TEACHING MODERN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN HISTORY

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

WORKBOOK 2

Nations and States in Southeast Europe

CDRSEE
Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe

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Alternative Educational Materials

Nations and States in Southeast Europe

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WORKBOOK 2

Nations and States in Southeast Europe

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Christina Koulouri

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Introduction

Nations are one of the basic constituents of modern Europe and also of significant parts of the non-European world. Since the 19th century, the force of nationalist ideologies has shaped the actions of large groups of people and also the functioning of states. Southeast Europe is not an exception in this respect. During the 19th century, five nation-states emerged in the region. Some were entirely new states, established in territories which had previously been under direct Ottoman rule: Serbia (the struggle for liberation started in 1804, statehood was obtained gradually between 1815 and 1830 and it became formally independent in 1878), Greece (the struggle for liberation started in 1821 and its independence was obtained in 1830), and Bulgaria (anti-Ottoman rebellion occurred in 1876, statehood was obtained in 1878, and its independence in 1908). Others emerged from Christian vassal-states of the Ottoman Empire, such as Romania (created through the union of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, it became independent in 1877/1878) and Montenegro (an autonomous territory ruled by prince-bishops since the 18th century, it was transformed into a hereditary principality in 1852 and it obtained its independence in 1878). Two other nation-states emerged in the early 20th century: Albania in 1912/1913, as a consequence of the Balkan Wars, and Turkey in the context of the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I (it was a *de facto* national government since 1919, and was proclamed the Republic of Turkey in 1923). Cyprus, a British Crown colony, became an independent state in 1960, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 brought about the emergence of several new states: Slovenia, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbia and Montenegro formed a federation, which was reorganised in 2002. In 2006, Serbia and Montenegro separated into two independent states.

Of course, nation-states were, and still are, not the only form of statehood in Southeast Europe. Multi-national empires and other forms of multiethnic states have also existed, while various nations have lived for long time spans without having their own state. Nevertheless, the complex relationship between nations and states shaped the history of the region, and nation-states became one of the basic features of Southeast Europe. In spite of the fact that these nation-states are relatively recent in comparison to some other European states such as France, Spain or Britain (it is noteworthy, however, that both Serbia and Greece emerged as nation-states before Italy or Germany), their endangered existence and the ensuing national conflicts that occurred are considered to be crucial to the whole historical evolution of Southeast Europe during the last two centuries.

For most people living in Southeast Europe, the ethnically defined nation-state has become the 'normal' form of state organisation. People were taught to identify themselves with 'their' nation, and to fight for the establishment/defence of their nation-state. Because the Southeast European nation-states have emerged quite recently, both historians and politicians have tried to enhance their legitimacy by connecting them to ancient and/or medieval states, which would thus provide an 'anteriority' argument (i.e. 'we were chronologically the first ones…') in the ideological competition with actual or potential rival nations. Under these circumstances, the whole history of each people has often been considered as being basically a struggle for national ideals, which has led teleologically to the achievement of the nation-state. All historical moments, characters, and processes were evaluated according to their contribution to the fulfilment of the national ideal. Such distorted historical master-narratives were used to build up national cohesion and to bolster the attempt to modernise society. The record of these modernising efforts combines significant successes and utter failures, and the Southeast European nation-states have to take the responsibility for all the items included in this historical balance-sheet. Nevertheless, it is obvious that historical narratives were also sometimes misused in order to

mobilise the people against the various internal and/or external enemies, whether real or simply imaginary. As proven by the recent experience of ex-Yugoslavia, such a political misuse of history has been instrumental in the commencement of wars and cycles of hatred among the various nations and ethnic groups.

Nationalism studies have progressed significantly in recent times. Historians and social scientists have investigated both the structural components of the nation-states, and their historical evolution. Several theories on the nature of nations and nationalism have been formulated; ranging from essentialist ethno-centrism to constructivist approaches, which argue that nations are only mental constructs 'invented', rather recently. Although this continues to be the subject of vigorous debate, there is a growing consensus among scholars that 'nations' and national identities are not 'eternal entities', but historically evolved phenomena, which have emerged in particular historical contexts and are subject, over time, to evolutions, discontinuities, episodes of construction, de-construction and re-construction. Modern nationalisms have often used older ethnic sensibilities and symbols, added new meanings to them, combined them with new elements, and put them in new mental and ideological frameworks. In this respect, modern nations are indeed, as it has been formulated by Benedict Anderson, 'imagined communities' (please note that 'imagined' does not mean 'fictitious'). This pattern is not particular to Southeast Europe. It is a common feature of the modern world.

Besides this basic consensus on the 'creation' of modern nations, historians have debated and acquired fresh knowledge on the general patterns and the features which have shaped the various nation-states. In the particular case of Southeast Europe, nation-states emerged rather late compared with some other parts of Europe. Long and complicated liberation struggles had to be fought either against surviving multi-national empires, or against rival nation-states. Therefore, forms of nationalism predated the creation of nation-states. Nevertheless, these older sets of national values did not suffice for the functioning of the new states and, as a result, the new political and cultural elites undertook efforts to model their citizens based on nationalistic values. Such an effort of state-led nation-building was not a Southeast European particularity. On the contrary, such policies had already been undertaken earlier and even more ruthlessly in parts of Western Europe. Eugen Weber's celebrated book *Peasants into Frenchmen* demonstrates that, even in France, most of the rural population began to define itself in national terms only during the 19th century, under the impact of primary education, of compulsory military service, and of modern communications.

The relationship between nations and religions proved to be particularly complicated. For large numbers of Southeast Europeans, religious affiliation was and remained crucial, as was the case with Orthodoxy for the Greeks and the Serbians, or with Catholicism for the Croats. For others, such as the Albanians, religion was less important, and the nation encompassed people with various religious affiliations without major difficulties. Other specific problems, for example, the relationship between nations and linguistic identities, are also briefly discussed in this Workbook.

The basic aim of this Workbook is to provide both teachers and pupils with historical evidence which could help them to understand better the complexity of the relationship between nations and states in Southeast Europe. In order to keep the Workbook within reasonable limits, and to provide a user-friendly tool for teachers, pupils and scholars, we nevertheless had to decide on the priorities. We decided to focus mainly on the creation of nation-states, on issues of nation-building, on national ideologies and on some of the conflicts fostered by nationalism. These options, in regard to content, also influenced the chronological limits in the search for relevant sources. This Workbook focuses mainly on the 19th century, but we have nevertheless decided to include several historical sources on the pre-1800 Enlightenment and on Southeast European echoes of the French Revolution, which were instrumental in the rise of national movements in Southeast Europe. We have also included a number of historical sources from the 20th century, with the aim of documenting the rise of new nation-states, the new evolution in the relations between nations and states, the contribution of nationalism in the unfolding of several conflicts, and also some of the constituents of the trend to overcome nationalism.

Nonetheless, we have tried to avoid overlapping with the other Workbooks included in this project, which deal in depth and detail with the Balkan Wars and with World War II. For the post World War II period, we focused mainly on former Yugoslavia and on the conflicts which led to the emergence of new ex-Yugoslav nation-states in the 1990s. We are aware that aspects in the evolution of 20th century nationalisms are under-represented or missing entirely. The most significant absences concern the zenith of nationalist ideologies and discrimination in the interwar period, or the specific brands of Yugoslav, Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian national-Communisms. The complexity of these topics would have required the inclusion of a large number of additional sources. Having taken into consideration the fact that this Workbook was already too long in comparison with the other three in the project, we decided to leave these topics for another separate undertaking.

We hope that bringing evidence from all the Southeast European countries will also fill a gap in the mutual knowledge between the people in this region. Indeed, most of the Southeast European peoples have learned more about their own nation and about the "major" nations of the (Western) world, and have hence neglected or have received only biased information about their neighbours. Through the materials included in this Workbook, we intend to encourage teachers and pupils to compare the history of their own country with that of other Southeast European countries, to discover both common patterns and elements which were specific to some countries, or to some historic periods, and to understand the complexity of historical change. Obviously, we could not include materials from all countries on all aspects of the relationship between nations and states during the last two centuries. We had to make choices, some of them determined by the availability of relevant sources, others determined by the effort to keep a certain balance and to allow all of the Southeast European nations and states to be represented in the Workbook. In spite of all our efforts, we are aware that some readers might still feel that we should have also included other texts. If this is the case, this Workbook will have achieved one of its aims, that of encouraging teachers, pupils and also professional historians to devote a fresh look at the complexities of the historical relationship between nations and states in Southeast Europe.

We are convinced that a more balanced and evidence-grounded vision of the history of the Southeast European nation-states will help new generations to be more tolerant towards other nations and/or ethnic groups, and more open towards contemporary evolutions. It is up to them, and up to us, to make informed rational choices among the various alternatives, and to adapt to the challenges of the emerging historical processes, which are already shaping the new relationships between individuals, communities, nation-states, supra-national organisations and institutions.

Chronology

Year	Event
1762	Paisiy Hiledarski writes the *Slav-Bulgarian History*, through which he appeals for national self-awareness.
1768-1774	Russian-Ottoman war; Greek revolt encouraged by Russia (1770-74).
1797	Draft constitution of the 'Hellenic Republic' written by Rigas Velestinlis.
1797	French occupation of Venice; division of Venetian territories between France and the Habsburgs through the Treaty of Campo Formio: the Habsburgs occupy Dalmatia, while France acquires the Ionian Islands (French rule till 1799).
1800-1807	'The Ionian Republic', vassal state of the Ottoman Empire; British occupation in 1807, and then a British protectorate until 1864.
1804-1813	First Serbian Revolt, led by Karadjordje; suppressed by the Ottomans.
1805-1813	Large parts of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slovenia under the rule of Napoleon (Illyrian provinces); after Napoleon's defeat, these territories are restored as Austrian provinces.
1806-1812	Russian-Ottoman war; through the peace Treaty of Bucharest, eastern Moldavia (Bessarabia) is annexed by Russia.
1814	Creation in Odessa of the secret society 'Filiki Etairia' (Friendly Society), with the goal of liberating Greece from the Ottomans.
1815	Second Serbian Revolt, led by Milosh Obrenovic; in December 1815 the sultan recognises Milosh as supreme knez of the Serbs in the Belgrade pachalik.
1821	Wallachian revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu; Greek revolution starting with the invasion of Moldavia by a small Greek army led by Alexandros Ypsilanti, followed by a rebellion spreading from the Peloponnese to other areas.
1822	The Greek National Assembly at Epidaurus proclaims the Hellenic Republic and votes on the first Greek constitution.
1826	Sultan Mahmud II liquidates the janissaries, and thus clears the way for reforms in the Ottoman Empire.
1827	Britain, France and Russia openly support the Greeks; an allied fleet defeats the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet at Navarino.
1828-1829	Russian-Ottoman war; the Russians occupy Moldavia and Wallachia.
1829	Peace treaty at Adrianople (Edirne); Serbia is recognised as vassal principality, with Milosh Obrenovich as prince; Wallachia and Moldavia remain under Ottoman suzerainty, but are also placed under Russian protection.
1830	London Protocol-Greece is declared an independent monarchy, under the joint guarantee of Britain, France and Russia.

Year	Event
1831-1832	The Organic Regulations, adopted in Wallachia and Moldavia under Russian supervision; 'conservative modernisation', preserves the power of the princes and of the boyars.
1832	The Convention of London establishes the boundaries of the Greek state and decides that Otto, second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, should become hereditary King of Greece.
1834	Athens replaces Nafplion as capital city of Greece.
1835	Serbian Constitution (sanctioned by the sultan in 1838); limits the power of the prince in favour of an elected senate.
1837	Foundation of the University of Athens and the Archaeological Society.
1839	Hatt-I sherif of Gülhane; official start of the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire.
1841	Foundation of the National Bank of Greece.
1843-1844	Greece becomes a constitutional monarchy with introduction of almost universal male suffrage.
1830-1848	Period of intense nationalistic movements in the Austrian Empire, with special emphasis on the struggle to obtain official status for the national languages; within this framework, the Croatian National Revival (Illyrian Movement) struggles for the Croatian language (officialised in 1847) and for an autonomous Croatia in the Austrian Empire, while in Transylvania the Romanians clash with the Hungarians on national grounds.
1848-1849	Revolutions throughout Europe, including the Austrian Empire and the Romanian Principalities; the revolutionaries combine political, social and national demands; national divisions generate conflicts between the Hungarian, Croat and Romanian revolutionaries; the revolutions are heavily suppressed by the Ottomans and Austrians who are supported by Russia.
1850	Autocephaly of the Greek Church, (already declared in 1833), is granted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1852	Danilo I Petrovic (1851-1860) transforms Montenegro from a bishopric to a secular principality and begins a programme of modernisation.
1853-1856	Crimean War; Russia defeated by the combined forces of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, France and Sardinia; through the peace Treaty of Paris, Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia are placed under the collective protection of the Great Powers.
1858	Convention of Paris; the Great Powers reorganise Moldavia and Wallachia as separate states, but under the common label United Principalities.
1859	Double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia; gradual institutional unification of the two Principalities until 1862; establishment of the modern Romanian state.
1860	Foundation of the University of Iaşi (followed in 1864 by the University of Bucharest).

Year	Event
1862	A revolution forces Otto I to leave Greece.
1863	The Danish Prince George of Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg is elected to become King George I (1863-1913) in Greece; a new Constitution (1864) makes the people subjects of the Crown and the sovereign state; the Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by Great Britain. Massive secularisation of church properties in Romania; conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople.
1866	Alexandru Ioan Cuza is forced to abdicate; the German prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becomes prince of Romania (1866-1914, king from 1881); the Constitution of 1866 establishes the constitutional monarchy and guarantees civil rights and liberties, but establishes a restrictive census (property) based voting system.
1867	Dualistic agreement: establishment of Austria-Hungary; Slovenia and the Bukovina remain parts of Austria, while Transylvania and Croatia are integrated into the kingdom of Hungary; through a special agreement (1868), Croatia keeps a certain degree of autonomy within Hungary; nevertheless, Hungarian centralism and assimilation policies generate widespread dissatisfaction among the Romanians and the Croats.
1869	The Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee, headed by Lyuben Karavelov, is established in Romania.
1870	Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate through an Ottoman decree; the Bulgarians obtain an ecclesiastical organisation separate from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, although not yet a separate state.
1872	Anti-nationalist decision of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, which condemns the definition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to ethnicity as schismatic.
1875	Anti-Ottoman uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina; beginning of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878.
1876	April uprising of the Bulgarians, fiercely suppressed by the Ottomans; Serbia and Montenegro declare war on the Ottoman Empire, but are defeated; mounting international pressure and internal turbulence lead the Ottoman authorities to issue the first Ottoman Constitution, which grants full and equal rights to all Ottoman subjects, but also declares the empire to be "an indivisible whole".
1877	The Central Committee for the Defence of the rights of the Albanian People is created in Istanbul. Russia declares war on the Ottoman Empire, and invades Bulgaria; Romania proclaims itself independent and joins the Russians; after remarkable resistance, the Ottoman army is defeated at Plevna.

Year	Event
1878	Peace Treaty of San Stefano (3 March); after intervention by Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, the congress of Berlin concludes with a new peace treaty (1 July): Romania, Serbia and Montenegro are recognised as independent states; Bulgaria is divided into the vassal principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia; Romania receives Dobrudja in exchange for southern Bessarabia, surrendered to Russia; Serbia and Montenegro also receive modest territorial increases; Bosnia-Herzegovina is placed under Austrian-Hungarian administration; through a separate Ottoman-British convention, Cyprus is put under British rule (4 June 1878). Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) suspends the Constitution of December 1876, dissolves the Parliament, and rules autocratically until 1908. Albanian League of Prizren formulates the national programme.
1879	The Turnovo Constitution in Bulgaria establishes a constitutional monarchy; first prince: Alexander of Battenberg (1879-1886).
1880	Foundation of the National Bank of Romania.
1881	Thessaly and the Arta region of Epirus ceded to Greece by the Ottoman Empire, according to Berlin Treaty.
1885	Union of Eastern Rumelia with the Bulgarian Principality; the attempt by Serbia to obtain compensation is defeated in a Serbian-Bulgarian war (1885-1886).
1886	Political crisis in Bulgaria; Prince Alexander of Battenberg abdicates; Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.
1887	The Bulgarians elect Ferdinand of Saxa-Coburg-Gotha as prince (1887-1918).
1893	Creation of the IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation).
1896	First international Olympic Games in Athens.
1903	Coup in Serbia; King Alexander I Obrenovic and his family are killed; Peter I Karadjordjevich (1903-1921) becomes king; increasing nationalist orientation of Serbian policy. Ilinden uprising in Macedonia defeated by Ottomans.
1907	Serious peasant rebellion in Romania.
1908	Young Turk revolution in the Ottoman Empire; the Constitution of 1876 is restored and elections are organised for the Ottoman Parliament; Bulgaria proclaims itself independent; Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina ('Bosnian crisis' with Serbia and Russia).
1911-1912	Italian-Ottoman war; Italy conquers the Dodecanese Islands (as well as Libya).
1912-1913	Balkan Wars; the Ottoman Empire loses most of its European territories to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro; Albania is proclaimed independent (28 November 1912); Macedonia is divided between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece; Southern Dobrudja is annexed by Romania from Bulgaria.

Year	Event
1914	Prince William of Wied accepts the throne as King of Albania offered bythe Great Powers.
1915	The beginning of the forced deportation of all Ottoman Armenians (April). On 6 October 1915, Vincent Bryce, speaking in the House of Lords, said that "around 800,000" Armenians were also estimated to have been massacred in the process. Since then the question of genocide has been a subject of controversy, especially in Turkey.
1914-1918	World War I; the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by Serbian nationalists in Sarajevo becomes the pretext for the war; with the exception of Albania, which was nevertheless occupied, all Southeast European states participated in the war: Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire (from 1914) and Bulgaria (from 1915) on the side of the Central Powers; Serbia, Montenegro (from 1914), Romania (from 1916) and Greece (from 1917, in spite of the opposition of King Constantine) on the side of the Entente.
1917	The Serbian government and the (mainly emigrant) Croatian Governmental London Committee agree, in the Corfu Declaration, to build a common Yugoslav state.
1917-1918	Within the context of the Russian Revolution, a democratic republic is proclaimed in Bessarabia, and the Assembly votes in favour of union with Romania (27 March 1918).
1918	Collapse of the Central Powers; capitulation of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire; disintegration of Austria-Hungary; the Romanians of Bukovina and Transylvania join Romania; the southern parts of former Austria-Hungary are proclaimed a State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs; Vojvodina and Sirmium join Serbia; the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs decide to unite with Serbia in forming the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
1919-1920	Peace conference in Paris; the Treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (with Austria), Neuilly (with Bulgaria) and Trianon (with Hungary) establish new frontiers in Southeast Europe; the Banat is divided between Romania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; western Thrace is surrendered by Bulgaria to Greece; Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, later also Bulgaria and Turkey have to sign special treaties safeguarding the rights of the national minorities within their boundaries.
1919	Greek invasion of western Asia Minor (Smyrna), authorised by France, Britain and US as a counterweight to Italian expansion in the region; attempts of the Kurds and Armenians to establish their own nation-states; beginning of the Turkish national resistance in Asia Minor; leader: Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later named Atatürk).
1920	Peace Treaty of Sevres; Sultan Mehmed VI accepts the practical disintegration of the Ottoman Empire (loss of the Arab Lands, of Armenia and of Thrace; referendum in Smyrna after five years of Greek administration; option for independence for Kurdistan; spheres of influence for Great Britain, France and Italy in Asia Minor); the Turkish nationalists refuse to accept the treaty and crush the Armenians and the Kurds.
1922	Turkish victory over the Greek army; Turkish troops take control of Smyrna/Izmir, Constantinople/Istanbul and eastern Thrace.

Year	Event
1923	Peace Treaty at Lausanne; compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Demise of the Ottoman Empire and official proclamation of the Republic of Turkey; Stambuliski and Agrarians are massacred in Bulgaria.
1924	Abolition of monarchy and establishment of the First Greek Republic.
1928	Croat political leader Stjepan Radic killed during a session of the Yugoslav Parliament in Belgrade by a Serbian nationalist deputy from Montenegro.
1929	The New York Stock exchange crashes. Global depression and economic crisis. Balkan economies resolve to their own economic resources in a system of greater state interventionism.
1934	Alexander of Yugoslavia is murdered in Marseilles, along with French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou by a member of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization with the aid of Croatian Ustasha nationalists.
1939	Albania occupied by Italy.
1939-1945	World War II; in 1940 Romania loses Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union, southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, and northern Transylvania to Hungary (the latter recovered in 1944); in 1941 Yugoslavia and Greece are occupied by the Axis powers; an "Independent State of Croatia" is formed as the puppet fascist state on the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (until 1945); partisan movements in Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania; Bulgaria and Romania are allied to the Axis powers against the United Nations, and in 1944 are occupied by the Soviet army; at the end of the war, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia come under communist control, while Greece and Turkey do not.
1943-1946	Yugoslavia is reorganised as a federation of 6 republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina, both as parts of Serbia); according to the Constitution of 1946 federal leadership is very strong, and additionally strengthened by the crucial role of the centralised Yugoslav Communist Party (since 1952, League of Communists of Yugoslavia).
1946-1949	Greek civil war
1950	Informal referendum of the Greek Cypriots demanding union with Greece; the British refuse.
1955	Beginning of the armed anti-British struggle in Cyprus.
1958	Serious inter-ethnic violence in Cyprus
1959	Agreements between Britain, Greece and Turkey regarding the establishment of an independent state of Cyprus, shared by Greek and Turkish Cypriots.
1960	Establishment of independent Republic of Cyprus.

Year	Event
1963	New federal constitution in Yugoslavia; increased responsibilities for the republics, as well as separation of party and state offices; relative liberalisation and strengthening of republican officials allows for an upsurge of nationalism, especially in Kosovo and Croatia ('Croatian Spring'), which is suppressed by Tito in 1972. Inter-ethnic violence in Cyprus leads to withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from government.
1967	The Colonels' Dictatorship in Greece.
1974	New Yugoslav constitution; more autonomy for Yugoslav republics.
1974	Greek military coup in Cyprus, aimed at union with Greece; occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish troops. Restoration of democracy in Greece.
1980	Death of Tito; the economy deteriorates; in spite of a rotation system, the legitimacy of the federal institutions in Yugoslavia gradually diminishes.
1981	Greece becomes a member of the European Community.
1983	Proclamation of a 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', recognised only by Turkey, condemned by UN Security Council Resolution.
1987	Slobodan Milosevic comes to power in Serbia.
1989	Fall of communism in Eastern Europe; peaceful replacement of Todor Jivkov in Bulgaria, and violent revolution in Romania; establishment of democratic multi-party political systems and transition to market economies.
1991-1992	Dissolution of Yugoslavia; establishment of independent nation-states: Slovenia, Croatia (in 1991); Bosnia/Herzegovina, FYR of Macedonia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in 1992.
1991	Transition to a multi-party political system in Albania. Dissolution of the Soviet Union; Bessarabia becomes independent (Republic of Moldova). Reorganisation of the European Community into the European Union (Treaty of Maastricht).
1991-1995	War between Serbs and Croats in Croatia with heavy involvement of the Yugoslav army.
1992-1995	War in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with heavy involvement of the Yugoslav army, and later of Serbia.
1994-1999	Decisions of the European Union to begin accession negotiations with the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.
1995	Dayton/Paris agreements on Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1996	Romanian-Hungarian treaty, fostering the improvement of both inter-state and inter-ethnic relations.

Year	Event
1998	War in Kosovo between the (Albanian) Kosovo Liberation Army and the Yugoslav army.
1999	NATO war against Yugoslavia; President Slobodan Milosevic forced to surrender Kosovo, which is placed under the administration of the United Nations.
2000	Successful revolution in Yugoslavia against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic; beginning of the transition to a democratic political system.
2000-2001	Armed conflict between security forces of the FYR of Macedonia and NLA (National Liberation Army). Under international mediation, an agreement ends the warfare and the constitution is changed, safeguarding the rights of the Albanians and the other minorities in the FY Republic of Macedonia (2001).
2002	Provisional agreement between Serbia and Montenegro, establishing a provisional continuation of the Federation, with the possibility of separation after three years.
2003	First free communication between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus since 1974, as a result of the opening of the Green Line that divided them.
2004	Referendum in Cyprus regarding the Annan Plan of reunification; approved by the Turkish Cypriots, but rejected by the Greek Cypriots. Slovenia and Cyprus (effectively only including areas under Greek Cypriot control) join the European Union; Bulgaria and Romania are scheduled for 2007; Croatia begins accession negotiations.
2005	Croatia and Turkey start accession negotiations with the EU.
2006	Montenegro becomes independent, separating from Serbia; the FYR of Macedonia becomes a candidate country for EU membership.
2007	Bulgaria and Romania join the EU.
2008	Kosovo declares independence; the Serbian Assembly annuls the decision for independence issued by the Kosovo Assembly.

Map 1: Emergence of the Modern Balkan States (1804-1862)

Creating Nation-States: Goals vs. achievements

Nation-states are not eternal. They have emerged relatively recently, basically during the last two centuries. At the European level, it is generally accepted that the 19th century was the century of nationalities. During this century, a strong connection between national affiliation and political processes emerged throughout Europe. However, even in the 19th century, nation-states were not the only, nor were they the dominant form of political structure. Supra-national empires controlled larger areas and populations. Sub-national identifications, regional/local or social, were also important. Religion, although in decline in the attitudes of the well-off, continued to be crucial for most of people. There was no consensus on national belonging, or on the idea that 'normally' each national group should have its own state. This diversity of opinions and of political options shaped the history of the 19th century to a larger degree than we are generally prepared to accept. Nevertheless, nationalism gradually gained ground, multi-national empires proved fragile and eventually collapsed, and more and more political entities were organised as nation-states.

Southeast Europe is no exception to this general European historical pattern. While around 1800, most of the region was ruled by supra-national empires, during the 19th century, national movements emerged and, at the end of World War I, nation-states prevailed. Apparently, history moved ineluctably to the ultimate victory of the nation-state. Yet, historical evolution was in fact more complex than it appeared in the nationalistic master-narratives. Only some of the national groups managed to create their own nation-states. Others failed. Even those who succeeded oscillated between various political options, and the final outcome was determined not only by the actions of the people involved, but also by the interference of the Great Powers and by the influence of world historical processes.

This chapter deals with the following issues: the causes of dissatisfaction with the various imperial regimes; the dissemination of nationalist ideologies; international relations and Great Power interference; participants in the struggle for national liberation, their motivations and their goals/programmes; forms of struggle for nation-building; and the outcomes of this struggle, with special attention given to the various compromises which shaped the concrete outcomes. Because these issues are intermingled in reality and are also mixed in the historical sources selected for the Workbook, we have arranged the sources in a chronological order, without attempting to follow a thematic scheme. However, at the end of this chapter, we suggest you fill in a table with the issues relating to the particular sources.

Clearly, the selection of texts cannot include all the moments and contributions in the process of the creation of Southeast European nation-states. We are convinced that, in each country, teachers and pupils will be able to add a rich list of significant contributions to this process, and we encourage them to discuss the relevant sources together with those in our Workbook. Our main goal in this chapter is to show the diversity of political solutions conceived by the people of the 19th and early 20th centuries. We are convinced this can also help those in the 21st century to be better prepared for the political choices they will have to make.

I–1. The relations between Greece and Europe described by Iosipos Moesiodax (1761)

Greece[1] does indeed need Europe. For, today, the latter has a surplus of the most important sources of knowledge which the former lacks.

[…] Now Greece must graciously accept the gifts of Europe. Europe is grateful to Greece. She doesn't hide the light she received or her debt to Greece. She is ready to supply Greece with all kinds of learning.

[…] The whole of Europe pities Greece and commiserates not so much for her slavery as for her lack of education. And should you, the sincere, the genuine offspring of Greece, neglect the suffering of your country which served as a model and a standard for the whole universe? Where is your ancestors' sense of honour? Where is your forefathers' ingenuity, which used to overcome every obstacle? Where is the Greek spirit which, with its tastefulness, knew no focus other than beauty? All European nations have become learned and cultured, many of which – if not all – were called barbaric by the ancient Greeks and Romans.

[….] And should you, the progeny of those exalted Greeks who were the first teachers of beauty and wisdom, be the only ones to endure illiteracy, the only ones to suffer not only ignorance but the fog rather than the limpidity of knowledge - or, as the proverb goes, to scorn the gold and keep the brass?

But, no, no. Greece must now awaken its fervent zeal, reclaim its robust perfectionism, remember its glorious antiquity - in other words, she must show to the world that, if nothing else, she is still inhabited by Greeks.

Moesiodax, 'Moral Philosophy' (1761) in Kitromilides, pp. 331, 338-340.

Iosipos Moesiodax (ca.1725-1800) was one of the leading Southeast European 18th century intellectuals. 'Moesiodax' is not a family name but a designation of ethnic descent ('Dacian from Moesia'). Although he came from a Vlach family and his native tongue was Romanian, Moesiodax acquired a Greek education, which was the common system for the Orthodox Christian Balkan peoples in the 18th century. After his studies in Thessalonica and Smyrna, Moesiodax studied under Evgenios Voulgaris at the Athonias School in Mount Athos (1754-1755). He wrote an educational textbook which echoed the ideas of John Locke (1779), a Theory of Geography (1781) and the Apology (1780), and served as tutor to the sons of Alexandros Ypsilantis, ruler of Wallachia. In his "Moral Philosophy", Moesiodax expresses the 'Balkan dimension' of Greek 18th century culture, propounded the cosmopolitan humanism of the Enlightenment, contributed with his work to the dissemination of Western ideas in the Balkans through Greek education and worked for the spread of this education among the rest of the Balkan peoples, emotionally and intellectually espousing the notion of 'Greece' as a collective designation. His work introduced the social criticism and the political scepticism of the Enlightenment to Southeast Europe already before 1780.

? What is the relationship between Europe and Greece in Moesiodax's vision? Why does Moesiodax exalt the excellence of ancient Greece?

I–2. The historical foundations of the Bulgarian nation, presented by Paisiy Hylendarski (1762)

Listen carefully, readers and listeners, Bulgarian people, you who love your people and your fatherland and take them to heart; you, who would like to learn and know what has been established about your Bulgarian origin, your fathers, ancestors and czars, patriarchs and saints, how they used to live and spend their time. It is both necessary and useful for you to know what has been said of the deeds of your fathers as is the case of all the other tribes people, who know of their origin, language and history. Everyone who can read knows their history, retells it and is proud of their origins and language.

So, I have written about everything that has been established about your origins and language

1 Moesiodax uses the terms 'Hellas' and 'Hellenes' while other scholars of the same period used 'Γραικοί' and 'Γραικία' or 'Ρωμιοί'. In the translation, we use the terms 'Greece' and 'Greeks' when referring to the modern Greek nation.

in chronological order for you. Read and learn, so that you will not be laughed at and reproached by other tribes and people. Copy this thin history book or pay those who can write, to copy it for you, and keep it from disappearing!

There are people who neglect their Bulgarian origin, they turn to a foreign culture and a foreign language and do not take care of their Bulgarian language. So, they learn to read and write in Greek and are ashamed to call themselves Bulgarians. Oh, you foolish freaks! Why are you ashamed to call yourself Bulgarians and why don't you read and speak in your mother tongue? Do you believe that the Bulgarians did not have their own czardom and country? For many years, they reigned and were glorious, famous all over the world and they made the powerful Romans and the wise Greeks pay them taxes many times. And czars and kings gave their daughters to our czars to become their wives, so that they would live in peace with the Bulgarian czars. Bulgarians were the first of the Slavonic tribes to pronounce themselves czars, to have a Patriarch, to convert to Christianity, to conquer the largest territory. The first Slavonic saints were Bulgarians and they were the most powerful and respected of the Slavonic tribes; so was the Bulgarian language, as I have written in chronological order in this history book. There is evidence of Bulgarians in the history of many other peoples, because everything I have mentioned of Bulgarians is true.

Paisiy, pp.19-20.

Paisiy Hilendarski (1722-1773) was a monk at the Hilendar monastery on Mount Athos. He was the first to express the idea of a Bulgarian national revival by writing a *Slav-Bulgarian History* in 1762.

Why did Paisiy write this book? How can we understand the text today?

What was the role of the Greek language in Southeast Europe in the 18th century? Was religion or language more important for one's national identity?

I–3. Evgenios Voulgaris advocating a Greek State (ca.1770)

The weakness in which the Ottoman State currently lies is not due solely to the lack of exercise and the inexperience of the military, but also to the rancour among its subjects. If the former stems from a dearth of application, the latter stems from an overflow of resentment. It is this kingdom which nurtures the Greeks inside it - numerous crowds which have been tyrannised for so long and, as they see the oppression and the grief growing stronger, they cannot but feel bitter against these tyrants.

[…] Yet if the barbaric and tyrannical Ottoman Power should be forced now to set free Tataria and Dacia[2] and the Peloponnese or another small corner of Greece in order to create a place of rest and refuge for the oppressed Greeks, the alleged balance of power in Europe would immediately be upset! Furthermore, any damage to the enemy of the Christians would be to the detriment of the Christian World!

Voulgaris, pp.38, 41.

Evgenios Voulgaris was born in Kerkyra in 1716 and after spending years of his life as a wandering scholar and later bishop in Russia, he died as a monk in 1806. Supporter of the ancient Greek language, he was a liberal scholar who translated Voltaire into Greek and published an essay on tolerance. During the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768-1774, he advocated Greece's liberation with Russian help and, in 1772, was invited by the Russian Empress Catherine II to Saint Petersburg.

What is the opinion of the author about the European role of a Greek state?

2 Crimea and Romania respectively.

I–4. Dimitrios Katartzis explains why the Greeks constitute a nation even though they do not have a State (1783)

I must admit that these days we are not a nation which constitutes a State in itself, being subject to another mightier nation; hence some Franks, taking Aristotle's definition of a citizen, accuse us of not having a home country; but this is not so: for Aristotle uses [this definition] to separate citizens from the enslaved people, called *helots* and *perioekoi*, who worked as serfs for the Spartans and the Cretans. We, however, with the grace of God, are not like that, and although we may not participate in the administration of the state of our masters in every way, we are still not cut off from it. Hence we constitute a nation, bound both among us and with the higher government via our church leaders, who are also our political leaders in many ways.

[…] Let us also say this: once a Greek[3] has thought of himself as a descendant of Pericles, Themistocles and other Greeks of their ilk, or as a descendant of the families of Theodosius, Velissarios, Narses, Voulgaroktonos, Tzimiskis and so many other great Romans, or as a descendant of a saint or a saint's family, how can he not love the descendants of such great people? How can he be happy when he sees the suffering of a society comprised of such people? How can he not love the soil which nurtured them? And, as he pulls the yoke of slavery, how can he not drench with tears the place in which they shed their blood, some for their glory and some for their salvation?

Katartzis, pp. 44, 45.

Dimitrios Katartzis (1730-1807) was a Phanariot scholar. He was born in Constantinople/Istanbul and lived in Bucharest, where he served as a high-ranking judge. Inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, he envisioned a Greek world in line with Western standards as expressed in Diderot's *Encyclopaedia*. He developed a broad reformation programme for Greek education, based on the demotic language, which, in his opinion, would have been a significant "national work".

