

# Contents

<i>List of maps</i>	x
<i>Preface to the paperback edition</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>A chronology of key events in Macedonian history, 1870–1999</i>	xxiv
<i>A chronology of events in Yugoslav–Macedonian relations, 1990–2000</i>	xxvi
<i>Notes on the contributors</i>	xxxii
<i>Introduction by James Pettifer</i>	xxxvii
<i>Former Yugoslavia Macedonia after 1991</i>	xl
<i>Balkan frontier changes involving Macedonia</i>	xli
<i>Balkan frontiers in 2000</i>	xliii
<b>Part I    The National Question in modern Macedonia</b>	
1    The origin of the Macedonian dispute <i>Elisabeth Barker</i>	3
2    The new Macedonian question <i>James Pettifer</i>	15
3    Policy and economy in Macedonia <i>Jens Reuter</i>	28
4    Macedonian identity: an overview of the major claims <i>Kyril Drezov</i>	47
5    IMRO + 100 = FYROM? The politics of Macedonian historiography <i>Stefan Troebst</i>	60
6    Yugoslavia and Macedonia in the years 1991–6: from brotherhood to neighbourhood <i>Nina Dobrković</i>	79

7	The unrealistic dreams of large states <i>Kiro Gligorov</i>	96
<b>Part II Ethnic minorities</b>		
8	Non-Albanian Muslim minorities in Macedonia <i>Hugh Poulton</i>	107
9	The Vlachs of the Republic of Macedonia <i>Tom Winnifrith</i>	126
10	The Albanians in western Macedonia after FYROM independence <i>James Pettifer</i>	137
11	Status and rights of nationalities in the Republic of Macedonia <i>Gjorgi Caca</i>	148
<b>Part III Historical perspectives</b>		
12	IMRO groupings in Bulgaria after the Second World War <i>Ivanka Nedeva and Naoum Kaytchev</i>	167
13	Albania, Macedonia and the British military missions, 1943 and 1944 <i>Reginald Hibbert</i>	184
<b>Part IV International relations of the new state</b>		
14	Engineering the foreign policy of a new independent State: the Case of Macedonia, 1990–6 <i>Dimitar Mirčev</i>	201
15	Greek policy considerations over FYROM independence and recognition <i>Evangelos Kofos</i>	226
16	Macedonia in the context of present-day Russian foreign policy <i>Nina Smirnova</i>	263
17	The Balkans and the Mediterranean policy of Russia <i>Nina Smirnova and Alla A. Yaskova</i>	268

18	Former Yugoslav Macedonia, the regional setting and European security: towards Balkan stability? <i>Sophia Clément</i>	285
	<i>Further Reading</i>	303
	<i>Index</i>	305

# Index

- Ajanovski, G. 213  
Albania 45, 221, 290  
  army 209  
  British military mission 184–98  
  and Greece 227, 229–30, 248  
  and Macedonia 21–2, 255  
  minorities 275, 278  
  nationalism 21, 115, 118  
  and Serbia 21, 82  
Albanian National Liberation Army  
  (ANLA) 185, 187, 190–3, 195  
Albanians 285, 295–6  
  culture and education 37, 131,  
    142  
  diaspora 138  
  flag 143  
  Gligorov on 98–101  
  in Macedonia 35–8, 44, 93–4,  
    137–47, 293, 297  
  and Muslim Slavs 115–16  
  refugees 146  
  secessionism 138, 140, 142  
  and Turks 117–18  
  uprising 142–3  
Aleksandrov, Ivan 177  
Aleksandrov, Todor 177  
Alexander the Great 18, 30, 48, 50,  
  63, 79, 102, 129, 132, 133, 232,  
  256  
Aliu, Estref 37  
Alliance of Reformist Forces 32  
Andov, Stojan 33, 97  
Aroumanians *see* Vlachs  
Australia 214  
Austro-Hungary 269  
  
Bacčvić, L. 203  
Badinter Commission 34, 40–1, 201,  
  208  
Bajraktar, M. 190  
Balkan Entente 270  
Balkan Wars (1912–13) 12, 16, 29,  
  68, 86, 109–10  
  
