

**UNITED**



**NATIONS**

**REPORT OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON THE BALKANS**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**OFFICIAL RECORDS : THIRD SESSION**

**SUPPLEMENT No. 8 (A/574)**

**LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK, 1948**

## NOTE

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The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans was created by General Assembly resolution 109 (II) of 21 October 1947. Between 21 November 1947, when the Special Committee held its first meeting in Paris, and 16 June 1948, the Special Committee held eighty-eight meetings.

The present report covers the period from 21 October 1947 to 16 June 1948.

The report consists of five chapters.

*Chapter I* (paragraphs 1 to 23) is concerned with the creation and organization of the Special Committee on the Balkans;

*Chapter II* (paragraphs 24 to 100) deals with the conciliatory role of the Special Committee. The efforts to secure the co-operation of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia and to assist the four Governments in the implementation of the General Assembly's recommendations;

*Chapter III* (paragraphs 101 to 184) contains two parts: the first deals with support for the Greek guerrilla forces in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; the second with the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece;

*Chapter IV* (paragraphs 185 to 190) sets forth the conclusions which have been reached by the Special Committee;

*Chapter V* (paragraphs 191 to 194) presents the Special Committee's recommendations.

Chapters I, II and IV were adopted unanimously. Chapter III was adopted by eight votes in favour with the delegation of Australia abstaining.<sup>1</sup> The first recommendation in chapter V was adopted by eight votes in favour, with the delegation of France abstaining (paragraph 191); the second by six votes in favour, with the delegations of Australia, France and the United Kingdom abstaining (paragraph 192); the third and fourth recommendations (paragraphs 193 to 194) were adopted unanimously.

\* \* \*

In view of the period intervening between the time of the signing of this report and the meeting of the General Assembly in September 1948, the Special Committee plans to submit a supplementary report to cover developments between June and September 1948.

<sup>1</sup> For reservation by delegation of Australia, see annex 4 to this report (A/AC.16/SR.93).

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CREATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL  
COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS

*Note.* For index of all Special Committee documents refer to A/AC.16/236 and addenda

**A. The Greek question before the United Nations**

1. The problem of Greece came before the Security Council for the third time during the year 1946, when on 3 December the Greek Government requested the Secretary-General, under Articles 34 and 35 (paragraph 1) of the Charter, to give early consideration to a situation which was leading to friction between Greece and her northern neighbours. The Greek Government charged that the Greek guerrilla movement was receiving substantial support from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The Security Council discussed the complaint and heard additional charges and counter-charges by the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav Governments, relating to disturbed conditions in northern Greece along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other. On 19 December 1946, the Security Council, acting under Article 34 of the Charter, established a Commission of Investigation to ascertain the causes and nature of the border violations and disturbances. The Commission of Investigation, composed of representatives of the eleven members of the Security Council, spent some four months between January and May 1947 hearing statements and witnesses, making field investigations in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, surveying the evidence and preparing its report, which was signed in Geneva on 23 May 1947.<sup>1</sup>

2. While the Commission was engaged in drafting its report, and during the deliberations of the Security Council in the summer of 1947, a Subsidiary Group continued investigations of incidents along the northern Greek frontiers.<sup>2</sup>

3. The Security Council was unable to reach any decision with respect to the problem, and on 15 September 1947 it finally decided to take the question off the agenda of the Security Council and to instruct the Secretary-General to place all the records and documents at the disposal of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup>

4. The General Assembly, on 23 September 1947, decided to discuss the question of "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece".<sup>4</sup> The deliberations with respect to this problem took place in the First Committee (Political and Security). On 21 October 1947, by forty votes to six, with eleven abstentions, the General Assembly adopted the

following resolution, similar in many respects to the proposals of the Security Council's Commission of Investigation:<sup>5</sup>

5. "*Resolution 109 (II) of the General Assembly:*"<sup>6</sup>

"1. *Whereas* the peoples of the United Nations have expressed in the Charter of the United Nations their determination to practise tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security; and to that end the Members of the United Nations have obligated themselves to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter,

"2. *The General Assembly of the United Nations,*

"*Having considered* the record of the Security Council proceedings in connexion with the complaint of the Greek Government of 3 December 1946, including the report submitted by the Commission of Investigation established by the Security Council resolution of 19 December 1946, and information supplied by the Subsidiary Group of the Commission of Investigation subsequent to the report of the Commission;

"3. *Taking account* of the report of the Commission of Investigation which found by a majority vote that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had given assistance and support to the guerrillas fighting against the Greek Government,

"4. *Calls upon* Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance to the said guerrillas;

"5. *Calls upon* Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other to co-operate in the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means, and to that end recommends:

"(1) That they establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations among themselves as soon as possible;

"(2) That they establish frontier conventions providing for effective machinery for the regulation and control of their common frontiers and for the pacific settlement of frontier incidents and disputes;

"(3) That they co-operate in the settlement of the problems arising out of the presence of refugees in the four States concerned through voluntary repatriation wherever possible and that they take effective measures to prevent the participation of such refugees in political or military activity;

<sup>1</sup> S/360. For a convenient summary of the proceedings in the Security Council, see report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1946 to 15 July 1947, A/366, pages 24 to 32.

<sup>2</sup> See especially S/388, S/423, S/441, S/534.

<sup>3</sup> Security Council Official Records, 202nd meeting and S/555.

<sup>4</sup> A/PV.91, page 61.

<sup>5</sup> S/360, pages 248 to 251.

<sup>6</sup> A/409.

"(4) That they study the practicability of concluding agreements for the voluntary transfer of minorities;

"6. *Establishes* a Special Committee:

"(1) To observe the compliance by the four Governments concerned with the foregoing recommendations;

"(2) To be available to assist the four Governments concerned in the implementation of such recommendations;

"7. *Recommends* that the four Governments concerned co-operate with the Special Committee in enabling it to carry out these obligations;

"8. *Authorizes* the Special Committee, if in its opinion further consideration of the subject matter of this resolution by the General Assembly prior to its next regular session is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, to recommend to the Members of the United Nations that a special session of the General Assembly be convoked as a matter of urgency;

"9. *Decides* that the Special Committee:

"(1) *Shall consist* of representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, seats being held open for Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

"(2) *Shall have* its principal headquarters in Salonika and with the co-operation of the four Governments concerned shall perform its functions in such places and in the territories of the four States concerned as it may deem appropriate ;

"(3) *Shall render* a report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to any prior special session which might be called to consider the subject matter of this resolution, and shall render such interim reports as it may deem appropriate to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the Organization; in any reports to the General Assembly the Special Committee may make such recommendations to the General Assembly as it deems fit;

"(4) *Shall determine* its own procedure, and may establish such sub-committees as it deems necessary;

"(5) *Shall commence* its work within thirty days after the final decision of the General Assembly on this resolution, and shall remain in existence pending a new decision of the General Assembly.

"10. *The General Assembly*

*Requests* the Secretary-General to assign to the Special Committee staff adequate to enable it to perform its duties, and to enter into a standing arrangement with each of the four Governments concerned to assure the Special Committee, so far as it may find it necessary to

exercise its functions within their territories, of full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities for the performance of its functions."

6. It should be noted in connexion with paragraph 9 (1) of the General Assembly resolution that the representatives of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had already announced on 11 October 1947 that neither of their Governments would take part in the work of the Special Committee.<sup>7</sup>

7. The Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) of the General Assembly provided \$611,440 for the expenses of the Special Committee.<sup>8</sup>

## **B. Organization of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans**

8. The Special Committee thus constituted held its first formal meeting in Paris on 21 November 1947.<sup>9</sup> The next few meetings, which dealt with organization and procedure, were held in Athens between 25 and 29 November 1947. On 1 December 1947, the Special Committee established its principal headquarters at Salonika, in accordance with paragraph 9 (2) of the resolution of the General Assembly, and met there continuously until June 1948. In April 1948, it considered whether it might carry on its work, and particularly its task of conciliation, more effectively elsewhere than at Salonika.<sup>10</sup> On 25 May 1948, the Special Committee decided to sit temporarily in Geneva from 10 June 1948 to discuss and adopt its report.<sup>11</sup> On 14 June 1948, it was decided that the Special Committee, while maintaining its principal headquarters in Salonika and assembling there from time to time, would hold sittings in Athens from the beginning of July 1948 until otherwise decided.<sup>12</sup>

9. During the meetings in Athens in November 1947, the Special Committee adopted its rules of procedure, which included the procedure for the election of its Chairman, and the name "United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans" (UNSCOB), hereinafter referred to as the Special Committee. It also approved the principle of the establishment of observation groups.<sup>13</sup>

10. On 25 November 1947, the Special Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General of the United Nations to inform the Governments of Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the hope of the Committee "that the Governments of those countries would see fit to participate in the work of the Committee by appointing representatives in the near future" to fill the seats held open for them in accordance with paragraph 9 (1) of the General Assembly resolution.<sup>14</sup> No response was ever received to this communication.

<sup>7</sup> A/AC.1/SR.72, pages 3 to 4.

<sup>8</sup> A/415.

<sup>9</sup> A/AC.16/SR.1.

<sup>10</sup> A/AC.16/232/Rev.1.

<sup>11</sup> A/AC.16/260.

<sup>12</sup> A/AC.16/290.

<sup>13</sup> A/AC.16/SR.3.



11. On 26 November 1947, the Special Committee unanimously decided, in principle, to establish observation groups.<sup>14</sup> The formal resolution of the Special Committee stated that, in order to carry out efficiently the duty imposed on it by paragraph 6 (1) of the resolution of the General Assembly, namely, to observe the compliance of the four Governments concerned with the recommendations of the General Assembly, the Special Committee should maintain observation groups near and on both sides of the frontiers of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with Greece.<sup>15</sup> These observation groups were to be established under paragraph 9 (4) of the resolution of the General Assembly, and were to be "under the authority of the Committee and composed of personnel supplied by the nations represented on the Committee".

12. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was therefore requested to "obtain the consent of the four Governments mentioned to the establishment of such observation groups on their respective territories" in accordance with paragraph 10 of the General Assembly resolution.<sup>16</sup> Only the Greek Government co-operated with the Special Committee and provided the necessary facilities,<sup>16</sup> and, in consequence, the observation groups were able to operate within Greece only, except on one occasion when Observation Group 6 was allowed to enter Bulgarian territory.<sup>17</sup>

13. The Special Committee drew up a "Table of Organization and Equipment for Observation Groups", based upon a plan providing for the establishment of six observation groups in the field and one in reserve, each composed of four observers and auxiliary personnel.<sup>18</sup> The implementation of this plan had later to be modified in accordance with the financial resources and availability of personnel and equipment.<sup>19</sup>

14. Before the groups were organized, a group of military experts from the delegations was sent to the Delvinakion region in Epirus on 9 December 1947 as part of a reconnaissance of the Greek frontier to prepare for the establishment of the observation groups.<sup>20</sup> From 29 December 1947 to 2 January 1948, military experts visited the Ioannina-Konitsa area during the battle of Konitsa.<sup>21</sup> The despatch of Observation Group 1 to the Epirus area was directed by the Special Committee on 5 January 1948.<sup>22</sup> Six zones were defined,<sup>23</sup> and by the end of February Groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 were in their zones. The Committee had been unable to establish Group 5 and the reserve group by the end of May 1948,

owing to insufficient personnel. Members of the Special Committee have themselves from time to time visited the frontier and the groups in the field in order to obtain first hand information of conditions on the spot.

15. The international character of the observation groups was ensured by the provision of observers by the delegations of Brazil, China, France, Mexico, Netherlands, United Kingdom and the United States of America, and by the attachment of one member of the United Nations Secretariat as secretary to each group.

16. The groups were originally instructed "to observe and to report continuously to the Committee to what extent good neighbourly relations" existed on the frontiers between Greece and her northern neighbours.<sup>24</sup> The instructions, originally based on paragraph 5 (1) of the Special Committee's terms of reference, were under constant review. On 26 April 1948, in the light of accumulated experience, it was decided to base the observers' instructions on paragraph 4 as well as on paragraph 5 of the Special Committee's terms of reference and the groups were instructed to make use of all available sources of information which they deemed useful, whether direct observation, inquiry or investigation, in their work.<sup>25</sup>

17. The establishment and maintenance of observation groups raised such serious financial questions that it was debated at length during the early meetings in Salonika. The Special Committee on 5 December 1947 requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to provide funds considered indispensable to the proper execution of its work, indicating that in order to safeguard the international character of the observation groups, operating costs should be borne by the United Nations. The Secretary-General replied, on 10 December 1947, that the appropriation requested by the Special Committee greatly exceeded the appropriation approved by the General Assembly, and stated that it would be difficult to guarantee appropriations from the Working Capital Fund of the United Nations in order to cover such high costs.<sup>26</sup> In reply to a renewed request, the Secretary-General, on 30 December 1947, indicated that some moderate adjustment might be possible, but only for incidental expenses.<sup>27</sup>

18. After these communications the Special Committee decided, on 16 January 1948, "to accept offers of equipment and maintenance thereof which may be made by one or more of the Members of the United Nations as an aid, the reimbursement of which the Special Committee will recommend to the next session of the General Assembly, in the event of the Secretary-General's not having done so before".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A/AC.16/SR.4.

<sup>15</sup> A/AC.16/5.

<sup>16</sup> A/AC.16/12.

<sup>17</sup> See paragraphs 168 to 172.

<sup>18</sup> A/AC.16/7/Rev.1.

<sup>19</sup> For latest table of organization and equipment, see A/AC.16/SC.1/29, approved by the Special Committee on 17 May 1948.

<sup>20</sup> A/AC.16/26.

<sup>21</sup> A/AC.16/71.

<sup>22</sup> A/AC.16/61 and A/AC.16/62.

<sup>23</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/8.

<sup>24</sup> A/AC.16/62.

<sup>25</sup> A/AC.16/232 and A/AC.16/133/Rev.3.

<sup>26</sup> A/AC.16/18 and A/AC.16/19.

<sup>27</sup> A/AC.16/SR.16; A/AC.16/22; A/AC.16/24; A/AC.16/29.

<sup>28</sup> A/AC.16/79 and A/AC.16/SR.32.

19. The Secretary-General subsequently approved, in principle, a request for a supplementary budget of \$164,000, and allotted funds for the period from 13 February to 31 May 1948. The allotments were to cover additional expenditures in connexion with the establishment of observation groups, such as local transportation, United Nations staff and locally recruited interpreters, rental and maintenance of premises for each group and miscellaneous expenses. The allotments, however, did not cover such basic and major expenses as the salaries, transport and equipment of the groups.<sup>39</sup>

20. The complete inadequacy of the budget provided by the General Assembly for the Special Committee proved a serious handicap throughout its work. Apart from the unforeseen expenditure incurred by the establishment of observation groups, the original budget provided salaries and allowances for the Secretariat for six months only, a wholly inadequate allotment for travel and transportation of the Special Committee and Secretariat, and no funds for medical services.

21. On 10 December 1947, the Special Com-

mittee established three sub-committees:<sup>39</sup> the first sub-committee was to be concerned with the observation groups; the second with political problems; the third with refugees and minorities.<sup>39</sup>

22. On 24 February 1948, when the Special Committee had completed its examination of the problem of political refugees, it decided that there should be only two sub-committees.<sup>39</sup> Sub-Committee 1 was henceforth to deal with observation groups and budgetary matters; Sub-Committee 2 was to deal with political and administrative problems and the questions of political refugees and minorities.<sup>39</sup>

23. On 27 May 1948, the Special Committee decided to establish an *ad hoc* Committee to sit in Salonika during its absence in Geneva. This *ad hoc* Committee was to carry on the normal routine work connected with reports from the observation groups, to deal with any emergency concerning the groups, pending a decision of the Special Committee, and to draw the attention of the Special Committee to all questions within its competence.<sup>39</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### CONCILIATORY ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BALKANS

#### A. Efforts of the Special Committee to obtain the co-operation of the four Governments concerned

24. In order to carry out its conciliatory role of assisting Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other to implement the recommendations of the General Assembly, which were designed to enable those countries to co-operate in the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means, the Special Committee has sought throughout to obtain the co-operation of the four Governments.<sup>39</sup> At its first meeting in Salonika on 2 December 1947, the Special Committee considered, together with a first statement of the Greek complaints, a protest addressed on 6 November 1947 by the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and communicated by him to the Special Committee for its information.<sup>39</sup>

#### 1. CO-OPERATION OF GREECE

25. The Greek Government had made known its willingness to co-operate fully with the Special Committee during the discussions in the First Committee and in the General Assembly in October 1947.<sup>39</sup>

26. A Greek liaison representative was available continuously from the commencement of the Special Committee's work. Moreover, in response to its resolution of 27 November 1947<sup>39</sup> which established the principle of observation groups and asked for the co-operation of the four Governments concerned, the Greek Government declared on 1 December 1947<sup>39</sup> that it was ready to co-operate with the Special Committee in the establishment of these groups on Greek territory.

27. In his first statement to the Special Committee on 2 December 1947,<sup>40</sup> as well as on numerous subsequent occasions, the Greek liaison representative gave assurances of the desire and readiness of his Government to co-operate fully with the Special Committee. This spirit of co-operation continued throughout its work and the assurances were implemented in fact.<sup>41</sup>

#### 2. LACK OF CO-OPERATION BY ALBANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

##### (a) Position at the General Assembly

28. During the discussion leading to the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution of

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/142/Rev.1.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/267/Rev.1.

<sup>39</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraphs 5 and 7.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/9.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.1/SR.69, page 2; A/AC.16/10, pages 7 to 8; A/PV.99, pages 53 to 60.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/5.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/12.

<sup>40</sup> A/AC.16/10.

<sup>41</sup> For a further instance of the co-operative attitude of the Greek Government, see paragraph 57.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/194. See allotment 8152 dated 22 March 1948. For breakdown of expenditure after 31 May 1948, see A/AC.16/W.21.

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/SR.12, pages 2 to 6; A/AC.16/SR.13; A/AC.16/15/Rev.2; A/AC.16/SR.14.

<sup>39</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 6 (1) and (2) and paragraph 5 (1) to (4).

<sup>39</sup> A/AC.16/SR.41, page 9; A/AC.16/SR.42, page 4; A/AC.16/SR.44.

21 October 1947 on "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity to Greece", Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had shown a non-co-operative attitude.

29. The representative of Yugoslavia declared that the resolution creating the Special Committee constituted a hostile act against Yugoslavia. He added that Yugoslavia considered the establishment of the Special Committee as a violation of the sovereignty of Yugoslavia and that his Government knew how to carry out its international obligations without help from anybody.<sup>42</sup>

30. Albania and Bulgaria, non-members of the United Nations, failed to furnish a satisfactory reply to the question asked by the First Committee of the General Assembly as to whether they would agree to apply the principles and rules of the Charter in the settlement of the problem. As a result, representatives of the Albanian and Bulgarian Governments were permitted to make formal statements, but not to take part in the general debate.<sup>43</sup>

31. A further indication of the position of Albania and Bulgaria was given in the final stage of the debate in the First Committee when some members said that their acceptance of an amendment intended to conciliate Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would depend on a declaration by the parties to the dispute of willingness to co-operate with the proposed Special Committee. The representatives of Albania and Bulgaria indicated the inability of their Governments to give such co-operation.<sup>44</sup>

(b) *Replies to the Secretary-General's letter of 22 October 1947 and response, through the Secretary-General, to the Special Committee's resolution of 27 November 1947*

32. On 22 October 1947, the Secretary-General, in accordance with paragraph 10 of the Assembly resolution of 21 October 1947, wrote to the four Governments with a view to entering into a standing arrangement with each to assure the Special Committee, so far as it might find it necessary to exercise its functions within their territories, of full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities for the performance of its functions.

33. In its resolution of 27 November 1947 with regard to observation groups, the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General to obtain the consent of the four Governments to the establishment of those observation groups on their respective territories, in order to observe the compliance of the four Governments with the Assembly recommendations.<sup>45</sup>

34. On 28 November 1947, the Yugoslav Government replied to the Secretary-General's letter of 22 October 1947, stating that it had

not altered its position concerning the Special Committee and that it had "no intention to participate in any arrangements regarding the activities of the Special Committee".<sup>46</sup>

35. The Yugoslav Government, on 8 December 1947, informed the Secretary-General that it would not permit the Special Committee's observation groups to enter Yugoslav territory. The communication stated:

"The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia considers the resolution on the formation of the Balkan Committee as a violation of the principle of unanimity of the great Powers and as an act infringing on the sovereignty of the Balkan peoples. Moreover, the Balkan Committee can represent a danger to peace by creating possibilities for further provocations on the part of the Greek regime. Therefore, my Government will not extend any co-operation to the Committee or to its observation groups and will not permit their entry into Yugoslav territory."<sup>47</sup>

36. The Albanian Government replied on 23 December 1947 to the Secretary-General's communication regarding the establishment of observation groups. The Albanian Government repeated its view that "the establishment of the Committee and the tasks assigned to it" were "a violation of the United Nations Charter and of the principle of unanimity of the five great Powers" and "far removed from the equitable solution of the Greek problem and of the examination of the real cause of the situation, namely, the interference of Great Britain and the United States of America in the internal affairs of Greece". The "Albanian Government could not recognize that Committee as having any rights because its establishment and the powers conferred upon it . . . are incompatible with the sovereignty of the Albanian State". Consequently, it declared itself unable to "co-operate in any way" with the Special Committee or with the observation groups or permit the entry of either into Albanian territory, since it considered the Committee "illegal and non-existent".<sup>48</sup>

37. Like the Albanian Government, the Bulgarian Government replied to the Secretary-General only after a long delay. The Special Committee had, however, been forewarned of the position of the two Governments in the communiqué published on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Aid of 16 December 1947, between Albania and Bulgaria. In this communiqué it was stated:

"The two delegations consider that it (the Special Committee) was created in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in violation of the State sovereignty of the Balkan nations and that therefore the two Governments cannot admit it to their territory."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Paragraph 5 and A/AC.1/SR.70, page 3.

<sup>43</sup> A/AC.1/SR.62, pages 6 to 10; A/AC.1/SR.69, pages 8-9.

<sup>44</sup> A/AC.1/SR.64, pages 1 to 7 *passim* and A/AC.1/SR.69, pages 1 to 8 *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Paragraph 12.

<sup>46</sup> A/AC.16/12.

