day on each one.

August 9, 1999, Monday

Starting today, I began to prepare for the completion of my diplomatic mission.

The first step was to notify the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note. I wrote the note by hand in Polish, checked the text several times, which I had already typed on the computer and translated it into Macedonian. This is what I wrote:

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw sends its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and has the honour to inform that His Excellency the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic

of Poland, Mr. Petre Nakovski, is ending his diplomatic mission in Poland as of September 15, 1999.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw has the honour to ask His Excellency Ambassador Petre Nakovski to allow him to hold farewell protocol meetings with Polish personalities.

The Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Warsaw avails itself of the opportunity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland to renew the assurances of its highest consideration.

Monday.

Warsaw, August 10, 1999 (Print)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

of the Republic of Poland

Warsaw

I will send the note tomorrow. I will send a similar note to the Diplomatic Protocol and the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Archbishop J. Kovalchik.

(A copy in Polish can be found in manuscript, BINDER X, p. 34)

In the afternoon, I sent a telegram to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia with the following text:

In connection with the completion of my diplomatic mission, it is customary for the new Ambassador or Chargé d'Affaires to take over a large part of the Ambassador's duties during the farewell meetings and other activities, to whom the archive, seals and all property of the Embassy are handed over by signing an official record. Before the Ambassador's departure, it is customary to organize a farewell reception for the Diplomatic Corps, as well as for ministers and other figures from the political, cultural, economic and other institutions of the receiving country. The reception would also be in honour of the Independence of the Republic of Macedonia.

I ask for your opinion.

August 10, 1999, Tuesday

I continued to sort out the documentation at the Embassy.

August 11, 1999, Wednesday

The secretary from the Ministry of Urban Planning of the Republic of Macedonia called and said that they had only received my telegram dated July 27 this year today. He asked if the issue was still relevant. I told him that he would resolve it with the new Ambassador.

August 12, 1999, Thursday

At 09:00 the Diplomatic Protocol called and asked us to coordinate the list of people with whom I wanted to have farewell visits.

I received a telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia signed by V. Efremovski informing me that they were considering sending a person to replace me until a new ambassador was appointed.

In the chaos that continued in the ministry and the arrogance and arbitrariness of the minister, I was sure that they would think for a long time about who to send.

At 11:00 I went to the Apostolic Nunciature to send off the Canadian Ambassador. After the meeting I asked Archbishop J. Kovalchuk to receive me.

- Dear Ambassador, he said, I will always receive you with the greatest pleasure and I will tell you why. Please come to the office.

At first our conversation was about the weather and then Archbishop Kovalchuk moved on to the Balkans, speaking very highly of Macedonia and expressing concern about the situation

in Kosovo, which could have a very bad impact on Macedonia. In many respects our assessments were authentic.

I took advantage of the brief interruption in the conversation to tell him that my diplomatic mission in Poland would end on September 15th of this year, and on that occasion I asked him to see me. He was surprised and stared at me for a long time as if counting the time that had passed.

- Did time pass so quickly?

- It's not fast, Your Excellency – I said. - It's been four years and a few months.

- However, time has flown by quickly – he said thoughtfully. – Mr. Ambassador, my dear friend, I am very surprised. I will miss you very much. I have met many ambassadors who have been to Warsaw. You are very rare. An excellent interlocutor with a high culture of behaviour, eloquent, sensitive, balanced, respectful of other people's opinions, but also a staunch defender of the Macedonian name, an excellent expert on European problems, especially the Balkan region. With you, dear Ambassador, it is a pleasure to talk with the expectation that one will learn something. You have a God-given gift for communicating with people. It is a pity, a great pity, my Ambassador, that you are leaving. The diplomatic corps will remain impoverished without you. My assessment is that you have been the best diplomat in these four years. You have achieved a lot, so much that your president, Mr. Kiro Gligorov, should be proud of you. I carefully follow the work of the ambassadors both through my people and through contacts and conversations with the competent Polish authorities. No other ambassador has received such a high positive assessment in the last 20 years except for you. I am convinced that the Polish authorities, with whom you have established unbreakable friendly relations, will also regret it. You have improved cooperation and raised relations between our two countries to a high level. However, the will of the authorities in Macedonia should be respected. I am sorry to say this but they were wrong to withdraw you. The Polish authorities also think so. President Gligorov

appointed a successful, very successful and talented diplomat as ambassador. What I am telling you, of course, very sincerely, I am telling you not out of any hypocrisy, but openly from my heart and soul. Honestly... As The Lord God is my witness. I will also say this at the farewell meeting with the Diplomatic Corps.

Honestly, it was not easy for me to hear these words of praise from such an important person. I thanked him for the good words and then we arranged for the farewell meeting with the Diplomatic Corps to be held on September 7, 1999.

