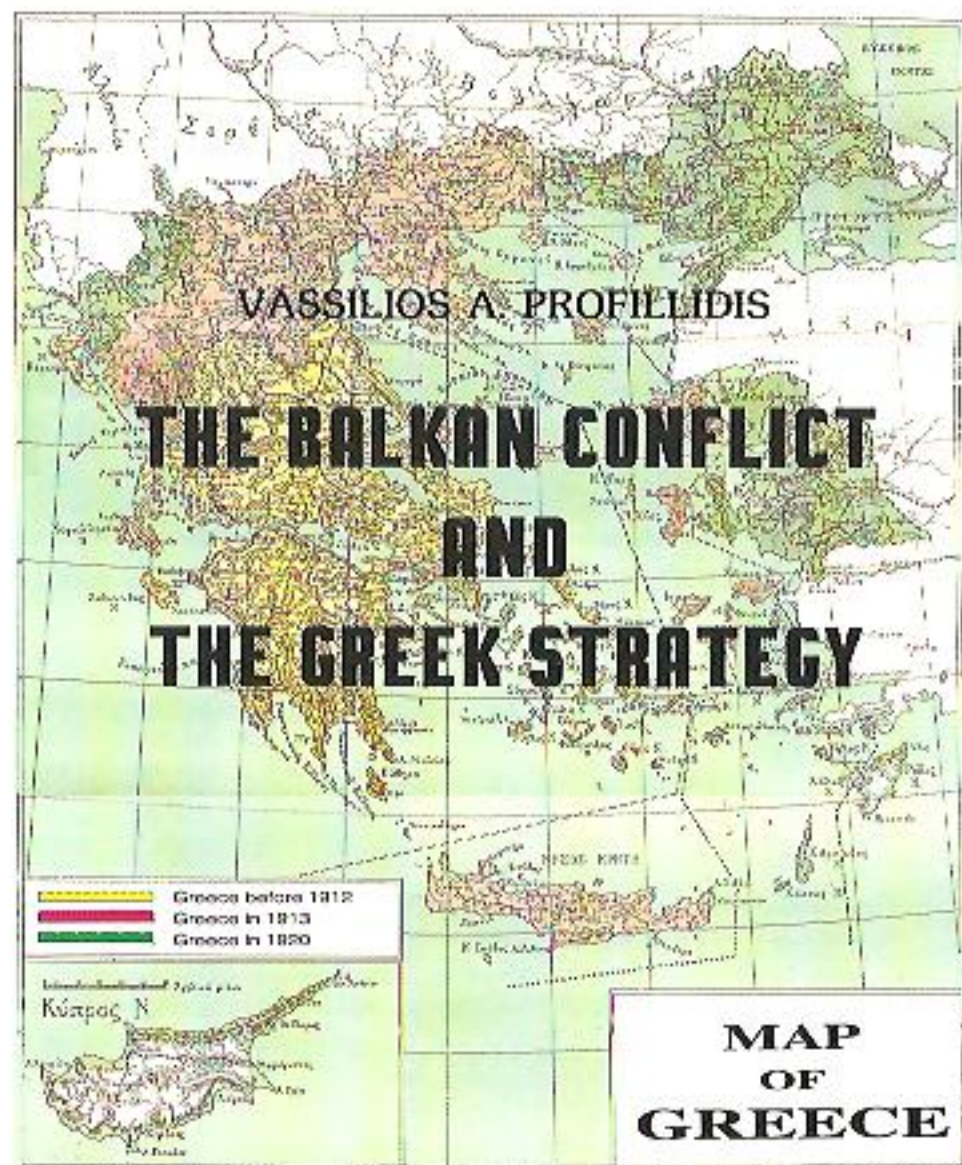


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**THE BALKAN CONFLICT
AND
THE GREEK STRATEGY**

*Exulted speech
delivered on Greek Independence Day
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1. THE BALKAN CONFLICT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LAW: UTOPIA AND REALITY

The science of Politics and History, according to Einstein, is much harder to study than the analysis of Physics and the Universe. This is true even more so far in the Balkans, an area of outmost geographical and political significance where various nations often clash and Super Powers choose to arbitrate in favour of their own benefit.

In the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire decomposed into multiple small nations and thus the Balkan Conflict came into existence. It would have been reasonable to expect some type of an ethical code as far as the application of the international law was concerned. The International law was indeed applied, only it was again in favour of the Super Powers in control. What shapes both ethics and legislations is power, thus political realism prevailed, taking for granted that international order is dictated by power. What the idealistic view stands for is quite the opposite, namely that profit is to serve the humanistic principles of reason, ethics and justice. The latter has always been proven unrealistic.

The present analysis bases itself on the following principles of realism concerning international affairs:

1. History teaches that humanity has an unstable and

sinful past, which no matter the forthcoming transformations, will not cease to exist. The strongest menace to humankind is its passionate desire for even greater authority, as Thucydides¹, first of all, proved in his very scientific manner.

2. The international legal order is nothing but an everlasting struggle for authority. Consequently every government's foremost concern is the establishment of its power.

3. International politics make rather clear that no state should trust one another. Moreover it would not be advisable to entrust its safety to international boards or legislations. The case of Cyprus² is a sufficiently good example.

4. National interests force the state to work on the maximization of its authority on a constant basis as well as to form alliances which guarantee its power.

Thus it is not surprising that the Super Powers regarded the Balkans as a significant geographical junction to be manipulated in favour of their interests both during the Greek Revolution of 1821 and after the establishment of the Greek State in 1827. It is worth noticing what the National leader of Greece E. Venizelos³ managed to do,

1 Thucydides, historian of ancient Athens, is considered as the father of History. He lived the 5th century B.C. and he wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war (431-404 B.C.).

2 Cyprus, an independent State, was invaded in 1974 by the Turkish army which occupies until today the 40% of this State.

3 Eleftherios VENIZELOS (1864-1936) was Prime Minister of Greece between 1910-20 and 1928-1932. National leader of Greece, he is considered the most important political figure since the creation of the modern Greek State.

namely to have his payment for the kind acts the Greek state agreed to be paid "in cash" immediately. For he seemed to know that in any case satisfaction by the Super Powers is delayed, it happens that it is bound to meet neglectfulness. Hypocrisy and mockery unavoidably come along as the power correlations and the interests in question will naturally be altered.

The above is clearly proven in the case of Greece in the period between 1940 and 1949, when Greece, a loyal and faithful ally, fought the Italians for 160 days in 1940 and 1941, the Germans for 40 days in 1941, suffered German occupation for 4 years and was thereafter led to a 4-year civil war. None of that would have happened if Greece had chosen to remain neutral, as Turkey, quite widely, did.

None of our allies of the time managed to recall the trouble Greece went through when other countries, like Belgium, Yugoslavia and others, either stood aloof or resisted the Central Powers (Germany, Italy, Japan) from a few hours until no more than a few days.

Hitler would have attacked the Soviet Union either on the 11th or the 18th of May 1941, as scheduled, had it not been Greece to resist and force the Germans to postpone their attack for the 22nd of June. It is due to this postponement that Moscow was not captured as well as thanks to the severe winter of 1941. Is there any one nation that remembers Greece's role in this event? Quite the opposite. The Super Powers supported the national patchwork of South Yugoslavia, namely the leftovers of Stalinism, the ones hypnotised by the communist propaganda, that is the Skoplans, who have been intending to exploit

our history and our symbols, the Greek national pride, the name of Macedonia, as well as the land and the labour of our people. This is how our commitments have been honoured.

2. THE GREEK REVOLUTION OF 1821 AND THE FIRST INTERFERENCES OF THE SUPER POWERS

The Greek people succumbed to the Ottoman invaders for four centuries and Constantinoupolis¹ fell not only because of the greatness of the Turkish army. In the 12th century the Byzantine Empire, which had already been transformed from a multinational empire to a purely Greek one, was strongly destabilized by financial, administrative and military disorder. Before the Ottomans, in 1204 the Latins had badly wounded the empire which failed to treat itself. This in turn depicts the tragic fate of the Greeks. On the one hand hindering the hordes of muslims heading from the East and on the other suffering the westwards stabs in the back from Catholicism, no matter of the same religion. Adding the Slavs from the north, eternally coveting some passage to the Aegean Sea, we derive a picture of Greece, where it stands tragically abandoned, struggling to stand on its own feet.

¹ Constantinoupolis was founded by the Roman Emperor Constantine (known as the Great) in 330 A.C., and since that time it has been the capital of the Byzantine Empire until its fall in 1453 to the Ottoman invaders.

The Greek Nation. (Genos as the Greeks used to call themselves), managed to survive the mass kidnapping of children, the organised plan to impose the Greeks into slavery, the decline of its culture, the successive predatory attacks, the blood mixing, the enslavement following the fall of the City (Constantinoupolis). It is especially those blood mixtures that have altered the purely mongolic character of the Ottoman conqueror, anthropologically speaking. It is a fact that the Turks have always very carefully been passing in silence.

The Greeks managed to survive the Turkish sovereignty thanks to the Orthodox Church, which formed the bond between the conqueror and the conquered. Orthodoxy was reinforcing the vague vision of the greek people that freedom was indeed close at hand.

The international feeling when the Greek Revolution outbreak in 1821 was nevertheless particularly negative. After the fall of Napoleon, at the 1815 Vienna congress, the Austrian Metternich¹ defined the first principle of international law: decisions are to be taken on the basis of the governors' will, setting aside the wishes and expectations of the peoples. Thus the 'Holy Alliance', violently suppressed multiple liberation movements in Europe and the Greek Revolution was regarded as a hazardous paradigm for international order. The Russian policy of geographical greatness at the expense of Turkish land led England to side with the integrity of the Ottoman patchwork, for that would have kindly served the British interests.