<sup>47</sup> A/AC.16/25.

<sup>48</sup> A/AC.16/54.

<sup>49</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, annex II.

38. A similar position was taken in the joint communiqué issued on the occasion of the signature of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav Alliance of 27 November 1947.<sup>49</sup>

39. The reply of the Bulgarian Government of 13 January 1948 to the Secretary-General did not refer to the observation groups. It reiterated assertions made in the Security Council and in the General Assembly in 1947. It stated that the Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents had established only that the causes of the "civil war" in Greece lay "in the discrimination against the national minorities and against the political opposition" and that the Bulgarian Government had not given aid to Greek guerrillas either in arms or financially or in allowing Bulgarian citizens to participate in the ranks of the Greek Democratic Army. Nevertheless, a "verdict of guilt" had been rendered and the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans had been imposed. That Committee was, in the view of the Bulgarian Government, "against the Charter and more harmful than the first Investigation Commission" and ran "against the principles of unanimity between the great Powers and against the sovereignty of the Balkan countries". The Bulgarian Government also stated that, although Bulgaria had presented counter-charges of frontier provocations against Bulgarian territory, neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly had heeded its requests to discuss them. The reply concluded with the statement that the Bulgarian Government was "unable to give any assistance to the Special Committee on the Balkans or to admit it for investigations on its territory".<sup>50</sup>

(c) *The Special Committee's efforts to obtain co-operation regarding specific incidents*

40. Despite the refusal of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate generally with the Special Committee or even to recognize its existence as a duly constituted and legitimate organ of the United Nations, the Special Committee continued to seek co-operation in a narrower field.

41. Communications from the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General reporting frontier incidents between 31 July and 16 November 1947<sup>51</sup> were forwarded for the information of the Special Committee. On 5 January 1948, the Special Committee requested the Secretary-General to notify the Bulgarian Government that it was willing to consider the latter's complaints in the same way as it was considering com-

plaints of similar incidents on the Greek-Bulgarian border received direct from the Greek Government, and to ascertain what facilities Bulgaria would be prepared to place at the disposal of the Special Committee towards this end.<sup>52</sup> No response was ever received to this communication.

42. This failure to reply is noteworthy in view of a subsequent communication from the Bulgarian Government received by the Special Committee on 20 April 1948 in reply to the Secretary-General's letter of 23 February 1948,<sup>53</sup> in which the Bulgarian Government stated:

"The Secretariat of the United Nations is kept regularly informed of the frontier violations committed by Greece but this has, unfortunately, produced no results as yet. Frontier incidents provoked by Greece are still occurring."<sup>54</sup>

43. In spite of the Bulgarian Government's silence in the face of its first request, the Special Committee, on 22 April 1948, telegraphed the Bulgarian Government direct concerning an alleged provocative act by Greek military forces on 4 April 1948 near Svilengrad, of which the Bulgarian Government had informed the Secretary-General in a protest which it asked the Secretary-General to transmit to the Greek Government.<sup>55</sup> Because of the serious view of the incident taken by both Bulgaria and Greece and the former's threat of counter-measures if satisfaction were not obtained, the Special Committee stated in its telegram that its observers had been directed to make an examination on the Greek side of the frontier, and that the Special Committee would be prepared to accept facilities from the Bulgarian Government so that an impartial examination on both sides of the frontier might be made. It also extended its good offices to assist in the regulation of the incident and in the general establishment of friendly relations along the Greek-Bulgarian frontier.<sup>56</sup>

44. After consulting his Government, the local Bulgarian commanding officer addressed a letter, on 25 April 1948, to "The Chairman, Observation Group 6, UNSCOB", accepting his request for an interview, which he had made on 15 April 1948. On 29 April 1948, a meeting took place between Bulgarian officers, a Greek officer and the observation group on an island in the Evros (Maritza) River, the site of the incident. The Bulgarian account of the incident, handed to the observation group, did not refer to the Special Committee's telegram of 22 April 1948 but merely said "we have been informed that you have been charged by the United Nations to make enquiries on the spot regarding an incident".<sup>57</sup> The attitude of the Bulgarian officers was correct and cordial and the meeting ended with mutual expressions of good will.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>49</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, annex II.

<sup>50</sup> A/AC.16/105.

Numerous complaints were submitted by the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General in the summer of 1947, at a time when the Security Council had made the Subsidiary Group of the Commission of Investigation responsible for investigating such incidents. Bulgaria did not submit any complaints, however, to the Subsidiary Group itself, which was then charged with having disregarded the Bulgarian complaints (see especially S/379, S/397, S/427, S/536, S/536/Add.1 and S/544).

Concerning the Bulgarian charges while the Special Committee has been in existence, see paragraphs 41 to 47 and 166 to 170.

<sup>51</sup> A/AC.16/9 and A/AC.16/36.

<sup>52</sup> A/AC.16/57/Rev.1.

<sup>53</sup> A/AC.15/123/Rev.1.

<sup>54</sup> A/AC.16/224.

<sup>55</sup> A/AC.16/214/Rev.1.

<sup>56</sup> A/AC.16/229 and A/AC.16/SR.65, pages 2 to 3.

<sup>57</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/7/S-1, annex B.

<sup>58</sup> For an account of the interview, see A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/7/S-1; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6/S-1; see also paragraphs 166 to 170.

45. A communiqué of the Press Directorate of the Bulgarian Foreign Office dated 16 May 1948, however, indicated that the interview did not reflect any change in Bulgaria's attitude toward the Special Committee. The Press Directorate declared: "that Bulgaria has not changed her attitude towards the United Nations Balkan Committee which she continues to regard as unlawful, and does not consider it possible to co-operate with it. In the above-mentioned case the Bulgarian frontier authorities admitted certain members of the Balkan Committee to Bulgarian territory, because, firstly, the investigation was arranged by the United Nations as a result of the request of the Bulgarian Government for the return of the three abducted Bulgarian frontier guards, and, secondly, because the United Nations Secretariat, to which the Bulgarian Government referred itself, entrusted *ad hoc* these members of the Balkan Committee with carrying out the investigation. Any other interpretations of the action of the Bulgarian authorities are not in accordance with the facts or with the intentions of the Bulgarian Government."<sup>60</sup>

46. In fact, the Secretary-General had issued no such instructions. He had merely forwarded the original of the Bulgarian Government protest to the Special Committee for its information in accordance with routine procedure. However, the Special Committee was aware of the interest of an interview carried out in such a cordial manner and, despite the official reservations, hoped that it would serve as a precedent for later meetings on problems of a more general nature.

47. Consequently, after discussion of a telegram, dated 15 May 1948, from the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General concerning alleged aerial and other violations of Bulgarian territory by Greek forces, the Special Committee, on 20 May 1948, informed the Bulgarian Government that it believed it advisable that an observation group should confer with the Bulgarian frontier authorities at a convenient time and place selected by the Bulgarian Government, so that a full investigation could be made of the incidents, of which the Committee had no previous knowledge.<sup>61</sup> In the same communication the Special Committee took the opportunity of referring to the reply of the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General's communication of 23 February 1948.<sup>62</sup>

48. In the first six months of the Special Committee's existence, the Secretary-General forwarded, for the information of the Special Committee, a large number of Albanian communications to the Secretary-General alleging a variety of provocative acts on land, sea and air by the Greek Government in violation of Albanian territory.<sup>63</sup> In spite of the previous general

refusal of Albania to co-operate, the Special Committee decided to approach the Albanian Government, as it had already approached the Bulgarian Government, in an effort to secure co-operation in examining the Albanian charges against Greece reported in the first two Albanian communications addressed to the Secretary-General after the Special Committee had been established.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, the Special Committee, on 29 January 1948, requested the Secretary-General to inform the Albanian Government that if it desired action to be taken to examine the incidents, the Special Committee would be willing to take action as it was doing with regard to similar incidents reported direct by the Greek Government. It also requested him to ascertain what facilities Albania would place at the disposal of the Special Committee towards this end, but stated that the Special Committee had decided "to examine the matter, even without the co-operation of the Albanian Government, to the fullest possible extent."<sup>64</sup>

49. No direct reply to the offer was received. An indirect response, dated 17 March 1948, addressed to the Secretary-General by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Albania, transmitted by the Secretary-General to the Special Committee for information, emphasized that the communications regularly addressed to the Secretary-General on Greek provocations against Albania were "presented solely for the information of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of public opinion".<sup>65</sup>

50. On 14 April 1948, the Special Committee addressed a telegram direct to the Albanian Government referring to the communications dated 11 and 17 March 1948 from the Albanian Government to the Secretary-General.<sup>66</sup> The telegram stated that because of the general refusal of Albania to co-operate, and especially its unwillingness to submit its complaints to examination by an organ of the United Nations and its insistence that the communication were solely for the purpose of information, the Special Committee was "forced to question whether the complaints had indeed any basis in fact". The telegram concluded:

"III. The Committee is of the opinion that the rejection by the Government of Albania of the Special Committee's proposals for conciliation as well as its refusal to co-operate in the verification, by a United Nations organ, of its accusations against Greece, can only be interpreted as a repudiation by the Albanian Government of the recommendations of the General

<sup>60</sup> A/AC.16/W.23; see also A/AC.16/254.

<sup>61</sup> A/AC.16/258; A/AC.16/SR.79; A/AC.16/259/Rev.1. For comment on other parts of the telegram, see paragraphs 60 and 76.

<sup>62</sup> See paragraphs 60 and 76.

<sup>63</sup> See paragraph 125.

<sup>64</sup> It is interesting to compare this attitude with Albania's attitude in the summer of 1947 when the Subsidiary Group of the Commission of Investigation was charged by the Security Council with the responsibility for investigating such incidents, and Albania continued to address complaints to the Secretary-General but declined to co-operate with the Subsidiary Group (S/259, S/259/Corr.1, S/390, S/492, S/493, S/494, S/546 and S/556).

<sup>65</sup> A/AC.16/190 and A/AC.16/209; see also paragraph 58 below.

Assembly of the United Nations contained in the Assembly's resolution of 21 October 1947.

"IV. This attitude of the Government of Albania toward the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and its duly constituted organs is difficult to reconcile with the desire of the Albanian Government to become a Member of the United Nations, reiterated in the Security Council as recently as 7 April 1948."<sup>67</sup>

51. The Special Committee made yet another effort, however, to investigate Greek violations of Albanian territory, alleged to have occurred between 5 and 14 April, which had been reported by Albania to the Secretary-General on 17 April 1948.<sup>68</sup> On 25 May 1948, the Special Committee informed the Foreign Minister of Albania that it believed it advisable that an observation group should confer with Albanian frontier authorities at a convenient time and place to be selected by the Albanian Government, so that a full investigation could be made. The Albanian Government replied to the Secretary-General that it maintained its attitude on this subject, as expressed in its communication to the Secretary-General of 23 December 1947.<sup>69</sup>

52. No complaint by Yugoslavia of Greek frontier violations was brought to the notice of the Special Committee.

(d) *Letters from the Special Committee to Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia dated 23 February 1948, and the replies thereto.*

53. Unwilling to accept as final the expressions of non-co-operation by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia described in paragraphs 32 to 39, and because of its desire to implement its conciliatory mandate, the Special Committee made a further attempt to secure the general co-operation of the four Governments.<sup>70</sup> The approach consisted of letters to the four Governments, couched in essentially similar terms. The letters to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were sent through the Secretary-General and that to the Greek Government direct to the Greek Foreign Minister.

54. All four letters<sup>71</sup> stressed the conciliatory mandate of the Special Committee and drew attention to the recommendation in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly resolution of 21 October 1947 that the four countries concerned should establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations among themselves as soon as possible. This, in the opinion of the Special Committee, was "the key to the solution of the problem which led the . . . General Assembly to adopt the resolution of 21 October 1947." The Special Committee expressed its anxiety to do

everything in its power to assist the four Governments to carry out this recommendation.

55. The letters to the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments declared that the Special Committee held itself at their disposal either to receive their representatives or to visit their countries at their convenience in order to hear their views.

56. The letter to the Greek Government took account of the fact that Greece had been co-operating with the Special Committee and noted several statements by the Greek liaison representative with respect to Greece's relations with her northern neighbours.<sup>72</sup> It also expressed the hope that the Special Committee might discuss, with representatives of the Greek Government, the general question of the re-establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours.

#### *Reply of the Greek Government*

57. The Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs replied on 2 March 1948 to the Chairman of the Special Committee as follows:

"I would like to renew the assurance already given many times and especially in the declaration made on 2 December by the Greek liaison representative that the Greek Government, in spite of the attitude observed so far by the neighbours of Greece towards the Balkan Committee, as well as towards my country, will continue to provide to the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans every means at its disposal in order to facilitate the Committee in its task.

"The liaison service representatives will always be at the disposal of the Committee to discuss the general question of re-establishment of diplomatic and good neighbourly relations with the Governments of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia respectively, as well as the question of re-establishing normal relations with Albania."<sup>73</sup>

#### *Reply of the Albanian Government*

58. The reply of the Albanian Government, addressed to the Secretary-General on 11 March 1948 and received by him on 6 April, was a categorical refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee and an attack upon its activities. It read as follows:

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania in its cable 927/111 of 23 December 1947 addressed to Your Excellency defined its attitude towards the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, and this attitude is still justified especially when one considers the activity of the Special Committee, which not only does not serve the maintenance of tranquillity and peace but has become a support of the Greek monarcho-fascists to increase the

<sup>67</sup> A/AC.16/220.

<sup>68</sup> A/AC.16/230.

<sup>69</sup> A/AC.16/288; see also paragraph 36 above.

<sup>70</sup> See A/AC.16/SR.38, pages 1 to 10 and A/AC.16/SR.39, pages 1 to 7.

<sup>71</sup> A/AC.16/122/Rev.1; A/AC.16/123/Rev.1; A/AC.16/124/Rev.1 and A/AC.16/125/Rev.1.

<sup>72</sup> A/AC.16/10; A/AC.16/52; A/AC.16/83 and A/AC.16/84.

<sup>73</sup> A/AC.16/158.

terror and the sufferings of the Greek people, to justify American intervention in Greece and to incite the monarcho-fascists to commit provocations and fabricate calumnies against our country as well as against Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania would like to recall that even the United Nations Commission of Investigation in the Balkans, which was not unilateral, under the influence and pressure of certain delegations arrived at false and unfounded conclusions. At present, as for UNSCOB, its very composition and its attitude show that it is not acting according to the high principles of the United Nations Organization but has put itself directly at the service of the instigators of war against tranquillity and peace in the Balkans and in the world."<sup>74</sup>

59. A later communication from the Albanian Government to the Secretary-General, dated 2 May 1948, reaffirmed the view of the Albanian Government that, since the creation of the Special Committee was illegal and contrary to the Charter, no *démarche* or proposition from it could be taken into consideration.<sup>75</sup>

#### *Reply of the Bulgarian Government*

60. The reply of the Bulgarian Government to the Secretary-General, which was not received by the Special Committee until 20 April 1948, did not mention the Special Committee, but confined itself to an attack upon the "Athens Government" and to the conditions of the Bulgarian Government for resuming diplomatic relations with the former Government.<sup>76</sup>

#### *Reply of the Yugoslav Government*

61. Finally, on 22 April 1948, the Yugoslav Government replied to the Secretary-General. The reply, which was just as categorical as that of the Albanian Government, stated:

"As the above-mentioned proposal was recommended by the Special Committee on the Balkans I would like to renew to you the stand which my Government took with regard to this Committee, namely, that its creation is opposed to the very letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, that this Committee is illegal and that it cannot be from either a legal or factual point of view, an organ of the United Nations. In consequence whereof the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia considers that this Committee is illegitimate, and cannot undertake any action whatever which would have as its aim the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly of 21 October 1947. Therefore, the Yugoslav Government is unable to take into consideration any proposal whatever which stems from such an organ."<sup>77</sup>

62. Thus, while the Government of Greece indicated its desire to co-operate in this conciliatory effort of the Special Committee, the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia did not. The Albanian and Yugoslav Governments declared that the Special Committee was not a legitimate organ of the United Nations, and the Bulgarian Government ignored it.

#### **B. Efforts of the Special Committee to assist the four Governments concerned in the implementation of the General Assembly's recommendations**

63. Despite the co-operation of the Greek Government, and because of the refusal of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate, the Special Committee has so far been unable to fulfil its mandate to assist in the establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations and frontier conventions between Greece and her northern neighbours and in the solution of the problems of refugees and minorities.<sup>78</sup>

64. The Special Committee recognized the serious nature of this failure, which coincided with the general deterioration in the situation along the northern frontiers of Greece and in the political relations between Greece and her northern neighbours. Indeed, on 31 December 1947 and 10 January 1948, at the time of the large-scale attack by the guerrilla forces against Konitsa in Epirus, the Special Committee felt compelled to send two interim reports to the General Assembly calling attention to the increasing gravity of the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece and stating in the first report that it might be impelled to recommend the convocation of a special session.<sup>79</sup>

65. However, at that early stage of its work, the Special Committee was hopeful that its conciliatory efforts might bear fruit. This hope, as well as the fact that the development of the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece did not reach such a crisis as to demand immediate action for the maintenance of international peace and security, led the Special Committee to decide not to recommend the convocation of a special session.<sup>80</sup> It was felt that the General Assembly would be in a better position to make further recommendations if the Special Committee were able to continue its work and present a full report on all phases of the problem.<sup>81</sup>

66. The Special Committee was aware that prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the relations between Greece and her northern neighbours had been troubled by economic, territorial and minority problems. Nevertheless, Greek-Yugoslav relations had been those of friendly alliance since the period of the Balkan

<sup>78</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 5.

<sup>79</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, page 7 and A/AC.16/71.

<sup>80</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 8.

<sup>81</sup> See especially A/AC.16/53/Rev.1; A/AC.16/71; A/AC.16/SR.56, pages 1 to 4; A/AC.16/PV.56, pages 1 to 5; A/AC.16/SR.57, pages 1 to 3; A/AC.16/SR.60, pages 1 and 2.

<sup>74</sup> A/AC.16/209.

<sup>75</sup> A/AC.16/268; see also paragraphs 36 and 80.

<sup>76</sup> A/AC.16/224; see also paragraph 72.

<sup>77</sup> A/AC.16/238.

wars, and commercial treaties had been signed between Greece and Albania (1926), Greece and Yugoslavia (1927) and Greece and Bulgaria (1927) in the inter-war era, even before the Balkan Conferences (1930-1934) had afforded some hope for a more general settlement of the Balkan problems.

67. Since the war, formal diplomatic relations have continued between Greece and Yugoslavia, but there have been no diplomatic relations between Greece on the one hand and Albania and Bulgaria on the other. In the view of the Special Committee, the significant problem in Greek-Yugoslav relations—that of an outlet to the Aegean Sea for Yugoslavia—had reached a substantial solution with the establishment of a Yugoslav free zone in Salonika. In execution of an article of the Greek-Serbian Treaty of Alliance of 1913, such a zone had been assigned to Serbian commerce for a period of fifty years in a Greek-Serbian convention of 23 May 1914. After the First World War, which interrupted the full implementation of the convention, further details were worked out, and the zone was finally established in its present form in conventions of 10 May 1923 and 17 March 1929. The zone is under Yugoslav customs administration, although remaining under Greek sovereignty. The Special Committee was cognizant of the difficult problems between Albania and Greece arising from the persistent Greek territorial claim to northern Epirus and the fact that Greece considered herself in a state of war with Albania because of the participation of Albanians both in the Italian invasion of Greece in 1940 and in the occupation of Greece. It was aware of the Greek claims to certain rectifications of the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, and of the persistent Bulgarian claim to the entire Greek province of Western Thrace with its outlet to the Aegean Sea, despite the fact that a Greek free zone had been established at Salonika in October 1925 for the purpose of providing an outlet for Bulgaria and for other countries.

68. The Special Committee also took note of the fact that the Second World War had added ideological differences to those territorial, economic and minority problems. The hardening of those differences was noted in the official communiqués accompanying the Treaties of Alliance concluded between Albania and Yugoslavia (9 July 1946), Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (27 November 1947) and Albania and Bulgaria (16 December 1947).<sup>82</sup>

#### 1. PROBLEM OF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS

69. From the inception of its work the Special Committee regarded the establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations<sup>83</sup> as the key to the problem. The Special Committee, however, could not secure co-operation from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and

has so far been unable to assist the four Governments concerned to establish such relations.<sup>84</sup>

70. On 2 December 1947, the Greek liaison representative formally stated that Greece was “firmly determined to regulate all her differences with her neighbours in the spirit of the Charter and of the resolution of the Assembly”, and that she was equally anxious “to do all she could for the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between Greece and her three northern neighbours”, but had “the right to demand of them to make a similar effort to this end and to display similar good will”. He declared that his Government regretted that relations with Yugoslavia had not returned to their former cordiality, but expressed the hope that they would improve in a spirit of mutual respect. He pointed out that the Greek Government had signed and ratified the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria and had already taken the necessary steps for the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relations through the good offices of the Minister of the United Kingdom to Bulgaria. Finally, he indicated that his Government hoped to re-establish normal relations with Albania as soon as possible; he stated that no treaty had put an end to the state of war existing between Greece and Albania since 1940, but hoped it would not be long before the questions pending between the two countries would be settled and good neighbourly relations resumed.<sup>85</sup>

71. In its first interim report, the Special Committee pointed out that efforts of the Greek Government to establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, despite ratification, on 19 November 1947, of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria of 10 February 1947, had met with a demand by the Bulgarian Government for the recall of Greek military liaison officers and wholesale deportation of Greek subjects. Meanwhile, an official statement by Premier Dimitrov on 16 December 1947, on the occasion of the signing of the Albanian-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance, denounced the Greek Government and hailed the so-called “Democratic Army” of Greece, “whose victory constitutes an historical necessity for peace in the Balkans and for an international peace in general”. The joint communiqué issued on that occasion also stated that the Albanian and Bulgarian Governments considered that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece was “hindered by the fact that today Greece is not an independent and sovereign country.” Finally, the Special Committee noted the failure of the two *démarches* made in late November and early December 1947 by the Minister of the United Kingdom to Bulgaria, at the request of the Government of Greece, with a view to the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Paragraphs 53 to 62.

<sup>85</sup> A/AC.16/10, page 8.

