

“ Conflict Nato– Serbia (1999) and the Issue of Kosovo through the Greek Press and the Fable of the Greek-Serbian Friendship ”

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Abstract

The Balkan region over time constituted a field of ethnic conflicts. In modern reality, the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a multinational union, sparked violent clashes between the peoples of the former united state entity. Hatreds surfaced and armed violence got character gruesome war crimes. This development, having attracted worldwide interest, and because of the strategic importance of the region, made inevitable the intervention of the international community. So, inevitably, the conflict took place between the NATO forces and Serbia, mostly in the Kosovo region in 1999. Within this context, particular importance is the position of Greece in this confrontation, as this country shows some unique features: it is country - a member of NATO and has traditionally had friendly relations with Serbia. certainly worthy original research search constitutes the analysis of the attitude of the Greek type, reflecting, but also affects the Greek public. The results of this analysis are extremely interesting and lead ultimately to a paradoxical and contradictory figure. On the one hand, it is obvious the pro-Serbian - anti-NATO stance of the Greek type. On the other hand, according to the publication approach, this behavior is based on a totally incorrect and unhistorical assessment of temporal existence Greek-Serbian friendship shaft, which in fact never existed. In this way, they degraded traditionally, but erroneously, stereotypes of Greek foreign policy and allow the Greece of an approach from a different perspective of the actual status of the Balkans.

The pre-existing enduring belief of the friendship with the “ brothers” and “ wreligionists” Serbs is well established in the Greek Community (Public Opinion). This dominant belief is present and confirmed through the years, particularly in periods where status quo is disturbed in the any way fragile balance of Balkan peninsula. This sentimental approach to Balkan reality, that is in no case consistent with the historical reality, penetrates all the levels of social web of the Greek society. This belief is also reflected in the press. The relationship between the press and the public is dynamic influencing and being influenced by both sides, forming the way the news is presented according to what is socially accepted.

One typical example of this approach constitutes the conflict of forces of Northatlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) with Serbia of Mjlosevjts in 1999, for the arrangement of Kossovo. The western world against the Mjlosevjts government, with the Albanian factor (UCK) between from the triangle of involving parts. The greek press no matter of which political party the opinions was reflected, remained steadily on the Serbian side, for the whole duration of the conflict, even when diplomatic delegations were in progress.

From the beginning of year 1999, all Greek newspapers were trying to emotionally stimulate the public, leverage feelings for the underservedly suffering Serbian brothers. The first publications on New Year's Day 1999 described the cruelty of the USA, in contrast with the poverty and isolation of Serbia, showing the battle between the powerful, cruel ruler (West) with the powerless, fighting for its dignity Serbia. ¹ In every opportunity given, the forces of NATO are regarded as the absolute evil by contrast with the good and sanctified Serbia.

¹ Note. Newspaper MACEDONIA, 01.10.1999.

In this context, in January 1999, it is written in the press that the Serbian army is ready to repel every threat and that the Serbobosnians are politically and legally correct to react to Nato's warnings for military action, which anyway dangerous for the whole Balkans' region.² At the same period of time, an exclusive report revealed a secret document from CIA, where was clear that subversive action against Mjlosevjts was taking place in Serbia' by the secret services of the USA. As a conclusion, the newspapers accused the USA for intervening in the internal affairs of our friend Serbia.³

The next month, in February 1999, on a daily basis news informed the public about anything related with Kosovo, with a friendly way for Serbia. Mjlosevjts was presenting as a hero, a physical and tough resistance for the arrogant NATO. An indication of this situation is the issuing of the Serbian leader's statement " The bombing threatings, unless we allow foreigners to occupy a certain part of our territory, should be a warning to all the people that have freedom and peace in their hearts", and " We are determined not to abolish Kosovo, whatever price we will have to pay."⁴

At the same time, Greece appears to get involved in the conflict with first newspaper's pages like: "Thessalonica of Balkans and war" or for " harbour of foreigner troops ",⁵ identifying the passage of NATO forces through Greece land as abolition of our national sovereignty. As long as the crisis reaches the final result, with the reprocess of diplomatic handlings and the weakness of finding of common place in the inevitable military conflict, the friendly to the Serbian – against the West attitude becomes henceforth obvious. At the beginning of March, the attitude of the West is favour of the Liberian Army of Kosovo (UCK) and their invitation to visit Washington is criticized badly on the first pages, showing the contrast with the Liberation Movement of Kourdistan (PKK). Even though the two Liberation Armies have similar aims, only UCK is accepted as an equal interlocutor, while the Kurdish Movement is identified and characterized as a terrorist organization.⁶ All this time, the Kurdish leader Amdulah Otsalan is being traced in Greece and after a short time arrested by Turkish secret services, in Nairobi, Kenya. The Greek government is accused to have played a significant role in this development (and even be responsible for it). Few days later, Holbrook (who is called ' cowboy ' of the American diplomacy) appears in the limelight,⁷ while the " demonstration of power of ' USA, is commented with intense negative criticism because, despite the opposite opinion of parliament of Serbian Democracy (57 votes at, 15 in favour, 6 abstentions), the representative of international community Vensterntop proceeded to the replacement of the elected leader of Serbobosnian community Poplasen.

The newspapers now are talking about American-NATO centres, of power that plan to supervise Balkans,⁸ and about the incredible resistance of Serbs to the pressures of Western forces, who declare that they do not need any guardians.⁹ In the peak of the crisis, when the time of undertaking military action approaches, journalists exceed themselves with articles in favour of Serbs and against the West, creating fear and sentimental influence to the Greek public opinion. Thus, it is certain that the accusation of the Serbobosnians for the slaughter of women and children (non – combatants) at Ratsak is not true, but rebels of the Liberian Army of Kosovo were responsible for it. The international coroners (forensic surgeons) that saw to the incident are thought to be partial.¹⁰ At the same time, the plan for the regime (status quo) of Kosovo is characterized unilateral in favour of the Albanians, whereas the present for the people of Serbia seems to be very uncertain and their future quite difficult,¹¹ while the UCK is characterized as " the red hmer of Balkans " ¹²

² Note. Newspaper MACEDONIA 12.01.1999.

³ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 13.01.1999.

⁴ Note as above, 20.02.1999

⁵ Note as above, first pages 25.02.1999 and 26.02.1999.

⁶ Note as above, first page 02.03.1999 and p. 20.

⁷ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 09.03.1999 and newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER) 22.03.1999, P. 16.

⁸ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 09.03.1999, p. 12 and 10.03.1999, p. 10.

⁹ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 17.03.1999, p.16

¹⁰ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 18.03.1999, p. 51.

¹¹ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 21.03.1999, p. 26-71.

¹² Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 21.03.1999, p. 19.

On the eves of bombardments, the Kosovo crisis has already become first page and first subject of topicality in the Greek press. 'It's firearms time', 'USA bomb sence', 'Mjlosevjts doesn't bend the neck',¹³ was written on the first pages of newspapers along with photos of NATO soldiers, who were ready to enforce the New order in Serbia.¹⁴ In an article written by Spiros Kousinopoulos, chief Executive of Macedonian New Agency, Mjlosevjts is afraid of the uncontrolled action of Albanian extremists, which will lead to a free Kosovo. There are also fears of spreading out of war to all the Balkans, with change and independent Kosovo seems as justifying, the likely spread of war in all the Balkans, with change of the boundaries and even beginning of a third World War!¹⁵

On the 24.03.1999, while Greece is preparing to celebrate the double national and religious feast of "The revolution of 1821 and the 'Annunciation' of Virgin Mary, all the first pages and not only them are reporting the incoming war: "War drums in our neighborhood", "Third Balkan war is indrighed by USA-NATO", "STORM IN the BALKANS – PAX AMERICANA breaks International Law – NATO uber alles!", "Shame on you Europeans!".¹⁶

"USA and the NATO declared war against Serbia – Balkan Vietnam. Serbia in a state of war, Serbian citizens are preparing to accept the worst senario in their history with dignity... Bitterness for unfairness from the West",¹⁷ "Serbian people supports the Mjlosevjts".¹⁸

The day the NATO bombardments at Serbia began (25.03.1999), the Greek press did not circulate because of the national anniversary (holiday). The next days however, Friday 26.03.1999, it was the main issue in all newspapers, and all had an one-sided view of the matter; first pages like: "Will we wake from the war sirens? Is the Thrace the next Kosovo? A sad Serbia." "The storm of hypocrisy of USA, NATO and EU", "Wish for multiple splitting of Balkans", "Old and vain Balkan stories (comparison with the attitude of westerners opposite in the 20 millions Kurdish)", "History and past – Kosovo cradle of Serbia (8 pages homage)",¹⁹ "Balkans are bleeding", "Protests against NATO", "Archbishop: I was ashamed for the so called christians", "Possible second Vietnam".²⁰

The experiment of fascism - NEW ORDER (cross-correlation with Third Raih, photograph of President Clinton with a mustache similar to Hitler's),²¹ "NATO (pun) the crime",²² "Hours of shame – 54 years after Hitler war is brought back in Europe", "Hitler's theories are revived", "Clinton's plans for the splitting of Balkans", "Kosovo the "Thermopyles" of Europe".²³

The same bold titles, with obvious the element of exaggeration, continued for the next days and the papers also had articles about anti-Greek "scenarios" coming from the "mean" West. "The masks are falling", "Diskotent for NATO attacks", "THEY ARE PREPARING THRACE QUESTION (Matter)", "Since yesterday London is the centre of Turkish propaganda", "Theory of "domino"(afterwards the Kosovo, the Former Yougoslave Republic of Macedonia and the Western Thrace)", "No in the Adolfo Klinton", "Food collection for Serbs", "Demonstrations in many parts of the country", "They invented Albanian minority in Greece (Spiegel magazine, CNN, London Times)", "Greek clergy and people on the side Serbs", "Neron, Clinton and amnesia", (N)ew Order (A){unhesitating} (T)errorist (O)rganization,²⁴

¹³ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 22.03.1999, 23.03.1999, p. 16.

