

UNITED



NATIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON THE BALKANS

*Covering the period from 17 June to 10 September 1948*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OFFICIAL RECORDS : THIRD SESSION  
SUPPLEMENT No. 8 A (A/644)

PARIS 1948

UNITED NATIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

OF THE

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON THE BALKANS

*Covering the period from 17 June to 10 September 1948*



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL RECORDS : THIRD SESSION

SUPPLEMENT No. 8 A (A/644)

PARIS 1948

## Note on the Supplementary Report

A. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans submitted its *Report* to the General Assembly on 30 June 1948, and now submits a *Supplementary Report* to cover developments between 17 June and 10 September 1948.

B. The Supplementary Report contains five chapters and follows the same plan as the Report : references are given at the head of each section to the corresponding paragraphs of the Report.

C. Chapters I, II and III and Conclusions I, II, III and V (paragraphs 61, 62, 63 and 65) of chapter IV were unanimously adopted. Conclusions IV and VI (paragraphs 64 and 66) were adopted by eight votes in favour with the delegation of Australia abstaining. Paragraphs 67 and 68 of chapter V (Recommendations) were adopted unanimously. Recommendations I, II and III (paragraphs 69, 70 and 71) were adopted by eight votes in favour, with the delegation of Australia abstaining.

\*  
\* \*

The report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, dated 30 June 1948, was published first as Special Committee document A/AC.16/300 and later as General Assembly document A/574 (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Supplement No. 8*). In the present report, the report of 30 June and paragraphs thereof are referred to in notes as «*Report, paragraphs . . .*».

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Paragraphs</i>	<i>Page</i>
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1-5	1
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.....	6-11	1
B. Efforts of the Special Committee to assist the four Governments concerned in the implementation of the General Assembly's recommendations		
(1) Problem of normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations	12-19	2
(2) Problem of frontier conventions.....	20-22	3
(3) Problem of refugees.....	23-24	4
(4) Problem of minorities.....	25	4
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. Removal and retention of Greek children.....	26-31	4
B. Situation on the northern frontiers of Greece		
(1) Greek charges against Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia....	32	5
(2) Charges by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia against Greece..	33	5
(3) Observation by the Special Committee of the situation on the northern frontiers of Greece.....	34-36	5
(a) The Albanian-Greek frontier :		
(i) General frontier situation.....	37	6
(ii) Use of Albanian territory.....	38-44	6
(b) The Greek-Yugoslav frontier :		
(i) Crossing of the frontier by Greek guerrillas from Greece to Yugoslavia and from Yugoslavia to Greece.	45-47	7
(ii) Firing from Yugoslav territory into Greece.....	48	7
(iii) Medical assistance to wounded Greek guerrillas in Yugoslavia and their return to guerrilla units in Greece.....	49	8
(iv) Logistical support to Greek guerrillas.....	50-51	8
(c) The Bulgarian-Greek frontier :		
(i) General frontier situation.....	52	8
(ii) Frontier incidents not involving Greek guerrilla activity.....	53	8

(iii) Frontier incidents connected with Greek guerrilla activity.....	54-57	8
(iv) Reception and hospitalization of Greek guerrillas in Bulgaria.....	58	9
(v) Return of Greek guerrillas to Greece after stay or hospitalization in Bulgaria.....	59	9
(vi) Logistical support to Greek guerrillas.....	60	9
IV. CONCLUSIONS.....	61-66	9
V. RECOMMENDATIONS.....	67-72	10

## ANNEXES

1. Comments on the Special Committee's report of 30 June 1948, submitted by the Greek Liaison Service (A AC.16/373).....		13
2. Resolution concerning the application of international law to Greek guerrillas who may seek refuge in the territories of the northern neighbours of Greece (A AC.16/341).....		16
3. Digest containing information on removal of Greek children, set forth in observation group reports dated from 1 June to 15 August 1948 (A AC.16/384)...		16

## CHAPTER I

(Report, paragraphs 1-23<sup>1</sup>.)

### INTRODUCTION

1. On 30 June 1948, in Geneva, the Special Committee adopted its report to the General Assembly. It was circulated by the Secretary-General to all Members of the United Nations, and made public on 18 August 1948. On 26 August 1948, the Greek Liaison Service submitted comments on the report to the Special Committee<sup>(2)</sup>. No comments have been received from the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

2. From July 1948 onwards the Special Committee held its meetings in Athens, while the Executive Office for the Observation Groups remained in Salonika.

3. The Special Committee has not yet found suitable accommodation in Athens. It fully expects that the Greek Government, in accordance with its repeated assurances, renewed on 10 September 1948, will provide adequate office accom-

modation for the Special Committee and its secretariat.

4. The *ad hoc* Committee which sat in Salonika during the absence of the Special Committee in Geneva<sup>(3)</sup> automatically dissolved upon the adoption of the report by the Special Committee.

5. The Secretary-General has approved an allotment of \$ 301,660 for the period 1 June-31 October 1948, making a total allotment from 1 January up to 31 October 1948 of \$ 610,162. This total approximately equals the budget originally provided for the Special Committee by the General Assembly<sup>(4)</sup>. Although the Secretary-General approved in principle a supplementary budget of \$ 164,000 to cover additional expenditures in connexion with the establishment of observation groups, savings under the original budget headings made it possible to restrict the total allotment to approximately the original budget figure.

## 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

(Report, paragraphs 24-62.)

6. The Greek Government continued to cooperate with the Special Committee. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia maintained their attitude of non-co-operation.

7. At the beginning of August 1948, the Special Committee considered that the military operations in the frontier regions of Greece might give rise to a situation in which Greek guerrillas in large numbers might attempt to seek refuge in

the territory of the northern neighbours of Greece. Consequently, on 12 August 1948, it passed a resolution recommending that, in the event of guerrillas entering their territories, the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia should immediately disarm them, if armed, and intern them in camps where they should be prevented from carrying on any political or military activity<sup>(5)</sup>. The Special Committee resolved to communicate this resolution to the four Governments concerned and to all Members of the United Nations. Furthermore, in view of the special situation then existing in the Grammos area on the Greek side of the Albanian-Greek frontier, it drew the particular attention of the Government

<sup>(1)</sup> See page ii above (*Nota bene*).

<sup>(2)</sup> See Annex 1 for text.

<sup>(3)</sup> Report, paragraph 23.

<sup>(4)</sup> Report, paragraph 7.

<sup>(5)</sup> See Annex 2 for text of resolution (document A/AC.16/341).

of Albania to the resolution by a telegram transmitted through the Secretary-General. <sup>(6)</sup>

8. The Albanian Government, in its reply of 21 August 1948 to the Secretary-General concerning the resolution, confirmed its attitude of non-recognition of the Special Committee. The Albanian Government attached to this communication a list of alleged incidents in which Greek soldiers and guerrillas were stated to have crossed into Albanian territory and to have been disarmed and interned. <sup>(7)</sup>

9. The Bulgarian Government did not reply to the Special Committee's telegram of 20 May 1948 <sup>(8)</sup> nor to its resolution of 12 August 1948.

10. After a preliminary study on the Greek side of the frontier of charges by the Bulgarian Government of frontier violations by the Greek Army in the Demir Kapu region between 5 and 12 August 1948 and the Greek Government's replies, the Special Committee decided that, without an impartial examination on both sides of the frontier, it would be impossible to ascertain all the facts. Accordingly, on 1 September 1948, the Special Committee addressed a telegram to the Secretary-General, for transmission to the Bulgarian Government, requesting facilities for such an investigation. <sup>(9)</sup>

11. The Yugoslav Government has not replied to the resolution of 12 August 1948.

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

(*Report*, paragraphs 63-100.)

**(1) PROBLEM OF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND GOOD NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS.**

(*Report*, paragraphs 69-81.)