<sup>82</sup> A/AC.16/52; A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, annexes I, II; A/521, annexes I, II.

<sup>83</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 5 (I).

<sup>86</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, pages 4 to 6, annex 1, pages 1 to 2; A/521, pages 4 to 5, annex 1, pages 1 and 2.



72. The Bulgarian Government stated its position with regard to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece in its reply to the Special Committee's letter of 23 February 1948 sent through the Secretary-General.<sup>87</sup> The reply stated:

"The Bulgarian Government has re-established diplomatic relations with all the States with whom it maintained such relations before the World War and has excellent relations with Yugoslavia, Roumania, Albania and Hungary. It also maintains diplomatic relations with its neighbour Turkey which it is striving to improve and imbue with the spirit of good neighbourliness. It is also the first to regret the present state of affairs between Bulgaria and Greece. And its regret is all the greater in that the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria, which carried on a stubborn struggle against the Hitlerite invaders and monarcho-fascist reaction during the war, maintained the closest relations with the resistance movement in Greece.

"The responsibility for the abnormal relations between the two countries rests exclusively upon the Athens Government which has attempted to make use of the post-war situation for purposes of conquest, seeking to annex a part of Bulgarian territory exclusively populated by Bulgarians and at all times recognized as Bulgarian.<sup>88</sup> The Athens Government has seen fit to ignore the fact, recorded in the history of the war, that Bulgaria took part in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and that, as a result of the Bulgarian Army's advance towards the Adriatic Sea, Bulgaria hastened the evacuation of Greece by the German troops.

"The policy towards Bulgaria of the Athens Government has consisted solely of a series of calumnies, of appeals for foreign intervention and of incitements to war, accompanied by frontier provocations and even invasions of Bulgarian territory. Unfortunately, there has been no change of attitude in the policy of the Athens Government towards Bulgaria even after the former approached the British Government requesting its good offices. The Secretariat of the United Nations is kept regularly informed of the frontier violations committed by Greece, but this has, unfortunately, produced no result as yet. Frontier incidents provoked by Greece are still occurring.<sup>89</sup>

"The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which sincerely desires to contribute towards the improvement of relations between the two countries, would have no objection to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece if the Athens Government could give an earnest of its willingness to renounce its annexa-

tionist aims towards Bulgaria and if it would be willing to take the necessary steps to put an end to violations of the Bulgarian frontier and the war-mongering campaign carried on in Greece against the Bulgarian people and the People's Republic of Bulgaria."<sup>90</sup>

73. At the request of the Special Committee the Greek liaison representative, in a letter of 4 May 1948, gave his Government's view on the position of the Bulgarian Government. He stated that it was "surprising that an ex-enemy State which has invaded and occupied Greek territory on three occasions during the last thirty years, which caused thousands of victims and incalculable damage during the late war, that a State which has signed a treaty whose provisions it does not observe, which despite its signature of a peace treaty continues to put forward territorial claims on Greece and furnished substantial aid to the guerrillas operating in Greece, should venture, in its recent reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to attribute to Greece 'warlike intentions', 'incitements to war', 'provocations' and even 'invasions of Bulgarian territory'.<sup>91</sup>

74. The Greek liaison representative denied the allegations and pointed to public statements by Bulgarian spokesmen on the occasion of the signing of pacts of alliance between Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, in which the Greek Government was taken to task and far from friendly and pacific feelings were expressed. He added that the Greek Government "has the right to require that the Bulgarian Government cease furnishing every aid to the guerrillas, that it comply with the provisions of the Peace Treaty which it signed, and that it state categorically that after the entry into force of the Peace Treaty it has no claims whatsoever on Greece".

75. Finally, he repeated that "despite the facts set out above, the Greek Government is always ready . . . to re-establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria in the hope that it may thereby facilitate the re-establishment of normal and good neighbourly relations between the two countries".<sup>92</sup>

76. The Special Committee, after consideration of the reply of the Bulgarian Government and the comment of the Greek liaison representative thereon, suggested to the Bulgarian Government on 20 May 1948 a general discussion with its representatives about resumption of diplomatic relations.<sup>93</sup> No reply has been received from the Bulgarian Government.

77. On 12 June 1948, the Special Committee learned that the Bulgarian Government had approached the Greek Government, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with a proposal that the diplomatic representatives of

<sup>87</sup> See paragraph 60.

<sup>88</sup> The reference is to a strategic rectification along the Greek-Bulgarian frontier sought by Greece. On the occasion of the signing of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria on 10 February 1947, Greece maintained this claim in a formal reservation and Bulgaria maintained its claim to the entire Greek province of Western Thrace with its outlet to the Aegean Sea.

<sup>89</sup> For comment on this portion of letter, see paragraphs 41 to 47.

<sup>90</sup> A/AC.16/224.

<sup>91</sup> A/AC.16/244.

<sup>92</sup> A/AC.16/244 and A/AC.16/SR.76, pages 6 and 7.

<sup>93</sup> A/AC.16/259/Rev.1; A/AC.16/SR.77, pages 3 to 6; A/AC.16/SR.79, pages 3 to 8; see also paragraphs 47 and 60.

Bulgaria and Greece in Washington be instructed by their Governments to meet and study ways and means for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Greek Government accepted the proposal and instructed its Ambassador in Washington to act accordingly.

78. The Special Committee saw no indications of improvement in the relations between Yugoslavia and Greece. It noted, however, many signs of deterioration, particularly Radio Belgrade broadcasts on behalf of the "Provisional Democratic Greek Government", the establishment in Yugoslavia of committees to aid "Free Greece", radio broadcasts inimical to Greece, and the part played by Yugoslavia in receiving children removed by the guerrillas from Greece.<sup>98</sup>

79. The Special Committee found little evidence of progress toward the resumption of diplomatic relations between Albania and Greece.<sup>99</sup>

80. In its communication to the Secretary-General of 2 May 1948<sup>100</sup> the Albanian Government stated its conditions for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Greece. The communication began by an attack upon the "Athens Government". It was alleged that the government continued to employ the pretence that Greece was in a state of war with Albania and to press its "absurd territorial claims" to Northern Epirus and was carrying on a bitter Press and radio campaign against Albania and intensifying frontier provocations. In spite of this, however, the Albanian Government declared that, prompted by the desire to put an end to the state of tension on the Albanian-Greek frontier, it would be ready to resume discussion of the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Greece if the Greek Government should indicate a similar desire.

81. Commenting upon the Albanian statement, the Greek Government re-affirmed its view that a state of war continued to exist between Albania and Greece, both *de jure* and *de facto*. Secondly, it repeated its claim to Northern Epirus which had been referred to the Council of Foreign Ministers but had not yet been dealt with. The Greek Government complained of the continued oppression of the Greek-speaking population by Albania. Finally, it stated that it "would be prepared to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty to settle the questions in suspense and terminate the present state of relations between Greece and

Albania as created by the last war and by the moral and material aid supplied by the Albanian Government to the rebels operating in Greece."<sup>98</sup>

## 2. PROBLEM OF FRONTIER CONVENTIONS

82. Lack of co-operation by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia also prevented the Special Committee from rendering effective help in the establishment of frontier conventions.<sup>99</sup>

The Special Committee, however, calls the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that on 4 February 1948 the Greek liaison representative presented a model draft agreement based largely on the 1931 Agreement concerning frontier guards on the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, but also suggesting a procedure to be followed for the settlement of incidents arising out of the presence of irregular bands in the frontier areas.<sup>100</sup>

83. On 5 May 1948, the Special Committee invited the Greek Government to specify which of the treaties with Bulgaria it intended to revive under the provisions of article VIII of the Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria, signed on 10 February 1947.<sup>101</sup> The Greek Government, on 8 May 1948, replied that it had requested, through the Government of the United Kingdom, that the Frontier Convention of 1931 and the Extradition Convention of 1929 be put into force again. "As regards the other conventions existing before the war", the Greek Government considered that "they no longer answer the necessities of the present time and that, in consequence, there is no reason to request that they be put into force again".<sup>102</sup>

84. In the view of the Special Committee the model draft frontier agreement presented by the Greek Government might well serve as a basis of negotiation between the four Governments concerned, with a view to the pacific settlement of frontier incidents and disputes and the regulation and control of their common frontiers.

85. On 4 February 1948, the Greek liaison representative informed the Special Committee that the Greek Government considered that an agreement on frontier traffic which formed a part of the Greek-Yugoslav Commercial Treaty of 1927 was still valid.<sup>103</sup> The implementation of this agreement had been entrusted to the military authorities who drew up frontier regulations which before the war "were carried out by both parties in a spirit of good neighbourliness and permitted of friendly settlement of any frontier incidents which might arise". He alleged that, since the war, whenever an incident had occurred and the Greek frontier authorities had

<sup>94</sup> A/AC.16/289; A/AC.16/291; A/AC.16/SR.91.

<sup>95</sup> See paragraphs 103 to 124. See also the Thomaidis affair. Thomaidis was a Greek employee of the Greek Legation in Belgrade who was arrested by the Yugoslav authorities and met his death while under arrest. The case gave rise to bitter charges by the Greek Government. Whatever the truth may have been, the handling of the incident indicated a lack of good neighbourly relations. A/AC.16/130; A/AC.16/159; A/AC.16/167; A/AC.16/185; A/AC.16/216; A/AC.16/225; A/AC.16/243; A/AC.16/SC.2/Min.28 and A/AC.16/SR.76, page 2.

<sup>96</sup> A/AC.16/SR.80, pages 9 and 10; A/AC.16/SR.82, pages 1 to 5; A/AC.16/SR.84, pages 3 to 6; A/AC.16/SR.91.

<sup>97</sup> A/AC.16/268; see also paragraph 59.

<sup>98</sup> A/AC.16/272. An *ad hoc* Committee was established in June 1948 to study the communications received from the Albanian and Greek Governments (A/AC.16/SR.84, pages 3 to 6; A/AC.16/SR.91).

<sup>99</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 5 (2).  
<sup>100</sup> A/AC.16/114 and annexes A and C; A/AC.16/SR.34, page 2; A/AC.16/SR.38, page 10; A/AC.16/SC.2/1.

<sup>101</sup> A/AC.16/240; A/AC.16/SR.72, pages 2 and 3.

<sup>102</sup> A/AC.16/246.

<sup>103</sup> A/AC.16/83, page 4; A/AC.16/114 and annex B.

requested an interview, the Yugoslav frontier authorities had usually refused to reply.

86. There is no existing machinery for the regulation of incidents on the Albanian-Greek frontier.

### 3. PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

87. On 10 December 1947 the Special Committee established a sub-committee to study problems of refugees and minorities with a view to assisting Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to implement the recommendations of paragraph 5 of its terms of reference.<sup>104</sup> Since only the Greek Government was willing to co-operate, the Special Committee was unable to complete its preliminary work in this field by complete and impartial study.

88. The Special Committee began its work on the problem of political refugees with a questionnaire to the Greek Liaison Service, dated 20 December 1947. The Greek liaison representative replied, on 29 December 1947, that the total number of Albania, Bulgarian and Yugoslav refugees in Greece was 1,236 of whom 613 were Albanians, 214 were Bulgarians and 409 were Yugoslavs. They were located in camps at Piraeus, Lavrion, Salonika and on the island of Syros. It was stated that most of these refugees were people who had fled their countries for political reasons and that they were under police supervision "in order to ensure that they refrain from all political activities". The Greek Government, on the other hand, had no information as to the number of Greek nationals who had fled Greece to take refuge in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.<sup>105</sup> The Greek Government alleged that those Greek "refugees" had been used for forming guerrilla bands for use in Greece.<sup>106</sup>

89. After circulating a questionnaire on voluntary repatriation<sup>107</sup> to all the refugees and studying the replies, Sub-Committee 3 visited refugee centres at Salonika, Piraeus and Lavrion and on the island of Syros, and interrogated refugees.<sup>108</sup>

90. The Special Committee approved, on 27 March 1948, the report of Sub-Committee 3 on the problem of refugees.<sup>109</sup> It found that Greece was willing to comply with the General Assembly recommendations that the four Governments co-operate in the voluntary repatriation of refugees where possible. The Greek Gov-

ernment had informed the Special Committee, on 4 March 1948, that it had no objection to permitting refugees who desired to emigrate to other countries to leave, with the exception of some twenty persons who were being tried for crimes or misdemeanours.<sup>110</sup> The Sub-Committee's interrogation of refugees, of whom only eight (six Bulgarians and two Yugoslavs) expressed willingness to be repatriated, convinced the Special Committee that most of the refugees would not return voluntarily to the countries of their origin unless there were a political change in those countries. Most were willing and some even anxious to emigrate permanently to any other country. In consequence of the unwillingness of the majority to be repatriated and the refusal of three of the four Governments concerned to co-operate, the Special Committee was unable to fulfil the General Assembly's mandate on this matter.

91. The Special Committee was satisfied that in the camps visited the Greek Government was taking reasonable security measures to prevent political and military activity; it found no evidence of undue political activity and no evidence of military activity by international refugees.

92. The Special Committee felt for several reasons that some action should be taken as quickly as possible to remove these refugees from Greece: first, they were an international irritant; secondly, they were a burden on the Greek Government; thirdly, the Special Committee was concerned about the hopeless life of these refugees, many of whom had spent several years in concentration camps. The Special Committee noted that the Greek Government had done all that could be expected of it under present circumstances in housing and feeding the refugees under conditions which at least were comparable to those of Greek domestic refugees.<sup>111</sup> The Special Committee felt that, although the international refugee problem could not be settled within its terms of reference, attempts should be made to settle the problem in Greece on practical lines. It therefore decided:

"(a) That the problem and the records of the international refugees in Greece be turned over to a competent agency of the United Nations;

"(b) If no United Nations body is able to assume this responsibility, a direct approach by the Special Committee might be made to those countries to which some of the refugees in Greece have expressed the desire to emigrate, for example, Australia, France, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States of America. An approach might also be made by the Special Committee *via* the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to sending international refugees in Greece to those countries which have a definite policy of encouraging immigration, for example, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Union of South Africa."

<sup>104</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 5 (3) and (4).

<sup>105</sup> A/AC.16/45.

<sup>106</sup> On 15 April 1947, the Greek Government informed the Commission of Investigation that the total number of refugees in Greece was 1,245. The Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments, which freely admitted that some 20,000 Greek nationals had fled into their countries, refused to submit any lists to that Commission. See especially S/AC.4/18; S/AC.4/27; S/AC.4/70; S/AC.4/100; S/AC.4/116; S/AC.4/130; S/AC.4/221.

<sup>107</sup> A/AC.16/SC.3/1/Rev.1.

<sup>108</sup> A/AC.16/SR.28, pages 2 and 3; A/AC.16/SR.36, pages 1 and 2.

<sup>109</sup> A/AC.16/179; A/AC.16/SR.51, page 7.

<sup>110</sup> A/AC.16/SC.3/4; A/AC.16/SC.3/5; A/AC.16/SC.3/6.

<sup>111</sup> A/AC.16/179, page 7.

93. On 6 January 1948, the Special Committee communicated with the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization (PCIRO) in Geneva concerning the problem, but the latter replied on 9 February 1948 that it would be unable to assist in its solution.<sup>112</sup> On 10 June 1948, however, the Special Committee was informed that the Preparatory Commission had made a preliminary survey of some aspects of the problem and was prepared to examine the possibility of rendering assistance in solving the problem of international refugees in Greece.<sup>113</sup>

94. On 9 April 1948, the Special Committee decided to send letters to the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments with regard to the repatriation of six Bulgarian and two Yugoslav refugees in Greece who had expressed a desire to be repatriated.<sup>114</sup> No reply has yet been received from either Government.

95. On 21 April 1948, the Special Committee addressed letters to the Governments of those countries to which the refugees in Greece had expressed a desire to emigrate, inviting them to state whether they would be disposed to admit as immigrants a proportion of the 1,200 refugees in Greece. The Syrian Government replied on 11 May 1948 that working conditions did not permit the admission of the number of refugees in question.<sup>115</sup>

96. Another letter was sent to the Secretary-General requesting him to address similar requests to those Governments which had a definite policy of encouraging immigration and to approach the appropriate authorities for funds to carry out a transfer of the refugees in Greece.<sup>116</sup> Although no official replies have yet been received, the French Government has expressed interest and requested further information.<sup>117</sup>

97. The Special Committee was unable to

take any action concerning Greek refugees in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia because it was unable to approach either the Governments of those countries or the refugees themselves.<sup>118</sup>

#### 4. PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

98. Similarly, the Special Committee was hampered in its study of the practicability of concluding agreements for the voluntary transfer of minorities.<sup>119</sup> On 27 December 1947, the Special Committee requested the Greek liaison representative to furnish information about minorities.<sup>120</sup> On 15 April 1948 the Greek liaison representative replied that the Greek Government considered the problem of the Chams, the Albanian-speaking Moslem minority in Greece, largely settled by the emigration of the Moslem Chams to Albania. A solution of the question of the Greek Slavophones, and of Greek minorities in the neighbouring countries, he declared, required the co-operation of those countries. The Greek Government, therefore, could not, in the present circumstances, put forward a solution of this problem and reserved its right to do so as circumstances permitted.<sup>121</sup>

99. The Special Committee fully appreciates the complex character of the problem of minorities and is continuing its studies, but is not now in a position to state its views.<sup>122</sup>

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100. The Special Committee has thus done a great deal of preparatory work but has so far been unable, on account of the lack of co-operation of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, to achieve any substantial result in improving relations between Greece and her northern neighbours. It has not, however, abandoned hope that these three Governments may alter their position, co-operate with the Committee, and thereby contribute, as the Government of Greece has done, to a solution of these complicated questions.

### CHAPTER III

#### OBSERVATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE EXTENT OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OF 21 OCTOBER 1947

##### A. Support of the Greek guerrilla movement in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia

###### 1. PROCLAMATION OF THE MARKOS "GOVERNMENT"

101. In its first interim report of 31 December 1947, the Special Committee referred to the particular importance of the problem presented by the formation, announced on 24 December

1947, of a so-called "Provisional Democratic Greek Government" headed by Markos.<sup>123</sup> The proclamation of the guerrilla "Government" declared that one of its principal purposes was

<sup>112</sup> A/AC.16/SC.3/5 and annexes.

<sup>113</sup> A/AC.16/292.

<sup>114</sup> A/AC.16/SR.58, pages 6 and 7; A/AC.16/206/Rev.1; A/AC.16/207/Rev.1.

<sup>115</sup> A/AC.16/255.

<sup>116</sup> A/AC.16/SR.64, page 2; A/AC.16/208/Rev.1; A/AC.16/228.

<sup>117</sup> A/AC.16/SR.69, page 5.

<sup>118</sup> A/AC.16/179, page 8.

<sup>119</sup> General Assembly resolution, paragraph 5 (4).

<sup>120</sup> A/AC.16/SC.3/2.

<sup>121</sup> A/AC.16/223. The Greek liaison representative stated that the number of Slavophones living in Greek territory at the present time was approximately 75,000 to 80,000. He estimated that there were 18,000 Bulgarian-speaking Moslems living in Western Thrace and, at the outbreak of the Second World War, some 18,000 Moslem Chams in Southern Epirus. See also A/AC.16/SC.2/10 for the Special Committee's study of the problem of minorities. For Greek Liaison Service comment on that study see A/AC.16/298.

<sup>122</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.2/Min.28; A/AC.16/284; A/AC.16/293 and A/AC.16/SR.89.

<sup>123</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev. 1, page 6; A/521, page 6. For background documents see A/AC.16/11; A/AC.16/37.

to establish "diplomatic relations with the democratic countries."<sup>124</sup>

102. On 25 December 1947, the Greek Government stated that it considered the proclamation of Markos, to be simply a "further stage in a plan carefully prepared by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania and aimed at imposing a communist regime upon Greece, by force, contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the Greek people".<sup>125</sup>

103. In Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the proclamation of 24 December 1947 was greeted with enthusiasm.<sup>126</sup> The Special Committee felt some concern lest the northern neighbours of Greece proceeded to recognize such a "government", and had in mind the possible consequences of a premature recognition. Considering its responsibilities to the United Nations as an organ of the General Assembly and desiring to avoid being faced with a *fait accompli*, the Special Committee decided to take the initiative. Accordingly, on 29 December 1947, the Special Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution:<sup>127</sup>

"The Committee is of the opinion that a recognition, even *de facto*, of the movement describing itself as the 'Provisional Democratic Greek Government' followed by direct or indirect aid and assistance to an insurrectionary movement against the Government of a Member of the United Nations in defiance of international law, peace treaties and the principles of the Charter, would constitute a grave threat to the 'maintenance of international peace and security'."

Two days later, in its first interim report, the Special Committee pointed out that any act of association with that "Government" on the part of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, of the type envisaged in the aforesaid resolution, might render impossible the implementation of its mandate and might impel the Special Committee to recommend the convocation of a special session of the General Assembly.<sup>128</sup>

104. No formal recognition took place. Nevertheless, the attention of the Special Committee was promptly drawn to a new campaign in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as well as in some other countries, to provide moral, political or material aid to the Greek guerrillas. This campaign primarily involved the organization of

national committees for aid to the "Greek Democratic People" and numerous broadcasts and statements emanating from persons of high official rank and from unofficial sources.<sup>129</sup>

## 2. COMMITTEES TO AID THE "GREEK DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE"<sup>130</sup>

105. So far as the Special Committee, which has been unable to enter the territory of the northern neighbours of Greece, has been able to ascertain, national committees for aid to the "Greek Democratic People" were systematically organized throughout Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for the purpose of rendering moral, political and material assistance to the guerrilla movement in Greece.<sup>131</sup> The fact that these Balkan "action committees" were openly and systematically established, that their establishment was in all cases under the sponsorship of quasi-official organizations, and that their activities were announced and fostered over Government-controlled radio broadcasting stations, clearly indicated their official encouragement and support. The close connexion between the aid movement and the Greek guerrillas was demonstrated by the frequent presence of special representatives of Markos at meetings of those committees in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.<sup>132</sup>

### (a) Bulgaria

106. Even before the public announcement of the "Provisional Democratic Greek Government", a National Committee for Assistance to the Greek Democratic People was organized on 22 December 1947, on the initiative of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, the political foundation on which the Bulgarian Government rests. The officers of this Committee consisted of prominent leaders in Bulgarian public life, members of the *Sobranje* and former members of the Cabinet, and included Mme. Rosa Dimitrova, wife of the Bulgarian Premier. On 27 December 1947, this National Committee

<sup>124</sup> A/AC.16/40; A/AC.16/41. See also the official organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, 1 January 1948, No. 1 (4), page 1.

