GREECE AND THE IDEA OF THE BALKAN UNION ACCORDING TO THE MATERIALS OF MAGAZINE *LES BALKANS*

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Abstract: The end of the 20th – begining of the 30th of the XXth centuary was a turning-point in the history of development of the Greek state. Replacement of the Great Idea (in general the idea of the conquest) by the idea of peace brightly reflected in the foreign policy of newformed government, headed by the leader of the Liberal party, Elefterios Venizelos. On the agenda of its policy there was set a question of the maintenance of Greek position in the Balkan and Mediterranean regions. The political vitality of the theme chosen is in the importance of the question of peace in the Balkan region even in time beings. This theme moreover has a scientific vitality - neither in foreign nor in the russian historography it hasn't investigated from the journal's point of view. Study of Les Balkans allowed to reproduce in detail the atmosphere of the greek social and political life at the begining of the 1930th and the history of journal's existence.

Keywords: Greece, Balkan Region, Mediterranean Sea, Elefterios Venizelos, magazine Les Balkans.

he end of the 20th – begining of the 30th of the XXth centuary was a turning-point in the history of development of the Greek state. Defeat in war between Greece and Turkey, Lausanne peace treaty of 1923 drew the line between what was and what would be in the life of state and humble people.

In the field of policy there was changed a state's regime. Accused in the disaster had happened in Greece after an Asia Minor catastrophe of 1923, king Constantine was obliged to leave the country. Authority to rule passed to the republican forces, who, taken an advantage, led in Greece national-wide plebiscite. In 1924 Greece was proclaimed a republic.

Social and economic life in Greek state underwent modernasation and reformation. The flow of about 1 million 260 thousand refugees¹ in country activated the government's policy for coming into the reality agrarian reform, labour legislation, increase of the industrial rates, development of towns and roads.

In the external policy, public and cultural life there began the process of new priorities searching.

Replacement of the Great Idea (in general the idea of the conquest) by the idea of peace brightly reflected in the foreign policy of newformed government, headed by the leader of the Liberal party, Elefterios Venizelos. On the agenda of its policy there was set a question of the maintenance of Greek position in the Balkan and Mediterranean regions. In the social and cultural life of the Greek state deviation from the ideals of the bygone reflected in the activity of organisation, waged for the peace (Greek Assosiation at the League of Nations), and also in the creation of the ideas of peace and composure in the Balkan region, in the world as whole. For the first time about the necessity of confederation of the Balkan people Alexandre Papanastasiou told on the meeting of the committee, devoted to the question of celebration the day of Greek Independance, in spring 1929.

The former prime – minister of Greece and the leader of the "Republican Union" proposed to create the regional Entente, the union of six states, based on the principles of historical community of their fates, economic, cultural, religion developments and also on the necessity to restrict the influence of the Great Powers on the internal and external policies of the Balkan states.

This idea was supported by the XXVIIth Universal Congress of Peace, taken place in Athens on October, 1930. Resolution, adopted by the Congress, asserted the convocation of the annual Balkan Conferences.

At the same year A.Papanastasiou founded the newspaper Balkan news for the acquaintance of the greek people with the idea of the Balkan confederation and, jointly with K.Lefcoparidis, the magazine Les Balkans, which should prepare the ground for future economic, political and cultural rapprochement of the Balkan states.

The political vitality of the theme chosen is in the importance of the question of peace in the Balkan region even in time beings.

This theme moreover has a scientific vitality – neither in foreign nor in the russian historography it hasn't been investigated from the journal's point of view.

First of all it closely connected with the fact that the journal Les Balkans has never been regarded by the historians as a significant source for study both the life of the balkan countries in 1930th and the evolution of the idea of the Balkan Union.

The attention to it was attracted by the discovery of new materials in the Russian State Army Archieve. These are the documents of the publisher's archieve of the journal Les Balkans, private archieve of the magazine's editor, K.Lefkoparidis, unknown for Greek person, and the papers of two organizations – Greek Assosiation at the League of Nation and Greek Society of Friends of Peace.