3 'Romios' in the Greek original text.

What is the author's opinion of the relationship between nation and state? What is the role of his appeal to historical figures?

I–5. Romanian petition for national equality in Transylvania – Supplex Libellus Valachorum (1791)

Blessed August Emperor!

[…] The Romanian nation is by far the oldest of all the nations of the Transylvania of today, as it is common knowledge and has been proved by historical evidence and by a tradition never interrupted, by the resemblance between the languages, the customs and habits, that they descend from the Roman colonies repeatedly brought here in Dacia at the beginning of the second century by Emperor Trajan, with a very large number of veterans, to protect the Province.

[…] The Romanian nation coming most humbly before the throne of Your Majesty, with all due respect and submission prays beseechingly for the following.

1. That hateful and insulting terms such as *tolerated*, *admitted*, *not counted among the Estates* and others of the same kind which like external stains have been unjustly and unlawfully stamped "on the forehead" of the Romanian nation, be completely removed, revoked and abolished publicly, as unjust and shameful; thus due to the mercy of your holy Majesty the Romanian nation, reborn, shall be reinstated in the enjoyment of all the civil and civic rights. […]
5. The counties, sedes[4], districts, and urban communities in which the Romanians exceed in number the other nations, should bear also Romanian names while those in which the other nations form the majority should be named after them or bear a mixed name, a *Hungarian-Romanian*, *Saxon-Roma-*

4 Sedes were special districts in the Saxon and Szekler regions of Transylvania.

nian name, or, by completely removing the name taken after one nations or another, the counties, *sedes* and districts should preserve the name they have had down to the present after rivers and fortresses and it should be stated that all the inhabitants of the Principality, irrespective of nation or religion should use and enjoy, depending on the Estate or condition "of every one" the same liberties and benefits and bear the same obligations, to the best of "their" ability.

All that has been said above fully proves that these demands are based on natural justice and the principles of the civil society as well as on the compacts concluded.

Prodan, pp. 453-466.

In the 18th century, Transylvania was a principality under Austrian rule. Its political system, originating from the late Middle Ages, provided representation for the three political nations (Hungarian nobility, Szeklers and Saxons), excluding the more numerous Romanians, who were merely 'tolerated'. In 1791, the leading Romanian intellectuals, together with the representatives of the Uniate and Orthodox churches, submitted a memorandum demanding equal rights for the Transylvanian Romanians to Emperor Leopold II. In order to avoid a conflict with the political estates, the Emperor sent the memorandum to the Transylvanian Diet (assembly) to decide. The Diet rejected it.

What are the arguments put forward by the Transylvanian Romanians? Can you see any influence of the French Revolution in this text?

I–6. Ottoman memorandum about the French Revolution (1798)

It is well known that the ultimate basis of the order and cohesion of every state is a firm grasp of the roots and branches of holy law, religion and doctrine; that the tranquillity of the land and the control of the subjects cannot be encompassed by political means alone; that the necessity for the fear of God […]; that in both ancient and modern times every state and people has had its own religion, whether true or false. Nevertheless, the leaders of the sedition and evil appearing in France, in a manner without precedent, in order to facilitate the accomplishment of their evil purposes, and in utter disregard of the fearsome consequences, have removed the fear of God and the regard for retribution from the common people, made lawful all kinds of abominable deeds, utterly obliterated all shame and decency, and thus prepared the way for the reduction of all the people of France to the state of cattle. Nor were they satisfied with this alone, but, finding supporters like themselves in every place, in order to keep other states busy with the protection of their own regimes and thus forestall an attack on themselves, they had their rebellious declaration which they call *The Rights of Man* translated into all languages and published in all parts, and strove to incite the common people of the nations and religions to rebel against the kings to whom they were subjects

Lewis, pp. 66-67.

Explanatory note: This memorandum was prepared by Ahmed Atif Efendi, Chief of the scribes (*reis-ül-küttab*, the person in charge of foreign relations) for the Imperial Council (*divan*) in the Spring of 1798. The Ottoman interest in French affairs had been heightened by the French occupation of the previously Venetian Ionian Islands in 1797, as well as by the French propaganda in Greece, preparations for the campaign in Egypt led by general Napoleon Bonaparte, and the appeals of Britain and Russia to join an anti-French coalition.

Why were the Ottoman authorities alarmed? Do you think that the ideas of the French revolution could also have influenced the Ottoman subjects of Southeast Europe? Could an official Ottoman condemnation have prevented such an ideological influence?

I–7. The impact of the French Revolution on Southeast European intellectuals – War Poem by Adamantios Korais (1800)

(a) My compatriot friends,
How long will we be slaves?
To the vile Muslims
The tyrants of Greece?
The time for revenge
Is now, oh friends;
Our common homeland cries,
And tearful, calls to us.
My Children, brave Greeks,
Hasten you, both men and youths;
In unison all gather,
And cry out all together,
While embracing one another
With an enthusiastic voice.
No more tyranny!
Hail liberty!

(i) Wondrous, brave Frenchmen,
No others but the Greeks are like you
Brave and used to hardship.
While we have the French
As friends of liberty
And of the Greeks' salvation,
What do we need others for?
French and Greek together,
By friendship united,
Are not merely Greek or French
But a single nation, Franco-Greek,
Crying: let the accursed slavery
Disappear and vanish from the world.
Hail liberty!

Dimaras, pp. 88-91.

Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) was a Greek scholar who, inspired by the French Revolution, believed that freedom should be gained through education. He was recognised as an intellectual leader who contributed to the Greek war of independence through his work. His *War Poem* invites his compatriots to fight against tyranny (1800).

What ideas related to the French Revolution ideology can you find in the poem? How did the ideas of the French Revolution influence national movements in Southeast Europe?

I–8. Manifesto of Alexandros Ypsilantis, Fight for Faith and Homeland (1821)

The time has come, Greek Men! The peoples of Europe who fought for the same rights and freedoms we are fighting for have long invited us to imitate them. As free men, they have used all their powers to increase their freedom and hence their Happiness.

Our brothers and friends everywhere, Serbs, the people of Souli and entire Epirus, are armed and waiting for us; let us join them with Enthusiasm! The Homeland summons us!

Europe has her eyes upon us and wonders about our inertia, so let the mountains of Greece reverberate with the sound of our bugle, let the valleys resound with the clang of our weapons. Europe shall admire our bravery while our oppressors shall flee before us, pale and trembling.

The enlightened peoples of Europe are working to restore their happiness and, full of gratitude for the benefits of our forefathers, they desire freedom for Greece.

Proving ourselves worthy of our ancestral virtues and of the present century, we hope to enjoy their support and assistance; and may many liberal spirits among them come and join our struggle. Mobilise yourselves, friends, and you shall see a Mighty Power defending our rights! You shall even see many of our enemies, motivated by our just cause, turning their back on the enemy and joining us; and recognising their sincere spirit, the Homeland shall embrace them. […]

Time has come to shake the insupportable yoke, to free the Homeland, to dismantle the crescent in order to raise the symbol that has always given us victory. I am referring to the Cross and, in this way; we shall revenge the Homeland and our Orthodox Faith on the impious contempt of the infidels. […]

So take up your weapons, friends, the Homeland summons us!

Alexandros Ypsilantis

24 February 1821. General Headquarters of Iasion [Iaşi].

IEE, vol. 12, p. 23.

This manifesto was issued in Iaşi by Alexandros Ypsilantis (1792-1828). Son of a former Greek prince of Wallachia, himself a high-ranking officer of the Russian army and member of the Greek secret revolutionary organisation *Filiki Etaireia*, Alexandros Ypsilantis took up the leadership of the liberation struggle against the Ottomans, marching into the Romanian Principalities with a small Greek army in February 1821.

To whom is the manifesto directly addressed? Analyse the rhetorical means the author uses in order to move and convince his compatriots to join the fight. Why to do you think he mentions Europe?

I–9. Conservative demands of the Bosnian notables (1826)

We have received the order [*ferman*] of the Emperor, which has been sent to us with Omer efendija and within which are the orders for the abolition of the janissaries and for the implementation of the ferman. Since the conquest [Ottoman conquest of Bosnia] and along with our grandfathers, we have been obedient to the Muslim Holy Law [*sheryat*] and to the Ottoman Imperial Law [*kanun*]. We have always obeyed the orders and fermans of the sultans. We have never opposed them or shown disobedience. And still we will not do so. But we have been at war for 40 years[5] sacrificing our lives and our property. In the earlier wars with Serbia, which lasted for 15 years, we used up all of our resources and until the liberation of Belgrade fortress, we sacrificed more than ten thousands lives and several thousands of us were wounded. We have always prayed for the good health of our sultan and we have always hoped for his mercy. Now, when we talk of the abolition of the janissaries, we hope, once again, that the sultan will spread his merciful arms, stop and abort all innovations, and preserve the old order in Bosnia and in all the old military formations, and so, yet again, [he will] show his goodness towards us.

Alicic, pp. 166-167.

In 1826 Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) eliminated the corps of janissaries, thus removing the main force which had resisted previous attempts to reform the Ottoman Empire. This allowed him to continue the process of bringing the provinces under the control of Istanbul, and to prepare the way for the reforms of the Tanzimat period.

Comment on the attitude of the Bosnian notables regarding relations with the Ottoman Empire. Why do you think they were uneasy about the abolition of the janissaries and about the movement for reforms in the Ottoman Empire?

I–10. The Hatt-i Sherif of Gülhane (1839)

Full of confidence, therefore, with the help of the Most High, assisted by the intercession of our Prophet, we deem it right to seek new institutions to give to the Provinces, which compose the Ottoman Empire, the benefit of a good Administration.

These institutions must be principally carried out under three heads, which are: 1. The guarantees ensuring perfect security of life, honour and fortune to our subjects. 2. A regular system of assessing and levying taxes. 3. An equally regular system for the levy of troops and the duration of their service…

Henceforth, therefore, the cause of every accused person shall be publicly judged in accordance with

5 The authors refer to the beginning of the Ottoman-Austrian (Austro-Ottoman) war of 1787-1791. After the end of this war, warfare continued with multiple rebellions in the Ottoman Empire, especially due to the Serbian revolt which started in 1804.

our Divine Law, after enquiry and examination, and so long as a regular judgment shall not have been pronounced, no one can, secretly or publicly, put another to death by poison or any other manner.

No one shall be allowed to attack the honour of any other person whatsoever.

Each one shall be in full possession of his Property of any kind, and shall dispose of it in all freedom, without let or hindrance from any person […].

These imperial concessions shall extend to all our subjects, of whatever Religion or sect they may be; they shall enjoy them without exceptions. We therefore grant perfect security to the inhabitants of our empire, in their lives, their honour and their fortunes, as secured to them by the sacred Text of our Law …

As all the public servants of the Empire receive a suitable salary (and the salaries of those duties have not, up to the present time, been sufficiently remunerated, and so are to be fixed), a rigorous Law shall be passed against the traffic of favouritism and of appointments (richvet), which the Divine Law reprobates, and which is one of the principal causes of the decay of the Empire.

Vucinich, pp. 160-161.

The Imperial Order issued in the Gülhane Pavilion of the Imperial Palace in Istanbul in the name of the new Sultan Abdulmecid I (1839-1861) was considered to mark the official beginning of an era of internal modernising reforms in the Ottoman Empire.

? Identify the problems that the Hatt-i-Sherif intended to solve. What do you think of the intentions of the act? Was it a way to modernise the state, or simply a ploy to ease the dissatisfaction of the subjects?

I–11. Argument of Ion Codru-Drăguşanu in favour of the nation-state (1844)

Only a nation-state will make a nation. Where there is no nation-state, there is no nation, and where there is no popular government, the state is a national chimera, and the nation is simply a conglomerate of individuals who share certain homogenous particularities. A real nation can exist only when the people are well represented by a government. It can only exist when people's emotions, powers and activities have the same purpose, fame and reputation, respect and glory of the people on the outside, as well as the well-being and satisfaction of each social class, and of each individual in his soul…

Codru-Drăguşanu, pp. 253-254.

Ion Codru-Drăguşanu (1820-1884) was born in Făgăraş, Transylvania, which was under Austrian rule. He travelled extensively to various European countries, from England to Russia, and was active both in politics and in cultural life.

? Comment on the statement "only a nation-state will make a nation". Is it related to the fact that the Romanians at that time were excluded from the political system of Transylvania?

I–12. Plan of Ilija Garašanin to build up a Serbian-Slavic Empire (1844)

The stirring and billowing amongst Slavs has already begun […]. From this cognizance, stems the defining feature and the foundation of Serbian policy: that it must not be confined to its present boundaries, but that it should strive to embrace all the Serb peoples around it. […]

The Turkish Empire [must] break up and this can happen only in one of two ways:

1. Either the empire will be partitioned; or:
2. It will be built anew by its Christian inhabitants […].

The creation of the Serbian state, which has fortunately already begun, and which must expand and strengthen, has its basis and firm foundation in the Serbian empire of the 13th and 14th centuries and in the rich and glorious Serbian history. [According

to this history] Serbian emperors began depriving the Greek empire of its power and almost made it collapse, so that instead of the failed Eastern Roman Empire they would establish a Serbian-Slavic Empire and offset this. Emperor Dusan Silni [Serbian czar Dušan, The Mighty] had already received the seal of the Greek Empire. The arrival of the Turks interrupted this process and prevented this activity for a long time. However, since the Turkish power has now been broken and destroyed, so to speak, it is now necessary to set the same spirit in motion, to claim the rights anew and to resume the interrupted activity.

[…] If the new renaissance of the Serbian empire is regarded from this point of view, other South Slavs will very easily understand this idea and accept it with joy, because such a memory of a historical past probably does not exist in any other European country as is the case of the Turkish Slavs […]. That is the reason why this undertaking will, most certainly, be gladly accepted among the people and it will not require decades of efforts to make them understand the advantages and benefits of this independent government.

The Serbs were the first among all the Slavs in Turkey to fight for their freedom through their own means and power. Therefore, they have the first and full right to continue to pursue this undertaking. […]

The new Serbian state in the south would give Europe guarantees that it would become an excellent and viable state, capable of surviving between Austria and Russia. The geographic position of the country, its territory, its natural resources and military spirit of the inhabitants, their noble and zealous national nature, their common origins and language, all indicate its permanency as a state and its great future. In order to be able to determine what can be done and how, the government must be apprised of the position the peoples in all the various provinces surrounding Serbia are in. […] To this end, the government needs, above all, to send sharp-witted […] and loyal people to scrutinise the situation these peoples and countries are in and to submit accurate written reports thereto upon its return. The government needs to be apprised of the situation notably in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and North Albania. At the same time, it is necessary to gain accurate knowledge of the situation in Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, and, it goes without saying, that this includes the peoples of Srem, Banat and Bačka.

Ljušić 1993, pp. 151-163.

Ilija Garašanin (1812-1874), was one of the leading Serbian politicians and statesman of the 19th century. Under different influences, but mostly based on the counsel of the Czech political émigré Františeh Zach (who was in contact with Polish political emigrants in Paris), Garašanin wrote *Načertanije* (the Plan for future Serbian foreign and national policy) in 1844. He formulated what the main goals of Serbia's long term Balkan policy should be, based on the unification and liberation of territories where the Serbs lived, including neighbouring countries in the Balkans that were still under Ottoman rule. Načertanije is considered by neighbouring nations to be a Serbian imperialistic plan.

What is the purpose of this text? Find the historical arguments used by the author in order to transmit his ideas and convictions.

I–13. National demands during the 1848 revolutions

A. SLOVENIAN DEMANDS

1. That all the Slovenians be joined in a single nation and thus have a common Slovenian assembly […].
2. The Slovenian language is to have the same status within Slovenian territory as that of the German language within German territory and that of the Italian language within Italian territory […]
3. It should be possible to introduce the Slovenian language into any office within Slovenian territory if and whenever we so desire […]

4. Any official to be employed within Slovenian territory should have a full command of the Slovenian language […]

Prunk, p. 56.

B. *PEOPLE'S CLAIMS* ADOPTED BY THE CROATIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN ZAGREB

Considering the state of emergency we are in, it is necessary for us to get a lawful leader who will re-institute the law in our country: this is the reason why we have unanimously chosen Baron Josip Jelačić Bužimski to be our ban (*civil governor*). He is a man of confidence for all of our people and he should therefore be given command of the military border troops and the right to convene the parliament.

Our state parliament must convene before 1 May in the capital city of Zagreb.

There must be a reunion of the Kingdom of Dalmatia – in every sense ours, by law and by history – with the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and also with our military border…

Our own *ministerium*, independent and responsible to our parliament, whose members should be approved by the people and should be imbued with a modern spirit of progress and freedom.

Our national language should be established in the internal and foreign affairs of our government and also in all grades of educational institutions.

Establishment of the University of Zagreb.

Freedom of the press, religion, learning and speech.

Election of the representatives of the people based on the principle of equality regardless of class.

One tax system for all the people regardless of class.

Establishment of a National Bank.

Abolition of celibacy and establishment of a national language in Church on account of ancient law and customs of Croatia.

Horvat, vol.I, pp.107-108.

C. NATIONAL PETITION ADOPTED BY THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN BLAJ, TRANSYLVANIA

1. The Romanian nation, based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, demands its national independence in the political sphere in order to stand in its own right as a Romanian nation, to have representatives in the diet[6] of the country in proportion to its number, to have officials in all branches of the administration, justice and military in the same proportion, to [be able to] use its language in all matters which concern it, including legislation and administration. It demands [the right to convene] a yearly general national assembly. […]
3. The Romanian nation, arriving at the consciousness of individual rights, demands the immediate removal of serfdom without demanding compensation from the serf peasants […]
7. The Romanian nation demands the liberty to speak, to write, to publish without censorship […]
8. The Romanian nation demands guarantees of the individual liberties; no person should be seized under a political pretext. Besides, it demands the right of assembly. No harm should befall those who gather only to speak and to agree in peace […].
10. The Romanian nation demands the protection of the people, the creation of a national guard for the defence of the country from both internal and external threats. The Romanian militia should have Romanian officers.
13. The Romanian nation demands the establishment of Romanian schools in all villages and towns, Romanian gymnasiums, military and technical institutes, seminars for priests, as well as a Romanian university funded by the state in proportion with the number of tax payers, and which would be completely free to elect its directors and professors and to systematise its curricula […].
14. The Romanian nation demands that public burdens be borne jointly by individuals, (according to their estate and wealth) and the removal of privileges.
15. The Romanian nation desires that a new Con-

6 Representative assembly of Transylvania.

stitution for Transylvania be made by a constitutional assembly […]. This Constitution should base itself on the principles of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity, and the new codes of civil, criminal and trade laws should be created according to the same principles.

Murgescu, pp.191-192.

In 1848, revolutions occurred in several European states, including the Habsburg Empire and the Romanian Principalities, but not in Serbia, Greece or the Ottoman Empire. In the Habsburg Empire, after the swift removal of the absolutist regime headed by Metternich, each nation tried to define and further its specific interests. Therefore, in March - May 1848, several national assemblies were held which adopted national political programmes. However, the struggle for political rights and constitutional rule was soon overshadowed by national conflicts, which split the revolutionaries and permitted the Habsburg repression of the revolution, with Russian help, in 1849.

What were the main demands of the Slovenes, the Croats and the Romanians? How can you explain the fact that many of the demands were similar?

Setting aside the demands which have been fulfilled in your country at the present time, which have not been fulfilled and why?

I–14. The dissatisfaction of the Bosnian Christians with the Ottoman rule, presented by the Franciscan monk Ivan Frano Jukic (1850)

If a Christian in Bosnia goes to trial against a Turk he cannot be right, because against a Turk, especially against one who is white-bearded, he cannot testify to anything! Kadija [The Judge] says: "You, Vlach, one Turk knows more than a thousand Vlachs! This is a Turkish country, you are subjects [*re'aya*], the church bell still doesn't ring here, but the Turkish faith is spoken and so on." These are the verdicts in the emperor's courts. Today a Christian cannot be employed by the state, only a Turk. If the Christians in Bosnia want to build a new church or repair an old one, they will have to suffer for it – so the miserable people must stay outside under the open sky, hearing the prayers with naked heads!

Jukic, pp. 307-308.

What elements of dissatisfaction does the author emphasise? Do you think the author is biased? If you think the author is biased, can we still use the excerpt as historical evidence? If so, to what extent?

I–15. Ottoman Hatt-i Humayoun[7] establishing equality among the Ottoman subjects regardless of their religion (1856)

Let it be done as herein set forth.

To you, My Grand Vizier, Mehemed Amin Ali Pasha, decorated with my Imperial Order of the Medjidiye of the first class and with the Order of Personal Merit; may God grant to you greatness and increase your power! …

It is my desire now to renew and enlarge, even more, the new Institutions ordained with the dignity of my Empire and […] with the kind and friendly assistance of the Great Powers and my noble Allies […]. The guarantees promised on our part by the Hatti-Humaïoun of Gülhane, and in conformity with the Tanzimat […], have today been confirmed and consolidated and efficacious measures shall be taken in order to ensure that they retain their full and entire effect.

All the Privileges and Spiritual Immunities granted by my ancestors *ab antiquo*, and at subsequent dates, to all Christian communities or other non-Muslim persuasions established in my Empire under my protection, shall be confirmed and maintained.

Every Christian or other non-Muslim community shall be bound within a fixed period, and with the concurrence of a Commission composed *ad hoc* of members of its own body, to proceed with my high approbation and under the inspection of my Sublime Porte, to examine into its actual Immunities and Privileges, and to discuss and submit to my Sublime Porte the Reforms required by the progress of civilisation and our times. The powers conceded to the

7 Ottoman imperial decree.

Christian Patriarchs and Bishops by the Sultan Mahomet II and his successors, shall be made to harmonise with the new position which my generous and beneficent intentions have entrusted to these communities […]. The principles of nominating the Patriarchs for life, after the revision of the rules of election now in force, shall be carried out exactly in conformity to the tenor of the fermans of Investiture.

The ecclesiastical dues, of whatever nature, shall be abolished and replaced by the fixed revenue of the Patriarchs and heads of the communities […]. In towns, small boroughs and villages, where the whole population is of the same Religion, there shall be no obstacles to the reparations required, according to the original plan of buildings set apart for Religious Worship, Schools, Hospitals and Cemeteries…

Every distinction or designation tending to make any class of the subjects of my Empire inferior to another class, on account of their Religion, Language, or Race, shall be permanently effaced from the Administrative Protocol. Laws shall be enforced in the case of the use of any injurious or offensive terms, either among private individuals or on the part of the authorities.

As all forms of Religion are, and shall be, freely professed in my dominions, no subject of my Empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes. […] No one shall be compelled to change his religion […] and […] all the subjects of my Empire, regardless of nationality, shall be admissible to public employment. […] All the subjects of my Empire, without distinction, shall be received into the civil and military schools of the Government. Moreover, every community shall be authorised to establish public schools of science, art and industry […].

All commercial, correctional and criminal suits between Muslim and Christians or other non-Muslim subjects, or between Christians or other non-Muslims of different sects, shall be referred to mixed tribunals. The proceedings of these tribunals shall be public: the parties shall be confronted, and shall produce their witnesses whose testimony shall be received, without distinction, upon an oath taken according to the religious law of each sect […].

Taxes are to be levied under the same denomination from all the subjects of my Empire, regardless of class or Religion. The most prompt and efficient means of remedying to the abuses in the collection of taxes, and especially Tithes, shall be considered. The system of direct collection shall gradually, and as soon as possible, be substituted by the plan of farming, in all the branches of the revenues of the State.

Vucinich, pp. 161-163.

? What were the goals of the Ottoman authorities when issuing this decree? Compare the concrete provisions of this decree with the complaints outlined in the previous document I–14. Do you think the Hatt-i Humayoun was effective in strengthening the ties of the non-Muslim peoples with the Ottoman state?

I–16. Divergent opinions on the plan to establish a dual Bulgarian-Ottoman state (1867)

A. MEMOIR OF THE SECRET CENTRAL BULGARIAN COMMITTEE TO SULTAN ABDUL AZIZ

Memorandum,
To His Majesty Sultan Abdul Aziz Han,[8] our Gracious Master and Father,
by The Secret Central Bulgarian Committee

Your Majesty!

The fate of the individual and of every nation is in the hands of God Almighty, who rules the Universe. Four centuries ago this fate put us, the Bulgarians, and our dear fatherland, under the domination of the glorious conquerors that established the Ottoman Empire in Europe. […]

We now ask for Your kind permission to present to Your Majesty the bases on which the Bulgarian people would like, and kindly ask, their independence to be proclaimed.

Political Independence

We request that:

Article 1. A National constitutional government be proclaimed.

8 Ottoman sultan 1861-1876.

Article 2. Bulgaria, with all the provinces inhabited by Bulgarians, be proclaimed independent and called Bulgarian czardom.

Article 3. This Bulgarian czardom to be politically dependent on the Ottoman Empire and to have, as its czar, the Emperor, His majesty sultan Abdul Azis and his descendants, who will add to the title 'Ottoman sultan', the title 'Bulgarian czar'. […].

Article 6. The czar's deputy be the second-in-command, after His majesty, as head of the state, the government and the executive power, Commander-in-Chief of the Bulgarian army and the head of justice.

Article 7. The czar's deputy govern with the help of a Board constituted of Bulgarians only, and elected by a National Assembly. The members of this Board should divide the power among themselves, so that each of them is head of a different department. They should have the right to initiate Bills and to draw up the State Budget projects, which will be presented for approval to the czar's deputy after they have been approved by the National Assembly. They should have a common responsibility for their deeds and thus no decision of the czar's deputy will come into force if it is not signed by the members of the Board. […].

Article 9. Eastern Orthodox Christianity be the major religion in the country.

Article 10. Justice be executed according to the special Bulgarian laws passed by the National Assembly. […].

Article 11. The Bulgarian czardom have its own independent army, organised according to the new system and the special law.[…].

Article 13. The Bulgarian language be the official language of the czardom.

Article 14. All civil and political rights should be provided for, for example, the freedom press, the right to speak freely, to hold meetings and public discussions on political and social problems, etc , as well as personal freedom, the right to be your own master in your home and religious tolerance.

Христоматия [*Chrestomathy*], pp. 400-409.

Several texts document attempts to create nation-states. However, the nation-state was not the only form conceived for a political organisation. Due to specific political conditions, some other proposals were also formulated, which were, in fact, alternatives to the nation–state.

Analyse the way Bulgaria was supposed to be organised in the Dualist Ottoman-Bulgarian state. What was the relationship with the Ottoman state? Figure out why the members of the Secret Committee envisaged such a proposal and not another. Do you know of another example of a Dualist state in Europe?

B. THE REACTION OF FUAD PASHA, AS DESCRIBED IN THE MEMOIRS OF HRISTO STAMBOLSKI

VISITING FUAD PASHA.[9] That same day, 2 April 1867, the second day of the Bayram holidays, Hristo went to Fuad pasha, today's Minister for Foreign Affairs, under the pretext of giving him holiday greetings and presenting himself… During the conversation, the Minister spoke about the memo saying that the government "a fait sourde oreille" [turned a deaf ear], and that none of his ambassadors mentioned anything about it. "The Bulgarians", added Fuad pasha, "if Bulgarians were the ones who had made up the memo, appear to be very selfish; if the Ottoman Empire were populated only by Turks and Bulgarians, things would be completely different, but there are also Greeks, Armenians, Albanians, Kurds, Arabs and many other nationalities and each of these nationalities is entitled to possess the same political and national rights and privileges… It is not only the Turkish, the Greek, or the Bulgarian people as mentioned in the memo, who separately support the Turkish state, but all of them equally. But, for this purpose, there should be reasonable grounds for all the nationalities. That's why I'm telling you," wound

9 Fuad-pasha (1815-1869), one of the leading Ottoman reformers of the Tanzimat period. Five times Ottoman foreign minister and twice Grand Vizier.

up the Minister, "that the authors of the memo must be selfish and immature people."

Stambolski, pp. 292-293.

Dr. Hristo T. Stambolski (b. 1843 in Kazanluk, d. 1932 in Sofia) – a medical doctor and a public figure. An anatomy professor at the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul; he was one of the organisers of healthcare in Bulgaria after 1878. He was active in the movement for establishing a separate Bulgarian church independent from the Greek Patriarchy.

Comment on the attitude of Fuad-pasha. What are his reasons for criticising the proposal? Do you think it represented the official opinion of the Ottoman state?

Organise a debate:

Split into two groups: the first group must find arguments to defend the proposal for a Bulgarian-Ottoman Dualist State and the second group must discuss it from Fuad–pasha's point of view.

Discuss a similar proposal from the perspective of your identity group, taking into account the specific historical conditions.

I–17. Project to unite the Bulgarians and Serbs in a South Slav czardom under the rule of the Serbian prince Michail Obrenovich (1867)

PROTOCOL

Because the circumstances today call for liberating actions to be taken by all the oppressed people in Turkey, we, the Bulgarians who live in Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia, have gathered to consider and find a way to liberate our beloved fatherland, so that we can join the family of free countries and show the world that we exist.

To succeed in this cherished endeavour, we have to choose a neighbouring people with whose help we could obtain liberty and mutual benefit, and we cannot but choose the Serbians, who are related to us through nationality, religion and geographical proximity.

1. The brotherly union should be between the Serbs and the Bulgarians under the name of Southern Slav Kingdom.
2. The Southern Slav Kingdom shall consist of the Serbian and Bulgarian ones (the Bulgarian one includes the territories of Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia).
3. The Head of the newly formed government will be the present Prince of Serbia Mikhail Obrenovich with inheritance rights.
4. There should be only one national flag and it should represent the symbols of the two peoples. The same should hold true for the future currency.
5. Every country shall keep its own language as the official language and the officials will be chosen from the people who speak that language.
6. The Serbian laws existing at present will be accepted by us and will be translated into the Bulgarian language. All regulations of the Southern Slav Kingdom will be published, with no exception, in both languages, i.e. both in Serbian and Bulgarian.

Документи [Dokumenti], 1, pp. 434-435.

Why do you think the Bulgarians chose to unite with the Serbs rather than ask for their own national state? How did they plan to preserve their national identity?

I–18. Russian report about the plans to establish a common Romanian-Bulgarian state (1867)

In Letter No. 1 of 15 April, I had the honour of informing your Excellence that the so-called Secret Bulgarian Committee consists mainly of young people and was founded with the purpose of promoting favourable public opinion towards the Bulgarians in Europe and, at the same time, of urging them to rebel against the Turkish oppression.

According to further information, gathered by myself, it turned out that this Committee was founded as a result of an agreement between the party of the Reds [Liberals] of Romania and some Bulgar-

ians. Furthermore, according to the agreement, the Romanians have obliged themselves to assist the Bulgarians in their liberation from the Turkish dominion, so that they can proclaim their state independent from the Sultan.

There is no doubt that the Romanians, in their agreement with the Bulgarians, had hidden thoughts about re-establishing the Wallach-Bulgarian state for their own benefit using the problems which a Bulgarian rebellion would create for the Turkish government. They could then proclaim an independent Romania and, as for the Bulgarians, they planned to leave them to themselves. But the Bulgarians, on their part, only had the benefits they could get for their fellow-countrymen beyond the Danube on their minds […]

Документи [Dokumenti], 1, p. 436.

? What were, according to the Russian diplomat, the real goals of the Bulgarians and of the Romanians?

Compare texts I–16, I–17 and I–18. Which project do you consider to be the most favourable for the Bulgarians?

Compare texts I–12, I–16, I–17, I–18, I–38. What are the political models put forward in these proposals?

I–19. A 19th century opinion about the relationship between political freedom and the nation: editorial published by Ljuben Karavelov in the newspaper Svoboda (November 1869)

Lyuben Karavelov (1834/1835-1879), was a writer, journalist, organiser and ideologist of the Bulgarian national liberation movement. He was the founder of the biggest Bulgarian revolutionary organisation and the editor of its newspaper. He is also considered to be one of the founders of the new Bulgarian literature

As animals living on Earth need air and fish need water, man needs freedom first and most of all. Without freedom a man cannot call himself a man, but half a man; without freedom a man cannot be what nature had intended him to be, so he cannot be happy either.

Everything an individual needs is also necessary for the whole nation. Only a nation, which has its own historical life and external and internal freedom, i.e. which has its own political and intellectual independence, can live and improve. Any nation, which does not have political freedom, is always - even with the most liberal government - exposed to some invisible influence of centralisation of the ruling nation and rarely does this influence affect the enslaved nation in a positive way.

Karavelov, p. 165.

? Analyse the statement "everything an individual needs is also necessary for the whole nation". Contrast this text in relation with text III–1 written by Dimitrie Bolintineanu and compare them. What are the authors trying to suggest? Why do you think they stress the notion of nation?

I–20. The ferman creating the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870)

All Our obedient subjects and citizens of Our Empire, enjoying full and permanent freedom of religion and all other rights, live in mutual harmony and friendship, as should be the case of fellow citizens and educated people…

Still, to Our great regret, we witnessed the disputes and disagreements which had sprung, despite Our good will, between the Bulgarian Christians and the Greek Patriarchate. […]

1. A special religious jurisdiction called the 'Bulgarian Exarchate' is being established. It shall include the bishops and eparchies listed below and some other places. The Exarchate will be authorised to deal with all the church problems of this religion.
2. The highest in rank among the bishops of this jurisdiction shall carry the title "Exarch" and he shall be the canonical chairman of the Bulgarian Holy Synod, whose headquarters will be permanently with him. […].

4. According to the Church canons, this Exarch, appointed by Our berat (order), shall have to mention the name of the Patriarch during the liturgy in Czarigard [Istanbul] .

Before electing a person worthy of becoming an Exarch, according to the Church canons, the opinion and approval of my government should be asked for. […]

If all, or at least two thirds, of the Christians living somewhere outside the places mentioned above, wish to become subjects of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if this is proved, they will have my permission.

Хрисмоматия [*Chrestomathy*], pp. 268-271.

The Bulgarian Exarchate was a separate Orthodox Church organisation, established through an Ottoman ferman (decree of the sultan) in February 1870. It continued to exist until 1953, when it was reorganised and transformed into a Bulgarian Patriarchate.

Why do you think Ottoman authorities accepted the creation of a Bulgarian autonomous exarchate? For what reason do you think Orthodox Bulgarians desired to have an autonomous church organisation, separate from the Patriarchate of Constantinople?

I–21. Results of the plebiscite on church allegiance in the Skopje and Ohrid bishoprics (1874)

After the plebiscite on appointing Bulgarian archbishops within the eparchy of Skopje and Ohrid, according to article 10 of the ferman for the Foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, it was established that out of 8,698 Christian households in the Skopje eparchy, only 567 households desired to stay with the Greek Partriarchate, and the remaining 8,131 households voted for moving to the leadership of the Bulgarian Exarchate.

According to the information given by the Thessalonica Vilayet from 21 muharem 1291 (27 February 1874), the results of the plebiscite held in the town of Ohrid and the surrounding area show that only 139 men voted for staying with the Patriarchate and 9,387 men voted for moving to the Bulgarian exarchy.

