

# The Rising Sun in the Balkans: THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA



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# **The Rising Sun in the Balkans: The Republic of Macedonia**

**International Affairs Agency  
Research Center  
Turkey**



## **The Rising Sun in the Balkans: The Republic of Macedonia**

Published by:

Pollitecon Publications

PO Box 3411

Wareemba NSW 2046

Australia

Email: [info@pollitecon.com](mailto:info@pollitecon.com)

Web: [www.pollitecon.com](http://www.pollitecon.com)

First published: 1993, International Affairs Agency Research  
Center, Turkey

This edition: 1995, Pollitecon, Australia

Reprinted: 2014

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ISBN 978-0-646-20927-2

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# Prologue

The world entered a new period with the demise of the "Cold War" system of international relations; and the Balkans is now one of the "testing grounds" of the widely-held and talked about premises of the post-Cold War era. These are principally the safeguarding of human rights and democracy, and the punishing of aggressors who may threaten peace anywhere in the world. The "Macedonian Question" should also be examined in this international context and in the regional Balkan context.

Following the cascading developments in Eastern Europe with the downfall of communism, the outbreak of the Yugoslav Crisis, and the ensuing disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, the people of the Republic of Macedonia declared their country's sovereignty and independence after a popular referendum held on September 8, 1991, and asked for international recognition.

However, full international recognition was blocked by Greece on the pretext of its claim of "historical and exclusive copyright" to the name Macedonia, and with the allegation that if Macedonia is recognized with this name, it would pose a threat to Greece. Nevertheless, many countries recognized the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name. The Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations (UN) on April 8, 1993, under the temporary name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", pending the resolution of the name dispute between the two countries.

The two countries were to settle the name dispute between themselves through negotiations under the auspices of the UN, but the negotiations to be held on September 28, 1993 were suspended by the previous Greek conservative government

before the elections on October 10, 1993, and it seems very unlikely that the current Papandreu-led socialist PASOK government has the political willingness to resume the negotiations or has the minimum willingness to compromise on the issue. Papandreu himself stated soon after the elections that "There will be no compromise on the name issue".

Greece, in order to block the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, initiated a rigorous propaganda campaign in the international arena. However, a number of countries recognized the Republic of Macedonia with that name despite the Greek intransigence. Among those countries are major powers such as the Russian Federation and China; neighbours such as Turkey, Bulgaria, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Republic of Croatia, and the Republic of Slovenia; other European countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Estonia and Lithuania; and distant countries such as Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia and the Philippines, among others.

The Greek intransigence has deep roots. The developments unfolding after the demise of communism in the Balkans were not welcomed by Greece. Greece, blatantly violating the UN embargo on Serbia, has allied with that aggressor country.

In this context, it should also be recalled that the tiny Republic of Macedonia, squeezed between Greece and Serbia, takes every measure to apply the UN resolutions. The Government of the Republic of Macedonia declared that it would take the necessary measures in order to implement Resolution No. 2757 of the UN imposing economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. In early September 1993, the Macedonian government also declared that it would strictly apply the UN Security Council Resolution 8290 on tightening the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

It is also noteworthy that Serbia and Greece brought considerable pressure on the Republic of Macedonia, which is itself victim to the UN embargo, in order not to implement the UN embargo resolutions.

On the other hand, the Greco-Serbian political tandem, quickly transforming into an alliance against other Balkan countries, is now the single gravest threat to Balkan security. Both countries, having greed for territorial expansion, have already put into operation their expansionist schemes in coordination with one another. In fact, Greece and Serbia are in full support of each other's greed for Balkan territory. That was one of the reasons why President Bush and later President Clinton warned against Serbian aggression in Kosovo, and UN troops, including 300 US soldiers, were sent to the border area between Serbia and the Republic of Macedonia.

The International Affairs Research Center, which specializes in Balkan and Middle Eastern Affairs, has objectively studied the "Macedonian Question", and presents this research article in order to contribute to the understanding of the realities behind it.



# **I. The general overview of the Macedonian question**

## **A. The geographical location of Macedonia**

Macedonia is geographically located in the middle of the Balkans. It is bounded in the north by the hills north of Skopje and by the Shar Mountains; in the east by the Rila and Rhodope mountains; in the south by the Aegean coast around Thessaloniki, by Mount Olympus, and by the Pindus Mountains; in the west by the lakes Prespa and Ohrid. Its total area is about 67,000 square kilometres. The three parts of Macedonia, as partitioned in 1913, are as follows:

1. Aegean Macedonia (Greek Macedonia): It includes northern Greece from Lake Prespa near the Albanian border to the Nestos River, which is the natural boundary between Western Thrace and Aegean Macedonia. It includes the "Kampania" of Thessaloniki, the plains lying along the Stryman (Struma) River and the Kavala region. The ethnic Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia are concentrated in Kastoria (Kostur in Macedonian), Florina (Lerin), and Edessa (Pelo) provinces, in the Ploemaida district of Kozana province, and in and around Thessaloniki, the "pearl of Macedonia".

2. The Republic of Macedonia (Vardar Macedonia): It is geographically divided from Aegean Macedonia by the Kozuv and Nidze mountain ranges. Vardar Macedonia is a high plateau which is 610-915 metres above sea level.

3. Pirin Macedonia (Bulgarian Macedonia): It is the smallest of the three parts. It includes the administrative region of Cumai

Bala-Old Goma Cumaya (Blagoevgrad). The Pirin mountain range constitutes a natural boundary between the Aegean and Pirin parts of Macedonia. The Malashevaka and Osogovaka mountain chains, on the other side, similarly constitute the natural demarcation line between the Pirin and Vardar parts of Macedonia.

A small part of Macedonia, about 900 square kilometres, was given to Albania in 1918. This part is known as Mala Prespa.

## **B. The chronological history of Macedonia to 1913**

Various races have inhabited Macedonia from the dawn of history, and ancient civilizations have flourished on these lands. The chronology of Macedonia from the time of the Argeadai Dynasty which founded a powerful kingdom around 725 BC to its partition between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia on August 10, 1913, can be summarized as follows:

BC 724-512: The establishment and development phase of the Macedonian Empire.

BC 512-497: The Persian invasion.

BC 479-360: The recovery of the Macedonian Kingdom.

BC 359-336: The Macedonian Kingdom of Philip II.

BC 333-323: The reign of Alexander the Great.

BC 306-168: The reign of the Antigonos Dynasty.

BC 214-205: First Macedonian War.

BC 200-196: Second Macedonian War.

BC 171-168: Third Macedonian War.

BC 149-148: Fourth Macedonian War, resulting in Macedonia becoming a Roman province.

BC 148-AD: Macedonians defend their rights firstly as a Roman province, then as a province administered by the Roman Senate.

AD 178: Invasion of the Goths.  
434: Invasion of Huns.  
478: Invasion of Ostrogoths.  
500: Invasion of Bulgars.  
527: Invasion of Slavs.  
688: The start of attempts by Justinian II, the Byzantine Emperor, to assimilate the Macedonians.  
886: Reign of Basil of Macedon and the beginning of the Macedonian dynasty.  
1018-1185: Byzantine reign.  
1185-1280: Bulgarian reign.  
1346-1371: Serbian reign.  
1371-1912: Ottoman Empire reign.  
1913: Tri-partition of Macedonia.

## **C. The outbreak and historical evolution of the Macedonian question in the 19th century**

Macedonia has been a bone of contention among Athens, Sofia, and Belgrade since the second half of the 19th century. These countries, aware of the fact that whoever obtains Macedonia becomes the dominant power in the Balkans, have constantly tried to obtain as much of its territories as they could.

An historical survey reveals that the fundamentals of the Macedonian Question have not changed since its beginning. Macedonia continues to be the microcosm of the Balkan problem: A quick look at the books and editorials published in the years preceding the Balkan Wars, which led to the partition of Macedonia, confirms this evaluation.<sup>1</sup> Macedonia was divided into three in the Bucharest Treaty in 1913, and since then it has remained divided.

Historians generally agree on 1870 as the "birth year" of the Macedonian Question. In that year, a separate Bulgarian Church (Exarchate) was established in Macedonia with the Edict (Firman) of the Sublime Porte issued on March 11. This outlined the territorial extent of the Bulgarian Church's activities in Macedonia, resulting in the Bulgarian factor entering the Balkan power politics in Macedonia in addition to the Greek and Serbian. Greeks and Serbians, having no stomach for the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church, initiated a struggle to counter the Bulgarian activities in Macedonia.

So began the three-sided contest for Macedonia, waged first by priests and teachers, later by armed bands, and later still by armies.

The propaganda of the Balkan nations in Macedonia to "convince" its inhabitants that they were Greeks, Bulgarians or Serbs, and then to mobilize them against both the Ottoman rule and the sympathizers of the other Balkan nations were conducted through religion with the help of the national churches and through education with the help of the schools founded and the teachers sent there. Following the cultural and religious propaganda of Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian priests in the region, the struggle over Macedonia evolved into an overt war of gangs and Macedonia became another tool in the diplomatic equations of the European great powers at that time.

The great powers of Europe had become intensely interested in the Balkans in view of Czarist Russia's expansionist schemes there, which were in addition to their own schemes. By 1870 Russia had chosen Bulgaria as the best channel for expansion of her influence in the Balkans. Macedonia was a major issue in European diplomacy in the second half of the 19th century because it was located at the convergence of great power spheres of influence.

The aborted San Stefano Treaty of March 3, 1878, with the support of Czarist Russia, had created a "Greater Bulgaria" in the Balkans, including nearly all Macedonia except Salonica (now Thessaloniki). The "Greater Bulgaria" of the San Stefano Treaty was due to Czarist Russia's policy of obtaining a strong position by making use of an enlarged Bulgaria in the Balkans.<sup>2</sup> However, at the Congress of Berlin in July 13, 1878, the Great Powers, mainly Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, fearing the increasing influence of Russia in the Balkans, annulled the decisions of the San Stefano Treaty. Obtaining these lands then became one of the main objectives of Bulgarian foreign policy.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Macedonian dispute began.

Greek and Bulgarian claims conflicted in Central Macedonia and Bulgarian and Serbian claims in both Central and Northern Macedonia. In 1890 the Bulgarian government was granted a "berat" (edict) by the Sublime Porte in Istanbul to appoint Bulgarian prelates in the Macedonian cities of Ohrid and Skopje. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the religious struggle in Macedonia between the adherents of the autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate Church and the followers of the Greek Patriarchate had developed into a covert conflict between Greece and Bulgaria. Deligiannis, the Greek Prime Minister, was reported as saying to the Greek King George I that Greece would not survive without annexing Macedonia.<sup>4</sup>

In a long memorandum prepared for King George II, Prime Minister Tsouderos emphasized that one of the deadliest threats to the security of Greece would be the establishment of an "autonomous Macedonia". Tsouderos had contended that it would separate Greece from Serbia, her traditional ally in the Balkans, and would result by necessity in a Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement for the establishment of a South-Slav federation. Greece ought to prevent such a development at all costs.

After the end of the World War II, the Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement was tried, but failed. Nearly half a century later, an independent Macedonian state emerged.

#### **D. The Balkan Wars and the subsequent Bucharest Treaty division of Macedonia**

The reason behind the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 was to partition the remaining territories of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, namely Macedonia and Albania. How to divide Macedonia among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria was the cause of the Second Balkan War, in which Bulgaria was defeated, and Macedonia was divided among the three countries. Its largest portion went to Greece.

Bulgaria and Serbia, by a secret treaty signed on March 13, 1912, had agreed on apportioning the remaining territories of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. Following the Bulgarian-Serbian agreement, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece concluded a military alliance in the summer of 1912, and declared war on the Ottoman Empire on October 18, 1912. After the First Balkan War, all the Balkan territories belonging to the Ottoman Empire west of the line of Midye (Black Sea)-Enez (Aegean Sea) in Eastern Thrace were left to the Balkan states under the London Treaty of May 30, 1913.

However, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria soon began to quarrel over the division of Macedonia, and a second Balkan war broke out. By the end of this war, Bulgaria was defeated and lost a considerable part of the territories it gained during the First Balkan War. It was forced to sign the Bucharest Treaty on August 10, 1913. This is the agreement which has divided Macedonia among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.

According to this division of Macedonia, Vardar Macedonia, where the Republic of Macedonia is now located, has 25,713 km<sup>2</sup>, Pirin Macedonia in Bulgaria has 6,789 km<sup>2</sup>, and Aegean Macedonia in Greece has 34,602 km<sup>2</sup> of geographical Macedonia. In this way, Macedonia was partitioned between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria: 51.57 per cent went to Greece, 38.32 per cent to Serbia and 10.11 per cent to Bulgaria.