Study of them allowed to reproduce in detail the atmosphere of the greek social and political life at the begining of the 1930th and the history of journal's existence.

Magazine Les Balkans began to be published in Athens from October, 1930. The main pay for it was given from the the Fund of Carnegy, founded in Washington in 1910. It was a private organisation, propagandized the idea of progressive cooperation of world's nation. The founders of the Fund were the first who supported the idea of the Balkan union.

The first issue of Les Balkans was published in the eve of convocation of the I Balkan Conference in Athens on October, 1930. On the introductory article A.Papanastasiou drew the circle of the problems, faced before the journal: "Exactly for the diffusion of the idea of the Balkan Union we publish this magazine. Its task is to cultivate this idea and to work for conquering all the balkan intellectual world, who, from the spiritual, economic and political point of veiw, is the leading class of the peninsula's population.

The magazine *Les Balkans* has two directions. We intend to study common ties and interests between balkan people in our article, to show the benefits of the cooperation and to discuss more effective way of the collaboration.

Also we attract our attention to the economy and commerce, because, according to our opinion, the development of the economic relations among the balkan people will create the basis for their political collaboration"².

These tasks has been brightly embodied not only in the articles and investigations, devoted to the life of peninsula and reflected the real collaboration of the intellectuals of the Balkan countries, but also in the internal magazine's classification.

Before the year 1938 Les Balkans had a clear delimitation on the 5th different blocks: 1) articles, devoted to the burning issues of the Balkan states' life; 2) economy and social affairs; 3) political information; 4) culture; 5) Balkan Conferences, its resolution, plans and the activity of other peace organizations.

Directly with the vitality of the problems, interest to the question of the Balkan Union, riches of the materials, published in french, there was connected the fact that the journal has been sold all over the world. The witness of it is in the archive's papers, consisted the information of submition.

The high point of journal's activity was a time between 1930 and 1934 – the period of convocation of the Balkan Conferences and profound believes in the reality of the ideal of the Balkan Union.

After the dissolution of the institute of the Balkan Conferences (1934), death of Al.Papanastasiou (1936), and the proclamation of the dictatorship in Greece (1936) the magazine *Les Balkans* has gradually lost its ideas, ideals and interests.

In 1940 publication of it has been ceased. It was directly connected with the changes in the international policy – the begining of the II World War and new separation of the Balkan countries.

Study of the journal's articles in connection with the archive's materials permitted us to draw the following problems of the investigation:

- What was the basis (political, socialeconomic, cultural) of the Balkan collaboration?
 - Was it possible to turn to life the idea of the Balkan Union?

The huge contribution in the resolving of these problems gave the mentioned above classification of the journal materials on the 5th different blocks, 5th important for the Balkan public questions – policy, economy, the priorities of the external policy, culture and international policy.

Political question was examined on the pages of the journal *Les Balkans* in three closely connected aspects: internal and external policy of the Balkan states, international affairs. This system of exsposition allowed both to look after the policy of the neighboring coutnries, to intoduce it to the balkan public and to spotlight the european activity, directed as to the unification as to the split of the world. By this way the drawing microcosmos of the balkan's life unconsciously created in reader's thoughts the opposition of Balkan to Europe. Conclusion became clear - it was necessary to unite the states of the Balkan peninsoula in one union.

Already on the I Balkan Conference (October 5 – 11, 1930) the comission of political relation drew up the document, reflected the balkan public's wishes of regular meeting of the Ministers of Foreign affairs and the creation of the Balkan Pact, based on the principals of peace – outlawry of war, pacific regulation of all disperancies and mutual assistance in case of violation some of this obligation by the Balkan state.

And if the first wish remained the wish, the idea of the Balkan Pact has gradually found its real face, instead of the discorders between representatives of the Balkan countries.

