# Beyond the Intractability of the Greek-Macedonian Dispute

Sofos, Spyros

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*"...In terms of its scope, inclusiveness and multidisciplinary approach, this volume is a unique publication in the Republic of Macedonia... Twenty years into this dispute, there is a clear need for an academic volume presenting the standpoints of a range of authors considered most knowledgeable about this issue from different academic disciplines and different countries, including Greece and the Republic of Macedonia... The appearance of the Republic of Macedonia as an entity in international relations revived the forgotten 'Macedonian Question' and rekindled disputes amongst neighboring countries over questions related, directly or indirectly, to the history of the wider region of Macedonia as well as for legitimacy in using the Macedonian name and state symbols..."*

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*An Anthology of Academic Articles*

MIC
Macedonian Information Centre

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*In the original texts, some of the authors used the United Nations' provisional reference or the abbreviation when referring to the Republic of Macedonia. All changes by the publisher to the United Nations' usage or the abbreviation are clearly marked as [MIC ed.].*

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# PREFACE

*Dear Readers*,

It is our great honor to present this anthology of academic articles focusing on a dispute unprecedented in contemporary international relations—the ongoing dispute regarding the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia and the right to use derivations of the name 'Macedonia'. The peculiarity of this issue does not alter the fact that the name issue remains the single greatest impediment to the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Republic of Macedonia, with detrimental effects upon the country's image on the international stage.

A multidisciplinary approach has been applied in the preparation and creation of this anthology of academic texts, with articles by authors from a number of different scientific fields analyzing various aspects of the name issue. The Editorial Board of this publication has no intention, however, of implying that the academic debate is fully exhausted with this volume; on the contrary, this anthology is intended to provide an impetus for further scholarly dissection of the problem in all its aspects and for the development of solutions to the issue.

Over the past two decades, the name issue has been the subject of innumerable conferences, round-table discussions, articles, analyses and interpretations from diverse and numerous perspectives. What has been lacking thus far, however, is a substantiated and well-argued academic debate addressing the broad spectrum of problems arising from the deeply conflicting views on this issue and exploring the roots of these problems and their possible implications. These implications are of a historical, political, legal, sociological, anthropological, ethnological, linguistic and even psychological nature. Twenty years into this dispute, there is a clear need for an academic volume presenting the standpoints of a range of authors considered most knowledgeable about this issue from different academic disciplines and different countries, including the Hellenic Republic and the Republic of Macedonia.

In terms of its scope, inclusiveness and multidisciplinary approach, this volume is a unique publication in the Republic of Macedonia. Twenty of the articles have been written specifically for the needs of this volume, while the remaining seven articles have been selected on account of their academic relevance from previously published papers in scholarly journals and book excerpts.

On 8 September 2011, the Republic of Macedonia marked the 20$^{th}$ anniversary of its independence following the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and a referendum held on 8 September 1991 in which an overwhelming majority of Macedonian citizens voted for a sovereign and independent Republic of Macedonia.

The appearance of the Republic of Macedonia as an entity in international relations revived the forgotten 'Macedonian Question' and rekindled disputes amongst neighboring

countries over questions related, directly or indirectly, to the history of the wider region of Macedonia as well as for legitimacy in using the Macedonian name and state symbols.

In the past two decades, bilateral relations between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, dominated by the dispute over the latter's constitutional name, have undergone several different stages. In the initial stage, between 1991 and 1993, the dispute between the two countries led to Greece imposing a unilateral economic embargo on the independent Macedonian state and obstructing Macedonia's admission to regional and international organizations. The damage caused to the Macedonian economy by the Greek embargo was irreparable and the country's political stability was gravely threatened. It was not until April 1993, meanwhile, that the Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations, albeit under the provisional reference established in the UN Resolutions.

The second stage, from 1993 to 1995, saw intense international involvement in the name dispute and an eventual easing of tensions between Skopje and Athens, resulting in Greece lifting its unilateral economic embargo and the two countries signing the Interim Accord in September 1995. This agreement established a fundamental framework that still regulates relations between the two countries. On the crucial issue of Macedonia's name, however, the Interim Accord limited itself to terms binding both parties to continue negotiating for a resolution under the auspices of the United Nations.

Relations between Greece and Macedonia improved and intensified between 1995 and 2008. This third stage in the dispute was primarily reflected in an increase in bilateral trade and an influx of direct investments from Greece to the Republic of Macedonia.

The latest stage in relations between the two countries was initiated by Greece's refusal to allow the Republic of Macedonia to become a fully-fledged member-state of NATO, blocking Macedonia's bid to join the Alliance at the NATO summit in Bucharest in April 2008. This stage witnessed a deterioration in mutual trust and the drawing of red lines in negotiations on the part of the Greek leadership—a leadership which denies Macedonia's national, linguistic and cultural identity. It should be noted in this respect that Macedonia subsequently filed an application for a ruling by the International Court of Justice on the legality of Greece's action at the 2008 NATO summit. In December 2011, the ICJ confirmed that Greece had indeed breached the Interim Accord by blocking Macedonia's membership of NATO, since the terms of the Accord obliged Greece not to seek to obstruct the Republic of Macedonia's integration within international organizations as long as it did so under the provisional reference established in the aforementioned UN Resolution.

This brief overview of Greek and Macedonian relations over the past twenty years provides a background for the comprehensive analysis of the ongoing dispute that is presented in these pages. This volume addresses the following aspects of the name issue: the 'prehistory' of the name issue, with articles focusing on the legacy of historical topics that have proved contentious between the two countries; the genesis of the problem and the development of relations after the Republic of Macedonia's declaration of independence, with analyses from the perspectives of politics, international law and economics; the meaning of the right to national, linguistic and cultural self-determination as an integral part of the right to a personal and collective identity, with articles addressing the name issue from philosophical, anthropological and linguistic viewpoints.

The volume is divided into four thematic parts: international law; politics; culture, anthropology and philosophy; and history. A fifth and final part includes testimonials regarding the name issue from former high-ranking politicians and diplomats.

Any comprehensive analysis of the name issue must take into account the rights of states as international legal entities. The importance of such rights in relation to this issue is reflected in the dedication of the first and largest part of this volume to international law, with extensive analysis of the legal issues arising directly or indirectly from the name issue.

The international law part opens with an article by Professor **Matthew Craven**, 'What's in a Name? The Republic of Macedonia and Issues of Statehood', in which the author analyzes the legal aspects of the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the contradictions involved in Greece's demand that the Republic of Macedonia change its constitutional name with a number of established international legal principles.

The following article in this part, 'The Name and Symbols of the State in International Law', by **Jean-Pierre Queneudec**, examines the use of Macedonia's constitutional name through the prism of existing rules and principles of international law concerning a state's use of a name.

In 'Macedonia: Cultural Right or Cultural Appropriation?', **Larry Reimer** analyzes Greece's arguments that the use of the name 'Macedonia' by the Republic of Macedonia undermines Greece's right to its cultural heritage.

In his article 'Putting the Name Issue in a Comparative Perspective', Professor **Carlos Flores Juberías** sets forth a comparative legal analysis of the established principle of recognizing the right of all ethnic communities to identify with their names and traditional characteristics, and consequently the absence of any right to the exclusive use of a name or symbol related to a historical territory divided by at least two subjects of international law.

In her article entitled 'The True Substance of the Name Issue: Consequences of an Invented Dispute for the Republic of Macedonia', **Jana Lozanoska** argues that by claiming an exclusive right to the history and culture of the territory of ancient Macedonia, as well as to the very use of the term 'Macedonia', Greece is attempting to delimit (physically) the territory that existed in the past from the territory and state that exists in the present and that has a defined system and borders.

In 'The 1995 Interim Accord and Membership of the Republic of Macedonia in International Organizations', Professor **Budislav Vukas** focuses on the practical implementation of the provisions of the Interim Accord in relation to the membership of the Republic of Macedonia in international organizations and also examines the meaning of the Judgment of the International Court of Justice in regard to the application of Article 11 of the Accord.

In 'Legal Validity of the ICJ Advisory Opinions in the Context of the Republic of Macedonia's Admission to the UN', **Dr. Ernest Petrič** examines the illegality of the UN's imposition of additional conditions on the accession of the Republic of Macedonia and the possibility of appealing to the ICJ against the organization's act of *ultra-vires*.

In his article 'Normative Power Role of the European Union in the Settlement of the Difference Over the Name? A Macedonian View', Professor **Sašo Georgievski** scrutinizes the role of the EU in attempts to resolve the name issue and the Union's insufficient application of the concept of 'normative power' in its foreign policy.

The political part begins with a previously published but updated article by Professor **Richard Caplan** entitled 'The European Community's Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia', which examines the consequences of the delayed recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by the (former) European Community and its member states.

In 'The Greek Dispute With the New Republic of Macedonia – to 1995', Professor **John Shea** discusses the economic embargo imposed by Greece immediately after Macedonia's independence and analyses its impact on the country's stability.

In her article 'David vs. Goliath: The Macedonian Position(s) in the So-Called 'Name Dispute', Professor **Biljana Vankovska** notes the absence of a consistent state strategy in the Republic of Macedonia on the name issue and argues that this issue has serious implications for the security of the country and the wider region.

The political part closes with an article by **Spyros Sofos** entitled 'Beyond the Intractability of the Greek-Macedonian Dispute', in which the author endeavors to deconstruct the current crisis in relations between the two countries with his own model of transformation for the resolution of the long-standing dispute.

The part on culture and anthropology opens with **Victor Friedman**'s article entitled 'The So-Called Macedonian Name Issue in the Context of Modern Macedonian Historiography, Language, and Identity', in which the author investigates the 19th century development of Macedonian ethnic and linguistic identity and concludes that the denial of Macedonia's constitutional name is a continuation of the Greek policy of denying the right to a distinct Macedonian identity.

In 'The Scholar and the State: Evangelos Kofos on the International Recognition of the Republic of Macedonia', **Loring Danforth** presents a critical anthropological review of the works of Evangelos Kofos, particularly his assertions that Alexander the Great and ancient Macedonians represent an integral part of Greek culture and that throughout history the name 'Macedonia' has been associated solely with the Greek cultural and historical heritage.

The article 'A Survey of the 'Macedonian Question': The Greek State's Campaign to Prevent International Recognition of the Republic of Macedonia and Greece's Refusal to Recognize the Macedonian Minority in Greece', co-authored by **George Vlahov**, **Vasko Nastevski** and **Chris Popov**, provides a modern interpretation of the term 'national/ethnic identity', emphasizing the untenability of invoking ancient history as a basis for claiming historical continuity and denying Macedonia's name and identity. The authors further present a number of human rights violations that have been perpetrated against the Macedonian minority in Greece.

In her philosophical essay 'Living Beyond Identity?', **Katerina Kolozova** stresses that the name of a people and their language is crucial to the development of a collective sense of belonging and to the formation of an entity, and thus essential for sustaining people's desire to continue as a collective.

