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pc ~~Time Guar Actv. - Romania~~
1. The attached copy of Macedonia for May 1950 contains an article entitled "For Peace and Prosperity of the Balkan Nations." This is the report of an interview with Constantin PAPANACE.

2. I think you will find this of interest as background material.

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MACEDONIA

A PERIODICAL FOR REPORTING AND INTERPRETING BALKAN EVENTS

Indianapolis, Indiana

MAY, 1950

FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE BALKAN NATIONS

After 1912, as soon as Greece took possession of her part of Macedonia, her governments without any exception took an unfriendly attitude toward the Arumanians in Macedonia with the stubborn intention of denationalizing them. Many steps were taken along that direction. Recently, this situation of the Arumanians in Macedonia has been steadily deteriorating for the worst. The Greek authorities are doing their utmost in order of efface the last traces of national conscientiousness and existence of the Arumanians. Thus the Arumanian High School (Gymnasia) in Yanina has been closed, the lyceum in Grevena as well as the Business High School and the Professional School in Salonica also have been closed. The Arumanian priests are forced to conduct the service in their own churches in Greek, while many Arumanian teachers are either in prison or interned. In order to acquaint our readers with the plight of the Arumanians in Macedonia one of our European correspondents had a special interview with MR. CONSTANTIN PAPANACE, a well-known former Rumanian Minister now in exile, who has closely observed the perplexed Balkan problems. Following are the views expressed by Mr. Papanace on the situation of the Arumanians in Macedonia, the solution of the thorny Macedonian Question as well as his stand for the general pacification of the Balkan Peninsula.

Question: Mr. Papanace, you were born in Macedonia and have spent part of your youth there. Notwithstanding your active participation in the social and political life of Rumania, you have maintained a keen interest in Macedonian developments. Allow me therefore to ask you first of all, do you think that the Macedonian question has been solved since 1944, as her present rulers, especially the Communists maintain?

Answer: It is true, that despite my deep concern with the problems of our nation, growing under a foreign yoke, nothing has been able to lessen my interest toward the Arumanian element in the Balkans, of which I am a part. A long chain of struggle and sacrifices binds me closely with our Arumanians. I have lived, and still live today with their tragedy. It is for this reason that I am willing to express my views on the Macedonian question, as well as on other questions of the Balkan nations. In reply to your question I wish to state explicitly, that the Macedonian question was not only left unsolved following the second World War, but was complicated still farther, due to the Soviet imperialism and the manipulations with the fate of this region. The last few years have made all of this very clear.

Question: Do you believe that before the last war the Macedonian

question had been settled satisfactorily?

Answer: Not even before the second World War could we have considered that question as settled in any way. The division of Macedonia between the three nations which succeeded Turkey, namely: Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, brought about by the Bucharest Treaty (1918) and later confirmed by the Paris Treaty (1919), left gaping, as bloody wounds, a whole series of questions, as for example: the question of the Albanian minorities, the Bulgarians and the Arumanians in Yugoslavia; the question of the Bulgarians and the Arumanians minorities in Greece; the question of access to the Aegean Sea for the Balkan nations, etc. The fact that the mentioned states did not respect the rights of these minorities aggravated still more the strained situation inherited from the Turkish rule. Especially aggravating was their policy of denationalization. That is why the balance created by the mentioned treaties was a very fragile one, a balance which could not endure, especially during a period of international crises. As a matter of fact, as soon as the second World War began, the established order began to shake from its foundations up. During the first phase of the war, Yugoslavia entered into negotiations with Germany for an access to the sea through the annexation of Salonica and its hinterland, despite all its agreements with Greece, and Bulgaria extended its occupation of the Macedonian territories held by Yugoslavia and Greece, in accordance with its old claims.

It was obvious that these transitory conditions likewise could not have presented the best solution to the Macedonian questions, even if they had remained permanent, just as the present situation cannot be considered satisfactory.

Question: Do the struggles and bickering of the last four years going on between the Communist states on the Balkans, or between some of them and Greece have anything in common with the will of the Macedonian population and its basic interests?

ing committees, appearing one after the other, may study the Macedonian question from the point of view of the vital interests of the local population. Let us hope that the UN which has manifested such praise-worthy interest in the rights of the African tribes, will not overlook the elementary human rights of the Macedonian people.