For instance, as a result of absence of the question about national minorities on the agenda of the III Balkan Conference, Bulgarian

delegation was obliged to leave the meeting. "[...] without resolving the problem of the national minorities we would scarcely have the possibility of favouriable completion of the Conference's activity"³, - was proclaimed in the message of Bulgarian delegation to the Council of the III Balkan Conference. The answer on it was the declaration, signed by the Rumanian, Greek, Turkish and Yugoslavian delegations, about the necessity both to examine the question, " set under the threat kind relations between delegations"⁴, and to observe all the obligations, forseen in the peace treaties, "including these, whict touched the problem of minorities",5. national By this representatives of other Balkan countries tried to settle this incident, what found a reflection in the article of the Balkan Pact, elaborated by the Conference.

Minoriy's question was examined and introduced in the text of the Balkan Pact, approved unanimously by the delegates of the III Balkan Conference. The first article of Pact stipulated an important principle of the relations between Balkan states - " none agression friendship", the main items of which foresaw exception of offensive and invasion towards the country, signed this treaty, subordination to the principle of pacefic settelment, and also approval the measure for dispersing the spirit of friendship and consent through the Balkan peninsoula.

The second article proclaimed the principle of "pacific settlement". To examine the question beyond the problems of the territorial status and international law, there was created a special commision, consisted of two representatives from each Balkan state. Balkan countries was obliged "to promote the comission's activity by placing all the materials and usefull information at its disposal", with approval to work on the terrirory of these states, accoring to the legislation. The comission task was to clear up some controversial questions and reconciliation of the conflicting countries. In the set-back of its mission the question of the pacific settlement handed on the consideration of the international tribunal.

The third article foresaw "mutual assistance" in case of violation by one of the country first article of this Pact.

The fourth article touched the more acute problem of all Conferences passed – the security

of the national minority. In accordance with it the states – participants of Pact "for the effective defence of the national minority", was obliged to create a committee on the minority's question, which should examine the petition, sent from the Committee, addresses and results of its action.

Other articles of Pact stipulated the main arbitrational and legislative principles of the pacific settlement.

In conclusion, we could say, that one of the significant link of conception of the Balkan Union – the agreement (pact) of collaboration, mutual assistance, friendship and pacific settlement – began to pass into the life, as well as the possibility to settle the conlicts in the Balkan region, to create the atmosphere of peace and cooperation in life of the balkan people.

Estimated the great value of the elaborated Pact, the head of the Albanian delegation Mehmed Konitsa declared: "This Pact, indeed, is the very basis of the Balkan mutual understanding: it will people and governments give our confidence, without which all hopes of rapprochement become vain. At the same time it will guarantee to the national minority their natural rights and suppress the one serious obstacle for the comprehension between people of the peninsula and contribute to theis wellbeings... If the Balkan Pact is not approved by our governments before the October of the next year, the Albanian national group will not participate in the future labor of the Conference, because it will haven't been already the bases for its existence".8.

Afterwards A.Papanastasiou writes: "The balkan movement has the motto – the total liberation of the Balkan states from any western influence, and together we can create significant factor of peace and progress in Europe on the whole". The Balkan Pact was a huge step towards this aim.

However the further development of the international policy prevented to do something more than just approved "the main basis of the balkan mutual understanding" and to put it into the force.

On February 9, 1934 governments of Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed the treaty of the Balkan Entente. It consisted of preamble and three articles. In preamble the states declared the necessity to keep firmly the principals of the existed treaty ant to preserve the frontier of the Balkan countries.

In the first article the countries – participants of the treaty mutually garanteed the safety of their common frontier. In the second one they pledged theirselves to conform their activities, which could be done in case of violation their interests, and "not to undertake some political statements with other Balkan states, haven't signed this treaty, without preliminary consultation"¹¹. The third article pointed out that the treaty was open for joining other Balkan countries, but, under condition of preliminary discussion this action by the country, having signed this treaty earlier.