Nevertheless, the Bucharest Treaty, rather than bringing a lasting solution to the Macedonian Question, has aggravated it, and other Balkan problems as well. For example, LS Stavrianos is of the opinion that: "In conclusion, it is apparent that the Treaty of Bucharest had settled nothing. The effect of the Treaty of Bucharest on inter-Balkan relations is not difficult to surmise. Viscount Grey summarized the result as follows: "Any Balkan peace was impossible as long as the Treaty of Bucharest remained"."<sup>5</sup> Stavrianos, a prominent Balkan historian, re-emphasizes his conviction in his following work: "It is apparent that the Bucharest Treaty settled nothing".<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting that none of the three Balkan States apparently ever thought that Macedonia, once liberated from the Ottoman Empire, should be independent or autonomous. Macedonia was partitioned among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and its people became subject to the pressures of assimilation by all three countries. Macedonians, disagreeing about the division of Macedonia, launched a struggle, especially in the Pirin region against the Bulgarians, but were unsuccessful.

Macedonia during the First World War was occupied by various countries. However, the Neuilly Treaty of November 27, 1919 preserved the Bucharest division of Macedonia.

## **E. The Macedonian question during and after World War II**

During World War II, Bulgaria, in order to realize the dream of "Greater Bulgaria" and to obtain a foothold in the Aegean Sea, occupied Vardar Macedonia, some territories in the east and south east of Serbia (the "Western Territories"), Poraraxlye, Nishava and Timok valley regions, Kosovo and parts of Aegean Macedonia.

During its occupation of Macedonia, the Bulgarian administration agitated the Macedonian people against Serbs, Greeks and Albanians, and sought to destroy the Macedonian consciousness distinct from the Bulgarian one. The Bulgarian propaganda went hand in hand with the suppression of the Macedonian people. The opponents of the Bulgarization campaign were sent to the concentration camps, while the pro-Bulgarian groups were provided with weapons. The Bulgarian occupation left enduring traces in the collective mind of the Macedonian people.

Following the surrender of the pro-Nazi regime in Sofia, the Yugoslav National Liberation Army occupied Vardar Macedonia at the end of the war. The Peace Treaty of Paris, signed on February 10, 1947, respected the boundaries of the Neuilly Treaty of 1919, and so the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913.

Meanwhile, on August 2, 1944, Yugoslav Macedonia officially became a federative state of Yugoslavia, as one of the constituent six republics. The establishment of the Macedonian state brought about a new set of equilibriums in calculations in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian attitude towards the Macedonians in these years was diametrically opposite to the Greek one, albeit for a short period. Towards the end of 1944, Bulgaria had accepted



that the Macedonians were a distinct nationality, and should be given substantial administrative and cultural autonomy in Bulgaria.

The Stalin-Tito dispute was another turning point in the developments affecting Macedonia. After Yugoslavia was expelled from the Soviet dominated Cominform in June 1948, and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communist Party Leader, died in 1949, the Bulgarian policy with regard to Macedonia was completely changed. All the recently established Macedonian schools in Pirin Macedonia were closed and the Macedonian teachers were sent back to Yugoslavia.

In 1959 Bulgaria officially declared that it did not recognize a distinct Macedonian identity, claiming that "Macedonia was not the republic of the Macedonians, but an artificial political structure created by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia".

During the Yugoslav federation period the relations between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia were never congenial. From the beginning Greece continued to deny the existence of the Macedonians in Greece. According to a journalist writing at that time, "The Greeks were denying the [Macedonian] character of a large portion of their citizens and using as a basis for persecution the mere fact that this section of their population prefer to speak the [Macedonian] dialect".<sup>7</sup>

In the period following the civil war in Greece (1946-1949), the Macedonians living in the northern provinces of Greece were dislocated from the border areas with Yugoslavia, and large numbers of them escaped to Vardar Macedonia. Many among the remaining Macedonians were forced to publicly testify before the official Greek authorities that they were Greek and not speaking a "Slavic dialect".

After World War II these and other human rights repressions resulted in a second exodus of Macedonians from Greece, many

Macedonians emigrating to Australia, Canada and the United States until the end of the 1950s. These Macedonians formed or joined the previously established colonies in Melbourne, Perth, Newcastle, Shepparton and Sydney in Australia, Toronto in Canada, and Indiana in the United States.

After the re-establishment of friendly relations between Greece and Yugoslavia in 1951, Belgrade from time to time brought up the issue of Aegean Macedonia, claiming that the minority rights of the Macedonians in Greece should be recognized by Athens. It had been usual that Greece closed its borders with the Federal Republic of Macedonia. The agreement signed in 1959 between Yugoslavia and Greece with regard to the border traffic was later suspended by Athens on the pretext that it was violated by Yugoslavia which used the agreement to agitate the Macedonian issue in Greece.

In 1991, after the declaration of independence by the Republic of Macedonia, the Greek government immediately took a hostile stance.

## **II. The claims of the neighbouring countries on the Macedonian question**

### **A. The position of the Republic of Macedonia**

The standpoint of the Republic of Macedonia could be summarized as follows:

The claims that no Macedonian nation exists are at fault. The Macedonians are a distinct nation the history of whom dates back at least 1300 years and many believe further. They have established the Macedonian Kingdom and Empire, and ruled large territories in the Balkans in addition to Macedonia.

The Macedonian nation did not come into existence overnight; it is a nation that evolved out of a process which all other nations have undergone.

It should also be recalled that the feeling of belongingness to a nation is not something to be decided by an external authority other than the nation concerned. In fact, the establishment of the Republic of Macedonia as a sovereign and independent state after a popular referendum in September 1991 has historically solved that question. The denial of the presence of the Macedonian nation, hence, aims at usurping the territories belonging to the Macedonians.

The people of Pirin Macedonia are overwhelmingly Macedonian, not Bulgarian; and there is a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. Bulgaria itself had officially accepted the presence of a Macedonian nation, and the presence of a Macedonian minority in the Pirin region in Bulgaria, even declaring for a decade after World War II that Pirin Macedonia would be united with Vardar Macedonia.

Macedonia is not only a geographic name, but also a name of the lands where the Macedonians live. The Macedonians living in Greece have been subject to constant pressures of assimilation by Greek governments, and their culture and language are denied.

It is true that until the 19th century the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages had been close to each other. However, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Macedonian language has followed a different course. There was a Macedonian literature, albeit a nucleus, developed in the 19th century. The retardation in the development of the Macedonian written language is largely due to the fact that the Macedonians could not found their State until 1944. Macedonian became an officially recognized language for the first time after that date.

It is also true that Macedonian leaders of the Macedonian struggle had used Bulgarian and Serbian in the past. However, this was due to the fact that they had been educated in Sofia or Belgrade, since there was no Macedonian university at that time. So, the Macedonian language is not something "invented" after the establishment of the Federal Republic of Macedonia.

Though it is grammatically akin to Bulgarian, the Macedonian language is not like the Bulgarian. It is also related to the Serbo-Croat language and in some respects is phonetically akin to Serbian, but it also has certain quite distinctive features of its own.<sup>8</sup>

It should also be pointed out that Bulgarian books are translated into Macedonian, but not vice versa. The Bulgarians have persistently banned the translation of Macedonian language books into Bulgarian, and there is not a Bulgarian-Macedonian dictionary published in Bulgaria.

The Macedonians are not of Greek origin, and they have a different language, culture and history. The Macedonians are

generally considered to be from the southern Slavs.<sup>9</sup> However, the Macedonians are not only Slavs, for their blood can hardly be purely Slavonic. There must be in it some admixture of Bulgarian and other non-Aryan stock (Kuman Tartars, Pechenegs, etc).<sup>10</sup>

The position of the Republic of Macedonia in regard to Greece and the Balkans was summed up by Macedonian president Kiro Gligorov in a letter to the United Nations in February 1993.

President Gligorov said that the Republic of Macedonia is the only republic of the former Yugoslavia that has so far solved its problems in a peaceful manner, even while Greece has carried out military maneuvers at the border with targets within the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and Greek military and civilian aircraft have violated the Republic's airspace.

Gligorov said "Greece is trying to exploit statements made by extremists in the Republic and abroad that have no official support and do not reflect in any respect official policy." This also refers to the printing and publishing of geographic or ethnic maps of Macedonia used by Greece to "prove" that the Republic of Macedonia has territorial aspirations. On several occasions the Macedonian government has "publicly and clearly disavowed itself of this."

"Simultaneously, in the Republic of Greece, everywhere and at all levels, it is stated that "Macedonia is Greek". What does this mean?"

Gligorov pointed out that "the demands made by the Republic of Greece for a change of name of the Republic of Macedonia do not have any legal or other justification. Least of all, historical."

A part of the region of Macedonia came under Greek authority for the first time in history in 1913.

Further, the name Macedonia had never been used in any official forum in Greece before August 1988. "Its northern

province was called North Greece. In August 1988, by a decree of the Prime Minister, this province changed its name and is called [the Greek Province of] Macedonia. Therefore, this name has been used in Greece for four years."

The Republic of Macedonia has existed as a state since August 1944 and is the only state that has all of its territory integrally situated in Macedonia. "The Northern Greek province, now termed [the Greek Province of] Macedonia, represents only a small part of the overall territory of Greece."

President Gligorov said "The republic of Macedonia emphasizes that it doesn't have any aspiration for a monopoly over the name Macedonia. The Republic of Macedonia is not concerned that the Northern Greek province is called Macedonia."

Greece has had a consulate in the Republic for many years and until recently this "officially addressed the authorities of the Republic of Macedonia using the name Socialist Republic of Macedonia." Therefore "Greece considered as legitimate and didn't deny the name of our state until the beginning of 1992."

"Because of a province which bears a name for only four years, a change of the name of a state is requested, a state that has had this name for almost 50 years, while the Macedonian people have had this name for centuries," said the president.

"In fact, the Republic of Macedonia was the first one to use that name and according to the rule "Qui prior oct tempore potior est jure" no one has the right to deny it."

President Gligorov pointed out that the Badinter Arbitration Commission established by the European Community concluded that the Republic's name did not imply territorial ambitions on Greece.

"The Republic of Macedonia clearly and explicitly stated and guaranteed that it does not have any territorial aspirations

towards any of its neighbouring countries" and has incorporated this into its constitution.

The Republic is also "ready to sign an agreement with the Republic of Greece for guarantees of its borders" including international guarantees and to "sign an agreement for good neighbourly relations and cooperation."

The president said "It is surprising that the Republic of Greece disputes Article 49 of our Constitution which refers to the care of the Republic of Macedonia for our minorities in the neighbouring countries. It should be pointed out that there is a similar provision in the Greek Constitution."

After pointing out that it is well known that Greece does not admit the existence of a Macedonian minority within its borders, the president says that if such a minority does not exist in Greece then this Article [49] does not refer to Greece and the Greek reaction is surprising.

However, as such a minority does indisputably exist, why does Greece not fulfil at least the basic human rights of this minority as provided in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Document, the Charter of Paris, etc of which it is a signatory party?

"Most important of all," asks the president, "is this the reason that the Republic of Greece opposes the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia under its Constitutional name?"

Another factor against the changing of the name, which would be "against the will of our people", is that it would unconditionally de-stabilize the country and its relations with its neighbours.

An independent Republic of Macedonia is a factor for strengthening peace and stability in the Balkans, said the president.

## **B. The position of Greece**

Greece claims that no Macedonian nation exists, and that there is not a Macedonian minority in Greece. Those people are "Greeks speaking a Slavic dialect", and the only minority in Greece is a "Muslim minority" in Western Thrace. However, ethnic Macedonians who left Greece during the Greek Civil War and its aftermath were deprived of their right to return to Greece on the basis of Article 19 of the Greek Nationality Code which discriminates between Greek citizens of Greek and non-Greek origin.

Article 19 was later applied to the Turkish minority in Western Thrace.

The real estates of Greek nationals of Macedonian origin are expropriated when they go abroad, and the inheritance of Macedonians cannot be sent to their relatives in the Republic of Macedonia.

Michalis Papaconstantinou, the New Democracy Party deputy and the former Greek Foreign Minister, has raised the issue of what he called "the passive attitude" of the former PASOK government on the Macedonian issue and put a question in the Parliament. In this question, Papaconstantinou said that "A declaration signed as the Manifesto of the Macedonians has been posted to the inhabitants of northern cities and towns and to some addresses in Thessaloniki in the beginning of October 1984. That declaration claims that the human rights of the Macedonians are violated. That is the propaganda of the Macedonian organization. "

In February 1990 former PASOK deputy and the former Minister of Public Order Georgios Petros initiated the formation of a party which was to be dominantly constituted of the Macedonian electorate in northern Greece. Petros reportedly



tried to gather together all the deputies elected from the northern Greek provinces in this party. He toured the villages near Florina and Edessa, and even made speeches in the Macedonian language. This shows that however it is officially denied, there is a Macedonian minority in Greece.

On 15 February 1991 the former Greek prime minister Constantine Mitsotakis stated that "there is no Macedonian minority in Greece". The Greek authorities do not accept Macedonian passports.

The Deputy Consul of Yugoslavia in Thessaloniki was declared "persona non grata" in March 1991 for the sole reason that he was sent from the "Republic of Skopje".

