

Research Article

The Geopolitical Weight of the 1946 Paris Peace Conference in the Balkans

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Abstract:

This study analyzes the geopolitical weight of the 1946 Paris Peace Conference with a focus on the Balkans. Using a method inspired by Caldara and Iacoviello's geopolitical risk model, conference minutes were scanned for geographic references. The goal is to quantify which Balkan regions were most emphasized, offering insights into shifting geopolitical interests and strategies, especially concerning Russian influence. Approximately 300 meetings were held during this conference, which lasted from July 1946 to October 1946. In these meetings, the mentioned geographical regions were identified and their geopolitical weight percentage was determined. Nearly 2000 geographical areas have been identified and their distribution is shown in tables and maps. The study aims to be a preliminary step in determining how the geopolitical weight in the Balkans has changed over the years.

Keywords: Paris Peace Conference, 1946, Geopolitical Weight, Balkans, Trieste.

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Introduction

After World War II, a peace conference was held in Paris between July 29, 1946 and October 15, 1946 on the problems of Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Finland. The aim of the study is to measure the geopolitical weight of this peace conference in the Balkans and in addition, to support existing geopolitical theories with the concept of geopolitical weight. The concept of geopolitical weight is about determining which geographies states attach importance to in international conferences¹. The method of the study is to scan the minutes of the Paris Conference from July 29, 1946 to October 15, 1946, to determine the number of geographies mentioned in the meetings and to create a percentage depending on the frequency of mentioning the names of the geographical regions².

With this method, designed from Caldara and Iacoviello's geopolitical risk model, each meeting was examined one by one and geographical regions were determined. In the geopolitical risk model created for the future, the frequency with which words assumed to be risk appears in newspapers is taken into account. These words defined as risks include negative terms such as war threats, military support, nuclear threats, terrorist threats, the beginning of war, escalation of war, and terrorist acts. Caldara and Iacovielli, in their study, have scanned some newspapers since 1985 and determined which countries have higher geopolitical risk, which countries have experienced changes, and how this change has fluctuated over the years, depending on word frequency³. However, the geopolitical weight method used here is retroactive. The keywords in this model are words that only indicate the geographical region. Conference minutes were scanned instead of newspapers, which is the method used in the calculation of geopolitical risk. The minutes were obtained from American documents titled Foreign Relations of the United States⁴.

When scanning geographic areas, no random index method was used. The minutes were read from beginning to end and words that implied geography were selected. For example, in the opening speeches of

¹ Onur Köse, "Dış Politikada Ölçülebilirlik: 1943 Tahran Konferansı'na Göre Avrupa'nın Jeopolitik Ağırlığı", *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 23 (1), (2023): 281.

² Ibid.

³ Caldara, D. and Iacoviello, M., "Measuring Geopolitical Risk", *American Economic Review*, 112 (4), (2022): 1194-1225.

⁴ Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III.

the conference⁵, it is seen that France stands out because it hosted the conference. But France here is not the geopolitical subject of this conference. For this reason, it has been excluded from the classification. Similarly, country names implying members and representatives, and capital names implying government, are not included in the geopolitical weight. Because what is meant here is the land that is being discussed. For example, the mention of Mexico or the Mexican representative in the sections regarding voting does not indicate that Mexico is involved in the geopolitics of the conference. Geopolitical weight aims to measure the regions on which the weight of the conference is concentrated. For this reason, instead of words indicating delegates such as Mexico and Australia, the keywords included words such as Trieste, Yugoslavia, Romania-Bulgaria border. Geographic words related to geopolitics where the meaning used is government are also excluded from the model. For example, in the statement that a draft mentioned at the conference was approved by Sofia, what is meant is not the geography of Sofia, but the Bulgarian government. For this reason, these were also excluded from the model.