This treaty had also the secret protocol, consisted of 8 items. The main idea of it was that the cited treaty of the Balkan Entente was a defensive by its character and it would be used in condition of agression from some countries and united with it Balkan state. The only centre of the work's coordination was the Council of the Balkan Entente, consisted of the Ministers of Foreign affaires countries-participants of this treaty.

As we can see the theaty of the Balkan Entente didn't turn into the life the ideas of the Pact, having elaborated by the III Balkan Conference – the minority's protection, pacific settlement, outlawry of war.

The signing of the treaty of the Balkan Entente profoundly impressed the public of the Balkan, because of demonstration of the governmetns' ignorance and, as a result, an illusory of the Confrences' activity, especially in question of external unification of the Balkan states. Situation in the world – increasing of European pressure on the Balkan countries (Italy – on Albania, Germany – on Bulgaria) – overpowered common Balkan will to unite and to protect ist interests on the intenational field.

Enonomic question, closely connected with the problems of internal and external life of the Balkan countries, often dominated in the articles and notes of the journal. And it doesn't surprise.

October of 1929 was decisive not only for the industrial development of the country of Europe and America, but also for the Balkans, agrarion region, life and prosperity of which depended upon the agricultural prices of the world market.

About the results of crisis for the Balkan states I.Radukano has written in his memorandum "Balkan countries and world economic crisis" 12, exposed for attention of the delegates of the III Balkan Conference: "There are no doubts for anyone, that balkan region suffered much than any european countries. The agrarian crisis, taken place in this part of Europe, is not only the result of agricultiral overproduction, but also the consequence of the prices' fall on the agricultural production, the fall, which was the result of transocean competition and taxes' rates, dictated by the agricultural protectionism of many industrial european countries; the result of the defected agrarian policy, reducing of the living standarts, breaking of the public budget's balance and permanent fear of the national currency",13.

The necessity to be strong in this situation ant to get over the crisis's consequences obliged the balkan political and public circles to search the ways for both the solving and prevention of such crisis in future. One of this ways was the idea of the Balkan Economic Union (one of the consisting part of the idea of the Balkan Union). But why the Greek were the first to propose this idea? For answering this question we should analyse the economic situation in Greece during this period of time.

Among the Balkan counties Greece was the country to feel the less and the last the consequences of crisis of 1929 – 1932, what was connected with the government's policy. There were taken some serious measures to stop the capital's flow from the country, to restrict import in Greece, especially engines, which could be produced in Greece. This measures led to the increase of the private production's demand. Taxes were raised on the imported products. Governments tried to stimulate the increase of the export, cereals growing, garanteed that it would buy any surplus. However, in spite of the positive results of its policy, the economy of Greece has been weak. And it wasn't barely the crisis's result. The Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1923 affected the whole fields of Greek society's life, and first of all, its economic sphere. The flow of huge number of refugees in Greece, the problem of their settling were a heavy burden for the economy, finance of Greece. As it was stated on the II Panhellenic Commercial Congress, taken place in Athens from 11 till 14 of June, 1932, "very difficult economic conditions of the modernity reflected on the development of all European countries,

and particularly, on the development of the weak, from the economic point of view, states, which moreover situated in the exceptional unfavourable position. One of this state is Greece, which has faced one of the heavier problem to resolve – the problem of refugees"¹⁴.

Having realised the necessity to develop commercial relations and cooperation with the neigbouring countries¹⁵ and to increase the economic's rates of the Greek state, the former Greek prime-minister, economist A.Papanastasiou formulated one of the significant item of the Idea of the Balkan Union – the creation of the Balkan Economic Union.

The main principles of it were – " the establishement of favourable custom regime, discounts on transport, railways, and also the creation of the intra-balkan bank" ¹⁶. According to the views of the organisators of the Balkan Conferences, all these measures would lead both to the reducing of the export's exspenses, as well as the direct economic dependance from the european countries and world prices and to increase of the commodity circulation, incomes of their own producers and salling advantages.