Question: Did the situation in Macedonia improve or become worse following the end of the Turkish rule in 1912, particularly so far as the human, national and religious rights of the people living there are concerned?

Answer: Naturally, after the termination of the Turkish regime a certain improvement took place, simply due to the fact that here was the end of a foreign, autocratic and barren regime which had stifled the freedom of the Christian population, making impossible its normal development along the traditional road of their civilization and centuries-old culture.

The subsequent division of Macedonia, however, destroyed her administrative and economic unity. The new barriers, raised by the dividing nations brought about disintegration and decline.

Many cities and ports, such as Salonica, Kavala, and Bitolya (Monastir), declined rapidly, unable to maintain their economic life being severed as it were from their respective hinterlands.

As to the respect of human, religious and national rights, the degeneration was only too obvious. Led by a chauvinist mentality, the nations heirs to the Turk, adopted a violent denationalization policy, utilizing for this purpose every means of material and moral pressure available to a modern nation. As result of this new situation, the Albanians, Bulgarians and Arumanians lost their schools in the territories under Greece and Yugoslavia, as well as the freedom of organization, and the freedom of the press which they had enjoyed even under the autocratic rule of the Sultans. It may be said, that at the end they came to the paradoxical situation of regretting the passing of the Turkish autocratic regime, which they had fought so stubbornly. This fact proves only too eloquently the tragedy of the present situation.

Answer: That struggle, as well as the conflicting theses maintained by the respective partners for their own justification, have precious little in common with the vital interests of the local population, left only to suffer as result of it all. These campaigns in reality are on one side an expression of the imperialistic Soviet policy seeking access to the Aegean Sea—through the medium of bloody riots—and, on the other, the opposition of the Western Powers acting as always to block that policy. In other words, we have here recurring under a much more dangerous form the old expansionist campaign of Tsarist Russia, dating from two centuries back, which had always brought misery to the Balkan nations, faced, especially today, with hopeless dilemmas. It is obvious, that if the Eurasian Communism wins, the tyranny and organized looting will spread all over that part of the world, and that if the other side emerges victorious, the situation will revert to the old injustices well known to the people of those lands.

I wish in no way to belittle the epoch-making decision of President Truman to block the spreading of the Communist scourge over that part of Europe. Notwithstanding the significance of his stand from an international viewpoint, in Macedonia it will result in a decided minus, if the old order of things is allowed to remain, and decisions are made which do not take into consideration the human and national rights of the oppressed nationalities in that part of the world. I am of the opinion that the United Nations ought to be informed collectively on this paradoxical situation, so that the numerous investigat-

Question: Did the Arumanian minority, of which you were a member, preserve its churches, schools and national organizations after 1912? What is its present situation?

Answer: The Arumanian element suffered as result of the decisions taken at Bucharest more than the other national groups. The gradual destruction of the political unity of the Balkan peninsula, brought to its completion during the Balkan war of 1918 when Macedonia was torn to pieces, inflicted serious blows upon all social categories of the Arumanian minorities: the big merchants, the smaller business men who did most of the continental trade on the Balkan peninsula, the well known "kiradjii," who held virtual monopoly over land transportation and the migrating shepherds and their flocks, who changed from the mountains in summer to the plains in wintertime. All of these were gravely affected by the already mentioned developments. The drawing of new national borders "per longum et latum" paralyzed the activities of this dynamic element. It suffered another serious blow due to the colonization policy enforced by the Balkan nations. Greece in particular, used to all advantages the masses of refugees from the Caucasus and Asia Minor to break up the Arumanian minority. The confiscation of the hitherto free pastures forced the Arumanian shepherds and cattlemen, who formed the strongest economic group there, to change their

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trade unexpectedly, and the taking away of the rights of pasture ruined them economically. As result of this many of them had to immigrate to Rumania. The present civil war in Greece dealt them another crushing blow. This war against the "Communist rebels" fought mainly in the parts inhabited by Arumanians destroyed what remained of their wealth, and compelled them to be moved far from the lands of their forefathers.