Balkans  
  alliance 11–12  
  conditions for stability 294–8  
  conflict prevention 289–94, 299  
  democratisation 277  
  economic issues 299–300  
  ethnic tensions 275–9  
  mutual cooperation 279–81  
  nationalism 274–5, 276–7  
  new balance in 210–11  
  regional cooperation 294  
  Soviet model 271  
Barker, E. xxxii, 3–14  
Barth, F. 70  
Barthou 30  
Begamov 170  
Berisha, Sali 142  
Bernarth, Mathias 72  
Bessmertnyh, A. 265  
Bogoev, K. 204  
Boris, Tsar 8  
Bosnia 107, 285–6, 289  
Bosnia-Herzegovina 86–7, 275  
Boutros Ghali, Boutros 38, 102, 215  
Boyadzhiev, Stoyan 179  
Bozhovic, Lieut.-Col. Ivan 171  
Britain 139–40, 168  
  military mission 184–98  
Brown, J. F. 284  
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 81  
Bucharest Treaty 220  
Bulgaria 62–3, 98  
  ethnic breakdown 112  
  Fatherland Front 169  
  and Greece 3–4, 26, 229  
  IMRO 59, 167–83  
  independence 11  
  and Macedonia 25–6, 28, 45,  
    50–2, 209, 221, 255  
  minorities 275, 278  
  regional cooperation 281  
  and Serbia 3–4  
  UMCES 175–6

- Bulgaria (*cont.*)  
 unification 68  
 WWI 12–13  
 young men 173, 178  
 and Yugoslavia 65  
 Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP)  
 167, 171–2, 175, 176–7  
 Bulgarian Exarchate 3–4, 6, 8–9  
 Bulgarian Macedonia 51–2, 110–14  
 Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) 113  
 Burov, Kamen 113  
 Bush, George 211, 290  
 Byzantium 8
- Caca, G. xxxii, 148–64  
 Canada 214  
 China 214, 273  
 Christians 108  
 Churkin, V. 266  
 Clément, S. xxxii, 285–301  
 Coalition Alliance for Macedonia  
 97  
 cold war 270  
 Communist Party of Albania (CPA)  
 184–6, 196  
 Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY)  
 30, 70, 184–7, 196  
 Communists 111, 113, 228  
 Conference on Security and  
 Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)  
 71, 116, 139, 141, 265, 278  
 Congress of Berlin 228–9  
 constitution 32–4, 41, 52, 138  
 debate 207  
 Gligorov on 96–7, 100, 102,  
 104  
 minority rights 150–53, 163–4  
 Constitutional Court 99–101  
 Council of the Court 99  
 Council of Europe 93, 220, 299  
 Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations  
 160–1  
 Court of European Communities  
 246  
 Crampton, R. and B. 126  
 crime 145  
 Croatia 82, 103, 275  
 Crvenkovski, Branko 34, 39, 96  
 Cvijic, Jovan 52–3
- Dascalakis, C. 18  
 Davies, Brig. 'Trotsky' 186, 188–90,  
 195  
 Dayton Agreement 80, 91–92, 254,  
 283, 286, 301  
 de Mikelis, G. 211, 213  
*Declaration on the Sovereignty of the  
 Republic* 206  
 Delchev, Gotse 10, 55, 132  
 demilitarisation 299  
 Demiri, Adem 143  
 Democratic Party of Albanians 97  
 Democratic Party of Labour 113  
 Democratic Party of Turks in  
 Macedonia (DPTM) 116  
 Denishev, Georgi 174  
 Dimitrov, Georgi 171, 272  
 Dinë, Fiqri 187–90  
 Dinev, Angel 174  
 Djaferi 101  
 Dobrković, N. xxxii, 79–95  
 Drangov, Kiril 171  
 Drangova, Raina 179  
 Drašković 204  
 Drezov, K. xxxiii, 47–57  
 Dukakis, Senator 128  
 Dumas 213  
 Durham, Edith 184  
 Dushan, Stephan 8
- EC/EU 141, 145, 226, 297  
 Association Agreement 290–1  
 Balkan associations 281–2  
 enlargement 288  
 financial assistance 20, 40  
 and former Yugoslavia 207–8,  
 238  
 and Greek interests 23–4, 44, 218,  
 227–8, 243, 281  
 humanitarian assistance 213  
 Maastricht Treaty 42  
 as mediator 298–9  
 PHARE 290  
 recognition of Macedonia 26–7,  
 28, 84, 88, 211–12, 245
- Egyptians 121  
 Ekov, Evgenii 179  
 election laws 104

