

**МЕЃУНАРОДНА НАУЧНА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА**

**МАКЕДОНИЈА И БАЛКАНОТ  
100 ГОДИНИ ОД ПРВАТА СВЕТСКА ВОЈНА –  
БЕЗБЕДНОСТ И ЕВРОАТЛАНСКИ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ**

**INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE**

**MACEDONIA AND THE BALKANS, A HUNDRED YEARS  
AFTER THE WORLD WAR I – SECURITY AND EURO-  
ATLANTIC INTEGRATIONS**

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*Dear,*

The International Scientific Conference Ohrid 2014 through scientific articles should contribute to the 100th anniversary from the World War I, through a debate to offer answers to the questions that were current a century ago and to make the intersection of what and how changes are made in this part of Europe. Therefore the Faculty of Security-Skopje determined to organize an International Scientific Conference from the 3rd of June till 5th of June 2014 in Ohrid by the theme Macedonia and the Balkans 100 years from the World War I – Safety and Euro-Atlantic integrations. Thus continuing the orientation with organizing international conferences in the field of security so it can contribute to the development of scientific thought and for the decision makers of the regional, national and local level helps using the knowledge and research results for faster, simpler and timely overcome the practical problems that they are facing. This scientific meeting will be attended by over 100 scientific and educational workers from Albania, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and the Republic of Macedonia.

The conference will present papers on the following topics:

### **1. The Balkans and Macedonia in the geostrategic concepts of the European countries and interests:**

- The Balkans through its historical perspective - is the “candlewick” still existent?
- What are the consequences of the military and police conflicts after the World War I and what are their contemporary consequences?
- What is different in the geostrategic position of Macedonia and the Balkans after the World War I?
- Is the resolving of the “Macedonian issue” achieved or is it an open process?
- What are the reasons of the prolonged integrations of Macedonia into the European Union and the Euro-Atlantic structures? What is the position of the Balkan countries in relation to the Euro-Atlantic countries?
- Is the Western Balkan the “appendix” of Europe?
- The Balkans - intersection of cultures and traditions – security implications;
- The cultural and religious differences on the Balkans - security challenges;
- The contemporary position of the Balkans - European or Western;

- Are there any concepts and strategies of the influential subjects in the international relations of the position of the Balkans, i.e. towards the Balkan countries – the Balkans as a strategic interest of the influential countries and subjects?
- The Ohrid Framework Agreement - a model for resolving of ethnical conflicts
- The Balkans and Republic of Macedonia in the Geostrategic concepts of European countries and interests

## **2. The Balkans, the National Countries and European Integrations:**

- The concept of the national countries and hegemonic concepts and ideologies on the Balkans;
- The reestablishment of the nationalism and nationalistic absoluteness - accelerator of the Balkan conflicts;
- Is the era of Balkan collisions and conflicts terminated?
- Europeanization of the Balkans and Balkanization of Europe;
- Security issues related to the national borders;
- The consequences of the visa liberalization over the Balkan countries and the member states of EU

## **3. The Police and the inter-police collaboration on the Balkans**

- The legal position of the Police and the other law enforcement organizations on the Balkans;
- Forms of collaboration among the Police and the other law enforcement organizations;
- Structure of the inter-police collaboration;
- Contents of the inter-police collaboration;
- Forms of ad hoc institutionalization of the inter-police collaboration;
- The educational systems and the profile of the police profession in the Balkan countries;
- Forms of bilateral and multilateral collaboration on the Balkans in the area of crime management, human traffic, narcotics and psychotropic substances;
- Institutionalization of the regional collaboration in the management of crises and other security issues.
- Is the formation of joined Balkan police forces possible?
- Is the formation of a Balkan net of criminalists as well as a net of individuals in certain expert fields possible?
- Western Balkan outside the European Union?

