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MACEDONIA THROUGH THE THEORY OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION: ONE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE

МАКЕДОНИЈА НИЗ ТЕОРИЈАТА ЗА ТЕРИТОРИЈАЛНА ИНТЕГРАЦИЈА: СТО ГОДИНИ ПРЕДТОА

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Abstract: This thesis, through political-geographic and geopolitical analysis, deals with a problem that was relevant more than one hundred years ago, and it refers to the situations that reflect through the centripetal and the centrifugal forces that are fundamental in the creation of the states. Basically, the paper analyzes the situations on the territory of Macedonia during the Ottoman Empire, until the break out of the Balkan wars and the territorial partition of Macedonia. The theoretical basis of the political-geographic analysis relies on Richard Hartshorne's theory of territorial integration, a model which, with certain modifications, will be applied for the territory of Macedonia under Ottoman rule, and a model which enables specific case studies.

Kay words: territorial integration, centripetal forces, centrifugal forces, Macedonia, Balkan Wars.

Апстракт: Трудот преку политичко-географска и геополитичка анализа обработува проблем кој бил актуелен пред повеќе од 100 години, а се однесува на состојбите кои се рефлектираат преку центрипеталните и центрифугалните сили кои се основни при создавањето на државите. Во основа, анализирани се состојбите на територијата на Македонија за времето на Отоманската империја, до отпочнувањето на Балканските војни и територијалната поделба на Македонија. Теоретската основа на политичко-географската анализа се потпира на теоријата на Ричард Хартшорн за територијална интеграција, модел кој, со одредени модификации, ќе биде применет за територијата на Македонија под турска власт, и модел кој овозможува одделни студии на случај.

Клучни зборови: територијална интеграција, центрипетални сили, центрифугални сили, Македонија, Балкански војни.

INTRODUCTION

The Balkan is an area in which the natural-geographic predispositions, as well as the complex internal and surrounding anthropogenic structure, determine the political-geographic dynamics as the basic characteristic of that part of the planet which is characterized by division, antagonisms, border problems, territorial pretensions, spheres of interest, national, religious and political exclusion, influence of the Great Powers, economic polarization, and else.

The political-geographic and the geopolitical processes become synonyms for the Balkan due to the historical, 100 years continuity and constancy of the "actors", the methods, the final effects that are manifested by transformation of the position, the population and migration processes, socio-economic systems, political-territorial structures, geostrategic postulates and the foreign interests both in the whole Region, as well as in certain parts of it.

The contemporary political map of the Balkan is a product of a centurial historical development and an interaction of various, often diametrically opposite elements with geographical, political, military, demographic, economic, and cultural character. For example, if we go back to the Balkan in the period of long-term (centurial) presence of two powerful, but internally-politically divergent countries, Austro-Hungary and Turkey (Ottoman Empire), we will notice that what was created is, on one hand, a line of civilization split and, on the other hand, a huge internal, interethnic and historical intertwining/mix. Going into the sphere of building nations/states, the phenomenon of each state/nation proving its own ethnic "purity" comes to the surface. Barbara Jelavich in her work "History of the Balkans: 20th Century", points out: "...in all regions, the population is a union of natives and consecutive conquerors, that is to say, a "mixture" created through military conquering by a stronger group via absorbing one nation by another nation due to greater number of the population, or via accepting another language due to the cultural attractiveness offered by some more advanced civilization..." (Jelavich, B. 1999: 521-530). In such a condition, the attempts to establish an acceptable model of coexistence among the numerous entities which are constitutive elements of various states, during the political-geographic process were very complicated and followed by redrawing of the political map. Namely, the practice so far, confirms that on several occasions and under certain circumstances, the latent or the overt rivalries became a substitute for the rational solving of the problems, resulting in potentially unstable or violent situations, which burden the political-geographic process in the Balkans during this whole past period of time.

