

Abstracts

BASIL C. GOUNARIS

“A MYSTERIOUS BOND FORGED BY HISTORY”:
THE MAKING OF GREEK-SERBIAN TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP
IN 19th CENTURY GREECE

In 1913, when Greece and Serbia joined in an alliance against Bulgaria, both nations were inspired by a sense of traditional friendship. Their military co-operation was presented and indeed was thought to be the natural outcome of a lengthy and intimate relationship. This paper seeks to prove that the invocation and the rhetoric of this friendship were more traditional and certainly more effective as an argument than in deed. To do so it traces through printed sources the timetable and the fluctuation of this friendship in terms of theory and locates the actual grounds, arguments, counter-arguments, and patterns on which this friendship was publicly recognized as “traditional” by Greek public opinion. It was from the 1860s onwards that the “tradition” of this friendship was defined, enriched and treasured as a symbolic capital. It was widely known that there was no much substance in it –from time to time it was admitted openly—nor direct contacts between the two peoples were particularly brisk. But still “tradition” counterbalanced effectively all the diplomatic shortcomings and even survived the Macedonian crisis.

HELEN GARDIKAS-KATSIADAKIS

GREEK-SERBIAN RELATIONS 1912-1913:
COMMUNICATION GAP OR DELIBERATE POLICY

Based on previous research, this paper examines the Greek-Serbian treaty of 1913 with particular emphasis on the circumstances under which it was signed, on the bilateral obligations stemming from it and on the real extent of its significance. It explains why the Greece did not approach Serbia, when she did Bulgaria, in order to form a tripartite Balkan alliance, it analyzes the circumstances under which this rapprochement eventually took place and follows Balkan developments leading up to the signature of the defensive alliance treaty with Serbia in June 1913 against the backdrop of the novel geostrategic environment created by the First Balkan War. The primary aim of the paper is to determine the circumstances under which, following the

outbreak of the First World War, the 1913 Greek-Serbian treaty assumed a political significance disproportionate to its true significance and was exploited for domestic partisan purposes.

ADRIANOS I. PAPADRIANOS

GRECO-SERBIAN TALKS TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY OF ALLIANCE
IN MAY 1913 AND THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS
FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SERBIAN FREE ZONE IN THESSALONIKI

The article describes the Greek-Serbian discussions for the contract of the Alliance Treaty of May 1913. These discussions, according to article 7, consist the beginning of the negotiations between Greece and Serbia for the foundation of the Serbian Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki. This issue was in a way defined by the Accordance of May 10, 1923, which conceded several privileges to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The foundation of the Serbian Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki will undergo a real odyssey. Thus, it will be denounced on October 30, 1924 and the negotiations will restart in 1928 to be, in some way, re-adjusted in 1929.

MIROSLAV SVIRČEVIĆ

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEMS OF SERBIA AND GREECE
ON THE EVE OF THE WORLD WAR ONE

The subject-matter of this paper is a comparative analysis of the constitutional systems of Serbia in 1903 and that of Greece in 1911. After analyzing the matter, it is demonstrated that these two states in the Balkans, that "Damned Peninsula" and a "soft belly" of Europe, in spite of numerous internal and external difficulties, have been successful in establishing a democratic order that was based on the idea of a modern state, meaning the sovereignty of the people, respect for human rights, a representative government, separation of power.

Following is the order of the analysis: constitutional rights of citizens, the structure of state power and finally, the most significant constitutional factors: the King as an element of bicephalous legislation and executive, parliament as a protagonist of legislative power, ministers as most important segments of executive power, courts as protagonists of judicial power, and finally, the local self-government. Council of State and the matter of amending the constitution have been also considered.

On the ground of this analysis, the conclusion is that both Serbia and Greece have entered 20th century as democratic states, naturally, within the conditions that have existed in the Balkans at that time.