- elections 115
  - local 141
  - parliamentary 96–8, 205
  - presidential 104
- Elezi, Cen 189–91
- Elezi, Esat 190
- Ellemann-Jensen, Uffe 42
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 40
- Evert, Miltiadis 243, 245
  
- Ferdinand, King 11
- flags 98–102, 143, 219–20, 240
- foreign policy 201–225
  - diplomatic relations 218–19
  - equidistance 210–11, 215, 287, 294
  - principles of peace 210, 215
- France 168
- Frowick, Robert H. 139
- FYROM (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) 60, 72, 79, 216
  - foreign influence 141
  - Muslims 114–21
  - political parties 139
  - recognition 139, 238–40, 245, 287
  - and Turkey 116
  - UN membership 240
  
- Gaelic 128–9, 130
- Gendzhev, Nedim 113
- Georgievski, Ljupčo 33, 103
- Germany 168–9, 282
- Glenny, M. 203
- Gligorov, Kiro xxxiii, 26, 33–4, 38, 70, 86, 90, 93, 96–104, 139–40, 145, 154, 206–7, 210–12, 216–17, 239, 244–5, 248–9, 255, 290
- Goati, V. 203
- Gorans 117
- Gostivari, Xhem 188–9, 192, 195
- Gotsev, Dimitar 177, 179
- Great Migration of the Peoples 63
- Greater Albania 185, 286
- Greater Bulgaria 29, 88, 103, 237–8
- Greece 48–50, 226–62, 266
  - against recognition 211–12
  - and Albania 227, 229–30, 248
  - blockade 209
  - and Bulgaria 3–4, 26, 229
  - Civil War 31, 168, 228, 229, 230, 233
  - cultural heritage 22, 24
  - and EC 23–4, 227–8, 243, 281
  - ELAS 22, 169
  - embargo lifted 246–7
  - foreign policy perspective 253
  - internal politics 249–56
  - and Macedonia 18–19, 22–4, 41–3, 63, 79–80, 102, 221, 255, 291
  - minorities 275, 278
  - Moslem encirclement 42
  - the name issue 28, 48, 79, 103, 208, 215–16, 235–6, 239
  - nationalism 234–6
  - in NATO 281
  - regional cooperation 280
  - and Serbia 23
  - threat from the North 229
  - and Turkey 285
  - visas 31
  - xenophobia 233
  - and Yugoslavia 63, 85–6, 88, 92, 229, 232
- Greek Communist Party (KKE) 185, 231
- Greek Macedonia 109–10
- Gruev, Damian 10
- Guli, Pitu 132
  
- Hadzhikonstantinov-Dzhinot, Yordan 50
- Halili, Nevzat 35–7
- Haliti, Abdurman 141
- Hands, Flt-Lt Andy 186–7, 190
- Hare, Cap. Alan 188
- Haskaj, Hisen 140
- Hasluck, Margaret (Fanny) 184
- Helsinki Final Act 230, 278
- Hibbert, Sir Reginald xxxiii, 184–98
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 60, 72
- Hoxha, Enver 187, 189–91, 195, 227
- Hoxha, Fadil 185–6, 190
- Hoxha, Mehmet 190
- Hristozov, Rusi 170, 172
- Hroch, M. 66
- Hungary 103

- Hunter, B. 126  
Hurd, Douglas 140, 213  
IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation)  
    12–13, 19–20, 25, 141  
    after WWII 167–83  
    Central Committee 169–70  
    disbanded 168  
    founded 9–10  
    illegal 167  
    members killed 169, 171–72  
    national perspectives on 61  
    origins 60, 63, 67, 73  
    refounded 174  
    United 69  
    *see also* VMRO  
IMRO-UMS 61, 178–80  
Inonu, Ismet 272  
inter-ethnic relations 160–1  
Interim Accord 219, 221, 247–9, 254  
International Conference on  
    Yugoslavia 207–8  
international organisations 217–19  
Islam 107–8, 144, 228  
Italy 280, 282  
Ivanov, Borislav 173  
Izetbegović, Alija 86, 206  
  