The political-geographic and the geopolitical processes which take place in the Balkans are caused by internal and external factors. However, this classification of these two factors is conditional, given the mutual entanglement and interconnection of the common interests and goals. The type and the essence of the impact of certain factors exceed the stereotyped understanding of the direct or the indirect, political-diplomatic, economic and military strategy and tactics as possible mechanisms for effectuating the specific interests. The local factors, as instigators of the Balkan political-geographic and geopolitical processes, are various, and their status, almost without exceptions, is defined by the illusion of theirown place in the international relations, due to which they often end up in the labyrinth which as a final result turns them into a "fill-in" of the stronger, in the re-designing of the political-territorial setting. The Macedonian factor, its historical destiny, is a typical example of this Balkan dualism.

In this thesis, we deal with the situations on the territory of ethno-geographic Macedonia during a whole sequence of years before the fall of the Ottoman Empire until the period of the Balkan Wars and the Treaty of Bucharest. We will refer to Richard Hartshorne's theory of territorial integration, through which we will analyze the situations in Macedonia prior to the break out of the Balkan Wars. At the same time, the thesis will also refer to the political-territorial partition of ethno-geographic Macedonia after the Treaty of Bucharest and the migration processes of the Macedonian and other population as a result of these wars.

MACEDONIA THROUGH RICHARD HARTSHORNE'S THEORY OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION

The American geographer Richard Hartshorne is one of the elite intellectuals who dealt with studying the political geography and the territorial states. According to him and to the functionalistic approach towards the political geography, the basic purpose of the country is to link its different social and territorial segments in an efficient whole. He creates a theory called "a theory of territorial integration". The territorial integration depends on two types of forces, centrifugal forces which divide the country and centripetal forces which keep it together. Hartshorne's theory of territorial integration provides a model for analysis of specific cases. We will try to apply this starting theoretical approach, with certain modifications, onto the ethno-geographic Macedonia, which in the frames of the Ottoman Empire was characterized by the homogenous structure of the predominant Christian population that inhabited that

territory.

As the most important centrifugal forces, Hartshorne emphasizes all those diversities in the nature of the population of a state, that is to say a territory. This diversity might be manifested in several ways. The most common reasons for conflicts in certain territories are the language, the ethnic and the religious differences, but also other elements such as the political philosophy, the education and the life style. Hartshorne identifies one basic, most important centripetal force and that is the idea of a state. Every state (in the contemporary world) or every territory in the frames of the Ottoman Empire had "reason d'être" – reason to exist. (Taylor, P. 1993: 150-151). By combining these theoretical premises, we will try to identify which forces were predominant on the territory of ethno-geographic Macedonia under the Ottoman rule. For that purpose, the period from the 16th century until the period of the establishing of the Balkan countries and Balkan Wars will be analyzed.

CENTRIFUGAL AND CENTIPETAL FORCES ON THE TERRITORY OF MACEDONIA AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE BALKAN WARS

The situation of the Christian population in the 16th century was characterized by paying high taxes, having no possibilities to get included in the state and the military authority of the Empire. They did not have the right to carry weapons. Converting to Islam was the only way to avoid the discrimination. The Dervish order of the Bektashis, whose beliefs were full of Christian and pagan customs which enabled an easier acceptance of the Islam had a special role in the spreading of the Islam. (Chepreganov, T. 2008:144).

The Ottoman Empire under the rule of Suleiman the Lawgiver (1520-1566) reaches its zenith. In that period, the Empire spread over three continents, including more than 20 million citizens in its borders. The defeat in the Siege of Vienna and Suleiman's death marks the process of the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The military-political crisis which emerged in the Empire transferred on the social order as well, that is to say the change in the feudal relations in the Ottoman Empire. The military defeats on external plan, the loss of territories after each peace treaty and the ever growing dependence, both political and economic, on the Western European countries, as well as the ever growing arbitrariness of the local feudal lords, highlighted the crisis of the Empire even more. The crisis slowly opened the door to the anarchy, which due to the coming to rule of the incapable Sultans and the independent policies of the local feudal lords towards the central government in Istanbul, slowly but surely separated part of the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The anarchy conditions did not elude the territory of Macedonia, in which several powerful feudal lords, who even had their own

armies consisted of mercenaries, became independent.