The cultural and anthropological part of this volume ends with the article 'Name Trouble: A Refusal 'Especially Difficult to Understand'—and Its Inevitable Failure' by **Akis Gavriilidis**, in which the author addresses conceptually and theoretically the Greek denial of Macedonia's constitutional name with methods used in psychoanalysis and deconstruction, concluding that the arbitrary demand for the name of the Republic of Macedonia to be changed is impossible to meet.

The fourth part focuses on a number of historical issues from various periods which have strained relations between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece. In the first article in this part, 'Real and Created Perceptions of Macedonia and the Macedonians in Byzantine Sources from the 4th to the 11th Century: Reconstruction and Deconstruction', **Mitko B. Panov** provides a detailed survey and analysis of Byzantine historiographical perceptions of Macedonia and its borders and population from the 4th to the 11th century.

In 'Science and Politics—The Creation and Promotion of the Northern Line of the Greek Aspirations in Ottoman Macedonia', Professor **Dalibor Jovanovski** provides a historical overview of the emergence and inclusion of geographic and historical Macedonia in the aspirations of the Greek kingdom in the last decades of the 19th century, pointing out the inconsistencies of the educational, academic and political elite regarding this issue.

The authors of the following four articles address issues relating to the Greek Civil War of 1946–1949. In 'Incompatible Allies: Greek Communism and Macedonian Nationalism in the Civil War in Greece, 1943–1949', **Andrew Rossos** draws on archived materials from the Greek Civil War to highlight the role of the Macedonian minority in the war on the side of the Greek left and their failed aspirations to attain human rights. The attitude of Great Britain toward the Macedonian national issue during World War II is addressed by Professor **Todor Cepreganov** in his essay 'The Great Powers and the Macedonian National Issue During World War II', a product of the author's extensive research in the archives of the British Foreign Office. In 'The Civil War in Greece (1946–1949): One Event in History—One Lesson for the Future', co-authored by **Cepreganov** and **Liljana Panovska**, the Greek Civil War is examined from the point of view of the political reality created after the end of World War II with the division into spheres of influence and the beginning of the Cold War, as well as the impact of these developments on the future status of the Macedonian minority in Greece. Finally, in 'The Naming of Macedonians by the Greek State (1946–1949): Options and Dilemmas', **Dimitar L. Vamvakovski** examines the different terms used and proposed by the official authorities to designate the Macedonian minority in Greece in the wake of the foundation of the Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav federation after World War Two.

The historical part closes with the article 'The Skopjan Enemy' by **Dimitris Lithoksou**, in which the author traces the creation in the late 1980s and early 1990s of a Greek perception of Macedonia as 'the enemy from the north' intent on usurping the essential rights of the Greek nation.

The last part includes testimonials by two authors directly involved in the events and the name issue that unfolded after the Republic of Macedonia's declaration of independence: **Zhelyu Zhelev**, former President of the Republic of Bulgaria, the first country to recognize the new state; and foreign British diplomat **Robin O'Neill**, the first international mediator in the process of resolving the name issue between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece.

This final part ends with the article 'Plans for Macedonia' by **Takis Michas**, which discusses relations between Greece and former FR Yugoslavia, as well as the place of independent Macedonia in the politics of both countries.

The Editorial Board selected the authors and articles for this volume in accordance with strict academic criteria and the priority of scientific clarity. A number of scholars were consulted to provide separate confirmation of the relevance and expertise of each article, and

all the articles were subject to rigorous revision and evaluation by carefully selected foreign reviewers, including Professor **Jernej Letnar Černič** from the European University Institute in Slovenia, Professor **Wawrzyniec Konarski** from the University of Warsaw, Professor **Matej Avbelj** from the European University Institute in Slovenia, Professor **Christina Kramer** from the University of Toronto, and Professor **Ivan Balta** from the University of Osijek.

The Editorial Board would like to thank all the authors who made this publication possible with their selfless contributions. We would also like to extend our gratitude to our reviewers, as well as the translators and proofreaders responsible for making this work available in English to a broader audience. We hope that this publication will prove highly useful in European and global academic circles as well as providing a significant contribution to scholarly research and a valuable source of information regarding the name issue.

*Editorial Board*

*Part I*

# THE NAME ISSUE IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

*Part II*

# THE NAME ISSUE IN POLITICAL CONTEXT

# Beyond the Intractability of the Greek-Macedonian Dispute[1]

Spyros A. Sofos

*Abstract*

The main propositions put forward by this article are that the name dispute between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia (a) has been approached by both parties and the international community in an unimaginative and highly legalistic way, stripped of its dynamic and continuously evolving nature and (b) constitutes just one dimension of a broader latent conflict, one which touches upon the fundamentals of the two societies involved in it so much so that it is often argued that we are facing an intractable conflict. Focusing on the main actors, interests and objectives, as well as strategies and tactics, this article explores the symbolic and pragmatic dimensions of the dispute, its framing given the constraints posed by prevailing societal insecurity and perceptions of cultural trauma that underpin the national narratives of both societies, and then attempts to sketch the contours of a (complex and lengthy) multilevel conflict transformation intervention and the deconstruction of the current crisis in the relations between the two countries.

* * *

It is almost two decades since the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence from a violently disintegrating Yugoslav Federation. The road to the consolidation of the new state has not been easy. Prompted by different perceptions of what the independence of Macedonia entailed for their states, Bulgarian and Greek governments expressed reservations about the emergence of a new Balkan state, with Greece objecting to the international recognition of Macedonia. A less significant but by no means negligible objection was voiced by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which mobilized against the further erosion of Serbian claims of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territory of the republic.

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[1] I attempted a cursory examination of the issues examined here in an earlier article published in 'The Greek-Macedonian dispute; time to return to the drawing-board' (See: http://www.transconflict.com/2010/03/the-greek-macedonian-dispute-%E2%80%93-time-to-return-to-the-drawing-board/ last accessed on 4 June 2011). I am indebted to Nicolas Demertzis, Alexia Stainer, Umut Özkırımlı and students of my ICM420 *Managing and Resolving Conflict* MA module for their stimulating ideas.

The Kosovo crisis of the late 1990s tested Macedonia's coherence as it exacerbated the misgivings of Macedonian ethnic Albanians about living in a state which they felt did not give due recognition of their 'co-ownership' of the new republic. A mixture of aspirations for statehood and autonomy, but also for greater integration and recognition within Macedonia and frustration with their perceived second-class citizenship, culminated in a brief yet traumatic civil war between the government and ethnic Albanian insurgents from March to June 2001 when a NATO ceasefire monitoring force oversaw the disarming of Albanian insurgents while the internationally brokered Ohrid Agreement devolved greater political power and cultural recognition to the Albanian minority.

To date, however, the major obstacle to the normalization of Macedonian politics and the country's aspirations for integration into Europe remains the notoriously protracted 'name dispute' between Macedonia and Greece.

## *The Dispute*

The most frequently rehearsed interpretation of this dispute stresses Greece's concern that its northern neighbour's use of the name 'Macedonia' constitutes an act of usurpation of Greek history and, more importantly, implies irredentist plans to bring about a Greater Macedonia at Greece's expense.[2] Realising that the issue of Macedonian independence could become a significant resource for acquiring political capital, a loose alliance led by Antonis Samaras, the former foreign minister (and, at the time of writing, leader of the opposition party, New Democracy), together with nationalist circles within the government and the opposition and the clergy, argued that the independence of the Republic of Macedonia under this name was an act of territorial and identity contestation. They successfully mobilized historically conditioned fears, as well as profound societal insecurities caused by the destabilization of the Balkan order and the mismanagement of the Greek economy by subsequent governments, and focused these energies on the name issue.

This unlikely and disparate coalition of nationalist and opportunist conflict entrepreneurs set the scene for one of the most persistent and intractable contemporary disputes in the region and demarcated the boundaries of Greek foreign policy for almost two decades. Despite the different positions which subsequent governments have held on the relationship between Greece and Macedonia, these were still expressed in the idiom of a national threat that the mass popular mobilizations of 1992 had institutionalized and which left very little room for meaningful negotiations. Greek foreign policy has fluctuated over the past two decades between the urge to impose a solution and to find a compromise; and although Greece's primary aims have not included challenging Macedonia's statehood since the signing of the 1995 Interim Accord, overall it is difficult to overlook the aggressive rhetoric that has dominated public

[2] See: Evangelos Kofos, 'Η Εκκρεμότητα για τη 'Διαφορα στην Ονομασία'. Η Ελληνικη Προοπτικη' in Αθήνα-Σκοπια. Η Επτάχρονη Συμβίωση (1995–2002), ed. Evangelos Kofos and Vlasis Vlasidis. (Athens: Papazisis Publishers, 2003), 157-8; and Aristotle Tziampiris, Greece, European Political Cooperation and the Macedonian Question, (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000), 207–232).

debate within Greece, the imposition of a crippling blockade between 1994 and 1995 against the Republic of Macedonia and the veto exercised by Greece at the Bucharest summit in April 2008 to block Macedonia's accession to NATO.

On the other hand, Macedonians argue that this is the name by which the majority of the population of the young republic recognize themselves, their language, their land and their ancestors (although how deeply they probe into the past remains an issue of contention).[3] Macedonian governments have repeatedly assured Greece that they have no irredentist designs and moved promptly to change the first contested flag of the republic and to amend articles of the first constitution that referred to a duty of care for the Macedonian minorities in the region and the diaspora (though not its preamble that links the current polity to the ideals of the short-lived Krushevo Republic).[4]

Having said that, VMRO-DMPNE-led governments over the past decade, while continuing to reassure Greek governments and the international community of their commitment to the inviolability of Balkan borders, have often tested the strength of the symbolic boundaries that are central to the dispute. The policy of antiquization (antikvizacija) backed by VMRO-DMPNE which was put in motion in response to Greece's blocking of Macedonia's NATO accession and which included the renaming of public sites after ancient Macedonian personalities and the transformation of public spaces through the erection of monuments and statues from antiquity and the Middle Ages—has been intended to challenge the established monopoly over the past enjoyed by Greece and has been interpreted in Greece as an act of provocation. As such it constitutes a break with the policy of the early 1990s of removing contentious symbols and references to the past from the framework of the name dispute.

The vicious circle of Greece's intransigence and Macedonia's tacit symbolic contestation continues unabated. Its effects are obvious: progressive alienation between Greeks and Macedonians, the potential for radicalizing segments of the Macedonian population—ethnic Macedonian and Albanian alike—and of undermining the young republic as well as degrading public debate and democracy in both countries.

The international community has tried to facilitate a compromise between the parties; but their efforts have largely been detached from the pragmatics underlying the dispute and have often ignored the complex social dynamics at play. While the Ohrid Agreement required considerable energy and international brinkmanship in order to address the grievances of the Albanian minority, the name dispute with Greece has been treated as a purely bilateral

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[3] See, for example, Loring Danforth, The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 42–55; Bernard Lory, "Approches de l' Identité Macédonienne", in La République de Macédoine, ed. Christophe Chiclet and Bernard Lory (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1998), 21–32.