The lack of energy and the dilatory way in which the Athens government has been fighting the "rebels" during the last years, have led many to see in this a preconceived plan for the destruction of the Arumanian minority which had lately manifested strong nationalistic feelings.

Although this may appear at first glance as a far-fetched conclusion, it cannot be ruled out as such in view of the hate-propaganda aimed against that minority—a propaganda which has been given place even in the official press through the writings of authorized persons. As we have seen, the economic as well as the social position of the Arumanian element has grown worse since it passed under the rule of the Christian nations in 1912.

No less tragic is its situation from the political standpoint. Yugoslavia closed the Arumanian schools and churches in 1914, disregarding the obligations she had assumed under the Bucharest Treaty. It should be noticed, that new Communist Yugoslavia, whose constitution—fashioned after that of the Soviet Union—is in theory lavishly disposed toward national minorities, did not even think for a moment to give back to the Arumanians their cultural and religious freedom. This only proves that the new leaders of Yugoslavia have not abandoned the old policy of denationalization, despite the proclamation of the "Macedonian Republic." In Albania the Arumanian schools were abolished through the so-called "nationalization," a slow process which has now been completed. Bulgaria tolerated the few existing schools, as those in Sofia, Gorna-Djoumaya, etc., but did not allow additional new schools for the Arumanian minority in the moun-

tain that it was from there that Alexander the Great began the unification of the Balkan peninsula, and that Salonica is the birthplace of Cyril and Methodius, as well as of St. Dimitrius, the patron of the city.

Question: Do you believe that the Macedonian question will be the main cause for mutual suspicions, hatred and enmity among the Balkan neighbors while it remains unsolved?

Answer: It is clear, as history has proven in the past, that practically all the suspicions, hatreds and enmities on the Balkans spring from the uncontrolled appetites of the Balkan nations for possession of Macedonia. It is easy to see that these tendencies shall continue so long as Macedonia remains a prey to such ambitions. The situation can be changed basically only if the Balkan neighbors could check their aggressive appetites and be reconciled to the fact that this province is one INDIVISIBLE unit, so created by nature, geographically, and so proven by a thousand years of history. The various nationalities in Macedonia are so mixed that not even the drastic and inhuman methods, as for example the exchange of populations, could separate her into isolated groupings, without creating still greater injustice.

Having mentioned the existing suspicions, I would like to point to one of those, in this case concerning the autonomy of Macedonia. This idea defended strongly by the Bulgarian element, is not but a mask—an intermediary stage after which will follow the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria, in fulfillment of the pan-Slav policies of Moscow. It is quite plain that those who are acquainted with the often bloody conflicts between the leaders of the Macedonian Bulgarians and official Bulgaria, conflicts caused by the former's idea of independence, cannot be fooled by that campaign. In order to put an end to the speculations of certain malicious international circles, I am of the opinion that the Slav-speaking population of Macedonia should adopt a firm attitude towards the pan-Slav agitations of Moscow.

Question: Do you think that an independent Macedonia will contribute toward the pacification of the Balkans, and the rapprochement of the Balkan nations?

dependent Macedonia should be organized in similar fashion as Switzerland?

Answer: There is no doubt that Switzerland could in many ways be taken as an example. The decentralized administration of Switzerland as found in the organization of the cantons, approximates the geographic construction of Macedonia as well as the different languages spoken by the respective nationalities. Together with this, however, as I mentioned before, there must prevail in the country the liberal and tolerant spirit characteristic of the Swiss people. It would be necessary to uproot—by proper education—the so-called "spirit of petty Balkan craftiness," growing there as a parasite introduced by foreign regimes and their intrigues. The same spirit of tolerance and correctness must be manifested on the part of Macedonia's neighbors, who should treat her independence as France, Italy and Germany treat the independence of the Swiss federation. Let us, however, keep within the frame of reality. It should be noted that the existing comparison between Switzerland and an independent Macedonia should not be overdone. It should not be forgotten that Switzerland is a mountainous country, occupying from every point of view only a peripheral position, so far as her neighbors are concerned. Macedonia, however, occupies a central position on the Balkans, and is, as I have already mentioned, the heart and lung of the Balkan peninsula. Because of this, her natural role is that of an unifying magnet. She cannot remain isolated. That setting has predestined her for a much more dynamic and restless fate.