¹ Prince Clemens METTERNICH (Comblenz 1773-Vienna 1859) was an Austrian politician and a very competent diplomat.

Meanwhile, some form of philhellenism started to unfold. Lord Byron stood up for it, as did Chateaubriand. The President of the USA, J. Monroe¹ presented the Greek people in a light of compassion and sympathy in his 1822 edict. So the philhellenic current on the one hand and on the other a rather more realistic estimation of the long term British interests in Eastern Mediterranean, led the English Foreign Minister G. Canning to plan afresh the politics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He designed to stand by Greece without hurting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. From this point onwards Greece wasn't solely dependant on the Russian Orthodox Church. Soon afterwards France entered the field of the Super Powers.

Consequently three parties evolved in Greece, the Russian, French and British, each one oriented towards and dependant upon each corresponding country. The Greek followers naively believed their party's undivided interest, when in reality each one of the Super Powers was promoting its own interests.

In July 1827 the three Super Powers signed the tripartite decree of London, where the Greek state was declared autonomous but still subject to the Sultan. A cease fire between the opponents was official. The 1827 London decree included a secret term about imposing peace with troops lest the enemies did not agree with the armistice. This is what actually happened in October 1827 at the naval action at Navarino (south-west Peloponese). In December 1827 the European ambassadors moved to the

¹ James MONROE (1758-1831) was the fifth President of the United States, defender of a foreign policy of détente.

island of Poros where they collaborated with I. Kapodistrias¹ on the fixation of the international status of Greece as well as its borders. In April 1828 Russia proclaimed war against Turkey, for other reasons irrelevant to the Balkan Conflict, and in September of the same year the French troops of General Maison² disembarked to Peloponese.

According to the protocol of 1829, the Greek borders were set along Volos and Arta including Sterea Hellas, the Peloponese, the Sporades islands, the Cyclades Islands and the islands of the Argosaronikos Gulf. The governance of the Sultan was confirmed and the rate of the taxes that the newly set State would have to pay were defined. The war between Russia and Turkey led to the decree of Adrianoupolis of September 1829, greatly favouring Russia. Russia decided to promote the political independence of Greece as well as to agree on the restriction of the Greek borders to the Sperhios River (see p.21).

The Administration of the country under Governor Kapodistrias tried to order the anarchy established during and after the revolution. But it happened that Kapodistrias himself clashed with the powerful landowners of Peloponese and the shipowners of the isle of Hydra and he was assassinated in September 1831. The decree of May 7, 1832 fixed the regime of the Greek State, as a kingdom

¹ Ioannis KAPODISTRIAS (1776-1831) was the first Governor of Greece

² Nicolas Joseph MAISON was French General and was sent by the French king Charles to liberate the Peloponese.

ruled by the Bavarian King Otto¹, who was considered by the Super Powers the most appropriate person in promoting and balancing their interests.

This is how Greece obtained its independance. Firstly because of the revolution of its people, without which no one would have payed any attention to the Greeks and secondly because of the Super Powers interference. Russia regarded itself as the natural protector of Greece, befriending the young country as far as Russia's interests in the South Balkans permitted it. Both England and France were seeking reasons to be active in the area and they came to sustain the Greek state. Thus the synchronisation of the three Super Powers interests resulted into the first independant state in the Balkans and thus was de facto that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was utopian.

¹ Otto (1815-1867) was chosen by the Super Powers as king of Greece in 1832 (when he was only 17 years old). He has been expelled from Greece in 1832.

3. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE SUPER POWERS UNTIL 1860

The small Greek state was inhabited only by a single quarter of the Greek people, whereas the remaining three quarters lived under the ottoman yoke and the main cities of the ottoman Empire like Constantinoupolis, Phillpoupolis, Thessaloniki, Monastiri, Smyrni (see figure of page 21) were throbbing with life thanks to the Greeks and their creativity.

During the reign of Otto the policy of the Greek State for the emancipation of the enslaved Greek districts was formed under the name of Megali Idea. This would happen by fermenting revolutionary currents as well as with the appropriate diplomacy, always bearing in mind the favourable international circumstances, international order and correct timing. The Megali Idea could at no point of its evolution be called "imperialistic", but rather a necessary base and a national framework for greek solidarity and the liberation of all slaves.

The opposition of the Megali Idea consisted mainly of Greeks from the Fanari¹ of Constantinoupolis preaching

¹ Fanari is a neighborhood of Constantinoupolis, where the siege of the Ecumenical Orthodox Patriarch, the leader of the Orthodox Church.

that the Ottoman Empire could gradually be hellenized, so the Byzantine Empire would revive if the Greek population managed to succeed a financial, cultural and social accession. Despite the fact that this view was soon devalued after the Revolution of 1821 and the establishment of the new Greek State, its supporters adhered to it until the Balkanic wars.

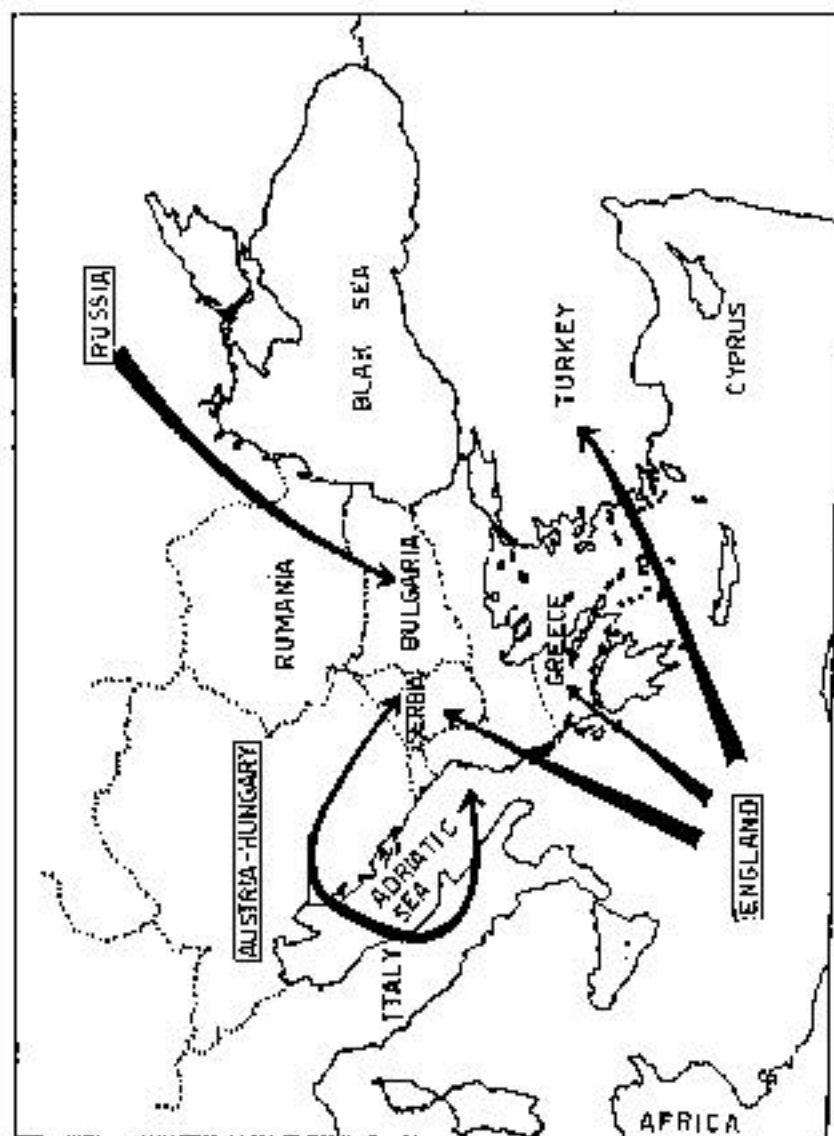
Russian politics remained friendly towards Greece, until the Crimean war, and Russia considered Greece a rather valuable prop since Russia was constantly in conflict with the Ottoman Empire. The British and the French using both financial and political power forced Greece not to side with the Russians, for they did not sympathize with the latter's imperialistic policy. Thus the status quo was established in the Balkans, even more so after the Paris decree of 1856 where it was clearly stated that any future violation of the Ottoman Empire would be a straight forward *casus belli*.

Nevertheless after 1860 Russia inaugurated its Pan-Slavic policy and therefore distanced her interests from those of Greece. On the other hand, no matter what had been declared so far, all three, Britain, France and Austria, seemed completely convinced that dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire was unavoidable so they attempted to penetrate the Balkans both financially and politically.

4. THE BALKAN CONFLICT FROM 1860 TO THE BALKAN WARS (1912)

When one trusts oneself, then one has immense capabilities, as proven by the Greek Revolution of 1821. The human being's will proves itself powerful when faced with reality. Human will is the only power peoples can array against the interests of the Super Powers, as the latter will never cease to seek their own breathing space in the Balkans. So the nations of the Balkans found themselves caught in between the conflicting interests of Britain, France, Russia and Austria (afterwards succeeded by Germany). There should be added the Italian presence, which although fragile was good enough to harm both the Greek and the Serbian interests. Henceforth the prevailing people would be the one that would convince the Super Powers that it is willing to serve their interests better. Naturally it would not equally serve the interests of all, but would manage to serve some without insulting others.

This is how it came that Britain sided with Greece after all (at least until 1920), using Greece to be the starting point for various plans with as target the advance of the British Interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. Greece's size was planned to be such that it could by no means interfere with the interests of the Super Powers. In 1863 the Ep-



Influences of the Super Power in the Balkans at the end of the 19th century

tanasa (islands namely Kerkira, Kefalinia, Zakynthos, Lefkas, Ithaki) (see page 21) were integrated with the rest of Greece, that was a kind offering made by England to Greece on the condition, imposed by Russia (which happened to agree with the unification), that England would not use the integration of the Eptanesa to advertise to the Greek public. At the same time Kriti was a black spot on the map. In the 1869 Paris summit nothing changed in relation to the case of Kriti and in general about the conditions of being of the Orthodox population living under Ottoman rule. Thus, Ch. Trikoupi¹ realized that it was time for an agreement to be made between all Balkan countries and furthermore he intended to cooperate especially with Serbia.