Archbishop Josef Kovalichik, Apostolic Nuncio and Doyen, escorted me to the stairs, which was a great honour. He took my hand and quietly said:

- Ambassador, I must tell you honestly that I have written to the Holy Father in the Vatican about you several times. Of course, very commendably. And I always wrote - the Ambassador of Macedonia. As far as I know, you have devoted yourself entirely to your mission. I know that you are alone and that you do everything alone. It is a pity, a great pity that you are being recalled. I have one wish - that you continue to serve your homeland in this way. Goodbye, dear Ambassador and friend.

Archbishop Kovalichik squeezed my hands tightly and slowly led me to the main door.

I returned to the Embassy moved.

In the evening, an acquaintance from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia called me on the phone.

- I don't know but I think I'm hearing right, and I hear that we'll see each other soon. They say you're on the list to return.

"I don't know," I told him.

- Well, listen so you will know. L. Georgievski wants to "unhook" Turupurkovski and his scoundrel, meaning the minister as well. They say he will put his own people in their places and will also appoint his own people as ambassadors. And what can I tell you, we have become a circus. Do you understand?

- I understood but only a little.

- Don't worry. When you come home you'll learn a lot more. Good bye and good night.

August 13, 1999, Friday

At 10:00 I went to the Diplomatic Protocol, where we prepared a list of state figures whom I wanted to receive for a farewell meeting. They will notify me of the date.

I received a letter from the principal of the Adam Rapatski Elementary School in Vrotslav expressing gratitude for the materials I had sent them, which related to Macedonia. He wrote that his students won first place in the competition. Along with the letter, he sent a photo on which a large board read – MACEDONIA.

The Ministry of Transport and Communications sent me the Protocol of the talks held in Ohrid with representatives of the relevant Polish ministry. **(The entire text is attached in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 49.)**

August 14, 1999, Saturday

I had dinner with the Greek Ambassador Chryssanthopoulos, at the newly opened Greek restaurant "ZORBAS". We had a casual conversation without delving into the contentious parts of Macedonian-Greek relations.

August 15, 1999, Sunday

I am preparing a list of non-governmental organizations, associations and individuals I want to meet with at the farewell meeting.

August 16 and 17, 1999, Monday and Tuesday

I continue to prepare spiritually for the farewell meetings.

August 18, 1999, Wednesday

At 13:00 I attended a farewell meeting with Mrs. Skaviniska, director of BANK HANDLOWY, where the Embassy had opened a bank account. I thanked her for the services and the excellent attitude of the employees and told her to convey my gratitude to them.

August 19, 1999, Thursday

At 09:45 I attended the welcoming of Rudolf Schuster, President of Slovakia, the first Slovak President. Many ambassadors greeted me there and expressed regret, but also many praises, for the completion of my mission. Luca Bionato, the Italian Ambassador, shook my hand and loudly said:

– Who am I going to hang out with and have intelligent conversations with now that you're going? I'm mad at you. I don't even want to talk to you. Go away. Shame on you.

The Albanian Ambassador, who was always on my case creating all kinds of obstacles, said that he had gotten used to me and became attached to me and that everyone would surely feel the void with me gone. Many others told me that they had learned to be decisive from me. I heard similar praises at the reception at the Hungarian Embassy that lasted from 18:00 to 20:00 on the occasion of the 999th anniversary of the existence of the Hungarian state – the national holiday of Hungary. The news of my departure quickly spread among the Poles present there and members of the Diplomatic Corps whom I often met at various receptions and cocktails. It was pleasant but also awkward for me to listen to their praises. It was noticeable that there were more guests around me than around the host. Perhaps because there was great interest in the situation in our region.

I must admit that I regret that so many relationships would be severed but, at the same time, I am happy that in a month I will be with my children, free from everyday obligations and the feeling of responsibility for every word spoken, thought

expressed and assessment made in conversations with the large number of interlocutors, especially from political and diplomatic circles.

August 20, 1999, Friday

The package with the printed invitations for the farewell meeting and the September 8, Independence Day of the Republic of Macedonia, has arrived.

The text of the invitation translated reads:

On the occasion of the National Day of the Republic of Macedonia
Independence Day
and the completion of the diplomatic mission,
The Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia and Ditta Nakovska
have the honour to invite you
to a reception on Wednesday, September 8, 1999, from 18:00-20:00.
Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia R. S. V. P
Warsaw 843 13 26
15 Dominikanjska St. 853 46 72

The invitations from the Nunciature regarding the farewell meeting with the Diplomatic Corps also arrived.

I received the following telegram from Nikola Gruevski, Minister of Trade. It read:

To the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in the Republic of Poland
Ambassador Mr. Petre Nakovski

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

We are pleased to accept your suggestions regarding the upcoming arrival of representatives of the Polish economy. To this end, we will also inform the other ministries you mentioned in your letter.

The Ministry of Trade will prepare for the arrival of the business delegation from the Republic of Poland. In that context, please inform us of the exact date of arrival, as well as provide us with a list of the companies that will be coming, their activities and which companies from the Republic of Macedonia they wish to meet with.

Please keep us informed about the progress and development of your engagement in realizing this idea.

Respectfully, Minister,
Nikola Gruevski, sr. stamp

August 21, 1999, Saturday

In the afternoon I sent the requested data, which I had sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia the previous month.