Question: Do the Great Powers hold any responsibility for the fact that the Macedonian question remains still unsolved and the Macedonian people are left without rights or freedoms?

Answer: They certainly hold part of the responsibility and not a small part at that. I could say that the so-called "balkanism" is a product of the intrigues of the Great Powers, who impregnated the oriental vices of the Turkish rule, vices, however, foreign to the unspoiled heart of the Macedonians. That is a heart full of noble impulses and an insatiable

... famous part of the country.

Up to the last war Greece had allowed the majority of the Arumanian schools remaining from the time of Turkish domination to continue, being satisfied with indirect sabotage of their work. But in Epyrus and Thessaly no new schools were permitted despite the large numbers of Arumanians living there.

After the second World War, however, taking advantage of the fact that Rumania was on the losing side, Greece closed all Arumanian schools and churches, confiscated their properties and records under the charge of "collaboration," as Rumania was on the side of the Axis powers and imprisoned all priests and teachers as well as a large part of Arumanian municipal officials.

All this was preceded and supported by a vicious campaign in the press, supplemented by other threatening measures akin to the "progressive" methods used on the other side of the "Iron Curtain." In such manner were wrung from those interned people declarations in which they rejected their Rumanian nationality and religious affiliations. Some time ago these declarations were broadcast by Radio Athens in the attempt to prove that there were no Arumanians in Greece! All this proves that Greece violated all her obligations under the Bucharest Treaty, as well as the provisions of Article 12 of the Paris Treaty of 1919. More than that—by her actions Greece has destroyed the moral foundations on the basis of which she had been the recipient of material and moral support by the Great American Republic.

IT COULD BE SAID, THEREFORE, THAT TODAY THE ARUMANIAN ELEMENT—A POPULATION OF HALF A MILLION PEOPLE—DOES NOT ENJOY ANY HUMAN, RELIGIOUS OR NATIONAL RIGHTS IN ANY OF THE BALKAN NATIONS, BE THEY ON THIS OR THE OTHER SIDE OF THE "IRON CURTAIN."

Question: Can the Macedonian population prosper economically while Macedonia remains partitioned among her neighbor states?

Answer: As I pointed before, not only the Macedonian population, but all the Balkan nations as well cannot prosper while this region remains divided. Macedonia and her port, Salonica, has always been the heart and lung of the Peninsula. Her meaning as a moving factor, both economically and spiritually, has been proven by history. It suffices to recall the fact

Answer: I am of the opinion that an independent Macedonia, that is, a "Macedonia for the Macedonians" will contribute substantially toward the end of the present conflicts and toward friendly relations on the Balkans. That has been the opinion of practically all outsiders who have dealt impartially with this question, men such as William Gladstone, Lord Bryce, J. D. Bourchier, Colonel Lamouche and others. The fact that this view has not prevailed is due mainly to the suspicions I have mentioned, as well as the political and diplomatic game motivated by consideration having nothing to do with justice for Macedonia. I believe that an independent Macedonia would be welcomed not only by the oppressed nationalities there (Bulgarians, Arumanians, Albanians and Jews), but as well by all such immigrant groups living in various countries. Well-known is the sharp conflict existing between the local elements and the world of the "old kingdoms," a world of office-holders, judges, and the like, who arrive on the scene almost always in a mood of aggression, manifesting habits unsuitable to the local mentality. But, apart from that, the unification of Macedonia will revive the circulation of wealth and give new impetus to the economic life of the country, especially in the sections now under Greece (the ports of Salonica, Kavala, etc.).

To assure the existence of an independent Macedonia, and its full internal tranquility, it is essential that a new widespread feeling of unity be created, a unity based on values surpassing the petty chauvinist mentality of the past. Otherwise, if the same outdated conceptions remain, the country will revert to the situation of 1912, that is, independent Macedonia shall be torn asunder both from within and without by the old centrifugal tendencies, and interplaying forces of denationalization.

On the other side, it should not be forgotten that the Macedonian question is related to other Balkan problems in such a way, that its final solution must be sought within the solution of all of these complex problems.