[4] To clarify, I am not advocating here that the preamble to the Constitution should have disavowed the Krushevo Republic; I am only suggesting that in the climate of suspicion in which the constitutional arrangements of the new state were discussed it was used by critics as a source of continuous misunderstanding. It is worth noting, however, that roughly thirteen years after the signing of the Interim Accord between the two countries, the past has proved a resource of high symbolic value as well as ambiguity.

issue to be resolved within the framework of ongoing UN negotiations.[5] The name issue has been addressed in an unimaginative and highly legalistic way, stripped of its dynamic and continuously evolving nature, thus revealing the dearth of conceptual, methodological and practical rigour in our approaches to conflict transformation in the region. The fact remains that through our current approaches to the name dispute we are still unable to see the wood for the trees and are thus not in a position to start thinking about long-term solutions to some of the problems of the region. A better understanding of the multilayered character of the dispute—the historically conditioned perspectives of the parties, the main actors and their perceived fears, aspirations, interests and objectives—is needed in order to build a strong relationship that can withstand future challenges.

## *Symbolic and Pragmatic Dimensions of the Dispute*

Let us be clear from the outset: the dispute about the name of the Republic of Macedonia constitutes just one dimension of a broader latent conflict, one that touches so much upon the fundamentals of the two societies involved that, it is argued, we are facing an intractable conflict.

The Republic of Macedonia (and the overwhelming majority of ordinary Macedonians) see this dispute as a fundamental challenge to the right of the Macedonian people to self-determination. Indeed, insisting as Greece does on a change of name *erga omnes* constitutes a demand that the Macedonian government, and Macedonian society, forfeit its right to identify itself in a manner that makes sense to the majority of the population. Such a conclusion to the dispute would require an intervention in the very core of the social fabric of Macedonian society, altering birth certificates, public documents and, quite possibly, school textbooks and other official or semi-official quotidian markers of identity. Greece's claim to virtual ownership of the name is seen, not without reason, as irrational, because for many Macedonians their Macedonianness relates to the rootedness of their society in the region of Macedonia over several centuries and is non-negotiable. In this light, the Greek stance negates the very right of Macedonians to determine and articulate their own identity and to attain their own statehood.

To certain social actors within Macedonian politics and society whose legitimacy and status is perceived as depending upon the perpetuation of the current deadlock, the name dispute constitutes a source of political capital as it galvanizes resistance against Greek demands and, for the time being, delegitimizes competitors who might be ready to improve communication channels and engage with the Greek side. It could be argued that the current

[5] A notable exception was the rather crude attempt by the European Union to convince the Macedonian public and leadership to consider a compromise at the end of 2009 through the publication of an article by Javier Solana and Olli Rehn with the title 'It is time for statesmanship!' in the daily newspaper *Dnevnik* on 27 November 2009. Although the dispute was still nominally treated as something to be resolved between the two parties, the EU made a clear and unequivocal signal of its preferred outcome. The very content of the article betrayed the inability or perhaps unwillingness of European foreign policy and enlargement decision-makers to empathize and engage creatively with the conflict.

dispute is seen by some circles within the VMRO-DPMNE, but also by some in civil society such as refugee and diasporic activists, as providing a unique opportunity structure for the achievement of long-term political hegemony premised on the perpetuation of an apparently intractable antagonistic relationship.

If one adds to this the existing grievances that many Macedonians with origins in Greece have about their own or their families' flight from Greece at the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949, the expropriation of their lands and the human rights violations of those left behind, it is not difficult to recognize that the name dispute is simply one of a multitude of issues that affect the relationship between the two countries. Aegean Macedonian historians have played a significant role in the historiography of the Republic of Macedonia[6] and Aegean Macedonian refugee organizations have been active in the Republic of Macedonia and have had considerable success in informing the country's political agenda. Their aims go far beyond the name issue and vary from a demand for recognition of their treatment on the part of Greece to the expectation of comprehensive financial restitution of their human, political and property rights. One should not underestimate the significance of the articulation of the refugee experience in the narratives of contemporary Macedonianness: although at times suppressed, the experience of displacement and dispossession of the ethnic Macedonians of Greece is not only recognized and 'remembered' among Macedonians but also has acquired a prominent role in the national mythology upon which contemporary Macedonia is premised. Contemporary Macedonia is largely the product of the profound sense of loss, pain, separation and 'being in exile' experienced by the Aegean Macedonians as the final chapter of the Greek Civil War reached its conclusion. The 'exodus' from Greece at the end of the Greek Civil War is seen as an instance of constitutive violence exercised against Aegean Macedonians by the Greek state, the same state that, according to the very same national narrative, organized the uprooting of the Macedonians of Greece under the 1919 exchange treaty with Bulgaria[7] and the 'colonization' of the Greek province of Macedonia by Asia Minor 'settlers' in the 1920s.[8]

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[6] Examples of this extensive and influential historiographical and topographical work include Risto Kirjazovski's *Narodnoosloboditelniot front i drugite organizacii na Makedoncite od Egejska Makedonija*, 1945–1949 (Skopje, 1985), which provides a Macedonian national narrative linking the Ilinden Uprising and the participation of Macedonians in the Greek Civil War; and Todor Simovski's *Naselenite mesta vo Egejska Makedonija: geografski, etnički i stopanski karakteristiki* (Skopje: Institut za Nacionalna Istorija, 1978).

[7] The 1919 'Convention Respecting the Reciprocal Emigration of the Greek and Bulgarian Racial Minorities' provided for the resettlement of Bulgarians from Greece in Bulgaria and of their Greek counterparts from Bulgaria in Greece. The category 'Bulgarians' included many Macedonian Slavs who either had Bulgarian consciousness or belonged ecclesiastically to the Bulgarian Exarchate, or even decided to leave Macedonia for economic or political reasons. See Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece* (London: Hurst, 2002), 60-1, and Umut Özkırımlı & Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History; Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (London: Hurst: 2008), 147–51.

[8] In many ways, this experience can be described as what Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser and Sztompka call 'cultural trauma' (in Jeffrey Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) as it constitutes a successful process of collective representation of a traumatic event that defines (a) the nature of the pain, (b) the nature of the victim, (c) the relation of the victim to the wider audience and (d) attribution of responsibility (p. 21).

The leadership of the Albanian community has trodden carefully between subtle criticism of the government and a display of remarkable patience in expectation that the Euro-Atlantic integration process will soon move forward. Any challenge by other forces within the Albanian community, or outbreak of popular resentment of a breakdown of the fragile social and political contract that followed the Ohrid Agreement, might force a rethink of the adopted stance. Indeed, parliamentary election results from 5 June 2011 indicate that the Albanian community leadership has not managed to mobilize its constituency: the Albanian parties gained a combined vote of just over 16% of the electorate and lost six seats. Such a poor and potentially destabilizing outcome for the Albanian elites—and, possibly, for post-Ohrid political arrangements—will undoubtedly prompt a rethink of the Albanian position.[9]

Under the recently re-elected government which has adopted a more confrontational approach to the name dispute that in the past, Macedonia's BATNA (best alternative to a negotiated agreement) is twofold: to continue insisting on the application of the Interim Accord with Greece which obliges the latter to accept the former's Euro-Atlantic integration under its provisional internationally recognized name as the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, to pursue its complaint with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) against Greece's allegedly unlawful exercise of its veto at the NATO Bucharest Summit in April 2008, and to persevere in its effort to render its widespread recognition under its constitutional name a *fait accompli*. Given that the ICJ process may be a lengthy one and that Greece in the meantime can continue blocking Macedonia's EU and NATO accession, the Macedonian government needs to weigh its BATNA against the possibility of further popular frustration and internal destabilization.

The dispute is framed in quite different terms in Greece. The public position[10] of Greek governments over the past two decades has been that the use of the name Macedonia is provocative since they understand it to constitute an attempt to appropriate Greek history and to conceal further territorial demands. The Greek educational system and dominant Greek historiography have contributed over a period of more than two hundred years to the seamless integration of the Macedonian and Hellenistic past in Greek history, as have historians internationally, to the point that any attempt to challenge such views, or merely even to use the term 'Macedonian' to designate a different country or nation, is widely seen as unjustified and suspect. The Greek authorities, as well as various social and political actors, refer to Yugoslav claims to the Greek province of Macedonia after the end of the Second World War and cite irredentist references in school textbooks, political statements by nationalist politicians and diaspora activists, as well as the recent antiquisation policy as evidence of Macedonian designs against Greece.

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[9] I have elaborated this point in a comment posted in the *Southeastern Europe: from Triglav to Caucasus* blog (http://triglavtocaucasus.blogspot.com/) on 6 June 2011.

[10] I should point out that it is important to distinguish between public and actual positions here, as there have been substantial differences in the perspectives of different governments over the past two decades. Having said that, both major parties have been torn over the name dispute issue since both party cadres and voters are deeply divided.

Public debate on the name issue is rife with misinformation and misunderstandings; opinion-leaders often conflate the positions of the Macedonian authorities with the views and actions of other actors, such as diaspora activists or Aegean Macedonian refugee campaigners, and therefore tend to develop perceptions and representations of the dispute that homogenize and occasionally demonize the other side. What is more, they invariably refuse to recognize the expulsion of the bulk of the local Slavic population from Northern Greece and the right of those expelled as well as those remaining to designate themselves 'Macedonians'.

The initial and overwhelmingly popular mobilizations in 1992–4 against the use of the name 'Macedonia' by the former Yugoslav republic and the tireless lobbying of nationalist circles in parliament and civil society have entrenched the issue in the political agenda and generated considerable inertia that still serves as a powerful constraints in the development of a forward-looking Greek foreign policy. In this context, referring to the 'Republic of Macedonia' in public discourse is not widely acceptable. The internationally recognized acronym 'FYROM', or the name of the capital (Skopje), is preferred and often expected to be used, while the country is often (although with diminishing frequency as time passes) referred to as a 'statelet' in order to convey a sense of diminished international personality.

It is clear that behind the Greek stance on the name issue there is a complex array of aims, desires and objectives on the part of multiple actors. Whereas Greek policy does not officially challenge Macedonia's statehood, the insistence on terms that are unlikely to be accepted by the Macedonian government and public has the potential of radicalizing segments of the population and destabilizing the Macedonian political system. Most Greek political parties and organizations do not view such a prospect with concern as they have not as yet reconciled themselves with the reality of Macedonian statehood and nationhood or because they derive considerable political capital from their intransigent position.