August 22, 1999, Sunday

Ditta, Milenka and I went for a walk through the old part of Warsaw, we had lunch at a Chinese restaurant.

August 23, 1999, Monday

I organized materials in binders.

August 24, 1999, Tuesday

A letter from a group of parliamentarians arrived from Liublin with a request that they, as local businessmen, visit the Republic of Macedonia. They proposed that the visit take place in

the third week of September. During their stay they would hold meetings with Macedonian businessmen.

I informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this, asking them to submit the request to the Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia.

At 18:00 I attended a reception hosted by the Embassy of Ukraine. It was modest with a few invited guests.

August 25, 1999, Wednesday

I sent off a high-ranking Polish military delegation to Skopje, headed by Army General Henrik Shumski, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army.

At 13:30 I went to the airport to welcome the FC "VARDAR" football players.

August 26, 1999, Thursday

I paid a farewell visit to Tombiniski, Director of the Department for Southeast Europe. I received many compliments and expressions of gratitude for our fruitful cooperation but also regrets about my departure.

VARDAR lost 4:0 during the football match LEGIJA-VARDAR.

August 27, 1999, Friday

I attended a reception at the Croatian Embassy. I took the opportunity for farewell meetings with the ambassadors present and other people with whom I had contact during the mission.

August 28, 1999, Saturday

I rested. I read newspapers and watched Greek television. I organized materials.

August 29, 1999, Sunday

At 06:00 I read on the internet that Minister Radoslav Stoikovski, his wife and daughter were killed in a traffic accident involving a NATO vehicle.

At 09:30 Henrik Sokaliski called me and expressed his condolences on the death of Minister Radoslav Stoikovski.

August 30, 1999, Monday

At 11:00 I received Danuta Chirliki Strashiniska, a famous translator of Macedonian literature and a great advocate of Macedonia in Poland. We arranged the Panorama of poems by Macedonian poets.

Risto Blazhevski informed me by telegram that Prime Minister L. Georgievski would participate in the meeting of the Central European right-wing parties to be held in Gdansk from September 23-26 this year.

I notified the organizer of the meeting by phone.

August 31, 1999, Tuesday

The diplomatic protocol provided me with the list of farewell visits, which included 31 high-ranking state figures. The same number of individuals and institutions should be added to this list.

(See appendix in manuscript, BINDER X, p. 61)

At 12:00 I attended a farewell meeting at the Government of the Republic of Poland. In the absence of the Prime Minister, I was received by Iezhi Novakovski, minister in the Prime Minister's Office who, on his behalf, was authorized to express gratitude and recognition for the excellently executed diplomatic mission that greatly contributed to the rise and strengthening of Polish-Macedonian relations.

At 13:00 the Charge´ d'Affaires of the Embassy of Yugoslavia, Mrs. Sonja Banda, arrived at the Embassy.

Disappointed and excited, she told me that she had been recalled and that she would be returning to Belgrade on September 15. She asked me to help her with the technical side of the departure. Then we talked about Macedonian-Serbian relations. She thanked me for my cooperation, saying that I was the most valued and respected ambassador in Warsaw. I accepted the compliment with the wish for a happy return to her homeland.

September 1, 1999, Wednesday

At 09:30 Henrik Sokaliski arrived at the Embassy without notice. After he greeted me, he immediately expressed regret for my departure. He said that Macedonia would not have another such successful ambassador in Poland for a long time and that those who decided on my return had made a big and unforgivable mistake.

I received this with a smile and thanked him for such warm and appreciative words. I said that the almost five years spent on this mission in Poland required both a little rest and a greater engagement in my own affairs. I told him that I had unfinished manuscripts of my books and many unrealized ideas and projects. It was time to finish those things too.

Before leaving Sokaliski gave me a letter. He took an envelope from his pocket with the following address written on it:

H.E. Ambassador Petre Nakovski
Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia
ul.Dominikawska 15
02-738 Warsaw

After he left I took out the letter and read it. It was a complimentary letter with similar recognitions and praises that I had received from many other high-ranking figures and representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. Due to my busy schedule I had not paid any attention to such personal relations until now. I was simply carrying out the mission entrusted to me. This is what

the letter said: **(A copy can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 63, the original in the author's archive.)**

Henrik J. SOKALISKI
Former UN Deputy Secretary-General
and Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Macedonia
st. Zhegestovska 23F,
02-94 Warsaw, Poland

Tel./Fax: (+4822) 642-6633
Mob.tel. (+48602) 745-316
E-mail: henryks@pol.pl **Warsaw, September 1, 1999.**

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

The news of the completion of your mission in Poland has reached us. Many friends of Macedonia learned about this not without surprise. However, such are the rules of this service and it is difficult not to notice them. Without you, Sir, we will be poorer because there are few like you, who have done so much for Polish-Macedonian relations. I express this opinion knowing the situation, as an active observer, both from the perspective of Warsaw and Skopje.