Simultaneously Russia introduced the Pan-Slavic policy, with special attention paid to the Slavic Balkan countries, primarily to Bulgaria. Despite the promises given to Greece that it would be aided, the Russians altogether forgot about it. In 1878, Russia ignored the other Powers and conducted the treaty of St. Stephan, which dictated the extension of Bulgaria, descending to the Aegean Sea as well as the extensions of Montenegro and Rumania. At that time Britain was signing a treaty with Turkey which was giving the latter sovereign power at Cyprus and that is why Britain did not react violently to the treaty of St. Stephan. On June 13, 1878 the congress of Berlin had a meeting under the chair of O. Bismarck². Greece was not to be represented at that

¹ Charilaos TRIKOUPIS (1832-1896), was for many years Prime Minister of Greece; he tried to modernize the economy and the Greek Army and Fleet.

² Otto von BISMARCK (1815-1898), known as the iron Chancellor, is the founder of the German State.

meeting and only after Britain's intervention were Greek representatives permitted to attend the congress. Given that British interests were in danger, the British reminded the Super Powers of the existence of Greece, whose claim was to accrue to its main body the lands of Thessaly, Epirus and the isle of Kriti. As far as Kriti was concerned things seemed unchanged but as for Thessaly and Epirus the delegates adopted the French proposal and voted for direct negotiations between Greece and Turkey. Unsurprisingly the negotiations were to perpetuate in favour of the Turks. Meanwhile Italy seemed hesitant on the matter. Finally, thanks to the British intervention and support the greatest part of Thessaly plus southern Epirus were annexed to Greece.

The new map of the Balkans was to make the Slavs and the Greeks antagonists as they both laid claims to the European part of the Ottoman Empire, namely Macedonia and Thrace. The political and financial situation of Greece by the end of the 19th century is on the decline, it goes bankrupt. It loses the 1897 war with the Turks and is finally rescued by the Super Powers, not simply for philanthropic reasons.

The twentieth century finds Greece in a particularly unhappy state. The Bulgarians plot to capture Macedonia and have access to the Aegean Sea. Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turkey is greatly influenced by German politics. Britain comes to realize that its own interests in the Middle East are in danger in the event Greece is left aside.

During this period, Greece was in a stalemate situation, powerless in military terms, heavily in debt, in other words

almost worthless to any further alliance. Greece's long term misfortunate and inoperative wretched politics and economics resulted in the revolution at Goudi in August 1909 which dramatically altered the state of things. The Military Union entrusted the leadership of the country to E. Venizelos, a shrewd and bright politician who succeeded to ameliorate the state of the army, the naval forces as well as the National Economy, aided by British and French consultants. Part of his plan was to befriend the other Balkan countries. During the same time Turkey was strongly aided by the Germans.

5. THE BALKAN WARS (1912-13) AND THE TEMPORARY SOLUTION OF THE BALKAN CONFLICT

The only possible way to effectively confront the Balkan Question, according to the Greek Leader E. Venizelos, would be a unification of the forces of the Orthodox Balkan countries against Muslim Turkey. Serbia and Bulgaria took the opportunity to form an alliance when Turkey and Italy were at war. Greece was not invited to participate in this alliance which was formally conducted on March 13, 1912. On March 29, 1912 Greece signed a defence coalition with Bulgaria, which could only slightly cover Greece. The alliance of Britain, France and Russia -known as Entente Cordiale- was in fear of any alterations of the status quo in the Balkans, for that would by definition suggest Austria's involvement and consequently the participation of Entente too, which was particularly unwanted.

In those circumstances Serbia and Bulgaria asked Greece to join them against Turkey. E. Venizelos was not in doubt. It was clear to him that Greece should take part in the next Balkan war lest Greece would wish to have all its chances for geographical extension cancelled. Thus Greece joined the Balkan war. When push came to shove, the Turks tried to persuade Greece to stand neutral and

they offered Greece the island of Kiti, only then it was too late.

The first Balkan war resulted in Turkish defeat, thus the politics of the Super Powers changed dramatically. Russia, wanted none of the Balkan countries to get too big to be controlled. Austria, Germany and Italy dictated the establishment of the state of Albania to block any possible access to the Adriatic sea both to the Serbs and the Greeks. The French and the British were supporting Greece in a low profile. On December 3, 1912, the Turks asked for a truce and the matter was negotiated in London. The Greeks and the Serbs were led to a defense coalition, due to Bulgaria's unreasonable and uncompromising attitude.

Greece was at the moment trying to avoid a new Balkan war so it asked Russia to act as an arbitrator. The Russians agreed to it. Meanwhile, although the latter had steadily been supporting panslavism and had been visualizing a big and powerful Bulgaria, now they were afraid of a strong Bulgaria who risked not to obey to Russian orders. Bulgaria seemed to welcome Russia as an arbitrator while simultaneously opening war on Serbia. This was the beginning of the second Balkan war in which Greece managed to drive the Bulgarians away from East Macedonia.

A severe diplomatic debate was to follow and finally Greece managed, in the Agreement of Bucarest, to keep almost all the conquered lands despite of Russia's and Austria's objections, thanks to Germany and France. England in this case remained neutral. It was especially due to the strong objection of Italy and Austria that North Epirus was vacated by the Greek Army. The islands of the Aegean sea, already emancipated by the Greek fleet, remained a



Military moves during the First Balkan war

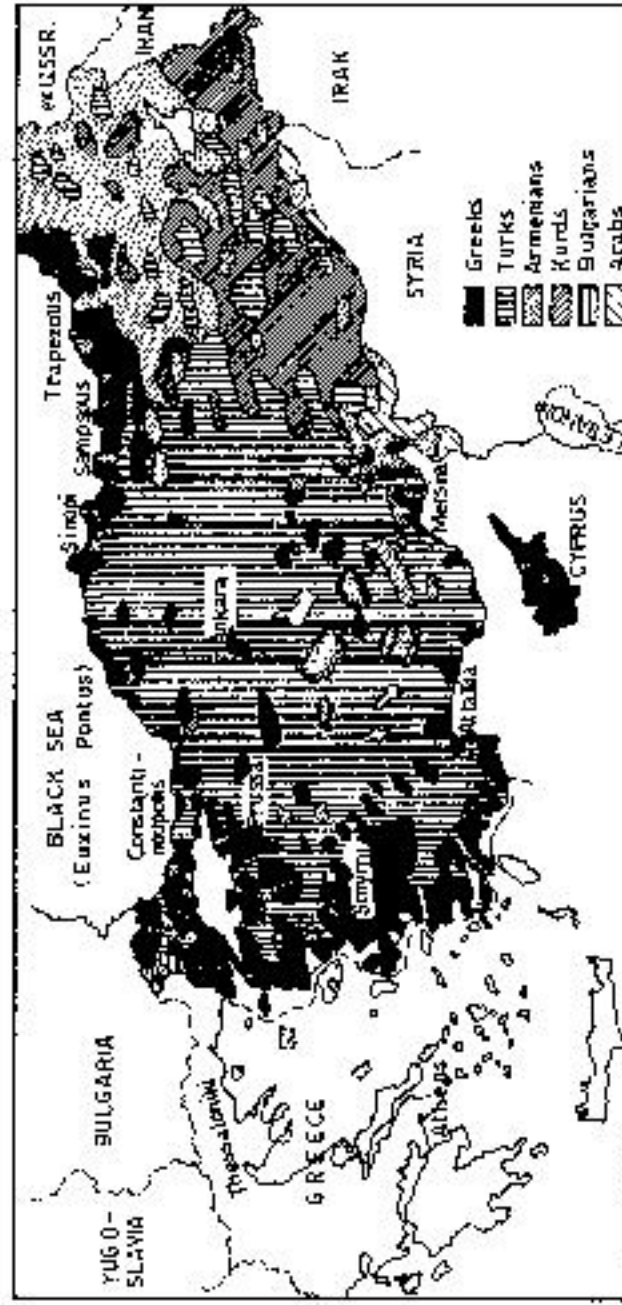
black spot on the map of international politics. Turkey specifically claimed that Chios and Lesbos were inseparable from Asia Minor. It was as late as 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne that Turkey officially agreed to the Greek sovereignty of all Aegean islands. When the Balkan wars were over, Greece was doubled in size. The morale of the army and the people had been uplifted in a spirit of national unity.

At the same time great numbers of Greeks were struggling to put up with the Ottoman rule in Thrace and Asia Minor.