- Police and crime - public opinion, public confidence

#### **4. Economic and Commercial exchange on the Balkans:**

- Contemporary forms of trade, law regulations and relations among the countries;
- Collaboration among the economic subjects between the legal reliability and the security threats and risks;
- Regional collaboration and regional economic policy

#### **5. Democracy, legal state and human rights; their promotion and forms of protection:**

- International standards for protection of the human freedoms and rights and the policy of the Balkan countries;
- Forms of protection of the freedoms and rights - experiences and perspectives;
- Strengthening of the rule of law and the responsibility of the institutions;
- The role of the international organizations in promotion and implementation of the international benchmarks for protection of the human rights of the people on the Balkans;
- Democracy, stabilization, integration;
- The interstate and inter-institutional collaboration in protection of the human freedoms and rights;

#### **6. Criminal Justice, Criminal Policy and Victimization**

- Contemporary forms of computer crime (electronic: frauds, procuring, threats, stealing of personal data and other forms of electronic frauds and crime);
- Forms of crime related to the internet and cyber services and modes for their detection;
- Criminal experiences, achievements, methods, means and modes of suppression of the contemporary forms of criminality
- War and crime;
- War and victims of crime;
- War crimes;
- War v.v. reconciliation;
- International aspects of crime and punishment;
- Risk and criminal justice;
- Modernization of Criminal Justice;

- Contemporary challenges of criminology;
- Reform of the criminal and procedural law;

### 7. Geopolitics in the 21st century and the appearance of new socio-criminological types of crime

- Extra-institutional approach to new forms and types of crime
- The foreign policy of great powers and factors that cause forms of terrorism and organized crime in the 21st century

Country	Macedonia	Serbia	Croatia	Bulgaria	Republic of	Slovenia	Albania
Original scientific paper	9	2					
Review-scientific paper	29	6	2	2	1	1	1
Professional paper	20	5	2		1		
Negative reviews	5						
Total work papers	58	13	4	2	2	1	1
Total work papers 86							

**Organization committee of the  
International Scientific Conference  
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# MACEDONIA IN THE INTERESTS OF THE GREAT POWERS BEFORE AND DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE FUTURE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS

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## ***Abstract:***

*Macedonia has always been in the history geostrategic sphere of the influences and the interests of the great European powers. During the second half of the XIX century, particularly in the period after the Prussian - Austrian war of 1866, the European powers began very quickly to develop in the area of strategies for modern warfare, modernization of military equipment and they were rapidly developing the economic power and influence.*

*Before and during the First World War, Macedonia was constantly an important geostrategic sphere for realizing the territorial and economic interests of the great powers, especially emphasizing the Via Ignatius or the road E -75 now, which was an important link to further interests of the great powers.*

*Therefore, European powers made the bilateral and trilateral alliances which depended on more mutual variables: dependence on a member military power and dominance, power of commitment of one to another country and etc.*

*The Central Powers and the Entente were formed from these alliances, and they were the main actors in the First World War. The final results of this scientific paper represent further indirect impact of the great European forces and our close neighboring environment in terms of disrupting the overall progress and Euro-Atlantic integration of our country and the possibility for the future negative security implications. The final hypothesis of this paper is: How will Macedonia "score" (comprehensively develops) if does not integrate in NATO and the EU?*

**Keywords:** *Macedonia, interests, Great powers, World War I, future security implications*



## Introduction

Shortly before the First World War (1914-1918), a valuable event in modern history for mentioning is the Berlin Congress which was held from 13.06-13.07.1878 with representatives from the European powers and Ottoman Empire. The documents found in the political archive -XII, Turkey 1902-1909, give a clear view of the position of the major European powers to countries that were under Ottoman administration and the protective attitude of Russia to these countries (Political archive-XII, Turkey 1902-1909: sig. LXXXV/1015, 1877-1880).

The Documents from the decisions of the Berlin agreement hold the signature number LXXXV/1021. The following major European powers were present on the Congress: Britain, Austro-Hungary, Russia, France, Germany, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. The delegates from Greece, Romanian Kingdom, Serbia and Montenegro were also participating. The Congress was held most for revising the San Stefano peace treaty from 03.03.1878, which provided the creation of "Greater Bulgaria" under the directives of Russia and the ultimate goal of this agreement was understanding the states from the Empire and its withdrawal from the Balkans, that have been an obstacle for further interests of the major European powers (Political archive XII, Turkey 1902-1909: sig. LXXXV/1016, 1877-1880).

At this Congress 18 out of 29 articles were removed from the San Stefano peace agreement from 03.03.1878. These conclusions were made at the congress: Macedonia was returned in the possession of the Ottoman Empire as well as other areas that had been allocated to Bulgaria with the San Stefano peace treaty. Serbia, Montenegro and Romania became independent states. Bulgaria received tributary princely status. Cyprus was assigned to Great Britain, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austro-Hungary. Addressing the issue of the Berlin Congress in 1878, the European powers were managed in accordance with the laws of the Paris Peace Treaty of Washington in 1856 and 1871 (Political archive XII, Turkey 1902-1909: sig. LXXXV/1014, 1877-1880).