12. In reply to a request from the Special Committee, the Greek Government, on 21 August 1948, restated its attitude toward resumption of normal relations with Albania. <sup>(10)</sup> The essential condition, in the Greek Government's view, is progress towards a satisfactory solution of the following two basic questions : (i) cessation of aid to Greek guerrillas from Albania, and observ-

ance of the obligation under international law to disarm and intern guerrillas seeking refuge in Albania and to take the necessary measures to prevent such refugees from resuming guerrilla activities in Greece; and (ii) settlement of Greek claims to Northern Epirus. <sup>(11)</sup>

13. The most recent statement of the Albanian Government's point of view appears in its communication to the Secretary-General of 21 August 1948. The Albanian Government declared «itself ready to reopen discussions on the question of the resumption of normal diplomatic relations with Greece, should the Athens Government give an earnest of its good will by renouncing its empty claims, its provocative and aggressive attitude and its criminal and lawless acts against the People's Republic of Albania». <sup>(12)</sup>

14. The Special Committee learned that representatives of Bulgaria and Greece had a meeting at Washington on 16 June 1948 concerning resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries, but reached no agreement. <sup>(13)</sup>

15. In a letter of 25 June 1948, the Bulgarian Government informed the Secretary-General that the impasse in the negotiations had occurred because the Greek representative had stated that «he had no authority to conduct negotiations on the substance of any questions» and that he could discuss «only the formalities relative to the resumption of diplomatic relations». Consequently the Bulgarian request to «consider an eventual declaration to the effect that the Government of Greece is prepared to respect our present political and territorial integrity and that it had no aggressive intentions toward Bulgaria» had, therefore, not been entertained by the Greek representative. <sup>(14)</sup>

16. On 30 June 1948, the Greek Liaison Representative informed the Special Committee that «the Greek Government was always ready, without imposing any conditions, to resume relations with Bulgaria, but considered that the best way in which to do so was first to establish a diplomatic mission in each country, in order to create a favourable atmosphere, before commencing the examination of outstanding questions». <sup>(15)</sup>

<sup>(11)</sup> See *Report*, paragraphs 79, 81; A/AC.16/SR.91, 96 Part I, SR.99; A/AC.16/W.31.

<sup>(12)</sup> A/AC.16/362.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Report*, paragraph 77.

<sup>(14)</sup> A/AC.16/303.

<sup>(15)</sup> A/AC.16/SR.96 Part II. See also A/AC.16/SR.91 and A/AC.16/312. For further Bulgarian Government comment, re Greek reply, see A/AC.16/316.

<sup>(6)</sup> A/AC.16/342.

<sup>(7)</sup> A/AC.16/362 and Annex A.

<sup>(8)</sup> A/AC.16/259/Rev.1. See *Report*, paragraphs 47, 76.

<sup>(9)</sup> A/AC.16/SG.1/31 and A/AC.16/376/Rev.1.

<sup>(10)</sup> A/AC.16/355.

17. In its letter of 25 June 1948 to the Secretary-General<sup>(16)</sup> the Government of Bulgaria stated that its views on the resumption of diplomatic relations with Greece had already been expressed in a letter to the United Nations. This presumably refers to the reply to the Special Committee's letter of 23 February 1948, which was received by the Special Committee on 20 April 1948. In this letter the Government of Bulgaria stated that it «... 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 annexationist 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 warmongering campaign carried on in Greece against the Bulgarian people and the People's Republic of Bulgaria<sup>(17a)</sup>».

18. On 13 August 1948, the Greek Government, through the good offices of the Special Committee, transmitted the following communication to the Bulgarian Government :

«The Greek Government would be prepared to give up its past insistence upon the subordination of the resumption of Greco-Bulgarian conversations to the prior re-establishment of diplomatic relations if on its side the Bulgarian Government were to furnish the necessary reassurances on the following points :

«(1) The Bulgarian Government will in the future take satisfactory measures to ensure that the guerrillas receive *no assistance* from Bulgarian territory. The Greek Government should have the assurance that these measures have had effective result.

«(2) The Bulgarian Government would undertake to carry out the peace treaty of 17 February 1947 which governs relations between Greece and Bulgaria.

«(3) The Bulgarian and Greek Governments would simultaneously undertake to respect the frontiers established by the peace treaty.»

19. The Special Committee has seen no indication of a change in the relations between Greece and Yugoslavia.

## (2) PROBLEM OF FRONTIER CONVENTIONS.

(Report, paragraphs 82-86.)

20. The Special Committee regrets that, as long as Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia refuse to co-operate with it, and as long as operations

between the Greek Army and guerrillas are conducted near the northern frontiers of Greece and these three countries do not prevent guerrillas from crossing those frontiers at will, it is unable to assist the countries concerned in the establishment of frontier conventions. The Special Committee, however, decided that it could best fulfil this part of its mandate by suggesting principles for discussion by the Governments concerned for possible inclusion in future conventions. The following paragraphs assume a situation in which good neighbourly and normal diplomatic relations exist.

21. As regards the traditional features of frontier conventions, it is considered that the Bulgarian-Greek Convention of 1931 might well serve as a model for similar conventions between Albania and Greece, and between Greece and Yugoslavia. The Special Committee feels that there are several additional important principles which should be considered by the Governments concerned for possible inclusion in future or revised conventions. These are :

(a) The frontier should be clearly marked throughout its length, and all frontier guards should be thoroughly briefed on the exact location of the frontier lines. The convention should provide for machinery for the settlement of any difference of opinion which might arise as to where the boundary runs.

(b) Respect for the frontier and constant and effective surveillance of it are essential to good neighbourly relations between countries. Failure to maintain surveillance of its frontier by a State does not absolve it from responsibility. A State is responsible for entry into and exit from its territory.

(c) Frontier crossings should be permitted only at certain specific points where frontier guards regulate traffic in the normal manner, for instance, by inspection of passports, visas, etc. All individuals crossing at other points should be immediately apprehended, disarmed, if armed, and interned, preferably at some distance from the frontier, while their case is being examined by the appropriate authorities.

22. The Special Committee has also considered the precise rights and duties of a State in relation to irregular crossings by dissident elements from an adjoining State. Although this study was prompted primarily by the present situation on Greece's northern frontiers, it might be advisable for the Governments concerned to consider whether some general provisions should also be included in future conventions. A distinction should be made between various cate-

<sup>(16)</sup> A/AG.16/303; see also paragraph 15 above.

<sup>(17a)</sup> Quoted in full in Report, paragraph 72.



gories of persons who might be involved in irregular crossings, e.g. peasants crossing unwittingly, comitadjis, fugitives from justice, military deserters, political refugees, insurgents, etc.

(3) PROBLEM OF REFUGEES.

(Report, paragraphs 87-97.)

23. The Special Committee received further replies from Governments consulted on their willingness to receive as immigrants a proportion of the 1,200-odd refugees in Greece.<sup>(17)</sup> Members of the International Refugee Organization replied that they could in general accept no further commitments. The Governments of Canada and the United States of America, however, agreed to consider individual cases in the light of their respective immigration policies. The Governments of the Union of South Africa and Turkey, non-members of the International Refugee Organization, informed the Special Committee of their policies of selective immigration. The Turkish Government stated that its policy applied only to international refugees and displaced persons of Turkish origin and that, although it could not promise to receive a definite number in view of large previous commit-

ments, it would gladly consider individual applications.<sup>(18)</sup>

24. On 8 July 1948, the International Refugee Organization informed the Special Committee of the agreement which it had signed with the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs whereby it undertook to provide for repatriation and resettlement, after screening, of all the displaced persons and refugees (non-Greek) in Greece.<sup>(19)</sup> On 23 August 1948, it informed the Special Committee that approximately 1,300 refugees had been interviewed, of whom 500 of Moslem origin « would appear to stand a good chance of being absorbed into Turkey... while of the remainder, the eligibility<sup>(20)</sup> is in the neighbourhood of 90 per cent ».<sup>(21)</sup>

(4) PROBLEM OF MINORITIES.

(Report, paragraphs 98-99.)

25. On 1 September 1948, the Special Committee, in its study of the problem of minorities, decided that, under present conditions, it was impossible to ascertain with any accuracy the real desires of the Greek Slavophones and the countries which might be willing to accept them, and recommended that, when conditions permitted, an investigation should be carried out.<sup>(22)</sup>

### 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

(Report, paragraphs 101-123.)

