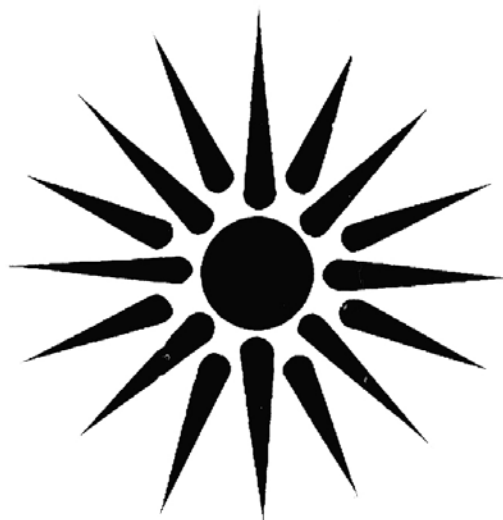


*Ideological Activism –  
Macedonians Under  
Greece*



By  
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(Translated from Macedonian to English and  
edited by Risto Stefov)

# Ideological Activism – Macedonians Under Greece

Published by:

Risto Stefov Publications  
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Toronto, Canada

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e-Book Format

May 20, 2015

## REMEMBERING: IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVISM - MACEDONIANS UNDER GREECE (1945-1949)

Digging into the past has allowed me to better understand the truth about the genocide committed against the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia in the years 1945 to 1949, precisely during the period when the Communist International was active in Greece. Historical studies and research conducted after the genocide inspired me to write about the very activities (attitudes, views, crucial decisions) which were detrimental to our future. These “ideological” activities were ordered “from above” by the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) and by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia/Communist Party of Macedonia (CPY/CPM) and were blindly followed and implemented by the National Liberation Front (NOF) and Anti-Fascists Front for Women (AFZH), to the detriment of the Macedonian people.

It later became obvious that we the Macedonians, as soldiers of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG), did not have any control of the Macedonian political movement. We were novices and all the knowledge we had was planted into our minds; all the effort and compassion we put into this service was already pre-planned by the ideologues of war - strangers to our kind.

After conducting my own investigation, I was able to confirm that: Our organizations NOF and AFZH were always under the watchful eye of “big brother” who ruthlessly had the organizations under his control. Everything was under his control; perception, attitude, view of the world, importance of action, engagement in achieving certain social and especially political problems, etc. By digging deeper and analyzing details of NOF’s and AFZH’s activities, I was able to provide evidence that Yugoslavia and its ideological movement was in favour of Greece and the Western powers. Yugoslavia was in favour of the division of the spheres of influence, a decision that was made in Yalta and in Crimea from February 4 to 11, 1945, regarding the new post-war settlement of the planet earth.

My research and my results documented in this book aim to answer the following questions:

1. How and why was the “Macedonian syndrome” activated, through ideological activism, in Greek occupied Macedonia after World War II and during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949)?
2. With what kind of strategic objective did we organize NOF and who actually pushed us to take a military option and fight in a war? Was that our strategic goal or was it organized by strangers through ideological activism (Operatives of strategic tasks) with the awareness that, for half a century, we were forced to follow a “comfortable” policy with Greece?
3. Were the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia, intellectually, military and political capable, through such a strategic option, of preserving the territorial integrity of Greek occupied Macedonia and the compactness of the Macedonian population after World War II when international state borders, particularly after the international border between Greece and Yugoslavia became a militarized frontier between the Western and Eastern camp?
4. Why did we discard the alternative of not getting involved in the war? Was it because it would have been less glorious not to have fought? Had we chosen that option there was a good chance that today we would still be at home in our own iconic Macedonian space; on our grandfather’s piece of land!
5. The Greek Civil War (1945-1949) spilled a lot of our blood and left our villages and homes burned to the ground. Worse than that, it permanently drove the Macedonian people out from their native lands and left them stranded to roam the world. It ruined our lives as Macedonians.

The Author  
Skopje, 1995

## FOREWORD

The political manipulation of the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia, by Communist International and the Communist parties (CPG; CPB (Communist Party of Bulgaria) and CPY) during the war years (1940-1950); The half a century of wandering and silence after the 1953 Balkan Pact; are only a couple of factors that have led to severe consequences for the Macedonian people. These were people who were recruited (most by violent mobilization) and pushed into becoming ideological soldiers (“useful idiots”), victims who became unwilling servants of other people’s interests. And as a result they not only lost their political identity, but were thrown into total political discrimination and social marginalization (they were thrown into the ideological waste basket), with aims at turning them into ideological and political believers. Today all this is reflected in the overall national interests of the Macedonian people.

For them, the Macedonian Question, or a representation of it, from a political or even ethnic point of view, was a huge plot and that is why there was no reality to the slogan “United Macedonia” after the Second World War. And that is why we, the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, found ourselves outside of our homes and exiled forever. To attempt to examine if we had a strategy of our own during the Greek Civil War is beyond reason, but we do have to admit that it was our blood that the strangers used to write their own great stories.

The topic “(Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece”, in a range of dilemmas, about which I have touched upon in my book, is of vital interest to the Macedonian nation and can be summarized by answering a few important questions: Are we defending a revolution in the “History of Greek occupied Macedonia”, or are we covering up a fraud for all those (self) sacrifices we experienced?! Was there any point to our entry into a new war (Greek Civil War) after World War II was over and after most problems created by it were already globally resolved, including the international border running right through historic and ethnic Macedonia? Why did we enter this war without any clear idea as to where we were headed? Why did we follow the absurd suicidal strategy to bring socialism to Greece and

allow the “communists” to use us in a fictional strategy concocted by strangers to “Soviet-ize the Balkans” and whatever else they were doing? Surely we must also have known how the Greek government with an Army of 250,000 trained soldiers equipped with the most modern weapons, leaning towards the far right, would have reacted to this, especially since they referred to us as “Bandits” and called this war, not a Macedonian revolution, not a Greek Civil War, but a “Bandit war”. Objectively speaking, most of the historiography about this war has been referred to as a “Partisan War with 90% of the fighters being forcibly mobilized peasants under the leadership of the CPG”. But, as a matter of fact, we the Macedonians contributed about 50-60% of the total resources available to DAG from the villages where NOF and AFZH had influence and pushed us into the war.

The problem seemed complicated but apparently the truth was simple, but only if we were honest and impartial about how we regarded our historical objectivity. We Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia were always under close watch or under the watchful eyes of the anti-Macedonians. But the fact is that we never paid much attention to ourselves, our vital interests, but rather we hoped that our national problem would be solved by our ideologically affiliated “Big Brothers”.

Today’s findings are telling us that many powers did whatever they could to force the indigenous Macedonian people out of Greek occupied Macedonia and silence them permanently. These “interventions” were most apparent after the Second World War. But then the question is: What did we do in this “stormy chaos” after the world was divided into spheres of influence between the two camps? What did we do after they had dropped the “iron curtain” between us? Also surprising is the fact that, even after the creation of the Macedonian state and even when two sovereign states, Greece and Yugoslavia, stood between us, we were still obsessed with the idea of unifying all of historic and ethnic Macedonia and all the Macedonian people, including those living in Greek occupied Macedonia by “starting a revolution” which “fit with our historical needs” and was based on “ancient traditions.” But, from what had happened and the stage we were in, after World War II ended, and after the world was divided into rigid spheres of influence, when it

should have been very clear to us why such a political option was not viable at that point in time, we, it seems, were still too blind to see the truth. It seems that the “architects” who were planning our demise were sure that we would be “blinded” by our ancient desires to create a United Macedonia and that we would dismiss the truth even though it was staring us in the face. And sure enough they were right and that is why, at the end of April 23, 1945, they created the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS (People’s Liberation Youth Organization) in Skopje and through them urgently called on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to stand up and fight: “Now or never!” It was done in the period when we were under the spell of the ideological force of strangers. Strangers who, on one hand, did not allow the Macedonians to foster healthy nationalism, but at the same time demanded that they fight for their nation without being aware of what that nation was, which made it impossible for them to create a strategy for building such a nation or a state for it. So, what did we do? We hitched a strategic ride with strangers, to an unknown destination and we ended up being exiled from our native homes and lands. We went where they wanted to take us and, as such, it is a fact that we Macedonians (in integral terms) did not see this coming. At the same time we cannot place the entire load of responsibility just on those who led the activities that directly sent our people to hell. Some of the blame must be placed on those who proclaimed that this was “an authentic revolution” and that we, by following the directive set out by the CPY and the CPG, “voluntarily” created the well-known idea of “unity” and that we were “assured” that the CPG led us down the mathematically best road we could have taken, and that the CPG had magical powers. And all this was only used for their own survival, at the cost of our national interests and in favour of installing socialism in Greece. After that we came to believe that NOF and AFZH were the “bearers of the noblest ideas and ideals of our traditional uprisings”. But as it turned out, they, our people, members of NOF and AFZH, only had titles without any power. They had absolutely no power of their own to act throughout the entire period in which they were supposedly in charge. Their positions were strictly dogmatic and canonical. They were subordinated with unquestioned blind obedience, built on doubt and constantly forced to prove their loyalty.

It is interesting to note that the people of NOF and AFZH have been silent on the subject. These same people who convulsively propagated this deadly military ideology on the Macedonian people, step by step as it was prescribed by the CPY and by the CPG, and pushed them en masse on the projected red hangman's noose are now silent on the subject. The very same people, who pushed the Macedonian people to experience genocide and to be persecuted and driven out from their homes, at the end the Greek Civil War, are now silent!

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The CPG, the PDB (Temporary Democratic Government in Greece) and DAG's General Headquarters were heavily in support of the Party and Greek politics, particularly when Zahariadis was looking for exclusive traits in his staff, consisting of personal loyalty and obedience. Anyone who was not active in the Party and did not possess servility and was expected to be fully anonymous, still had to seek his or her rights which remained tightly framed by party rules.

To this day, we Macedonians cannot understand that the CPG could do only so much (or so little) for us Macedonians before it was noticed by the Greek state or regime in power. Although the CPG needed us to do its bidding, it did not want to associate itself with us, with the Macedonian people as the indigenous people who traditionally and for centuries lived in our ethnic and historic territory, which was taken away from us during Macedonia's invasion, occupation, division and annexation by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria in 1913. The CPG did not want to be associated with an oppressed people within the Greek state, a people that was treated as a minority on its own lands; a people that was not entitled to reunite with its own family of people. A people that had the right to self-determination! Yet here we are, witnesses to the fact that the CPG was not a defender of the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia, even though it claimed to be a defender of all minorities living in foreign ethnic - historical territories. And in all that time, while the CPG treated us as an ethnic minority living on historic Greek territory, and after the genocide of the Greek Civil War, it threw us out of our homes, without the right of return, that is



if we did not declare ourselves as “Greeks by birth”! To this day the CPG, which was trusted by many Macedonians, has remained an observer in the destiny of the Macedonian people.

This kind of political manipulation on the part of both the CPG and the CPY could hardly go unnoticed, let alone remain without serious consequences, not only in the integrity of these parties but also on the totality of the Macedonian people, because it was through these parties that the people accepted the rhythm of global indoctrination. It was through this kind of political manipulation that we ended up in the ranks of the CPG, or in DAG, as typical ideological soldiers; meaning we were soldiers who fought against imperialism in Greece; we were not an army leading “our indigenous revolution” as was proclaimed to us early in the mobilization. Then when we found ourselves at the end of our ropes, fighting for our “biological survival” against an army which possessed the latest weapons and was managed by General Van Fleet, a US Specialist against guerrillas, what options did we have but to flee for our lives? This, or dying to the last one, was the only logical solution chosen for us by the strangers whom we blindly followed into the genocidal blind alley. They led us to a fight for justice with fire and a sword and instead of justice; we found genocide and ethnic cleansing. This is how the Macedonian people were led to the historical situation where they had to sacrifice themselves as ideological soldiers.

After this disaster, to place blame elsewhere, the CPG accused the same powerless and obedient Macedonian leaders, who it led by the nose, of accomplishing their own “sacred” task. The very same people who helped the CPG carry out this ideological war were accused of sabotaging it! And when the situation had all the signs of tragedy then we saw the rise and fall of our ideological activists. But what is more absurd about all this is the fact that these “Macedonian leaders” were not punished by their opponent, but by their own ally, with whom until yesterday they had fought and both were dying for the same goal, i.e. to defeat imperialism and establish socialism in Greece. For us the Macedonians, here and now, the ideological systems of strangers became important. But there is nothing strange when we think that the consequences of that civil war were politically exploited by those who saw them fit their agenda. Isn't

that why we continue to write our historiography and literature with such motives?

## HOW AND WHY DID WE ALLOW (ENTRUST) THE SETTLERS FROM ASIA MINOR TO LEAD US IN THE WAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE REUNIFICATION OF MACEDONIA!?

Research conducted in this study, regarding the ideological activism phenomenon applied against the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia, has revealed that this phenomenon was used to suppress Macedonian national interests and put them in the background. The Communists did not want independent and proud Macedonians, especially in CPG forums: Central Committee, Politburo, military - political functions, etc. These organizations were all staffed by non-Macedonians. The architects of this struggle wanted the Macedonians to be ideologically obedient soldiers and nothing more. By denying the Macedonian people leading positions in the struggle, the CPG laid the foundation for their destruction in the future. It legitimately created new conditions for genocide, which were then carried out by the Greek state in the most brutal way.

The communists conveniently, through deceit, pressure and white terror instigated by the right side, placed arms in the hands of the Macedonians so that the Greek government, in the name of protecting its sovereignty, could legally destroy them by armed action and by expulsion. In other words, Greece was placed in a situation where it had no choice but to react to this internal threat. It had the right to protect itself in accordance with accepted legal standards.

The genocide in Greek occupied Macedonia began after Greece annexed 51% of historic Macedonia along with its population. Greece wanted the Macedonian territory but did not want the Macedonians that came with it and, ever since, tried by any means possible to get rid of them.

Regardless to what party or political system a Greek belonged, he or she has one national goal, to eradicate the Macedonian existence by

any way possible. Greece always wanted to change the complete national physiognomy in Greek occupied Macedonia but, on a massive scale, it began in the 1920's, in the period 1924-1935, when the Greek government settled six hundred thousand aliens on Macedonia soil; when it changed the place names in the Macedonian toponomy including the names of cities, villages, lakes, rivers and mountains; when it changed the personal names of every single person who had a Macedonian name. Later, when the CPG was verbally preaching to the Macedonian people about a "United and independent Macedonia", it was setting the conditions for a new type of "genocide" the likes that had never been experienced before – total annihilation.

But for all that was said and done, to this day, the CPG has offered no explanation as to why it did that; to this day it has remained silent on this matter. The CPG's main goal, the entire time, was to recruit as many Macedonians as possible into its ranks and then sacrifice them "for the good of the Party". But as it turned out, in reality, all this was done to divert Macedonian attention away from Macedonian national feelings, and to be able to lead the Macedonian people into a deeper crisis and eventually have them run for their lives; forgetting about their Macedonia, Macedonian sentiments and Macedonian traditions. And, isn't it exactly how it turned out?

This ideological activism, however, was not only dominating the winds of war, but was also expressed in Macedonian historiography in a kind of Macedonian historical positivism, which shows that our historiography, in its meticulousness and political apathy, has allowed this secondary unscrupulous aggression, through awareness of this ideological activism, to build and legalize this ideological position as a fundamental and basic historical factor of the past of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. But this is also evidence of a tragedy, caused by this absurd war of foreign strategists in which, as a war, had no code of conduct, in which ordinary men and women were violently ideologically indoctrinated with a national vision of cosmopolitanism, an exclusively ideological entity and a strategic factor in a planned genocide. The genocide was a reality for as long as the victims cooperated with their executioner. And the result was violent, as violent as the people wanted to make it.

So the question is: “Did the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, who were members of the CPG, come into conflict with the CPG when they raised the question of unification with the other parts of divided Macedonia?!” The answer is: YES!

Why? Because after changes were made to the ethnic composition of the population by depositing the 600,000 Madzhir colonists from Asia Minor into Greek occupied Macedonia, which was a strategic move on Greece’s part, the most important thing was to have a colonist lead the CPG, a colonist who would never want to separate Greek occupied Macedonia from queen mother Greece. Greece gave the colonists free homes and lands in Greek occupied Macedonia, why would they now risk all that? How would it have helped them if they allowed the so-called United Macedonia to become a reality in a Balkan federation?

This means that, outside of the equal rights that the CPG offered in its program, it offered nothing else! This is why this ideological activism, guided by strangers, brought great harm to our people.

For the sake of the truth I have decided to reveal the entire picture from our tragic and great cruelty of life, which shows the extent to which we were tormented. This means that the strangers who led us could only fully realize their goals, through forward-looking projections by grinding down and destroying any kind of lasting testimony of the Macedonian people’s national potential, who for centuries have lived and fought for the independence of their grandfather’s homes.

WERE SNOF, NOF, AFZH AND NOMS CREATED BY CHANCE?

Right from the start I want to emphasize that: “Only laymen believe what happened in the Greek Civil War (1945- 1949) was purely by accident!”

After Macedonia was partitioned in 1913, it became known as the “powder keg” of the Balkans, which at any moment could explode.

How and why? Because in politics, as it is in life, nothing is done by accident!

In this book we describe a hidden history; about all Macedonian divisions and schisms, especially in the years 1940 - 1949, in which we Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia experienced genocide and forever lost our traditional homes.

There was nothing “accidental” in the politics about us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. Everything was planned as part of the Greek strategy, well planned for the days, months and even years ahead after Macedonia’s 1913 partition. Greek strategists have created various options for “de-Macedonian-izing” Greek occupied Macedonia or the part of Macedonia under their authority. If they failed with the first part, they activated the second part, the third part... and regardless of who was in power be it the; Left forces, middle, or right forces... their policy regarding the Macedonians was and still is the same because Greece is a “conventional state”: “one king, one nation, one language, one church and everyone in it is a Greek by birth.” So, as you can see, there is no room for Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia!

#### AFTER MACEDONIA’S DIVISION THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE EXPERIENCED A HARSH GRIP OF GENOCIDE IN THE HANDS OF STRANGERS

There was rarely any room left for error or omission throughout that entire period. History, about those on the Left, has shown that the powerful often tend to mask their mistakes, make them less visible, cover them with a veil of forgetfulness. This became apparent during World War II and during the Greek Civil War. The cruelty of life grew to unbearable hatred, which culminated in the victimization of the Macedonian population.

Studies have shown not only how, but to some extent why the leftist forces destroyed the Macedonian rebels (freedom fighters) in Greek occupied Macedonia and then organized the Greek Civil War (1946 - 1949). The truth is hidden in the secrets of those who ruled; they possessed the hidden facts that are rarely recorded in history books.

Included in this conflicting ideological grouping of communists, that wanted the destruction of the Kostur rebels, were some prominent Macedonian Communists who had joined forces with the Madzhir colonists from Asia Minor. These colonists were deposited in the Kostur villages in 1924 and saw themselves as proud internationalists. It was ironic that the left, in which Macedonians were included, wanted to destroy Macedonian-ism which, at the same time, met the strategic objectives of the Greek kingdom which, for a long time, had performed genocide over the Macedonian people with a single goal: “to create a pure Greek state with a pure Greek nation...”

The outcome has showed us that only the Kostur rebels were guided by Delchev’s philosophy and by the Macedonian freedom fighters who believed that if you die for something then die for Macedonia. And this is exactly what led them to create their own Macedonian army and to refuse to be subservient to the Greek government or to the Communist (internationalists) and that is exactly why they were destroyed.

History will record the strategy of the rebel eternal desire: to have our identity and language returned, to protect our families, properties and villages and to remain masters of our grandfather’s hearth.

First: The rebels, as the rightful sons of these Macedonian lands, brought back the Kostur dialect of the Macedonian language, which for years had been prohibited by Greek law from being spoken;

Second: The rebels re-opened the Macedonian churches and liturgy was conducted in the Macedonian language and so were other rites including baptisms, weddings and funerals;

Third: The local militia addressed the people in their native Macedonian language.

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## TO DESTROY THE KOSTUR REBELS, CPG LEADER SIANTOS REQUESTED ASSISTANCE FOR THE CPY AND MET WITH TEMPO FROM MONTENEGRO

During the Tempo – Siantos talks in August 1943, Siantos accepted Tempo's suggestion to create a special Macedonian military unit in Greek occupied Macedonia for the purpose of leading, agitating and spreading propaganda in the Macedonian language. This was the first step in setting the bait; have Macedonians snare the rebels by an all Macedonian organization and calling it Slavo-Macedonian Liberation Front (SNOF). Let us be clear, however, about something here; this organization was not created by Macedonians and ironically, no one asked why?

A while ago I was reading a provocative book entitled "The Macedonian National Liberation platform in the Aegean part of Macedonia - January 1944" by Dr. Alexander Litovski who, on page 233, wrote: "...regarding the Macedonian national question in the Aegean part of Macedonia, the Macedonian movement was institutionalized through SNOF." Then, on page 236, he wrote: "In fact if we consider SNOF's political propaganda activities we can clearly see two dominant directions of action; the first towards attracting the Macedonian population into EAM (National Liberation Front) and the CPG, and the second towards strengthening a separate Macedonian national identity in the Aegean part of Macedonia."

When I read these two paragraphs I froze in silence!?

The old people used to say: "Thoughts that don't take reality into account are easy thoughts to think."

Unfortunately Dr. Litovski, even though he is Macedonian, had no clue that the words "Slavo-Macedonian" in SNOF were "a tribal attribute".

There is nothing worse for a Macedonian than Macedonian science, half a century later, to be celebrating a fraud perpetrated by strangers, in this case by Siantos and Tempo, both representatives of

the Left; Siantos of the CPG and Tempo of the CPY, who rightly saw the Macedonian people as “useful idiots”.