Jews 108  
Judzel 117  
  
Kalaidzhiev, Hristo 174–6  
Kalloshi, Ramadan 189  
Karadjic, Vuk 53  
Karakachanov, Krasimir 179  
Karamanlis, C. 23, 229, 233, 239,  
    242, 251  
Kardelj, E. 272  
Katardžiev, Ivan 65  
Katardžiev, Ivan 209  
Kaytchev, N. xxxiv, 167–83  
Kemp, Major Peter 186, 188–90  
Khrushchev, N. 273  
Kljusev, Nikola 33–4  
Kofos, E. xxxiv, 226–62  
Kosovo 138, 184–6, 210, 226, 238,  
    276, 286–90, 294–5  
Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA/UCK)  
    146  
  
Kourtev, Vladimir 169–71  
Kozyrev, A. 265–6  
Kupi, Abas 194  
  
language 156–7  
    Macedonia 18, 36–7, 158–9  
    Serbian 53  
    Vlachs 127–9  
Latin 133  
LCY, 14th Congress 203  
Liberal Party 34, 97  
Lis, Lt Michael 188  
Lisbon Declaration 212–13  
Lleshi, Aqif 191, 195  
Lleshi, Haxhi 185–90, 191, 194–5  
Lory, B. 70  
  
MAAK (Movement for Pan-Macedonian Action) 237  
Macdonald, Cap. Donald 193  
Macedones 250  
Macedonia  
    Aegean 49  
    and Albania 21–2, 255  
    Albanians 93–4, 293, 297  
    area of 4  
    army 22  
    autonomy 68–9  
    and Bulgaria 25–6, 209, 255  
    deBulgarisation 51–2  
    definition 67–8, 70  
    economic blockade 38–40, 71  
    economy 4–5, 19–10, 38–40, 44,  
        84, 204, 208  
    ethnic tensions 131  
    foreign debts 40  
    Great Powers intervention 10–11  
    and Greece 18–19, 102, 221, 255,  
        291  
    independence 10, 19, 33, 47, 69,  
        87–8, 103; anniversary 131;  
        referendum 102, 206  
    independent statelet 25  
    language 18, 36–7, 158–9  
    minorities 275  
    naive historiography 61–4  
    the name 28, 41, 48, 49–50, 79,  
        103, 215–16, 235–6  
    nationalism 30–1, 72, 177, 221