¹⁴ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 23.03.1999, p. 7.

¹⁵ Note newspapers AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS), ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS),ETHNOS (NATION), respectively.

¹⁶ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 24.03.1999, p. 10-11.

¹⁷ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 24.03.1999, p. 5 &7.

¹⁸ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 26.03.1999.

¹⁹ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 26.03.1999.

²⁰ Note Newspaper MESSENGER, 26.03.1999.

²¹ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS), 26.03.1999.

²² Note Newspaper ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), 26.03.1999.

²³ Note Newspaper ETHNOS (NATION), 26.03.1999.

²⁴ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 27.03.1999,28.03.1999, 30.03.1999,31.03.1999,01.04.1999, 02.04.1999, 03.04.1999, 08.04.1999.

"They bombed chemical factory in Beograd – populated area are affected", " No worse! Chemicals are killing childrens!", " Balkans in flames", " NATO people hate Orthodox", " Popular outbreak_ bombs ', Popular outbreak - support to neighbours Serbs, that have heart and pride".²⁵ " Murderers of children and women ", " Barbarian ' plastic surgery ' in Balkans", "Blow in Thrace – They have already targetted Thrace ", " They Killed every hope",²⁶ " INVISIBLE SLAUGHTER ", " Slaughter of innocent people – Clinton has his Easter with golf and blood of innocents".²⁷ " New order in Balkans", "Creation of Great Albania", " Intensity in Aegean Sea and Thrace", "Kosovars in North Epirus",²⁸ they are certain from the titles that reflect the intense pro-Serbian and by contradiction anti-West spirit of all together Greek press.

The example of war in Yugoslavia, where it elects the antjdytjki' - fjloservjki' oratory of Greek press but also more generally the Greek common opinion, it does not constitute a individual phenomenon, but a solidified diachronically perception, that it horizontally penetrates vertical and all the social web of Greek society.

Characteristic is also the case of approach of independence of Kosovo, that it took place on 17 February 2008. Indicative he is the publication of newspaper 'AXIA' (VALUE) and Greek American News Agency in 01.03.2008. From the first reading, the reader proj!dea'zetaj for a big revelation in international and, mainly, in Pan-Hellenic and paneuropean level, while it is announced in advance that the news will make the tour of world. In the article therefore that becomes reason for a secret meeting, that took place on 24 December 2007 in Washington. In this, accordingly with the publication, that emanates from the revelation of journalist Despina Syrjopoulou, participated always superior dignitaries of State Department, NSA and the general director of Ministry of Abroads of Slovakia Mitja Droponic, which had katafca'sej hurried in the American capital one day earlier. Then by long meeting, is drawn up, accordingly always with the publication, a extremely confidential document with code NWA 070767, which has as recipient, inter alia, the Minister of Abroads of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel.

One month later, on 25 January 2008, the newspaper " Dnevnik " of Ljubljana, but also later Serbian daily newspaper " Politika " they published the parapa'nw secrecy, graded document, which presented the proceeding of that secret meeting. According to the revelation, the main subject of meeting between the superior dignitaries of slovenian ministry of abroads, State Department and NSA was the role of Slovenia in the presidency of OJ, basically in the subject of organisation of support of international recognition of unilateral nomination of independence of Kosovo.²⁹ More specifically, always at the publication, in the subject of Kossyfopedio and future status, the undersecretary of abroads of USA Daniel it encourages Slovenia, as chairing country in the OJ that period, to find itself ana'mesa in the first countries of OJ that will recognize the independence of Kosso'voy, without it exists "need of concern" for the remainder members of European Union, while was formulated the opinion that only six countries of EU will not advance in the recognition. Also, becomes indication, inter alia, that the USA helps the Albanians of Kosovo to draw their Constitution, while them they prompted the meeting of parliament of Kossyfopedio to take place Sunday, in order that Russia cannot convene extraordinary meeting of Council of Safety of United Nations'.³⁰

Beyond the question of reliability or not the news, what presents interesting, in cross-correlation with the present study, constitutes the deductive evaluation of newspaper, that concerns the particular news. Thus, the approach that is attempted does not refer in questions of geopolitical correlations and strategies in the region, but it moves also this in a synwmosjologjki' interpretation of international diplomacy. In by these frames, in the Balkans, adversative with that it happens in other corners of world, the Islam is used as djaspastjko's and destabilizing factor (kosovo-Former Yougoslave Republic of Macedonia-Albania), with the polyhrisjmopojime'no pretext of support of human rights of Alvanofwnwn and each Moslem minority, so that are affected the orthodoxe Balkans and is faced the danger of Orthodoxe Russia.

²⁵ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS),27.03.1999,29.03.1999,31.03.1999.

²⁶ Note Newspaper ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), 29.03.1999,31.03.1999.

²⁷ Note Newspaper ELEFTEROTYPIA(FREEPRESS),29.03.1999, 31.03.1999.

²⁸ Note Newspaper ETHNOS (NATION), 27.03.1999 and 28.03.1999.

²⁹ Note Newspaper 'AXJA' , 01.03.2008.

³⁰ Note Organisation of Producers

With this way resulted Kosovo, afterwards the attempt of dissolution of orthodoxe Serbia and the bombardments of NATO. For this reason they are strengthened Albanian megaloj!deatjsmo's and are propagated alytrwtjke's disposals to various directions, aiming in progressive djameljsmo' the region. The article leads with the certainty that will be split the orthodoxe core of Balkans, with djameljsmo' Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, with the creation of state of Macedonians (it is not explained how shjsmatjkoj' orthodoxe the PGDM they will shape state Moslem, according to the parapa'nw approach) and the establishment in the heart of Balkans and Europe of new Middle East. This development, at the columnist, will bring new states, new maps, blood, pain, exchange of populations, new conditions through ajmostagej's processes!

Twenty days roughly later, in the 22.03.2008, the same newspaper, with the same journalist, the Kosovo is characterized as the new state satellite or off shore the Balkans, a state 'gangster' , that connects the CIA with KLA (former UCK) and the Al Ka'jnta!³¹

The fjloservjki' attitude of Greek press constitutes one inalterable regularly. All together the Greek press, independent from his political influences and 'gramme's' , is identified in the ejdiseografjki' approach of independence of Kosso'voy. To prove it, is mentioned immediately below the relative description of news.

In the 18.03.2008, one day afterwards the statement of independence of Kossyfopedj'oy, the first in circulation daily Greek - Athenian newspaper focuses in the reaction of Serbia. Are entertained statements of Serb chairman Kostoy'njtsa, which declare with categorical way: 'De c' we tolerate never as independent state the Kosovo. Is pointed out the reaction of Russia, that places the question in the Council of Safety of O.I.E., while simultaneously it makes reason for cancellation of decision on independence.³²

The same day (18.02.2008), the newspaper Free Press, in the above and more distinct and readable part of first page, circulates with the title: "Kosovo – Change of borders in our door" , creating synejrmoy's for unpleasant developments and for Greece. In the analysis of subject that becomes in the interior of newspaper sovereign it is always the sentimental – fjloservjki' - protaxi of news: 'To Belgrade makes reason for "pseudo-state" ' . While, the same moment, sovereign place in the news possesses the message of unit and calm in all the Serbs of Kossyfopedj'oy, that sends the bishop Arte'mjos, in the orthodoxe temple of Saint Dimitrios (Ko'sovska Mjtro'vjtsa).³³

The next day circulate the morning newspapers that had not circulated Monday. Newspaper 'VIMA' ' has relative prwtose'ljdo: 'the ghost of danger from North " – the name of Former Yougoslave Republic of Macedonia and the domino of Kossyfopedj'oy, implying that the independence of Kosso'voy is the beginning of line of changes in the states and the borders of Balkans. In the relative reportage inside the newspaper, the central idea is focused in the rage of Serbia for this development and the fires of Russia (obviously in contradiction to the behavior of westerners).³⁴

Also, the morning newspaper of Thessalonica, MACEDONIA, moved and this in the same length of wave, focus in the Serbian reactions and the perseverance of West to hurry in recognition of new state, predisposed the common opinion for the wronged Serbian side and unfair the places of western forces.³⁵

Finally, it deserves it is marked that the news of independence of Kosovo has almost equivalent value in the news reports of Greek press with the Cypriot elections, that became Sunday 17.02.2008, make that is connected with the Cypriot question that diachronically sensitises the Greek common opinion, always presenting, almost monotonously and unilaterally, Serbia in the role of victim and the 'Bad West' in the role of perpetrator .