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THE “DEED” PROPOSED BY THE LEFTISTS WAS ACCEPTED BY THE MACEDONIAN COMMUNISTS AND BY THE PEOPLE OF ELAS (GREEK NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY) BUT NOT BY THE MACEDONIAN REBELS

We, the Macedonian soldiers who fought in the Greek Civil War from 1946 to 1949, paid the price for the manipulations, sins and concerns of the Macedonians – renamed “Slavo-Macedonians”!

Did the CPG, i.e. the Greek communists, really stop being racists against the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia? Did they repel or at least dissociate themselves from the assimilatory laws that past Greek governments had passed that worked against the Macedonians?! The answer is: No!

It is understandable that CPG Secretary Siantos, a Greek, would be prejudiced against the Macedonians, but Tempo? It was CPY representative Tempo, a Montenegrin, who proposed to the Greeks to create SNOF, a Macedonian organization to snare the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels and destroy them. Why “Slavo-Macedonian”? Did Tempo, from his experience with the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, not know that the people living in Macedonia were Macedonians and not “Slavo-Macedonians”?

After World War I the Greeks invented a new name for the Macedonians. Convinced in their own minds that the “real” Macedonians were Greeks, they decided to call the living, thriving, indigenous and autochthonous Macedonians “Slavo-Macedonians”. This name and its thesis were propagated by the Kostur Bishop Karavangelis. The living Macedonians were robbed of choosing a name for themselves or determining their own ethnic identity; the Greeks did that for them and forced upon them the derogatory slave name “Slavo-Macedonians” meaning that they were not Macedonians but newcomer Carpathian “Slavs” living on



Macedonian lands, which were Greek lands, and that these “Slavs” did not belong there. That was the impression given not only to the Greeks and to the rest of the world but also to the Macedonians themselves. In other words “your grandfather’s lands are no longer yours” and “you do not belong here”!

The name “Slavo-Macedonians” was introduced on an ethnic map of Macedonia in 1918 by Sotiriadis, a Greek by origin. Greek scientists were responsible for establishing the new name for the Macedonians. (See the book “Macedonia is not Greek” by Turkish Lieutenant General Erdogan Oznal.)

Without Macedonian consent, following Tempo’s proposal and Siantos’s approval, on October 20, 1943 SNOF was created in the village Snichani, Kostur Region by Hristos Kalfas – Andreas, CPG Secretary for Western Macedonia, Antonis Andonopoulos – Pericles, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region, and by Tansis Kartsounis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozheni Region.

SNOF and everything else that came with it were intentionally created to break the rebels with assurances that Macedonian Organizations were already established and that they were not needed. So, after the formation of SNOF in Greek occupied Macedonia we had “Slavo-Macedonians”, ELAS fighters and freedom fighting rebels.

It is worth mentioning here that in January 1944, the CPG allowed the formation of a so-called “Slavo-Macedonian” army called SNOV and placed it under the direct leadership of EAM and ELAS. Later it was from this “army” that the “Aegean Brigade” was formed and transferred to Tito’s Army in Yugoslavia.

Immediately after its creation, the so-called “Slavo-Macedonian” battalions received orders to prepare to liquidate the rebel formations. Then, on August 21, 1944, the Kostur battalion attacked several armed rebel villages and managed to disarm a number of rebels.

At the end of August about 300 rebels from Kostur Region joined the Lerin - Kostur Macedonian battalion which, at the time, belonged to ELAS under the command of Captain Markos. But Captain Markos did not want the Macedonian battalions in Macedonia and demanded that they be transferred to Epirus with new tasks.

As usual, the Greeks communists, showing their true colours, began to threaten the Macedonians who were organized in SNOF. As a result many no longer wanted to belong to ELAS and a large number disconnected themselves and fled with their people and villages and went over the border to Yugoslavia. Then, on November 18, 1944, these battalions were regrouped in Bitola to form the "Aegean Brigade" and deployed in Tito's Yugoslav Army.

WHERE DID SNOF, NOF AND AFZH'S POLITICAL STRATEGY, PREACHED IN THE MACEDONIAN VILLAGES IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA, DISAPPEAR?

Some of the more dissatisfied Macedonian communists belonging to ELAS, guided by their servile conscience, moved to Yugoslavia and left their own people, properties and homeland to be destroyed by their enemies in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Those fighters who left Greek occupied Macedonia and went to Yugoslavia came under the leadership of the CPY/CPM (Communist Party of Macedonia). It was from these fighters that, in Skopje on April 23, 1945, the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation for a new conflict - the Greek Civil War.

Studies have shown that all members of NOF and AFZH were obedient people with limited leadership potential who the CPG and CPM/CPY easily manipulated and used in the villages to do their dirty deeds and carry out orders given from "above". Soon the people of NOF and AFZH became the strongest centres for spreading ideological propaganda in the villages. It is a fact that at that period of time, before NOF and AFZH, there was no ideological activism in the Macedonian villages. In principle there is no memory

of it but in practice it was needed to provoke the people and cause hatred between them. And as such, the CPY and CPG assisted the Greek authorities to push the Macedonian nation into an unwanted war and eventually to its destruction.

If we take a closer look we will see that, at precisely that time when World War II (WW II) was over, the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation for the Greek Civil War. By then WW II had ended and the “Great Powers” were in the process of resolving all issues by peaceful means. The Conference to settle post war issues, regarding the entire globe, had already taken place in Yalta in Crimea, which lasted from February 4<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> 1945. By then the world was already divided into spheres of influence and Agreements had been signed. The US, UK and USSR openly and widely made it known that the entire globe was divided into spheres of influence, and the three had openly announced their goals and aspirations. It was also made abundantly clear that Greece, including Greek occupied Macedonia, fell under the influence of England and America, and that Yugoslavia, including the Republic of Macedonia, fell under the influence of the USSR. These were two opposing forces that shared an international border running straight through historic Macedonia and neither was willing to give up territory to the other, especially the United States. So the question is, why start a new war when all wars had just ended? Why fool the Macedonian people into believing that a United Macedonia was possible, especially when an insoluble international border was running through it, guaranteed and protected by opposing Great Powers? NOF and AFZH should have understood that! They should have known that uniting Macedonia at this point in time was impossible! They should have also understood that it was not possible to defeat the Royalists in Greece since one, they had British and American or Great Power support and two, the Macedonians had no such support because the USSR had already agreed to place Greece, including Greek occupied Macedonia, under British and American influence. So how can one not think that this was a planned genocide and that it was kept hidden by our 70 years of silence? It is an amazing fact that no one has investigated this and no one was made accountable for this horrific historic irresponsibility.

The question now is, “Is Macedonian history today any better at exposing such historic injustices?” Have Macedonian historians today made it any clearer as to how and who called on the Macedonian people to get involved in this so-called Greek Civil War? Have Macedonian historians recognized that this was not an ordinary civil war because one, it was not exactly a grass roots movement but an imported ideological movement brought in by foreigners and two, most of the fighters in this war were not volunteers but ideological conscripts and “useful idiots”. The villagers who participated in this war were clueless as to what these “ideologies” were and how they benefited them. We need to ask ourselves, “Why would an uneducated peasant who owns a home and property and is practically economically self-sufficient want to fight for a system that would strip him from his centuries old possessions?” And what does he get in return? Well, to truly understand this concept one has to look at the Ukrainian experience and count the number of villagers that died of starvation while working on their own lands because the government needed their yields elsewhere! We need to ask ourselves “had the Macedonian peasant really known what he fought for do you still think he would have willingly fought in the so-called Greek Civil War?” The answer is no! So let us cast aside all notions that this was some kind of “just” war and it was fought for the sake of “uniting Macedonia” and for the sake of “gaining human rights in Greece”! By stripping all the lies and propaganda out of this historic rhetoric we will find that this was a war instigated from the outside to “get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia” by legal means! Force them to pick up guns and then legally exterminate them in the name of national security. And that is exactly what Greece did! The only time the glorious Macedonian fighters were told the truth about what they were fighting for was at the end, when it was too late! The architects of their demise told them that now they had to fight if they wanted to live! In other words, they were fighting for their lives and not for a United Macedonia or for human rights in Greece! What irony! Has today’s official history recorded the truth? Not yet! We seem to follow the Yugoslav axiom that we need to keep this quiet and to ourselves for the sake of “good neighbourly relations” with Greece! And how has Greece “rewarded us” for this? By denying our existence!?

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Even though the topics covered in this book are wide ranging, the main focus of this study will be to investigate why we lost our eternal homeland in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions.

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were and still are well-acquainted with the savagery of Greek fascism ever since 1913 when Greece occupied Macedonian territories and since then has tried to exterminate the Macedonian people. Since the arrival of the Asia Minor colonists in the 1920's and the entire period that followed, the communists, comprised of colonists, offered no new progressive vision of their true coexistence with the Macedonian people. Instead they instigated hatred in the Macedonians, for which they wanted reciprocity in order to make the Macedonians their daily scapegoats.

The Macedonians, those who were members of the CPG in those days, held a position of surprise. Those in NOF and AFZH had to remain silent. Macedonians had to remain servile before the powerful CPG and later the CPY. Common sense no longer mattered and wisdom was replaced with stupidity. It became a virtue to be a member of the CPG, casting aside the fact that most members were treated like useful idiots. This is how the CPG and the CPY wanted things to be with regards to the Macedonians.

But how did the average Macedonian regard all this and was there a rebellious spirit in him or her to want to willingly fight for what he or she believed? We need to know the truth. We need to cast out the lies and false pretenses and look at the truth and the truth is that we, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, were pushed into a situation created by outsiders, foreigners and made to fight for foreign interests. That, by today's views, is a fact.

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So then who were the foreign leaders who gave the orders to create the organizations SNOF, SNOV, NOF, AFZH and NOMS? For what purpose were these organizations created? Under whose strict

control were they placed once they were dispatched to serve their purpose? Obviously their aims were to fuel Macedonian passion and agitate the rise of communism in ordinary Macedonian villagers! Why did these innocent, ordinary and naïve Macedonian people have to pay the price for foreign interests in a situation created by outsiders and strangers?! Why did they have to experience genocide and forever leave their homes just because they were not “Greeks by genus”?! It does not take a genius to see what is happening here! The Macedonians were set up to fail! But why? Because the Greeks and their patrons found the right opportunity to exterminate any and all traces of Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia so that Macedonia could finally be Greek!

These are bitter historical truths that are not easy to accept and may haunt some of us, but they are not new. The genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia is nothing new; it has, however, been kept a secret for the last 70 years or so supposedly for the good of “somebody”! But for who? It certainly has not been for the good of those who experienced the genocide, the expulsions, the loss of lives and eventually the permanent loss of they grandfather’s homes. Many wrongs were perpetrated against us the Macedonian people about which very little is known!

The ideological offensive perpetrated by the Left, with its cosmopolitanism, was designed to target the Macedonian national consciousness, to rip out the Macedonian people’s indigenous roots in order to save Greece which, according to its Greek strategy, wants to remain a conventional state: “One king, one nation, one church, one language, one state” in which there is no room for us Macedonians...

Even today there are people who don’t believe and don’t want to believe that there were Macedonian communists serving in the ranks of ELAS who participated in perpetrating “fratricide”, brother killing brother, in the destruction of the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels in Kostur and other regions! The Macedonian freedom fighting rebels were a compact whole with more than 9,800 armed fighters, organized in 64 Kostur Region villages. They were all Macedonians and fought honourably against Hellenism in order

to preserve the Macedonian national identity. They bravely stood up to the Greeks and were unwilling to accept Hellenism, but instead of being valourized as national resistance heroes in our history, they have been vilified and called everything else except what they truly were – protectors of the Macedonian people, villages and homes – protectors of our national identity. What is interesting about all this is that during the Greek Civil War, from 1945 to 1949, many Macedonians were massively enlisted by the CPG, some even by force, including remnants of the surviving rebels, and placed under almost the same commanders, Markos, Himaros, Arianos and others, who in fact were responsible for the destruction of the Macedonian rebels! The CPG violently destroyed the Macedonian rebel movement and then forced the surviving rebels, and later their sons, to fight for communism, for an anti-Macedonian ideological struggle.

The appearance of the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels was not only unique but an amazing moment in our Macedonian history. They were a uniquely Macedonian grass roots movement sparked inside Macedonia by the Macedonian people exactly at the right moment when the Macedonian people were in danger and needed help to survive. The rebels followed our Ilinden traditions and showed respect and dignity for the Macedonians, for their own people, and appropriately dealt with those who were there to harm them. The rebels loathed being called “Slavs” and were against the mutation “Slavo-Macedonians” being forced upon us by the Greek state and by the CPG communists. The rebels were truly a child born of necessity which fought for the safety, dignity and preservation of everything that was Macedonian, and thus it had to die... at the hands of its own people. SNOF was created by our enemies, for exactly that purpose; to destroy the rebels, by deception and at the hands of Macedonians... to commit “fratricide”! SNOF lasted only a short time, until it served its secret purpose.

If we look around us we will find that there is rarely a nation in the world that would destroy something native, something created by its own people. We the Macedonians are unique in that respect. We can go on blaming others for this or ourselves but the fact remains that we placed the value of “ideology” about our national sentiments and allowed the communists to dictate “what is best for us”. And if what

we did was best for us then we need to think about why were we turned into villains and why were we expelled from our native hearth with no hope of ever returning?

We should also be aware of the fact that the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels in Greek occupied Macedonia did not have it easy. Of all the Macedonian people, they experienced the worst discrimination from the Greek state, even before they were born. They were despised for who they were, even recklessly anathematized, for being the children of Ilinden. History must never forget that! These people were seen as the scourge of Greece by the Greeks because they, as long as they lived, reminded them that Macedonia was not Greek. The Greeks did everything in their power to persecute, humiliate and embarrass these people at every opportunity.

Another set of tough question that comes to mind are: “Who organized the fratricide” in Kostur Region?! Why and by whom were the Macedonians renamed to “Slavo-Macedonians!?” Why were the Macedonian people with a rich history, language, culture and country of their own turned into a tribal people with the qualifier “Slavo-Macedonians”?!

In the period from 1930 to 1949 the Left, i.e. the CPG, took the word “endopii”, meaning indigenous or native, generally used to refer to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and genetically turned it into “Slavo-Macedonians”. This was important for the communists. As for the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels, they were labeled “Fascists” and had to be destroyed!

Who were these “left forces” leading through the CPG and through the Party organs? These were the colonists and settlers deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia after the population exchanges with Turkey, Bulgaria, etc. To the Macedonian people they were known as Prosfigi from Asia Minor and Madzhiri.

To solve their “Macedonian” problem, the communists created SNOF and ordered it to disarm the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels because they were told that these rebels were fascists and worked for the “Bulgarian cause”!



The question here is why did the Macedonian communists allow the formation of SNOF and agree to place SNOV, its military wing, under the command of ELAS? They must have known that this would cause serious problems for the SNOV units and that it was a trap for the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels?

If we were to review historical events, will we discover that the fate of the Macedonian people was to be decided in the years 1940 to 1949?!

The answer is no, because a new reality appeared in the years 1945 to 1949, full of spilled blood and hatred, a reality that swept over all the Macedonian villages in Greek occupied Macedonia and infected the Macedonian people with hate and anger. Their ideological heroes, without a twinkle in their eye, converted them into something alien, into something that did not belong in their lives. This extreme absurdity continued right through the Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949, until the people were either killed or driven out of their homes and lands... Was this done by design? The answer is YES! This was organized by outsiders who managed to fool the Macedonian people into doing exactly what they wanted them to do; self destruct!

Why else would the Macedonian people not be allowed to organize their own political movement that would work for the benefit, desires and demands of the Macedonian people? If we were to ask those who were in charge in those days, they would have told us that “there were no capable Macedonians to do the job”. If not the communists, we know for a fact that the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels were not only capable but had already formed Macedonian organizations which worked for Macedonian interests!

Still, there are questions that remain unanswered: “How and why did we lose our grandfather’s hearth in Kostur, Lerin, Voden and other Regions?”

From a national aspect, this was not the death of one part of a nation, or only of Kostur Region, this was the death of the entire Macedonian nation; this was genocide!

By examining history and events that took place between 1940 and 1949, we have discovered that the Macedonian people's fate was not decided by the Macedonian people, as it should have been, it was decided by aliens and strangers!

Studies have shown that the ideological activism conducted over the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia from about 1940 to 1949, was done to lead the Macedonian people to make sacrifices for foreign strategic and political interests, and to spill Macedonian blood for foreign and alien glories. But saddest of all about this story is the fact that many Macedonians still don't know what happened and have not yet realized that there is no war without propaganda and that, to this day, many believe that this was "a Macedonian revolution..."

It is very sad that we Macedonians had no strategy even to the point when we experienced genocide and the Greek Civil War was over. There are still many Macedonians who remain unconvinced that what took place was not really a perpetrated disaster and that various Macedonian organizations acted in World War II. It is even clearer that never, after the Ilinden Uprising, did we ever raise our Macedonian voices against the Greek strategic which endeavoured to change the ethnic composition of the population in that part of our Macedonia. We never once complained about Greece re-populating out lands with aliens and giving them our lands and properties as gifts...

And this is why, today, the history of the Macedonian people, especially in Kostur Region, is written by the colonists from Asia Minor who, after half a dozen decades of living on our lands, feel like they are the "real" Macedonians and rightful heirs to the Macedonian heritage!

The colonists of Asia Minor, in the years 1940 to 1949, were responsible for activating and propagating the ideological activism which, with their various campaigns, virtual and real propaganda wars, cruelty and stigmatization, created a climate of hatred and divided the people into rebels, communists, ELAS fighters, pro-Greek factions, United Macedonia factions, etc. This greatly

contributed to creating a corrosive situation inside Greek occupied Macedonia and made the people easy targets for manipulation by the likes of the CPG, the CPY and by personalities like Tito, Tempo, Kolishevski, Uzunov, Zahariadis, Markos and others who had aims at destroying everything that did not serve their purpose, including the Macedonian freedom fighters, because they were “fascists” and “Macedonian-ism” itself, on one hand, was in the way of friendly “neighbourly relations” and on the other stood in the way of Greece becoming a pure Greek and homogeneous state with 100% Greeks living in it!

Greek occupied Macedonia was destabilized for the purpose of eliminating everything that was Macedonian from it, starting with the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels. These people were prominent Macedonians, remnants of the Ilinden Uprising who stood for a free and independent Macedonia. And who better to get rid of them than the Macedonians themselves, through lies and deception! Many Macedonian communists who joined the colonists were convinced that it was better to be “internationalists”, a sure thing, than fight a losing struggle to remain Macedonians! What is ironic about this, if not a coincidence, is that the destruction of the Macedonian rebels fit perfectly with the long term strategic Greek plans to have a “pure Greece” without Macedonians. As mentioned earlier, the destruction of the rebels was in line with strategic Greek objectives of “having a Macedonia without Macedonians”!

And as we said before, the outcome has shown us that only the Kostur rebels were guided by Delchev’s philosophy and by the Macedonian freedom fighters who believed that if you die for something then die for Macedonia. And this is exactly what led them to create their own Macedonian army and refuse to be subservient to the Greek government or to the Communist (internationalists) and that is exactly why they were destroyed.

History will record the strategy of the eternal rebel desire: to have our identity and language returned, to protect our families, properties and villages and to remain masters of our grandfather’s hearth.

First: The rebels, as the rightful sons of these Macedonian lands, brought back the Kostur dialect of the Macedonian language, which for years had been prohibited by Greek law from being spoken;

Second: The rebels re-opened the Macedonian churches and liturgy was conducted in the Macedonian language and so were other rites including baptisms, weddings and funerals;

Third: The local militia addressed the people in their native Macedonian language.

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## LET US FOLLOW THE FACE AND BACK OF THE POLITICAL MESSAGE

1. When Kulishevski was instructing the leadership of NOF and AFZH, before they returned to Greek occupied Macedonia, he said: “Now you need to trust and pay attention to the Greek communists!”
2. Before returning, Uzunov – Abas gave them his guarantee when he said: “Yugoslavia is standing behind you!”

So, in a swoop, the Macedonian organizations and their leaderships were passed on from one foster family to another, from the CPY to the CPG, from Tito and Kulishevski to Zahariadis and Markos. And why were the Macedonian organizations sent to Greek occupied Macedonia, at this point in time, when all wars had ended, the world was divided into spheres of influence and an international border ran right through historic Macedonia? They were sent there to start a new war of course, with the Macedonians being the main actors in it! And why? To reunite Macedonia of course; that’s what they were told! Why else would Macedonians be participating in something so bizarre except for a chance at re-uniting their beloved Macedonia, something they had wanted to do for many centuries...? Surely the architects of such an act must have known very well that re-uniting Macedonia at this point in time was not only impossible but the way the US was behaving over this matter, it was suicide. The US was prepared to start World War III to keep Greece, including Greek occupied Macedonia, under its influence and both Tito and Stalin

knew that! So why then did they push the Macedonian people into a suicidal war at this point in time? If the Macedonians were not going to reunite Macedonia because it was impossible to do so and we know very well the west would not have allowed the communists to form a government in Greece, and as a result the Macedonians were not going to get any human rights, then why push the Macedonian people into this war? There is only one answer that I can offer you that makes any sense; the Macedonians were made the sacrificial lambs in this war because they were put in a situation from which there was no way out except to die or leave their homeland; which is exactly what happened and which is exactly in line with Greece's long term objectives; to get rid of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia!

The hard question to ask here is: "Do we the Macedonians in, or originating from, Greek occupied Macedonia know the truth about ourselves and what happened to us in the best and worst of times and how we were played and are still being played to serve foreign interests? Do we really know that we experienced genocides several times while we were and still are under Greek occupation? Did we and do we know that our part of Macedonia that was invaded, occupied and annexed by Greece is still under occupation? Do we really know that we, as Macedonians, have no human rights in Greece and, in Greece's eyes, we do not exist? The questions you are reading here have rarely been asked before and our horrible experiences have been kept "secret" for three quarters of a century. Do you know why? Because these genocides and other acts of horror, perpetrated against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, were perpetrated and witnessed by people who were and still are in power and they don't want these secrets to come out! The Greeks were the instrument or the hand that perpetrated these acts while the rest of the world, including powerful people that could have done something, watched and said or did nothing! After all that has been said and done, not only in those days but even today when Greece makes claims that Macedonians don't exist, how does the world react? It takes Greece's side! Why? The United Nations has even breached its own laws and sacred international law to not allow Macedonia to become a member of this international organization by its rightful name! Why is that? Is it because Greece is so "mighty and powerful" and that it has influence over the entire

world, including the UN Security council and over countries like Russia, China, the U.S., Britain and France? Do you think so? Of course not! Greece is just another pawn of the Great Powers who is told what to do and what not to do! Greece is only the instigator... the rest is done by the Great Powers... who decide who lives and who dies... Look around and think about it!

