

History of Contemporary Greece



By Stoian Kiselinovski

(Translated from Macedonian to English and edited by
Risto Stefov)

History of Contemporary Greece

Published by:

Risto Stefov Publications
rstefov@hotmail.com

Toronto, Canada

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system without written consent from the author, except for the inclusion of brief and documented quotations in a review.

Copyright © 2018 by Stoian Kiselinovski

e-book edition

December 1, 2018

Table of contents

PREFACE	4
GREECE - (1821-1913).....	5
GREECE - BETWEEN THE BALKAN WARS AND WORLD WAR I (1912-1918).....	17
GREECE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS - (1919-1939)	22
MINORITIES IN GREECE - (1913-1939).....	30
GREECE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR - (1940- 1945)	42
MINORITIES IN GREECE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR - (1940-1945).....	46
GREECE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.....	49
MINORITIES IN GREECE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR	61
GREEK CULTURE - (19th-20th century)	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	70

PREFACE

The book “History of Contemporary Greece”, in a synthetic way, covers the history of Greece from the beginning of the Greek Uprising to this day (1821-2016). This book looks at the activities of the Filiki Eteria, the course of the Greek uprising, the appearance of the Philhellene movement, the position the Great Powers (Russia, Britain and France) took towards the Greek problem, and the role of the “Megali Idea” in creating a Greater Greece, i.e. a state that covers two continents and five seas.

This book also covers the development of the Greek state and its internal and foreign policies during this historic period. It looks at the Greek position during the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the Greek-Turkish War, and the Greek state’s territorial, ethnic and political consequences.

Special attention is paid to the historical destiny of the minorities in Greece after the Second Balkan War, the period between the two world wars, the period during World War II and the postwar period. The processes of indigenous population migration and the processes of foreign population colonization and its ethno-linguistic consequences are also examined.

The primary sources used to prepare this book came from various historical archives (Greek, Bulgarian, Macedonian, French and Romanian). The book “History of Contemporary Greece” will fill one more void in Macedonia’s historiography and will acquaint the Macedonian people with the history of their southern neighbour.

The author

GREECE - (1821-1913)

The Greek uprising (1821-1829)

The start of the French Revolution (1789), ended mankind's "prehistoric" period and began the historic period. The French Revolution seriously influenced the emancipatory processes all around the world. The slogan "Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood" surfaced all across Europe. The Balkans too was included in this national liberation process. The First and Second Serbian Uprising led by Karadjordje Petrovich (1804) and Milosh Obrenovich (1815-1817) were started in the early 19th century. The same national-emancipatory process was also observed in Greece. The ideas of the French Revolution were brought to Greece by Greek students who studied in Western European countries, the new Greek trade class which maintained active trade and ideological ties with the numerous Greek colonies spread across the entire Mediterranean.

One of the first people to spread the new ideas in the Balkans was Rigas Velestenlis or Rigas from Ferrea. Rigas from Ferrea called on the Balkan nations to rise up against Ottoman rule and form a new Byzantine Empire with Constantinople as its capital. "Better an hour of freedom than forty years of slavery and dungeons," was Rigas's message to the enslaved Balkan nations. But, due to his rebel activities, Rigas from Ferrea was arrested by the Austrians and handed over to the Ottoman authorities who then executed him in Belgrade (1789).

The ideas about freedom which Rigas from Ferrea was spreading fell on fertile soil. In 1814, in Russia (Odessa), Emanuel Xanthos, Nikolaos Skufas and Anastasios Tsakalof founded the organization "Filiki Eteria" (Organization of Friendship). The aim of this organization was to liberate Greece from Ottoman slavery through an uprising. The "Filiki Eteria" quickly organized "Eforii" (branches) in different parts of Europe, where Greeks lived. Ioannis Capodistria, a Russian diplomat, was offered leadership of the uprising. Ioannis Capodistria, a skilled diplomat and good connoisseur of the European political reality created by the Vienna Congress (1815), rejected the offer. After Capodistria's rejection it

was proposed that Alexandros Ipsilantis, an adjutant to the Russian Tsar, lead the uprising.

Instead of being started in Greece, the Greek uprising began in the principalities of Moldova and Walachia, in Romania. These Romanian principalities were governed by Ottoman appointed “Gospodars” (Masters) who were Greek-Fanariots. In January 1821, after the Fanariot Alexander Shuchu died, the government was passed on to the so-called “Protection Committee” which was made up of prominent “Boliars” (boyars) partly connected and affiliated with the “Filiki Eteria”.

The Romanian population, however, was dissatisfied with the Ottoman appointed Fanariot regime that ruled it and this dissatisfaction was expressed through a counter-uprising led by Tudor Vladimirescu, who was also in collusion with the supporters of the “Filiki Eteria”. The uprising in this region began on January 23, 1821 in the mountain village Padesh, where Vladimirescu called on the population to rise up and fight for freedom and justice. At the same time, in March 1821, Alexandros Ipsilantis with the so-called “Holy Battalion” crossed the Prut River (the border between Russia and Moldova) and invaded Iashi, Moldova’s capital. There Ipsilantis called on the Romanian people to rise up and promised them that a great power (alluding to Russia) was behind the “Filiki Eteria” movement.

After the Russian Tsar condemned the uprising, cooperation between the “Filiki Eteria” and Vladimirescu did not last long. “I am not ready to shed Romanian blood for the Greeks...” confessed Vladimirescu to an Austrian representative. Accused of collaborating with the Ottomans, on Ipsilantis’s orders, Vladimirescu was arrested by “Filiki Eteria” operative Iordake Olimpios. Then, without a trial, Vladimirescu was executed by Vasilis Karavia in the evening between May 26 and 27, 1821. His body was cut to pieces and thrown down a well.

After Vladimirescu’s death his army (the Panduri) broke up and thus weakened the “Filiki Eteria” movement in the Romanian principalities. On June 7, 1821 in Dragoshani, the Ottomans defeated the “Filiki Eteria” fighters and forced them out to Moldova

and Austria. Those of the “Filiki Eteria” who had fled to Moldova were also defeated at Skulen at Prut and in the Monastery Seku. With this, the Ottomans suppressed the “Filiki Eteria” uprising in Moldova and Wallachia. Ipsilantis fled to Austria where he was arrested and died in jail in 1828.

The struggle against Ottoman rule, however continued in Greece. The first armed clashes between the Greek rebels and the Ottoman army began in the Peloponnesus and in the islands. The first people who fought in the ranks of the rebels were the so-called “Kleftes” and “Armatoles”, the armed Orthodox militia in the civil service of the Ottoman Empire.

Both sides, the Greek rebels and the Ottoman army, were extremely cruel to each other during this rebellion. The Ottoman authorities began to repress the so-called Greek population in Constantinople. The Patriarch Grigorios V of Constantinople was hung on the Patriarchate church gate. A number of Greek Phanariots who lived in the famous “Phanar” district in Constantinople were also killed. After the Patriarch was hung the church was painted black and no longer held church services. After they captured Tripoli in the Peloponnesus, the Greek rebels, led by Theodoros Kolototronis, killed a large part of the local Ottoman population. In April 1822, 7,000 Ottoman soldiers landed on the island Chios and massacred the local Greek population. The majority of the people were killed and those who were caught and survived were sold into slavery in the Middle East. Only a small part the population managed to save itself by fleeing to other Greek islands (Cyclades). This tragic event was preserved by French artist Eugene Delacroix in his famous painting “Massacre at Chios”.

The insurgents had great success both on land and at sea in the period between 1821 and 1824. This was mainly due to the fact that the rebels were led by capable people such as Theodoros Kolototronis, Markos Botsaris, Constantinos Canaris, O. Andrutsos, Grigorios Diakos-Papaflesas and Dimitris Ipsilantis (brother of Alexandros Ipsilantis).

Just as the Greek uprising began internal misunderstandings and clashes between the various rebel groups began to occur. There was

strong resistance to the “Filiki Eteria’s” activities coming from the so-called “Kotsobati”, a privileged layer of people from the former administration, who sought to take over the leadership of the uprising. On March 24, 1821, the first local government, headed by Bishop Germanos, was organized in Patra. On March 25, 1821, the Metropolitan of Patra blessed the uprising and since then March 25 is celebrated in Greece as a national holiday.

After part of the Greek territory was liberated, steps were taken to organize a state government. Elections were held on November 20, 1822 and the First National Assembly was convened in Epidaur where it proclaimed Greece an independent state and accepted the first Constitution which proclaimed Greece a Republic. With the new Constitution, legislative power was held within the competence of the National Assembly. Executive power was the responsibility of a five-member Executive Council, which appointed the government. The Constitution guaranteed the right to life, property, ownership rights, freedom of speech and prohibited slavery. Unfortunately the new Constitution did not offer a resolution to the agrarian question which interested the Greek peasants the most. The second National Assembly, held in Argos (April 10, 1823), also did not solve the agrarian question. The National Assembly decided that the lands abandoned by the Ottomans should be sold and not shared by the peasants.

In the meantime, clashes between the rebels and the Ottoman army continued. Advised by Austrian diplomacy, Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II sought military assistance from Mehmed Ali, an Egyptian Pasha and Ottoman vassal. In 1825, the Egyptian army led by Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehmed Ali, bloodily crushed the uprising in Crete and the Peloponnesus. So, in order to avoid huge casualties the rebels began to carry out guerrilla warfare through “hit and run” tactics.

From the very beginning of the uprising the bloodshed in Greece attracted the attention of the European public and a strong “Philhellene” movement began to appear. As a result the Greek insurgency was helped in a variety of ways and by many Europeans, including Byron, an English poet who had gone to Greece to fight for Greece’s freedom. Almost 2,000 Europeans gave their lives for

the freedom of Greece. At the same time, the “Philhellene” movement exerted strong pressure on European governments to intervene on behalf of Greece. In 1826 tragedy struck the city Mesolongi. The city was surrounded by the Ottoman army for a long time during which the population suffered from hunger, thirst and diseases. Many residents, including Lord Byron, died of typhus. All attempts made by the rebels to break the Ottoman siege were unsuccessful. Then, after Ibrahim Pasha and Reshid Pasha’s troops invaded the city they massacred the entire population.

After the Mesolongi tragedy (1826) the European Great Powers decided to intervene. Russia, England, and France demanded that all armed actions stop. The Ottoman Empire refused. This forced the European Great Powers to intervene directly in the armed conflict in Greece. In 1827 the English, French and Russian fleets struck the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet at the port of Navarino and defeated it. The Ottoman fleet then was under the command of Ibrahim Pasha. Sixty Ottoman and Egyptian ships were destroyed and many Ottoman sailors were killed. At the same time, Russian Emperor Nikolay I declared war on the Ottomans (1828-1829). Defeated, the Ottoman Empire was forced to accept a truce. A Peace Treaty was signed (September 14, 1829) in Odrin between Russia and the Ottoman Empire where the Ottoman’s recognized Greece’s autonomy. Then the London Protocol recognized Greece as an independent state and it became the first new independent state in the Balkans. The New Greek state at the time encompassed an area of 47,516 km² with 753,400 inhabitants. The new state included the territories of Peloponnesus (Morea), Central Greece, Eubeia and Cyclades. In the north, the new state’s border stretched from the bay of Arta in the west to the bay of Volos in the east.

After the new Greek state was created, under conditions of great political instability, the process of organizing it was started. This process was propelled forwards by the Third National Assembly, held in Trisina (1827), which accepted the new Constitution proposed by A. Mavrocordatos, a representative of the wealthy class in Greek society. The new Constitution called for the state to be organized as a presidential republic. While responsibility for legislative power remained in the hands of the National Assembly, the Republic’s president was put in charge of the executive branch.

Ioannis Capodistria was elected president. But, as soon as he took power, Capodistria, relying on the “Russian party” and the country’s military leaders headed by Theodoros Colototronis, suspended the Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, and created a new government called “Panhellenium”. Capodistria then began to implement reforms and organize the administration and public education sector, but failed to solve the agrarian problem.

In solving this particular problem Capodistria was faced with how to divide 721,000 hectares of land left behind by the Ottomans who had fled Greece. As it was the “National elders” had usurped 300,000 hectares and only 421,000 hectares remained to be given to the landless peasants. The old privileged layers of Greek society, which Capodistria referred to as the “Ottoman Christians”, bravely fought to preserve their own privileges. There was internal turmoil in the country that took the proportion of a civil war which then culminated with the killing of Capodistria on October 9, 1831. He was murdered by two members of the Mavromihalis brotherhood from Peloponnesus.

After Capodistria’s death, England, Russia and France decided to establish a hereditary monarchy in Greece. The Greek crown was first offered to Leopold Saxe-Coburg but he refused it. It was then offered to Otto of Bavaria, the second son of Ludwig, king of Bavaria, and was accepted. In 1832, Prince Otto arrived in Navplion where he was welcomed by the population. In August 1832, after a brief Bavarian regency, led by Johan Von Malo Armansberg, the National Assembly chose Otto as the permanent king of Greece under the name Othon I (1832-1862). On his arrival Otto was accompanied by 3,500 Bavarian soldiers, who then left Greece in 1838. With Otto’s crowning a process began of not only building the state but also building the Greek nation. Criminal and civil legislation was introduced, education was organized and the Athens University (1837) was created. The state apparatus was also organized. The key places in the state apparatus were given to Bavarians. In other words the administration was run by “Bavarians”. This “Bavarian” period is recorded in Greek history as the period of “Xenocrates” (rule by foreigners) or “Bavarocrates” (rule by Bavarians). The Greek Church proclaimed its autocephaly in relation to the Constantinople Patriarchate, during Otto I’s reign.

The proclamation of autocephaly by the Greek Orthodox Church strained relations with the Constantinople Patriarchate, which delayed the Greek church's recognition by the Patriarchate of Constantinople until 1850. Greece's capital was also moved from Navplion to Athens during Otto I's reign.

The authoritarian royal rule, the administration's "Bavaria-zation", the king's refusal to turn from Catholicism to Orthodoxy, the lack of heirs caused dissatisfaction among the population. On September 3, 1843 the army, supported by the population, carried out a coup. The king was forced to accept and convene a constitutional assembly to draft a new constitution. The constitution, following the example of the Belgian Constitution of 1831, was accepted in March 1844 and laid the foundations of the hereditary constitutional monarchy in Greece. The Constitution envisioned a dual-house Parliament: the House of Representatives elected in general elections and the Senate with lifelong appointments of members by the king. The legislature was also put under the authority of the king and parliament. The executive was led by the king through the government. Judicial power was performed by judges who were also appointed by the king. In other words, the new Constitution allowed the king to have huge privileges with his traits being holy and undeniable. The 1844 Constitution guaranteed personal freedom, freedom of the press and prohibited any form of slavery.