Under the existing conditions, an atmosphere of agreement could be created much easier if the nationalities in Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan countries would take into consideration their mutual interests, deep and permanent as they are, rather than examine their small differences under a magnifying glass.

Question: Do you feel that an in-

thirst for freedom. It is this very thirst for freedom that the Great Powers have exploited whenever it suited their political game in that part of the world, which assumed exceptional strategic importance following the opening of the Suez Canal.

The Balkan nations have often been inflamed from outside in order that a situation be created whereby world opinion would be diverted from other international or internal problems in which the Great Powers were involved. Russia, the so-called "defender of the South Slavs," or of the "Christian states," is particularly fond of creating such inauspicious diversions. In this manner has been created the complicated "Eastern Question" whose solution has grown more and more difficult. And it is in this game of intrigues, maneuvering and suspicious of the Great Powers that we should look for the explanation of the fact that the Macedonian question has not yet found its natural solution.

This shameful manipulation with the longings of the Balkan nations continues, unfortunately, to this very day with the same negative results as in the past.

These nations should realize that without an understanding among them, they chance to remain forever in the position of puppets of the foreign powers, forever tortured and exhausted by internal struggles. Let us hope that the intervention of the United States of America and the United Nations in the European affairs, will come to the support of the right cause, bring to this troubled corner of the world also the spirit of tolerance and nobility by which alone can be put an end to all intrigues and fruitless agitation.

Question: On what basis, in your opinion, could Balkan relations be established more solidly? What is your opinion concerning a Balkan federation or confederation, mentioned repeatedly for many years?

Answer: I am glad you have asked me this question. So far I have only established facts and conclusions and made observations, which, no matter how objective, will naturally awaken some feelings here and there. My basic opinion is that no progress can be made along a constructive line simply by digging up the past. It will be decidedly to everybody's advantage if much of that past could be forgotten. Today our vision should be directed toward the future, toward the new problems facing the European nations, and spec-

ially toward the serious dangers originating in Eurasia.

I must confess that I am a convinced supporter of the "unity among the Balkan nations." Only within this frame can the Macedonian question find its basic solution, and as many other questions find a just and lasting solution. Within the same frame, I hope, will be created the necessary conditions for the peaceful development of the Arumanian element on the Balkans: in Macedonia, Albania, Epyrus, Thessaly and other parts of the peninsula.

It is high time that, following the process of division on the continent of Europe, due to the spread of nationalism—based upon spoken languages—there should begin the process of rehabilitation, grounded upon the still deeper biological factors, without the loss of that which is good in the spirit of patriotism. This is the requirement of the new times, marked with specific necessities in the fields of technology, politics, military science, economics, social issues, etc. Contrary to the past, when attempts at a Balkan federation were prompted by considerations for political balance—considerations by nature egotistic and cold—this time they should be based on deeper and more lasting foundations. The Balkan nations have become used to regarding each other as enemies, mainly on the basis of language differences. They have not realized that beneath these outward differences they share a common origin and the same blood, often shed in one and the same fate.

Starting out from such an understanding of the unity of the Balkans, many of the conflicts of the past will fade into insignificance. Acting in this manner, the field will be cleared of many obstacles seemingly unsurmountable today.

Naturally, the question is many-sided, bound as it is with difficulties present at every beginning. I have been convinced, however, in conversations with various Balkan leaders, and some western statesmen interested in the problems of Southeastern Europe, that attempts could be made toward such a beginning.

The substance of this problem is stated in detail in the points I have made in an article written on this matter. These points are as follows:

1. No solution to the Balkan questions—as well as to other simi-

5. The Balkan nations will not find peace or balance before they base their progress upon that which is truly specific, that which is representative of the common foundations existing. All the emotions—sometimes leading to neurosis—that have caused bloody convulsions in that part of the world, are due to a large extent to the fact that this truth has so far been neglected.

Due to the absence on the Balkans of a center of gravity of its own, it was possible for a number of peripheral tendencies to penetrate into the region, tendencies such as pan-byzantinism—fed by Greek ideas of greatness, also pan-romanism—supported by the neolatin element on the Balkans (Rumanians, Vlachs, etc.) and exalted in our days by Mussolini's fascism, and finally, the Eastern Orthodox and Communist pan-slavism of today. All these peripheral tendencies increased the confusion on the Balkans, and complicate the solution of their problems. The last tendency—that of the Communist pan-slavism, is becoming particularly threatening and cannot be defeated but by another idea, which in this case can be only the idea of autochthonism.