But this intransigence is not solely the product of political opportunism and cynicism as several critics of the Greek stance seem to assert. The fixation of Greek public opinion on the issue of the name of the neighbouring country and the strength of feeling displayed not only in public mobilizations but also in quotidian contexts is in no way as 'artificial' or 'capricious' as it is often represented in Macedonian public debate. Apart from the fact that Macedonia has been seamlessly integrated within notions of Greekness over time, as I noted earlier referring to the struggles over the past, it should be pointed out that the Balkan wars that led to the annexation of Greek Macedonia were experienced and have remained in popular memory as wars of liberation from the 'Ottoman yoke' and from 'Bulgarian designs'. In such recollections, the issue of a heteroglot Slav minority in the region, given the oscillation of individuals, families and villages between the use of Greek and the local Slavic language, has traditionally been considered a product of longstanding Bulgarian attempts to extend influence into the region. Macedonia has not featured in popular representations as a 'foreign land', as it was and is home to 'indigenous' populations that spoke Greek, accepted the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, or considered themselves Greek out of belief, choice or expediency,[11] just as it was home to a considerable array of other linguistic, religious and ethnic groups. Macedonia inspired songs, laments and popular stories, mobilized people to work

[11] See Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 110–12.

and fight for its '(re)incorporation'[12] within the Greek 'motherland' and exacted considerable human and material sacrifices. More importantly, the Bulgarian annexation of the Greek province of Macedonia during the Axis occupation, the traumatic events of the Greek Civil War, the intensity of its final chapter in 1949 and the realization that its conclusion was to determine the fate of Macedonia, were internalized by many Greeks living in the province or further afield as a deep cultural trauma that goes a long way towards accounting for the intensity and often irrational aspects of Greek popular reactions to the name dispute.[13]

Today, alongside the traumatic recollection of the near 'loss' of 'Greek' Macedonia during the Greek Civil War, one can also cite Greece's current economic woes and the highly precarious legitimacy presently enjoyed by the government, as well as the existence of a highly reluctant interlocutor on the Macedonian side in the shape of a VMRO-DMPNE-led government which, for the time being, seems to derive considerable benefits from maintaining this stalemate. To this tangled web one should add the position of many proponents of a harder stance towards the Republic of Macedonia who suggest that Greece's BATNA is to walk away from the UN-sponsored talks and simply stall the future accession of Macedonia to any international organizations. It is argued that this should be done in tandem with an informational and consultative campaign with Greece's international partners and, in cases where this avenue does not bear fruit, through the exercise of its right of veto where applicable.

Bearing all this in mind, one can gain a better understanding of why the current Greek government, despite realizing that it has nothing to gain internationally by undermining or abstaining from the negotiation process, has neither the will nor the capacity to make a breakthrough in the process. It is quite clear that this does not constitute a viable long-term alternative, for such an obstructive approach is likely to affect the interests of some of Greece's key partners and might contribute to destabilizing Macedonian politics—in turn inevitably destabilizing regional politics and affecting Greece in unpredictable ways. Nevertheless, the short-term political costs of engaging constructively with the Republic of Macedonia seem to have prompted consecutive Greek governments to pass on difficult decisions irresponsibly to future incumbents.

At the centre of the dispute we can locate a complex identity conflict. Both parties appear to consider their positions on the use of the term 'Macedonia' difficult to reconcile. This sense of intractability is also affected by a number of misconceptions fostered by the two parties: Macedonian identity and statehood, however recent in historical terms and socially constructed as it may be,[14] is in no way 'artificial' in the terms that it has been represented in Greek public debate. Several generations of Macedonians have considered themselves as such and are not likely to stop doing so even in the event of an agreement being concluded between Greece and Macedonia. It is difficult to imagine that their identification can be replaced by international recognition under a different name. Thinking beyond the name

[12] I am using the term (re)incorporation here to indicate the duality marking the process of Macedonia's incorporation in the Greek state. Whereas in geopolitical terms it constituted the capture and annexation of Ottoman territory, in popular phenomenology it constituted a 'return'—a 'reunification'.

[13] Again, the term 'cultural trauma' is used in the sense outlined in Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma*.

[14] Needless to say, all national identities are the product of processes of social construction. But this construction does not imply artificiality since its viability depends on its internalization and enactment by the very people it addresses as nationals.

issue, however, it is not hard to realize that the relationship between the two countries is even more complicated and would be far from normalized even if the name dispute were to be settled. One has to consider the several thousands of refugees and even more emigrants from Greek Macedonia who have been denied the right of return to their villages, families and properties precisely because they have regarded themselves as ethnic Macedonians, even at times of extreme adversity during the Greek Civil War. One can also think of the small yet existent ethnic Macedonian minority of Greece which over the years has found itself deprived of the spatial and symbolic contexts of practices and resources central to its cultural survival[15] and has increasingly been forced to look to the Republic of Macedonia for these, a minority which, although not experiencing the authoritarian persecution of previous years, still does not dare speak its name. It is not hard to realize, therefore, that a resolution of the name dispute, however desirable, would not make the tensions and mutual suspicions go away. From the Macedonian point of view, the current crisis reflects Macedonian anxieties about the future of their country and society, the grievances of Macedonians displaced and dispossessed as a result of the Greek Civil War and of a long tradition of repression in Greek Macedonia and concerns over the fate of the Macedonian minority in Greece.

On the other hand, dismissing the often emotionally loaded Greek popular reactions as merely irrational and chauvinistic will not bring a resolution to the dispute any nearer. The apparent irrationality of Greek responses to the crisis is not merely the product of the hard work of various conflict entrepreneurs who have invested a great deal in a stalemate situation, but also the expression of a deep anxiety over the future of a Macedonia whose fate has been inextricably linked to that of Greece as a whole. It is not an exaggeration to say that the name dispute has been framed in such a way that a substantial part of Greek society lives it as an extension or revival of the traumatic experience of the Civil War and evokes the memories of sacrifice and struggle that Macedonia conjures.

Moving from the emotional to the rational, from the Greek point of view the crisis reflects anxieties over the potential of Macedonia to raise territorial issues and, perhaps more importantly, demands for financial compensation or restitution on behalf of Macedonian citizens originating in Greece. Even more significant looms Greece's fear of having to deal with a Macedonian minority despite the fact that the latter is for all intents and purposes already visible nationally and internationally and hard to ignore. This fear is perhaps exaggerated because it underestimates the post-1924 strategy of national homogenization whose impact on contemporary Greek self-identification cannot be ignored.

Overcoming the obstacles imposed by such fears through the successful conclusion of a formal negotiation process is hardly possible; the recognition that the dispute is broader than the name issue needs to be factored into any attempt to normalize the relationship between the two parties. As a matter of fact, it seems very difficult to imagine a win-win outcome emerging from such a process unless an adequate and possibly lengthy conflict transformation intervention is planned and initiated.

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[15] See Jane K. Cowan and Keith Brown, 'Introduction: Macedonian Inflections' in *Macedonia: The Politics of Identity and Difference*, ed. Jane K. Cowan (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 11–12. Also see: Özkırımlı and Sofos, *Tormented by History*, 112–13.

## *Thinking Creatively About the Dispute*

Dealing with the conflict requires a multilevel approach that identifies key actors, broader constituencies, strategies and interests, fears and aspirations. What follows constitutes an attempt to think through a number of actions that might address aspects of the complex nature of the current conflict and establish conduits for mutual communication and understanding.

Engaging with key actors at different levels: Any attempt to engage with the dispute should not underestimate the fact that its protracted character has served as a vehicle for the achievement of the political goals of particular forces. Such conflict entrepreneurs typically mobilize individuals and communities through appeals to ethnic, religious, and/or ideological solidarity, patronage, and positive or negative promises regarding security, and this particular dispute is no exception in this respect. It is therefore important (i) to identify those social and political forces that have invested in a stalemate and in rendering the conflict intractable; (ii) to probe into their strategies of mobilizing support; and (iii), to explore the stake they have in perpetuating the conflict.

Similarly, it is important to look at the constituencies of such actors, the individuals and groups they mobilize in various instances of the conflict. It is extremely important to understand the mechanisms that trigger solidarities among these actors, the discourses and narratives that are utilized and resonate among them and the complex networks of influence and patronage that bind the entrepreneurs with their broader constituencies.

Engaging both leadership and followers directly or indirectly in the process is an immensely important yet difficult task. Indeed in some cases it might be almost impossible: Macedonian diaspora organizations might perceive themselves to be more detached from the immediate practical issues which others, such as refugee organizations, have to confront on a daily basis, and thus may be more reluctant to refrain from particular symbolic actions that might undermine the process. Similarly, many advocates of a more intransigent stance in Greece have little to lose and perhaps much to gain from a continuing deadlock in the process. Nevertheless, *the identification of common interests* such as the need for regional stability and the prospect of regional prosperity and cooperation might provide the impetus for some convergences. It is important to work towards shifting away from the framing of the dispute as a potential resource for some to a way of thinking that emphasizes the shortcomings of a protracted lack of resolution, to identify incentives for those locked in the logic of the conflict, to either engage such actors in the process of dispute resolution or even empower those who can play a constructive role in this process.

Establishing information and communication spaces: Even the casual observer will agree that public debate on the name issue is rife with misinformation and misunderstandings—some deliberate and some accidental. Opinion leaders on both sites are prone to conflating and oversimplifying the positions of the other side and defining the dispute in terms of a binary, antithetical schema. The 'Other' is systematically constructed as homogenous, single-minded and, of course, antagonistic to one's own side, which is systematically represented as

being blameless. This is one of the most common characteristics of intractability in conflicts and the Greek-Macedonian dispute is a case in point. In this climate of antagonism and of overwhelming 'us' vs. 'them' dilemmas, dissenting voices are suppressed or not heard and the overall quality of public and democratic debate deteriorates. Thus it is important to establish and support grassroots or third-party initiatives that establish or enhance spaces of information and communication. Examples from the region show the way. During the height of the violent conflicts in other republics of former Yugoslavia, institutions such as *Alternativna Informativna Mreža* played a modest but crucial role in providing information and allowing communication between parts of the Yugoslav Federation that had been alienated from each other.[16] This might be a possible model for such institutions, although there is ample space for further experimentation and innovation.

Circum-negotiating the problem:[17] Recognizing the perspectives of both parties, in particular those relating to fundamental issues of identity and self-determination, is of paramount importance despite the practical difficulties of such an endeavour. Instead of the conclusion of a name treaty that does not address other aspects of the broader issues, the two countries will eventually need to grapple with a framework comprising gestures of mutual recognition and respect that reassure both parties of their shared commitment to regional stability and neighbourly relations. Given the current political and economic instability experienced in both societies, it is important to ensure that any progress in the dispute resolution process enjoy considerable legitimacy from the constituencies affected. This effectively means that a longer, incremental process should be devised with tangible benefits at different stages.

In such instances it may be important to 'think small' at the same time as dealing with the entirety and complexity of the conflict. Practical hands-on localized projects that entail sustained cooperation between 'the two sides' (i) might have the capacity to disrupt the networks of power and influence that sustain intransigence on both sides by providing alternative empowerment opportunities to people or groups who have found rewards in conflict entrepreneurship; (ii) provide spaces of encounter between 'strangers' and, hopefully, opportunities to gain an insight into the 'standpoint of the other'[18], reduce mutual suspicion and build confidence and understanding; and (iii) channel energies that have traditionally been expended in conflict towards shared goal-seeking projects

Initiatives such as the meeting hosted by Greece in November 2009 of the prime ministers of Albania, Greece and Macedonia in the border region of the Prespa lakes to

[16] Other examples include the Greek-Turkish Forum, the Turkish-Greek News initiative (a civil peace journalism project) and a host of similar initiatives in both sides of Cyprus.