DUŠAN T. BATAKOVIĆ

SERBIA AND GREECE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR: AN OVERVIEW

The legal basis of Serbo-Greek cooperation during the First World War was the defensive alliance treaty and a military convention, signed in June 1913 prior to the Second Balkan War. The military convention providing the military assistance that was fully applied during the second Balkan War, became a source of misinterpretation and misunderstandings during the first two years of the Great War. In Pro-German Greek governments, it was the defensive alliance in case of Bulgarian attack only, but not in case of the attack coming from the third side (Austria-Hungary). Differing views, motivated by different priorities in potential participation of the Greece in the Great War, and disagreements on the interpretations of Greek-Serbian treaty of alliance of 1913, were not the obstacle for the Allies-organized transfer of defeated Serbian troops to Corfu in early 1916. The axis of the Greek-Serbian cooperation was, in the following years, based on mutual understanding between the two Premiers N. Pašić and E. Venizelos. Confident to eventual Allied victory, they were both fully committed to the Serbian-Greek strategic partnership as a main precondition to the long-term Balkan stability. Despite a number of internal and external pressures, Pašić and Venizelos have managed to overcome all the obstacles that were on the way of the mutually valuable Greek-Serbian political and military cooperation, especially on the Salonica (Macedonian) Front.

MIRANDA PAXIMADOPOULOU-STAVRINO

SERBIA'S POLICY TOWARDS GREECE AND THE QUESTION OF THRACE
AT THE LAUSANNE PEACE CONFERENCE (1922-1923)

On the eve of the Lausanne Conference Greece launched its diplomatic efforts to contain Turkey's expansion, to scale down Bulgaria's territorial ambitions in Western Thrace and deter Serbia from establishing a free zone in Salonica's port. At the same time, Greece was facing enormous internal socioeconomic problems and political tensions caused by the Asia Minor defeat in 1922. Under the circumstances the Greek Government sought the diplomatic

backing of Serbia, Greece's only regional ally since 1913. However, the rapprochement between Serbia and Bulgaria affected adversely Greek-Serbian relations. An important event was the resulting signature by Greece and Serbia of the Belgrade Convention on May 10 1923, about the status of the Serbian free zone in Salonica. Nevertheless, Serbia fully supported Greece on the question of Thrace at the Lausanne Conference and helped her contain Bulgarian revisionist ambitions and confront Turkish territorial demands at the same area.

MILAN RISTOVIĆ

SMALL WAR ON THE YUGOSLAV-GREEK BORDER (1945-1950)

The Yugoslav aid to the Greek communists and insurgent Democratic Army brought the relations between Belgrade and Athens to the verge of breaking. Operation carried out in the frontier zone provoked numerous and frequently dangerous incidents in which participated soldiers of the Greek National Army, of Democratic Army units and the frontier units of the Yugoslav Army. In these clashes, were being killed or taken prisoners several tens of soldiers. The air space in the frontier zone was violated, and in few cases the civilian and military objects on the Yugoslav territory were attacked. There were cases of desertion of the Yugoslav pilots, and cases of forced landing of the Greek military aircraft, also a case of hijacking of a Greek civilian aircraft.

This dangerous state of affairs was discussed at the highest international level (OUN) and special committees were founded for inspection of violations of the frontier between the two countries. The discontinuation of the civil war in Greece, in the summer of 1949, created possibility for a gradual pacification of the situation. The Yugoslav breaking off with the other communist countries and her approaching the West led to the improvement of relations between Belgrade and Athens and stabilizing the situation on the frontier.

IAKOVOS D. MICHAILIDIS

FRAGILE BALANCE:

GREEK-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD 1944-1946

The article describes the adventure of the diplomatic and political relations between Greece and Yugoslavia, from their liberation, in late 1944, to the summer of 1946. During this period new players, such as the communist parties and the local political élites, emerged, that affected and were affected

by the diplomatic climate in the relations of the two countries. As a result, after a short period of improvement concluded by the exchange of ambassadors, the two countries entered a "freezing" stage for the period 1946-1949.

EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

FROM ADVERSITY TO ALLIANCE:
GREECE, YUGOSLAVIA AND BALKAN STRATEGY, 1944-1959

During the early Cold War period, Greek-Yugoslav relations were primarily determined by strategy rather than by ideology. In 1944-1948, Tito was seen in Athens as the most powerful ally of a hostile superpower, who was pursuing an expansionist policy at Greece's expense. In 1948, the Tito-Stalin split changed Balkan balances overnight. Athens opted to approach the Yugoslav leader, a former enemy who now was deprived of superpower support and thus unable to threaten Greek security. In 1952-1955 Greece and Yugoslavia joined Turkey in a Balkan entente which soon became a Balkan alliance. But even after the decline of this alliance, in 1955-1956, the Greeks were anxious to keep their contacts with Yugoslavia, in order to prevent it from coming closer to Moscow and to Sofia.