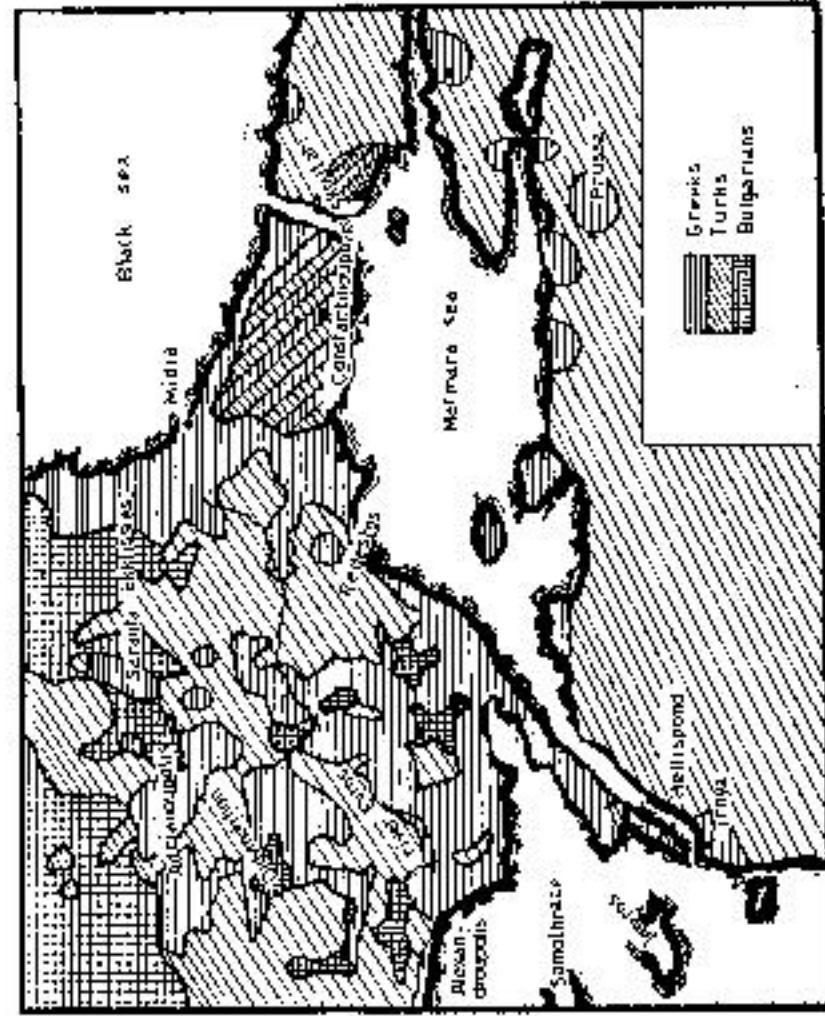
6. THE ETHNOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN THRACE AND ASIA MINOR (IONIA) DURING THE BALKAN WARS

Ionia, the birthplace of Western civilization, had been three thousand years now inhabited by Greeks. The poetry of Homer along with the philosophy of Thales and Pythagoras travelled to Athens and later on, thanks to Alexander the Great and the Romans, enchanted both the East and the West. Ionia is the bulwark of Hellenism in the east. A number of unfortunate political mistakes of some Byzantine emperors displaced the borders of this bulwark westwards. It is particularly astonishing that Ionia remained Hellenic after five hundred years of enslavement to the Ottomans, after heavy handed persecutions, massacres and rapes of their property by the Ottomans who headed from Mongolia. It is known that in the beginning of the 20th century the Greek population of the Asia Minor coast, Pontus, and Thrace, outnumbered the other races.

In Smyrna alone 150.000 Greeks were living, that is the 50% of the population of the city in the year 1914, whereas the Turks were only the 30% of Smyrna's citizens. 50% of the population of Mersina, the harbour the Turkish invasion forces in Cyprus headed from, were Greeks. Precisely the same percentage applies to the coastal cities



Ethnological characteristics in Asia Minor, Thrace and Cyprus in 1910



Ethnological characteristics in Eastern Thrace in 1912

of Pontus, namely Trapezous, Sampeous, Kerasous (see figure of page 24).

At the same time, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George declared that "the Turks should be ousted from Europe because they transported and spread the spirit of war, looting, tyranny and murder". According to Lloyd George "The Turks have always been the primary enemy of Europe, consequently the South Balkans ought to be inhabited by Christian hard working people who would help the revival of Western civilization".

Nevertheless industrial productivity was not in Turkish control. The data of 1914 are as following.

Nationality	Capital %	Labour %
Greeks	50	60
Turks	15	20
Americians	20	10
Jews	5	10
Others	10	—

Capital and Labour Force in Asia Minor, Thrace and Pontus between 1914-15, according to data of the German Services.

In these circumstances the Balkan Question was not yet solved.

7. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE EXPEDITION OF GREEKS TO ASIA MINOR AND THRACE: HOW QUICKLY THE FORMER ALLIES ABANDONED GREECE

Just before World War I, Turkey finds itself influenced or rather manipulated by the Super Powers, Germany, France and Britain. Germany is the most threatening of all as it penetrates the country to the detriment of the other two. The Turkish diplomacy is so flexible that despite its traditionally unfriendly relationships with Russia, it does not hesitate to negotiate with Entente, asking for aid from Russia, Britain and France. Finally Turkey chooses to side with Germany, having been promised the Aegean islands as well as Kiti.

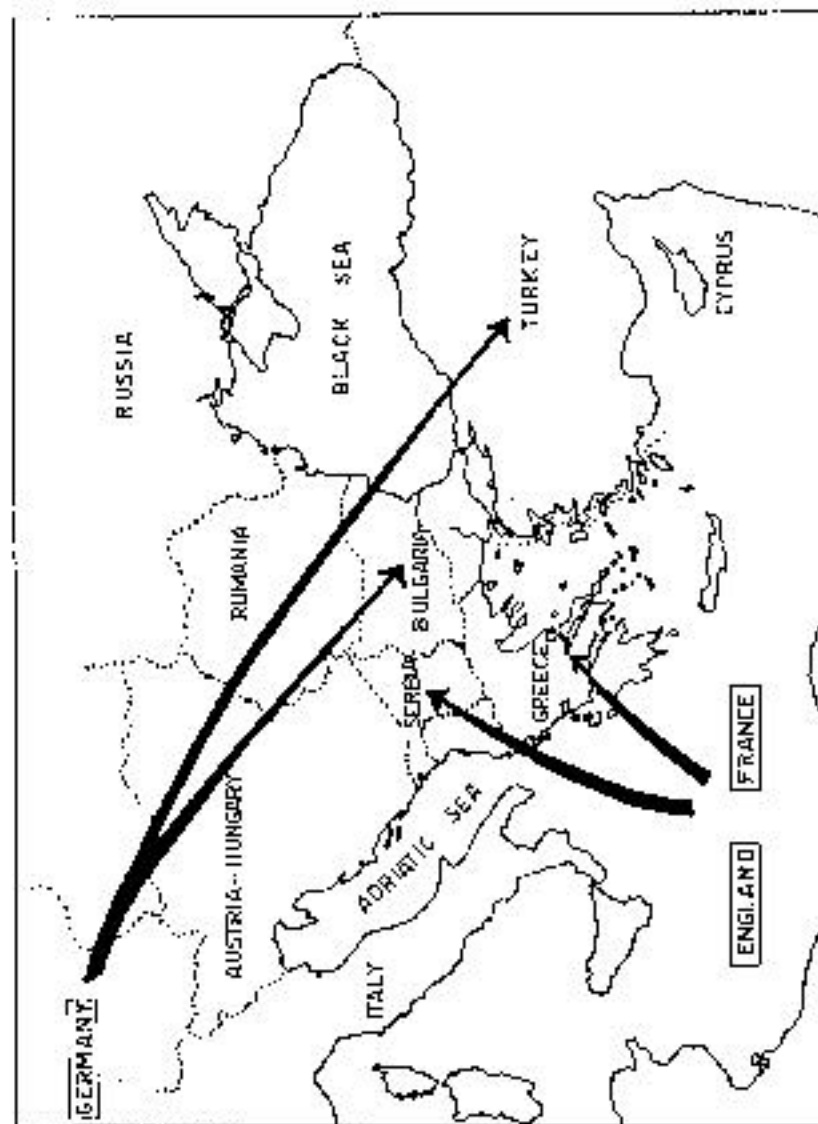
E. Venizelos wished Greece to join the Entente as he speculated that the interests of Greece coincided with those of the Entente Cordiale and he was even willing to join for nothing in return. The Entente was negative to E. Venizelos' proposal (the answer was given to him on August 12, 1914), for the powers of Entente wanted to avoid a possible accession of Turkey and Bulgaria to the German camp. The powers of Entente did not hesitate to trade Turkey's and Bulgaria's neutrality, promising East Macedonia and the city of Kavala to the Bulgarians and the Aegean islands and

Kriti to the Turks. On August 18, 1914, when the Germans were only 65 km away from Paris, E. Venizelos proposed to the Powers of Entente to join them, offering the services of the Greek army, but this second attempt was as unlucky as the first.

Finally, Bulgaria and Turkey joined the Central powers. The Entente did realise its mistake, very late as usually, in rejecting the offer previously made by Greece, thus it "ordered" Greece to join in. The Greek army and naval forces were strongly needed for the Entente intended to capture the peninsula of Gallipolis and thus make a deal to give to Greece in exchange the Island of Cyprus plus parts of Asia Minor. The Italians and Russians did not favour this deal since the latter planned to keep both the Hellispond (Dardanelia) strait and Constantinoupolis for themselves. At that time the majority of citizens in Constantinoupolis were Greeks. E. Venizelos seemed firmly convinced that the British would at no cost let the Russians hold a passage to the Aegean.

Under those circumstances the Greek political world split in two parties, namely those who would rather see Greece being part of the Entente and those who favoured neutrality. The Crown proposed neutrality for it was linked to the Germans with blood ties. If Greece remained neutral indeed Germany and Turkey would have an ace up their sleeve, but E. Venizelos after all sided with the Entente.