- non-secessionist 202–3  
 partitioned 11, 13, 25, 109, 220  
 political parties 32–4, 71, 97–100, 204–5  
 political polarisation 285  
 population 16–17, 28, 35  
 recognition 23, 28, 31, 34, 36, 40–3, 52, 84, 88, 207–8, 211–14, 220  
 Republic of 30, 47  
 self-demilitarisation 90  
 self-identification 54  
 and Serbs 93, 255  
 state bodies 157–8  
 towns 5  
 unification 31  
 Vilayets 29, 67–8  
 Yugoslavian army 208–9  
*see also* FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)  
 ‘Macedonia is Greek’ 234–5  
 Macedonian Citizenship Law 35, 38, 44  
 Macedonian Orthodox Church 30  
 Macedonian Patriotic Organisation (MPO) 173  
 Macedonian People’s Movement 69  
 Macedonian salute 41–2  
 Macedonian–Thracian duality 67–8  
 Macedonians  
   ancient 48, 54  
   Bulgarian 231  
   Diaspora 68, 102, 138, 232, 233, 235  
   ethnic origins 5–7, 16–17  
   expatriate 161–63  
   Greek 5, 6–7, 231  
   Slavs 5–6, 7, 50, 54–5, 64, 114–17, 233  
 Macedonism 231, 236  
 Maclean, Brig. Fitzroy 192–3  
 Magginas, Vassilis 43  
 Makedonci 231–33, 250  
 Makedonia 174  
 Malinesky, D. 266  
 Marković, Ante 32, 203  
 media and press 89, 91  
 Memedovski, Riza 115  
 Meyer 203  
 Mihailov, Ivan 168–9, 171, 173, 177–8  
 Mihailov, Vancho 170  
*Millet* system 107–9  
 Milosavlevski, S. 201, 209  
 Milošević, Slobodan 25, 72, 89, 238, 252  
 minorities 275  
   rights 148–64, 277–8  
 Mirčev, D. xxxiv, 201–225  
 Mitsotakis, Constantine 23–4, 103, 237, 239, 241–44, 251–52  
 Mitsotakis, K. 266  
 Mladenov, Pando 173  
 Mojanoski, C. 205  
 Molotov, V. 272  
 Montenegro 275  
 Muslims 107–25, 275  
   in Bulgarian Macedonia 110–14  
   emigration to Turkey 109–10, 113–14  
 Nastev, Georgi 169–70  
 national identity 70, 155–7, 161  
 National Liberation Movement (LNC) 187, 190–91  
 national mobilisation model 66  
   National Agitation 66–71  
 NATO 280–1, 282–3, 294–5  
   enlargement 288  
   Partnership for Peace (PfP) 91, 220, 296–300  
 Ndreu, Dali 189, 191, 194  
 Ndreu, Esat 189, 191, 195  
 Nedeva, I. xxxv, 167–83  
 Nimetz, Matthew 291  
 OESC Final Act 83  
 O’Neal, Robin 213  
 organisational history 64–5  
 OSCE 72, 207, 218, 220, 298  
   Spillover Monitoring Mission 71, 290  
 Osmani, Rufi 143  
 Ottoman regime 16, 68, 107–8, 110, 228, 263  
 Owen, Lord 240, 243–4, 246–7, 291  
 Ozal, Turgut 228



- Palmer, Lt-Col. Alan 194  
 Pangalos, Theodoros 248, 255  
 Panić, M. 211  
 Papaconstantinou, Michalis 243  
 Papandreou, Andreas 229, 233,  
 240–42, 244–9, 252–4  
 Papoulias, Karolos 247  
 Paris Charter 207  
 Paris Peace Conference 270, 272  
 Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP)  
 32, 34, 35, 37, 115, 139–42, 144,  
 205  
 Party for Democratic Transformation  
 32, 205  
 Party for Rights and Freedom (DPS)  
 112  
 Parvanov, Georgi 177  
 Pavelich, Ante 168  
 Peichinovich, Kiril 50  
 People's Republic of Macedonia  
 (PRM) 168  
 Petkov, Nikola 172  
 Pettifer, J. xxxv, 15–27, 137–47  
 Philip II 48, 50, 63, 102, 219, 234  
 Pineiro 239  
 Pomaks 107, 110–14  
 Poulton, H. xxxv, 107–25, 126  
 Pribicević, Svetozar 6  
 privatisation 35  
 Protogerov 13
- Rehn, Elizabeth 143  
 Reuter, J. xxxv, 28–46, 204  
 Riddell, Major Richard 186–9, 191,  
 192, 195  
 rights, minority 148–64, 277–8  
 Ristovksi, Blaže 65  
 Rizov, Kosta 170, 172  
 ROM 114–19  
 Roma (Gypsies) 119–21  
 Romania 275, 278, 281  
 Russia 214  
 Balkan policy 268–84  
 foreign policy 263–7  
 influence on Balkans 3–4, 8  
*see also* Soviet Union
- Samaras, Adonis 23, 237, 239,  
 241–43, 251
- Samuel, Tsar 8, 63  
 Sandanski, Yané 177  
 Sarik-Todorovska, Rosana 71  
 Scheirup, C.-U. 203  
 self-determination 279  
 Semerdziev, Peter 170  
 Serbia 28, 44, 52–3, 80, 83, 103  
 and Albania 21, 82  
 and Bulgaria 3–4  
 and Croatia 82  
 and Greece 23  
 and Macedonia 24–5, 88–9, 255  
 minorities 275  
 Serbian Orthodox church 204  
 Serbo-Bulgarian Agreement (1912)  
 11  
 Serbo-Croats 116  
 Šešelj, Vojislav 25, 28, 44, 89, 204  
 Shehu, Faik 190–1  
 Shehu, Mehmet 191–94  
 Simcox, Capt. Anthony 186,  
 189–90  
 Simeon, Tsar 8  
 Simitis, Kostas 248, 254–5  
 Slaveikov, Petko 50  
 Slavic unity 271  
 Slovenia 275  
 Smirnova, N. D. xxxvi, 263–7,  
 268–84  
 Smith, Major Victor 194  
 smuggling 89  
 Social-Democratic Alliance 96  
 Social-Democratic Union 34  
 Socialist Alliance 34  
 Socialist Republic of Macedonia  
 (SRM) 227  
 South Serbia 18  
 Soviet Union  
 break-up 269, 274  
 formation 269  
 and Yugoslavia 273  
*see also* Russia
- Staikov, Encho 175  
 Stalin 171, 271, 273  
 states  
 boundaries 277, 299  
 creation of 160  
 Stoyanov, Petar 179  
 Sublime Porte 16, 29