³¹ Note newspaper 'AXJA', 22.03.2008.

³²Note newspaper 'NEWS', 18.02.2008, sel. 59-60.

³³ Note newspaper 'ELEFTEROS TYPOS (FREE PRESS)', 18.02.2008, p. 1 and 16.

³⁴ Cf. newspaper 'VIMA', 19.02.2008, p. 1 and 6.

³⁵ Cf. newspaper 'MAKEDONJA', p. 54.

This pro- Serbian approach, that even touched upon the limits of hysteria, brings out the theory of professor Hantjgkton, according to which Greece doesn't belong to the Western culture, but in slavo-orthodoxe, in the intellectual and ideological level, and to which extend, this theory can be verified. The answer is not easy.

According to the writer's opinion the ideological and political identification of Greek society with the slavo-orthodoxe neighbours Balkan country, and the- by contradiction, anti-West attitude, as it is shown in the greek press at this specific period of time, doesn't have cultural or historical starting line, but it is owed to the lack of knowledge and ignorance from the behalf of the Greek public opinion of the historical reality. The opinion of eternal friendship and collaboration with our "brothers", Serbs, is considerably different from the reality. Going back in history, one can easily understand that Greek-Serbian friendship and Greek-Serbian axis never actually existed. The main reason for this is that friendships and axes between states presuppose as "sine qua non" condition, the principle of reciprocity. However, in the case of Greek-Serbian relations, the will for collaboration and accordance existed only from the Greek part. The supposed Greek-Serbian axis was only a greek political objective, that remained however a no meaning letter, leading Greece to diplomatic hemming and isolation in the Balkan reality. In the Greek-Serbian relation the will for co-operation and good neighboring, and what this does it mean, was constantly only one way. The assumption of Greek-Serbian axis was considered only from the Greek site and policy, without a real meaning, which in turn stuck Greece in a diplomatic swamp and isolation, far away from the Balkan reality.

From the beginning of the 19th century, when all the Balkan countries emancipated, and even later, until the latest historic coincidence, Serbia was always in a competitive role against Greek interests. The unreasonable Serbian claims, during the years passed, had no historical or national basis. It is worth mentioning that, when Greece was in a difficult diplomatic or military position, Serbia, instead of providing it support, was claiming with imperative way, benefits, which usually were crossing to the Greek interests.

A characteristic example of this Serbian policy is that during the Greek-Ottoman war in 1897, Serbia asked and managed to get cessions from the Ottomans for educational, religious and commercial level, opening Serbian schools and churches in the region of North Macedonia (area of Pelagonia), an area of greek influence, as it was mainly by Greek population was leaving, and less than a hundred of Serbians.³⁶ Even in the beginning of the 20th century, with all the movements and unsteadiness in Balkans, Serbia, using the fact that Greeks were orientated to the East, extorted and succeeded to get more land, in the expense of pure Greek population living in their ancestral territory in North Macedonia.

In a whole Serbian policy all that time (19th- 20th centuries) was contineously waver towards the Greeks. When Greek diplomacy was useful to support Serbia's claims and pursuits, then Greece was a coreligious and ally country. On the other hand, when Greece had different views, the "friend and ally" Serbia was threatening to create a Slavian Federation, a Serbo-Bulgarian mixture, which would provoke unsteadiness in the Balkans, and, according to the Serbs, it would leade to a partition of the Greek Macedonia and Thrace and the domination of this territory by the Serbs and the Bulgarians. Given these facts, Greece always retreated, mainly because the cruelty and ferocious behavior of the Bulgarians in the North of Greece was still alive in people's mind.³⁷ In order to prove the equivocation of the serbian foreign policy, and especially its diachronic anti- Greek behavior,

In confirmation of this opinion, it is advanced as the most typical example the question of Serbian claims in the harbour of Thessalonica. The diachronic approach of this question, that constitutes one important aspect of greek-serbian relations, proves the fallacy of greek-serbian friendship the true claim. Thus, subject of friction commences from the dues of the 19^{oy} century. The creation of independent states in Balkan that led progressively to the exacerbation of national competitions created fields of disagreements and conflicts. In in these frames, Serbia, constituting up to the end of A of World War a encircled state, sought exit in the sea.

³⁶ Note Loukjanos Hasiotis, " Greece-Serbia: The five years' Dilemmas relations (1913-1918)", Thessaloniki, Aristoteles University of Thessaloniki, 1998.

³⁷ Note Nikolaos Vasileiadis, "The Greek Presence in South Serbia from the beginning of Balkan Wars (1913) till the beginning of the Second World War (1940), Thessaloniki 2004, Publications ANATROPI.

Exploiting therefore the unsettled situation and the believed as necessary for Greece alliance and her subscription, with the development of Balkan wars (attack of Bulgaria at her former allies), it demanded and achieved the contracting of treaty of alliance with Greece. In the article of 7 this treaty the Greek government, then Serbian requirement, undertook the obligation, 'under the term of absolute safeguard of her sovereign rights', to ensure for time interval of fifty years the complete freedom Serbian transit (introductory and exterior) trade, via the harbour of Thessalonica and railway line to the direction of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia³⁸.

Then these, with the end of Balkan wars, Serbia demanded the application of "pacta sunt servanda" in the article of 7 Treaty, lending in this a dilative interpretation, according to which they were eligible the foundation of Serbian Free Area (SEZ) in the port of Thessalonica. Characteristic the intentions of Serbian side existed the submission of drawing of convention from the head of Serbian delegation Mr Stojanović of (minister of Trade) with the title: 'The Serbian port of Thessaloniki', in that was presented the Serbian area as extension of Serbian territory³⁹.

Finally, on 10 May 1914, under the pressure of developments in European and Balkan state of becoming, it was signed in Athens agreement, with heavy terms on the Greek side, according to which, inter alia, was forecasted the concession (indefinite) extent in the port of Thessalonica, for the facilitation of Serbian trade, the guarantee of Serbian interests in the case of creation of Greek free area and the application of clause of rather well-governed state in case of the potential concession of rights in the Greek free area – when this they would be created – in favour third state⁴⁰. This agreement was also considered was heavy for Greece, for the following reasons: a) it did not exist no conventional or moral obligation of Greece opposite in Serbia, that would justify the concession in that of so much preferential arrangement in the port of Thessalonica. Even if the exit of Serbia in the sea were appeared as excuse, provided that up to 1914 he were an encircled state, this could realise without the concession free zone⁴¹. b) the rights/advantages of granted arrangement in Serbia they were disproportionate bigger not of only her real needs, but also corresponding rights that had granted Greece in other third states in the port Thessalonica. Thus, except of that agreement on foundation of SEZ created impressions in a period where the policy of balances and equal distances was rather or more advisable, gave further the possibility in third states, as Austria, of formulating hints or reserves for the concession proportional regime and in themselves⁴², c) In few months by the agreement, was forecasted the foundation of Greek Free Area, which could serve equivalently the interests of all interested third states, for transit via the port of Thessalonica. Consequently, the concession of SEZ became through unnecessary, without the forecast of later inevitable competition between the two areas, that would function in the same port⁴³.

Fortunately, the convention of 1914 was not applied never, because the beginning of A' World War, two months never. The result of war encouraged until then encircled state of Serbia, while it acquired expense in the Adriatic sea, on coast of length of 1571 kilometres. Of course, the particular coast allocated number natural and artificial ports. Nevertheless, 'friend' Serbia nor that time resigned her claims, that concerned in foundation SEZ inside the port of Thessalonica. The moment therefore at which Greece was found in awkward place, afterwards the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the negotiations in the Lausanne, the Serbian side (as Yugoslavia – government owned expression henceforth) found right moment for diplomatic pressures in Athens, with given and the place of Bulgaria for internationalisation of Thessalonica. Consequently, it required privileges, with regard to the arrangement of Serbian transit in Thessalonica, supporting the Bulgarian aspirations in the Western Thrace in the Lausanne and beginning of course to be turned to Italy, for the support of her aspirations in Thessalonica (logically the Italians wanted for their own interests divert the interest of Yugoslavia from the Adriatic sea)⁴⁴.