At the end of World War I, Greece was on the side of the winners. Greece had joined the Entente with no terms of reference and consequently E. Venizelos was obliged to fight hard at diplomatic level now for a reasonable compensation. It was rather fortunate that Rus-



Influences of the Super Powers in the Balkans before World War I

sia, which during that period had been unfriendly to Greece, could not participate in the peace conference as it had to deal with internal affairs after the 1917 Revolution. So the times were smiling on Greece, although the Italians did not hesitate to openly support Turkey and Bulgaria for it considered Greece its rival in the Eastern Mediterranean. The treaty of Sèvres (July 28, 1920) rendered to the Greeks Thrace (Constantinople and its surroundings were not included) and Ionia, that is the western part of Asia Minor from Adramyttion to Ephesus, up to approximately 100 km from the coast into Asia Minor (see page 32). Armenia and Pontus were declared independant states. The Greek army landed in Smyrna, being backed up by the British and the French. The treaty of Sèvres was signed by representatives of the Sultan who very soon lost any remnant of Power and the Greeks would henceforth have to struggle solely to put the treaty practically in force. What this treaty had actually done was to ignore the nationalists, under Kemal's¹ leadership, strongly aided by the Russians. They headed from East Turkey, somewhere in between Armenia and Kurdistan. As far as the defeated Bulgaria is concerned, it had its borders fixed by the peace treaty of Neilly (1919). It was also dictated by the same treaty that there would be an exchange of populations between Bulgaria and Greece, 46.000 Greeks of South Bulgaria moved to Greece and 92.000 Bulgarians from Macedonia and Thrace (Northern Greece) were sent to Bulgaria.

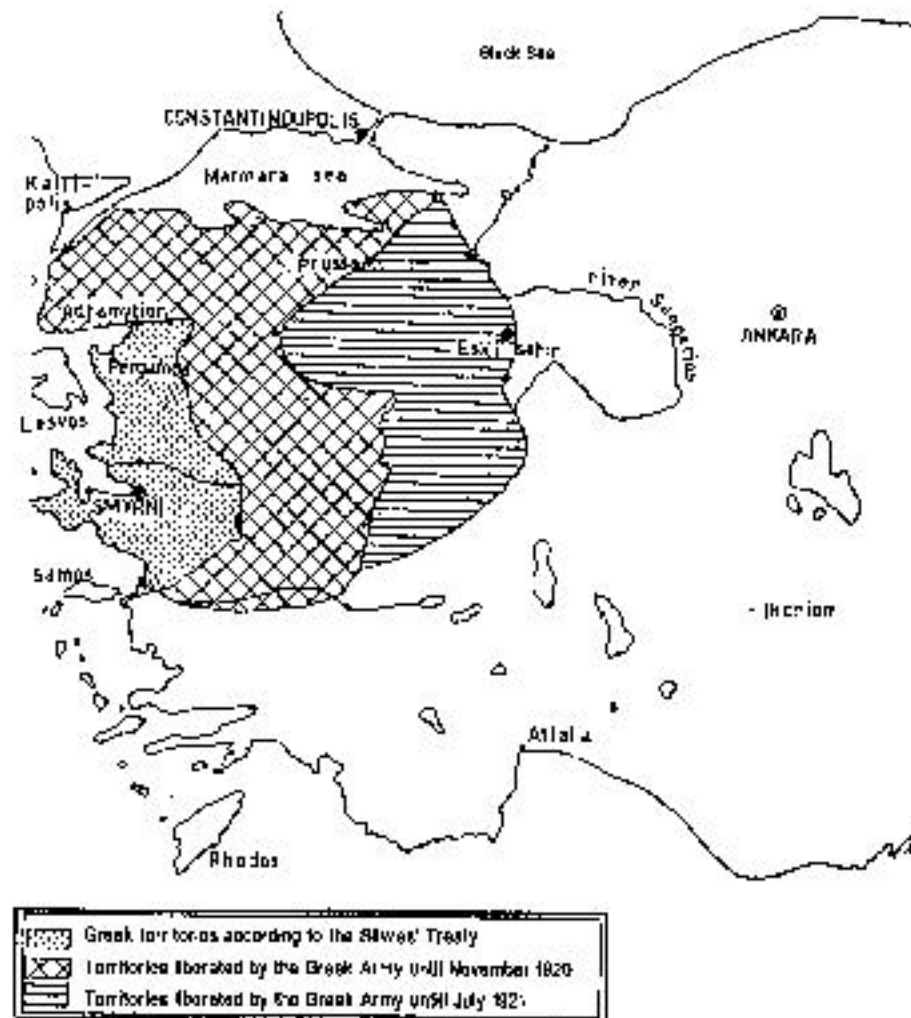
¹ *Kemal Mustafa* (known also as *ATATÜRK*, which means *father of Turks*) (1881-1938) is the creator of the modern Turk state. He changed the alphabet from Arabic to Latin characters; in spite of it, almost third of the Turkish population is still illiterate.

In the November 1920 elections the Liberal Party of Venizelos was defeated and he was not even elected member of the Parliament, in kind return from the Greeks for all he had done for them. It was the opposition now that had to enforce the treaty of Sèvres and persuade Kemal, whose power was quickly growing, to negotiate a truce.

Deep in the East, Kemal was organizing the masses, strongly aided, both financially and in arms, by the Soviet (Lenin and Stalin) communist government. The financial help sent by the Soviet Union to the Turks was greater than the yearly Turkish budget. It was the Soviet Union that first opposed to the unification of Greece as it always wished it a powerless country. In the 1921 Communist International the successors of the Tsar assumed that unless the Heliopond and Constantinople were given to the Turks, those very significant pieces of land would not be under latent Western control.

Meanwhile the Super Powers remained strongly interested in Turkey. France covered 60% of the public debt of the Ottoman state and held 54% of all private business while Britain held only 15% of the overall number of shares and Germany 25%. Thus the French realized they had to balance their relationship with Kemal, especially after the battle at Kizikia in 1920. In the meantime, the Italians had captured the Dodecanese (islands namely Rhodes, Kos and other smaller ones).

During the course of the Greek army's passage through Asia Minor in 1921, while the Greeks were hoping to annihilate the Turkish army, which was already set in order by Kemal, as they were forcing the Turks to acknowledge the treaty of Sèvres, the only Power left supporting Greece



Successive advances of the Greek Army in Asia Minor

was G. Britain. Soon G. Britain would direct its interests otherwise. The endless advances of the Greek Army in Asia Minor were absolutely irrational. They would reasonably end in defeat, looting, slaughtering and the rooting out of the Greek population from the mother land where they had been living for even 3000 years. The disaster of the Greek army on August 1922 was predictable, firstly because the Turkish army was widely withdrawing from the various fronts, exhausting the Greek forces but not itself, and secondly because Kemal was supported by all the Super Powers. During the summer of 1922 Greek politics were in internal disagreement and the government's finances were deteriorating. From 1914 to 1922 an approximate number of 1.000.000 Greeks from Asia Minor died fighting the Ottoman hordes.

After obstinate negotiations, the treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923. Exchange of populations was agreed, namely 1.300.000 orthodox Greek people living in Turkey in exchange for 350.000 muslims living in Greece. The above disproportionate exchange (3 Greeks to 1 Turk) illustrates an act of historic injustice at Greece's expense. It would have been fair somehow if at least Eastern Thrace were rendered to Greece. Excluded from this interchange between Greece and Turkey were the 250.000 Greeks of Constantinoupolis and the 23.000 Muslims of the municipalities of Xanthi and Rodope (Thrace). The islands of Imvros and Tenados were given back to Turkey, which in return recognized Greece's sovereignty at the Aegean islands.

The treaty of Lausanne, greatly disadvantageous to Greece, managed to form a nebulous state of things, ac-

according to which Turkey could be considered as a European country or rather the treaty let the Super Powers define the time when Turkey could be treated or mistreated by them as a European country, if the Super Power's interests asked for it.

8. FROM THE GREEK CATASTROPHY IN ASIA MINOR (1922) UNTIL WORLD WAR II: THE ILLUSION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY

The integrity of Turkey was saved thanks to the annihilation of the Greek army in 1922. Since then, Turkey has been desperately attempting to join in the club of European countries. Modern Turkey, a creation of the Super Powers, has been playing the part of the appendix-country which is always there to serve the interests of the Super Powers. Turkish politics were from that point onwards led and put in force by a bureaucratic elite directed by the national interests and the military bureaucracy. Due to lack of political identity and tradition the remains of the Ottomans dream their Europeanization which essentially will never take place, but will remain schematic, fake, simply verbal. This very military bureaucracy shaped the new Turkish dogma of superiority, megalomania, aggressive nationalism towards all neighbour countries and particularly towards Greece.

As for their diplomatic orientation, the military bureaucracy realized that whenever Turkey was in other alliance from Greece, it was thoroughly defeated. Thus Turkish diplomats made valiant efforts to be in the group

of Powers that Greece belonged to. The drawing near of Bulgaria to Serbia and Turkey to Italy, at the beginning of the 1930's, pressured E. Venizelos to reorientate Greek politics and to approach Turkey. The superoptimists always visualize the happy hour when the two traditional enemy countries of the two sides of the Aegean Sea will be living together in peace. It is worth mentioning that according to the concurrence of June 1930, Greece was obliged to pay to Turkey 425.000 £. The 150.000 £ were payed as compensation for the land outside the borders of the Ottoman capital owned by the Greeks of Constantinoupolis, now siezed by the Turkish state.

On October 30, 1930 the two countries signed a declaration of peace and neutrality as well as a naval protocol to cut down on maritime arms plus a commercial contract. Even more advanced was the treaty between Greece and Turkey signed in 1933. According to this treaty the two countries: a) would both safeguard their common borderlines and keep them unchanged as mutually agreed, b) would in the future be obliged to decide in common about international affairs and c) they could be represented abroad by common representatives in case that would seem expedient.

Nevertheless the Greco-Turkish treaty of amity did not live long. Hopes held in vain soon vanished into thin air and turkish aggression and unreliability shined unmasked.

In the meantime turkish military bureaucracy formed the foremost dogma of its foreign policy, namely to avoid all kinds of initiatives that included any degree of risk - in reference to the outcome. When Turkey makes a decision, this is because according to their speculation the cost of

the decision enforcement would be insignificant and it would be in no way dangerous. So, the eve of World War II Turkey flirtated with the Central Powers and particularly with Germany. Simultaneously it entered into negotiations with the Entente. In return to the military help Turkey would give either to the one alliance or to the other, it asked for the islands of the Aegean, the Dodecanese islands, Western Thrace, parts of Irak and Syria. The dominant ideology in Turkey in those days was that Greece was constantly expanding to Turkey's detriment.