[17] According to Saunders, circum-negotiation comprises 'the times and the tasks apart from negotiation that have the purpose of beginning, sustaining, and nourishing a peace process by changing relationships and paving the way for negotiation or other peaceful steps to resolve conflict'. (Harold Saunders, 'Prenegotiation and Circum-negotiation: Arenas of the Peace Process' in *Managing Global Chaos*, eds. Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson and Pamela Aall, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press) 1996, 421.

[18] The term 'standpoint of the collective other' has been theorized in Iris Marion Young, 'Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy' in *Democracy and Difference,* ed. Seyla Benhabib (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 120–35.

discuss cross-border environmental cooperation—an example of circum-negotiation practices at government level—could provide frameworks for lower level, track-two diplomacy and grassroots meetings and projects with specific foci (such as the protection of the local ecosystem, the exploration of cooperative economic development opportunities, etc.). Such instances can originate in local empowerment initiatives instituted by national governments or regional/local authorities, or even NGOs, or they can emerge from grassroots concerns. Where mutual interests are not evident, these can be discovered and formulated while minor problems need to be transformed into assets, or at least neutralized. Processes of *circum-negotiation* will be invaluable in this process: identifying common cross-border problems related to regional trade, tourism, or natural resource management and devising practical solutions and other regional integration activities are indispensable tools in such a process.[19]

Even beyond the border regions, similar opportunities for project-oriented encounters are necessary to ensure that those who do not experience the current dispute in the tangible, practical ways experienced by border populations have opportunities to meet the 'other' who has hitherto been remote, whose presence and opinions have been mediated through political and media institutions.

A more sensitive area of project-based transformative practice involves tackling the binary divisions imposed by the logic of nationalism[20] through the encouragement of projects that facilitate different types of relationships with the past (e.g. the past as a regional resource, the study of shared spheres of cultural, political and economic interaction such as Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire) involving schools, researchers, museums or civil society organizations and that bring home the complexity of the interactions between the societies that eventually transformed themselves into contemporary Greece and Macedonia in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. This is a task of immense complexity that again provides spaces for encounter between 'strangers', for the deployment of sometimes troubling and 'destabilizing' memories and narratives and, hopefully, opportunities to gain an insight into the 'standpoint of the other'.

While the engagement of social actors in such projects is crucial, circum-negotiation should not be restricted to the micro-level. State-level initiatives should include the following goals:

- a meaningful reaffirmation of mutual respect for current borders and for the need to maintain good neighbourly relations
- a clear assurance that none of the parties considers the region of historical Macedonia their exclusive national homeland and a recognition that the two societies share a

[19] At the time of writing, cross-border interactions (leisure trips, exchanges of goods, shopping trips, etc.) are pretty much common practices in the border regions. However, I would argue that what characterizes these interactions is their short-term, 'opportunistic character'. What I am suggesting constitutes durable, sustainable and goal-oriented activities characterized by a deeper mutuality.

[20] I am not advocating here a history cleansed of 'memories' which would be offensive to all parties, but rather the development of a history that transcends the logic of physical or mental borders and identifies instances of past coexistence and interaction as well as conflict. A history in which frames of identification other than the nation—such as region, locality, religion, guild and work or gender identification—are also brought to the fore of analysis.

region with a rich and diverse heritage which peoples with diverse faiths, languages and identities have been calling 'home' throughout its long history
- an expression of determination on the part of both countries not to engage in the symbolic warfare witnessed over the past few years
- an acknowledgment that this multicultural heritage constitutes a resource and not a matter of ownership
- a commitment on the part of Greece to support Macedonia's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures
- a recognition that current borders should be seen as zones of contact and exchange, facilitating encounters, bonds, and solidarities between populations on both sides

This identification of common ground should be complemented by a series of initiatives such as the following:

- the identification of common interest /trans-border/environmental/infrastructure projects
- a package of goodwill gestures that may involve a range of official as well as track II and grassroots diplomatic efforts as examined earlier
- a package of common educational and cultural projects and exchanges

Once sufficient progress is achieved in these efforts, a round of negotiations about the 'name' dispute should be set underway aiming at a conclusion that will respect the following:

- a recognition of the Macedonian people's affinity to the region and the name of 'Macedonia'
- an unequivocal recognition of Greece's sovereignty over the Greek region of Macedonia and of Macedonia's sovereignty over its territory
- an affirmation of both parties' commitment to the protection of minority rights within their territories, including protection of the right of minorities to designate themselves freely

Despite the practical as well as political difficulties that this right will entail, its institution is essential for a process of normalization. In addition, some sort of retrospective recognition of the displacement of part of Greece's Macedonian minority as a result of the Greek Civil War and the punitive legislation and administrative actions that preceded and followed the Civil War is needed in the form of a series of symbolic and practical measures—including facilitating visits, family and village reunions and possibly recourse to a restitution mechanism. This last measure is likely to be symbolically significant yet controversial as it will need to balance the traumatic experience and material interests of those displaced from Greek Macedonia and those who were equally displaced from Asia Minor and the Black Sea and resettled in Greek Macedonia. As I have already suggested, the road to reconciliation depends on respect for the standpoint of the 'collective other' and the capacity to empathize. In the

case of the Greek-Macedonian dispute, it will inevitably require an unequivocal recognition that a small part of the Greek population wants and has the right to designate themselves as Macedonian and a recognition of the forced displacement of many of their kin in the past; but it will also depend on parallel recognition of the settlement, involuntary for the most part, of rejected and displaced Christian refugees from the other side of the Aegean in the 1920s.

Although devising such a complex package is an indispensable part of moving forward towards full and unequivocal mutual recognition and a viable resolution not only of the dispute but also of the broader latent conflict in the region, it should be stressed that the key to the success of any agreement lies in the existence of the appropriate political will on both sides of the border to 'go against the grain' of nationalism and to work towards a change of the political cultures of both societies that will allow them to look forward rather than backwards. Ultimately, it is the realm of action that will make or break regional peace, mutual respect and cooperation. The road ahead is difficult and no doubt full of challenges. However, examples of forward-looking initiatives in societies marred by similar conflicts exist and therefore the excuse that nationalism is so deeply entrenched in Greece and Macedonia that it cannot be challenged is precisely that—an excuse.

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*Part III*

# IDENTITY, ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE – DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTHS SURROUNDING THE NAME ISSUE

*Part IV*

# THE NAME ISSUE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

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International Law Counsellor, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1971-2001). Legal Adviser to the French Delegation, 3rd United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (1973-82).

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Counsel for Guinea in the *Guinea/Guinea Bissau Maritime Boundary* Arbitration (1983-85). Legal adviser of Kuwait, U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission (1991-93). Counsel for Gabon, U.N. Secretary General's Mediation concerning boundary problems between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea (2003-2005).

Counsel and advocate before the International Court of Justice in the following cases: *Libya/Malta Continental Shelf* (1982-85); *Application for Revision and Interpretation of the 1982 Tunisia/Libya Continental Shelf Judgment* (1984-85); *Maritime Delimitation and Territorial Questions between Qatar and Bahrain*, *Jurisdiction and Admissibility* (1991-95), *Merits* (1995-2001); *Territorial and Maritime Dispute between Nicaragua and Honduras in the Caribbean Sea* (1999-2007); M*aritime Boundary between Romania and Ukraine in the Black Sea (*2004-09).

Experience in international arbitration:

Member of the Canadian-French Arbitral Tribunal concerning *Filleting in the Gulf of St. Lawrence* (1985-86). Arbitrator nominated by France in accordance with Annex VII of the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (1998). Member of the Arbitral Tribunal between France and UNESCO on the *Question of taxation of pensions paid to former officials of UNESCO living in France* (2001-2003). Member of the Court of Arbitration for Sport (2005- ).

Other responsibilities:

Member: International Narcotics Control Board (1989-92), U.N. Group of Experts on the Impact of the Law of the Sea Convention (1992-93), Council of Europe Committee on State Practice in the field of International Law (1993-96).

President: French Society for International Law (1999-2004); Hon. President (since 2005).

## Larry REIMER

Larry Reimer studied history at the University of Winnipeg, Canada and in 1992 obtained a Bachelor of Arts (Honours). He was granted a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Toronto Faculty of Law in 1995. He became a member of the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1997.

His interest in the interplay between history, peoples' rights and intellectual property law gave rise to the comment "Macedonia: Cultural Right or Cultural Appropriation?" in 1995.

Currently, Larry is a respected trial advocate, practicing civil litigation, based in Toronto. He holds memberships with the Ontario Advocates' Society, the Canadian Bar Association (Ontario) and the Metro Toronto Lawyers Association.

## Carlos Flores JUBERÍAS

Carlos Flores Juberías (Valencia, 1964) is professor of Comparative Constitutional Law at the University of Valencia Law School, where he graduated in 1987 and got his JD in 1993, with Extraordinary Annual Awards in both cases. He was a Fulbright scholar (1993-1994) and visiting lecturer (1994-1995) at the University of California, San Diego. In 2007, he also graduated in Political Science at the UNED University.

His academic publications have been focused mainly on the comparative study of elections and electoral systems, the formation of party systems, constitution making processes, and European integration in the new Eastern European democracies, having edited eleven academic volumes, among them *Las nuevas instituciones políticas de la Europa Oriental* (CEPC, 1997), "Derechos y libertades en las nuevas democracias de la Europa del Este" (Humana Iura, 1999), *La transformación de las políticas sociales en la Europa del Este* (Ministerio de Trabajo, 2001), *Estudios sobre la Europa Oriental* (PUV, 2002), *Rusia, en vísperas de su futuro* (with A. Colomer, PUV, 2002), *De la Europa del Este al este de Europa* (PUV, 2006), *España y la Europa Oriental: tan lejos, tan cerca* (PUV, 2009) and *Europa, veinte años después del Muro* (Plaza y Valdés, 2009).

He is also Editor-in-chief of the quarterly *Cuadernos Constitucionales*, the Hon. Consul of the Republic of Macedonia in the Valencian Community, and a doctor *honoris causa* by the San Franscisco Xavier University in Sucre (Bolivia).

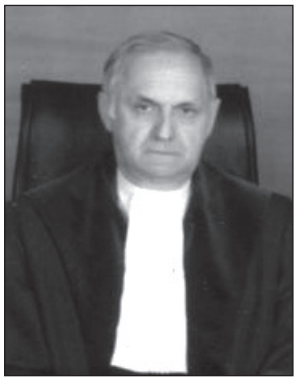
## Jana LOZANOSKA

Jana Lozanoska was born in 1978 in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia. Since 2010, she has worked as a freelance consultant on issues related to, for example, international and regional organizations and institutions, international law and politics, human rights, and gender. Her research interests also revolve around these subjects. She obtained an LL.M degree at the University of Geneva and the Graduate Institute of International Studies. Currently, she is a PhD candidate at the Euro-Balkan Institute for Social and Humanities Research. During her work at the Euro-Balkan Institute in the position of Director of the Center for Democracy and Security, she has initiated and conducted various analyses and researches, including co-editing the following academic publication: ed. Lozanoska., J, and Dimitrov., S, *Integrating Differences: Human Rights, Social Inclusion and Social Cohesion in the Balkans on its Road to the EU*, Euro-Balkan Institute, Skopje 2009.