Since the Paris Peace Conference did not only discuss border changes and lands, the geographical meaning of the words must be examined. Only geographical factors are considered in the model. Financial, economic, social, demographic, cultural, and military factors are excluded from the calculation of geopolitical weight. Similarly, economic, social, population, cultural and military discussions have been excluded from geopolitical weight. Compensation to be paid or received by states, names of cities and regions related to population changes, and geographical names mentioned in discussions about the fate of the armies of defeated states have been analyzed rigorously. Finally, in a sentence that starts after a word indicating geography, pronouns that refer to the previous geography are reflected in the geopolitical weight model. For example, different attributive words such as "this region" or "this free land" following a sentence about Trieste were included in the model. For all these reasons, instead of an ordinary index scan, a detailed geopolitical weight method was developed. In addition, the study and this method have an important goal which is to make it measurable which geographical regions have come to the forefront and which have remained in the background in the international arena from past to present in the Balkans. For this reason, the geopolitical weight of the Balkans at the 1946 Paris Peace Conference was a preliminary step.

⁵ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 16.

The picture that will emerge will make measurable not only the geopolitical weight of the Balkans, but also the change in the conflicts of interest of the great powers over the Balkans. For example, the change in the regions that are at the forefront of the Russian strategy towards the Mediterranean will help us understand the nature of Russian strategies. In Russian strategies, the Straits and sometimes some parts of the Balkans came to the fore. The change in the heat map of the geopolitical weight of a special region like the Balkans can give clearer answers to the following questions: Under what conditions did the importance of the Turkish Straits or the Balkans change in Russian expansionism? How have bilateral relations, especially with the Russians or the Russians' biggest rival, changed the geopolitical weight? How has the change in Russian zones of influence (e.g. the Ukrainian coast) affected Russian straits' strategy? Which regions in the Balkans have gained importance as an alternative to the Straits in Russian strategy? In which years did sectarian or ethnic unity with Russians become insignificant? Is the Russian interest in the Adriatic Sea only related to Russian zones of influence? In my doctoral thesis, which is an example study of the change in the concept of geopolitical weight, the changes in the geopolitical weight of the multilateral conferences (Casablanca, Cairo, Yalta, Malta, Potsdam etc.) during the Second World War were identified, a heat map was drawn and this provided a preliminary step for arguments such as the level of diplomatic difficulty and the changing threat perception of states as a greater whole⁶.

The scope of the study was limited to the Balkan geography and the surrounding geography at the Paris Peace Conference. The Balkan countries, primarily Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Türkiye and Romania, as well as Italy, which have border issues with Yugoslavia, and Hungary, which have border issues with Romania, are also within the scope of the study. During the Paris talks, issues related to Finland, Italy's colonies and the French border were excluded from the scope. Only the frequency figures of Austria and Czechoslovakia are shown in the tables due to their proximity to the Balkans.

⁶ Onur Köse, "İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türk Dış Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Nicel Analizi", (PhD diss., Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University 2025) 260-284.

Paris Peace Conference

The Paris Peace Conference was organized by the Allies after World War II to give the defeated countries an opportunity to express their views before the signing of the treaty. The conference aimed to resolve issues such as war reparations, minority issues, border problems, the future of colonies, troop restrictions and their repositioning in the international arena of Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland after the Second World War. 21 states from the Allies attended the conference. These included the five great powers: United States, United Kingdom, China, France, and Soviet Union, as well as Australia, Belarus, Belgium, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Abyssinia, India, Netherlands, Canada, Norway, Poland, Ukraine, New Zealand, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The 1946 Paris Conference lasted 79 days from 29 July 1946 to 15 October 1946. A total of 319 minutes and summaries were recorded during this period, in which more than 300 meetings were held, excluding the meetings with Finland. The meetings are sometimes transcribed verbatim, but are often summarised in the United States Delegation Journal⁷.

In the meetings of the conference on July 29-31, 1946, representatives of the occupied states described the history of their countries and their activities during the Second World War. The representatives of the defeated states⁸ also emphasized the anti-Axis activities of their states during the Second World War⁹. The later stages of the conference saw discussions on territory and borders that had geopolitical weight. However, problems with the law, economic conditions, compensation amounts to be given, population changes, cultural and artistic discussions, army restrictions and military debates such as the fate of the Italian navy were also frequently discussed. However, the study is based on territorial issues and geopolitical aspects of the mentioned regions¹⁰. Although the focus was on the defeated states (Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, Italy, Romania) due to the purpose of the conference, the geopolitical weight

⁷ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Introduction.

⁸ Romania, Bulgaria (Balkan countries); Hungary, Italy (countries close to the Balkans) and Finland

⁹ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 16-23.