Already in the resolution of the I Balkan Conference there were decided to create special commission on economic relations, occupied with the problem of "economic understanding, common protection of agricultural products, bank and Chamber of Commerce, and agriculture"¹⁷.

During the work of the I Balkan Conference a subcommittee on the organisation of a Balkan Economic Institute was appointed. The commission on economic relations recommended "the foundation of a central Balkan Economic Institute, the development of a concerted commercial policy, encouragement of agricultural cooperation, and study of the monetary problem and agricultural credits. All these principles were to be brought together in a "pact of economic solidarity", which the governments were urged to consider seriously"18.

II Balkan Conference (October 11 - 20, 1931), having analyzed commission's work, stated to form a National office for the sale of cereals and intra-balkan union of these offices, to develop the cooperation movement, to establish the intrabalkan union of cooperation and Balkan Tobacco Office. The last one should "coordinate"

and adapt tobaccos production to the needs of the world market, carry on the necessary advertising, find new markets, and improve the quality of Near Eastern tobaccos"¹⁹. Also there were approved the formation of the Interbalkan Chamber of Commerce. By this way the representatives of the Balkan countries tried to create the conditions of more intimate economic collaboration of these countries.

Very interesting propasals on creation of the monetary union of the Balkan countries was produced by the Turkish delegation on the eve of the III Balkan Conference. Ibragim Fazil bey proposed to accept the single form and gold equivalent for the balkan currency, preserving the image of each state on money, to establish the single rate of exchange for the balkan currency²⁰. However this scheme hasn't been examined on the Conference. We can only suppose of unpreparing of the Balkan states for so radical plans of cooperation.

On the III Balkan Conference economic agenda was as follows: convention on the customs union and general economic collaboration, status of the intra-balkan chamber of agriculture, collaboration of the Balkan countries in the agricultural and agronomic investigations, in the development of the agricultural credit.

However, the resolutions of the Conference approved only the creation of the special committee for study the commercial balkan treaty, based on the principles of favourible terms and conformed commercial policy; and wished to summon the scientific congress on the agricultural problems, exchange of the professors and students, organisation of the agriciltural exspositions, conferences and excursions.

Concerning the question of the agricultural credit and intra-balkan movement there was decided to convoke the special committees for study it.

It's needed to add that in the social field the Conference adopted the convention of status of the balkan citizens. In accordance with it the balkan citizens had the right on the freedom of movement, sojourn in the country, settling with the liberation from the army's service, participation in the comercial, industrial and financial activities. Adoption of this document would have contributed to the tight interrelations of the balkan people and allowed to make the

exchange of the qalified labour power, its skills and experiences, that, of course, influenced greatly on the economic situation of the balkan region.

The IV Balkan Conference (November 5 – 12, 1933) approved the scheme of creation of the Balkan Cooperative Office in Bucharest. The task of it was to promote the intimate economic relations between the central cooperative commerce's organisations of each balkan countries. To mount to it was necessary to centralize the needed production's percent in the cooperatives, to ensure the sale of the cooperatives' production, and to assist to creation and unification of the cooperative statistique of the Balkan countries, dispersing the spirit of consent between Balkan people among the cooperatives.

The performance of these serious projects on the economic rapprochement of the Balkan states, unfortunatelly, couldn't be realized.

With coming of 1934 the labours of the Conferences finished. From very this time there were created independent economic organisations, based on the projects and resolutions of the Conference.

There were formed Balkan Chambers on the questions of agriculture, commerce and industry, Organization of protection of the Near Eastern tobaccos, every year in Salonica there were held an international fairs for the acquaintance of Balkan countries with the production both of the european and the neighbouring countries. It reflected the sincere aspiration of the Balkan people to cooperate in the economic field.

However the activity of these organisations, as well as the work of the Conference, hasn't been lasting for a long time. It shouldn't be forgotten that the Balkan countries have been under the economic and political pressure of the European powers yet, and the last ones wouldn't permit to weaken their position in the Balkan region.

