

I. Purpose of Search, Sources Used

Numerous comprehensive analyses have been born on the evolution of the Balkan Peninsula's national movements and the formation of the independent nation states, however, the detailed revealing of the peninsula's nations' national development characteristics in the past two hundred or so years and their connections with each other is yet to come. It is especially true in case of Greece, since the period of app. 80 years from the victory of the Greek War of Independence to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars is only just researched in Hungary. Our dissertation entitled *The Role of Nationalism in Greek Foreign Policy Thinking 1897-1912* analyses one of the most important periods of Greek nation building when Athens attempted to restore Greek political and cultural unity. The detailed examination of Greek foreign policy efforts may bring many new results with the possibility of boosting the better understanding of the era's political connections not only in relation to Greece and the Ottoman Empire, but in a wider way, the entire Balkan Peninsula.

The length of fifteen years from 1897 to 1912 was not an arbitrary choice; this space of time is a separate research unit (and a period at the same time) even within Greek historiography owing to its special role in national development. This period started with the defeat against the Ottoman Empire and ended with the establishment of the victorious Balkan League. The space of time, playing a key role from the point of view of Greek nation building, covers the age of the Macedonian Struggle when Greek paramilitary (and military) organisations, with the help of the Athenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attempted to extend the Greek sphere of influence to the entire territory of Aegean Macedonia and unify the Greeks by expanding the borders. With the outbreak of the First Balkan War a new stage began concerning the entire Greek foreign policy and Greek national development, which space of time had been characterised by the contradiction between the reality of the country's military and political power (and its role in international politics) and the possibility of the implementation of the exaggerated expectations and national desires until 1923.

Few authors have undertaken the representation of Greece's modern history in Hungarian, while the process of Greek nation building and the questions of Greek national identity have been nearly entirely ignored even by the Greece Monographs, in spite of the fact that in the history of the peninsula's past two hundred years these terms (national identity, nation building, nationalism, etc.) have played a dominant role. (In addition, the knowledge of them may contribute to the more comprehensive understanding of the nationalist and national identity searching endeavours that turned up again at the end of the 20th century.) This is the reason why we decided to undertake the writing of the subject that stands in the forefront of Greek historiography via the examination of an important stage of the Greek nation unification process, which may provide novelties in Hungarian historiography from the point of view of intellectual history as well.

Besides the work in Hungarian libraries, the preparation of our dissertation was also contributed by researches in Greece, during which we used the source and other publications of the library of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the research centre of the Balkan Institute, as well as the National and Capodistrian University of Athens and the Gennadios Library and Archives. A systematic publication of sources started in Greece in the 1990's, within the frameworks of which both archives sources (reports of ambassadors, correspondence of consuls) and contemporary diaries and memoirs got published, mainly from the time of the above-mentioned Macedonian Struggle, but works in connection with the period's national thinking and nation unifying ideas came to light as well. (Of course, diaries and memoirs of politicians and military officers playing an important role in the period's national movements – e.g. general Panagiotis Dagklis or Suliotis-Nikolaidis – had been published earlier as well, and we used them during our work. The publication released in three volumes between 1996 and 1998, related to the Macedonian Struggle, containing documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and reports of consuls from 1903-1908 also served as a basic work. Publication began in the 1990's as well concerning the entire works of Jon Dragumis, who was the most significant Greek political thinker at the beginning of the 20th century and dealt with the relation between state and nation.) During the past 15 years not only source publications were released, but also many studies and monographs dealing with the subject, for which a possible explanation can be the "incentive" of the dispute on the name usage between Greece and the Macedonian Republic that became independent following the referendum on 8th September, 1991. Therefore we used only objective, archives-based works and contemporary diaries in order to eliminate the possible subsequent distortions of Greek nationalism. In our dissertation we also used monographs and studies considered to be basic works within this subject, the most significant pieces of which are the writings of Douglas Dakin and Thanos Veremis founded on basic researches. (On the period of the Macedonian Struggle the most comprehensive monograph written objectively and in academic excellence in every respect: Dakin, Douglas: *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897-1913*. Museum of Macedonian Struggle, Thessaloniki, 1966. On the period of nation building: Veremis, Thanos: *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality*. Athens, 1990; and Veremis, Thanos: *National Identity and Nationalism in Modern Greece*. Morfotiko Idrina Ethnikis Trapezis, Athens, 1997.)