These conditions in the frames of the Ottoman Empire deteriorated to a great extent the conditions of the peasants/common people, especially of the Christian population. Since then started the resistance by the Christian population which more and more difficultly coped with the responsibilities towards the feudal lords, and on the other hand, people became conscious of the possibility to free themselves from the slavery. The excessive economic exploitation enabled the development of an unarmed character resistance forms. First such rebellion was the Mariovsko-Prilepska rebellion dated 1564/1565. On the other hand, the armed forms of resistance manifested through the haiduks' movement which had the character of "road robbery", inherited from the medieval century, without any organized form of resistance against the government. The haiduks' movement was especially evident during the wars of the Ottoman Empire with the European countries. In the period of the Austro-Turkish war (1683-1699), in the North-Eastern part of Macedonia, the haiduk leader, Karposh established a territory the Ottomans had no control over. The Karposh Uprising started in October 1689 when the Austrian armies advanced in Macedonia. The area of Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka was the centre of the uprising. In other words, the main stronghold of that territory was Kriva Palanka. In November already, the Ottomans perpetrated a decisive attack against the Austrians and against Karposh's rebels. This uprising was Macedonian Christian population's first attempt to counter the Ottoman rule.

In that period, the Archbishopric of Ohrid, which managed to keep its autonomous and privileged status and which in its frames comprised almost all of the Orthodox ecumena on the Balkan headed by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, had an important role. Through its organizational structure, the Archbishopric performed its function. The centre of the Archbishopric was Ohrid where the Archbishop and the Synod were, as the highest governing and legislative body. The Archbishop was responsible for the functioning of the Church and answered to the Ottoman authority regarding the peace among the Orthodox Christians. The borders of the Archbishopric of Ohrid depended, above all, on the "mood" of the authorities towards it. Besides the fact that its borders were changing, i.e. they were narrowing more and more, and the autonomous rights were decreasing, 9 eparchies stayed in its frames constantly. Those were the eparchies of: Kostur-Elbasan, Berat, Voden, Durres, Greben, and Sisan, as well as 5 bishoprics, i.e. the bishoprics of: Debar-Kichevo, Veles, Prespa, Meglen, and Goramokrensko. From the aforesaid, we could can that in terms of the religion there was a discriminating component which we determine as a centrifugal force.

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In the frames of the Ottoman Empire, the Macedonian population, in terms of the administrative-political order, lived in the context of the Millet system (Rum Millet – Orthodox). That meant that the non-Muslim population had the right to organize and run the internal affairs in terms of religion and other citizens' issues on their own, such as marriages, divorces, inheritance, education, and so on. The first serious territorial losses of the Archbishopric of Ohrid were felt with the renewal of the Patriarchy of Pec in 1557. The Northern Macedonian territories fell under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchy. This is a negative aspect in terms of strengthening the national consciousness among the Macedonian population, i.e. we can classify it as one of the centrifugal forces. Up until its abolition in 1767, the Archbishopric of Ohrid played a very important role in preserving the culture and the religion, as well as in spreading the literacy among the Christian population in the whole Balkan. The churches and the monasteries had a strong influence and were a strong centripetal force for strengthening the ethnic identity of the Macedonian population. (Chepreganov, 2008: 144-163).

The period that followed, especially the 19th century, was characterized by numerous reforms by the Turkish rulers who insisted in turning the Empire into a modern prowestern-European country. However, the political power in Macedonia stayed in the hands of the Muslims, while the religious-educational power, in the hands of the Patriarchy of Constantinople (Greek). This period is characterized by the Razlog Uprising which began on May 29, 1876, under the leadership of Dimitar Pop Georgiev. The following year, more precisely, April 24, 1877 Russia declared war to the Ottoman Empire, in which Serbia, Montenegro and a considerable number of Macedonian volunteers took part. The war ended on March 3, 1878 with the defeat of the Ottoman army and the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano. With this treaty, the autonomous Bulgarian country was established which covered the whole Vranje County, Korce and entire Macedonia. However, in June the same year, under the pressure of the Great Powers, the Treaty of San Stefano was reviewed on the Congress of Berlin, with which Bulgaria was divided in two parts: on the territory from Danube to Stara Planina the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria was established; while from Southern Bulgaria, the autonomous region – Eastern Rumelia. Macedonia remained under the Sultan's rule, while Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were declared independent. Regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina, a decision was made that it would be occupied by Austro- Hungary. Thessaly and Epirus were ceded to Greece, while Great Britain got the Island of Cyprus. Article 15 of the Treaty which provided a full autonomy of most part of Macedonia and Article 23 which provided the implementation of certain reforms that referred to Macedonia as well were

never effectuated.