Outside of the king, political life in Greece was dominated by two other figures: Ioannis Koletis and Alexandros Mavrocordatos. They were able to skilfully manipulate the supporters of the so-called "English", "Russian" and "French" parties. In this respect, Koletis, father of the "Megali Idea" (Greater Greece) was particularly prominent because he was in favour of creating a Greater Greece that was to span over two continents (Europe and Asia) and five seas (Black, Marmara, Aegean, Mediterranean and Ionian).

Despite the existence of a Constitution, Otto continued with his authoritarian rule. In 1862, he was ousted by the military because he did not respect the Constitution. He was forced to abdicate and, together with his wife Amalia from Oldenburg, left for Bavaria. He died in 1876 in Munich and until then he was considered the king of

Greece. It was reported that from nostalgia he often dressed in the Greek national dress, the fustanela.

After Otto was kicked out, Wilhelm from the Danish Glissburg dynasty was appointed king of Greece under the name king Georgios I (1863-1913). In 1864, the newly elected Assembly adopted the new Constitution which was a little more liberal than the 1844 constitution. Under the new Constitution, legislative power was in the hands of parliament and the executive was under the authority of the king, which he performed through the appointment of ministers. The first minister was elected from the ranks of the party that had the most MPs in parliament. The new Constitution guaranteed freedom of the press and the right to association.

The two personalities that left their imprint on Greek political life in the second half of the 19th century were Theodoros Delianis and Harilaos Trikupis. Unlike Delianis, Trikupis was a pragmatic politician who thought that in order to realize its “Megali Idea” Greece must be turned into an economically and politically stable country. As things were the Greek economy often operated in crisis mode. The state was unable, even while performing regular services, to meet its obligations to foreign creditors and was always on the verge of bankruptcy. And every time Greece postponed its financial obligations, its creditors and lenders imposed new political conditions.

But, economic development in Greece at the end of the 19th century began to improve. Agriculture was developing rapidly and the output of grain crops were added after Thessaly was annexed by Greece and Greece became a major producer of raisins. At the same time steps were taken to industrialize the country by mechanizing the food and textile industry. Mining was also developing rapidly. The first railway line was built (1869), as well as the first shipyard in Saros (1879). At the same time the Corinthian Canal (1889-1893) and internal and external trade were being rapidly developed. Also at about the same time Greece was developing one of the largest commercial fleets in the world. But, despite the resurgence in the Greek economy, the country was unable to employ its entire working population. As a result many people began to migrate for the first time. At the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries,

350,000 people left Greece for the United States. With the money sent back to their families, they contributed to the economic pulsation of the Greek economy.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Greece faced another political crisis. The military, headed by the “War League”, rebelled and retreated to Gudi, a suburb of Athens. The “Military League”, at the time led by Colonel Nicholas Zorbas, requested from the king that several reforms be made. Some of the reforms included the reduction or elimination of military responsibilities held by the prince/princes, appointing a defence minister from the ranks of the military and promoting military personnel, in the army and navy, based on merit. At the same time the military proposed to the Greek government that Eleftheros Venizelos be appointed as their leader. Venizelos, who at the time was a symbol of Greek nationalism and state expansionism, after his Liberal Party’s win in the parliamentary elections of 1910 and 1912, began to carry out serious internal reforms so that Greece could prepare to cope with the hectic events of the early 20th century.

Greek foreign Policy (1832-1912)

After the Greek independent state was created it began to work on creating a foundation for implementing the “Megali Idea” in order to expand the Greek state. The argument was that the new Greek state did not encompass all the Greek ethno-historical territories, which at the time consisted of the Peloponnesus, Central Greece (Sterea Elada), Eubea and several islands in the Aegean Sea. Accordingly, there were more supposedly Greek historic territories to be incorporated which included Crete, Epirus, Thessaly, the Aegean islands (Limnos, Mitilini, Lesbos, Chios, Samotraki, Dodecanese and Southern Sporades), and Cyprus. There was a compact Greek population living among a Turkish minority in Cyprus that could also be incorporated into the Greek state. The population in Cyprus, however, attracted the attention of both Greece and Turkey.

The Greek state strived to unite all Greek-ethnic territories and, if possible, extend them to foreign non-Greek ethno-historical territories such as Macedonia and Odrin in Thrace. Greece sought to realize this idea in two phases: first unite all Greek-ethnic territories,

and second expand and occupy non-Greek ethno-historical territories. All Greek governments, without exception, were devoted to the realization of this “sacred national ideal”. Since the start of the Crimean War (1853-1856), Greece was looking towards Russia but was blocked by Britain, and did not gain any territorial expansion. In 1864, pleased with the appointment of king George I as king of Greece, England gave the Greek kingdom the Ionian Islands which it ruled since 1815.

At the end of the 19th century, the political situation in the Balkans became very complicated. The Eastern Crisis began with a strong uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1875-1878) and with the April Uprising in Bulgaria (1876). Ottoman massacres in those regions, especially the tragedy in the village Batak, gave the Great Powers cause to intervene. The Eastern crisis culminated with a new Russian-Turkish war (1877-1878). After the Russian armies and Bulgarian militias fought a bloody battle at Pleven and heroically defended the Shipka pass, the road to Constantinople was opened. Defeated, the Ottomans were forced to negotiate a peace treaty with Russia (March 3, 1878). With the signing of the San Stefano Treaty a Greater Bulgaria was created that also encompassed Mizia, Thrace and Macedonia. The Ottomans were forced to recognize the independence of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro. The Western powers (Austria-Hungary, Britain, France and Germany) did not agree with the decisions made at San Stefano. The Treaty of San Stefano was revised at the Berlin Congress (June-July, 1878) and confirmed the independence of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro but Greater Bulgaria was divided into two parts: the northern part was allowed to become a Bulgarian Principality, and the southern part, the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, was given back to the Ottomans. Macedonia too was given back to the Ottoman Empire with the condition that some reforms be implemented (Article 23). After a strong uprising in Thessaly (1878), Greece’s right to annex that region was recognized. With the Constantinople Agreement signed by the Ottomans and Greece in 1881, Greece was able to annex Thessaly and part of Epirus (Pirsos). With the acquisition of Thessaly and part of Epirus, the territory of the Greek kingdom expanded by another 13,400 km².

During the Serbian-Bulgarian War (1885), Greece's position was anti-Bulgarian and, like Serbia, it sought to obstruct the process of the so-called "unification of all Bulgarian ethnic territories" into one state. At the end of the 19th century, Greece's relation with the Ottoman Empire remained strained. Greece supported the frequent uprisings in Thessaly and Crete (1866-1868) which brought the two countries to the brink of war. In 1896, a strong anti-Ottoman uprising flared up in Crete demanding that Crete be unified with Greece. The T. Delianis Greek government decided to intervene in the conflict and started a brief war between Greece and the Ottoman Empire (1897). Greece was quickly defeated and a status quo ante bellum peace agreement was signed in Constantinople. By this agreement Greece was forced to pay military damages of 100 million francs. With the annexation of Thessaly, Greece came much closer to Macedonia.

Macedonia

Macedonia did not have a Greek ethnic character. The majority of the population was non-Greek (affiliated mainly with the exarchate church), while those people who affiliated themselves with the Patriarchate (Greek) church were a small minority (9.8%). The organization IMORO (Internal Macedonian Odrin Revolutionary Organization) developed a strong popular liberation movement in Macedonia. This movement was led by Gotse Delchev, Damian Gruev, Hristo Tatarchev, Boris Sarafov and other revolutionaries. The Macedonian people's liberation movement culminated with the Ilinden Uprising (August 2, 1903).

After the uprising was put down, on top of the intensified Greek educational and church propaganda, the Greek state began to send armed gangs, the so-called "Makedonomahi" (Macedonian Fighters) to frighten the Macedonian people into affiliating themselves with the Greek Patriarchate. Most of these Greek armed gangsters were recruited from the outcasts of IMORO, the likes of Kote Hristov from the village Rulia, nicknamed "Kota" by the Greeks. Their role was to terrorize the Macedonian civilian population but avoid collisions with the IMORO and the Ottoman army. These gangs, appropriately named "Andartes" (rebels) by the Greeks, were led by Pavlos Melas and Germanos Karavangelis, the Greek bishop of

Kostur. In addition to terrorising the Macedonian population, these Andartes constantly sent threatening letters to the exarchate-affiliated people demanding that they join the Greek Patriarchate, which most Macedonians hated passionately.

Here is a letter, dated March 15, 1907, that one of these gang chiefs wrote to the villagers of B'mboki (later changed to Stavropotamos by the Greeks) in Kostur Region: "Think about this very carefully and again become what you were, 'Hellenic Christians', because if you don't by April 20, I will return very angry and destroy your village. I will leave nothing alive, not a woman, not a child, not even a dog. There is still time, think about it. Greetings, Gr. Zakas, Glavatar (leader)." The activities of these so-called "Macedonian fighters" culminated with the mass killings of the entire exarchate affiliated civilian population in the villages Zelenich (Sklitron) and Zagorichani (Vasiliada). On November 13, 1904, a Greek Andart unit led by Captain Rouvas (Georgios Katehakis) entered the village Zelenich, Lerin Region, and killed 13 wedding guests. This tragedy was recorded by history as the "The Bloody Wedding of Zelenich". On March 25, 1905, a Greek national holiday, a large armed unit, led by Captain Vardas (Georgios Tsondos) killed 60 innocent villagers from the village Zagorichani, Kostur Region. This bloody incident made news all across Europe.

The "Young Turk" Revolution began its debut in July 1908, with the outcry "Long live freedom" and with the singing of "Marzellez". The Young Turk Revolution was the last historical opportunity for the Ottoman Empire to evade the reform obligations imposed on it by the Berlin Congress and to preserve its territorial integrity.

But, that problem too was solved militarily. The "Sick man of the Bosphorus" was put out of his misery through the start of the First Balkan War.

GREECE - BETWEEN THE BALKAN WARS AND WORLD WAR I (1912-1918)

First and Second Balkan War (1912-1913)

The Ottoman Empire was in a deep economic and political crisis in the early 20th century which became even more evident during the Ottoman-Italian war of 1911 where, once again, the weakness of the “Sick man of the Bosphorus” was expressed. The Young Turks quickly forgot the slogan “Long live freedom” and began to implement a pan-Islamic policy. The Balkan countries, supported by Russia and by their own diplomatic activities, created the Balkan Alliance (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro) after that they began to demand that the Ottoman Empire implement the reforms specified by the 1878 Berlin Congress (Article 23). The Ottoman Empire, however, refused which led to the long-awaited military clash. The Balkan Alliance’s aim was to expel the Ottoman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula and to occupy and divide the Ottoman held territories.

The first Balkan War began in October 1912 with three main fronts: the Thracian, the Southern and the Albanian. The four Balkan allies mobilized around 645,000 troops (Bulgaria mobilized 370,000, Serbia 175,190, Greece 90,120 and Montenegro 30,000 troops) while the Ottoman Empire mobilized 420,000 troops in the Balkans. The Macedonian people and the people from Odrin also took part with 14,000 regular fighters and 91 rebel units numbering 2,174 rebels.

After the First Balkan War broke out the Greek army advanced towards central Macedonia and Epirus and, because of poor Ottoman resistance, managed to occupy Kozheni Region, Solun Region, including the city Solun, Kostur Region and Lerin Region. At the same time, the Greek army liberated the islands Crete, Chios, Lemnos, Samos, Mitilini and Thassos.

The first Balkan war was strongly anti-Ottoman and anti-Islamic. The Greek army exhibited genocidal tendencies towards the Ottomans and other Muslim populations. Almost all Ottoman villages were burned to the ground and the population was either

terrorized or outright killed. Many Ottomans sought protection in Solun or permanently fled to Turkey.

The Greek army clamped down hard on the Macedonian population during the First Balkan War and imposed harsh political, economic and psychological pressure on it. In Kostur Region, for example, the Greek authorities advised the Macedonian Exarchate population to declare itself Greek, accept the Greek language and the Greek Patriarchate because otherwise “life will not be easy...”

After its great military successes in Odrin, Kumanovo and Bitola, the Bulgarian army forced the Ottoman Empire to capitulate. Peace negotiations between the warring parties were held in London (May 13-30, 1912). With the Treaty of London signed the Ottoman Empire surrendered all its territories west of the Midia-Enos line (Thrace and Macedonia), as well as Crete. Then, after great persistence and insistence on the part of Austria-Hungary, Albania was recognized as an independent state.

While the London Peace Treaty was being negotiated serious misunderstandings began to develop between the Allies on how to divide the Ottoman territories they had just occupied. After Albania was declared independent, Serbia lost that territory and demanded that it be awarded more of Macedonia’s territory. Greece also had large territorial pretensions towards the non-Greek territories in Macedonia and Thrace (Eastern and Western) and wanted more. Bulgaria vigorously insisted that it be awarded the city Solun.

In the meantime Greek King Georgios I was killed in Solun by an unbalanced person during a visit.

While negotiations in London were still ongoing, Greece and Serbia, on May 19, 1913, concluded a secret military and political treaty against Bulgaria. The Bulgarian kingdom, convinced of its superior military power over Serbia and Greece, decided to solve the problem militarily and punish its disloyal allies. On June 16, 1913, the Bulgarian army attacked Serbian and Greek army positions and initiated the Second Balkan War, which turned out to be more cruel and bloodier than the First. The new conflict drew in Romania and Turkey, both of which had territorial claims on Bulgarian territories

(Romania had claims on Southern Dobrudzha and Turkey on Eastern Thrace including Odrin).

The Second Balkan War was strongly anti-Bulgarian and anti-Exarchate. Greece entered the new war with greater hatred and fanaticism. Circulated among the Greek soldiers were sketches of a Greek soldier eating the face of a Bulgarian soldier. By doing this, the Greek authorities excused the inclinations of Greek soldiers committing heinous crimes and deprived its military of dignity and morality. Everything Macedonian was destroyed by rare cruelty and the Macedonian people affiliated with the exarchate church were seen as animals. “Then ine Anthropi” (they are not people) was often said by Greek soldiers. The Greek army’s crimes against the civilian population were unspeakable. According to the Carnegie Commission many mothers lost children because they sometimes had to leave one behind in order to save another. Captured Bulgarian soldiers were treated just as inhumanly as the Macedonian civilian population affiliated with the exarchate church. More than 7,000 captured soldiers and civilians were imprisoned in the camp on Trikeri Island in Volos Bay. On their way to the island, many prisoners were thrown overboard into the sea to drown. Included among them was Hristo Batandzhiev, one of the founders of IMORO. Due to sickness, hunger and thirst, thousands of Bulgarian soldiers and Macedonian exarchate civilians died on this island.