AGGELIKI MOUZAKITI

REPORTS ON YUGOSLAVIA IN THE PRESS OF THESSALONIKI, 1924-1929

The present analysis is based upon two newspapers, the *Makedonika Nea* and *Efimeris ton Valkanion* for a number of reasons, such as their great circulation, their dominant role in both expressing and influencing the public opinion and their systematic dealing with Balkan affairs in the decades that followed the First World War. The newspaper *Makedonika Nea* was in circulation during the period 1924-1934, while the newspaper *Efimeris ton Valkanion* was in circulation during the whole inter-war period. In the years between 1924-1929 there are in both newspapers extensive reports and articles on Yugoslavia covering three major interrelated issues: Firstly, the domestic policy which the newly-established multinational state followed and the various problems which came up in building and consolidating a viable political system. Secondly, Yugoslavia's foreign policy towards its neigh-

bouring states and the european powers with vital economic and geopolitical interests in the Balkan area. Thirdly, the specific matters which influenced the course of greek-yugoslav relations.

LOUKIANOS HASSIOTIS

GREEK-SERBIAN RELATIONS IN THE GREEK PRESS
THE CASE OF THE *EFIMERIS TON VALKANION*

The paper attempts to present the image of inter-war Yugoslavia in the Greek press, and the Greek-Serbian relations of the same era through the study of *Efimeris ton Valkanion* (Journal of the Balkans), which was published in Thessaloniki between 1918 and 1950. It focuses on the 1930's, a period that represents an important transitional phase in the political developments of Greece, Yugoslavia and the Balkans, and indeed of Europe as a whole. The *Efimeris ton Valkanion* was one of the publications which lent its support to the initiatives towards rapprochement between the Balkan peoples and followed an explicit friendly line towards Yugoslavia. The data extracted from the *Efimeris* have been compared with corresponding evidence from other primary and secondary sources, the archives of the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and the relevant literature.

JOVANKA DJORDJEVIĆ-JOVANOVIĆ

GREECE IN SERBIAN PERIODICALS (FIRST HALF OF 20TH CENTURY)

Cultural cooperation between the Serbs and Greeks during the first half of 20th century, due to historical and political circumstances, had lived through several ups and downs. The importance of the role of Serbian periodicals in rendering ancient Greek and Byzantine subjects more familiar to various intellectual circles is indisputable. Scientific periodicals brought studies about development of Hellenic, philosophic and literature ideas, with special emphasis on Homeric issues, lyricists, tragedians, or studies on archeological finding, traces of Hellenic presence on the soil of contemporary Serbia, or studies on reception of Byzantine ideology and culture. These magazines had remarkable reputation: *Letopis Matice Srpske*, *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića*, *Revue des Études Balkaniques*, as well as publications of Serbian Royal Academy, *Spomenik* and *Glas* —intended for scientific élite in Serbia.

However, there were magazines for a wider circle of readers, accomplishing much in bringing Greek culture closer to Serbs. Extraordinary place belongs to *Srpski književni glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Herald*). The material in the *Herald* on ancient Hellas and modern Greece provided more complete answers to elementary questions on the country of its origin, on historic circumstances enhancing or diminishing its importance, about its role in forming Serbian towns, and, finally, emphasized its contents and reflections against Serbian and European background.

Abstracts

EVANGELIA N. GEORGITSOYANNI

DOCTOR GEORGE KIRIAZIS. CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL PROSOPOGRAPHY
OF HELLENISM IN ROMANIA IN 19TH CENTURY

In 19th century large numbers of Greeks emigrated to Romania, attracted by the ample financial opportunities that had arisen, as a result of the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). Most of them were engaged in commerce, in the merchant navy and in the leasing of large domains. They created vibrant communities and contributed a great deal to the financial and cultural life of the country. Among the most distinguished personalities of Hellenism in Romania is the doctor, intellectual and benefactor George Kyriazis. Born in 1829 in the village Platanos, near Naupactos, he studied medicine in Greece and France. He immigrated to Romania, where he worked till his death in 1893 as director of the Xenocratis Hospital in Bucharest, which was donation of his uncle Constantin Xenocratis (1800-1876), rich merchant and landowner. The hospital, which was in operation till 1921, followed European models and offered free treatment to the patients. Kyriazis was occupied also in the medical research. Besides, he possessed one of the richest libraries in the Near East. He also made many donations through his will. He sponsored the Xenocratis Hospital, he created a scholarship for poor Romanian high school students, he founded a Technical Professional School in Missolonghi and he contributed to the foundation of a Girls' School in Missolonghi, after a donation of Xenocratis. He also made many donations to Samacovo in Thrace, Xenocratis' birthplace. In general, Kyriazis' life and activity show a characteristic aspect of the intellectual and scientific level of his time in the Balkans and are a testimony to the beneficent activities which contributed to the liaison of the Balkan people.