One should put emphasis on the activity of Dimitris Kiciki, who elaborated and adapted a separate trend within Greek historiography: the analysis of Greeks and Turks from a comparative aspect. This method,

analysing the history of the two nations (and states) parallel to each other, tries to define the most important (and interactive) processes of the 19th-20th century besides connection history. Kiciki started his researches at the beginning of the 1970's, which had an influential effect on modern Greek historiography. The most important is his monograph in this subject (which is actually only the first volume of his comparative examination results): Kiciki, Dimitris: *The Comparative History of Greece and Turkey in the 20th Century*. Estia, Athens, 1978. We also made efforts to use this approach in our dissertation in order to give a more complete view on the background of the Greek national endeavours and the complex system of relations between the period's Balkan states.

Due to the foregoing, our aim was not the processing of the Greek archives' unpublished material, but the representation of the results of Greek historiography and by using the already published documents the analysis of the indicated period's major Greek foreign policy tendencies, endeavours and the national movement, thus, the preparation of a summarising work. Consequently, we undertook the representation of the changes in Greek political thinking (and in foreign policy), the different theories on the implementation of the unity of the Greek nation, as well as their implementation attempts.

II. Structure of Dissertation

Our dissertation is divided into six larger sections consisting of further subsections. The first, second and fifth sections are overviews on intellectual history; the others are analyses on political history.

The first larger unit represents the characteristics of the Greek national development in the 19th century, focusing on circumstances and factors that are important from the point of view of the examined period, such as the question of the changes in the Greek national consciousness or the problem of the establishment of the uniform foreign political orientation. The achievement of Greek independence and the foundation of the Greek Kingdom (1832) ended only the long-lasting war of independence, not the process of the establishment of a nation state. The new state had to face serious problems economically, politically and socially as well. We examined how the new Greek state tried to remedy these difficulties and succeeded in its implementation.

One of the major tasks of the Greek state in the 19th century was the strengthening of national identity both among people living within the borders (with Greek and non-Greek mother tongue) and Greeks living in Ottoman territory. Simultaneously with the strengthening of the Greek national self-consciousness, the composition of such a foreign policy plan grew to be necessary that undertook the programme to support Greeks living under foreign rule. This became the Megali Idea (Great Idea) with the will to implement the integration of all Greeks into a large state making reference to historical and lingual rights. The Great Idea became the most important endeavour of Greek foreign policy from its first composition (1844) to the signing of the Graeco-Turkish population exchange agreement (1923), and for a long time no Greek politician dared to question its right to exist. By the end of the 19th century the meaning of the expression “Greeks” had changed, and it was not the synonym of Orthodox Christians characteristic of the Ottoman era any more, it meant much rather the totality of the descendants of the Ancient Greek ethnic group and became the basis of the modern Greek nation.

Our work's second section depicts the appearance of the idea of federalism in Greek political thinking, on the one hand, in a wider, Balkan Peninsular relation, on the other hand, in a narrower context concerning only the Greek and the Turkish nation, examining the Graeco-Turkish co-operation's theoretically substantiated roots as well. Rigas Velestinlis was the first thinker urging co-operation that would extend to the entire Balkan Peninsula. He tried to apply the principles of the French revolution in relation to the Balkan for the first time, and he worked out a separate draft constitution in order to unify all Balkan nations. The attempt of Rigas is interesting also because certain features of his planned revolution reappear at the Young Turk Movement of 1908 as well. His kingdom would have been based on equality, with the participation of all nations of the Balkan, therefore he can be considered as the forerunner of Balkan federation plans and ideas. Greeks would have played a dominant role in his kingdom, however, this can be explained by the Greek language's important position of that time, since the language of education and Orthodox ceremonies was Greek, and it was used as an intermediary language even at trade.

The draft of Rigas Velestinlis was a mixture of legitimacy notions and ideas coming from the Byzantine Empire and Enlightenment. He utilised the ideal of classical Greeks, the traditions of Byzantium and the modern, western revolutionary notions. His work is genuine regardless of this, since he brought modern elements to Balkan political thinking and had an inspirational effect: for a hundred years his draft constitution was an example, and the idea of the Balkan co-operation with the establishment of a multinational state had appeared again and again until the beginning of the 20th century, the last appearance of which was presumably at the time of the Young Turk Revolution. Although the federation idea of the Greek political thinkers in the 19th century was present throughout the century, its real support and its role in national politics could not reach the popularity of the Great Idea.

If we examine political thinking in the 19th century, we cannot ignore the fact that the state views of the age considered only states with large extension to be capable of living. This can be another explanation for the age's numerous federation ideas which would guarantee not only the appropriate geographical extension of the state, but also the nations' autonomy and self-determination. This also means that the federation idea and the Great Idea sought a solution for the same problem: how it is possible to unify the Greeks in a large state so that they can play a leading role within that.