##### REMOVAL AND RETENTION OF GREEK CHILDREN.

(Report, paragraphs 117-123.)

26. The Special Committee has received further evidence confirming the facts ascertained in its Report.<sup>(23)</sup>

27. The Albanian Government, in its reply of 19 July 1948 to the Secretary-General concerning the Greek Government's telegram of 2 June 1948,<sup>(24)</sup> requesting the repatriation of Greek children removed abroad, declared that « there are no Greek children in Albania who have been removed by force » and added that assistance to Greek children was a humanitarian act entirely in keeping with the principles of all civilized and peace-loving nations.<sup>(25)</sup>

28. The Bulgarian Government has not replied to the Greek Government's telegram of 2 June 1948.

<sup>(17)</sup> A/AC.16/255, 311, 322, 326, 329, 334, 380.

<sup>(18)</sup> A/AC.16/369.

<sup>(19)</sup> A/AC.16/317.

<sup>(20)</sup> (Under International Refugee Organization regulations.)

<sup>(21)</sup> A/AC.16/380.

<sup>(22)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.2/16.

<sup>(23)</sup> A detailed list of statements of witnesses questioned since 1 June 1948 by the observation groups dealing with the removal of children is attached to the supplementary report as Annex 3 (A/AC.16/384).

<sup>(24)</sup> A/AC.16/280, see Report, paragraph 123.

<sup>(25)</sup> A/AC.16/324 and Corr. 1.

29. The Yugoslav Government, in its reply to the Greek Government's telegram of 2 June 1948, stated that a large number of Greek children had sought refuge in Yugoslavia in order to escape from the «terrôr» in Greece and that the Yugoslav Red Cross had assumed responsibility for their housing and maintenance. The Yugoslav Government also stated that it intended «to continue to offer them hospitality until such time as the causes that compelled their departure no longer exist». (26)

30. The Special Committee established contact with the International Union for Child Welfare at Geneva. (27) On 20 August 1948, the Union informed the Special Committee that it considered the transfer of Greek children, without the consent of their parents, a flagrant violation of the Declaration of Children's Rights known as «the Geneva Declaration». It had decided to request the United Nations to seek means to ensure the return of children so retained in foreign countries, and to offer its good offices, in co-operation with other organizations, to assist such children. (28)

31. The Special Committee requested the International Red Cross to obtain information from the Yugoslav Red Cross regarding Greek children in Yugoslavia. (29)

**B. Situation on the northern frontiers of Greece**

*(Report, paragraphs 124-184.)*

**(1) GREEK CHARGES AGAINST ALBANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA.**

32. The Greek Liaison Representative continued to submit to the Special Committee communications alleging violations of the frontier and assistance to the Greek guerrillas by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. (30) These were forwarded to the observation groups for examination.

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

33. The Albanian and Bulgarian Governments continued to send to the Secretary-

General communications alleging frontier violations by Greek forces. These were transmitted to the Special Committee and forwarded to the observation groups for examination. (31)

The Yugoslav Government, on 1 July 1948, informed the Secretary-General that it had frequently during the period from 1 January to 1 July 1948 drawn the attention of the Greek Government to frontier incidents and provocations, and gave, as examples, full details of incidents alleged to have occurred early in June. (32) This communication was forwarded to the observation groups for examination.

**(3) OBSERVATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE SITUATION ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF GREECE.**

34. By the middle of August 1948, the observation groups had submitted to the Special Committee eighty-six reports and had interrogated over seven hundred witnesses, including two refugees from Albania, twenty-six from Bulgaria and seven from Yugoslavia. These non-Greek refugees gave collateral support to evidence already submitted to the Special Committee regarding the nature of the assistance afforded by the northern neighbours and the attitude of their citizens to the Greek guerrillas. (33)

35. Although the movements of the observation groups were still restricted to the Greek side of the frontier, as the Greek Army operations developed, particularly in the west, observers were able to visit a wider area of the frontier. (34)

36. In assessing the value of observation group reports, the Special Committee has taken into account the fact that, as opportunities for observing were strictly limited by the number and size of groups and the difficulties of movement, the picture presented is necessarily incomplete and only a small part of what in fact occurred came under observation. The Special Committee has also taken into account certain general factors :

(a) In the frontier zones under observation (35)

(31) A/AC.16/276, 295, 315, 323, 339, 343, 358, 362, 368, 381, 386 and 389.

(32) A/AC.16/308. On 26 August 1948, the Yugoslav Government communicated to the Secretary-General a further list of Greek frontier violations covering the period 19 June to 30 July 1948 (A/AC.16/385).

(33) A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/11, 3/11 and 6/12.

(34) See for Yugoslavia A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/9, 10 and 11; for Albania A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/13/S-1, 14 and 15 and OG.2/15K; and for Bulgaria A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/13.S-1 and OG. 4/11.

(35) Cf. Map of Northern Greece observation group zones. Report, annex 5.

(26) A/AC.16/299. The quotations are taken from the English translation of the French text, as submitted by the Greek Government.

(27) A/AC.16/318, 338.

(28) A/AC.16/350 - see also A/AC.16/374.

(29) A/AC.16/W.34.

(30) A/AC.16/273, 278, 285, 301, 305, 347, 348, 351, 352, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 363, 364, 366, 375, 378, 382, 383 and 388. A/AC.16/SC.6/6, 7 and 8.

the main areas of guerrilla resistance are located in country difficult of access from the Greek side of the border. These areas, however, are generally within a few kilometres of motor roads on the other side of the border.

(b) These areas, mountainous and barren for the most part, are not fertile or productive enough to keep alive large bands of guerrillas over long periods. Again, during periods of heavy fighting, larger quantities of ammunition are expended by the guerrillas than can have been found in local sources of supply.

(c) In most of these areas there are high mountains on the frontier. When the Greek Army increases its pressure, the guerrillas in these regions can concentrate on to elaborately prepared positions, sometimes astride the frontier, generally semi-circular in form, with the frontier in the rear and with both flanks secure. Consequently it is seldom possible for the Greek Army to surround the guerrillas, and their communications with the countries in their rear remain secure. When the Greek Army exerts great pressure, the guerrillas generally can retire safely into friendly territory.

(a) THE ALBANIAN-GREEK FRONTIER.

(Report, paragraphs 133-143.)

(i) *General frontier situation.*

37. From early June 1948 operations in the Grammos area were followed closely by observation groups which collected convincing evidence, both during and after the fighting, regarding the use made by the guerrillas of Albanian territory for sanctuary and as a base for operations.<sup>(36)</sup>

(ii) *Use of Albanian territory.*

38. Observation groups reported that three main trans-frontier routes from Albania were used by the guerrillas.

(1) From Korce via Bilishte to Kroustalopiya in Greece.<sup>(37)</sup>

(2) From Korce via Bozhigrad to Monopilon in Greece.<sup>(38)</sup>

(3) From Leskovic via Barmash to Khionadhës in Greece.<sup>(39)</sup>

39. Twenty witnesses gave further evidence of considerable logistical support afforded from Albania to Greek guerrillas between January and August 1948, chiefly along these three supply routes, and sometimes to guerrilla bands while actively resisting Greek forces.<sup>(40)</sup> Witnesses also continued to speak of the return of guerrillas from hospitals and rest camps in Albania between January and July 1948.<sup>(41)</sup>

40. Observers were frequently close enough to witness persons, presumed to be guerrillas, in the act of crossing or re-crossing the frontier.<sup>(42)</sup> The Special Committee concluded that in the Kambos district west of Kastoria on 10, 11 and 12 July 1948, «persons crossed freely and informally between Greece and Albania at the frontier pyramid. Although the nationality of the persons moving across the border cannot be determined, it must be accepted that they were Greeks moving into Albania, Albanians into Greece, or both»,<sup>(43)</sup> and concluded that in the Alevitsa area between 6 and 12 August 1948 Greek guerrillas retreated across the Albanian frontier when pressed by the Greek forces.<sup>(44)</sup>

41. Vigorous guerrilla resistance was encountered by the Greek forces in the Mount Kamenik area, and it was here that a much strengthened observation group carried out a series of close observations and interrogated many witnesses.<sup>(45)</sup> The Special Committee concluded from the group's reports that :

(i) «Guerrillas made free and extensive use of Albanian territory in the region of Mount Kamenik.»