Хрисмоматия [Chrestomathy], p. 280.

Comment on the results of the plebiscite. What other kinds of information do we need in order to better understand the results? Was it unusual in the 19th century for only men to vote? Was it fair that in the Skopje eparchy there was only one vote for a whole household?

▶ v1. Slovenia: The Tabor movement (1869)

Slovenska, p.232.

Liberal-oriented Slovenians, following the Czech example initiated 'tabors', open-air meetings, to support the United Slovenia programme. For two years, up until Vienna banned these public fora, Slovenians assembled in various locations to hear speakers and pass resolutions on national issues.

What is the purpose of this picture? What is the meaning of the central image? What is the connection between landscape and national values?

I–22. Hristo Botev on the need for Bulgarians to fight for national freedom (1875)

The history of our people has been gloomy and loathsome, and their present situation is difficult and bitter.

In other words, the Bulgarian people are slaves of the Turks, slaves of themselves, slaves of the metal and even slaves of their own education and culture. If you take a look at their hard labour, at their unearthly sufferings and even at their faces you will immediately become convinced of the fact that they really "work like oxen, gather like bees and live like pigs".

It is true that many foreigners have written and are still writing a lot about our diligence, our talents and our cultural progress. Yet, almost every single one of these writers has proved and is proving mathematically that, in order to develop our untouched powers and to become "the Germans of the South" or "the Englishmen of the East", we have to break the barbarous Turkish yoke, to free ourselves of this inhuman slavery which takes up all the productiveness of our powers, and to build the Free South-Slavonic Confederation in the Bosphore boulevard.

Botev, pp.85-86.

Hristo Botev (1847-1876), was a national hero, poet, journalist and revolutionary. He mainly lived and worked in Romania. In 1874-1875, he established himself as a leader of the Bulgarian national liberation movement. In May 1876, he crossed the Danube with a small troop and died in a battle with Turkish troops. He had only written about 20 poems, but they made him a classic writer in Bulgarian literature.

What is the goal of this article? How does the author try to emphasise the pride of the Bulgarians?

Why do you think the author insisted on the idea that Bulgarians could be "the Germans of the South" or "the Englishmen of the East"? In your country, what were the common European references?

I–23. Political programme of the Bulgarian Central Charity Society (Bucharest, November 1876)

In order to make it possible to establish peace in the East, to stop the permanent ferocity of the Turks who do not respect any human right, and to fulfil the righteous wishes of the Bulgarian people, Europe is obliged to help with the implementation of the following programme:

1. To restore the Bulgarian state from Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace with the Bulgarians as a prevailing element.
2. The Bulgarian state shall have an independent government and a constitution, adopted by a legislative body elected by the people.
3. There shall be separate laws for all spheres, drafted according to the constitution and in accordance with the needs of the people.
4. All foreign minorities living among the Bulgarians shall have the same political and civil rights.
5. There shall be full freedom of conscience in the Bulgarian state.
6. Military service and general education shall be obligatory for all the citizens of the Bulgarian country.

Христоматия [Chrestomathy], p.609.

After the Ottoman suppression of the April Uprising of the Bulgarians, in August 1876, Bulgarian immigrants in Romania established the Bulgarian Central Charity Society (BCCS), a political organisation which worked out a programme with the main political demands for the national liberation of the Bulgarians.

How do you explain the expressions used in the text against the Turks and the Ottoman Empire? Do you think they referred specifically to the Ottoman suppression of the Bulgarian uprising in 1876, or were they a more general rhetorical argument? By what means did the authors intend to create the Bulgarian state? How did they anticipate the organisation of the new state?

I–24. Albanian poem from the time of the Congress of Berlin (1878)

The Albanians, like other Balkan nations, were not represented at the peace congress in Berlin, but their leaders tried to define the national goals and to mobilise the public opinion in support of these goals.

Please be careful
Of Albania
Don't tear it up in pieces
As if it were an orphan
We are not Greeks, or Bulgarians
Not even Montenegrins
We are just Albanians
And we want freedom…

Brahimi, p. 62.

? What was the purpose of this song? What did the authors transmit by enumerating the names of the peoples living in the area?

I–25. The Peace Treaty of Berlin (1878)

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, RUSSIA AND TURKEY IN BERLIN, 13 JULY 1878.

Article I. Bulgaria comprises an autonomous and tributary Principality under the suzerainty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. It will have a Christian government and a national militia.

Article XXIII. The Sublime Porte undertakes to scrupulously apply in the Island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868 with such modifications as may be considered equitable. Similar laws adapted to local requirements, with the exception of issues relating to the exemption from taxation granted to Crete, shall also be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe for which no special organisation has been provided by the present treaty. The Sublime Porte shall deputise special commissions, in which the native element shall be largely represented, to settle the details of the new laws in each province. The schemes of organisation resulting from these labours shall be submitted for examination to the Sublime Porte, which, before promulgating the Acts for putting them into force, shall consult the European Commission instituted for Eastern Roumelia.

Article XXV. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The government of Austria-Hungary, not desiring to undertake the administration of the Sanjak of Novi-Pazar, which extends between Serbia and Montenegro in a South-Easterly direction to the other side of Mitrovitza, the Ottoman administration will continue to exercise its functions there. Nevertheless, in order to assure the maintenance of the new political state of affairs, as well as freedom and security of communications, Austria-Hungary reserves the right to keep garrisons and have military and commercial roads in the whole of this part of the ancient vilayet[10] of Bosnia. To this end the governments of Austria-Hungary and Turkey reserve to themselves to come to an understanding on the details.

Article XXVI. The independence of Montenegro is recognised by the Sublime Porte and by all those of the High Contracting Parties who had not hitherto admitted it.

Article XXXIV. The High Contracting Parties recognise the independence of the Principality of Serbia, subject to the conditions set forth in the following Article.

Article XXXV. In Serbia the difference of religious creeds and denominations shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to public employment, functions, and honours, nor the exercise of the various professions and industries, in any locality whatsoever. The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship shall be assured to all persons belonging to Serbia, as well as to foreigners, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organisation of the different communions, or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

10 Province.

Article XLIII. The High Contracting Parties recognise the independence of Romania, subject to the conditions set forth in the two following Articles.

Article XLIV. In Romania the difference of religious creeds and denominations shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to public employment, functions, and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries, in any locality whatsoever. The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship shall be assured to all persons belonging to Romania, as well as to foreigners, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organisation of the different communions, or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs. The subjects and citizens of all the Powers, traders or others, shall be treated in Romania without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

Article XLV. The Principality of Romania restores to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia that portion of the Bessarabian territory detached from Russia by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, bounded on the West by the mid-channel of the Pruth [River], and on the South by the mid-channel of the Kilia Branch and the Stary-Stamboul mouth [now the modern state of Moldova].

Article LVIII. The Sublime Porte cedes to the Russian Empire in Asia, the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum [modern Armenia and Georgia, with a part of Northeastern Turkey], together with the latter port.

Article LIX. His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declares that it is his intention to constitute as Batum a free port, essentially commercial.

Article LXII. The Sublime Porte having expressed the intention to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and give it the widest scope, the Contracting Parties take note of this spontaneous declaration. In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall difference of religion be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to public employment, functions, and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries, in any locality whatsoever. The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship shall be assured to all, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organisation of the different communions, or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

Ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities travelling in Turkey in Europe, or in Turkey in Asia, shall enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges.

The right of official protection by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the Powers in Turkey is recognised both as regards the above-mentioned persons and their religious, charitable, and other establishments in the Holy Places and elsewhere. The rights possessed by France are expressly reserved, and it is well understood that no alterations can be made in the *status quo* in the Holy Places. The monks of Mount Athos, of whatever country they may be natives, shall be maintained in their former possessions and advantages, and shall enjoy, without any exception, complete equality of rights and prerogatives.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1878berlin.html

? Draw 3 maps: one of the situations before 1878, a second one of the territorial claims of each ethnic group, and the third one with the concrete provisions of the Berlin peace treaty. What observations can you make?

Game: to walk in another person's shoes

Write an essay of 400 words making your own proposals for the situation in the Balkans. Choose one of the following identities (but try not to choose your own identity): Russian, German, French, British, or Austrian-Hungarian diplomat, Ottoman representative, Albanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Serb, Croat, Montenegrin, Slovene, or Greek . Explain your choice.

Map 2: The Berlin Balkans, July 1878

v2. Greece between Turkey and Europe. Caricature from the newspaper *Aristophanes* (1882)

Louvi, p. 230.

TURKEY: "Let me go, beware, I shall eat the baby".
EUROPE: "Back off, Madame Turkey, it is thanks to me that you exist".

Why is Greece represented as a newborn child? Write a short description specifying the way the three characters are represented. What do you think? What is the author trying to suggest to the newspaper readers?

I–26. Albanian argument in favour of a separate Albanian state (1886)

We want only what every nation wants: "a separate state for ourselves, where all the people of the same blood gather around as the members of a family gather in a home."

Kondo, p. 126.

An extract from an article published by Jeronim (Girolamo) de Rada (1814-1903) in the bilingual monthly newspaper *Fiamuri i Arbrit-La Bandiera dell'Albania* (The Albanian Flag). The author was a poet and also the publisher of another bilingual newspaper *L'Albanese d'Italia*. He lived in Italy.

Why does the author use the analogy between the nation and a family? Figure out how such a vision could, in the long run, influence the attitudes towards other people living in the same territory.

I–27. Memoirs of Ivan Hadji-Nikolov[11] about the discussions in 1892 leading to the founding of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) (1893)

In July1892, I went to Sofia to look for Kosta Sahov, a respectful individual from Macedonia, who was publishing a Macedonian newspaper, who would go to Thessalonica and stand in front of the revolutionary organisation for the liberation of Macedonia.

After listening to me, Sahov told me: "I understand what you want, but you won't find the appropriate person here. They are all just talkers, when it comes to doing something, there is no-one around. There is only one person here to whom you can talk to about the Macedonian question: the student of the military school, Gose Delcev". We agreed with Kosta Sahov to inform Goce Delcev[12] that I would like to see him and that we could meet on Sunday at 14.00 at Sahov's place. At the designated time I arrived at Kosta Sahov's printing office and found them both there, in a discreet place, to discuss the matter.

The plan about the founding of the organisation:

1. The organisation is to be founded in Macedonia, and not in Sofia, because if it is founded in Sofia, the Serbs and the Greeks could treat it as a creation of the Bulgarian government, found similar organisations themselves, and then nothing would come of our organisation. It should also be a secret one.
2. The founders must be from Macedonia so that they would be in constant contact with the population in Macedonia and be exposed to the same danger as their followers, through which they will earn the trust of the population more easily.
3. The slogan should be "autonomy for Macedonia". Our demands must rely upon article 23 of the Berlin agreement so that there is hope for success. To achieve autonomy for Macedonia means not only to tear it away from the Turks but also from the Serbs and the Greeks. Once the borders of an autonomous Macedonia are drawn, the Serbs and the Greeks will not be in a position to ask for some parts of it, while if we go for annexation to Bulgaria, the Serbs and the Greeks may ask for some parts too. Our task should be to save Macedonia as a whole, and that could happen through an autonomous Macedonia.
4. The organisation should be autonomous and independent, and should not have any connections or engagements with the governments of the neighbouring countries, in order to avoid their influence upon it. Neither must it be a tool of any of these governments used to provoke counteraction from any of the other neighbouring governments.
5. From the Macedonians in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, we will only ask for mate-

11 Ivan Hadji-Nikolov (1861-1934), one of the founders of the IMRO.

12 Goce Delchev (1872-1903), an important figure of the Macedonian liberation struggle.

rial and moral support, without their interference in our actions.

After four hours of conversation, Kosta Sahov and Goce Delcev accepted the plan. Goce said: "Listen, Mr. Hadji Nikolov, so much time has passed, let one more year go by. In a year, I will have finished military school and will be proclaimed an officer. I will resign and go to Thessalonica and we will found the revolutionary organisation".

Makedonium, pp. 29-30.

After the peace treaty of Berlin, Macedonia had remained the most important Ottoman territory in Europe. Being ethnically mixed, it soon became a competing ground for Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian nationalists. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation was founded in 1893. It organised the 1903 'Ilinden' rebellion against the Ottoman rule, which was defeated. During the Balkan Wars, Macedonia was occupied and eventually divided by Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. After World War I, IMRO gradually turned from a grassroots national liberation movement into a fascist, terrorist and drug-dealing organisation, which carried out guerrilla warfare, particularly against Serbia (Yugoslavia) and informally controlled parts of Bulgarian Macedonia. It also heavily influenced political life in Bulgaria up until 1934, when it was coercively disbanded by the Bulgarian government.

Look at the text and identify the practical problems of building up a political organisation in late 19th century Southeast Europe. Why do you think it was so important to establish a distinction between autonomy and independence?

I–28. Declaration of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO), informing the Great Powers of its decision to start an armed uprising (1903)

The unpunished violence of the Mohammedans and the systematic pressure of the administration, forced the Christians from Macedonia and Adrianople in order to start a mass armed struggle. They accepted this extreme solution only after all the other means to introduce European interference in the spirit of the international agreements, that were supposed to regulate the condition of the population, had failed. This outside interference still remains to be the only means to remove the evil and to stop the bloodshed.

The unproductive steps undertaken until now in order to improve the Turkish regime by palliative measures, have only brought about an increase in the Mohammedan fanaticism and state pressure – this interference could only be effective if it bears the introduction of these direct consequences in mind:

1. Appointment: in accordance with the Great Powers, the chief governor should be a Christian who has never belonged to the Turkish administration and who would be independent from the Sublime Porte in the fulfilment of his duties;
2. Creation of a permanent collective international control with wide authorities for sanctions.

Explaining the reasons that caused this desperate act of the rebel populations, as well as the measures that could stop its consequences, the Internal Organisation divests itself of all responsibility and declares that it will lead the struggle until the full accomplishment of its goal, deriving energy from the recognition of its duty and the sympathies of the whole world.

Odbrani, p. 484.

What was the purpose of this text? What were the intentions of the authors? Is armed confrontation presented as a desired goal, or as an imposed means to realise other goals?

I–29. The opinion of Krste Misirkov on the need to find political solutions to the Macedonian problem within the framework of the Ottoman Empire (1903)

[…] If religious propaganda tries to prevent the in-

tegration of the Macedonian intelligentsia and the Macedonian people, then the first thing to be done is to create one single apostolic church in Macedonia, i.e. an Ohrid Archbishop, which would be the 'Archbishopric of the whole of Macedonia'.

Religious propaganda may contain something against the integration of the Macedonian intelligentsia and people only because of their national considerations. If it is so, it is natural that along with the demand for ecclesiastic reform, there will also be educational reforms, i.e. the Archbishopric will take control of school matters and will adjust them to the nationality of its parochians: in the Greek eparchies, the language of the schools and churches will be Greek; in the Vlach ones, the Vlach language, and in the Slavic eparchies, the Macedonian language.

Then all the national and religious propaganda, that has so far divided the people into different groups hostile to each other, will be removed and there will be peace for the people, for Macedonia, for Turkey and for Europe. […]

This outcome is best for Turkey as well. […] If, however, it is officially recognised, there will be several Slav nationalities in Macedonia, not a single one, that is neither Bulgarian nor Serbian, and if Macedonia singles out its own autonomous archbishopric, then Turkey will get rid of the interference of all the three neighbouring states in Macedonian matters at once.

Our national interests dictate that the Macedonian intelligentsia and the people of Macedonia help Turkey get out of the difficult position in which it was put by the national and religious propaganda circulating in Macedonia and by the states that have interests there. We do not need to join Bulgaria, Serbia or Greece. Turkish territorial integrity is more important to us than it is to Russia and Western Europe. Turkey has the best geographic position. Turkish citizenship and the preservation of the Turkish integrity give us, the people of Macedonia, the right to enjoy full citizenship throughout the whole of Turkey. This right could give us substantial material gains. That is why Macedonian intelligentsia, if it concentrates first and foremost on its own interests, should engage all its moral forces in the preservation of the integrity of Turkey. In exchange, we could then expect, and have the right to hope, that our generous master will grant us full autonomy in ecclesiastic and educational matters, full equality before the law and local self-government in Macedonia. […]

Such a peaceful programme from the people of Macedonia would gain the support and approval of the Great Powers, interested in the integrity of Turkey.

Odbrani, pp. 551-552.

Krste Misirkov, together with Dimitrija Čupovski, was a member of a group of Macedonian students active in Saint Petersburg during the first two decades of the 20th century. His book *On Macedonian matters,* published in 1903 in Sofia, is widely recognised as a foundation-stone for the development of a Macedonian national identity among many of the region's inhabitants.

Why did Krste Misirkov consider the preservation of the Ottoman Empire to be the best solution for the Macedonians? What was the role of the church in his project? Could the author be trying to present the Ottoman Empire as an alternative to a nation-state? Compare texts I–23 and I–24, in light of the fact that the Macedonian uprising had been defeated in 1903.

I–30. Plan of Aurel C. Popovici to restructure Austria-Hungary into a federal state called 'The United States of Greater Austria' (1906)

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES
OF A FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The entire current territory of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, except for Bosnia and Herzegovina, is divided, according to the nations living in it, into the following national and political individualities: the German Austria, the German Bohemia, the German Moravia (Silesia), Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Western Gallitia, Eastern Gallitia, Slovakia, the Ukraine, Vojvodina, Szeklerland, Tirol and Trieste.

These 15 nation states together comprise a mo-

narchic federal state called 'The United States of Greater Austria' under the sceptre of His Majesty, the Emperor Franz Joseph I.

All the citizens of a nation-state are, at the same time, Austrian citizens. No one is allowed to express his political rights in more than one nation-state.

[…]

The imperial or federal government is made up of the representatives of the nation states.

The chancellor, selected by the emperor is the head of the imperial or federal government.

The Parliament of the empire is made up of:

a) the Chamber of Deputies

b) the Senate

[…]

The governments of the nation states send their authorised representatives to the imperial government according to the following proportional votes: German Austria 7, Hungary 7, Bohemia 5, Transylvania 4, Croatia 3, Western Gallitia 3, Eastern Gallitia 3, German Bohemia 2, Slovakia 2, German Moravia 1, the Ukraine 1, Wojwodina 1, Tirol 1, Trieste 1, Szeklerland 1, a total of 42 votes. […].

Each nation state has a parliament, a separated government and a judicial power.

The emperor selects an imperial governor to lead the government of each nation state. He has to be a citizen of the respective nation state.

The emperor selects the members of the government taking into consideration the suggestions of the governor.

Each nation state has its own constitution. It must be approved by the imperial power for it to become effective. Up to that moment, the government of the national state may independently exercise all the autonomous rights of the country.

The Empire guarantees the integrity of the nation states' territory, as well as their autonomy, provided that it is not limited by the provisions of the empire's constitution and by their special constitutions. […]

Each nation state may decide what the official language of the state should be.

The international communication language of the empire is German.

Nevertheless, in the imperial parliament, each member may use his own language.[…].

All laws, decrees and publications of the imperial authorities are to be conceived and published only in the official language of the respective component state.

All inscriptions of the imperial authorities, including the military ones, are to be made only in the respective official languages.

The official languages of the component states are to be used on coins and bills as well.

[…]

Vienna is the capital city and the residential city of the empire.

Popovici, pp. 288-297.

Aurel C. Popovici (1863-1917) was a Romanian publicist from Transylvania. He studied medicine and political science in Vienna and Graz, was a member of the National Romanian Committee in Transylvania, and struggled for the rights of the Romanians in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. His plan to extend the Austrian-Hungarian dualism to a true federal system was designed within the context of the efforts of a group of intellectuals around Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne, to find solutions for strengthening the monarchy endangered by the development of various nationalist movements.

How did Aurel C. Popovici resolve the relations between the national and federal levels? Figure out why he preferred the federal form instead of separate nation-states

I–31. The strife of the Albanians in their efforts to obtain their own nation-state, presented by the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1912)

Lord Goschen, then H.M. Ambassador at Constantinople, in his report on the subject, put Albania's care in a nutshell, when he said: "Nor can it be denied that the Albanian movement is a perfectly natural one.

As ancient and distinct a race as any by whom they are surrounded, they have seen the nationality of these neighbouring races taken under the protection of various European Powers and gratified in their aspirations for more independent existence […] Meanwhile they have not received similar treatment. Their nationality is ignored, […] exchanges of territory are proposed, other difficulties arise, but it is still at the expense of Albania, and Albanians are handed over to Slavs and Greeks without reference to the claims of nationality".

Durham, p. 72.

v3. *Proclamation of Albanian independence at Vlora* (1912) – contemporary engraving

Hudhri, p. 44.

The figure beside the flag represents Skanderbeg.

What is the image's central element? Why do you think independence is related to the national symbols? What is the role of Skanderbeg in this image?

I–32. Speech of Cemal pasha in Damascus about the relations between Turks and Arabs (1913)

[…] I would like to tell you this: the Turkism movement you see today in Istanbul and the Islamic countries inhabited by the Turks, is by no means contrary to Arabist thought. We know very well that, up until now, there were Greek, Bulgarian and Armenian movements in the Ottoman Empire. To these, Arabism was added. The Turk had forgotten about himself. He was even ashamed of uttering his nationality. Such a decline in nationalism could result ultimately in a certain finale. Fearing this, the Turkish youth mobilised itself with a praiseworthy awakening. It declared a national holy war (milli cihad) to tell the Turk that he was Turkish and that Turkdom had infinite virtues…Now, I assure you that the Turkism movement is absolutely no enemy of the Arabist movement. It is its brother and inseparable comrade. The Turkish youth, with his whole heart would like to see the progress of the Arab and the acquisition of all his national rights. The present endeavours of the Turkish youth are confined to such important points as educating Turks after awakening their national sense, making them industrious, freeing them from enslavement, restoring their health, increasing their population and welfare . In sum, presenting the Turk to the world as a respected and blessed element worthy of the right to live among the nations of the twentieth century… O you, the elite representatives of the Arabic youth, you too, work towards the attainment of the same ideals…"

Cemal, p.220.

Cemal pasha was a career officer and one of the leaders of the Young Turks. After the coup d'etat of January 1913, he became the military governor of Istanbul, then Minister of Maritime issues, and during World War I, army commander in Syria, where he tried to resist the British and to preserve the loyalty of the Arab population to the Ottoman Empire.

What was the purpose of this speech?

I–33. The project of Dimitrija Čupovski to establish a Balkan Federal Democratic Republic (Saint Petersburg, 1917)

THE BALKANS FOR THE BALKAN PEOPLES,
FULL SELF-DETERMINATION OF EACH NATION.

The ongoing World War brings freedom and self-determination to many enslaved peoples. For centuries, Macedonia fought and spilt rivers of blood for this freedom and independence, but was traitorously torn apart by the criminal chauvinism and greediness of the bloody dynasties around her. The effects of this unprecedented pillage caused, not only the mutual extermination of the Balkan peoples, but also this unseen world war. Now, when a big part of the Balkan peninsula is in ruins, and the remainder of its peoples are under the Austro-Hungarian yoke, we, the Macedonians, suffering more than any other, call upon all of you, Balkan peoples, to forget the past quarrels, to unite and join our all-Balkan revolutionary programme for a common struggle and for the creation of a Balkan Federal Democratic Republic.

The programme of our Revolutionary Committee contains the following:

1. All Balkan peoples would be obliged to remove the existing dynasties and to introduce republican governments.
2. Every Balkan republic would be entirely autonomous in internal affairs.
3. All Balkan republics would make up one Balkan Federal Democratic Republic.
4. The Balkan Federal Democratic Republic would be composed of the following republics: Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Thrace.
5. As independent republics recognised not only as mono-tribal states, but also as regions with a mixed population whose vital interests are closely connected with the geographical, historical, political, economical and cultural conditions.
6. In the republics with mixed populations, autonomous districts and municipalities could be organised, where every nationality would enjoy the full freedom of the maternal language, faith and traditions.
7. The official language of each separate republic would be the language of the majority.
8. Every single republic would send authorised representatives to a general Federal parliament of the Balkan Federal Democratic Republic.
9. From the composition of the authorised representatives, a Federal Government and a Council shall be formed, replacing the president of the Federal Republic.
10. The Federal Government and the Council shall be composed of equal numbers of representatives from each republic-federation.
11. The Federal Government and the Council shall coordinate all the common internal matters and the external international matters of the Balkan Republic."

Makedonium, pp. 75-76.

Dimitrija Čupovski (1878-1940) was a leading member of the Macedonian Association in Saint Petersburg. The unfolding of World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917 encouraged him to design bold plans for the reorganisation of Southeast Europe after the war.

Read the first paragraph carefully and compare it with the texts I–28 and I–29. Figure out why Čupovski preferred a federal republic to a Macedonian nation-state.

I–34. The Corfu Declaration (1917) on the principles of the union of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

The former Coalition Committee and the present Cabinet of the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as the representatives of the Yugoslav Committee based in London, functioning independently so far, in the presence of and in cooperation with the president

of the (Serbian) Parliament, held a Conference in which they exchanged their thoughts and ideas concerning the future of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in one state.

(…) The representatives of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes must, most importantly and primarily, stress the fact that this nation of ours is of the same blood, language, same in their feeling of unity, by the continuity and wholeness of the territory where it lives, and also united by the same objectives in life where national existence is concerned, as well as by moral and material development.

Our nation of three names that has suffered heavily from harsh power and injustice and that has suffered greatly because of its self-determination, has embraced with great joy this sublime principle as the main goal of the terrible fight caused by the disregard for a nation's right to self-determination.

Also, the authorised representatives of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, confirm that our people's only non-negotiable demand is the demand that it imposes on the basis of the free self-determination of a nation, to be fully liberated of any foreign occupation, and united in a single, free, independent nation state, that their mutual state be founded on these modern and democratic principles (section 1).

Our people do not wish for anything that belongs to someone else; our people only ask for that which belongs to them, we wish to be liberated as a whole and to be united. And that is why, with full awareness and resolution, our people will not accept any partial solution to the problem of national-liberation and unification. It imposes the problem of liberation from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its unification with Serbia and Montenegro as one inseparable whole.

Petranović, Zečević, pp. 66-68.

The dramatic events of 1917 (especially the revolutionary movement in Russia and the American involvement in the war) led the Serbian government and the Yugoslav Committee - formed by exiled politicians from Austrian-Hungarian South Slav territories - to overcome their disagreements and face the world with a common political programme. The declaration was negotiated in June 1917 on the island of Corfu, where the Serbian government had retreated after having been forced to leave Serbia in 1915. It included 13 major stipulations on the name of the future state (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), the parliamentary, constitutional monarchy with the Karageorgevich dynasty as rulers; the coat of arms, flag and the equality of existing national symbols; the equality of the three national names, the alphabets, the religious denominations, territory, the equality of its citizens before state and law, etc. This document had a significant impact on the attitudes of emigrant Yugoslav politicians and the people living in the South Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary.

? What was the main proposal made by the Serbs for the future of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes? What were the arguments for sustaining this proposal? Why do you think a common state, and not three separate states, was proposed? Today, what advice on the future of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 could you offer?

I–35. 14 Points Speech of President Woodrow Wilson (1918): the provisions relating to Southeast Europe

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

[…]

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike […]

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1918wilson.html

U.S. president Woodrow Wilson put forth his Fourteen Points proposal for ending the war in a speech delivered on 8 January 1918. In it he established the basis of a peace treaty and the foundation of the League of Nations.

What were the intentions of Woodrow Wilson regarding the Balkans? How would you characterise them? Assess whether these solutions could have improved the situation in the Balkans in the long term.

I–36. Resolution of the National Assembly of Alba Iulia, deciding the union of Transylvania with Romania (1918)

I. The National Assembly of all Romanians in Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Country, gathered by its rightful representatives at Alba-Iulia on the 18th of November/1st of December, decrees the unification of those Romanians and of all the territories inhabited by them with Romania. The National Assembly proclaims above all the inalienable right of the Romanian nation to the whole Banat bordered by the Mures and Tisa rivers and the Danube.

II. The National Assembly grants to the territories mentioned above, provisional autonomy until the meeting of the Constituency chosen by universal suffrage.

III. Regarding this matter, the National Assembly proclaims the following fundamental principles for the foundation of the new Romanian State:

1. Full national freedom for all the co-habiting peoples. Each people will study, manage and judge in its own language by individual of its own stock and each people will have the right to be represented in the judicial system and to govern the country in accordance with the number of its people.
2. Equal rights and full autonomous religious freedom for all the religions in the State.
3. Full democratic system in all the realms of public life. Universal suffrage, direct, equal, secret, in each commune, proportionally, for both sexes, 21 years old at the representation in communes, counties or parliament.
4. Full freedom of the press, association and meeting, free propagation of all human thoughts.
5. Radical agrarian reform. All the assets, above all the big ones, will be inscribed. The wills by which the heir consigns the land to a third party will be abolished; meanwhile, on the basis of the right to cut down estates freely, the peasant will be able to own his own property (ploughing land, pasture, for-

est), at least one for him and his family to labour on. The guiding principle of this agrarian policy is to promote social equalization on the one hand, and give force to production on the other.

6. The industrial workers will be granted the same rights and privileges that are in force in the most advanced western industrial states.

IV. The National Assembly would like the peace congress to establish the community of free nations so that justice and freedom be ensured for all big and small nations alike and in the future, war will be abolished as a means of controlling international relations.

V. The Romanians, gathered in this National Assembly, greet their brothers in Bukovina who broke away from the Austro-Hungarian Empire yoke and were united in their fatherland, Romania.

VI. The National Assembly greets with affection and enthusiasm the liberation of the nations subjugated, until now, under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, namely the nations: Czechoslovak, Austro-German, Yugoslav, Polish and Carpatho-Russian and decides that this greeting should be conveyed to all the other nations.

VII. The National Assembly meekly evokes the memory of the brave Romanians, whose blood was shed in this war, for our dream to come true, as they died for the freedom and unity of the Romanian nation.

VIII. The National Assembly expresses its gratitude and admiration towards all the Allied Powers, which, by their brilliant battles waged stubbornly against an enemy trained for many decades for war, released civilisation from the terror of barbarity.

IX. To continue to manage the affairs of the Romanian nation in Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Country, the National Assembly decides to found a Great National Romanian Convention, that will have all the rights to represent the Romanian nation any time and everywhere in the relations with all the nations of the world and to make all the necessary decisions in the interest of the nation.

http://www.cimec.ro/Istorie/Unire/rezo_eng.htm

? What are the proposals regarding the minorities in the Romanian state? Why, in your opinion, did the Romanians include such statements in their declaration of union with Romania?

I–37. Speech of Iuliu Maniu at the Romanian National Assembly of Alba Iulia (1918)

In order to remove all doubts that foreigners might have on what we intend to do with our union and our national freedom, the Romanian Great National Council declares that it does not want an empire of oppression. We do not want the oppressed, which we were, to become oppressors. We want to secure freedom and development for all peoples living together. Our Great National Council insists that it follow our old saying: "What you do not like for yourself, do not do to another". In this land of Greater Romania, we want to enthrone national freedom for all. We would like each nation to be able to cultivate and ask for justice in its own language and to pray to God in its own faith.

We, who shed tears when our language was taken away from schools, churches and justice systems, shall not take it away from others. We shall not take the means of life from others. We do not want to live off others' sweat, because we can live off our industry and our power, through our work [Applause]. Only through democratic rule will we be able to strengthen our Romanian land, especially when we have to take into account the needs of modern statehood. Only by having a rule of rights and liberties inside the country will we have the strength to validate our cause in the wide world.

Murgescu, p.284.

Iuliu Maniu (1873-1953) was one of the main leaders of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania under Austrian-Hungarian rule. He cham-

pioned the union with Romania, and became the President of the Great National Council, which administered Transylvania up until its full incorporation into Greater Romania. During the interwar period, Maniu became president of the National Peasant Party, and prime minister (1928-1930, 1932-1933). He was a defender of democratic values against the various dictatorships established in Romania after 1938, and died in a Communist prison.

Maniu's discourse reflects the enthusiasm and generous feelings of the movement to establish a true nation-state at the end of World War I. Yet, the spirit of his discourse, although included in the resolution of the Great National Assembly, was not shared by all Romanian politicians. Unfortunately, the concrete policies of interwar Romania towards national minorities were far from the standards which Maniu tried to establish in 1918.

? Compare documents I–36 and I–37. What are the differences between a speech and an official resolution?

I–38. A proposal for the organisation of a Macedonian state with a cantonal administration following the Swiss model (1919)

[…] Every honest conscience and every spirit concerned about the future of humankind calls for the respect of the free self-determination of the peoples. We, the people of Macedonia, ask this rule to be respected with regards to Macedonia. The people of Macedonia have the necessary capacities for self-rule, because they are not an amorphous mass or an unconscious community as many interested writers would like to make us believe. On the contrary, under this apparent chaos there is spiritual unity resting upon solid psychological ties such as: constant and mass revolutions, common sufferings and pains under the same yoke. One of the main connecting tissues of this spiritual unity is precisely this sublime effort of the masses of the Macedonian people for the independence of their country, constantly creating heroes, apostles and martyrs.

We declare our right to live, underlining for the last time, the will of the huge majority of the following Macedonians: independent Macedonia under cantonal administration according to the example of democratic Switzerland and under protectorate of one of the disinterested powers: the United States of America.

For everybody who knows Macedonia and the appetites of the Balkan states, it will not be difficult to understand that by this we are striving to accomplish four goals:

1) By promoting Macedonia as an independent state, the conflict between the Balkan states will end once and for all, because the Macedonian people will cease to be the object of transactions amongst its neighbours.
2) The cantonal administration that we propose to introduce in our country, according to Swiss democracy, will secure minorities, regardless of the differences of languages or religions, the absolute equality in their economical and spiritual development.
3) The protectorate by one of the Great Powers over Macedonia is necessary in order to stop the future intrigues of the corrupted diplomacy of the Balkan states.
4) Once free and independent, Macedonia, thanks first and foremost to its splendid geographic position, will serve as the uniting tissue between the Balkan states, will allow them to meet without arms in their hands and will contribute to the realisation of a Balkan confederacy.

Lozano, June 1919
The General Council
of the Macedonian Associations in Switzerland

Odbrani, pp. 900-901.

? Find the arguments the authors of the memoir used in order to support the idea of a Macedonian independent state. Comment on the arguments for a Macedonian state following the Swiss model. Do you think that they were appropriate given the historical situation at the end of World War I? If you had been a member of a Macedonian Association, what kind of solution would you have suggested?

Map 3: Southeast Europe after the Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923

I–39. Zürich Agreement on Cyprus between Greece and Turkey (1959)

1. The State of Cyprus shall be a Republic with a presidential regime, the President being Greek and the Vice-President Turkish, elected by universal suffrage by the Greek and Turkish communities of the island respectively.
2. The official languages of the Republic of Cyprus shall be Greek and Turkish. Legislative and administrative instruments and documents shall be drawn up and promulgated in the two official languages.
3. The Republic of Cyprus shall have its own flag of neutral design and colour, chosen jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

   Authorities and communities shall have the right to fly the Greek and Turkish flags on holidays at the same time as the flag of Cyprus.

