

DAVETİYE ve PROGRAM

10. Uluslararası Girne Konferansı Programı

16 - 17 Mayıs 1994. Acapulco, Girne, KKTC

BALKANLAR, KAFKASLAR ve ORTA-DOĞU'da GELİŞMELER ve TÜRKİYE

16 Mayıs 1994 Saat: 14.00

Konferansın Açılışı ; KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Sayın Rauf Denktaş

Balkanlar ve Türkiye

1. Tebliğ: "Balkanlar'daki Son Gelişmeler Karşısında Yunanistan, Türkiye, Makedonya, Arnavutluk, Bosna-Hersek, Hırvatistan ve Sırbistan'la İlişkiler",
Dr. Muhammet Cosmos Megalomatis (Tarihçi, Arkeolog)
2. Tebliğ: "Balkanlar'daki Gelişmeler ve Türk-Yunan İlişkileri",
Prof. Dr. Şükrü Gürel (S. B. Fakültesi, Ankara)
3. Tebliğ: "Uluslararası ve Bölgesel Gelişmeler ve Türkiye"
Prof. Dr. Gülten Kazgan (İktisat Fakültesi)

Kafkasya ve Asya'daki Gelişmeler ve Türkiye

17 Mayıs 1994 Saat 10.00

4. Tebliğ: "Yeni Türk Cumhuriyetleri'nde Gelişmeler ve Türkiye"
Büyükelçi Umut Arık
5. Tebliğ: "Türk - İran İlişkileri"
Büyükelçi Korkmaz Haktanır
6. Tebliğ: "Yeni Türk Cumhuriyetleri - Türkiye Ekonomik İlişkileri"
Prof. Dr. Orhan Morgil (TOBB - TİKA)

Ortadoğu'daki Gelişmeler ve Türkiye

17 Mayıs 1994 Saat 15.00

7. Tebliğ: "Orta-Doğu'daki Son Gelişmelerin Türkiye'ye Etkileri"
Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi)
8. Tebliğ: "Orta-Doğu Barış Süreci ve Türkiye"
Seyfi Taşhan (Dış Politika Ens.)
9. Tebliğ: "Bölgesel Gelişmelerde Rusya Faktörü ve Ortodoks Dünyası"
Halit Refiğ (Yönetmen)

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTIONS IN THE BALKAN, GREEK-BALKAN RELATIONS AND TURKEY

Dr. M. Cosmos MEGALOMMATIS
(Historian, Greece)

The political evolution in the Balkans in the late 1980^s spread out the hope of a peaceful enlargement of the European Union and of the establishment of real freedom in Eastern Europe, and more precisely in the area that fueled so many wars. And yet this hope has not been materialized until now. Two major factors of destabilizing the peace in the Balkans have already been detected by political scientists, historians, intellectuals, diplomats, politicians and statesmen in Europe and America: two countries that do not accept the common sense and the ideals, on which the modern democratic societies in Europe and in North America, as well as the European Union itself, have been founded and formed. There is one country that does not accept the existence of its ethnic minorities outside its borders and attempts to invade parts of neighbouring countries. Two victims till now: Croatia and Bosnia. When a discussion arises on other ethnic minorities living in miserable conditions in this very country, then the regime of this country declares the areas where these minorities live as "historical land of primordial importance". This country is Serbia, and its totalitarian approach to World History and to International Law has been well known: it caused the Second World War, when it was expressed by Nazi Germany.

There is another country that says it is the most developed in the region of the Balkans. It is still - and this is extremely unbelievable - a member state of the European Union, assuming its presidency in this very moment. This country does not accept the national existence of another country, ^{and} diffuses an extremely false version of History, according to which the name of the other country - and the other country after all - "is Greek". This country attempts to invade two neighbouring countries, since "there are ethnic minorities" in the countries in question. Despite the fact that it is not yet proved that there are such minorities, this country does not want to call by its correct name another ethnic minority residing in its north-western part. This country invented ^{also} a unique minority in the world: the "Muslim minority". But it is well-known that there is no Muslim language and that the ethnic name (and the national name) is mainly dependent on the mother-language of a people (or minority). This country is Greece and its method of falsification and of forgery of History

necessitates a special department of Political Studies and of Humanities in a university.

My intention is now to analyse the way this country became a destabilizing factor in the Balkans and to study how its establishment views its relations with the other Balkan countries, while depending on its unique anti-Turkish hysteria, that made actually Greece illustrious in the world.

1. The Greek-Bulgarian Relationship

There has always been a traditional Greek anti-Bulgarianism. Its origins can be attested in the last sixteen centuries! An Eastern Roman Emperor won the surname "Bulgaroctonos" ("Killer of Bulgarians") in the late tenth century! Inimical relations characterized the two entities even after the diffusion of Orthodox Christianity among Bulgarians. After the cultural and linguistic slavization of the Bulgarians, Eastern Roman (and Orthodox) predilections for the Serbs can be attested as early as the thirteenth century.

The formation of the Great Bulgaria - even for a short period in 1878 - was perceived as an alarming warning by the tiny Greek state in the South Balkan region. Such a perspective would leave some Greek-speaking people in Bulgarian territory and would consist in a dead end of the "Megali Idea", the Greek political idea of a neo-Byzantine Orthodox Greek-speaking empire replacing the Ottoman Caliphate. Worse, the perspective of a Great Bulgaria proved to the Greek establishment that Bulgaria was a better ally of the Russians in the Tsarist desire for influence in the South and for a way to the southern seas. For almost half a century (1878-1912), the good balance of the Bulgarian foreign policy between Russia and Germany meant that Greece could not rely on these powers for its anti-Ottoman projects. This had a disastrous effect on the Russian party in Athens, which was very influential (especially before the 60^{ies} of the last century), and also limited the perspectives of the German party in Athens, despite the fact that the Russian party was backed by the Orthodox Church and the German party was directed by the King himself, who was a German! It is only after the early 80^{ies} that the English and the French political parties in Greece became really influential.

The Macedonian problem and the two Balkan Wars determined Greeks' pro-Serbian and anti-Bulgarian feelings and policies. After a civil war and a separation of the northern Greek state of Salonica (1915), which were due to the conflicts of interest of the Great Powers (Venizelos and the English and French parties wished Greece's adhesion to the Entente, whereas the King tried to keep Greece neutral, which was very helpful to the German interests in the region), and after the final settlement of the "Oriental problem" through the Lausanne Treaty, Greece continued having problems with Bulgarian interference in the Greek part of Macedonia during the 1920^{ies} and 1930^{ies}, when an unprecedented cultural discrimination was pursued in Greece against the Macedonian minority. This became the major problem between Greece and Bulgaria during World War II (when the two countries were found in

different alliances and during the Greek Civil War (1944-1949), when the Communist Bulgaria helped both the Macedonian minority in Greece and the Greek Liberation Popular Army. Very bad relations characterized both countries till 1975. After the mid 70's a considerable Greek effort to ameliorate the Greek-Bulgarian relationship has been attested. This is the so-called Caramanlis-Zhivkov rapprochement. In the beginning, it was perceived as the Greek Ostpolitik (in correspondance to Helmut Schmidt's rapprochement with the Soviets). It was an elementary step in the perspective of good Balkan relationships and it had an excellent effect on the inner politics, offering Caramanlis the image of a Greek Charles de Gaulle. It turned out to be another aspect of the Greek anti-Turkism, in the direction of starting discussions whether Turkey could be called a Balkan country or not. It must definitely be considered as a change of the Greek foreign policy after the Cyprus crisis of 1974. Now, we must hold this rapprochement as a next step to Greece's withdrawal from the NATO's military part. Greek anti-American positions (in response to H. Kissinger's policies in the case of Cyprus) were exploited by the USSR's best ally, the Bulgarians.