³⁸ See History of Greek Nation, volume 14, 1978, page 338.

³⁹ See Greece, Yugoslavia, From, Petros Soutsouras, 2003, p.40-41.

⁴⁰ See Greece, Yugoslavia, From, Petros Soutsouras, 2003, p.41.

⁴¹ See S.K. Vasdravelis, "The Port of Thessaloniki", pages 57-58.

⁴² See D.G.Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 61.

⁴³ See Greece, Yugoslavia, From, Petros Soutsouras, 2003, p. 42.

⁴⁴ See Korantis A.I., "Diplomatic History of Europe (1919-1945)", v. A', 1996, Athens, p. 375.

With these data, on 10 May 1923 was signed convention between in Greece and Yugoslavia, for the regulation of "of Thessalonica transit". This convention included, inter alia, the concession of territorial extent of 94.000 m² ("Free Serbian Area ") for period of fifty years, the employees and the workers of this would be named by the Serbian side, having in deed and the privilege of extraterritoriality, in the competence of Serb national and simultaneously employee of area were included the order of " of approach of boats, the monitoring of all action of loading and unloading... " (and) in general....all the service "45. Also, because the generality of formulation of article 5 (definition of transit), was given in the Serbs the reason for performance of general transit trade – and not only Serbian, as it had been agreed, in article 8 was provided the clause of the most favoured nation in the Yugoslavian Kingdom, committing the Greek side in a way that her it does not allow to grant bigger privileges and facilities in third state inside the Greek Free Area, when this they would be created. Finally, in article 9 was ensured the equal treatment of transported merchandises, or these was directed in the Serbian or in Greek free area.

As it is obvious, the agreement of this convention had obvious disadvantages for the Greek side. Concretely: a) by the moment where Serbia ceased he is encircled state, with her exit in the sea via Adriatic they was justified the contracting of such agreement. b) this convention was preferential for the interests of Serbia, while shrank in great degree the Greek sovereign rights inside the area that was granted in the Serbian side. Was said the opinion that was " customs servitude ", "creation a state within state ", provided that respectively privileges had been granted only in the English free areas of Hong-Kong and Singapore and German the Tsjen-Tseou (states – protectorates)46. c) the arrangement of free Serbian area were more favourable than corresponding Greek area (Law n. 390/1914), while were allowed the duty-free disposal of foods that would be intended for the personnel of area and the diet of transported animals, as also and the duty-free disposal of raw material that would be used for the operation of installations47. As therefore is obvious, the Serbian side, it exploited the awkward place of Greece in the particular time economic situation and, instead it supports the Greek places, it appeared same immoderate claims at the expense the territorial –substantially - sovereignty of Greek state.

In interrelation of higher up attitude existed also the direct reaction of Yugoslavia in the signature of pact of Politis-kalfof, in September 1924, with which Greece recognized the existence of Bulgarian minority in her territory. Immediately the Yugoslavian side demanded the signature of new protocol, with which are recognized the slavofone residents of Macedonia as having the Serbian nationality. When the Greek side denied it satisfies the demand, Yugoslavia denounced the Treaty of alliance 1913. This place of Yugoslavian side led finally in March 1925 (and because the big reactions in the interior of Greece) to the cancellation of Protocol of Politis-kalfof, with result the deterioration of greekugoslavian relations, but also place of Greek-Bulgarian relations in the bad point48.

Since then, Yugoslavia, exploiting the economic situation, began to appear excessive claims in regard to the Serbian Free Area and the exploitation of railway line Geygeli's – Thessalonica. It in deed achieved, on dictatorship Pangalos, in August 1926, the signature of third convention, with very unfavourable terms. Concretely: a) The Serbian area was considered perfectly independent from the remainder harbour, b) the Greek beginnings was deprived completely right of entry in the area, c) was forecasted her widening, as industrial and commercial, competitive completely with corresponding Greek, d) was allowed not only the conduct of national but also international trade, as also and her renting in third states, e) was granted in the Yugoslavian boats the right of cabotage in in the Greek territory, while this area constituted in the substance Serbian port, h) end, was agreed arrangement of condominium in the railway line Geygeli's-Thessalonica with French of arbitrator and was forecasted for the Serbian trains the right of rise of Serbian flag49. Three years later, in March 1929, was signed in Geneva final agreement, that has the seal of big diplomatic faculty of Eleftherios Venjzelos. The mainer changes in favour the Greek places concerned the prohibition of rise of Serbian flag or other Serbian emblems in in the area, the determination as maximum limit the number of hundred employees of Serb nationals that could serve as employees in the area, while was only allowed the utilisation of Greek workers in this.

⁴⁵ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p.49.

⁴⁶ See D.G. Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 71-72.

⁴⁷ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p. 53.

⁴⁸ See Th. Veremis, "From the First war till the Cold War", Athens, 1992, p. 86.

⁴⁹ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p. 61.

Also, Yugoslavia undertook, in the base of beginning of reciprocity, the obligation to ensure in imported from the Greek area the imperfections that had forecasted Greece for emanating from the Serbian area, while it became explicit that the operation of Serbian free Area concerns only the facilitation of Serbian trade and the transit⁵⁰.

An another characteristic example of the Serbian "friendship" towards the Greece, was the way they treated large, mighty Greek inhabitants of North Macedonia, when that region came under Serbian domination, according to the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913). Greece entered into this Treaty, accepting this condition, mainly because it was expected that a friendly, civilized country, with the same religion, would ensure the securing of the minimum of Greek populations' minority rights. Who trusted the serbian status, in comparison with the small Bulgarian community, slavian- speaking mistrustful of the serbian domination, over that area. The historic reality demonstrates the fairtale of the "Serbian friendship". Yet, the Greek public opinion still ignores this fact.

The crude and ferocious mistreatment of the Greek population in North Macedonia, the deprivation of basic human rights, like the closure of Greek schools, the prohibition of using the Greek language there, under sentence of imprisonment, the closure of Greek churches, and the brutal expulsion of the Greek Bishop, the prohibition of Greek societies, the subreption of the huge Greek fortune with no total lack of grounds in law, the imprisonments, the beatings, the assassinations, are only a few of the examples what the Serbs meant as Greek-Serbian friendship.

The last straw was an event that happened in December 1918, when the Serbian authorities, in the name of the same religion, mistreated the Greek priest of Bitola (Monastery), father Simeon, when, during the sacrament of the Eucharist they brutally snatched the chalice, mainly because the Holy Litourgie was performed in Greek! Something even the Ottoman's didn't dare to do!⁵¹

Another thing that is not well known, is the Serbian prospect of what people in our days understand as "The Macedonian issue". The established opinion that the Croatian Tito was the man who created the "Macedonian Nation" is historically inaccurate. Beyond any doubt, significant historical documents, which were dislosed recently, showed and proved that Serbian scientists were the first to create the scientific background, necessary to establish the non existing till then "Macedonianism" of North Macedonia.

The Greek public ignores completely that a team of Serbian scientists, under the instructions of the cunning Serbian Dean of Beograd University, so called as nationalist and geographist Cvijic, during the time, in late 20's (and clearly long before 1945 Tito instituted the "Republic of Macedonia"), using arbitrary "scientific" arguments, tried to formulate a theory, according to which the inhabitants of North Macedonia were a separate nation, the "Slavomacedonians", a mixture of descendants of the ancient Macedonians and Slaves, when the later came to Balkans.⁵²

This theory was taken by Tito as an opportunity to create the "Macedonian Nation" in 1945 (during the 5th Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1940 {October}, Tito also used the same term and admitted to the undouptful existance of the "Macedonian Nation". The only thing could use to justify this, was the unhistorical and unscientific conclusions Jovan Cvijic, and came to few many years earlier).⁵³

After all these, clearly the conclusion is that the Greek people and the Greek public opinion, who are being influenced by the Greek media, show a friendly position to the Serbs, they ignore the historic reality and what the Serbian nation has done against Greece. In that way, they act under emotional stimulation, which is not based upon real facts, but on a historic delusion, which also has being well established in the Greek foreign policy. This is due to the fact that, the greek side, apart from the historic ignorance, also ignores the principal dogma of diplomacy: "Permanent friends or enemies do not exist, what does exist is permanent interests and benefits".

⁵⁰ See D.G. Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 97-98.

⁵¹ Note as above, all the book.

⁵² Note VMRO, Material and Documents, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sophia, 1980, p. 788.