Unfortunately, for most of us who are victims of these atrocities, it took more than 70 years to dig through the rubble and find the bare naked truth... that our predecessors in SNOF, SNOV, NOF, AFZH, NOMS, etc., have been played... played to push the Macedonian people into a suicidal mission of no return. That is why we are now cast away from our grandfather's hearth and live in foreign lands with no hope of ever returning, not even for a visit to light a candle at our ancestor's graves.

We have already demonstrated that those personalities from the CPY and the CPM who advised the Macedonian leaders to return and start a war in Greek occupied Macedonia already knew that the world was divided into spheres of influence and that Greece, with its current border which included Greek occupied Macedonia, was placed under Western Power influence. It is also well-known that even Yugoslavia was 50% under Western influence. So in essence, as has been shown, CPY policy was twisted to help Western interests, which included the eradication of the Macedonian presence in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Allow us to give you an overview of the situation. Greece had always been lying to its patrons, particularly to Britain about its ethnic composition. In the late 1920's, after all the population exchanges with Turkey and Bulgaria, Greece declared itself a pure Greek nation with 98% of its population being Greek and 2% Muslim Greek. During World War II British spies and military personnel were dispatched in Northern Greece (Greek occupied Macedonia) to monitor the war situation during which time they discovered, contrary to Greek claims, that a sizable Macedonian population, speaking the Macedonian language and aware of its Macedonian consciousness, was living in this territory. The British panicked because they figured if Russia found out then it would want to carve out the Greek territory to accommodate the wishes of

these Macedonians. So Britain decided that the Macedonian people had to go; leave Greek occupied Macedonia. This information was later discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches.

British Ambassador to Athens Mr. R.A. Leeper, back in November 1944, toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote "...and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941." (5a) (See: FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R 20431/1009/67.)

In doing this the British requested the assistance of the former (fascist) Yugoslav government, before the communists came to power. The British received a positive response from Yugoslavia. The Fascist Yugoslav government in fact agreed to take these Macedonians out of Greece and resettle them on Yugoslav territory. The fascist Yugoslav government, however, fell to the communists before it had a chance to implement the plan. But after the war (WW II) it was difficult to move 120,000 people without causing world attention. So "someone" decided to force them out by other means... by legal means so that there would be no ramifications after the fact. But how? With the CPY/CPM's cooperation, for sure!

The idea here was to have the Macedonian people raise arms against Greece so that Greece would have "no other choice but to defend itself against an aggressor who wants to carve out parts of its territory"! Yugoslavia, for the sake of having good relations with the West, naturally prepared the groundwork through the creation and indoctrination of NOF and AFZH with aims at starting an armed uprising in Greek occupied Macedonia. The Macedonian people, however, did not want to fight and initially refused to participate. To get them motivated the Greek right, the Fascists, pitched in and initiated what was later termed the "white terror". Greeks indiscriminately began to kill people and burn properties and homes.

Fearing for their lives many Macedonians fled to the mountains (Vicho and Gramos) where they were armed and trained to protect themselves. And this is how the conflict was started. This was a war that would be fatal to the Macedonian people; it had to be an ideological war in order to involve the international factor (US and Britain); a war that Greece would have no choice but to fight in order to save its territory. This was going to be a legal genocide because these “Slavs” were prepared to carve out Greek territory! The Macedonians were told they needed the guns to protect themselves but as soon as the shooting started they were told they were fighting to “re-unite their Macedonia” and after Yugoslavia abandoned them they were told they were fighting for their human rights to gain equality with the Greeks. Then, when the war became very hot, they were told to fight for their lives; “to fight or die!”

There was no single Macedonian in those days who not only publicly proclaimed that he or she was fighting to re-unite Macedonia but many Macedonians were made to believe that it was possible to do that! And why do you suppose they believed that? Because the architects of this war, through NOV and AFZH, told them so..., naturally through lies and deception!

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UDBA (Yugoslav State Security Services) general Jovo Kapichich, who from 1945 to 1948 delivered supplies to the Greek Civil War on behalf of Yugoslavia, would not comment on what Yugoslavia’s interest was in that war and why Yugoslavia, through NOV and AFZH, massively pushed the Macedonian people into this historic suicidal war and why the Macedonian people were later abandoned and left at the mercy of the CPG and the Greeks?

And here we are 65 years later, since the conclusion of the Greek Civil War, and nothing has changed... the social upheaval and bloodshed was for nothing... pointless!!

Because the West had no intention of abandoning Greece or allowing a political change to take place, even at the threat of a Third World War, it was absolutely silly, a stupid notion to think



that a United Macedonia was even possible. If it was then it would have been agreed to at the Conference in Tehran.

I repeat: It was made abundantly clear at the Yalta Conference that the West would not agree to Greece, or any part of it, entering the Eastern Bloc.

As mentioned several times before, the United States was prepared to start World War III to keep Greece under Western Influence! And it seems this was the case up until the Soviet Bloc and Yugoslavia collapsed, and even after the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence... and to this day! The U.S. has, at every opportunity, opposed the Macedonian people by constantly making demands on the Republic of Macedonia; “First the name, then NATO?”, “First the name, then... European Union?” If Greece has a problem with our name then why has the U.S. stepped in to make these demands on its behalf? Does Greece have “that much influence” over the U.S...? Does the U.S. owe favours to Greece? Or does the U.S. itself have a “problem” with us and is using the opportunity Greece has created to deal with them?

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We are all infected by Balkan nationalism and we don't know why! We are all told, by outsiders of course, that we are sick... sick in the mind... But do we know why? Some people want a “Greater Greece” through the “Megali Idea” and feel that all the people in the Balkans are Greeks. Other people want a “Greater Bulgaria” through the “San Stefano” Treaty and believe all people who speak a Slavic language are Bulgarians. Yet another group of people wants a “Greater Albania” only because it has been an Albanian wish to unite all Albanians under one country. Let us not forget the longing of the Serbians to unite all Serbians in the Balkans by granting them their own Serbian republics...

There are also a couple of common factors that the Balkan people share and these are; one, none of them recognize the claims of the others in the territories they occupy and two, none of them recognize the existence of the Macedonian nation and Macedonian people! Why is that?

We are all people, we all have the same desires and, in some ways here in the Balkans, we are all related (linguistically, culturally and even genetically) but refuse to acknowledge this or the desires of the others? Why?

Well, here is some historic trivia for you on how we became like this... sick in the mind! The Balkans has been borderless since Philip II's time and up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a span of over two-thousand years. History is telling us that the Balkans has always been a borderless heterogeneous world full of many people, cultures and languages. Philip II of Macedonia, a Macedonian himself, was the first person, in recorded history, to have created this vast country over the entire Balkans spanning from the Adriatic to the Black Seas and from the Mediterranean to as far north as Austria and Hungary or even as high up north as the Ukraine. This country remained borderless throughout the Macedonian, the Roman, the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires without borders inside it. There were many nations co-existing together, living together and overlapping each other over great spans of territory. Then during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the "wise" Westerners came to the Balkans with new ideas; of "replicating" themselves and their way of life over us, thus "changing us" to fit their own image. They taught us, urged us, guided us and helped us put arbitrary borders over our lands and convinced us to accept new identities and histories for ourselves; creating modern states and identities by erasing our true past and forging a new one, a mythical one, to fit our new present and our future. In spite of all of us having a common past, we believed these strangers and went ahead and created a unique image of ourselves and completely erased everything about us that was common. With the help of these outsiders who proclaimed that there will be "Serbians" descendents of the northern "Sorbs", there will be "Greeks" descendents of the "Ancient Greeks", there will be "Bulgarians" descendents of the northern Turkic tribes of Volga, there will be "Albanians" descendents of the ancient Albanians of today's Azerbaijan... We marched forward into a brave new world in which it was proclaimed that there shall be no Macedonians... even though Philip II, a Macedonian himself, started this vast Balkan world... still, according to them, there would be NO Macedonians living in the Balkans and the people we today call Macedonians, well they say that they are in fact "Slavs" who came

to Macedonia much, much later and really don't belong there! It is interesting that all the Balkan peoples except for the Greeks have been labeled "outsiders" i.e. Sorbs, Bulgars, Albanians, etc., even though they have lived on these lands for many centuries. The Macedonians have been labeled "Slavs", meaning outsiders who came to these lands during the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. In other words, to cover up the fact that Macedonians do exist and are alive and well, our wise Westerners named us "Slavs", a people not indigenous to Macedonia!

Are we not "the same people" who have lived together without borders for over 2,000 years which, even by Western definition, makes us "the same people"? We have French people living inside the borders France and German people living inside the borders of Germany... right? Is there anyone that denies this? Why does it have to be different for the Balkan people? Why did the Balkans have to be cut up into small pieces, polarized and turned into opposing factions fighting one other and seeking the same thing which none would be able to achieve without outside help? The only crazy thing about all this is the ideas that "outsiders" put in our heads, the artificial borders they raised all around us and led us to believe that we needed to be "homogeneous" in order to be "better" people. In other words, even though we have been "mixing" for eons, these "wise" Western outsiders have convinced us that we are "different" and would be better off if we "cleansed ourselves" of our differences, meaning of our true selves and of our true past and accept a mythical but glorious past as "homogeneous nations" so that we can better fit in this Western structured "Nationalistic" world! And they say "we are the sick ones"!

Once upon a time we were all "a people" living in the Balkans without borders! Once upon a time later, outsiders came to the Balkans, put borders around us and told us that we would be better off if we were "Serbians", "Greeks", "Bulgarians", "Albanians", etc.... We would be better off if we denied that Macedonians existed... And we need to fight one another until one group completely swallowed the others and we all become one "homogeneous" nation... either Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, or Albanians! And we will continue to do this forever... because this is

how we have been programmed by these outsiders... This is how we have become who and what we are today... sick in the mind!

So, by our programming it is natural for each Balkan country to want to unite its people through a greater part of itself because we are all the same people, regardless of what the “outsiders” tell us. But what is wrong about this approach is that we are not all “Serbians”, we are not all “Bulgarians”, we are not all “Albanians” and we are not all “Greeks”... We are the product of many nations and cultures that walked and lived on the Balkans... including the Macedonians who were the first people to open the Balkan borders!

Sick in the mind or not, we are the same people and for us Macedonians there was little that the last two hundred years of pain, suffering and hardship have done to reverse our two thousand year old evolution of living together inside open Balkan borders. Knowing all this I truly feel sad for the Macedonian people who have suffered immensely at the hands of the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians and Albanians and more recently in the hands of the Greek and Yugoslav communists and have been tormented by them for the sake of fulfilling a sick fictitious desire, planted into their heads by outsiders, to have the need to create homogeneous states out of the Macedonian territories that they annexed only a short time ago, without Macedonians!

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Surely UDBA general Jovo Kapichich must have known how Yugoslavia was benefiting from fueling the Greek Civil War? He never said he didn't know, he simply was silent on the matter, which means that he knew and that whatever it was that he knew was not in the interest of the Macedonian people, not only in those from Greek occupied Macedonia but all Macedonians in general.

After the right conditions were created in Greek occupied Macedonia for the frightened and panicking Macedonians to pick up guns in order to defend themselves from the “white terror” waged by a faction of “rabid” Greeks, they had no idea where they would be headed and, as a result, what outcome they would be facing. They would be no good to anyone if they surrendered to these terrorists

and died a senseless death for nothing! It was better to pick up a gun and fight rather than surrender and die! One had a better chance of surviving, at least for another day, if they picked up a gun and fought for their lives! The Macedonian people had no idea that they were being set up for a terribly painful ordeal that would have life long consequences... that they would be entering another war and would be exiled from the homes forever... just to make a few politicians happy... and for Greece to achieve its long yearning to “finally” become homogeneous and pure!

There is no doubt that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were so craftily manipulated that their actions caused their own demise... But now that we know this, how much longer must we keep silent and how much longer must we allow “others” to write a “twisted” history about us? How long are we going to allow “strangers” to manipulate and divide us?

## THEY MANIPULATED US AND WE IMPLEMENTED THEIR IDEAS

Here is an example of manipulation: In 1942 with the same goals as always, as was decided in the joint meeting between the CPG Central Committee and EAM, a proclamation was made before the citizens of Greece and before the former officers of the Greek army, well-known for being part of the bourgeois class, that we, the Macedonian people, as far as they were concerned were always just “Slavophones”. In other words, as far as they were concerned, we the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia were just “Greeks who spoke a Slavic idiom” and nothing more!

A few days before the New Year in 1945, the Second ASNOM Extraordinary Assembly was held in Skopje, which was NOT attended by the “great” Josip Broz Tito. Tito had asked the Slovene Edvard Kardeli – Bevets, to go on his behalf. Fascinated by the greatness of his guest, Kolishevski listened humbly as Kardeli, without missing a beat, kept telling him “nasty” things, included among which were Kardeli’s concerns about Macedonia. Kardeli said to Kolishevski: “The war is reaching its end and with it the day when everyone must submit an account of what they did. Macedonia has five big minuses against it; Macedonia was the last state to enter

the war; Macedonia did not suffer much as a result of it; Macedonia has very little destruction; Macedonia has low casualties from it; and Macedonia did not take part in Yugoslavia's liberation.

Kolishevski looked at Kardeli and asked him for advice as to what to do to turn those minuses into pluses. Kardeli coolly looked at him and said: "You cannot correct the first three things but you can do something about the last two. I suggest you get OZNA (Military Police) to immediately start arresting and executing people, and you must send a large unit to fight at the Srem Front".

## POLITICAL IDENTITY OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA

Were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia sacrificed for the sake of a "revolution" or because of some "perpetrated fraud"? Was the Greek Civil War, which lasted from 1945 to 1949, a "spontaneous" or a "planned war" to exile the Macedonians from their indigenous homes and send them wandering throughout the world in silence since the Balkan Pact of 1953?

## DISGUISED HISTORY FOR THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA

It is the responsibility of historians to find out and report on those who activated the "Macedonian syndrome" in the years 1945 to 1949 and on those who were responsible for the (self) sacrifices made by the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia!

In the brief analysis that follows we will argue and try to elaborate on the complex historical issues that faced the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and how they were pushed into a dangerous situation. Hopefully we will learn something from our history...

Because in the end we, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, bore the full brunt of this conflict with a large number of casualties, heavy destruction of property and invested a great deal of effort that went to waste. We suffered the most during the war

and instead of achieving what we were promised, initially a reunited Macedonia, then human rights in Greek occupied Macedonia, we were driven out of our homes with no hope of ever returning. Initially we suffered in many of the Greek prisons and dry island concentration camps and later in the concentrations camps created and built by the Third Reich all across Eastern Europe.

It is our intention to find out who did this to us, who activated the “Macedonian syndrome” and, if possible, find out how we fell into this trap; how did we get pushed into a war that nearly destroyed us; a war that left over 20,000 dead, over 80 villages burned to the ground and more than 170,000 Macedonians permanently exiled from their ancestral homes.

There are some things that we seem to have forgotten. We seem to have forgotten that in the period 1940 to 1949, a remote and backwards place like Greek occupied Macedonia, beaten to the ground for many years, had been turned into a scene of wild nationalistic propaganda. This propaganda, however, was not locally generated and in fact there was no local Macedonian factor involved in it. This propaganda was imported with aims at lifting the beaten, degraded and tormented souls of the Macedonian people. Obviously, as it turned out, it was not done for the benefit of the Macedonian people but for some other foreign interests.

Unfortunately the “Macedonian syndrome” kicked in and the Macedonian people’s hopes were again activated with disastrous consequences.

Here is what Yugoslav Ambassador Milikovich had to say when Tito sent him to Greece: “When President Tito briefed me before my trip to Greece, to serve as ambassador, he gave me some guidelines about the ‘Macedonian Question’. The essence of what he said mostly boiled down to the fact that no such discussion should take place with Greece, especially regarding the Macedonian minority in Greece, because our views on this matter are completely different from theirs. We expended great effort to build friendly relations with Greece, which was not easy after the Greek Civil War in this country, a war in which we participated.” (See: article in “N.M.”, February 8, 1994, by M. Miljkovic, Ambassador to Greece.)

But, as can be seen from the above quote, the Macedonian people were not the only “guilty party” in this dreaded horrid war, yet they were the only ones to be severely punished! In fact, from the way the quote reads, we were not only sold out by Yugoslavia, it seems that some people could not wait to create “good relations” and make gains from our loss!

### 1.1 WHO WERE THOSE ALLIES OF OURS?

The EAM (National Liberation Front) was formed on September 27, 1941 and included: the Communist Party of Greece, the Agricultural Party, the National Socialist - Democratic Party, the General Workers Federation, the General Federation of State Officials, the National Solidarity Organization and representatives of the political, scientific and cultural life in Greece. The EAM was later joined by the more advanced part of the Liberal Party. From this overview we can once again see that we the Macedonians were not included, definitely not as allies. This is because, they say, until then we had made our choice to join existing Greek political parties as voluntary members and as citizens of Greece, without any Macedonian markings.

The EAM program consisted of the following:

- A) 1. Expulsion of the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers;
2. Establishing the integrity of Greece;
3. Self-determination of Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Northern Epirus. (And where are we the Macedonians?); and
4. Strategic regulation of the Greek northern borders.

See the newspaper “Mahitis”, organ of the ELAS Committee since February 10, 1944, which in its commentary wrote: EAM is a national question. Even at this time we still don’t know where in the EAM program there is anything, absolutely anything envisioned about us?



B) The ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) organization was formed in Rumeli, as a Partisan detachment, on May 15, 1942 with the same goals as EAM as was decided at a meeting by the joint CPG Central Committee and by EAM.

The proclamation was addressed to the citizens of Greece and to the former officers of the Greek army. We Macedonians were not mentioned, other than being called “Slavophone” Greeks... and nothing more. There is also the undeniable fact, and those who were in ELAS know this, that we all took an oath, Macedonians included, to liberate our homeland “Greece” and to protect the interests of the “Greek people”... Where are the interests of the Macedonian people in all this?

Let us also remind you that ELAS signed an agreement to subordinate itself to the English of Middle East command. The same “English” who wanted the Macedonians removed from Greece at any cost! It is ironic that the Macedonians were good enough to fight for the English but not good enough to be left alone to live in their own ancestral homes.

Germany launched an attack against Yugoslavia and Greece on April 6, 1941, after which time the Fascists became the new masters of the region. As mentioned earlier, EAM was formed on September 27, 1941 in response to the new regime’s taking power and called for the entire Greek population to resist fascism. In a joint meeting the CPG Central Committee then called for organizing a resistance army. This new Greek Army, appropriately called ELAS, was created on February 15, 1942 with the appearance of its first ELAS military units. The first detachment of ELAS formed in Greek occupied Macedonia was in Kostur on December 7, 1942 and it consisted of 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs.

Here is the ELAS oath that everyone who joined ELAS had to take: “I swear that I will fight to the last drop of my blood for the complete liberation, stability and independence of Greece. I will fight to preserve the integrity of the Greek people and the establishment of order and basic human rights. For this purpose I will strive to fulfill the orders of PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation of Greece) by performing due diligence and

demonstrating discipline. I will follow orders and instructions from my superiors and I will avoid every process that may turn me into a traitor against the Greek people.”

Just before command of ELAS was passed on to Middle East Command, headed by the English, ELAS numbered about 70,000.

On July 16, 1943 ELAS Commander Sarafis and English Mission Military Chief Colonel Edie Mayers signed a joint declaration by which ELAS was recognized as an army and was subordinated to Middle East Command.

Given that out of the 70,000 ELAS fighters, 40,000 were Macedonians, did anyone consult with them that “this” was what they wanted to do? It was a huge army and, by rights, it should have had its own military leadership and military General Headquarters. But did it? Will our history be able to point out the names of any of the senior Macedonian officers serving in that army? I don’t think so, because those in control of the army did not want Macedonians in leading positions! Why?

Let us see how events developed: On October 31, 1944 a large group of English soldiers in armoured vehicles entered Solun before ELAS did. Why? Three days later the BBC in London announced that British troops had liberated Solun.

On February 12, 1945 the Varkiza Agreement was signed by the CPG and EAM, on one hand, and by the Plastiras government and British General Scobey on the other. With this agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the right. This also meant that Greece would not be a socialist country. So, what were the communists fighting for?

This treachery was an obvious result of what ELAS, EAM and the CPG had done but then how did the CPG justify it? CPG Central Committee, in a resolution on November 15, 1948, said: “Markos Vafiadis, as the Commissar of a group of ELAS divisions in Macedonia, led a chauvinistic policy against the Slavo-Macedonian fighters!” (See: Sp. “Neos Kosmos”, August 1950, “Ten years of struggle”, p. 470.) In other words, it was blamed on Markos. But

why was this said so much later? Why was this said when Markos had already been removed from command and when the Macedonian people were already engaged in the Greek Civil War?

The First Socialist Congress in Greece took place in November 1918, during which it was decided to create the Socialist Worker's Party of Greece. In 1920 this Party became a member of the Third International United Communist Party known as the Comintern, which was formed in 1919. In 1923 the Socialist Worker's Party of Greece became the Communist Party of Greece or CPG.

In regards to the "Macedonian Question", CPG policies went through five distinctive periods:

- 1 – Formation of the CPG (1918-1924);
- 2 – Support of a United and Independent Macedonia (1924-1935);
- 3 – Macedonian equal rights with the Greeks within Greece (1935-1949); (This was the period of time when the Macedonian people were being prepared for their (self) sacrifice drama.)