The anti-Turkish character of the Greek-Bulgarian rapprochement can be better attested in the support Greece offered to the ailing Bulgaria of the 80's, especially in the case of the anti-Turkish discriminatory Bulgarian inner politics; the Bulgarianization of the large Turkish minority in Bulgaria (the totalitarian policy of change of names by the addition of the Slavic -off at the end of surnames) could be of Greek inspiration and corresponds with the Greek political practices and with the undemocratic effort to erase the word "Turk" or "Turkism" in Greece and to replace it with the word "Muslim", as far as the Turkish minority in Greece is concerned.

The main aim of such policies was to make Bulgarians perceive Turkey as a potential threat; it was therefore an export of racism, since this very perception exists in Greece and it consists in the cornerstone of any racist ideology and politics (Nazi Germany was threatened by France, Bolshevist Russia, impotent Poland, tiny Belgium or indifferent Denmark).

There has been a traditional Greek approach on the Bulgarian nation: "The best possible Bulgar is the one who has been hellenized", greekized! The opening of the first Bulgarian secondary education school in 1835 was, of course, the result of the Bulgarian revolution, but it was perceived as an anti-Greek conspiracy by Greece. This looks, but is not, strange; the traditional policy of the Istanbul Patriarchate during the Ottoman period was the diffusion of the Greek language among all the Orthodox Christian peoples of the Caliphate. Greek language itself was considered as a potential threat against the "Satanic religious and political power of the Caliphate" (Anastasius Gordius determined in the eighteenth century that the Vatican and the Caliphate were the two feet of the Antichrist's evil power!).

Post-Communist Bulgaria became a puzzle for Greek politicians and statesmen. Being victims of their own education and low level

pseudo-historical culture, Greeks believed that the end of the Communist Era was a victory of the Orthodoxy, of the Tradition, of the Nationalism. It is sure that this is not the case. In addition to this, the new establishment in Sofia follows an opposite policy to that of Zhivkov's on the case of Turks. Greeks would desire to see Bulgaria join an Orthodox anti-Turkish, anti-Islamic and anti-European alliance, where they find themselves culturally strong (this is also false). Instead of this, they are disappointed because of the recent developments in Bulgarian politics (Turks participate in the administration, Bulgaria established good relations with Macedonia, took anti-Serbian standards and, even worse for the Greeks, recently became the vicar of the Macedonian minority in Greece, although the Bulgarian administration considers Macedonians as Bulgarians). If Bulgaria insists in supporting the rights of the Macedonian minority of Greece, the Greek-Bulgarian relationship will definitely worsen.

2. The Greek-Romanian Relationship

The Romanians have got a very good image among the Greeks; they are the "good" Latin-speaking people, since they are Orthodox! In addition to this, parallels have been drawn between Greeks and Romanians, as being peoples isolated among other inimical peoples, which is, of course, very erroneous an assumption. Greeks look upon Romania with much sympathy, since Romania is the place where the Greek "revolution" began. In Romania, however, one can attest an error of the Ottoman administration: by offering to Moldavia and Vlachia a limited independence, the Sultan made them the centre of anti-Ottoman revolutionaries and foreign agents. The case of Rega Velesinli was quite indicative: he did not wish an independent Greek state but a replacement of administrations (Ottoman-NeoByzantine/Islamic-Christian) in the territory of the Caliphate. Romania itself, when independent in 1861, started its own search for political ideal in the fiction of the "Byzantine" Empire.

Romania was precious for Greece due to its permanent anti-Slavic stand (this is actually quite abnormal for an extremely slavized country such as Romania). The anti-Islamic, anti-Ottoman and anti-Slavic stand of Romania was revealed in the two Balkan Wars. Romania was also necessary for Greece because of its deep anti-Calvinist, anti-Protestant position that turned out to be a permanent discrimination of the large Hungarian minority of Romania and here we have to express our wish to see this population of Transylvania gain the status of the autonomous region it seeks and deserves.

Before and after World War One, the good French-Romanian relations became an equivalent of the Greek-French relations and one has to recall that Romania was a member state of the Petite Entente between the two World Wars.

Greek-Romanian relations did not worsen dramatically after Romania's adhesion to COMECON and to the Warsaw Pact. Romania's discrete involvement in the Vlachic minority in Greece did not disturb much the

Greek-Romanian relationship. After 1974, due to the worsening of the Greek-Turkish relations, Greece needed Romania more and more, especially for its Balkan anti-Turkish policies. All the Greek politicians and statesmen (either in the right or in the centre, or in the left), paid an unbelievably ridiculous tribute of flattery to the Dracula of Eastern Europe, the so-called "Danube of the Thought", the dictator Ceausescu, as well as to his famous wife, Elena, who was thought to be intellectually, culturally, mentally and scholarly omnipotent!

After the fall of the Communist dictatorship in Romania, Greeks thought of this country as an important member of the Orthodox alliance in the Balkans. One has to bear in mind that the key members of this erroneous and anti-European alliance, according to the Greeks, are by nature Greece, Serbia, Romania, Russia and Armenia. Many Greek entrepreneurs invested their money in Romania, someone bought the entire commercial fleet of Romania and the Alafuzos family has serious interests there; the Alafuzos family controls the SKY radio station (about 40% of auditors in Athens), the SKY T.V. station (newly established and already third in rank), KATHIMERINI influential morning daily and other mass medias. This family's lawyer is N. Constantopoulos, the leader of a left-wing party! Many have accused this family of being successful in overthrowing the previous Greek Premier, Constantine Mitsotakis, whose personal advisor, General Gryllakis, paid much money to many people in the Romanian administration to obtain Romanian support for the anti-Macedonian hysteria of Greece. One has to bear in mind that the economically impotent Romania will become of lesser importance, after an explosion of the oppressed Hungarian minority.

3. The Greek-Albanian Relationship

Albania has long been viewed as a Greek region during the last two centuries. The mythical area of the ancient Greek tribe of the Hellenes, whose gave the modern national name of the country, was not Hellas, a term used for the South Balkan area (in the south of Mt. Olympus) in the Antiquity, but Hellenia. This mythical area has been falsely identified by this century's Greek historians with Albania, and this has much to do with the pretention that the South Albanian Greek-speaking population is "Greek".