⁵³ Note "The Macedonian Problem", Political and historical informations, Publication of Insitute of Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia, November 1968, p. 68.

This idea in combination with the deep knowledge of the historic reality, characterizes a contemporary and civilized nation. Greece's culture in no case can be identical to this of the Slavs, no matter the degree of influence might have. Eventually, we should not forget the fact that Greeks named Europe.

The pre-existing enduring belief of the friendship with the "brothers" and "wreigionists" Serbs is well established in the Greek Community (Public Opinion). This dominant belief is present and confirmed through the years, particularly in periods where status quo is disturbed in the any way fragile balance of Balkan peninsula. This sentimental approach to Balkan reality, that is in no case consistent with the historical reality, penetrates all the levels of social web of the Greek society. This belief is also reflected in the press. The relationship between the press and the public is dynamic influencing and being influenced by both sides, forming the way the news is presented according to what is socially accepted.

One typical example of this approach constitutes the conflict of forces of Northatlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) with Serbia of Mjlosevjts in 1999, for the arrangement of Kossovo. The western world against the Mjlosevjts government, with the Albanian factor (UCK) between from the triangle of involving parts. The greek press no matter of which political party the opinions was reflected, remained steadily on the Serbian side, for the whole duration of the conflict, even when diplomatic delegations were in progress. From the beginning of year 1999, all Greek newspapers were trying to emotionally stimulate the public, leverage feelings for the underservedly suffering Serbian brothers.

The first publications on New Year's Day 1999 described the cruelty of the USA, in contrast with the poverty and isolation of Serbia, showing the battle between the powerful, cruel ruler (West) with the powerless, fighting for its dignity Serbia.⁵⁴ In every opportunity given, the forces of NATO are regarded as the absolute evil by contrast with the good and sanctified Serbia. In this context, in January 1999, it is written in the press that the Serbian army is ready to repel every threat and that the Serbobosnians are politically and legally correct to react to Nato's warnings for military action, which anyway dangerous for the whole Balkan's region.⁵⁵

At the same period of time, an exclusive report revealed a secret document from CIA, where was clear that subversive action against Mjlosevjts was taking place in Serbia' by the secret services of the USA. As a conclusion, the newspapers accused the USA for intervening in the internal affairs of our friend Serbia.⁵⁶ The next month, in February 1999, on daily basis news informed the public about anything related with Kossovo, with a friendly way for Serbia. Mjlosevjts was presenting as a hero, a physical and tough resistance for the arrogant NATO.

An indication of this situation is the issuing of the Serbian leader's statement "The bombing threatings, unless we allow foreigners to occupy a certain part of our territory, should be a warning to all the people that have freedom and peace in their hearts", and "We are determined not to abolish Kosovo, whatever price we will have to pay."⁵⁷ At the same time, Greece appears to get involved in the conflict with first newspaper's pages like: "Thessalonica of Balkans and war" or for "harbour of foreigner troops",⁵⁸ identifying the passage of NATO forces through Greece land as abolition of our national sovereignty.

As long as the crisis reaches the final result, with the reprocess of diplomatic handlings and the weakness of finding of common place in the inevitable military conflict, the friendly to the Serbian – against the West attitude becomes henceforth obvious. At the beginning of March, the attitude of the Westis favour of the Liberian Army of Kosovo (UCK) and their invitation to visit Washington is criticized badly on the first pages, showing the contrast with the Liberation Movement of Kourdistan (PKK). Even though the two Liberation Armies have similar aims, only UCK is accepted as an equal interlocator, while the Kurdish Movement is identified and characterized as a terrorist organization.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Note. Newspaper MACEDONIA, 01.10.1999.

⁵⁵ Note. Newspaper MACEDONIA 12.01.1999.

⁵⁶ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 13.01.1999.

⁵⁷ Note as above, 20.02.1999

⁵⁸ Note as above, first pages 25.02.199 and 26.02.1999.

⁵⁹ Note as above, first page 02.03.1999 and p. 20.

All this time, the Kurdish leader Amdulah Otsalan is being traced in Greece and after a short time arrested by Turkish secret services, in Nairobi, Kenya. The Greek government is accused to have played a significant role in this development (and even be responsible for it). Few days later, Holbrook (who is called 'cowboy' of the American diplomacy) appears in the limelight,⁶⁰ while the 'demonstration of power of' USA, is commented with intense negative criticism because, despite the opposite opinion of parliament of Serbian Democracy (57 votes at, 15 in favour, 6 abstentions), the representative of international community Vensterntop proceeded to the replacement of the elected leader of Serbobosnian community Poplasen.

The newspapers now are talking about American-NATO centres, of power that plan to supervise Balkans,⁶¹ and about the incredible resistance of Serbs to the pressures of Western forces, who declare that they do not need any guardians.⁶²

In the peak of the crisis, when the time of undertaking military action approaches, journalists exceed themselves with articles in favour of Serbs and against the West, creating fear and sentimental influence to the Greek public opinion. Thus, it is certain that the accusation of the Serbobosnians for the slaughter of women and children (non – combatants) at Ratsak is not true, but rebels of the Liberian Army of Kossovo were responsible for it. The international coroners (forensic surgeons) that saw to the incident are thought to be partial.⁶³ At the same time, the plan for the regime (status quo) of Kossovo is characterized unilateral in favour of the Albanians, whereas the present for the people of Serbia seems to be very uncertain and their future quite difficult,⁶⁴ while the UCK is characterized as 'the red hmer of Balkans'⁶⁵

On the eves of bombardments, the Kossovo crisis has already become first page and first subject of topicality in the Greek press. 'It's firearms time', 'USA bomb sence', 'Mjlosevjts doesn't bend the neck',⁶⁶ was written on the first pages of newspapers along with photos of NATO soldiers, who were ready to enforce the New order in Serbia.⁶⁷ In an article written by Spiros Kousinopoulos, chief Executive of Macedonian New Agency, Mjlosevjts is afraid of the uncontrolled action of Albanian extremists, which will lead to a free Kossovo. There are also fears of spreading out of war to all the Balkans, with change and independent Kossovo seems as justifying, the likely spread of war in all the Balkans, with change of the boundaries and even beginning of a third World War!⁶⁸

On the 24.03.1999, while Greece is preparing to celebrate the double national and religious feast of "The revolution of 1821 and the 'Annunciation' of Virgin Mary, all the first pages and not only them are reporting the incoming war: "War drums in our neighborhood", "Third Balkan war is indrighed by USA-NATO", "STORM IN the BALKANS- PAX AMERICANA breaks International Law- NATO uber alles!", "Shame on you Europeans!".⁶⁹

"USA and the NATO declared war against Serbia- Balkan Vietnam. Serbia in a state of war, Serbian citizens are preparing to accept the worst senario in their history with dignity... Bitterness for unfairness from the West",⁷⁰ "Serbian people supports the Mjlosevjts".⁷¹ The day the NATO bombardments at Serbia began (25.03.1999), the Greek press did not circulate because of the national anniversary (holiday). The next days however, Friday 26.03.1999, it was the main issue in all newspapers, and all had an one-sided view of the matter; first pages like: "Will we wake from the war sirens? Is the Thrace the next Kosovo? A sad Serbia."

⁶⁰ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 09.03.1999 and newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER) 22.03.1999, P. 16.

⁶¹ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA 09.03.1999, p. 12 and 10.03.1999, p. 10.

⁶² Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 17.03.1999, p.16

⁶³ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 18.03.1999, p. 51.

⁶⁴ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 21.03.1999, p. 26-71.

⁶⁵ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 21.03.1999, p. 19.

⁶⁶ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDEPENDENT PRESS), 22.03.1999, 23.03.1999, p. 16.

⁶⁷ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 23.03.1999, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Note newspapers AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS), ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), ETHNOS (NATION), respectively.

⁶⁹ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 24.03.1999, p. 10-11.

⁷⁰ Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 24.03.1999, p. 5 & 7.

⁷¹ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 26.03.1999.