Greece claims it has exclusive rights on anything related to the name Macedonia, and that the region was geographically, historically and ethnically Greek. The Greek government, in its efforts to block the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, launched an international campaign in which Pan-Macedonian organizations worldwide which disseminate official Greek views also participated.

There are also Macedonian organizations which raise the issue of the Macedonian minority in Greece.

According to the Greek thesis on the Macedonian issue:

The Macedonians are descended from the ancient Greek tribes. Following the occupation of Macedonia by the Roman Empire in 168 BC, there were waves of immigration to the region from the east and the west, including also the Jewish migration. However, the Greek language preserved its dominance, and the sporadic invasions of tribes had not left their trace in Macedonia.

After the Byzantine Empire took the region under its control, some cities, notably Thessaloniki, developed rapidly. In the 7th century various Slavic tribes came to Macedonia, which were

followed by Finno-Tartar tribes called Proto-Bulgars. These latter two then formed the Bulgars. It is debatable to what extent the Macedonians in Macedonia are Bulgarized.

With regard to the Macedonian language:

The presence of Macedonian as a separate language was not known until the end of World War II. The inhabitants of Macedonia spoke a Bulgarian dialect. This dialect, having limited words and no grammar of its own, had also been influenced from Albanian and Greek in the border areas with these two countries.

Following the establishment of the Macedonian Republic after World War II, firstly the spoken, then the written language were attempted to be developed, taking the dialect used in eastern Macedonia as standard. However, the language has been influenced from Serbian, Russian and other Slav languages. This invented language called "literary Macedonian" has become one of the three official languages of Yugoslavia.

With a decision taken in 1985, the Greek government made its previous recognition of the Macedonian language null and void. In this context, it does not recognize the diplomas of the Skopje University, the curriculum language of which is Macedonian.

According to Greece, there are "overt and covert" supporters of the Macedonian Question, which they claim was put forward against Greece and its interests. Papathemelis, the "Macedonia and Thrace" Minister of the Greek Cabinet during the PASOK government in the late 1980s, now "Public Order" Minister in the new PASOK Cabinet, sent a note to the Holy See and condemned the Pope who had issued a message, among others, in the Macedonian language.

### **C. Examination of the arguments put forward by Greece**

The arguments used by Greece to justify its position towards the Republic of Macedonia are four-fold, and could be summarized as follows:

- Greece has exclusive rights, "copyright" to the name Macedonia, and to recognize the former Yugoslav republic with that name would invite territorial expansion into its northern region with the same name. In other words, "Republic of Macedonia", innately and in itself, as original sin, would harbour territorial pretensions against Greece.

- Recognizing Macedonia would encourage aggression in the Balkans.

- Macedonia has never existed as an independent state, rather, it was invented by Tito and the Yugoslav communists.

- To recognize Macedonia would be an affront to Greek history and culture.

Let us address each of these arguments in turn:

- The current facts simply do not support Greece's contention that Macedonia either has territorial claims upon Greece or the capability to act upon those claims even if it had been assumed to harbour them. The Macedonian government has formally adopted constitutional provisions which explicitly renounce any territorial claims upon neighbouring countries, and has also offered Greece a treaty guaranteeing its current borders.

Furthermore, Bulgaria, which has its own Macedonian minority, has conferred recognition upon the Republic of Macedonia without the fear of alleged expansion expressed by Greece.

Finally, an unarmed and economically weak Macedonia can hardly pose a threat to Greece, a NATO country with five times

the population of the Republic of Macedonia, and able to mobilize 2 million people during wartime. The Republic of Macedonia is a landlocked country of 2 million people, and its parliament only recently legislated on the formation of its armed forces. In any case, the Republic of Macedonia does not pose a credible military threat to Greece.

Amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia to fulfil the conditions set by the Badinter Commission for recognition by the European Community and adopted on January 6, 1992, are as follows:

"These amendments are an integral part of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia and shall be implemented on the day of their adoption.

#### Amendment I

1. The Republic of Macedonia has no territorial claims against neighbouring states.

2. The borders of the Republic of Macedonia could be changed only in accordance with the Constitution, and based on the principle of voluntariness and generally accepted international norms.

#### Amendment II

1. The Republic shall not interfere with the sovereign rights of other states and their internal affairs."

The Badinter Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia assembled by the European Community to apply the criteria of recognition set for the Yugoslav republics found that the case of the Republic of Macedonia for recognition was well based, and recommended its recognition to the European Community in its Opinion No. 11 on January 11, 1992.

On the other side, it should also be recalled that the name Macedonia was never used in any official form in Greece until August 1988. Before this date its northern province was called

Northern Greece. In August 1988, by a decree of the Prime Minister, the name of this province was changed to "Macedonia".

The Republic of Macedonia emphasizes that it does not have any aspiration for a monopoly over the name Macedonia.

The real source for instability in the Balkans is found in places where minority and nationality rights are suppressed or have not been adequately respected. To leave the Republic of Macedonia unrecognized is to create a political "no-man's land", and to invite territorial expansion by its neighbours. Indeed, the primary source of such territorial expansionism, Serbia, is the very country with which Greece has recently and publicly established its regional alliance.

In the referendum of 8 September 1991, the people of the Republic of Macedonia voted overwhelmingly for independence. In the Declaration of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia on September 17, 1991, it was stated that:

"Article 2: The Republic of Macedonia, as a sovereign and independent state, shall strive for persistent respect of the generally adopted principles of international relations, contained in the documents of the UN, the Final Document of CSCE in Helsinki and the Paris Charter."

"Article 4: The Republic of Macedonia confirms its policy of not expressing territorial claims against any of its neighbouring countries."

"Article 5: Starting from the constitutional provision for the concern for the situation and rights of the parts of the Macedonian people, who as a national minority live in the neighbouring countries, the Republic of Macedonia shall continue to lead a policy which shall be based on international standards and whose basic aim and essence is the recognition and respect of the basic human rights and freedoms, and within these frameworks of the freedoms and rights of the

Macedonians, who, as a national minority, live in the neighbouring countries."

A month later the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, which was elected through free and democratic elections in November/ December 1990, declared the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia. On November 17, 1991, the new Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia was passed by the Assembly. On December 19, 1991, the Republic of Macedonia declared that it accepted the criteria and the Draft-document of the Conference on Yugoslavia held in The Hague, and satisfied the conditions adopted by the Council of Ministers of the European Community in Brussels on December 17, 1991. It asked for recognition, which in the opinion of the Badinter Commission was found positive.

Greece maintains that an independent state of Macedonia has never existed and, therefore, it should not now exist under that name. This is not true. Macedonia has existed as a political entity since 1944 as one of the six federal republics of the former Yugoslavia.

Greece says that it feels affronted by the Republic of Macedonia's use of the name Macedonia, yet there is no affront between Mexico and the American state of New Mexico, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the contiguous region of Luxembourg in Belgium, York and New York or Orleans in France and New Orleans in the USA. There are many other examples to be cited.

The Greek government has organized large demonstrations in Thessaloniki and Australia to show that the "will of the Greek people is against the use of the name Macedonia by the Republic of Macedonia." Tens of thousands demonstrated in Thessaloniki, and several thousand turned out in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

Many academics, journalists and foreign policy analysts in Greece have now "discovered" that the Vlachs in Macedonia "are actually Greeks", who are not allowed to say so, and advocate that they must be supported by the Greek state. Vlachs are a small group akin to today's Romanians.

Some nationalist intellectuals have begun to argue that the southern part of Vardar Macedonia has always been inhabited by Greeks throughout history, and therefore Greece has to use this argument to counter the alleged territorial claims of the "breakaway Skopje regime".

In November 1991, Mitsotakis threatened the Republic of Macedonia with the Greek Army "if they go too far". One should not forget the fact that "Macedonia is included within the borders of the Greek "Megali Idea", which claims the restitution of all Byzantine territories to Greece".<sup>11</sup>

History, like statistics, can be made to say whatever you would like it to say, and be can written and re-written. Whether the ancient Macedonians were Hellenes or not, the discussions on the presence of a Macedonian nation are irrelevant from the standpoint of the recognition of that republic. If the people of the Republic of Macedonia think and express that they are Macedonians, and consider themselves as having a distinct history than that of the Bulgarians and Greeks, and display their political will for international recognition through a democratic process, it is not justifiable on any grounds to block recognition on the pretext that they cannot use the name Macedonia in the official name of their republic because a country has a "historical and exclusive copyright" on it. A similar claim cannot be found in modern history.

On the other hand, latent territorial claims of Greece on the Republic of Macedonia can be seen in the brochure prepared by the "Center of Macedonian Studies".<sup>12</sup>

"Greeks do not accept the northern boundary of Macedonia, contending that it was drawn arbitrarily on the basis of Ottoman administrative division. Macedonia means the old Macedonia of Classical times. When the Yugoslavs talk of a "Macedonian state" in their country, they are manipulating arbitrarily a name and a state which belongs to the Greek classical heritage. The solution achieved in the second decade of the twentieth century can only be considered the most natural outcome of a long process. Ottoman domination had been thrown off. The mainly Slav northern areas went to the Slav Balkan countries. By a curious coincidence, the southern area that went to Greece was roughly identical in extent with the "historical Macedonia" of the classical period, with the exception of a small strip that remained within the Serbian and Bulgarian territories. This southern zone included, in addition to the Greek-speaking population, the majority of the Slav-speaking inhabitants who had retained a Greek national consciousness."

#### **D. The Greek claim of "Historical and Exclusive Copyright" to the name Macedonia: An historical survey**

*"The Bulgarian will assert that in point of fact the Macedonians are Slavs. The Greek takes higher ground. His mind moves among abstractions. He talks not of Greeks, but of Hellenism, not of fact, but of right. That Hellenism has a right to Macedonia is his thesis, and he is never at a loss for an argument. He begins of course with Alexander. It does not trouble him that in classical times the Greeks possessed only a few isolated colonies on the Macedonian coast. He waves aside the objection that for the ancients, Alexander and his Macedonians were no better than barbarians... Aristotle won Macedonia for Hellenism when he gave lessons to*



*Philip's son, and all Macedonia is in consequence a sort of legacy bequeathed by the Stoa to the King George. Object that even the Macedonians vanished, the Greek changes his ground. Hellenism, which had meant Athenian culture, now stands for the Byzantine Empire. But in the interval between Aristotle and Constantine Macedonia was more or less Romanised. In the dark ages it was ruled by Serbian kings, by Bulgarian czars, and even by Frankish kings, but still its legitimate overlord was Byzantium, and Byzantium had become Greek. One may answer that the Byzantine Empire has after all gone under, and that it had lost Macedonia to the Slavs long before it was driven from Constantinople. But once again the old elastic abstraction reappears. "Hellenism" claims these peoples because they were civilized by the "Greek" Orthodox Church. That is a conception which the Western mind grasps with difficulty... It is much as though the "Roman" Catholic Church should claim the greater part of Europe as the inheritance of Italy..."<sup>13</sup>*

Until recently there was a widely held belief in Western historiography in the premise that at the core of Western civilization lies the civilization of the "Ancient Greeks", and today's Greeks (modern Greeks) are generally considered to be the successors of the "Ancient Greeks". Martin Barnal has demonstrated the groundlessness of this premise in the first volume of his breakthrough four volume work "The Black Athena, Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece".

However, according to some Greek historians, who coin a distorted Aristotelian logic, "The Modern Greeks are the successors of the Ancient Greeks. The Ancient Macedonians were Greek. Therefore no one can use the name of Macedonia except we the Greeks."

Let aside the logical error in this reasoning, it flatly contradicts the historical facts, which we will enumerate below.

The Macedonians of history were from the Macedonian Kingdom founded by Philip of Macedon. According to Hammond, "The Macedonians in general did not consider themselves Greeks, nor were they considered Greeks by their neighbours. The Macedonians themselves had little love for the Greeks who had settled in city-states on the coast and in Chalcidice, nor for the imperialistic powers, Sparta, Thebes and Athens, which treated Macedonia as a pawn in the game of power politics."<sup>14</sup> Hammond gives references from the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates and Plutarch, showing that the Macedonians were alien to the Ancient Greeks as expounded in the works of these ancient Greek philosophers.