(ii) «Greek forces scrupulously respected Albanian territory.»

(iii) «As a consequence of (i) and (ii) above, the Greek forces were considerably hampered in an important operation.» And later, that :

(iv) «Guerrillas have been using Albanian territory in their tactical movements and positions. Such large-scale operations cannot be concealed from the Albanian authorities.»

42. The Special Committee also concluded that in the area near Greek frontier posts 22 and 24 Greek guerrillas attacked the Greek

<sup>(40)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/12/S-1, 1/13/S-1, 1/14, 1/16 and 1/16/S-1.

<sup>(41)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/13/S-1, 2/14K.

<sup>(42)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/14, 15, 16/S-1 and OG.2/14K.

<sup>(43)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/13K Concl.

<sup>(44)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/15K Concl.

<sup>(45)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/13/S-1, 14, 15 and 16 and Concl.

<sup>(36)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/13/S-1, 14, 15, 16, 16/S-1 16/S-3, OG.2/14K and 15K.

<sup>(37)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/12/S-1.

<sup>(38)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/12 and 13 K.

<sup>(39)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/16/S-1.

forces with mortars and machine guns emplaced in Albania, in the period 6-12 August 1948. <sup>(46)</sup>

43. Further evidence was considered at the end of the operations, when observers were able to inspect the Grammos battlefields, and the Special Committee concluded that :

(i) «The group found concrete evidence that in the area west of Khionadhes guerrillas made extensive use of Albanian territory during the Grammos operations for gun positions, rest and communications.»

(ii) The reports prove «the extent to which the guerrilla forces obtained advantages from the possibility of using Albanian territory for their operations, and furthermore prove that an organized system of providing the guerrillas with logistical aid from Albania exists.

«In view of the fact that this aid and assistance to the guerrillas from Albania was given during all the recent Grammos operations, it is out of the question that this aid and assistance can have been given without at least the knowledge and acquiescence of the Albanian Government.»

(iii) «The fact that the guerrilla positions were situated in many cases on the Albanian-Greek frontier with every possibility for the guerrillas to retreat into Albania, and to receive reinforcements and supplies from this country, readily explains why, in some cases, Greek units violated Albanian territory, but it is again established that such violations only occurred when the orders of the Greek Government and higher Greek military commanders were disobeyed by junior officers. <sup>(47)</sup>

44. After an inspection by observers of three sections of the Albanian-Greek frontier in the concluding phase of the Grammos operations, the Special Committee concluded that :

«In every section paths which had been recently and extensively used, leading from Greece into Albania, were observed. Furthermore machine gun and mortar positions, trenches and other military emplacements which had been used by the guerrillas, were observed on the Albanian side of the frontier. These observations confirm and strengthen the conclusions drawn from the previous report <sup>(47)</sup> and prove the extent to which the guerrilla defence of the Grammos region depended on Albanian assistance, and confirm the responsibility of the Albanian Government in the matter». <sup>(48)</sup>

(b) THE GREEK-YUGOSLAV FRONTIER.

(Report, paragraphs 144-160.)

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

(Report, paragraphs 150-151.)

45. The Special Committee received additional evidence of frontier crossings by Greek guerrillas. For example, five witnesses stated that about six hundred Greek guerrillas from Boulkes crossed into Greece in the Devdelija area, in batches ranging from fifty to a hundred and twenty, between October 1947 and February 1948. <sup>(49)</sup>

46. The Special Committee presumed that a guerrilla party which attacked Neos Kavkasos on 24 May 1948 was based on Yugoslavia and returned to Yugoslavia. <sup>(50)</sup>

47. From other evidence the Special Committee concluded that : «The testimonies concerning the crossing of the Yugoslav frontier on 12 June 1948 by 600 guerrillas near a Yugoslav frontier post supported previous testimonies regarding the crossing of the Greek-Yugoslav frontier by guerrillas in the same area». <sup>(51)</sup>

And that :

«Investigation of the crossing sites and the general terrain of the area revealed strong indications that guerrilla units crossed the frontier into Yugoslavia in the region of Skra on 26 July 1948. <sup>(52)</sup>

(ii) *Firing from Yugoslav territory into Greece*

(Report, paragraphs 152-154.)

48. The Special Committee concluded that :

«On 28 July 1948, members of Observation Group 3, as they moved close to the frontier line, were fired on from a position on the Yugoslav side of the frontier by Yugoslav military personnel in the frontier post. <sup>(53)</sup>

Greek guerrillas attacked a Greek frontier post in the region of Florina, and from subsequent examinations of the ground by the observation group the Special Committee concluded that :

«Yugoslav territory was used on 29 July for fire on a Greek frontier post, presumably with the knowledge of the neighbouring Yugoslav frontier post. <sup>(54)</sup>

<sup>(49)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/13, 13/S-1, 15 and OG. 2/9.

<sup>(50)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/11/Concl.

<sup>(51)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/9 and OG.3/7.

<sup>(52)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/15F and OG.3/12.

<sup>(53)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/12/Concl.

<sup>(54)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/14F and Concl.

<sup>(46)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/15K Concl.

<sup>(47)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/16/S-1 Concl.

<sup>(48)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/16/S-2 Concl.

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

(Report, paragraphs 155-156.)

49. Four more witnesses spoke of hospital treatment of Greek guerrillas in Yugoslavia, in March, April and May 1948. Two of them referred to the return of guerrillas to units in Greece.<sup>(55)</sup>

(iv) *Logistical support to Greek guerrillas*  
(Report, paragraphs 157-160.)

50. Twelve witnesses described in detail how supplies from Yugoslavia, including ammunition, were regularly transported to the guerrillas on trucks or by mules, particularly from the military stores in Monastir, along the road east of Lake Presda between January and June 1948.<sup>(56)</sup>

51. Observers saw large quantities of warlike stores abandoned by the guerrillas in the Korona salient on 13-14 June 1948 and the Special Committee concluded that this generally supported the view that such stores must have entered Greece from the territories of the northern neighbours.<sup>(57)</sup>

(c) *THE BULGARIAN-GREEK FRONTIER.*  
(Report, paragraphs 161-184.)

(i) *General frontier situation.*

52. Contact between Greek and Bulgarian officials was maintained along the Evros frontier. Elsewhere, such contacts took place only in connexion with frontier incidents occurring in areas where Greek Army operations were in progress.<sup>(58)</sup> Except in the Evros area, on account of guerrilla activity, observation groups could obtain first-hand knowledge of frontier conditions only during Greek Army operations or under strong escort.<sup>(59)</sup>

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

3. Tension continued along the river frontier, but conditions were quieter, and some efforts to comply with frontier regulations were made.<sup>(60)</sup>

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

54. On 28 June 1948, a large concentration of guerrillas attacked Exokhi, a village northeast of Serrai<sup>(61)</sup> and the Special Committee concluded that :

«It may safely be concluded that in the attack on Exokhi the movements of the guerrillas were not restricted by the Bulgarian border and that they crossed over at will without obstruction on the part of the Bulgarian covering troops. It is possible that the latter were aware of these movements and the plans of the guerrillas, but no definite conclusion can be drawn to this effect.»

55. In connexion with events observed on 5-6 July 1948, the Special Committee concluded that :

«There are strong indications that facilities to the guerrillas are granted by Bulgarian authorities, allowing them to cross the border in their tactical movements and using the Bulgarian territory as sanctuary».<sup>(62)</sup>

56. On 6-8 August 1948, two observers watched Greek Army operations against guerrillas in the Belles range and were wounded by a shell burst when within fifty yards of the frontier. Their report<sup>(63)</sup> led the Special Committee to conclude that :

(a) «Approximately eight GNA shells, fired against guerrillas in Greece, fell accidentally in Bulgarian territory, at 1900 hours on 6 August, and under similar conditions at 1300 hours on 7 August, some seven shells exploded in Bulgarian territory.