   The Greek and Turkish communities shall have the right to celebrate Greek and Turkish national holidays.[…]
5. Executive authority shall be vested in the President and the Vice-President. For this purpose they shall have a Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers […]
6. Legislative authority shall be vested in a House of Representatives elected for a period of 5 years by universal suffrage of each community separately in the proportion of 70 per cent for the Greek community and 30 per cent for the Turkish community, this proportion being fixed independently of statistical data […]
11. The Civil Service shall be composed as to 70 per cent of Greeks and as to 30 per cent of Turks.

    It is understood that this quantitative division will be applied, as far as practicable, in all grades of the Civil Service.

    In regions or localities where one of the two communities is in a majority approaching 100 per cent, the organs of the local administration shall be composed solely of officials belonging to that community […]
18. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall each have the right to exercise the prerogative of mercy to persons from their respective communities who are condemned to death. In cases where the plaintiffs and the convicted persons are members of different communities the prerogative of mercy shall be exercised by agreement between the President and the Vice-President. In the event of disagreement the vote for clemency shall prevail. When mercy is accorded the death penalty shall be commuted to life imprisonment.
19. In the event of agricultural reform, lands shall be redistributed only to persons who are members of the same community as the expropriated owners. […]
21. A Treaty guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity and constitution of the new State of Cyprus shall be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Turkey. A Treaty of military alliance shall also be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey.

    These two instruments shall have constitutional force. (This last paragraph shall be inserted in the Constitution as a basic article.)
22. It shall be recognised that the total or partial union of Cyprus with any other State, or a separatist independence for Cyprus (i.e. the partition of Cyprus into two independent States), shall be excluded. […]
24. The Greek and Turkish Governments shall have the right to subsidise institutions for education, culture, athletics, and charity belonging to their respective communities.

    Equally, where either community considers that it has not the necessary number of schoolmasters, professors, or priests for the working of its institutions, the Greek and Turkish Governments may provide them to the extent strictly necessary to meet their needs. […]
26. The new State which is to come into being with the signature of the Treaties shall be established as quickly as possible and within a period of not

more than 3 months from the signature of the Treaties.

27. All the above Points shall be considered to be basic articles of the Constitution of Cyprus.

http://www.kibris.gen.tr/english/photos/documents/zurich02.html

In the 1950s, the Greek Cypriots intensified the liberation movement against British rule, which had been established in 1878. A guerrilla campaign launched by EOKA[13] (unofficially backed by Greece) proved to be effective in undermining British rule. Nevertheless, the Turkish Cypriots (backed by Turkey) opposed the prospect of a union with Greece, and demanded instead the partition of Cyprus. Finally, the Greek and Turkish prime-ministers Constantine Karamanlis and Adnan Menderes reached a compromise agreement in Zürich on 11 February 1959, establishing the principles for the functioning of an independent state of Cyprus. The subsequent adoption of a constitution and a set of inter-related treaties which secured military bases for Britain and the intervention right for Greece and Turkey (treaty of establishment & treaty of guarantee) allowed Cyprus to become an independent state on 19 August 1960.

What do you think of the special provisions on the political representation of both communities?

Do you know of any other historical experiences of similar political systems?

I–40. Franjo Tudjman arguing for the right of each nation to have its own state (1982)

No nation can give up its own interests and aims because that would mean giving up on life. Moreover, nations are not allowed to commit suicide, nor is a secret murder possible: their executioner or crime executor is always well-known by history. Nations are irreplaceable cells of the human community and the whole world. This fact can't be disputed. That's why the fight for national survival, for self-determination and national freedom is not, and can't be, a crime. […] Each nation, regardless of how big or small it is, and irregardless of what kind it is, has a natural and historical right to its place and sovereignty in the human community, just as any man has a right in society […]

Za Hrvatsku, p. 218.

Franjo Tudjman (1922-1999) was a historian and politician, a member of the Communist resistance movement during World War II, and later a Communist administrator who was charged by Tito of being a Croatian nationalist.and sentenced to many years in prison, and finally president of the Republic of Croatia (1990-1999).

How does Tudjman argue for the right and the need of each nation to "national freedom"? Can mankind exist if there are no nations? What is your opinion on this issue?

Compare this text with texts I–4, I–5, I–6, I–14, I–21. Find the common arguments used in all these texts.

I–41. Kosovo Declaration of Independence (2008)

A. DECISION BY THE ASSEMBLY OF KOSOVO

Assembly of Kosovo, Approves
KOSOVA DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

1. We, the democratically-elected leaders of our people, hereby declare Kosovo to be an independent and sovereign state. This declaration reflects the will of our people and it is in full accordance with the recommendations of UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari and his Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement.
2. We declare Kosovo to be a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic, guided by the prin-

13 Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters). See texts IV-6 and IV-11.

ciples of non-discrimination and equal protection under the law. We shall protect and promote the rights of all communities in Kosovo and create the conditions necessary for their effective participation in political and decision-making processes. […]

10. Kosovo declares its commitment to peace and stability in our region of southeast Europe. Our independence brings to an end the process of Yugoslavia's violent dissolution. While this process has been a painful one, we shall work tirelessly to contribute to a reconciliation that would allow southeast Europe to move beyond the conflicts of our past and forge new links of regional cooperation. We shall therefore work together with our neighbours to advance a common European future. […]
11. We express, in particular, our desire to establish good relations with all our neighbours, including the Republic of Serbia with whom we have deep historical, commercial and social ties that we seek to develop further in the near future. We shall continue our efforts to contribute to relations of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of Serbia, while promoting reconciliation among our people.

D- 001 Pristina, 17 February 2008
President of the Assembly of Kosova
Jakup KRASNIQI

http://www.assembly-kosova.org/?krye=news&newsid=1635&lang=en – accessed 10.10.2008

B. DECISION BY THE SERBIAN ASSEMBLY

At the first sitting of its First Extraordinary Session in 2008, on 18 February 2008, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia adopted a Decision Confirming the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia "to annul the illegitimate acts of the provisional institutions of self-government in Kosovo and Metohija on their declaration of unilateral independence".

1. The acts and actions of the Provisional Institutions of Self-government of Kosovo and Metohija proclaiming unilateral independence shall hereby be annulled as they violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, the United Nations Charter, UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999), other relevant Security Council resolutions, as well as valid international law. These acts and actions constitute a violent and unilateral secession of a part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia and shall therefore be null and void. These acts shall not have any legal effect either in the Republic of Serbia or in the international legal order. Unilateral secession of a part of the territory of a sovereign state constitutes legal violence against the Republic of Serbia and violence against valid international law.
2. The Government of the Republic of Serbia reasserts with this Decision that the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija is an inalienable part of a single and indivisible constitutional and legal state order of the Republic of Serbia based on the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the United Nations Charter. […]

PC No 1
Belgrade, 18 February 2008
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

www. parlament.sr.gov.rs/content/akta/akta/detalji - accessed 5 December 2008.

At the end of the Kosovo War in 1999, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 placed Kosovo under transitional UN administration and stipulated that an eventual UN-facilitated political process would determine the future status of Kosovo, i.e. whether it would become independent or remain part of Serbia. After long negotiations, UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari presented the UN Security Council a package of proposals in April 2007, which included both provisions to protect minorities and a clear recommendation that Kosovo should become independent, subject to a period of international supervision. This proposal was accepted by the representa-

tives of the Kosovo Albanians, rejected by Serbia, and prevented from being adopted as a UN Security Council Resolution by the opposition of Russia, which holds veto-rights in the Security Council. Another round of negotiations demanded by the UN Secretary-General and led by a U.S./EU/Russian troika of negotiators ended on 10 December 2007, without having achieved an agreement between the parties on the status of Kosovo. On 17 February 2008, the Kosovo Assembly, boycotted by 11 Serbian deputies, approved with the unanimity of 109 present deputies, the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo. The Serbian government had already issued on 14 February 2008, a decision annulling Kosovo's expected declaration of independence, and this decision was confirmed by the Parliament of Serbia on 18 February 2008. The situation is far from settled, different states having different opinions on whether or not to support Kosovo's independence. The United States, most European Union countries and several other states have recognized the independence of Kosovo, but other states have refused to do so, and the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, in October 2008, the Serbian request for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on whether the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo is in accordance with international law.

Tasks:

Try to list 3 arguments in favour of the independence of Kosovo, and 3 arguments in favour of Kosovo remaining part of Serbia.

What was the position of your country regarding the independence of Kosovo? What were the reasons for it?

What was the position of the European Union regarding the independence of Kosovo? What do you know of the International Civilian Representative for Kosovo (ICR)?

Map 4: Europe after World War I

Organising the Nation-State

The new Southeast European nation-states faced serious problems, common to most of them. Undoubtedly, the first was the definition of the new state structures and mechanisms. Constitutions were often crucial to this process, and besides the legal framework, there was also the complicated issue of actual institution building. The new political elites tried to combine western models and local/national traditions and interests in a practical manner. In spite of republican attempts during the long 19th century, all of the new Southeast European states became monarchies, some ruled by local princes (in Montenegro and in Serbia), others ruled by princes of Western origin (in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and in Albania). Only after World War I, did this pattern change and the new nation-states, as well as some older ones, chose (or were coerced into choosing) the republican form of government. The establishment of a constitutional, multi-party and reasonably democratic political system proved to be an extremely difficult and often sinuous process, hampered by social rigidities, economic and cultural backwardness, and by authoritarian traditions and manners.

The issue of defining citizenship was extremely sensitive. The new nation-states were not ethnically or religiously homogeneous. Besides, the modern world generated significant cross-border movements of people which increased the population diversity. Various prejudices and interests shaped mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion, which ranged from the setting-up of legal boundaries, to practical forms of discrimination. In this realm, progress was particularly complex; the granting of full rights to religious and ethnic minorities, often imposed by foreign powers, was counterbalanced by the rise of xenophobic sentiments, violent confrontations and suffering in moments of crisis.

The new nation-states were fragile and vulnerable. In order to survive, they had to build up viable institutions and to modernise. This included building an effective administration and a reliable military system, unifying laws and measures, restructuring the church on national bases, and also building railways. Nation-building was not limited to institutions and infrastructures. It also implied a process of acculturation. Public education, learned societies, and various other cultural media reshaped people's minds, legitimised the new political systems and led individuals and social groups to identify themselves with the new nation-states.

IIa. General aspects of state organisation

II–1. Constitution draft written by Rigas Velestinlis (1797)

On the Republic

Article 1. THE HELLENIC[14] REPUBLIC is a united whole which includes various races and religions; it does not see the differences in faith in a hostile way; it is indivisible, all the rivers and seas which separate its counties are all closely knit and form an inseparable whole.

On the Division of the People

Article 2. THE HELLENIC PEOPLE, i.e. all inhabitants of this state irrespective of religion and language,

14 We use the word 'Hellenic' instead of 'Greek' because for Rigas, the term does not refer to a state of Greeks but to a state inspired by classical political ideals. Besides, in his texts, Rigas used the term 'Hellene' and 'Hellas' and not 'Greek' and 'Greece' or 'Romioi' as was the case with other scholars of the same period (see, for example, texts I-4 and I-7).

are divided into assemblies per local authority so as to exercise their power of ruling; that is, they gather in each county to profess their opinion on each problem. […]

On Citizenship

Article 4. Every person over 21 years of age, born and living in this sovereignty, is a citizen.

- Every foreigner over 21 years of age, who has lived in this state for one year and makes a living with his work, is a citizen.[…]
- Anyone who speaks the spoken or [ancient] Hellenic language and helps Hellas, even if he lives in the antipodes (as the Hellenic yeast has spread over both hemispheres), is a Hellene and a citizen.
- Anyone who is a Christian and does not speak the spoken or [ancient] Hellenic language, but only helps Hellas, is a citizen.
- Finally, any foreigner whom the Administration believes to be a worthy inhabitant of the Homeland, for instance a good craftsman, an assiduous teacher or a deserving patriot, is welcomed by the Homeland and enjoys equal rights with all fellow citizens.

Rigas, pp. 45-47.

Extracts from the Constitution written in 1797 by Rigas Velestinlis (1757-1798), one of the most important representatives of the Greek Enlightenment. Influenced by the French revolutionary constitution of 1793, he defines, as Greek people, all those who live in the republic, irrespective of religion or language, and who gather to decide upon common matters. Rigas was arrested by the Austrian police, accused of 'conspiracy' and delivered to the Turkish authorities who executed him in Belgrade in June 1798.

According to the author, who should the citizens of the Greek Republic be? What is the relationship between citizenship, Greeks living in Greece, and those living abroad? What rights and duties are assigned to foreigners? Discuss the relationship between citizenship and religion as presented in the project for the Constitution. What elements are inspired from the French Revolution? Compare this text with further developments in II–10 and II–11.

II–2. The speech of Boža Grujević in the first session of the Serbian Council (1805)

[…] We should institute and reinforce well in Serbia the principles of reason and justice, and strengthen them well with all our might, so that every force and power should be subjected to them. And this wise and fair law should be our first master and ruler. It should command masters, voivodas[15], the Council, the clergy, the bishops and everyone else, big and small. It will defend us, and safeguard our freedom and liberty.

Where the constitution is good, i.e. where the laws are well established and where the government is well organised under the law, there is freedom, there is liberty, and when one or more persons command arbitrarily, do not observe the law, but do what they want, the state dies, there is no longer any freedom, safety, any good, and lawlessness and banditry will prevail, only under a different name. […].

Everyone, even an unborn child, should demand from the ruler, safety of: 1. life, 2. property and 3. honour, and if the ruler does not want or cannot preserve their life, property and honour, than he does not deserve to be their ruler.

The second duty of the ruler is to liberate those who are not yet free and to safeguard the freedom of the country, because life is doubly dear and sweet in freedom. Freedom differentiates us from animals, and a slave is worse than an animal, because a slave is deprived of what makes him a person. It is better to die than to live as a slave. Freedom … makes us human; freedom and liberty give strength to a soldier, wisdom and sound judgement to voivodas and governors. … In a free country, field crops are better, and livestock breeds better, delicious bread is eaten,

15 Military commander, who also exerted local power during the Serbian rebellion.

and good wine is drunk. In one word, where there is no freedom, there is no life."

Memoari, pp.295-297.

Boža Grujević (Teodor Filipović) was a Serb from Hungary who settled in Russia, where he became a university Professor in Harkov. In the autumn of 1804, he joined the Serbian rebel delegation, which went to Saint Petersburg to seek help and support from Russia. In March 1805, he arrived in Serbia, where he participated in organising the government and in the creation of the first institutions of the new state, becoming a member of the Council (first government).

What did the author intend to transmit through his discourse? What do you think of the last phrase?

II–3. Letter of Vuk Karadžić to Prince Milosh Obrenovich (1832)

Zemun, 24 April 1832
Your honour,
Gracious Master! […]

It is true what our elders used to say, that no one can bake enough cakes for the whole world; but with the present behaviour of Your Highness, one could almost generally say that *no one* there is satisfied. Analysing this in further detail, it would turn out that the most dissatisfied are the civil servants who are the closest and, most often, the nearest Your Highness, while the most satisfied are the people whom Your Highness has never met. […].

All the reasons for this dissatisfaction could practically be grouped into two main categories. People are dissatisfied either because they cannot live according to their possibilities and their wishes, because no one is safe where his life or honesty (honour) is concerned, nor is he a master of his God-given property, acquired through justice and effort; or because not enough is done for the general benefit or in such a way that it should and could be done (according to their opinion). […].

I will first say, as a rule by which everything else could be judged, *that true benefit for every ruler is only what is beneficial to his people; and whatever is harmful for his people, it cannot be of any true benefit to him*. […].

1) The first thing to be done is to give people *justice*, or, as it is commonly called now in Europe, *a constitution*. Here, I am not thinking of the French constitution, the English or the new Greek one; but of one *in which a form of government would be defined and a government appointed* […] *one in which life, property and honour would be guaranteed to everyone; everyone would be able to work as he pleases, as long as it was harmfless, and to live as he pleases; and one in which every man knows what he should do and he would fear neither you nor anyone else* […].

I think: poor is the ruler who keeps men-soldiers and guards to guard him from his own people! The best defence for a ruler in his country should be his people's love, satisfaction with his rule and the conviction that if the ruler dies, the people can only be worse off and by no means better. […]

a) Today in Serbia, a government in the proper sense of the word does not exist, but You, yourself, are the government: when you are in Kragujevac, the government is in Kragujevac; when you are in Požarevac, the government is in Požarevac; when you are in Topčider, it is in Topčider; when you are away, it is away too; and if You, God forbid, should die one day (which will happen eventually), the government would die too and then the strongest one would get the power […]
b) If a government was to be instituted in Serbia, then Serbia would receive decent and necessary respect from the states and from private persons, because the government would first think about what it would promise to do, because once it promises to do something, it would strictly abide by it and, as they say in a folk tale: "The Emperor's word cannot be denied" […].
c) The wisest ruler, even if he had spent his entire youth learning how to rule, cannot and should not run the country *alone*, first because it is dif-

ficult for a single man to run all the affairs of even a small village properly, let alone those of a whole country and people; secondly, because "four eyes see better than two" and, thirdly, because even the wisest and most learned ruler is still a *man*, susceptible to all human passions and weaknesses, and hence in danger of doing something wrong in anger or out of some other strong emotion […].

3) It would be necessary to organise *schools*. In my opinion, Serbia today has no greater shortcoming or greater need than in people capable of public service […].

Karadžić, pp. 652-666.

In the 1830s, an increasing number of Serbian intellectuals and politicians disagreed with the despotic rule of Milosh Obrenovich (1780-1860, prince 1815-1839, 1858-1860). One of the most authoritative opinions was expressed by Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864), who was the central figure in Serbian national culture in the 19th century. Active as a linguist, ethnologist and historian, he published the first grammar and dictionary of the modern Serbian language, collected and published epic and lyric folk poetry and translated the New Testament from old Slavonic to Serbian. At the time of this letter, Vuk Karadžić was the first president of the Court of Justice of the Belgrade district.

Why do you think Vuk Karadžić sent this letter to the ruler of the country? What main problems of state policy and government does the author highlight?

II–4. Serbian Constitution of 1835: the structure of power

Art. 29. The Serbian Prince [Knjaz] must be a born or naturalised Serb of Eastern Orthodox faith. The Princess [Knjaginja] and wives of the members of the Prince's family must be of the same religion.

Art. 45. The Serbian State Council is the supreme power in Serbia after the Prince. […].

Art. 79. The judiciary all over Serbia will be guided equally and according to the one Serbian code of laws, which will be publicly enacted as soon as possible and prescribed for the courts to be used for civil disputes as well as for criminal offences.

Art. 80. In rendering a judgment, the judge shall not depend upon anyone in Serbia except the Serbian code of laws. No authority, lower or higher, […] shall have the right to divert him from this or to order him to judge otherwise […].

Art. 82. The national assembly shall consist of the one hundred carefully selected, wisest, most honest and, in the greatest degree, most deserving deputies from all districts and the entire Principality of Serbia.

Jovičić, pp. 48-64.

II–5. Romanian Constitution of 1866: general provisions

Art. 1. The kingdom of Romania with all its districts on the right side of the Danube is a unitary, indivisible state.

Art. 2. Romania's territory cannot be alienated. The state's boundaries cannot be altered or modified but by law.

Art. 3. Romania's territory cannot be colonised with people of foreign origins […].

Art. 5. Romanians enjoy freedom of thought, freedom of education, freedom of press, freedom of meeting.

Art. 10. In this state there are no class differences. All Romanians are equal before the law, having to pay the same amount of taxes and to participate alike in public duties.

They alone can occupy public, civil and military positions. […]. Foreigners may not occupy public positions but in exceptional cases, specified in the law […].

Art. 12. All privileges, exemptions and class monopolies are hereby forever banned in the Romanian state.

Art. 13. Individual freedom is guaranteed. […].

Art. 21. The freedom of thought is absolute. […].

Art. 23. Education is free.
Art. 31. All state powers are conveyed by the nation, which cannot exercise them other than through means of delegation and by the principles and rules established in the present Constitution.
Art.32. The legislative power is exerted collectively by the King and by the National Assembly of the Representatives.

The National Assembly of Representatives is divided in two sections:

The Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

Every law must be agreed upon by all three sections of the legislative power.
Art. 35. The executive power is conveyed by the King, who exercises it by means of the Constitution.
Art. 36. The judicial power is exercised in courts and tribunals. Their decisions and sentences are uttered by respecting the law and are executed in the name of the King.
Art. 38. The members of both Assemblies represent the whole nation, not only the district or city that has elected them. […].
Art. 92. The King's person is inviolable. His Ministers are held responsible.

No King's decree is valid unless it is co-signed by a minister, who hereby becomes responsible for the respective decree.

Constituțiile, pp. 33-41.

? What is the place of the nation in the organisation of the Romanian state?
How did the Constitution implement the division and balance of power?

II–6. The British ambassador to Istanbul on Ottoman attitudes towards the Constitution (1876)

The word 'Constitution' was in every mouth, that the Softas [students of Muslim religious schools] representing the intelligent public opinion of the capital, knowing themselves to be supported by the nation. Christian as well as Mahometan would not, I believe, relax their efforts till they obtained it, and that, should the Sultan refuse to grant it, an attempt to depose him appeared almost inevitable, that texts from Koran were circulated proving to the faithful that the form of government sanctioned by it was properly democratic and that the absolute authority now wielded by the Sultan was an usurpation of the rights of the people and not sanctioned by the Holy Laws and both texts and precedents were appealed to show that obedience was not due to a Sovereign who neglected the interests of the State […]

Eliot, pp. 231-232.

? Did the Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire perceive the idea of a Constitution as an import from Christian Europe? Why do you think the partisans of the Constitution argued that it was in accordance with Muslim Sacred Law?

II–7. The Ottoman Constitution of 1876

The Ottoman Empire

Article 1. The Ottoman Empire comprises present territory and possessions, and semi-dependent provinces. It forms an indivisible whole, from which no portion can be detached under any pretext whatever.
Art. 4. His Majesty the Sultan, under the title of "Supreme Caliph," is the protector of the Muslim religion. He is the sovereign and padişah (emperor) of all the Ottomans.
Article 5. His Majesty the Sultan is not responsible; his person is sacred.
Art. 7. Among the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan are the following prerogatives: He makes and cancels the appointments of ministers; he confers the grades, functions and insignia of his orders, and confers investiture on the chiefs of the privileged provinces according to forms determined by the privileges granted to them; he mints the money; his name is pronounced in the mosques during public prayer; he concludes treaties with the powers; he declares war and makes peace; he commands both land and sea forces; he directs military movements;

he carries out the provisions of the Şeriat (the sacred law), and of the other laws; he sees to the administration of public measures; he respites or commutes sentences pronounced by the criminal courts; he summons and prorogues the General Assembly; he dissolves, if he deems it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies, provided that he direct the election of the new members.

Personal Liberties

Article 8. All the subjects of the empire are called Ottomans, without distinction to whatever faith they profess; the status of an Ottoman is acquired and lost according to conditions specified in the law.

Article 9. Every Ottoman enjoys personal liberty on the condition of non-interference with the liberty of others.

Article 10. Personal liberty is wholly inviolable. No one can undergo punishment, under any pretext whatsoever, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms prescribed by it.

Religion

Article 11. Islam is the state religion. But, while maintaining this principle, the state will protect the free exercise of faiths professed in the Empire, and uphold the religious privileges granted to various bodies, on the condition that public order and morality not be interfered with.

Equality before the Law, Public Offices

Article 17. All Ottomans are equal in the eyes of the law. They have the same rights, and owe the same duties towards their country, without prejudice of religion.

Article 18. Eligibility to public office is conditional on the knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the State.

Article 19. All Ottomans can be admitted to public offices, according to their state of mind, merit, and ability.

Property

Article 21. Property, real and personal, of lawful title, is guaranteed. There can be no dispossession, except for a good public cause and subject to the previous payment, according to the law of the value of the property in question […].

The General Assembly

Article 42. The General Assembly is composed of two chambers: the Chamber of Notables or Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 43. The two chambers will meet on the 1st of November of each year, the opening shall take place by imperial decree (irade), the closing, fixed for the following 1st March, shall also take place following an imperial decree. Neither of the two chambers can meet if the other chamber is not sitting.

Article 47. Members of the General Assembly are free to express their opinions and to vote as they please.

They cannot be bound by conditions or promises, nor influenced by threats. They cannot be prosecuted for opinions or votes delivered in the course of debate, unless they have contravened the Standing Orders of the Chamber, when they are amenable to the provisions of the regulations in force.

Provincial Administration

Article 108. The administration of the provinces shall be based on the principle of decentralisation.

Various Provisions

Article 115. No provision of the constitution can, under any pretext whatsoever, be suspended or neglected.

www.ata.boun.edu.tr/Department%20Webpages/ATA_517/Constitution%20of%20the%20Ottoman%20Empire%201876.doc

The Ottoman Constitution was adopted in December 1876, in the general context of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878. Its goal was to pre-empt Great Power interference to the benefit of the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, by arguing that the new modern Constitution granted full rights to them, while simultaneously asserting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In this respect, the Constitution was ineffective, for it did not prevent the Russian declaration of war in 1877. After the defeat, the Constitution was suspended in 1878 and restored only in 1908. At the end of World

War I, it became obsolete in the context of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

? In what respect is the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 similar to the constitutions of various Southeast European nation-states? What safety elements were included in the text of the Constitution in order to prevent the return to an autocratic government?

Try to figure out why the Constitution of 1876 ascribed a privileged role to Islam in the Ottoman Empire.

What provisions were included in order to safeguard the Ottoman Empire from internal dissolution? Were these provisions realistic within the context of the year 1876?

II–8. Speech of Prince Nikola on the occasion of promulgating the Constitution of Montenegro (1905)

Gentlemen Deputies!

The form of Supreme State Government in this country, up until now, was a form of autocracy [*samoderžavje*]. As the seventh Ruler from My House by God's mercy, I inherited the power and management of that Government. Unlike other monarchs, neither My Glorious Predecessors nor I have considered ourselves as irresponsible and do not believe that our will is law.

In peacetime, we were true brothers to the Montenegrins, we fought at the same battles alongside them, we were killed where they were, and we sustained and inflicted wounds as they did – all the way from Carev Laz to Vucji Do [16] […].

Our government started out on a bare field, on nothing without anything, under the clear sky and in plain view of the enemy. It was legitimate, because it had been voted by the people, and it was run with love and energy. […].

At the end of the 17th century, My House found our Fatherland in a miserable condition and almost swamped by another faith, and our wonderful Orthodox faith in great jeopardy. […].

Now the borders of our Fatherland have expanded and are internationally determined from the mouth of the Bojana into the Adriatic Sea to the confluence of the Tara and the Piva, which make up the Drina River and from Bijela Gora to Čakor, above Peć and Dečani. […]

Today our Fatherland becomes a Constitutional Monarchy, and we happily enter a new political life. Parting with the former one, at this turning point, I cannot help but express my gratitude from the depth of my heart to my and your Late Ancestors for their holy community and freedom dedicated by them to us. […]

My decision to issue the Constitution will be welcome on two sides. You, and generally all Serb patriots, will accept it with the sincere faith that inspired it, faith that will be successful and fortunate for the development and progress of the Fatherland. […]

Crnogorski, IV, pp.34-46.

Nikola I Petrovic (1841-1921) ruled Montenegro from 1860 to 1918, first as prince, and then from 1910 as king. During his reign, Montenegro became independent (1878) and enlarged its territory at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Having spent two years in a high school in Paris, Nikola furthered education and institutional modernisation. Due to the traditional social structures, most reforms had to be made from the top down, and were therefore rather late in comparison with those of other Southeast European nation-states.

? In what way did the monarchy legitimise itself? Why did the king decide to grant a Constitution?

II–9. Young Turk proclamation (1908)

1. The basis for the Constitution will be respect for the predominance of the national will. One of the consequences of this principle will be to require without delay the responsibility of the minister before the Chamber, and, consequently, to consider the minister as having resigned,

16 Battlefields from the wars with the Ottomans.

when he does not have a majority of the votes of the Chamber.

2. Provided that the number of senators does not exceed one-third of the number of deputies, the Senate will be named as follows: one-third by the Sultan and two-thirds by the nation, and the term of senators will be of limited duration.

3. It will be demanded that all Ottoman subjects having completed their twentieth year, regardless of whether they possess property or fortune, shall have the right to vote. Those who have lost their civil rights will naturally be deprived of this right.

4. It will be demanded that the right to freely constitute political groups be inserted in a precise fashion in the constitutional charter, in order that article 1 of the Constitution of 1293 A.H. [Anno Hegirae] be respected.

7. Turkish will remain the official state language. Official correspondence and discussion will take place in Turkish.

9. Every citizen will enjoy complete liberty and equality, regardless of nationality or religion, and be submitted to the same obligations. All Ottomans, being equal before the law as regards rights and duties relative to the State, are eligible for government posts, according to their individual capacity and their education. Non-Muslims will be equally liable to the military law.

10. The free exercise of the religious privileges which have been accorded to different nationalities will remain intact.

14. Provided that the property rights of landholders are not infringed upon (for such rights must be respected and must remain intact, according to law), it will be proposed that peasants be permitted to acquire land, and they will be accorded means to borrow money at a moderate rate.

[…]

16. Education will be free. Every Ottoman citizen, within the limits of the prescriptions of the Constitution, may operate a private school in accordance with the special laws.

17. All schools will operate under the surveillance of the state. In order to obtain an education of a homogenous and uniform character for Ottoman citizens, the state schools will be open, their instruction will be free, and all nationalities will be admitted. Instruction in Turkish will be obligatory in communal schools. In state schools, public instruction will be free. Secondary and higher education will be given in the public schools indicated above; it will use the Turkish language. Schools of commerce, agriculture, and industry will be opened with the goal of developing the resources of the country.

18. Steps shall also be taken for the formation of roads and railways and canals, to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of the wealth of the country. Everything that can impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished.

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1908youngturk.html

After the defeat in the war of 1877-1878, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1908) suspended the Constitution of 1876 and ruled autocratically. The Young Turks, an opposition organisation formed mainly of officers and intellectuals, asked for the restoration of the Constitution and for modernising reforms in order to strengthen the Empire. Finally, in 1908, they led a successful revolution and seized power, which they held until 1918.

The basic political demand of the Young Turks during their opposition to Abdulhamid II had been the restoration of the Constitution of 1876. Nevertheless, they accepted the inclusion of some changes into this Constitution. Enumerate these changes, and explain why the Young Turks were keen on introducing them.

Compare Article 17 with the texts from chapter II–E. What role does the school play in the process of nation-building?

Analyse Article 18 and compare it with the texts from chapter II–D. What can we notice about the role assigned by political leaders to economic development?

Table 1: Constitutions of Southeast European states

State	First Modern Constitution	Main changes			Current Constitution
		Before World War I	Interwar period	After World War II	
Albania	1920[17]		1925; 1928; 1939	14.03.1946; 1976	21.10.1998
Bosnia-Herzegovina					24.02.1993; 14.12.1995
Bulgaria	1879 (Târnovo Constitution)			04.12.1947; 1971	12.07.1991
Cyprus	1959 (1960)				
Croatia					22.12.1990
FYR of Macedonia					17.11.1991
Greece[18]	1844	1864; 1911	1927	1952	07.06.1975
Montenegro	1905			12.10.1992	19.10.2007
Ottoman Empire	1876				
Romania[19]	1866		1923; 1938	13.04.1948; 1952; 1965	08.12.1991
Serbia	1835	1838; 1869; 1888; 1901			28.09.1990
Slovenia					23.12.1991
Turkey	1924			1961	07.11.1982
Yugoslavia			1921 (Vidovdan Constitution); 1931	31.01.1946; 1963; 1974	27.04.1992

Table 2: Establishment of Universal Suffrage in Southeast Europe

State	Universal male suffrage	Female suffrage
Albania	1920	Restricted - 1920; Universal - 1946
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1920 (Yugoslavia)	1945 (Yugoslavia)
Bulgaria	1879	Married women 1938; Universal 1945
Croatia	1920 (Yugoslavia)	1945
Cyprus	1960	1960
FYR of Macedonia	1913 (Serbia)	1945 (Yugoslavia)
Greece	1864	1952
Montenegro	1920 (Yugoslavia)	1945 (Yugoslavia)
Romania	1918	Restricted 1929; Universal 1946
Serbia	1869	1945 (Yugoslavia)
Slovenia	1907 (Austria)	1945 (Yugoslavia)
Turkey	1924	1930
Yugoslavia	1920	1945

17 Quasi-constitutional regulation: Status of the International Commission for Albania (1914).

18 The first Greek constitutions were voted for by revolutionary assemblies during the Greek war of independence, before the establishment of the state: 1822 (Epidaurus), 1823 (Astros), 1827 (Troezene).

19 Quasi-constitutional regulation: Organic Regulations (1831/1832) in Wallachia and Moldavia; Paris Convention (1858) for the United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (after 1859, Romania).

▶ v4. Constitution Square in Athens (1863)

Markezinis, pp.312-313.

Can you find many examples of this? What do you think of these name changes?

Explain the name given to the square. Do you have a constitution square in the capital city of your country and in your city? Do you have / have you ever had a 'Nation/National' square?

In Bucharest, the interwar name 'Queen Elisabeta Avenue' was changed during the communist regime to '6th of March Boulevard' (the date of the installation of the first communist-dominated government), then to 'Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Boulevard' (after the Communist leader of Romania from 1945 to 1965), and after 1989, to 'Mihail Kogălniceanu Boulevard' (after a major 19th century politician, historian and writer), a part of it receiving the old name again ('Queen Elisabeta Boulevard') some years later. The use of street names is a very simple example of how political regimes legitimized particular ideological historical memories.

Game: City streets names as history lessons

Make four groups. Take the tourist guides of your city from four historical periods in the 19th and 20th centuries. Analyse the names of the streets and squares and see how many refer to historical events or characters, to national and local heroes or events. Analyse the meaning of the choice of name and also the changes over time.

You can play the same game with the statues of your city.

IIb. Citizenship

II–10. Definition of citizenship in the Greek Constitution from Epidaurus (1822)

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND INDIVISIBLE TRINITY

The Greek nation, no longer able to bear the heavy burden of tyranny of the horrible Ottoman rule and having shaken it off with great sacrifices, declares today, through its lawful Protectors in a National Assembly, before God and the people, "its Political existence and independence".

In Epidaurus on 1 January 1822,
Year 1 of Independence.

TEMPORARY POLITY OF GREECE
TITLE A

SECTION A
On Religion

a – The prevailing religion in the Greek territory is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ; however, the Administration of Greece shall tolerate all other religions whose rites and sacred acts shall be carried out unhindered.

SECTION B
On the general rights of the inhabitants of the Greek territory

b – The indigenous inhabitants of the Greek territory who believe in Christ are Greeks and enjoy all the political rights with no discrimination.

c – All Greeks are equal before the law, with no exception on the basis of privilege, class or office.

d – Any persons arriving from abroad to settle or reside in the Greek territory are equal to the indigenous population before the law.

Vakalopoulos, p. 390.