Between the two Balkan Wars the Greek army burned 160 settlements and destroyed the city Kukush (Kilkis) forcing 16,000 Macedonians affiliated with the exarchate church to look for salvation in Bulgaria. The Greek army did not commit these crimes because of military necessity but because it wanted to realize an existing Greek policy: Remove the Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

After much heavy and bloody fighting Bulgaria was unable to endure and was forced to accept a truce. All peace negotiations between Bulgaria and the new Balkan Union (Romania, Serbia, Greece, Turkey and Montenegro) were held in Bucharest, Romania’s capital, and a peace treaty was concluded on August 10, 1913. With the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest Greece annexed 34,356 km² or 51% of the Macedonia’s territory. Epirus, including

Ioannina, part of Western Thrace, Crete and the Aegean islands were also given to Greece which significantly increased its territory. If before the Balkan Wars Greece's territory was 63,211 km² with 2,631,952 inhabitants, according to the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, its territory grew to 114,511 km² with 4,255,952 inhabitants. The 1913 Treaty of Bucharest further aggravated relations between the Balkan states and created a dangerous Balkan "casus belli". The 1913 Treaty of Bucharest would also seriously affect conditions between the Balkan states during the First World War (1914-1918).

Ironically the Macedonian population affiliated with the Patriarchate church in the Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonian territory at the time was only 9.8%.

World War I

After the Sarajevo assassination (June 28, 1914), the Entente (Russia, France and Great Britain) and the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) made extra efforts to attract the Balkan states to their side. Based on their national interests, the Balkan states, however, made their own decisions. Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, while Serbia and Romania, which had territorial claims on Austria-Hungary (Transylvania and Northern Bukovina), joined the Entente.

At the beginning of the war Greece remained neutral. One side led by king Constantine and his wife Sofia, sister of the German Kaiser, advocated military neutrality, the other side, led by Liberal Party leader Eleftheros Venizelos, advocated for Greece to join the Entente Powers. Dissatisfied with the king's policy of neutrality, Venizelos formed a National Defense Committee and, together with General Pavlos Condoriotis and General Daglis, formed an Interim Government which worked closely with the Entente Powers. Greece at the time was governed by two governments: on one side by Venizelos in Solun and on the other by the Royal Government in Athens.

The Entente Powers exercised strong pressure on Greece to join them and supported Venizelos's political option. Venizelos agreed and, in 1916, allowed the Entente armies to land in Solun. In the

meantime king Constantine removed Venizelos from power. In 1916, Greece declared war on Bulgaria and in 1917 gave the Entente Powers 40,000 troops.

Then, under strong pressure from both the Entente Powers and Venizelos, king Constantine was forced to abdicate and was replaced by his second son Alexander. After taking power in all of Greece (1917-1920), Venizelos declared war on the Central Powers and took tough measures against his political opponents. He cleaned up the military (removing 3,000 officers) and the state administration of all of the king's supporters and forced many to exile (D. Gunaris and Ioannis Metaxas).

After the United States joined the war on the side of the Entente (1917), the Central Powers were defeated. With their defeat Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were forced to conclude a peace treaty in Paris. With the Neuilly Convention concluded with Bulgaria (1919), Greece annexed Western Thrace and with the Sevres Peace Treaty (1920) it annexed Eastern Thrace (without Constantinople), the city Izmir (Smirna) and its surroundings and the islands Imbros and Tenedos. With the annexation of these territories the Greek state grew even larger. If with the signing of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest it grew to 114,511km² with 4,255,952 inhabitants, after the Neuilly and Sevres peace agreements, its territory expanded to 150,833 km² with, 5,581,474 inhabitants.

GREECE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS - (1919-1939)

The Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922)

With its territorial gains during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, Greece seemed to be slowly realizing its Byzantine ambitions of creating a Greater Greece and there was nothing left but to take the Byzantine throne, which had remained vacant since 1453.

Unfortunately for Greece that was not going to happen. On November 25, 1920, king Alexander died and Venizelos, the entente favourite, was defeated in the 1920 parliamentary elections. The new Greek government, to the Entente's great dissatisfaction, returned king Constantine XII to the throne by plebiscite. At the same time Turkey did not accept the Sevres agreement that the Sultan had signed. A Grand National Assembly was convened on April 23, 1920 and the First National Turkish Government was formed in May 1920, which rejected the Sevres Agreement as unacceptable. A strong national liberation movement was also started in Turkey and was led by Kemal Mustafa-Ataturk, the hero of Gallipoli.

With a desire to force Turkey to accept the Sevres Agreement, the Entente forces advised Greece to impose it on them. Being obsessed with creating a Greater Greece, Venizelos sent the first Greek military units to Asia Minor in 1919 with the blessing of the Entente powers. But with Venizelos's defeat in the 1920 Greek parliamentary elections, as well as king Constantine's return to the Greek throne, Greece lost the benevolence of the Entente powers. The king and the Greek government, however, decided to continue with the military operation in Asia Minor. One of the reasons was to surpass Venizelos's accomplishments as the founder of Greater Greece in favour of king Constantine. It was not by chance that the Greek king got the name Constantine XII, i.e. successor to the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI, who died in battle in 1453 while defending Constantinople from the Ottomans.

Initially, the Greek armies, being welcomed by the local Greek (Christian) population, managed to enter deep into Asia Minor. But

in 1921 an epic battle between the Turkish and Greek armies took place near the Sakaria River where the Greek army was decimated. Heavily defeated the Greeks began a chaotic retreat. Izmir (Smyrna) was set on fire and the Greek (Christian) population together with the Greek army ran to Greece in panic.

Defeated, Greece concluded a truce in Mudania (October 1922) and began peace negotiations in Lausanne (Switzerland, 1923). With this peace treaty, Greece was forced to give Turkey back the city Izmir (Smyrna) and its surroundings, Eastern Thrace and the islands Imbros and Tenedos. After the Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed Greece's territory was reduced from 150,833 km² (with 5,581,474 inhabitants) to 129,880 km². Its population, however, grew to 6,204,684 due to migration movements. The Treaty of Lausanne also envisioned the compulsory eviction of Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece. "We prefer to endure 30% or 50% damages," said a Turkish representative in Lausanne, "than to have strangers and enemies living among us..."

The Treaty of Lausanne has historical significance. With this Treaty began the first revision of the Paris Peace Treaties which put an end to Greek ambitions for the restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

Political life in Greece after the Asia Minor catastrophe

The Asia Minor disaster caused great political instability in Greece. There was a big swing in passion between Venizelos's supporters and his adversaries. After the Asia Minor fiasco a number of Greek officers, led by Nikolas Plastiras, Silianos Gonatas and Alexandros Hadzhikiriakos, called for a "revolt" in the islands Chios and Mtilini to save their homeland. With the help of the military, the three took power and forced king Constantine to abdicate in favour of his son Georgios II. At the same time, six members of the government, charged with the national disaster in Asia Minor, were convicted and executed. They were Petros Protopapadakis, first minister, G. Hatsianestis, chief commander of the Greek army, G. Gunaris and three other ministers. After the Asian Minor catastrophe anti-monarchic feelings in Greece intensified. Prior to the Greek national holiday on March 24, 1924, Alexandros Papanastasiou,

leader of the “Democratic Union” and his government proclaimed Greece a Republic.

Greek governments, which often changed, faced a serious problem: colonizing the refugees exiled from Turkey under the Lausanne Peace Treaty. In total 1,159,311 refugees arrived in Greece. They originated from Asia (353,652), Europe (263,481), America (567), Africa (486) and Oceania (3). All Greek parties advocated the successful colonization of these refugees, especially Venizelos’s Liberal Party. In this regard Venizelos came to be known as the father of the refugees. The Greek bank made its first deal with foreign creditors from England and the United States in December 1924, allowing Greece to receive 12.3 million lira sterling with an interest rate of 7%, which was quite high for Greece’s financial circumstances. A Main Directorate for Colonization (EAP) was formed to carry out the settling of refugees.

The vast majority of the colonists were settled as follows: Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia (565,143 or 48.75%), Central Greece and Eubea (317,188 or 27.36%), Western Thrace (100,485 or 8.6%), Aegean islands (51,550 or 4.45%), Thessaly (36,427 or 3.14%), Peloponnesus (32,411 or 2.84%), Crete (32,411 or 2.98%), Cyprus (10,348 or 0.98%), Cyclades (6,697 or 0.53%), and the Ionian Islands (6,189 or 0.53%). The refugees were colonized at the expense of the indigenous population, which created problems for the indigenous Macedonian population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

Greek foreign Policy

The Greek Republican governments in power between the two world wars sought to preserve the Balkan status quo created by the Bucharest and Paris peace agreements. Relations between Bulgaria and Greece became stormier. With the Bucharest and Neuilly Peace Agreements, Bulgaria lost Southern Dobrudzha, Thrace, and its Western Provinces. Bulgaria considered Macedonia to belong to the Bulgarian ethnic space resulting in the Bulgarian kingdom pursuing changes to the Bucharest and Neuilly Peace Agreements. Contact between Greece and Bulgaria was done under these political circumstances. On September 29, 1924, the Calfov-Politis Protocol

was signed by the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Greece in Geneva by which the Greek side recognized the Slavic population in Aegean Macedonia as a Bulgarian minority. The “Calfov-Politis” protocol seriously affected Greek-Serbian relations. The Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia demanded that the Slavic population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia be recognized as Serbian. As a result Serbia cancelled the Treaty of Friendship it had signed with Greece in 1913.

The political rivalries between the Liberal Party (Venizelos’s supporters) and the People’s Party (Venizelos’s detractors), attempts to assassinate Venizelos, as well as the difficult economic situation in the country, were used by General Theodoros Pangalos as an opportunity to take power in the country (1925). His dictatorial rule unfortunately created more failures than success. Included among the accomplishments the Pangalos dictatorship achieved was a diplomatic deal with the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. On August 17, 1926, General Pangalos concluded a favourable agreement with the government of the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia where a free zone was opened in Solun and along the Solun-Gevgelia railway line. At the same time Pangalos recognized the Macedonian population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia as a Serbian minority. His rule was also memorable for his infamous Petrich military adventure. After a small incident at the Greek-Bulgarian border in 1925, the Greek army invaded Bulgarian territory which was then quickly repelled by a small number of Bulgarian soldiers helped by a number of IMRO units. After this incident, Greece was forced to pay Bulgaria damages. Pangalos’s agreement with the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, as well as his Petrich military adventure were some of the main reasons for his removal from power. Pangalos’s unsuccessful attempt to lead Greece contributed to the country’s set back which caused another military intervention. In 1926, General Kondilis abolished Pangalos’s government and took power. The only political stability that Greece experienced, and that was for a short time, was during Venizelos’s rule (1928-1932). Venizelos’s government implemented reforms in the legal system, economy and education. New primary and secondary schools were built and the so-called “Demotic Greek” language was introduced in high schools. But even the capable Venizelos did not anticipate the big, looming economic crisis. In

1929 the great economic crisis struck worldwide and negatively affected the Greek economy and very much influenced Venizelos's popularity.

Venizelos's government, however, had much more success in conducting foreign policy. Relations with Italy had always been strained, especially after General Teleni's assassination, which the Greek government sought to normalize. On September 23, 1928, a friendship agreement was signed with Italy. Then, on March 27, 1929, a Greek-Yugoslav agreement was signed and on October 30, 1930, a Turkish-Greek Agreement "On Friendship, Neutrality and Arbitration" was signed. In 1929, with the Molov-Kafandaris Agreement, property and legal issues that existed between Greece and Bulgaria, after the "great migration movements" (forceful expulsions of Macedonians from Greece) took place, were solved. On February 9, 1934, representatives from Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey met in Athens and created the Balkan Entente directed against Bulgaria. Then, on July 31, 1938, the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria signed an agreement by which both parties abandoned the use of military force in their mutual dealings.

Once again political instability in Greece became the norm and reached worrying proportions. Political passions between Venizelos's supporters and his detractors began to escalate. The People's Party won the parliamentary elections in 1933. This party was supported by Kondilis, Metaxas and Hatsikiriakos's small political parties. Venizelos however was not happy with the outcome and refused to accept defeat. So in order to save the country from "chaos", General Plastiras attempted a coup, but failed. Supported by Kondilis and Metaxas, Tsaldaris's government led the country to a "state of emergency". Some of the people who led the coup were arrested and sentenced to death and some fled to Bulgaria. Venizelos, suspected of being the chief initiator of the coup, was sentenced to death and forced to board the ship "Averov" and flee to the island Cassos, which at the time was under Italian rule.

After the failed coup attempt parliamentary elections were scheduled for June 9, 1935. The People's Party won and Kondilis formed the new government. Being pro-monarchic this government conducted a

plebiscite for the return of the monarchy to Greece. During the plebiscite 97.80% of the people voted for king Gergios II's return to the Greek throne (December 25, 1935). After his coronation the king declared a general amnesty and formed an Interim Government headed by K. Demerdzhis, a professor from the University of Athens. The new government scheduled elections for January 26, 1936.

After the failed coup of March 1935, the Liberal Party did not weaken to the extent that the People's Party was hoping. The parliamentary elections in January 1936 confirmed this. Political debates between the Liberal and the People's Party, as well as the noisy propaganda during the elections, did not influence the people to massively vote for either of the main ruling parties. The Liberal Party received 574,655 votes and sent 142 MPs to the new Greek parliament. The small conservative parties, on the other hand, which circled around the People's Party, did not receive the desired votes. The conservative forces won 602,840 votes and sent 143 MPs to the new Greek parliament. The Popular Front, headed by the CPG, united the left-wing forces however and received 73,411 voters and sent 15 new MPs to the Greek parliament. After the parliamentary elections, neither the Liberal nor the People's Party had an absolute majority and were unable to form a government. So, under the circumstances, the 15 MPs from the Popular Front held the balance of power. If until now the Greek parties refused to work with the CPG due to its support of a "United and Independent Macedonia", after the 1936 elections both the Liberal and the People's Party took steps to negotiate forming a new government with CPG support. There was however one catch. The CPG had to reject the idea of supporting a "United and Independent Macedonia". Headed by M. Porphirogenis, a number of Popular Front representatives personally visited the Greek king Georgios II and assured him that the CPG did not seek autonomy for Macedonia. After that all Greek parties encouraged (demanded) that the CPG dissociate itself from forming policies regarding the Macedonian question. After that K. Angelopoulos, representing the People's Party, established contact with representatives of the Left, headed by D. Glinos, G. Shantos and M. Porphirogenis, to negotiate forming the next government. At the same time Liberal party representatives established contact with S. Sklavenas, representative of the Popular Front, to discuss the

same. These political negotiations yielded the famous agreement between T. Soufoulis, representative of the Liberal Party, and S. Sklavenas, representative of the Popular Front.