¹⁰ As mentioned above, these regions are not based on words indicating delegates or governments, but on borders and the areas discussed.

was not reflected accordingly. As a result of the conference, the agreement was signed in Paris on February 10, 1947¹¹.

Geopolitical weight of the Paris Conference in the Balkans

In the first week of the conference, between July 29 and August 3, 1946, a total of 17 meetings were held, and 379 geographical regions regarding the Balkans and its surroundings were identified¹². Their numbers are as follows:

Table 1. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between July 29 and August 3, 1946.

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Italy	62	Macedonia	2
Greece	48	Western Thrace	2
Trieste	46	Western Istria	1
Romania	36	Julian Venice	1
Hungary	34	Crete	1
Yugoslavia	33	Southern Europe	1
Bulgaria	17	Transylvania	1
Albania	17	Dalmatia	1
Czechoslovakia	15	Saseno Island	1
Northern Epirus	8	Venice	1
Balkans	7	Thessaloniki	1
Austria	6	Aliakmon River	1
Istria	6	Rhodope Mountains	1
Slovakia	5	Kresna	1
Prague	4	Monastery	1

¹¹ Štefan ŠUTAJ, "Paris Conference 1946 - organizational principles of the Peace Conference", *Central European Papers*, 3, 2, (2015): 59.

¹² FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 16; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 17; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 18; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 19; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 22; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 23; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 24; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 25; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 26; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 27; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 30; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 31; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 34; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 35.

Pola	3	Otranto	1
Danube	3	Aegean Sea	1
Dodecanese	2	Ionian Sea	1
Bohemia	2	Adriatic	1
Northern Greece	2	South Carpathian	1

As can be seen in the table, Italy, Greece and the Trieste region came to the fore in the first week. In the discussions, Italian and representatives of the Allies advocated that the connection between Trieste and Italy should not be severed. Soviet representatives wanted Trieste to be cut off from Italy. The Soviet and Yugoslav theses were based on the fact that Trieste, under Italian rule, had not developed, that the region would develop when it came under Yugoslav control, and that the population of the inland areas connected to Trieste was made up of Slovenians (i.e. citizens of Yugoslavia). In this process, the international status of the Trieste region was also a subject of discussion. On the other hand, Greece's border demands occupied the conference. The theses of the Greek representatives were based on the fact that Western Thrace and Macedonia were left unprotected during the Second World War and the expansion of this border. Greek delegates also brought up the issue of Northern Epirus and stated that Greece had been treated unfairly in the past. At the conference, Greece's views were heard, but a mutual discussion had not yet begun. After Italy, Greece and Trieste, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia¹³ were spoken respectively. Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Austria were not on the agenda much this week.

In the second week, between 4 and 10 August 1946, the number of meetings held was 13. A total of 172 geographical regions discussed in the Balkans.¹⁴:

¹³ Although the main issue here is Trieste, the parties have given some examples to strengthen their own arguments. While examples of geographical regions outside the Balkans such as Memel and Danzig can be seen, Italian and Yugoslav territories were mentioned separately in the conference. For example, in some parts of the conference, the connection of Trieste with the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia was emphasized, and in some places it was associated with Italian territory. For this reason and because of the concept of "frequency of occurrence of the region name", which has geopolitical weight, Italian territory, Yugoslavian territory and the Trieste region were also discussed separately in the study.

¹⁴ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 44; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 46; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 48; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 49.

Table 2. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 4-10 August 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Albania	59	Fiume	2
Italy	50	Western Istria	2
Trieste	19	Northern Italy	1
Yugoslavia	11	Danube	1
Greece	10	Sava	1
Pola	6	Rapallo	1
Adriatic	4	Parento-Pula	1
Balkan	3	Istria	1

The data in Table 2 shows the geopolitical frequency values for the second week between 11-17 August 1946. Accordingly, the lands of Albania and Italy were the most discussed. Yugoslavia and Greece were barely mentioned at this stage, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria were not discussed. The reason for Albania coming to the forefront was the territorial claims of the Greek representatives. Albania, despite being occupied by Italy in 1939, faced accusations from Greece. However, the representatives of other countries at the conference expressed the opposite¹⁵. The reason for Italy coming to the forefront was the defense of Trieste's connection with Italy by the Italian delegation.