One week before the Berlin Congress, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Benjamin Fyord concluded a secret agreement with the Ottoman Empire against Russia, which allowed Britain to occupy a strategic place, the Greek islands (Abadziev 1959, 115-121). This agreement, among other things, was provided for supporting the views of the Gate by Great Britain. At the beginning of the Congress, with strong pressure from Russia to other members, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro became independent states and Bulgaria received tributary princely status (Dimeski 2000,15-19). The following were given to Montenegro Niksic, Podgorica and Bar; Bosnia and

Herzegovina were awarded to Austro-Hungary. Eastern Rumelia became an autonomous province and later Bulgarian state.

England and her human people discussed about the autonomy of Macedonia long time ago as a key solution for the hot passions in the Balkans, which was confirmed by the final declaration of the London Balkan Committee for dividing the Empire (Mazover 2000, 70-74). Macedonia and other countries in the possession of the Empire, under Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, had a chance to provide a Statute similar to Crete (Misirkov 2007, 10-12 ), in which these countries were awarded to have autonomy in the Empire (Pandevska 1993, 20-22). If we read the Austrian, English, Russian, French and the reports from other European powers, we can conclude that these countries closely monitored the situation in the Balkans under the Ottoman rule after the Berlin Congress.

The documented report from 18.11.1884 was sent to the English ambassador in Constantinople, Mr. Vajndham to Mr. Granvil, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London. Mr. Vajndham reported that 52 murders were committed in July 1884 by the Ottoman authorities in Veles and Bitola. (State Archives of Macedonia, 2002, 218-220). The Bulgarian reports speculated that Bulgarian politics was only a protector for Macedonian interest. (Arnaudovъ 1941.20-23). At the end of this report, Mr. Vajndham underlined Article 23 to remind the European powers to implement reforms in accordance with Article 23 in Macedonia, similar to the original Statute in Crete (Pandevska 1993, 220), otherwise, the victimizing of Macedonian people would have greater intensity.

### **Formation of Alliances in the world before First World War**

In modern scientific activity the term "union" is defined as the expectation of one or a group of states to be supported by other countries in their future relations. Association actually represents a number of countries identifying and avoiding possible negative security implications of their future opponents (Archive RM 2000, 285-290).

Countries that are exposed to union security implications and threats from the same opponent or group of opponents can expect to defend each other, because they have common interests to prevent their expansion and power.

During the whole period of the existence of the Austro-German alliance, Austria's greatest opponent was Russia. Regarding Germany until 1890, her greatest opponent was France. The time interval after 1894 represented a transitional period of creation of the France-Russian alliance.

During this period, Germany found herself in a very dependent position because it was in indirect pressure on two fronts, one with France

and other with Russia. On the other side, the enemy opponent of her ally Austria was Russia.

The rapid strengthening of military and economic power of Germany in the period from 1900 until the beginning of World War I in 1914 made her less dependent on its ally Austria. During 1880 Austria had about 9 percent of the total military resources of the major European powers, determined according to its share in the industry of iron, steel, energy consumption, population and military resources.

Her greatest rival Russia had about 20.4 percent of the total military and industrial resources, the Germans had 18.6 percent of the total resources, France 18.1 percent and 33.8 percent of the total military resources industry belonged to the UK.

Shortly before the First World War, the total share of the industrial and military resources of the German-Austrian alliance was around 40.3 percent, Germany had 30.1 percent, while Austria's has 10.2 percent of the total military-industrial resources. Their opponents, the Russo-French alliance, together had 39.3 percent of the total military-industrial resources.

In numbers, the military condition of the major European powers, Russia and the United States shortly before the First World War were as follows: Russia had 1,352,000 troops, France 910 000, Germany 891 000, UK 532 000, Austro-Hungary 444,000, Italy 345,000, Japan 306 000, USA 164 000 (Military balance 1998: 232-237).

In the decade that followed, from 1880 to 1890, Austria was dependent regarding its alliance with Germany, which was explicitly shown in the military-industrial potential of Austria in this period. The dependence of Austria on its ally Germany further increased with the real potential conflict with Russia regarding the unresolved fate of the Balkan possession and claims of Austria and Russia over the Balkans. On the other hand, Germany was in a possible conflict with France. In this interval, the UK surreptitiously approached to Austria in order to neutralize Russia's aspirations to the Middle East and the Balkans.