The Kresna Uprising dated October 1878 was the next armed event which was a reflection of the unfavorable decisions of the Treaty of Berlin which reflected negatively on the situation of the Macedonian population. This uprising is the first serious and more massive Macedonian national revolutionary and liberation manifestation in the 19th century (Chepreganov, 2008:176). This event can be characterized as a strong centripetal force which, despite the misunderstandings that occurred regarding the aims of the uprising among those who dictated/directed from Sofia and the Macedonian insurgents who were of the opinion that the goal of the uprising should be the liberation of Macedonia. The Headquarters in Sofia regarded that the uprising should mirror the revolt that the Treaty of Berlin separated Macedonia from San-Stefan Bulgaria.

Article 23 from the Treaty of Berlin caused heavy armed movement in the South-Western regions of Macedonia. The result of these actions was the forming of an Interim Government of Macedonia by the National Assembly on June 2, 1880, on the mountain Gramos. The requirements by the Interim Government also have characteristics of a centripetal force which united the Macedonian population and was an incentive for developing of the national consciousness. Namely, the Assembly required the creation of unity of the population and unity of the country, so that solely the Macedonian interests and rights would be promoted (Chepreganov, 2008: 177). In that period of awakening of the Macedonian national consciousness, centrifugal forces were manifested by all four neighbors to Macedonia. Bulgaria and Serbia through the Slavic character of the language and its similarity with the language spoken by the majority of the population in Macedonia, tried to give proof for the Bulgarian i.e. Serbian character of Macedonia. The Bulgarian Exarchate among its other tasks, it also had the task to spread the Bulgarian national and political impact in Macedonia. In that, the methods that were used were really brutal. The Greeks emphasized their arguments through their "historical rights" considering Macedonia as their ancient inheritance, while they neglected the fact that in the period of the ancient Greeks, they considered Macedonia and the Macedonians as barbarian country and barbarian nation, that is to say enemies of the Hellenes. The Greeks found their own imperative for owning that territory and nation in their belonging to the Orthodox Church. (Chepreganov, 2008: 179).

These developments, with pressures and political propaganda from the neighboring countries, enabled the creation of one more centripetal force, i.e. the Macedonian revolutionary movement led by the Macedonian intellectuals from that period. Regarding

the social conditions in Macedonia in the context of the Ottoman Empire, and the fact that the most part of the Macedonian territory was inhabited by compact, uniform population, we can characterize the Macedonian revolutionary movement as a basic "idea" for creating independent Macedonian state. The Ilinden Uprising dated August 2, 1903 is a demonstration of the free spirit of the Macedonian population, because of the fact that especially in the Bitola County people stove for overthrowing the much hated Government and for occupation of territories in which a special government/rule by the insurgents was being established. The Krushevo Republic, with revolutionary power and equal participation of all "nations", reflects the policy and the desire of the Macedonian nation for autonomous, independent country.

In the period of the Young Turk Revolution, as an important centripetal factor, it should be mentioned that from the divided revolutionary movement, it was the left wing led by Sandanski which accepted the Young Turks reforms. Then, Peoples' Federative Party was formed, which directed activities for rearranging the Ottoman Empire upon the principles of decentralization and peoples' self-government, by which all the ethnic regions and minorities in the Empire would gain national equality. These requests would enable the Macedonian people to gain its national rights and to preserve its own territorial integrity. (Chepreganov, 2008: 209).