It is purposefully forgotten that the Turks racially were nothing more than a bunch of some thousands horsemen assailants heading from the plateaus of Thibet, annihilating anything Christian they would encounter. Thus they reached the coast of Asia Minor and altered and crumbled a civilization some thousand years old. In reality it is the Turks expanding towards the Greeks. They are the ones who have never contributed to any evolution or civilization.

Making the best out of their state as an 'appendix country' lying between the West and Russia, Turkey managed in 1936 to have the state of the Hellispond changed in Turkey's favour. The treaty of Lausanne had a special article about the Hellispond, whose point was disarmament of the Hellispond as well as of Peran, Galata, Skoutari, Pringiponnesa and the surroundings of the Constantinoupolis. In the aforementioned areas Turkey was allowed to have only police forces and gendarmerie. Thirteen years had passed from the treaty of Lausanne, Nazlism was radically growing in Germany and the international order was seriously injured; at this right time Turkey took the opportunity to push, in order to have the state of the

Hellispond altered. Aided by the Central Forces and the Soviet Union, Turkey succeeded with the Montreux Treaty of 1936 to hit straight at its target, namely to encircle the Hellispond with armed forces. The politics of the Entente seemed incomprehensible. It left the control of the Hellispond to the Turks who were always prone to be influenced by the Russians. It is of some importance that disarmament was still applied to the Aegean islands with the exception of Lemnos and Samothrace.

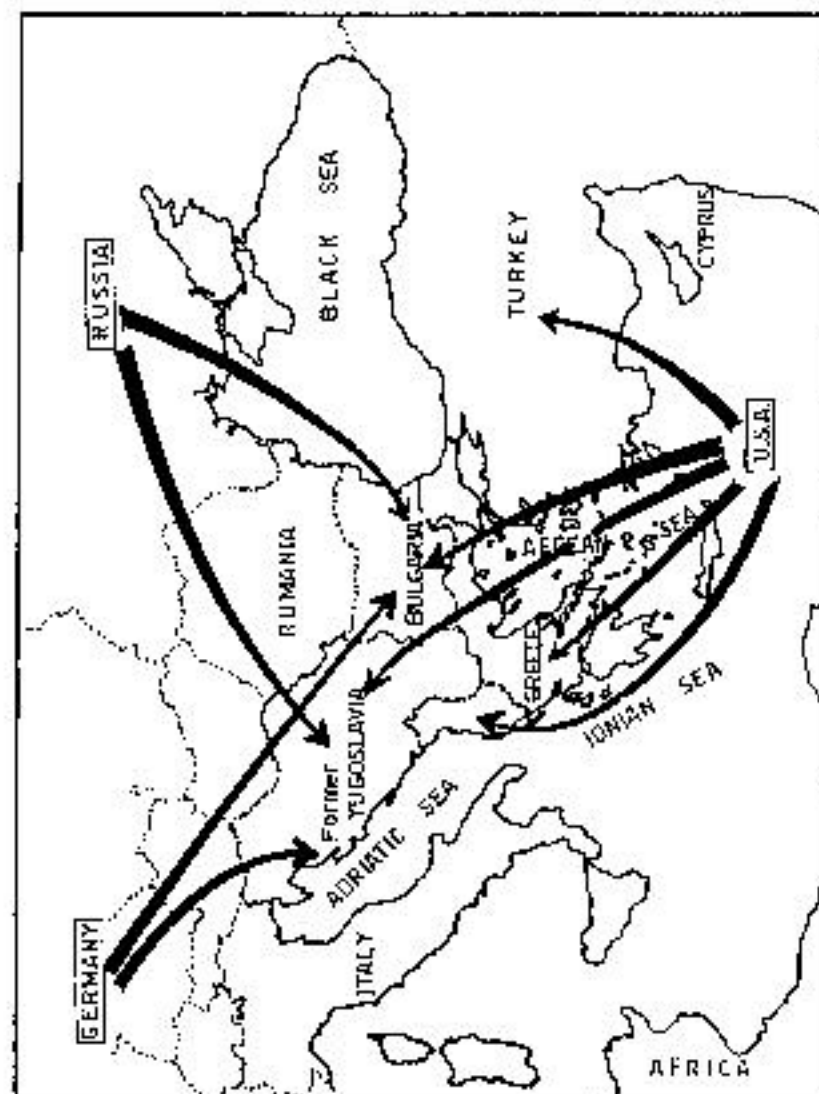
Turkey remained in a state of ambiguous neutrality until the end of the World War II. Unlike Turkey, Greece joined with the side of Entente, having made no previous arrangements as to what would be given to Greece in the event they would win the war. The victory over the Italians¹, the courageous 2 months resistance against the Germans and the four-year German occupation of Greece (1941-44), were forgotten when everyone sat around the negotiating table in 1944-45. As a minimum reward the allies should have rendered to the Greeks Eastern Thrace, Constantinople, Northern Epirus and the Dodecanese. But international relations had already changed and a new status quo had been created between the East (Soviet Union and its satellites) and the West. This new status quo favoured Turkey again, which played its role particularly

1 Italy invaded Albania and attacked Greece on October 28, 1940. In spite of their military superiority, the Italians were defeated by the Greeks. Thus the Greek Army liberated for the second time in 30 years the area of Northern Epirus (South Albania today) (cities of Korytsa, Argirokastron, Agioi Saranta, etc.) It is only after the attack of the Germans in northern Greece (April 6, 1941) that the Greek Army evacuated North Epirus.

well as an "appendix-country" though on the side of the defeated in the last war. The Soviet Union would by no means debate a possible change of state of the Hellispond, thus the Greek wish to have its borders extended eastwards was simply out of the question. Still, it is thanks to the Soviet Union's vote that in 1946 the Dodecanese islands were given to Greece. Russia's plans where to let the Turkish state grow powerful enough, only to be controlled by them. That was proven in 1946, one of the rare times that Russia seriously sided with the Greeks.

9. THE SITUATION IN THE BALKANS FROM WORLD WAR II TO THE FALL OF THE COM- MUNIST REGIMES (1991)

After 1945, the international order was dominated by the rivalry between the two Super Powers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union -each one with other geographical and political interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. G. Britain had been degraded to a second class power. In 1951 the NATO was established. The interests of the United States dictated both Greece's and Turkey's membership and the above two were considered befriended countries. Turkey found the right chance to express practically its imperialistic intentions against Greece while the latter had formed as the basic dogma of its foreign policy, peaceful coexistence of the two countries, fruitful cooperation and benevolent coexistence. The outcome of this policy placed Greece in an even more disadvantageous position. Thus Turkey started causing troubles such as the Cyprus Question, ousting Greek citizens from Constantinoupolis, Smyrna, Imvros, Tenedos, making irrational claims to the Aegean and systematically stirring up the muslim population of Western Thrace. Besides, it should be added the so called (by the Slavs) Macedonian Question, which is an artificial problem created by the Slavs of the Balkans, under the direction and encouragement of Russia, in their constant targets to reach the hot Aegean Sea.



Influences of the Super Powers in the Balkans today

THE CYPRUS QUESTION

The Cyprus Question is a creation of the British diplomacy, which the flexible Turkish diplomacy handled beautifully. Cyprus has been Greek from the 2nd millennium B.C. When in the 1950's the Cypriot people started fighting for independence, the British bluntly rejected all such claims. More than 80% of the island's population was Greek and only 18% was Turkish. Based on the unacceptable claim that the Cyprus Question strengthened the authority of the Soviet Union and the communist camp as well as on the pretext that the Turkish minority should be protected from the altogether non-existent Greek violation of muslim rights, Turkey legalized its presence on the island, subjecting the majority to the minority.

Greece's lack of stamina in the Zürich-London negotiations led them to surrender 30-40% of the power of the island to the Turk-Cypriots, a number totally disproportionate to the 18% of the turkish population. The Turkish government had already made its first strategic move. It is worth noticing that in the 1923 treaty of Lausanne, Turkey had agreed to no claims at all on Cyprus. Turkey's unlucky second step towards the same direction was the 1964 military attack to the island which was restrained by the US. The unreasonable coup d'état of the Greek colonel regime in July 1974, gave the needed pretext to Turkey to base its third step, the invasion in Cyprus, which was obviously tolerated by the Soviet Union, the US and Britain - or even sustained by one of the above three. The captured 40% of the island has been ever since a living proof of the harsh reality, namely that the Super Powers manage to

recall the moral principles only when they match their own interests. Under these circumstances Greece was led to the present political stalemate and can consequently be no more conciliatory. If it really wants to preserve the Greek identity and independence of at least the 80% of the island, Cyprus, the distant guardhouse of Hellenism will not yield to Turkish Imperialism.

Greece ought to wonder about the attitude of the European Powers and the US towards Turkey. The latter was totally uncooperative during the two World Wars; its behaviour was of hermaphrodite manner (always calculating its own profit), but nevertheless Turkey has been supported by all of them. It is particularly towards the US, a Super Power with no past and memory, that the unmanly part played by the Turks should be analytically presented. The US should come to realize that only Greece could firmly help out the US's geographical and political interests in the area.

