

# *Abstracts*

*BASIL C. GOUNARIS*

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

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

*HELEN GARDIKAS-KATSIADAKIS*

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

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

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

*ADRIANOS I. PAPADRIANOS*

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

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

*MIROSLAV SVIRČEVIĆ*

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

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

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

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

*DUŠAN T. BATAKOVIĆ*

SERBIA AND GREECE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR: AN OVERVIEW

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

*MIRANDA PAXIMADOPOULOU-STAVRINO*

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

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

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

*MILAN RISTOVIĆ*

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

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

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

*IAKOVOS D. MICHAILIDIS*

FRAGILE BALANCE:

GREEK-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD 1944-1946

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

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

EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

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

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

AGGELIKI MOUZAKITI

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

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

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

LOUKIANOS HASSIOTIS

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

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

JOVANKA DJORDJEVIĆ-JOVANOVIĆ

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

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

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