The Ancient Greek city-states had not penetrated into Macedonia beyond the coastal cities: "The Greek colonies were never much more than the trading centers along the coast... There is no evidence that the interior was settled by a rural Greek population..."<sup>15</sup>

Macedonia previously occupied a trivial place in the relations of the Ancient Greek city-states. JB Bury and Russell Meiggs tell how the Macedons were regarded as alien by the Ancient Greeks: "For Macedon was regarded in Hellas as an outsider. If Thessaly was hardly inside the inner circle of Hellenic politics, Macedonia was distinctly outside it. To Athens and Sparta, to Corinth and Argos, and Thebes, the old powers, who, as we might say, had known each other all their lives as foes or friends, and had a common international history, the supremacy of Macedonia seemed the intrusion of an upstart".<sup>16</sup>

The state founded by Philip of Macedon (359-336 BC) extended from northern Greece into Thessaly. Confused politics and divisions among the ancient Greek city-states provided

ample opportunity for interference. At the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC) Philip defeated an army of Athenians, Thebans and others, induced to join forces by the new threat of this northern power. According to AR Burn, the "decisive battle of Chaeronea was the end of Greek independence. Isocrates, Milton's old man eloquent, who had hoped to see Philip the leader of a willing Greece, is said to have died of shock after hearing the news".<sup>17</sup>

It was hatred of Philip that inspired the famous "Philippics" of Demosthenes. But in the following year all the Greek city-states, accepting the supremacy of Philip, with the exception of Sparta, had to answer an invitation to send representatives to a Pan-Hellenic Congress under Philip's presidency at Corinth.

After the assassination of Philip, his son Alexander expanded the Macedonian Kingdom as far as India. Meanwhile, the Ancient Greek city-states were trying to form a united front against the Macedonians. They did not help the Macedonians in the face of the Persian aggression.

The death of Alexander the Great, considered by Hellenes a king alien to them, was cheered in Ancient Greek city-states. According to AR Burn, "Alexander's death gave the signal for driving Macedonian garrisons from Greece and the recovery of full freedom. Most of Greece united in a new, anti-Hellenic League".<sup>18</sup> Later during the Macedonian Wars, Flaminius, the Roman Consul defeating Philip, declared himself the protector of Greek freedom. The third Macedonian War ended in the defeat of Philip's son and successor, Perseus, at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC, and the dissolution of the Macedonian Empire.

According to Herodotus in the same historical period, Macedonians were related to the Pelasgians, a non-Greek nation. For Straboni, in 50 BC, the people of Macedonia spoke a different language from the Greeks. For Demosthenes, too, the Macedonians were neither of Greek origin nor had anything

related to the Greeks. At that time the Macedonians were called "barbarians", meaning "aliens".

JB Bury, on Demosthenes' hatred of Macedonians, writes that, "The most prominent among these opponents was Demosthenes, who had recently made a reputation as a speaker in the Assembly. The harangue, which is known as the First Philippic, calls upon the Athenians to vigorously oppose Philip, "our enemy".<sup>19</sup> H Lloyd Jones cites passages from the Philipppics: "This man Philip is not only not a Greek, or a man who has anything to do with us Greeks, but not even a barbarian from a country with an honourable name; no, a pestilent Macedonian fellow from a country where one could never buy a decent slave before".<sup>20</sup>

According to SR Hamilton, Philip was a barbarian in the eyes of Demosthenes: "Demosthenes, the implacable enemy of Macedon, was fond of describing Philip as a barbarian and once at least refers to his marshals as slaves. (Philipppics, 3. 32)... Vulgar abuse, of course, was the stock in trade of the Athenian politician; yet such abuse would have been pointless had there been no difference between Greeks and Macedonians, and important cultural and political differences did in fact divide them."<sup>21</sup>

The Macedonians, like the Illyrians, were barbarians, ie alien to the Greeks.<sup>22</sup> The name "barbarian" later acquired the meaning of "uncivilized". According to Arnold Toynbee, the word "barbarian" seems to have had a purely linguistic meaning originally. It was an expressive word, coined to describe someone whose language sounded like gibberish to the ear of the Greek speaker, who employed the term "barbarous". In the course of time, however, the word "barbarous" acquired a cultural connotation in addition to, or even instead of and in contrast to, its original linguistic connotation. This development was a result

of the word having come to be thought of as being the correlative and antithesis of the word "Hellene".<sup>23</sup>

The Corinthians, the last Ancient Greek city-state, had been wiped out in 146 by the Romans. No Greek state emerged from this date until 1830.

The western side of the Bulgarian Kingdom, which was divided into two in the 10th century, emerged as the first Macedonian state between 997-1014 under the reign of Samuel, Ohrid being its centre. Under the rule of Samuel, the eastern provinces were lost, but the empire remained firmly seated in the west. It was then definitely a Macedonian state. After the death of Samuel, the Macedonian state weakened, and its lands soon came again under Byzantine sovereignty.

Consequently, the name "Macedonia" was already known at the dawn of history, as was the name of the Kingdom of the Thracians, who were established as a separate people in the valley of the river Bistritsa (Haliakmon), but the etymology of the name has no generally accepted explanation. King Philip II (359-336 BC) had spread Macedonian authority over the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, and his son, Alexander, had turned his kingdom into a short-lived world empire.

After it penetrated the Balkans, Rome subjugated Macedonia in 148 BC and made it a Roman province. During the 4th century AD, "Macedonia" became the name of a new administrative unit - a diocese - including Greece itself and Crete. After all these changes, "Macedonia" was no longer an ethnic and political term connected directly with the identity of the ancient Macedonians. It also became a regional geographic notion.

Thus Macedonia and Greece were presented as part of the Hellenic world.

Greece has concentrated much of its recent propaganda on its claim that ancient Macedonia was Greek. The result has been that groups of archaeologists, philologists and classical scholars have been pressed and mobilized into service by Athens to support its argument. However, modern political geography is not and cannot be mortgaged to ancient history. One might as well complain that the borders of modern Germany do not correspond to what Tacitus meant by "Germania".

The root cause of the problem is the neurotic nature of Greek nationalism, in its wilful confusion of modern politics and ancient history. It is claimed that their "unbroken descent" from Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes sets them apart. Theirs is a higher civilization, a higher destiny. But over the thousands of years, there was no such thing as a national Greek state.<sup>24</sup>

Macedonia in the following centuries came under the rule of the Roman, the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires. The Greek historians argue that since during this long period of history there had been no Macedonian state, as there had been no Greek state since the Corinthian city-state was destroyed by the Romans in the Second Century, and because of the influx of Slav migration to the Balkans in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, a Macedonian nation could not be talked about.

However, not only Macedonia but also Greece and Bulgaria had been subject to the same immigration waves. Even the Greek historian Paparigopoulos tells how the "Ancient Greek" nation disappeared and the "modern Greekness" was born:

"The pure Greeks had disappeared from the scene of history after the occupation of Corinth by the Romans in 146. In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries the Slavs, Albanians and Vlachs immigrated as far south as the Peloponnesian peninsula and even some Aegean islands and settled there. Slavs settled in Epiros, Thessaly, Roumeli and Peloponnesian peninsula, Albanians in Athens,

Corinth, Mani, Thessaly and Aegean Islands, Vlachs in Thessaly, Roumeli, Seven Islands [the Ionian Islands] and Aegean Islands."

The historical arguments put forward to justify the Greek position are not only historically ungrounded, but they, being applied selectively and incoherently to different historical periods, and in a deliberately distorted manner for the Balkan nations other than the Greeks, are completely ill-founded.

## **E. The Macedonian minority in Greece**

In 1913, according to the International Carnegie Commission of Inquiry, the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia formed the largest ethnic group followed by the Turks and then the Greeks.

After World War I, Bulgaria lost to Greece its entire Aegean littoral. The Treaty of Neuilly, signed on August 9, 1920 with Bulgaria, provided for a voluntary exchange of populations between the two countries. A convention for "voluntary emigration" was signed on November 27, 1919, by the Prime Ministers of Greece and Bulgaria - Venizelos and Stamboliski respectively.

In actuality, the "voluntary emigration" of Macedonians from Greece became compulsory, as the Greek government employed every possible means to force them to leave the country. However, a substantial number of Macedonians chose to remain in Greece, estimated at about 150,000 to 200,000 Macedonians living chiefly in south-western Macedonia.

Even a Greek propaganda book of 500 pages admits that a Macedonian minority remained in Greece after the "voluntary migration agreement" with Bulgaria:

"Almost all of the Bulgarian-Macedonians from the Nestos to the Axios crossed the frontier to Bulgaria. However, the situation

in Western Greek Macedonia was somewhat different. The majority of Slav speakers stayed behind in this region."<sup>25</sup>

Considering them sufficiently remote from the Bulgarian frontier, the Greek government believed these people would be easily assimilated, and had not compelled them to emigrate. After the fall of Venizelos in 1920, it had even declared its willingness to grant certain minority rights to the Macedonian population. According to the "Greek Sevres" of August 1920 (Treaty for the Protection of Foreign Minorities in Greece), all Christian minorities living in the territories left and which would be left to Greece, whether Orthodox (mainland Greece) or Catholic (in some Aegean and Ionian Sea islands), could establish their separate churches where they would preach the Bible in their vernacular, and were given the right to found their own ethnic community schools where their language would also be taught.

Articles 7, 8 and 9 of the Greek Sevres contain provisions which guarantee the use of the language of the minorities concerned in their press, assemblies, courts, and sphere of religion; that the existence of charitable, religious and social institutions, school, and other institutions of learning are guaranteed with the right to use the national language of the ethnic groups; that a portion of the national budget be spent for the above mentioned purposes in favour of Greece's minorities.

Although Greece acknowledged the existence of the Macedonian minority, in practice it did not make any concessions, and these rights and provisions were not fulfilled.

Instead, under the Treaty of Lausanne Greece commenced an exchange of populations with Turkey which saw many thousands of Turks including thousands of Muslim Macedonians move to Turkey and several hundred thousand Greeks from Turkey settle in Aegean Macedonia.



In all "The number of Greek refugees entering Greece between 1922 and 1925 was 1,221,849. Over half of these (638,253) settled in Greek Macedonia."<sup>25</sup>

It is apparent that recognizing the Macedonians as Macedonians was never an option. When in September 1923, by the Kalkov-Politis Protocol, Greece prepared to recognize its Macedonians as a "Bulgarian" minority, it met with a strong protest from the Yugoslav government and abandoned the idea. In its February 3, 1925 meeting, the Greek Parliament refused to ratify it. The Greek government then declared the so-called Slavophones "Macedono-Slavs", but this time the project failed because of Bulgarian objections. Subsequently, the agreement was dropped, and the Greek government did not give minority status to its Macedonian subjects.

This attempt to hide the existence and identity of the Macedonians has been an ongoing facet of the situation. Although the Macedonians have always referred to themselves simply as "Macedonians", the Greek government at various times has labeled the Macedonians as "Greeks", "Slavophones", "Slavic speakers with a Greek consciousness", "Macedo-slavs", "Slav-Macedonians" and "non-existent".

In November 1926, the Greek government in Decree No. 332 ordered that "All Slavonic names of towns, villages, rivers and mountains should be replaced by Greek ones". All the Macedonian schools were closed, and the inventories destroyed while in the Macedonian churches the icons were repainted with Greek names.<sup>27</sup>

The statistics of the League of Nations on Greek Macedonia indicate that between 1912 and 1926 the number of Muslims fell from 475,000 to 2,000 of the population (39.4 per cent to 0.1 per cent), the number of Bulgarians fell from 119,000 to 77,000 (9.9

per cent to 5.1 per cent), Miscellaneous fell from 98,000 to 91,000 (8.1 per cent to 6 per cent).<sup>26</sup>

A Greek census of 1928 reported to have found 81,984 "Slavophones". These historical facts expose the invalidity of the Greek thesis that Macedonia was completely Hellenized after the Turkish-Greek and Bulgarian-Greek exchange of populations. This census, as was pointed out by the Minority Rights Group Report on the Balkans, had almost certainly exaggerated the number of Greeks.

The dictatorial regime established in 1936 under General Metaxas adopted a policy of forced assimilation of the Macedonian minority. The repression on the Macedonian minority in Greece was further stepped up. Macedonians were forbidden to speak their language in public, and deportations to the islands became a usual governmental practice. According to Yugoslav sources, some 1,600 Macedonians were interned on the islands of Thasos and Cephalonia in the years preceding World War II.

During World War II and the succeeding Greek Civil War, the Macedonians enjoyed language rights such as education in Macedonian which had been denied to them, despite the brief appearance of a Macedonian primer, "Abecedar", in September 1925. The Greek Communist Party recognized the right of Macedonians in Greece to self determination during the war, and a Macedonian Liberation Front was formed. During the 1946-1949 period of the Greek Civil war, 50,000 to 60,000 Macedonians abandoned their homes and left Greece. In the 1950s, 60s and 70s, a considerable number of Macedonians migrated to overseas countries, while it is estimated that about 30,000 persons migrated to Western Europe.

In the beginning of 1954, the Papagos government in Greece resolved to remove all Macedonians from official posts in Aegean

Macedonia. In 1959 in the villages around Lerin, Kostur and Kajlari the inhabitants were asked to confirm publicly in front of officials that they did not speak Macedonian.

In the 1990s, Greece continues not to recognize the presence and the minority rights of the Macedonians in Greece. According to the Greek view, "Greek Macedonia is Greek since the dawn of history" and some people living there are not anything but "inhabitants of Greek descent superficially slavized (mainly linguistically) who still preserve some of their ancient customs".<sup>28</sup>

Determining the exact number of Macedonians in Greece today remains difficult due to the attitude of the Greek Government in not recognizing the existence of the Macedonians and in not providing the official means to count them.