Moreover Balkan states in this time hadn't high-developed agricultural and industrial production, and that's why they couldn't substitute for one another some materials and products — machinery, cereals. That's why the question of creation common economic space, independent of the European market, was a beautifull utopia without possibility to come into the life at this time, under these circumstances.

The question of culture was another main question of the Balkan collaboration. The exchange of the cultural experience, tradition's study as well as the history of the neighbouring countries would have allowed to the Balkan people to realize the unity, and the necessity to live in peace with one another.

For the acquaintance of the Balkan people with traditions and cultural life of their neighbours in magazine Les Balkans there were published the essays of the travellers, visited the states of the Balkan peninsula, passages from the book of the head of Romanian parliament, M.Iorg, "Picture of contemporary Greece". extracts of the notebook of K.Lefkoparidis about his visit in Bulgaria, novels of the balkan writers – works of the talanted bulganrian writer R.Markham, story of Spiras Mirivilis – "One night, one life", poems of Ionus Emre "As mine", Fuzuli "Who am I" and Selami Izzet bey "The love affair died away", bulgarian prose – Nicolas Donchev and yugoslavian poems – F.Preshern "Lost instant", "Veba", Milon Rakish "Seamonida".

Much attention of the journal's editors was attracted to the development of so-called Delphic idea - the idea of the rallying of the spiritual and cultural powers of the nations during the celebration of the special Delphic Hollidays, last days of spring, in the religious centre of the ancient Greek - Delphs. The Delphic idea took after the idea of creation of the homogeneous civilisation, united West and East. Moreover it reflected one of the facets of the ressurected Greek National Idea - the revival of the historical tie between the modernity and the age of the Ancient Greek civilisation. Delphs, as the part of ancient civilisation, the stove, from which had appeared the culture of the European countries, would permit to Greek nation to remember their great past for obtaining the perfection in future. In future, where the atmosphere of peace and friendship with the neigbouring countries would reign. Probably exactly with this fact was connected the visit of the delegation of six Balkan states after the I Balkan Conference in Delphes. There, in attendace with the poet Angelos Sikeleanos, they "pledged under the delphic sky to ensure the future of the balkan people, forgotten the horrors of the past"²². In 1931 English students proclaimed their support to the Delphic idea. And in 1934 Greek government adopted poet Sikeleanos' scheme on the building of special spiritual and educational centre in Delphes, and addressed the world's nations to build the same

centres in this religiouse place of Ancient Greece.

Much attention was attracted to the question of culture in the resolution of the Balkan Conferences.

During the work of the I Balkan Conference there was formed a commission on intellectual cooperation. It placed on the agenda the questions of exchange of professors, students, pupils between Balkan countries, learning of Balkan languages and literature in the University and softening some rules about receiving visa or passport.

The II Balkan conference studied two important problems in the field of intellectual cooperation: establishment of an Institute of historical research and unification of Balkan laws. Under these questions there were adopted the decision to establish the Institute and to examine the problem of creation of the persistent balkan Commission of lawers, which should have passed its meeting on March 1932 in Bucharest.

The III Balkan Conference adopted the resolutions about the creation of the educational textbook of the history of Balkan people, translation of the Balkan literature, staging it in the theatre, and demonstration of the Balkan movies.

In the field of intellectual cooperation the IV Balkan Conference came to the decission of the necessity to teach Balkan languages and literature in the Universities, and holding of the pedagogique week in each Balkan country.

The cessation of the activity of the Balkan Conferences in 1934 didn't reflected so seriously, as it had done with the mentioned above questions, on the problem of the intellectual collaboration. The journal's publication of the Balkan literature, its folk-lore, traditions, Conferences' resolutions, called up the detailed study and understanding of the bygone for the tight collaboration in future, found its response in the soul of the Balkan people. The witness of it was in the activity of the organisation, created after 1934.