Lozanoska has written and published several articles related to the name issue, principles of good neighborly relations, EU accession to ECHR, the Lisbon Treaty, and the Balkans in light of EU accession.

Some titles include the following: 'The Greek-Macedonian Name Issue and Good-Neighborly Relations', published on *www.transconflict.com* (July, 2010); 'Another Bucharest in Chicago?', published on *www.transconflict.com* (March, 2012); 'More Europe for the Southeast – is the Answer?!', published on *www.transconflict.com* (October, 2011); 'Implications of EU's Accession to the European Convention of Human Rights', published in *Crossroads*: *Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal* (January, 2011); 'Principle of Non-discrimination and Equitable Representation in the Framework Agreement Ten Years After – Formal or Substantive Equality?!', published in *Crossroads*: *Macedonian Foreign Policy Journal* (October, 2011).

Lozanoska is also an active blogger (*janalozanoska.wordpress.com*) and, on a daily basis, addresses various regional and global issues related to her field of research interests.



## Budislav VUKAS

Born in Rijeka/Sušak, Croatia, on 1 January 1938.

LL.B. (1961), LL.M. (1965), Doctor of Law (Public International Law) (1974), Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb.

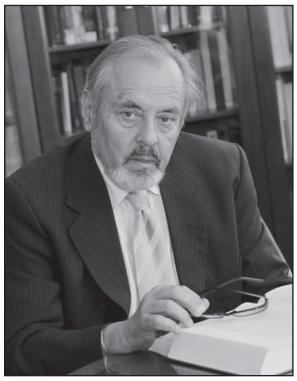
Professor of Public International Law (retired), Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb (Assistant 1963-1970, Lecturer 1970-1974, Assistant Professor 1973-1977, Professor 1977-2008).

Lectured at all universities in Croatia and many universities in foreign countries. Delivered a course on "States, Peoples and Minorities" at the Hague Academy of International Law (1992, Recueil des cours, Vol. 231). Associate Member (1991-1997) and Member (since 1997) of the Institut de droit international, Rapporteur on "The Humanitarian Assistance"; the Institute adopted the resolution on that issue in 2003 at its Brugges Session.

Participated in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the follow up meetings/bodies (1975-1996). Consultant for UNEP, Nairobi (1981 and 1991) and its Co-ordinating Union for the Mediterranean Action Plan, Athens (1985 and 1990). Chairman of the Working Group on the United Nations Decade of International Law of the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (1990). Participated in many European bodies/meetings dealing with human rights and the rights of minorities.

Member of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation (1985-2006); missions of inquiry formed by the International Labour Organisation for Romania (1989-1991) and Belarus (President, 2004); Permanent Court of Arbitration (1989-1991 and since 1999); the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration within the OSCE (since 1995); the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (1996-2005; Vice-President 2002-2005); judge *ad hoc* in two cases before the International Court of Justice (since 2000).

Author of numerous books, monographs, articles, and papers in various fields of public international law, in particular law of the sea, international environmental law, and the international protection of human rights and national minorities.



# Ernest PETRIČ

Dr. Ernest Petrič graduated from the Faculty of Law of the University of Ljubljana in 1960, winning the Prešeren University Award. He was also awarded a Doctorate in Law from the same Faculty in 1965. After taking a position at the Institute for National Issues, he was first an Assistant Professor, then an Associate Professor, and finally a Full Professor of International Law and International Relations at what is presently the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana. At this Faculty, he was the director of its research institute, the Vice Dean, and the Dean (1986–1988). He has occasionally lectured at the Faculty of Law of the University of Ljubljana and also as a guest at numerous prestigious foreign universities. For three years (1983–1986), he was a Professor of International Law at the Faculty of Law in Addis Ababa.

He pursued advanced studies at the Faculty of Law of the University of Vienna (particularly with Prof. A. Verdross and Prof. S. Verosta), at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg, at the Hague Academy for International Law, and at the Institute for International Law in Thessaloniki. He has been a member of numerous international associations, particularly the ILA (the International Law Association), the IPSA (the International Political Science Association), the Yugoslav Society of International Law, and currently the Slovene Society of International Law. He is a member of the ILC (the International Law Commission), whose membership comprises only 34 distinguished international legal experts from the entire world, representing different legal systems.

In the ILC, he actively participates in the work on the future international legal regulation of objections to reservations to treaties; the deportation of aliens; the responsibilities of international organizations; the effects of armed conflicts on treaties; the international legal protection of natural resources, in particular, underground water resources that extend to the area of several states; and the problems of extradition and adjudication. He served as President of the Commission from 2008 to 2009.

Between 1967 and 1972, he was a member of the Slovene Government (the Executive Council), which was presided over by Stane Kavčič, in which Dr. Petrič was responsible for the areas of science and technology. Subsequent

to 1989, he was the ambassador to India, the USA, and Austria, and the non-resident ambassador to Nepal, Mexico, and Brazil. He was a permanent representative/ambassador to the UN (New York) and to the IAEA, UNIDO, CTBTO, ODC, and OECD (Vienna). From 1997 to 2000, he was a state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2006 and 2007, he presided over the Council of Governors of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). During the time of his diplomatic service, he also dealt with important issues of international law, such as state succession with regard to international organizations and treaties, border issues, and issues concerning human rights and minority rights.

He has published numerous articles and treatises in domestic and foreign professional journals, and five books, three in the field of international law (*Mednarodno pravno varstvo manjšin* [The International Legal Protection of Minorities], *Pravica narodov do samoodločbe* [The Right of Nations to Self-Determination], and *Pravni status slovenske manjšine v Italiji* [The Legal Status of the Slovene Minority in Italy]) as well as a fundamental work on foreign policy: *Zunanja politika—Osnove teorije in praksa* [Foreign policy—The Basics of Theory and Practice]. He has contributed papers to numerous conferences and seminars. He still occasionally lectures on international law at the European Faculty of Law in Nova Gorica, the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana, and the Faculty of State and European Studies in Brdo near Kranj. He commenced duties as judge of the Constitutional Court on 25 April 2008. He was unanimously elected President of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia and assumed office on 11 November 2010.

## Sašo GEORGIEVSKI

Dr. Sašo Georgievski is a Jean Monnet Chair and full-time professor at the Department of International Law and International Relations at the Iustinianus Primus Faculty of Law, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. His other engagements include *ad hoc* counseling on international legal issues to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia, including as a member of the Advisory team for the Republic of Macedonia in the *Case of the Application of the Interim Accord of 13 September 1995* at ICJ and as external counsel to the President of RM.

His recent publications include an *Introduction to EU Law* (2010) textbook, a textbook on *Public International Law* (2012; co-author), a *Collection of Documents (with Commentaries) on Independent Macedonia (1990-2004)* (2008; co-author), and articles on topics of international and EU law.

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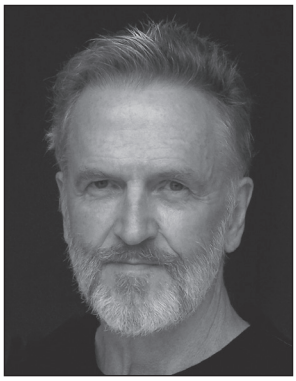
## Richard CAPLAN

Richard Caplan is Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford.

His books include *Europe and the Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia* (Cambridge University Press), *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (Oxford University Press), *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict* (Oxford University Press), and, most recently, *Exit Strategies and State Building* (Oxford University Press).

Professor Caplan holds degrees in political theory and international relations from the University of London (PhD), the University of Cambridge (MPhil), and McGill University (BA Hons).



## John SHEA

Dr. John Shea completed his PhD in Psychology at the University of Queensland in 1976. He taught at the University of Newcastle in Australia for most of his career after tutoring at the University of Queensland and lecturing at the University of Papua New Guinea.

Dr. Shea's works have appeared in more than sixty academic publications—as books or as contributory chapters in collections, articles and research papers for peer-reviewed journals, and papers presented at international conferences. He has supervised sixteen postgraduate theses at the University of Newcastle, including Masters theses in the Faculties of Arts and Science, and four doctorate theses. He has also acted as an expert reviewer in the selection of contributions to a number of leading scientific journals and in the assessment of applications for research funding.

Dr. Shea's interest in the dispute between Greece and Macedonia over their histories developed as a consequence of the vigorous arguments he observed between Greeks and Macedonians in the Australian community in the 1990s. Australia's large population of Greek and Macedonian immigrants had managed to coexist peacefully for the most part until this time. A variety of events that took place in Australia with the support of the Greek Government in the 1990s, however, led to Australian Macedonians feeling under siege, including a tour of historical artifacts, an "information" campaign in Greek churches, and a number of unfortunate attacks on Macedonian churches. Dr. Shea embarked on his own investigation of the history of the Southern Balkan states in order to clarify his understanding of events and assess the validity of the claims and counterclaims of the local Greek and Macedonian groups. His book, *Macedonia and Greece, The Struggle to Define a New Balkan Nation*, resulted from this analysis.

Dr. Shea's article in this volume is based on his examination of the Greek embargo imposed on Macedonia at the time it emerged as a new state.

## Biljana VANKOVSKA

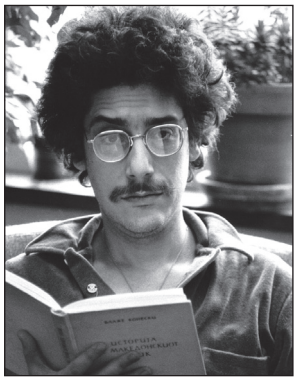
Biljana Vankovska is political scientist and works as full professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, Macedonia. She is Head of the MA program in Peace and Development. She is a faculty staff member at the European Peace University (EPU), Stadschlaining, Austria. She was Senior Fellow at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) in 2001/2002 and served as Guest Senior Research Fellow at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) between 1997-2000. She has served in elected positions in several international academic associations.

## Spyros A. SOFOS

Spyros A. Sofos is a Visiting Research Fellow at South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), St Antony's College, University of Oxford. He is editor of the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* and co-edits the *Islam and Nationalism* series published by Palgrave-Macmillan. His research focuses on nationalism/ethnic identity and conflict, conflict transformation processes, Islamic and Muslim communities in Europe, South Eastern European politics, and the politics of divided societies.

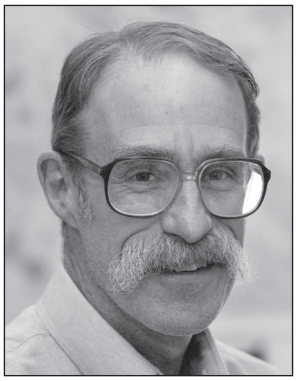
His books include *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (with Brian Jenkins, 1997), *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (with Umut Özkırımlı, 2007; Greek edition *Το βάσανο της Ιστορίας,* 2008; and Turkish edition *Tarihin Cenderesinde: Türk ve Yunan Milliyetçiliği,* 2012) and *Islam in Europe: Public Spaces and Civic Networks* (with Roza Tsagarousianou, 2012).