6. The Balkan spirit has a substance which distinguishes it from the wavering Byzantine character, the Roman pragmatism and, particularly the decaying features of the Slav soul. Enriched by the Thracian conception of the "immortality of the soul," to which latter was added the Christian idea, the Balkan spirit is known for its absolute thirst for freedom, for the prominence of its moral values, for its cult of the family, its stern customs, unusual fighting prowess (well illustrated in the personal bravery of the "haiduti") and, generally speaking, for its heroic outlook on life. This same outlook is at the basis of the present movements for freedom. All these characteristics are in their very essence contrary to low morals of the mob and the all-degrading spirit of Communism. It is high time that this be stressed systematically and set up against the Communist idea.

7. The political unification of the Balkan peninsula, as well as other plans for unification on a larger scale, is in this new era an unyielding necessity, imposed by the technical and economic evolution and its deep reflections upon national se-

For world problems—can be reached while there exists the present tension between the Great Powers, a tension due to hardened irreconcilable and diametrically opposed ideological positions.

An atmosphere of freedom is essential here, and if the totalitarian way of thinking does not retreat, freedom could not be achieved but through a new armed conflict, which would overturn the present distribution of power in favor of the liberal and democratic ideas.

2. The solution of the Balkan problems should not be sought in the multitude of contradictions of the last century, nor in the heated disputes, fed by subjective interests, if not by evil designs. Only through a NEW IDEA rising by its very substance above all contradictions, could the field be cleared, and all obstacles to a just and lasting solution removed.

3. An essential condition is the abandoning of extreme nationalism-chauvinism. Of course, it must be kept in mind, that the nationalist idea, especially among the Balkan nations—young and temperamental—has a contagiousness which cannot be overlooked. The best proof of this is found in the fact that even Christianity, humanitarianism, and ideological Communism, which were saturated through with this extreme nationalism, were turned quite often into mere masks worn by the disputing parties. The only normal path to follow lies not in the direction of rejecting this idea, but of elevating it to a higher level, utilizing it in a broader and nobler plan.

4. Serious ethnographic and anthropological studies have proven that the synthesis of the old races (Hellenes, Thracians and Ilirians) has existed throughout history and is dominant even today. The later races, namely the Latins, Slavs, Turanians, Levantians, etc., could not suffocate it, but only added variety to the existing racial composition. All Balkan nations are the result of this historic mixture of races, and have the same elements in their physical makeup. Now is the time to see that this truth assumes political meaning as well, serving as a guiding principle in the solution of the Balkan problem. Without neglecting the importance of the "tongues spoken" on the peninsula, the emphasis must be placed upon the common blood and social structure. Less attention should be paid to lingual differences; forgetting the divisions we should build upon the permanent and unifying biological factors.

Success and military strategy

By the force of circumstance, the present situation on the Balkans cannot prevail. If the democratic powers cannot find a common principle uniting them against the stand of Communism, all their material efforts to block Communism in that part of the world will remain ineffective. Only the federation of the Balkan nations in an atmosphere of unity, based upon the principle of freedom and equality for all—under a system of decentralization of authority and autonomy—could give the answer to local aspirations, surpassing the elasticity of the Communist tactics.

8. In the frame of such a federation, a large part of the controversial problems that poison the relations between the respective nations, could be mellowed down gradually and disappear completely. Some of those problems have already been eased at certain localities through re-grouping of the mixed population. This method can be applied in Macedonia with good chances of success, especially in view of the considerable numbers of forced exiles, awaiting a regime of freedom in order to return to their homes.