However, we can conclude that Austria was a weaker ally because of its military dependence on its ally Germany, but regarding the diplomatic aspects, Austria was in a significant advantage over its ally.

The German dominance in relation to Austro-German alliance was reduced, because Germany as a military powerful state was obliged to constantly monitor and, if necessary, to prevent the intentions of Russia to use the military weakness of Austria in relation to appropriated military and industrial resources.

In this period, UK improved the relations with Russia and created a basis for forming an alliance with it. In this alliance, the relationships appeared from double depending of the union between Austria and Germany

and especially emphasizing the dependence of Austria on its primary opponent Russia for the interests that they had in the Balkans.

The negotiations between Austria, Germany and Italy during the 1882 with the creation of the Triple Alliance primarily supported Austria, because it felt it safer to oppose its opponent Russia for the interests that they had over the Balkans.

This time, Austria also made agreements with Serbia and Romania in 1883. During 1883 and 1884, changes had been made in the balance of power. Germany and Russia signed an Informal agreement for the Balkan, in which Germany guaranteed that Russia would be the catalyst and therefore, it would neutralize the conflict of interest that might arise between Austria and Russia over identical interests in the Balkans.

On the other hand, Germany and Italy's alliance with Austria expanded the Triple Alliance. The German strategy for establishment of an informal alliance with Russia was based primarily on the prevention of the Russian-French formal alliance. The appetites of Russia were steadily rising, so the Russian support in an informal alliance with Germany was based on the expected support of Russia from Germany to give its aspirations in the Middle East. In this case, the power of concluding bilateral informal agreements was proportional to the interests of both sides and it was inversely proportional to their dependence and commitment. The support which Russia received with the informal agreement with Germany about the Balkan occupancy was confronted with the interests of Austria. The Russian agenda of "Promoting mega Balkan States - San Stefan Bulgaria" exercised its influence and interests in the Balkans through its "satellites" Bulgaria and Serbia.

The Russian influence over the two Balkan countries was based on total control of the Eastern part of the Balkan territory which gravitated towards Russia and it also expanded its interest to the Bosphorus. With its distinguished Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, Germany proposed alliance to Italy. The dual alliance of Germany and Austria was under investigation, but in each case, it was based on the interest of Germany and Italy relations in the Balkans. Initial observations of Austria on the proposed alliance by Germany to Italy was moderately negative, because in the past the interests of Austria and Italy were possessory towards the Balkan countries.

The power of the informal agreement of Russia and Germany, as well as the efforts of the alliance towards Austria and Italy, formally created the Triple formal alliance from the dependence of Austria in terms of military-economic variable that Austria had ranged a continuous stagnation over the years.

German Chancellor Bismarck supported the expansion of the French in its African colonies. The German ideology in this way was ranged to

shake the French alliance with Russia and to lead the conflict of interest with its potential alliance with Britain. France initially took the German support around its African colonial expansion.

During 1885 the French government, led by Ferry and the French General Boulanger, who was the head of the French armed forces and later the Defense minister of France, began a period of improving the Franco-Russian alliance.

The reconstruction of French political power arose with the Franco-German arms race. During this period, Germany despised the growing French armament and was concerned about the constant Russian advance in the field of armaments. The new situation increased the sense of dependence of Germany from its formal ally Austria.

Britain had the same concerns regarding the Middle East and Austria, but the British interests in the western Mediterranean were also similar to those of Italy. In this segment, the Austrian-British-Italian alliance was likely to solve the Balkan possessory interests, but they were also able to locate and neutralize the German-Italian support against France in the West African colonies.

On 24.03.1887 Germany signed the first Mediterranean agreement with Austria, Italy and the UK. This agreement provided that any change in the Aegean, Adriatic and Black Sea could be done only with the parties that had signed the agreement. The provisions of this Agreement were especially devoted to Russian pressure to prevent the Ottoman Empire in the Bosphorus area.

The Mediterranean agreement had a double effect: on the one hand, Austria and Italy as signatories to this agreement became less dependent on the formal alliance with Germany and on the other hand, Germany blocked the segment of informal alliances that it primarily had with Russia. In this situation, Germany was more dependent of its allies and also it made wrong moves that could shake the formal alliance with Austria. During 1887, the Mediterranean agreements were restored with the Triple Alliance (Germany-Austria-Italy).