(b) «Guerrilla mortars were fired into Greece from a position approximately 400 yards in Bulgarian territory at 1300 hours, 7 August.

(c) «The artillery fire which wounded the observers on 7 August came from a position inside Bulgaria.

(d) «Greek guerrilla forces moved on 8 August from Bulgaria into Greece to occupy a height previously occupied by the GNA.<sup>(64)</sup>

<sup>(55)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/12/S-1, OG.1/13, OG.1/16 and OG.2/15F.

<sup>(56)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/12/S-1, OG.1/13 and 16.

<sup>(57)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/9/Concl.

<sup>(58)</sup> A/AC.16/353.

<sup>(59)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/13.

<sup>(60)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/14/S-1.

<sup>(61)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/9/Concl.

<sup>(62)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/10/S-1.

<sup>(63)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/13/S-1.

<sup>(64)</sup> Incidents during this period, and the circumstances in which a Bulgarian soldier was wounded and detained on 5 August 1948 in this area, have been made the subject of accusations and counter-accusations by the Greek and Bulgarian Governments, and the Special Committee has taken steps to address the Bulgarian Government so that an investigation may be made on both sides of the frontier (A/AC.16/339, 349, 365, and 376).

57. On 19 August 1948, a Bulgarian soldier was wounded by fire from a Greek unit, and the Special Committee concluded that : -

«A Bulgarian unit posted on the top of point 1335 had fired on Greek soldiers advancing in Greek territory... but there is insufficient evidence to show that Bulgarian troops had been on Greek soil when fire was exchanged.»<sup>(65)</sup>

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

58. Twenty witnesses testified to the reception and hospitalization of Greek guerrillas on a large scale between January and July 1948.<sup>(66)</sup>

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

59. Twenty-two witnesses gave evidence that guerrillas had been transported from Berkovitsa and assisted over the Greek frontier between December 1947 and July 1948. Of the eight hundred and fifty guerrillas mentioned, six hundred and twenty were alleged to have been thus transported between 1 June and July 1948.<sup>(67)</sup>

(vi) *Logistical support to Greek guerrillas.*

60. Sixteen witnesses gave evidence of the receipt by guerrillas of quantities of weapons and ammunition, and other warlike stores from Bulgaria, particularly via Krasokhori in the west, Barutin in the centre and Ortakoi in the east between November 1947 and July 1948.<sup>(68)</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

(*Report*. paragraphs 185-190.)

61. I. Events which have come to the knowledge of the Special Committee between 17 June and 10 September 1948 have served to confirm the conclusions expressed in the Special Committee's report.<sup>(69)</sup>

62. II. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have still refused to co-operate with the Special Committee. Furthermore, the Special Committee finds that these Governments, which were called upon by paragraph 4 of the General Assembly resolution «to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance» to the guerrillas fighting in Greece, have not complied with that injunction. The Greek guerrillas have continued to receive aid and assistance on a large scale from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, with the knowledge of the Governments of those countries.

63. III. The Special Committee is fully convinced that the guerrillas in the frontier zones :

(1) Have been largely dependent on external supply. Great quantities of arms, ammunition and other military stores have come across the border, notably during times of heavy fighting. Strongly-held positions of the guerrillas have protected their vital supply lines from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and, in particular, from Albania. In recent months, there has been less evidence of receipt of supplies from Yugoslavia by the guerrillas.

(2) Have frequently moved at will in territory across the frontier for tactical reasons, and have thus been able to concentrate their forces without interference by the Greek Army, and to return to Greece when they wished.

(3) Have frequently retired safely into the territory of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia when the Greek Army exerted great pressure.

64. IV. The Special Committee is convinced that the continuation of such a situation constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to the establishment of «Good neighbourly relations» between Greece and her northern neighbours, as recommended in paragraph 5 of the Assembly resolution of 21 October 1947. Still more, it constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and to peace in the Balkans.

<sup>(65)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/11/S-1 Concl.

<sup>(66)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/9, 10 and OG.6/10, 12.

<sup>(67)</sup> A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/9 and OG.3/9, 11 and 12

<sup>(68)</sup> Krasokhori : A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.3/9 and 11. Barutin : A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/8 and OG.4/10. Ortakoi : A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/13.

<sup>(69)</sup> See *Report* 109 (II) paragraph 186 with regard to paragraph 5 of the resolution of the General Assembly of 21 October 1947.

65. V. The Special Committee is satisfied that, where it had evidence of frontier violations by the Greek Army, orders from the Greek higher military authorities were strictly against such violations. This type of violation is readily explained by the conditions faced by the Greek forces. Frontier guards of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have fired into Greek territory but there is no evidence to prove that they did so under the orders of their higher military authorities. So long as Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia do not prevent the guerrillas from crossing their frontiers at will, and so long as the Greek Government

is obliged to conduct operations against the guerrillas near the northern frontiers of Greece, incidents are likely to occur.

The Special Committee is satisfied that, where frontier incidents not involving direct aid to Greek guerrillas occurred, they were the result of the state of tension along the frontier and were not deliberately provoked.

66. VI. The Special Committee is of the opinion that the conduct of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia has been inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

## CHAPTER V

### RECOMMENDATIONS

(*Report*, paragraphs 191-194.)

67. The Special Committee, in the absence of any co-operation from the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in carrying out its mandate, does not feel confident that any recommendations made by it would assure a speedy solution of the existing difficulties.

68. However, without prejudice to such other measures as the General Assembly may deem fit to adopt, it makes the following recommendations :

#### General recommendations

69. I. (1) That the recommendations made in the report of 30 June 1948 should stand :

(2) That the General Assembly issue a serious warning to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia that their continued aid to the Greek guerrillas endangers peace in the Balkans ;

(3) Furthermore, that the General Assembly recommend to all Members of the United Nations and all other States that they exercise care not to do anything which might assist in any way any armed group fighting against the Greek Government.

70. II. That the General Assembly approve the activities of the Special Committee to date and instruct it :

(1) To observe and report upon the response of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the General Assembly's injunction not to furnish aid and assistance to the Greek guerrillas, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 109 (II) of 21 October 1947 and any other resolution which the General Assembly may adopt :

(2) To continue to utilize observation groups in such a manner and with such personnel and equipment as the Special Committee deems necessary for the fulfilment of its task :

(3) To be available to assist the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia in the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

#### Administrative recommendations

71. III. The Special Committee is also of the opinion that, as a result of the experience of the past two months, it is at present impossible to give effect to the proposal for a reduction of expenditure made in paragraph 192 of the report. The Special Committee will itself make such changes in its organization, structure and methods of work as it may deem necessary for the accomplishment of its tasks or in order to effect savings when it considers that the situation warrants such action.

\*  
\* \*

Done at the Hotel Grande Bretagne, Athens, in the English and French languages, this tenth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight.

(Signed)

Terence Glashan, *Australia*.

Rangel de Castro, *Brazil*.

Sih Kwang Tsien, *China*.

- Emile Charveriat, *France.*
- Francisco Castillo Najera, *Mexico.*
- James Marniz de Booy, *Netherlands.*
- R. S. Chhatari, *Pakistan.*
- Brigadier Saunders Jacobs, *United Kingdom.*
- Gerald A. Drew, *United States of America.*

**Attitude of Australian delegation towards conclusions and recommendations**

While agreeing with the factual conclusions contained in chapter IV, the Australian delegation abstains from the political conclusions IV and VI, contained in paragraphs 64 and 66 of that chapter. In its view the Special Committee is primarily a body of mediation with the addition-

al functions of observing and reporting to the General Assembly. It is for the General Assembly to pass judgment or take decisions on the basis of the facts reported by the Special Committee.