Sixteen meetings were held between 11-17 August 1946. The number of geographical regions mentioned about the Balkans and the surrounding region is 358. This week's distribution is as follows¹⁶:

Table 3. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 11-17 August 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Hungary	69	Sudet	2
Bulgaria	61	Thrace	2
Romania	58	Anatolia	1
Czechoslovakia	39	Eastern Balkans	1

¹⁵ Basil Kondis, "Greek national claims at the Paris Peace Conference of 1946", *Balkan Studies*, 32 (2) (1991): 321-322.

¹⁶ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 51; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 53; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 56; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 58; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 59; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 67.

Austria	18	South Tyrol	1
Greece	18	Carpathians	1
Italy	15	Northern Transylvania	1
Yugoslavia	11	Macedonia	1
North Aegean	9	Maritsa - Mesta rivers	1
Slovakia	8	Prague	1
Transylvania	6	Rhodopes	1
Danube	6	Romania-Hungary border	1
Albania	5	Serbia	1
Balkans	5	Trieste	1
Western Thrace	4	North of the Danube	1
Southern Bulgaria	3	Turkey	1
Austria-Italy border	2	Greece-Bulgaria border	1
Bohemia	2		

Data from the third week of the conference are shown in Table 3. Accordingly, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania were mentioned the most. Compared to other weeks, Czechoslovakia is among the prominent geographies. Italy did not stand out this week. The reason why Hungary came to the fore was that the Hungarian delegation, when it was their turn to speak, expressed their theses on the Hungarian-Romanian border and the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian border problems. Similarly, the reason why Bulgaria came to the fore was that the Bulgarian delegation, when it was their turn to speak in the sessions, defended their theses on their own borders¹⁷.

In the fourth week of the meeting, between 18-24 August 1946, 23 meetings were held and 122 regions regarding the Balkans were discussed¹⁸.

¹⁷ Aneta Mihaylova, "The Paris Peace Conference of 1946 and the Redrafting of Borders in Europe: The Bitter Experience of Two Former German Satellites", *Études Balkaniques*, 53 (4) Sofia (2017): 678.

¹⁸ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 70; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 72; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 73; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 74; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 75; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 76; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 77; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 81; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 82; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 84; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference:

Table 4. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 18-24 August 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Italy	25	Czechoslovakia	2
Greece	23	Istria	2
Albania	23	Pula	2
Hungary	9	Northern Epirus	2
Bulgaria	8	Greece-Bulgaria border	1
Trieste	8	Western Istria	1
Yugoslavia	4	Southern Albania	1
Romania	4	South Tyrol	1
Austria	4	Balkans	1
Hungary-Romania border	2	Hungary-Czechoslovakia border	1

Table 4 shows the data for the fourth week of the conference. Accordingly, geography and border changes have not come to the fore much. Regions of Italy, Greece and Albania were mentioned more frequently than others.

In the fifth week, between 25 and 31 August 1946, 29 meetings took place. In these meetings, the names of 59 regions in the Balkans and its surroundings were mentioned¹⁹.

Table 5. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 25-31 August 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Italy	18	Nagykaroly	1
Romania	13	Czechoslovakia-Hungary border	1
Bulgaria	5	Yugoslavia	1

Proceedings, Volume III, Document 85; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 86.

¹⁹ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 92; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 93; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 95; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 98; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 108; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 111; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 114; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 115; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 117; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 120.

Hungary	4	Nagyszalontai	1
Greece	4	Balkan	1
Romania-Hungary border	3	Nagyvarad	1
Albania	2	Szatmar	1
Transylvania	2	Arad	1

The talks at the end of August focused on issues other than regional and border issues. The issues discussed are mainly compensation issues. In terms of border and territorial issues, Italy and Romania are a bit more prominent than the others.

The number of meetings between 1-7 September 1946 was 37, and the region mentioned regarding the Balkans was 254²⁰.