He has launched and directed the MSc in International Conflict Programme of Kingston University, has taught at the universities of Kent, Portsmouth and Kingston, and has been a NATO Research Fellow and visiting lecturer at Tartu University, the University of Siena, and Istanbul Bilgi University.



## Victor A. FRIEDMAN

Victor A. Friedman (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1975) is Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago, where he also holds an appointment in the Department of Linguistics and an associate appointment in the Department of Anthropology. He is also Director of the Center for East European and Russian/Eurasian Studies, a National Resource Center at Chicago. He is president of the U.S. National Committee of the International Association for Southeast European Studies and vice-president of the U.S. National Committee of the International Committee of Slavists. Professor Friedman is a member of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosovska Matica Srpska, and has been awarded the "1300 Years of Bulgaria" jubilee medal. He has thrice been awarded the Golden Plaque from Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, from which he also holds the degree of Doctor *Honoris Causa*. In 2009, he received the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages' Annual Award for Outstanding Contributions to Scholarship. During the Yugoslav wars of succession, he worked for the United Nations as a senior policy and political analyst in Macedonia and consulted for other international organizations. He has held Guggenheim, Fulbright-Hays, ACLS, IREX, NEH, and other fellowships. His publications include *The Grammatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative* (1977; published in Macedonian as *Deloto na akademik Viktor Fridman,* 2009), *Linguistic Emblems and Emblematic Languages: On Language as Flag in the Balkans* (1999), *Turkish in Macedonia and Beyond* (2003), *Studies in Albanian and Other Balkan Languages* (2004, a nominee for Tirana's Institute of Albanology's *Çmimi i albanologjisë* [prize for Albanology]), a scholarly edition of Aleko Konstantinov's *Bai Ganyo* (2010, winner of the Bulgarian Studies Association John D. Bell Book Award)*, Očerki lakskogo jazyka* [Russian: Studies in Lak Grammar] (2011), *Makedonistički Studii* [Macedonian: Macedonian Studies] (2011), as well as more than 300 other scholarly publications. His main research interests are grammatical categories as well as sociolinguistic issues related to contact phenomena, standardization, ideology, and identity in the languages of the Balkans and the Caucasus.



## Loring M. DANFORTH

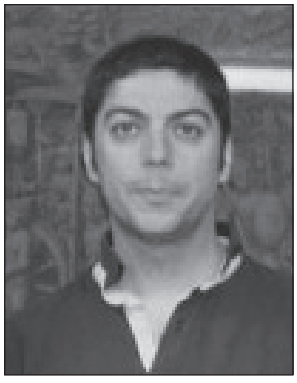
Loring M. Danforth is Charles A. Dana Professor of Anthropology at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, U.S.A., where he has taught since 1978. He received his B.A. in Classics from Amherst College in 1971 and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology from Princeton University in 1974 and 1978.

Danforth is the author of *Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (1982), *Firewalking and Religious Healing: The Anastenaria of Northern Greece and the American Firewalking Movement* (1989), *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (1995), and (with Riki Van Boeschoten) *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (2012). *Firewalking and Religious Healing* won the Chicago Folklore Prize; *The Macedonian Conflict* received Honorable Mention in the competition for the American Ethnological Society's Senior Book Award.

During the 2012-2013 academic year, Danforth will begin research for a book on the environmental history of the Prespa region.

*George VLAHOV*

*Chris POPOV*



*Vasko NASTEVSKI*

## George VLAHOV, Chris POPOV *and* Vasko NASTEVSKI

George Vlahov is a postgraduate at La Trobe University in Melbourne, currently writing a thesis in the Sociology Department where he is regularly employed as a tutor. Dr. Chris Popov has a PhD in History and is a retired Public Servant of the Commonwealth of Australia. Dr. Vasko Nastevski has a PhD in Law from Melbourne University and is presently employed as a Public Servant in Australia. All three authors serve on the Executive of the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (AMHRC) and can be contacted via:
info@macedonianhr.org.au

## Katerina KOLOZOVA

Katerina Kolozova, PhD, is the director of the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities-Skopje and a professor of philosophy, sociological theory, and gender studies at the University American College-Skopje. She is also a visiting professor at several universities in the former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, University of Sarajevo, University of Belgrade, and University of Sofia, as well as at the Faculty of Media and Communications of Belgrade). In 2009, Kolozova was a visiting scholar at the Department of Rhetoric (Program of Critical Theory) at the University of California-Berkeley.

Kolozova is the author of *The Lived Revolution: Solidarity with the Body in Pain as the New Political Universal* (2010), *The Real and "I": On the Limit and the Self* (2006), *The Crisis of the Subject* with Judith Butler and Zarko Trajanoski (2002), *Death and the Greeks: On Tragic Concepts of Death from Antiquity to Modernity* (2000), and editor of a number of books from the fields of gender studies and feminist theory, including one with Svetlana Slapshak and Jelisaveta Blagojevic: *Gender and Identity: Theories from/on Southeastern Europe*, Belgrade/Utrecht: The Athena Network Publishing (2006).

She is also the editor-in-chief of *Identities: Journal in Politics, Gender, and Culture,* a member of the Editorial Board of Punctum Books, and a member of both the Non-Philosophical Society (ONPHI) and AATGENDER (The European Network for Feminist and Gender Studies).

*Contact information:*

e-mail: katerina.kolozova@isshs.edu.mk
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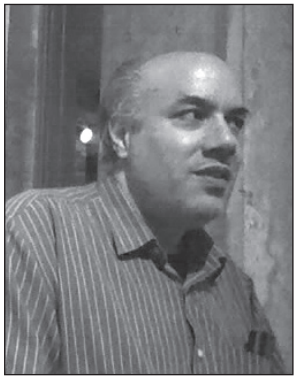


## Akis GAVRIILIDIS

Akis Gavriilidis is a writer and translator born in Thessaloniki, Greece, in 1964, and living in Brussels, Belgium. He has published 5 books (in Greek) on such diverse subjects as Spinoza's notion of natural law, the psychoanalytic approach of Greek nationalism, trauma, the memory of the civil war, and Billy Wilder. He has also published several original or translated articles in Greek, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Serbian and Albanian, in journals and on the Internet, and translated articles of others.

Currently he is doing post-doctoral research at the "Makedonia" University of Thessaloniki.

## Mitko B. PANOV

Mitko B. Panov is a full professor at the Institute of National History, Skopje. His teaching and research areas include Byzantine and Medieval Studies, as well as History of Macedonia and the Balkans. Currently he holds several research and teaching positions at the Institute of National History, Euro-Balkan Institute; at the "Iustinianus Primus" Faculty for Juridical Research, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University; and at the Philological Faculty at Goce Delcev University in Stip.

Prof. Panov has participated in a series of international congresses, symposia, conferences, and international research projects. He was Director of the 2010 International Summer School in Byzantine Studies in Ohrid, organized by Euro-Balkan Institute. He is the editor and co-editor of several publications and the author of documentaries on Byzantine and Medieval history. He has published over 50 studies in books and journals. His recent publications include *Entering Byzantium: Macedonia in the 4th Century* (Skopje, 2012) – in print; *History of the Macedonian people* (Skopje, 2008) – author of the Late Ancient and Medieval Period section; "Ideological dimension of the conflict between Basil II and Samuil," *Spectar* 57/1 (2011); and "Byzantium in the Balkans: Where East met the West (4th–6th Centuries)," *Glasnik* 54/1-2 (2010).

## Dalibor JOVANOVSKI

Dalibor Jovanovski was born in Skopje on 12 June 1970. He finished his elementary and secondary school in his hometown and completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Cyril and Methodius in Skopje in 1996. He defended his MA thesis in 2000 and his PhD thesis in 2003. Since 1997 he has been an employee of the Department of History at Cyril at the University of Skopje, firstly as an assistant and then as assistant professor and associate professor. His main scientific interest is the modern history of the Balkans.

He has published more than thirty articles and two books. He has participated in several symposia and conferences in the Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Croatia and Albania.


## Andrew ROSSOS

Andrew Rossos is a professor of history at the University of Toronto, Canada. He received his bachelor's degree in history at Michigan State University in 1963 and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1971. Professor Rossos's main area of interest is the modern history of Central Eastern Europe and Russia.

Over the years, his research interests have ranged from Russian-Balkan relations to Czech historiography, Balkan nationalism, and the Macedonian Question. His studies have appeared in *The Slavonic and East European Review* (London, 1991), *Slavic Review* (USA, 1994), *National Character and National Ideology in Interwar Eastern Europe* (Ivo Banac and Katherine Verdery, eds., Yale U.P., 1995), *The Journal of Modern History* (USA, 1997), *East European Politics and Societies* (USA, 2000), and in *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Norman M. Naimark and Holly Cases, eds., Stanford U.P., 2003). In 2008, he published a volume, *Macedonia and the Macedonians: A History,* for the *Studies of Nationalities* Series (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University).

In 2012, Andrew Rossos was elected to the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts as a foreign member.

## Todor CEPREGANOV

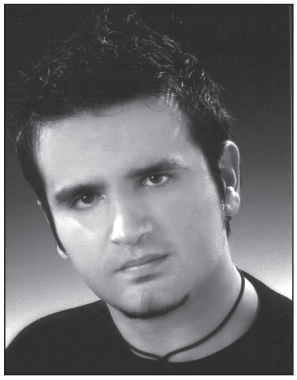
Todor Cepreganov is a historian, Professor, and Director of the Institute of National History. His field of interest is the relations of the Great Powers toward the Balkans and Macedonia in the period after 1918 until today. He has published more than 40 monographs and collections of documents and over 150 journal articles. He was the head of eight projects and an associate on five, and he has held fellowships in the USA, Great Britain, the Republic of Bulgaria, and the Republic of Serbia.

His latest publications include: *Историја на македонскиот народ* (*The History of the Macedonian people*), Institute of National History, Skopje, 2008; *Сведоштва за македонскиот идентитет (XVIII–XX),* (*Testimonies for the Macedonian identity 18th-20th centuries*), Institute of National History, Skopje, 2010; *Граѓанската војна во Грција во британската дипломатска кореспонденција 1945-1949*. Документи, (*The Greek Civil War in the British diplomatic correspondence 1945-1949*, Documents), Institute of National History, Skopje, 2011; *Велика Британија и Македонија (1918-1940)*, Документи (*Great Britain and Macedonia (1918-1940)*, Documents), Institute of National History, Skopje, 2011.

## Liljana PANOVSKA

Liljana Panovska is a historian, scholarly counselor, and professor at the postgraduate Institute of National History in Skopje.

She is the author of *Крајот на една илузија: Граѓанската војна во Грција и Македонците (The End of an Illusion: the Civil War in Greece and the Macedonians)* – 2003, and *Теророт во егејскиот дел на Македонија под германско-италијанска окупација* (*The Terror in the Aegean Part of Macedonia under the German-Italian Occupation*) – 1993; and has also co-authored, together with Todor Cepreganov, *Граѓанската војна во Грција во британската дипломатска кореспонденција* (*The Civil War in Greece in the British Diplomatic Correspondence*), 2011; *Македонија* (*Macedonia*), 2006; *Македонците во југословенско-грчките односи 1948-1949*, том II (*Macedonians in the Yugoslav-Greek Relations 1948-1949,* vol. II), 2003; and *Македонците во југословенско-грчките односи 1950-1953*, том I (*Macedonians in the Yugoslav-Greek Relations 1950-1953,* vol. I), 2001.