The Australian delegation likewise abstains from the recommendations I, II and III contained in paragraphs 69, 70 and 71 of chapter V. Noting the preamble to the recommendations which states that the Special Committee «does not feel confident that any recommendations made by it would assure a speedy solution of the existing difficulties», the Australian delegation is of the opinion that in these circumstances it would have been wiser to have made no recommendations at this stage and to have left the question of finding a solution to the General Assembly.



ANNEX I

**Comments on the Special Committee's report of 30 June 1948, submitted by the Greek Liaison Service**

LETTER FROM THE GREEK LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE TO  
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

(Document A/AC.16/373)  
[Original text : French]

Athens, 26 August 1948.

Despite the fact that Greece is the party most interested in the question which the General Assembly directed the Special Committee to examine, since it is Greece's political independence and territorial integrity which are at stake, the Greek Liaison Service was not invited to participate in the preparatory work at Geneva on the report of 30 June 1948.

The Greek Government was not only prevented from attending during the drafting, but, owing to the strict observance of the decision of 3 May 1948 which stipulated that no communication could be made during the drafting of the report, was also unable to acquaint itself with the report until 18 August 1948, that is to say, on the same date as the other Members of the United Nations, to whom copies of the report were sent by the Secretary-General.

Without wishing in any way to belittle the importance of the work done by the Drafting Committee, I cannot but stress the fact that, if the representative of the Greek Liaison Service had participated in that work, certain gaps and omissions, to which I have the honour to draw your attention in this letter, could have been avoided.

CHAPTER I.

In paragraph 12 of the report it is stated that : « Observation Group 6 was allowed to enter Bulgarian territory ». The sentence would read more accurately if the following were added : « There is, however, dispute between Greece and Bulgaria regarding sovereign rights over the place visited by the group, namely, an island in the Evros (Maritsa) River ».

CHAPTERS II AND III.

(a) *Bulgarian co-operation with the Special Committee,*

Paragraph 47 states that the Special Committee approached the Bulgarian Government with a re-

quest for a conference between the observation groups and the Bulgarian frontier authorities in order to examine the Bulgarian Government's complaints against Greece (aerial violations and frontier violations). However, this paragraph makes no mention of the fact that Bulgaria did not reply favourably to the Committee's request. It likewise fails to point out that the Committee's good offices were not accepted by the Bulgarian Government.

(b) *Resumption of diplomatic relations between Greece and Bulgaria.*

On 23 February 1948, the Special Committee sent letters to the four Governments concerned recommending them to « establish normal diplomatic and good neighbourly relations as soon as possible » (paragraph 54). In compliance with that recommendation, and on the occasion of the first direct contact between the Greek Ambassador in Washington and the Bulgarian Minister on 20 May 1948, the Greek Government proposed an immediate exchange of diplomatic representatives with a view to the resumption of relations « as soon as possible », as had been advocated by the Special Committee. The Bulgarian Government did not pursue the matter further (paragraph 76). The responsibility for the failure of those negotiations must rest with the Bulgarian Government if the conditions which it saw fit to impose are taken into account. Those conditions are contained in the letter of 20 April 1948, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Bulgarian Government, and they have not changed since that date. They read as follows :

« The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria... 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 annexationist 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 warmongering campaign carried on in Greece against the Bulgarian people and the People's Republic of Bulgaria (paragraph 72). »

By reversing the roles, Bulgaria clearly demonstrated her lack of good faith, since it was for Greece to lay down those three conditions in view of the fact that the justice of her complaints had received official recognition. Bulgaria wished to appear the victim, although she had been the aggressor, and she was well aware that her conditions could not be fulfilled since they related to imaginary grievances.

Furthermore, whilst hundreds of incidents and frontier violations provoked by the Bulgarians occurred throughout the years 1945-1948 and were duly

established by international observers, the Special Committee was able to impute only one violation to Greece, namely, the one which occurred on 28 May 1948 (paragraph 177). What is more, if reference is made to the observation group report, the two passages which complete the picture and enable one to determine who was in fact responsible for the violation, should be added to the report. Those passages read as follows :

«III. The report exhibits clearly the difficulties confronting GNA in operating against guerrillas with an open frontier in their rear. Although it contains no direct observation by the group of Bulgarian-Greek relations, the capture of the 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...»

And further on in the same report one reads :

«As for the Greek violation of the Bulgarian frontier, it would not have occurred if there had been active help from Bulgaria in preventing guerrillas from crossing into Bulgaria at will.» (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.4/7 S-1).

(c) *Relation between the guerrillas' attitude towards the Special Committee and that of the three northern neighbours.*

Paragraph 130 of the report makes mention of the fact that «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.»

The Special Committee has failed to point out the change which has occurred in the attitude of the armed bands since the Committee took the place of the Security Council Commission of Investigation. Whereas the members of the Commission of Investigation were able to visit areas controlled by the Markos bands and the territory of the neighbouring countries, the Special Committee has been refused access to those areas on the same grounds as it has been refused access to the territory of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The fact that the same views are held is one of the striking features of the close co-operation between Markos and the Governments of the northern neighbours and of the orders given to him by those Governments.

#### *Concerted action against Greece.*

Numerous facts, insufficiently stressed by the Special Committee, enable one to build up a picture of the master plan governing the aid furnished to the guerrillas by the northern neighbours.

Indeed, if the facts are examined as a whole, it becomes clear that a sort of offensive alliance exists. Bands which seek refuge in Albania often re-appear with the same men and the same leaders in areas of Greek territory bordering on another State. Thus the guerrillas can not only make free use of the territory of neighbouring countries but they are also able, when strategic considerations require it, to move from one State to another behind the iron curtain in order to take the Greek Army in the rear in sectors where its strength is temporarily reduced.

The above is of common occurrence and is evidenced by the following documents :

A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/8/SC. Concl.; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.1/10/Annex A; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/6/Annex D; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/8; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/10/Annex C; A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.2/11/Annex B.

*Evros incident* (paragraphs 165 to 170).

Paragraph 168 contains a passage on the Evros incident, which is worded in a manner which may give rise to misunderstanding in the mind of a reader who is unaware of certain facts relating to the incident. The observation group's conclusion that «the Bulgarian version of the incident was far more probable than the Greek» should be examined in conjunction with the following facts :

(a) That in view of the principle accepted by the Bulgarian Government in the past and in accordance with which the boundary line follows the principal course of the Evros (Maritsa), the island on which the incident occurred should be regarded as Greek territory, since the principal course of the river now passes between that island and Bulgarian territory proper;

(b) That armed bands coming from Bulgaria cross the frontier at will throughout that area in order to carry out raids into Greek territory;

(c) That the islands at that place have often been used as jumping-off points for raids into Greek territory by the said bands;

(d) That the observation group report adopted by the Special Committee (A/AC.16/SC.1/OG.6/6 S-1/SC. Concl.) states in Part III, Conclusions : «The report leads to the conclusion that the incident was of the traditional nature of those occurring from time to time along the northern borders of Greece.»

It will then be understandable that the Greek covering troops, believing that the island was Greek territory and having often had to repel attacks in that area by armed bands coming from Bulgaria, justifiably defended themselves during the exchange of shots which occurred on 4 April 1948.

#### *Problem of Minorities.*

Footnote No. 121 to paragraph 98 of the Report states : «...that there were 18,000 Bulgarian-speaking Moslems living in Western Thrace...» It should be noted that those Moslems are bilingual and speak Greek as well as Bulgarian.

#### CHAPTER V (Recommendations).

After reading the findings made by the Special Committee during its work in Greece, findings which are indisputable in so far as they relate to the part played by Greece's northern neighbours in the armed aggression of which she was the victim, one could justifiably expect the Special Committee to set forth the measures which should be taken to remedy the situation.

The very wording of chapter IV (Conclusions), and in particular that of paragraph 189, strengthens that feeling to such an extent that the reader of chapter V is, to say the least, disappointed.

The Committee has, in fact, no proposals for dealing with a situation which is summed up as follows

«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.»