THE BALKAN WARS AND THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST AS CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

An important segment in the political-geographic process in the Balkan and in the forming of its political map is the so called Eastern Crisis dated 1875-1878. Winning this war, Russia signs with Turkey the Treaty of San Stefano, in favor of Bulgaria. The Great Powers did not agree with the decisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, due to which in the same year, 1878, the Congress of Berlin took place, during which the political map of the Balkan was redrawn (Grchikj, M. 2000: 451). Then, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro gained complete independence, and the Principality of Bulgaria was established (in 1908 it declared its independence, thus the last Vassal relations towards Turkey were rejected (Historical Atlas, 1999: 98) and the autonomous Turkish province Eastern Rumelia was also established (Hristov, D., Donev, J. 1994:71-90). In 1885, Eastern Rumelia with its centre in Plovdiv united with Bulgaria, and in 1879 there was an uprising on Crete which was actively supported by Greece through sending volunteers, but also through causing diversions in Epirus and Macedonia. The result was Crete's autonomy. By solving the Crete issue, Macedonia is left the only Turkish province with predominant Christian population, which was still waiting for reforms. (Talevski, J. 1998: 20).

The Balkan wars had the greatest defragment character in terms of the territorial integrity of ethno-geographic Macedonia. In the political-geographic process, these wars caused long term changes in the Balkan, especially for Macedonia. Not had the Macedonian regions in the frames of the Ottoman Empire been the main topic towards the end of the 19th century only, but, later on, they will become the main point of discord among the Balkan countries. In that period, Macedonia did not have defined political borders, that is, it was a part of the three Vilayets: Salonica (Thessaloniki), Kosovo and Bitola. It is considered that in the North the region was bordered by Sar Planina; by the Rhodopes in the East; in the South - the Aegean Sea, the Olympus Mountain and the Pindus mountain range; and in the West, the Ohrid Lake (Jelavich, B. 1999:104). The region's great geostrategic importance was of huge significance for it. It was situated in the heart of the Peninsula and included in its territory the valleys of the rivers Vardar and Struma. The main Ottoman port, after Constantinople, was the Thessaloniki Port, and the city of Thessaloniki was the economic centre of Macedonia. This city was linked to Belgrade by a railroad ever since 1888. Austro-Hungary, after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, had the same interest in the regions south of the Aegean, as was Russia's interest in Bulgaria. Russia and Great Britain had their impact upon the Region's destiny due to its vicinity to the straits (the Bosporus and the Dardanelles) and due to the role it played in the balance of the forces on the Balkan. For the Balkan nationalists, Macedonia had even more vital significance, that is to say, the one who ruled/possessed Macedonia had the dominant strategic position on the Peninsula as well. Thus, the fundamental opposition to the establishing of the San Stefano Greater Bulgaria was due to the fact that the territory that was to be given to Bulgaria, which included Macedonia as well, would have made it the most powerful state on the Balkan. (Jelavikj, B. 1999:104-105).

Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro emphasized their desires to own the economic wealth, besides the strategic advantages of Thrace, Macedonia and Albania. The Macedonian territory was the main geographic area which comprised the most important economic and communicational terrain for prevailing over the Aegean shores with Thessaloniki and the Adriatic shore in Albania. Especially important were the valleys of the rivers Vardar and Struma which enabled fast and secure approach to the Aegean islands, through the Thessaloniki Port and the Kavala Port.

In February/March 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance (Hristov, D., Donev, J. 1994:162-166), according to which it was agreed in future to act

jointly and coordinately against Turkey and to jointly solve all the problems that would occur during their cooperative action. In May 1912, Bulgaria and Greece signed a Treaty of Alliance and Defense (Hristov, D., Donev, J. 1994:167-169), however, they did not make an agreement about dividing territories, while in October Montenegro signed a Treaty for Alliance with Serbia and Bulgaria.

The First Balkan War broke out on October 8, 1912, when the Montenegrin troops crossed the border of the Ottoman Empire and surrounded Shkoder. The Balkan Allies easily defeated the Ottoman army (700.000 allied forces, against 320.000 Turkish), (Jelavikj, B. 1999:114) and during the military operations until December 4, 1912, when the truce was concluded, and after that, until June 29, 1913, the day of the outburst of the Inter-allies war, they divided Macedonia as follows:

Serbia occupied the so called undisputed zone (Hristov, T. 2001:230) from the "Secret Annex" in the Serbian-Bulgarian Treaty for Friendship and Alliance, and that is on the North-West, form the line Golem Vrv – Gabovci Monastery on the Ohrid Lake, as well as the most part of the so called disputed zone from the line from Golem Vrv to Vardar, between the villages Pepelishte and Krivolak and along the river Vardar to Gevgelija, i.e. everything to the West of that line/border. In Gevgelija, a triple condominium came to rule, Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek armies and authorities. The Southern border between Serbia and Greece starched from Western of Gevgelija, through the mountains Kozhuv, Baba, including the Ohrid Lake up to the Albanian mountains (Talevski, J. 1998: 23).