- Thaci, Menduh 141  
 Thompson 127  
 Tito 6, 13, 19, 21, 25, 80, 114, 168,  
 184–5, 195, 202, 233, 273  
 Todorova, Sofija 40  
 Torbeši 114–17  
 Treaty of Berlin 4, 9, 18, 29  
 Treaty of Bucharest 12  
 Treaty of San Stefano 4, 9, 18, 29,  
 62–3  
 Troebst, S. xxxvi, 30, 60–78, 203  
 Trpeski, Ljupčo 40  
 Turkey  
 decree of 1870 9  
 and FYROM 116  
 and Greece 285  
 minorities 278  
 Muslim immigrants 109–10,  
 113–14  
 regional cooperation 280–1  
 Turks 108, 116–18
- United Nations 38, 207, 220  
 economic sanctions 89, 139, 209,  
 212  
 membership 43, 60, 103, 240, 256  
 minority rights 148–50  
 Peace Implementation Council  
 290  
 UNPREDEP 143, 290–97  
 UNPROFOR 72, 213, 214  
 United States 145, 211–12, 214,  
 226, 243, 245, 264, 282  
 Urbančić, I. 202
- van den Broek, Hans 291  
 Vance, Cyrus 103, 217, 219, 240,  
 243–4, 246–7, 249, 291  
 Vardar estuary 25  
 Vardar Macedonia 51, 66, 68–9, 72  
 Velichkov, Anatoli 179  
 Venezelos, Prime Minister 11  
 Vergina Star 132, 236  
 Vickers, M. 146, 304  
 Vlachs 126–36  
 associations 129–30  
 congress 133–4  
 history 131–303  
 language 18, 127–9  
 numbers of 126–7, 128  
 scattered 129–30  
 Vlahov, Dimitër 13  
 VMRO 29–31, 33, 55, 97–8,  
 101–102, 103–4, 145, 236–7, 297  
*see also* IMRO  
 VMRO-DPMNE 25, 31–2, 38, 41–2,  
 60, 71, 138, 205  
 Vukmanovic-Tempo, Svetozar  
 184–7, 195
- Wace 127  
 WEU 291, 296, 298  
 Willemsen, H. 70  
 Wilson, Woodrow 160  
 Winn, Rowland 195  
 Winnifrith, T. xxxvi, 126–36  
 World War I 12–13  
 World War II 68–9, 184–98, 263–4,  
 270, 271–72
- Xhaferi, Arben 141–2, 144
- Yashkova, A. Y. xxxvi, 268–84  
 Yeltsin 264, 266  
 Yugoslav People's Army 90  
 Yugoslavia 15, 19  
 Albanians 93–4  
 army in Macedonia 208–9  
 break-up 264  
 and Bulgaria 65  
 crisis 80–83, 86–7  
 dissolution 202–3  
 formation of 69  
 and Greece 65, 85–6, 88, 92, 229,  
 232  
 and Macedonia 79–95  
 Roma 119–21  
 sanctions against 89  
 and Soviet Union 273  
 Yugoslavia–Macedonia agreement  
 91–2  
 Yugov, Anton 170
- Zelev, Željko 45  
 Zhekev, Zh. 266  
 Zhivkov, Todor 111–13, 174, 176–7,  
 227, 229, 264  
 Zog, King 184, 187