Germany, realizing the danger of Italy passing on the side of the Franco-Russian alliance, accepted its demands although Austria some time denied the withdrawal of Germany to realize its interests in the Balkans in terms of Russia.

The First Balkan War, from October 1912 to May 1913, included Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro against the Ottoman Empire with the main objective to release the remaining areas of the Ottoman empire that remained after the Berlin Congress from 13.06 to 13.07.1878 and the Second Balkan War was from 30.06-13.07.1913 for Bulgarian territorial claims that initially caused Serbia and Greece to unite in an alliance and with

Montenegro, Romania and the Ottoman Empire later to be allied (Ratković 1975, 452 -457 ).

Shortly before the First World War, on 30 September 1912 the Balkan allies committed to full mobilization and the next day there was a complete mobilization of the Ottoman forces.

The Balkan allies mobilized about 668,000 troops. On the other hand, the Ottoman authorities had mobilized 18 incomplete infantry divisions or about 300 000 operating forces (Miljanich op.cit al 1980, 53-55). The mobilization of the military forces in the Balkan allies was easy because it was performed according to a predetermined operational plan, while the Ottoman forces mobilization was quite difficult. The most important battles in Macedonia during the First Balkan War were in Kumanovo, Bitola and Tracie Front. The Ottoman army was defeated in less than five months. On 4th December 1912 the peace treaty was signed. The previous possessory of the Ottoman Balkans was divided between the Allies (INI 1972.221-222).

The Serbian army reached Florina and Gevgelija, occupying the Vardar Macedonia and much of Albania. The Bulgarian army occupied the eastern line of Upper Macedonia Dzumaja, Stip, Gevgelija - Kilkis - Thessaloniki - Kavala and much of Thrace. The rest of Macedonia with Florina was occupied by Greece, whose army has entered in Bulgaria and Thessalonica.

During the two Balkan wars the Macedonian population was mobilized by the Balkan allies on one side and the Ottoman army on the other side. In the period of the Balkan Wars around 100,000 Macedonians were mobilized, from which more than one third died during the wars (1 - Macedonian Encyclopedia 2009, 124-125).

With Bucharest Peace Treaty signed on August 10, 1913, the partition of Macedonia was finally published. Although Macedonia was free from the Ottoman rule, it survived separation between its neighbors Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania (Trajanovski 2005, 425-427).

The Macedonian Diasporas in the USA, Canada, Switzerland, Istanbul, Russia and other countries reacted strongly against the division of Macedonia by the Balkan allies. In this regard, they strongly responded to the indivisibility of the ethnic Macedonian territory and resolving of the Macedonian national issue by creating a Macedonian national state.

An action with the most particular importance of the Macedonian emigration is the activity of "Petrograd Macedonian colony" led by Dimitrija Cupovski (1878-1940) and his associates. Dimitrija Cupovski had meetings with prominent Macedonian revolutionaries like Peter Pop Arsov, Rizo Rizov, Alexander Martulkov, Pavel Satev and others.

Upon returning from St. Petersburg on March 13, 1913, they sent a memorandum to the peace conference in London, which clearly pointed out

taking fair solution of the Macedonian question. After the conference finished on July 20, 1913, Cupovski sent a second memorandum to the governments of the Balkan countries, which sought Macedonia to be given autonomy within its ethnographic, geographical, cultural, historical, political and economic boundaries.

Even during the partition of Macedonia with the Bucharest Peace Agreement of August 10, 1913, the Macedonian emigration was sending their requests to the Great Powers for Macedonia's independence.

At the beginning of 1914 the Macedonian emigration in America strongly supported the persistence of the revolutionary fight for autonomy and independence of Macedonia and the Macedonian people. At the end of the first half of 1914 the union of the developed countries was divided into two opposing blocks: Central forces (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy) and Entente (Britain, France, Russia and later the USA). The Central forces started the war for reallocation of the colonies conquered in the world and the Entente forces fought to preserve their century-old colonies. The immediate reason for the outbreak of World War I is considered to be the killing the Austro – Hungarian king Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sofija in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 by a representative of the Serbian organization "Young Bosna", Gavrilo Princip.

During the First World War, 12,000 Macedonians were recruited in Vardar Macedonia, which was under Serbian rule,. These recruits were sent to fight against the army of Austro-Hungary. At the end of 1915 Bulgaria won Vardar Macedonia and the Macedonians were recruited in its front line. At the beginning of 1916 the front line fought from the Lake Ohrid - Orfanski Island.