During the Greek Revolution, the first "parliament" gathered in Epidaurus and voted for a first Constitution, influenced by similar texts of the French Revolution. Although already changed during the revolution, the Constitution of Epidaurus remained a major reference in Greek political culture, a symbol of the ideals of the struggle for national independence.

Who are the Greeks according to the Constitution of Epidaurus? What is the relationship between religious and national identities? Is language a prerequisite for national identity?

Which principles of the French Revolution can you identify in this constitution?

II–11. Definition of citizenship in the Greek Constitution from Troezene (1827)

6. Greeks are:
   a. The indigenous people in the Greek territory who believe in Christ;
   b. Those under Ottoman rule who believe in Christ and have come or will come into the Greek territory to join the struggle or live in it;
   c. Those living in foreign territories and who were born to a Greek father;
   d. Indigenous or non-indigenous persons and their descendants, who became citizens of foreign states before the publication of the present Constitution, who came into the Greek territory and took the Greek oath;
   e. Any foreigners who come and take the citizenship.

Θέματα, p. 107.

Compare texts II–10 and II–11 regarding the concept of citizenship. What remarks can you formulate?

II–12. Definition of citizenship in the Serbian Constitution of 1835

Article 108. Any child born in Serbia or outside Serbia, but of Serbian parents; any clerk or servant of Christian religion in Serbian employment in Serbia or outside Serbia at the time of the proclamation of the present constitution; anyone who has been living in Serbia for more than ten years or who owns immovable property in Serbia shall be considered a Serb and shall be entitled to Serbian citizenship.

Article 109. Foreign merchants, factory owners, artisans and farmers of Christian faith may acquire the rights of Serbian citizens after living seven years in the country and having behaved decently, or if the Prince awards them with an office; and foreigners, meritorious for Serbia, if they receive a letter from the Prince that they are naturalised Serbs.

And how the right to Serbian citizenship shall be exercised will be defined by a separate law.

Article 111. Every Serb, without discrimination, shall be equal before Serbian laws, both in defence and in punishment in all courts, from the lowest to the highest ones. […].

Article 116. Every Serbian citizen shall have equal access to all offices in Serbia provided he proves himself capable of deserving them. In the case of equal abilities, preference shall be given to a Serb over a foreigner

Article 118. Any slave entering Serbian soil shall immediately be set free, regardless of whether someone brought him to Serbia or he fled there alone. A Serb shall be free to buy a slave, but not to sell him.

Jovičić, pp. 48-64.

Compare this with text II–14: analyse the relationship between religion and citizenship as it results from the fragments of the Constitutions presented here. Look at the first Constitutions from your own countries and check whether there are any provisions linking citizenship to religious affiliation. Do you think citizenship should depend on religion? Argue in favour of your idea, finding examples based on the experience of your own country. Ask yourself: Why do we have (or not have) this kind of provision? Is religious affiliation a prerequisite for national identity?

II–13. Code of Laws of Danilo I of Montenegro and Brda (1855)

Up until now, Montenegro and Brda[20] had indeed been free, but they did not have a public legal code which would reinforce and defend the freedom of the Montenegrins and inhabitants of Brda, justice and their fate were in the mouth of the ruler.[…]

First

Every Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda shall be equal before the court.

Second

Honour, property, life and freedom according to inherited and, until now, preserved freedom, shall remain and will be secured in the future to every Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda. The court can interfere with these sanctities of a just brother Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda. […]

Ninety first

Any refugee, when stepping upon our free land according to the oath of Saint Peter, former Montenegrin Ruler, shall be safe and shall not be harmed when he behaves honestly and respects our state code of laws. He should enjoy justice like any our brother Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brdo […]

Ninety second

Although in this country there is no other nation but Serbian and no other religion but eastern Orthodox, any member of any other tribe and any other religion may nevertheless live freely and enjoy the same freedom and justice as every Montenegrin or inhabitant of Brda.

Crnogorski, I, pp.167-184.

Danilo I Petrovic (1830-1860), succeeded his uncle Petar II Petrovic Njegos as ruler of Montenegro in 1852; as he declined to become a bishop (*vladika*), he assumed the title of prince (*gospodar*) and reorganised Montenegro as a hereditary secular principality. Educated and energetic, Danilo fought successfully against the Ottomans and embarked upon a process of centralisation and forced modernisation, which ultimately led to his assassination in 1860.

How did the code of Danilo I define the Montenegrins? Was this quality open to newcomers?

20 The Brda Mountains in north-east Montenegro had only been included in the principality in 1796, and maintained a special identity for several generations.

II–14. Redefinition of citizenship in Article 7 of the Romanian Constitution (1879)

Article 7. The different religious faiths and denominations in Romania do not represent a constraint to the enjoyment and practice of civil and political rights.

I. The foreigner, regardless of his religion, whether or not under foreign protection, may acquire the right of settlement on the following conditions:
   a) He will submit his request to be naturalised to the government, in which he will show the capital in his possession, his profession or trade and his will to settle in Romania.
   b) He will live, after submitting his request, ten years in this country and will prove himself useful to it.

II. The following persons may be exempted from this process:
   a) Those, who have brought industries, useful inventions or distinguished talents to the country, or those who have founded big commercial or industrial establishments here.
   b) Those born and raised in Romania by parents who settled in this country and who have never enjoyed foreign protection.
   c) Those who have served this country during the Independence War and who are to be naturalised collectively, as a result of the government's proposal, by a single decree and without any other formalities.

III. Persons can be naturalised only by law and individually.
IV. There will be a single law that will determine the way in which foreign persons are able to settle on Romanian territory.
V. Only Romanians and those naturalised as Romanians may acquire rural real estate in Romania.

All rights acquired up until this moment will be respected.

All international conventions existing at this time will stay in force with all their clauses and terms.

Constituțiile, pp. 34-35.

The Romanian Constitution of 1866 restricted citizenship to Christians (art.7), thus excluding the Jews and Muslims. In the peace treaty of Berlin (1878), the Great Powers conditioned the recognition of Romania's independence on the change of Article 7 in favour of the non-Christians. The Romanian political elite resented this demand, but could not oppose it indefinitely, so finally designed a compromise version of changes to the contested Article 7.

Does the changed Article 7 really end the religious discrimination regarding Romanian citizenship? What qualities allow a foreigner to apply for Romanian citizenship? How would you have conceived the access to citizenship?

II–15. Treaty on Minorities signed between the Allied and Associated Powers and Romania (1919)

Article 1

Romania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2

Romania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Romania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Romania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

Article 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below, Romania admits and declares to be Romanian nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Romania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign state other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, within the following twelve months, transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Romanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

[…]

Article 5

Romania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Romanian nationality.

Article 6

All persons born in Romanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Romanian nationals.

Article 7

Romania undertakes to recognise as Romanian nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Romanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

Article 8

All Romanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or denomination shall not prejudice any Romanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries […]

Article 9

Romanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Romanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 10

Romania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Romanian nationals of other than Romanian speech are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Romanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Romanian Government from making the teaching of the Romanian language obligatory in the said schools.

[…]

Article 12

Romania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. […]

http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1920/13.html

At the end of World War I, the Russian, Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires collapsed, and several new nation-states emerged, while some older nation-states acquired new territories and significant national minorities. In order to avoid tensions, at the peace conference of Paris (1919-1920), these minorities were put under the special protection of international treaties signed separately with the nation-states of Eastern and Southeast Europe.

The treaties on minorities were often perceived as Great Power interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nation-states. What do you think now? Were these treaties legitimate? Were they effective?

II–16. The redefinition of citizenship in the Romanian Constitution of 1923

Article 1. The Kingdom of Romania is a national unitary and indivisible state.

Article 5. The Romanians, regardless of their ethnic origins, the language they speak or their religion, enjoy freedom of consciousness, freedom of education, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and of all other freedoms and rights established by law.

Article 6. The present Constitution and all other laws relating to political rights are, except for the quality of being a Romanian, necessary conditions for exercising these rights.

Special laws, voted by a majority of two thirds, will establish the conditions in which women may exercise political rights.

Women's civil rights are to be established on the ground of the total equality of the sexes.

Article 7. The different religious faiths and denominations, ethnicities and languages in Romania do not represent an impediment towards enjoying and practicing civil and political rights.

Where the exercise of political rights is concerned, only naturalisation may endow a foreigner with the same rights as those of Romanians.

Naturalisation is granted individually by the Council of Ministers, in conclusion to a commission made up of: the first president and the presidents of the Supreme Court from the capital city agreeing to the fact that the solicitor has fulfilled the legal conditions.

Constituțiile, pp.71-72.

Were the provisions of the Constitution of 1923 progressive compared with the previous rules on citizenship?

What are the provisions regarding women's votes? Look at the 19th and 20th century constitutions from your own country and try to find the provisions regarding women's right to vote. What are the political implications of the exclusions from the right to vote?

General questions

Discuss the relationship between citizenship, national and religious identities, gender and race. Look at the present Constitution of your own country and find the conditions for citizenship. Compare and discuss the present situation with the ones presented here or found in the history of your own country. How could we explain the exclusions?

IIc. Nations and Churches

II–17. The Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople condemns the habit of giving children ancient Greek names, instead of Christian names (1819)

This newly-introduced habit of giving ancient Greek names to baptised infants […] seen as an act of disdain towards Christian names is thoroughly inappropriate; hence the need for you to issue strict orders […]"

Dimaras, p. 364.

Why do you think people began to give to their children ancient Greek names? What do you think of the attitude of the Patriarchate? Is it appropriate for religious authorities to interfere in a parent's choice of names for their children? Would the interference of political authorities be any more legitimate in this matter? Which names prevailed in your country in the 19th century? What about today? In your opinion, were names used as an indicator of religious, regional or national identity? And who takes the decision about identity?

II–18. Divergent opinions about the establishment of the autonomy of the Greek Church versus the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople (1833)

A. A PARTISAN - THEOKLETOS FARMAKIDES

In June 1833, the Church of the Kingdom of Greece declared its Autonomy and Independence. […] The Greek nation, having declared its political independence before God and men from the beginning of its glorious revolution […] also declared its Church as Autonomous and independent; *for the aim of the sacred struggle was ecclesiastical as well as political (in order to gain independence*) […]. No permission or approval was required [because] political autonomy goes hand-in-hand with ecclesiastical autonomy, as per the beliefs of the Eastern Orthodox Church […] without the need for any particular act or agreement; for territory and Church are one and the same thing […]

Matalas, p.49.

B. AN OPPONENT – KONSTANTINOS OEKONOMOS

What sufferings have the brothers left outside undergone for the sake of a free Greece? And yet you demand that they be called neither Greeks nor brothers, but inhabitants of Turkey and subjects of what you call the enslaved Church! Thus, you sever (as far as you can) Greece from Greece and the Greeks from each other, fragmenting the nation and inducing religious discord which results in internal maladies and dire wars among brothers. Thus, finally, you shrink the state of Greeks within too narrow limits, and hinder the progress of the God-succoured kingdom of Greece, cancelling (again, as far as you can) the hopes and the desires of an entire nation, of so many centuries and of so many philhellenic Christian nations! Oh men, how can you behave like that?

Oekonomos, pp.336-337.

After obtaining independence, the Greek state also had to settle the ecclesiastical problem. Most of the Greeks were Orthodox, but the head of the Orthodox Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was under Ottoman control. In order to avoid the continuation of ecclesiastical dependence on the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox Church in Greece severed its institutional ties with the Patriarchate in Constantinople. The heated disputes on this issue are illustrated here by texts written by Theokletos Farmakides (1784-1860) and Konstantinos Oekonomou (1780-1857).

Compare the two texts. What are the arguments used by the two authors? Why do you think that it was important for the Greek state to have an autonomous Church?

II–19. Decree establishing the synodal authority of the Orthodox Church in Romania (1864)

Article 1. The Romanian Orthodox Church is and remains independent from any foreign ecclesiastic authority in the realms of organisation and discipline.
Article 2. The Romanian Church, whose unity is represented by a General Synod, continues to be administrated by the Archbishops and Bishops, with the help of bishopric synods.
Article 3. The General Synod of the Romanian Church keeps the dogmatic unity of the holy Orthodox religion with the big church of the East through consultations with the Ecumenical Church of Constantinople.
Article 4. The General Synod of the Romanian Church is composed of:

a. Archbishops
b. Bishops
c. Romanian archierarchs
d. Three deputies chosen from each bishopric by the secular clergy, and only from the parish priests or from lay persons with theological knowledge
e. Deans of the theology faculties from Iassy and Bucharest.

[…]

Article 16. Never, under any pretext, can the General Synod of the Romanian Church modify or prevent:

a. Freedom of conscience and religious tolerance. The laws for religious tolerance are, in all respects, of the competence of the ordinary Legislative Assemblies.
b. The language of the Orthodox cult in the churches in the country will be Romanian for eternity.

Murgescu, pp.255-256.

This decree was issued by Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1866) in the context of the conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, because of the secularisation of church-landed properties (1863). It was the first step in the organisation of a national Orthodox church, followed by the formal proclamation of ecclesiastic autocephaly (1885) and by the organisation of the Romanian Orthodox Church as a separate Patriarchate (1925).

Why do you think it was so important for the Romanian state to organise a separate and independent church? How did the state secure its control over the church? In which respects did the Romanian

Church maintain its connection with the Patriarchate in Constantinople?

Compare this with texts I–15 and I–24.

II–20. The comments of the French journalist Charles Yriarte concerning the vision of the Orthodox and Catholics priests on the relationship between religion and nation in Bosnia (1875-1876)

The Orthodox priest lives closely with people of his faith and there is no need to wonder why the leaders of the movement [insurrection in Bosnia in 1875] were mostly Greek-Orthodox priests. Not only did they give the signal for the start of insurrection, but they also took shotguns and led their people into battle. For these people, the concept of faith and the concept of race or nation are so similar that the word 'Serb' has became synonym for the word 'Orthodox'. The Catholics have a different view: for Bosnian Catholic priests, the concept of religion is more important than the concept of nation, and now we can see that the Catholic priests, who receive their orders from Rome, have averted the Catholic people from insurrection. The most progressive among them have limited themselves to just printing petitions in their native Latin language for the intervention of the neighbouring Catholic power [Austria-Hungary] to stop the results of oppression. We cannot wonder about the preservation of the discord, which separates the two religions [Orthodox and Catholic]. The Ottoman state does not care for the education of Christians, and with good reason, and leaves this enlightening role to the church, this naturally implies that the priest takes the discord between the religions as the basis of everything when teaching. The result of such a system is obvious and fateful: Greek-Orthodox children from the *iguman* [Orthodox abbot], Catholic children from the *franciscan* [monks] and Muslim children from the *ulema* will learn only to hate each other and that is, in essence, the only thing they will succeed in when they grow up.

Yriarte.

? Analyse the way in which the author describes the relationship between religious identity and national identity in the vision of the Catholic and the Orthodox denominations/churches in Bosnia. Do you agree with his opinion that, educated exclusively in their own religions, children learned only to hate each other? How could such a situation be avoided?

What was the role of religion in the national movement in your country?

II–21. The Bulgarian Constitution of 1879 about the position of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church

Article 37. The state religion of the principality of Bulgaria is the Eastern Orthodox denomination.

Article 38. The Prince of Bulgaria and his descendants are restricted to the exclusive profession of the Orthodox religion, but the first elected prince of Bulgaria may, exceptionally, profess his original religion.

Article 39. The principality of Bulgaria as, from an ecclesiastical point of view, forming an inseparable part of the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church, is subject to the Holy Synod, which is the highest spiritual authority in the Bulgarian church, wherever that may exist. Through the same authority, the principality remains united with the ecumenical Eastern Church in matters regarding dogma and faith.

Конституция, p.6.

? Why were ecclesiastical issues settled in the constitution? Are there any stipulations about religion and church in the present constitution of your country?

II–22. The opinion of Nikola Pašić on the relationship between the Serbian nation and the Orthodox Church (1890)

The Orthodox Church

Therefore, it is clear why the Orthodox Church is the people's church. Because it is more closely tied

and united with the soul of the people who profess it than the Catholic Church can be. […] That is why they are (called) the Serbian Church, the Bulgarian Church, the Greek Church, the Russian Church. […]

All together, the Slavic Orthodox Church, connected from the very beginning with Slavic peoples, who remained faithful to it, preserved in these peoples' Slavic attributes, characteristic features and nature that are only now capable of accepting the results of the present-day progress […]

National sovereignty

[…] The Serbian people alone created the Serbian state: created it with their own blood, effort and skill and it bears the sign of its creator, that of a fully democratic state. […] In the people's awareness that they themselves have forged their own state, rests national sovereignty, the full power of the people […], a supreme power over any other power, a guarantee that no major deviations from the democratic way of life is possible, that undemocratic regimes, although they sometimes catch people unawares, still cannot take root and stay in existence for a long time.

Pašić, pp. 128-129, 137, 139.

Nikola Pašić (1845-1926) was one of the leading Serbian statesmen from the late 19th century to the 1920s. After studying engineering, he entered politics and founded the Radical Party in 1881. He served as prime-minister several times.

What is the role of the Church in the vision of the author? How does the author justify the relationship between the people and the state? Why do you think the author felt it necessary to write such statements?

IId. Infrastructures of the nation-state

II–23. The importance of industrial development for a small nation – a Greek argument (1841)

There is no doubt that various kinds of industries restore happiness in a nation. Without industry, a nation can never prosper and increase its power on both land and sea. Without the introduction of various industries, a nation is restricted solely to its natural resources and cannot grow, physically or morally […] In other words, nations without industry shall remain forever poor, remaining within the political community as passive and insignificant entities subject to the will of one or another of the stronger nations, and which do not became strong due to their natural beauty and their moderate clime or their fertile soil, the extent of their land or their wealth of produce, but solely on the promotion, the expansion and the perfection of the various industries and trade. It was thus that the powerful nations of yesterday and today became foremost among the European Powers, reaching the summit of their glory, their splendour and grandeur through the wealth they acquired from the various industries and external trade.

S.B., "Αι βιομηχανίαι" [The industries], daily *Αιών* [Century], 26.2.1841, No 238 in Psalidopoulos, p.55.

What national arguments are used in order to convince people of the necessity of industrial development in a small country? Why do you think economic arguments are combined with national ones?

II–24. The role of railways in strengthening the nation-state – a Romanian opinion (1870)

It must still [now] be recorded in this chapter that the influence of the railways on the customs, on the nature of the relations between provinces, on the development of riches, being much greater, many people may ask themselves whether the precious national unity will be broken. They ask whether it might still be realised, this perturbation they desire, without

having the honesty to manifest it openly, some of the parties being ready to sacrifice the country's future, facing the contempt of an indignant Europe**.**

Nobody is ignoring the fact that, on both sides of the Milcov, except for the honest parties, friendly to the Romanian nation (parties which, luckily, build up the majority), there are a few who regret the unity of Moldo-Romania, and others who hide their obscure threats under a veil of independence and liberalism, trying to realise these projects by exploiting popular passions. We are able, though, to affirm that when the distance between all members of the great Romanian family will be suppressed; when the circulation of products and persons will be facilitated by a wise combination of the railway fees, these actions will contribute to the crushing of retrograde tendencies, they will contribute efficaciously in order to satisfy the great desire of the Romanian nation, in realising the union of all the factions of old Dacia."

Brătianu, pp.51-52.

Constantin I. Brătianu (1844-1910) was a military topographer, an officer in the General Staff, later a general and also a member of the Romanian Academy.

Besides fostering economic modernisation, railways were also an important means for nation-building. What element prevails in Brătianu's argument? Why? How would you have argued the need to build railways?

II–25. The opinion of the Bulgarian Prince Alexander Battenberg (1879-1886) on the importance of railways (1879-1881)

The Royal Prince: "Schools and laws are not as important as railways." It was decided that Sofia would be the capital because the world artery, Belgrade – Istanbul, goes through it. The connection through the Balkan Mountains near Berkovitsa can be completely blocked in the winter. The Prince mentioned the exaggerated fears that the Austrians could capture the Bulgarian trade via this railway. The Prince: "We do not mind who is going to build the railways. What matters is to have them built as soon as possible."

Jirecek, p.27.

Compare the two texts. Why was it so important for the new states to develop a railway network? Were there any dangers connected with building railways?

v5. Currency displaying the relationship between the economic aspects of a country and national representations: the first 500 drachma banknote issued by the National Bank of Greece (1841)

Kathimerini, p. 4.

What visual elements are represented on the banknote? What is the meaning of these elements? Why did a state need to have its own currency? What designs and symbols are found on the banknotes in your country? Do you think that coins and banknotes contribute to national education and representation? If so, how?

II–26. Description of a Bulgarian railway during the late 19th century

The railway at the time, was Baron Hirsch's Railway [owned by the Austrian-jewish millionaire Baron Hirsch], built during the Turkish rule and connecting Jambol with Odrin and Istanbul. The carriages were small and divided into separate compartments; the compartments had doors on both sides, where there were long wooden steps used by the ticket col-

lectors. They always showed up unexpectedly at the door windows like small contraptions that automatically come out of a box; and at night they had small gas torches hanging on their chests. The railway officials wore foreign uniforms, most of them being Armenians or Levantines and did not speak Bulgarian. The railway stations had signs written in French, and the train left after a bell had rung three times… Each time one had to travel to Kremenly it was a joyful event, full of anxiety and new interesting things: a railway station, trains, foreigners, foreign speech. It was a waft of the wide-unknown world, a short touch to the kingdom of dreams. And the trip to Sofia was a real expedition, which took days to prepare…

Konstantinov, pp.19-20.

? Find some images with railway stations. Examine their architecture.

II–27. Bulgarian Law of Measures (1889)

Article 1. From now on, the basic unit of measurements in the Bulgarian Principality will be the metre […]
Article 6. The basic measure of capacity will be the litre […]
Article 7. The basic measure of weight will be the gramme or the weight of 1cm3 distilled water in a vacuum at 4 degrees Celsius […]

Transformation of the old measures into the new ones and vice-versa

A. Measure of length

I. Old into new
Article 9. One architectonic (builder's) arshin contains 758mm (0m 758).
One (tailor's) arshin contains 680mm (0m 680).
One cubit contains 650mm (0m 650).
[…]

General Provisions

Article 13. This law comes into force for the food measures on 1 June 1889, and for the other measures, on 1 January 1892 […]

Article 16. Introduction of the new measures in the state institutions is obligatory from 1 January 1889.
All civil servants are obliged to use the new measures in official documents.
Citizens who have dealings with the state institutions are also obliged to present their accounts and reports to the institution in the new measures […]

Държавен вестник, no.7 from January 19, 1889.

? Create a poster illustrating the fact that one of the first acts of the new nation-states was to introduce new compulsory measures. Try to find the economic, social, and cultural reasons. Do you think it was also a means of state control?

v6. New technologies and national symbols – a poster advertising sewing machines (Greece, late 19th century)

Athens, a collection from the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive in Fotopoulos, p.480.

A printed postcard advertisement for the Singer sewing-machine company. Sewing-machines were being advertised in the Greek press as early as 1874. Use of the sewing machine in the Greek countryside started to spread around 1900. It was then that they acquired the name 'Olga' in honour of the queen who endowed indigent young girls and brides with them.

Comment briefly on the image. Analyse the characters presented, the way they are dressed and what they are doing. Why were national symbols used on a commercial poster?

In what ways can advertising contribute to the enforcement of national self-identification? Can commercial advertising also circulate stereotypes about other ethnic or religious groups? Does it enforce a distinction between 'us' and 'them'? In the contemporary television or radio publicity of your own country, are historical characters or specific national identification features presented? Are national, ethnic or religious 'others' also presented as examples or as comparative references?

IIe. Nation-building

II–28. The poor use of the Croatian language, deplored by Ivan Kukuljevic (1843)

I am aware of the fact that most of us gathered here, do not speak our language well and, I can only find, in the whole country, a few persons of both sexes who are good at reading, writing and speaking in their mother tongue. The reason for this can be found in the fact that we don't use it in public life or business, and we are amused with it as a dressed-up master is amused with his servant. Most of our people still don't know what a delight and pleasure it is to speak in their mother tongue. Such feelings can be experienced only by a person who has had to live abroad for a long time, among foreign people and in foreign countries. We still preserve our language only for our friends and our serfs.

Wein, p.541.

Until the nationalist trend of the 1830s, the official language in Croatia (and also in Transylvania) was Latin. The Hungarian government tried to replace Latin with the Hungarian language in schools and offices. The use of German was also widespread. Nevertheless, Croatian reformers argued for the establishment of Croatian as the official language, and finally succeeded in this respect in 1847.
Within the framework of this struggle, Ivan Kukuljevic (1816-1889) – a writer, historian, politician and one of the leading Croatian reformers – addressed the Croatian Parliament, as its member, for the first time in Croatian in 1843.

How does Kukuljevic argue for the wider use of the Croatian language? Kukuljevic was a nobleman; is this obvious from the stated text? Why did Kukuljevic claim that only a very small number of people spoke their mother tongue, whereas the serfs (a large majority of the population) spoke it?

II–29. The importance of language for national identification – a Slovenian opinion (1861)

And walking around the castle, our boy meets two men in a similar costume or dress screaming frightfully and pulling each other; he doesn't understand one of them, but the other one speaks a language known to him and his face is also somewhat familiar; he joins this one and helps him for he is a compatriot, they both speak the same language. By the language he speaks, he recognises his compatriot and his countryman; he would always have recognised him, even if there had been a hundred or more men together, dressed the same or in a different manner. Language is the best indicator by which we discover which nation one belongs to.

And what is a nation after all of this? After walking around, the boy discovers that he likes all the people,

all men are dear to him and he is fond of approaching those who come from his homeland; all those with the same manners and customs as those from home. Even if people changed attire, he could still recognise them by their idiom, their language. All those he understands, whose words are close to his heart, are his compatriots, they are all sweet and dear to him; they are all from the same nation as him.

The article *What is a nation? And What is the Slovene Nation in Particular?* was written by Ivan Macun, teacher and literary historian, in the form of a story describing the experiences of a boy travelling around his country and trying to identify his compatriots. It was published in 1861 in the newspaper *Novice* (News) and printed in Ljubljana.

Why do you think that the author stresses the role language plays in national identity? Can people speaking different languages belong to the same nation? Give examples.

II–30. The importance of language to the Romanian identity, presented by Titu Maiorescu (1866)

It is requested that modern people have a national state and especially a national literature and language.

[…] Every Romanian knows he is Romanian, and whatever he will do henceforth, he will necessarily try to connect, as directly as possible, with the Latin tradition from which he received his intellectual life.

Until now, this truth only had a more practical consequence in our language and writing, and rightfully so. For the Romanians' language is the most treasured remainder of their Latin ancestors, reminding them nowadays of yet another antiquity that has always been their only compass, which, being reliable, kept them on the right path and kept them from wandering and losing themselves amongst the waves of migrant people which haunted Traian's Dacia.

Maiorescu, I, p.277.

Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917), was a literary critic, an aesthete, a university professor, a politician (deputy, minister, prime-minister), and an important member of the "Junimea" society. Doctor of Philosophy in Giessen, he also earned a law degree in Paris. As prime-minister, he presided at the Peace Conference in Bucharest (1913).

How does the author explain the relationship between language and identity? What is your opinion?

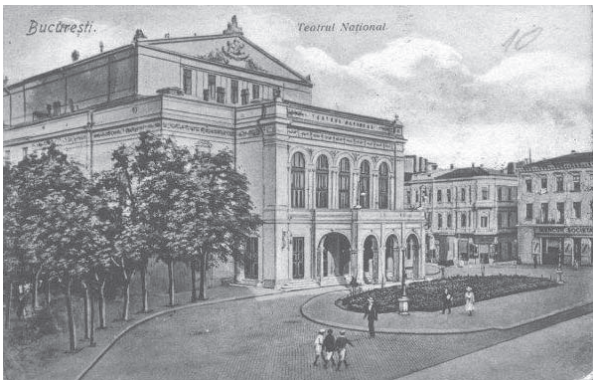
II–31. Petition to approve the establishment of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art from the Croatian Parliament to the Emperor-King Francis Joseph (1861)

Your apostolic Majesty, our King and most gracious Master! People of the Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia […] have never gone behind in any man's education by their own fault. Their history knows many heroes by sword, by pen, in every work of mind and heart. But that history regrettably also gives the reasons why our people today cannot compete with other nations, who are more fortunate in science which is today – more than ever – the main lever to every country. This Parliament is convinced that regarding scientific and literary development, […] our people have reached the point where it is our duty to see that a supreme literary and scientific court is established: an Academy without which science cannot critically develop and consequently cannot be successful.

Laszowsky, p.127.

How does the Parliament argue for the need to establish an Academy? What should be the task of the Academy according to the letter? Are today's Academies recognised as "literal and scientific courts" or is their authority declining in comparison with that of the 19th century?

v7. National Theatre in Bucharest – postcard (1890s)



How can you explain that the main institutions of the states were considered to be 'national'? How many other institutions bearing the designation 'national' do you know of?

II–32. The importance of language and literature in the development of nations – a statement in the Statutes of the Society for the publication of Albanian writings (1879)

All nations are enlightened and civilised because of the letters of their language. And any nation that has no written language or letters for its language is in the dark and is of a barbaric nature.

Myzyri, p.40.

Why did the authors consider it to be so important for nations to have their own language and literature?

II–33. Memorandum of the Macedonian students in Saint Petersburg about the Macedonian literary language (1902)

Now the question is whether it is necessary to create a separate Macedonian literary language while there is a Serbian and Bulgarian literary language? There are two reasons for the creation of a Macedonian literary language. The first is that on the occasion of the creation of the Serbian literary language, at the beginning of the 19th century, attention was not paid to the vernaculars in Eastern Serbia, Western Bulgaria and Macedonia, therefore, with the promotion of the Herzegovinian vernacular as literary language, the needs of Eastern Serbia, Western Bulgaria and Macedonia were not met. On the occasion of the creation of the Bulgarian literary language, by adopting the Eastern Bulgarian dialect as the basis for a general literary language, attention was also not fully paid to the Eastern Serbian, Western Bulgarian and all the Macedonians dialects.

On one hand, the partiality in the process of the creation of the Bulgarian and Serbian literary languages only helped the fragmentation of the Balkan Slavs into two camps hostile to each other and competing on the same ground that unites the characteristics of both the Serbian and the Bulgarian languages. On the other hand, if, in the process of the creation of this or that literary language, one of the central Balkan vernaculars had been elevated to the degree of a literary language, then the antagonism between the Slavs from various parts of the Balkan Peninsula would have been avoided and they could have united into one national-cultural whole. We consider the Macedonian dialects, which are recognised by the Bulgarians as completely Bulgarian, by the Serbians as Serbian, to actually be in between the vernaculars in what are now Bulgaria and Serbia and, as such, they could serve as the uniting link between the now hostile Bulgaria and Serbia.

The second reason for elevating one Macedonian dialect to the degree of a literary language is the need for the removal of the Serbian and Bulgarian pretensions towards Macedonia, the removal of the national propaganda demoralising the Macedonian population and the need for the unification of the Slav element in Macedonia in order to preserve its dominant importance in the political destiny of Macedonia […]

Makedonium, p.56.

What is the purpose of this text? What is the opinion of the author on the necessity of a Macedonian literary language? In your opinion, what does the creation of a literary language mean?

II–34. Plans to build up the Romanian national sentiments in Transylvania – letter from Dr. I. C. Drăgescu to Emilia Rațiu (1874)

[…] The role of a beggar does not suit a people like the Romanian people. Our forefathers used to give and take: we *cannot* beg!

You should think more of the *peasants* and the *women*.

Rebirth starts here. Make good mothers, good wives and good Romanians out of women; transform the peasants into people conscious of their dignity, their rights and duties. It is only then that you will have taken the most difficult and most important step towards progress and salvation.

With these two elements you will be able to get everything, using schools, writings, and conferences as the means. […]

Lungu, pp.141-142.

? What are the means foreseen by the author for the enforcement of the Romanian national sentiments in Transylvania? Why do you think the emphasis was put on peasants and women? What role was ascribed to women?

II–35. Plan to structure the Albanian national movement – letter from the journalist Faik Konitza to Baron Goluchowski (Brussels, 1897)

A. Firstly. The aim to be pursued and achieved should be:

1. Developing an Albanian national sentiment, becoming perfectly aware of the fundamental differences there are with the Turks. […].
3. Working so that all Albanians, while within the law and respectful of the governing authorities, understand which way their aspirations towards economic and intellectual progress should be channelled, where unforeseen circumstances could precipitate the dissolution of the Eastern Question.

B. Secondly. The means to be used:

a. The newspaper which, edited in Tosk, Geg[21] and in French, should publish folk songs, historical chronicles, patriotic poems, economic issues, political commentaries in the shape of news, and must neither incur the distrust of the Porte through its hostile comments, nor push the Albanians, through favourable commentaries, to adopt a favourable attitude toward the Sublime Porte…

b. The publication, two or three times a year, of simple, small leaflets in thousands of issues and in both dialects, in which the national feeling will develop though questions and answers that would bypass a direct involvement in politics […].

f. Schools: they should engage our liveliest interest, the more so since Albanians wholeheartedly desire their construction; however, on the one hand, there's no initiative and on the other, there's a shortage of teachers. It would be necessary, therefore, to send petitions to the Ottoman government from all the areas where these schools are needed.

g. Religions: amicable relations ought to be established among all the clergy, especially the *Bektashi* [Muslim religious order], whose influence, at this stage, could be useful; in the eventuality of what could come about in the future, the tendency should be fully developed towards religious autonomy.

C. In conclusion, let me restate that all our activities and endeavours should be permeated by these two ideas: no party should be set up, but all should rally around the same goal; the newspaper (journal), the association, the schools, propaganda – they should all bear the stamp of a spontaneous movement wherein allegiances, friendships or sympathies should in no way affect our encouragement.

Konitza 2000, pp.14-15.

21 Tosk and Geg are the main dialects of the Albanian language.

Faik Konitza (1875-1942) was one of the leading figures of Albanian culture in the first half of the 20th century. After studying at the universities of Dijon and Paris, he moved to Brussels in 1897, where he published the Albanian newspaper *Albania*. In order to be able to do this, he asked the Austrian-Hungarian foreign minister of the time, Count Agenor Goluchowski, for support and finally obtained Austrian-Hungarian financial backing for his newspaper.

Analyse the means proposed to reinforce the Albanian identity.

II–36. Guidelines for teaching history in Greece (1881)

The aim of teaching Greek History in elementary schools is not for pupils to memorise historical events, dates and names of historical figures or, generally, to accumulate historical knowledge; but, on the one hand, where children's moral education is concerned, to transmit a national conscience so as to mould worthy members of this glorious nation, and on the other hand, to *systematise* the historical knowledge acquired from other subjects taught in the school and promote its *assimilation*. By realising the magnificence and glory of the forefathers — who became great men through lawfulness, arduous toil, bravery and purity of mind and hence scorned material goods and defied death in favour of freedom and duty — the souls of young Greeks shall be filled with admiration as well as the desire to follow their example and continue the glorious national life.

Koulouri, p.263.