BERNARD LORY

ARCHAISM AND MODERNITY OF THE PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE IN THE BALKANS
AT THE TURN OF THE XXth CENTURY

Political violence is a kind of language, whose "vocabulary" changes, according to time and place. In the Ottoman period, it usually follows the dividing lines between the millet(s). This we observe, for example, in the case of the murder of the French and German consuls in Thessalonica in 1876; or at

the abundant lists of murders, provided to the foreign consuls observing the Macedonian question. This political violence can be qualified as “traditional”. Murders of monarchs or ministers tend to become more numerous at the end of the XIXth century, probably due to the impact of mass medias, and the Balkans, as well as the rest of Europe, have their share of this kind of violence. At the beginning of the XXth century however, the revolutionary organizations in Macedonia experiment new forms of political violence, which we can call “modern”, and which were imitated afterwards. Such innovations are the kidnapping of Miss Stone in 1901 or the Thessalonica attempts of 1903, which were magnified by worldwide mass medias. Simultaneously “archaic” violence characterizes the Ilinden uprising.

PANAGIOTIS G. PAPADIMITRIOU

(TRANS)FORMING GROUP IDENTITIES AMONG THE RHODOPEs' POMAKS IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY. A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this study it is argued that the construction of the ethnic identity of the Rhodopes' Pomaks during the first three decades of the 20th century was a reaction to the dominance of the three national states in the region: Bulgaria, Greece and Post-Ottoman Turkey. Based on an interactive viewpoint of group identities, the analysis focuses on three historical paradigms from the period 1912-1930, which exemplify the impact the state policies had on the construction of the identity of this non-dominant group. The first instance of the state policies vis-à-vis the Rhodopes' Pomaks is their forceful conversion to Christianity during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) by the Bulgarians. The analysis proceeds with Greek ideological identity constructions and government policies from the end of the First World War up to the 1930's. It ends with a comparative analysis of the Muslim minority rights postulated by the Bulgarian-Turkish Peace Treaty of Istanbul in 1913 and the Greek-Turkish Peace Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. These historical cases provide examples of recurrent patterns of identity constructions throughout the 20th century through policies which reflect political agendas, external policy considerations and the antagonisms among the three National States.

STAVROS T. STAVRIDIS

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS: A MISSION TO NOWHERE

In 1922 the Entente —Great Britain, France and Italy— and the United States received information from American relief workers that the Kemalists

were deporting large numbers of Christian minorities (Greek Pontians and Armenians) from the coastal regions of the Black Sea into the Anatolian interior. Many innocent people perished along the way from starvation and disease. The European powers, in particular, wanted to maintain their policy of strict neutrality in the Greek-Turkish conflict.

Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary 1919-1924, suggested to his counterparts in Paris, Rome and Washington that allied officers be dispatched to investigate these claims. The French tried to delay the setting up and sending of an inter-allied mission to Asia Minor. Such delaying tactics worked to the advantage of the Turkish Nationalists.

In order to maintain allied unity, Britain was able to win the support of the other powers, whereby the International Red Cross (IRC) as an impartial international organization was to be approached to conduct the investigation of the reported atrocities in Anatolia. The IRC wanted the Entente and US governments' to provide it with funds so that it could discharge its duties.

This article will address two issues: firstly that the Entente and the US used the IRC as a convenient front in order to avoid responsibility towards protecting the Christian minorities from Turkish reprisals. It should be further stated that the Europeans and the Americans were interested in winning economic concession from the Kemalists; and that the deportation of Christians was an act of genocide committed by the Kemalists regime in order to solve permanently the minority problem.