Table 6. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 1-7 September 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Trieste	38	Bratislava	2
Italy	31	Northeast Italy	2
Bulgaria	24	North Tyrol	2
Hungary	23	Danube	2
Romania	20	Venetian plain	2
Yugoslavia	19	Pula	2
Greece	13	East Tyrol	1
Austria	8	Aegean Macedonia	1
Italy-Yugoslavia	8	Fiume	1

²⁰ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 121; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 125; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 127; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 128; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 129; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 133; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 134; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 136; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 137; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 139; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 140; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 143; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 145; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 148; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 149; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 152; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 153; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 154; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 155.

border			
Western Thrace	7	Gorizia	1
Macedonia	6	Isonzo	1
South Tyrol	5	Northern Transylvania	1
Balkans	4	Hungary- Czechoslovakia border	1
Bulgaria-Greece border	4	Oradea	1
Transylvania	4	Satu-Mare	1
Romania-Hungary border	3	Trento	1
Western Transylvania	3	Upper Isonzo Valley	1
Czechoslovakia	3	Arad	1
Istria	3	Budapest	1
Vienna	3		

Table 6. shows the frequency of the meetings held in the sixth week. Accordingly, Trieste and Italy came to the fore. After them, there were the names of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia. Specific regions such as Western Thrace and Macedonia also came to the fore. The issues discussed specifically in Trieste, Italy and Yugoslavia can be listed as follows: Many different views were proposed, such as Trieste becoming a new and independent state, the Trieste region being connected to Yugoslavia and reducing the area and severing its connection with Italy, and the Trieste region not being disconnected from Italy. However, the discussions have not yet been concluded. Discussions on the Bulgaria-Greece border problems and the Romania-Hungary border problems are also ongoing²¹. In the seventh week of the meeting, 32 meetings were held between 8-14 September 1946. The total number of frequencies for the Balkans is 167²².

²¹ Ibid.

²² FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 158; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 161; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 162; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 164; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 165; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 169; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 171; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 172; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 174; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 175, FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 180; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings,

Table 7. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 8 and 14 September 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Yugoslavia-Italy border	47	Czechoslovakia	3
Trieste	35	Macedonia	2
Bulgaria	17	South Macedonia	2
Greece	16	Bratislava	2
Yugoslavia	15	Venice	1
Italy	11	Albania	1
Western Thrace	6	Romania	1
Hungary	4	Lower Isonzo	1
Aegean	3		

Table 7 shows the geopolitical frequency values in the Balkans during the seventh week of the Paris Peace Conference. Accordingly, the most frequently mentioned issue was the border between Yugoslavia and Italy. Then came Trieste, which was also a region on this border. This area was also the area where the conference was most concentrated. During this period, futile border discussions about Trieste were still ongoing and the parties had not yet reached an agreement. After this frontier region, the presence of Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia was seen relatively less visible. In the discussions on the Bulgarian-Greek border, Bulgarian representatives stated that Greek views were not peaceful but bellicose²³. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Albania were among the geographies whose names were rarely mentioned.

In the eighth week, between 15 and 21 September 1946, 31 meetings were held and the names of 98 regions belonging to the Balkan geography were mentioned²⁴.

Table 8. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 15-21 September 1946

Volume III, Document 183; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 188.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 189; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 193-194; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 195; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 196; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 201; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 206; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 211.

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Trieste	43	Hungary	2
Yugoslavia	25	Istria	2
Italy	5	Western Thrace	1
Italy-Yugoslavia border	4	Greece-Bulgaria border	1
Czechoslovakia	4	South Tyrol	1
Greece	3	Eastern Yugoslavia	1
Venezia Giulia	3	Balkan	1
Bulgaria	2		

Table 8 shows the geopolitical frequency of the conference meetings from September 15-21. Accordingly, Trieste was mentioned most in the meetings. This time, the representatives supported their own theses by using population data. However, the discussions were inconclusive. In the meetings, apart from Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Albania were either mentioned only a few times or not at all. Between 22 and 28 September 1946, 39 meetings were held and 36 regional names related to the Balkans were mentioned in these meetings²⁵.

Table 9. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 22-28 September 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Albania	7	Bessarabia	1
Trieste	5	Northern Transylvania	1
Italy	4	Saseno Island	1
Italy-Yugoslavia border	3	Yugoslavian Coast	1
Yugoslavia	3	Greece	1
Greece-Bulgaria border	3	Italy-Trieste Border	1
Istria	2	Northern Epirus	1

²⁵ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 222; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 231; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 232; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 234; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 246; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 249; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 251; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 252; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 258; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 261.