Analyse the text and explain what the goals of history teaching were. What is your opinion about the goals of history teaching today?

v8. Children in historical costumes (Greece, ca.1875)

Fotopoulos, p.259.

Do school festivities only have a recreational purpose or are they tools for learning and consolidating a national identity?

II–37. The attempt to establish a national sport in Romania (1898)

In order to propagate a taste for practicing physical exercise in our country, Mr. Haret[22], Minister of Education, has taken the initiative of organising a

22 Spiru C. Haret (1851-1912) earned a doctorate in mathematics in Paris. After returning to Romania, he served as a university professor, a high-ranking education official and three times as minister of Religion and Public Education. He is considered to be the symbol of the modernisation efforts in Romanian education around 1900.

competition among different secondary schools in Bucharest, on the occasion of the 10th of May. This competition was about the game *Oina*[23] and the result was, for the *winning group*, a honorary prize, which was to be owned by the school, which [this group] belongs to, for one year; after that, schools will compete again for the same prize, on the same day. The disposition of Mr. Minister in favour of the propagation of physical exercise in our country by means of a competition of original sports, is very welcome: a) because in this way a great part of our games, threatened until now by extinction, are to be seen again, practiced and played by our youth, and b) because they, together with the adoption of a good gymnastics system, will give us a real education, both national and patriotic, which is absolutely necessary for a country aspiring to be strong, respected and feared for its sons.

Ionescu, p.1106.

? Do you know whether there was or is a sport considered to be national in your country? Why do you think that there were people who felt the need for a 'national sport' at the end of the 19th century? What was their goal?

II–38. Albanian King Zogu I about the role of compulsory military service in nation-building (1928)

I regard the army as an educational factor of the highest value. The country's crying need is education, and the men who are called up under the conscription will return to their homes with much enlarged ideas. You must understand that the average Albanian knows nothing about nationality. He has always looked up to the head of his tribe, or his Bey, as the supreme authority. He must be taught gradually to transfer this local allegiance, admirable in itself, to the central government. He must learn in fact that while remaining a member of the tribe, he is also a citizen of the State.

Fischer, p.23.

Ahmed Zogu (1895-1961) was the leading Albanian statesman in the interwar period, president 1925-1928 and King of Albania as Zogu I (1928-1939).

? What was more important in King Zogu's vision: the role of the compulsory military service in increasing the country's defence capabilities, or its role in shaping a national identity for the young Albanians? What do you think: was conscription an adequate means of achieving these goals? What are the attitudes in your society towards compulsory military service?

v9. Certificate for a sports competition for high school boys, organised by the newspaper "Gazeta Sporturilor" (interwar Romania)

ACIME, 37/2000.

The victorious children are being crowned by a female character representing Romania in national costume.

? How is Romania represented? Discuss its visual and symbolic relationship with the marching young boys.

What designs or symbols are on the certificates in your country today? What about during the interwar period?

23 *Oina* is considered to be the Romanian national game. It is similar to baseball and is played by two teams of 12 people each on a field of 80/50 m. The ball has a diameter of 6-9 cm and the bat is maximum 95 cm long. Even though it is considered to be a national game, very few people know the rules or play it.

v10. Romanian child dressed as little soldier (1916)

(private collection)

How do you explain the trend of dressing little boys in military uniform? What do you think? Was it simply a fashion or did it also have a social and pedagogical significance?

II–39. The goals of Turkish education defined by Ziya Gökalp (1914)

If we study the curriculum of a [Turkish] school, we notice that children are taught according to three categories of learning: (1) They are taught the Turkish language, literature, and history; (2) they are educated in the Kur'an, *tecvit* [reading the Kur'an with the proper rhythm and pronunciation], catechism, and the history of Islam and Islamic languages [Arabic and Persian]; (3) they are also trained in mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign [European] languages, which will aid them in their further studies in these sciences, as well as in skills such as handicrafts and gymnastics.

This shows that we pursue three aims in our education: Turkism, Islamism and Modernism. No Turkish father can fail to have his child educated in the Turkish language or allow him to remain ignorant of Turkish history. Neither can he allow him be ignorant of Islamic beliefs and rituals, or unacquainted with the history of Islam. But he also wants his child to be trained as a modern man, in addition to his education as a Turk and a Muslim. It seems, therefore, that complete education for us would comprise three fields: Turkish education, Islamic education, and modern education.

[…] These three aspects of education must aid and complement each other. But if we fail to define the function and delimit the sphere of each in a reasonable way without overstressing any one of them, they may be contradictory and even hostile to each other.

Vucinich, pp.157-159.

Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was a leading figure of the Young Turk movement and a major ideologue of Turkish nationalism.

What do you think of the author's aim to promote an equilibrium in the three types of education? Was it practical to include all three types in elementary school? What was the situation in your country in the early 20th century? What about today?

II–40. Atatürk's history and language policy criticised by an opponent (private diary, 1932)

17 July 1932

Mustafa Kemal convened a historical congress in Ankara […]. They are talking a lot of rubbish, making the whole world Turkish […]. For eight years, Mustafa Kemal was presented as a genius of military

thought, a genius of politics, a genius of agriculture, etc. Now this man has the whim to make himself a great historian […]. The aim and purpose of the congress is this: Mustafa Kemal discovers unknown things in history, he gives theories to history and he becomes a great historian, a genius of history. One is ashamed to attempt such a ridiculous thing. […] In the book he published, he indicates the countries occupied by the Turks with arrows. There is not a single place they have not gone. He makes the Greeks Turks because of the word 'Ege', he makes the Irish Turks because of the syllable (Ir). What nonsense, what ignorance, what ridicule! He forgot about poor Iran […]. If nations become Turkish with (Ir) what about Iran? It also has (Ir). Yes, it cannot be that simple. […]

The Gazi also declares to Yunus Nadi that there is a word in Seyh Suleyman's Chaghatai dictionary 'kilturmak', whereby removing the suffix 'mak' gives you 'kiltur'. This is the original form of the Frankish term culture. They took it from us. Oh, come and help me! Shall I cry, laugh or die? When I read this man's fabrications it is I, in Paris,who is ashamed. The term 'kilturmak' is, of course, nothing else but the term 'getirmek' (to bring). Where is the culture in this?

[…]

8 September 1932

According to the Milliyet[24] that arrived today, Mustafa Kemal convened a linguistic congress this month at the Palace of Dolmabahce. God take pity on our language […]. Who knows what he is going to manufacture? […] The language matter will be even more complex. It will be more difficult to make a new purge. He would have done much better had he not done this at all. What these things are to this man, I really do not know. He became a historian in two years. He published a book on Turkish history full of his fabrications and he obliges it to be read in the schools. Pity on the time spent and on the minds of Turkish children! He has suddenly become a philologist.

Nur, III, p.547.

Language and history were a central part of Atatürk's policy to foster Turkish nationalism. What do you think of the excesses criticised in the private diary of his intellectual opponent? Would such criticism have been effective if expressed publicly? Do you know of any similar excesses in your country?

II–41. Memoirs of Mahmud Esad Bozkurt about the nationalist essence of the "Atatürk Revolution"

There will only be Turks at the head of the state affairs in the new Turkish Republic. We shall only believe Turks. The most characteristic aspect of the Atatürk revolution is Turkish nationalism and being Turkish. This principle has purged the past. This principle has introduced modernism. The whole Turkish revolution together with its entire works is based on this principle. The smallest diversion from this leads backwards and means death.

Bozkurt, pp.354-355.

Mahmud Esad Bozkurt served as minister for the interior under Atatürk. He was one of the first ideologues to systematise Kemalism as a doctrine.

General question:
Compare texts II–34, II–35, II–36, II–37, II–38, II–39, v8, v9 and v10: what were the means used for nation-building and for fostering a common identity in the new nation-states in Southeast Europe?

24 Newspaper.

National ideologies

Culture was crucial for the rise and consolidation of nations. The elites of the Southeast European nation-states realised this, and tried hard to provide a national pattern to all cultural products. The nationalisation of culture included not only systematic reflections on the nation and the development of national self-images and stereotypes, but also the implementation of a large variety of national symbols. This chapter reveals only a few of these national symbols. Flags, coats of arms and anthems became marks of statehood, and the populations were educated to identify themselves with these symbols. Gradually, each state acquired one or several national holidays, which celebrated major feats of the nation. History proved to be an unending source for symbols and heroes. Intellectuals and politicians appropriated various historical figures and moments, and used them to build up a past suitable to their current ideas and interests. Most of the national heroes originated from a distant past. Others were taken from the present. They were used for both stimulating peacetime pride, and for strengthening wartime cohesion and national dedication. From the late 19th century onwards, every European nation was expected to have at least one national poet, national painter or sculptor, and certainly a national folk culture, including popular literature and national costumes. Specific cuisine and sports were also used to consolidate national identification and pride. The relations between nations were not limited to symbolic competition. Political conflicts were frequent in modern Europe and Southeast Europe, which, with its fragile states and numerous territorial claims, certainly made no exception to this pattern. Therefore, preparing the nation for war was a crucial goal of national ideologies. The national pantheons were filled with political leaders and war heroes. Besides adult men, special attention was gradually devoted to women and children, who illustrated themselves in the struggle for the nation. Women and children were commonly perceived as innocent and unselfish, and their engagement in the struggle for the national goals was considered to be the ultimate proof that these goals and the whole national struggle were justified and worthy. Women as mothers and educators of their children, and children as future citizens and soldiers were also crucial in fostering the conviction that the future of the nation was bright and safe.

IIIa. What is a Nation?

III–1. The rights and duties of the Romanian nation, defined by the poet and politician Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1869)

The Romanians are a nation; the nation is the people and all the classes that make it up, all together and live under the same laws, speak the same language, have the same customs, and live on the land that was destined for them. Each nation has its own character, which makes it different from all the others. Just the same as one man has his rights and duties to accomplish in society, a nation has the same rights and duties towards itself and the other nations; its rights are also duties. The most precious right of a nation is its right to govern itself in the way it desires, and the second right of a nation is the right to keep itself alive; a nation always has the right to reject, by its power, any kind of unjust aggression from the outside; its third right is the free and full development of all its faculties, as long as its applications don't harm the interests of other nations. The first duty of nations, of one nation towards others, which comprises all its other duties, is the one that prescribes them to love and help each other…"

Bolintineanu, vol. II, p.501.

Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1819-1872) was a Romanian poet, writer and politician. Born into a Vlach family originating from Macedonia, he participated in the Wallachian revolutionary movement of the 1840s, and most notably in 1848, when he was member of the provisory government and set up the newspaper *Poporul Suveran* [*The Sovereign People*]. In 1863 and 1864, he was several times minister of Foreign Affairs and minister for Religion and Public Education.

According to the author, what are the elements that define a nation? Find the definition of 'nation' in a dictionary and compare. What does the author consider to be the most important rights of a nation?

III–2. Serbian textbook about the basic features of nations (1870)

The word 'nation' can often be read in newspapers and books, it can be heard every day in conversations and it is often worth reminding ourselves that we are also a nation and that we are called the 'Serbian nation'. Once when the words 'Serbian nation' were mentioned in Radosav's home, his son asked him what a nation was and who the Serbs were. Here is how they talked about it afterwards.

Father: Can you tell me, my son, what a family is?

Son: I know, father. A family is children with their father and mother.

Father: And when a father has brothers, and the mother has sisters, and they all have children of their own – isn't that a family too?

Son: Yes, father, it is. All this together is a family.[…].

Father: That is why I need to tell you what a nation is. Thousands and thousands of families, as we have seen, are scattered far and wide on hills and in valleys, around rivers and by the sea, on poor and on good soil all over the world. These large numbers of people do not speak the same language. That is why all the people in this world are divided into smaller groups, the members of each communicating in their own way, each speaking its own language. Therefore, every group that speaks in a way that another group cannot understand is called a nation. […].

Father: Nations are distinguished by language. Thousands of families that speak the same language and understand each other constitute a nation. For example, if you live here, you can easily know how far our nation extends. Go to the north, to the west, east or south, wherever you travel, wherever you hear people talking like us or in a way that you can understand well, they comprise one nation. But there is something else characteristic of a nation. For example, if you were to travel very far from here, you would see many people who not only do not speak our language, but they do not boast of Milos Obilić, do not have poems about Prince Marko, do not celebrate our slava, do not go to church conventions, do not mourn our Kosovo. Often, they know nothing about it. Therefore, people who speak the same language, who believe in the same national glory and remember each other wherever they are, who have the same customs, are called a nation.

Son: And there are many such nations in the world, aren't there, father?

Father: Many, my son! And each of them has its name. Where there is a nation – there is a language; when there is a language – there is a name! Those who speak this language of ours are Serbs, and other nations are innumerable. Close to us are: Bulgarians, Romanians or Wallachians, Hungarians, Slovenians, Italians, Germans, so there are many nations in the world.

Son: That means, father, that every nation has a name like every person has a name.[…].

Then, when more nations are related by language or customs, such as we, Bulgarians, Slovenians, Czechs, Poles, Russians and two or three more are, then they are considered to be a family, one big tribe. The tribe and relationship we are in is called the 'Slavic tribe'. And from that tribe, we (Serbs and Croats), Bulgarians and Slovenians are called the 'South Slavs' or 'Yugoslavs', because we live in the south and other Slavs live on the north and east from us.

Srpska, I, pp.9-17.

What are the main features of a nation as explained in the textbook? What are the specific elements of the Serb national identity as presented in the textbook? What were the educational goals of the text? What do you think of the explanation? Compare it with contemporary definitions of the nation you find in your civic education textbooks.

III–3. Ziya Gökalp's definition of a nation (1923)

What, then, is a nation? What relationship do we have that is superior to, and dominant over, racial, ethnic, geographic, political, and volitional forces? The discipline of sociology proves that this relationship is a partnership of education and upbringing and culture - in other words - sentiments […]. It is clear from these statements that nation is not a racial, ethnic, geographical, political, and volitional congregation. A nation is a group composed of men and women, who have received the same education, received the same acquisitions in language, religion, morality and aesthetics […]. Therefore, it is pointless to look for genealogies in nationality. We should only look for national education, upbringing and ideals.

Gökalp, pp.11-15.

Compare this with text II–39: What is the main element stressed by the author as the characteristic of a national group? What role does he ascribe to education?

III–4. Variations in Mustafa Kemal pasha's definition of a nation

A. STRESSING RELIGION DURING THE WAR (1920)

The general principle is this: the various Islamic elements living within the areas we have delineated as national borders are true brothers who respect each other's ethnic, regional and ethical rights. Therefore, we do not desire to do anything that would go against the wishes of these people. If there is something absolutely certain about us, it is that within the national borders - Kurd, Turk, Laz, Circassian, etc. all these Islamic elements have common interests and have decided to work together. We do not have any other point of view. We have a heartfelt desire and a brotherly and religious unity. Therefore, never suspect […] when his vote is asked, the Laz or the Kurd will give this vote […]

Ozturk, pp.196-197.

B. ADDING CULTURE (1922)

The people of Turkey who are united racially or religiously and culturally, are filled with mutual respect and self-sacrifice towards one another and form a social body which has a common fate and common interests.

Atatürk'un, p.52.

C. STRESSING UNITY (1924)

These are the natural and historical phenomena that apparently played a part in the formation of the Turkish Nation:

1 Unity in political organisation
2 Unity in language
3 Geographical unity
4 Unity in race and origins
5 Historical affinity
6 Moral and ethical affinity.

The circumstances present in the formation of the Turkish Nation are not wholly present in other nations. In order to arrive at a more general definition we can say that to call a community a 'nation', all or part of these circumstances should exist at the same time.

Atatürk'un, p.70.

D. GENERALISING AND SIMPLIFYING (1929)

Let us make a definition that would, as much as it could, fit every nation. People who have:

1. A rich legacy of memory
2. A sincere desire and consent to live together
3. A shared will to protect the common legacy

They form a community called a 'nation'. According to this, if we say that a community formed by people who belong to the same culture is a 'nation' we make the shortest definition of 'nation'.

Atatürk'un, p.46.

Why do you think there are so many definitions of a 'nation'? Can you link the various definitions provided by Atatürk to specific historical situations, which might have influenced his perceptions of a nation?

Could you also provide a definition?

IIIb. Self-definitions

III–5. Being Albanian – the opinion of Pashko Vasa (1879)

According to our idea, whether they are Muslim, Orthodox or Catholic, the Albanian population are, and remain such as they were thirty centuries ago, the most ancient people of Europe, the race that is least intermixed of all the known races – a race which, by a phenomenon which appears marvellous and which cannot be explained, has resisted time, which destroys and transforms, has been able to retain its language without having a literature or an advanced civilisation, and, what is more, has succeeded in maintaining its original and characteristic type without appearing unsociable, and without rejecting, in their external manifestations, the belief and the rites of the religions which it has embraced as they have been extended victorious through the evolutions of centuries.

Vasa, p.22.

Pashko Vasa (1825-1892) was a leading 19th century writer and statesman born in Shkodra. After an adventurous youth (he participated in the 1848 Italian revolution), he entered the Ottoman state service and eventually became governor-general of Lebanon. While a loyal civil servant of the Ottoman Empire, he animated several Albanian cultural societies and published extensively on the Albanian language, history and politics. His political projects did not aim at the creation of an independent Albania, but at the unification of all Albanian-speaking Ottoman territories within one administrative unit (*vilayet*), with a certain degree of local autonomy.

III–6. Being Bulgarian – poem *I am Bulgarian* by Ivan Vazov (1917)

I am Bulgarian and strong
A Bulgarian mother gave birth to me
beauties and goods so many
make my native land so dear.

I am Bulgarian and love
our mountains so green,
to be called Bulgarian
is the greatest joy for me.

I am free Bulgarian
in place of liberty I live
everything native Bulgarian
I cherish, observe and adore.

I am Bulgarian and grow
in days so great in time of glory
I am son of a land so wonderful
I am son of a tribe of courage.

Vazov, p.7.

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) was a Bulgarian writer, poet and politician, known as the "patriarch of Bulgarian literature". Born in Sopot in Bulgaria`s Rose Valley, he emigrated to Romania and to Russia, and was engaged in the Bulgarian liberation movement. His first poem was Struggle. During the war of 1877-1878, he published the book Salvation, and after the establishment of the Bulgarian state, he recollected the Ottoman rule in the famous first Bulgarian novel, Under the Yoke. During the Balkan Wars and World War I, he published a number of nationalistic poems (see Workbook 3. The Balkan Wars, texts II–5 and V–17). The poem I am Bulgarian is taught in all Bulgarian elementary schools.

v11. National self-definition in images – Slovenian postcard (early 20th century)

III–7. Being Turkish – the opinion of Dr. Riza Nur (1932)

The Turkish nation is the one most favoured by God. Intelligence, heroism, science and artistic capabilities were granted to it more than any other. We are the ones both before and after Christ who have created many civilisations in the area from the Chinese sea to the Balkans, Egypt and Morocco. Therefore, because of the value of the jewel of ability present in the Turkish blood […].

Nur, p.523.

v12. National self-definition in images – Romanian postcard (early 20th century)

România, p.55.

This postcard is from a series depicting Romanian characters in specific traditional costumes or doing traditional activities.

Compare the two postcards. Can a postcard strengthen a national identity? If so, how?

III–8. Being Slovenian – Dimitrij Rupel about the character of the Slovenes (1987)

In the past, it seems, [religious] conversion was a major instrument of Slovene liberation. Conversion means replacing gods, saints, morals, and cultures. It constitutes a social upheaval that overturns values, ideas, rules, and laws. Conversion from one faith to another has been a characteristic of the Slovene nation from the very beginning. […].

None of the major conversions pushed the Slovenes backward. On the contrary, they permitted survival and progress. Besides, living with conversions involves the development of a particular mentality or national spirit. Provisionally, this mentality could be labelled as a spirit of adjustment, compro-

mise, and sublimation, as well as of rationality and openness. In politics, Slovenes often followed the path of small steps, uneasy alliances, and elasticity, which sometimes earned them harsh and moralistic criticism. This mentality also led to resignation expressed in emigration and a high suicide rate.

Stokes, pp.281-282.

Dimitrij Rupel is a Slovenian intellectual and politician. Born in 1946, he studied literature and sociology and was later associate professor at the University of Ljubljana. In the 1980s he led the critical journals *Problemi* and *Nova Revija*, championed the idea of Slovenian independence and became chairman of the Slovenian Democratic Union in January 1989. The Slovenian Democratic Union became part of the opposition coalition DEMOS, which won the first multiparty elections in Slovenia in April 1990. He was subsequently one of the leading politicians of Slovenia and twice minister of foreign affairs.

Look at the four previous texts, cover the denomination or the pronoun 'we' and fill in the gaps with your own identity. Can you see any common elements? Make a list of both the common elements and the differences.

III–9. Non-national self-identification of the Romanian peasants – recollections of George Ionescu-Gion (1889)

Who does not remember that even in recent years, if you asked a peasant: "What are you?", he would answer, scratching his head and smiling with obedience: "Well, Sir, what should I be? A Christian like all the other Christians, just to God!" I asked him, talking in the same manner: "Good, my cousin, but why, only Christian? Christian! The Bulgarian is also a Christian … The Muscovite is also a Christian … The Greek is also a Christian … You're Christian! But you are also something else, are you not? Don't you feel that you come from all your Romanian ancestors, Romanian green like the oak and with a brave arm which smashes the chest of the enemy?" " Well, Sir", answered the countryman, "I do not know such things; you speak as from a book…."

Ionescu-Gion, pp.16-17.

George Ionescu-Gion (1867-1904) published extensively as a journalist and a historian. Having studied in both Paris and Brussels, he served as a high school teacher for French and history, and later became the general inspector of secondary education. The following excerpt originates from a public conference held at the Athenaeum in Bucharest.

How does the author present the difference between religious and national identity? Which is more important in the vision of Ionescu-Gion? Why did national identity become more important than religious identity at the end of the 19th century? Can you figure out what the relationship between this phenomenon and the formation of nation-states was?

III–10. Non-national self-identification in Macedonia – the experience of H. N. Brailsford (1905)

The memory of the past had vanished utterly and nothing remained save a vague tradition among the peasants that their forefathers had once been free. I questioned some boys from a remote mountain village near Ochrida which had neither teacher nor resident priest, and where nor a single inhabitant was able to read, in order to discover what amount of traditional knowledge they possessed. I took them up to the ruins of the Bulgarian Tsar's fortress which dominates the lake and the plain from the summit of an abrupt and curiously rounded hill. "Who built this place?" I asked them. The answer was significant–"The Free Men.""And who are they?""Our grandfathers". "Yes, but were they Serbs, or Bulgarians or Greek or Turks?" "They weren't Turks, they were Christians." And this seemed to be about the measure of their knowledge.

Brailsford, pp.99-100.

Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958) was a British journalist who spent several years in the Balkans as a volunteer in the Philhellenic Legion, as a foreign correspondent, and as head of the British relief mission to Macedonia in 1903. Sympathetic to the Macedonian cause, he published a cultural and historical survey of the region in 1905.

What is the main source of self-identification in the vision of the boys? Why does the author stress the fact that there was no school or regular priest in the village, and that the population was illiterate? Do you think the boys' answers would have been different under other circumstances?

v13. Bosnia-Herzegovina Pavilion at the International Exhibition in Paris (1900)

Bennett, p.30.

At the Universal/World Exhibitions every state aims to display its own identity and individuality.

What are the main elements displayed by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Pavilion in 1900? Analyse the background (architectural elements), the dress, the furniture, the activities and the attitude of the characters.

Gather information about the last World Exhibition and about the participation of your country. What were the specific elements presented by your state?

IIIc. National Symbols

III–11. Rigas Velestinlis – description of the flag and the symbols of the Hellenic Republic he envisages (1797)

The device to be used on the flags and ensigns of the Hellenic Republic is the club of Hercules with three crosses above it; the flags and ensigns themselves are three-coloured, with red at the top, white in the middle and black at the bottom.[25]

Red stands for the imperial purple and the self-determination of the Greek people; it was used by our forefathers as a dress of war, so that any bleeding wounds would not show and make the soldiers lose heart.

White stands for the purity of our just cause against tyranny.

Black denotes our death for freedom and for the fatherland.

All Greek soldiers wear a helmet on their head.

All Greek soldiers carry a bayonet, worn in the belt as a sword and fitted to their rifle in case of need or on parade.

The dress of Greek soldiers is the heroic apparel of black breeches, white shirt and red socks or stockings.

All Greek men and women as well as all inhabitants of this republic must have on their helmets or caps a similar club device as above, drawn or embroidered on white cloth or on bronze; it is the sign of recognition among the free democrats and equal brothers.

Παρθενών [Parthenon], pp.555-556.

? Only few of the symbols suggested by Rigas were adopted by the modern Greek state after obtaining independence; try to argue either in favour of or against adopting distinctive dress elements for all inhabitants of a state.

Compare the flag suggested by Rigas with the current Greek flag (v17).

25 These three colours were used in the flag of the French republic, albeit with light blue instead of black.

III–12. The significance of the Albanian flag, as presented in the oration of Bishop Fan Stylian Noli at the funeral of Faik Konitza (1942)

Let me add a few words about the Albanian flag. As you all know, none of the flags of our Balkan neighbours are older than a century and a half. Some of them are less than a century old. Ours is at least 500 years old and perhaps several centuries older. It was the flag of George Castriot Scanderbeg, the national hero of Albania, who fought against the Turks for a quarter of a century and was the last Christian warrior in the Balkans to successfully defy the greatest Sultans of Turkey. After Scanderbeg's death, Albania, abandoned by the European powers, had to suffer for four centuries and a half under the yoke of the unspeakable Turk. During that period, Skanderbeg's flag was forgotten – nobody knew of its existence until a young scholar dug it up in a library in a Latin biography of Skanderbeg by Barletius. The scholar was Faik Konitza and that flag that now lies over his coffin, a red flag with the black double-headed eagle, is the one he re-discovered.

Konitza 2000, p.174.

This oration was given in the United States, in the specific context of World War II, when Albania was under Italian occupation. Fan Noli (1882-1965) was an Orthodox bishop and had also been prime-minister and regent of Albania for six months in 1924. Opposing Ahmed Zogu, he went into exile, and finally settled in the United States, where he was the leading figure of the Albanian-American community. He published several religious, literary and historical books, and at the age of 63 (in 1945) he obtained a doctoral degree from Boston University with a dissertation on Skanderbeg. Although his personal relations with Faik Konitza (see also text II–35) had deteriorated when the latter served as Albanian ambassador to Washington during the rule of Zogu, both cooperated especially after Albania's occupation in 1939.

? Analyse texts III–11 and III–12. Do you know the significance of your flag? Do you associate it with a particular story or significance?

v14. Flag of the Greek island of Psara during the War of Independence, featuring the motto "Freedom or death", the cross and symbols of the secret society 'Filiki Etaireia'

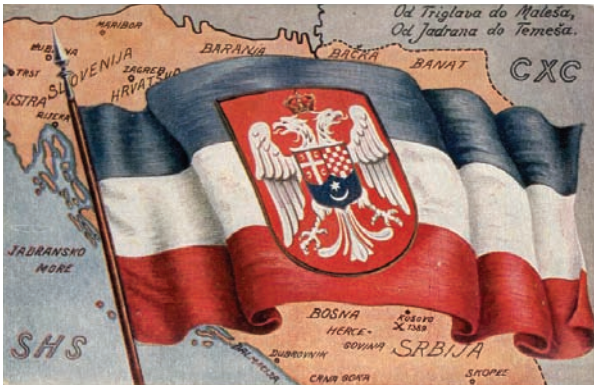
Σημαίες ελευθερίας, p.22.

v15. Romanian flag of the Bucharest Urban Guard, with the inscription "Union creates power" (1867)

The two female characters represent the two Romanian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, united into one state in 1859.

What was the purpose of including elements that referred specifically to a national outcome, on a flag designed for a local institution?

v16. Flag and Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croat and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929)



The flag and the coat of arms combine the national symbols of the three ruling nations in the first Yugoslav state.

What is the purpose of the image?

Dimić.

v17. Current flags of UN members Southeast European states

Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Turkey

Try to figure out the meaning of the flags. Compare the colours and the way they are displayed. Compare them with other European flags.

III–13. National anthems

A. THE GREEK NATIONAL ANTHEM (1823)

I know you of old
Oh divinely restored,
By the light of your eyes
And the edge of your sword.

From the graves of our people
Shall your spirit prevail
As we greet you again-
Hail, Liberty, Hail!

Long did you dwell
Amid the peoples that mourn
Awaiting some voice

That should tell you to return

Ah, slow broke that day
and no man dared call,
For the shadow of tyranny
Lay over all.

Yet, behold now the sons
with impetuous breath
Go forth to the fight
Seeking freedom or death.

From the graves of our people
shall the spirit prevail
as we greet you again-
Hail, Liberty, Hail!

Kapsomenos, pp.93-94.

Verses from the national anthem, *Hymn to Liberty*, written by Dionysios Solomos, one of the most important Greek poets (1798-1857). The poem *Hymn to Liberty*, which consists of 158 stanzas, was written in 1823 during the Greek War of independence. The first two stanzas of the poem, with music by Nikolaos Mantzaros, became the national anthem of Greece in 1864, replacing the Greek translation of the Bavarian national anthem, which had been used until that time.

B. THE CROATIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM (1835)

Our beautiful homeland
Our heroic and beloved country
Patrimony of old glory
Be happy forever!
Beloved and the glorious
Beloved and the only one
Beloved wherever you are flat
Beloved wherever you are mountainous
Flow on river of Sava, flow on river of Drava
Nor river of Duna loses its strength
And the bluish sea too, tell all the world
How the Croat loves his nation!

Za Hrvatsku, p.5.

The verses of Croatian anthem were written by Antun Mihanovic (1796-1861), and published in the magazine *Danica* [*The Morning Star*] in 1835. Mihanovic was born in Zagreb. He was an officer in the Habsburg army and later, a diplomat. In the 1840s, his verses were put into music by Josip Runjanin (1821-1878) – also an officer in the Habsburg army. Croats started to consider it as a national anthem at the beginning of the 20th century. In communist Yugoslavia it was recognised as an anthem of the federal republic of Croatia, but it was officially performed only after the Yugoslav anthem (*Hey, the Slavs*). According to the 1990 Constitution, *Croatian Homeland*, commonly known as *Our Beautiful* (*Homeland*) is the national anthem of the Republic of Croatia. In the first version of the anthem the "bluish sea" was not mentioned; these two words were added in the 1990s.

C. THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM (1912)

United around the flag,
With one desire and one goal,
Let us pledge our word of honour
To fight for our salvation
Only he who is a born traitor
Averts from the struggle.
He who is brave is not daunted,
But falls - a martyr to the cause.
With arms in hand we shall remain,
To guard our fatherland round about.
Our rights we will not bequeath,
Enemies have no place here.
For the Lord Himself has said,
That nations vanish from the earth,
But Albania shall live on,
Because for her, it is for her that we fight.

http://www.albanian.com/information/history/index.html

The verses were written by Aleks Stavre Drenova, or Asdreni (1872 – 1947). He spent most of his life in Romania and died in Bucharest. The original title of the poem was *Betimi mi flamur* (*Pledge to the Flag*) and was published in 1912 in *Liri e Shqipërisë* (*Freedom of Albania*), an Albanian newspaper in Sofia, Bulgaria. The first two stanzas, set to the music of the Romanian composer Ciprian Porumbescu (1853 – 1883), became the official anthem of Albania in 1912.

What do you know of the national anthem of your country?

v18. The evolution of the Bulgarian coat of arms (from 1741 to the present day)

What are the common elements represented in all of the coats of arms?

What elements are represented on the coat of arms of your country? Find their symbolic significance.

v19. Serbian coat of arms designed by Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1701)

Davidov, p.21.

v20. Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Serbia (1880s)

Ljušić 2001.

The coat of arms combines a royal (Byzantine) two-headed eagle and the shield with 4 "S". This coat of arms was created by the historian and politician Stojan Novakovic.

Compare the two pictures. Analyse the similarities and the differences. What do you think?

v21. Coat of arms of Montenegro

Why does a state need a coat of arms and what should it express? Could we consider the coat of arms to be an element of national identity or only as an element of a state's identity? What should a multinational state express through its coat of arms?

v22. Monarchy and state - Romanian postcard representing King Carol I (1866-1914)

Why was a postcard representing the King published? How is the ruler represented? What sentiments and attitudes should the image transmit?

III–14. The attempt to establish a national dress in Greece (1843)

In the interests of economy and national pride and in order to avoid foreign luxury and corruption [which is what has brought Greek affairs to their current situation] it would be expedient […] to create a national dress: cheap, comely, elegant, made of local materials and by local craftsmen […] which would identify our nationality, link everyone in national unity and promote the ongoing formation of the nation. It is certain that as a distinctive nation, part of Asia and Europe and honoured for its distinguished ancestry, the Greeks must have a national dress, education, diet […]

Politis, p.124.

Figure out the reasons why the author is trying to convince the people of the necessity of a national dress. Do you agree with his argument? Does your country have a 'national dress'?

v23. Serbian peasant girl in national dress (1865)

Todić, p. 132.

Table 3: Main national holidays in current Southeast European states

Country	Date	Significance
Albania	28 November	Independence Day (1912)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1 March	Independence Day (1992)
Bulgaria	3 March	Liberation Day (1878)
Croatia	8 October	Independence Day(1991)
Cyprus	1 October	Independence Day (1960)
FYR of Macedonia	8 September	Independence Day (1991)
Greece	25 March	Independence Day (1821)
Montenegro	13 July	Statehood Day (2006)
Romania	1 December	Unification Day (1918)
Serbia	15 February	Liberation *(državnosti)* Day (1804)
Slovenia	25 June	Statehood Day (1991)
Turkey	29 October	Republic Day (1923)

www.seeurope.net; http://en.wikipedia.org

National Holidays celebrate events considered crucial to the development of the nation-state. In the history of a state, according to political circumstances, national holidays could and sometimes did change; yet, there were states which maintained the same national holiday throughout their whole history, for example, Albania. A good example of changing national holidays is Romania: the most important national holidays celebrated during the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries were: 10 May with a triple significance: the coronation of Carol I of Hohenzollern as Prince of Romania (1866), the proclamation of Romanian Independence (1877) and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Romania (1881); 24 January was the day of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859. The birthdays of the King and Queen were also celebrated as national holidays. During the Communist regime the national holiday was 23 August (1944), when Romania seceded from the Axis and joined the Allied Forces, and additional holidays were of international origin, such as 1 May and 7 November. After the demise of the communist regime, 1 December (1918) was chosen as the national holiday, the day of the Union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, and thus celebrating the formation of Greater Romania.

What kinds of events are celebrated in the various Southeast European countries according to this table? What other historical days are celebrated in your country?

Do your own research:

To find out more about the national holiday(s) in your country and about the way people understand and remember this day you can do some personal research. It could be amusing. You could discuss the issues with members of you family, neighbours or other people you choose as sources. Ask them what they know of the significance of the national day, if they have celebrated other national days in previous times, how the national day was officially celebrated in their childhood and youth and how they spent their time during these days.

In addition to the above, try to find out how important the religious and traditional holidays are for your community.