The Soufoulis-Sklavenas Agreement was signed exactly when Greek society was experiencing strong elements of economic and political instability. Mass economic and political dissatisfaction was expressed during the great Solun demonstrations. Other demonstrations also took place in Kukush, Seres, Drama, etc., and culminated on May 8, 1936, with the Solun mass demonstrations of about 15,000 tobacco workers. In protest of the bloody suppression of the May 8, 1936 demonstrations in Solun, another 150,000 demonstrators took part in a protest rally in Freedom Square in Solun. Due to the brutal conduct of the police, as well as the killing of ten workers during the Solun mass demonstrations, more rallies and demonstrations were held all over Greece to demonstrate solidarity with the Solun workers. At the same time Popular Front representatives in the Greek parliament demanded that General Ioanis Metaxas, the main culprit for the bloody suppression in Solun, resign. On July 24, 1936, the two largest Greek trade unions, the Confederation of Workers of Greece and the United General Conference of Workers, decided to organize a general strike all throughout Greece in protest against repressive government policies.

Ioanis Metaxas's dictatorship (1936-1941)

The political instability that swept Greece seriously worried the Greek politicians who saw a solution in the introduction of an authoritarian regime. With the benevolence of the royal court, General Ioanis Metaxas, whose dictatorial affinities were long known, maximally exploited this historical moment. The path to the introduction of this personal dictatorship was facilitated by the disappearance from the political scene of famous Greek political figures such as Elefteros Venizelos and his first Minister, D. K. Demerdzhis. The loss of these two political figures, especially D. K. Demerdzhis's death, were "gifts from God" for Metaxas's dictatorial intentions. With the king's approval the political vacuum was filled by the old and ambitious General Metaxas. On August 4, 1936, Metaxas introduced his dictatorship just two days before the general strike. He suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, banned

party political activities, and imposed strict censorship. The entire power base was passed on to him and he declared himself supreme leader.

Metaxas began the “Third Greek Civilization”, following the “Ancient” and “Byzantine” civilizations with the prohibition of the works of Greek giants the likes of Sophocles, Aristotle, Euripides, and Tukidit. The Greek National Security Service, headed by K. Maniadakis, began to implement harsh policies of repression against political opponents and against the Communists in particular. Almost 50,000 people were sent to prison and the desolate Greek islands. At the same time, with a desire to indoctrinate the youth, Metaxas established the “National Youth Organization” (EON), which was compulsory for all young people.

Metaxas’s government maintained a pro-Western oriented foreign policy. Metaxas led an apparently neutral policy after the Munich Treaty (1938) was signed and after France capitulated (May-June 1940) but then approached Britain which provided him guarantees for Greece’s territorial integrity.

MINORITIES IN GREECE - (1913-1939)

The Macedonian population

With the annexation of 51% of Macedonia and Western Thrace, Greece ceased to be a nationally homogeneous state. Most of the population living in this part of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars was of non-Greek origin. According to the language spoken at home, i.e. by the family, 370,371 or 35.20% of the people living in Macedonia were Macedonians (mainly affiliated with the exarchate church), 274,052 or 25.05% were Turks, 236,755 or 22.50% were Greeks, 68,206 or 6.49% were Jews, 44,414 or 4.22% were Vlachs, etc. Thus, out of a total of 1,052,227 residents, 77.50% were non-Greeks and only 236,755 or 22.50% were Greeks by language.

After the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest was signed Greece initiated a policy to create one state, one nation, one language and one faith. It used this policy to expel the non-Greek indigenous population and colonize its occupied part of Macedonia and Thrace with so-called alien Greeks and Christian non-Greeks. Greece began a policy of ethnically cleansing the Macedonian population and the other non-Greek people living in its occupied territory with the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and continued after the First World War.

On November 27, 1919, with the signing of the Neuilly Peace Accord, a convention was signed between Greece and Bulgaria for the “voluntary eviction” of foreigners living in those countries. By virtue of this convention 86,571 Macedonians were forced to leave Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and go to Bulgaria. Using the Neuilly Peace Accord and the “voluntary” eviction of people, Greece carried out its first forced mass eviction of Macedonians from their ancestral homeland.

Greece continued with its policy of ethnically cleansing the Macedonian population even after the Greek-Turkish War (1920-1922). With the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty (1923) both Greece and Turkey used the opportunity to compulsorily evict Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece. On the basis of this agreement, another 44,082 Macedonian Muslims were forced out of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Using the Lausanne

Peace Treaty, Greece carried out its second forced mass eviction of Macedonians from their ancestral homeland. By virtue of the Neuilly and Lausanne peace treaties, 127,374 people or 34.39% of the total Macedonian population were forced to leave Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and go to Bulgaria or Turkey. Even with these massive evictions there were still 242,997 Macedonians living in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and were a majority in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions.

In parallel with these evictions, the Greek state implemented a policy of colonizing Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia with so-called Greek and non-Greek Christian people. The Greek state implemented this policy through the so-called “internal colonization” (with people from southern Greece) and “external colonization” (with non-Greek Christians from all over the world). In the period from 1913 to 1928, on the basis of “internal colonization”, Greece settled 53,056 people, and on the basis of “external colonization” Greece settled 565,143 non-Greek Christian colonists (so-called Greeks, Karamanli, Armenians and various other Caucasian peoples). In other words in the period from 1913 to 1928, Greece deposited 618,199 colonists and settlers in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia who were culturally, traditionally and linguistically non-Greeks. With the change in the ethnic composition, the Greek state also changed Macedonia’s toponyms. All cities, villages, mountains, lakes, etc. received Greek sounding toponyms.

The changes in the ethnic composition however had ethno-linguistic, political and economic consequences. The most difficult were the ethno-linguistic changes. With the replacement of the population’s ethnic structure in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, the historical status of the Macedonian people was changed. From a majority living on its ancestral lands, the Macedonian people became an ethnic minority.

Similarly the so-called Greek population also changed its traditional status. From a minority (22%) it became a majority. The languages spoken also changed status. From the most used language, the Macedonian national language became the language of a minority. The statutes of the Greek language changed from being the language

of a minority to the official Greek language for the entire population living in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

The new ethno-linguistic processes in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia also affected the ethnic nomination of the new population. The Macedonian population called the newly arrived Greek-Christian colonists Madzhiri (aliens), or Auti or Kurkutadi. The colonist population called the Macedonian people Bulgars, Slavophones or endopi (natives). Over time, the Greek and non-Greek (Karamanli, Armenians, and various Caucasians) colonists or “prosfiges” (refugees in Greek) will be called “Greek Macedonians” and eventually “Macedonians”.

After all these changes that the Greek state made in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, the ethnic history of the Macedonian period ended and the history of the so-called Greek-Madzhir period began. With this change the Greek political borders began to increasingly coincide with the Greek national borders.

Policies of denationalization

Following the signing of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, the Greek state began to crack down on the Macedonian population that had Macedonian sentiments. It was forbidden for Macedonians to express another affiliation other than the Greek one. The Macedonian people were forced to change their Macedonian names and surnames. Every Macedonian surname was changed and had to end in “is”, “os”, or “poulos”.

After 1913 all Macedonian and Slavonic literacy was banned and those using it were persecuted. All Macedonian and Slavonic literacy was removed from churches, monuments and graves. All churches were meticulously examined and baptized with Greek names. All Macedonian and Slavonic inscriptions were removed from churches and from all other places and all Macedonian and Slavonic books were destroyed. The tombs of the Ilinden leaders and fighters were also destroyed.

Especially cruel was the attack on the Macedonian language. The Macedonian national language was banned outright and those

speaking it were persecuted. The worst attack on the Macedonian language came during Ioanis Metaxas's dictatorship (1936). Metaxas prohibited the use of the Macedonian national language in everyday life in the village, in ordinary human communication, in the market, in weddings, in funerals, as well as in the privacy of the Macedonian home. At the same time, regardless of age, the Macedonian population was forced to attend evening schools to learn to speak Greek. All those who broke this rule suffered heavy and severe penalties (fined for breaking the so-called language rule, plucking moustaches, rubbing hot pepper on the tongue, being spit in the mouth, forced to drink castor oil, jailed, and many other physical abuses). Almost 4,500 Macedonians were found guilty of speaking the Macedonian language and were sent to serve jail sentences in the Greek islands.

Pressure exerted by the League of Nations in the period between the two world wars forced the Greek government to take formal measures and convince Europe that Greece respected the provisions it had signed for the protection of minority rights derived from the Paris Peace Accords. And because of this the Macedonian primer called the "Abecedar" was published in 1925. The primer was printed in the Latin alphabet using the Macedonian folk language (Lerin-Bitola dialect). Unfortunately, immediately after its publication, the primer was destroyed and never reached the hands of those for whom it was intended.

Assimilation policy

In the period between the two world wars, the Greek state implemented a policy of assimilation to assimilate the Macedonian population into the Greek fold. The entire political structure (education, church, army, etc.) was put into this service. It was in the Greek schools where the majority of Macedonians met the Greek language for the first time. Two hours of class time was dedicated to the study of language and history in order for students to learn Greek faster. All other subjects were taught through song and dance. Greece's "glorious past" was especially praised and emphasised. Every child needed to know and be proud of being Greek. All children needed to know about the glorious battles their ancestors fought in Marathon, Thermopylae, etc., and about the "heroic and

glorious battles the Greek armed bands”, led by Pavlos Melas and Germanos Karavangelis, fought against “the criminal elements” (Macedonians) led by Lazo Pop Traikov, Pando Kliashev, Vasil Chakalarov, Mitre Pandzharov and others. The Macedonian people were forced to learn the Greek language by terror carried out by the Greek nationalist organization “Greek-Macedonian fist”, which existed everywhere and was present at all times. In their judgement the Macedonian people felt more oppressed by the Greeks than they were by the Ottomans before them. They often cursed the Ottomans for leaving them in the hands of the Greeks. And when one asked a Macedonian what they thought of the Ottomans and the Greeks, they would often say: “The Ottomans had no faith but had compassion... The Greeks have neither faith nor compassion...”

The Macedonian population continuously and strongly resisted Greek attempts to denationalize and assimilate it with the Macedonian family playing a major role in this resistance. The Macedonian family nurtured and orally and secretly communicated the Macedonian language, history, culture and traditions from one generation to the next. Despite the dangers faced for speaking it, the Macedonian language was present in everyday communications. This contributed to the preservation of the Macedonian national language and statutes as a “mother tongue” among the Macedonian people who learned it at their earliest age and expressed it naturally. They learned the Greek language later, in school, and considered it a foreign and secondary language.

The Macedonian family fostered everything that was Macedonian; the language, culture, traditions, history... and passed it on to the next generation. The new generations not only learned about Ilinden and the epic Macedonian struggles and the leaders and fighters involved in them, but also about the Greek criminal acts perpetrated by the so-called “Greek heroes” led by Pavlos Melas and Germanos Karavangelis. While the Greek state was “illuminating” the Macedonian children about glorious Greek acts in school during the day, the family was ruining their “illumination” with the truth during the evening.

The Turkish population

After the First World War, almost 460,000 Turks lived in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and Western Thrace (310,000 in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and 150,000 in Western Thrace). Based on the Lausanne agreement, 310,000 Turks were forced to leave Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and go to Turkey. An exception to this mandatory eviction was the Turkish population living in Western Thrace (Rhodopes, Xanthi and Maritsa) and the so-called Greek population living in Istanbul. According to the same Lausanne agreement, the Turks in Greece were given the status of a Muslim minority.

The Turkish minority in Greece enjoyed freedom without having any freedom. After the mandatory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey and the colonization of the 100,000 so-called Christian Greeks in Western Thrace, the Turkish and other Muslim populations were faced with immense daily pressures. The new colonists, with “discretionary” help from the Greek authorities, began to usurp Turkish properties and force the Turks into “voluntary” eviction. The law governing Muslim vacancies in Turkey specified that vacant lands belong exclusively to the Muslims. With this, the interests of the Turkish minority were obviously protected, but essentially it also had an anti-Turkish character. This law did not permit Muslims to acquire new lands, and thus prevented Muslim expansion. This anti-Turkish Greek policy was especially applied during the Metaxas dictatorship. By law no. 1366 the Greek state prohibited the sale of land to members of the Muslim population.

The Jewish population

In the period before the Balkan Wars almost 80,000 Jews, or 3% of the total population, lived in Macedonia. After Macedonia’s partition, 68% of that total lived in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, and 7,200 lived in Serbian occupied Macedonia. A large part of the Jewish population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was concentrated mainly in Solun which seriously contributed to the economic and cultural development of the city.

During the Ottoman occupation the Jewish population lived freely and was allowed to develop ethnically, economically and culturally.

Jealous of the Jewish population's wealth and economic abilities, after gaining control of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, Greek authorities began to crack down on the Jews. After the First World War they began to show contempt for the Jewish people.

Immediately after 1918, all Jews aged 15 to 50 were forced to clean the city streets and remove dead bodies from them. Those who avoided their obligations were robbed of their food rations and forced to do even harsher jobs.

At the same time, the Jewish population was harassed and put under immense psychological pressure. Even for the slightest offense, most often invented by the Greek authorities themselves, Jewish merchants were often given hefty fines. Their shop windows were frequently broken and their shops burned down. Sometimes pressures on the Jews took violent forms. A group of young Greek people in Solun organized the so-called "Black gang" which physically attacked and harassed Jews in the streets.

This harassment by the Greek authorities upset the Jewish population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to a point where they sought international protection. A three-member Jewish delegation was sent to Paris during the Paris Peace Accords to seek protection from the Great Powers. But that did not stop the Greeks who exerted even more pressure on the Jews and forced them to go to Italy, Switzerland and France. In the period between the two world wars, the Jewish population also developed independent educational, cultural and religious (synagogues) organizations on its own.

The Vlach population

The Vlach population that lived in Macedonia was small in number. Before the Balkan wars 80,767 Vlachs or 3.58% of the total population lived in Macedonia. After Macedonia's partition (1913) 44,114 Vlachs or 6.11% of the entire Vlach population lived in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. The Vlachs in Macedonia were not ethnically homogeneous and did not express one single

Vlach ethnic consciousness. They expressed themselves as either Greeks (so-called “Greek-Vlachs”) or as Romanians (so-called “Romanian-Vlachs”). The Greek government, however, had a different attitude towards the Vlachs. It supported the “Greek-Vlachs” and persecuted “Romanian-Vlachs”.

Under Greek pressure, in the period between the two world wars, the “Romanian-Vlachs” were forced to go to Romania and colonize Southern Dobrudzha, a Bulgarian territory annexed by Romania after the Second Balkan War. The first Vlach families that landed in Romania in October 1925 traveled on the ship “Iashi”. They were from Ber, Voden, Meglen and Katerini Regions in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. In the period from 1925 to 1937, 6,000 Vlach families were evicted from all of Macedonia and were settled in Southern Dobrudzha (Kaliakra and Durostor). As a result of the Treaty of Craiova (September 7, 1940) 67,000 Bulgarians were compulsorily evicted from Northern Dobrudzha and 83,000 Romanian-Vlachs were deposited in the same region. The Vlachs from Macedonia were deposited in Northern Dobrudzha.