<sup>125</sup> A/AC.16/38.

<sup>126</sup> A/AC.16/SC.2/2. See, for example, the statement of Premier Dimitrov of Bulgaria broadcast on 31 December 1947 (A/AC.16/80); see also semi-official *Bashkimi*, Tirana, 28 December 1947, leading article; *Zagrebacki Narodni*, Zagreb, 28 December 1947; *Borba* (organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia), 25 December 1947; *Seljacka Borba*, 2 January 1948.

<sup>127</sup> A/AC.16/50. For discussion see A/AC.16/SR.20, pages 1 to 5; A/AC.16/SR.21, pages 1 to 5; A/AC.16/SR.22, pages 1 to 3; A/AC.16/SR.23, pages 2 and 3.

<sup>128</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1; A/521; General Assembly resolution, paragraph 8.

<sup>129</sup> For a preliminary survey of aid-to-Markos activities with reference to the question of recognition of the "Provisional Democratic Government" by the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, see A/AC.16/W.25. See also *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Belgrade, 15 April 1948, page 1; 1 March 1948, page 1; and 1 January 1948, page 1.

<sup>130</sup> Most of the information contained in this section is based on Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav journals, Radio Belgrade broadcasts monitored by the Secretariat and documentation supplied by the Greek Liaison Service (hereinafter cited as GLS). The evidence relating to the despatch of supplies to the guerrillas in Greece was given by witnesses examined by the Special Committee's observers.

<sup>131</sup> Details and citations will be found in the following paragraphs.

<sup>132</sup> In an interview granted to the so-called "Free Greece Agency" and broadcast over the Skopje and Belgrade radio stations on 30 January 1948, Petros Roussos, so-called Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Markos "government" stated that the formation in so many countries of committees to aid Greece, and the congratulatory telegrams which were being sent to Markos, constituted a "*de facto* international recognition of the just struggle of the Greek people". (A/AC.16/113, pages 7 to 11. This document is *A Survey of Aid-to-Markos Activities* based on radio broadcast statements during the period 16-31 January 1948 submitted by the GLS.)

sent a cable addressing Markos as "The First Prime Minister of the Provisional Government" and extending the fullest moral support to the "freedom-loving Greek people."<sup>133</sup> At a demonstration held in Sofia on 28 December 1947 a resolution asserting the determination of the Bulgarian people "to support the Greek people morally and materially" was approved by acclamation. In an announcement to the Bulgarian people on 2 January 1948, the Bulgarian National Committee appealed for contributions, declaring that the Bulgarian people should "clearly understand . . . that a victory of the Greek people is definitely in the interests of Bulgaria". For this reason, it was stated, the Bulgarian people should give "their moral and political aid to the Greek people during the present struggle" and "provide material assistance to the refugees from Greece". Large pro-Markos demonstrations were organized in Plovdiv, Pleven, Gavrvo, Silven, and Stara Zagora. On 4 January 1948, the Sofia radio announced that local committees had been established in almost every town and village in Bulgaria and that contributions in money, clothing and other materials were continuing. Representatives of Markos were present in Sofia on 24 January 1948 at an artistic performance for the purpose of collecting funds for the guerrilla movement.<sup>134</sup> Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Kolarov declared on 27 January 1948:

"The Bulgarian people do not conceal their friendly feelings toward the struggle of the Greek people and declare openly and clearly that they do extend help to the victims of monarcho-fascism who take refuge in Bulgaria . . ."<sup>135</sup>

At the second Congress of the Fatherland Front on 5 February 1948, at which a representative of Markos took the floor, the "right and duty of democratic peoples to give to the Greek people every possible moral and material support" was stressed.<sup>136</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed on 1 March 1948 at the Bulgarian Trade Union Conference when the necessity for moral

and material aid to the Greek guerrillas was again emphasized.<sup>137</sup>

107. An appeal of the Bulgarian National Committee to the Bulgarian people, an original copy of which was submitted by the Greek Liaison Service on 6 April 1948, declared that the Bulgarian people knew "that the victory of the democratic forces in Greece" was "in their interest, because only thus will there be established a lasting peace in the Balkans". Calling on "all patriotic Bulgarians" to bring "moral and political aid to the struggling Greek people", it urged "mass support" of the "popular committees which have spontaneously arisen in our midst to assist the democratic Greek people." Finally, it admonished the Bulgarian people, in the words of Premier Dimitrov, never to forget that "when once the Greek people is freed of imperialist foreigners and of its monarcho-fascists . . . the common structure of those countries which love liberty and peace" could "be finally consolidated".<sup>138</sup>

108. Various ways of rendering assistance were devised in Bulgaria, as in other countries, through "voluntary" deductions from wages, subscriptions on the part of organizations and the sale of special stamps, the proceeds of which were for the assistance of Greek guerrillas.<sup>139</sup> Thus, workmen in many factories gave a portion of their wages for the "Greek Aid Fund", while several organizations indicated their wish to contribute 10 per cent of their income for this purpose.<sup>140</sup> Seven Bulgarian students from the Svilengrad area testified before Observation Group 6 that once a month they had been compelled to subscribe 20 levas for coupons inscribed "for the aid of the Greek Democratic People".<sup>141</sup> A Sofia broadcast on 20 January 1948 asserted that the Bulgarian Red Cross had donated some 4,000,000 levas worth of medical and other equipment.<sup>142</sup> The Sofia radio announced on 10 February 1948 that a special stamp had been issued at Plovdiv "for the aid of the Greek refugees".<sup>143</sup> Witnesses before Observation Groups 4 and 6 declared that a campaign to aid Markos was organized throughout Bulgaria, a tax being levied on the purchase of certain commodities by means of coupons or stamps, and that money, food and other items were being sent to help the Greek guerrilla movement.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Belgrade, 15 April 1948, page 1.

<sup>138</sup> A/AC.16/203, annex (GLS).

<sup>139</sup> A/AC.16/SR.49, Part I, page 1; A/AC.16/SC.2/-11; A/AC.16/168 (GLS).

<sup>140</sup> A/AC.16/113, page 10 (GLS).

<sup>141</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/1, annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/3, annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5, annex E; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6, annex B.

<sup>142</sup> A/AC.16/113, pages 8 and 9 (GLS).

<sup>143</sup> A/AC.16/127, annex (GLS).

<sup>144</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/1, annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/3, annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5, annex E; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6, annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.-4/7, annex A, page 3. Two witnesses, one of whom was a former deputy of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, told Observation Group 4 in May 1948 that the primary function of the Bulgarian Aid Committees was to collect money and supplies for the Greek guerrillas, results of the campaign being published in the newspapers (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7, annex A, pages 1 and 3).

<sup>133</sup> See especially A/AC.16/113, pages 7 to 11; also *Tanyug* (Yugoslav Press Service) 27 December 1947, Broadcast in English Morse to Europe and the Balkans.

<sup>134</sup> A/AC.16/113, page 10. A former deputy of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party testified before Observation Group 4 in May 1948: "On one occasion the Theatre of Art in Sofia was used for a large meeting in aid of the guerrillas. The meeting was addressed by Ratso Angelo (a former minister) and a Greek representative of the guerrillas. This was given great publicity in the newspapers. (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7, annex A, page 3).

<sup>135</sup> A/AC.16/113, page 11 (GLS). In addition, on 7 May 1948, Mr. Kolarov, on the occasion of presenting the Bulgarian-Czechoslovak alliance to the Council of Ministers, stated that representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States of America "accuse our people for their sympathies toward the Greek people fighting against the foreign intervention and allege that Bulgaria gives aid and shelter to the victims of monarcho-fascist terrorism. That is true—Bulgaria does give shelter and does assist its free brothers; it gives asylum to thousands of Greek children and will continue to do so." (A/AC.16/W.22, submitted by the United States delegation.)

<sup>136</sup> *La Belgique Nouvelle*, Sofia, No. 3 (47) 14 February 1948, page 4.

109. Numerous reports from Observation Groups 3, 4 and 6 between February and May 1948 contained evidence that supplies of food and other items were reaching the guerrillas through Bulgaria.<sup>145</sup> For instance, many witnesses gave such testimony before Observation Group 4 in April 1948 to the effect that there was a continuous flow of supplies coming to Greece and that Bulgarian officials supported the collection of aid to the Greek guerrillas.<sup>146</sup> On another occasion, six witnesses gave similar testimony before Observation Group 6 in May 1948.<sup>147</sup>

### (b) Yugoslavia

110. The campaign in Yugoslavia for the establishment of committees for aid to the "Greek Democratic People" was led by the United Trade Union, with the active assistance of the People's Youth Organization, and the Anti-Fascist Women's Front. The first of these committees was organized in Belgrade on 10 January 1948 with officers who, almost without exception, belonged to the above-mentioned organizations.<sup>148</sup> A network of committees was soon organized and collections of money, medical supplies, clothing, footwear and other materials were undertaken all over Yugoslavia.<sup>149</sup> Establishment of a Croatian Committee of Assistance, sponsored by the Federation of Trade Unions in Zagreb, was announced on 22 January 1948, and a week later the "Free Greece" radio itself stated that 300,000 dinars had already been collected in certain districts of Croatia. A "Macedonian Committee" was organized on 23 January 1948, followed by the formation of another at Novi Sad. Subsequently, committees were also formed in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slovenia and Montenegro. The Belgrade radio announced on 28 January 1948 that the Yugoslav War Invalids Central Committee had offered a large amount of clothing and footwear

for the relief of wounded "from the Greek liberation struggle". By March 1948 it appeared that the value of the material collected had totalled approximately 150,000 U. S. dollars.

111. It may be noted that, while the campaign in Yugoslavia continued, Observation Groups 2 and 3 forwarded six reports containing evidence that supplies of clothing and food, among other materials, were reaching the guerrilla forces in Greece from Yugoslavia.<sup>150</sup>

### (c) Albanic

112. The Albanian National Committee for Aid to the Greek Democratic People was not formed until late February 1948. However, on 16 December 1947, some days before the actual announcement of the guerrilla "government", Premier Enver Hoxha had declared:<sup>151</sup>

"Our peoples . . . wholeheartedly sympathize with the struggle of the heroic Greek people. We extend to them all our moral and political support because they are in every way worthy of it and because we are in favour of the liberation of the Greek people and the establishment of peace and democracy in the Balkans and in Europe."

113. The first meeting of the Albanian National Committee was held on 28 February 1948 in Tirana on the initiative of the Democratic Front, the Trade Union General Council and other organizations. Comrade Petrov Paci, Vice-President of the Albanian General Trade Union Council, addressing the meeting, spoke of the support which was being given to "the Greek Democratic People" in the way of clothing, foodstuffs and other materials, and declared:<sup>152</sup>

". . . We will take part in a campaign among all the peoples of the world with a view to reinforcing and consolidating the international position of the Provisional Democratic Free Government of Greece under the presidency of General Markos, inasmuch as it is the only government representative of the will of the Greek people with which it is necessary that we establish diplomatic relations."

Soon after, it was announced by the Tirana radio that aid committees had been organized in all parts of Albania and that collections were going forward systematically.<sup>153</sup> Indeed a Tirana broadcast declared on 3 January 1948:

<sup>145</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/1, annex A, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/3, annex A; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/3 and annexes B and F; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4, annexes A, C, D and F; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5, annex 1; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/6, annex A, page 2. See also A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/3, Concl.; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/1, Concl.; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/3, Concl.; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4; Concl.; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/5, Concl. See also paragraphs 157 to 160 for evidence of direct material assistance by Yugoslavia to guerrillas.

<sup>146</sup> A/AC.16/53/Rev.1, annex 7; A/521, annex I.

<sup>147</sup> A/AC.16/186 and A/AC.16/188, submitted by the United States delegation. See also *Albanian Home Service* 29 February 1948, Tirana.

<sup>148</sup> See also A/AC.16/Mon.28 for Radio Belgrade quotation from Albanian News Agency. For evidence of direct material assistance by Albania to guerrillas, see paragraphs 140 to 143.

<sup>145</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/1, annexes A, C and E; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/3, annexes A and C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/4 S-1, page 4; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5, annexes 9 and 11; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/6, annex A, page 6; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/1, annexes A, B, D and E; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/3, annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6, page 2, annex 6; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6, annex B, pages 3 to 5. See also summaries and conclusions of these reports.

For further evidence of the effect of this campaign in producing assistance for the guerrillas, see paragraphs 180 to 184.

<sup>146</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/5, page 5 and annexes B, D and G.

<sup>147</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/8, annex A. Further confirmation of the effect of this campaign appeared in leaflets reported by Observation Group 3 to have been found on a dead guerrilla near Kilkis on 6 March 1948. One leaflet stated that "all the democratic peoples of Europe and of the whole world" were supporting the guerrilla movement and that "the Bulgarian people" had "sent thousands of parcels containing clothing and shoes". Another declared that "on the initiative of democratic organizations" in Bulgaria and other countries, contributions were "being carried out for the material reinforcement of the struggling people". (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4, annex H)

<sup>148</sup> A/AC.16/113, pages 3 to 6 (GLS).

<sup>149</sup> For a *Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* No. 5 (8), 1 March 1948, page 1, announced "Aid Greece Committees have been formed throughout Yugoslavia . . ."

"The collection in aid of the democratic army continues in our country. The total amount collected at Episcopie is now 133,000 leks. 110,000 leks have been collected in the Soupezi district and 191,145 leks and a large amount of clothing and foodstuffs in five other districts . . ."<sup>154</sup>

### 3. RADIO BROADCASTS

114. The problem of radio broadcasts from stations in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in support of the Greek guerrilla movement, another form of moral and political assistance, came early before the Special Committee and constituted an important element in its work. Immediately after Markos' proclamation of 24 December 1947 the Greek Government charged that the Belgrade radio had "become the medium for giving publicity to the actions and deeds of the Markos government, a convincing proof of the close links between Markos and his superiors."<sup>155</sup> It also declared that the State-controlled Belgrade radio had "become a kind of mouthpiece of Markos and could be said to plead the cause of the rebels in Greece."<sup>156</sup>

The Special Committee decided to monitor within the very limited means at its disposal in personnel and equipment, news reports by Radio Belgrade and occasional broadcasts from Radio Tirana and Radio Sofia.<sup>157</sup>

115. The subject matter of these broadcasts consisted essentially of Markos' "communiqués", newspaper articles, resolutions, and at times statements of high officials in support of the guerrilla movement.<sup>158</sup> However, the primary concern of the Special Committee was with the origin of these broadcasts, for it considered their principal significance to lie in the fact that they were transmitted over Government-controlled stations.

116. Likewise, except as they bore directly on its work, the Special Committee was not concerned with the propaganda broadcast over the so-called "Free Greece" radio, the official broadcasting station of the Greek guerrilla movement. The Special Committee was interested in learning, however, whether the "Free Greece" radio was located on Greek or foreign soil. The Special Committee carried out a long investigation of the problem, during which two carefully controlled radio direction-finder tests were conducted on 1 April and on 23 April 1948.<sup>159</sup> On 25 May 1948 the Special Committee unani-

mously came to the following conclusions as to the location of the station at the time of the tests:

I. It is conclusively established that the Markos "Free Greece" radio station is located in Yugoslav territory, in the general vicinity of Belgrade.

II. This station broadcasts bulletins encouraging the guerrillas in their fight against the Greek Government and inciting the Greek people to rebel against their duly constituted authorities.

III. The existence and activities of the above-mentioned radio station in Yugoslav territory should be considered in the light of the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, dated 21 October 1947, which "calls upon Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance to the said guerrillas."

IV. Further, the existence and activities of the Markos "Free Greece" radio station in Yugoslav territory constitute a serious obstacle to the establishment of good neighbourly relations between Greece and Yugoslavia.<sup>160</sup>

### 4. REMOVAL AND RETENTION OF GREEK CHILDREN

117. One of the very serious and complicated problems with which the Special Committee had to deal was the charge of the Greek Government, originally submitted on 27 February 1948, that Greek children were being forcibly removed by the guerrillas across the frontiers into Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as well as to other Eastern European countries, and retained in those countries.<sup>161</sup> It was stated that a census of some 60,000 Greek children, between the ages of three and fourteen, had been taken, and that force was used against parents who opposed their removal. Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, it was charged, were each to receive 10,000; Roumania and other countries some 30,000. Many protests were received by the Special Committee not only from individuals but also from communities and public organizations.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, on 27 March 1948, the Greek Foreign Minister officially protested that "the abduction of Greek children was more than a mere violation of treaty pledges", it was a "crime against humanity".<sup>163</sup>

118. The Special Committee formally took up the problem on 4 March and instructed its observation groups to give priority to an examination of the Greek charges.<sup>164</sup> All the observa-

<sup>154</sup> A/AC.16/277 (GLS). Two witnesses testified as to the systematic collection by these committees of money, food and clothing for the aid of the Greek guerrillas. (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11, annex A, page 5; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11, S-1, page 2).

<sup>155</sup> A/AC.16/38.

<sup>156</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11, annex A, page 5; A/AC.16/A/AC.16/108, A/AC.16/135.

<sup>157</sup> A/AC.16/SR.20, page 1 to 5; A/AC.16/Mon.1, *et seq.*

<sup>158</sup> For a guide to documents on radio broadcasts, see especially A/AC.16/118; A/AC.16/236, pages 42 to 46. See also A/AC.16/SC.2/5 and Corr. 1; A/AC.16/SC.2/Min.28, pages 1 to 5. See A/AC.16/Mon. 9 for a sample Radio Belgrade broadcast on behalf of the guerrillas, on Greek Independence Day, 25 March 1948.

<sup>159</sup> See A/AC.16/212 and A/AC.16/247 and Corr. 1.

<sup>160</sup> A/AC.16/265.

<sup>161</sup> See A/AC.16/149 for original Greek charge and see A/AC.16/155, A/AC.16/157, A/AC.16/174, A/AC.16/183, A/AC.16/215 for supplementary data. For lists of abducted children furnished by the Greek Liaison Service, see documents A/AC.16/241, A/AC.16/256, and A/AC.16/283. See also *Borba*, Belgrade, 4 April 1948.

<sup>162</sup> A/AC.16/176 and A/AC.16/NC.4 *passim*.

<sup>163</sup> A/AC.16/192.

<sup>164</sup> A/AC.16/SR.45, pages 4 and 5 and A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.24.



tion groups investigated the problem and gathered a large amount of evidence regarding it.<sup>166</sup> The resulting data, together with information supplied by the Greek Liaison Service and the Special Committee monitor reports on radio broadcasts from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, provided the Special Committee with a considerable body of evidence in support of the charges. Observers' interviews with parents and other witnesses generally confirmed what reported radio broadcasts from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and the "Free Greece" radio station had already asserted: that Greek children had been taken into Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland<sup>166</sup> in March and April of 1948.<sup>167</sup> A broadcast by the "Free Greece" radio on 14 March 1948 reported that 4,400 Greek children had been transferred from 59 villages in Greece to the northern countries.<sup>168</sup>

On 9 April 1948, Belgrade radio said that 7,000 Greek children had arrived in that city, and on 12 April 1948 it broadcast that 12,000 Greek children were expected to be divided among Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.<sup>169</sup>

Red Cross organizations in some of the northern countries had appealed for funds to care for the Greek children, and these countries had widely publicized steps taken to provide housing, schooling and recreation.

119. On 19 April 1948, the Special Committee sent a questionnaire to the Greek liaison representative to obtain information as to the number and care of Greek children who were being evacuated by the Greek Government from the northern regions of Greece. The latter replied on 22 April 1948, that 5,500 children between the ages of three and fourteen had been removed from the General Administration of Macedonia, about 2,150 being placed in various centres in Salonika. About 5,000 had been gathered from Thrace, some 2,300 of whom had been transported through Alexandroupolis to the interior of Greece. The work was being carried on under the Ministry of Social Relief. The upkeep of each child was estimated to cost the Government about 10,000 drachmae per day.<sup>170</sup>

120. After a careful study of the problem based on all its information the Special Committee established the following facts:<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> See *Report on Removal of Greek children to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and other Northern Countries* (based on observation group reports, Greek Liaison Service documents and radio monitor reports of the Special Committee) A/AC.16/251/Rev.1 for a guide to this material. Observation group reports received after the date of this report furnished additional information. See A/AC.16/OG.1/10, A/AC.16/OG.2/9, A/AC.16/OG.3/6 and 7, A/AC.16/OG.6/7 and 8 and subsequent reports.

<sup>166</sup> See denial of Polish Government, paragraph 123.

<sup>167</sup> A/AC.16/251, pages 2 and 3 and sources therein cited.

<sup>168</sup> A/AC.16/174.

<sup>169</sup> A/AC.16/Mon. 19 and 20.

<sup>170</sup> A/AC.16/234 and annexes.

<sup>171</sup> A/AC.16/251/Rev.1, pages 1 to 8; also see especially A/AC.16/SR.74, pages 1 to 6; A/AC.16/SR.78, page 4; A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.42/PV.42; A/AC.16/SC.2/Min.26/PV.26.

(1) A census of children has been taken by the guerrillas in certain areas of Greece under guerrilla control. The evidence is that this census is in connexion with the removal of children.

(2) A large number of children has been removed from certain areas of northern Greece under guerrilla control to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and, according to radio reports from Belgrade and Sofia, to certain other countries to the north. However, the Special Committee has not been able to verify, by means available to it, the precise number of children involved.

(3) While a number of parents have agreed under duress to the removal of their children, and some children have in fact been forcibly removed, other parents have consented, or at least failed to object, to such removal. It has not been possible for the Special Committee to determine the exact number of children removed under these categories.

(4) The number of cases reported points to the existence of a programme to remove children from areas of Greece under guerrilla control to certain countries to the north.

(5) Although the responsibility for the initiation of the plan is not known to the Special Committee, it follows from the appearance of Greek children on a large scale in the countries to the north and the numerous announcements of the radios controlled by these Governments that the programme is being carried out with the approval and assistance of these Governments.

121. On the basis of those facts the Special Committee concluded:

(1) In the considered opinion of the Special Committee, the reception and retention of Greek children removed by the guerrillas to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, without their parents' free consent, raises the issue of the inherent rights of parents. The protracted retention of these children would be contrary to the accepted moral standards of international conduct.