Sir, your many years of ties with Poland, your wonderful knowledge of its realities and language, your extraordinary creative achievements in the field of popularizing culture, and especially your translations of Polish literature have crowned you with immense recognition and the highest gratitude of our two countries. I am convinced that the official authorities of Poland and Macedonia will be able to fully appreciate such recognition and will encourage you to make further efforts in the field of strengthening our mutual relations. We need this very much, also for the sake of peaceful cooperation in Europe.

I, Sir, am personally greatly indebted to you for all our joint meetings and discussions, both when I was in Skopje and now at the time of my return to my country. In the difficult moments of the last months in the Balkans, you, Sir, have shown a fortitude of spirit and a patriotism worthy of admiration. We shared and continue to share with you, Sir, all the feelings and wishes for the well-being of Macedonia and the entire neighbourhood.

I would be grateful if you, upon your return to Skopje, would convey my best personal greetings to His Exellency President Kiro Gligorov, His Exellency Prime Minister Ljubcho Georgievski and other politicians I know, who – above all divisions on the political scene – have always paid me much authentic attention and evidence of trust.

My wife Maria and I wish you, Mr. Ambassador, and your wife a fruitful new year of work for the good of your Homeland and every success in your family and personal life.

Hernrick J. Sokaliski, sr.
H.E. Mr. Petre Nakovski
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the Republic of Macedonia in Poland
st. Dominikanjska 102-738 Warsaw

September 2, 1999, Thursday

We have sent invitations for the September 8 reception to the designated individuals and other expected guests.

At 12:30 I visited the Slovakian Embassy for a meeting with the Slovak President and reception.

At 15:30 I attended a farewell meeting with Mrs. Alitsia Gsheshkoviak, Marshal (President) of the Senate. We shared a high appreciation of Polish-Macedonian relations in all areas and gratitude for the successes achieved.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Libyan Embassy.

September 3, 1999, Friday

At 10:00 I paid a farewell visit to Andzhei Maikovski, minister and political advisor to President Aleksander Kvashnievski.

At 11:30 I paid a farewell visit to Mrs. Barbara Tuge-Erechiniska, Coordinating Director of the Department for European Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At 18:00 I attended a reception at the Malaysian Embassy.

September 4, 1999, Saturday

We prepared for the September 8th reception.

September 5, 1999, Sunday

Same as yesterday.

September 6, 1999, Monday

At 18:00 I had dinner with businessman Tome Ketsman at the "ZORBAS" restaurant.

September 7, 1999, Tuesday

I continued with the farewell meetings.

At 08:45 I had a farewell meeting at the Ministry of Defense. I was received by Army General Henrik Shumski, Chief of General Staff.

At 10:00 I attended a farewell meeting with the President of the Sejm. He expressed praise for the results achieved in relations between Poland and Macedonia.

September 8, 1999, Wednesday

At 11:00 I had a farewell meeting with the Diplomatic Corps at the headquarters of the Apostolic Nunciature where my

wife and I arrived 45 minutes early, and by prior arrangement, we were received by the nuncio, Archbishop Jozef Kovalichik. He asked me to sit in the same armchair where Pope John Paul II had sat, saying that I deserved such an honour. We had a pleasant and relaxed conversation. I took the opportunity to gave him two bottles of Macedonian wine and an album (reproductions) of Macedonian icons. And this time he praised me a lot, saying that I was one of the most successful ambassadors with whom he'd had the opportunity to meet and cooperate. Our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the ambassadors whom he went out to welcome. At 11:30 the nuncio, Archbishop Jozef Kovalichik, began the farewell ceremony. He spoke in French with translation into Polish. In front of the Diplomatic Corps he said, among other things, that today we are sending off a rare man, a favourite in Poland, respected among the Diplomatic Corps and one of the most successful ambassadors, the Ambassador of Macedonia, Dr. Petre Nakovski. Then with expressions of recognition, the Ambassadors of Slovakia, Bulgaria, Moldova Albania, Ukraine and Croatia (they came to Warsaw four years after me) spoke, expressing gratitude for the frequent meetings and conversations we had, as well as for the fact that I helped them a lot to find their way in the new environment, in contacts with the competent Polish institutions and individuals and how to master the craft. I spoke at the end and expressed sincere gratitude to the Polish authorities through the Director of Diplomatic Protocol, and I especially thanked Archbishop Jozef Kovalichik and all the ambassadors present and even those who did not attend. At the end of the farewell meeting, as a gift from the Diplomatic Corps, Kavalichik gave me a plate made of pure silver with a carved inscription in the middle, which in French read:

A Son Excellence M.le Dr Petre Nakovski
Ambassadeur de la Republigue de Macedoine
En souvenir de ses Collegues du Corps Diplomatigue
Varsovie Septembre 1999

(Photos can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 70)

At 14:00 I had a farewell meeting with Aleksander Kvashnievski, President of the Republic of Poland. He received me in a small salon with a small table in the middle, on which was a large bouquet of red roses, and three armchairs. Maikovski, the Minister-Political Advisor to the President, was also present. The short silence was broken by the President.