In the Greek perception of the Albanians, one can easily attest their impossibility to accept the Albanians' adhesions to Islam and their deep anti-Catholic stand. Greeks have long been preoccupied with Albanians, considering always ancient Illyrians, the ancestors of today's Albanians, as "Greeks". And this is, of course, erroneous.

There has been a strange relationship between Greeks and Albanians during these last two centuries. The main idea is that the Albanians must be anti-Turkish and some of them were during the period of the Greek Powers' interference which was called "Greek revolution" (1821-1828). Either Muslim, or Catholic, or even Orthodox, the Albanians have been disdained by the

Greeks. Muslim Albanians have been called "Turkalvano!" in Greek and this is pejorative. Recently, during the last decades, Albania's isolation caused economic problems and poverty; it also gave birth to another Greek insult of racist character against Albanians. It was said that the shortest possible joke needed just two words: "Albanian tourist". Since Albanians have been considered barbaric, their only possibility to become civilised would be to accept Orthodox Christianity!

Albania was therefore a traditional area of the Greek expansionism during the last two centuries. Since the Albanians did not consider any need to separate from the Ottoman Caliphate, the only Greek position concerning this area was that it had to be shared between Serbia and Greece. This would not be normal and it did not take place.

We should consider for a while the reasons for this strange attitude. Numerous waves of different Albanian tribes moved to the South Balkan area (Rumeli, Moria and the Aegean islands) during the thirteenth century and other Albanians did so in the following centuries. No Greeks were living by that time in this area, where one could find either Slavic populations, or Greek-speaking people of Slavic origin, which was the result of the grecization policies of the Constantinople Patriarchate, the omnipotent institution in the ailing Eastern Roman Empire. Albanians mingled with these populations and the outright majority of toponyms throughout this area was, by that time, of Slavic, or Albanian origin. During the long centuries of the Ottoman Caliphate, the Muslim administration did not pay any attention to the dangerous policies of grecization, that have been carried out by the Patriarchate. Greek was more diffused in the area in question in the late eighteenth century due to the perverted and racist ideology of an illiterate Albanian priest, who called himself Cosmas the Etolian. According to this falsehood, all the Christians of the Caliphate were Greeks, as far as the Balkan region was concerned! And yet, the result of all these movements of peoples was the formation of numerous dialects, the main components of which were Slavic, Albanian and Vlachic. An important part of this amount of indigenous idioms was of Turkish, Arabic or Latin origin, whereas the words of Greek origin were due to the foreign involvement (i.e. the Patriarchate's policies) only. No Greeks were left in the South Balkans; Greek-speaking people are not "Greek". It is this very population that became an organ of the British, French and Russian Mid-Eastern policies against the Ottoman Caliphate. As the new tiny state was called Greece in 1828, the main political ideology of the "Greek-Christian Civilization" left no room for anyone to admit the un-Greek character and the Slavic-Albanian origins of the population of the state in question. Disregarding and disdaining one people's origins and identity is the best means of imposing oblivion and ignorance on these matters to the people in question. This policy has been attested in many cases, not only in modern Greece.

Greece opposed the Italian expansionism in Albania in the period between the two World Wars and especially after 1937. The main aim of this opposition was not a support of the Human Rights, but a real threat against Albania. Any

kind of attempt against this small country could be carried out, if Italy did not have important interests in the area. To prevent a Greek invasion of Albania, the Italians had to shell Corfu in the late 20ies. And yet, the first speech of the Prime Minister Georges Papandreu (the father of today's Prime Minister), after the Liberation (Feb. 1944), contained extremely high threats against Albania, due to the perpetual false ideas Greeks have had on this matter. This worsened the relations between Greece and the Communist establishment of Albania and the whole matter worsened even more after the support offered by the Communist Albania to the Greek Communists during the Greek Civil War (1944-1949).

It is only in the mid 80ies that the Third Worldist ideals of A. Papandreu's Foreign Minister Charles Papulias helped in ending the state of undeclared war between Albania and Greece. After the fall of the Communist regime, Albania has been continuously viewed as a potential area of Greek expansionism in the 90ies as backwardish nationalism has been linked with obscurantist Orthodoxy and with the average Greek's racism. Albanian Gastarbeiter in Greece are probably the worst paid and the most insulted, oppressed and even killed foreign workers in the world. It became a hobby for Greek policemen to kill Albanians and blame the inexistent Albanian Mafia for the incidents.

Samaras' warlike and racist anti-Albanian policies have long characterised the New Democracy government's foreign policy in a most unfortunate and even ludicrous way. Constantine Mitsotakis tried to link Albanian perspectives in Kossova to the Greek expansionism in Southern Albania, an area that has been provocatively called Northern Epirus to support the irrelevant Greek expansionism. This was a kind of erroneous opportunism, since Greek-speaking Albanians in Southern Albania are not Greeks, whereas Kossovars are truly Albanians. Even worse, Greek-speaking Albanians are a minority even in Southern Albania, whereas Kossovar Albanians constitute an outright majority of 95% of the total Kossova population. These positions and interpretations have been corroborated by the Greek stand taken towards these Greek-speaking Albanians; the Greek administration considers these populations as Orthodox Christians rather than Greeks. In fact, the problem has already been solved, since these Vorio-epirotes ("people of Northern Epirus") moved to Greece to find work there and less than 20.000 of them remained in their area.

The whole Greek-Albanian relationship helps us in analysing the real factors of Greece's foreign policy. Studying carefully events and political positions, we realise that the anti-Albanian stand was first taken by the notorious Greek Bishop Sebastianos, who dictated the foreign policy of the country on this subject, during either New Democracy or Pasok governments. Irrelevant books have been published on this matter, they were written by illiterate people, who never got a university degree or relative disciplines and yet they were very well propagated through the Greek press, where one can attest a considerable interference of the Orthodox Church. Worse, a monthly

magazine circulates bearing the name HELLOPIA, in order to justify Greek revindications! Part of the "intellectual" and "academic" establishment of Greece publish their assignments there. Worse than anything else, pseudo-historical manuals of the Greek secondary education inform their unfortunate readers that there is a need for "Liberation" of Southern Albania. One has to recall here the heavy control the Orthodox Church kept on the Greek Ministry of Education.

Which is the need of this anachronistic and racist institution to destabilize Albania? Since the Church and not the state shapes the foreign policy of the country, everything is conceived through a religious viewpoint and a holy war is actually being financed by the Christian Orthodox Church against Albania, the country being considered as an outpost of the Islamic threat! The normal and necessary cooperation between Turkey and Albania has therefore been considered as an Islamic conspiracy against Greece and Christianity! Orthodox nationalists' anti-Albanian hysteria can also be attested in their position against all the previous governments' policy towards Albania; they blame them on an "imposed oblivion" and on an effort to dismiss Greek "rights" to Southern Albania's annexation.