(2) The plan raises the issue of the sovereignty of Greece over her citizens and constitutes a serious obstacle to the re-establishment of good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours.

(3) If conditions in areas in which guerrillas operate appeared to justify the removal of children on humanitarian grounds and the Greek Government were unable to effect their removal, the Greek Government should be requested to inform the Special Committee accordingly. In the light of this and other information which may be in the possession of the Special Committee, consideration could then be given to the removal of such children through the intermediary of an appropriate international organization. This, or another suitable organization, might also be asked to accept responsibility for the care and eventual repatriation of children who have already been removed. The Special

Committee would be prepared to co-operate with any such organization which might be agreed upon for this purpose.

122. Consequently, the Special Committee decided:

(1) That a communication, together with a copy of this report, be sent to the Greek Government, suggesting, if it has not already done so, that it should take up the question directly with the Governments concerned in this matter and inform the Special Committee subsequently of the results of such action.

(2) That this report be transmitted directly to the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and to urge these Governments to discourage any further removal of children from Greek territory and to arrange for the prompt return to Greece of these children.

(3) That the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to transmit copies of this report to the other countries of eastern Europe where the reception of Greek children within their territories has been reported and to request those Governments for an early statement of their plans for the return to Greece of these children.

123. On 2 June 1948, the Greek Government informed the Special Committee that it had telegraphed the Foreign Ministers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia requesting them to furnish the facilities necessary for the repatriation to Greece of all children who had been or might in the future be removed by the guerrillas and transported abroad. It added that, as soon as those Governments had given their consent, the Greek Government was ready to negotiate directly the details of the repatriation. A similar telegram was sent, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Albanian Government.<sup>172</sup> In its reply of 9 June 1948 the Government of Poland denied that any Greek children were in Poland, but said that it considered that Greek children who might be forced to abandon their homes had the right of shelter.<sup>173</sup> The Government of Hungary acknowledged receiving Greek children on humanitarian grounds, stating that they had lost their parents as a result of military operations in Greece and had not been torn from their families. It considered direct contact with the Greek Government inexpedient since diplomatic relations between the two Governments did not exist.<sup>174</sup>

## **B. Situation on the northern frontiers of Greece (See map, annex 5)**

### **1. GREEK CHARGES AGAINST ALBANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA**

124. The Greek liaison representative submitted to the Special Committee many communications, often supported by depositions,

alleging violations of the frontier by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.<sup>175</sup> The main charge, however, made by the Greek liaison representative was that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were continuing, and indeed increasing, their systematic aid to Greek guerrillas. It was repeatedly alleged that Greek guerrillas were free to cross the frontier into and from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, were receiving constant supplies of arms and ammunition from those countries, were given military training in them, and, when wounded, were given hospital treatment in them, and returned, when possible, to the guerrilla forces in Greece.<sup>176</sup>

### **2. CHARGES BY ALBANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA AGAINST GREECE**

125. Although the Albanian Government refused to co-operate in any way with the Special Committee, it presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, between the beginning of January and the middle of April 1948, over a hundred complaints of frontier violations by Greece. The complaints concerned some seventy alleged aircraft flights over Albania, or the firing of shots or shells by the Greek Army on to Albanian territory, and similar frontier violations.<sup>177</sup> Reference has already been made to the refusal of the Albanian Government to assist the Special Committee in the examination of these complaints and to the communication from the Special Committee to the Albanian Government in which the Special Committee stated that consequently it was forced to question whether the complaints of the Albanian Government had indeed any basis in fact.<sup>178</sup>

126. The Bulgarian Government, although it also refused to co-operate in any way with the Special Committee, submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations some charges alleging frontier violations by the Greek forces. Most of these charges concerned alleged firing of shots or shells onto Bulgarian territory or the flight of unknown aircraft over Bulgaria, but one concerned the Evros incident.<sup>179</sup> The Bulgarian Government did not reply to the requests of the Special Committee for assistance in the examination of the complaints of the Bulgarian Government.<sup>180</sup>

127. The Yugoslav Government sent no communications either to the Special Committee or to the Secretary-General on matters relating to the Greek-Yugoslav frontier.<sup>181</sup>

128. The Special Committee's original instructions to its observation groups directed their

<sup>175</sup> See especially A/AC.16/91 and A/AC.16/236, pages 17 to 21 and addenda.

<sup>176</sup> See especially A/AC.16/16, A/AC.16/205, A/AC.16/262, A/AC.16/278.

<sup>177</sup> A/AC.16/81, A/AC.16/82, A/AC.16/111, A/AC.16/112, A/AC.16/119, A/AC.16/132, A/AC.16/136, A/AC.16/154, A/AC.16/163, A/AC.16/170, A/AC.16/171, A/AC.16/172, A/AC.16/184 and A/AC.16/230.

<sup>178</sup> See paragraphs 48 to 52.

<sup>179</sup> A/AC.16/9, A/AC.16/36, A/AC.16/152, A/AC.16/214/Rev.1 and A/AC.16/258. See also paragraphs 43 to 46 and paragraphs 166 to 170.

<sup>180</sup> See paragraphs 41 and 47.

<sup>181</sup> See paragraph 52.

<sup>172</sup> A/AC.16/280.

<sup>173</sup> A/AC.16/296.

<sup>174</sup> A/AC.16/287.

attention to examining to what extent good neighbourly relations existed on the frontier between Greece and her northern neighbours. Under these instructions very few complaints by the Greek Government of provocations by the northern neighbours were examined. The Special Committee was intent on obtaining the co-operation of all four Governments in order to fulfil its conciliatory role and wished to avoid any appearance of *ex parte* examinations. Consequently, the efforts mentioned in part A, paragraphs 41, 47, 49 and 52 were made to obtain co-operation in considering complaints from Greece's northern neighbours on the same basis as that on which the Special Committee was considering complaints of the Greek Government. Pending receipt of replies from the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments to a further effort by the Special Committee to obtain general co-operation,<sup>152</sup> complaints from the northern neighbours of Greece were forwarded to the competent observation group for information only.<sup>153</sup>

After receipt of replies to the Special Committee's letters and in spite of the Albanian and Bulgarian Governments' refusal to co-operate in the examination of certain specific incidents, the Special Committee established a new policy on 4 June 1948 by the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas the three Governments concerned have as yet not recognized the Special Committee, but notwithstanding this the Governments of Albania and Bulgaria have communicated to the Secretary-General further alleged frontier incidents,

"The Special Committee, in view of its task as defined in paragraph 6 (1) of the resolution of the General Assembly of 21 October 1947, and in the expectation that the three Governments concerned will render it possible to investigate all frontier incidents from both sides of the frontier,

"Resolves

"(a) To examine any alleged frontier violations which may have been or may be communicated after 1 May 1948 to the Secretary-General or to the Special Committee by any of the three Governments concerned, and

"(b) To transmit these communications to the appropriate observation groups for investigation.

"(c) The observation groups will deal with such communications in accordance with the procedure in force for complaints concerning alleged frontier violations, submitted by the Greek Liaison Service."<sup>154</sup>

### 3. OBSERVATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE SITUATION ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF GREECE

129. By the end of May 1948 the Special Committee had been able to establish only five observation groups along the northern frontiers of Greece.<sup>155</sup> Group 1 at Ioannina was exclusively occupied with the situation on the Albanian-Greek frontier. Groups 2 and 3 at Florina and Kilkis observed conditions on the Greek-Yugoslav frontier and Groups 4 and 6 at Kavalla and Alexandroupolis were concerned with the Greek-Bulgarian frontier.

130. The movement of all five groups was severely restricted by guerrilla control of certain areas and by extensive mining by guerrillas in the whole frontier area. In the course of their duties the observers were consequently exposed to very considerable risks. Each group obtained information about its own sector by touring as much of its area as possible, by visiting the frontier wherever possible and by interrogation of witnesses.

131. Apart from direct observation by the groups on a number of occasions relative to certain types of assistance to Greek guerrillas from across the northern frontiers of Greece, the groups interrogated about five hundred witnesses up to the end of May 1948. Some of these were picked at random, but the majority were presented by the Greek Liaison Service and were for the most part examined in the presence of a Greek liaison officer. Most of the first-hand evidence relating to material aid given to the Greek guerrillas by the northern neighbours of Greece was given by surrendered or captured guerrillas under detention by the Greek authorities. As already stated, the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav Governments refused to co-operate in any way with the Special Committee. Consequently, the groups were not permitted to make any observations in Albania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia, except in connexion with the Evros incident on the Bulgarian-Greek frontier. No witnesses were presented to the groups by the Albanian, Bulgarian or Yugoslav Governments.

132. The Special Committee realized from the start that its five groups could not keep the northern frontiers of Greece under continuous observation and that the information obtained from them would present an incomplete picture of the situation. Nevertheless, from the fifty-eight reports received from the observation groups by the beginning of June 1948, the Special Committee was able to reach certain definite conclusions concerning the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece.

(a) *The Albanian-Greek frontier*

(i) *General frontier situation*

133. The Albanian-Greek frontier stretches for 190 kilometres over difficult and mountainous country. It is divided into two roughly equal

<sup>152</sup> Paragraphs 53 *et seq.*

<sup>153</sup> A/AC.16/165/Rev.1.

<sup>154</sup> A/AC.16/275; see A/AC.16/133/Rev. 3 for current *Instructions to Observation Groups* and also paragraph 16.

<sup>155</sup> See paragraphs 11 to 14.

sections by the Pindus range. In Greece Epirus lies to the south-west of this range and Western Macedonia to the north-east. Three roads lead from Albania to Greece, two in the south from Argyrokastron and Permet to Ioannina in Epirus, the third from Koritsa to Florina in Western Macedonia. On the Albanian side of the frontier there is also a motor road running south-east from the Argyrokastron-Ioannina road and terminating at the hamlet of Kokovic within one kilometre from the frontier. Greek guerrillas are active along the whole length of the frontier. In Epirus their main concentrations are close to the two main roads and south-west of the byroad of Kokovic; in Western Macedonia they are in complete control of the frontier area.

134. In December 1947, the Special Committee sent two groups of its military experts to the frontier area in Epirus, the first to the Delvinakion area, the second to the area west of Konitsa. These groups obtained first-hand knowledge of the situation on the frontier and interrogated captured guerrillas, members of the Greek forces and villagers.<sup>188</sup> In January 1948, the Special Committee established two permanent observation groups with the duty of reporting from time to time on the situation on the Greek-Albanian frontier. Group 1 was based at Ioannina and Group 2 had its headquarters in Western Macedonia, first at Kozani and later at Florina. Group 1 interrogated witnesses and also obtained first-hand information by visiting the frontier area in the three sectors accessible to it, the area west of Konitsa, astride the Permet-Ioannina road, the region round Kastaniani, east of the Argyrokastron-Kokovic road, and the Sayiadha area, near the southern end of the frontier. Group 2 was unable to approach its section of the frontier owing to guerrilla control of the area, but obtained much useful information from interrogation of many witnesses.

135. The Special Committee discovered no signs of good-neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania or of contact between the Greek and Albanian frontier guards.

136. The Special Committee, which for the reasons already stated was unable to examine the complaints of the Albanian Government<sup>187</sup> found no evidence of violation of the frontier by Greece, but considerable evidence, both from direct observation and the testimony of witnesses, of non-compliance by Albania with the General Assembly's injunction to do nothing which could furnish aid to Greek guerrillas.

This non-compliance took the following forms:

(ii) *Crossing of the frontier by Greek guerrillas from Greece to Albania and from Albania to Greece*

137. The Special Committee considered the testimony of many witnesses interrogated by its

groups who stated that Greek guerrillas, either separately or in military formations, freely crossed the frontier in both directions along its whole length, and that crossings had often been made with the knowledge and assistance of Albanian frontier guards.<sup>188</sup> One witness stated that orders had been issued to the guerrillas to avoid crossing into Albania when United Nations observers were in the neighbourhood.<sup>189</sup> The large amount of indirect evidence on the crossing of the frontier by Greek guerrillas was supported by the observations of Group 1. Following the visit of the group to the Sayiadha area in mid-January 1948, the Special Committee found that it had gained substantial proof of movement of Greek guerrillas from Albania into Greece and of their return into Albania after a raid.<sup>190</sup> After a visit by the same group to Kastaniani on 6 and 7 March 1948, the Special Committee reached the definite conclusion that while the observers had actually seen only one man crossing the frontier, shelter was being afforded to Greek guerrillas in Albania, as was apparent from the position of the Greek forces, which compelled the guerrillas to move into Albanian territory.<sup>191</sup> After a visit by Group 1 to Kastaniani in early April 1948, the Special Committee found that there was a strong presumption that the guerrillas made use of Albanian territory to launch their encircling attack against the Greek position at Kastaniani.<sup>192</sup>

(iii) *Firing from Albanian territory into Greece*

138. The Special Committee obtained conclusive proof by direct observation of Group 1 that machine guns had been fired from Albanian territory into Greece. After Group 1 had spent the period 18-21 March 1948 in the Kastaniani area, the Special Committee concluded, on the basis of the observations made by the group, that Albanian frontier guards failed to prevent armed men from firing, on several days,<sup>193</sup> into Greek territory from Albanian territory near frontier posts 600 metres within Albania. Again, after a visit of the group to the same area at the end of March 1948, when tracer machine gun fire from Albanian territory was seen by observers from two different observation points, the Special Committee concluded that Greek guerrillas fighting in that area were receiving tactical support by fire from Albanian territory.<sup>194</sup> As a result of direct observation by Group 1 of a shell burst and their deductions from hearing seven other rounds and the testimony of a witness, the Special Committee also believed it extremely probable that on 10 January 1948 artillery fire had been directed from Albanian territory into Greece in the area west of Konitsa.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>188</sup> See especially the evidence given by four deserters from the Albanian gendarmerie—A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11 S-1, witnesses 1/W.34, 35, 36 and 37.

<sup>189</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/3/Concl.

<sup>190</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/2/Concl.

<sup>191</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/8/Concl.

<sup>192</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/10/Concl. See also A/AC.16/OG.1/11/Concl.

<sup>193</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/9/S-1 Concl.

<sup>194</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/10/S-1 Concl.

<sup>195</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/1 Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.2/2 Concl.

<sup>188</sup> A/AC.16/26 and A/AC.16/71, annex A.

<sup>187</sup> See paragraphs 36, 49, 50, 51.

(iv) *Medical assistance to wounded Greek guerrillas in Albania and their return to guerrilla units in Greece*

139. The testimony of a large number of witnesses interrogated by the observation groups indicated that it was the common practice for wounded Greek guerrillas to be hospitalized in Albania. Nine witnesses stated that, after receiving medical treatment in Albania, they had been returned with other guerrillas to active guerrilla service in Greece.<sup>196</sup> The military advisers, after their visit to the Konitsa area at the end of December 1947, stated that "the witnesses" report that heavily wounded guerrillas were collected in villages near the frontier before being taken into Albania were supported by observation of the advisers, who noted that very few wounded prisoners were taken and there was no evidence of wounded guerrillas having been found elsewhere in the mountains".<sup>197</sup>

(v) *Logistical support to Greek guerrillas*

140. The Special Committee considered, however, that the most important evidence obtained by its groups concerned the logistical support given to Greek guerrillas from Albania by the supply of arms, ammunition, transport, signalling equipment and facilities and, to a lesser extent, clothes and food.<sup>198</sup> It noted particularly the extensive and increasing use of mines by the guerrillas in the frontier area and the fact that the guerrillas were often engaged with their backs to the frontier in prolonged battles involving very heavy expenditure of ammunition.<sup>199</sup>

141. The military advisers, after their visit to the Konitsa area at the end of 1947, reported that "for the guerrillas themselves to have transported shells, mortars, grenades, mines and small arms ammunition in the quantities used during their long approach marches, and in all tactical phases of the battle, would have been impossible. It is concluded, therefore, that a constant supply of ammunition was arriving from Albania". The Special Committee in its second interim report of 10 January 1948 stated that, after studying the report of its military advisers, it had reached the conclusion that aid in the form of logistical support was being furnished from Albania to guerrillas operating on Greek territory.<sup>200</sup> Again, the Special Committee, after studying the report of Group 1 for the period 7-11 January 1948, concluded that the large consumption of ammunition by the guerrillas was out of proportion to the transport of which they might normally be expected to dispose, especially in mountainous country.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>196</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/2, page 3; A/AC.16/OG.2/3 Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/4, Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.1/8, annex F; A/AC.16/OG.2/10 and Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.2/11.

<sup>197</sup> A/AC.16/71, annex A.

<sup>198</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/10/Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.1/11, S-1/Concl.

<sup>199</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/10, S-1/Concl.

<sup>200</sup> A/AC.16/71 and annexes A and B.

<sup>201</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/1/Concl.

142. Group 1 in its visits to the Kastaniani area observed constant traffic by night, but no traffic by day, in the area of the hamlet of Kokovic<sup>202</sup> and night traffic in the same area was repeatedly referred to by witnesses. The Special Committee reached the definite conclusion that logistical support in the form of transport, as appeared from the movement of trucks observed around Kokovic, was being given to Greek guerrillas from Albania.<sup>203</sup> Again, the scale of fighting in the Murgana pocket early in April and the simultaneous observation by the group of heavy traffic on the Argyrokastron-Kokovic road and the testimony of witnesses, led the Special Committee to conclude definitely that the guerrillas in the Murgana pocket were receiving logistical support on a very large scale from Albania.<sup>204</sup>

143. After the interrogation by Group 1 of two captured guerrillas<sup>205</sup> and a deserter from the Albanian gendarmerie,<sup>206</sup> the Special Committee concluded that the evidence made a clear cut case of action by Albania in supplying a particularly dangerous and active guerrilla unit with road mines and other equipment over established trans-frontier communication lines.<sup>207</sup>

(b) *The Greek-Yugoslav frontier*

(i) *General frontier situation*

144. The frontier between Greece and Yugoslavia extends for roughly 200 kilometres. It is drawn for the greater part of that distance along the crests of the massive natural barriers formed by the Belles and Vorros Oros (Kaimakchalan) ranges, while at the extreme west it crosses the rugged northern extension of the Vermion mountains.

145. Passes through these mountain barriers are few and only two are important: the Monastir gap, the broad and easy highway leading from Prilep and Bitolj (Monastir) into the heart of Western Macedonia, and the Vardar River valley. Less important routes cross the frontier at Lake Doiran and Lake Prespa. Elsewhere the mountain masses bar all wheeled traffic, although it may be noted that the formation of these masses is such as to make the frontier in many areas considerably less difficult of access from the north than from the south.

146. The Special Committee sent two observation groups to the Greek-Yugoslav frontier area. Group 2 arrived in its area, which also comprised part of the Albanian-Greek frontier, on 22 January 1948, and Group 3 on 8 February 1948. The area of Group 3 extended a short distance along the Bulgarian-Greek frontier.

147. Group 2 had its headquarters in Western Macedonia, first at Kozani and later at Florina, while Group 3 had its headquarters at Kilikis.

<sup>202</sup> See paragraph 133.

<sup>203</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/8/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.1/10/S-1 Concl.

<sup>204</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/10, page 3 and Concl.

<sup>205</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11 (1/W/47) and A/AC.16/OG.1/10 (1/W/21).

<sup>206</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11 S-1 (1/W/37).

<sup>207</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11 Concl.

148. No evidence of good neighbourly relations between Greece and Yugoslavia or of useful contact between Greek and Yugoslav frontier guards was ever discovered,<sup>208</sup> and several attempts of Group 3 to make contact with the Yugoslav frontier guards, with a view to investigating frontier conditions, were unsuccessful because of the unwillingness of the Yugoslav guards to establish such contact.<sup>209</sup>

149. There was no evidence of violation of the frontier by the Greek National Army Forces, but considerable evidence, direct and indirect, of non-compliance by Yugoslavia with the General Assembly's injunction to do nothing which could furnish aid to Greek guerrillas.

This non-compliance took the following forms:

(ii) *Crossing of the frontier by Greek guerrillas from Greece to Yugoslavia and from Yugoslavia to Greece*

150. The Special Committee considered the testimony of many witnesses interrogated by its observation groups which indicated that Greek guerrillas, either separately or in groups, were free to cross the frontier in both directions and that crossings had often been made with the knowledge of Yugoslav frontier guards.<sup>210</sup>

151. The large amount of indirect evidence in this matter was supported by direct observation of Group 3 on the following occasions:

On 11 February 1948, the group observed eight guerrillas crossing from Yugoslavia into Greece. The crossing was made in sight of two Yugoslav sentries who were only about 300 yards away from the point where the guerrillas crossed.<sup>211</sup>

On 19 February 1948, the group observed two armed guerrillas crossing the frontier from Greece into Yugoslavia at a point 500 metres distant from an occupied Yugoslav frontier post. The guerrillas were subsequently observed several times entering and leaving one of the buildings of this frontier post and conducting themselves in general as though they were exercising normal privileges. This observation was made from a distance of about 350 metres.<sup>212</sup>

On 1 March 1948, during daylight, the observers, from a distance of about 3,000 metres, saw three armed guerrillas cross the frontier from Greece into Yugoslavia. The observers had kept these men under observation over a distance of one kilometre prior to their crossing the frontier.<sup>213</sup>

The report by a witness that on 24 May he saw a column of fifty guerrillas and ten mules enter Greece from Yugoslavia, was supported by the group's observation on the following day, of foot and mule track traces at the alleged point of crossing.<sup>214</sup> Similar evidence and a similar direct observation regarding guerrilla movements from Greece into Yugoslavia and back on 13 May were reported by Observation Group 2.<sup>215</sup>

(iii) *Firing from Yugoslav territory into Greece*

152. The Special Committee obtained conclusive proof by direct observation of Group 3 that machine guns had been fired from Yugoslav territory into Greece.