As it is well known, the CPG's official position about a "United and independent Macedonia" was changed during its 6<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in December 1935. From that point on the CPG was not prepared to support a "United and independent Macedonia" but was willing to support full equality of all minorities. This, and the dissolution of the organization VMRO (United), for us Macedonians, was yet another heavy blow since Macedonia's partition in 1913.

In 1935, all actions for establishing and developing Macedonian national identity attributes, which until then were not controversial, were extinguished. All that was common between the divided Macedonians had suddenly collapsed and came to a complete halt. Any kind of ties between Macedonian political organizations that had common goals, one by one disintegrated and the Macedonian political forces were pushed to join the democratic forces and parties in each State and to accept their political programs. Instead of forming our own Macedonian state, we the Macedonians were now reduced to nothing more than minorities in our own country... and

without rights. By doing this a new open process was created for us, forcing us to look towards the influences of the CPB (Communist Party of Bulgaria), the CPY and the CPG.

Unfortunately, during its 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum on July 1, 1941 the CPG Central Committee abandoned the Macedonians when it admitted that, for the sake of “national unity”, the “Macedonian Question” did not exist for Greece. This was one of the requirements for the CPG joining the Papandreu “national unity” program. (See: Dragan Kliakich, “General Markos”. Edition, Globus, Zagreb, 1979, p. 75.)

During the Greek Civil War, according to official documents, the CPG not only led the Macedonians but also referred to them as “Slavo-Macedonians”. More on this later.

4. Full equality was granted to the “Slavo-Macedonians” on June 20, 1949 just before DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) was liquidated. Final extermination of the Macedonian people; “Fight for your lives or die!”

5. Full equality was extended for the “Slavo-Macedonians” in October 1949. This was the period when people started returning to their homes.

Nearly all Greek officers, who had returned after the Greek Civil War, were promoted by the Greek government to three ranks higher than those who suffered during World War II. There were no Macedonian officers but those Macedonians who did try to return were told that “only Greeks by birth can return” and that “there is no place in Greece for the likes of you...” Yes, the CPG did grant the Macedonians rights; the right to be ethnically cleansed and exiled from their homes...”

What is more interesting about all this is how it was assessed by our historiographers. Specifically, let us have a look at the overall assessment of CPG activities in the period from 1940 to 1944, as conducted by distinguished author Hristo Andonovski in his book: “The Macedonians under Greece’s struggle against fascism”. On p. 218 Andonovski wrote:

“... First of all, in the very CPG leadership itself, not to speak of the mass membership, nationalist and chauvinist motives and attitudes still vegetated. Second, never in the past did the CPG seriously study the Macedonian National Question, but only to mobilize the Macedonian people to its side...” Further on he wrote: “... The almighty CPG leadership flirted with the civil bourgeois parties in Greece at every opportunity and by all means sought “national unity” with them and finally the whole resistance movement was subordinated to British interests in the Mediterranean.”

Here is Dr. Vanche Stoichev’s evaluation: In “Nova Makedonija” on August 16, 1994, he wrote: “A specific retrograde evolution was being performed in the CPG. From the first essential recognition of the Macedonian nation the CPG evolved backwards. Namely, the CPG categorically refused not only to recognize the Macedonian nation, but forced on it a Slavic origin by calling the Macedonian people ‘Slavophone Greeks’.

Another factor that had particularly serious consequences for the all-Macedonian resistance movement was the famous Comintern thesis ‘One state – one Party’. Over time, especially after the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, this thesis was put into practice, which placed the all-Macedonian people’s liberation struggle into peril. In its application the division of the Macedonian territory was recognized; the division and segregation of the Macedonian struggle and revolutionary movement was legalized; a legal means was created for the annexation of Macedonian territory and appropriation of the revolutionary struggle; it permanently prevented the existence and development of an all-Macedonian Liberation Organization, or the creation of a single Macedonian National Liberation struggle; assumptions were created under which a call for creating a common all-Macedonian Front, or a call for a common Macedonian struggle, would be illegal and those calling for it would be treated as criminals and charged with treachery and secessionism. This naturally de-emphasized general Macedonian national aspirations and emphasized the legal realities of the occupying states that occupied and established power on Macedonian territory. And as such the Macedonian national movement was deflated by giving it a separatist character. All three communist parties, CPY, CPG, and CPB enlisted Macedonian communist cadres with caution and

reserve, placing them in low ranking positions and always obliging them to prove their loyalty.”

Well, these were our “allies”... The essence of these problems can be summarized by asking a few questions. But the questions must be clear in order to avoid misunderstandings and these problems must be adequately explained.

## 1.2 Communists – the Macedonians in the CPG (Party members)

It was obvious that many Macedonians were torn between their national conscience and the binding political guidelines which were under the strong control of EAM, ELAS and the CPG. Macedonian membership in EAM and the CPG and Macedonian participation in ELAS meant that we had accepted the proclaimed Comintern goals and programs, which the CPG fully supported. This meant that we had accepted: “Full equality as minorities with the other citizens in the Greek state”, conditions valid from 1935 to 1949. Anyone from the CPG, CPY and CPB who had attended Party school in Moscow, in the years before World War II, could confirm this. These very same people agitated for the three parts of Macedonia (Vardar, Aegean and Pirin). They strictly adhered to these Comintern conditions, which were adopted in 1935 during the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress, under the thesis “one state - one party”. In the beginning of the war this was a major obstacle for the realization of an all-Macedonian unifying program. This was done after the ethnic changes in Macedonia, about which the communists gave us assurances that the “exchange of populations” was a “civilized act”. Unfortunately their ultimate goal was that we the Macedonians pay the full price.

They led us and we obediently followed believing that their intentions were clear and noble, and that we had a true partnership, and that we were not a “cat in the bag”. We must, of course, argue that there were Macedonians who thought differently. Besides that there was also the fact that up until October 1943, we Macedonians conclusively fought for delivering EAM, ELAS and CPG programs and objectives.

What is unclear here, and this question needs to be asked, is: “Did the Macedonian communists, members of the CPG, fight for a

United and Independent Macedonia? And could they have done that if they did?

If the basic principles on which nations – states are based, such as territorial, national, historical and cultural backgrounds, ethnic, linguistic, and ultimately economic principles, then the Macedonian communists, as members of CPG, who practically accepted CPG programs, renounced their own principles of territory and state. This, of course, was imposed on them by the CPG because the CPG fought exclusively for the territorial and national sovereignty of the Greek state. This meant that all the sacrifices we made were made for a very small concession offered by the CPG programs. This was especially true after May 15, 1943 when, in Moscow as per Stalin's initiative, a decision was made to dissolve Communist International (Comintern) control over parties and formally recognize the right of every Communist Party to resolve its own issues. See: "History of the Macedonian people", Skopje, 1988, page 345.

"The special political success of the national liberation struggle in Aegean Macedonia was a creation of the Slavo - Macedonian National Liberation Front SNOF in Kostur, formed on October 20, 1943, and disbanded in April 1944. This decision, made by the CPG, was made on the grounds that the Organization had a "harmful" effect on the enlargement of Greek masses in the ranks of EAM. But the real reason for disbanding SNOF was the May 20, 1944 forthcoming Lebanon Agreement between the Greek government in exile and representatives of the CPG and EAM for the formation of the so-called "Government of national unity of the Greek people". Furthermore, according to our history: "The creation of SNOF was the first step in highlighting the Macedonian Question in the territory of Greece during the war period - or during the wake of the uprising." See: "History of the Macedonian people", Skopje, 1988, page 345.

In addition to other Macedonians who thought differently and did not believe the Greeks, there are two major pieces of evidence which follow, which will explain the Macedonian situation and how little of a political factor the Macedonians were amongst the Greek communists.

The high CPG authorities were well informed about the Macedonian Question and were well aware that it could not be resolved at a regional level. Attempting to resolve it at that level was meaningless. Yet this is how it was approached. Why? This was the CPG's way of telling the Macedonian people that they were working on it in order to "manipulate" them, particularly the ordinary Macedonian regional secretaries who worked for them. This also reaffirms the fact that, all throughout 1943, the CPG was very careful about choosing the Macedonian communist cadres who acted in the regions on its behalf. All were given low level responsibilities and were always obliging them to prove their loyalty to the CPG.

The following two pieces of evidence, letters signed by Lazo Dimovski - Oshenski and Naum Peiov, contain details of the essence of the unprincipled policies carried out by the Kostur Region communists. These letters and historical documents are a record of the initial Macedonian reaction to the communists.

#### THESIS – A MACEDONIAN NATIONAL PLATFORM – DOES IT REALLY EXIST OR NOT!?

Let us have a closer look at what the following letters from Lazo Oshenski, Naum Peiov and A. Litovski are telling us...

Before SNOF was dissolved, the CPG bureau party apparatus in Greek occupied Macedonia was regionalized and placed under Western Macedonia, i.e. Kostur - Prespa Regions. Lazo Dimovski – Oshenski, in his letter, dated January 24, 1944, addresses the CPG Bureau in Western Macedonia and, among other things, said: "There are certain questions that are appearing among the Slavo-Macedonian element which the Regional Committee cannot answer."

Obviously, the Regional Committee was not fully informed on how to deal with all questions and as such answers had to come from the top Greek leadership... There were no Macedonian leaders at the top of the CPG leadership. In other words, Greeks made decisions regarding issues that strictly concerned Macedonians. This means that politically appropriate answers had to be found that were not



only in line with CPG and other Greek policies but attractive enough to maintain the illusion that the CPG truly cared about the Macedonian people. If the Party did not find the “right” answers then there was the danger that the “Slavo-Macedonian” people could become disillusioned and go astray... even join the freedom fighting rebels in Kostur... the ones the CPG wanted to destroy so badly. This means that the CPG wanted “blind obedience” from the Macedonian people, giving the impression that the CPG truly cared and knew far better what was good for them than they knew themselves.

The first phase of the “Slavo-Macedonian” element participating in the “rebel camp” needs to be closely investigated, because it was a dynamic expression of the “Slavo-Macedonian” element which, under the influence of Greek propaganda, was “declared” to be Bulgarian. This assessment of our historiography, contrary to previous ones, is really about the respect it deserves in order to clarify and prove that; there is a high probability that long-standing Greek propaganda actually pushed our people by force, in critical moments, to declare themselves Bulgarian. Of course they did so because there was no Macedonian influence, and thus Oshenski’s efforts were focused in that direction.

Further on Oshenski said: “It did not matter which ‘Slavo-Macedonian’ exhibited the slightest interest in the history of our struggles and needed to understand the ‘Slavo-Macedonian’ people, he or she was immediately baptized Bulgarian or Bulgarophile, or an autonomist by the leadership and was isolated. And if someone had the audacity to ask why, they were told to: Be quiet or the leadership will crack down on you and you will never know the history of the ‘Slavo-Macedonians’ and that it is not a requirement for them to know any of this.” Our people were told that not even the “lower leadership” had such knowledge. But, in spite of our people being pushed to think that they were Bulgarians, many had realized that it was not their place to be “Bulgarians” and many united under SNOF. But even if SNOF had failed to meet their desires, they would have taken another direction until they found satisfaction. We should also know that most of the 1903 revolutionary insurgency core was from Koreshtata of D’mbeni, where today there is still clear Macedonian awareness. Proof of this is Trpovski, a communist

himself, who was liquidated by the Communist Party because he was Macedonian and opposed the Party Line. (See: “Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944-1945” Volume I, p.17.)

Following is a letter from Naum Peiov addressed to Georgios Gianoulis, Commander of the Vicho ELAS units. This letter was sent on May 31, 1944 after SNOF was dissolved and after a group of Macedonian soldiers, in protest, along with a group of Macedonian organizers and SNOF activists who, in the first half of May 1944, left Greek occupied Macedonia and crossed over to Karaorman Mountain, located in today’s Republic of Macedonia. This letter was a bit more critical and, in a more organized manner, clearly identified unprincipled communist actions carried out by ELAS and by EAM regarding the “unrealized” Macedonian national platform. Peiov, in part, wrote: “... The people in our district did not want to join the revolution but were rather subdued by the ELAS armed force and by the influence of its political leaders.”

Further on he exposed his own attitude when he wrote: “In order for a people to rise up in a revolution they need to find fulfillment in their own goals, ideals and interests. They need to have their own national wishes and desires for liberation met. This is in accordance with the principles of the people - the liberation movements and in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, that every nation will fight within the old boundaries and for the extermination of the occupier, and that every nation has the right to self-determination. So, the position that our people will live within Greece, is perhaps temporary because the ‘Slavo-Macedonian’ people will decide their own fate.”

He then went on to say: “In order for our people to fight as a separate nation or minority within Greece, they need to be represented by our own body, by our own organizations. And then SNOF appeared like a shadow on the horizon, I say like a shadow because that’s how it appeared to our people, like a trap. It located itself only in villages where no EAM organization existed and covered all the villages in our area. I suggest that all the “Slavo-Macedonian” people living in the enslaved Greek state organize themselves in SNOF. Set up a central leadership specifically in all of Western Macedonia, which then would be directly managed by an

EAM Macedonian Bureau. The military, as a natural result of the political organization, is to be organized into separate units, with its own headquarters, which will be managed directly from ELAS.

The District Party Organization Secretary did not want to hear any of this, perhaps because the Secretary could not grasp its significance as a political necessity.

The EAM line, which is also the CPG's line, cannot satisfy the 'Slavo-Macedonian' people. Our nation is a nation with a history, not a minority but a nation, it is an ethnological, historical and economic unit... and much more... which has found itself under the boots of imperialism, and naturally the people want to fight for the creation of a free Macedonia..." (See: "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944-1945" Volume I, p.131.)

This letter is of historical significance and represents a relevant argument which explicitly points out the CPG's negative attitude towards the Macedonian Question. The question that arises from this, however, is: "How could the strategists of NOF and the CPM/CPY ignore these arguments and commit the Macedonian people to the so-called 'brotherhood and unity' idea, no doubt concocted by the Greeks, and put them under CPG control? Do we need to run away from the truth that NOF, by this act, did exactly what SNOF had done earlier, erase itself as a political entity in Greece?"

"Macedonian national liberation platform in the Aegean part of Macedonia, January – 1944", by Dr. Aleksandar Litovski, Skopje, 2008. On page 233 Dr. Litovski wrote: "... the treatment of the Macedonian National Question in the Aegean part of Macedonia, the institutionalization of the Macedonian liberation movement in the Aegean part of Macedonia... were done through SNOF." On page 236 he wrote: "In fact, when considering the political - propaganda activities of SNOF, it can clearly be seen that two dominant strands of action exist. First, an action aimed at attracting the Macedonian population in EAM and the CPG, and second, an action towards strengthening a separate Macedonian national identity in the Aegean part of Macedonia."

The old people used to say: “Thoughts that don’t take reality into account are easy thoughts to think.”

And as I have said before, unfortunately Dr. Litovski, even though he is Macedonian, had no clue that the words “Slavo-Macedonian” in SNOF were “a tribal attribute”.

This is how “our people” assessed the situation about those days and that’s how it was completed. All those who left ELAS were declared traitors and held responsible for the “split” between the Macedonians and the Greeks. Their families were then harassed and persecuted by none other than their own comrades, the ELAS fighters, EAM members and communists in general. This was the face and character of the communists in those days. There was nothing more sublime than a “title” for a communist...

Not everyone can respond to the difficulties and to the storms that followed the members of such a Party. Children of the working-class, children of the future, go and fight, children of the unwavering and of the enduring and capable of heroic actions... well, only they can be members of the Party. Just have a look at what it says on the back of the Party membership card...

Here are the words of yet another, a more serious historiographer (See: “Nova Makedonija”, August 20, 1994.)

“In mid-1944, the Macedonian communist situation in Aegean Macedonia became unbearable. Greek communists, directed by English intelligence, took numerous measures to suppress the Macedonian People’s movement:

They banned new fighters from joining the Macedonian brigades under the pretext that this army was uncertain;

They dissolved the Macedonian national - Liberation Front in Greece;

They banned all propaganda in the Macedonian language in Greece;

They banned all posters that displayed the right to self-determination for the Macedonians;

They ordered the established Macedonian brigades to retreat to southern Greece. All the above measures were designed to suppress the Macedonian national - liberation movement.”

He then goes on to say: “However, these Greek communist deeds were then discovered and the Macedonian brigades managed to pull out of the Greek territory and enter Vardar Macedonia, seeking protection. Meanwhile, a delegation from the Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions arrived at the NOV (National Liberation Army) and PO Macedonian General Headquarters and brought with them a number of documents listing terror acts and atrocities committed against the Macedonian people by the Greek partisans of ELAS in the past three years...” The text was entitled: “Communist against communist.”

But how quickly we forgot and went back again to join the same ELAS people and fight alongside them in the Greek Civil War. Above all, we managed to forget that the Greek people were tricky and pragmatic and did everything in their power to fool us and keep the spoils of war for themselves, starting with the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest... the 1919 Treaty of Versailles... and so on and so forth...

#### SPHERES OF INFLUENCE (OCTOBER 9, 1944)

Let us review some facts: Of the total ethnic Macedonian territory amounting to 67,422 square kilometres, 51% of it was awarded to Greece. This is the area known as “Aegean Macedonia”, which in reality is Greek occupied Macedonia. The Kingdom of Serbia was awarded 39% of Macedonia, known as Vardar Macedonia, which in reality was Serbian occupied Macedonia in 1913. Today this is now known as the Republic of Macedonia, a sovereign and independent Macedonian state. Bulgaria was awarded 9.5% of Macedonian territory known as Pirin Macedonia. Later Albania was awarded 0.5% of Macedonia’s territory known as Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo.

In terms of area, Greece was awarded 34,385 square kilometres, Serbia was awarded 26,995 square kilometres, Bulgaria was awarded 6,405 square kilometres and Albania was awarded 332 square kilometres.

### 1.3 THE MACEDONIAN FREEDOM FIGHTING REBELS

The Macedonian freedom fighting rebels were fighters who initially fought for Macedonia's liberation from Turkish rule and forty years later their descendents fought against Greek slavery. These were the sons and grandsons of the prominent Ilinden fighters who also fought against the Greek Andartes and their sponsor Greek Bishop Karavangelis, who had committed unprecedented crimes in the name of Hellenism according to his own boasting and claims he made in his own autobiography.

The freedom fighting rebels had an oath: "Macedonia - we fight you – and for you we will die."

Why did the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels appear on March 5, 1943 in Kostur Region, why did they form the first Macedonian military units and why did events take a different course? Why and for what reason did they appear in lawless Greece? (On May 20, 1941 in accordance with Hitler's May 17, 1941 order, Greece was officially divided into occupation zones: German, Italian and Bulgarian.)

Where was the Macedonian factor to take the fate of the Macedonian people into its hands? Why did the Macedonians follow the Greek and Bulgarian propaganda machine, which acted since the Exarchate and the Patriarchate? Where were our national leaders? They had joined CPG, of course! Why? To fight for cosmopolitanism and to join the class struggle as recommended by Stalin - naturally...

Now let us see how the Communists acted on this issue and for what purpose did they proposed to form SNOF? Especially since it was well known that the communists cared very little to none for the Macedonians, even as minorities with the right to form independent military formations. Why did the CPG still pretend to care for us

Macedonians when ELAS, in the summer of 1943, was negotiating to join the English who, behind the scenes, were asking for our demise?

## CONCERNS OR PURE MANIPULATION?!

The CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships, concerned about the situation that existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, found themselves forced to form a separate Macedonian organization; SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front). So, on October 20, 1943 they established SNOF but only in Kostur Region and later in Lerin and Voden Regions. This was done by Greeks from the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia, namely Hristos Kalfas-Andreas, Antonis Andonopoulos-Pericles, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region and Thanassis Kartsounis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozheni Region. (See: “Paskal Mitrevski and his time (1921-1978)” by Tashko Mamurovski.) This is how and under what kind of conditions SNOF was born.

According to Dr. Kiriazovski, “a lot a credit must be given to SNOF because more than 500 Macedonians joined ELAS from the villages where SNOF acted...” (But, at this point, it is unclear why the Macedonians were pushed to join ELAS?) Kiriazovski continued: “Of course SNOF’s and SNOB’s (Slavo-Macedonian Liberation Army) most important contribution was the disarming of most of the counter-revolutionaries (referring to the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels because history was written based on the Yugoslav model, and we Macedonians who fought for Macedonia were referred to as ‘counter-revolutionaries’. S.K.), and thus allowing a smooth development of the People’s Liberation Movement in that region.” (See “Macedonian national institutions in the Aegean part of Macedonia, (1941-1961)”, by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, p. 29.)

Further down, on page 33, Kiriazovski wrote: “Exactly when SNOF achieved these results and had real prospects for achieving even greater results and even greater involvement of the Macedonians in the armed struggle, the CPG leadership, in April 1944, decided to dissolve SNOF and SNOB. This very unhappy and damaging move by the CPG leadership was done because of the CPG’s agreement

with Right for gaining illicit concessions...” And thus six months after being born, SNOF was killed by the same people that gave it birth! Was this spontaneous or pre-planned? Let us look at the facts. Fact: The Macedonian freedom fighting rebels were a reality, they existed, were armed and were ready to fight and die for Macedonia! Fact: The rebels were an obstacle to the Greeks no matter which political party they belonged to or ideological side they held! Fact: For the CPG and the Greek government in exile, the rebels had to go; no matter what! But how? The Greeks were well aware of the rebel fighting potential and brute force alone was not going to dislodge them that easily without much bloodshed! So, the Greeks and their patrons came up with a clever plan to convince the Macedonians to do this dirty deed for them... and so they concocted SNOF. Then when SNOF did its job and the rebels were not only disarmed but were now fighting for the Greeks in ELAS, SNOF was dissolved. This is the gist of the story, the rest is smoke and fog to cover tracks... The Macedonian people, on all sides, were lied to and deceived to sacrifice themselves for a cause that served foreign interests... And sacrifice themselves they did to a point of experiencing genocide...