## Dimitar LJOROVSKI VAMVAKOVSKI

Dimitar Ljorovski Vamvakovski was born in Skopje on 9 December 1981 and graduated from the Institute of History of the Faculty of Philosophy at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in 2005.

Since February 2009, he has been an employee at the Institute of National History of Skopje. He gained his master's degree at the Institute of History with a dissertation on 'The activity of the Metropolitan Bishop of Kostur Germanos Karavangelis (1900–1904)'.

He is currently working on his doctoral thesis on 'Andart activity in Southwest Macedonia (1904–1908)'. He has participated in a number of national and international conferences and symposiums and has published several scientific papers.

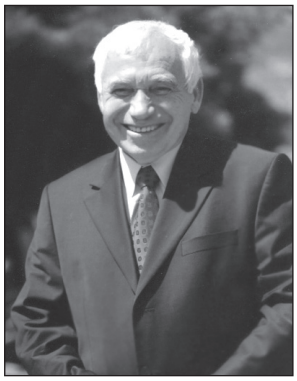
## Dimitris LITHOKSOU

Dimitris Lithoksou was born in Athens in 1954. He was a member of the Editorial Board of the newspapers *Proletarian Flag* [*Προλεταριακή Σημαία*] and *Left Politics* [*Αριστερή πολιτική*] (1980-1982), and the publications *Notebook of Political Dialogue, Research and Criticism* [*Τετράδια Πολιτικού Διαλόγου Έρευνας και Κριτικής*] (1982-1989), *Scientific Thought* [*Επιστημονική Σκέψη*] (1989-1990), *Leviathan* [*Λεβιάθαν*] (1989-1992), and *Dawn* [*Зора*] (1994-1996).

In 1973, Lithoksou was a participant in the events at the Technical Faculty against the Greek military dictatorship. He was also a member of the Community Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist 1976-1982), the Greek Left (1987-1988), the Society for the Rights of Minorities (1991-1992) and the Macedonian organisation Vinozhito (Rainbow) (1994-1997 & 2004-2009).

Lithoksou is the author of the following books:

*Minority Issues and National Conscientiousness in Greece – Injustices of Greek Historiography* [*Μειονοτικά ζητήματα και εθνική συνείδηση στην Ελλάδα – Ατασθαλίες της ελληνικής ιστοριογραφίας*], Leviathan, Athens, 1991 (first edition) and 1992 (second edition); 2006 (third edition revised and published by Batavia); *Minority Issues and National Conscientiousness in Greece* [*Малцинските прашања и националната свест во Грција*], Skopje, 1994; *The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle – From St. Elijah to Zagorichani (1903-1905)* [*Ελληνικός αντιμακεδονικός αγώνας – Από το Ίλιντεν στη Ζαγκορίτσανη (1903 – 1905)*], Megali Poria, Athens, 1998 (first edition); Batavia, Salonika, 2006 (second edition); *The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle* [*Грчка антимакедонска борба*], Az-Buki, Skopje, 2004; *Mixed Nation* [*Σύμμικτος Λαός ή περί Ρωμιών και Αλλοφώνων σπαράγματα*] Batavia, Thessaloniki, 2005. *Mixed Nation* [*Измешана нација*], Az-Buki, Skopje, 2005; *The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle, From St. Elias' Day to Zagorichani (1903-1905)*, Az-Buki, Skopje 2007.



## Zhelyu ZHELEV

Zhelyu Zhelev, Phd, DSc, was born on 3 March 1935 in Vesselinovo, a small village in northeast Bulgaria. He is married and has one daughter. Zhelev graduated in Higher Studies in Philosophy in 1958 from the University of Sofia. He was withdrawn in 1964 from the student fellowship at Sofia University for dissenting from communist dogma and was banished from the capital Sofia and forced to live in the countryside till 1972 because of his dissertation work, 'On the Philosophical Definition of Matter and Contemporary Natural Science', in which he criticised Lenin's definition of matter. He received his PhD In 1974 for his thesis on dialectics (Modal Categories) and his DSc in 1987 for the monograph 'The Relational Theory of Personality'.

In 1989, Zhelev was the main originator and co-founder of the Club for Glasnost and Perestroika, which led to his being subjected to new repressive measures. In the same year he was dismissed from the Institute for Culture for his dissident activities and became a co-founder of the Union of Democratic Forces (a union of all opposition parties and movements). In June 1990, Zhelev was elected member of the Grand National Assembly and elected Chairman of the UDF Parliamentary Group.

On the 1 August 1990, Zhelev was elected President of the Republic of Bulgaria by the Grand National Assembly. On 19 January 1992 he was re-elected President for a five-year term by direct popular vote under the newly adopted Constitution of Bulgaria. Since January 1997 he has been President of the "Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev" Foundation. In 2001 he was the initiator, founding member and first President of the Balkan Political Club. In 2004 he became a special envoy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to South Ossetia. In 2010, Zhelev was elected a fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science and in 2011 became a special envoy of the President to the thirteenth Summit of the the International Francophone Organization and a special envoy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Tunisia.

**MAIN PUBLICATIONS:**

**Monographs:** *Amateur Art in the Context of the Scientific and Technical Revolution* (1976); *Modal Categories* (1978); *Physical Culture and Sports in Urbanized Society* (1979); and his most famous book *Fascism*. (Zhelev completed his research for *Fascism* in 1967 under the initial title *The Totalitarian State*. Due to Communist censorship, however he only succeeded in publishing this work with the title *Fascism* in 1982 after overcoming great obstacles. Shortly after publication, this first edition of the book was suppressed and all distribution halted. Fittingly, it was published again after the 'Velvet Revolution' in 1989. Since then, *Fascism* has been published in more than ten languages, (2nd edition, 1990)). *Man and His Personalities* (1991); *The Relational Theory of Personality* (1993). Recent political writings include *The Intelligentsia and Politics*: *Articles Essays, Speeches and Interviews* (1995); *Bulgaria's New Foreign Policy and NATO* (1995); *Presidential Addresses to the Nation and to Parliament* (1996); *In the Big Policy* (1998); *Political Speeches* (2003); *Interviews* (2004); *Despite All*, (2006).

**Awards and Distinctions:** Professor Zhelev is an Honorary Doctor of the following institutions: Graceland College, Iowa, USA (1993); University of Maine, USA (1993); University of Tel Aviv (1993); University of Ankara (1994); University of Seoul (1995); American University in Blagoevgrad (1996); Slavic University in Baku, Republic of Azerbaijan (2002); South-Western University "Neophyte Rilski" in Blagoevgrad (2004); Veliko Tarnovo University of Cyril and Metodius (2006). He has also been elected Honorary Chairman of the International Academy for Art and Science and appointed an observer for the Caspian, South Caucasian and Black Sea Region in September 2007. He has received the following awards: the Catherine Medici Award of the International Academy Medici in 1991; the Transition Award, shared with Yitzhak Rabin (posthumously) and presented in Crans-Montana in 1996; as well as the highest state distinctions of France, Spain, Portugal and Venezuela. On 7 March 2005, President Zhelev was awarded the highest Bulgarian state order, the *Stara Planina* 1st degree and medal ribbon, in recognition of his significant contribution to establishing and consolidating democracy in Bulgaria.

## Robin O'NEILL

Robin O'Neill was born in 1932. He has a twin brother.

After attending King Edward VI Grammar School, Chelmsford and serving for two years in the British army, he went to Cambridge University in 1952. There, he was awarded a first class degree in English and won the University prize in English literature, the Charles Oldham Shakespeare Scholarship. He was also active in student politics.

In 1955, he joined the British Diplomatic Service and in 1957 was sent to the British Embassy in Turkey. In 1961, he moved to the British Embassy in Senegal. In 1963, he returned to the Foreign Office in London, and for the next five years worked on the British application to join the European Economic Community (EEC) and on defence issues, including becoming the private secretary to the Minister for European Affairs. From 1968 to 1972, he served in the British Embassy in Bonn, working closely with the German Foreign and Defence Ministries on NATO, defence collaboration, and disarmament.

In 1972, he moved to the Cabinet Office in London to deal with the coordination of government policy following the accession of the United Kingdom to the EEC, and in 1975 became the head of the South Asian Department in the Foreign Office, with responsibility for relations with all the countries of south Asia.

In 1978, he was appointed Deputy Governor of Gibraltar, where, incidentally, he had served in the army. There, as an administrator, not a diplomat, he had direct responsibility under the Governor for coordination of the administration of Gibraltar and for public order.

In 1981, he returned to the Cabinet Office to head the organisation responsible for producing all intelligence analysis and assessments for the government, and he was a member of the Joint Intelligence Committee.

From 1984 to 1986, he was an Assistant Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, with responsibility for aviation policy, counter terrorism, and the United Nations.

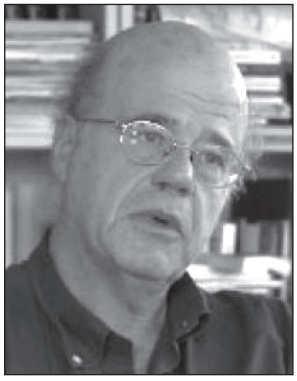
In 1986, he was appointed British Ambassador to Austria and also head of the United Kingdom Delegation to the Conference on the mutual reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe (MBFR), based in Vienna.

In 1989, he became British Ambassador to Belgium.

He retired from the Diplomatic Service in 1992, and later that year he was appointed Personal Representative of the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community for the question of relations between the European Community and its member states and the Republic of Macedonia.

In 1995, he was the European Community representative on a mission of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe to organise elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He has also acted as an election observer in Bosnia and in Kosovo.

He married Helen Juniper in 1958, and they have three children. They live near Cambridge in the United Kingdom, and in retirement he has been active in local politics, in the affairs of the Church of England, and in a number of organisations concerned with foreign policy and ethical government.



## Takis MICHAS

Takis Michas is a Greek journalist and author. He has worked as a professional journalist since 1985, and in 1989 he received the European Union Journalists Award for his columns published on the crisis in Poland during the 1980s. He has contributed articles to *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Republic*, and other major Greek, Danish, and US newspapers. Mr. Michas has done graduate studies in Anthropology, post-graduate studies and doctoral studies in the History of Ideas, at Aarhus Universitet in Denmark, International University in Dubrovnik, and at the University of California in Santa Cruz.

Michas is author of one book in English – *Unholy Alliance: Greece and Milosevic's Serbia* – and 3 in Greek: *Η παρεμβολη των Γαλλων νεων φιλοσοφων, Φιλελευθερη Σοσιαλδημοκρατια,* and *Νοαμ Τσομσκι και Φιλελευθερισμος*.

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