Furthermore, many Macedonians remain fearful of suffering discrimination and persecution if they declare themselves as Macedonians. Human Rights Watch in its April 1994 report "Denying Ethnic Identity: The Macedonians of Greece" states that such harassment "has led to a marked climate of fear in which many ethnic Macedonians are reluctant to assert their Macedonian identity or to express their views openly."

Human Rights Watch says it was unable to determine with any certainty the total number of ethnic Macedonians. "The number of ethnic Macedonians in northern Greece is a matter of dispute. Ethnic Macedonian activists in northern Greece assert that half the population of Aegean Macedonia is of Macedonian descent - that is, about one million. The government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia sets the figure at between 230,000 and 270,000."

## **The Commission of the European Community's Report on linguistic minorities in Greece (1990)**

According to the 1990 report prepared by the Commission of the European Communities on "Linguistic Minorities in the European Economic Community: Spain, Portugal, Greece", "Within the territory of Greece there are still linguistic minorities and although they are not very numerous and have little influence, their existence cannot be denied."

The Greek census of 1951, the report says, gave the following classification of the inhabitants according to their mother tongue:

Turkish-speaking	92,443	(of which 86,633 live in Western Thrace)
Slav-speaking	41,017	
Vlachs	39,855	
Arvanites	22,736	
Pomaks	18,671	

The Commission's report emphasizes the fact that these are the only available figures of an official nature as Greek is the only recognized language of Greece. The Commission Report describes the present situation of the Macedonian minority in Greece as follows:

"Slav-speaking: Although the massive resettlements of population which followed the end of the Balkan War provoked the exodus of no less than a quarter of a million Slav-speaking people from what had become Greek Macedonia, there were also a certain number who preferred or managed to remain in their places of origin. As we have seen, the 1951 census put this figure at something around 40,000. Probably at the time of the census the real figure was much higher... For those who

continue to live in their original places the situation of their language is extremely precarious. It has no official recognition, neither in theory nor in practice. Education and religious ceremonies are both carried out exclusively in Greek."

Despite these comments, it has been acknowledged within the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages that because the report was from the European Commission it was "of necessity toned down".

### **The US State Department's Annual Human Rights Report - the Section on Greece**

For a number of years the US State Department has presented its "Country Reports On Human Rights Practices" to the US President. The section of this Report regarding the minorities and their human rights situation in Greece has created great anger and "disappointment" in the official circles in Athens, as with these reports the USA officially acknowledges the presence of the Macedonian minority in Greece.

The reports explain the human rights violations against the Macedonian minority in Greece by the Greek authorities. The 1990 report includes the following sections:

"Northern Greece has a Slavophone Orthodox population, largely rural and economically relatively underdeveloped, numbering probably between 20,000 and 50,000, the remnant of a much larger population that emigrated before and during the Greek Civil War (1946-49) into Yugoslavia and abroad. The Government denies that its population has a minority ethnic consciousness and imposes restrictions on minority contacts with Yugoslavia and encourages the full assimilation of the population. For example, tight visa requirements bar Yugoslavs suspected of Macedonian activism, as well as US citizens of

Slavic descent, from entering Greece. Greece does not recognize the existence of a Macedonian language and denies the validity of studies undertaken or documents presented in that language. There are no minority schools or language classes, in accordance with the Greek insistence that Macedonian is a nonliterate language... the security services seize most Turkish and Yugoslav Macedonian publications at the border."

"Greece maintains a large military zone along its northern border, in areas where many members of the Pomak and Macedonian minorities reside. Within the zone, movements are strictly controlled, even for local inhabitants. Greek Civil War refugees of Slavic ethnicity, who were stripped of their Greek citizenship for participation in the Communist-led insurrection of 1946-1949, were expressly excluded from the general amnesty and return of exiles completed in 1982."

The State Department's report for 1993, issued in February 1994, includes the following statements:

"There are communities in Greece which identify themselves as Turks, Pomaks, Vlachs, Gypsies and Macedonians."

However, Macedonian organizations "are not allowed to use the word "Macedonian" in their names."

"In 1991 a "Macedonian Cultural Center" in Florina, organized by Greeks of Slavic descent, lost an appeal of a lower court decision denying it registration because of the use in its title of the word "Macedonian", which the court held would cause "confusion". The decision was appealed to the Supreme Court, which has not yet heard the case."

"People were arrested for distributing leaflets or booklets denouncing government policy on Macedonia and asserting the existence and mistreatment in Greece of Macedonian and other minorities."

"It is widely believed that those who engage in public dissent, even in scholarly publications, on sensitive issues like Macedonia and minorities will find it difficult to pursue an academic career since all universities are state institutions."

"Some legal restrictions on free speech remain in force and have been invoked the last two years in five cases concerning the politically sensitive topic of relations with the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia and the question of ethnic minorities in Greece. On these so-called national issues, under the previous government, the authorities gave clear evidence of their intolerance of political dissent."

"The Government, in principle, respects the right of foreign diplomats to meet with Greek officials and other citizens, including critics of official policy, and such contacts normally take place without adverse reaction. Occasionally, however, senior government officials make known their unhappiness over such meetings, particularly with activist members of minority groups or communities. It is also clear that the security forces closely monitor such contacts."

### **The Macedonian minority in Greece - Human rights violations**

*"We have reached a crisis point. Unless we are recognized as a Macedonian minority, you will be seeing us in the next elections: The consequences will be brought to parliament. We assure you that we are fielding a Macedonian deputy in the next election either as an independent candidate or as part of a movement, or even in cooperation with another party... How long are we going to live in fear of danger from the north and east? We have reached a point where we see the Turks as our enemies, the Bulgarians as enemies, the Macedonians as enemies, the Albanians as*

*enemies... There are a million Macedonian-speakers in Greece. We are entitled to rights, to associations, schools, churches, traditions... I have a Macedonian ethnic consciousness, but I am a citizen of Greece with all the rights and the obligations of a Greek citizen. With one difference: I belong to an ethnic minority which is not recognized by Greece.*"<sup>29</sup> Christos Sideropoulos in ENA magazine, March 1992.

Macedonian minority leaders in Greece brought their situation to the international forums by participating in the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) Human Dimension meetings. They distributed documents about human rights violations during the Paris meeting of the CSCE for the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" in November 1990.

Hristos Prickas, Yanni Kirkou, Konstantino Pasoi and Dimitri Papadimitrios, members of the Macedonian minority in Greece, submitted a petition signed by the members of the Macedonian minority in Greece to the then Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis. Prickas stated that in their petition they acknowledged the fact that they were not of Greek origin, and they had their own language which they requested be recognized by the Greek government. They stated that the fundamental human rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece, to speak their native language, Macedonian, and to open their own schools should be recognized by the Greek government.

In the Moscow CSCE Human Dimension meeting in September 1991, the then Yugoslav government delegation put a question on the agenda of the meeting regarding the situation of the Macedonian minority in Greece. During the conference, the judge of the Florina Court of First Instance in Greece ordered an investigation into which Greek citizens participated in the CSCE Human Dimension meeting.<sup>30</sup> The representatives of the



Macedonians' Human Rights Movement in Greece attending the meeting, Stavros Anastiadis, Hristos Prickas and Hristos Sideropoulos, chairmen of the Macedonian organizations in Greece, were placed under close surveillance by the authorities when they returned to Greece.

A fourth representative, Trainos Dimitriu, was an emigrant Macedonian leader from Canada. In all, the international Macedonian delegation comprised 15 people from six countries.

In other instances, Hristos Sideropoulos and Stefanos Kiriakou Dimcis, the latter was a commissar in the Greek Police and the brother of Petro Dimcis (the secretary-general of the Macedonians' Human Rights Movement), were sent to exile in the Cephalonia island on the pretext of speaking Macedonian and propagating Macedonian culture and language, and so disseminating "false information".

Petros Dimcis was also deported from Florina and the Macedonians participating in the Human Rights Movement received death threats. Basilis Pasmacis, the president of the Macedonians' Human Rights Movement, and Petros Dimcis, its secretary general, had sent a letter to the Macedonian president Kiro Gligorov indicating their support for the independence declaration of the Republic of Macedonia.

In Florina, the Macedonians, comprising 60 per cent of the inhabitants of the city, declared that they wanted to elect their governor and metropolitan. Macedonian leader Otkusoto Seme said all the local administrative posts in Florina have been filled by Greeks, and this should be changed. The Macedonians should be given their right to participate in local administrative posts in the Florina municipality, and should have their own priests to preach to them in their vernacular.

In 1991 a group of ethnic Macedonian students wanted to organize a forum at Thessaloniki Aristotle University on the

pressures of the Macedonian minority in Greece. However, University Dean Deputy Al Mandis prohibited the forum. The Macedonian students, protesting this, covered the university walls with posters and slogans. Upon this, they were attacked by the Greek students, and the ethnic Macedonian students were taken to the Thessaloniki Central Hospital after having been beaten.

Since the Macedonians began to seek their human rights, a section of the Greek press has initiated a campaign targeting the leaders of the Macedonian minority in Greece, to the extent of presenting them as targets by giving their addresses:

"Cut out their tongues: During the days of [Ottoman] bondage there may have been reasons for some to use the so-called "dialect". But now, 80 years after liberation, nothing can justify such use [of the language]. Those who continue to do this are traitors! Cut out their tongues!"<sup>31</sup> Some parts of the Greek press offer "harsh punishment" indeed to those who dare to speak Macedonian.

On 4 April 1992, members of the Anti-War Nationalistic Movement, Stratis Bournazos, Christina Tsamoura, Vangelio Sotiropoulou and Maria Kalogeromolou, were arrested in central Athens while distributing a leaflet entitled "Our Neighbours Are Not Our Enemies, No To Nationalism and War". The leaflet called for peace in the Balkans and opposed the Greek government's foreign policy and domestic policy regarding Greece's ethnic minorities. They were taken to the General Police Headquarters and arrested. On 4 May, 1992, they were all convicted by an Athens court of "disseminating false information, attempting to incite citizens to acts of violence or to dissension". Their sentence to 19 months' imprisonment was confirmed by a Supreme Court of Appeal in September 1993 but later dropped.

In November 1992, Amnesty International released a report on the violation of the right to freedom of expression. As a result of the interest shown by international human rights organizations, the Greek government twice delayed the trial of Hristos Sideropoulos and Anastasios Boulis, who were to be tried for comments they made in an interview with a Greek magazine, ENA, in March 1992, about their ethnic identity as Macedonians and their criticism of the Greek government's foreign policy (see above). Both were sentenced to five months in jail, pending the decision of the higher court, and a small fine. The charges were subsequently dropped.

However, on May 25, 1994 Sideropoulos was again brought to Court on a different charge of "spreading false information which may cause disturbance to the international relations of Greece." Amnesty International said that "This charge refers to a statement he reportedly made at a press conference in Copenhagen, Denmark on June 10, 1990. He reportedly declared to the journalists present that he belongs to the "Macedonian minority living in Greece and that his cultural rights were violated."

The Court postponed the hearing to October 5, 1994. However, this trial was also postponed when representatives of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Australian Government and other observers attended the trial.

Archimandrite Nikodimos Tsarknias, an Orthodox priest of Macedonian origin and a member of the "Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity", is also subject to pressure by the Greek authorities. In 1993 Tsarknias was relieved of his archimandrite's duties in his parish just outside Thessaloniki. The Archimandrite has stated his belief that this was because of his human rights activism.

On May 10, 1994 Amnesty International wrote to the Greek Government expressing concern for the Archimandrite and his sister Maria who on May 4 were beaten by Greek border guards when crossing the border check point at Nikki between the towns of Bitola in the Republic of Macedonia and Florina in Greece.

Amnesty International stated "Archimandrite Tsarknias was arrested and sent to the Regional Office of the Department of Defence in Florina for further interrogation. He collapsed there and was transferred to the General Hospital of Florina for medical treatment. It is not clear on what charges he was arrested; however the charges were later dropped and he was released."

Amnesty International stated that it believed that the human rights of the Archimandrite and his sister had "been violated by the Greek authorities purely because of their non-violent activities on behalf of the Macedonian minority in Greece."

Harassment of the Archimandrite continues. On May 11 he was again unable to leave Greece to visit Canada and was told that his safe passage across the Greek border could not be assured. On June 18 he was due to appear in court at Edessa (Voden) on charges of misrepresenting religious authority but the trial was postponed due to a lawyers' strike. Outside the Courthouse the Archimandrite and his sister Stoyanka were physically assaulted by Greek police and taken to the General Hospital where medical staff verbally abused them and a male nurse attempted to choke him.

Over recent years there have been a number of other cases of violations of the right to freedom of expression which have attracted international attention.

In May, 1994 the Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity formed an alliance with the Rainbow Group in the

European Parliament to field 23 candidates for the June elections to the European Parliament. The Macedonian candidates were to run under the name Rainbow Group. However, registration of the candidates by the authorities was immediately denied and only granted after considerable international pressure.