The Vlach population from Macedonia that was moved to Romania did not refer to itself by its true ethnic name. The Romanian authorities referred to the “Romanian-Vlachs” from Macedonia by their political ethnic name “Macedonian-Romanians” and they themselves, in face of the Romanian public, referred to themselves as “Makidon” (Macedonians). The name “Armini” (Vlachs) was used only when communicating among themselves.

The Bulgaromohamedans (Pomaks), the Albanians and the Roma

The second highest number of people (35,000) belonging to the Muslim faith were the Pomaks who lived mainly in Western Thrace, Xanthi Region, the Rhodope Mountains and the villages along Maritsa. They were Muslims by religious affiliation but Bulgarians by ethnic origin. The language they spoke at home was Bulgarian. But, even though the Greek state respected their religious freedoms as guaranteed by the Lausanne peace treaty, it did not recognize the Pomaks as ethnic Bulgarians... only as Muslim Greeks. The Albanians in Epirus (Chameria Region), on the other hand, were subjected to denationalization and assimilation.

The CPG and the Macedonian National Question (1924-1940)

The Communist Party of Greece (CPG), unlike other Greek civil parties, had a different attitude with respect to the Macedonian question. But its attitude was not independent and autonomous. The CPG only dealt with the Macedonian question because it was a Comintern decision but the Comintern itself was a “branch” of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs which carried out its national policy depending on USSR state interests.

The Soviet Union was not a guarantor of the Paris Peace Accords. Regarding the Versailles political status quo, there were four USSR policy periods: (1) The anti-Revolutionary period (1919-1935), (2) The pro-Versailles period (1935-August 1939), (3) the anti-Versailles period (August 1939-June 22, 1941), and (4) The anti-Fascist period (June 22, 1941-1945).

During the anti-Versailles period the USSR sought to destroy the European version of the status quo created by the Paris Peace Accords. Through the use of “national questions” the Comintern implemented a policy that sought the break-up of the Versailles successor states Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece. During the anti-Versailles and pro-Versailles periods the Comintern was in favour of two policies regarding the Macedonian national question: a) A “United and Independent Macedonia (1924-1935)”, i.e. a “State without a nation”, and b) A “nation without a state”, i.e. respect for minority rights within the Greek state (after 1935).

During the period when the Comintern recognized a “State without a nation” it recognized a Macedonian state but not a Macedonian nation. The existence of the Macedonian ethnicity was not recognized during this period. Again, during the period when the Comintern recognized a “State without a nation”, the CPG, as well as the Comintern, felt that there was a diversity of peoples living in Macedonia (mainly Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Vlachs etc.) and none of the nationalities living on this territory were reflected in the name Macedonia. And Macedonia, the name of this territory, was not reflected in the name of any of the nationalities living in that region.

The CPG adopted the Comintern policy for a “United and Independent Macedonia” during its Party’s Third Extraordinary Congress held in Athens in 1924. The CPG’s adaptation of this policy (United and Independent Macedonia) caused long and bitter debates in its ranks. As a result the Party split into two groups with regards to solving the Macedonian National Question. On the one hand there was the so-called “Minority” group led by Ianis Kordatos and Tomas Apostolidis which was against a “United and Independent Macedonia” and on the other hand there was the so-called “Majority” group led by Pantelis Puliopoulos which was in favour of the Comintern policy regarding the Macedonian National Question.

The “Minority” group believed that, after the many population exchanges that took place in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, there was no longer a need for such a policy and the idea of a “United and Independent Macedonia” had passed its time. Ianis Kordatos, leader of the “Minority” group, in an article for the CPG newspaper “Rizospastis”, wrote: “...such a policy is unrealistic because the majority of the population in Greek-Macedonia is Greek...” The so-called “Minority” group warned the “Majority” group that by adopting the Comintern’s policy on the Macedonian National Question, the Party would lose support and “arm the Greek bourgeoisie” with a dangerous weapon to slander and attack the CPG.

The “Majority” group however defended the Comintern policy, its decision, and its “class” position, and at the same time believed that its policies were correct and revolutionary. When the CPG, during its Third Extraordinary Congress, took a vote to accept or reject the Comintern policy regarding the Macedonian National Question, 17 members voted to accept it and 2 voted to reject it. Unfortunately the “Majority” group’s victory was a Pyrrhic victory. Shortly after the CPG’s Third Extraordinary Congress, 8 members who voted to accept the policy withdrew their support. As it turned out the 1924 “Majority” group in reality was in the minority and the “real” majority lay in the so-called “Minority” group. The Greek “bourgeoisie” reacted immediately and harshly right after the CPG adopted this policy. Then in 1925, Dictator T. Pangalos organized the well-known anti-Communist processes in Athens and in July

1929, E. Venizelos passed law number 4,229 which prohibited all communist activities in the entire country.

The political clashes between Leo Trotsky on the one hand and I. V. Stalin on the other, taking place in the ranks of the USSR's League of Communists, caused ideological cleavages in the ranks of the CPG. A new "Minority" group, led by Puliopoulos (Trotskyites) emerged on one side and a "Majority" group led by Georgios Siantos and Nikos Zahariadis (Stalinists) emerged on the other. The CPG ideological clashes were further complicated by the emergence of the so-called "Centre" group led by S. Maximos, K. Sklavos and T. Heinoglu, who had greater sympathy for the "Minority" group. On November 1, 1927, representatives from the "Centre" and "minority" groups (Puliopoulos, Iatopoulos, Nikolino, etc.) created the so-called "United Opposition" and through the "Spartacus" magazine continued their political struggle against the Stalinist majority which, with help from the Comintern, won the party's leadership. The formation of the organization "Greek Communist Internationalists" (OKDE, later EOKDE) will in the future turn into the Communist Party of Greece-Internationalists, a section of the Fourth International. Because of his political activities P. Puliopoulos, former Secretary General of the CPG, was removed from the party. Then, with help from the Comintern, the CPG leadership was taken over by the Orthodox Stalinist Nikos Zahariadis, a Madzhir from Asia Minor.

In the period from 1931 to 1935, the Comintern, as well as the CPG, would gradually reject the policy of a "United and Independent Macedonia" (a State without a nation) and implement the policy of a "Nation without a state", i.e. a policy of full equality for minorities within the Greek state. By adopting the policy of a "nation without a state", the CPG in fact rejected the policy of diversity of nations and recognized the existence of a separate Macedonian ethnicity. The CPG concluded that the Macedonians are not Greeks, Serbians or Bulgarians, and that the Macedonian language is a separate Slavic language. The newspaper "Rizospastis" even published articles under the title "With the Macedonians in Macedonia" about the difficult political and economic situation the Macedonian population was facing in the period from 1932 to 1935.

At its 6th CPG Congress, held in December 1935, the CPG officially adopted the policy of full equality for minorities in Greece. After accepting the new political orientation in relation to the Macedonian National Question, a CPG delegation, led by Vasilis Nefeloudis, went to Moscow to convince the Comintern to implement the new CPG orientation in relation to the Macedonian National Question. The Comintern, represented by G. Dimitrov, D. Manoilsky, P. Toliati, K. Gotfald, etc., accepted the arguments presented by the CPG representatives and adopted the decision taken by the CPG 6th Congress regarding the Macedonian National Question. After 1935 however, instead of calling the Macedonians “Macedonians” the CPG began to increasingly use the word “Slavo-Macedonians”.

GREECE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR - (1940-1945)

The Greek-Italian and Greek-German War (1940-1941)

German political and military successes (1938-1940) encouraged Italy to lead a more militant policy in the Balkans. After occupying Albania (April 7, 1939), Italy expressed a more aggressive policy towards Greece. On October 28, 1940, Gratsiani, the Italian ambassador to Greece, handed the Greek government a note with an ultimatum. The Italian government demanded that Greece allow Italy to establish bases on Greek soil until the end of the war. The Greek government responded with no.

All Greek political parties, from the left to the right, placed their unconditional support behind Metaxas's government. The CPG, through its Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis, called on the Greek people to "turn every hill, every barn, every city and every house into a turret" because the war led by the Metaxas government in Greece is a struggle "for freedom, honor and national independence".

After Italy's initial military successes, the Greek army began a counteroffensive and pushed its way into southern Albania (Koritsa, Saranda and Argirokastro). The Greek-Italian war, as well as Dusan Simovich's coup in Yugoslavia, seriously upset Nazi Germany, which decided to solve the Balkan problem through its own military means. On April 6, 1941, Prince Ehrbarh, the German ambassador in Athens, sent a note to the Greek government declaring war. Following that, the German military attacked Greece and forced it to swiftly capitulate. On April 23, 1941, generals G. Chalakoglu, E. Bakhos and P. Demestihias, signed Greece's capitulation. The king, the government and some of the military left for Crete and later, after the German occupation, left for Egypt (Cairo).

After its capitulation, Greece was divided into three zones: Italian, German and Bulgarian. Most of the Greek territory fell under Italian occupation (Peloponnese, Sterea Hellas without Athens, Thessaly, Epirus and the Cyclades). The German zone covered central Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and was placed under the

administration of G. Chakalogu's Quisling government. The German zone also covered the islands Crete, Lesbos, Chios and part of Western Thrace. The Bulgarian zone covered part of eastern Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and Western Thrace. These were territories that Bulgaria lost with the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest and Neuilly Peace Accord.

Anti-Fascist Resistance

The anti-fascist resistance in Greece began symbolically. A couple of young men, Manolis Glezos and Lakis Santas, took down the German flag from the Acropolis and raised the Greek flag. In 1941, at the initiative of the Left (CPG), the organizations EAM (Greek Liberation Front) and ELAS (Greek People's Liberation Army) were formed and led by General S. Saraphis, military commander, and Aris Veliahiotis, political commissar. Later, at the political initiative of N. Plastiras the organization EDES (Greek Democratic and National League), was formed and led by Napoleon Zervas. Similarly, on the initiative of G. Kartalis the organization EKKA (Greek Committee for National and Social Liberation) was formed and led by Colonel Psaros. Ideologically dissimilar (some supporting evolution without a revolution and others supporting evolution with revolution) the organizations were united nationally on the basis of Greek national interests (sovereignty and national integrity of the Greek state). However these Greek resistance forces cooperated only under conditions. They cooperated on the basis of Greek national interests and fought on the basis of social class. For the time being however, they jointly resisted against the Axis forces during this period. In September 1941, the Drama Uprising began with the Greek population attacking the Bulgarian authorities for trying to expel the Madziri (Asia Minor colonists and settlers) that were deposited in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the period between the two world wars, and send them back to where they came from. In 1942, English diversionists along with ELAS and EDES fighters mined the Giorgopatomos bridge in order to make it difficult to supply German troops from the Middle East.

But, as Greece came closer and closer to been liberated and Greek national interests realized, the class struggle began to escalate and civil war was inevitable. After Italy capitulated and the Bodoglio

government was formed (1943), clashes between ELAS-EDES and ELAS-EKKA became common and began to look like a real civil war. Over time however ELAS became a stronger force and attacked and defeated EKKA. All its units were destroyed and those captured, along with its leader Colonel Psaras, were liquidated. After that ELAS became the main bearer of the anti-fascist resistance in Greece. At its peak ELAS had 65,000 soldiers, all heavily motivated guerrillas. On March 10, 1944, in a place called Viniani, the left wing of the Greek anti-fascists formed the organization PEEA (Political Committee for National Enforcement), which served as a shadow government, a government which severely disturbed the English and the Greek government in exile.

The EAM-ELAS anti-fascist primacy, as well as the presence of Macedonian and Vlach armed formations in its ranks, severely disturbed the English who were worried that after Greece was liberated the Greek left would take power. Because of this the English began to implement policies to strip EAM-ELAS from its primacy as the main bearers of the anti-fascist struggle in Greece, and advocated for putting the Greek left under its control at all costs.

The evolutionary capitulation process of EAM-ELAS began following the Yalta Agreement (by which 90% of Greece fell under English influence), the Lebanon Agreement (20.6.1944), the Caserta Agreement (26.9.1944) and the Varkiza Agreement (12.2.1945). The Lebanon Agreement envisioned the establishment of a “national unity government and the creation of a national army that would be subordinated to the national unity government. The national unity government would then be responsible for implementing “state law” and “freedom” for all after the liberation. All sides were unanimous about “fulfilling all national rights” and creating “a new free and Greater Greece”.

The English took their first step in resolving the Greek crisis with the Caserta Agreement. The Caserta Agreement envisioned “all guerrilla groups being placed under the national unity government’s control. The Greek national unity government would then place all guerrilla groups under English General Skobi’s command, and any attempt by the guerrilla groups to take power would be considered a criminal act and those involved would be severely punished”. On

October 18, 1944, after the German forces withdrew from Greece, the national unity government, led by Georgios Papandreou, along with some of General Skobi's English forces, arrives in Athens. Before their arrival Greece was facing unresolved difficult economic and political issues. Papandreou's government encountered a severe economic situation in the country. The road, rail and sea traffic was completely destroyed. Due to the difficult living conditions during the occupation, nearly 400,000 people were killed or starved to death.

MINORITIES IN GREECE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR - (1940-1945)

The Macedonian population

During the Greek-Italian War, the Macedonian population was not interested in fighting for the integrity of a state that severely oppressed them. “For whom are we going to fight? For those who persecute us for speaking our mother tongue?” said one man to his wife while he was mobilized to be sent to the Greek-Italian front in Albania.

The Macedonian people were relieved after Greece capitulated and did not ask or care who liberated them. After they fell under Italian occupation they were free to speak their Macedonian language, express their Macedonian ethnicity and call themselves by their Macedonian names. Their mother tongue came back not only in their homes and streets but also in institutions and the church. Old Slavonic was again heard in the performance of church rites and rituals.

The Macedonian population was not ethnically united during the war. The first ethno-ideological split was expressed by the “counter-band” rebel movement in Kostur, Lerin and Voden on one hand, and by the so-called “Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front” (SNOF) on the other. While the “counter-band” movement protected the so-called exarchate ethno-lingual traditions, SNOF spread ethno-Macedonian-ism among the Macedonian population.

The “counter-band” movement was formed on March 3, 1943 in the city Kostur and was led by Pando Makriev, Luka Dimanov, Paskal Kalimanov and Kolio Shestavarov (Bai Kolio). The “counter-band” movement in Voden Region was led by Giorgi Dimchev, creator of the Bulgarian leaning organization “Ohrana”, which accumulated over 5,000 armed counter-bandits. Overall Andon Kalchev was responsible for the development of the “counter-band” movement in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, the Bulgarian club in Solun (formed in 1941), and for providing material assistance to the former exarchate population. The “counter-band” movement was anti-Greek as well as anti-Communist. The “counter-bands” fought

against both the political right's Greek nationalist forces and against the political left's (EAM-ELAS) democratic forces which included the ethnic Macedonian communists (SNOF).