The third thematic section of our work deals with the struggle in Macedonia at the beginning of the 20th century: the bloody conflict series breaking out due to social, religious and ethnic oppositions, joined even by the Greek state. We examine mainly the Greek government's role in organising the national resistance and that what kind of official (or semi-official) organisations were founded in order to protect the Greeks' interests. The region's particularly heterogeneous lingual, ethnic and religious composition and the belated national-cultural development (for instance, as compared to Greece or Serbia) meant that the major part of the population living here thought in terms of a concept system preceding modern nationalism even at the beginning of the 20th century. They still made a distinction according to religious categories solidified by the Ottoman Empire (between Orthodox and Muslim), rather than on the grounds of criteria based on language or origin.

In Macedonia that became the conflict zone of Bulgarian and Greek national intentions evolving from the end of the 19th century Orthodox people living there were tried to get convinced more and more violently on their

“nationality”. This activity had become militarised by 1904, military and paramilitary groups kept the population in fear. This struggle was joined by the Greek government as well, starting to send military troops in secret to Macedonia in order to protect Greeks living there. The Greek Consulate General of Thessaloniki became the centre of the struggle against the Bulgarians, officers of Greek origin arrived here under false names, and the Greek resistance in Macedonia was controlled from here. Since the Turkish authorities did not give permission for national activity (increasingly severer control was introduced), the establishment of an organisation independent of the consulates (and so the Greek government) at least on the surface became necessary that could have continued unofficially the work started: the struggle against the Bulgarians. This was the Thessaloniki Organisation that met with remarkable success in the city and its direct vicinity in two years (1906-1908). Not only did they get the Greek nation out of its passivity, they also overshadowed the Bulgarian movement. The bloody period of the Macedonian Struggle ended in 1908 with the success of the Young Turk Revolution and the introduction of the Ottoman constitution that provided a guarantee for the religious minorities.

A new stage began therewith in Greek foreign policy as well, discussed within the fourth section. The success of the Young Turk Revolution and the introduction of the constitution significantly modified the Greek national movement and the orientation of the official Greek foreign policy. Besides the representation of the Turkish reform movement and its effects, the section gives a detailed analysis on the situation of Greece (and Crete) in the first decade of the 20th century with the illustration of social and economic difficulties. Besides ending all hopes for nation unification (at least temporarily), Greece’s humiliating defeat against the Ottoman Empire in 1897 intensified the tension inside the society and turned the intelligence against the government and the royal court. Athens’ most important task of that time was to break out of the international isolation caused by the defeat, which they tried to achieve by rapprochement with the world powers (Graeco-French, Graeco-British and Graeco-German negotiations), as well as by diplomatic manoeuvres with the neighbouring (but therefore “hostile”) states – unsuccessfully. A fine opportunity to break out of this isolation was offered by the liberal Young Turk Movement as an effect of which theories urging co-operation reappeared in Balkan political thinking.

These different (mainly Graeco-Turkish and Graeco-Albanian) dualistic ideas are analysed in detail within the fifth section, together with political scientific conceptions constituting their background.

The “generation of 1897” coming from the Greek intelligence attempted to answer the reasons of the Greek state’s weakness and end the Greeks’ defencelessness. The most significant political thinker of this generation was Jon Dragumis who reached the conception of the separation of state and nation, thus, he separated the Greeks’ future from the weakness of the Greek government of that time. According to Dragumis the government, by the military defeat of 1897, lost its legitimacy as the nation’s primary representative, therefore the nation itself should control its own fate. He already wanted to achieve the unification of Greeks differently from the Great Idea, and he distinguished so-called “internal Greeks” to be unified in a large Greek state (the population of Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete and islands of the Aegean Sea belong to here) and “external Greeks”, the Greeks in Asia Minor and Anatolia, who should implement co-operation as close as possible staying in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, preserving their Greek identity. He reached the composition of the Eastern Federation following the Young Turk Movement, which would simultaneously achieve the unification of Greeks in a large Eastern state. The preparations for that were undertaken by Suliotis-Nikolaidis who founded the Constantinople Organisation in 1908 in order to reform (and conserve) the empire by the joint effort of the nationalities living in Ottoman territories, relying on the constitutional order of the equality of citizens. However, the gradual strengthening of Turkish nationalism turned Athens and the empire against each other again from 1910, and this did not favour the achievement of the Eastern Federation, nor did the strengthening and increasingly fiercer appearance of nationalisms and the unclarified status of areas with mixed population. The foregoing reasons and the weakening of the Ottoman central power jointly led to the rapprochement of the Balkan nation states and the establishment of their alliance system.