People have the right to know that, in the absence of a “Macedonian factor” Bulgarian propaganda twice reached the Macedonian people even before the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels appeared. The first time this happened was during the Greek - Italian War in 1940 when Macedonian soldiers in the Greek army were captured by the Italians and sent to Italy as prisoners. Bulgaria asked the Italian government to surrender these Macedonians to Bulgaria because all these captured Macedonians were, according to Bulgarian authorities, “Bulgarians”. Even though these Macedonians never claimed to be Bulgarians, the Greek government blacklisted them and had them and their families persecuted. They were labeled traitors to the motherland Greece and eventually exterminated.

The second and more dramatic time Bulgarian propaganda reached the Macedonian people was during the Second World War when a group of 27 Macedonian and Greek communists were released from “Akronavplion” prison on June 28, 1941, with the help of Julia Schneider. Julia, who spoke German, informed the German authorities that the Macedonians in the prison were not jailed



because they were communists but the Greeks had jailed them because they were “Bulgarians”. The Bulgarian authorities demanded that they be released under the condition that they agree to receive Bulgarian citizenship. Naturally this was used by the Greek nationalist press and by some Greek politicians to vilify the CPG, charging it with allegedly working for the services of the occupier and for surrendering Macedonia to the Bulgarians.

The fate of these people is well known and so is the faction which was responsible for turning them into victims. Here is what Dr. Tanas Trpovski had to say: “If Mr. Kochov wanted to be objective he could have very easily done so, because there exists documentation that proves that his (Lazo Trpovski’s) death was a result of the Greek communists seeing him as a Macedonian patriot fighting for the liberation of his people.” (“Nova Makedonija”, 07.04.1994.) It is true, I did not know this. Up until now I had not found anything in our historiography that pointed to Lazo Trpovski being liquidated by the communists. I knew about the manipulation, but I had no idea that the communists killed him... one of their own.

But, before we have a look at who the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels were, it is interesting and important to understand the thesis “one state – one party” and how it was applied in the newly created circumstances during the occupation of Macedonia in 1941. Here is what Dr. Vanche Stoichev had to say:

“The Bulgarian occupation of most of Vardar Macedonia (which is certainly also valid for Aegean Macedonia) motivated the CPB to perform new annexations of Macedonia through the communist movement in compliance with the Comintern thesis. After the annexation of the Macedonian Communist Party in Pirin Macedonia, the CPB attempted to annex the Communist Party in Vardar Macedonia. So the question is: did the CPB, through various forms, attempt to do the same in Aegean Macedonia? And is there proof that the CPB was not involved in the whole process in creating the rebel movement?” (“Nova Makedonija” published on July 16, 1994.)

Regarding this issue, Dr. Vanche Stoichev said: “Research on Comintern dealings between the CPY, the CPB and the CPG has

unearthed undeniable evidence that all three parties worked against the Macedonian Question before and during the Second World War. Up until recently their historiography traditionally depended on daily politics.”

And now let us have a look at the people whom we have identified here as the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels in Greek occupied Macedonia. Here is what several historians have written about them... and we have no reason not to believe them: “... that which made a small part of the Macedonian population to come out and join the rebel movement was fear of the armed Greek nationalist gangs. In 1943, leaflets with intimidating slogans against the Macedonian people were distributed in Western Macedonia. That was one reason; the other reason was that the majority of the Macedonian people were not convinced by CPG promises such as the ‘equality minority rights’ that they were offering if they came to power. Also, there was nothing said in the EAM programs about individual national rights for the Macedonians. After the first units of ELAS appeared in Western Macedonia in March 1943, which at the time were dominated by Greek nationalist elements, they slaughtered 17 Macedonians in Zagorichani.” (See: “Macedonia under Greece in the struggle against fascism (1940-1944)” by Hristo Andonovski, p. 108.)

“One of the numerous factors that prevented the counter-revolutionary movement (Macedonian freedom fighting rebels) in the Aegean part of Macedonia from turning into a Bulgarian quisling movement was the full participation of its members in the ranks of ELAS, and later in DAG (Democratic Army of Greece), in which were highlighted a plethora of celebrated fighters, commanders, Commissars and guerrilla units. A large number of them gave their lives for the freedom of their people.” (See: Dr. Risto Kiriazovski’s review of the book “Bulgarian propaganda in southwestern and central Aegean Macedonia (1941-1944)” by Tashko Mamurovski.)

This is what Tashko Mamurovski said at the end of his book: “... There were frequent killings, robberies, arson, rapes, orgies and other forms of violence committed by the Greek nationalists against the innocent Macedonian population. The Greek nationalists had

joined the ranks of ELAS in order to serve as agents and collaborators of the Greek Right. Included among them were Kolaras, Baskakis and others who drove the Macedonian people to defend themselves, their honour and freedom with weapons handed to them by the occupier.” (See p. 49.)

Now I would like to say something personal, something that I personally experienced along with thousands of fighters in the DAG units. I would like to mention the case of Kosta (Dinev) Solev - Sulio, who died as a hero and as a fearless DAG fighter and commander. There was no mention of this noble man in Tashko Mamurovski’s book “Bright personalities from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)” most likely because some people still wanted to call people like Kosta: “... fighters for Hitler and his minions in the Balkans...” And who was Kosta? He was a Macedonian, a former rebel who believed that we should be fighting for the defense of our Macedonian dignity. He and others like him were never against the left movement, but for Macedonian freedom.

Let us not forget that these people had children and their children today live in the Republic of Macedonia and are loyal Macedonians. I would like to express my great respect to Mrs. Iagnula Paskal Kunovska who, in her text “New views of history”, has expressed concise and critical views of our history, which are of utmost importance to our vital national issues. The text is well balanced and shows her high and clear patriotism. Her theme is about the movements of the Macedonian factor, not the machinations of the so-called “Aegean syndrome” of (self) destruction. With her serious review, Mrs. Kunovska has touched on a number of substantial problems and has called for a national reconciliation, a long promoted necessary act for our nation. This is what respected professor Dimitar Dimitrov wanted and because of Iagnula’s personal fate (as is the fate of thousands Macedonians) of having to live in exile without it being her fault but only because she was guilty of being born to a family where her grandfather was an Ilinden fighter, her father fought against the Greek nationalist gangs and her brothers were killed while fighting for DAG.

### 1.3.1 FACTS AND ARGUMENTS – THE MACEDONIAN FREEDOM FIGHTING REBELS OF KOSTUR

According to accounts written in rebel Vasil Ianakiev's diary (as reported by his son Dr. Risto Ivanovski in Skopje.): "A committee of five members was formed on April 18, 1942 consisting of: Vasil Ianakiev from the village Maniak, Kostur Region, member of IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) (United); Luka Dimanin from the village Drenoveni, Kostur Region; Bai Kolio Shestevarot member of IMRO (United); Tanas Nizamov, translator and one more person. After forming the committee, the five requested an audience with Italian General Ravali, commander of the Italian troops in Kostur City. The five explained to the general the Macedonian situation, gave him a brief history of Macedonia's invasion, occupation and division in 1912, 1913 and the horrors to which the Macedonian people were subjected. They explained to him how Greece, back in 1900, began its systematic destruction of the Macedonian identity with the arrival of Bishop Karavangelis and the armed formations guided by Pavlos Melas in an effort to conquer Macedonia.

Then with the massive colonization of the Greek part of Macedonia, with colonists from Asia Minor, the Macedonian people were further abused and terrorized by the Greeks, especially by the organization PAO which represented only the Greek nationalists. PAO was responsible for daily, organized raids where its members stole cattle, grain, cheese, butter, lard and other items from the Macedonian people and on top of that abused and tortured the victims and reported them to the authorities, even to the Italian authorities of being guilty of harbouring communist ideals. Many Macedonians were taken before the Italian authorities and intentionally accused of being Communists, arrested and beaten to death. Greeks on the other hand, who were accused of being communists, were arrested, imprisoned and then acquitted.

The five then explained to the General how difficult it was to procure necessities such as salt, sugar, oil, kerosene, etc., items unavailable to the Macedonian population. The final request they made was for the General to allow the Macedonians direct communication access to the Italian authorities because they explained that the Greeks put in charge of mediating did not exactly represent their interests. They told the General that the Greeks often

threatened the Macedonians with harm and they were afraid for their lives and needed protection. Ravali told them he would seek clarification from the Italian authorities and would reply to them soon.

Ravali gave them his answer on March 5, 1943 during a meeting he convened. Attending the meeting were 48 representative members of the various villages. It was decided to form a “self-defense” organization called “Macedonian Committee” for Kostur Region, which was to serve about 60 villages. They were given permission to arm themselves because the Italian authorities felt they needed to protect themselves from the Greeks who meant to do them harm.

Voted at the Assembly were:

1. Pando Makriev, from the village Chetirok, Kostur Headquarters, Chief of Staff.
2. Pascal Kalimanov, from the village Dobrolishta, Commander of all armed village fighters.
3. Luka Dimanin, from the village Drenoveni, Assistant Commander of Headquarters.
4. Bai Kolio, main leader of Kostur.
5. Hristo Naskov, from the village Ezerets, Secretary and Assistant to the Commanders.
6. Vasil Ianakiev, from the village Maniak, Intelligence Officer.
7. Kuze Shestevarot, Regional Commander.

After the organization was formed, 9,742 insurgents joined and were armed, mostly with small arms. They were given special permission to bear arms by the Italian garrison commanded in Kostur. They were limited in what they could do but were allowed to defend themselves and their villages from Greek aggression.

A celebration took place on July 24, 1943 in Kostur during which various Macedonian patriotic slogans were chanted, such as “Dear people of Kostur, be brave it is part of your ancient tradition!”, “Long live Ilinden our day of liberation!”, “Long live the spirit of the people of Kostur!”, “Long live all of Macedonia!” and others.

During the celebration the leaders of the organization gathered around a table covered with a red velvet tablecloth, symbolic of the Macedonian red colour, and in the centre of the table were a dagger and a handgun in the form of a cross. Insurgents joining the organization were required to take the following oath:

“I swear to fight for a free Macedonia to the last drop of my blood. I will be faithful to the Macedonian Kostur Committee and will never betray it. If I become a traitor then I shall die by this dagger and this revolver which I am about to kiss! Freedom or death! Let there be eternal glory!”

Most of these brave Macedonian fighters from Kostur Region left their bones in the fields and mountains fighting to free and preserve their homeland. Many were buried in a mass grave in Strashilovo, located between the villages Turie and Bapchor. Many were thrown into the D’mbeni cavern. A great number were buried in the large cemetery in the village Aposkep. And even more left their skeletons scattered in the Mountains in Epirus, Vicho and Gramos.

What were the Greeks saying about our fratricide (Macedonians in ELAS fighting against the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels in Kostur?)

1. “... They were some people who fought against Bulgarian bandits and died to preserve much of Macedonia in Greece, and who generally did not speak the Greek language; they spoke their own idiom. They thought of themselves as Greeks and fought and died with the Greek flag in their hands to preserve their villages and that region, in Greece. And if they thought so much of themselves as Greeks, then they were Greeks. Theodoros Pangalos (Interview “Dnevnik” 1998)

2. "... With the emergence of the so-called 'rebel squads', who were initially organized by the Bulgarian government in Sofia to serve as its spies, emerged the 'Slavo-Macedonian' and Greek armed units who then actively fought against the 'rebels' who were fighting against the interests of the people in Macedonia. The people in Macedonia lost many lives in those struggles. The 'rebels' not only failed to wipe out the rights of the people in Macedonia but in their attempt they actually destroyed themselves. ELAS and the 'Slavo-Macedonians' were determined to take those regions and arrested the 'rebels' and destroyed their formations..." (General Markos, Interview with I.P., published by "Pulse" in 1998.)

Who were these "rebels" Markos was talking about? They were the sons and grandsons of the Ilinden fighter who fought for Macedonia during the 1903 Ilinden Uprising and liberated the towns Klisura and Neveska. Their sons and grandsons were now organized to fight against the Greek nationalist black gangs of PAO. They are the people who we have referred to as the Macedonian freedom fighting rebels of Kostur.

As mentioned earlier, on March 5, 1943 the first armed military unit was formed in Kostur, consisting of fighters from Greek occupied Macedonia. They quickly appeared in 54 villages and their numbers swelled to 9,850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek nationalist gangs. In western Macedonia, in 1943, these armed nationalist Greek gangs were responsible for intimidating the Macedonian people by spreading anti-Macedonian propaganda in the form of leaflets and by other means. As mentioned earlier, on October 20, 1943 the CPG formed the organization SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front) in order to disarm and destroy these Kostur fighters. After the Kostur fighters were disarmed and disbanded, in April 1944, the CPG also disbanded SNOF, its military units and incorporated the Macedonians fighters into ELAS. At that point some Macedonians fighters refused to be incorporated into ELAS and fled across the Yugoslav border and joined the partisan units in Vardar Macedonia as part of Tito's army.

#### 1.4 HOW AND WHY DID THE CPG RENAME THE MACEDONIANS TO "SLAVO-MACEDONIANS"?

Who renamed the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to “Slavo-Macedonians and why? Why “Slavo-Macedonians” only in Greek occupied Macedonia and not in any of the other parts of occupied Macedonia? It is well known that Macedonia was invaded, occupied and portioned in 1912 and 1913 and parts of it were annexed by Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania, but no one other than the Greeks called the Macedonian people “Slavo-Macedonians”? Was that name given to them by the Communists or by the Greek government? Why was the leadership of NOF (and not SNOF) during the Greek Civil War, after April 23, 1945, given the task of recruiting “Slavo Macedonians” and not just Macedonians, to fight in the war?

Our historiography claims that NOF was a military and political factor in the affairs of the Macedonian people during the Greek Civil War years. Is this true? Or is this something that “others, people at the top were saying...?” How much attention have scientific and political writers, as well as historiographers, given this issue? Obviously not much because this issue has long been perceived as an exclusively “Aegean” issue, not to be tempered with, especially by prominent writers. But to make it look like it was not exclusively the “Aegean Macedonians” who were guilty of this problem, after the Balkan Pact of 1953, half a century of silence followed. There were even more serious problems which were ignored. After a book, written by a Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia, was translated from Macedonian to Greek, Greek reviewers were referring to the author as a “writer from the South Slavic part of Yugoslavia”, and no one objected. And as such one after another, many such “intentional errors” were allowed to slip by unnoticed. The Greek lobby on the other hand, in its long quest for our national annihilation, let nothing slip by.

After Greece capitulated to the occupiers, the CPG organized and managed the entire territory of Greek occupied Macedonia and kept it under its control only because the integral Macedonian factor was not there. This is due to the well known fact that the CPG, before World War II, had its own people inside Macedonia who loyally followed its program. Among them, of course, were many Macedonian communists and CPG members.



Based on proclaimed Comintern policy, the Communists already had a united stand against Macedonia on the Macedonian National Question. And thus the Greek bourgeois no longer saw danger in the communists regarding this matter. The real threat was in class change. There was no sign of any revival in the Macedonian movement (especially after the ethnic composition was changed with the depositing of the Asia Minor colonists), so Macedonia was safe in the hands of the Greek Communists and, as it turned out, they showed themselves to be better masters in disfiguring the Macedonian people. Because the Greek communists, or in this case the Asia Minor colonists, were in charge of the CPG in Macedonia, they saw this “struggle” as an opportunity to take more lands from the Macedonian people and fought even harder to develop deeper roots. Their aim was to break the Macedonian core. They wanted to instill in the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia awareness that only “Slavo-Macedonians” exist in Greece. This was a strategic CPG move which was reflected in the title of a book the CPG published in 1951.

The book actually had two titles, which reveal Greece’s measures towards the Macedonians by referring to them as “Slavo-Macedonians”. Interestingly however, the book also reveals some facts, in detail, of the Macedonian people’s national liberation struggles up until Macedonia’s partition in 1913. In other words the CPG demonstrated its care for the “Slavo-Macedonian” people and not for the Macedonian people and thus here is where the core of the Macedonian consciousness begins to erode. The CPG gave the impression that those who were willing to accept their “new title”, i.e. “Slavo-Macedonians”, would be well taken care of and those who insisted on calling themselves “Macedonians”... well, they simply did not exist... for all Greeks...

After the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey, which took place from 1920 to 1936, the local Macedonian population became known as “endopii”, i.e. indigenous, local, native; the newcomers were identified as “Prosfiges” or “Madziri” this included the Asia Minor settlers and colonists as well as those who came from Greece after Macedonia’s 1913 occupation and partition. It is well known that after Greece expropriated Macedonian territories in

1913, Greek authorities began to change the ethnic composition of the population by various different means. Thus, according to credible evidence, in the period from 1913 to 1940 about 400,000 Macedonians were forced to leave their homeland in Greek occupied Macedonia (See Hadziev 1996) and relocate to neighbouring countries, mostly to Bulgaria. In their place Greek authorities settled colonists from Asia Minor. About this, on December 29, 1922, the prestigious Athens newspaper “Kathimerini” wrote: “1922 was a decisive year for furthering the national, religious and cultural physiognomy of Macedonia.” According to official sources from the Society of Nations (“The rise of refugees in Greece”, Geneva, 1926, published in the French language) the delivery of 900,000 colonists from Asia Minor to Macedonia from 1923 to 1924 was a disaster (See Hadziev 1996). The only positive result for Greece from the Treaty of Lausanne, with the delivery of these colonists, was the strict creation of a Greek front in Macedonia. In other words, such a strong Greek front did not exist before the colonists were deposited there and by saying this there is admission that Macedonia belonged to “someone else”, i.e. it belonged to the Macedonian people who were forcibly evicted and are still being evicted from their homes, especially during the genocidal Greek Civil War.

The reason the Macedonian population became known as the “endopii” (indigenous, local, native) in Greek occupied Macedonia is because Greece refused to recognize those people as Macedonians. For Greece it was the “the best of all evils” to call the Macedonian people “endopii”, which meant that they were not “Slavophone Greeks”, they were not “Western Greeks”, they were not “South Serbians” and they were not “old-Bulgarians”, they were simply “endopii” or “locals”! The idea that the Macedonians were “endopii” did not end with their identity but continued in day to day life. The Greek said they spoke the “endopii” language and sang “endopii” songs; they wore “endopii” clothing and practiced “endopii” customs. To the Greeks, everything was “endopii” and nothing Macedonian existed! So, the only time the Macedonians could call themselves Macedonians was in secret and only in the presence of their own people. Unfortunately that too became prohibited, including singing Macedonian songs. The Macedonian songs were banned because they contained lyrics that spoke of Macedonia and the Macedonian people. The Macedonian songs are

a lasting testament to the existence of a Macedonian nation that predates all the newly created modern Balkan nations. There are no lyrics in the old Macedonian songs that speak of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians, or “Slavo- Macedonians”. There were no songs that spoke of Greece or Bulgaria.

With the banning of everything that was Macedonian, including the renaming of all place names, lakes, rivers, mountains, etc., and people’s personal names, from Macedonian to Greek, Greek authorities were more than proud to declare to the world that Greek occupied Macedonia was “pure Greek”. Greece declared that it had no ethnic minorities living on its soil and attributed all its social problems not to minorities “fighting for their human rights” as guaranteed by international norms, but to the communists attempting to undermine its social system. Greece not only vigorously fought against those it labeled communists but was pleased to inform the world of its actions. And since Greece allegedly had no minorities living on its soil and managed to convince the world of that, then it had no obligation to comply with the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, with the 1920 Atlanta Agreement, the Sevres Treaty (07/10/1920) or any other Treaty that referenced minority rights or non Greek nationalities living in Greece.

Greece, however, was on the record for having minorities living on its soil, including Macedonians (not Slavo-Macedonians) and was bound by international laws to enable them to establish and have their own cultural, educational, religious and social institutions and to be able to freely use their mother tongue. This was confirmed by Eleftherios Venizelos, then Prime Minister of Greece who, on November 11, 1930 at a press conference in Athens, said: “The question of the Macedonian (he did not say ‘Slavo-Macedonian’) minority in Greece will be resolved and I will be the first in Greece to be committed to opening Macedonian (not Slavo-Macedonian) schools, if that’s what people want.” This confirms that Macedonians were living in Greece in the 1930’s.

The communists promised no different than what Venizelos promised except the communists called the Macedonian people “Slavo-Macedonians”. So it is becoming clear that the CPG with its program was attempting to sidestep Greece’s minority Treaties,

especially its obligation under the Treaty of Sevres. So, in effect, the Greek communists promised even less than their Greek predecessors and delivered total devastation and one of the most insidious means of disfiguring the Macedonian people.

This harsh reality shows nothing more than the Macedonian people's backbone being broken by the Comintern's attitude towards them. The Comintern leadership delivered a devastating blow towards the complete ethnic cleansing of the Macedonian people, a tragedy without words, perpetrated by Greece and Bulgaria, and by Turkey and Greece, in their adaptation of new global strategies and tactics, which they imposed on large numbers of people, and which Greece welcomed with open arms.