- No matter where I start this farewell meeting it will only end with one thing:

- A huge thank you, Mr. Ambassador Nakovski, for your work, commitment and dedication to the rise of relations between Poland and Macedonia. I know that in these past years of your mission you were alone and you have achieved a lot. A rare example of complete dedication. I must admit that I have many good diplomats but I would like to have one like you among them. From the note in front of me, I see how much effort you have invested in the affirmation of Polish culture in Macedonia and vice versa. You were, I would say, simultaneously an unnominated Polish and Macedonian Ambassador. For such work you have earned our greatest recognition, gratitude and respect. You are returning to Macedonia in a very difficult situation in the Region and especially in Macedonia. I am personally convinced that despite the great difficulties, Macedonia will persevere and find its deserved place in Europe, for which it can also count on the support of Poland.

After this our conversation revolved around the situation in the Balkans.

At the end of the reception, I expressed my gratitude for the excellent cooperation with all Polish state institutions, for the great understanding and readiness for further strengthening and expanding Macedonian-Polish relations in all areas, and for the sincere sympathy of the Poles towards Macedonia expressed on various occasions. I expressed hope that his wish to officially visit Macedonia, which I had advocated for in many conversations with his closest associates, would also come true.

This morning, the following congratulatory message arrived from the Apostolic Nunciature, which translated into the following:

On the occasion of the national holiday of the Republic of Macedonia - Independence Day, please accept my best wishes for you, Sir, as well as for the entire country you represent.
With expressions of deep respect and sure remembrance
Archbishop Jozev Kovalichik
Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, sr.
His Excellency
Mr. Dr. Petre NAKOVSKI
Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia
WARSAW
(The original can be found in manuscript, BINDER X, p. 75)

September 8th - Independence Day of the Republic of Macedonia.

On that occasion and on the occasion of the completion of my diplomatic mission in Poland, at 18:00, we held a ceremonial and farewell reception at the Embassy premises. Over 120 invited guests participated.

I received congratulations with expressions of gratitude for my successfully completed mission from senior state figures, diplomats and representatives of various backgrounds.

September 8 to September 14, 1999

Farewell meetings were held in accordance to the list provided by the Diplomatic Protocol and other individuals, associations and institutions with whom I had contact and collaborated during my mission. At the same time, I sent letters of gratitude to 64 individuals for their expressed cooperation and assistance.

(The list of people to whom I sent letters can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 77)

September 15, 1999, Wednesday

At 09:00, I received the following invitation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the honour to invite Mr. Petre Nakovski to a breakfast on September 13, 1999 at 13:00, in the representative Palace of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 6 Foxal Street.

I went to the specified address at the appointed time. I was greeted by the Deputy Minister, Mr. Ananich. There were a dozen well-known people in the ceremonial hall including department directors and former diplomats. One by one, they approached me, congratulated me on the successful completion of my diplomatic mission and thanked me for my cooperation. After they returned to their seats, Deputy Minister Ananich gave a short speech in which he expressed his gratitude for our cooperation and then took a red box from the table and, before opening it, said:

- Mr. Ambassador, I have the honour and great pleasure, on behalf of President Aleksander Kvashnievski, to present you with this high award for your services in the interests of Poland and Macedonia, as well as this large crystal vase on behalf of Minister Geremek, who is absent due to an official stay abroad.

Huge excitement and surprise. I felt relieved after the first sip of champagne and then my voice came back. I expressed my gratitude, emphasizing that the success achieved was the result of mutual effort, with a desire to further improve relations between Poland and Macedonia.

The breakfast (actually lunch) passed in an unusually warm mood with many expressions of appreciation from all sides.

I walked the last hundred meters to the Embassy. I wanted to freshen up, let the cold wind blow away the excitement and

surprise, which my wife also felt. My wife took the award out of the box, unfolded the blue ribbon, hung the decoration around my neck, stepped back a meter or two and said:

It looks good on you. You deserve it. Congratulations.

I received a letter from the Director General of the Polish State Archives, dated September 14, 1999, which read:

Sir
Dr. Petre Nakovski
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the Republic of Macedonia
in the Republic of Poland

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

In connection with the completion of the diplomatic mission of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland, please accept, Sir, my most heartfelt gratitude for the unusually cordial cooperation and friendly relations with the Polish State Archives. With you, Ambassador, I share the conviction that our contacts have led to the strengthening of Polish-Macedonian friendship. Thanks to your efforts, cooperation has been established and an agreement has been signed between the Polish and Macedonian archives.

We will ensure that such cooperation continues, striving also to develop personal contacts between archivists of our countries. However, we regret that we will not have the opportunity to further cooperate with you in Warsaw, as ambassador in our country. However, as a consolation, the fact remains that as a historian you, Sir, are interested in the collections of the Polish archives, which will continue to be open to you.

With the hope of further contacts and cooperation on a scientific basis, please accept once again my most sincere

gratitude and wishes for many successes and satisfaction from your professional activity and happiness in your personal life.