THE OUSTING OF THE GREEK CITIZENS FROM CONSTANTINOUPOLIS, SMYRNI, IMVROS, TENEDOS

Loyally continuing the Ottoman tradition, contemporary Turkey has put into force a consistent policy of ousting all Greek "particles" from its land. Thus during World War II the Turks voted a particularly anti-Greek legislation, that is a horrific property tax, the well known "vergi", which has taxed the Greek minority far beyond its financial capacity. The highlights of the Turkish attitude were the vandalism and looting of September 6-7, 1955 in Con-

stantinoupolis under the pretext that the Turkish people were worried about their brothers in Cyprus. 1,004 houses, 4,348 shops, 21 factories, 110 restaurants, 26 schools, 29 churches were looted and destroyed and 34 churches seriously damaged. The International Church Board estimated the damages of the Orthodox Churches \$ 150,000,000. It is not surprising that the Turkish government did not spare any reaction whatsoever to the incident. It concealed up all vandalism and although it had promised compensation to the Greek community, it failed to pay it.

The few Greek citizens of Smyrni also suffered appalling oustings in 1955. The islands Imvros and Tenedos were populated solely by Greeks some decades ago. The Turks used all possible ways to evacuate the Greeks from these islands. So the Greeks presently living in Constantinoupolis are no more than 3,000 (against 250,000 in 1922), the ones in Imvros and Tenedos are approximately a few hundreds and there are no Greeks left in Smyrni. The reaction of the Super Powers to this genocide varied from a slight theoretical objection to no reaction at all. They themselves were not in danger, so why should they intervene? *But the Greeks will never forget their brothers from Constantinoupolis, Smyrni, Imvros, Tenedos and when the time comes compensation should definitely be claimed.*

WESTERN THRACE

While the Greek citizens of Constantinoupolis were expelled from the city, the Muslims of Western Thrace (23,000 in 1922) increased and reached today 100,000.

The majority of those muslims are Gypsies and Pomaks¹ who had proselytised to the Islam but are considered as Turks by the Turkish government, though it is broadly known that particularly the Pomaks have been enemical to the Turks after they were prosecuted by them. The greek state could easily have taken the Pomaks on its side; it did quite the opposite and Greek autistic politics did not care to protect the greek muslims from the Turkish propaganda.

The muslims living in Thrace are a religious minority that by no objective means could be regarded as a single-nationality or single-language minority. This minority is composed by various groups of other racial and linguistic identities, unified by the muslim religion. The turkish language is broadly used by them though not their mother tongue, because there is no written form of the Pomak and Gypsy languages.

What the Greek state should remind its muslim citizens is what they have suffered from the Turks and ask them to realize their present prosperity as well as the unavoidably higher standard of living they will be enjoying in case they fully integrate into the Greek society. It is only to their disadvantage their insisting on identifying themselves as Turks.

¹ *Pomaks are indigenous descendants of the ancient people leaving in Thrace; in the Middle Ages they adopted the Slav speaking idiom (being already Orthodox Christians) and two to three centuries from now converted in the muslim religion. They suffered many troubles during the Ottoman occupation (1400-1920) of Thrace.*

THE TURKISH PROVOCATIONS IN THE AEGEAN SEA

Since Turkey signed the treaty of Lausanne, it recognized the full sovereignty of Greece at the Aegean Islands, that is the pieces of land that were called by the National leader E. Venizelos the heart and soul of Greece. Until about 1960 Turkey never doubted the state of the Aegean. But ever since it has been working on a variation of Hitler's theory on "vital space" and it has been arguing that the islands of the Eastern Aegean form a natural extension of Asia Minor, thus the Turks argue that they are entitled to lay claims to the Aegean islands. On the contrary, it is Ionia (the Western Asia Minor) that stands as a natural extension of the Aegean islands. Both the islands and mainland Ionia had been truly Greek for 3 thousand years; so if one adheres to the turkish (Hitlerian) theory mentioned above, one sees that Greece is the one that should to lay claims to Asia Minor.

After 1960 Turkey revealed undisguised its imperialistic plans. According to the treaty of Geneva, every country controls in full its territorial waters within a radius of 6 miles from the coast. The third meeting of the United Nations about the Sea Law altered the above arrangement as follows: every country is entitled to define the boundary of its territorial waters up to 12 miles from the coast. Turkey did not participate in the third UN meeting. What Turkey had done was to extend the territorial waters at the Black Sea as well as at the south Turkish coast by 12 miles. It refuses to allow Greece to do the same, stating that the extension of the Greek territorial waters of the Aegean

islands would be a straightforward *casus belli*. Turkey acts under the impression that the International law is to be applied only in case of personal need and benefit.

The imperialistic Turkish policy was applied to the airspace over Aegean, too. According to the 1944 Chicago Agreement, every nation is entitled to control in full its airspace. The areas in Greek control, internationally called the Athens FIR, are the national airspace and territorial waters as well as the international airspace and international waters. In relation to the Cyprus crisis, Turkey made the 714th announcement on 6.8.74 to the travelling in air (known as NOTAM 714) according to which the Aegean airspace was divided in two equal parts, the borderlines were the following land points: river Evros, islands of Lemnos, Andros, Astipalea, Carpathos. Turkey asked the aeroplanes flying eastwards of this border-line to refer themselves to the Constantinoupolis airspace control and not to that of Athens. Great confusion was caused, as all aeroplanes avoided crossing the Aegean airspace and finally Greece was justified by the International Air Traffic Control Institutions.

Nevertheless Turkish army aeroplanes have violated Greek airspace frequently. The Greek government failed to make clear as strongly as it should to the Super Powers that this kind of instability could very easily be proven harmful for them and their interests in the area and that peace could be guaranteed only if Turkey stops being provocative.

A second issue that Turkey uses against Greece concerns the continental shelf. Turkey is the only country in the world that claims that all islands, and particularly those

of the Aegean Sea, do not have continental shelf. The Turkish Imperialists recognize the continental shelf only to Turkey (the Asia Minor coast) and mainland Greece. And despite the fact that the Geneva treaty, which was neither signed nor accepted by Turkey, determines the continental shelf on a basis of a midline in the case of countries having shore lines facing each other, Turkey unreasonably argues that this midline should be placed in the middle of the Aegean Sea. In other words it lays claim to half the Aegean. Turkey has also denied the Hague international court's verdict and has informed Greece that research for petrol¹ on the Aegean continental shelf outside Greek territorial waters would create a *casus belli*; Greece seems to have silently accepted this, making yet another step towards pursuing a catastrophic policy of yieldingness.

Turkey seems to know very well that no claims are valid unless backed by military forces and thus has arrayed the Fourth Turkish Brigade against the Aegean islands, with 120.000 men, 120 marine carrier ships, 1 parachute brigade and 1 marines brigade. It is worth noticing that the recruitment percentage of most units reaches 80%, a degree unusually high during a period of peace. For comparison purposes it is worth pointing out that the USSR recruited their staff of military units to a percentage of 75% while the recruitment percentage of the Turks in the military units along the Turko-Russian borders never exceeded 65%.

It is rather obvious that the Turks eagerly await for the right moment to attack. As the very cunning Turk

¹ In 1973 near the island of Thassos (north Aegean, see page 21) oil was discovered, which has been heavily exploited ever since.

diplomat, Ismet Inönü¹, has put it, they are waiting for the appropriate international occurrences and the 'right' mistakes done by Greece. Turkey, being supported by the Super Powers, forgets that people are not to be distributed in the same manner as that of lifeless objects. People carry with them their national identity, history, language, religion, civilization and they ought to have the right to choose where they want to belong and live. The military and diplomatic Turkish bureaucracy manipulates the illiterate Turkish population by turning their attention and overexposing away from their very troubled internal affairs (Kurd² affair for instance) the Turkish claims to Greek land.

Greece will deal with this problematic Greco-Turkish relationship on its own. No Super Power seems willing to intervene and moreover support Greece. Greece will array against Turkish politics the bravery of the Greeks, the development of Thrace and the Aegean Islands and the defending dissuasive military forces. As far as the morale of the citizens is concerned, it is time the Greek government took better care of the populations of Thrace and the Aegean and furthermore put straight the mistakes committed in the past due to negligence.

THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

The eternal ambition of the Slavs has been to acquire

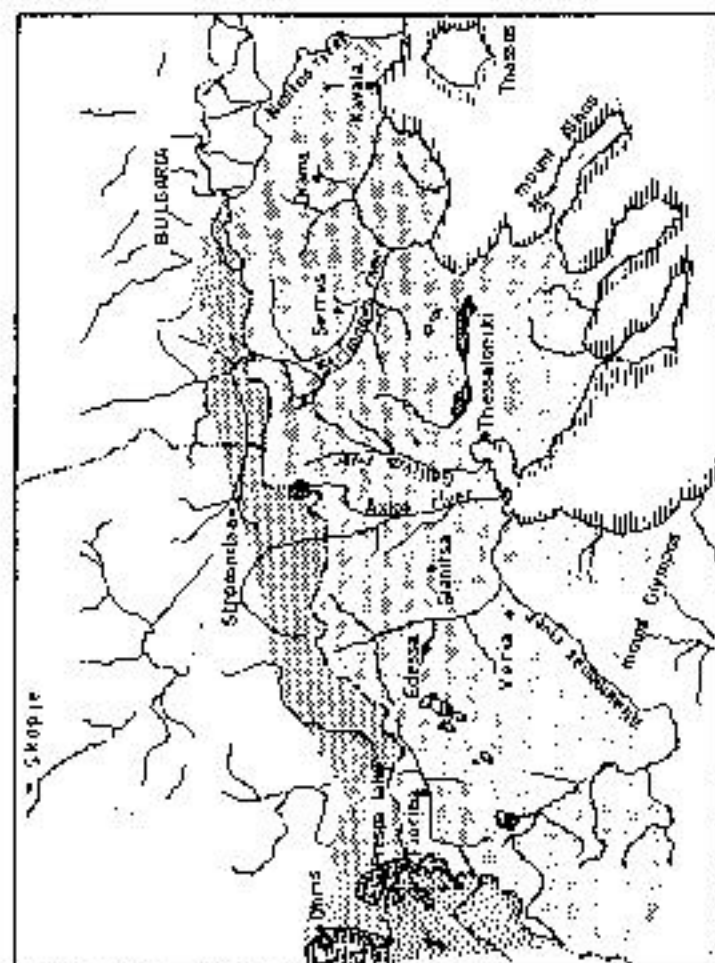
1 Ismet INÖNÜ (1885-1972) was a military and political leader of Turkey.