Bulgaria occupied the undisputed zone recognized with the Treaty between Serbia and Bulgaria dated 1912, that is, East of the river Struma, i.e. the Pirin part of Macedonia, and part of the disputed zone East of the line Golem Vrv – river Vardar, between the villages Pepelishte and Krivolak, running down the river Vardar to Gevgelija; and on the South-East of it - up to the South-West of the Dojran Lake; then, on the South, towards the Arhan Lake, next to the villages Hami Mahale, Western of the villages Doksombos, Semasi, Rodolivos, running towards South-Eastern direction and cutting through the Tahin Lake and along the altitudes 815 and 805 through the Kushnica mountain towards the village Doljani, coming to the Orfan Bay on the Aegean Sea. Eastern of this line, the villages and the towns Kavala, Drama, Serres, Sari Shaban, Pravishte, Zahna, Demir Hisar, and Kukush from Aegean Macedonia. (Talevski, J. 1998: 23).

Greece occupied the territory of Aegean Macedonia, on the North, coming to the southern lines of the territory occupied by Serbia, while on the East up to the border/line

with Bulgaria.

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Balkan Allies in 1912-13, the Great Powers Austro-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, insisted on: establishing of independent Albania in the borders that were defined by them; the territories Eastern of Edirne, which were important for control over the strait, to be returned to the Ottoman Empire; and maintaining the autonomous privileges of the Athos Peninsula. The situation among the Allies was additionally complicated with the establishment of independent Albania, due to which the primary agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria was annulled. Besides the conquered parts of the "disputed zone" in Macedonia as a compensation for the lost territories in Albania, Serbia together with Montenegro divided the Sanjak Novi Pazar as well. Greece, besides Aegean Macedonia, obtained territories in Epirus and Western Thrace.

On July 29, the Second Balkan War broke out as a result of the desires by the recent allies for re-division of the Macedonian territory. The Bulgarian army was the first one to start with the activities, after the secret agreement (Hristov, D., Donev, J. 1994:180-185) between Serbia and Greece for dividing Macedonia between them had become known. Turkey entered the war unexpectedly, regained Edirne and continued operating down the valley of the Maritsa River; and Romania also got involved in the war, and occupied Southern Dobruja. With the Treaty of Bucharest dated August 10, 1913, Bulgaria lost Eastern Thrace and Southern Dobruja, part of Western Thrace was returned to it, and it maintained the territories of Eastern Macedonia (Pirin Macedonia) and the exit on the Aegean Sea through the Dedeagach Port (Alexandropoulis) (Grgich, M. 2000:455). The new border lines between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria established after the Treaty of Bucharest were state borders that divided Macedonia in three parts.

With the Balkan Wars 1912/1913 and the First World War 1914-1918, a division of ethno-geographic Macedonia which was until then part of the Turkish state was made. The sole principle for defining and drawing the borders was the principle/rule of the stronger, that is to say the weapons. The ethnic Macedonian territory which was 67.741,2 km² was divided into: Vardar Macedonia (over 99% in the borders of the Republic of Macedonia, and the rest is part of Serbia), Aegean Macedonia (belonging to the territory of the Republic of Greece), Pirin Macedonia (part of the Republic of Bulgaria), Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo (part of Albania) and the Gora region (in the territory of the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Kosovo).