On the advice of the CPY and with the approval of the CPG, SNOF was formed in October 1943 to fight to safeguard the Greek state's integrity as well as for Macedonian minority rights within Greece and to wage war against the "counter-band" movement. With help from the CPG, SNOF followed an ethno-ideological policy (Macedonian-ism + communism) for the duration of World War II.

The two different ethno-political factions in the ranks of the Macedonian movement often came to blows characteristic of a civil war. Numerous military clashes took place between them. The "counter-bands" as well as the villages that supported them were frequently attacked by the Greek Left (ELAS) and by the Macedonian Ethnic Communist Left (SNOF), as well as by the Greek right nationalist forces. One of those villages, Starichani, was completely destroyed by ELAS units. At the same time Greek right armed forces attacked many Macedonian villages. In April 1944, Greek forces that collaborated with the occupiers razed the village Katranitsa and killed 640 women and children. In May 1944 the village Bapchor, Kostur Region, were fiercely attacked by ELAS and 31 "counter-band" fighters, led by Kosta Kachunov, were killed. There were Macedonians serving in the ELAS units that attacked Bapchor.

After the Germans withdrew from Greece the "counter-band" movement was wiped out. Some of the "counter-band" fighters fled to Bulgaria, and some to Yugoslavia. Many who fled to Yugoslavia were executed by the Yugoslav communist authorities and those who fled back to Greece or were returned to the Greek authorities were also killed or imprisoned. Many of those who survived joined the anti-Greek struggle during the Greek Civil War. After the "counter-bands" were disarmed and destroyed SNOF, under CPG orders, was disbanded.

The Vlach people also developed an ethnic movement during the Second World War. After Greece was occupied, the Vlachs of Thessaly, Epirus and parts of western Aegean (Greek occupied)

Macedonia, led by Alkibiade Diamandi, formed the so-called Pindus Principality with Metsovo as its capital. This was done under the auspices of the Italian authorities. After Italy capitulated and the Germans withdrew from Greece, the Greek resistance forces abolished the Principality. During the course of the second world war the Albanian population living in Epirus also expressed dissatisfaction with the living conditions in Greece and opposed the Greek terror carried out by the Greek nationalist right (EDES) led by Napoleon Zervas.

The Jewish population also faced a tragic fate during the Second World War. It was exposed to a policy of ethnic genocide and many atrocities were committed against the Jewish people. After Greece was occupied all Jews over 5 years old were obliged to wear David's star. All Jewish shops and homes were marked with the inscriptions "Jewish shop" and "Jewish house". Their movement was restricted and Jews were not allowed to visit certain public spaces. Pressure on the Jewish population culminated in 1943 when 46,000 Solun Jews were assembled in the "Baron Hirsch" camp and, with support from the Greek Quisling authorities, were deported to death camps (Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen).

GREECE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Greek Civil War (1946-1949)

After the Second World War, a new political polarization emerged in Greece. If political polarization existed on the basis of national interests (integrity and sovereignty of the Greek state) between 1941 and 1944, then a new political polarization emerged after 1945 and was based on class interests (state regulation, political system, etc.).

The new political polarization contributed to the change in the balance of political power in Greece. The political left forces (CPG), on the one side began to weaken, and the political centre-right forces on the other began to strengthen. In practical terms the idea of one state, one nation, one language, political freedom, private property, etc., was more appealing to the petty Greek nation than the political idea of a basic political communist ideology postulating a proletariat dictatorship, nationalization, collectivization, etc.

After the German forces withdrew from Greece, the two political opposites stood “face to face”. With strong support from England the political right began to slowly gain strength. Accompanied by an English military detachment Georgios Papandreou arrived in Athens on October 18, 1944. On December 3, 1944, EAM organized large demonstrations at the Sintagma Square in Athens. The police opened fire on the demonstrators killing 15. In retaliation, ELAS military units began to attack police stations and heavy street battles broke out between the ELAS units and the English army. The hostilities lasted for days.

After the clashes in Athens, later named “The December encounters” by Greek historians, Papandreou’s government fell and a new government, led by Plastiras, a former liberal, took its place. Following the December encounters, political talks began in Varkiza with aims at resolving the political crisis. When it was concluded the Varkiza Agreement, signed on February 12, 1945, called for ELAS to be disarmed and for the government to amnesty all those detained as well as allow the people the freedom to vote in elections and in a referendum to decide on the kind of political system (Monarchy or Republic) the people wanted for their country. Stemistoclis

Soufoulis's liberal government decided to have the elections on March 31, 1946. The right-wing coalition, which put its support behind the Monarchist People's Party, won the election. After that Dino Tsaldaris's newly formed government began to organize the referendum. However it was a dubious referendum in which 68% of the voters declared that they wanted a monarchy in Greece. Because of this the CPG decided to boycott the parliamentary elections scheduled for September 31, 1946, and opted for an armed struggle.

The armed struggle began with an attack on the police station in the village Lithohori (March 1946), which initiated what later was termed the Greek Civil War. In 1947, the Greek government enacted law number 509 which banned all communist activities in Greece. The political left (CPG) created the "Democratic Army of Greece" DAG, a partisan army with 30,000 partisans led by Markos Vafiadis, a Madzhir (Turkish Christian colonist) from Asia Minor. The same year the political left formed an Interim Government. With an all-out economic and military support from England and from the United States, the Greek government organized a well-trained, well-armed military consisting of 100,000 soldiers led by General Alexandros Papagos. Filled with great ideological hatred the two sides fought heavy and bloody battles in Gramos, Vicho, Lerin, etc. In August 1949, following heavy attacks from the government forces, DAG was defeated and its units retreated to Albania, Yugoslavia (without weapons) and Bulgaria. In addition to other factors, DAG's defeat was mainly due to the misunderstandings between Markos Vafiadis (guerrilla warfare) and Nikos Zahariadis (frontal warfare).

One of the most critical problems DAG faced during the Greek Civil War was maintaining its reserve composition. In order to resolve this problem the political left needed to attract the Macedonian population. As a result, DAG Headquarters introduced Statute Act No. 5, by which it recognized national minority rights in Greece, but without naming the minorities. Later, during the CPG's Fifth Plenum, held in January 1949, the CPG recognized the Macedonian people's right to self-determination. Following these decisions, the Macedonian population was forcibly mobilized (men, women and children). Children ages 12 to 15, who had already been sent to

Eastern European countries to be saved, were also mobilized and, after some brief military training, were sent to the front to fight.

The consequences of the Greek civil war were enormous, especially for the Macedonian people. A ruined economy, a population scattered all over the country (especially the Macedonian villages), many military people killed on both sides... Let us not forget the 60,000 people, including the 28,000 refugee children, who were forced to flee to Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, USSR and only a handful of Greek children to East Germany) to save themselves from the ravages of war and from the winning side taking revenge on them. The Macedonian children in the Eastern European countries were brought up in the spirit of Macedonian-ism and communism. The Macedonian children who ended up in Queen Fredericka's homes inside Greece were brought up in the spirit of Hellenism and anti-communism.

After the Greek Civil War ended the Greek political right took control of the Greek government. Parliamentary elections were held in 1951 during which the Greek political right, united under the "Brotherhood Board" headed by Marshal A. Papagos, received 49% of the vote. The Greek political left, united under the "United Democratic Left" became the main political opposition. While in power Papagos's government made no effort to expedite democratization of the country. Law 509, which forbade all communist activities, was still in force. At the same time, authorities began to collect information and to open so-called "black files" on citizens suspected of performing "hostile activities". The state apparatus itself consisted only of people who were loyal to the government. As a result of law 509, Nikos Beloianis, a CPG activist, was tried on charges of performing "illegal activities" and executed in 1952.

The Greek economy began to slowly recover mainly due to financial support from Western countries, especially the United States. Financial injections from the large Greek population living and working abroad, in the United States, Australia, Canada, and later in West Germany, also contributed to the stability of the Greek economy.

Papagos's government had both successes and failures in Greek foreign policy. In 1952 both Greece and Turkey were admitted to NATO. After the Informbiro, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia formed the so-called "Balkan Union", but good neighbourly relations between Greece and Turkey did not last long. The Cyprus issue began to surface again and became a serious "apple of discord" between the two countries. General Georgios Grivas organized the illegal EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) organization in Cyprus. The purpose of this organization was to reunite Cyprus with Greece. The Turkish minority, however, retaliated and wanted to break away. Tensions between the two ethnic communities on the island seriously strained Greek-Turkish relations. Massive anti-Greek demonstrations took place in Istanbul, frightening the so-called Greek population into leaving Istanbul.

In March 1955 Marshal Papagos died and, to the surprise of some Greek political elites, the king appointed Konstantinos Karamanlis to form the new Greek government. Under his mandate Karamanlis formed the "National Radical Union" (ERE) party. In the 1956 elections, during which women were allowed to vote for the first time, ERE won. During the 1958 parliamentary elections, the Greek political right took power and the Greek united left took the opposition. In 1961 Gerogios Papandreou, an old and experienced diplomat, formed the "Union of the Centere Party". In the 1961 elections, Karamanlis's party won again but the Union of the Centre Party and the United Left Party accused his government of electoral fraud. Then, in 1962, Grigoris Lambrakis, an EDA lawmaker, who had a negative attitude towards the European democratic public, was assassinated in Solun.

On the issue of foreign policy, Karamanlis's government once again faced the Cyprus question. During conferences in Zurich and London, Greece, Turkey and England, in 1959, decided that Cyprus should be an independent state without the right to "break away" or "re-unification". Turkey and England became the guarantors of Cyprus's independence while Greece, Turkey and England had the right to station their own military forces on the island. As a result of these agreements the Turkish minority in Cyprus gained broad rights which included the obligation that a Turk serve as vice president of

the republic, the Cypriot parliament have 30 Turkish MPs, and 40% of the police force be of Turkish origin.

The agreements made in Zurich and London caused a lot of discontent in Greece. Karamanlis's government was accused of national treason. Another serious misunderstanding took place in 1961 between Karamanlis and the royal court (with king Pavlos and Queen Fredericka). As a result his government resigned and Karamanlis voluntarily exiled himself abroad but returned for the parliamentary elections in 1963. Papandreou's "Union of the Centre Party" won the election but did not secure an absolute majority in parliament. So, in order to exploit his current popularity, Papandreou chose to have new elections in 1964 during which he received 53% of the vote.

When it took power, the new government made a few changes. It released some political prisoners, got rid of the katharevousa (ancient Attic) language and introduced the dimotiki (people's language) in the school system. It also took serious steps to stabilize the economy. As a result of this, the political right became very upset and accused Andreas Papandreou, (son of Georgios Papandreou), then Minister of the Economy, that he was "the grey eminence of 'Aspida' (Shield)", a secret military organization. After he lost the election Karamanlis, leader of ERE, fled Greece and went abroad to France.

On the issue of foreign policy, Papandreou also faced the Cypriot problem. In 1963, Archbishop Makarios, then president of the Cypriot republic, requested a revision of the Zurich and London agreements. The Cypriot government was dissatisfied with all the rights given to the Turkish minority by the Zurich and London agreements. A conflict was sparked between the two Cypriot ethnic communities and culminated in warfare between the Greek and Turkish minorities. Greece and Turkey, once again, were brought to the brink of war. It took vigorous intervention from the United States to calm the two sides down and prevent a massive military conflict.

Political life in Greece was also unstable. Constantine II, the new king who succeeded his father Pavlos, began to strengthen his

relationship with the military elite which created serious misunderstandings between the king and Georgios Papandreou. Papandreou, then leader of the “Union of the Centre Party” and president of the Greek Government, decided to schedule elections for the month of May 1967. The Greek political right was upset about Georgios Papandreou having a second and even more convincing victory and was particularly concerned about Andreas Papandreou’s (his son’s) political views.

The April 21, 1967 rebellion

A few weeks before the scheduled and promising parliamentary elections, on April 21, 1967, led by G. Papadopoulos, N. Makarezos and S. Patakos, the military took power in Greece. Immediately after the colonels took power they began a repressive policy against their political opponents. Many prominent Greek politicians including Georgios Papandreou, intellectuals, musicians (M. Theodorakis) and artists were sent to the Greek islands or sentenced to house arrest.

But, despite its populist politics, the military junta in Greece remained isolated. The Greek political right and the political centre refused to co-operate with it. With approval from the king another coup attempt was made in December 1967. This coup failed. As a result the king fled the country and the colonels appointed a regent in his place. In the absence of the king, G. Papadopoulos took all governing power into his own hands. With a new constitution (1968) approved by a plebiscite, the junta tried to give legitimacy to Papadopoulos’s power but resistance against the junta was massive. There was much dissatisfaction with the military junta’s rule especially expressed by the student youth. Under the slogan “Down with the Junta”, students took over the Polytechnic Academy at the University of Athens in November. The military brutally intervened and left many victims among the students. Then, after a failed naval revolt in the Greek navy, the colonels dethroned the king and declared Greece a presidential parliamentary republic. At the same time, dissatisfied with G. Papadopoulos’s rule, Brigadier General Dimitrios Ioanidis, head of the military police, took power in his own hands.

The bloody crackdown at the Polytechnic Academy in Athens received much condemnation from both inside and outside of the country. With a great desire to expand its own political authority at home, the military junta initiated a political crisis with Turkey. In early July 1974, it organized a coup in Cyprus in order to remove Archbishop Makarios as president of Cyprus and replace him with Nikos Samson, a staunch supporter of the unification of Cyprus with Greece. The Turkish government saw the coup as a serious violation of the Zurich and London agreements, which guaranteed Cyprus its independence. Being one of the guarantors of Cyprus's independence, on July 24, 1974, the Turkish military invaded Northern Cyprus and prevented its unification with Greece. After some heavy fighting, the Turkish military managed to occupy 36% of the Cypriot territory and placed it under its control. Nearly 200,000 Greeks from the northern part rushed to the south, and the Turkish minority from the south fled north. The island was then divided into two ethnic parts: Turkish to the north and Greek to the south. In Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, the two ethnic communities were separated by a so-called "green line", placed under the control of the United Nations blue helmets.

Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus strained Greek-Turkish relations and brought the two countries to the brink of a new war. Isolated, the military junta was advised by the Greek military and political elite to withdraw from power. After 11 years of voluntary exile, on July 24, 1974, Konstantinos Karamanlis returned to Greece and was greeted like a Messiah; a saviour of the Greek nation and Greek fatherland. He was appointed President of the Greek Government. In the November 1974 parliamentary elections, under the motto "Karamanlis or tanks", his newly formed "New Democracy" party won the election. New Democracy received 54% of the vote (219 deputies out of 300), the "Union of the Centre Party" received 21%, and the newly formed PASOK (All Greek Socialist Movement) party, headed by Andreas Papandreou, received 14% of the vote.