As a result, the Serb soldiers found themselves in the units of the British and Greek armies. The total army concentrated on both sides of the front line was more than 1200 000 soldiers. During 1916 the battles on the front line started, Entente forces began a strong offensive and managed to expel the forces of the Central Powers to withdraw to the north.

The French motorized infantry progressed very quickly, so in September 1918 they failed to penetrate in Prilep, Veles and Skopje. With this rapid advancement of the Entente forces, they cause a capitulation of the Bulgarian and German armies, which resulted with the liquidation of the Macedonian Front in September. The withdrawal of the Bulgarian army in Vardar and Aegean Macedonia was conquered by the Serbian and Greek authorities. In the end of World War I the Paris Peace Conference was held on January 18, 1919. The peace conference was attended by delegates from the 27 countries of the world, as well from: France, Great Britain and USA.

The agreements divided the world in favour of the Entente as a winning side. The Peace agreements were pointed against the German

imperialism. The peace treaty between the Entente and Germany was signed on 28 June 1919 in Versailles. According to the political-territorial provisions of Germany, the following territories were taken: Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, while Malted, Spans and Mores to Belgium. Part of Schleswig was given to Denmark, Memel and part of eastern Prussia was delivered to Lithuania. The Sudetenland and part of Upper Silesia were given to Czechoslovakia and Poland. Danzig was declared as a free city under the administration of the League of Nations. Sarska area was also entrusted to the League of Nations and, after 15 years, with referendum, it was returned to Germany and France. The former German colonial possessions were splint. According to the military regulations, the German army was limited to 100,000 people in the Land Army and 15,000 in the Navy, with 33 warships, but it was not supposed to have submarines, military aviation, heavy artillery and armored vehicles.

Under the peace deal signed on 10 September 1919 in Saint - German, Austria committed the Kingdom of SCS to hand over all areas that were inhabited by Yugoslav nations, except southern Carinthia; then a large part of western Slovenia, Istria, Zadar and some islands in the Adriatic Sea were awarded to Italy. Austria admitted the independence of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia and a large part of South Tyrol.

According to the military regulations, Austria could hold to 30,000 armed forces. With the peace signed with Bulgaria on 27 November 1919 in Neuilly, the Bulgarian armed forces were reduced to 20 000 men, 10 000 policemen and 3 000 border guards. Navy was abolished and it was forbidden to hold military aviation. But the provisions of this military agreement with Bulgaria began to break from 1923 to 1934, when Bulgaria increased her armed forces to four armies.

The peace agreement was signed in June 1920 in Hungary with the independence of the Kingdom of SCS with the following areas: parts of Backa and Banat, part of the Middle Sea or about 60,000 km<sup>2</sup> of northern Czechoslovakia (Slovakia) or 62 000 km<sup>2</sup>. Hungary could have armed forces by 35,000 people. But it violated the provisions of the peace agreement calling recruits and conscripts in military units (Leuven).

The Agreement for Peace was also locked on August 10, 1920 in Hanover, but it did not enter into force because of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). Therefore, a new agreement was signed on 23 July 1923 in Lausanne. With this agreement, Turkey lost Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Tripoli, Mesopotamia (Iraq), Palestine, most of Thrace and the Dodecanese islands. The Turkish army was reduced to 50,000 people.

The agreement between the Kingdom of SCS and Italy was concluded on 12 November 1920, Italy received Istra, Kvarnerski islands,



the island of Lastovo and Zadar. Rijeka became an independent city – state under the rule of the League of Nations, but it still remained a major problem in the Yugoslav-talian relations.

Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania declared independence in accordance with the principles of the October Revolution. Poland's support of the Western powers of the Entente spread in Belarus and Ukraine. Romania retained in Bessarabia and Bucovina.

France had the greatest benefit from the peace agreements, because, despite the acquired territories in Europe, Asia and Africa, it had failed to strengthen economic and political influence on the expanded states of East and Southeast Europe (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom SCS and Greece).

Britain received considerable part of German and Turkish colonies and possessions in the Middle East and Africa, providing a dominant influence in the Mediterranean basin.

For the preservation of world peace and cooperation among nations, an international organization was formed as a Society of Nations. France and Britain had decisive and often crucial role in it. Because of its composition and the role of the organization, it could not solve international disputes and conflicts and there was neither successful fight to preserve world peace as its main purpose.