In mid-December 1912, after the end of the First Balkan War, the London Peace Conference was called with the aim of signing an agreement between the Balkan allies and the

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defeated Turkey. The Macedonian nation and the Macedonian territory, which were of interest for the other countries, immediately felt the burden of the foreign interests. The suggestion of the Conference for establishing an independent Macedonian state was not accepted, although the Macedonian nation actively participated in the war against the Ottoman Empire and expected that its participation will be respected and rewarded by the allies. Then, instead of a reward, the allies who surreptitiously agreed on dividing/distributing the Macedonian territory hindered the establishing of a Macedonian state, but on December 27 permitted the establishing of Albanian state. With the signing of the Peace Treaty in London on May 30, 1913, Turkey lost all its reigns on the Balkan Peninsula except Constantinople and Edirne with its surroundings. Thus, with the London Peace Treaty, Macedonia remained occupied by the allies' occupation armies: Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. (Trajanovski, A. 2007: 421)

During the London Peace Conference, the Macedonian nation, occupied and surrounded by the allied armies, could not have had an impact upon its results, however, active on that plan appeared to be the Macedonian migrants in the USA, Canada, Switzerland, Constantinople, and especially in Russia, reacting against the permanent division of their homeland by the Balkan allies and occupiers. It is especially important to emphasize the Memorandum on the Independence of Macedonia dated March 13, 1913, presented by the Macedonian colony in St. Petersburg headed by Dimitrija Chupovski, to the Conference of the representatives of the Great Powers in London, in which they asked for righteous solving of the Macedonian national and religious/church issue. After the London Peace Conference had ended, on July 20, 1913 a second memorandum was sent to the governments of the Balkan countries and to the Balkan Committee in London. In both memoranda, it was asked autonomy to be given to Macedonia, so that it could enter the Balkan League as an independent and equal state. In other words, it was asked Macedonia to be an independent country in its ethnographic, geographic, historical, cultural-educational, and economic-political borders and the old Ohrid Archbishopric to be established. (Trajanovski, A. 2007: 431).

On August 9, 1913, the Bucharest Conference on the plenary session adopted the text of the Peace Treaty. On August 10, 1913, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed between the belligerent sides in the Second Balkan Wars, and that is Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Greece on one side and on the other side Bulgaria which was forced to make compromises in this war. With this treaty, yet another division was done of the territories that were under Ottoman rule until then (Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohija, Vasoevikji, Sanjak, Thrace and Northern Epirus).

Serbia obtained the Vardar part of Macedonia, Kosovo, part of Metohija and part of Sanjak. With that, its territory was increased for 39.000 km² and 1.290.000 inhabitants.

Montenegro obtained the Vasoevikji territory, part of Metohija and part of Sanjak. It increased for 7.000 km² and approximately 260.000 inhabitants.

Greece obtained Northern Epirus, the Aegean part of Macedonia, the Halkidiki Peninsula including Thessalonica, part of Western Thrace and numerous islands in the Aegean Sea. With that, it increased for 51.300 km² and 1.624.000 inhabitants.

Bulgaria obtained the Pirin part of Macedonia, Strumica with its surroundings and part of Eastern and Western Thrace. It increased for $21.000~\rm km^2$ and 600.000 inhabitants. It obtained exit on the Aegean Sea from the Mesta basin to the Maritsa basin with the Dedeagach Port.

CONCLUSION

The historical-geographic destiny of the Macedonian ethno-geographic territory and the Macedonian nation is a unique example of a geopolitical and demographic engineering. The theory of territorial integration points to the fact that in the Macedonian case, in the period of the several-centuries oppression, dominant were those forces (the centrifugal, according to Hartshorne) that did not allow the establishing of a Macedonian state in spite of the gradual formation of consciousness about its own individuality.

The changes in the political-territorial ambient on the Balkan Peninsula confirm the thesis about Macedonia as the biggest/greatest looser and a "fill-in" of the instigators of the political-geographic processes. The Bucharest Peace Treaty determines the geopolitical dissolution of ethno-geographic Macedonia and initiates a new wave of migration/displacement of the Macedonian population. The forced and permanent migrations of the Macedonian population in that period changed the ethnic map of Macedonia to a great extent. These divisions and migrations, as well as the attitude of the Great Powers concerning the Macedonian issue are the key factors (centrifugal forces), despite the awareness of the uniqueness/individuality and the idea of statehood (strongest centripetal force), which contributed to the Macedonian nation establishing its own country behind schedule of all other nations on the Balkan.

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