There is only one explanation which could justify before public opinion that serious lack of balance between the description of the evil and the failure to prescribe a remedy, namely, that the Special Committee has wished to give Greece's northern neighbours a last opportunity to change their attitude towards Greece, an opportunity which they were implicitly invited to seize during the time which still remains before the session of the General Assembly.

Unfortunately, there is now little hope of any sudden change. On the contrary, the situation has become still worse following intensified efforts by Albania and Bulgaria in favour of the armed bands operating in Greece. This fact cannot fail to weigh heavily in the coming weeks upon the decisions which the Special Committee should take on measures to be proposed to the General Assembly in order to put an end to a situation which endangers not only «the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece» but also «international peace and security in the Balkans».

At its second session the General Assembly laid down two basic principles governing the Greek question. They may be summed up as follows :

(a) Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were called upon to change their policy towards Greece and to re-establish normal relations with her.

(b) Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were called upon to cease giving aid to the armed bands operating in Greece.

As regards these two recommendations, the first part of the Committee's report establishes, with supporting evidence, that the three countries have continued to pursue their hostile policy towards Greece with increased vigour and that they have furnished still greater and more overt aid to the Greek guerrillas than hitherto.

There was then one logical conclusion, namely, to determine the measures to be taken to deal with that grave situation and to remove the threat to the maintenance of peace in the Balkans which, far from being dispelled, has become still more acute.

The Greek complaint was laid before the Security Council on 3 December 1946 and was based upon events which occurred in the second half of 1945 and throughout 1946. It is, therefore, a historical fact that the armed aggression against Greece has been carried on and continues to be carried on, and that, two years after Greece's appeal to the United Nations, that aggression, far from ceasing, has become more intensive than ever.

Nevertheless, since the findings of the Commission of Investigation which first threw light upon the gravity of the situation in the Balkans, the find-

ings of the Special Committee, which have been recorded and adopted unanimously, now raise the urgent problem of finding a peaceful solution.

While the measures contemplated by the United Nations have been limited to the expression of wishes, principles or moral considerations, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have not changed their policy towards that Organization. On the contrary, they have made a final effort to enable Markos to break the Greek people's resistance and to seize power by force.

The forms which that aid has taken are recorded in the Special Committee's report. If one considers the scale of the Grammos battle, the large number of men engaged on both sides and the quantities of munitions and war material of all kinds used by the Markos bands, one can gain an idea of the effort made by our neighbours to organize that force through which they hoped one day to dominate Greece.

Now that all attempts at conciliation have failed and it has been proved that their only result has been to embolden the promoters of the armed aggression which Greece has had to sustain, it is imperative that the Committee propose effective and more vigorous measures for the protection of a Member State.

If the General Assembly were to approve such measures, and if the United Nations were determined to apply them with the necessary vigour and authority, they would be fully effective. They would end by discouraging the promoters of that armed aggression by destroying all hopes for its success. They would also have a fatal effect upon the morale of those engaged upon the present campaign of devastation and whose fighting spirit is maintained by promises renewed after each failure.

Such measures would have a decisive effect by destroying the whole structure built up by our enemies of which the mainstay is, as ever, the firm conviction that the United Nations is an ineffectual institution whose authority is purely moral.

The Greek Government and the Greek people have made the heaviest sacrifices in order to defend their country against invasion from the North. They should not suffer disillusionment owing to their confidence in the United Nations and their observance, even in most critical times, of the principles upon which the Charter of the United Nations is based and which are the very principles of our civilization.

In bringing the foregoing to your notice, I have the honour to request you to be good enough to add this document to the Supplementary Report now being drafted by the Special Committee so that it may be communicated to all the Members of the United Nations in the same way as the annexes to that report.

(Signed) A. DALIETOS

Greek Liaison Representative

## ANNEX 2

**Resolution concerning the application of international law to Greek guerrillas who may seek refuge in the territories of the northern neighbours of Greece**

(ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT ITS 103RD MEETING ON 12 AUGUST 1948.)

(Document A/AC.16/341)  
[Original text : English]

1. *Whereas* the present military operations in the frontier regions of Northern Greece may give rise to a situation in which, as a result of pressure by the Greek Army, Greek guerrillas might attempt to seek refuge in the territory of any of the northern neighbours of Greece.

2. *Considering* that the General Assembly, in its resolution of 21 October 1947 called upon «Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to do nothing which could furnish aid and assistance» to the Greek guerrillas, and also called upon «Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the one hand, Greece on the other, to cooperate in the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means», and

3. *Being of the opinion* that any action which might, in the near or distant future, enable Greek guerrillas, armed or unarmed, to enter the territory of any of the northern neighbours and later return to active guerrilla service in Greece would amount to direct aid and assistance being rendered to an insurrectionary movement against the Government of a Member of the United Nations in defiance of international law and the very principles of the Charter, and would therefore constitute a grave threat to the «maintenance of international peace and security»;

*The Special Committee*

4. *Recommends* that, in the event of guerrillas entering their territories, the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia should immediately disarm them, if armed, and intern them in camps where they should be prevented from carrying on any political or military activity, and

5. *Resolves*

(a) That this resolution be communicated to the four Governments concerned and to all Member States of the United Nations;

(b) That, in view of the special situation at present existing in the Grammos area on the Greek side of the Albanian-Greek frontier, the particular attention of the Government of Albania be drawn to this resolution by telegram.

## ANNEX 3

**Digest containing information on removal of Greek children set forth in observation group reports dated from 1 June to 15 August 1948**

WORKING DOCUMENT PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT.

(Document A/AC.16/384)  
[Original text : English]

A. ALBANIAN-GREEK FRONTIER.

1. Witness 1/W/58 (OG.1/12) saw three columns of children, about a hundred each (between mid-January-April 1948) accompanied by teachers and guerrillas, en route for Yugoslavia. Another witness, 1/W/59, said that in April 1948 one group of 60, another of 130 children, had passed through Vatokhorion; the mothers were weeping. Saw mothers return next day.

2. In Khrisi (after January 1948) witness saw group of 30 children accompanied by 5 men and women going north (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/38).

3. 25 March 1948, at Trigouon, witness saw about 500 children marching toward Albania. Two or three days later, 350 (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/51).

4. End of March 1948, at Ieropiyi (N-31-49) witness saw 250 children collected from villages in vicinity. Mothers and children weeping. Parents parted from children by compulsion. Returned later weeping (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/54).

5. 15 March-15 April 1948, witness saw, 3,000 children pass through Vatokhorion toward Albania in many groups, saw women returning (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/55).

6. Group 2 noted in July that no further child abductions in its area seems to have taken place for over two months (OG.2/12, page 4).

7. Beginning April 1948, witness saw 10 children taken by force from Kalloni (S-367-996), (OG.2/12, 2/W/101).

8. April 1948, witness said guerrillas came to Dhipotania (N-22-40) to collect children. Two families consented; 22 forcibly abducted despite parents' protests. Crossed border into Albania near Komninadhes (N-23-43). Reason: Better fed and educated (OG.2/12, 2/W/106.) (Confirmed by 2/W/107, 108 and 109).

9. March 1948, witness saw 150-200 Greek children pass Komninadhes frontier post toward Albanian village of Videhove (N-18-39) (OG.2/12, 2/W/109).

10. *End March 1948*, from Yiannokhori (N-16-36), witness saw approximately 500 children being taken into Albania (OG.2/13-K, 2/W/125).

11. *March 1948*, witness saw 20 children taken from Vatokhorion allegedly to Albania (OG.2/14-K, 2/W/133).

B. GREEK-YUGOSLAV FRONTIER.

1. *In March or April 1948*, witness saw several columns of children proceeding from Ronlia toward Lake Prespa (OG.1/12, 1/W/57).

2. Witness saw many children aboard carts drawn by oxen on road to Yugoslavia (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/53).

3. *January-February 1948*, at Trigonon (N-43-66) saw several groups of children (usually about 40) on their way to Yugoslavia. Accompanied by village president and mothers who returned later (OG.1/12-S.1, 1/W/56).

4. *Beginning of March 1948*, in Monastir, children of Greek parents (guerrilla-sympathizers) between the ages of 6 and 12, taken from their parents and installed in a Monastir building. About 200 children (OG.1/13, 1/W/70).