With the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, Macedonia remained divided into four parts as was decided during the Bucharest Peace Treaty. Three paragraphs were presented to address the Macedonian question. The first paragraph was from the Italian delegation, saying that Vardar Macedonia should get "autonomous status", but as part of SCS. The second paragraph was taken by the French delegation, saying that the Macedonian issue should be considered in conjunction with all minorities living in Macedonia and the third paragraph was taken by the British delegation, saying that Macedonia and its boundaries should be under the full jurisdiction of the League of Nations in order to prevent any injustice to this country.

World War II began when Nazi Germany, led by Adolf Hitler, the Italian fascists, led by Benito Mussolini, and Japan prepared a new invasion of the world to recover lost territories from the First World War and the redistribution of spheres of interest.

World War II began in 1939 with the German invasion of the Polish area. In the morning of April 6, 1941, Hitler attacked Yugoslavia. The attack was carried out by units of the 40th motorized infantry corps of the region of Kyustendil, Pernik and Upper Dzumaja. On April 13, 1941 Macedonia was fully occupied. After the meeting with Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy,

Cano and Ribbentrop in Germany in the period from 20<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> April 1941, Macedonia was divided into three occupation zones.

Vardar was divided into two occupation zones between Bulgaria and most of the eastern part of Macedonia, and the western towns of Tetovo, Gostivar, Struga and Kicevo were left by Italy to join Albania.

Aegean Macedonia was divided into three occupation zones. The area on the east of the river Struma was occupied by Bulgaria. The western part of Aegean Macedonia or Kostur, Kozhanski part of the Florina District was occupied by Italy. The central part of Aegean Macedonia or Thessaloniki Kukush, Gumendzhisko, Pella, Bersko and the part of Florina and Kozhansko were occupied by Germany. The central and western parts of Macedonia were placed under the authority of the Greek quisling government. The immediate release preparation of the occupiers began in late 1941 and was amplified in 1942 by the formation of partisan units throughout Macedonia.

The formation of the Mirche Acev battalion on August 18, 1943 at the Mountain Bluebird started the first serious reorganization of the Macedonian military units, which included the grouping of battalions group in higher units and brigades. This date in the Macedonian history has been marked as the date of consolidation of the Macedonian units for liberation from the invaders. In early February 1944 and the next three weeks more individual group were fighting during the February raid that covered the actions of the First Macedonian Brigade, Second Brigade, group of Macedonian liberation battalions ranging from Meglen and Kozuv mountain area and towards eastern and central Macedonia in the Vardar valley. These units had battles with German and Bulgarian forces in Tikvesh, Mariovo and Meglen area. In the central and eastern part of Macedonia, during the campaign, there were no significant military units, so on the Fushtansko counseling on 21st December 1943 the Headquarters of Partisan Detachments of Macedonia decided to refer the First Macedonian-Kosovo Brigade in Porec and group of battalions through the Aegean and eastern Macedonia to Kumanovo area to continuously develop combat actions in these areas with the ultimate goal to encourage the creation of new military units. This march was performed in winter conditions and on difficult terrain covered with snow. Macedonian military units during the February raid passed a long route of over 440 kilometers. The final and very important moment in this campaign was that it succeeded in its ultimate goal of strengthening operations during the spring offensive 25.04-19.06.1944 and the final operations for the liberation of Macedonia by the end of 1944.

The necessity of a national political power with the international community would have been able to establish a Macedonian state. This finally happened on August 2, 1944 in the Kumanovo monastery at the first

session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for People's Liberation of Macedonia. This meeting was attended by 116 delegates. Besides Macedonian delegates the USA and British military commission were present at GS of Macedonia. At the session of the Anti Declaration it was adopted that the Macedonian language would be an official language in the Macedonian state. On the Presidium, Metodi Andonov – Cento was elected as a president with two vice-presidents: Panko Brasnarov and Mane Chuchkov and other subsidiary bodies. After the second half of 1944 they began fighting for the liberation of Macedonia. Bulgaria under the blows of the Red Russian Army capitulated on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1944. This event further strengthened the pace for the liberation of Macedonia, which was conducted in two stages. The first step was to liberate the entire east and in the second stage the western part of Macedonia. On November 18, 1944 Macedonia was released. The Second Session was at December 28-30, 1944 in Skopje to evaluate the activities of the first session and to give further directions for the development of the Macedonian state.