After gaining strong national legitimacy, Konstantinos Karamanlis began a process of removing the Junta from Greek society (administration, military, education, etc.). At the same time, Brigadier General Ioanidis, Papadopoulos, Patakos and Makarezos,

the main actors of the “April 21, 1967 revolt” were tried and sentenced to death. But their death sentences were quickly changed to life imprisonment. Only Brigadier General D. Ioanidis received a sentence of many years in prison.

Karamanlis’s new government then took steps towards bringing national reconciliation. Law No. 509 was banned and the CPG and its activities were legalized. According to the new Greek political nomenclature, the CPG was no longer a threat to the stability of the country. Following the processes of destabilization in the USSR, the CPG entered a deep political crisis. There were clashes taking place between the “Stalinists” (supporters of Zahariadis) and the “Revisionists” (supporters of Khrushchev) in the USSR (Tashkent) that took on the shape of a real war. Physical contacts between the two groups were so powerful that Soviet state organs were forced to intervene and establish peace and order. The CPG crisis further deepened after Czechoslovakia was occupied (1968). On the advice of the CPY, the “Revisionists” formed the CPG (Internal). The elections in 1977 unfortunately did not bring serious changes to the political balance in the Greek parties. New Democracy, with the motto “Greece belongs to the West”, won 42% of the vote, PASOK with the motto “Greece belongs to the Greeks”, headed by Andreas Papandreou, received 25%, the CPG received 9% and the CPG (Internal) received 3% of the vote. Another serious problem the New Democracy government faced was how to regulate state order: a monarchy or a republic. In December 1984 a referendum was held during which 70% of the people in Greece voted for a republican government, and 30% for a monarchy.

After Northern Cyprus was annexed and proclaimed a Turkish Cypriot Republic, Greece’s relations with Turkey became even more complicated and sensitive, especially with the misunderstandings over the continental plate delineation and Greek threats to extend its territorial waters from 6 to 12 miles. This for Turkey was “casus belli” and so was the air space between the two countries. This caused a cyclical crises between the two traditionally rogue countries. The greatest success the Karamanlis government experienced was the signing of an agreement to become a full member of the EU (1 January 1981). Greece later accepted the euro as its own currency (2001).

By choosing Konstantinos Karamanlis as President of the Greek Republic and by electing Georgios Ralis as the (non charismatic) leader of New Democracy, suggested that New Democracy would lose its political influence in the country, which was confirmed by the October 1981 parliamentary elections. With the motto “Change”, PASOK, headed by Andreas Papandreou, promised to organize a referendum on Greece’s EU membership, withdrawal from NATO, close US bases in the country, and orient itself in support of protecting the environment. And, thanks to its national-populist policy, PASOK won 48% of the vote, New Democracy won 36% and the CPG won 11%. After that A. Papandreou’s PASOK government led a policy of national reconciliation.

PASOK recognized EAM and ELAS’s anti-fascist resistance in the Second World War, allowed all Greek “by birth” political refugees to return to Greece from Eastern European countries, introduced civil marriage, and allowed infidelity, i.e. infidelity was no longer considered a criminal offence in Greece. PASOK’s political position strengthened after Christos Tsarzetakis was elected President of the Greek republic. At the same time New Democracy, led by Mitsotakis,, weakened mainly due to its internal political struggles. The elections in 1985 reaffirmed PASOK’s victory with 46% of the vote and New Democracy with 41%. But, at the same time, Greece was inching closer to a serious economic crisis.

The PASOK government took steps to improve the economic situation, but did not achieve the desired results. A. Papandreou, leader of PASOK, was also faced with personal problems. He divorced his American wife and married Liani, a young stewardess popularly called Mimi.

Unfortunately A. Papandreou did not fulfill his election promises. He did not have the referendum to decide on remaining or exiting the EU, he did not withdraw Greece from NATO and he did not close down the four US bases that existed in the country. Relations between Greece and Turkey became even worse after Northern Cyprus was proclaimed a Turkish Republic and after Turkey made attempts to look for oil in the disputed waters of the Aegean Sea. At the same time, Turkey expressed great concern about the bad

treatment the Turkish minority living in Western Thrace was getting from the Greeks. On top of everything, instead of using the name “Turkish population” (as the Turkish population called itself), the Greek authorities exclusively used the name “Muslim population” to refer to the Turks of Western Thrace.

Tensions between the two countries collapsed in January 1988 after a meeting in Switzerland between A. Papandreou and Ozal, the President of Turkey. Following the “Davos Agreement”, both sides agreed to establish a hotline. Greek-Turkish relations were again aggravated during Kostas Simitis’s term in office. (Simitis succeeded A. Papandreou). The new crisis, which almost started another war, was a result of an incident around the island Imia where both Greece and Turkey hoisted their state flags (“War of the Flags”). The United States had to intervene to calm down passions but anti-Turkish feelings in Greece and anti-Greek feelings in Turkey intensified.

Relations between Greece and Bulgaria have been good and there are no unresolved issues between the two countries. Relations between Greece and Serbia have traditionally been good and Greece has always been pro-Serbian on the Kosovo issue and on the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Relations between Greece and Albania have been burdened with border incidents; Albanian migrants entering Greece, etc. Arresting members of the Greek minority “Omonia” in Albania have seriously strained Greek-Albanian relations. After the “Omonia” leadership was released, however, and the Orthodox Church granted wider rights, Greek-Albanian relations improved and attempts were made to resolve other remaining unresolved issues (the Chameri problem).

Relations between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia have been heavily burdened especially over the name “Macedonia”. Greece disputed the Republic of Macedonia’s right to use the name “Macedonia”. Greece insisted that the word “Macedonia” should not be part of the Republic’s name. By not recognizing the “name” of the Republic of Macedonia, Greece in effect has disputed the Macedonian language, culture and ethnic identity. And if possible Greece, by its many claims that “Macedonia is Greek”, would like to substitute the word “Greek” for “Macedonian” and, since according

to its many claims that “Macedonia is Greek”, then the Macedonians and everything that is Macedonian is also Greek. Supported by the EU, Greece strives to force the Macedonian people to change the name of their country so that the name of the Macedonian state does not reflect the name of the nation in Macedonia, and the name of the nation in Macedonia should be reflected by the name of the state (Swiss model). In order to get concessions Greece imposed an economic blockade on the Republic of Macedonia. It was forbidden for anyone from Greece to export any type of goods with the exception of food and medicine. An Interim Accord between the two countries was signed (between country A and country B) with mediating assistance from the United States (1995). The Interim Accord called on the Republic of Macedonia to renounce its state flag with the star of Vergina on it and pledge that it had no territorial pretensions towards Greece (Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia). After the signing of the Interim Accord, Greece lifted the economic embargo.

At the end of the 20th century, Greece fell into a severe economic crisis. The great debt the Greek state had accumulated forced the EU (especially Germany) to intervene. The economic crisis contributed to the weakening of the Greek political right (New Democracy during the terms of Kostas Karamanlis and Antonis Samaras) and the Greek moderate left (PASOK led by Karamanlis). The deep economic crisis contributed to reinforcing the influence of the extreme left (SYRIZA), headed by Alexis Tsipras, and the far right “Hrisi Avgi” (Golden Dawn), headed by Nikos Michaloliakos. After Pavlos Fisas, a famous Greek musician, was murdered “Golden Dawn” began to carry out public terror activities. Dangers from the extreme left and from the far right forced the two moderate parties New Democracy and PASOK to join forces and take control of the government, but the deep economic crisis hurt their chances. The voters were so displeased with the central parties they put their support behind the left (SYRIZA) which won the 2015 elections and formed a coalition government with a small right-wing party called “Independent Greeks”, headed by Panos Kamenos. This was the first leftist government in Greek history to be elected. It was led by Alexis Tsipras.

Despite a successful referendum on the non-acceptance of the conditions imposed by the Troika (IMF, World Bank and European Bank), Tsipras's government accepted the conditions for recovering from the crisis. This caused great dissatisfaction in the country which culminated in February 2016 with Greek farmers rebelling and persistently demanding that taxes not be increased and pensions not be reduced. Tsipras's government faced serious economic and political problems with the deep economic crisis causing most of the instability in Greece.

MINORITIES IN GREECE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Macedonian population

Following the Varkiza agreement, the Macedonian people were accused of “committing treasonous acts against the Greeks” and were subjected to “white terror”, regardless of whether they participated in “rebel” activities or whether they participated in the Macedonian ethnic movement. The terror was so extreme and unbearable that it forced the Macedonian people to actively resist. On the initiative of the CPM/CPY and with the support from the Yugoslav authorities, the People’s Liberation Front (NOF) was created and the first NOF armed units were formed.

After the Tito-Zahariadis agreements and after the CPG-NOF settlement (1946), NOF was subordinate to the CPG and the Macedonian people began to participate in the Greek Civil War. Of the 30,000 DAG partisans that participated in the war more than 15,000 were Macedonians. After the Macedonian people’s rights were recognized by DAG’s statutory act number 5, 87 Macedonian schools with 10,000 students were opened in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Two courses to train Macedonian teachers in teaching the Macedonian language were also offered (one in the village German and the other in the village Zhelevo). Newspapers in the Macedonian language were also published (“Borets”, “Pobeda”, “Nova Makedonka”, etc.).

Following the CPG decision to recognize the Macedonian people’s right to self-determination, taken during the CPG’s Fifth Plenum, held in January 1949, the Greek government began to intensify its policy of repression against the civilian Macedonian population and against captured DAG soldiers in particular. All DAG soldiers (Macedonians or Greeks) who were brought before the court and who supported the CPG’s policy in relation to the Macedonian question, were sentenced to death. Crimes committed by the Greek military against the civilian population in the villages B’mboki and Zagorichani, Kostur Region will remain unforgettable. Nine people (seven women and two men) were brutally killed in the village

B'mboki, and 16 people (thirteen women and three men) were killed in the village Zagorichani.

DAG's defeat (August 1949) had severe ethnic, political and economic consequences for the Macedonian people. Almost 30,000 Macedonians, including 28,000 Macedonian and some Greek children, were forced to seek salvation in Eastern European countries. With this, the Greek state carried out its third forced migration of the Macedonian people out of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Another 20,000 Macedonians were killed during the Greek Civil War and many Macedonian villages were destroyed. Entire regions in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Region were devastated.

The Greek Civil War seriously affected the status of the Macedonian people. After the third forced migration process, the minority character of the Macedonian population was further consolidated. This seriously influenced the linguistic status of the Macedonian national language from being a primary (native) language (period 1913-1950) to being a secondary language for a part of the Macedonian population.

At the same time, the Greek language was changing its status. From a foreign (secondary) language (period 1913-1950) it obtained the status of a primary language for part of the Macedonian population. With the entry of the Greek language into the Macedonian family and with it the transfer of the Greek national, political and cultural traditions, the process of the Macedonian people's assimilation into the Greek fold was gradual but surely succeeding.

After the Greek Civil War ended, the remaining Macedonian population (160,000) was again subjected to denationalization and assimilation. Macedonians were forced to give collective oaths that they would be loyal to the Greek state and that in the future they would speak only Greek, the language in which the Holy Gospel of our Christ was written. In 1953 the Greek state passed a law to colonize the area near the northern border in order to break the Macedonian ethnic compactness in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions. The same year, a law was passed to confiscate the

properties of those Greek citizens who participated in the so-called “bandit war” (Greek Civil War).

Within the framework of Greek national reconciliation, in 1982, a law to repatriate Greek civil war political refugees was adopted. But only those who were “Greek by birth” qualified. By this law Macedonians were excluded. Greek diplomatic representatives in eastern European countries made sure this law was strictly applied.

After 1990 Greece decided to ease its grip a little on the Macedonian people and allowed Macedonian villagers to speak their mother tongue more freely. Macedonian folk music groups were also formed and began to add Macedonian lyrics to the Macedonian folk songs that they sang at festivals and other events like the ones in the village Ovcharani.

Some Macedonians began to form pro-Macedonian organizations like “VINOZHITO” (Rainbow party - “Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity”). These organizations continued the ethno-linguistic tradition of SNOF and NOF. Some Macedonian organizations began to publish Macedonian newspapers like “Moglena”, “Zora”, “Nova Zora” and “Loza”. Some of these editions were printed in both Macedonian and Greek. In 2006 the Macedonian primer “Abecedar” was printed in Solun. In 2008 a “Modern Greek-Macedonian Dictionary” was also printed in Solun. In 2001, Archimandrite Nikodimos Tsarknias consecrated the first Macedonian Orthodox Church, “Sv. Zlata Meglenska” in S’botsko, Meglen Region which offered liturgy in the Macedonian language. VINOZHITO, the Rainbow party, also opened an office in Lerin, in 1995, with a sign written in both Greek and Macedonian letters that said: “Rainbow-Lerin Committee”.

Greek nationalism reacted to the ethnic Macedonian processes with lawsuits launched against the leaders of the Macedonian organizations, boycotting economic activities and expelling people from the civil service. In 1995, led by the Lerin mayor, Greek nationalists attacked the Rainbow office, removed the bilingual sign “Rainbow-Lerin Committee” and burned the furniture and books. The municipal office in Lerin refused to register the “House of Macedonian Culture” on the grounds that a non-existent

Macedonian nation was being fabricated and posed a direct threat to peace and public order. At the same time, some of the Rainbow leaders were charged with “causing and spreading hatred among the citizens”.

The Turkish population

The Turkish population’s rights are respected as provided by the Lausanne peace treaty. Besides its guaranteed religious freedoms, the Turkish population’s education in its native language in Western Thrace is also guaranteed. There are elementary schools and high schools operating locally and a two-year course for Muslims is offered at the Pedagogical Academy in Solun.

The Turkish people in Greece also have their own publishing houses and educational and cultural organizations such as the “Muslim Union”, the “Muslim Organization of the Teachers of Western Thrace”, “Union of Muslim Youth”, etc. Up until 1989, the Turkish minority voted for the two mainstream Greek political parties: New Democracy and PASOK, but after that it gradually began to express its own political identity. In the 1990 parliamentary elections, the Turkish people came up with their own independent list of candidates. One basic unresolved issue the Turkish people have with the Greek state relates to their ethnic identity – not being recognized as Turks. The Turkish people are Muslim by faith but Turks by ethnicity. The Greek authorities refuse to recognize them as Turks and persistently refer to them as “Muslims”. The Western Thrace Turks seek to be recognized as ethnic Turks (like they feel and call themselves) and receive the status of an ethnic Turkish minority. They don’t want to be called a “Muslim minority”.