With all that had happened, the Greek bourgeoisie were convinced that the CPG not only skillfully kept the Macedonian Question under control, but it achieved historically much better results than anyone before. Here's why:

1. The communists did not ask the question: "Why is the Greek State altering the ethnic composition of the population in Greek occupied Macedonia?" (See: "How the Communists of Vardar Macedonia asked the question", by Emanuel Chuchkov. The question as to why colonists were being deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia did come up at the AVNOJ session of the Presidency Legislative Committee, held on July 31, 1945, where it was assumed that it was done to achieve some greater Serbian goals and that this was endangering the Macedonian nation). This, among the Macedonians, was not only a question of why the composition of the population was altered by bringing inhabitants exclusively from the Caucasus, who later literally ran the CPG, but about the question that was NOT asked and that was: "Why was Greece persecuting the indigenous people, i.e. the Macedonian people, and forcing them out of their ancestral homes and particularly why it was sending them to Bulgaria?" Why didn't anyone ask: "Who were these people persecuted by Greece and why were they sent to Bulgaria?" If they had bothered to ask they would have found out that they were "our brothers", Macedonians who participated in the Ilinden uprising to free Macedonia. They were the people who fought against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and against the use of the Greek language

in churches and schools. They fought against Bulgarian and Greek assimilation attempts to assimilate the Macedonian people through their churches. But when this question was finally asked, especially of the Communists, of the Soviet communist core, from which we Macedonians expect a lot, we were told this; as was documented in a magazine article entitled “Unknown Pages of the life of Yuri Andropov”, published by Boris Pop Giorchev in “Nova Makedonija” on July 15, 1994. Among other things the article said: “... We are talking about a Baltic territory and people, like the ‘Karelian labour commune’ in the USSR in 1920, shortly after the October Revolution (tearing off a part of Finland) three years later to be transformed into a Karelian-Finnish Autonomous Republic, with its capital Petrozavodsk. Over 150,000 homogeneous Karelians, close to the Finns, lived in the northern Autonomous Republic along with 50,000 Finns. In the process of turning them into Russians (an ongoing process) in the years before and during the Second World War, in which Andropov had a prominent role, we colonized their lands. For seven and a half decades the colonization did its thing: Today Karelia has about 800 thousand inhabitants, of which over 500,000 are Russians, there are Ukrainians, Belarusians, etc., and the Karelians and Finns are a small minority.” So there you have it! If this was allowed to happen in Russia why should it not be allowed to happen in Greece? If the Karelians could be turned into an almost non-existent minority on their own native land, then why not the Macedonians? Did we, for some reason, think that we were something special? But no less important is the next question.

2. The Communists did not oppose the changing of the place names and personal names of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia; a means by which the Macedonian people were disfigured. At the same time the Communists were being praised for “taking care” of the people and for showing the greatest of concern for mankind. But, as it turned out, they just did not care for us the Macedonians; not even enough to call us “Macedonians”. Why?

3. The Greek communists showed no desire for Macedonian culture and traditions or for Macedonian life in general. Quite the opposite, they loathed it and us and enforced cosmopolitanism on us (which was normal for them because they did not have ancestral roots in Macedonia and since they were now in Macedonia they were the

Macedonians and they made sure to let us know that we were the “Slavo-Macedonians). What is bizarre about all this is that the Macedonian communists had accepted the “Slavo-Macedonian” title, but not the Macedonian people. This is when the proverbial “axle” broke, and it broke because of the CPG (after the changing attitude of the Comintern), when the CPG decided that, by communist logic, all Macedonians who were native and indigenous to Greek occupied Macedonia became known as “Slavo-Macedonians”. The communists gave us a tribal attribute and then began to degrade and humiliate us in every respect and use us against each other until they broke us spiritually, which was not an easy task.

It may not be so obvious, and to some it may seem ridiculous, but the Greeks, communists included, had a long-term plan to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia by legal means and with little to no human cost to themselves.

It should be obvious by now that it was the Greek communists who created SNOF for only a single purpose and that was to disarm and destroy the Kostur Macedonian freedom fighting rebels. They used treachery to convince Macedonians to fight against Macedonians in order to solve a Greek problem. SNOF was disbanded as soon as it got the job done. Given how events took place, there is little to no argument that can be made that this was done for the benefit of the Macedonians and not for the benefit of the Greeks!

When the bureau of SNOF was arrested, the CPG District Committee began a fierce campaign against the old Macedonian fighters and leaders. They accused them of being agents of Vancho Mihailov and of the Ohrana.

It is worth mentioning here that in January 1944, the CPG allowed the formation of a Slavo-Macedonian army called SNOV and placed it under the direct leadership of EAM and ELAS. Later it was from this “army” that the “Aegean Brigade” was formed and transferred to Tito’s Army in Yugoslavia. It is also worth mentioning here that in Skopje, on April 23, 1945, the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent

to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation of a new conflict - the Greek Civil War.

Here are some facts and arguments which prove evil did not fall from the sky but was there and part of our story.

1. The “First Aegean Brigade” was formed in free Bitola on November 18, 1944 from the fighters of the two battalions that fled Greek occupied Macedonia. This Brigade was deployed on December 28, 1944 in Western Macedonia, mainly in Kichevo, Tetovo and Gostivar, tasked with fighting Dzhemo Mefail’s gang of balisti formed during the Italian-German occupation. The “First Aegean Brigade” was disbanded by special order number 236 (strictly confidential) issued by Marshal Tito on April 2, 1945.

2. This may have been as a result of Tito’s following statement made in Moscow on April 26, 1945, when he gave an interview for the “New York Times” during which he said: “If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations.” See: Yugoslav-Soviet treaty of friendship signed April 11, 1945 in Moscow, and FO 371/48388/7762.

3. According to official historiography: There is no doubt that the establishment of NOF, AFZH and NOMS had political aims as confirmed by historian Risto Kiriazovski’s works (1966/181) in an attempt to reveal the “truth” by leaving us clues. But, on the other hand, Kiriazovski pushed the thesis that we led a Revolution and not a fraud perpetrated through the creation of NOF and AFZH. And finally in his latest book, Kiriazovski gives us yet another clue by saying that NOF and AFZH were led by the CPY/CPM during the period from April 24, 1945 to October 16, 1946.

And so, these people, the Greek and Yugoslav communists in particular, according to some of our own historiographers were our trusted “allies” in our struggle for justice, human rights and to re-unite our Macedonia...

Let us ask some relevant questions:

“Why didn’t we, the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, up until the end of the Second World War, create a national Macedonian organization, whose program would have defined our policies, our national strategy and our political views towards EAM, ELAS, CPG, etc., who some of our historians call ‘our allies’?”

Why were we, this whole time, powerless to act and take the initiative to bring about national consolidation? Does this mean that, because we were placed in the ideological slavery called communism, we had lost our perspective on life and our respect for our own Macedonian values? Were we not aware of what was happening around us and inside our country and we simply surrendered to the whims of EAM, ELAS and the CPG?!! Were we not aware, from prior experience, that our ethnic composition was rapidly changing and we, the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, were being eroded from a majority living on our own lands down to a minority? Did we not see this as a genocidal threat? Did we not realize, or even imagine that maybe the Greek “thesis” of our so-called “allies” (EAM, ELAS and the CPG) had not changed at all and had remained constant for many years? Did it not occur to anyone that the Greeks wanted a Macedonia without Macedonian people and that our so-called “allies” were taking advantage of the war situation to destroy us, to do something to us which they had dreamed of doing for decades? To destabilize our country and drive us out of our ancestral homes and destroy our centuries old existence? Did no one see that by following our so-called “allies” blindly they would lead us along a one-way street and to national extinction, especially since we picked up guns and gave them reason to declare war on us? Did no one realize or imagine that there would be consequences, even for our national consciousness, if we blindly surrendered to this “ideological activism” business, which was bent on turning us into internationalists and cosmopolitan-ists and that in time it would eat away our values? We were villagers and villagers we would have remained if Greece had turned socialist. But instead of working for ourselves on our own lands and enjoying the fruits of our own labour, our lands would have been confiscated and we would have worked for and been paid a “fair” wage by the state. And what would be a fair wage for a Macedonian villager working for the Greek government in Greek occupied Macedonia? Did anyone think about that?!



It is easy to be critical “after the fact”... but if we are not, then how else can we learn from our mistakes?

As mentioned earlier, regional Macedonian organizations, regardless of how they were formed, did exist in Greek occupied Macedonia, at least in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions. There were also attempts made to consolidate these organizations, at some points in time, which is of historical importance and worth noting. There was one attempt made in January 1944: “... With aims at uniting the Lerin Region and Kostur Region regional organizations and aligning their goals. A meeting was held on January 28, 1944 in the village Tsrnovishte, Kostur Region, which was attended by the two regional committees (the author was thinking of the members of the CPG) to discuss, among other things, the following items:

1. The Macedonian National Question; i.e. Macedonia’s fate after the war;
2. Creation of a single National Liberation Organization throughout Aegean Macedonia;
3. What is a people’s democracy?

Unfortunately the meeting ended in failure because the Macedonians did not achieve their goals.” (See: “NOF and other Macedonian organizations from Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949”, by Risto Kiriazovski, p. 49.)

As can be seen from the quote above that there were Macedonians who made the effort to bring national unity to the Macedonian people, but it seems that our so-called “allies” did not want them to succeed. And thus, no Macedonian political entity was created which could have, perhaps, influenced the various critical and milestone Agreements such as the one in Lebanon on May 20, 1944 or the Varkiza Agreement signed on February 12, 1945, which ended ELAS’s activities and thus ended the armed struggle with a defeat of that movement.

But then, it seems like we did not learn anything from those lessons; we learned very little to nothing from our experience, from our

history and from the fact that our so-called “allies” did not want us to organize ourselves. But then we decided to join them anyway and allow them, our occupiers, to lead us into a war that we could not possibly win. It seems like we understood nothing of what was happening around us when we entered a new war after World War II had ended and the world was already divided into spheres of influence and there was an impenetrable international border drawn right through our country. We decided to trust our “allies” to lead us into oblivion even after our compatriots in Yugoslavia were sent to Srem to fight to liberate Yugoslavia instead of allowing them to go to Solun to liberate their own homeland, like they wanted. But more than a half a century has passed since those days and, I believe, we should have no problem understanding what happened then and identify who the real culprits were that did this to us. The history of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia has been one of the bloodiest histories in the Balkans and in Europe, a violent history influenced by outsiders and by outside ideologies whose only motives are to create division and suffering leading to ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Surely some of us must have understood what was happening to us? So another relevant question to ask is: “Why did we again take the same road and follow our so-called “allies” into a new war? Why did we participate in the Greek Civil War, a war that should not have taken place?”

## 2.0 HOW AND WHY DID WE HEAD INTO A NEW AND DEADLIER CAMPAIGN?

Every epoch has its own foolishness, but to activate the “Macedonian syndrome” in Greek occupied Macedonia, through ideological activism after World War II, was nothing less than foolhardiness... unless of course it was done to benefit some foreign goals. According to historian Vladimir Ivanovski, as reported by “Nova Makedonija” on October 11 and 12, 1997, (Transferred from Macedonia Times), particularly part three: “Why not to Solun”? Ivanovski provides an overview of events that took place especially in the subtitles: “Desires were stronger than circumstances” and “Views of the great powers”, which deserve special attention. Other authors too have made a point of mentioning this issue: “We are

going to Solun and not to the Srem front...” but it seems they did not identify it as an important issue. But it is an important issue, a key issue, to which historian Ivanovski has given a lot of attention. Ivanovski’s findings have revealed several interventions made by the CPM/CPY (See Kiriazovski Risto 1966/181) in the creation of NOF and AFZH and in the appointment of its leadership during that time period. Anyone who reads history and who wants to know what happened can easily find out the mistakes made by the Macedonians and how they were led to (self) sacrifice themselves for the benefit of foreign interests.

The problem may seem complicated, but the truth is simple. If we take an honest, impartial and objective approach to our history and ask the question: “Were we Macedonians, given the strategic options we were facing at the time, intellectually, militarily and politically able and prepared to preserve the territorial integrity and compactness of the Macedonian population after World War II, with an international border dividing Macedonia between Greece and Yugoslavia and by opposing super powers standing side by side on each side of that border?” Then the honest answer we would get is “NO!”

If in history we need to see our future, then I personally am interested and it is my duty, as a participant in the Greek Civil War, to investigate the roots of this evil; how and why the Macedonian syndrome was activated after World War II, during the Greek Civil War 1945-1949, and whether we Macedonians are guilty of causing damage (ethnically cleansing) to the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia? Did we have a strategy to preserve our century-old homes or not? Or by doing what we did, did we serve foreign interests and give the Greeks the upper hand to do what they had always wanted to do; have a Macedonia without Macedonians. We must have known that when the Iron Curtain was put in place that we Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia would be left out...

I do not want to talk only about the guilt of others as to what happened to us Macedonians. We cannot always blame others for our shortsightedness and mistakes. We cannot blame others for us keeping silent for more than a century in order to safeguard some

foreign interests for the sake of someone else's "friendly relations". It is time to speak up and to also look at our responsibility in these matters!

Let us now have a look at what historian Vladimir Ivanovski had to say about:

1. Relations between three of the Great Powers of the anti-fascist coalition: the USSR, the US and the UK;
2. That it was an undeniable fact that uniting Macedonia would have been a problem during that time. NOV (People's Liberation Army), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Macedonia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia were well aware of this;
3. Made reference to a British document dated July 16, 1944, entitled "Macedonia – Memorandum", in which British State Secretary for Foreign Affairs said: "We are ready to give consent to the formation of a Macedonian state within the federal Yugoslav state. But we must insist that this nation will not annex, or seek other territories, whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or Greece";
4. Made mention of the fact that there was an Agreement regarding the division of spheres of influence, and that Greece was 100% under British influence with the right, if necessary, at any time be able to intervene by all possible means;
5. That Tito, in the summer of 1944, ordered Macedonian NOV units to secure the southern border with Greece. This means that Macedonian soldiers were ordered to guard the sovereign borders of these two countries (Yugoslavia and Greece);
6. That, at that time, the United States emphasized the necessity of preserving the territorial integrity, i.e. the status-quo pre-war borders of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. The United States also strongly opposed border revision, even though it recognized the Macedonian territory in Greece.

And finally he concludes:

“... The political and military leadership of Macedonia realistically estimated, held and controlled the situation during the January events, not allowing emotions to prevail over reason and thus preventing the newly formed and fragile federal Macedonia to be drawn into the war. The consequences of such an adventure would have been catastrophic.”

I too, a half a century later, would like to ask the following questions:

- Why did the CPM allow the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to be sacrificed by the CPY and the CPG?
- Why did the CPM allow NOF to be trapped in the CPY and CPG vice and to be placed in a position to have to defend the logic of insanity and to walk along a razor's edge?
- Did the CPM not know that NOF was doing “assessable” service for the CPG, and no less for the CPY?
- Was the CPM unable to perceive that strangers were spreading ideological activism like cancer in the souls of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in the years 1944 to 1950?
- Why did we discard our alternatives; if only to have defeated our enemy by staying in our homes? Had we not picked up guns... had we not been so determined to fight and defeat our enemies... which would not have been as glorious... but we may, there is a chance that we may have not all been driven out and we could have saved and kept our ancestral lands, our grandfather's piece of land, to ourselves... perhaps even the compactness of the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia could have been saved? But we chose no such alternative!

The feeling that we were a people in Greece was felt by every Macedonian, but the feeling that in our short history being occupied by Greece and being turned into a minority on our ancestral lands, in a relatively short period of time, can only be felt by us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Aside from being robbed of our

ancestral lands, we have also been made to feel guilty of belonging to the Macedonian nation. And that which today is being called a “minority”, using an unhistorical definition, because we are Macedonian people part of the Macedonian nation living on our Macedonian ancestral lands; how can we be treated as a minority inside of our homes? Besides that, our history is packed with ancient, old and new aspirations to unite ourselves as Macedonians and our country as Macedonia; we are not settlers, or colonists, or refugees...! Sadly, these desires of ours to re-unite ourselves and our country are often misused and, as it turned out after the Second World War, our desires were turned to illusions when we were manipulated by strangers who urged us to self-destruct. Please allow me to quote a wise German saying: “Naïve and stupid are those who speak loudly about reuniting their tattered fatherland, cowards and freaks are those who think of such a reunification!”

## 2.1 THE GREEK CIVIL WAR WAS THE MOST TRAGIC EVENT FOR THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE, BECAUSE EVERY ONE OF US FROM THERE WAS TURNED INTO PEOPLE WITHOUT ROOTS AND PLANTED IN US WERE FEELINGS OF ALIENATION.

The facts about events that took place in the Second World War and in the Greek Civil War speak of the depth of the Macedonian tragedy and have a major impact on the psyche of the Macedonian people and how they behave politically. The new generations are not ideologically free either. They still live in the shadow of the past, and even I (Stoian Kochov) am not ashamed to admit that I too live this way. It is not a luxury for us Macedonians to simply reject the past and go on off into the future and be indifferent to the de-Macedonia-zation of Greek occupied Macedonia by the Greece state. Respectfully I must read the answers to my questions, stemming from the conclusion that: “The political and military leadership in Macedonia realistically assessed, held and controlled the situation”, as per Ivanovski’s words.

It would have been admirable if indeed that’s what had taken place because the fact is that the slogan for a united Macedonia, after the Second World War, was unrealistic. We the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia are living our experience outside of our

homes... forever... because we allowed strangers to manipulate our Macedonian primordial desires to take up arms and liberate ourselves; to (self) sacrifice ourselves on a massive scale... producing the right conditions for the realization of ethnic cleansing.

More recently historians have made valid arguments and produced facts that disprove Ivanovski's conclusion. These new facts and arguments accurately depict our history with many details including those of the CPM/CPY meddling in the affairs of our political and military leadership. These testimonials reveal a cruel justice perpetrated against the Macedonian people, which did not end with their persecution, but continued through lies and deceit by keeping the Macedonian people ignorant of their true history and by making sure they remained ignorant and unconscious and divided themselves between the CPY and the CPG.

Here's why:

**WHEN THE CPY/CPM CREATED AND ORGANIZED NOF, AFZH AND NOMS THE STAGE FOR WAR HAD ALREADY BEEN SET. THIS PROVES THAT THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE HAD FALLEN PREY TO FOREIGN INTERESTS AND TO OUR FINAL FATAL OPTION – GENOCIDE.**

NOF was forced to propagate a great illusion on a small nation.

It is a historic fact that NOF did propagate a great illusion. But the important question is who instigated it and why? Why were the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia pushed to enter this deadly embrace which brought them genocide? The fact that they experienced genocide has been confirmed by historian Kiriazovski. This fact, hidden from us for the last 60 years has prevented us from looking into the secrets of the genocide and the real motives behind it. It has hidden the CPY/CPM's real motives for creating NOF and AFZH in Skopje on April 23, 1945 under Tito and Kulishevski's leadership. Here is what Tsvetko Uzunovski-Abas, CPM Central Committee Organizing Secretary and Interior Minister of the People's Republic of Macedonia, had to say to the NOF and AFZH leadership: "... Yugoslavia has become the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans. The Macedonian question has now become a

Yugoslav question on account that the CPY formed the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Aegean Macedonia and placed you in charge to lead them. These organizations have been tasked to give the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia a Yugoslav orientation. The Macedonian people and the Macedonian movements are now led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia will get their full recognition and acceptance within a Federal Yugoslavia and Aegean Macedonia will join Yugoslavia.” (AM. Macedonian Archives. F-20/276, F-20/196.) (See: Kirazovski Risto 1966/181 and Rakovski Pavle 1990/199.)

According to historian Lazar Lazarov 1998/62, on September 26, 1945 a report was sent to the French government by Gerard Raul Duval, French Consulate General in Solun, in which, among other things, he said: “... The headquarters of the organization NOF is located in Skopje, Yugoslav territory... after all it seems that the propaganda generated by the NOF Slavophones is realizing the idea of an autonomous Macedonia. The Yugoslav government controls this organization and sees Greek Macedonia as its own, as part of the Yugoslav territory...” (p. 62)

This was a time period when these organizations acted outside and independent of the CPG and were exclusively run by the CPM/CPY (see Kirazovski 1995/10).

There is no doubt that NOF’s optimal aim, as ordered by the CPM/CPY), was to totally enlist all the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia into the liberation front and utilize them to deliver their program goals. So, the question is: “If this strategic objective was put in place because the CPM/CPY ‘cared’ for the Macedonian people and wanted to create a ‘united Macedonia’ for them, then why, only three months earlier, did Yugoslav officials prohibit them from going to fight in Solun? Why was Yugoslavia against the slogans: “Let us turn our guns towards Solun!” and “To Solun, not to the Srem front!”?

Obviously the CPM/CPY’s strategic objective for creating NOF, AFZH (Anti-Fascist Women’s Front) and NOMS (People’s Liberation Youth Movement) must have been important because



after these organizations were dispatched to Greek occupied Macedonia they established 5 regional, 10 district and 3 urban offices with 32 regional leaders and 120 professional staff organized in 220 villages operating 170 rural and community organizations. They even established military formations as large as battalions. (See Kiriazovski 1985/143.) It is worth mentioning at this point that half of the villages that had offices were destroyed during the Greek Civil War.

From a historical point of view, it seems that the need for NOF and AFZH was outdated because their slogans and what they stood for, i.e. fighting to defeat “Fascism”, were also outdated. Fascism had already been defeated but it seems for the Macedonians that did not matter. But it did matter for the Greek government because it sanctioned and passed special laws that applied and were valid only for us Macedonians. These laws opened the door for violence against NOF, AFZH and the Macedonian people in general. Violence and unprecedented terror were sanctioned by the Greek government. This was done even before the Greek Civil War was active. The Greek Civil War did not officially begin until March 31, 1946 by a decision of the CPG Second Plenum held on February 12, 1946.

After the Second World War, the Greek Civil War was a new test for us Macedonians. The war had a dual purpose; one, expel the population, and for that reason the war was located inside Greek occupied Macedonia; two, liquidate the Communists who obviously were grossly misinformed and wanted to create socialism inside Greece.

Russia’s (Stalin’s) position in all this was very odd: Stalin wanted to interfere in capitalist affairs even though it had been decided and he had agreed with the Western Powers that: Greece in its entirety was going under the English and American spheres of influence. This was done under the Yalta (4) Agreement which guaranteed that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece. This Agreement negated and made the need for the Greek Civil War unnecessary. So, if the War was not about “installing” socialism in Greece, then there was only one other option left: internationalize the problem and legally ethnically cleanse the ethnic Macedonian population and

then replace it with the new Asia Minor colonists and settlers, commonly known as “Prosfigi”.

So, now allow me to highlight some facts: NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Skopje on April 23, 1945, independent of the CPG. The national strategic error, which the Greeks introduced by calling us “Slavo-Macedonians” was corrected and, perhaps because of decisions made by ASNOM, there was no longer “room” left for alien bodies to Manipulate us... and so we thought. But let me also point out that none of the Macedonian organizations created in Skopje had the word “Macedonia” or “Macedonian” in them. “Slavo-Macedonian” was taken out and replaced with nothing...