The storm of hypocrisy of USA, NATO and EU " , " Wish for multiple splitting of Balkans" , " Old and vain Balkan stories (comparison with the attitude of westerners opposite in the 20 millions Kurdish), " History and past-Kosovo cradle of Serbia (8 pages homage) " ,⁷² " Balkans are bleeding" , "Protests against NATO " , "Archbishop: I was ashamed for the so called christians" , "Possible second Vietnam " .⁷³

The experiment of fascism -NEW ORDER(cross-correlation with Third Reich, photograph of President Clinton with a mustache similar to Hitler's)" ,⁷⁴ "NATO(pun)the crime" ,⁷⁵ "Hours of shame – 54years after Hitler war is brought back in Europe" , " Hitler's theories are revived" , "Clinton's plans for the splitting of Balkans" , " Kosovo the "Thermopyles" of Europe" .⁷⁶

The same bold titles, with obvious the element of exaggeration, continued for the next days and the papers also had articles about anti-Greek "scenarios" coming from the "mean" West. "The masks are falling" , " Diskotent for NATO attacks" , "THEY ARE PREPARING THRACE QUESTION (Matter) " , " Since yesterday London is the centre of Turkish propaganda" , " Theory of "domino"(afterwards the Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Western Thrace)" , " No in the Adolfo Clinton" , "Food collection for Serbs" , " Demonstrations in many parts of the country" , " They invented Albanian minority in Greece (Spiegel magazine, CNN, London Times)" , "Greek clergy and people on the side Serbs" , " Neron, Clinton and amnesia" , (N)ew Order (A){unhesitating} (T)errorist (O)rganization, ⁷⁷"They bombed chemical factory in Beograd – populated area are affected" , " No worn! Chemicals are killing childrens!" , " Balkans in flames" , " NATO people hate Orthodox" , " Popular outbreak_bombs " , "Popular outbreak - support to neighbours Serbs, that have heart and pride" .⁷⁸ " Murderers of children and women " , " Barbarian' plastic surgery ' in Balkans" , "Blow in Thrace – They have already targetted Thrace " , " They Killed every hope" ,⁷⁹ " INVISIBLE SLAUGHTER " , " Slaughter of innocent people – Clinton has his Easter with golf and blood of innocents" .⁸⁰ " New order in Balkans" , "Creation of Great Albania" , " Intensity in Aegean Sea and Thrace" , "Kosovars in North Epirus" ,⁸¹ they are certain from the titles that reflect the intense pro-Serbian and by contradiction anti-West spirit of all together Greek press.

The example of war in Yugoslavia, where it elects the antjdytjki' - fjloservjki' oratory of Greek press but also more generally the Greek common opinion, it does not constitute a individual phenomenon, but a solidified diachronically perception, that it horizontally penetrates vertical and all the social web of Greek society.

Characteristic is also the case of approach of independence of Kosovo, that it took place on 17 February 2008. Indicative he is the publication of newspaper `AXIA" (VALUE) and Greek American News Agency in 01.03.2008. From the first reading, the reader proj!dea'zetaj for a big revelation in international and, mainly, in Pan-Hellenic and paneuropean level, while it is announced in advance that the news will make the tour of world. In the article therefore that becomes reason for a secret meeting, that took place on 24 December 2007 in Washington. In this, accordingly with the publication, that emanates from the revelation of journalist Despina Syrjopoulou, participated always superior dignitaries of State Department, NSA and the general director of Ministry of Abroads of Slovakia Mitja Droponic, which had katafca'sej hurried in the American capital one day earlier. Then by long meeting, is drawn up, accordingly always with the publication, a extremely confidential document with code NWA 070767, which has as recipient, inter alia, the Minister of Abroads of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel. One month later, on 25 January 2008, the newspaper " Dnevnik " of Ljubljana, but also later Serbian daily newspaper ` Politika " they published the parapa'nw secrecy, graded document, which presented the proceeding of that secret meeting.

⁷² Note Newspaper AGELIOFOROS (MESSENGER), 26.03.1999.

⁷³ Note Newspaper MESSENGER, 26.03.1999.

⁷⁴ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS), 26.03.1999.

⁷⁵ Note Newspaper ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), 26.03.1999.

⁷⁶ Note Newspaper ETHNOS (NATION), 26.03.1999.

⁷⁷ Note Newspaper MACEDONIA, 27.03.1999, 28.03.1999, 30.03.1999, 31.03.1999, 01.04.1999, 02.04.1999, 03.04.1999, 08.04.1999.

⁷⁸ Note Newspaper ADESMEFTOS TYPOS (INDIPENDENT PRESS), 27.03.1999, 29.03.1999, 31.03.1999.

⁷⁹ Note Newspaper ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), 29.03.1999, 31.03.1999.

⁸⁰ Note Newspaper ELEFTEROTYPIA (FREE PRESS), 29.03.1999, 31.03.1999.

⁸¹ Note Newspaper ETHNOS (NATION), 27.03.1999 and 28.03.1999.

According to the revelation, the main subject of meeting between the superior dignitaries of Slovenian ministry of abroads, State Department and NSA was the role of Slovenia in the presidency of OJ, basically in the subject of organisation of support of international recognition of unilateral nomination of independence of Kosovo.⁸² More specifically, always at the publication, in the subject of Kossyfopedio and future status, the undersecretary of abroads of USA Daniel it encourages Slovenia, as chairing country in the OJ that period, to find itself ana'mesa in the first countries of OJ that will recognize the independence of Kosso'voy, without it exists 'need of concern' for the remainder members of European Union, while was formulated the opinion that only six countries of EU will not advance in the recognition. Also, becomes indication, inter alia, that the USA helps the Albanians of Kosovo to draw their Constitution, while them they prompted the meeting of parliament of Kossyfopedio to take place Sunday, in order that Russia cannot convene extraordinary meeting of Council of Safety of United Nations'.⁸³

Beyond the question of reliability or not the news, what presents interesting, in cross-correlation with the present study, constitutes the deductive evaluation of newspaper, that concerns the particular news. Thus, the approach that is attempted does not refer in questions of geopolitical correlations and strategies in the region, but it moves also this in a synwmosjologjki' interpretation of international diplomacy. In by these frames, in the Balkans, adversative with that it happens in other corners of world, the Islam is used as djaspastjko's and distabilizing factor (kosovo-Former Yougoslave Republic of Macedonia-Albania), with the polyhrisjmopojime'no pretext of support of human rights of Alvanofwnwn and each Moslem minority, so that are affected the orthodoxe Balkans and is faced the danger of Orthodoxe Russia.

With this way resulted Kossovo, afterwards the attempt of dissolution of orthodoxe Serbia and the bombardments of NATO. For this reason they are strengthened Albanian megaloj!deatjsmo's and are propagated alytrwtjke's disposals to various directions, aiming in progressive djameljsmo' the region. The article leads with the certainty that will be split the orthodoxe core of Balkans, with djameljsmo' Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, with the creation of state of Macedonians (it is not explained how shjsmatjkoj' orthodoxe the PGDM they will shape state Moslem, according to the parapa'nw approach) and the establishment in the heart of Balkans and Europe of new Middle East. This development, at the columnist, will bring new states, new maps, blood, pain, exchange of populations, new conditions through ajmostagej's processes!

Twenty days roughly later, in the 22.03.2008, the same newspaper, with the same journalist, the Kossovo is characterized as the new state satellite oroff shore the Balkans, a state 'gangster' ', that connects theCIAwithKLA(formerUCK) and the Al Ka'jnta!⁸⁴ The fjloservjki' attitude of Greek press constitutes one inalterable regularly. All toghether the Greek press, independent from his political influences and 'gramme's' ', is identified in the ejdiseografjki' approach of independence of Kosso'voy. To prove it, is mentioned immediately below the relative description of news.

In the 18.03.2008, one day afterwards the statement of independence of Kossyfopedj'oy, the first in circulation daily Greek - Athenian newspaper focuses in the reaction of Serbia. Are entertained statements of Serb chairman Kostoy'njtsa, which declare with categorical way: 'De c' we tolerate never as independent state the Kosovo. Is pointed out the reaction of Russia, that places the question in the Council of Safety of O.I.E., while simultaneously it makes reason for cancellation of decision on independence.'⁸⁵

The same day (18.02.2008), the newspaper Free Press, in the above and more distinct and readable part of first page, circulates with the title: "Kosovo- Change of borders in our door", creating synejrmoy's for unpleasant developments and for Greece. In the analysis of subject that becomes in the interior of newspaper sovereign it is always the sentimental- fjloservjki' - protaxi of news:

⁸² Note Newspaper 'AXJA', 01.03.2008.

⁸³ Note Organization of Producers

⁸⁴ Note newspaper 'AXJA', 22.03.2008.

⁸⁵ Note newspaper 'NEWS', 18.02.2008, sel. 59-60.

“To Belgrade makes reason for “pseudo-state” . While, the same moment, sovereign place in the news possesses the message of unit and calm in all the Serbs of Kossyopedj'oy, that sends the bishop Arte'mjos, in the orthodoxe temple of Saint Dimitrios (Ko'sovska Mjtro'vjtsa).⁸⁶ The next day circulate the morning newspapers that had not circulated Monday. Newspaper “VIMA” has relative prwtose'ljdo: “the ghost of danger from North” – the name of Former Yougoslave Republic of Macedonia and the domino of Kossyopedj'oy, implying that the independence of Kosso'voy is the beginning of line of changes in the states and the borders of Balkans. In the relative reportage inside the newspaper, the central idea is focused in the rage of Serbia for this development and the fires of Russia (obviously in contradiction to the behavior of westerners).⁸⁷

Also, the morning newspaper of Thessalonica, MACEDONIA, moved and this in the same length of wave, focus in the Serbian reactions and the perseverance of West to hurry in recognition of new state, predisposed the common opinion for the wronged Serbian side and unfair the places of western forces.⁸⁸

Finally, it deserves it is marked that the news of independence of Kosovo has almost equivalent value in the news reports of Greek press with the Cypriot elections, that became Sunday 17.02.2008, make that is connected with the Cypriot question that diachronically sensitises the Greek common opinion, always presenting, almost monotonously and unilaterally, Serbia in the role of victim and the “Bad West” in the role of perpetrator .