The delay gave the Rainbow Group only about one week of time in which to campaign, and they were further hampered by a lack of access to media outlets.

### **Human Rights Watch recommendations**

In its report "Denying Ethnic Identity: The Macedonians of Greece" Human Rights Watch "recommends to the government of Greece that it:

- \* acknowledge the existence in Greece of an ethnic Macedonian minority with its own culture and language;
- \* end free expression restrictions on ethnic Macedonians;
- \* permit ethnic Macedonian political refugees to return to Greece to regain their citizenship, to resettle and visit on the same basis as political refugees who identify themselves as Greek;
- \* end the practice of prohibiting the teaching of the Macedonian language;
- \* permit ethnic Macedonians to establish cultural and other associations;
- \* carry out an impartial investigation into whether ethnic Macedonians are currently discriminated against in employment in the public sector; if that discrimination is found to exist, end it;
- \* end harassment of ethnic Macedonians in general, and of Macedonian rights monitors in particular."

Human Rights Watch also recommended that the United States government "acknowledge the Greek government's human rights violations as presented in the report, and use its best efforts to persuade the Greek government to follow Human Rights Watch's recommendations."

## **F. The position of Bulgaria**

Bulgaria claims that the Macedonian language is a dialect of the Bulgarian language, and the history of Macedonia is a part and parcel of the history of Bulgaria. According to the Bulgarian view of the Macedonian Question, there are no "Macedonians" or "Thracians", for there are no "Macedonian" or "Thracian" individual nations, but only Slavo-Bulgarians - in short, there is "only one Bulgarian people and one Bulgarian language" in the region including Bulgaria proper, all three parts of Macedonia and even Thrace.<sup>32</sup>

The current position of Bulgaria with regard to the Macedonian Question was established in 1968. According to the Bulgarian thesis, there is no Macedonian nation, and "the Macedonian Question is nothing but a repercussion of the intrigues of imperialist powers in the Balkans". This thesis, expounded by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in a document in November 1968, is mostly still held today with the exception of its Bulgarian Communist Party wording. According to that document:

"A separate Macedonian nation does not exist. The Macedonians are a part of the Bulgarian nation. Not only the people of Pirin Macedonia, but also the people of Vardar Macedonia are of Bulgarian origin. Macedonia is not an ethnic, but a geographical concept. The Serbian bourgeoisie, when they failed to Serbianize the Bulgarian people in Macedonia, put

forward the thesis that Macedonians were neither Serbian nor Bulgarian but "Macedon". The Communist Party of Yugoslavia stood as the follower of the same thesis. There is not a Macedonian minority within the borders of Bulgaria, and there is not a Macedonian language. What is spoken in the Republic of Macedonia is a Bulgarian dialect influenced somewhat from the Serbian language."

However, this statement came over 20 years after the 10th Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party had decided, among other things, that Pirin Macedonia would be tied to Vardar Macedonia in a Balkan Socialist Federal Republic scheme, and the Macedonian language, literature and history be taught in Pirin Macedonia. Even the development of Macedonian consciousness in the people living in that region had been encouraged for nearly a decade.

Within the framework of these decisions, the Bulgarian government had sent 135 teachers to the language and history courses opened in the Federal Republic of Macedonia and 93 Macedonian teachers came to Pirin Macedonia. However, after Tito's break with Stalin, the Bulgarian-Yugoslavian friendship came to an end, and all the Macedonian schools in the Pirin region were closed and the Macedonian teachers were sent back.

### **The Macedonians in Bulgaria and their present situation**

Bulgarian policy has aimed at slowly assimilating the Macedonian minority. Before Bulgarian law, public acknowledgment of Macedonian identity was forbidden and subject to punishment. The Bulgarian Communist Party exerted great efforts to inculcate Bulgarian national consciousness in the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia. Although in January 1992

Bulgaria was the first country to recognize the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, it did not recognize the Macedonian nation.

However, Bulgaria had previously recognized a distinct Macedonian nationality in the census of 1946, which recorded that 70 per cent of the people in Pirin Macedonia were Macedonians. The December 1956 census recorded that there were 187,789 Macedonians in Bulgaria, and Macedonians constituted 63.7 per cent of the population of Pirin Macedonia, and 2.46 per cent of the population of all Bulgaria.

The December 1965 census officially declared there were only 9,632 Macedonians in Bulgaria, constituting 0.12 per cent of the population. This was the last Bulgarian census providing information on the number of Macedonians in Bulgaria. In the last census of 1985, in line with the policy of creating a "uniform Bulgarian nation", the Macedonians, like Turks and other minorities in Bulgaria, were recorded as Bulgarian.

The Macedonians in Bulgaria are located in the south-western corner of Bulgaria, in the Pirin region (Blagoevgrad District). Their population is estimated at around 230,000 to 250,000. This estimate is the result of the declaration of Macedonian national awareness during the two official censuses in Bulgaria after World War II.

In the census of 1985, in which "ethnic origin" information was not included, the total number of inhabitants in the District of Blagoevgrad, ie "Pirin Macedonia", was stated to be 345,942.<sup>33</sup>

According to the information given by the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Sofia:

"After the ouster of Jivkov from power in November 1989 and the following free elections in Bulgaria, though substantial steps were taken towards democratization, Macedonian organizations



which are not in line with the official Bulgarian policy on the Macedonian issue continued to be subject to suppression."

"Stoyan Georgiev, the President of the OMO-Ilinden, has had no right to travel abroad since October 1990 when his passport was confiscated. He [had] attended the CSCE Human Dimension meeting in Copenhagen in 1990. The participants of the CSCE Moscow meeting in September 1991 were treated in the same way. The main independent Macedonian organizations, OMO-Ilinden and IMRO-Independent, remain unregistered by the court, and are in fact illegal despite the fact that there are no anti-constitutional articles in their documents. Active members of OMO-Ilinden are dismissed because of their membership and are unemployed for long periods, for example Todor Bykov from the village Samuilovo, Petrich District."

"Macedonian celebrations on historical dates are regularly blocked by the official authorities, if necessary with security and military forces. On 22 April 1991, OMO-Ilinden tried to commemorate the date of the murder of Yane Sandanski near the Rojen monastery. Guests were invited from Macedonian organizations in USA and Canada. The representative of the then Macedonian vice-president Ljupcho Georgievski also attended the celebration. They were denied access to electric power and all videotapes of the event were confiscated from the foreign guests without civilized explanation. At the same time, inspired by the Bulgarian State Security, pro-Bulgarian "Macedonian" organizations are totally facilitated by the authorities and favoured in the media."

"On 2 August 1991 near the town of Bansko, Macedonian organizations tried to celebrate the Ilinden Revolt (1903). All vehicles carrying the Macedonians who wished to participate in the celebration were stopped by security and military troops

which surrounded the area and blocked all the ways to the place of the event."

"Macedonians are denied the right to learn the Macedonian language in schools, which they claim to be different from the Bulgarian."

### **G. The position of Serbia**

From the nineteenth century to the end of World War 11, Serbia actively pursued an expansionist policy in Macedonia, calling it "Southern Serbia", and claiming that Macedonians were Serbs.

After the Balkan Wars, the Macedonian Church came under the administration of the Serbian Patriarchate, and Serbian was declared the official language in the administration and schools.<sup>34</sup>

Between the two world wars, the Yugoslav authorities eliminated the name "Macedonia". Yugoslav Macedonia became "South Serbia" or, after King Alexander's administrative reforms, the "Vardarska Banovina". The Macedonians were oppressed and began to be called "South Serbians", thus their ethnic identity was denied. However, the only thing that this policy of oppression was able to achieve was to prompt hostility, animosity and fear against the Serbians which will never fade.<sup>35</sup>

Like the Greeks and Bulgarians, the Serbs resorted to medieval historical legacies to justify their territorial ambitions over Macedonia. Projecting the rather vague geographical name of "Old Serbia", they sought to substantiate their territorial claims to Kosovo, the Sanjak of Novi Bazar and the central and northern zones of Macedonia, by reference to Stefan Dushan's medieval empire.<sup>36</sup>

Serbia claims it has "historical rights" over Macedonia, since the Serbian King Stefan Dushan (1331-1355) had established a kingdom comprising all Macedonia and Albania. He had been crowned in Skopje, as the "King of the Serbs and the Greeks".

On the Autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church issue: The Macedonians had conceded to Christianity in the 9th century, and a Patriarchate was founded at Monaster in 893. However, it was downgraded to the level of Episcopacy during the Byzantine reign in Macedonia. The Serbians, after the Byzantines, tried to reduce the influence of the independent Macedonian Church.

The Macedonian Church was re-established in 1958, and became independent from the Serbian Church in 1967. It was not officially recognized by either the Serbian or the Greek Church. However, it became firmly established within Macedonia and also in overseas countries where Macedonian emigrants had settled. Nevertheless, the issue continues to be another apple of discord. In May 1993, the Serbian Orthodox Church unilaterally appointed Archimandrite Jovan as its administrator of the diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which was protested by the Macedonian Church and Government.

## **H. The position of Albania**

Albania recognizes the existence of the Macedonian nation, and the presence of a small Macedonian minority within its borders, which is concentrated near the Ohrid Lake. Albania allowed the opening of Macedonian schools in Albania. The Macedonians in Albania are in a better position than the Macedonians in Greece or Bulgaria with respect to the recognition of their minority rights, though some problems exist. The communications between Macedonians on the opposite

sides of the border were reportedly hindered at times, and Macedonian geographical names were replaced by Albanian names.

Macedonian estimates put the number of Macedonians within Albania at a minimum of 50,000 and up to several times that number.

There is also an Albanian minority in Macedonia. According to the Minority Rights Group Report, Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia are "a sizeable minority with a far higher growth rate than that of the Macedonians, speaking a different language, living in concentrated areas especially in the countryside, and whose geographical position gives rise to a possible irredenta."

The Albanian population in the Republic of Macedonia comprises about 22 per cent of the population, according to the 1994 census. The Albanians are concentrated in the west and north-western parts of the country. Though there are some important problems between Albanians and Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, which are amenable to the agitation of the outside powers, and the Albanian and Macedonian nationalisms are on the rise, both communities have so far succeeded in containing extremism through a working parliamentary democracy in the Republic of Macedonia. A significant number of Albanians are represented in the Macedonian parliament and it is generally acknowledged that the position of the Albanian minority in Macedonia is significantly better than that of Albanian minorities in the other Balkan countries.

The constitutional change in November 1989 was a clear indication of Macedonian nationalism vis-a-vis Albanian nationalism: Macedonia became no longer "The Republic of the Macedonians, the Albanians, the Turks and the other peoples and ethnic groups", but merely "the Republic of Macedonians

and other peoples and ethnic groups". However, the first paragraph of the new Constitution of 8 November 1991 reads:

"...historical fact that Macedonia is established as a national state of the Macedonian people, in which full equality as citizens and permanent co-existence with the Macedonian people is provided for Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romanians and other nationalities living in the Republic of Macedonia..."

The Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity and the National Democratic Party in the Republic of Macedonia have claimed that the Republic of Macedonia does not meet the criteria for international recognition, specifically the requirements of the EU's Arbitration Commission, because the rights of Albanians are threatened there. They also demanded a referendum for Albanians.

The statement, which was in the nature of an ultimatum, states that Albanians are 40 per cent of the population in Macedonia. It was demanded that the European Community request that Macedonia endorse a constitutional law that would grant full ethnic equality to Albanians. However, despite party policy, the deputies of the Albanian parties in the Macedonian Parliament voted for the declaration which requested international recognition of the independence of the Republic of Macedonia.

Kiro Gligorov, the President of the Republic of Macedonia, visited Albania in the beginning of June 1992. Gligorov said the first Albanian-Macedonian summit was marked by "frank talks on all issues". President Gligorov also mentioned joint economic interests, such as the continuation of building the oil pipeline via Macedonia to Albania, in which Italy is also interested. Gligorov and Sali Berisha, the Albanian President, have proposed a Balkan Zone without borders "from the Adriatic to

the Black Sea" in a bid to end current conflicts and pave the way towards a peaceful, prosperous future.<sup>37</sup>

### **III. Facts about the Republic of Macedonia**

#### **The population and religions in the Republic of Macedonia**

The first official census was held in 1948, which recorded 762,120 Macedonians, 197,423 Albanians, 95,987 Turks and 9,508 Vlachs in the Socialist Federal Republic of Macedonia.

In Spring 1994, a Council of Europe supervised census was held in the Republic of Macedonia, according to which there are 1,936,877 citizens in Macedonia: Macedonians accounted for 66.5 per cent or 1,288,330 people. Albanians numbered 442,914 in total with a little over 300,000 possessing regular citizenship and over 120,000 with unregulated citizenship, thus Albanians account for between 17 and 22.9 per cent of the population. There were 77,252 Turks, 4.0 per cent; 43,732 Roms, 2.3 per cent; 39,260 Serbs, 2.0 per cent; and 8,467 Vlachs or 0.43 per cent. Others, including Croatians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Romanians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Poles, Italians and Germans, were 34,960 or 1.81 per cent.