On November 25, 1936 in Greece there was formed "The Society of the Historical Research". The aim of it was proclaimed as the study of contemporary history of Greece and neighbouring countries, establishement of the

Balkan Institute of historical research. The members of these organisation were the representatives of the greek public and political life (K.Amandos, professor of the University and member of the Scientific Academy, P.Argiropoulos, politician, A.Zromidis, banker), and the church circles (metropolitian of Trapezund Hrizanfos). The participation of the metropolitan in this organisation indicated that the church was supporting the movement of the Balkan rapprochement and the idea of the Balkan Union, as well.

On May 2, 1937 there was held the first Conference of the Greek – Romanian League, established at the same year. The main task of this organisation was a scientific and cultural collaboration.

At first time this idea has been proclaimed by A.Andreadis in his article "Study of greek history in Romania" in 1930. So we can say that the ideas, appeared on the pages of the journal Les Balkans, indeed, have found the response of the Balkan intellectuals.

In conclusion of this article we should point out that the idea of the Balkan Union, proclaimed by the former prime-minister of Greece, A.Papanastasiou, based on the following principles – policy, economy and culture. But in spite of their tight interlacement, the leading position was given to the political question.

The importance of it, as the paramount, consisted in the necessity of creation the atmosphere of consent, friendship and collaboration on the Balkan region.

Without political rapprochement any efforts to unite the Balkan countries either on economic or on the cultural basis, were vain. Understanding A.Papanastasiou wrote: "...economic antagonism is the resullt of the division of people", "but economic rapprochement couldn't be realized without political"²³.Unfortunately, the whole idea of the Balkan union couldn't be realized. First of all, European countries wouldn't permit the creation of the organisation, set under the question their influence and power in this region. Secondly, the approach of the II World War did illusive the thought that the Balkan countries would stay neutral in this war. Thirdly, from the economic point of view, Balkan countries depended on the production of the Europe. So, to the idea of the Balkan union there wasn't draw.

NOTAS

- ¹ According to the treaty, been signed by Greece and Turkey on January 30, 1923, there were adopted the decission of returning prisinors and political hostages, compulsory exchange of the greek and tukish minorities, with exception of the turks of western Frakia and greeks, living in Constantinopole.
- ² Les Balkans, 1 (1930), 1.
- ³ Les Balkans, III-1/2 (1932), 74.
- ⁴ Ibid., 77.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Ibid., 174.
- ⁷ Ibid., 176.
- ⁸ Ibid., 86.
- ⁹ Les Balkans, IV-12/13 (1933), 589.
- ¹⁰ Les Balkans, III-1/2 (1932), 86.
- 11 Кашкин И.С. Балканские конференции. Образование Балканской Антанты (1930-1934), Славянский сборник, Саратов, вып.1,1972, с.20.
- ¹² Raducano, "Les Pays balkaniques et la depression economique mondiale". *Les Balkans*, III-3 (1932), 307.
- 13 Ibid.
- ¹⁴ "Le IIme Congres Commercial Panhellenique". *Les Balkans*, 22 (1932), 530.
- ¹⁵ It should be noted that the commercial relations of Greece with european countries were very fragile at this time. The main commercial partners of Greece France and Soviet Union haven't needed at this period of time the products of greek export fruits, vine, oil, instead of greek needs in grain and industrial production of these countries. The possibility to provide Greece with it was the organisation of the intra-balkan market.
- ¹⁶ Evelpidi, C., "La protection des produits agricoles des etats Balkaniques". *Les Balkans*, 1 (1930), 15.
- ¹⁷ Kerner, R.J.; Howard, H. N., *The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente*, 1930-1935. Berkeley, University of California press, 1936, 31.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 35.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 60.
- ²⁰ Fazil Bey, I., "Sur l'Union Monetaire Balkanique". *Les Balkans*, 13-14 (1931), 39.
- ²¹ Iorga, N., "Tableaux de la Grece contemporaine". *Les Balkans*, 15-16 (1931-1932).
- ²² "Arts et Lettres-Grece". Les Balkans, 2 (1930), 31.
- ²³ Les Balkans, 8 (1930), 5.