This pro- Serbian approach, that even touched upon the limits of hysteria, brings out the theory of professor Hantjgkton, according to which Greece doesn't belong to the Western culture, but in slavo-orthodoxe, in the intellectual and ideological level, and to which extend, this theory can be verified. The answer is not easy. According to the writer's opinion the ideological and political identification of Greek society with the slavo-orthodoxe neighbours Balkan country, and the- by contradiction, anti-West attitude, as it is shown in the greek press at this specific period of time, doesn't have cultural or historical starting line, but it is owed to the lack of knowledge and ignorance from the behalf of the Greek public opinion of the historical reality. The opinion of eternal friendship and collaboration with our “brothers”, Serbs, is considerably different from the reality. Going back in history, one can easily understand that Greek-Serbian friendship and Greek-Serbian axis never actually existed. The main reason for this is that friendships and axes between states presuppose as “sine qua non” condition, the principle of reciprocity. However, in the case of Greek-Serbian relations, the will for collaboration and accordance existed only from the Greek part. The supposed Greek-Serbian axis was only a greek political objective, that remained however a no meaning letter , leading Greece to diplomatic hemming and isolation in the Balkan reality.

In the Greek-Serbian relation the will for co-operation and good neighboring, and what this does it mean, was constantly only one way. The assumption of Greek-Serbian axis was considered only from the Greek site and policy, without a real meaning, which in turn stuck Greece in a diplomatic swamp and isolation, far away from the Balkan reality.

From the beginning of the 19th century, when all the Balkan countries emancipated, and even later, until the latest historic coincidence, Serbia was always in a competitive role against Greek interests. The unreasonable Serbian claims, during the years passed, had no historical or national basis. It is worth mentioning that, when Greece was in a difficult diplomatic or military position, Serbia, instead of providing it support, was claiming with imperative way, benefits, which usually were crossing to the Greek interests.

A characteristic example of this Serbian policy is that during the Greek-Ottoman war in 1897, Serbia asked and managed to get cessions from the Ottomans for educational, religious and commercial level, opening Serbian schools and churches in the region of North Macedonia (area of Pelagonia), an area of greek influence, as it was mainly by Greek population was leaving, and less than a hundred of Serbians.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Note newspaper ELEFTEROS TYPOS (LIBERATED PRESS), 18.02.2008, p. 1 and 16.

⁸⁷ Cf. newspaper “VIMA”, 19.02.2008, p. 1 and 6.

⁸⁸ Cf. newspaper “MAKEDONJA”, p. 54.

⁸⁹ Note Loukjanos Hasiotis, “ Greece-Serbia: The five years' Dilemmas relations (1913-1918)”, Thessaloniki, Aristoteles Univercity of Thessaloniki, 1998.

Even in the beginning of the 20th century, with all the movements and unsteadiness in Balkans, Serbia, using the fact that Greeks were orientated to the East, extorted and succeeded to get more land, in the expense of pure Greek population living in their ancestral territory in North Macedonia.

In a whole Serbian policy all that time (19th- 20th centuries) was continuously waver towards the Greeks. When Greek diplomacy was useful to support Serbia's claims and pursuits, then Greece was a coreligious and ally country. On the other hand, when Greece had different views, the "friend and ally" Serbia was threatening to create a Slavian Federation, a Serbo-Bulgarian mixture, which would provoke unsteadiness in the Balkans, and, according to the Serbs, it would lead to a partition of the Greek Macedonia and Thrace and the domination of this territory by the Serbs and the Bulgarians.

Given these facts, Greece always retreated, mainly because the cruelty and ferocious behavior of the Bulgarians in the North of Greece was still alive in people's mind.⁹⁰ In order to prove the equivocation of the Serbian foreign policy, and especially its diachronic anti-Greek behavior, in confirmation of this opinion, it is advanced as the most typical example the question of Serbian claims in the harbour of Thessalonica. The diachronic approach of this question, that constitutes one important aspect of Greek-Serbian relations, proves the fallacy of Greek-Serbian friendship the true claim. Thus, subject of friction commences from the dues of the 19th century. The creation of independent states in Balkan, that led progressively to the exacerbation of national competitions, created fields of disagreements and conflicts. In these frames, Serbia, constituting up to the end of World War I an encircled state, sought exit in the sea. Exploiting therefore the unsettled situation and the believed as necessary for Greece alliance and her subscription, with the development of Balkan wars (attack of Bulgaria at her former allies), it demanded and achieved the contracting of treaty of alliance with Greece. In the article of 7 this treaty the Greek government, then Serbian requirement, undertook the obligation, "under the term of absolute safeguard of her sovereign rights", to ensure for time interval of fifty years the complete freedom Serbian transit (introductory and exterior) trade, via the harbour of Thessalonica and railway line to the direction of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia⁹¹.

Then these, with the end of Balkan wars, Serbia demanded the application of "pacta sunt servanda" in the article of 7 Treaty, lending in this a dilative interpretation, according to which they were eligible the foundation of Serbian Free Area (SEZ) in the port of Thessalonica. Characteristic the intentions of Serbian side existed the submission of drawing of convention from the head of Serbian delegation Mr Stogja'novjts of (minister of Trade) with the title: "The Serbian port of Thessaloniki", in that was presented the Serbian area as extension of Serbian territory⁹².

Finally, on 10 May 1914, under the pressure of developments in European and Balkan state of becoming, it was signed in Athens agreement, with heavy terms on the Greek side, according to which, inter alia, was forecasted the concession (indefinite) extent in the port of Thessalonica, for the facilitation of Serbian trade, the guarantee of Serbian interests in the case of creation of Greek free area and the application of clause of rather well-governed state in case of the potential concession of rights in the Greek free area— when this they would be created— in favour third state⁹³. This agreement was also considered was heavy for Greece, for the following reasons: a) it did not exist no conventional or moral obligation of Greece opposite in Serbia, that would justify the concession in that of so much preferential arrangement in the port of Thessalonica. Even if the exit of Serbia in the sea were appeared as excuse, provided that up to 1914 he were an encircled state, this could realise without the concession free zone⁹⁴. b) the rights/advantages of granted arrangement in Serbia they were disproportionate bigger not of only her real needs, but also corresponding rights that had granted Greece in other third states in the port Thessalonica.

⁹⁰ Note Nikolaos Vasileiadis, "The Greek Presence in South Serbia from the beginning of Balkan Wars (1913) till the beginning of the Second World War (1940), Thessaloniki 2004, Publications ANATROPI.

⁹¹ See History of Greek Nation, volume 14, 1978, page 338.

⁹² See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p.40-41.

⁹³ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p.41.

⁹⁴ See S.K. Vasdravelis, "The Port of Thessaloniki", pages 57-58.

Thus, except of that agreement on foundation of SEZ created impressions in a period where the policy of balances and equal distances was rather or more advisable, gave further the possibility in third states, as Austria, of formulating hints or reserves for the concession proportional regime and in themselves⁹⁵, c)

In few months by the agreement, was forecasted the foundation of Greek Free Area, which could serve equivalently the interests of all interested third states, for transit via the port of Thessalonica. Consequently, the concession of SEZ became through unnecessary, without the forecast of later inevitable competition between the two areas that would function in the same port⁹⁶.

Fortunately, the convention of 1914 was not applied never, because the beginning of A' World War, two months never. The result of war encouraged until then encircled state of Serbia, while it acquired expense in the Adriatic sea, on coast of length of 1571 kilometres. Of course, the particular coast allocated number natural and artificial ports. Nevertheless, "friend" neither Serbia nor that time resigned her claims, that concerned in foundation SEZ inside the port of Thessalonica. The moment therefore at which Greece was found in awkward place, afterwards the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the negotiations in the Lausanne, the Serbian side (as Yugoslavia– government owned expression henceforth) found right moment for diplomatic pressures in Athens, with given and the place of Bulgaria for internationalisation of Thessalonica. Consequently, it required privileges, with regard to the arrangement of Serbian transit in Thessalonica, supporting the Bulgarian aspirations in the Western Thrace in the Lausanne and beginning of course to be turned to Italy, for the support of her aspirations in Thessalonica (logically the Italians wanted for their own interests divert the interest of Yugoslavia from the Adriatic sea)⁹⁷.