Greece-Albania border	2		
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Table 9 shows the frequencies of the ninth week of the conference. This week, border and territorial issues were not discussed much. Although Albania appeared at the top, it would be wrong to say that the emphasis was on this country, as only 7 frequencies were detected. The committees that met this week were mainly concerned with economic and military discussions. In the tenth week of the conference, from September 29 to October 5, 1946, 45 meetings were held. A total of 65 regional names were seen in these meetings²⁶.

Table 10. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between September 29, 1946 and October 5, 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Danube	21	Italy	2
Trieste	9	Dodecanese Islands	2
Greece	5	Yugoslavia-Italy border	2
Romania	5	Transylvania	1
Bulgaria	5	Lesbos	1
Austria	3	Chios	1
Czechoslovakia	2	Greece-Bulgaria border	1
Yugoslavia	2	Greece-Albania border	1
Hungary	2		

When looking at Table 10, border issues were not discussed much in this phase either. The geography that came to the fore this time was the Danube River. The border and land problems between the Balkan countries were rarely mentioned. In the eleventh week and the next three days, which were the final phase of the conference, a total of 32 meetings were held between 6 and 15 October 1946. In these meetings, 165 regions were identified regarding the Balkans²⁷.

²⁶ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 266; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 272; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 273; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 276; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 277; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 283; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 294; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 307; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 308.

²⁷ FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 313; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 314; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 315; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference:

Table 11. Geopolitical frequency in the Balkans between 6-15 October 1946

Region	Frequency	Region	Frequency
Trieste	58	Italy	2
Danube	47	Czechoslovakia	2
Yugoslavia	15	Slovenia	1
Greece-Bulgaria border	7	Tyrol	1
Italy-Yugoslavia border	5	Dodecanese	1
South Tyrol	4	Transylvania	1
Bulgaria	4	Dobruja	1
Greece	3	Thessaloniki	1
Albania	2	Kavala	1
Western Thrace	2	Vienna	1
Hungary	2	Northern Transylvania	1
Austria	2	Romania	1

Table 11 shows the geopolitical frequencies in the final parts of the conference. The meetings focused on the details of Trieste's independence and international status. Yugoslavia reluctantly accepted this, and in addition, they questioned why the territorial extent of the Trieste region was maintained large. In addition, the Yugoslav representative argued that this expansion could not be explained by either population or economy. It was stated that this deprived Yugoslavia of an important port. As a result, delegates close to the Allies generally supported Italy on the Trieste issue, while delegates close to the Soviet Union supported the Yugoslavia argument. Although there were abstentions on the side of the Allies in some cases, the polarization of the states' votes was as follows: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Greece, India, the

Proceedings, Volume III, Document 316; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 317; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 318; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 319; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 320; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 322; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 323; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 324; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 325; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 326; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 328; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 329; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 330; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 331; FRUS, 1946, Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings, Volume III, Document 334.

Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States of America against Belarus, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, the USSR, and Yugoslavia. After Trieste, there were also many discussions on the international control of the Danube River. In addition, the invalidity of Greece's claims to Bulgarian and Albanian lands was emphasized during this process. In a general overview; the geopolitical weight of the Paris Peace Conference, which took place between July 29, 1946 and October 15, 1946, specifically for the Balkans, is shown in the table below:

Table 12. Geopolitical weight of the Paris Peace Conference in the Balkans

Region	%	Region	%
Trieste	13,96	Sudet	0,1
Italy	11,99	Thrace	0,1
Hungary	7,94	Aliakmon River	0,05
Greece	7,67	Anatolia	0,05
Bulgaria	7,62	Lower Isonzo	0,05
Yugoslavia	7,4	Bessarabia	0,05
Romania	7,35	Budapest	0,05
Albania	6,18	Dalmatia	0,05
Danube	4,26	Dobruja	0,05
Czechoslovakia	3,73	Eastern Balkans	0,05
Italy-Yugoslavia border	3,67	Eastern Tyrol	0,05
Austria	2,18	Eastern Yugoslavia	0,05
Balkans	1,17	Aegean Macedonia	0,05
Western Thrace	1,17	Crete	0,05
Bulgaria-Greece border	0,95	Gorizia	0,05
Istria	0,85	Southern Albania	0,05
Transylvania	0,79	Southern Europe	0,05
Pola	0,69	South Carpathian	0,05
Slovakia	0,69	Isonzo	0,05
South Tyrol	0,63	Italy-Trieste Border	0,05
Northern Epirus	0,58	Ionian Sea	0,05
Macedonia	0,58	Julian Venice	0,05