There is also another reason for this effort to destabilize Albania. This political attitude is considered as the best possibility to avoid the serious consequences of the expulsion of Tsami Albanian from Tsamouria (now called Thesprotia, according to an ancient name of the region, which was forgotten for some millenia and has been chosen in the 1920ies in order to "prove" that the area was traditionally Greek-something absolutely false). Tsami Albanians must return to Greece however and the right to their properties must be respected by Greece.

The aggressive anti-Albanian attitude of Greece has also been the means of overcoming the problem of the cultural discrimination of 1.500.000 Arvanities, the Albanian minority of Greece. And yet, these Albanians must be accorded the right of preserving their language and culture (which has nothing to do with Greek), must follow primary and secondary education in Albanian (and not in Greek) and must be respected in their cultural identity, which was long disregarded and ridiculed in Greece.

4. The Relations Between Greece and The Newly Established States in The Area of The Former Yugoslavia

Before focusing on the actual bilateral relations, we must study the case of the relationship between Greece and the former Yugoslavia, as well as the perception of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia by the Greeks.

There has been a theory and a reality of the "traditional allies", Serbia and Greece, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One must consider the Yugoslavian kingdom as a continuation of the tiny Serbian state, since the great majority of this country (i.e. the non-Serbian population) was not allowed to play an important role in the politics and the culture. One must

admit the reality that sometimes Greeks and Serbs were allies. It is, however, essential for a historian to dismiss the irrelevant argument of the "perennial" or "natural" alliance between the two peoples, since this is only an ideal and an aim of the Orthodox Church's international policies. The truth is that Greeks and Serbs were equally manipulated by the Orthodox Patriarchate in the Dark Ages of the Eastern Roman Empire and in the period of the Ottoman Enlightenment. Their alliance was a necessity, not for both peoples, but for the anti-Islamic and anti-German (then, "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation") policies of the Patriarchate. We must admit that both peoples were the true victims of this case. In the Balkan Wars and in World War I, the Greek-Serbian alliance was not a "normality", but the consequence of both countries' adhesion to the Entente. In the 20th and 30th no one spoke of such an alliance.

What happened in the Second World War damaged the Greek-Yugoslavian relationship; the Yugoslavian Communists led by Tito, the Croatian, helped the Communists of Greece and put an end to the vociferous Serbian ultra-nationalism. They recognised all the minorities of the country, they accorded full Human Rights to all of them, and realised that, actually, parts of Serbia were not Serbian, but Albanian (Kosovo) and Macedonian. The formation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia has helped in revealing the criminal attitude of the Greek fascist-royalist government against this minority in Greece. More than 100.000 Macedonians of Greece moved there to survive, since Greece in the late 40th was a hell for democrats, communists or Macedonians. The bad Greek-Yugoslavian relations lasted till 1975 and the "Ostpolitik" of C. Karamanlis needed an amelioration of the relationship, because of the worsening of the Greek-Turkish relationship. To obtain this, Greek politicians and statesmen accepted the reality of the Macedonian nation, even tacitly. Now, they accuse each other for this, saying that they accepted it when it was a "federal" and not an independent state, but this is, of course, ridiculous, having nothing to do with the existence of a nation that Greeks refuse to accept now.

The dissolution of the Yugoslavian federation was, of course, a necessity, the Serbs having obtained an undemocratic and totalitarian control on the administration and on the army after Tito's death. This event was very badly perceived in Greece; it was a hint of the possibility of dissolution of Greece (Turks in Western Thrace, Macedonians in Macedonia, Albanians in Epirus and Etolia, the Vlachic minority in Thessaly, Roman Catholics in the Cyclides and, last but not least, Cretans (Semitic, un-Greek, people) in Crete, where a separation movement has long found its historical, political, cultural and economic arguments).

Full of fear and of ignorance, Greek intellectuals and statesmen, priests and politicians, reacted in the worst possible way. They tried to "interpret" the fact of the dissolution of Yugoslavia in a way corresponding to their interests and backward ideas. This "interpretation" was diffused throughout Greece (in the education, in the mass-media and in books) without any possible opposition,

since there has long been a totalitarian régime in Greece prohibiting the diffusion of challenging ideas, opinions, interpretations of facts, analyses, and arguments. The main pillars of this false interpretation are:

- a) Great Powers have always been exploiting small countries;
- b) Small countries are therefore obliged to refuse Great Powers' economic interference (even in today's world of liberal trade and economics), even if this helps social progress of the small countries in question;
- c) Great Powers are in constant need of provoking wars in order to sell arms and any kind of weapons;
- d) Small countries are therefore "innocent" and never wish to cause war (ever if their regime is totalitarian and oppresses the minorities);
- e) Great Powers have no right to diffuse liberal economics and democracy in small, totalitarian countries, for this shows only an attempt to exploit the small (and "innocent") countries. This nonsense has been diffused in Greece by the political review TETRADIA, where many Greek politicians contributed articles and interviews. This review has been edited by Lucas Axelos, an illiterate lawyer of poor culture, who tried to cause any possible damage to the E.D.A. left-wing party in 1966-67, because of the party's position towards the Cyprus problem. Working for the Greek secret services, Axelos had his Publishing House operating during the Military Junta régime (1967-1974) and, disguised as Trotskyist, he caused confusion among Communists, while diffusing his fascist and ultra-nationalist hysteria. Since Cyprus is Greek according to him, he is about to publish a book on it, despite the fact that he never read (much less studied) English, French, German, Russian, Arabic or Turkish bibliography on the subject (and there is no serious Greek bibliography on this, me being the only Greek Orientalist and facing extremely serious problems in diffusing what is taught in the world's universities). In his review TETRADIA, Axelos developed the afore-mentioned pillars of the nationalist, erroneous interpretations of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and caused a great part of sympathy for criminals such as Milosevic and Karajic among people of the Left, being always disguised as a "democrat of the Left". Minister Pangalos participates in these circles...

It is therefore easy to understand that the tremendous differences between Europe and the anachronistic and totalitarian regime of Serbia were perceived in Greece:

- a) through the afore-mentioned viewpoint and
- b) as heralding Europe's willingness to cause problems in the régime of Greece, which insists on remaining similar to that of Serbia.