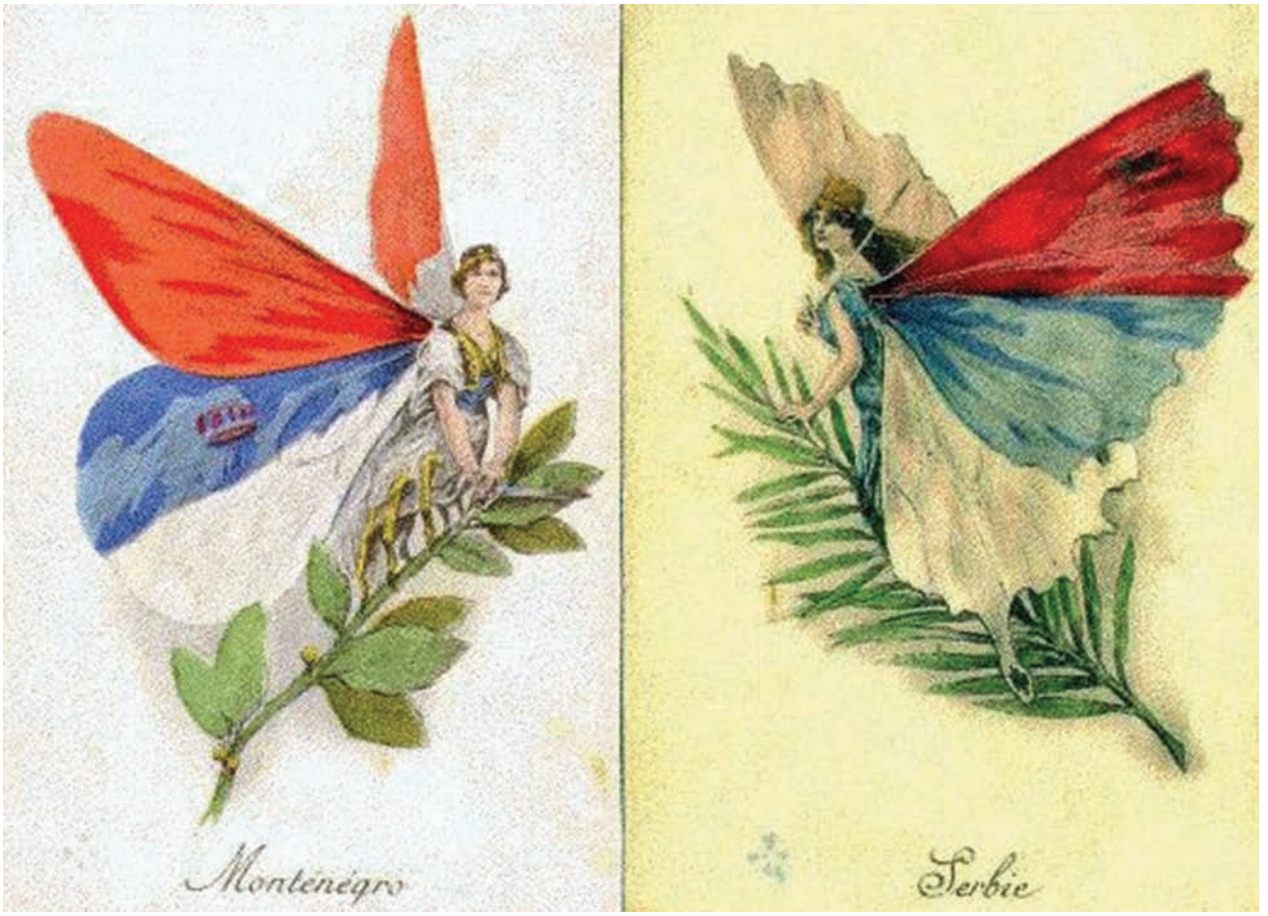
IIId. National mythologies

▶ v24. Visual representations of the Nation

A. *Liberated Bulgaria* – lithograph by Georgy Danchov (1879)

How is Bulgaria represented? Do you have similar images in your country?

B. French postcards featuring Serbia and Montenegro (1917)



Analyse the way in which the countries and their national characteristics are represented. Notice the fact that the countries are represented by feminine characters.

III–15. Historical roots of the Macedonian nation – Gjorgji Pulevski, For the Macedonians (1879)

For the Macedonians

Our fatherland is this place so dear to Macedonians
It was a kingdom under King Philip
An old empire of Alexander the czar.
Our Macedonian czar known in the whole wide universe
as Alexander the Great.
He left his empire in the Balkan Peninsula
To all Slavic highlanders.
[…]
We should love our fatherland,
And do everything to get it,
It is old our Macedonian kingdom.
Let us get together all of us, let us do everything to save ourselves […]
Our brothers Macedonians of Orthodox faith;
Let us be all as one and fight bravely.
Just like our old ancestors under the Czar Alexander,
May our hymns leave a memory behind us.
Let's revive the old history
And may we fulfil it now.
Our old Macedonian ancestors left us a good memory.
By this deed we ought to cover their bones and

make them sacred. And golden wreathes we'll make them.
Let us wave the old Macedonian military flag.
And on it the face of Saint George. And on the other side
Saint Dimitry.
So thus we'll fight under holy insignia […]

Pulevski, pp.57-58.

Gjorgji Pulevski (1838-1895) published several comparative dictionaries, Macedonian grammars and proposals on spelling, short histories, genealogies and folk-song compilations. He was typical of the romantic nation-builders in striving to bridge the gap between the 'Golden Age' of ancient Macedonia and the current Slav-speaking population of the country. Although not really a poet, he published a Macedonian Songbook [Makedonska Pesnarka] in Sofia in 1879.

What do you think of the goals and message of the poem? What did the author intend to convey? Why did he choose to write in verses?

v25. Historical heroes as models for the present

A. Leonidas, King of ancient Sparta, declares to the Persians that he will not surrender: "Μολών λαβέ" (="*Come and get it*") – image from a Greek schoolbook (1901)

Koulouri, p.72.

What values and attitudes are transmitted by the image and the text? How is Leonidas presented in comparison to the other characters? How is he placed within the spatial dimensions of the picture? Why?

B. Death of Vasa Čarapić[26] during the capture of the Belgrade Fortress 1806 –picture by Anastas Jovanović (1817-1899)

National Museum, Belgrade.

What is the role of the picture? What sentiments and attitudes should the picture convey? Compare the two visuals.

III–16. Memories of Dr. Riza Nur about the impact of popular epic stories

I used to read them with a gusto and excitement. The more I read them, the more I was willing to be a hero. Now I realise that these books presented the old heroic habits of the Turk. It is a pity that they remain worthless today. It is necessary to modernise and rewrite them […]. How important were these works? I have no doubt that it was 90 per cent the education given by them during their childhood that made the

26 Vasa Čarapić was one of the leaders of the first Serbian Uprising (1804-1813).

Turk a hero enabling him to conquer so many places. These are works of the heroic age of the Turks in Islam. They should be reformed and rewritten. They will be very beneficial for national education.

Nur, pp.90-91.

What do you think of the role of literature in enforcing national and/or identity attachments? Have you read literary pieces that create the idea of your own national identity?

v26. The symbolic representation of political events

A. *Uprising of the Montenegrins* – painting by Dura Jakšić (1832-1878)

National Museum, Belgrade.

Compose two questions about this image. Compare your questions with those of your colleagues.

B. *United Bulgaria* – painting by Nikolai Pavlovich (1885)

The picture represents the moment of union between Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1885. Bulgaria plays a motherly role towards the new territory. In the background, a mourning character suggests that union with Bulgaria had been desired by other territories, but not achieved.

Describe the picture. Comment on the dress. What are the differences and similarities between this picture and that of the Liberated Bulgaria? What is the role of such historical representations?

III–17. Romanian law for the celebration of the female war hero, Ecaterina Teodoroiu (1921)

LAW REGARDING THE MONUMENT, THE HUT AND THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE "ECATERINA TEODOROIU"

Article 1. For worshiping the memory of the Virgin Hero Ecaterina Teodoroiu, who bravely died for the Country, a monument-statue will be erected in the city of Targu-Jiu, which will be part of the commem-

orative monument of "The Victory in Jiu", containing the names of all the officers who fell during the victorious battles on the valley of the river Jiu, starting with the name of the virgin second lieutenant.

The construction, maintenance and supervision works will be performed by the 'Society Tombs of the Heroes fallen during the war', under the direction of the Ministry of War.

The plan of the construction works will be made by the Ministry of Arts by means of a competition.

Article 2. The body of the Virgin will be taken from Muncelul and buried under the monument. A commemorative service will be held in the Kingdom every year, on the day established by the special law for celebrating heroes.

Moreover, an office for the dead and a procession will be celebrated at Vadeni – Gorj – the place of birth of the Hero – on the day of October 14th, the day of the victory on the Jiu, and all schools in the country will organise educational conferences on this subject.

Article 3. The hut in the village of Vadeni, district of Gorj, in which the Virgin was born, will be repaired and maintained permanently, as well as its courtyard, both being declared historical places.

[…] Another house will be built for the family of the Hero, in the same commune, and they will be given six acres for free together with the cattle and the tools necessary to maintain a modest peasant's household.

The dispositions of the present law do not exclude the pension the family receives as aid for the Hero's dead brother. […]

Article 6. The distribution between the Ministries, of the sums collected for the Monument, for the Hut and the School will be performed by the Council of Ministers, by the Council's Presidency.

"Monitorul…", p.3112.

Ecaterina Teodoroiu (real name Toderoiu) (1894-1917), was the daughter of a peasant, employed as a nurse in 1916. Taken prisoner by the Germans in the fighting at Podul Jiu, she escaped and continued to participate in the fighting in Valea Jiului. As both her legs were injured by a shell, she was decorated with the *Virtutea militara* [*Military virtue*] by King Ferdinand I (1914-1927) and granted the rank of second-lieutenant. After having spent time in a hospital in Iaşi, she once again joined the combatant troops, leading a platoon in the battle of Mărăşeşti, where she was killed in action in the night of 22-23 August 1917.

Why do you think it was considered important to build a monument to Ecaterina Teodoroiu? What kind of a symbol was she? What sentiments were transmitted through her memory and to whom?

Give your opinion: is the worship of heroes aimed at commemorating them for their own sake, or are its main goals to be found in the educational and even political spheres? List three personalities who are the most famous national symbols in your country. What is the ratio of men to women and children? Through what kind of actions did they distinguish themselves?

III–18. Historical origin of the Albanian coat of arms, presented by a contemporary historian (2000)

The national coat of arms: The double-headed, open winged black eagle on a red shield. It is derived from the heraldic symbol of our national hero, Gjergj Kastriot Skanderbeg (1405-1468). The Albanian Coat of Arms is found for the first time as a heraldic symbol, on the chancellor seal of Gjergj Kastriot Skanderbeg. The seal is composed of a two-headed open-winged eagle.. On the front of the seal there is a six-pointed star. The print of this seal was found on documents dating from 1459, when Pope Picolomini II and the congress of Mantova, acknowledged the symbols of Skanderbeg.

Gjin Varfri, p.19.

Why does the historian insist that the coat of arms of his nation-state is old and famous? Does this really have any significance today?

What do you think about the role of national symbols?

v27. Romanian poster for the 70th anniversary of modern statehood (1929)

The poster represents the map of Greater Romania, including portraits of historical figures and political leaders. The central figure is the young King Michael I. The other characters are related either to the idea of Romanian unity (Michael the Brave, Wallachian Prince 1593-1601, who, for a short time, united Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania; Alexandru Ioan Cuza, elected as common prince of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859; Mihail Kogălniceanu, Prime-Minister during the reign of Cuza, or to the idea of monarchy (Kings Carol I and Ferdinand I). Outside the map, the Roman Emperor Trajan and the Dacian King Decebal are shown, symbols of the noble origin of the Romanians. The date on the front of the poster, 10 May, was the national day in Romania at that time: the day of the coronation of Carol I as Prince of Romania (1866), the day of the proclamation of the independence of Romania (1877) and the day of the proclamation of the Romanian Kingdom (1881).

Do you know of any similar posters in your country? Do you know of any other kind of propaganda posters?

Compare this with v16. What was the purpose of such publications?

v28. Croatian stamp representing the famous basketball player Drazen Petrovic (1994)

After a successful career, Drazen Petrovic died tragically in a car accident in 1993. Dražen Petrović is probably one of the few Croats accepted as a national hero of modern times.

Why are sports stars sometimes considered to be national heroes? What kind of heroism do they represent? What is the connection with heroism in war or resistance?

Why was he represented on a stamp?

Conflicting Nationalisms

A long-lasting stereotype depicts the Balkans as the 'gunpowder barrel' of Europe. National conflicts between petty and greedy states are part of this picture. This image was shaped during the late 19th–early 20th centuries, and was 'proven right' by the experience of the Balkan Wars and by the Sarajevo assassination in 1914. Yet, this crude historical image is to a large extent unfair. World War I started with the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, but it certainly did not become the global massacre we all know because of the people from this region. Besides, Southeast Europe is low down on the list of horrors committed in the 20th century. Yet, this does not absolve Southeast European nationalisms from their responsibility in generating useless conflicts and horrible crimes.

It is not the purpose of this teaching pack to illustrate the horrors of national conflicts in Southeast Europe. In fact, we have tried to avoid this, and focused more on showing the arguments and ideologies which at a first glance might seem legitimate, but which ultimately motivated people to act in violent manners. We think that the critical discussion of such sources in history classes will help young people become mature and responsible citizens.

It was also our aim in this chapter to show that national conflicts do not last forever. In fact, the historical experience of Southeast Europe, and even more, those of other European regions, clearly prove that conflicts do end, that national prejudices and hatred can be replaced by more positive attitudes, and that a better and safer world can and does emerge. The rise of the European Union and the example of French-German relations during the last five decades are encouraging. Similar improvements can be already seen in parts of Southeast Europe. Such evolutions do not necessarily mean that the nation-state will disappear or will become irrelevant. In spite of all expectations that the nation-state would fade away, it is now obvious that, at least for a significant time span, the nation-state will continue to be a major actor in European politics and worldwide. National identification will remain significant during our lifetime, and the evolutions of nation-states will influence our existence. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to ensure that our nation-states turn out to be favourable frameworks for our common future.

IVa. Ideologies involved in mobilising for conflict

IV–1. National prejudice against Germans in Croatia (1866)

I could never love a German blonde. Once, by ill-fate, I met such a German angel of eternal peace. We proved our mutual love, and then that German girl started to play *Les cloches du monastere* for me and I started to yawn; then she started to read Bergruine by Matheson and I took a nap. She sighed, that blonde, for a half-hour daily, during the seven days. On the eighth day, I was no longer there. I love Croatian she-devils, with whom a man can fight, more than the pale German Lujza, half-hearted as tepid lemonade.

Senoa, p. 164.

? What does the author think of German girls? Is it true? Do you know of other prejudices about other people? To which nation or social group are most jokes in your community related? What is, according to your opinion, the role of stereotypes and prejudices? Do they have any real basis?

IV–2. The memories of Dr. Riza Nur about his refusal to marry a foreign girl (1910)

We were attending Parliament. At that time, I had many marriage proposals. One of the candidates was very rich and beautiful. The girl herself was very willing and trying hard. My heart was about to slide towards her. She was Albanian. Only because of that I did not marry her. I said "I need a Turk. Until now we have not had any other blood in our family".

Nur, p.318.

? How can you explain the attitude of the writer? What do you think of his decision?

IV–3. Divergence on the Greek Megale Idea – a discussion between Professor Nikolaos Saripolos and King George I (1877)

[…] one State with Constantinople as the capital, including under Your Majesty's sceptre, in addition to Crete, Thessaly and Epirus, Thrace, Macedonia, the Black Sea up near Trebizond, Asia Minor and all islands of the Aegean, without omitting my own country, Cyprus… "You are extending the borders of Greece too far", the King interrupted me.

Politis, p.63.

Nikolaos Saripolos (1817-1887), law expert, scholar and Professor at the University of Athens, describes in his *Memories,* a discussion he had with King George I (1863-1913) in 1877, where he explained his views about the territories claimed by Greece.

? Why do you think the King interrupted the discussion? What was the author intending to explain to the King?

IV–4. Definition of the Romanian national space by the historian Alexandru D. Xenopol (1888)

The first shortcoming of our geographic position is therefore that, as compared to the Latin nations, which make Western Europe similar to a continent, we, the Eastern Latins, are like an island lost in an ocean of foreign people.

And because of this, since fate wanted to throw the Romanian people on the northern side of the Danube, it lives nowadays on a wide territory of 300000 sq km, almost as big as Italy's entire surface and larger than half of that of France, enclosed in between three big rivers, which margin a triangular shape. These rivers are the Danube in the south, the Dnester as an eastern border and the great tributary of the Danube, the river Tisa, as western border. In this region the Romanians form - almost everywhere - a compact people, who also consider some of the islands over the borders, shown above, as their own.

Xenopol, I, p.43.

Alexandru D. Xenopol (1847-1920) was one of the leading Romanian scholars of humanities during the late 19th century. He published extensively on various topics, but acquired national and European recognition with his contributions to Romanian history and the theory of history. He authored the first multi-volume synthesis of Romanian history.

? How are Romanian identity and the Romanian national space represented?

Do you think that the representations of national space have ideological and political goals?

Do you know of any situations when several nations claimed the same territories? Exemplify.

IV–5. National divisions in the Ottoman parliament (1908-1914)

The Unionists [Young Turks] in their attacks against us were claiming that we united with non-Turks and foreign elements, who were traitors to the homeland. This was totally in contradiction with reality and a lie. It is true that the opposition had Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Greeks, and Armenians in its ranks, but these elements were also among the Unionists. In fact, the majority of them were Unionist […] it was

possible to dislodge the Unionists with a strong organisation, in a legal way. The Arabs at the time were intent on establishing an Arab party. It was necessary to incorporate this into the Babylonian Tower to engulf it. The Babylonian Tower is no minus because the Unionists are like that too. In fact, the whole country is like that, so what can you do? Of course its parliament will be like this. The Arabs sport very dangerous nationalistic ideas. If a precedent is established, the end will be grim. It will be like the Parliament of Austria. The Greeks, too, if not openly but implicitly support this idea […]. I, myself, am ready to die for Turkdom but I hide this like a secret. I do not talk about this to anybody. If we do it [speak of Turkish nationalism] openly, the others, too, will have legitimate ground to come out in the open. This, in turn, means the partition of the country and its extinction. The homeland (*vatan*) stretches all the way from Shkoder to Basra and the Yemen. There are seventy-two and a half elements in it. This situation was the weakest side of Turkey and the greatest danger threatening it. That is why I was shivering with the thought of the establishment of national parties. At that time, despite the fact that he himself was an Albanian, Huseyin Cahid wrote articles about the 'dominant nation' against the Greeks in the Tanin.

It is true that he did not mention Turkdom by name but using the term 'dominant nation' was not acceptable in a constitutional regime. I was infuriated about the crazy attitude of this man and I said "He is doing this either on purpose, or ambition has blinded his eyes with a thick and black curtain of ignorance. He is unable to see what kind of enormous harm he is preparing for the state." Actually speaking of the 'dominant nation' was not right as the country was composed of many different nations [*millet*]. Otherwise, there could be no constitutionalism. It would be a different matter if Turkey governed these areas as colonies with special laws. Then, they could not be elected as deputies. Anyway, Turkey had no such power […]. The Greeks became truly mad. They were up against a dominant nation. These articles were like flames started in a powder box. I wish he used Turkey instead of the dominant nation. He did not say it, he could not say it […]. Never mind, I have attempted to gather the opposition groups. I was talking to the important deputies. The Arabs did not want to unite in a general party. Abdalhamid Zohrawi led this group. I was on friendly terms with Shukri Asali, the MP for Damascus. He was a naïve person. He disclosed his ideas to me. I did not inhibit him. His idea was to establish an Umayyad state in Damascus […]. I threatened these Arabs: "if you establish an Arab party we shall establish a Turkish party and we shall unite with the Unionists. Then you will see who is going to be harmed". They were frightened. They accepted my idea. The People's Party too did not want to join due to the encouragement of Gumulcineli. I did whatever I could and persuaded them too.

Nur, pp.328-332.

? How can we understand the problems raised in the text? What ideological changes and political attitudes bothered and worried the author, in your opinion?

IV–6. Proclamations of the anti-colonial struggle by the Greek Cypriots (1955)

A.

With the help of God, with faith in our honourable struggle, with the support of all Hellenism and the help of the Cypriots, WE HAVE TAKEN UP THE STRUGGLE TO THROW OFF THE BRITISH YOKE, taking as our battle cry that which our ancestors have handed down to us as a sacred trust: DEATH OR VICTORY.

BROTHER CYPRIOTS

From the depths of the past, all those who glorified Greek history in preserving their freedom are looking to us: the warriors of Marathon and of Salamis; the 300 of Leonidas and the fighters in the epic Albanian war. The fighters of 1821 are looking to us, those fighters who showed us that liberation from the yoke of the ruler is always won through National States […]

All Hellenism is looking to us and following us with concern but also with national pride.

Let us reply with deeds and show that we are worthy of them.

It is time we let the world know that international diplomacy is UNJUST and in many words COWARDLY and that the Cypriot spirit is brave. If our rulers refuse to give us back our freedom we are capable of claiming it with our own HANDS and with our own BLOOD.

Let us show the world once more that the neck of the contemporary Greek refuses to accept the yoke. Our struggle will be hard. The ruler has the means and is strong in number.

We have the SPIRIT. We have JUSTICE on our own side. That is why WE SHALL WIN.

DIPLOMATS OF THE WORLD

Look to your deeds. It is shameful that in the twentieth century people should have to shed blood for freedom, the divine gift for which we too fought at your side and for which you, at least, claim that you fought against Nazism and Fascism.

GREEKS

Wherever you may be, hear our call:

FORWARD! ALL TOGETHER FOR THE FREEDOM OF CYPRUS. […]

THE LEADER
DIGHENIS

Grivas-Dighenis, p.34.

B.

APRIL 1st

RISE CHILDREN OF GREECE TO LIBERATE THE COUNTRY

A handful of besieged people against an Empire of 500 million subjects, armed with their SOULS and accompanied by FAITH, is striking resounding blows at the mighty Goliath who is armed with material power. This is a fight of JUSTICE, which generates MORAL POWERS and inspires the noblest ideals, against INJUSTICE and violence.

[…]

We have won a moral victory. An Empire is shaken and humiliated. Cyprus, unknown to many, even to diplomats, is today at the international forefront, a nuisance to the Anglo-Americans and a carcinoma to the English. All liberal peoples are on our side.

[…]

The age of capitulating is gone. Gone is the time of living at the expense of the small and the powerless. Today, JUSTICE and MORALITY shall prevail. Neither the vile Anglo-American alliance against us nor the Anglo-Turkish collusion — the coercive creation of two crafty opportunists — can defeat us.

Papageorgiou, pp.138-139.

The two proclamations were issued by Colonel (later General) George Grivas (1898-1974), who, after having served in the Greek army, returned to Cyprus to head EOKA, and launched a guerrilla campaign against the British with the ultimate goal of freeing Cyprus from the colonial rule and to unite it with Greece. For the outcome of this struggle, see also text I–39.

How does the leader of the Cypriot movement justify the struggle for liberation? Do you know of any other anti-colonialist movements of the 1950s?

Compare with texts I–8 and I–22. What is the purpose of a proclamation in general? Take a sheet of paper and organise it into three columns. For each text, answer the following questions, always bearing in mind that a proclamation is foremost an act of communication:

Who wrote it? To who was it addressed? When was it created and under what circumstances?

Write down the arguments used to justify the struggle for liberation. What do you observe? Do you think that a proclamation should respect specific rhetorical rules in order to achieve its goals?

IVb. Concrete conflicts

IV–7. Stjepan Radic, *We want our Croatian Country within the Yugoslav Unity* (1918)

With you [the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro], we want to have the unique outer international state frontier, […] but, in addition to that, we want to keep our inner Croatian state frontier out of it for these reasons:

First, we the Croats, want to ensure that our peasant people are given their complete rights according to our specific conditions and needs. […]

Second, we the Croats, want to arrange our Croatian country not only on a peasant but also a Slavic basis, for example, by replacing German by the Czech language and by trying to transfer and transplant all the Czech regulations and laws which are good for us. You, on the contrary, are transferring regulations and laws from the foreign, (albeit more progressive world); so we won't argue with you fruitlessly and remain an everlasting minority in all matters.

Third, we the Croats, have the intention of arranging our public life based on Christian and Wilson's human basis so that we set aside any hate and revenge, and you, brother Serbs, on the contrary, due to your great suffering, […] and on account of your heroism, you consider yourselves the first nation not only among the Slavs but in the whole world. We appreciate your heroism but that pride of yours would be a great obstacle in learning from everybody, especially from the Slavic nations.

Radic, p.211.

Stjepan Radic (1871-1928) – a political leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, was the leading Croatian politician after World War I, killed in Parliament in Belgrade for opposing the dominant Serbian politics. He wrote this article immediately after the downfall of Austria-Hungary and on the eve of unification of the South-Slav countries in 1918.

Why does Radic ask for Croatian independence ("within the Yugoslav unity")? Is he in favour of independence at all costs? What do you think of his ideology (peasant Republic, Slavism)? Are these ideologies of topical interest today?

IV–8. Statement of the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks (1943)

Today the nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through their only political representative, the State antifascist Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina, want their country, which is not Serbian, Croatian or Muslim, but Serbian, and Croatian and Muslim, to be a free and united Bosnia-Herzegovina in which the full equality and similarity will be ensured. The nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina want to participate equally with other nations in the building of a national democratic federal Yugoslavia.

Colakovic, p.17.

What is the opinion expressed in the text about the character of the state?

IV–9. Declaration of the First Antifascist Assembly for the liberation of the Macedonian People (1944)

Declaration of ASNOM about the basic rights of the citizens of democratic Macedonia:

1. All citizens of the federal democratic Macedonian state are equal before the law, regardless of their nationality, sex, race and religion.
2. The national minorities have every right to free national life.
3. Every citizen is guaranteed the security of his person and property, the right to ownership and private initiative in economic life.
4. Every citizen is guaranteed freedom of religion and conscience.
5. All citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, association.

6. The elective right of democratic Macedonia is to be practiced by secret ballot on the basis of general, equal, direct and personal voting right.
7. The right to be elected in all electoral bodies of the people's government belongs to every male and female citizen above 18 years of age who is not under juridical investigation. While the people's liberating struggle lasts, and under the decision of ASNOM, there can be a renouncement of the principle of secret and direct voting.

   Retarded persons, as well as persons accused of being against the interests of the peoples' liberating struggle, are deprived of the rights under point 5 and 6 of this declaration.
8. It is a duty and honour of every capable citizen, regardless of nationality and faith, to participate as a soldier in the ranks of the peoples' liberating army and the partisan units.
9. All fascist and pro-fascist actions are forbidden because they are against the freedom and independence of the fraternal community of the peoples of Yugoslavia.
10. Every citizen is guaranteed the right to appeal against the decisions of the organs of the government in a way prescribed by the law. Every citizen has the right to appeal and complain to all of the state authorities.
11. The people's government takes efforts to eliminate illiteracy and to elevate popular culture and to secure free education.

In the Monastery of St. Prohor Pchinski, on Ilinden (St. Elijah's day), 2 August 1944

Makedonium, pp.119-120.

The Declaration for the basic rights of the citizens of democratic Macedonia was issued by the First Assembly of ASNOM (Antifascist Assembly for the liberation of the Macedonian people), on 2 August 1944. This Communist dominated Assembly, the political body of the partisan movement that was fighting the German and Bulgarian forces in Macedonia, set out the ground for the autonomous Macedonian federal unit within the framework of the projected Yugoslav common state of equal peoples. As such, it was clearly the founding moment of the future independent Macedonian state. The partisan leaders specifically chose the day of proclamation of the Macedonian state - 2 August, the day of St. Elias, the day of the Ilinden Uprising in 1903. In this way, the mythology of the 'Second Ilinden' was created, stressing the continuity of the armed struggle.

Many of these solemn democratic articles, however, remained mere proclamations since, after all, Yugoslavia – and the People's Republic of Macedonia within it – became a totalitarian political system of the Communist type.

IV–10. The difficulties of the anti-colonial struggle in Cyprus (1955-1959), analysed by the leader of EOKA, George Grivas (Dighenis)

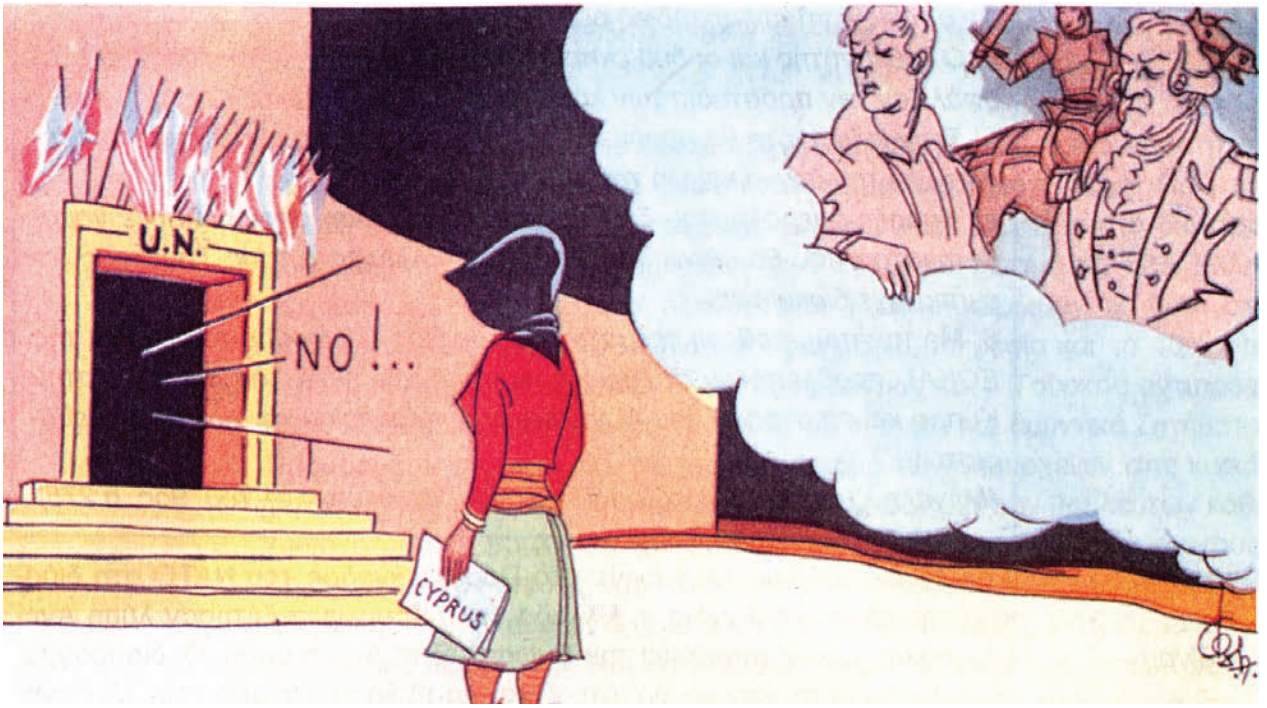
There were many powerful actors who put obstacles in my way. These were (a) the English, with the intimidation they practiced and the restrictive measures they imposed on the young through their control of elementary education; (b) the parents, who feared for their children's lives; (c) the teachers, out of concern for the effect on school discipline and the education of their students; (d) the communists, who wanted to get young people on their side in the exclusive interests of the Party; (e) certain people in power, who could not understand what use the young and, in particular, school students, would be in a liberation struggle which took the form of an armed conflict.

Grivas-Dighenis, pp.38-39.

Analyse every argument that the leader of the anti-colonial struggle identifies as being an obstacle to the organisation of the struggle.

What is the attitude in your society towards the involvement of youngsters in politics? (Think about your family, teachers, friends, and society in general). To what extent do you consider young people should be involved in politics? What about in armed conflicts?

v29. Cyprus' appeals to the United Nations (1950s)



Cartoon by Ph.Demetriades in *Istoria tis Kyprou*, p.243.

During the anti-colonial struggle, Greek governments representing the Greek Cypriot community submitted four appeals to the UN advocating the right to self-determination for Cyprus. In 1958, the appeal rephrased the demand from self-determination to 'independence'.

Translation:
Washington, Lord Byron and Jeanne d'Arc: "So, were all of our struggles in vain?"

Why have these three personalities been chosen by the author? What nations do they represent? What struggles do they refer to?

IV–11. The perspective of the Greek Cypriot left wing party (AKEL[27]), 1955

From time to time, EOKA and Dighenis babble strange and weird things according to the American correspondent who "interviewed" him. The correspondent also implied that Dighenis was trained to be a commando by the English. Therefore, in the last announcement of EOKA that was broadcast by the Athens radio station, Dighenis claimed that if the UN refused to enquire on the issue of Cyprus, then the Cypriots "would blow up the island by making it a holocaust and by burning both themselves and the British." By this announcement EOKA, Dighenis and their prompters acknowledge some noteworthy facts:

1) That the issue of Cyprus depends on the UN. Then what is the meaning of the fiery words and the fuss they raise around these things? They admit that their aim is not to make English noses bleed.
2) Therefore, since the Cyprus issue depends on the UN, why does EOKA admit that their

27 AKEL: Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou (The Progressive Party of the Working People).

abandonment by the Athenians, who were "enslaved" to foreigners, was an open and despicable act of betrayal?

3) In the UN, as it happened last year too, the Americans abandoned and betrayed us while the USSR voted for us. Isn't it again criminal that we remain stacked, like oysters, by those who betray us and sell us by offering us military bases?
4) Since, as EOKA admits, the issue of Cyprus will be solved by the UN, isn't it obvious that the best defence will be through the united presence of the whole Cypriot people, which, however, EOKA fights off?

All the above show that EOKA, in the best case scenario, is politically misled and as a result is acting with adventurism. We believe that the solution to the Cyprus issue stands first of all in the unity and the struggle of the Cypriot people and Greece. This is the main and primary concern and all the rest will follow. The massive political strike on 2 August in Cyprus, which was an aggressive demonstration of the unity of the people, proved that the patriots are on the right path. Let the people continue, more decisively, their struggle for unity and fight for their national rights. And the victory will be theirs, despite and against all resistance, opposition and attempt at division."

The *New Democrat* newspaper, 7 August 1955, in Sp.Papageorgiou, *AKEL*.

EOKA: Ethniki Enosis Kyprion Agoniston (= National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was a secret right-wing organisation that led the anti-colonial struggle in Cyprus from 1955 to 1959. EOKA's aim to unite Cyprus with Greece excluded Turkish Cypriots whose leadership chose co-operation with the British. A secret Turkish Cypriot organisation led by Turkish army officers - named Volkan and renamed 'TMT' (Turkish Defence Force) in 1958 - was also created with the aim of maintaining the existing status quo. EOKA's right wing political orientation ended in clashes with Greek Cypriot leftists, namely the supporters of AKEL, a party that had won many of the local authority elections in previous decades – the only elections permitted by the British administration.