Northern Aegean	0,47	Carpathians	0,05
Hungary-Romania border	0,47	Kavala	0,05
Adriatic	0,26	Kresna	0,05
Dodecanese	0,26	Northern Italy	0,05
Prague	0,26	Monastery	0,05
Western Istria	0,21	Meric-Mesta Rivers	0,05
Bohemia	0,21	Lesbos	0,05
Bratislava	0,21	Nagykaroly	0,05
Aegean Sea	0,21	Nagyszalonta	0,05
Northern Transylvania	0,21	Nagyvarad	0,05
Venice	0,21	Oradea	0,05
Vienna	0,21	Otranto	0,05
Western Transylvania	0,15	Parenzo-Pola	0,05
Czechoslovakia-Hungary border	0,15	Rapallo	0,05
Fiume	0,15	Chios	0,05
Southern Bulgaria	0,15	Satu-Mare	0,05
Venezia Giulia	0,15	Sava	0,05
Greece-Albania border	0,15	Serbia	0,05
Arad	0,1	Slovenia	0,05
Austria-Italy border	0,1	Szatmar	0,05
South Macedonia	0,1	Tyrol	0,05
North East Italy	0,1	Trento	0,05
North Tyrol	0,1	North of Danube	0,05
North Greece	0,1	Turkey	0,05
Rhodope Mountains	0,1	Yugoslav coast	0,05
Saseno Island	0,1	Upper Isonzo Valley	0,05
Thessaloniki	0,1		

As can be seen in the table, the region that occupied the conference the most was the Trieste region between Italy and Yugoslavia. This region was followed by the geography of Italy, followed by the geographies of Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania and Albania.

Conclusion

The Paris Peace Conference, convened to address the problems of Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania following World War II,

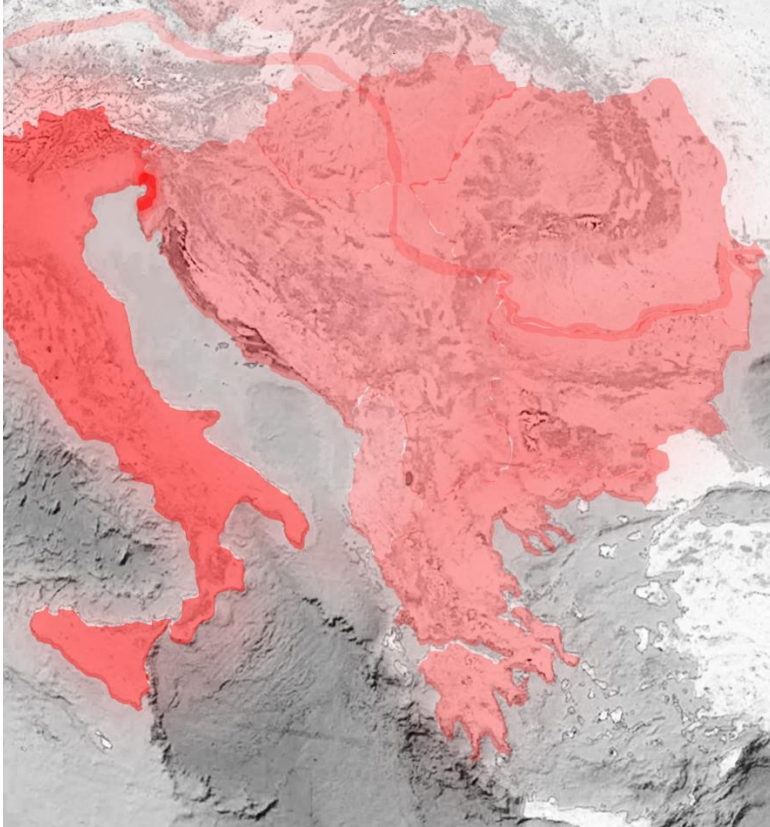
was concluded in October 1946. The conference addressed key issues regarding post-war reparations for Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Finland, population issues, geographical challenges, the future of Italian colonies, military restrictions, and the prospective positions of these countries in the international arena. A total of 21 countries, excluding the former Axis countries mentioned above, participated in the conference and it lasted more than two and a half months. At the beginning of the conference, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Italy highlighted their military operations against Germany towards the end of the war. The occupied states also emphasized their resistance during the occupation and their later participation in the anti-Axis forces. In the course of the conference, not only land issues were discussed, but also many other issues such as law, economy, population and army.