In the final section we review the practical steps of this policy resulting in the nearly entire division of the Ottoman Empire’s European territories, orientating Greece towards entering the First World War and even contributing to the total failure of the expansive foreign policy (with the participation in the Graeco-Turkish war following the First World War). The Greek foreign policy represented by Venizelos from 1910 did not intend to achieve an agreement with the Ottoman Empire any more, but to achieve the Great Idea, moreover, with the co-operation of the other Balkan nation states formerly considered as enemies. The foundation of the Balkan League in 1912 also meant the end of an era of Greek political thinking with the defeat of ideas aiming to reorganise the Ottoman Empire federally.

III. New Scientific Results of Dissertation

Our dissertation includes several novelties. On the one hand, as a summarising work, it may provide new results for the history of Greece (and the connection system between the Balkan nations). Such a connection historical novelty is the analysis of the Graeco-Turkish political relationship which may give a more complex view on the two nations' connections, since both sides gave voice repeatedly to the wish of the necessity of co-operation and living next to each other peacefully. On the other hand, since the development of and changes in the Greek national consciousness and the examination of the nation building process have been insufficiently revealed and researched territories so far in Hungary, we deem that their representation may supplement the previous results: mainly the monographs and studies examining the Balkan Peninsula as a whole, as well as the works analysing interests appearing from the point of view of world power politics and events of the Balkan Wars.

Besides, our dissertation may provide novelty in Hungarian historiography from the point of view of intellectual history as well, for instance, by representing federation ideas or analysing the appearance of nationalism and its spread over the Balkan Peninsula. The Central Eastern European politicians of the second half of the 19th century (including significant Hungarian statesmen) also considered the co-operation of small nations and the establishment of a large federation as a possible (and successful) solution for national intentions. The ideas of this period were not restricted to Danubian or Balkan territories only, but they were connected with each other, and their representatives affected each other directly as well. Thus, getting acquainted with the "national conceptions" of the Balkan Peninsula may also supplement the ideas of the period's Hungarian thinkers.

IV. Further Opportunities for Research

The subject treated within the dissertation raises numerous further research opportunities that may supplement the work in their details as well. Such an opportunity is the research work in Greek Archives (e.g. the Archives and Records of the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle in Thessaloniki, the Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Venizelos and Dragumis Archives of the Gennadios Archives in Athens, etc.), which work has not yet been finished even by Greek historians, thus, one can expect new results in this field as well. At the same time, the research can be expanded also in time: the periods of 1830-1897 and 1912-1923 may provide subjects for further dissertations, and the detailed overview of the Greek national development or the Athenian foreign policy may become a useful addition to our work. Besides contributing to the better knowledge of Greek identity development, it may also reveal the reasons why Greek nationalism has strengthened several times. Finally, the research may be extended to the history of other nations of the Balkan Peninsula as well, and by the illustration of the development history of Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian or Turkish nationalism and their national movement we may get closer even to the understanding of movements with nationalistic intentions reappearing with renewed effort in the region at the end of the 20th century.

Publications of the Author in Connection with the Subject

- *The Possibility for a Greek-Turkish Co-operation before the Balkan Wars*. In: *Mediterrán Tanulmányok (Mediterranean Studies) XIII.*, 2004.
- *Federalist Ideas in the 19th Century's Greece: Faces of Cooperation Between Nationalities in South-Eastern Europe*. In: *Mediterrán Tanulmányok (Mediterranean Studies) XIV.*, Szeged, 2005.
- *Arab-török dualista elképzelések az első világháború előtt (Arabian-Turkish Dualistic Ideas before the First World War)*. In: *Tavaszi Szél (Spring Wind) 2005*, Konferencia Kiadvány (Conference Publication), Debrecen.
- *A Macedón Harc és a görög külpolitika 1903-1908 (Macedonian Struggle and Greek Foreign Policy 1903-1908)*. In: *Acta Historica CXX*, Szeged, 2005.
- *Lakosságcsere Görögország és Törökország között 1914-ben (Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1914)*. In: *Világtörténet (World History)*, spring-summer 2002.
- *A görög külpolitika „kontinuitása” a macedón kérdésben (The Continuity of the Greek Foreign Policy in the Macedonian Question)*. In: *A kultúráközvetítés elmélete és gyakorlata (Theory and Practice of Culture Transmission)*. Konferencia Kiadvány (Conference Publication), Szeged, 2006. (study accepted to be published)
- *Görög nemzeti identitás és nacionalizmus a nemzetépítés időszakában (1830-1912) [Greek National Identity and Nationalism in the Period of Nation Building (1830-1912)]*. In: *Állam és nemzet a 19-20. században (State and Nation in the 19th-20th Century)*. Konferencia Kiadvány (Conference Publication), Debrecen, 2006. (study accepted to be published)