The recent developments in the former Yugoslavia and the famous Duroselle affair caused an extremely profound Greek anti-Europeanism, anti-Occidentalism and anti-Cosmopolitanism, that helps the isolation of the country. On the other hand, it causes further trouble in the country itself, since it becomes an obstacle to the real understanding of Islam's importance to

Europe. Europe has reacted against this by pushing Greece to further isolation, although it is questionable whether this helps much. Till now, the isolation of the country helps only the Greek establishment to pursue its policies of altering the World History and preventing true information. The Duroselle affair, however, was quite indicative; J.B. Duroselle's book was subsidised by the Commission of the European Union and, written in French, was translated into all the languages of the European Union except Greek! Meant for the average public, it was (and still is) first in its kind of European ideology and of justifying historically the European reunification nowadays. As it can already be understood, it was a Search for the European Ideal throughout History, not a conventional historical analysis and synthesis. Many academicians, professors, scholars, intellectuals, statesmen, historians and political scientists published excellent notices and comments about it. It has also been translated into most of the East European Languages, but, in Greece, it has been considered as a falsification of History and as a Zionist effort to minimize the (falsely considered as capital) importance of Greece in the formation of Europe. I add only that Prof. J. B. Duroselle, who is actually a leading French academician, intellectual, historian and political scientist, simply did not take into consideration the low level historical falsehood that has been diffused in Greece as "History".

As a result of all these developments, new pseudo-theories and falsifications were diffused in Greece to ameliorate the relatively bad -one must admit-idea Greeks previously had about the Yugoslavians. Then, the falsehood of the "intermediate power" was developed: Serbia (and therefore Greece) would stand in an intermediate position between the Orient and the Occident. For Serbia's case, they added new inventions: a position between Rome and the Eastern Roman Empire (there was actually not an intermediate position), or even a position between Capitalism and Socialism (in this regard, one should add that there were many "intermediate" positions: those of Albania, of Sweden, of Iraq, of Algeria, of Cuba, of China, of Angola, of Abyssinia and so on). One should not dismiss the point; it is critical for any totalitarian régime to find either a real extreme, or a fictitious intermediate position. The ideas about Greece's intermediate position have been repeatedly attested in fascist ideological systems. Today, the notorious DAVLOS monthly review diffuses such ideas, being the main fascist publication. DAVLOS has been quite influential among deputies of the New Democracy (Right-wing) party and many academicians and professors, deputies and intellectuals have offered contributions to it. Suffice it to say that, according to DAVLOS, the ancient Greek gods (Zeus, Athena and the like) were not gods (and were not believed as gods in the Classical times), but they were "historical" kings of a "historical" period going from 15.000 B.C. to 10.000 B.C. and they were believed as such by the ancient Greeks. According always to this ludicrous review, this "historical" truth was reduced to myth, only due to a conspiracy carried out by Zionists and the Free-Masons of the time of Roman Alexandria. This childish nonsense is being actually believed as "truth" by deputies such as Fr. Tsagaris,

G. Andreulakos, G. Cammenos, A. Synodinou, S. Couvelas, J. Kefaloyannis, and others, belonging to New Democracy, and also S. Papathemelis, M. Haralambidis, V. Vounaisos (provocatively self-proclaimed as "Deputy of Imbros", i.e. "Deputy of Gökçeada"), who belong to Pasok.

All these developments helped in preparing the background of continuous attacks against Europe. Papandreu's first statement after his re-election last year was an erroneous attempt of blaming Europe on the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. This means an inner lack of capability to analyse and understand the real causes of this event (the totalitarian Serbian control of the administration and of the army, the oppression of the majority of the country's population). Here one has, however, to recall that the Yugoslav kingdom was a technical entity, a French fabrication after World War One, which was the way of destruction of the Austrian-Hungarian Central European Empire.

Serbian propaganda has therefore been accepted in Greece, where not a challenging idea can be tolerated. It resulted in another falsification of History; there would be a "need" to pursue inimical policies against Croats, Bosnians and Albanians, since these peoples cooperated with the Nazi Germans during the German Occupation and killed Serbs. This is absolutely ridiculous, it did not happen; even if it happened, it should have been forgotten. Moreover, Tito's policies have been dismissed as anti-Serbian, since he "minimised" the role of the Serbs. This is another falsehood, that has been diffused in today's Greece and helped in altering the reality and in making the Greek people have a fascist and racist understanding of the international events.

It is worthwhile now to examine the bilateral relations:

A - The Greek-Slovenian Relationship

There is so much to say about it. Greece was obliged to recognise Slovenia and yet there has been a long debate on whether Greece could prevent the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia by vetoing the European decision (16. XII. 91) to recognise Slovenia and Croatia; this shows how artificial the Greek political debate is and how wrong the Greek understanding of Greece's position within the European Union is. In addition to this, the Slovenian idea of Slovenia being not a part of the Balkans has been perceived as racist!

B - The Greek-Croatian Relationship

Croatia is now held by Greeks as "the Pope's Balkans", in this well-known attitude of over-simplification of the matters fascist and racist administrations need to diffuse among the people they control. Greece was, of course, obliged to recognise Croatia, but the relationship has been extremely poor, since there has been a conjunction of the recent pro-Serbianism and of the traditional anti-Catholicism in the case of the Greeks' attitude towards the modern state of Croatia.

Greeks are able to accept Craina's and Knin's forced unification with Serbia (it is actually an invasion of foreign territory), but not Kossova's with Albania.

In the case of the war between Croatia and Serbia new development has been attested in the attitude and the political position taken by Greece; Germany, France, Britain, Italy and the international mass medias have been accused of an anti-Serbian conspiracy! This idea helped further in isolating Greece, the "country without brothers" as former President Chr. Sartzetakis said in the well-known ludicrous way of his! If the Greek politicians and mass medias did not take this stand, they would have to admit the real causes of the war, i.e. the Serbian control of the federal army and arsenal (in rate higher than 80%) and the Serbian fascist claim for "Lebensraum" (shamefully called Great Serbia).

All this approach resulted in blaming the Pope on an attempt to "create Croatia through war" (!) and in identifying the Croats of today with some marginal Croatian political groups of the times of Hitler (the Ustassis)! Worse than anything else, Croats have been depicted as an abnormal outcome of the whole Serbian nation! According to the Greek viewpoint, Croats had to be Orthodox and not Catholic Christians and therefore "full Serbs"! This approach will further be attested in the case of Bosnians.

This is probably why considerable historical interpretations of the Iranian origins of the Croats have been "ridiculed" by the non-specialists of Greece. Without any direct access to historical sources and to international bibliography, Dimitris Costopoulos published recently an irrelevant book full of historical mistakes (at the rate of more than 10 mistakes per page) and dismissed the recent scholarly interpretation and analysis of the Iranian origins of the Croats, without having read anything published on this subject! It is, however, obvious that this perspective does not fit his pro-Serbian inaccuracies, which were published by the notorious cryptofascist Lucas Axelos, the editor of the chauvinist TETRADIA review.