The analysis revealed the following general findings on the conference:

In the meetings in the first week of the conference, Italy, Yugoslavia and the Trieste region on the border gained weight, followed by Greece. Other regions of the Balkans have received considerably less attention. Albania and Italy gained importance in the second week. The eastern parts of the Balkans were not mentioned. In the third week, regions such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania came to the fore. In the following two weeks, issues other than land and border issues were at the forefront. In the sixth, seventh and eighth weeks, Trieste, Italy and Yugoslavia came to the fore again. In the following two weeks, issues other than land and border issues were discussed more. In the last meetings of the conference, Trieste and the Danube gained importance. Generally speaking, Trieste and the surrounding regions gained the most prominence in the conference. 13.96% of the nearly 2000 geographical regions identified in the Balkans at the conference correspond to Trieste. Italy came after Trieste with 11.99%. These two regions and countries are where geopolitics at the conference gained importance most. Although the study and the data presented here were limited to the Balkan geography, Trieste and Italy were the most prominent topics of the conference as a whole. The conference saw the states of Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania gaining weight with approximately 7%. Albania comes after these countries. The Danube area, Czechoslovakia and Austria remained partly in the background. Although it does not cover the whole country, some much smaller regions have also come to the fore. Apart from Trieste, Western Thrace, Istria, Transylvania, Pola, South Tyrol, Northern Epirus and Macedonia can be listed. The geopolitical significance of the

Dodecanese Islands was seen as a small percentage of only 0.26%.The geopolitical weight of the Dodecanese Islands was seen as a small percentage of only 0.26%. Apart from these, other geographical regions outside the Balkans that gained weight at the conference from time to time were the Italian colonies, the France-Italy border, Finland and Germany.

The distribution of geopolitical frequencies on the map is as follows:



Map 1: Geopolitical weight of the Balkans and its surroundings

Geopolitical concerns regarding territory and borders were not limited to states that were occupied against defeated states, such as Italy-Yugoslavia or Greece-Bulgaria. Problems between Bulgaria-Romania and Romania-Hungary were also frequently mentioned. Moreover, these problems originate neither from the end of World War II nor from the beginning of World War II. The basis of these problems goes back much further, perhaps to the 19th century. On the other hand, Macedonia,

among the occupied states, has remained among the frequently discussed issues. Border issues of states occupied before World War II, such as Albania and Czechoslovakia, were also discussed. The Northern Epirus issue between Greece and Albania can be given as an example. Greece accused Albania, which had previously been occupied by Italy, of being a collaborator and made territorial demands from Albania at many stages of the conference. Hungary's northern borders and Austria's southern borders were occasionally brought to the agenda due to problems resulting from the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or from the First World War.

In conclusion, the tensions between the Balkan States in 1946 largely centered on Trieste. Greece's demands on Bulgarian and Albanian lands and the Romania-Hungary issue were of secondary importance. In 1946, the weight of the Cold War in the Balkans was in the Trieste region. The reasons for Trieste having the highest frequency were both the Italy-Yugoslavia border problem, the Cold War between the Eastern and Western Blocs gaining weight in this region, and the fact that it was one of the most important regions for the Mediterranean trade of Central European countries. In addition, this study which aims to measure the historical variability of the geopolitical weight of the Balkans in the international arena, the geopolitical weight of the Balkans in 1946 was identified. This geopolitical weight determined only covers the year 1946. Continuing the geopolitical weight measurements for the period after 1947 will help understand the variability in the process more clearly.

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