J. S. PAPAFLORATOS

THE FIUME AND THE CORFU INCIDENTS

The European stability was threatened by the Fiume and Corfu incidents in 1923. Mussolini (Premier and Foreign Minister of the Italian government) followed a common policy towards the two Balkan states (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Greece). The "Fiume affair" firstly appeared at the Paris Peace Conference, in which the Italian representatives claimed the annexation of this city to their country. This claim was rejected by the Allied powers. The Italian government did not give up and it tried to achieve its goal in the following years. On August 27th, 1923, the Italian members of the International Commission for the Delineation of the Greek-Albanian borders were murdered. Mussolini took advantage of this murder and he sent a severe ultimatum to Athens. The Greek government partially accepted it. But,

Mussolini did not wait for the official reply and he ordered the occupation of Corfu. Unfortunately for him, the Italian commander ordered the bombardment of the demilitarized island, killing more than fifteen women and children. Mussolini's diplomatic position was very weak. So, he followed a conciliatory policy towards Belgrade upon Fiume in order to prevent the Serbian government from combining its efforts with the Greek one. At the same time, he asked for the French assistance. The Serbian diplomats tried to form an alliance with their Greek colleagues unsuccessfully. This was a serious mistake of the almost paralyzed Greek government. After a few days, the French government pressed the Serbs to follow a moderate policy towards Mussolini, who remained firm in his demands. Athens, having only the discrete British assistance in the international fora, could not prevail over Mussolini. The latter was demanding compensation in order to liberate Corfu. Finally, the two isolated Balkan governments were forced to retreat in front of Mussolini's claims.

WILLIAM MALLINSON

US INTERESTS, BRITISH ACQUIESCENCE
AND THE INVASION OF CYPRUS

An extrapolation, analysis and evaluation of foreign policy documents released (partially) by the British government for the year 1974 confirm previously unproven suspicions about the dealings —and double-dealings— surrounding the invasion of Cyprus. The following are revealed *inter alia*: Kissinger's express procrastination to help the Turkish government and military to gain time; British and US pressure on the Greek government(s) not to resist the Turkish armed forces; high level French irritation at Britain's attitude; Britain's private anger at Turkish behaviour; and perhaps most significant in terms of today, Britain's succumbing to American pressure and going along with Kissinger's wishes.

JEAN-CHRISTOPHE ROMER

RUSSIA AND THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT IN THE 1990'S

In Russia, but also in the West and in Yugoslavia itself, the Yugoslav crises have provoked much fantasy about Russia. Beyond those fantasies, facts

have revealed the reality of Russia's weakened situation in world affairs as well as in its home political situation. But on the other hand, the Yugoslav crisis has been used as protecting counter-example against Russia's own centrifugal tendencies which had taken place then.

ERSIE SIDERIS

TURKEY'S LONG PATH TOWARDS ACCESSION
A GREEK VIEWPOINT

In spite of doubts and misgivings of the Greek public opinion the Greek Government staunchly support Turkey's full membership of the E.U. in the hope that a Europeanized Turkey might cease to be a constant threat to Greece's territorial integrity and instead become a valuable economic and political partner in South Eastern Europe.

Over the passed years Turkey has raised a number of issues concerning the Aegean with a view to claiming Greek national territory or at least to exerting pressure and intimidation on Greece so that Ankara might achieve some kind of *condominium* in the Aegean. The Greek Government recognize the delimitation of the Continental Shelf of the Aegean as the only real *contencieux* between the two countries to be referred to the International Court of the Hague—an approach which runs contrary to Turkey's preference for gunboat diplomacy.

Moreover the problem of Cyprus stands as a major issue between Greece and Turkey and between Turkey and the EU. For Greece military occupation by Turkey of a large part of the Republic of Cyprus, a EU member constitutes the core of the problem. Non recognition of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey, a candidate for accession, and refusal of the latter to extend the protocol to the Ankara Agreement to the Republic of Cyprus is currently becoming the main bone of contention in Ankara's path towards accession.

The majority of European citizens and a considerable number of European Governments are skeptical about the wisdom of accepting Turkey as a full member of the EU, owing to religious and cultural differences and to the democratic deficit which prevails in the policies and attitudes of that country in the field of human rights and protection of ethnic and religious minorities. Furthermore the cost of possible Turkey's accession is expected to be enormous and the influx of Turkey's labour will greatly aggravate the EU's acute problem of unemployment.

Turkey's current Islamic Government favours EU membership in the hope that they might thus curb the opposition of the Turkish Military to Islamic political power. However, in spite of differences of opinion on domestic issues Turkey's Islamic Government and the Military, in their capacity as guardians of Kemal's lay heritage, agree when it comes to foreign policy. They both seek EU membership *à la carte* and both have difficulty to break with their Ottoman past when it comes to relations with their neighbours and with the world at large.