The Macedonians are predominantly Orthodox Christians while the Albanians and the Turks are Muslims except for some Catholic and Orthodox villages. There are also Muslim Macedonians called "Torbesh".

#### **Language in the Republic of Macedonia**

Although the Cyrillic alphabet had its genesis in the spoken Macedonian language of the ninth century, there was no

standardized written Macedonian language until the end of World War II. Initially, the dialect of northern Macedonia was considered to be chosen as the standard language of the new republic. However, it was too close to the Serbian. In the end, the Bitola-Veles dialect was chosen as the standard.

The alphabet of the Macedonian language was accepted on May 3, 1945 and the orthography on June 7, 1945. The first grammar was published in 1946 and orthography in 1951. The Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet, including 31 letters, is read and pronounced as it is written, ie phonetically. The first reading books in this manner were published in 1946. In the same year, the Macedonian Language Department was opened in the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Skopje. The "Krste Misirkov Institute" was founded in order to develop the literary Macedonian.

By the 1970s, the major questions of Macedonian culture had been resolved. The Macedonian literary language had achieved a standard form widely accepted by the Macedonian population, and the Macedonian Orthodox Church had been established fully independent of the Serbian Church.<sup>38</sup>

## **The evolution of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization**

Towards the end of the 19th century, as elsewhere in the Balkans at that time, Socialist thought emerged in Macedonia combined with nationalism. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) was founded in 1893. There were two wings in the IMRO from its outset, Verhovists (Federalists) and Centralists. Centralists were in favour of union with Bulgaria. Thus almost from the outset the IMRO was fatally divided in its aims between those who wanted a separate



Macedonian state either independent or within some form of federation and those who wanted Macedonia for Bulgaria.

In 1903, IMRO led the unsuccessful Ilinden revolt against the Ottomans. In 1908, the left wing of the IMRO established the Federative People's Party. After 1924, IMRO came under the control of Sofia. During the interwar period, the IMRO degenerated into a terrorist band, and in the 1930s it was expelled from Bulgaria. IMRO collaborated with the German and Bulgarian authorities during the occupation of Macedonia by Bulgaria (with the permission of Nazi Germany) during World War II. This was in contrast to the Macedonian people who fought against fascism.

### **Current political situation**

Given the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the emergence of ethnic strife there, the people of the Republic of Macedonia have displayed a remarkable democratic maturity in the last three years. On October 18, 1991, Macedonia declared its sovereignty and independence after a popular referendum. So far it has managed to avoid the violence in other parts of former Yugoslavia.

The Macedonian Parliament is called the Sobranie. It has 120 seats. The first national elections were held in November 1990. The latest elections were held in October 1994.

The following parties operate in Macedonia.

1. Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM): (Formerly the League of Communists of Macedonia - Party for Democratic Renewal). This is the party of the former communists. SDSM considers the Republic of Macedonia as a multi-national and multi-religious state, and advocates a market economy.

It had 31 deputies in the previous Sobranie. In the 1994 elections it won 58 seats and formed part of the Alliance for Macedonia which won 87 seats in total.

2. Liberal Party (LP): The Liberal Party advocates free market principles and integration with the European Union. In the 1994 elections it won 29 seats and formed part of the governing Alliance for Macedonia.

3. Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP). The PDP is an Albanian party aiming at full equality of the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia. In the 1994 elections the PDP won 10 seats.

4. Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM): In the 1994 elections it won 8 seats.

5. Democratic Peoples Party (NDP) is also an Albanian Party. It holds 4 seats.

6. Democratic Party of Macedonia: The party has one seat.

7. Party for Complete Emancipation of Roms: The party has one seat.

8. Social Democratic Party of Macedonia: The party has one seat.

9. Democratic Party of Turks: The party has one seat.

10. Independents: There are seven independents in the Sobranie.

11. IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE): A nationalist right wing party. It is neutral toward Bulgaria except in regard to the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and Bulgaria's non-recognition of the Macedonian ethnicity. It is critical of Greece and Serbia, and is anti Albanian separatism. It was represented with 35 deputies in the previous Sobranie, making it the main opposition.

In the current parliament it holds no seats after boycotting the elections.

12. Serbian Democratic Party (DSS): DSS is the party of the Serbs. It gave its full support to the Bosnian Serbs.

Between 1990 and 1994 the SDSM, RJM-LP and PDP formed a coalition government. The coalition parties are known not to have extreme political leanings. The government thus represented the moderate forces in the Republic.

The 1994 elections were won by the Alliance for Macedonia which consists of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia and the Liberal Party, thus continuing the rule of the moderate forces.

There are five Albanian ministers in the present Government and several Albanian junior ministers.

### **Current economic situation**

The economic blockade which Greece applied to the Republic of Macedonia continues to badly hurt the economy of that landlocked country. Greece even blocked the transport of urgent medicine. Thessaloniki was the most important export-import port for Macedonia. The Republic of Macedonia is now trying to establish Adriatic-Black Sea railway and maritime trade routes, the mooted East-West corridor.

The loss of trading partners in the former Yugoslav republics, in part through international sanctions on Serbia, caused landlocked Macedonia to lose 70 per cent of its export market. Shipments of wine, metal products, textiles, electronics, meat and vegetables have been devastated. Unemployment in the Republic of Macedonia rose above 25 per cent.

The re-orientation from a planned economy to a market economy, as in the case of other former Yugoslav republics and former Eastern Bloc countries, is another difficult problem.

## **IV. The Greek-Serbian alliance and its repercussions for the security of the Republic of Macedonia**

*"...The Servian soldier, like the Greeks, was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriot men who could speak his language and address him with "jivio" or "zito". He found men speaking a language different from him, who cried hurrah! The theory he had learned from youth of the existence of a Servian Macedonia and a Greek Macedonia naturally suffered, but his patriotic conviction that Macedonia must become Greek or Servian remain unaffected. Accordingly, he acted upon this basis."*<sup>39</sup>

*"Perhaps the actual short-term question for Europe is how far it is going to allow a Serbian-Greek stranglehold on Macedonia to develop."*<sup>40</sup>

The Greco-Serbian political tandem, latent for a Greco-Serbian conspiracy to carve up the Republic of Macedonia, is the gravest threat to the security of that republic, which has no comparable military power to confront either country. Greece and Serbia are once again warming their relations, and at a time when Serbia is the target of comprehensive United Nations sanctions. Greece has been caught many times in gross violation of the UN sanctions imposed on Serbia and its ally Montenegro.

Serbia's president Milosevic visited Athens just before the UN Security Council resolved to implement the sanctions and embargo on Serbia and Montenegro. Southern Cyprus came on the scene as an issue after that visit. "Vreme", the Belgrade newspaper which opposes the aggressive course taken by Milosevic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, asked the question of whether

the departure of Slobodan Milosevic for Athens had anything to do with the extraction of Serbian capital to Southern Cyprus, in order to turn around the UN embargo on Serbia.<sup>41</sup> Serbia concentrated some unknown quantity of its international reserves in Southern Cyprus before the commencement of the UN embargo.

On the other side, the former Greek prime minister Constantine Mitsotakis thanked the Serbian leader for his "understanding" on Greece's policy toward Macedonia during his visit to Belgrade in April, which took place at the peak of the carnage in Bosnia in 1992.<sup>42</sup>

Greece now has no ally in the Balkans other than Serbia. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic even proposed the formation of a confederation between "Yugoslavia" and Greece in an interview on June 23, 1992 in Belgrade for the Greek commercial television network "Antenna".<sup>43</sup> Milosevic frequently talks about "Our southern neighbour, Greece", disregarding the Republic of Macedonia. It is difficult to imagine a Greco-Serbian confederation without the destruction of Macedonia. Meanwhile, Greek diplomats do not hesitate to say that, if the events get out of control in Kosovo, they expect military intervention on the part of Serbia in the Republic of Macedonia also.

The infant Republic of Macedonia is now being squeezed in an economic blockade by Greece and Serbia. The Greek blockade, which has shut off Macedonia's access to the Greek port of Thessaloniki, formerly the entry point for Macedonia's oil supplies, has cost the little Balkan state hundreds of millions of dollars.

Within Greece, an extremely bitter nationalist campaign has been launched by the state and much of the press. Newspapers in editorials and articles threaten the Republic of Macedonia, which some Greeks call the "Skopjian Republic", with military

invasion. "Macedonia was Greek and is Greek", "Macedonia is ours", "Macedonia is Greek since ever", "Macedonia is one and Greek" appear on walls throughout the country."<sup>44</sup>

Greece and Serbia are two countries in full support of each other's greed for Balkan territory. Greece supports Serbian claims on Kosovo, and Serbia is "sensitive" to the claims of Greece with respect to the Republic of Macedonia.

The Greco-Serbian invasion plan of the Republic of Macedonia, more than a future action program or an internal political consumption issue in the two countries, has already begun to be put into practice. In late 1992 and during the first months of 1993, Greece and Serbia massed troops on their borders with the Republic of Macedonia. The situation was so grave that in mid-December 1992, President Bush warned Serbia against any aggression in Kosovo and Macedonia.

The Greek-Serbian invasion and occupation plans were revealed in the Slovene daily "Delo" on November 21, 1992.<sup>45</sup> These plans, according to "Delo", were set up a year previously and were already published in the newspaper "Slobodna Dalmacija" on January 2 and 16, and April 23, 1992.

Due to the fact that the situation in the former Yugoslavia did not develop as expected in Athens and Belgrade, the Third Section of the Security Department of the Yugoslav Armed Forces under the leadership of Milan Milosevic and the head of the Secret Police, Nedeljko Boskovic, drafted the plans together with Greek officers. The plans were known under the code names "Old Serbia" and "The Bridge". According to these plans, ethnic strife would be the pretext for the Greco-Serbian occupation. The specific target is the delicate relations between Albanians and Macedonians: conflict between Macedonians and Albanians would be provoked to erupt into intercommunal violence.

This would lead the "Society of Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia" to ask for "help" from the Serbian Army, which would intervene to "protect the Serbians in the Republic of Macedonia" (There are about 39,000 Serbians in the Republic of Macedonia). Serbs, who constitute 2 per cent of the Macedonian population, had already started to complain about "discriminatory treatment" in that republic which they describe as an "artificial state".

Troops would be sent to the Macedonian border cities of Kumanovo and Tetovo. For coordination of the activities with the Greek side, high-ranking Greek officers have paid frequent visits to the head of the Security Department of the Serbian Army, Nedeljko Boskovic, in Belgrade. He reportedly explained to them that "in case of war, Serbia will accept Greek military penetration of Macedonia to the Kicevo - Makedonski Brod - Prilep - Negotin - Strumica - Novo Selo line. Struga would also belong to Greece."

Greek occupation plans for the Republic of Macedonia were also drafted. The strategic passages along the Vardar River would be occupied through a "lightening operation in the first instance". The indications of the Greek war preparations on the Albanian and Macedonian borders in the period to the end of 1993 were as follows:

- The presence of the Greek battalions in Northern Greece was reinforced, all leave permits were lifted, and armoured vehicles and new divisions were transferred to the border areas with the Republic of Macedonia and Albania beginning in December 1992.

- Engine-drivers, technical communications personnel, fortification and mine-sweeping operators were sent to the border area.

- An armoured mechanized division, including tanks, was stationed in Polikastro, which is 17 kilometres from the border.

- Inexperienced soldiers along the border with the Republic of Macedonia were replaced by more experienced and professional soldiers.

- The commando divisions in the region were reinforced.

- The divisions in the Florina region, reinforced by the additional divisions shifted from the southern and central regions of Greece, were put on alert.

- Security precautions in the divisions were increased.

- The documents of the reserve soldiers were changed for 1 year, which were normally changed for 6 to 10 years. The lists of reserve soldiers were actualized.

- In order to carry out intelligence operations in Northern Greece and to create paramilitary forces, teams including two civilians each were formed.

- Long barrel guns were distributed to selected people in the border areas with Albania and the Republic of Macedonia.

- The gendarmerie patrols in Western Thrace during the nights increased twofold.

The first and second phases of the Greco-Serbian plan were completed. In the first week of November 1992, Macedonian police chased and arrested "illegal cigarette trader" ethnic Albanians, which caused large scale demonstrations of Albanians and clashes with Macedonians. The Macedonians and Albanians were successfully pitted against one another.<sup>46</sup>

As the political instability climbs, the Macedonian economy worsens.

Due to the application by Macedonia of the UN embargo on Serbia, and the Greek economic blockade of Macedonia, about half of the factories in the country are now inactive, and unemployment climbs.



Serbian Major-General Miroslav Radmonovic has already declared that "We will use all means at our disposal to answer those who attack our soldiers or the Serbian population anywhere, including Macedonia." So fabricated attacks against the Serbian soldiers in the Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo could be a pretext for the Serbian army invasion.