C - The Greek-Bosnian Relationship

In this case we must deal with a traditional hatred. The origins of the Bosnians have long been retraced by illustrious scholars; following the 7th-9th c. Quarel of the images, that took place in Anatolia, the Paulicians, who retained the ideal of a constant refusal of idols within the framework of Christianity, were extremely influential in the area of today's Malatya, before they were -at least partly- transferred to the Central Balkan area by the Eastern Roman Emperor. There, they gave birth to the Bogomiles, later influencing the Cathars in France and in Spain! St. Runciman's excellent work on the Medieval Manichaeism was quite informative in its time, the whole matter being recently better analysed. It is however true that these Bogomiles are the very ancestors of the Bosnians. This proves the Anatolian origin of the Bosnians, but such a truth is not allowed to circulate in Greece, where the Bosnians have been depicted as another abnormal branch of Serbs (!), i.e. Serbs who embraced Islam. It is, of course, sure that there are Bosnians of Serbian origin and truly some Serbs became Muslim. It is, however, quite impossible for Greeks to accept this historical event, for it has an inconvenient parallel: the case of

millions of Greeks, who became Muslim in Anatolia after the 10th century, and surely no one dares speak in Greece about them, since the ideological foundations of the modern Greece state do stipulate the permanent refusal of Islam! Greeks today perceive the even existence of their state as a "historical" justification of the permanent refusal of Islam and of this reactionist attitude, theory and policy.

One must admit that the Greek administration found an important argument in the case of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia. Since the term was used in its geographical sense, the Tito administration used the term "Muslim" for the Bosnians to make a distinction between them and the Croatian and Serbian minorities of Bosnia. This use of the word Muslim, as an ethnic and cultural entity, gave birth to the Greek idea of calling the Turks of the Western Thrace "Muslims". It is however true that the only existent "Muslim nation" is Dar al Islam, in its entire sense, but this term contains all the Muslim peoples.

The Bosnians have been perceived as a threat by the Greek administration, since the existence of a Muslim state in the Balkans could not be accepted by the Orthodox Church. Due to the ignorance that reigns in Greece, the terms Islam (religion) and Islamism (modern political ideology and system accepted by a minority of today's Muslims), as well as the terms Islamic and Muslim, are being confused and this has been exploited by the Greek Orthodox Church (for a misrepresentation of the Bosnians' struggle for life as a "holy anti-Christian war"). The help offered to the Bosnians by Turkey, Iran and Libya gave birth to false interpretations and to theories about the threatening fundamentalist Islamic Republic of Bosnia. One has to give an example of the distortion of the historical truth about Islam in Greece now. There is no department of Islamic Studies in any Greek university. There is only a Christian theologian, Constantine Patelos, who was first appointed as lecturer and later promoted to the position of Professor in Panteios University (Athens). He teaches Political History of the Islamic Area, despite the fact he never studied Islam (even a single first year university course) and he does not understand Arabic, Parsi, Turkish, or Urdu! He was obliged to publish a manual on the subject, for all students are supposed to reproduce a single manual (offered to them by their professor) per course, not a bibliography, according to a dictatorial law passed by the Military Junta (1967-1974) and still valid! This irrelevant manual contains unprecedented alterations and falsifications, Hz. Muhammed being "reduced" to the level of a "false gatherer of other religions" elements and the month Dhoul Hidjdja being presented as Dhoul Hidjdja, "current of Muslims"! Childish nonsense can easily be found within this bogus manual in almost every page and truly the Arabic peninsula is said to have "tropical climate" (!), being "crossed by the Equator"! Despite repeated devastating book reviews (published by me with great difficulty in reviews, annuals and newspapers), despite numerous notices and condemnation letters issued by the Muslim World League and other institutions, this pseudo-professor remains in his position and all the other

professors of the Panteios University have not answered numerous calls and letters explaining the matter, this being a single element of the criminal effort to tarnish the truth of Islam. All this has much to do with the average person's idea about Islam and about Bosnia.

Worse than this, Greeks rejoice in the Serbian massacre of Bosnians. Being quite irritated by the discussion of the percentage of Bosnians in Bosnia (since it has much to do with the case of Western Thrace), being convinced that the entire Bosnia has to become part of Serbia, they are extremely satisfied to observe Serbs do to Bosnians what they are unable to do to the Western Thracian Turks. They speak of the "three fingers war" (the criminal Christian war against Islam), since these fingers help in forming the cross symbol. Then, they are happy to observe that the Bosnians are the "losers" and they start thinking that Orthodoxy will erase Islam and that they will be able to expel the Turks from Greece, or to make Istanbul "Orthodox Greek" again.

In striking difference with all the civilised people of the world, they sent help to Serbs, not to Bosnians, which is very preoccupying a subject and must be condemned in all the international fora. One has also to focus on the Greek refusal to accept multicultural realities in Sarajevo (this being of extreme importance everywhere in today's world). The multicultural character of today's world, the ideal of multiculturalism and the multicultural approach to World History consist in the best acquisitions of Modern Europe and the Greek refusal becomes a danger for the unification of the European continent and for the perspective of a peaceful world. If you add to this the Greek hysteria against the pertinent presentation of the Bosnian crisis by the world mass medias and the Greek effort to exploit the Russian foreign policy (or, at least, the ideas of foreign policy people like Zhirinovskiy might have) against Islam, you get the panorama of an obscurantist pannoia that must be kicked out of Europe.

D - The Greek-Kosovar Relationship

Despite Mitsotakis' initial effort to link Kossova to South Albania in his relations with Albania, Greece supported wholeheartedly the terrible Serbian oppression in this area, while accepting the irrelevant Serbian viewpoint and the racist idea of Kossova being Serbian "since the beginning of time" (D). This is not strange, after all! It must be linked to the Greek claims on Macedonia, Albania, Cyprus, Thrace and the Aegean Sea. One has to remind the civilised world that it is on Kossova that the worst excerpts of the Serbian racist political literature can be found. Much is said about the historical defeat of June 13th 1389 (Bosko Yugović), about the Decani monastery and the tomb of St. Uro Decani (dead in 1327), who cursed any Serb who would want to become Muslim, about the perverted Prince Lazar, etc., etc. as it is known, sentimentalism with falsified history prepares the best explosive amalgam of racist hysteria.

Greeks accept the Serbian idea of two nations living in Kossova, where there is actually only one, the Albanians, constituting more than 95% of the

local population. They also accept the Serbian propaganda, according to which the Kossovars of today are identified with the supporters of Bali i Kopitar during the German Occupation! In the case of the Albanians' oppression, one can attest the same Greek satisfaction we have already observed in the case of the massacres carried out against Bosnians. Turkey has long been accused of fueling the Kossova crisis and all the very low level insults Serbs expressed against Ibrahim Rugova, the courageous President of Kossova, have been reproduced by Greeks. This is not strange, since the same lack of education, culture and ethics characterises the Serbian racist policemen and the Greek pseudo-intellectuals.

E - The Greek-Montenegrin Relationship

Montenegro has long been considered as unimportant, despite the anti-Albanian alliance between Greece and Montenegro, that had caused problems in 1913-1914. Almost everyone in Greece believes that Montenegro must be part of Serbia. Since there have been numerous politicians in Montenegro, who wish a separation from Serbia and who resent the racist character of the New Yugoslavia, many Greek politicians, professors, priests and "intellectuals" spoke of another "anti-Christian" involvement! Among them, one can easily find the notorious C. Holevas, a professor in Panteios University and son of a minister of the Military Junta, who teaches that the Greek foreign policy's interests can only be those specified by the Orthodox Church, meaning, of course, the same for Montenegro. Like the great majority of the false intellectuals and academics following the current of Neo-Orthodoxy (Chr. Yannakis, G. Zouraris, and G. Metallinos), C. Holevas does not have any serious academic credentials.