With best wishes and respect

Prof. Dr. Daria Nalench

On September 15, 1999, my almost five-year diplomatic mission to the Republic of Poland ended.

Through the Diplomatic Protocol, I sent the following letter to President Aleksander Kvashnievski:

N.E.
Mr. Alexander Kvashnievski
President of the Republic of Poland
WARSAW

Dear Mr. President,
Leaving your country, in connection with the completion of my diplomatic mission as the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to you, Mr. President, for the high award of *the Order of the Commander's Cross for Merit to the Republic of Poland.*
For me, this is a high recognition, but at the same time it is a confirmation and expression of the deep conviction that mutual efforts have strengthened the bonds of friendship between our countries, Macedonia and Poland.
Mr. President, wishing you pleasure and great success in carrying out such a high and responsible function as President of the Republic of Poland, I would like to express my deep conviction that Macedonia will continue to value you as a friend and supporter.
To you, Mr. President, and to your esteemed wife, my wife Ditta and I are pleased to offer you our expressions of highest respect together with our gratitude for the many times you expressed warmth and good will towards us.

His Excellency Ambassador
Dr. Petre Nakovski

On September 20, the illustrated magazine "AMBASADOR" published a long interview with me which can be found in the manuscript, BINDER X, p. 83.

In the following days until October 7, I continued with farewell meetings, prepared the inventory of the Embassy's property in triplicate and sorted through the numerous greeting cards and letters.

Let them remain as a memory.

October 8, 1999, Friday

At 08:45 we were at the airport.

In the VIP lounge we drank our last morning coffee in the company of the Director of the Diplomatic Protocol, Mrs. Anna Shadurska, who sent us off on behalf of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and we recalled our mutual cooperation. Our conversation was interrupted by the call to board the plane. With a warm, friendly hug and words of gratitude, we said goodbye, wishing each other a good stay and a safe flight.

We took off at 10:20. When the plane was already gaining altitude, I looked out the window and said:

ŻEGNAJ WARSAW - GOODBYE WARSAW...

I carry you all with me and together with you, my nightly notes in which are all the people who created, strengthened and still strengthen today's Poland and with whom I established and strengthened Macedonian-Polish relations and cooperation in all areas; I also carry the numerous meetings, acquaintances, conversations and agreements with representatives of the Diplomatic Corps to whom I conveyed the past and present image of Macedonia and established friendly relations.

I have transformed the night notes, 25 years since the last entry, with certain necessary cuts due to the nature of some of the content, into a diary that is a reflection of painstaking and fruitful work that records over twenty signed agreements and dozens of mutual visits at the expert, high and highest level. With much effort and defiance, knowledge and acquired experience, I have created lasting Macedonian-Polish relations.

Time passes but behind it remains the unbreakable bond between the two independent states and the great trust, assistance and deeply expressed sympathy and respect. What remains is the achievement and the gratitude to everyone with whom I collaborated and their faith in me, as well as gratitude to my wife, who was always of great support to me and to my children who cheered me on wholeheartedly.

Now those night notes and numerous business cards from intelligent and well-intentioned individuals who made a worthy contribution to relations and cooperation may not have any notable significance, but at some future time they will be a confirmation of what and how friendly cooperation and sincere relations had been achieved and established over the course of five years of selfless work. I am convinced that in that unusually difficult time, in which, despite internal divisions and separations, disunity, betrayals and jealousy, I did not disappoint those who believed in me and with their support they encouraged and inspired me to persevere in carrying out the obligations imposed by the difficult diplomatic mission.

I hope that my “NIGHT NOTES” will remain an indelible mark and as a confirmation of Macedonian identity woven into the beautiful braid of Macedonian-Polish relations.

I sat calmly in the airplane seat, thinking and saying to myself:

-Have I done everything right? If there is a gap, then let those who will succeed me fill it.

I wish I could go back.

There are many who would want me back.

Freed from the daily worries of carrying out my mission, I will return to the written word in peace, with a single desire to preserve in my individual and collective memory the bloody and tragic Greek Civil War, the worst that ever happened to the Macedonians of Aegean Macedonia and there, in Prespa, near the border between Macedonia and Macedonia, I will set about building a house for us, for our children and for our descendants, I will plant fruit trees and flowers, I will raise bees, at dawn I will listen to the singing of birds, I will watch the sunrise over Pelister and the evening sunsets over Galichitsa, I will admire the blue sky, decorated with stars at night when everything seems within reach and, in that unique and enchanted Prespa, I will rest, strengthen my health, rejoice in life, take care of my grandchildren and grow old together with my Ditka, I will spend my retirement days with my entire family and I will breathe the air of my birthplace, which is across the border, so close, yet so far...

AMEN...