To find out more about what happened with NOF in the course of the Greek Civil War, you will have to read my book “(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece”.

I received a lot of criticism when the book first came out, which filled many pages in “Nova Makedonija”. At the height of this cynicism, many of my critics were hoping that all this would go away and that “people would eventually forget about it!” They also felt that they could heal all wounds by performing “memorial services” for our dead. One such memorial service took place this year (2000) in Shtip. It was done to commemorate the death of 150 young Macedonian people forcibly taken from sovereign Yugoslavia and sent to sovereign Greece; dumped in the arms of death during the Greek Civil War... their only crime... they were born in Greece...

Who was responsible for this? Who sent these young people to their graves? On May 29, 1994, an article in “Nova Makedonija” openly identified the person responsible... for “paying our national debt”... for “freeing” our youth; for sending them back to Greece so that they could leave their bones in Gramos.

This person was our “Sindrofos” Mitchos who saw himself as a politician, a revolutionary and a recruiter for DAG. At one point he said: “... I have been in Skopje for only four months and I was able to send hundreds of fighters to the ranks DAG.” Bravo Mitchos!

But before we all celebrate your accomplishments let us re-examine what DAG stood for, what these young people went back to fight for... Let us review the DAG fighters oath or, if you prefer, “Ο ΟΡΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΧΙΤΗΤΟΥ ΔΣΕ” which basically said: “I, son of the Greek people, a fighter of the Democratic Army of Greece, will fight to defend the frontiers, integrity and sovereignty of our motherland Greece...”

And to think that this guy felt sorry for the mothers who, during the memorial service, were crying for their children, who he had sent back to Greece where they were killed. But that’s not all, this was the person, our Sindrofos Mitchos, who tried to convince us that, during the Second NOF Congress held on March 25, 1949, just prior to DAG’s liquidation, Zahariadis had said: “You Macedonians have a right to secession, within a Balkan federation...”

What was that DAG fighter oath again?

“I, son of the people of Greece and fighter of the Democratic Army of Greece, swear that I will fight with a rifle in hand, will shed my blood and will give my life, to expel the last foreign occupier from my motherland Greece. I will fight and liquidate all presence of fascism. I will fight to acquire and to establish national freedom and to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland Greece. I will fight for democracy and for the good of the people.

I swear that I will be a good, distinguished and disciplined soldier, and will carry out all my orders and canons and will never reveal any of DAG’s secrets.

I swear that I will be a good example and I will have the best attitude towards people with a view to lasting reconciliation and I will avoid all attempts to discredit or humiliate myself as a person and as a fighter. My primary interests will be: to fight for Greece’s freedom and permanent democracy. With rifle in my hand, I am ready to lay down my life for all these interests of the people of Greece.”

Regardless of the sacrifices Sindrofos Mitchos, otherwise known as Dimitar Ugrinoski – Micho, made for them, the Greeks in ELAS and

DAG gave him the name “Vorias” (North), a conspiratorial and unpopular name.

Sindrofos Mitchos understood and learned nothing from my book. I think it was better that way because he immediately launched a negative campaign against me and mentioned names and things that were not even in my book. He entirely missed my point. He took the opposing direction. He even missed my comments on the first page where I honoured our fighters and mentioned names that deserved mentioning. He called my book an “unscientific” pamphlet and accused me of copying historical facts from other authors, i.e. of plagiarism...

But in spite of what he said, which defies logic, I want to remind this “great, self-affirmed ELAS fighter” of what his ELAS comrades did against the Macedonian people! (See: “Aegean Macedonia in NOV” by Dr. R. Kiriazovski Volume 7, Book 3, page 220, document no. 76, October 18, 1944. Also see memorandum ACKSJ-K 1/40, written by the Macedonian activists from Kostur about the unhealthy relationships and the ELAS Greek leadership policies against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.)

From the one letter he wrote it was obvious that this “Vorias” fellow was not alone. Someone else was involved because this pseudo-fighter and communist did not have the mental capacity to respond the way he did. Someone else must have advised him and lit the fuse of hatred in him. He was not a man one could talk with, argue scholarly, or have a civilized discussion. He exhibited bizarre behaviour and acted in a vulgar manner. He even used words whose meaning was beyond his understanding.

As far as I am concerned this Vorias fellow and his Yugo-nostalgic associates may and are free to discuss whatever they want... What I don't understand is why do they still play the role of blind and deaf witnesses to their own people's tragedy? They may consider themselves “professional revolutionaries” with internationalist views. They may even see themselves as ideologists or belonging to a cosmopolitan world, but the fact remains; our people experienced a great tragedy to which they were witness! This, consciously or not, raises an ethical issue. Are they still under the obsession of

imaginary power? Are they under the illusion that they can offend, abuse, etc., anyone that gets in their way, but those offended and abused can do nothing? Do they think that because I have a different view of events than they do, that I have no right to express them?! They still say: “Your allies were killing you (thinking of the Macedonian Kostur freedom fighting rebels) on the road at the end of World War II...” But none of Vorias’s companions have asked the question: “What happened at the end of the Greek Civil War? Why were communists, Macedonian leaders, sent to the camps in Siberia?” They were certainly not sent there for a summer vacation...? A smart person from the civilized world once said: “Profanities are the arguments of those who are not right.” This again confirms that all divisions that took place between us in our recent history have left deep scars in our lives. This was the destiny chosen for us when we allowed others to represent us when we were seeking justice and even now, more than 50 years later, it seems we are still following the same path. This shows how deeply we are divided and how much we are determined to remain that way. Have these people, with their personal erudition, completely circumvented Macedonian historiography, a vital national issue, from being fully developed? Or can it be concluded that their intentions are actually consistent with the pre-designed “execution” orders, to disqualify the people who may want to know something more than their own genocide? Why do we still dread the opening of the “white pages” of our past? Is there a danger in knowing our historical truth; or political combinations and permeations of it? And why are we Macedonians still measured by the emptiness of historical phrases and inconsistencies? How can we forget our legacy which has left deep trauma and scars in us, which will always excite our feelings? This too is a reminder of our Macedonian history.

After this brief overview of events an important question comes to mind: “WHO FINALLY ACTIVATED THE “MACEDONIAN SYNDROME” TO CAUSE US TO (SELF) SACRIFICE OURSELVES IN THE YEARS 1945 TO 1949 DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR?”

a) Were we Macedonians the direct cause for this unbearable tension in that region?

b) Did we Macedonians “accidentally” find ourselves swept under this military hurricane, which uprooted everything Macedonian, or did someone “perpetrate” this act at the right time and in the right place and urge us to commit to it because it was “either now or never!”? Author D. Kliaich, in his book entitled “General Markos”, wrote: “During a CPG Central Committee Plenum, held on September 15, 1947, which lasted for three days, a discussion took place about the military affairs during which the Plenum emphasized the use of the slogan: ‘All to arms, everything for freedom!’ After which it was decided to create a ‘free territory’ in the Kozheni plateau, in Karakamen, in Kaimakchalan and in Vicho.” In other words, right in the heart of Greek occupied Macedonia. Did anyone find it odd that not a single Macedonian attended this plenum? Not a single Macedonian participated in the Plenum even though decisions were being made about the fate and future of Macedonia and the Macedonian people and as much as 50% of the people and resources available to this war were Macedonians? What is even more surprising about all this is that “our historiography” claims that NOF was a military and political factor in this evil war.

After this decision was made and before the “Provisional Democratic Government of Greece” was appointed as a representative DAG, illegal mobilizations began as follows:

September 27, 1947 – DAG Headquarters ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 17 to 35. With much intensity, over the course of 4 to 9 months, the Macedonian political refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia and were living in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola were also mobilized into DAG and shipped from Yugoslavia to the front in Greece, in trucks covered with tarps, during the night. (See: F.M INI SK.4-271/60 p.73-76.)

General Markos Vafiadis, in a statement he made in March 1947 to the French daily “Imanite”, among other things, said: “We demand full equality for the Macedonians and other nationalities, the same as the Greeks. The Macedonians have experienced nothing else except debt, persecution, torture and murder. Greek governments have sought to denationalize them, not recognizing their most basic rights, even their right to speak their native language...” (Macedonian archives bb 1947, translated from Greek.) But it is

interesting to see how things developed from what General Markos said and from what he did after the “Provisional Democratic Government of Greece” was created and he was appointed President. When it came to the needs of DAG, Markos appointed the senior officers by decree. He selected those who were originators of the partisan movement in the various headquarters in the Greek territories and promoted them to colonels of DAG:

1. Alexandrou Gianis Diamandis, 2. Georgiadis Georgios, 3. Giakoglou Nikos, 4. Gianulis Georgios, 5. Ziguris Dimitris - Paleologou, 6. Iliadis Sofianos, 7. Koukoulidis Georgios 8. Kalinos Theodoros, 9. Kanelopoulos Kostas, 10. Kariofilis Gianis, 11. Konitalonis Georgios, 12. Kontaksis Anastasios, 13. Kirandzopoulos Dimitris, 14. Papadimitriou Ilias 15. Papastergiou Levteris, 16. Prekezes Giorgios, 17. Raftis Kostas, 18. Rosios Alekos Ipsilantis, 19. SpanosTomas, 20. Statakis Manolis, 21. Sfakianos Georgios, 22. Terzoglou Nikos, 23. Tcelifis Tomas, 24. Tomboulidis Pavlos, 25. Triandafilou Nikos, 26. Folrakis Harilaos. It is interesting to note that none of the above people are Macedonians; not one! Yet these were the officers that commanded the DAG army, 50% of which was Macedonian. WHY?

It is interesting to note that, regarding the September 27, 1947 mobilization, Risto Kiriazovski, in his book “NOF and the other organizations from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)” on page 279, wrote: “The leadership of CPG and DAG not only underestimated the Macedonian leaders and fighters, but illegally executed some” - citing the example in Kaimakchalan where Iraklis Miltiadis - Kiriakos shot 10 innocent Macedonians. Besides this documented event, in which Kiriazovski provides the names of those who were shot, in chapter four of his book he also mentions a number of other events that truly exemplify his arguments. What does this mean? It means that the Greeks could do whatever they wanted to the Macedonians and nothing was considered a crime against humanity, as defined by international law. Macedonians could be forcibly sent from sovereign Yugoslavia to sovereign Greece to be killed or to die as guerillas in Gramos with no consequences to anyone.

Here is what Dr. Risto Kiriazovski had to say about this:

First: February 9, 1949. As requested by Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was sent to Skopje to meet with Kolishevski and demand from him permission to recruit at least 5,000 Macedonians from the refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves because they were considered Greek citizens.

Second: February 9, 1949. Again as requested by Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, the same CPG delegation met with NOF representatives who had deserted DAG and demanded from them to recruit at least 300 new fighters, again from the refugees who had fled Greece to Yugoslavia to save themselves.

Third. A meeting was held in Belgrade on February 16 at the CPY level with representative - Popivoda. A shocking new reality hit our people after DAG's liquidation, at which time our misconceptions turned into a great tragic irony. It seems that we, in our own minds, turned from legends into martyrs from the time we entered this unforgettable tragic war and the time we left it. We became witnesses when, for the first time in history, a Macedonian turned against a Macedonian and we all behaved like ideological primitives towards the interests of our own nation. Great propaganda was used against us, at our "historical crossroads", not only to turn us against one another but also to lead us to a supposedly "brighter future". And we were convinced of this by our own people, the only people we trusted; the people of NOF. But, as it turned out, we were not led to a "better future", we were led to hell. NOF was not a political or military factor in this strategy. It was only a pawn, a means for the architects who did this to us to spread their propaganda! A means to convince us to do their bidding, at our own expense!

This means that we, as a people in our own country, were unable to anticipate the things that were happening to us. It also means that we depended on others, strangers, to look ahead and lead us. That is precisely why we were not only surprised but shocked when we found out that DAG had been defeated, when all along we had been "assured" that we would win, and that it was only a matter of time! We trusted our so-called "allies" with our lives up to the point when they led us to our defeat and eviction from our homes and lands. What happened in the end was a total and devastating surprise for us



all, for which we paid with our blood tax at the highest possible price and with a permanent eviction from our homeland!

Now let us have a look at how propaganda and other tools were used to mobilize us? Let us have a look at how events unfolded in Sobotsko, Voden, Negush and Lerin Regions, in accordance with the plan for obtaining the new free territories, who led the project and how new people were mobilized and recruited.

In his book “DAG (Leadership, strategic and political issues)” Gerasimos Maltezos - Dzhumerkiotis, Superintendent of DAG headquarters, wrote: “Led by DAG’s Lieutenant-General Gusias (a shoemaker by profession), on December 28, 1948 an enormous number of DAG people, DAG units and brigades, in which more than 70% of the people were Macedonians, were on the move. According to the plan for conquering the free territories, as was decided at the CPG Central Committee Plenum, brigades 18, 103 and 14 were sent to attack the government troops stationed at Sobotsko and free the territory. Gusias himself led the operation, which resulted in a disaster of epic proportions, which should be recorded in the military annals under the title ‘Marching to their death with eyes wide open!’...”

But of all those “military marches” of the time, the hardest to describe was the hellish February 12, 1949 battle for Lerin. The available forces for that battle were as follows: In its composition DAG had brigades 13, 103, 14 and 107. It also had the school of officers, one mining battalion, one sanitation battalion and one battalion for transferring the wounded. DAG had approximately 5,354 soldiers at its disposal. The government forces stationed in Lerin numbered about 4,000 soldiers.

After about eight hours of fighting DAG suffered devastating losses: 334 dead, 1500 heavily wounded and 199 missing. Even so, today there are no graves or markers to commemorate the sacrifice of our fighters but certainly there are graves and markers for the soldiers of the government army. There is no trace of our people anywhere in Lerin because they were buried in a ditch, in a mass grave; both dead and heavily wounded - but still alive, were buried together in a common grave. This, however, is only one part of our whole

tragedy; those who were buried we buried everywhere, wherever they fell, most without markers on their graves. Many we left where they had fallen, for nature to take care... we ran for cover to save our own lives... What is most tragic about all this is that we were victims of someone else's doing... victims of someone who wanted to start a war... the Greek Civil War... in order to turn us into casualties... for their own interests.

This problem may look complicated but it is very simple... if we open our eyes, set our prejudices aside and look impartially at it, we will discover the truth. We don't need to look at how historiography reflects the facts, because history is written by those who won and who want to change the past to reflect the present; history is written by those who want to put the blame elsewhere... All we need to look at is exactly what happened and ask ourselves "why did it happen the way it did?" First, we were not ready or able as a people to seek justice with fire and sword. Second, we were led by Greek generals, such as Gusias, whose interest was not for us to win the war. In other words, the Greeks who led us had a lot more to gain if we lost the war and were driven out than if we won and stayed in our homes. Looking at this from a different angle, if the Greeks wanted us to "win" like they said they did, then they would have allowed us to have our own generals! And why did we not have our own generals? Why did we need "permission" from the Greeks to have our own generals? Because, as I said earlier, "we were not ready or able as a people to seek justice with fire and sword" on our own! And thus we not only relied on strangers to lead us, we believed their lies until it was too late and we all became sacrificial casualties... for foreign interests.

3. Was the "Macedonian syndrome" part of a bigger mess, a vacuum created after the Second World War as a result of undefined policies from both the socialist and capitalist camps? It is difficult to say. But, to give it the benefit of the doubt, even with a maximum commitment from the Macedonians there was no clear picture that there would be a possibility for "a final victory" and that Greece would have turned socialist. But, we Macedonians always hoped that such a scenario would be possible and, through the Sovietization of the Balkans, we Macedonians would find ourselves in a Balkan federation and our problems would be solved. How did we

come to believe this was even possible? Was this another concocted lie? These are some of the many questions that need to be looked at.

According to the book “Ksenokratia” prepared by a team of experts and written under the editorship of John Freeman, which came out in 1975, “... At the beginning of February 1948, a Yugoslav delegation arrived in Moscow. Included in the delegation were Kardeli, Gilas and Vladimir Dedier. Stalin received them in the Kremlin and in a conversation that he led, he attacked Belgrade for taking arbitrary initiatives and actions on fundamental issues of foreign policy without consulting with Moscow. Kardeli wanted to justify what was done but Stalin interrupted him and in a high tone of voice said: ‘No, do not ask about anything and we do not agree with all your international initiatives. We do not agree with you, my Yugoslav comrades, that we need to continue helping the Greek partisans. That struggle has no hope of success’ ...”

Stalin’s statement mentioned above is also included on page 218 in Dedier’s book entitled “Tito”, published in 1953. Gilas, in his book entitled “Conversations with Stalin” on page 182, confirms everything that Dedier had written, adding that Stalin had said that the revolution (struggle) in Greece needed to end! And as confirmed by what Gilas had written, Stalin had used the word “svernut” which means: “To roll it up” the way one rolls a carpet. Then Stalin turned to Kardeli and asked: “Do you believe the revolution in Greece will succeed?”

“Only if American intervention does not increase and if the Greek partisans don’t make too many serious political and strategic errors...” responded Kardeli.

Stalin interrupted nervously and said: “if, if, if... No! Make mistakes! They don’t have the slightest chance of success. What do you think, that Great Britain and the United States - the United States the most powerful country in the world - will allow you to break the line of communication to the Mediterranean Sea? This is silly, nonsense. The revolution in Greece should be aborted as soon as possible...” (Gilas, p.182.)

From what was said above, the key to the war was in the hands of the Americans. They were the real masters of the war and they only had the task of defending their interests, that is, politicians start wars and politicians decide when to finish wars. But that war was extraordinary and most difficult for us Macedonians who were manipulated into joining it.

4. Should we Macedonians be forgetting that we were in the middle of an explosive conflict and, for a long time, had found ourselves between diplomacy and guns? Should we be forgetting that on April 17, 1946 the Solun right wing newspaper “Nea Alithia” (New Truth) published an article entitled “Our Sudetenland”, speaking about the Macedonians and how they qualified to be Sudetenland-ers and, as such, the newspaper wrote: “... in the interest of peace and security in Greece, these people should be liquidated...”? Should we be forgetting that they called us “Slavo-Macedonians” and “If Greece did not get rid of us WW III would start at the Greek border?” It seems that everything that was said and done in those days has been blamed on us... They manipulated us into joining this horrid war and now it is our fault... Almost the entire Macedonian population was expelled and exiled from Greek occupied Macedonia in order to make Greece “pure Greek” and that also is our fault! Are we expected to forget “all this” and go on and accept our fate living in exile for the rest of our lives... and keep quiet about it? Is that what people do in the democratic world?

5. In our quest to join this Balkan Federation was there ever any guarantee that such a Federation was even possible? Or did we just put our faith in foreign hands and go along playing these Balkan games? Why did we do this, especially since we knew and were fully aware that foreign interests hid behind all this (Soviet-ization of the Balkans). Unfortunately there are still Macedonians out there who do not believe that there was a plot to intentionally involve us in this tragic war so that they could remove us from our homeland. Some don't even believe that Greece and Yugoslavia worked together against us to salvage their own Greek - Yugoslav relations. I suppose that they also don't believe that those two (Greece and Serbia) were involved in Macedonia's partition and in the signing of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest? It is naïve to have such expectations, which are not only false but work against the interests of the

Macedonian people. In those “exceptional circumstances” Greece and Yugoslavia did whatever was needed to protect their own interests and used us to achieve their objectives, which is understandable because that’s what ‘strangers’ do. Unfortunately we walked into this war with eyes closed placing our full trust in the same people who deceived us time and time again since our country was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed by them. It would have been a surprise if they had done anything different, other than to deceive us! We need to rely on ourselves to solve our problems including the “Macedonian Question” and not on those who created them in the first place in an attempt to get rid of us! These same naïve people may continue to believe that the Greek Civil War was a “Macedonian revolution” and that NOF and AFZH were somehow the “carriers of revolutionary ideas and the ideals of the Ilinden rebellion” but the truth is that it was never about “us being freed”, it was about us being removed from our homeland. This is what the British wanted and this is exactly what happened. The facts are there in front of us. They wanted a controlled conflict and it was controlled! That is why no Macedonian people were allowed to lead or occupy high ranking positions in this so-called struggle! They wanted us involved but they did not want us to win! They wanted us to lose and have no options to negotiate a truce! We lost the war and gave up “unconditionally” giving Greece many wide options to deal with us! And what did Greece do? It exiled us permanently! Why? Because that’s what Britain and later the United States wanted! We were never a political or military factor in that war; we were simply pawns in a deadly war waged against us!

Were the Macedonians a military and political factor in this war? In his book “DAG (Leadership strategic and political issues)” Gerasimos Maltezos - Dzhumerkiotis, Superintendent of DAG headquarters, referring to what was said at a meeting held on January 15, 1948 about the all-Greek military – political advisements on strategic issues and on further development of tactics, wrote:

“The advisory meeting, held at Vicho, was attended by 22 functionaries of the Party and of DAG”. Gusias informed the attendants about all the defeats, the split in the CPG and the Greek left in general. Present at this event were Zahariadis, Ioanidis,

Markos, Bardzhiotas, Stringos, Zografos, Kolianis, Vazvanas and others... Not a single Macedonian was present even though this meeting was held on Vicho, on Macedonian territory! What does this mean? It means that the Greeks wanted no Macedonians present, as simple as that! Macedonians were not allowed to have knowledge of important information!

I will now provide a few examples of how the CPG manipulated the Macedonian people to achieve its own objectives.

## INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM

1. An unpardonable cruel manipulation: Just a few months before DAG's liquidation, during the CPG Central Committee 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum, held on January 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, the CPG decided to: "Recognize the Macedonian people's right to self-determination". Why? And why at a time when the war was full blown and intense? Was it because the CPG "cared" for the Macedonian people or because it wanted them to become even more engaged until a critical situation was reached? And how do you suppose the "other side", the Greek government side, felt about that when it found out that the Macedonians were now fighting for "self-determination"? As you can see, this was only a ploy to "intensify" the war on both sides! And as it turned out, this "offer" lasted only until DAG was liquidated! After that it was business as usual...