153. On 1 March 1948, Observation Group 3, from a distance of 2000 metres, observed a heavy machine-gun firing across the frontier into Greece. The machine-gun emplacement was about 30 metres inside Yugoslav territory. The machine-gun fired about five hours during daylight. The observers determined the position of the gun beyond doubt, as their position was such that the imaginary line connecting it with that of the machine-gun made an angle of no more than 30 degrees with the frontier line, which is marked in this area by white-washed pyramids 1.60 metres high. An occupied Yugoslav frontier post was located approximately 700 metres from the observed gun position.<sup>216</sup>

154. On 23 March 1948, Observation Group 3, accompanying Greek National Army Forces, came under machine-gun fire from a prepared position beside a manned Yugoslav frontier post. The machine-gun was located approximately 100 metres from the frontier within Yugoslavia and Group 3 first received the fire when approximately 300 metres inside Greek territory.<sup>217</sup>

(iv) *Medical assistance to wounded Greek guerrillas in Yugoslavia and their return to guerrilla units in Greece*

155. Testimony of many witnesses interrogated by the observation groups indicated that it was common practice for wounded Greek guerrillas to be hospitalized in Yugoslavia.<sup>218</sup>

156. Seven witnesses testified that, after having been treated in hospitals in Yugoslavia, they returned to Greece to rejoin the guerrilla forces.<sup>219</sup> Two of these witnesses stated that they had returned with groups of guerrillas who had also received hospital treatment, ten in one group, eighty in another.

(v) *Logistical support to Greek guerrillas*

157. The Special Committee considered testimony of witnesses interrogated by the observation groups which indicated the provision of

<sup>208</sup> See paragraph 85.

<sup>209</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.3/3/Concl.

<sup>210</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/1/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/3/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/6/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/8/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/10 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/1/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/2/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/4/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/5/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/6/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/8/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/7 and Concl.

<sup>211</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/1/Concl.

<sup>212</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/2/Concl.

<sup>213</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4/S-1/Concl.

<sup>214</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/8.

<sup>215</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/10/Concl.

<sup>216</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4/S-1/Concl.

<sup>217</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5/Concl.

<sup>218</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4/Concl.

<sup>219</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/1/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/2/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/7/Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.2/9.

transport for guerrillas in their movements to and from Greece.<sup>220</sup>

158. The Commission of Investigation found that a camp was in operation at Bulkes for the reception and shelter of Greek refugees. The Special Committee was not in a position to investigate on the spot to what extent this camp was still in operation. Several witnesses, however, stated that they had spent a considerable time in Bulkes camp and had been transported from that camp, by means arranged through the Yugoslav authorities, either to the Greek-Yugoslav frontier, or to the Albanian-Yugoslav frontier for further transportation to Greece. Large groups of men were said to have joined the guerrillas in Greece in this manner. The transportation from Bulkes camp was said to have taken place between October 1947 and February 1948.<sup>221</sup>

159. Several witnesses also stated that there was a camp for Greek refugees in Skoplje. They said that, in this camp, Greek refugees were given shelter and that considerable numbers were transported from there either directly to the Greek-Yugoslav frontier, or to Albania for eventual crossing into Greece, to join the guerrilla forces.<sup>222</sup> In some cases the men were employed on civilian work in Yugoslavia but were subsequently recruited in that country for the Greek guerrilla forces.<sup>223</sup> The transportation occurred subsequent to October 1947 with the assistance of the Yugoslav authorities.

160. Witnesses also testified that the guerrillas were being supplied with arms and ammunition from Yugoslav sources.<sup>224</sup>

### (c) *The Bulgarian-Greek frontier*

#### (i) *General frontier situation*

161. The frontier between Bulgaria and Greece extends for about 400 km. in a general west-east direction. For about half of this distance from the Belles range to the Rhodope Mountains the frontier is in mountainous country and for the most part is formed by the natural watershed. The frontier terrain becomes less rugged towards the east.

162. The width of eastern Greece between the Bulgarian frontier and the Aegean, varies between about 30 and 100 km. Guerrilla bands move fairly freely in the area. Apart from raids on villages, their activities consist mainly of sabotage, such as the mining of roads and railroads.

163. This guerrilla activity has compelled the Greek authorities to withdraw most of their

frontier guards from the frontier regions.<sup>225</sup> Some frontier posts have, however, been maintained along the Bulgarian border and there are still frequent contacts between Bulgarian and Greek frontier officials. While the frontier relations cannot be regarded as normal, there have been several instances of partial compliance with the procedures laid down by the 1931 frontier regulations between Bulgaria and Greece.<sup>226</sup> Between December 1947 and May 1948, there appear to have been at least eight meetings between Bulgarian and Greek frontier officials with the object of discussing and regulating frontier incidents. Although the regulations require protocols of each frontier meeting to be signed, this appears to have been done for one meeting only.<sup>227</sup>

164. Another result of the widespread guerrilla activity in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace has been that the observation groups in the area have found it difficult to gain access to the frontier. Their opportunities for studying frontier conditions have consequently been limited. They did have five meetings with Bulgarian frontier guards during which the personal relations between observers and guards were friendly. Except, however, for the Evros incident,<sup>228</sup> the Bulgarian officials stated that they had no authority to discuss frontier relations.

#### (ii) *Frontier incidents not involving Greek guerrilla activity*

165. The reports of the observation groups have revealed a continuing state of friction with recurrent skirmishes and exchanges of shots along the Bulgarian-Greek frontier.<sup>229</sup>

166. One of these skirmishes, with more serious implications, took place on 4 April 1948, on an island in the Evros River where the boundary line is in dispute. The Bulgarian Government alleged that a Bulgarian patrol of three soldiers, while on Bulgarian territory, had been fired on and abducted by Greek troops.<sup>230</sup>

167. Greek officials gave two inconsistent versions of the incident, which, however, agreed in alleging that the Bulgarian soldiers were near or on Greek territory, that they started the firing and were last seen rowing back to the Bulgarian side of the river.

168. Directed by the Special Committee to give top priority to the incident because of the serious view taken of it by both Governments, Observation Group 6<sup>231</sup> was able to secure the

<sup>220</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/2/Concl.

<sup>221</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/3; A/AC.16/OG.2/5/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/6/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/8/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.2/10; A/AC.16/OG.2/11.

<sup>222</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/5/Concl. and A/AC.16/OG.1/8.

<sup>223</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/4 and A/AC.16/OG.1/8.

<sup>224</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/1; A/AC.16/OG.3/3/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/4/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/6 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/7/Concl.

<sup>225</sup> See paragraphs 82 and 83.

<sup>227</sup> In connexion with the Evros incident.

<sup>228</sup> See paragraphs 166 to 170.

<sup>229</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/2/Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.6/5 and A/AC.16/OG.6/6/Concl.

<sup>230</sup> A/AC.16/214/Rev.1.

<sup>231</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6/S-1 and A/AC.16/OG.6/7/S-1 for reports of Observation Group 6 on the Evros incident.

collaboration of both Bulgarian and Greek officials in an examination on the island which is in dispute.<sup>232</sup> It reported that the bodies of two of the three Bulgarian soldiers had subsequently been recovered from the river, left the *causa mortis* open<sup>233</sup> and concluded that the Bulgarian version of the incident was far more probable than the Greek.<sup>234</sup>

169. As a result of its examination the group recommended that:

(a) Officers in command of frontier areas should be thoroughly briefed on the exact location of the frontier;

(b) Frequent transfers of such officers should be avoided;

(c) Every encouragement should be given to meetings between Bulgarian and Greek frontier officials and requests for meetings should be accepted and protocols signed for all incidents made the subject of such meetings.<sup>235</sup>

These recommendations were communicated to the Greek liaison representative. In reply the latter pointed to the difficulties caused by the guerrilla situation in the maintenance of frontier post garrisons, but informed the Special Committee that appropriate instructions in accordance with recommendations (a) and (b) had been given.<sup>236</sup>

170. With regard to the island in dispute, steps have been taken by the Special Committee to verify the facts in order to clear the way for a settlement of this particular boundary dispute between Bulgaria and Greece.<sup>237</sup>

(iii) *Frontier incidents connected with Greek guerrilla activity*

171. The Special Committee has received, in reports from the groups, more than fifty different references by witnesses to Greek guerrillas crossing into and out of Bulgaria. At times the guerrillas were said to have used Bulgarian territory for purposes of transit, particularly in marches from the Evros area to the region north of Xanthi. At other times they retreated across the border when pressed by the Greek Army. The crossings were said to have frequently been made with the knowledge of the Bulgarian frontier authorities who gave the guerrillas supplies of food. References were made to two separate crossings into Bulgaria (in April 1948 near Koula) by large groups of guerrillas.<sup>238</sup>

172. On 8 June 1948, the Special Committee, considering that the testimonies of the witnesses contained in the eighth report of Observation

Group 3 corroborated much evidence of a similar nature already collected, concluded that "Greek guerrillas frequently cross the Greek frontier into Bulgaria . . ."<sup>239</sup>

173. In mid-April 1948, Observation Group 4 witnessed military operations against the guerrillas near Papadhcs. On the basis of the group's observation of guerrilla movement during this action, of their deductions from the circumstances of the operations and the terrain where the operations took place, and of their examination of witnesses, the Special Committee accepted the conclusion of the report that guerrilla forces were able to move "freely through Bulgarian territory".<sup>240</sup>

174. During the same operations the group observed a column of approximately seventy-five unidentified men crossing the frontier from Bulgaria into Greece.<sup>241</sup>

175. On 15 May 1948, the Bulgarian Government complained to the Secretary-General that on 13 May 1948 Greek aircraft had "flown over and bombed targets within Bulgaria and that a Greek company had advanced towards Tir Koulata and wounded a Bulgarian soldier".<sup>242</sup> These charges appear to be linked to the observations by Group 4 of operations by the Greek Army against guerrillas near Koula on 13 May 1948, as a result of which the Special Committee concluded that:

(a) Two guerrillas crossed from Greece into Bulgaria in the immediate vicinity of the Bulgarian frontier troops without any interference from them;

(b) No Greek troops moved into Bulgarian territory in the immediate vicinity of the observers, but during the firefight in the evening some Greek rounds may have fallen into Bulgaria.

The Special Committee also found that there was a "very strong presumption, based on the tactical situation, that Greek guerrillas sheltered in Bulgaria during the operation, thereby gaining considerable tactical advantage against the Greek Army".<sup>243</sup>

176. The group was instructed to make a further examination of the Bulgarian complaints. Their consequent report confirmed conclusion (b) in the preceding paragraph. As to the alleged air violations, no conclusions could be reached from the report of its investigations by Group 4.<sup>244</sup>

177. Between 25 and 28 May 1948, Group 4 observed operations by the Greek Army against guerrillas north-east of Komotini. One member of the group was present on 27 May 1948 when shots were exchanged between the Greek Army

<sup>232</sup> See paragraphs 43 to 46.

<sup>233</sup> The Bulgarian authorities had alleged that a post mortem of one of the recovered bodies showed evidence of strangling before drowning.

<sup>234</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/7/S-1/Concl.

<sup>235</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/7/S-1, page 4.

<sup>236</sup> A/AC.16/264.

<sup>237</sup> A/AC.16/274 and 286.

<sup>238</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/1, 3, 5, 7 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/2, 3, 4 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.3/5, 7, 8 and Concl.

<sup>239</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/8/Concl.

<sup>240</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/4 S-1 Concl. and A/AC.16/SR.75, page 4.

<sup>241</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/4 S-1 Concl.

<sup>242</sup> A/AC.16/258.

<sup>243</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/6 S-1 Concl.

<sup>244</sup> See A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7 S-2 Concl.



and the guerrillas, and from the terrain concluded that at the end of the battle the guerrillas must have retreated into Bulgaria. On the other hand, the observers stated that the Greek Army violated the Bulgarian frontier on 28 May 1948 when they saw a platoon of Greek soldiers moving large stocks of equipment from Bulgaria into Greece. This material had evidently been removed from Greece into sanctuary in Bulgarian territory by the guerrillas.<sup>245</sup> One observer was present on 28 May 1948 when telephone equipment was recovered, the fact that the line crossed well over the frontier leading him to think it had been laid with the knowledge, if not with the active assistance of the Bulgarians.<sup>246</sup>

(iv) *Reception and hospitalization of Greek guerrillas in Bulgaria*

178. Many witnesses testified that they had crossed into Bulgaria and were taken to camps or to first-aid centres and hospitals in Bulgaria. There were numerous references to a camp for guerrillas at Berkovitsa, one section of which was used as a hospital. Estimates of the numbers at this camp varied from 300 to 1,000, approximately 800 being the usual figure. "Political lessons" were said to be given at Berkovitsa but there was no evidence that military training was given. There were five references to a hospital for guerrillas at Haskovo and further references to other camps and first-aid centres for guerrillas in Bulgaria.<sup>247</sup>

(v) *Return of Greek guerrillas to Greece after stay or hospitalization in Bulgaria*

179. Many witnesses gave evidence that they had been transported in trucks as members of guerrilla groups from Berkovitsa to the Greek frontier late in 1947 and up to April 1948. On some of these occasions the trucks were said to have been driven by Bulgarian soldiers and at other times by civilians. Other witnesses also testified that they had returned to Greece after a stay or hospitalization elsewhere in Bulgaria.<sup>248</sup>

185. The following conclusions are based on events which have come to the knowledge of the Special Committee up till 16 June 1948.

186. The Special Committee has consistently endeavoured to assist Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and Greece, on the other, to establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations amongst themselves. The Government of Greece has co-operated with

(vi) *Logistical support to Greek guerrillas*

180. Much evidence was given of the receipt by the guerrillas of arms and ammunition from Bulgaria.<sup>249</sup>

181. As a result of the observation of Group 4 of guerrilla activity during operations by the Greek Army near Papadhes in mid-April 1948 and of their deductions from the circumstances of the military operations and the terrain, the Special Committee concluded that guerrilla forces "were obtaining logistical support in the way of supplies and of weapons from Bulgaria."<sup>250</sup>

182. The Special Committee took note of the large number of artillery shells reported to have been used by the guerrillas in Western Thrace throughout the first half of 1948 and the increasing use, by them, of both air and personnel and anti-vehicle mines.<sup>251</sup>

183. A special report of Group 4 covered operations by the Greek Army against the guerrillas between 25 and 28 May 1948. This report contained no direct observation by the group of Bulgarian-Greek frontier relations. The Special Committee concluded that "the capture of guerrilla material adds another item to the mass of evidence already collected on the same subject according to which logistical support is furnished by Bulgaria on a big scale to the guerrillas. It is impossible to believe that such quantities of stores for the use of the guerrillas originated south of the border."<sup>252</sup>

184. The Special Committee, after consideration of a report by Observation Group 6 on guerrilla attacks in Western Thrace on 15 and 28 May 1948 found that:

"No definite conclusions can be drawn as to the origin of armament from the evidence. The quantity of mortar bombs and mines being used by the guerrillas in this remote mountain zone, however, leads to a strong presumption that the source of origin lies outside Greece."<sup>253</sup>

## CHAPTER IV CONCLUSIONS

185. The following conclusions are based on events which have come to the knowledge of the Special Committee up till 16 June 1948.

186. The Special Committee has consistently endeavoured to assist Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and Greece, on the other, to establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations amongst themselves. The Government of Greece has co-operated with

the Special Committee in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of 21 October 1947. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, have refused to co-operate with the Special Committee or even to recognize it as a duly constituted body of the United Nations. Because of this refusal to co-operate with it, the Special Committee has thus far been unable to give

<sup>245</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7 S-1 Concl.

<sup>246</sup> A/AC.16/OG.4/7 S-1.

<sup>247</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5, 6, 7 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/3, 7; A/AC.16/OG.4/5/SC. Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.6/3, 6, 8 and Concl.

<sup>248</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5 and 7 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/3 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/5 and SC. Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.6/3, 5, 6 and Concl.

<sup>249</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/7, 8 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/3, 7, S-1 and Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.4/5 and SC. Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.6/1, 3, 5, 6 and 9 and Concl.

<sup>250</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/4 S-1 Concl.; see also paragraph 175.

<sup>251</sup> See especially A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/5, 7 S-1; A/AC.16/OG.6/3 Concl.; A/AC.16/OG.6/9 Concl.

<sup>252</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7 S-1 Concl.

<sup>253</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/9 Concl.

substantial assistance to the four Governments in the implementation of the recommendations contained in the General Assembly's resolution concerning (1) establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations; (2) frontier conventions; (3) political refugees; and (4) voluntary transfer of minorities.

187. Good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours do not exist. Diplomatic relations exist between Greece and Yugoslavia, but these relations are not normal. There are no diplomatic relations between Albania and Greece. The Special Committee has been informed that the resumption of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece is now under discussion in Washington, D. C. (U.S.A.).

188. It appears to the Special Committee that the Greek guerrillas have received aid and assistance from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; that they have been furnished with war material and other supplies from those countries; that they have been allowed to use the territories of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for tactical operations; and that after rest or medical treatment in the territories of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, their return to Greece has been facilitated. The Special Committee further finds that moral support has been given

to the guerrillas through Government-controlled radio stations, the existence of the broadcasting stations of the Greek guerrillas on Yugoslav soil, and the systematic organization of aid committees. This assistance has been on such a scale that the Special Committee has concluded that it has been given with the knowledge of the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

189. So long as events along the northern borders of Greece show that support is being given to the Greek guerrillas from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the Special Committee is convinced that a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece will exist, and international peace and security in the Balkans will be endangered.

190. Although the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have not so far co-operated with it, the Special Committee is convinced that it would be possible to assist these Governments and the Government of Greece to reach, in the interest of all, a peaceful settlement of their differences if the Governments concerned were prepared to act in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution of 21 October 1947 and in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It is with this hope that the Special Committee is continuing its task.

## CHAPTER V

### RECOMMENDATIONS

191. (1) As long as the present disturbed conditions along the northern frontiers of Greece continue, it is, in the opinion of the Special Committee, essential that the functions of exercising vigilance with regard to the relations between Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece and of endeavouring to bring about a peaceful settlement of existing tension and difficulties, remain entrusted to an agency of the United Nations.

192. (2) The Special Committee, however, recommends that consideration should be given to the constitution of the Special Committee in a form which would not entail so heavy a financial burden on the United Nations and on the nation members of the Special Committee.

193. (3) The Special Committee recommends that the nations which have provided observers and equipment shall be reimbursed for the expenses incurred and that the United Nations shall meet all such expenses in the future.

194. (4) The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly shall consider ways and means of obtaining the co-operation of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with the Special Committee.

Done at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, in the English and French languages, this thirtieth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight.

*Done at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, in the English and French languages, this thirtieth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight.*

Representative of:	(Signed)	Representative of:	(Signed)
<i>Australia</i>	W. R. Hodgson	<i>Netherlands</i>	J. de Booy
<i>Brazil</i>	V. da Cunha	<i>Pakistan</i>	Abdur Rahim Khan
<i>China</i>	Sih Kwang-t sien	<i>United Kingdom</i>	H. Seymour
<i>France</i>	E. Charveriat	<i>United States of America</i>	Gerald A. Drew
<i>Mexico</i>	F. Castillo Nájera		

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 1

### I. INTRODUCTION

#### Composition of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans

##### (a) DELEGATIONS TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Nine Governments have appointed delegations to the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. At the time of the signing of this report, their composition was as follows:

*Australia*  
Colonel William R. Hodgson, O.B.E., representative,  
Mr. Terence G. Glasheen, deputy.

*Brazil*  
Mr. Vasco T. L. da Cunha, representative,  
Mr. Jorge de Oliveira Maia, deputy.

*China*  
Dr. Sih Kwang-t sien, representative,  
Dr. Chao Tsun-hsin, deputy.

*France*  
M. Emile Charveriat, representative,  
M. Roger Monmayou, deputy.

*Mexico*  
Dr. Francisco Castillo Nájera, representative,  
General Tomás Sánchez Hernández, deputy.

*Netherlands*  
Mr. James Marnix de Booy, representative,  
Colonel J. J. A. Keuchenius, deputy.

*Pakistan*  
Colonel Abdur Rahim Khan, representative,  
Colonel R. S. Chhatari, deputy.

*United Kingdom*  
Sir Horace Seymour, G.C.M.G., CVO., representative,  
Brigadier J. C. Saunders-Jacobs, C.B.E., D.S.O., deputy.

*United States of America*  
Admiral Alan G. Kirk, representative,  
Mr. Gerald A. Drew, deputy

##### (b) SECRETARIAT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The Secretary-General originally assigned a secretariat of twenty-five members to the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. At the time of the signing of this report, the secretariat was composed of thirty members, including the secretaries of the observation groups. It was headed by Mr. Raoul Aglion (Principal Secretary) and Mr. M. J. Van Schreven (Deputy Principal Secretary).

## ANNEX 2

#### Report on the removal of Greek children to Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other northern countries

ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, ON  
21 MAY 1948

(Document A/AC.16/251/Rev.1)

[Original text: English]

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Note. Figures in parenthesis are document references which will be found on page 32.

#### A. The Greek Liaison Service charged that:

1. Agents of "General" Markos had begun a census of children aged 3 to 14 years in northern Greece in order to remove them forcibly to Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and other countries for re-education (1).

2. Such removals had begun (1A).

3. The census and the removals were part of a plan to:

(a) Terrorize Greek families into supporting the guerrillas;

(b) Educate Greek children in communist ideology;

(c) Destroy the Greek race by alienating Greek children;

(d) Disrupt agricultural production by forcing families to flee from the land to the towns in order to protect their children.

(1B)

4. This plan and its execution constituted the crime of genocide (2).

B. At about the same time these charges were being made, radio reports from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia announced the arrival of Greek children in these and other countries.

1. These broadcasts, as well as guerrilla radio broadcasts, explained this situation as a humanitarian effort to:

(a) Rescue the children in guerrilla-controlled areas from the risks of war and famine;

(b) Provide educational facilities which were lacking in those areas of Greece;

(c) Provide a haven for those children suffering from the results of political persecution.

(3)

C. The Special Committee, on 5 March 1948, instructed its observation groups to give top priority to an examination of the Greek Liaison Service charges and collected the resulting data, together with information from the Greek Liaison Service and UNSCCB monitors of radio broadcasts from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia (4).

### II. THE EVIDENCE

#### A. Reports of census of children

1. Reports of the observation groups and information supplied by the Greek Liaison Service indicate that a census of children of from three to thirteen years of age (in some reports two to fifteen years of age) was taken by the guerrillas in the following two main areas of northern Greece controlled by them:

(a) *The Slav-speaking area of Western Macedonia:* The region around Lake Prespa, Florina, and Kastoria, which is inhabited mostly by Greek citizens who speak a Slav language;

(b) *The eastern part of Greek Thrace:* There have been also a few reports of census-taking in areas of Epirus and in central and eastern Macedonia under guerrilla control (5).