With these data, on 10 May 1923 was signed convention between in Greece and Yugoslavia, for the regulation of "of Thessalonica transit". This convention included, inter alia, the concession of territorial extent of 94.000 m² ("Free Serbian Area ") for period of fifty years, the employees and the workers of this would be named by the Serbian side, having in deed and the privilege of extraterritoriality, in the competence of Serb national and simultaneously employee of area were included the order of " of approach of boats, the monitoring of all action of loading and unloading... " (and) in general...all the service "⁹⁸. Also, because the generality of formulation of article 5 (definition of transit), was given in the Serbs the reason for performance of general transit trade– and not only Serbian, as it had been agreed, in article 8 was provided the clause of the most favoured nation in the Yugoslavian Kingdom, committing the Greek side in a way that her it does not allow to grant bigger privileges and facilities in third state inside the Greek Free Area, when this they would be created. Finally, in article 9 was ensured the equal treatment of transported merchandises, or these was directed in the Serbian or in Greek free area.

As it is obvious, the agreement of this convention had obvious disadvantages for the Greek side. Concretely: a) by the moment where Serbia ceased he is encircled state, with her exit in the sea via Adriatic they was justified the contracting of such agreement. b) this convention was preferential for the interests of Serbia, while shrank in great degree the Greek sovereign rights inside the area that was granted in the Serbian side. Was said the opinion that was " customs servitude ", "creation a state within state ", provided that respectively privileges had been granted only in the English free areas of Hong-Kong and Singapore and German the Tsjen-Tseou (states– protectorates)⁹⁹. c) the arrangement of free Serbian area were more favourable than corresponding Greek area (Law n. 390/1914), while were allowed the duty-free disposal of foods that would be intended for the personnel of area and the diet of transported animals, as also and the duty-free disposal of raw material that would be used for the operation of installations¹⁰⁰.

As therefore is obvious, the Serbian side, it exploited the awkward place of Greece in the particular time economic situation and, instead it supports the Greek places, it appeared same immoderate claims at the expense the territorial–substantially - sovereignty of Greek state.

⁹⁵ See D.G.Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 61.

⁹⁶ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p. 42.

⁹⁷ See Korantis A.I., "Diplomatic History of Europe (1919-1945)", v. A', 1996, Athens, p. 375.

⁹⁸ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p.49.

⁹⁹ See D.G. Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 71-72.

¹⁰⁰ See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p. 53.

In interrelation of higher up attitude existed also the direct reaction of Yugoslavia in the signature of pact of Politis-kalfof, in September 1924, with which Greece recognized the existence of Bulgarian minority in her territory. Immediately the Yugoslavian side demanded the signature of new protocol, with which are recognized the slavofone residents of Macedonia as having the Serbian nationality. When the Greek side denied it satisfies the demand, Yugoslavia denounced the Treaty of alliance 1913.

This place of Yugoslavian side led finally in March 1925 (and because the big reactions in the interior of Greece) to the cancellation of Protocol of Politis-kalfof, with result the deterioration of greekugoslavian relations, but also place of Greek-Bulgarian relations in the bad point¹⁰¹. Since then, Yugoslavia, exploiting the economic situation, began to appear excessive claims in regard to the Serbian Free Area and the exploitation of railway line Geygeli's- Thessalonica. It in deed achieved, on dictatorship Pangalos, in August 1926, the signature of third convention, with very unfavourable terms. Concretely: a) The Serbian area was considered perfectly independent from the remainder harbour, b) the Greek beginnings was deprived completely right of entry in the area, c) was forecasted her widening, as industrial and commercial, competitive completely with corresponding Greek, d) was allowed not only the conduct of national but also international trade, as also and her renting in third states, e) was granted in the Yugoslavian boats the right of cabotage in in the Greek territory, while this area constituted in the substance Serbian port, h) end, was agreed arrangement of condominium in the railway line Geygeli's-Thessalonica with French of arbitrator and was forecasted for the Serbian trains the right of rise of Serbian flag¹⁰².

Three years later, in March 1929, was signed in Geneva final agreement, that has the seal of big diplomatic faculty of Eleftherios Venjzelos. The mainer changes in favour the Greek places concerned the prohibition of rise of Serbian flag or other Serbian emblems in in the area, the determination as maximum limit the number of hundred employees of Serb nationals that could serve as employees in the area, while was only allowed the utilisation of Greek workers in this. Also, Yugoslavia undertook, in the base of beginning of reciprocity, the obligation to ensure in imported from the Greek area the imperfections that had forecasted Greece for emanating from the Serbian area, while it became explicit that the operation of Serbian free Area concerns only the facilitation of Serbian trade and the transit¹⁰³. An another characteristic example of the Serbian " friendship" towards the Greece, was the way they treated large, mighty Greek inhabitants of North Macedonia, when that region came under Serbian domination, according to the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913). Greece entered into this Treaty, accepting this condition, mainly because it was expected that a friendly, civilized country, with the same religion, would ensure the securingof the minimum of Greek populations' minority rights. Who trusted the serbian status, in comparison with the small Bulgarian community, slavian- speaking mistrustful of the serbian domination, over that area.The historic reality demonstrates the fairtale of the " Serbian friendship" . Yet, the Greek public opinion still ignores this fact.

The crude and ferocious mistreatment of the Greek population in North Macedonia, the deprivation of basic human rights, like the closure of Greek schools, the prohibition of using the Greek language there, under sentence of imprisonment, the closure of Greek churches, and the brutal expulsion of the Greek Bishop, the prohibition of Greek societies, the subreption of the huge Greek fortune with no total lack of grounds in law, the imprisonments, the beatings, the assassinations, are only a few of the examples what the Serbs meant as Greek-Serbian friendship. The last straw was an event that happened in December 1918, when the Serbian authorities, in the name of the same religion, mistreated the Greek priest of Bitola (Monastery), father Simeon, when, during the sacrament of the Eucharist they brutally snatched the chalice, mainly because the Holy Litourgie was performed in Greek! Something even the Ottoman's didn't dare to do!¹⁰⁴ Another thing that is not well known, is the Serbian prospect of what people in our days understand as " The Macedonian issue". The established opinion that the Croatian Tito was the man who created the "Macedonian Nation" is historically inaccurate. Beyond any doubt, significant historical documents, which were disclosed recently, showed and proved that Serbian scientists were the first to create thescientific background, necessary to establish the non existing till then "Macedonianism" of North Macedonia.

¹⁰¹ See Th. Veremis, "From the First war till the Cold War", Athens, 1992, p. 86.

¹⁰² See Greece, Yugoslavia, Fyrom, Petros Sousouras, 2003, p. 61.

¹⁰³ See D.G. Papamichalopoulos, "The Free Serbian Zone of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1953, p. 97-98.

¹⁰⁴ Note as above, all the book.

The Greek public ignores completely that a team of Serbian scientists, under the instructions of the cunning Serbian Dean of Beograd University, so called as nationalist and geographist Cvijic, during the time, in late 20's (and clearly long before 1945 Tito instituted the "Republic of Macedonia"), using arbitrary "scientific" arguments, tried to formulate a theory, according to which the inhabitants of North Macedonia were a separate nation, the "Slavomacedonians", a mixture of descendants of the ancient Macedonians and Slaves, when the later came to Balkans.¹⁰⁵ This theory was taken by Tito as an opportunity to create the "Macedonian Nation" in 1945 (during the 5th Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1940 {October}, Tito also used the same term and admitted to the undoubted existence of the "Macedonian Nation". The only thing could use to justify this, was the unhistorical and unscientific conclusions Jovan Cvijic, came to few many years earlier).¹⁰⁶ After all these, clearly the conclusion is that the Greek people and the Greek public opinion, who are being influenced by the Greek media, show a friendly position to the Serbs, they ignore the historic reality and what the Serbian nation has done against Greece.

In that way, they act under emotional stimulation, which is not based upon real facts, but on a historic delusion, which also has being well established in the Greek foreign policy. This is due to the fact that, the Greek side, apart from the historic ignorance, also ignores the principal dogma of diplomacy: "Permanent friends or enemies do not exist, what does exist is permanent interests and benefits". This idea in combination with the deep knowledge of the historic reality, characterizes a contemporary and civilized nation. Greece's culture in no case can be identical to this of the Slavs, no matter the degree of influence might have. Eventually, we should not forget the fact that Greeks named Europe.

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¹⁰⁵ Note VMRO, Material and Documents, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sophia, 1980, p. 788.

¹⁰⁶ Note "The Macedonian Problem", Political and historical informations, Publication of Institute of Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia, November 1968, p. 68.