(Review of the book Night Notes by Ambassador Petre Nakovski)

THE AMBASSADOR'S DESIRE

Distinguished guests, dear colleagues, not without a certain dose of pride and enthusiasm, I have accepted the honour and pleasure recently to publicly speak about some diplomatic and journalistic achievements of certain of my colleagues within the framework of regular activities and practice as members of our Diplomatic Club, which this year marks the 15th anniversary of its existence and the 10th anniversary of the publication of the Diplomatic Chronicle magazine, in which the edition - Diplomats, Writers and Journalists - occupies a significant place. This undertaking, in itself, is a feat and achievement worthy of respect because it was done independently, voluntarily, without any help from the outside and with its own funds and potential. In the past few

years, several editions of this opus have appeared, such as the books From Object to Subject - Macedonia in International Relations, by Ambassador Viktor Gaber, Romania-Macedonia (Diplomatic Conversations, Meetings and Memories) by Ambassador Blagoi Zashov, then the book by my colleague Salim Kadri Kerimi Aspects of Yugoslav and Macedonian-Albanian Relations (1945-1991-2000) and the last, most recent edition of the book Night Notes by Ambassador Petre Nakovski, which today, to our general pleasure, we are promoting for the first time.

In all of the above cases, we are talking about very significant editions, books that I jokingly call "supersonic". There are a small number of such editions, especially in diplomatic journalism, which have a far-reaching reach and a deep dive into the bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relations and relations of our country and the countries of Europe and the world. They actually write the history and chronicle the Macedonian, still fragile diplomacy, which fortunately or somewhere unfortunately, has become a life vocation and preoccupation of our generation, which paved the way and wrote the first pages of its history. Petre Nakovski is one of them. We are bound by a long-standing professional, collegial and family friendship with him, which has lasted for more than half a century. One can talk about this at length, whether about Petre as a career diplomat, or as a writer - translator and long-standing member of the Macedonian Diplomatic Association, but mostly as a man who, as a child, experienced and survived the exodus and the Golgotha, which wrote the isohippus of his destiny and determined his future. His life is a paradigm of the Civil War in Greece (1946-1949), which he constantly experienced through the characters and heroes in his books. But this time he does not talk about it. In this book, he decided not to talk about it directly, but tells about himself and about the realization of his longings and the longings of his closest family members, about his native land and homeland, about love and freedom. Today, we will talk about it here and in front of all of you, his friends and admirers of his work, and we will talk briefly,

because he himself tells it in his latest book, Night Notes. And Petre tells it in detail and vividly, as if he were folding filigree or embroidering a tapestry, under the eternal shadow of the "Aegean Theme", which is his inevitable motto and the eternal "believe" in creativity, work and life. This topic in the 60s and 70s of the last century left deep traces in Macedonian contemporary literature and raised the level of expressive values of an entire generation of Macedonian writers and poets, such as Taško Georgievski, Kata Rumenova Misirkova, Kica Kolbe, Kole Mangov, Paskal Gilevski, Petar Shirilov, Vasil Pujovski and a number of others, and of course our Petre Nakovski. For this, he constantly searches for the reasons and determines the consequences of what happened to him, or is happening in his life and around him. "He tirelessly analyzes and checks the facts", as academician Gane Todorovski wrote about him many years ago. Whether he creates himself, or when he translates from Macedonian, most often into Polish, or from Polish into Macedonian. And here I am forced to paraphrase the great proletarian poet of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Mayakovsky, who said of his antipode, also a great poet and writer of that time, Alexander Blok, "Trust Blok. He is a man of fearless truth." And I trust Nakovski because I learned more about the Civil War in Greece from his books than from all the textbooks I have read about that part of the history of the devastated Macedonian people around the world. In his previous works, Bed for the Wretched, And A Stone Too is Soil, The Great Decline, The Great Lie, On the Road with Time, Kalina, On the Road of no Return and several other books, Nakovski recounts the fate of his Wretched compatriots, in the collection Macedonian Refugees in Poland 1948-1975, published bilingually in Macedonian and Polish in 2012, in the country in which he found refuge, studied and grew up far from his native hearth, until his early youth. In the book that we are now promoting, titled Night Notes, he commemorates his return to this friendly country in an extraordinarily suggestive manner and with an inspiring narration, as the first Ambassador of the free and independent Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland. A wonderful

satisfaction, but also a new life and professional challenge, because Nakovski is once again entering a new trial and struggle for international recognition of the statehood and sovereignty of his own country, and in the country where, as a homeless child, he was educated and trained. That is what is told, with many details but with deep excitement and many positive emotions, on more than 800 pages in this book, which I heartily recommend to all of you to read. And as we will see, that path of Nakovski was not short or easy. Many obstacles had to be overcome and overcome, many dilemmas and doubts had to be resolved, and defeats and setbacks had to be suffered in that initial, pioneering work. Creating a state with all its social and political institutions, especially in the historical and geostrategic conditions specific to Macedonia, was and still is a devilishly difficult task, but as we see, an even more difficult task is to permanently preserve and establish that statehood. It takes a lot of effort and knowledge to persevere on that path to the end. These are the dilemmas in the night notes of the diplomat and writer Petre Nakovski, which he shares with everyone around him.