#### B. Reports of removal of children from villages

1. By interviews with parents and other witnesses the observation groups ascertained that

children had been removed from certain villages in the Kastoria region, and in Thrace (6). The witnesses, for the most part, reported that the children were bound for Albania and Yugoslavia or Bulgaria. One observation group interviewed a witness who stated that, on 15 March, when he was in Yugoslavia, he saw some forty children speaking a mixture of Greek and Slav, accompanied by several women, travelling in carts (7). The departures were reported to have begun as early as January, but, for the most part, to have occurred in March (8). Another observation group (OG-6, in Thrace) interviewed four Bulgarian refugees who reported that they had seen as many as three hundred Greek children brought to the town of Ortakoi in Bulgaria, that Greek children were being concentrated in the Bulgarian village of Philippopolis, and that "every two or three days they would bring truckloads of Greek children through the village of Ortakoi". Another of these witnesses said that trains with Greek children in them frequently arrived at the Bulgarian village of Lyoubemitz. "On one occasion, over two hundred children arrived . . . I remember that one group of twenty came, one of ten, and, on 3 April, 70" (8A).

2. Information supplied by the Greek Liaison Service reported that children had been removed from villages in the Slav-speaking area and Thrace (9). On 29 April, the Greek Liaison Service presented a list of names of some 1,000 Greek children who had allegedly been abducted by the guerrillas for despatch to the countries to the north of Greece (9A).

### C. Reports of the reception of Greek children in countries to the north of Greece

1. Repeated radio broadcasts from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, and the Markos broadcasting station, asserted that Greek children had been taken into Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, in March and April (10).

2. On 9 April, Belgrade radio said that 7,000 Greek children had arrived in that city, and, on 12 April, it broadcast that 12,000 Greek children in all were expected to be divided among Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary (11).

3. Red Cross organizations in some of the northern countries have appealed for funds to care for the Greek children, and these countries have widely publicized steps taken to provide housing, schooling, and recreation (12).

4. A broadcast by the "Free Greece" guerrilla radio on 14 March reported that 4,400 Greek children have been transferred from fifty-nine villages in Greece to the northern countries (13).

### D. Summary of evidence on removal of Greek children to the north

1. All sources therefore agree that since January Greek children have been moved from certain areas of northern Greece to countries to the north. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of children removed.

2. These sources have disagreed, however, on the question whether the children were removed by force, or with the approval of their parents.

## III. FORCIBLE OR VOLUNTARY REMOVAL OF CHILDREN

### A. Observation group evidence

1. Observation groups found some evidence that children were taken from some villages without the consent of their parents.

(a) A woman from the village of Lavara in Thrace stated that all the population of her village, including sick children, were taken out by force by the guerrillas, on the night of 11-12 March (14).

(b) Seventeen witnesses, most of them village mayors who had fled their homes in Thrace, stated that guerrillas had removed both adults and children from villages since January, and that most of the people were taken against their will. One young woman told the group that on the morning of 17 March twenty guerrillas entered her village (Trisika), and took by force all the children under eighteen years of age, some 180 persons. One child's arm was broken in trying to tear it away from its mother, and the child was left behind (15).

2. Observation groups interviewed witnesses who stated they would object to the removal of their children.

(a) All the parents in the village of Leptokaries (Florina region) with whom members of Observation Group 2 spoke were firmly opposed to letting their children go (16).

(b) A witness from the village of Vapsori (Kastoria region) told Observation Group 2 that a large number of children from his village took refuge in Kastoria to avoid being taken by the guerrillas, and that, in his opinion, only 10 per cent of the parents consented to the removal of their children (17).

(c) Two witnesses who fled from their village in the Konitza region reported that the parents were much opposed to letting their children go (18).

(d) Three witnesses from the village of Ereseli in the Lake Doiran region said that they fled with their children to avoid having them taken by the guerrillas (19).

3. But the observation groups also found considerable evidence that many of the children, particularly in the Slav-speaking area of Western Macedonia, were taken with the consent of their parents.

(a) In the village of Kato Lefki (Kastoria region), Observation Group 2 found that in five cases investigated (out of twenty-eight cases) all five fathers were guerrillas. The group found no proof that any child was taken against the wishes of its parents (20).

(b) A witness from the Slav-speaking village of Vronderon (Lake Prespa region) said many parents were happy to see their children go (21).

(c) A witness from Pisodherion (Lake Prespa region) said that on 20 February the priest of the village advised parents to send their children to the northern countries. The village teacher was reported to have told this witness that she would probably accompany a group of twenty children (22).

(d) Two children of Kranohori (Kastoria region) stated that some fifty children, whose

fathers were guerrillas, had left, but that the children whose fathers were not guerrillas did not go (23).

(c) A witness from Andartikon (Lake Prespa region) said that parents were in principle free to refuse to send their children and that, even after guerrillas had insisted, forty out of 240 families refused to send their children (24).

(f) In the village of Metaxades (Thrace), Observation Group 6 found that all the persons taken were older than fifteen years of age with the exception of three children whose fathers were guerrillas (25).

4. Parents agreed to send their children to the northern countries for the following reasons:

- (a) Sympathy with the guerrillas (26);
- (b) Poverty and lack of schooling (27);
- (c) To escape the dangers of war (28).

#### 5. *Resumé of summary reports from Observation Groups 2 and 6*

(a) Observation Group 2 (Florina) considered it certain that the guerrillas intended to send the children in the area under guerrilla control to the countries north of Greece. This was especially true in Macedonia. In Thessaly, which is further from the frontier, such measures are not being carried out. In Macedonia, house-to-house enquiries appeared to be the most common procedure in making a census and the majority of parents, fearing the possible consequences of their refusal, enrolled their children unwillingly. A fairly large number of parents, and especially guerrilla sympathizers, favoured the departure of their children, but there was lively opposition from the majority of parents. When a village sympathized with the guerrillas, the guerrillas left the parents free to refuse to hand over their children and in Slav-speaking villages the majority of parents willingly accepted the offer. In Greek-speaking villages the process resembled conscription; attempts were made to convince the parents and, after a minority of them volunteered, a list of all the children in the village was drawn up notwithstanding the parents' desires. The summary report of Group 2 did not, however, establish the actual removal of children from its area to foreign countries (29).

(b) Observation Group 6 (Thrace) reported that, up to 31 March, the children sent to the countries north of Greece were the children of guerrillas or guerrilla sympathizers. The group reported that some children have probably been taken away with forcibly recruited adults. Mass abduction of Greek children by the guerrillas for schooling in foreign countries cannot be confirmed by this group (30). In a later report, the group concluded that the failure of the guerrillas to abduct two girls aged thirteen and fourteen from a house they entered in Metaxades seemed to strengthen the group's previous opinion. The plan to take Greek children into foreign countries has been carried out, to some extent at least, but there is no evidence to indicate whether these children were abducted by force (31).

#### B. *Information from other sources*

1. The Greek Liaison Service has reported various incidents based on witnesses' statements

indicating opposition by parents to the removal of their children. Some children have escaped, some parents have expressed disapproval to the Greek Army, children in some villages were hidden to avoid deportation, and, in a village in the Evros region, parents were reported to have stoned guerrillas taking their children (32).

2. The Greek Government has gathered, since 20 March, approximately 5,500 children from Macedonia and 5,000 from Thrace to be transferred to the interior of Greece to prevent their forcible removal by guerrillas (33). The President of the village of Kornofolea (Thrace) stated to Group 6 that, after three children, aged ten, thirteen and fourteen years of age had been abducted with their mother, and after the guerrillas had announced that all children would be taken to Bulgaria for schooling, all the children of the village were moved to the town of Souflion (34). It is worth noticing that some peasants from Boufi village took their children away from Florina after learning that the Government intended to evacuate them to the south (35).

3. Guerrilla and northern countries radio broadcasts repeatedly announced that 12,000 Greek children from areas controlled by the guerrillas would be moved to the northern countries because of:

- (a) Lack of educational facilities in guerrilla territory;
- (b) Risks of warfare and famine;
- (c) Political oppression. (36)

#### IV. SUMMARY OF FACTS

A. A census of children has been taken by the guerrillas in certain areas of Greece under guerrilla control. The evidence is that this census is in connexion with the removal of children (see section II-A).

B. A large number of children have been removed from certain areas of northern Greece under guerrilla control to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and, according to radio reports from Belgrade and Sofia, to certain other countries to the north. However, the Special Committee has not been able to verify, by means available to it, the precise number of children involved (section II-B, C; III-B.2, 3).

C. While a number of parents have agreed under duress to the removal of their children, and some children have in fact been forcibly removed, other parents have consented, or at least failed to object, to such removal. It has not been possible for the Special Committee to determine the exact number of children removed under these categories (section II-B; III-A, B).

D. The number of cases reported points to the existence of a programme to remove children from areas of Greece under guerrilla control to certain countries to the north (section II-A, B; III-A, B).

E. Although the responsibility for the initiation of the plan is not known to the Special Committee, it follows from the appearance of Greek children on a large scale in the countries to the north and the numerous announcements of the radios controlled by these Governments that the programme is being carried out with the approval and assistance of these Governments.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

1. In the considered opinion of the Special Committee, the reception and retention of Greek children removed by the guerrillas to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, without their parents' free consent, raises the issue of the inherent rights of parents. The protracted retention of these children would be contrary to the accepted moral standards of international conduct.

The plan raises the issue of the sovereignty of Greece over her citizens and constitutes a serious obstacle to the re-establishment of good neighbourly relations between Greece and her northern neighbours.

2. If conditions in areas in which guerrillas operate appeared to justify the removal of children on humanitarian grounds and the Greek Government were unable to effect their removal, the Greek Government should be requested to inform the Special Committee accordingly. In the light of this and other information which may be in possession of the Special Committee, consideration could then be given to the removal of such children through the intermediary of an appropriate international organization. This, or another suitable organization, might also be asked to accept responsibility for the care and eventual repatriation of children who have already been removed. The Special Committee would be prepared to co-operate with any such organization which might be agreed upon for this purpose.

## VI. DECISIONS

The Special Committee decides:

1. That a communication, along with a copy of this report, be sent to the Greek Government, suggesting, if it has not already done so, that it should take up the question directly with the Governments concerned in this matter and inform the Special Committee subsequently of the results of such action;

2. That this report be transmitted directly to the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, and to urge these Governments to discourage any further removal of children from Greek territory and to arrange for the prompt return to Greece of these children;

3. That the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to transmit copies of this report to the other countries of eastern Europe where the reception of Greek children within their territories has been reported and to request those Governments for an early statement of their plans for the return to Greece of these children.

## VII. DOCUMENT REFERENCES

### A. Documents used

#### 1. Observation Group reports

(a) Observation Group 1 (Ioannina) Reports 1 to 10 S-1.

(b) Observation Group 2 (Florina) Reports 1 to 9 S-1.

(c) Observation Group 3 (Kilkis) Reports 1 to 5.

(d) Observation Group 4 (Kavalla) Reports 1 to 3.

(e) Observation Group 6 (Alexandroupolis) Reports 1 to 6.

#### 2. UNSCOB Radio Monitor

(a) A/AC.16/173.

(b) A/AC.16/Mon.3 to 20.

#### 3. Greek Liaison Service Communications

(a) A/AC.16/149.

(b) A/AC.16/155.

(c) A/AC.16/157.

(d) A/AC.16/174.

(e) A/AC.16/183.

(f) A/AC.16/192.

(g) A/AC.16/201.

(h) A/AC.16/204.

(i) A/AC.16/215.

(j) A/AC.16/234.

(k) A/AC.16/241.

### B. Document references

(1) A/AC.16/149.

(1A) A/AC.16/155; A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/192.

(1B) A/AC.16/149; A/AC.16/192.

(2) A/AC.16/149.

(3) A/AC.16/204; A/AC.16/183; A/AC.16/173; A/AC.16/Mon.10; A/AC.16/Mon.20; A/AC.16/157.

(4) A/AC.16/SR.45; A/AC.16/SR.46; A/AC.16/SC.1/Min.24.

(5) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/5/annexes C, D, E, and F; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/annex A, page 2, annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7/annex D; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 1-3; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/8/annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/9/annex A; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5/annex 5; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annex B; A/AC.16/149; A/AC.16/157; A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/183.

(6) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7, page 3, annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/8, pages 2 and 3; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/4/annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annexes A and B.

(7) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9.S-1, page 1.

(8) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annexes A and B.

(8A) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6/annex B, witnesses 55, 56, 57, 59.

(9) A/AC.16/155; A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/183.

(9A) A/AC.16/241.

(10) A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/183; A/AC.16/149; A/AC.16/215; A/AC.16/204; A/AC.16/173; A/AC.16/Mon.3; A/AC.16/Mon.10; A/AC.16/Mon.14; A/AC.16/Mon.17; A/AC.16/Mon.18; A/AC.16/Mon.19; A/AC.16/Mon.20.

(11) A/AC.16/Mon.19 and 20.

(12) A/AC.16/157; A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/204; A/AC.16/215; A/AC.16/Mon.3; A/AC.16/Mon.10; A/AC.16/Mon.14; A/AC.16/Mon.18.

(13) A/AC.16/174.

(14) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/4/annex B.

(15) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annexes A and B.

(16) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6, page 2.

(17) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9, S-1, page 2.

(18) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/8/annex C.

(19) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5/annex 5.

(20) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7, page 2.

(21) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/5/annex E.

(22) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/annex B.

- (23) A/AC.15/SC.1/OG.2/7/annex C.
- (24) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 1.
- (25) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5, page 4.
- (26) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/8, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7/annex D.
- (27) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/5/annex E; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/annex B and page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/9/annex A, page 2; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/5/annex 5; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/4/annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annexes A and B.
- (28) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/annex A; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/7/annex B; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/8/annex A; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 3; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/9/annex A, page 1.
- (29) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 3.
- (30) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5, page 4.
- (31) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6/;III, para. 4 and 5.
- (32) A/AC.16/155; A/AC.16/174; A/AC.16/183.
- (33) A/AC.16/234.
- (34) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/5/annex A, page 1.
- (35) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/9/S-1, page 4.
- (36) A/AC.16/204; A/AC.16/183; A/AC.16/173; A/AC.16/Mon.10; A/AC.16/Mon.20; A/AC.16/157.

### ANNEX 3

#### Report on refugees

ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON  
27 MARCH 1948

(Document A/AC.16/179)

*[Original text: English]*

#### A. TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. The United Nations Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents reported to the Security Council on 27 May 1947 (S/360, page 247) that the continued presence in Greece on the one hand and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania on the other of political refugees from each other's territory was "all too clearly a serious contributory factor to the present situation".

2. The General Assembly resolution 109(II) on the Greek question of 21 October 1947 recommended to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other "that they co-operate in the settlement of the problems arising out of the presence of refugees in the four States concerned through voluntary repatriation wherever possible and that they take effective measures to prevent the participation of such refugees in political or military activity". The Special Committee was charged with observing the compliance with and assisting in the implementation of this recommendation.

#### B. AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE'S WORK ON THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

3. On 9 December 1947 the Special Committee established Sub-Committee 3 to study the refugee problem (A/AC.16/15/Rev.2). The members of the Sub-Committee were Mr. Vasco T. L. da

Cunha (Brazil), subsequently elected Chairman; Lt. Col. Abdur Rahim Khan (Pakistan); and Sir Horace Seymour (United Kingdom), subsequently elected Rapporteur.

4. The Sub-Committee presented a questionnaire to the Greek Liaison Service on 20 December in order to supplement and bring up to date the available information on refugees (A/AC.16/SC.3/1). On 29 December the Greek Liaison Service replied to the questionnaire, giving the following information (A/AC.16/45): there were in Greece 613 Albanian, 214 Bulgarian and 409 Yugoslav refugees. These refugees were assembled in four camps: Salonika (a reception and transient camp), Piraeus (formerly the Hadjikyriakou Orphanage), Lavrion (Attica province) and Hermoupolis (Isle of Syros in the Cyclades). There were 41 refugees at liberty under police supervision because they had found work. The great majority of these refugees were persons who had fled from their countries of origin for political reasons, but some were deserters. Fewer than ten persons had expressed a desire to return to their countries of origin.

5. As regards Greek nationals who had been expelled or had fled from their permanent residence in the northern neighbour countries, the Greek Liaison Service replied that the number of such persons had not been accurately ascertained since they were Greek citizens and free to live where they wished.

6. In that section of the report by the Commission of Investigation subscribed to by the minority, it was reported that there were between 48,000 and 50,000 Greek refugees in the northern neighbour countries (S/360/pages 225 and 231). The Greek Liaison Service informed the Sub-Committee that it had no information on the number of these refugees since the northern neighbour countries had maintained complete silence on this question (A/AC.16/45 page 3, paragraph C). The Sub-Committee was unable to proceed further with this important aspect of the refugee problem because of the refusal of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to co-operate with it in accordance with the terms of the General Assembly resolution. This refusal not only made the Sub-Committee's task difficult, but severely limited its study of the refugee problem.

7. More than 1,200 questionnaires in Albanian, Serbian and Bulgarian were distributed to the refugees through the Greek Liaison Service (A/AC.16/SC.3/3/Rev.1). The Sub-Committee received 1,123 answered questionnaires from 557 Albanians, 201 Bulgarians and 365 Yugoslavs. The difference of 113 between the Greek Liaison total of refugees and the number of answered questionnaires was represented by persons who were ill and by wives and children who were included in the questionnaire of the family head. A comparison of the total of refugees given by the Greek Liaison Service on 29 December with that reported to the Commission of Investigation on 15 April 1947 (S/AC.4/221, annexes 1, 2 and 3) showed a decrease of 163 Yugoslavs and 50 Bulgarians and an increase of 204 Albanians. The Greek Liaison Service explained that (1) refugees from Kossovo (see paragraph 13) were considered as Yugoslavs in the total of 29 December; (2) the 50 Bulgarians were Pomaks who voluntarily left Greece for Turkey in 1947 (A/AC.16/SC.3/6).

8. To supplement the information contained in the questionnaires and to test the accuracy of the answers, the Sub-Committee visited each camp, and in eleven sittings it interviewed nine Albanians, thirty-two Yugoslavs and twenty Bulgarians. In four other sittings it interviewed eighteen Greek nationality refugees from the northern neighbour countries.

9. The Special Committee's observation groups have been requested to report on any international refugees in their areas, as a further check on the number of international refugees in Greece.

10. The Sub-Committee informed the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization of its study by a letter from the Principal Secretary on 6 January 1948. In a reply dated 9 February, the Preparatory Commission stated that "owing to administrative and financial considerations, it does not appear likely that we shall undertake any activities in the area which is the concern of your Committee" (A/AC.16/SC.3/5).

#### C. SUMMARY OF VIEWS ON REPATRIATION EXPRESSED BY REFUGEES

11. From interrogation of international refugees in Greece and from a study of the questionnaires answered by them, the Sub-Committee was convinced that most of the refugees would not return voluntarily to the countries of their origin under any guarantee unless there were a political change in those countries. Most are willing and some even anxious to emigrate permanently to any other country. All expressed willingness to work.

12. A total of eight refugees (six Bulgarians and two Yugoslavs) who expressed willingness to return to their countries of origin were interviewed by the Sub-Committee.

#### D. PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE QUESTION

13. *Voluntary repatriation:* From the point of view of voluntary repatriation, the Sub-Committee found that the international refugee problem, numerically small as it was in Greece, was complicated by a variety of factors. The main categories of these refugees appeared to be:

(a) Persons ideologically opposed to the present political regimes in their countries;

(b) Deserters;

(c) A considerable number of Yugoslav nationals of Kossovo who speak Albanian and who wish to see (1) Kossovo placed under Albanian rule; and (2) the present regime in Albania changed;

(d) Some collaborators with the Axis who now profess to have left their countries of origin for ideological reasons.

There were also the relatives of some refugees and a few escaped criminals, adventurers and casuals.

14. The Sub-Committee made no attempt to classify each refugee according to the above categories since it was neither instructed nor equipped to do so. Such a study by experts should precede any resettlement project.

15. In the absence of liaison with the Governments of the countries of origin, the Sub-Committee was unable to discover what accusations those countries had against individual refugees. It was noted that the representatives of the northern neighbour countries made the following charges to the United Nations Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents:

*Albanian representative.* "The Greek Government shelters a number of Albanian war criminals . . . among them Fiori Dine . . . Hysni Dema . . . Muharem Bajrakatari, Abaz Ermeni, Ali Nivica, Haki Rushita, well-known collaborators . . ." (S/AC.4/PV.13). The Albanian representative later submitted a list of 19 names representing a "Nominal roll of Albanian war criminals, refugees in Greece, photographed at Salonika on 21 April 1946" (S/AC.4/44/annex 7, page 8).

*Bulgarian representative.* A list of thirteen persons classified as "Bulgarians fleeing from Bulgaria into Greece" was submitted on 4 February 1947 (S/AC.4/21 page 5).

*Yugoslav representative.* It was charged that there were "several hundred Yugoslav war criminals in Greece" and among them were cited six names (D/SV.4/PV.23, pages 9-10).

16. The Greek Liaison Service stated that neither Albania nor Bulgaria had made any formal request to the Greek Government for the extradition of war criminals. "Several" such requests had been made to the Greek Government by the Yugoslav Government. The Greek Government had found, however, that some of the persons requested were not in Greece and that the Yugoslav charges concerning the others were "not accompanied by sufficient evidence to establish their *prima facie* validity in accordance with the decision of the United Nations on this subject". In this connexion the Greek Liaison Service stated that, despite many *démarches* on the part of the Greek Government, Yugoslavia had never supplied the lists of Greek subjects in Yugoslavia, the great majority of whom were composed of war criminals and even of common criminals (A/AC.16/SC.3/8).

17. There was evidence that at least two refugees were beaten by their compatriots because in answering questionnaires they had stated that they wished to return to their countries. The Sub-Committee obtained the impression that pressure was exerted in Lavrion and Piraeus camps by the majority of refugees upon some of their fellows to prevent them from saying that they wished to return.

18. *Political or military activity.* The Sub-Committee studied, as far as it could, the manner in which the Greek Government observed the General Assembly's injunction against political and military activity of refugees. Further data were requested of the Special Committee's observation groups. Full publicity was given to the Sub-Committee's activities, providing an opportunity for any interested person to come forward with further information. The Sub-Committee recognized, however, that it had not the means to make a thorough study of this question.