5. *About 18 March 1948*, witness saw about 50 children arrive at Katokhori (N-374-586), accompanied by Communist teacher. Boarded trucks at night for Prespa (OG.1/13, 1/W/70).

6. *15 March-25 March 1948*, columns of children arrived at Katokhorion, accompanied by mothers, spent night and proceeded northwards (OG.1/13, 1/W/76). Mothers left at Katokhorion, and columns continued their journey with unarmed guerrillas and girls in charge.

7. *No date*, witness said his child forcibly taken away by the guerrillas with all other children aged between two and 15 (OG.1/15, 1/W/48).

8. *March 1948*, witness saw on road to Andartica (N-44-68) two convoys, one of 40, the other of 30 trucks, loaded with children moving towards Prespa. Accompanied by their mothers as far as the frontier. witness heard that these children were from places surrounding Florina and Kastoria, and that the guerrillas had said that the children were being taken to Yugoslavia. Some of the mothers told witness they wanted their children to go to Yugoslavia (OG.2/13-F, 2/W/131).

9. *25 December 1947*, two witnesses saw 50 Greek children 10-11 years old taken north from

village of Notia toward Yugoslav frontier (OG.3/11; 3/W/29 and 30).

10. *6 August 1948*, three boys said they saw column of 20 children moving toward Yugoslavia in Prespa area (OG.2/15-F, 2/W/138, 139 and 140).

C. BULGARIAN-GREEK FRONTIER.

1. Bulgarian refugee said there was a village in construction outside Sofia, and that part of this projected village was marked for Greek children (OG.3/9, 3/W/18).

2. *3 March 1948*, witness at Berkovitsa saw 200 Greek children up to 10 years with parents. On 10 March, children taken away. Parents told they were taken to be fed and educated properly (OG.3/9, 3/W/22).

3. *About 16 March 1948*, witness, when he became sick, was taken by guerrillas to Imamlar (G-52-06) where there were 380 children under 13 years. With 60 children and five or six ill guerrillas marched to Bulgarian frontier. Some of the children were in four carts. At frontier, were met by Bulgarian soldiers, put in carts, and proceeded as far as Plovdiv, where some children were taken off. The rest were taken off at Vratsa (OG.3/12, 3/W/32).

4. *February 1948*, in Berkovitsa, witness saw 300 children taken from parents, leaving mother crying (OG.3/12, 3/W/36).

5. *No date*, witness said guerrillas brought children to camp near Mega Dherion (M-508-962), and witness was told they were to be taken to Bulgaria. Five women were to look after 50 children, who were unhappy at being separated from their mothers (OG.4/9, 4/W/110).

6. *20 March 1948*, witness at Organi saw 40-50 children taken from parents and taken towards Smighadi. Parents unhappy but dared not complain (OG.4/10, 4/W/122).

7. *2 May 1948*, 48 Greek children brought to Ortakoi under charge of two women (OG.6/13, 6/W/98).

8. *Spring 1948*, witness knew two Bulgarian soldiers who loaded children at frontier near Mandritsa (G-591-115) in trucks which carried supplies from Ortakoi and took children to Ortakoi (OG.6/13, 6/W/98).

9. *3 August 1948*, witness and nine-year-old daughter escaped from guerrillas in region of Sarpidhonia (G-473-079; to prevent daughter's removal to Bulgaria (OG.6/14, 6/W/101).

# SALES AGENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

## ARGENTINA

Editorial Sudamericana S.A.  
Alsina 500  
BUENOS AIRES

## AUSTRALIA

H. A. Goddard Pty. Ltd.  
255a George Street  
SYDNEY, N. S. W.

## BELGIUM

Agence et Messageries de la  
Presse, S. A.  
14-22 rue du Persil  
BRUXELLES

## BOLIVIA

Librería Científica y Literaria  
Avenida 16 de Julio, 216  
Casilla 972  
LA PAZ

## CANADA

The Ryerson Press  
299 Queen Street West  
TORONTO

## CHILE

Edmundo Pizarro  
Merced 846  
SANTIAGO

## CHINA

The Commercial Press Ltd.  
211 Honan Road  
SHANGHAI

## COLOMBIA

Librería Latina Ltda.  
Apartado Aéreo 4011  
BOGOTÁ

## COSTA RICA

Trejos Hermanos  
Apartado 1313  
SAN JOSÉ

## CUBA

La Casa Belga  
René de Smedt  
O'Reilly 455  
LA HABANA

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

F. Topic  
Narodni Trida 9  
PRAHA I

## DENMARK

Einar Munksgaard  
Nørregade 6  
KØBENHAVN

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Librería Dominicana  
Calle Mercedes No. 49  
Apartado 656  
CIUDAD TRUJILLO

## ECUADOR

Muñoz Hermanos y Cía.  
Nueve de Octubre 703  
Casilla 10-24  
GUAYAQUIL

## EGYPT

Librairie "La Renaissance d'Egypte"  
9 Sh. Adly Pasha  
CAIRO

## FINLAND

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa  
2, Keskuskatu  
HELSINKI

## FRANCE

Editions A. Pedone  
13, rue Soufflot  
PARIS, V°

## GREECE

"Eleftheroudakis"  
Librairie internationale  
Place de la Constitution  
ATHÈNES

## GUATEMALA

José Goubaud  
Goubaud & Cía. Ltda.  
Sucesor  
5a Av. Sur No. 6 y 9a C. P.  
GUATEMALA

## HAITI

Max Bouchereau  
Librairie "A la Caravelle"  
Boîte postale 111-B  
PORT-AU-PRINCE

## INDIA

Oxford Book & Stationery Company  
Scindia House  
NEW DELHI

## IRAN

Bongahe Piaderow  
731 Shah Avenue  
TEHERAN

## IRAQ

Mackenzie & Mackenzie  
The Bookshop  
BAGHDAD

## LEBANON

Librairie universelle  
BEYROUTH

## LUXEMBOURG

Librairie J. Schummer  
Place Guillaume  
LUXEMBOURG

## NETHERLANDS

N. V. Martinus Nijhoff  
Lange Voorhout 9  
S'GRAVENHAGE

## NEW ZEALAND

Gordon & Gotch, Ltd.  
Waring Taylor Street  
WELLINGTON

## NICARAGUA

Ramiro Ramírez V.  
Agencia de Publicaciones  
MANAGUA, D. N.

## NORWAY

Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag  
Kr. Augustgt. 7A  
OSLO

## PHILIPPINES

D. P. Pérez Co.  
132 Riverside  
SAN JUAN

## SWEDEN

A.-B. C. E. Fritzes Kungl.  
Höfbokhandel  
Fredsgatan 2  
STOCKHOLM

## SWITZERLAND

Librairie Payot S. A.  
LAUSANNE, GENÈVE, VEVEY,  
MONTREUX, NEUCHÂTEL,  
BERNE, BASEL  
Hans Raunhardt  
Kirchgasse 17  
ZÜRICH I

## SYRIA

Librairie universelle  
DAMAS

## TURKEY

Librairie Hachette  
469 Istiklal Caddesi  
BEYOGLU-ISTANBUL

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Central News Agency  
Commissioner & Rissik Sts.  
JOHANNESBURG and at CAPETOWN  
and DURBAN

## UNITED KINGDOM

H. M. Stationery Office  
P. O. Box 569  
LONDON, S.E. 1  
and at H.M.S.O. Shops in  
LONDON, EDINBURGH, MANCHESTER,  
CARDIFF, BELFAST and BRISTOL

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

International Documents Service  
Columbia University Press  
2960 Broadway  
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

## URUGUAY

Oficina de Representación de  
Editoriales  
Av. 18 de Julio 1333 Esc. 1  
MONTEVIDEO

## VENEZUELA

Escritoría Pérez Machado  
Conde a Piñango 11  
CARACAS

## YUGOSLAVIA

Drzavno Preduzece  
Jugoslovenska Knjiga  
Moskovska Ul. 36  
BEOGRAD