F - The Greek-Voivodinan Relationship

A total lack of information and of knowledge characterises the Greek public opinion and establishment, as far as the Romanian and the Hungarian communities of Voivodina are concerned. Greeks would certainly oppose any perspective of independence of Voivodina.

G - The Greek-Sandjak Relationship

Greeks are unaware of the reality of Sandjak, as well as of the need of the majority of the local population to obtain independence. The Muslim Sandjak could unite with Bosnia and Albania-Kossova, but this would also be perceived as a threat by the Greeks.

H - The Greek-Serbian Relationship

The idea Greeks have about the Serbian state leaves Sandjak, Voivodina, Montenegro and a large part of Bosnia and Croatia within the Serbian borders. This is not a fiction, it is the Great Serbia, a shameful reality of today, and every civilised person may hope that a dead end be soon given to this entity.

As we have already developed, when speaking on the relations between Greece and the former Yugoslavia, the continuation of the Greek-Serbian

relationship worsens any bad aspect - and there are so many - of the Greek political, intellectual and cultural life. The barbarian subculture of the Serbs and their Christian Orthodox nationalism has a terrible impact on the Greek nationalists and strengthens some pillars of the false ideological fabrication, that has been called "Greeco-Christian civilisation".

We should now study a few aspects of today's Greek-Serbian alliance:

1. Serbia and Greece are considered as "lands of History", the rest of the world being probably deprived of this characteristic, or privilege!

2. Nationalism is being linked with Orthodoxy and true History is being prohibited in both countries.

3. The racist character of Orthodoxy, as well as of the nationalist Orthodox version of World History, is due to its lack of universal character. This religion has no universal appeal. Suffice it to study the political discourses of the Archbishop Yefthim or the poorly compiled books of the Lerin/Horina Greek Bishop Candonis.

4. The refusal of the "other" and of the "different" makes any ethnic cleansing, any cultural discrimination, a necessity for both Serbia and Greece. It is only after these criminal practices that isolation can be obtained. Here, one has however to stress that this approach is not the one practiced by the medieval Orthodoxy, during the times of the Eastern Roman Empire, when all ethnic groups were considered as eventual recipients of the Christian ideals.

5. There is a focus of anti-Islamic hysteria in both countries. To promote such practices, both establishments reproduce old ideas and interpretations, according to which Islam is a Satanic invention.

6. Mutual cooperation limits the possibility of a realistic understanding of the developments; Greeks do not accept the tragic reality of the unfortunate family story of Milosević, that had after all a psychologically traumatic impact on him. Even worse, it pushes both countries close to the edge of foolishness, such as the discussions about an eventual invasion of Macedonia, about the need for common borders between Greece and Serbia, or about the (re)establishment of a Serbo-Greek, Neo-Byzantine Empire. This policy is a serious effort of destabilizing the whole Balkan region, Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Sandjak and Turkey being at gunpoint!

Not only the Serbian insults against the Muslim fighters in Bosnia ("hashish smokers mudjaheddin") have been repeated by the Greeks, but also further ideological developments have been observed. The pseudo-democratic elections of Serbia became a "historical mandate", finding their equivalent in the blind Greek support to the Greco-centrist ideas of all the political parties in Greece. Even worse, the Greeks reproduce the false and irrelevant question Serbs have been asking these last years: "How can a small country of ten million people be a danger to the world?" This helps to hide the totalitarian aspect of that country's ideological character and shows an innocent intention; it is, however, a fallacious theoretical question, since the danger is not relevant

of millions of people but of the racist character of an ideological system. In the beginning, the danger has nothing to do with great numbers...

In Greece, the Greek-Serbian alliance is being viewed as the only possibility of pursuing the traditional anti-Turkish policy. Not a single politician could survive after an attack against it. Only the European Union is in a position to oblige Greece to destroy its dangerous ties with Serbia. The Commission of the European Union must exercise any possible pressure to oblige Greece to stop this foolish and warlike policy. This must be done now; tomorrow, it will be very late for all...

I - The Greek-Macedonian Relationship

In this case, we observe the most authentic expression of the Greco-centrist racist ideology of Greece in the field of the foreign policy. Modern Macedonia has been depicted in Greece as a fabrication, a technical entity without any reason of existence. Using the same approach, however, Greeks do not draw the same conclusion regarding Greece, although many scholars have pointed out that the formation of modern Greece did not correspond to an authentic need of the peoples in the region concerned. By pretending that there has never been a Macedonian Slavic people, language, culture and identity, Greeks lost any contact with reality.

More elaborate lies can however be attested in Greek publications concerning the history of the ancient Macedonian people. Ancient Macedonians have been erroneously depicted as Greeks! They had their own language, which was not written in a great number of documents saved till now. Attempts of writing ancient Macedonian in Greek characters have been attested. Ancient Macedonian words used within Greek texts have also been attested. Demosthenes offered his best excerpts in repeated presentations of ^{*1} But the Greek pseudo-scholars, such as M. Sakellariou (the only academician in the world who became member of an Academy even though he was not able to get his Ph. D. ⁽¹⁾), pretend that ancient Greeks were repeatedly versed in fratricide wars insulting each other! But we know very well that, according to Demosthenes, Spartans and Corinthians (long date enemies of the Athenians) were considered "Greeks", whereas the Macedonians were not. The origin of the Macedonians and of the Dardanians is Anatolian and the name of Macedonia has nothing to do with Greek, as irrelevant Greek scholars have repeatedly said. The political ideology of the Kingdom of Macedonia was definitely un-Greek; its symbol, the 16-rays sun, was not an ancient Greek symbol and its Phrygian origin can also be retraced. Greeks and Macedonians have been considered as two different groups in Egypt, where the Ptolemies, an Egyptian dynasty of Macedonian origin, disclaimed the Greek political ideologies and past and formed a Macedonian-Egyptian cultural rapprochement. All this historical truth has been prohibited in Greece in a truly totalitarian and dictatorial way and, since 1974, not a single excerpt of Demosthenes has been taught in an Ancient Greek course in a Faculty of Letters of any Greek university. Who knows not, after all, that, before their

^{*1} the un-Greek character of the ancient Macedonians.

involvement in the political affairs of Greece and before they started controlling Greece, Macedonians never took part in the Olympic Games, where Greeks only were accepted?