The third phase of the Greco-Serbian plan would likely be put into effect as soon as the pretext for it is created. Greece and Serbia would partition the Republic of Macedonia along the lines mentioned above. The planned Greco-Serbian invasion of the Republic of Macedonia is very elaborate.

The corps of General Branslav Ganic, the commander of the Serbian Air Defence in Pristina, would open up the road at Gnjlane-Strezovice, cut the connection and start marching towards Skopje. The Serbian corps would be divided into two units, one of them surrounding Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia, and the other unit occupying areas around Tetovo and wherever the majority population is Albanian. Two tank divisions would march towards the border with Albania and penetrate into the Albanian territory. There the Serbian forces would unite, and quickly take over the strategic positions.

Serbia is estimated to lose 12,000 soldiers in the invasion of Albania and the Republic of Macedonia, in comparison to 100,000 to 120,000 Albanian losses. The Greek casualties in the military operation in southern Macedonia are estimated to be "negligible", because there would be no comparable Macedonian army to confront the advance of the Greek armed forces.

After the warning by the US President and international organizations in December 1992 of the danger of Serbian aggression in Kosovo and the Republic of Macedonia, a 700 member UN Peacekeeping Force and 300 plus US troops came to

the Republic of Macedonia in January 1993. They were deployed along the Serbian and Albanian borders of the Republic of Macedonia.

However, the situation continues to be volatile. Recently Gerasimos Arsenis, the new Greek Defence Minister of the socialist PASOK government, stated that "The Greek defense policy includes only one Hellenism region, including Aegean, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Cyprus."

The likelihood that the Greek-Serbian plans regarding the Republic of Macedonia would mushroom into a Third Balkan War was emphasized many times by Turkey, Bulgaria, and international organizations. However, the Greek-Serbian alliance continues to be the single gravest threat to the Republic of Macedonia.

## **V. Conclusion**

There has been no change in the expansionist policy of Greece since it was founded in 1832. The new Macedonian Question that has emerged in the last decade of the 20th century carries striking similarities with the Macedonian Question that emerged at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries: The root cause of both is the expansionist aims of Greece and Serbia in the Balkans.

The crux of the Macedonian Question is the tri-partition of Macedonia between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. When Greece obtained more than half of Macedonia in 1913, the Greeks were the least numerous ethnic group in the region after Macedonians, Albanians and Turks.

Despite the exchange of populations between Greece-Turkey and Greece-Bulgaria, and constant efforts of assimilation by Greek governments, there is still a Macedonian minority living in Greece which is seeking the recognition of its rights by Greece, and has brought its situation to the attention of international organizations.

The mainstay of the Greek claims on Macedonia rests on some distorted historical "proofs" and archaeological findings attributed to ancient history. However, the ancient Macedonians, who were called "alien" by the Greek city-states, were in no way related to the "Ancient Greeks". Alexander the Great extended his empire to India not with the collaboration or help of the Ancient Greek city-states, but despite them.

Macedonia in the following centuries was never ruled by the Greeks. In fact, after the Roman occupation in the 2nd century BC there was no Greek state until the 19th century. The new

Greek state was neither related to the "Ancient Greeks" nor to their city-states.

However, the acquisition of "northern Macedonia" continues to be one of the objectives of the Greek "Megali Idea". The former Greek "Public Enlightenment" minister Georgios Yorgala has stated that "some parts of Northern Macedonia are within the scope of the "New Megali Idea", an improved version of the "Megali Idea".

Greece claims that the Turks of Western Thrace are "Islamized Hellenes" or "Muslim Greeks". On the other side, the Christian minorities in Greece have been subject to an assimilation operation of "Greekness under the cover of Orthodoxy". However, they are not totally assimilated, and in recent years they have started to seek the recognition of their rights by the Greek authorities. The Macedonians initiated their struggle.

The Albanians too established their organizations in north-western Greece. In the Western Anatolian Islands, autonomy movements revived: in Chios, the "Chios Struggle Movement" (ASAS) emerged.

It should also be noted that a similarity in the Greek approach to the Republic of Macedonia can be seen in the Greek policy regarding Turkey, Albania and Bulgaria. The dream of the foundation of an imaginary "Pontous State" along the Turkish Black Sea coast continues to be cultivated, as is the Greek claim on Southern Albania (so called "Northern Epirus"), and the Rhodope region in Bulgaria.

Despite all the Greek propaganda efforts in the last three years, with millions of dollars spent and the national feelings of the Greek people deliberately agitated, by late 1994 the Republic of Macedonia had been recognized by 18 countries under its Constitutional name, and by some 60 countries in total. It was

admitted to the UN on April 8, 1993, and international organizations have also started to recognize the Republic of Macedonia, most recently by the International Standards Organization (ISO) and the World Soccer Federation.

The Republic of Macedonia was granted "non-voting membership" at the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly on May 14, 1993. The Republic of Macedonia, which has proved its adherence to democracy in the last three years despite the continuing Yugoslav Crisis around it and the Greek intransigence, has an important place not only in the new Balkans, but also in the "New European Architecture" and pan-European institutions.

The Balkans is a part of Europe and the Balkan security is a collective good for all Europeans: Let us not fall into the trap of "long memories, short fuses", and the repetition of historical mistakes: If Serbia is allowed to achieve its goal in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will continue its goal of "Greater Serbia" with the support of Greece in Macedonia too.

Violent conflict over Macedonia continues to remain a possibility, which means a third Balkan War. And a third Balkan war would invariably involve all Balkan states. However, there is no "historical inevitability" for the "Macedonian Question" to linger on. The community of nations and the international organizations should extend their hand of friendship and recognition to the Republic of Macedonia in order to prevent the region from "relapsing into age-old hatreds". Let the Republic of Macedonia be the rising sun in the Balkans, and the "Macedonian Question" be left in the pages of history books.

## Endnotes

1. See, for example, William Smith Murray, *The Making of the Balkan States* (New York: 1910). The concluding sentence of Murray's book is: "It may be said then the present situation in relation to Macedonia, as well as to Serbia, presents the problems that now appear most likely to disturb the tranquility of one or more of the Balkan states" (p. 194).
2. See Charles Jelavich, *Czarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism, Russian Influence in the Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia: 1879-1886* (Berkeley: 1958), p. 1.
3. See RJ Crampton, *A Short History of Bulgaria* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), p. 50.
4. See CA Vavoukos, *Greek Macedonia's Struggle for Freedom* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973), p. 32.
5. See LS Stavrianos, *Balkan Federation, A History of the Movement Toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times* (Wisconsin: 1944), pp. 176-179.
6. See LS Stavrianos, *The Balkans, 1815-1914* (New York: 1963), p. U8.
7. See William B King and Frank O'Brien, *The Balkans, Frontier of Two Worlds* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1947), p. 273.
8. For discussions on the Macedonian language, see Elisabeth Barker, *Macedonia Its Place in Balkan Power Politics* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950), p. 10, and H Munro Chadwich, *The Nationalities in Europe and the Growth of*

National Ideologies (Cambridge: 1966), p. 32. See also Nationalism and War in the Near East, edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1915), p. 89: "This dialect is rather more Bulgar than Serb, but lacks the most distinctive Bulgar characteristics, and the same might be said of their character." See also Jacob Gould Schurman, The Balkan Wars 1912-1913 (Princeton, Princeton University Press: 1914), p. 90: "Central Macedonia has its own dialects any of which under happy literary auspices might have developed into a separate language." It would then reasonably be claimed that the Macedonian language had already existed long before the establishment of the Socialist Federal Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 1944.

9. For the ethnic origin of Macedonians, see LS Stavrianos, The Balkans, 1815-1914, pp. 96-97: "Those inhabitants of Macedonia who have lived close to the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian frontiers can be classified as being mostly Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian, respectively. The remainder of the population, with the exception of distinct minorities as Turks, Vlachs, Jews and Albanians may be considered as being distinctly Macedonian. These Macedonians have a dialect and certain cultural characteristics which justify their being classified as a distinct South Slav group."

10. See Brailsford, Macedonia, Its Races and Their Future (London: Methuen, 1906), p. 101, and Robert Lee Wolff, The Balkans in Our Time (New York: The Norton Library, 1967) p.18: "It is now generally agreed that the indigenous [Macedonian] population is neither Serbian nor Bulgarian, but speaks a dialect somewhere between the two." See also Yugoslavia, The Nations of Today, edited by John Buchan (Boston and New York:

Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1923), p. 70: "According to a probable view the main population is itself neither Bulgar nor Serb, but is descended from a Slav tribe, akin to both, but identical with neither."

11. See Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 9.

12. See Macedonia, *History and Politics*, Center for Macedonians Abroad - Society for Macedonian Studies (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon SA, undated).

13. See Brailsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 et seq.

14. See NGL Hammond, *A History of Greece*, (Oxford: 1967) p. 535.

15. See Brailsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

16. See JB Bury and Russell Meiggs, in *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, (London: 1989), p. 441.

17. See AR Burn, *The Penguin History of Greece* (Harmondsworth, Penguin: 1985), pp. 334-335.

18. See *Ibid.*

19. See JB Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, 3rd ed. (New York: St. Martin Press, 1966), p. 704-705.

20. See *The Greeks*, edited by H Lloyd Jones (London: AC Wath Co. Ltd, 1962), p. 235.



21. See SR Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1973), p. 23.
22. See A Jarde, *The Formation of the Greek People* (New York: Copper Square Publishers Inc, 1970) p. 70: "For the Greeks of the fifth century, the Illyrians were barbarians, just like the Macedonians" and pp. 324-327: "If the Macedonians were regarded as barbarians, it was because the Greeks did not understand their language."
23. See Arnold Toynbee, *Some Problems in Greek History*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) p. 58.
24. See *The New Bully of the Balkans*, *The Spectator*, August 15, 1992.
25. See *Greek Lands in History, Macedonia, 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*, General Editor: MB Sakellariou, Member of the Academy of Athens (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon SA, 1988), p. 503 and p. 513.
26. Source: League of Nations, *Greek Refugee Settlement*, Geneva, 1926.
27. Facts are taken from Minority Rights Group, *Minorities in the Balkans*, London, 1989.
28. See Nikolaos K Martis, *The Falsification of Macedonian History* (Athens: 1984), p. 84. This book was a best-seller in Greece in the 1992 summer.
29. Excerpts from the interview Christos Sideropoulos gave to ENA magazine, March 1992.
30. See *Makedonia*, Greek daily, April 4, 1991.

31. See Stohos, January 18, 1990.
32. For the Bulgarian view of the Macedonian Question, see Professor Heinrich A Stammer, What is the National Character of the Macedonian Slavs? (Brochure, JMRO - Union of The Macedonian Brotherhood in Bulgaria: 1991).
33. See Minority Rights Group Report.
34. See Minority Rights Group Report.
35. See Kofos, Macedonia: National Heritage and National Identity, in Martin Blinkhorn and Thanos Veremis, ed., Modern Greece, Nationalism and Nationality (Athens: Eliamep, 1990), p. 113.
36. See Kofos, Macedonia: National Heritage and National Identity, in Kofos & Blinhorn, Ibid, p. 113.
37. See Le Monde, Interview by Jean-Claude Buhrer, June 28, 1992.
38. See Stephen Palmer and Robert R King, Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1971), p. 173.
39. See Constantine Stephanove (Secretary of the General Macedonian Council in Switzerland), We The Macedonians (Berne: Librairie Academique, 1919), pp. 3-4. The Greek-Serbian partition plans of Macedonia date back to the mid-19th century. For this, see Barbara Jelavich, History of the Balkans Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Volume 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), p. 333: "Neither government [Serbian and Greek] was hindered by any ideas of "self-determination" ... The Greek government wished to acquire all of Macedonia and

suggested a partition of the Bulgarian-inhabited territories with Serbia taking the land north of the Balkan mountains and Greece that to the south..."

40. See Jane Pettifer, "The New Macedonian Question", *International Affairs*, July 1992, pp. 475-485.

41. See *Vreme*, March 30, 1992.

42. See Martin Sieff, "Strange Alliance Closes in", *The Washington Times*, May 17, 1992.

43. See *Tanjug*, June 25, 1992.

44. See Helena Smith, "The Legacy of Alexander", *The New Statesmen*, January 15, 1993: "Across the normally divided political spectrum, the growth of nationalism has fueled the archeolatry, love for the ancient. It seems that it is not simply only a "love of the ancients", but a more deeper psychological problem of a nation, that is, fixation with the archaic past, to create justification for an unreal world."

45. See Kresimir Moller and Mirjana Glusac, "Slovenians Reveal Serb Plans to Invade Macedonia", as appeared in the *Macedonian Tribune*, Volume 66, No. 3136, December 31, 1992.

46. See Richard Kaplan, "Macedonia Next?", *The Nation*, December 14, 1992: "The riots occurring on the eve of Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov's visit in November to the USA to renew his appeal for recognition may have been provoked by Albanians from Kosovo with the help of Serbian intelligence."

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