2 More than 20 million Kurds are leaving to the South-East of Turkey and they are claiming according to the International Law the creation of an independent Kurd State.

passage to the Aegean. They have worked hard on this issue. When the Soviets -the ones who always have been forwarding the Pan-Slavic policy- came to realize the impossibility of the extension of either Bulgaria or Yugoslavia down to the Aegean, they created the Macedonian Question, a story beyond reason, an attempt to distort the historic truth in a manner so terribly unethical that one rarely comes across.

It is widely known that the Slavs crossed the river Danube in 602 A.C. and are in no way connected to ancient Macedonia, whose borders do not go any further than Melenico, Stromnitsa, Monastiri. During the following centuries the Slavs scattered in the Balkans, but no more than a few Slavic groups came down to Macedonia.

At the beginning of the century the Greeks opposed their brave Macedonian souls to the Bulgarian guerrilla forces. The Slavs advertised the false theory of the so called Macedonian nation which "should" establish itself formally as an internationally recognized state. Despite the fact that during the period 1922-24 the Macedonian land was inhabited by 1.300.000 Greek refugees from Pontus and Asia Minor, the Pan-Slavs keep insisting on the aforementioned claim. It was decided in the 5th Communist International, under Stalin's supervision, in 1924, in Moscow, that a Macedonian state, acting as Bulgaria's satellite, should be established. The would-be state was designed to be made up of Greek, Yugoslavian and Bulgarian lands. The Greek communists agreed to the 1924 International Communist (Comintern) decision, as they were pushed to withdraw their initial objections. One should bare in mind that whatever the threats and pressures the Greek communists acted under, they can not be excused.



Geographic borders of the Classical Macedonia
(Ancient Greek Macedonian Kingdom)

The Croatian leader of Yugoslavia, Tito¹, materialized the decision of the Comintern 20 years later. In 1945 he created the Socialist Federal Republic of Macedonia which was formed to act as a magnet attracting the only and real Macedonia, that is the Greek one, and southwest Bulgaria. Thus Tito trusted that the Great Macedonia could come to exist. Since then, an intense struggle has started to transform the pieces of land mentioned above to a unified state. A Bulgarian dialect was named Macedonian. They have been trying to appropriate the solid Macedonian culture the Greeks inherited from Alexander the Great, the man who spread civilization around the world and from Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher.

The US, the new Super Power that emerged from World War II, did speculate the intentions of Tito and Stalin. The foreign Minister of the US STETTINUS mailed a secret telegram on December 26, 1944 to the diplomatic corps saying: "The US government regards as unacceptable any claims layed to a Macedonian state, macedonian land, macedonian national identity and takes all such claims to be inappropriate demagogic of the couple Tito-Stalin, which reflects neither the political nor the national reality. It is therefore obvious that this demagogic strategy is imperialistic, for it intends to appropriate the name Macedonia in order to harm Greece. The US does not welcome any agitation of the so called Macedonian Question. The Greek part of Macedonia is solely inhabited by Greeks and the

¹ TITO is the pseudonym of Joseph BROZ, military partisan during World War II, political leader and creator of the former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

Greek people are opposed to an independant Macedonian state". The 1944 telegram of the US foreign minister ends with the words: *'The US Government will hold responsible any government or governments that will sustain or tolerate any moves of the so called Macedonian forces against Greece'*.

Thereafter Tito differentiated himself from Stalin and had the Americans supporting him against Stalin, for the Americans had estimated that their own interests would be served. Consequently, Greece was to be forgotten, no matter how hard Greece tried to make herself heard in the period 1946-50. Finally Greece was persuaded to underestimate the importance concerning the Macedonian Question. In the following decades Tito's policy was to spread worldwide an intense propaganda for the Macedonian Question, not of course without the colleration and support of the Super Powers. Greece pretended to absolutely ignore the matter and thus in 1992 was forced to face the aggravating distorted international public opinion which takes the truth to be false and vice versa.

10. THE SITUATION IN THE BALKANS TODAY

In 1991 Communism fell in Eastern Europe and immediately the underlying problems of the Balkans that had been under careful cover, on the one hand by the tyrannical communist governments and on the other by the political equilibrium maintained by the US and USSR, came to the surface. But in 1993 things are not like as in 1945 or 1918. Military power still plays a rather important role but definitely does not determine things anymore as it used to. The most important advantage nowadays is economic power. One's power is established if one manages to penetrate others economically, to have others economically dependant on him. The essential factor of power today is the control of the capital and the economic penetration and dependance of the others. To do it are necessary modern technology, mass exportations and stability of currency.

This has very soon been realized by Germany, which now succeeds with peaceful terms (political and economic) what failed to succeed during the first and second World Wars. Germany imposed its will to decompose Yugoslavia and have both Slovenia and Croatia economically dependant. It has also secured indestructable influence on Hungary, Tsechia plus financial penetration of Poland. Making the best of its economic authority, Germany tends to es-

establish itself as the primary European Super Power, which continuously tries to extend its influence area. As Germany wants a further penetration in the Balkans, it is not by chance their support to the 'Skopians'.

On the other hand the US, being unprepared to hold the part of the single worldwide Super Power, keeps defining its interests as opposed to those of its former enemy, the ex-USSR, and consequently focuses its attention to Bulgaria and Albania.

Other European countries try to make good use for their own profit of the present instability in the Balkans. Italy, heavily influenced by the Pope, tries to penetrate Albania and Slovenia. England and France do not seem particularly interested as they were in the past, letting thus the field open to the German penetration.

The civil war in Bosnia is the perfect excuse for the Muslims, specifically Turkey, to involve themselves in the Balkans. At the present international ideologically doubtful times, Islam struggles to prove itself one of the controlling powers of international opposition, arguing against the decay of capitalism, asking its believers to return to the principles of the Koran and always strongly bearing in mind the obligatory war against the disbelievers.

The strenuous revival of Islam gives ground to Turkey to financially penetrate Bulgaria (which naively takes Turkey for a befriended nation) as well as to promise protection to Bosnia, Albania and Skopje. Although rivaled by Iran, Turkey has succeeded to penetrate actively in the southern part of the former USSR.

It is the above policy that has so far been convincing the West that Turkey is the bond between East and West,

that is to say between Islam and Europe. Turkey's military forces get stronger and stronger as Turkey manages to be given considerable capital in order to open the 120 million people Muslim market, which Turkey argues that is influencing. Soon the persona will fall, to let the reality of Turkey unmasked as a "giant on clay feet". Turkey plays with fire in the former Muslim Soviet Republics, for sooner or later Russians will reclaim their national identity as well as these lands as their vital space. A great number of the Turkish army is constantly occupied with the trouble caused by the Kurds in south-western Turkey. Muslim fundamentalism which revives in spite of the efforts of the elite of the Turkish bureaucracy is tremendously effective in medium and lower social classes, that is the 80% of the population concerned, which happens to be illiterate. The religious awakening of the Algerians ought to have been a case study for the Europeans so that they would be more careful in the future not to have a second Iranian or Algerian case. Turkey seems like getting such a way in the medium or long term.

In the given so very complex circumstances, Greece is the only country that could stabilize the situation in the Balkans. It has both an economy and an army very powerful, compared to that of its neighbour countries. It is a member of the EEC and NATO thus it would be reasonable to have been asked by the Super Powers to act as the middleman of peace, if they really intend to establish peace. Greece did indeed hesitate to economically penetrate the Balkans, nevertheless it is still in an advantageous position compared to the others. Greece must alter its self-conception of an isolated country and be decisively forceful to interact with the Balkans. The harbours of Thessaloniki,

Kavala, Alexandroupolis, the energetic and influential Greek businessmen and the religious nearness of all the Balkan Orthodox people have not been used to the advantage of Greece as they ought to. Amidst Islam and Catholicism, Greece could make Orthodoxy the bond between the Balkan nations and persuade the Super Powers to let the Balkan people manage the Balkans on their own.

The Balkan nations could get together if they trust that the traditional historic, geographic, economic and political bonds dictate common interests. The *Balkan Economic Community*, an equivalent to the EEC, is the single and only way out of the present problematic phase. It is beyond doubt that the civil war in Yugoslavia has created a chaotic situation, hard to order. But it is naive to believe that the Super Powers will not think deep before they let the Balkan people govern themselves. Moral principles, such as democracy, respect of others, not interference in others' affairs, frequently give in to the benefit of the interests of the Super Powers.

However man is capable to reverse the state of things, if he trusts he can do so. The traditionally peaceful and hard working Greek people would benefit from a possible fraternization of the Balkan nations, as the Greeks would go on playing the role of the middleman of peace, civilization and progress that Greece has been enjoying for 3000 years now.

From the birth of civilization in Ionia, the economic development and spiritual evolution of the Greeks has a broad spectrum from Magna Grecia (the present south Italy) to the river Danube and from Caucasus to Euphrates. The Greek nation should take this opportunity to redeem itself.

It is indeed time for the Greeks to do so, though they have often made wrong decisions. In this challenge of modern times, Hellenism has no other choice than continuing the greek tradition of friendship, alliance and solidarity for the neighbour people. The Greeks should also make better use of the Greek community in the US, Europe and Australia and every other part of the world.

The reconstruction of the Balkans is the most welcomed challenge for the Greeks. Will reason and creativity dominate or will misery and adversity rule? The Greeks have always been acting positively in times of crisis. This is what should be done now.

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