The series of historical, cultural, religious and linguistic process of Macedonia's grecization (350-200 BCE), latinization (200 BCE - 330 CE), christianization (330-600 CE) and slavization (600-900 CE) have never been accepted -much less diffused- among Greeks. This concerns the slavization process of the South Balkan Roman provinces too. Explicit historical texts speaking of the full slavization of Morea have been dismissed and hidden by today's Greek irrelevant Byzantinists, whereas the leading historian of the nineteenth century Fallmerayer has been repeatedly insulted in a hideous (and very Greek) way. Worse, today's Greeks base their inaccurate and false arguments on the entire Greek history on Papanegopoulos' bogus historical work of ten volumes, that has been published during the 30ies of the last century as an answer to Fallmerayer's authoritative publications. While the famous historian was one of the leading connoisseurs of the first half of last century, Constantine Papanegopoulos was more relevant of fiction, illusion and imagination than history. And yet, his poor gathering of mistaken assumptions has recently been translated into Modern Greek (CACTUS Editions) to be better diffused among today's Greeks, since Papanegopoulos wrote in an entirely artificial linguistic fabrication that could not become a people's language. To ensure his position in the Centre of Byzantine "Research" of the National Research Centre, A. Sabbides, a Greek Byzantinist, felt obliged to publish a positive comment on this falsification in KATHIMERINI daily! This sheds some light on what low level research and work Greek "scholars" are carrying out. It is therefore quite understandable that they do not speak of matters such as the diffusion of the Greek language among the Slavic populations of the South Balkan regions, that has been undertaken by the Orthodox Patriarchate in the ninth-tenth centuries.

One has to take into consideration that Greeks have refused:

1. the Macedonian character and identity of Samuel's state;
2. the Macedonian revolution of Ilinden and the struggle of the Macedonians for independence;
3. the fact of Macedonia's annexation (to Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece) in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars;
4. the correct, appropriate and democratic approach and stand V. I. Lenin and the Communist parties took in the early 1920s towards the perspective of a multicultural (Macedonian - Vlachic - Albanian - Turkish - Bulgarian - Gypsy - Pomak - Greek - Jewish) Macedonian state (1924);
5. the criminal policies carried out by the Greek state in Macedonia during the 1920ies and 1930ies: cultural discrimination, obligatory change of names of places, villages, hamlets, cities, towns, mountains, hills, rivers, lakes, streams, historical areas, provinces and monuments, obligatory change of surnames

and of personal names, use of Macedonian language prohibited, ethnic cleansing carried out especially after 1925, when Greeks originating from Anatolia were placed in Macedonia;

6. the terrible expulsion of one hundred thousand people after the end of the Greek civil war (1944-1949), since these Macedonians were members of the Greek Liberation Popular Army (ELAS). This barbaric attitude was followed by an invasion of land, property houses, etc. and all this has been offered as a reward to soldiers who fought against Macedonians and Communists. Those expelled have not been given even a simple tourist visa, since they still are the rightful owners of thousands of houses, as well as of millions of hectares;

7. the continuation of the policies of discrimination in the 50ies and 60ies, when again, thousands of names were obligatorily changed. All this has not changed the reality of all this area being still culturally Macedonian and not Greek. The appointment of the lunatic, half-crazy Bishop Augustine Cantiotis in Lerin/Florina helped to establish an even more dictatorial Christian state in this region within the general Greek state's framework! Macedonians (about 150.000) still live there in conditions similar to those of Nazi Germany's Jews;

8. the existence of the Macedonian minority in Greece;

9. the existence of the Macedonian language, as it is taught in numerous universities in the world (e.g. in the Paris-established Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales). And yet, there are false researchers in Greece who pretend that they found "1164 Homeric words" in this "Bulgarian" "dialect"!!

Policies of ridiculing and insulting this people and country can be easily attested in Greece. This state has been called "Kzabidio" (statelet), the Macedonians became "GyfloSkopiano" (Gypsy-Skopians, as if it is shameful for someone to be a Gypsy!). The word "Macedonia" being prohibited, everyone has been calling the state after its capital, Skopje, whereas, instead of "Macedonian", the adjective "Skopianos" has been formed. The existence of the state has been considered as a result of the German desire to gather there all kinds of rubbish (!), or to form a canton for Europe's Gypsies (!). At times, articles published in newspapers and T.V. emissions (MEGA channel) "explain" how necessary for the route of the drugs this state is! Bogus journalist reports speak of special installations, where drugs are being prepared. Others say that the banks of this state are its raison d'être, since many can wash illegal money there! As it can be conceived, Serbs, Albanians and other minorities "are being oppressed" there!! The most ridiculous assumption is that of the oppression of the Greek minority in that country! It is however easy to understand that these (100.000 - 150.000) people are those expelled from Greece in 1949, who detest Greek more than anything else and do not speak it at all!

Much discussion took place in Greece and abroad about this state being a serious threat to Greek interests; the new communications' system (the road joining Durce - Tirana to Istanbul, through Skopje and Sofia) has also been

considered as a serious threat! When asked how Greece can perceive Macedonia as a threat, Greek politicians and statesmen insist on their idea of Macedonia's manipulation by Europe, Russia, Bulgaria or Turkey! The embargo imposed recently by Papandreu administration helps the Greek nationalists' isolation ideal and shows very well how irrelevant and dangerous a country can be, if it becomes the victim of the vicious circle of its bogus historical dogma.

The conclusions one can draw after this analysis may vary. As far as Turkey is concerned, one must admit that Turkey, due to its interest in other regional developments, did not pay much attention in the Balkans' region, where everyone has to take very seriously the problematic, embarrassing and dangerous existence of nationalist establishments. Turkey can do much to help other countries and peoples of the region and many expect Turkey to employ every possible means to ensure peace's preservation and the settlement of the existing problems. But the problems must be solved.

YENİ TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ EKONOMİK SORUNLAR

Prof. Dr. Orhan MORGİL
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I - Giriş

Ekonomik ve teknolojik olarak 1991 yılında çöken Sovyet Cumhuriyeti bağımsızlığını kazanarak dışı açılarak dünya ekonomisinde büyük boyutlu bir dönüşüm sağlanmıştır. Zaman zaman bu yana Azerbaycan, Türkmenistan piyasa ekonomisine adımlar atmış ve bazı sahalarda ekonomisinin etkin bir şekilde yetiştirilmesini sağlamıştır, bu müteşebbislerin yetişmesi gerektiren süreye bağlı olduğu bilinen bir piyasa ekonomisine geçme ve başarılar elde etmekle birlikte maktadırlar. Bu ekonomik sorun ilişkilerini geliştirmelerini güçle-

II - Ekonomik Sorunlar

Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması, piyasa ekonomisinde olduğu gibi, Azerbaycan, Türkmenistan'da da 1993 yılında başladı. Bunun birkaç önemli nedeni vardır: özelleştirilmesi ve yeniden yapılandırılması, hukuki ve kurumsal sorunların çözülmesi, teknoloji geliştirme ve yatırım kaynak sorununu giderilmesi, yeniden yapılandırılması, yenden büyük ölçüde dış kaynaklara ihtiyaç duyması. Başta Türkiye olmak üzere çeşitli Cumhuriyetlerine çeşitli ekon-