#### E. SUB-COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS

19. The Sub-Committee found that the Greek Government was willing to comply with the Gen-



eral Assembly's recommendation that the four Governments co-operate in voluntary repatriation of refugees where possible. The Greek Liaison Service, in a letter dated 4 March 1948 (A/AC.16/SC.3/4), explained that the Greek Government in principle had no objection to permitting any refugee to leave Greece. It reserved the right to prohibit the departure of refugees who were being tried by Greek courts for crimes committed in Greece, a group not exceeding twenty. However, since only eight of the 1,236 refugees expressed their willingness to return to their countries and, further, since three of the four Governments concerned have so far refused to co-operate, the Sub-Committee was unable to fulfil the General Assembly's mandate.

20. *Political or military activity.* The Sub-Committee was satisfied that in the camps visited the Greek Government was taking reasonable security measures to prevent political and military activity by international refugees. The Sub-Committee found no evidence of undue political activity and no evidence of military activity by international refugees. The only form of activity which might be termed political observed by the Sub-Committee was the correspondence by some refugees with their own party leaders outside the Balkans.

21. *Other conclusions.* The Sub-Committee felt for several reasons that some action should be taken as quickly as possible to remove these refugees from Greece. First, they were an international irritant. Secondly, they were a burden on the Greek Government. Thirdly, the Sub-Committee was concerned with the hopeless life of these refugees, many of whom had spent several years in concentration camps. The Sub-Committee noted that the Greek Government had done all that could be expected of it under present circumstances in housing and feeding the refugees under conditions which at least were comparable to those of Greek domestic refugees.

22. The Sub-Committee also considered the case of Greek nationals who have been either expelled or taken flight from the northern neighbour countries where they were permanent residents. These refugees have their own organizations in touch with the Greek Government which may be expected to take up their case in due course. The Sub-Committee observed that there were problems of international recompense for property and in that connexion calls attention to the Bulgarian Peace Treaty of 1947.

#### F. RECOMMENDATIONS

23. It is recommended that steps be taken at once to arrange for the repatriation of those international refugees in Greece, who have expressed, or may in the future express, a desire to return to their countries.

24. Although the international refugee problem cannot be settled within the Special Committee's terms of reference, it is felt that attempts should be made to settle the problem in Greece on practical lines. Therefore the following methods of approach are suggested:

(a) That the problem and the records of the international refugees in Greece be turned over to a competent agency of the United Nations (see paragraph 10);

(b) If no United Nations body is able to assume this responsibility, a direct approach by the Special Committee might be made to those countries to which some of the refugees in Greece have expressed the desire to emigrate, for example, Australia, France, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States. An approach might also be made by the Special Committee *via* the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to sending international refugees in Greece to those countries which have a definite policy of encouraging immigration, for example, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Union of South Africa. The Sub-Committee noted that a further study of the skills available among the refugees in Greece would assist such a project.

25. In the event of the foregoing proposal (b) being adopted, the Special Committee should approach the appropriate authorities for funds to carry out this work, for example, the United Nations, the International Red Cross, the International Refugee Organization.

26. The Sub-Committee was unable to make any recommendation on Greek refugees in the northern neighbour countries because it was unable to approach either the Governments of those countries or the refugees themselves.

#### ANNEX 4

##### Reservation of the Australian delegation to chapter III of the Report

The Australian delegation has a general reservation to chapter III of the report.

This chapter, as submitted for approval, is essentially concerned with paragraph 4 of the resolution of 21 October 1947 according to which the General Assembly "calls on Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance to the said guerrillas".<sup>1</sup>

The Special Committee, however, was given by the Assembly no mandate in relation to this injunction. It was merely told "to observe the compliance by the four Governments concerned" with certain "recommendations".<sup>2</sup> This "observation" was to be secondary to the primary function of the Committee . . . "to assist the four Governments concerned in the implementation of such recommendations".<sup>3</sup>

The "recommendations" were four-fold and were set out in paragraph 5 of the General Assembly's resolution. It was in order to observe the compliance of the four Governments with one of these recommendations, namely ". . . that they establish good neighbourly relations among themselves . . ." that the Special Committee originally decided to establish observation groups. It was the unanimous opinion of the Special Committee on 15 January 1948 that the instructions to the observers were to be based firmly on paragraph 5 (1) of the Assembly's resolution to the exclusion of paragraph 4.<sup>4</sup>

It soon became apparent, however, that the observation groups were not merely concerning them-

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 5 of this report.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, sub-paragraph 6 (1) of the Assembly resolution.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, sub-paragraph 6 (2) of the Assembly resolution.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, sub-paragraph 5 (1) of the Assembly resolution.

<sup>5</sup> A/AC.16/SR/31.

selves with the presence or absence of good neighbourly relations, but were carrying out investigations and, in particular, were cross-examining witnesses and hearing evidence from various sources relating to "aid and assistance" just as the original Balkan Commission of Investigation had done. That, however, was a very different body. It was a Commission of Investigation appointed by the Security Council "to ascertain the facts relating to frontier incidents". The Special Committee, on the other hand, was an organ of the General Assembly and was primarily a mediatory and conciliatory body with secondary functions of political observation.

In the light of these investigation activities the Special Committee reconsidered the instructions to the observation groups. In May 1948, the Special Committee not only decided to base the instructions to the observation groups on paragraph 4 of the General Assembly resolution as well as on paragraph 5 (1), but authorized the observers "to make use of all available sources of information which they deemed useful, whether direct observation, enquiry or investigation." The Australian delegation dissented from this reversal of the unanimous decision of 15 January 1948. While agreeing that the Special Committee had power to interpret its own terms of reference, it could

not accept an interpretation which amounted, in its view, if not to an arrogation to itself of powers which the General Assembly had refrained from giving it, at least to an undue emphasis on subsidiary functions.

It is largely on the "investigations" by the observation groups of "aid and assistance" that chapter III, and in particular chapter III B, of the report is based. The Australian delegation as a rule abstained from these "conclusions" contained in chapter III B which were not based on the direct observations of observers. In its opinion, it was as unnecessary as it was inadvisable to draw categorical conclusions either from the presumptions of observers who had no access to three of the four countries concerned or from the evidence of witnesses produced by only one of the four interested Governments.

Maintaining then its view, that the observation groups should have been limited to observing the compliance or non-compliance of the Governments concerned with the Assembly's *recommendation* that they establish good neighbourly relations among themselves, the Australian delegation must enter a general reservation to chapter III of the report. This section gives disproportionate emphasis to activities which in the opinion of the Australian delegation were not in accordance with the spirit and intention of the General Assembly when it passed its resolution of 21 October 1947.

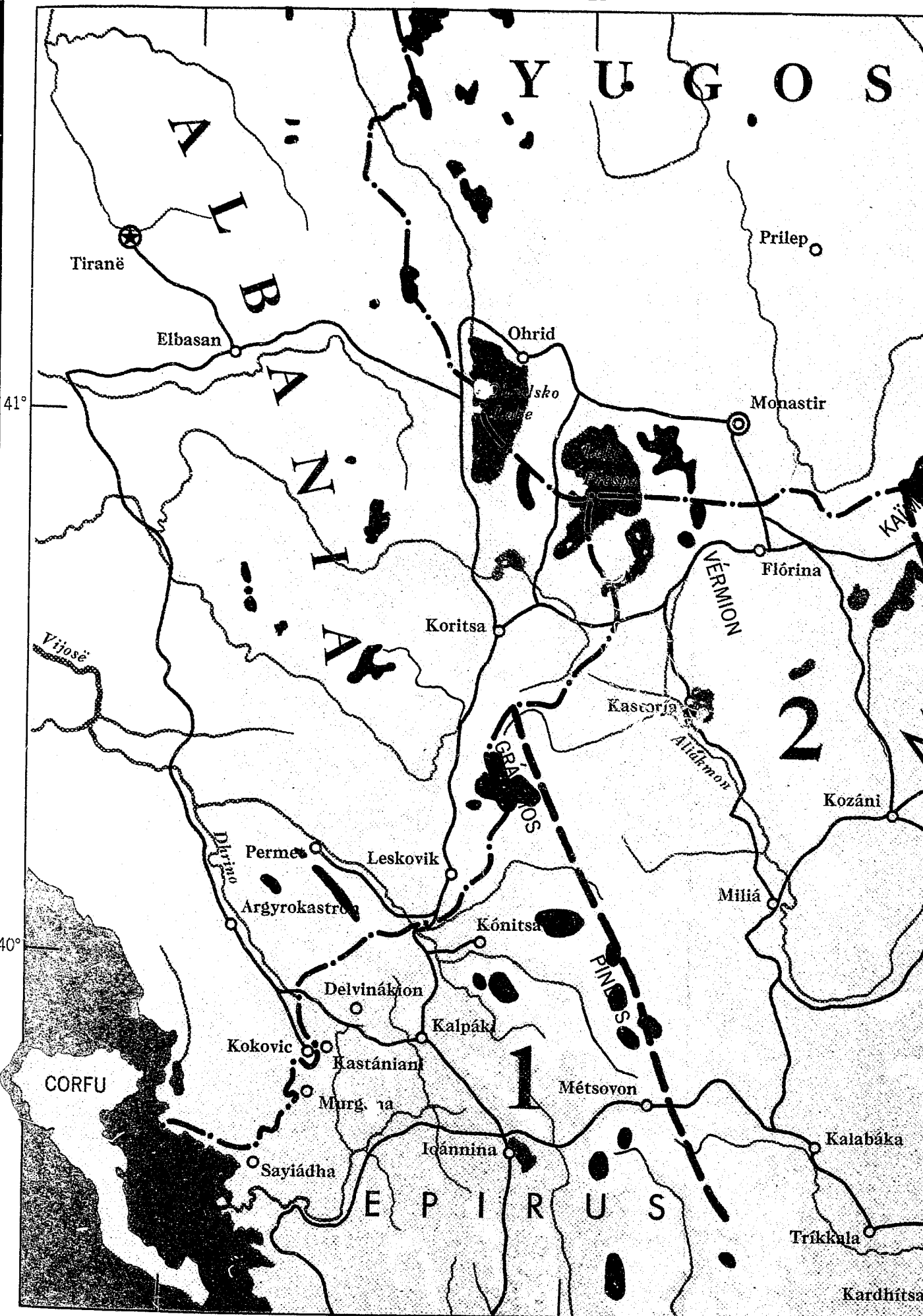
\* A/AC.16/232/Rev. 1.

## ANNEX 5

### Map of Northern Greece: Observation Group Zones

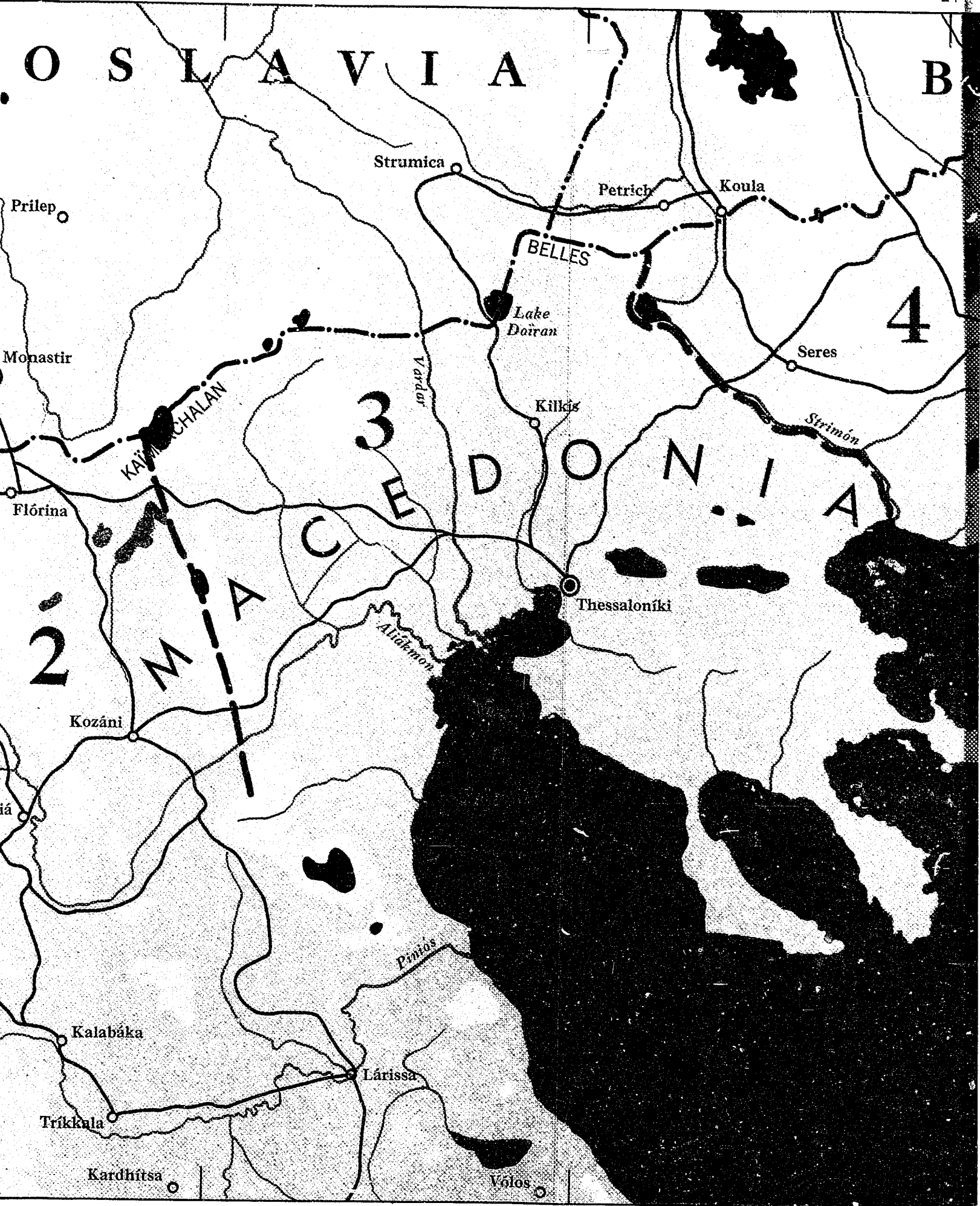
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Lake Doiran

Killís

Thessaloníki

Seres

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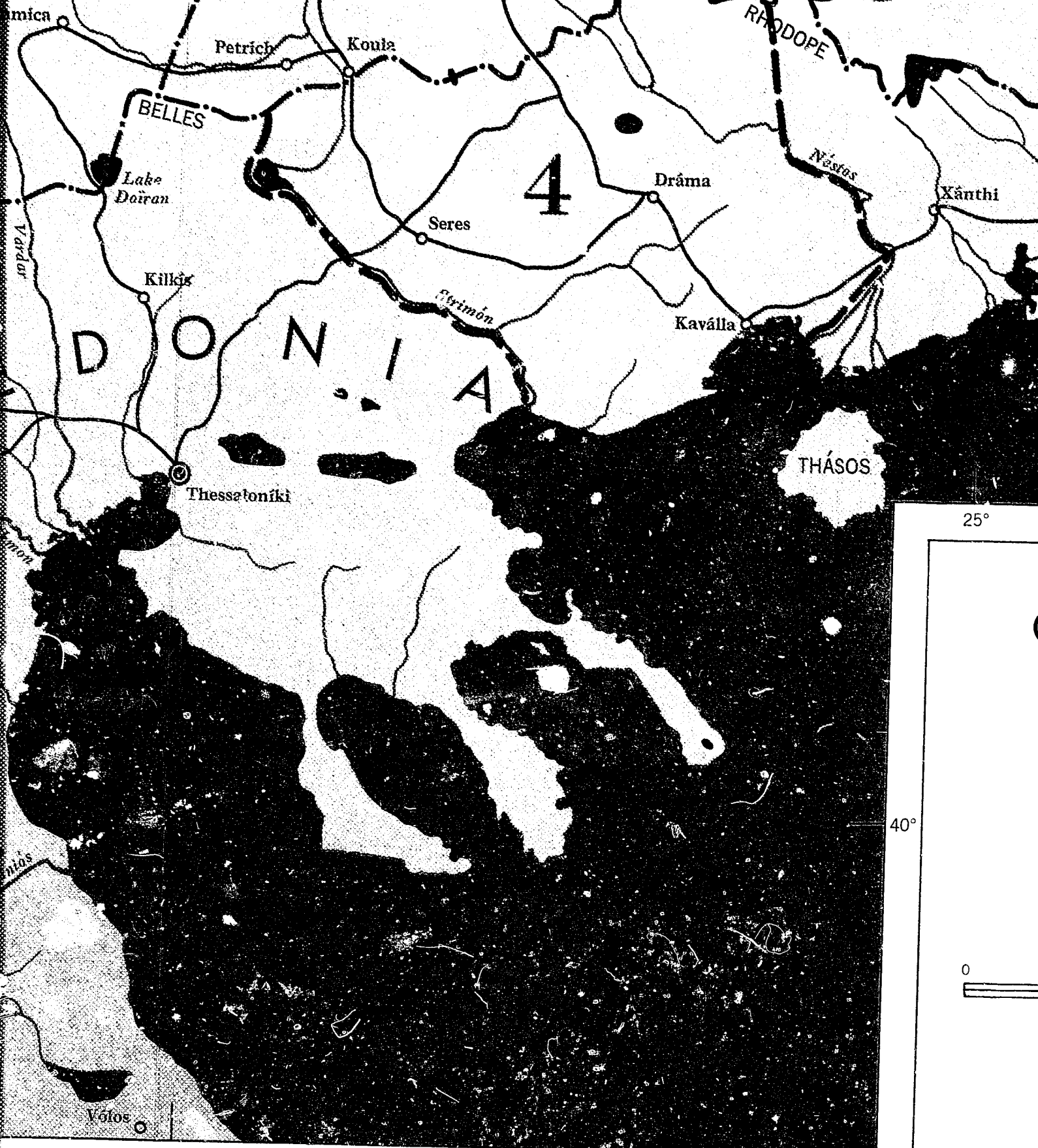
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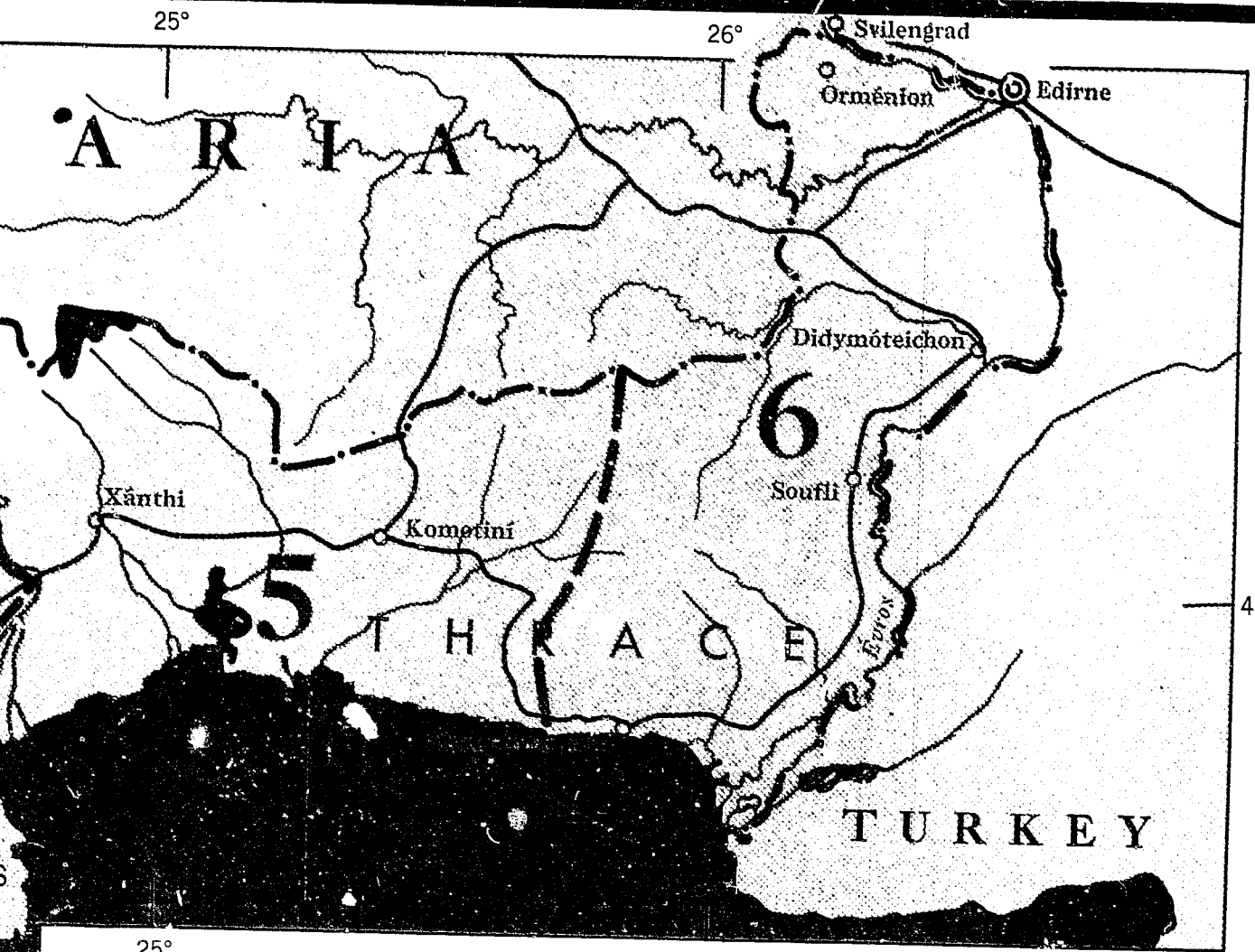
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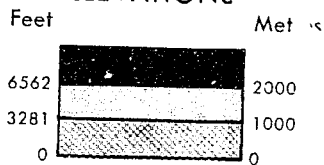
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## NORTHERN GREECE OBSERVATION GROUP ZONES

- Zone Boundary
  - Main Road (Selected)
- (Railroads are not shown.)

### ELEVATIONS



BASE MAP: MAP OF GREECE, 1:1,000,000, Under-Secretariat of State for  
the Press and Tourism, Greece. With modifications from other sources.

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