9. The problem of Macedonia calls for special handling due to the central location of that country, the intermingling of its population and the fact that it is the cause of most of the conflicts on the Balkans. Only by the creation of an independent Macedonia, included in a Balkan federation could be solved such delicate problems, as: access to the sea for the nations in the northern part of the peninsula—Serbia and Bulgaria; security for Greece; the aspirations of the Albanian, Arumanian and Grecianophile minorities in the parts of Macedonia at present under Yugoslav and Bulgarian rule, as well as the Bulgarian, Arumanian and Albanian minorities at present in Greek Macedonia. In this way the province, which has been a cause of dissension on the Balkans, and a "powder keg" for Europe will now become a province of unity and agreement.

10. The creation of a Balkan federation based upon the principle of the freedoms guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations, will facilitate the solution of other controversial questions on the Balkans. Likewise, some of the internal crises in the Balkan states will be resolved under the new regime of decentralization and autonomy.

In view of the racial affinity, similarity of customs, and common economic structure of the Danubian

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countries, it is possible for the Balkan federation to spread over the territory of the former Habsburg monarchy. Thus could be created a real federation in the whole of Eastern Europe, which will facilitate the solution of many of the problems in that part of the world, particularly the problem of the economic vitality of Austria.

11. The Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe has awoken in the people of those unfortunate nations the realization of their common fate. The present moment may well be considered advantageous for the popularization of the federation idea, more so because the desire for federation is beginning to spread among the masses of the people.

12. The idea of a United Europe will find an ally in a federated Southeastern Europe, which will be a part of the united continent, together with such other regional federations as the Iberian peninsula, Italy, Scandinavia, etc. In its turn, a United Europe would be an important part of a United World. The geographic location of the Balkan peninsula and the ethnological composition of its populations enable it to act as a link as well as to reach in many directions: toward the Slav-Ural-Altaics in vast Eurasia; the Latins, represented by the Rumanians, Arumanians, etc. to the West, as well as toward the nations of the Near East.

I would like to recall here that the former under-secretary of State, Sumner Wells, suggests in his book "The Time for Decision" the creation of a Balkan federation including Rumania, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as a guarantee of the peace in Southeastern Europe. Such a block, well organized, will in reality be an important factor in the balance of power, as it will prevent hegemony on the Balkans.

Last question: What do you think is the role of the Americans of Balkan descent, namely: Greeks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Albanians, Serbs, Croats, etc., in the common effort for the just solution of the controversial issues in that part of Europe?

Answer: The role these can play may be not only considerable, but decisive in bringing peace on the Balkans. I know that at the time the United States adopted an isolationist policy, those immigrant groups were strongly nationalistic. The nostalgia for their native lands kept that nationalistic spirit burning. The situation now has changed radically. With the old American isolationist policy forgotten, and her active participation in world affairs felt in every part of the globe, it is time for the mentioned immigrant groups to give the tone to their countrymen

in the Old World. The flame of American freedom, kindled in the country where human rights were first proclaimed, must be carried in the Balkans to overcome the darkness of chauvinism still existing there. The spirit of justice and tolerance those immigrants inhale in their new country, must be conveyed to the leaders of their native lands. The Anglo-Saxon idea of "fair play" should rule in the relations among the Balkan nations. It may well be a symbolic gesture of tremendous significance for those immigrant groups, to create the first impulse toward brotherly relations on the Balkans, for unity in Macedonia, and Balkan unification. United appeals could be made before the UN seeking the same end. I am certain a cause as noble as this would gain the support not only of official America, but as well of American public opinion, so actively interested in the present situation in South-eastern Europe and the so-

called "powder keg" on the Balkans, which has been the cause of worldwide explosions in the past.

The motto of all Balkan nations should be "End to all fruitless conflicts of the past." This Peninsula, which has in the past brought forth glorious periods marked by history as eras of culture and civilization, should again, after dark centuries of foreign rule, pick up the thread of its creative tradition. Working for the independence of Macedonia within the framework of Balkan unity, the Americans of Balkan descent can help bring to their brothers across the ocean justice, peace and prosperity in all fields of human endeavor, thus putting an end to a nightmare, which has harrassed for a long time now not only Europe but the world as well.

It is thus that I conceive the noblest contribution the Americans of Balkan descent can make to the solution of the Balkan problem.



YUNDOLA—a summer resort in the Rhodope Mountains, situated on the most northern tip of Macedonia. Here passes the geographical boundary line between Macedonia and Bulgaria.