The Vlach population

Up to this day the Vlach population in Greece is not recognized as a separate ethnic group and is considered to be “pure Greek”. The Vlachs themselves, however, have tendencies to affirm their Vlach ethnic identity. The “All-Greek Alliance of Vlachs” was formed in Greece which strived to promote the Vlach identity but the Greek state, in various ways, has prevented the ethnic appearance of the Vlachs. In 1997, Sotiris Bletas, a Vlach from Negovan, was

prosecuted because he said that there existed a Vlach ethnic minority and a Vlach language in Greece.

The Bulgaromohamedan (Pomak) population

The Greek state has implemented a Byzantine type policy with respect to the Bulgaromohamedans. Greece does not recognize the Bulgaromahamedan identity or the Bulgarian “Muslims”. The Greek authorities believe that they are simply “Islamized Christians” who aspire to create “a shameful ethnic identity”. In Greece a “Greek-Pomak Dictionary” is published which is a function of Greek politics in relation to the Bulgaromohamedans.

The Albanian and Roma population

After the Second World War, the Albanian as well as the Macedonian people were accused of “committing treasonous acts against the Greeks”. Much of the Albanian population living in Chameria was expelled to Albania. The Roma in Greece number about 300,000 people. They are mainly Orthodox Christians, with a small part being Muslims (Sunni). The Roma live mainly in the major cities such as Athens, Solun, Piraeus, etc., and are not integrated into Greek society.

GREEK CULTURE - (19th-20th century)

The Greek Language dispute

After Greece became an independent state and fell under the influence of the “Megali Idea” (Greater Greece) Greek culture was influenced by elements of conservatism and romanticism. This was particularly expressed in relation to the language issue. There was a dilemma as to which language to use as the official language of the state: the “Catharavousa” (an ancient dead Attic language) or the “Dimitoki” (the so-called “Greek language” spoken by ordinary “Greek people”). But even though most people preferred the Dimotiki, the Catharevousa was imposed on them (until the 1970’s).

Many Greek intellectuals openly advocated and strived for the application of the Dimotiki language, i.e. a living folk language. A serious step forward towards the affirmation of the Dimotiki was made by philologist and writer Ianis Psiharis when, in 1872, he printed his book “The Journey” in the Dimotiki language. At the beginning of the 20th century supporters of the Dimotiki organized themselves into societies. The more active societies were the “National Language”, “Educational Circle” and “Student Association”. At the same time educational programs were developed for the primary, secondary and higher education institutions. After the Athens University (1837), the National Polytechnic (“Metsovion”, 1917), the Faculty of Agriculture (1920), the Faculty of Commerce, the Solun University (1925) and the Pandion Higher Education School (1927) were created. During the 20th century, in addition to primary and secondary education, the network for higher education was also expanded. New universities were established in Crete (Heraklion), Thessaly (Volos) and Thrace (Komotini). The “historical rivalry” between Catharevousa and Dimotiki ended on January 1, 1977, when the Dimotiki officially became the national language of Greece.

Greek historiography

Greek historiography has been especially affirmed and strongly influenced by the “Megali Idea” (Greater Greece) and by the romantic idea that the modern Greeks were direct descendents of the

ancient people who lived in the Greek peninsula more than two millennia ago. This thesis however was challenged by Falmerayer, a German scholar. Falmerayer asserted that the Greek people had no right to claim direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. But Greek historiography has done its best to prove that there is historical Greek continuity (Antiquity, Byzantium and modernity). The theory of historical continuity has been affirmed by Konstantinos Papanikolaou in his 5-volume "History of the Greek people from antiquity to today". More historical works were published during the second half of the 20th century. In 1970, the Greek Academy published the multifaceted historical work "History of the Greek nation". Archaeology paid special attention to this especially after archaeologist M. Andronikos discovered Philip II's tomb, which gained worldwide attention.

Greek literature

Greek literature has also been seriously affirmed especially with poetry. In the period from the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, poets Kostas Palamas ("The Twelve Poems of the Gypsy"), Angelos Sikelianos, Konstantinos Kavafis and Kostas Varnalis contributed heavily to Greek literature. Greek poetry achieved its zenith with the works of Georgios Seferis (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1964) and Odiseas Elitis (Nobel Prize, 1979). In addition to Seferis and Elitis, other leading Greek poets such as Iannis Ritsos (winner of the "Golden Wreath" of poetry in Struga) and Kostas Varnalis became internationally renowned for their works. The works of the last four above-mentioned poets have been translated into many languages. Greek prose, which did not reach the same height as poetry, was entrusted to G. Xenopoulos ("Rich and Poor") and K. Hadzhopoulos ("Love of the village"). After publishing the novels "Alexis Zorbas", "Captain Mihalis" and others, Nikos Kazantzakis picked up Greek prose at a world level.

Greek theatre

Greek theatre has been rich, diverse and popular with such theatres as "The Theatrical House", "The Royal Theatre" (1901), "The New Stage" (1901), the "Kotopuli", the "Proodos" (1907) and the "National Theatre" (1930). Theatrical activity was expanded during

the 20th century. After the war new theatre houses were opened in Athens, Piraeus and Solun. The ancient theatres in Delphi and Epidaurus were also opened during this period, which presented the works of ancient giants.

Greek cinematography

Greek cinematography took its first steps at the beginning of the 20th century. The first feature film “Golfo” by K. Bahtaris was filmed in 1915 and the film with sound “The Shepherd’s Lover” was featured in 1932. Greek cinematography rose to new heights during the 20th century with films such as “The Young Maiden in Black”, “The Last Lie”, and “Electra”, created by talented directors such as M. Kakoianis and N. Kondouros, which also crossed the Greek borders. The film “Electra” received an award at the Cannes International Festival (1962), and the film “The Little Aphrodites” created by N. Kondouros received the “Golden Bear award” at the Berlin International Film Festival (1962).

Greek Music

The most popular music in the 19th century was the Opera. The most prominent author of the opera was Spiros Samaras with the works “War of the war”, “The Cretan”, and “Princess Asason”. Other authors of classical music were D. Mitropoulos (“Sister Beatrice”) and M. Kolomiris (The Chief Master”). Legendary opera singer Maria Kalas also left a strong imprint of opera music in Greece and abroad during the 20th century. Affirmations in the field of ballet were made by N. Skalkotas with the works “Sea” and “Autumn Landscape”. The city music “Rebekiko” was especially enjoyed during 20th century. The main musical instrument used was the Buzuki, brought to Greece by Asia Minor colonists from Izmir (Smyrna). This music spread all throughout Greece from Piraeus to Athens to Solun.

The most popular music in the 20th century in Greece was “Elafro” and “Rebekiko”. Rebekiko’s popularity grew thanks to top music talents like M. Hadzidakis and M. Theodorakis. The first albums entertaining the music world appeared in the 1960s. M. Hadzidakis and M. Theodorakis created a new musical style (“Laiko”), which

sat somewhere between the “Rebekiko” and the “Elafro”. The musical creations of these two composers received international recognition. M. Hadzidakis received an Oscar for the film “Never on Sunday”, while M. Theodorakis gained worldwide fame for the music in the movie “Zorba”.

Greek art and paintings

All European artistic trends were represented in Greek paintings. Many young Greek artists studied in Western Europe and brought Western art experiences to Greece. The top painters in Greece were K. Maleas and K. Parthenis. The top sculptors were I. Halepas and A. Aparthis. The “Academy of Art” also played an important role in the development of Greek art.

Affirmation and development of Greek culture in the 20th century was mainly due to the fact that the Greek state paid increasing attention to its development. Melina Mercuri, then Minister of Culture, played a special role in this respect. The economic crisis that hit Greece at the beginning of the 21st century, however, has negatively affected the fate of Greek culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sources

Published sources:

Анкета на Балканите, Доклады на Каргнаевата комисија по воинит през 1912-1913, Софија, 1914.

Documente diplomatice din peninsula Balcanică, Acțiunea României 20 septembrie 1913-1 avgust 1913, București 1913.

Documents relatifs aux actions antibulgares des pouvoir Serbes et Grecs em Macedoine ou cours de 1 annee 1912-1913, Sofija, 1930.

Ministere des Affaires Etrangers, Archive diplomatique, Grece 1918-1919, Paris.

Statistika apotelezmata tis apografis tu plitizmu tis Elados tis 15-16 maju 1928, Topos genesis, Hriskia ke glosa, Ipokatis, Atena, 1935.

2. Literature

Abecedar, Atena, 1925.

Ајановски Вангел-Оче, Егејски бури, Скопје, 1975.

Андоновски Христо, Ликвидирањето на Евреите од Егејска Македонија од германскиот окупатор, Гласник ИНИ, 1961, бр. 2, Скопје.

Андоновски Христо, ВМРО (Обединета) во Егејска Македонија, ИНИ, 1961, бр. 3, Скопје.

Андоновски Христо, Македонците под Грција во борба против Фашизмот, (1941-1944), Скопје, 1968.

Ancel Jacques, La Macedoine, son evolution contemporaine, Paris, 1930.

Vacalopoulos Apostolos, Histoire de la Grece moderne, 1975, s.l.

Gentizon Poul, Mustapha Kemal ou L'orient en Marche, Paris, 1929.

Dafni Grigori, I Elas metaksi deo polemon 1923-1940, Atina, 1955.

Devedji A. L'echange obligatoire des minorites greques et turques en vertu de la convention de Lausanne du 30 janvier 1923, Paris, 1930.

Димитров В. Георги, Настаняване и оземляване на българските бежанци (1919-1939), Благоевград, 1985.

Drauet F. L'heritier M. Histoire diplomatique de la Grece de 1821 a nos jours, Paris, 1926.

EkreM Mehmed Ali, Ataturc-făuritorul Turciei moderne, București, 1969.

Иванов Йордан, Българите въ Македония, София, 1915.

Jonescu Eugen, Cauza romanească in Turcia europeană și conflictul cu Grecia, București, 1906.

Кастелан Жорж, История на Балканите 14-19 век, Пловдив, 2002 г.

Katsulis D. Giorgi, Istoria tu Komunstiku Komatos Elados, tomos 1, 2, 3, 4, Atina, 1976.

Capidan Th, Les Macedo-Roumains, Bucuresti, 1937.

Kitsikis Dimitri, Propagande et pression en politique international, la Grece et ses revendications a la conference de la paix 1919-1920, Paris, 1963.

Kirakides P. Stilipon, The Nothem ethnological boundaries of Hellenism, Thesaloniki, 1955.

Kiru A. Ahil, *Sinomasia enasdion tis Makedonias, 1940-1949*, Atina, 1950.

Киселиновски Стојан, *Грчката колонизација во Егејска Македонија (1913-1940)*, Скопје, 1981.

Киселиновски Стојан, *КПГ и македонското национално прашање 1918-1940*, Скопје, 1985.

Киселиновски Стојан, *Етничките промени во Македонија (1913-1995)*, Скопје, 2000.

Киселиновски Стојан, Ирена Ставови-Кавка, *малцинствата на Балканот (20 век)*, Скопје, 2004.

Киселиновски Стојан, *историскиот детерминизам и македонскиот јазик (20 век)*, Скопје, 2009.

Kofos Evangelos, *Nationalism and communism in Macedonia, Thesaloniki*, 1964.

Kolokotronis V., *La Macedoine et L'hellenisme, Etude historique et ethnographique*, Paris, 1919.

Kontohianos P.M., *Turkia ke Turki*, Atina, 1924.

Korizis S. Hariton, *Makedonia qhi eliniki*, Atina, 1950.

Cușa Nikolae, *Aromâni (macedonenii) in România*, Constanta, 1996.

Кънчов Васил, *Избрани произведения*, София, том 2, 1970.

La Question Macedoine, Sofia, 1918.

La Mouche Leon-Colonel, La question des minorities, Paris, 1931.

La Mouche Leon, La Question Macedoine, Sofia, 1927.

Laveleye Emile, *La peninsule des Balkans*, Paris, 1888.

Livieratu Dimitri, Pantelis Puliopulos, Atina, 1992.

Lonard Geordes, Les deux guerres et les atrocities balkaniques, Bruxelles, 1941.

Люоис Бърнард, Възникване на съвременна Турция, Пловдив, 2003.

Манчев Кръстьо, История на балканските народи (14-20 век), София, 2001.

Македония като природно и стопанско цяло, 1945.

Maravelaki M. Vakalopulu A. I Prosfigiki engatastasi en tin periohi Thesaloniki, Thesaloniki, 1955.

Mavrokordatu M.I. Hamudopulu A.X., I Makedonia meleti dimografiki ke ikonomiki, Thesaloniki, 1931.

Mbocari D. Noti, I Mikra Asia ke o elinismos, Atina, 1919.

Mbramu Kosta, Slavjano-makedonikes organosis en Macedonia, Thesaloniki, 1953.

Милетич Л. Гръцките жестокости въ Македония през гръцко-българската война, София, 1913.

Митрев А., Зографски Д., Абациев Ѓ., Керамитчиев М., Егејска Македонија во нашата национална историја, Скопје, 1951.

Montran Robert, Historie de la Tourquie, Paris, 1952.

Павловић Стефан, Историја Балкана, Београд, 2001.

Пејов Наум, Македонците и Граѓанската војна во Грција, Скопје, 1968.

Panutiadis A., Istoriki ke ethnologiki meleti ut Valkaniku zitimatos, Atina, 1947.

Ristelhueber Rene, Histoire des peuples balkaniques, Paris, 1950.

Руменов Владимир, Българите в Македония подъ гръцка
власть, Македонски преглед (МП), кн. 4, София, 1941.

Sarafis St., O Elas, 1958, s. 1.

Симовски Тодор, Балканските војни и нивните реперкусии врз
етничката положба на Егејска македонија, ГИНИ, 1972, бр. 2,
Скопје.

Симовски Тодор, Населените места во Егејска македонија, том.
1-2, Скопје, 1998.

Societe des Nations, L'etablissement des refugies en Grece, Geneve,
1926.

Svoronos Nikolas, Historie de la Grece moderne, Paris, 1968.

Ставови Кавка Ирена, Историја на Македонија, Скопје, 2002.

Statistiki epiteris tis Elados, Athina, 1958.

Трайков Н. Веселин, Населените места во Тракия и Македония,
София, 1941.

Veritas, Македония подъ иго (1919-1929). Документи и
свидетелства, София, 1931.

Vilari Luigi, The Balkan question, London, 1905.

Weigand G., Ethnographie von Makedonien, Leipzig, 1924.

Wurbain A., L'echange greco-bulgare des minorities ethniques,
Laussane, 1930.

3. Journals

Komunistiki epiteorisi, 1934.

Makedoniko imerologio, Thesaloniki, 1939.
Peninsula Balkanica, Bucuresti, 1925.

4. Newspapers

Rizospatis (1927-1934)

Балканска федерация (1924-1926).

Македонско дело (1924-1926).