Petre Nakovski is a deserved winner of several literary and translation awards for his dedicated work, both in Macedonia and especially in Poland. All of his works have been translated into English, and the novel Kalina has been translated into Bulgarian. It would be unfair if we did not note that the main support in Nakovski's work and life is his family: his wife Afrodite and his two daughters Milena and Tatjana. The younger daughter Tatjana successfully defended her master's thesis The Literature of Fact in the Novels of Petre Nakovski at UKIM in 2014, thus following in her father's footsteps.

Congratulations to Petre and to all of them on this occasion!

(DJ)

The book "Night Notes" was promoted

The book “Night Notes” by former Ambassador Petre Nakovski has been translated into Romanian, a must-read for current and future diplomats

by fokus 02.03.2025

Former Ambassador, Dr. Petre Nakovski, promoted his new book “Night Notes”, written during his five-year stay in Poland (1995 - 1999) as the first Ambassador of the independent Republic of Macedonia to Poland.

In the 810-page book with photo documentation of numerous events, in the form of memoirs, records and a diary, his notes directly speak about his diplomatic experiences. For this reason, the book is especially mandatory reading for current and future diplomats.

-Everything I did and how I did it, I wrote down at night with the goal and desire to remain as a mark of time and perhaps as part of the history of Macedonian diplomacy, but also as a testimony in building a lasting monument to Macedonian-Polish friendship.

Thus, about three thousand pages have been filled, which for thirty years, together with a whole bunch of photographs, have been lying on the shelves of the home library. “After the persuasion and insistence of my wife Ditta and my daughter Milenka, and with the help of my daughter, MA Tatjana Pelivanova, I published only some of them in the form of a diary,” Nakovski emphasized in his presentation.

Nakovski pointed out that it was not always easy, that there were also difficult moments, but for him it was an honour and a privilege to affirm the country.

-I ended my five-year diplomatic mission in the Republic of Poland with over twenty signed agreements or agreements prepared for signing, the content of which included the mutual need for comprehensive cooperation between the two countries, and with hundreds of official meetings, conversations and agreements. Always and everywhere, I was received by the Polish hosts with heartfelt warmth and open sympathy for our country. A great privilege and honour for me was the acquaintance and meetings with many prominent figures from all walks of Polish society, especially from the fields of culture, art, science, literature, journalism, economy, diplomacy, with high-ranking officials of the state administration, as well as with a large

number of well-intentioned and sympathetic former Polish diplomats and a large number of individuals from the Diplomatic Corps, from whom I learned a lot, and they learned a lot about Macedonia from me. I received and sent ministers, experts, delegations, presidents of parliaments and states, who in their own way contributed to the strengthening of mutual cooperation, said Nakovski.

The promotion was attended by members of the Diplomatic Club - Skopje, as well as representatives of the public and cultural life of the country.

The promoter of the book was Ambassador Jovan Tegovski, and the Deputy Ambassador at the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Macedonia, Anna Kasprzach, also gave a fitting address.

The book reviewer, Dragan Janjatov, noted:

“Petre tells in detail and vividly how to roll filigree or embroider a tapestry, under the eternal shadow of the “Aegean Theme”, which is his inevitable motto and the eternal “believe” in creativity, work and life. This topic in the 60s and 70s of the last century left deep traces in Macedonian contemporary literature and raised the level of expressive values of an entire generation of Macedonian writers and poets, such as Taško Georgievski, Kata Rumenova Misirkova, Kica Kolbe, Paskal Gilevski, Petar Shirilov, and a number of others, and of course our Petre Nakovski. For this, he constantly seeks the causes and determines the consequences of what happened to him, or is happening in his life and around him. “He tirelessly analyzes and checks the facts”, as academician Gane Todorovski wrote about him many years ago.

The reviewer also said that in the book “Night Notes”, Nakovski, in an extraordinarily suggestive manner and with an inspiring narration, marked his return to this friendly country, as the first Ambassador of the free and independent Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Poland.

-A wonderful satisfaction, but also a new life and professional challenge because Nakovski was once again entering a new trial and struggle for international recognition of the statehood and sovereignty of his own country, and in the country where, as a homeless child, he was educated and trained. That is what is told, with many details and particulars, but with deep excitement and many positive emotions, on more than 800 pages in this book, which I heartily recommend to all of you to read. And as we will see, Nakovski’s path was not short or easy. Many obstacles had to be overcome and many dilemmas and doubts had to be resolved, and defeats and falls had to be suffered.in that initial, pioneering work. Creating a state with all its social and political institutions, especially in the historical and geostrategic conditions specific to

Macedonia, was and still is a devilishly difficult task, but as we see, it is an even more difficult task to permanently preserve and establish that statehood. It takes a lot of effort and knowledge to persevere on that path to the end. These are the dilemmas in the night notes of the diplomat and writer Petre Nakovski, which he shares with everyone around him, Janjatov emphasized.

Petre Nakovski was born on 15.06.1936, in Krcishta, Kostur Region. He is a prose writer, a member of DPM since 1989, and

the author of several novels that deal with the issue of the exodus of the Macedonian population during the civil war in Greece.

Valentina Vurmo