IV–12. Turkish Cypriots against EOKA, 1960

THE TERRORIST STRUGGLE OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS CONTINUES.
Five dead in ten days!
Makarios[28] must condemn these acts.

EOKA's intentions are made clear in a prominent way: The population shall be terrified and the terror campaign will continue in full strength. There is no doubt that whoever plans this will face the same consequences.

The EOKA terrorist organisation has again launched its deadly campaign in the first months of the Republic. Those terrorist acts were stopped after the Zurich and London agreements.

The operation of the EOKA fighters who are struggling to unite Cyprus with Greece was first directed with rough voices towards killing and terrifying and then smoothly towards *Enosis* ("*Union*"). In order to achieve its purposes, EOKA has clearly created this terrorist campaign, along with stating the necessity for unity and cooperation among the Greek-Cypriots. Without exception and without hesitation, every Greek that opposes and betrays EOKA and doesn't believe in its grand ambitions, shall be riddled with holes from EOKA bullets and, as in the past, shall be burned, kidnapped and tortured.

The Turkish community shall never forget the actions against itself as well as the terrorist operations it has undergone on behalf of this organisation in order to achieve its grand ambitions. From this point of view, the Turks of Cyprus are well aware of

28 Makarios III (1913-1977) studied in Cyprus, Athens and Boston and returned to Cyprus in 1948. Upon the death of Makarios II, he became, at the age of 37, the youngest Archbishop of Cyprus (1950). He was sentenced to exile in the Seychelles, by the British, from 1956 to 1957. He was elected the first President of the independent Republic of Cyprus (elections of 13 December 1959) and in 1961 he made the young Republic a member of the Non-aligned Movement. On 15 July 1974, a coup d'etat, prepared by the Greek military junta, overthrew Makarios, who escaped and was flown to London. The Turkish invasions of 20 July and 15 August and the division of the island followed. Makarios returned to Cyprus in December 1974 and died on 3 August, 1977.

the importance and the actual aim of these terror operations.

The Turkish Cypriots will respond to these operations, which are not a good sign for the future of the Republic of Cyprus, with strong dislike.

Makarios must condemn these acts of the terrorists who have chosen death and fear. The posts that have been occupied necessitate this.

Nacak newspaper[29], 73, October 7th 1960.

After the first inter-communal violence in 1958, under British rule, which led to a small displacement of Greek Cypriots, negotiations began between Ankara and Athens, which led to the Zurich/London agreements of 1959. Under these, the Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960 as an independent state under the guarantee of Britain, Greece and Turkey. British strategic interests were secured by two sovereign bases on the island, while the presence of Greece and Turkey was assured by the stationing of contingents of 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers. Greek Cypriots were divided in their attitude towards the agreements while Turkish Cypriots supported the Constitution, which was not submitted to referendums. Both communities accused each other of holding arms stocks and of creating unofficial armed bands: in one instance, prior to independence, the British were able to capture a ship, the 'Deniz', which was bringing arms to the island.

After two years of increasing tension, in December 1963, a serious constitutional dispute created an atmosphere in which violent inter-communal clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots broke out. A dividing line, known as the *Green Line* that ran across Nicosia, was subsequently drawn in January 1964. In 1963-64, a large displacement of population, overwhelmingly Turkish-Cypriot, took place. Nevertheless, about 50% of Turkish Cypriots continued to live among Greek Cypriots until July 1974, when, following the Greek junta-organized coup against the internationally recognized government and the Turkish military intervention which followed, 165,000 Greek Cypriots lost their homes to the advancing Turkish army. The loss of life was also far greater than before. In 1975, the British government allowed 8,000 Turkish Cypriots who had taken refuge in their sovereign bases to move to the area under Turkish control. This consolidated the process of physical separation between communities that had, until 1958, been integrated, in approximately equivalent percentages, throughout the island. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots became separated from one another and, in their own land, there were very many displaced persons in both communities.

29 *Nacak* (Axe) was a weekly newspaper published from 1959 to 1963. It was published by Raouf Denktash, an ambitious nationalist politician since the 1950s, who supported the 'Turkishness' of Turkish Cypriots. Opposed to the more moderate policy of the first Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus, Fazil Kuchuk, he was elected President of the Turkish Communal Chamber in 1960. During the inter-community clashes, he fled to Turkey (1963/4-1967). He represented Turkish Cypriots at the inter-community discussions held under the auspices of the UN from 1968 onwards. He became the leader of the Turkish Cypriots and remained so in 2003 when he was instrumental in rejecting the third version of the Annan Plan.

Compare texts IV–10, IV–11 and IV–12 and try to understand the three different positions presented. Refer also to texts I–39 and IV–6.

IV–13. The goals of the Croatian Spring of the early 1970s remembered by the writer Vlado Gutovac

Who comes to a prison as an innocent can expect nothing. He can only wait […].

I have represented the dream of Croatian statehood; this dream has to be realised so that we can put it aside and move on with our common destiny in the world. Because, to me, the state is nothing but an unavoidable evil. It isn't any different in the case of the Croatian state. But it has to be accomplished as an internal question! Only then, will this long-lasted desire disappear […] and then we will start to dream another dream – the dream against it [the state].

Gotovac, pp. 129, 159.

At the end of the 1960's, Croatia was ruled by relatively young Communist administrators, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar and Miko Tripalo. They tried to achieve a greater degree of independence for Croatia within Yugoslavia. They also proclaimed some demo-

cratic freedoms, but within the framework of the existing Communist government. The popular name of this movement was "The Croatian Spring", and less popular was "The Mass Movement". The movement had many followers, especially students. The movement was brought to an end in the early 1970's. Dabcevic-Kucar and Tripalo were removed by a decision from Tito. Many people who supported the movement, especially intellectuals, were imprisoned. One of the prisoners was writer Vlado Gotovac. He spent four years in the notorious prison of Stara Gradiska.

? What did the author mean by saying "to me the state is nothing but an unavoidable evil"? What do you think of the paradox that an enemy of any state was imprisoned for fighting for the Croatian state? Is the nation-state a necessary stage in doing away with the state in general?

IV–14. The memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU) (1986)

There is a deep concern in Yugoslavia because of stagnating social development, economic difficulties, growing social tensions, and open inter-ethnic clashes. A serious crisis has engulfed not only the political and economic arenas, but Yugoslavia's entire system of law and order as well. Idleness and irresponsibility at work, corruption and nepotism, a lack of confidence in and a disregard for the law, bureaucratic obstinacy, growing mistrust among individuals, and increasingly arrogant individual and group egoism have become daily phenomena. The resulting blow to moral values and to the reputation of leading public institutions and a lack of faith in the competence of decision-makers have spread apathy and bitterness among the public and produced alienation from all the mainstays and symbols of law and order. An objective examination of Yugoslav reality suggests that the present crisis may end in social shocks with unforeseeable consequences, including such a catastrophic eventuality as the fragmentation of the Yugoslav state. No one can close his eyes to what is happening and to what may happen.

[…] [In communist Yugoslavia] the solution to the national question was formulated and developed theoretically by Sperans (Kardelj[30]) in his book "Razvoj slovenskoga narodnoga vprsanja" (The Development of the Slovene National Question), which generally served as the ideological model for Yugoslav development in the direction of a confederation of sovereign republics and autonomous regions, which was finally achieved by the Constitution of 1974.

The two most developed republics[31], which achieved their national programmes with this Constitution, are now the most ardent defenders of the existing system. Thanks to the political position of their leaders at the centres of political power, they have held (both before and after the decisive years of the 1960s) the initiative in all matters affecting the political and economic system. They modelled the social and economic structure of Yugoslavia to suit their own desires and needs.

[…] Considering the existing forms of national discrimination, present-day Yugoslavia cannot be considered a democratic state.

[…] Yugoslavia is seen less as a community of citizens, nations and nationalities all equal before the law, and more as a community of eight equal territories. But even this variety of equality does not apply to Serbia because of its special legal and political position which reflects the tendency to keep the Serbian nation under constant supervision. The guiding principle behind this policy has been 'a weak Serbia, a strong Yugoslavia' and this has evolved into an influential mind-set: if rapid economic growth were permitted to the Serbs, who are the largest nation, it would pose a danger to the other nations of Yugoslavia. And so, all possibilities are grasped to place increasing obstacles in the way of their economic development and political consolidation. One of the most serious of such obstacles is Serbia's

30 Edward Kardelj (1910-1979) was a Slovenian schoolteacher who joined the Communist movement, becoming one of the leading statesmen of Communist Yugoslavia. He was the main ideologue of Titoism, and attempted to strengthen the Yugoslavian federalism.

31 Slovenia and Croatia.

present undefined constitutional position, so full of internal conflicts.

[…]Relations between Serbia and the provinces[32] cannot be reduced solely or even primarily to a formal legal interpretation of two constitutions[33]. It is primarily a matter of the Serbian nation and their state. A nation that regained statehood after a long and bloody struggle, that achieved civil democracy, and that lost two and half million kinsmen in two world wars[34] has undergone the experience of having a bureaucratically constructed party commission determine that, after four decades in the new Yugoslavia, it alone was condemned to be without its own state. A more bitter historic defeat in peacetime cannot be imagined.

[…] The question of the Serbian people's position is given considerable weight by the fact that a large number of Serbians live outside Serbia, especially Serbia proper, and that their number is larger than the total number of people of some other nations. According to the census of 1981, 24% of the Serbian people (1,958,000) live outside of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which is considerably more than the number of Slovenians, Albanians, Macedonians, and taken individually, almost the same as the Muslims.

[…] Complete national and cultural integrity of the Serbian people is their historic and democratic right, no matter in which republic or province they might find themselves living.

[…] In order to satisfy Serbia's legitimate interests, a revision of the constitution is unavoidable. The autonomous provinces must become true integral parts of the Republic of Serbia by granting them a degree of autonomy that would not destroy the integrity of the Republic and would make it possible to act in the common interests of the wider community. The unhappy matter of Serbian statehood is not the only deficiency that must be corrected by constitutional amendments. The 1974 constitution turned Yugoslavia into a very unstable state community, prone to consider alternatives other than the Yugoslav alternative, as has been made clear in recent statements by public figures in Slovenia and the earlier positions taken by Macedonian politicians. Such considerations and fragmentation lead to the notion that Yugoslavia is in danger of further corrosion. The Serbian nation cannot meekly await the future in such a state of uncertainty. Therefore, all of the nations within Yugoslavia must be given the opportunity to express their wants and intentions. Serbia would then be able to declare and define her own national interests.

[…] Unless the Serbian nation within Serbia participates on an equal footing in the entire process of decision-making and implementation, Yugoslavia cannot be strong and Yugoslavia's very existence as a democratic, socialist community will be called into question.

An entire period in the development of the Yugoslav community and of Serbia has clearly ended in a historically worn-out ideology, overall stagnation, and ever-more obvious regression in the economic, political, moral, and cultural spheres. Such a situation imperatively requires a profound and well thought-out, rationally-grounded, and decisively-implemented reform of the entire governmental structure and social organisation of the Yugoslav community of nations, and a speedy and beneficial integration into the modern world through social democracy […]

http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/reports/memorandumSANU.htm

The SANU Memorandum has been criticised (especially outside Serbia) as being a political platform for Serbian nationalism and for the wars launched and waged in the last decade of the 20th century by Slobodan Milošević. It is perceived as the programme espousing the idea of creating a Greater Serbian state, as a demand to revise the inter-republican borders, as exaggerating the problems of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo, as comparing the status of Serbs in Yugoslavia in the eighties with the one they had during the

32 Kosovo and Vojvodina.

33 Constitutions of Federal Yugoslavia and of the Republic of Serbia.

34 The number of Serbian casualties in the two World Wars is highly controversial.

Fascist occupation and Ustasha rule. The authors denied that the Memorandum was, in any way, a programme, claiming that it was a working document leaked to the public to serve for the condemnation of the Serbian intellectual elite.

? Try to figure out why the text claims that Tito had tried to limit the Serbian influence in Communist Yugoslavia? Was this determined by the experience of the tensions generated by the Pan-Serb policies in the interwar period? Was the resentment of the members of the Serbian Academy justified? According to your knowledge, was their perception shared by the representatives of the other Yugoslav republics?

IV–15. Position of a Slovene about the language issue in Communist Yugoslavia (1987)

Relations in Yugoslavia would certainly be ideal if the Slovenes knew Serbo-Croatian, perhaps even Serbian and Croatian as separate languages, and possibly also Macedonian; if the Serbs and Croats knew Slovene and Macedonian; and if the Macedonians knew one or two languages in addition to their own. In practice, the Slovenes do try to maintain such a relationship. For example, Slovene children learn the Serbo-Croatian language in elementary schools as a compulsory subject. Serbs and Croats, however, do not usually learn the Slovene language in elementary school. This means that we unconsciously apply for the principle [of language equality] one-sidedly. Slovene is a second class language in Yugoslavia, a fact that is confirmed by a superficial survey of the situation and about which are thousands of anecdotes. Serbs and Croats are aware that knowledge of the Slovene language is not a strict necessity for them. Their contacts with Slovenes teach them that Slovenes are willing to speak to them in their own language on most occasions. I imagine that a Croat or Serb presented with the thought that he should learn Slovene asks himself the very logical question: "Why should I learn Slovene when I can use this time to learn a language that could be used for something more urgent, which presses on me in daily life, and on which my prosperity and progress depends?"

Many Slovenes, especially those working in federal jobs, think that knowledge of Serbo-Croatian is their moral obligation, in the hope that by their example they will convince other citizens that they should learn Slovene. I think that this view is wrong, and that in the end Slovenes should ask themselves, as others do: "Why should I learn Serbo-Croatian if I could use this time to learn some more important language? Why should not Slovenes learn English, German, or Russian, instead of Serbo-Croatian?"

The answer lies in fear, which has been characteristic of Slovenes for a thousand years. Imagine a Slovene abroad in a diplomatic delegation or in the army. Suddenly he finds that he is completely alone before an assembly of Serbo-Croatian-speaking representatives of the country. The only possible conclusion is that he stands before [representatives of] a *Serbo-Croatian – speaking country*, not individual representatives of the Serbian or Croatian nations. The language question becomes a question of patriotism and even ultimately of treason. […]

And now one of the most important questions arises: How is it possible to speak face to face with the state if you are overwhelmed with fear? Everyone has had such experiences. Before the commander, the governor, the strict teacher – sooner or later you can only stammer. Slovenes stammer in the Yugoslav language. Only at home can they speak fluently, in the family and in home institutions.

The principle that says people in multifunctional states become equal if they know two or more languages is thus shown to be disputable. It can be adhered to in a one-sided manner, and even this one-sided respect of the principle is not free from inner contradictions. In saying this, we have also said that Yugoslavia is not a country of equal nations and languages and that, considering the practicalities, it cannot become one.

The language problem […] do [es] not mean that the Slovene national question starts with the language issue.

Stokes, p.283-284.

What do you think of the dissatisfaction of the Slovene with respect to the asymmetry of relations in the outwardly equalitarian Federal Yugoslavia? Could there have been any practical solution to this issue?

IV–16. The May Declaration of the Slovenian Democratic Association (1989)

The signers of this declaration make the following statement:

1. We want to live in a sovereign state of the Slovenian nation.
2. As a sovereign state, we want to be able to determine by ourselves any associations with the South Slav or other nations within the reformed Europe.

With respect to the historical aspirations for political independence of the Slovenian nation, the Slovenian state can be based upon:

- Respect for human rights and freedoms;
- Democracy which includes political pluralism;
- Social order which will guarantee spiritual and material well-being in accordance with the actual conditions and with the human resources of the citizens of Slovenia.

Repe, p.198.

The May Declaration of 1989 was issued on 8 May 1989, by the first opposition party, 'Slovenska demokratična zveza' (The Slovenian Democratic Association), which won the elections as part of the union with other opposition parties united in the coalition 'Demos' in 1990. The May Declaration was also signed by a number of other opposition parties and groups

IV–17. Soccer and nationalism – a Croatian fan remembers his journey to the game Partizan Belgrade vs. Dinamo Zagreb (1989)

The rumour is that they have prepared some hot sandwiches for us in Belgrade. They shouldn't have bothered. The atmosphere was becoming hot, as whisky and cognac were disappearing and our tempers were growing. The carriage was exposed to the acoustic terror: "The whole group from Zagreb, their blood is blue and white!"; some national song were also heard, after all, it was the journey to Belgrade, and in these explosive times, the presence of two quite tolerant policemen didn't prevent us from singing a song, which, until recently, had been unthinkable in public: "I'll die for you Dinamo, as Stjepan Radic did for Croats!". You could feel the atmosphere becoming nationally charged, and everything was about Dinamo, Zagreb, Croatia, so when you asked a 22-year old economy student from a well-off family, why he was going to Belgrade when it was dangerous and when he was told to stay home, the future economist said: "We travel because we love our only real Zagreb club, it's to our satisfaction […]".

We were close to the stadium, and roaring from the stands could be heard, the dominant dome of St. Sava temple was glowing over the peaks of this Partizan colossus. The South was crowded with 'gravediggers', undertakers, or whatever they are called, full of banners, in emotional delirium. A separate part was cleared for the guests from Zagreb, with no possibility of any contact. Shouts from the Partizan: "Partizan, Partizan, the real team, Slobodan Milosevic is proud of it!". But insults did not fly in the amounts we were used to during these last few years.

www.badblueboys.hr

Identities are often expressed through the support of particular sports teams. In societies where the open acknowledgement of national sentiments is prohibited, as was the case with Communist Yugoslavia, the allegiance to particular football clubs was a means of expressing one's national identity. Out of the four strongest football clubs in Yugoslavia, two were from Croatia, and two from Serbia. "Bad Blue Boys" supported Dinamo Zagreb, "Torcida" were the fans of Hajduk (Split), Delije ("brave men"), the fans of Red Star (Belgrade) and Grobari ("grave-diggers") the fans of Partizan (Belgrade). The fights among football fans became fiercer in the run up to the fall of Yugoslavia, and culminated in 1990 on the occasion of a match between Dinamo Zagreb and Red Star Belgrade.

Why do you think that football as a means of expressing national identity became so important? Why did the fans refer to Stjepan Radic and to Slobodan Milosevic?

Describe national conflicts at recent football championships. Do you think that football clubs can express identities other than national ones, e.g. local identities, which can be equally incompatible? Find some examples from your country.

IV–18. The writer Dubravka Ugresic deplores the divisions and wars of the 1990s

Have I ever asked myself to what degree I am a product of the years-long work in the system I have been living in, and to what degree I am a product of my own? And now, I am nobody, just a number without an identity, anonymous human flesh in the hands of the warlords, am I not? For they, the warlords, decide in my name, without asking me, in which state I will live, which language I will write, which culture I will belong to; they decide whether they will give or take the lives of those nearest to me, my friends; whether or not to destroy my towns; and to decide about changing my street name. They are erasing my past and determining my future […]

Ugresic, p.121.

Dubravka Ugresic (born 1949) is a well-known novelist, who left Croatia in 1993 on account of a disagreement with the overwhelming public opinion on the questions of war and national unity.

What are the feelings expressed by the author? How did the political changes influence the lives of common people? Did politicians think of the ways their decisions could affect people's lives? In this context, can we consider political propaganda as a way for politicians to convince common people that their politics are right?

IV–19. The relation between the Croatian and the Serbian languages – the opinion of the Croatian linguist Stjepan Babic (2003)

When we examine the Croatian and the Serbian language standard, we can easily determine their differences. We might considerably theorise about them, but we'd better keep to the point this time. Let's take an obvious example. When tuning in to radio stations, we hear different languages and we know which is which if we know the language. So we identify Italian, French, Spanish, Russian […]. In the same way, we discern differences between the Croatian and Serbian language. When we hear on radio station A: (…) "Danas je 30. kolovoza. Meteorolozi najavljuju lijepo i vedro vrijeme" ("It's 30 August. Meteorologists forecast nice and bright weather."), we know that it's Croatian and when we hear on radio station B: (…) "Danas je 30. avgusta. Meteorolozi najavljuju lepo i vedro vreme", we know that it's Serbian.

www.fokus-tjednik.hr

In the 19th century, standard literary 'national' languages emerged from the various dialects spoken in various regions and sub-regions. In the case of the Croatians, the 19th century linguists chose the Stokavian dialect from the three main dialects – Stokavian, Kajkavian and Chakavian – as the basis for the common standard language. This dialect was the closest to Serbian, and was, in fact, also the basis of the Serbian standard language. During the time of Communist Yugoslavia (1945-1991), this standard language was often called Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian), and it was often argued that the Serbs and Croatians actually shared the same language, just using different alphabets. During the demise of Yugoslavia and the formation of the new nation-states, the idea that Croatian and Serbian were two completely different languages prevailed, and some people even identified a separate Bosnian language.

What is the real opinion of the linguist Babic on the Croatian–Serbian language dispute? Look closely at the two quotations? What do you think of the concrete differences in the two sentences? Do they justify the statement that we have to cope with two different languages?

IV–20. Reactions to the screening in Croatia of a Serbian film with Croatian subtitles (1999)

'Vezite se, polecemo' ('Fasten your belts, we're taking off'), says the hero from the screen and below is written: 'Vezite se, polijecemo'. Precisely. Then: 'Beograd, jesen 1991' ('Belgrade, the autumn of 1991') appears on the screen in Latin alphabet and below it the Latin subtitle explains: 'Beograd, jesen 1991'. Madness erupts in the cinema. Laughter, tears of joy and enthusiastic clapping on the knees, and not even the first minute of the film has passed. Without a doubt, this is the craziest accomplishment in the history of film; it might perhaps be compared to the beginnings of the American silent comedies. Of course, this is 'Wounds and Subtitles', the first Serbian film in the official and sovereign Croatian film distribution. […] all the rest is already a legend.

Jukic, in *Feral Tribune*, 707, 5 April, 1999.

What can you conclude about the Croatian-Serbian language issue? Why is it important to national identity? Is the matter of language exclusively the concern of linguists, or do non-experts also have the right to deal with it? Why does the issue of the Croatian–Serbian language lead to funny situations?

IV–21. The split identity of a young woman in Croatia

I don't like losers. Outsiders and people who have to smile. And be polite. Neither do I like Serbs in Croatia. When they said 'Babic', they always add 'from Korcula'. And they are not from Korcula, but from Dalmatinska Zagora. From f-----g backwoods where Babic is something else. OK, there are Babic Croats, too. But a Babic Croat never explains. And he doesn't add 'from Korcula'. […]

Still, some people are Serbs, and they feel like Serbs. They think it's normal to be a Serb. You know. Mother Serb, grandpa buried on the Serbian cemetery in Benkovac where in the high grass something is written in the Cyrillic alphabet on his gravestone, they have their family patron-Saint's day, their priests are hairy and they are allowed to get married… And when a little Serb is born he is named Alimpije or Sava or Tanasije. And the little Serbian boy and a Serbian girl Leposava know that they are Serbs since their birth. Everything is clear to them. They may sometimes say that they are 'from Korcula' but they know they are not. Do you get it? But in my case, the trouble is that I am not Serb. And I have to add 'Korcula'. I am not Serb! Now, this minute I would most gladly stand up and shout in the darkness: 'I am not Serb'.

Rudan, pp.14-15.

This text is a fragment from the novel *Ear, Throat, Knife* by Vedrana Rudan (born 1949) – a writer, journalist and real-estate agent. The main character is Tonka Babic, the child of a Croat mother and a Serbian father.

Describe the identity problems of Tonka Babik. What are Tonka's national feelings? How can you explain that a "Babic-Croat" has no need to give an additional explanation for his origin, but that a "Babic-Serb" does? Have you heard of similar situations of split national identity in your country?

IVc. Overcoming nationalism?

IV–22. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995)

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the "Parties"),

Recognising the need for a comprehensive settlement to bring an end to the tragic conflict in the region,

Desiring to contribute toward that end and to promote an enduring peace and stability,

Affirming their commitment to the Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 8, 1995, the Further Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 26, 1995, and the cease-fire agreements of September 14 and October 5, 1995,

Noting the agreement of August 29, 1995, which authorised the delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to sign, on behalf of the Republika Srpska, the parts of the peace plan concerning it, with the obligation to implement the agreement that is reached strictly and consequently,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I
The Parties shall conduct their relations in accordance with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, as well as the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In particular, the Parties shall fully respect the sovereign equality of one another, shall settle disputes by peaceful means, and shall refrain from any action, by threat or use of force or otherwise, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any other State.

Article II
The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the military aspects of the peace settlement and aspects of regional stabilisation, as set forth in the Agreements at Annex 1-A and Annex 1-B. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of the commitments made in Annex 1-A, and shall comply fully with their commitments as set forth in Annex 1-B.

Article III
The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the boundary demarcation between the two Entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 2. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of the commitments made therein.

Article IV
The Parties welcome and endorse the elections programme for Bosnia and Herzegovina as set forth in Annex 3. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of that programme.

Article V
The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as set forth in Annex 4. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of the commitments made therein.

Article VI
The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the establishment of an arbitration tribunal, a Commission on Human Rights, a Commission on Refugees and Displaced Persons, a Commission to Preserve National Monuments, and Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, as set forth in the Agreements at Annexes 5-9. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of the commitments made therein.

Article VII
Recognizing that the observance of human rights and the protection of refugees and displaced persons are of vital importance in achieving a lasting peace, the Parties agree to and shall comply fully with the provisions concerning human rights set forth in Chapter One of the Agreement at Annex 6, as well as the provisions concerning refugees and displaced persons set forth in Chapter One of the Agreement at Annex 7.

Article VIII
The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the implementation of this peace settlement, including in particular those pertaining to the civilian (non-military) implementation, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 10, and the international police task force, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 11. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfilment of the commitments made therein.

Article IX
The Parties shall cooperate fully with all entities involved in implementation of this peace settlement, as described in the Annexes to this Agreement, or which are otherwise authorised by the United Nations Security Council, pursuant to the obligation of all Parties to cooperate in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes and other violations of international humanitarian law.

Article X
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognise each other as sovereign independent States within their international borders. Further aspects of their mutual recognition will be subject to subsequent discussions.

Article XI
This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

DONE at Paris, this 14 day of December, 1995, in the Bosnian, Croatian, English and Serbian languages, each text being equally authentic.

http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=379

The peace agreement which ended the Bosnian War of 1992-1995 was negotiated in Dayton (U.S.A), but the final act was signed in Paris, with the representatives of the European Union Special Negotiator, as well as representatives of France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America as witnesses. Most of the concrete provisions of the agreement are detailed in the 12 annexes.

IV–23. Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and Romania on Understanding, Cooperation and Good Neighbourhood (1996)

Article 1
(1) The Republic of Hungary and Romania (hereinafter referred to as "the Contracting Parties") will base their relations on confidence, cooperation and mutual respect.

[…]

Article 3
(1) The Contracting Parties confirm that they shall, in their mutual relations, refrain from the use, or the threat of use, of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of the other Contracting Party, as well as from any actions which are inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act. They shall also refrain from supporting such actions and they shall not allow a third party to use their territory for conducting similar actions against the other Contracting Party.
(2) The Contracting Parties shall settle any dispute arising between them exclusively by peaceful means.

Article 4
The Contracting Parties confirm that, in accordance with the principles and norms of international law and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, they shall respect the inviolability of their common border and the territorial integrity of the other Party. They further confirm that they have no territorial claims on each other and that they shall not raise any such claims in the future.

Article 5
(1) The Contracting Parties shall, with the view to implementing the purposes of this Treaty, establish an appropriate framework for cooperation in all fields of mutual interest. […]

Article 7
(1) The Contracting Parties will broaden their relations and cooperation in international organisations, including regional and sub-regional organisations. They shall mutually support each

other's efforts aimed at integration to the European Union, NATO and the Western European Union.

[…]

Article 14

The Contracting Parties shall promote the climate of tolerance and understanding among their citizens of different ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic origin. They condemn xenophobia and all kind of manifestations based on racial, ethnic or religious hatred, discrimination and prejudice and will take effective measures in order to prevent any such manifestation.

Article 15

(1) a) In regulating the rights and duties of persons belonging to national minorities living on their territories, the Contracting Parties undertake to apply *the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe for the protection of national minorities*, if more favourable provisions concerning the rights of persons belonging to national minorities do not exist in their domestic legislation.

b) Without prejudice to the contents of the preceding paragraph, the Contracting Parties shall, with the aim of protecting and developing the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary, apply as legal obligations the provisions defining the rights of persons belonging to such minorities as contained in the documents of the United Nations, the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe, listed in the *Annex* of this Treaty.

[…]

Article 19

(1) The Contracting Parties shall support and facilitate direct contact between their citizens.

(2) The Contracting Parties shall extend their consular relations and will simplify border crossing and custom control, including the opening of new border crossing points and the enlargement of the existing ones to the extent of their possibilities, in order to facilitate the traffic of persons and goods. They will conclude appropriate agreements for this purpose.

http://www.htmh.hu/dokumentumok/asz-ro-e.htm

? List the major provisions on security and 'high policy' issues in the Romanian-Hungarian treaty of 1996. Were stipulations concerning the life of common people included? What do you think about the latter stipulations? Were they justified?

IV–24. Assessment based on a personal experience of the relations between Romanians and Hungarians in areas of mixed populations (2001)

	Conflict exists	Cooperation exists	Not relevant issue & no answer
Ethnic Romanians (overall)	3%	20%	77%
Ethnic Romanians living in Transylvania	5%	46%	49%
Ethnic Hungarians	6%	70%	24%

http://www.intercultural.ro/carti/interculturalitate_detaliu_capitol2-1.html#mirceakivu

? What conclusions can we draw from the results of this opinion poll? What do you think of the fact that the people living in mixed areas in Transylvania considered, to a larger extent than the national average (which, to a large extent, included people from more distant parts of Romania) that the relations between Romanians and Hungarians were good?

IV–25. The Ohrid Framework Agreement that ended the armed conflict in FYR of Macedonia (2001)

The following points comprise an agreed framework for securing the future of Macedonia's democracy and permitting the development of closer and more integrated relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the Euro-Atlantic community. This Framework will promote the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society while respecting the ethnic identity and the interests of all Macedonian citizens.

Basic Principles

1.1. The use of violence in pursuit of political aims is rejected completely and unconditionally. Only peaceful political solutions can assure a stable and democratic future for Macedonia.

1.2. Macedonia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the unitary character of the State are inviolable and must be preserved. There are no territorial solutions to ethnic issues.

1.3. The multi-ethnic character of Macedonia's society must be preserved and reflected in public life.

1.4. A modern democratic state in its natural course of development and maturation must continually ensure that its Constitution fully meets the needs of all its citizens and comports with the highest international standards, which themselves continue to evolve.

1.5. The development of local self-government is essential for encouraging the participation of citizens in democratic life, and for promoting respect for the identity of communities.

http://faq.macedonia.org/politics/framework_agreement.pdf

The Framework Agreement ended, with international mediation, the armed conflict in the FYR of Macedonia. Signed by the Macedonian president and by the leaders of all major political parties, the agreement foresaw the introduction of a series of Constitutional Amendments and concrete legislative changes in order to safeguard the rights of the Albanians and other minorities. As a result of the Framework Agreement, the country has moved towards becoming a citizen state, thereby highlighting its multiethnic and multicultural character.

IV–26. Sport as a way of overcoming nationalism. Greek Cypriots supporting a local Turkish Cypriot football team (2003)

There is a bit more to say about Afania[35]. The village has a football team playing in the first division in the north, dangerously near the bottom of the league table and which might fall to the second division next year. In a couple of days, it will play a very crucial match, which will determine whether it shall stay in the first division or not. The Greek Cypriots from Afania, being refugees for 29 years, decide that they will go in large numbers to support their co-villagers and cheer for them in that crucial game. They even put an announcement in the Greek Cypriot press, urging every Greek Cypriot from Afania to go…

Report, 46, p.27.

What kind of solidarity does the text express? Compare it with text IV–17. What do you notice?

IV–27. Two opinions about the opening of the Green Line between the Greek and Turkish parts of Cyprus (23 April 2003)

A. THE ASSESSMENT OF NICOS ANASTASIOU, POSTED ON THE INTERNET

Nothing will be the same again after yesterday. More than 2,000 Turkish Cypriots and more than 1,000 Greek Cypriots crossed from one side to the other, while many politicians just watched, unable to process, in their own narrow "universe", the enormity of what was happening. For the first time since 1974, the same people who put all these restrictions on us started to lift them. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots went from one side to the other, going anywhere they wanted, visiting their towns and villages, finding dear long-lost friends, without any police to follow them or ask them questions. Everywhere they

35 Afania, a village whose Greek Cypriot population left in 1974, now inhabited entirely by Turkish Cypriots.

went, there was joy and welcoming and laughter and tears of happiness. Yes, everywhere! The citizens are really ahead of the politicians. What is happening is, of course, not the lasting political solution that is needed. But is a powerful catalyst for a solution.

Report, 46, p.26.

B. A TURKISH TEACHER FROM FAMAGUSTA DESCRIBES THE VISIT OF A GREEK-CYPRIOT FAMILY (2003)

Today we had a couple as guests from the other side. It seemed that, like many Greeks and Turks [from Cyprus], they wanted to make use of the opportunity to visit the places they were born and passed part of they lives. They wished to feel the joy of being on an undivided island and to share the emotions that were always alive in their hearts.

They did not come to our house, but their car stopped just at the corner, seemingly asking the address of the street that had long ago been given a new name. But the residents in the quarter instantly remembered the old name, Mozart Street. My wife and I happened to be at the gate. […]. The lady, Eleni, whose name we later learned, said: "My grandma used to live in a cottage here; I just wanted to come and see that cottage. Its memory is still vivid in my mind. My grandmother used to bring me here and I used to play under the trees. There were two palm trees here". […] The years were merciless; the cottage had fallen as a result of the lack of attention. But the palm tree was still there. […]

We invited them to our house. […] As the Cypriots that we are, it did not take more than a minute to get to know each other.

Then Eleni unfolded her story. […] "I heard the news on the radio. The barricades were to be lifted. I had a strong urge in my heart to come and see my grandmother's cottage. I have sweet memories of it. I asked my doctors to allow me, to give me leave, to visit my grandmother's house. […]"

He [Nicolas] explained: "I watched your demonstrations. The voices and shouts of the people, 'Irini', 'peace for all Cypriots', 'Cyprus is the home of Turks and Greeks alike'. The words still echo in my ears". He continued, "I could not hide my feelings any more. I wept. I wept for all of us. I wept and cursed all those who kept the Cypriots apart. We did not deserve this".

His last words will always burn like a fire in my heart.

Report, 46, p.25.

? What attitude of the common people towards politics and politicians do the texts reflect? Comment on Nicolas's statement: "We did not deserve this". Can common people play a part in overcoming nationalism? How?

Do you know of any other examples of divided countries or cities in 20th century Europe?

v30. Separation line ('Green Line') dividing Nicosia (2003)

? **Concluding question:**
If, in the past, nationalism was strengthened by educational means, can you think of a way to ease national tensions in the future?

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- **Map 1:** Dennis P. Hupchick, Harold E. Cox, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans*, New York, 2001, map 25.
- **Map 2:** *Ibid.*, map 28.
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