Conclusion:

The Macedonian state, along with five other socialist republics and two provinces was part of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), which successfully overcame all the security threats in the period of the "Cold War" by keeping one of the leadership positions in the pact of "Nonaligned". Yugoslavia comprehensively developed and persisted from 1945 until the early 1990s, when it ceased to exist, under the strong surge of "nationalism" that caused numerous internal crises and conflicts that erupted in wars, first in Slovenia, which, after the last Presidium of the Presidency of Yugoslavia in early 1990, declared secession from the Yugoslav federation and aspirations to join NATO.

This was the initial impetus for Croatia to separate from Yugoslavia and the biggest reason for dissolution of Yugoslavia. The wars started first in Slovenia, then in Croatia. The war brought major consequences in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the wars from 1992 to 1995, under the pressure from the international community; the result was the signing of the Dayton agreement in 1995 with Bosnia and Herzegovina divided into three enclaves: Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims (Bosnia and Herzegovina 1995, article XI).

Questions: Why was Yugoslavia disintegrated when it was one of the five European and seventh world powers during this period? Immediately before and after the death of the leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, the economic instability was present in the reduction of the multilateral cooperation of Yugoslavia by the EU and the international community, making numerous decisions of the Presidium of the Presidency of

Yugoslavia in favor of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and extremely discontent flare of "nationalism" through the first riots in Kosovo in 1989. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, the Kosovo crisis began in 1999 and the internal armed conflict in Macedonia began in 2001. Why did these conflicts happen and what were the "lessons" learned from them?

The main reason for the crisis in Kosovo was the continuing struggle between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, expressed by numerous conflicts based on national intolerance. The conflicts increase when the percentage of Albanians was higher in the early 80s of the last century, thus changing the demographic map of Kosovo. Clashes, which made its zenith with the Kosovo crisis of 1999, when under pressure from the international community, Kosovo gained a status of project and on 17 February 2008 it became a state.

What is the lesson for Macedonia? Should the Macedonian national identity be a prize for membership in NATO and the EU? How can Macedonia continue her comprehensive development if it cannot resolve the bilateral name dispute with Greece and therefore it will not be integrated in NATO and the EU?

These questions are formulating our final hypothesis of this paper: How can our state develop comprehensively if it fails to be integrated into NATO and the EU because of a dispute with Greece over the name?

Why does this paper have a broad historical overview of the major political forces in Macedonia before, during the First, Second World War and in the framework of Yugoslavia? It has long been said: The one who does not know his history, he will always be ready to repeat it. Before and during the First and Second World War, Macedonia did not have a broad support from the great powers. Their indirect aid was confined to the final realization of their interests or as mentioned above: There are not any constant enemies, constant are only the internal interests.

From the recent history of Macedonia, we are all witnesses that we received a positive decision from the highest house of justice in the world, the International Court in Hague: the court final decision was that we are in the right position for the name of our country not being changed, but unfortunately, it is unfair that this issue should be resolved through negotiations with Greece without emphasizing strongly mediation and commitment of the international community. The history teaches us that the bilateral problem can be solved only with someone who has higher authority than feuding sides.

However, Macedonia should continue to resolve the decades-long dispute with Greece over the name of our country. The compromise over the name of the Republic Macedonia is especially of sensitive nature, if we consider the national identity of the Macedonian people through the use of

historical method of research. In this respect, changing the name of our state should be without addition of geographical word, marked as an example: Independent, independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia, but not North, Upper, Lower Macedonia, a mark which indirectly deletes the Macedonian identity and our history, culture, religion, language, which our ancestors fought for in the past. For more than two decades we are in "status quo" situation, but we should continue to comprehensively cooperate with the UN, NATO, EU and the international community in all their activities to improve regional and global security in the world, embracing the economic and social prosperity.

In this context, the Republic of Macedonia should not wait for someone else to improve the economic conditions, but, even more, we must be motivated to work towards attracting foreign economic investors that will raise our economic growth and will create other production facilities that will significantly reduce the unemployment rate and improve the economic situation in Macedonia.

Improving the economic situation in Macedonia is a key component for the members of NATO and the EU to give us stronger support for the name dispute. At the same time, it represents a key element for the comprehensive development of the state. Without improving the economic situation, we will be witnesses of the outflow of the young population abroad, aggravation of interethnic relations which we have witnessed in our history, at the time not having economic perspective: Riots, Crisis and the rush of nationalism, deterioration of interethnic relations. Today we are witnesses of the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the street protests would have grown into ethnic conflict if they had not overcome the economic crisis.

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