2. The Second NOF Congress was held on February 3, 1949, during which the new NOF program principles were introduced in which it was proclaimed: "That Macedonia will be unified and the Macedonian people will live in a single independent Macedonian state." This, as it turned out, was a drastic attempt, a last political maneuver on the part of the CPG to keep the Macedonians in the war. We already know how the Greek government and the West, Britain and the United States in particular, felt about splitting Greek occupied Macedonia from Greece. Now let us have a look at how the USSR felt about this, i.e. about creating a Macedonian state that was to include Greek occupied Macedonia:

3. March 7, 1949. The CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying any decisions being made during the 5<sup>th</sup> CPG Plenum

regarding the Macedonian Question and regarding NOF's programming principles outlined at the 2<sup>nd</sup> NOF Congress on February 3, 1949.

4. On March 25, 1949 the NOF leadership reversed direction and condemned the slogan "Free and independent Macedonia within the Congress of a Balkan Federation", because it was deemed to be damaging to the Greek and especially to the Macedonian movement. A NOF Congress was held the same day regarding the Aegean part of Macedonia. (See "General Markos" by Dragan Kliakich.)

5. On March 27, 1949 a founding assembly was convened with 136 CPG Communists and with 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress delegates attending, during which time it was unanimously decided to form an "Aegean Macedonian Communist Organization" (KOEM), a separate organization but part of the CPG.

What was this all about? The communists insisted that they did not "manipulate" us yet the CPG was offering us "concessions" that made no sense. Why offer us all these things right before DAG was liquidated and in the middle of the last heated battles before that terrible war ended? Why create a communist party for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia when the Greek communists had accepted the thesis: "One state – one party." And most important of all when the Macedonian people needed the CPG to negotiate ending the war, it was nowhere to be found... and all those promises it made... they too were nowhere to be found! And finally when the entire situation had all the signs of tragedy, CPG politicians still thought they had not committed any immoral acts against the Macedonian people. Their only concern all along was to "convince" us that the CPG somehow had "magical powers" to unite us and for us to believe that the CPG was going to bring us together as a people. Creating KOEM was a tactic with aims at turning the Macedonian National Question into a treasonous act! Why treasonous? Because we Macedonians were played by all sides, by both the CPG and the CPY. If the Greeks, with a clear goal, were to get the Macedonians to commit treason by wanting to split from Greece, then there would be no question of what their true aims were, which would be interpreted as treason by the Greeks. If the Macedonian in Greek occupied Macedonia were to form their own

communist party, then they would be committing treason against Yugoslavia by wanting to form their own state instead of struggling for a united Macedonia in a Yugoslav Federation. This is why the Macedonians who participated in the Greek Civil War were labeled: instrumental traitors and criminals who worked against Yugoslavia and its leadership. The Greek stand towards the Macedonians is well known and needs no comment!

Historian Kiriazovski is recognized by the Macedonian public mostly for his famous book: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (“National Liberation Front (NOF) and other Aegean Macedonian Organizations (1945-1949)”.)

Here is what he said about his own book: “The most important point is oriented around NOF as the central leader of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement, which I insist is authentically documented in my work and brings out the most complex events and arguments.”

In the same book on page 338 there is a quote taken from “Nova Makedonka”, April 1, 1948, which says: “Today NOF and AFZH have historical importance and urge the Macedonian people to join the ranks of DAG en masse, because their freedom and life can only be guaranteed by an armed struggle!”

But here is a question: “How could NOF and AFZH, when they were inviting the Macedonian people to join the armed struggle, be a “factor” of anything when it was well known that at that time they had neither political nor military power!?”

Kiriazovski was also known for his strong defense of his books. He vigorously defended his own books from authors who thought differently. He disqualified all those who questioned him and sought to discredit them by equating them to Yugoslavia’s enemies. He vigorously argued that: “Macedonian history is the height of its own task” (Here is an excerpt of such an attack: “Denes” Magazine, January 14, 1999.)



According to a “Nova Makedonija” article, Dr. Risto Kiriazovski’s work: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (National Liberation Front (NOF) and other organizations of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)” was promoted on October 22, 1985 at 12 o’clock in the Institute for National History in Skopje. The title of the article was: “In the traditions of the previous National-revolutionary struggles.”

In the article, Kiriazovski expressed his “stellar” moments of false ideology when he said: “The existence of specific organisms in the Macedonian issue could not have been explained without NOF’s ability to organize the struggle of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia...” In his book Kiriazovski speaks about NOF’s overall activity, but in his comparative review he only dwells on NOF’s development and political objectives in which he identifies two periods of development:

The first period ranged from April 23rd, 1945 to November 21st, 1946 when NOF acted independently of the CPG. He said nothing about the CPY/CPM’s involvement.

The second period ranged from November 21st, 1946 when NOF was under the leadership of the CPG until April 2nd, 1952 when it was formally disbanded by the CPG.

About the first period he said: “According to incomplete data, in early 1946, NOF, in addition to having its main leadership, it also had 5 county, 10 district, 3 city and 32 regional leaderships with 120 professional staff belonging to NOF, NOMS and AFZH. On the territory of Aegean Macedonia 220 villages were organized (half of these were destroyed during the Greek Civil War - m.z.), working under the leadership of more than 170 village and town organizations. Its membership consisted of 4784 Macedonian and Vlach members of NOF, 4823 young men and women members of NOMS and 2201 Macedonian and Vlach women members of AFZH.” (See page 129.)

About the armed situation during that period he said: “In August there were about 100 armed fighters in Vicho and about 500 NOF

partisans in central and western Aegean Macedonia, 200 of whom were deployed in Kajmakchalan, 85 in Paiko, 130 in Vicho and 85 in Gramos. The Macedonian partisans were organized into groups of 10-15 and in squads of 40-50 fighters. The larger military formation was in Pella Prefecture, consisting of a battalion.” (See page 143.)

According to the emergency measures act of July 6, 1947 there were 200 thousand democratic citizens accused of crimes against the state, of whom 80 thousand were Macedonians.

There were always these twisted traps set for Macedonians, through which they had to tread carefully. If you belonged to an armed village band in 1944, protecting your family and village and you were against the CPG, you were labeled “autonomist”. If you were politically neutral and did not want to get involved in NOF and AFZH politics after they were formed in Skopje in 1945, you were labeled a Grkoman (Grekophile) who worked against the Unification of Macedonia and did not trust Tito. If you were against the Organization “Ilinden”, formed in 1950 outside of Macedonia, you were labeled “Tito’s agent”.

This is how history has judged our people! This is an insult to the fighters who fought to preserve our Macedonian language, culture and traditions and to safeguard our people and protect them from harm. This is an insult to the people who gave their all to the CPG including their trust and lives and, in the end after DAG’s defeat, the CPG labeled them “Tito’s agents” and 11 of them were sent to the Siberian camps to pay for their sins! This is how Macedonians are rewarded by the Greeks... When will we learn?

It actually makes me sick when I think about it, when deep down I realize how much we have suffered because of what we have done for the sake of “ideology” and for foreign interests. I truly want to vomit when I realize that we were manipulated in doing this, not only for foreign interests but for what we did against our own interests! To realize that we were actually led into a bloody war by our enemies... To realize that there was no Macedonian factor involved at all and that our leaders were just pawns... To realize that we were not only servants of foreign interests, but we worked against our own interests... To realize that we did this without

knowing and by placing our trust in those who always, since 1913, wanted to do us harm... It is a shocking revelation... On top of that to have our history written for us in which we are further insulted, especially those who fought and lost their lives, that somehow they were the bad guys, the traitors, the culprits, the criminals. This is an insult to me personally because I am a veteran of that dreaded war! I was a simple soldier who obeyed his orders and did what I was asked... who served my commanders to the best of my ability! I was recruited into this war by them; I was given orders by them; why do I now deserve to be called a traitor and not be allowed to go back to my home, to my birthplace? It was an insult to me when people criticized Dr. Stoian Kiselinov, a reviewer of my book, and told him to: "Dissociate himself from my book and alleviate the pain I have caused for the veterans of that war." And these people call themselves "the guardians of the history of the Aegeans?!" In some of their commentaries they ask: "How could I be so offensive to my comrades?" only because I questioned our mainstream historiography! And more:

"According to S. Kochov, the current Macedonian historiography is servile, biased and submissive to Belgrade's line of daily politics... Who motivated Kochov to want to answer the question of who is to blame for the Greek Civil War and who is guilty of the severe consequences that befell the Macedonian people?"

...Mr. S. Kochov argues that the Greek Civil War was neither a revolution nor a continuation of the famous Ilinden Uprising and that the Organization NOF enslaved the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia and surrendered them to the CPG and the CPY, where they served the CPG and CPY's alien anti-Macedonian interests.

All this reminded me of what a man once said to me about another situation which has similarities to ours. He said: "Buddha in nowhere more revered than in Burma." Similarly, the CPG is nowhere more revered than in Greek occupied Macedonia. But now some people are doing this with the CPY... A person, in all honesty, could say: "The hell with 'historical science' if Macedonia's place in history is determined by ideological criteria and in the interest of strangers..."

Let us suppose that we accept the informburo resolution that, according to Dr. Kiriazovski, NOF AFZH and all of us DAG fighters are “historically guilty” of wrongdoing. If we are guilty of wrongdoing then those who “ordered” us to do wrongdoing should also be guilty of wrongdoing. Why aren’t our leaders and those behind the scenes who initiated and managed this war not guilty of wrong doing? Why are we the only culprits?

On July 16, 1949 the AFZH Executive Board passed a resolution to activate the Macedonian women and mobilize them to defend the Vicho front. This was in response to the “Pirsos” strategic plan developed and implemented by US General Van Fleet’s staff in preparation for the liquidation of the guerillas in Greece. And it is well known what happened to the Macedonian women after that, when they were shoved in the trenches to defend the frontline. Their patriotism, love for their homeland, for their fathers, husbands and brothers, drew them into this terrible war which, unbeknown to them, was waged for the benefit of strangers and against their own interests. And in the end they too faced the same humiliation... being labeled “traitors” and “wrongdoers”... and worse than that, they too were driven out of their homes and homeland and torn away from their families...

## HOW AND WHY DID THE HIGH HOPES DISAPPEAR?

7. On August 30, 1949, DAG General Headquarters announced that DAG units were withdrawing and leaving Greece, because they had completed their intended task. And that is how the Greek Civil War ended. Hegel said: “That which failed - failed for a reason.” Our historiography said: “Despite defeat and heavy consequences, the fight that the Greek and Macedonian people led from 1946 to 1949 was equitable and national; it was a continuation of the struggle against the triple occupation and against the English intervention in 1944.” (See the book “NOF and other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949” by Dr. Kiriazovski, page 384.)

When we were driven out of our homeland, the CPG, during its Central Committee 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum held on October 9, 1949, decided to disband all Macedonian organizations: NOF, AFZH, NOMS and

KOEM and on February 19, 1951 proposed to form a new organization called “Ilinden”. The reason given for dissolving NOF, AFZH and NOMS was because these organizations were managed by Tito’s agents and by traitors. The new “Ilinden” organization was created in order to combat “Tito’s agents”.

In his speech, which he made during the 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum, Nikos Zahariadis said the following: “... And here we need to openly say that, if provocateur Tito’s role was known in 1946 the CPG would not have taken a resolution to take up arms and enter the War. It would have been assigned to another time and by a different method of struggle...” (See “I trihroni epope tu DAG, 1946-1949”, p. 422.)

Then, on June 4, 1956, a decision was made to disband “Ilinden” because the organization was regarded as sectarian, adventurous and harmful. This certainly was done to normalize relations between the SKJ and the CPG when in May 1956 the CPG Central Committee adopted a special resolution.

It is time that we open our eyes and once and for all take a good look at who played with our fate! It is time that we attribute our suffering to those who put us in harm’s way, those who sent our leaders to the camps of Siberia for ideological reasons and for foreign interests. These people had no respect for humanity let alone for us Macedonians who they used to do their bidding and then discarded us in the ideological waste basket. They used our weaknesses, especially our revolutionary tradition as a people, when they summoned us to take part in a war, with many promises such as Macedonian unity, freedom and a Macedonian state to call our own. And what did we get in return for our loyalty and dedication? We were banished from our homeland and abandoned in the world with no chance of ever returning home. But the others, the Greeks, those who led us, those who fought along side of us; they were all allowed to return to their homes! No matter what they say, the facts speak for themselves! Even though we did exactly the same thing, the Greeks were allowed to return back to their homes in Greece but not the Macedonians! This was an act committed against a nation and not just against a faction or for the sake of ideology... an act of genocide! Was it our fault? No! Because we neither initiated this war nor led it! We were simple soldiers who, blindly mind you,

followed orders! We may be at fault for being “blind followers” but the wrongdoing we are being accused of is not our fault! The Greek Civil War was a concoction created by outsiders to legally get rid of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia.

Conditions were created, like the establishment of NOF and AFZH in Skopje, the “White Terror” unleashed in Greek occupied Macedonia by the “Right”, etc., in order to get the Macedonian people to pick up guns, to arm themselves for their protection. But then when those guns were picked up, people were manipulated to say and do a lot of things. Even though those “things” were impossible to achieve, the fact that we had guns in our hands gave the Greek government and those standing behind it the reason to “legally” defend themselves and to eliminate the danger by eliminating us all!

People find it difficult to believe that after being accused for so many years of being “wrongdoers” we have done nothing wrong! No more wrong than the Greeks have done who fought along side of us... The only wrong we did was that we did not have the foresight to prevent our own tragedy... to stem the genocide. But, unfortunately, all that is now history...

The question now is whether those who have been critical of my book have learned anything from it because there are people who prefer silence over speaking out. Yugoslavia no longer exists and we can no longer hide behind the concept of “keeping silent” for the sake of Yugoslav- Greek relations... especially when this silence is detrimental to the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, whose suffering has gone unnoticed for so many years.

Historiography is one of the most susceptible subjects to politicization and when it is politicized and manipulated it results in historical deviations.

We the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have endured the Greek Civil War, which lasted from 1945 to 1949, but have yet to develop scientific criteria and an objective historical value system. We have yet to show the necessary courage to deal with these vital, unresolved national issues. We are reaching a critical moment when such an assessment is necessary and needs to

be initiated. No one is saying it will be easy but disclosure is necessary and answers are needed. Look at what happened to me after I published my book “(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece”. But I did not give up. I was even publicly criticized by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski himself. On July 1, 1989 he published an article in “Vecher” magazine in which, among other things, he said: “Historical truth is not daily politics... Some people with old merits should not be allowed to hide our history. One day, like it or not, these people will have to learn the whole truth about our tragedy. And our duty is to work, free from the influence of daily political interests and to process solid rich archival materials, which we will have at our disposal...”

Surely it would have been admirable if Dr. Kiriazovski did as he said. I would have been grateful to him had he shown some interest in what I had to say in my book. I too have a duty to tell the truth, as a sufferer and participant in the Greek Civil War, as a DAG fighter who was there and fought in the first group, with more than 300 other Macedonians, sent to the depths of Greece, to Epirus, south of Mount Olympus. It was strange that some hundreds of kilometres south of Macedonia these people, these so-called Greeks, did not recognize our centuries old language when we spoke Macedonian amongst ourselves. They seemed like they knew nothing about us. Could it be because since 1913, when 51% of our Macedonia was occupied and annexed by Greece, Greek governments kept our existence a secret? Yes that is true! But then why didn't the CPG inform the people in Epirus, tell them that we were Macedonians and spoke our own Macedonian language? When was the CPG going to inform the Greek people of our existence? NEVER!... as it turned out. For the CPG as is for all Greeks... we never existed... not then and not now!

Let's see what other interesting things Dr. Kiriazovski had to say... In his book “NOF and other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949”, on page 212 he wrote: “The leadership of NOF, despite past bad experiences, different phenomena of insincerity and opportunism on the part of the CPG leadership, took the international position and sincerely intended to assist in the development of the Greek movement. It agreed that three quarters of the Macedonian partisans should be sent to fight in the ranks of

DAG south of Olympus, in all parts of Greece. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the Greek youth movement it agreed to disband NOMS, the Macedonian youth organization, and its members were advised to join the Greek youth organization EPON..." Does this really need comment? If NOF was a "factor" in the daily politics and military affairs, as Kiriazovski claims it was, why then did it surrender itself to the Greeks! Where in the world has a revolutionary organization, with any clout, surrendered to its alleged "allies" (true enemies as it turned out)? And Kiriazovski wants ME to give up writing?

But what really happened?! Did something really terrible happen? Let us have a look at what Dragan Kliakich had to say. On pages 128 and 129 in his book "General Markos", Zagreb, 1979, Dragan Kliakich featured a number of photographs among which was a photograph of the ill-fated NOF leadership. From left to right - top: Tashko Hadzhianev, the headless corpse of Pavle Rakovski, Hristo Kolentsev and Lazar Poplazarov. From left to right - bottom: Cholakov Lambro, Paskal Mitrevski and Urania Iurukova. The photograph was taken in Almaty, USSR, in 1955.

There is need for history to reveal who "cut off" Pavle Rakovski's head! The photograph is witness to this horror. It reminded me of what Lazar Pop -Traikov, Ilinden revolutionary and great poet, once said when he was asked about us Macedonians. He said: "It was easier for strangers to recognize us if we cut off our own heads." It also reminded me of an intellectual debate recorded in Yugoslavia and used in the movie "Igmanskiot Marsh". Kocha Popovich, leader of that historic march, who belonged to the top Party leadership, was not in the film. The head of the famous march was not shown in the movie! As is confirmed so far, we the "Aegean" Macedonians have also behaved badly against each other. We have shown lack of trust - fighters for their comrades in arms. We have allowed this whole "ideological activism" business to get between us and for what? Do we even know why? But then, in those days, if you were an "ideological activist" you had the authority to say: "Shut your mouth and eat the bread you are given!"

One of the most brutal examples of how Kiriazovski and others like him destroyed the fate of many prominent Macedonian fighters, for



purely political reasons, was given back in 1976. Then, I read a confidential review which I believe was written by Dr. Kiriazovski, because it was written in his style of writing and with his intentions and political views. In the review, marked “Sk.4 686 inv.br.1419/76 archive of INI”, he wrote: “Pavle Rakovski’s effort is of no benefit to us because the text he wrote contains provocative claims against the Yugoslav leadership; I recommend that his work not be published or given wider readership. (November 15, 1976)” Curious indeed!

Many of Rakovski’s articles, which had important historical significance, along with his personal destiny, found themselves in oblivion...

Pavle Rakovski was an author and a top scholar but was faced with many “judgments” in life after he returned to the Republic of Macedonia from the Siberian prison camps. Instead of receiving a warm welcome, he received nothing, not even a grave after he died. He devoted his life to the Macedonian cause and to the defense of Macedonia. He was a member of the top NOF leadership. He wrote the first Macedonian alphabet for his Region, consisting of 24 letters, with which the “proclamation of the Macedonian people in Pella Prefecture” was written. He also wrote many songs and even a march for the Voden battalion. But after his return he was anathematized and rehabilitated for 30 years, right up to his death.

Pavle Rakovski (along with many others) suffered terrible treatment in the “internal prison”. And what is an “internal prison”? Internal prison is when the government and other authorities create an atmosphere of permanent fear in a person. A person is then afraid of expressing themselves, afraid of making a mistake, afraid of being humiliated, even afraid of their own shadow! It is a condition of the soul, a state of mind and of feelings.

When a person finds no meaning in life, he or she starts looking for death. Being imprisoned in an “internal prison” is much more than just lying in a dark, damp, moldy cell.

Now about my book: “(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece” 1994. My attempts to “think differently”, to think outside of

the usual totalitarian prescribed methodology were not interpreted by Dr. Kiriazovski as a way of contributing to the promotion of freedom of intellectual thought, as I had intended. He and his kind saw my book as an attack against their totalitarian ideology that has always played the role of “master of the truth”! So to counter my attempts, he wrote a 41 page report (with premeditated attempts to vilify me) and instead of publishing it, he distributed it among the “guards” of Aegean Macedonian history and instructed them to rewrite the entire passage and send it to the newspaper “Nova Makedonija” for publishing in the column under “letters to the editor”. This was Kiriazovski’s traditional method of responding to the “free thinkers” of our society. Some accepted blame. Some did not! As time has shown, not all people who can read and write are necessarily literate. They are just not illiterate. Real literacy needs a lot more work and effort!

The material written by Kiriazovski was archived on April 8, 1994 under the title “Memoirs” no. SK. 1118, in the INI Department of Documentation.

An intelligent person may ask “what motivated him to do that?”; for a so-called historian to wish that my book “(Self) Sacrifice” be declared “un-academic” because it was written by a laymen. Are the books written by an organized group of “scientists”, working in support of Marxist theories and state interests, any better at telling the truth about the experience of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia than me? What motivated him indeed! And who exactly was in that organized group of scientists?

A large number of these people were on Gogol’s list of “Dead Souls” and this reminded me of what Bielinski wrote after reading the “Dead Souls” by Gogol: “Lord, why is our truth so depressing, miserable and sad”?! It is understandable that all these articles were promoted as “a well-known model” of our past, with predetermined and premeditated thinking and with a narrow intellectual horizon. “What did they actually protect?” When asked, one said: “Our well-written history; the history of the Aegeans...”

I am convinced that history, as a social science, must be a function of society and of free thought. And some day when that happens we

will know what we are seeking to know, - the truth. There has always been fear of history... History is true only when it is full of authentic facts and only authentic facts can remove the veil of darkness. We will know the truth when all those historical events that we experienced, pave the way into the future – with giant steps backwards.

If we follow Kiriazovski's idea that books, especially books about our history, should not be written by laymen, does that mean that laymen cannot even write about their own experiences and that no one should be allowed to know anything more about the tragic Macedonian experience in Greek occupied Macedonia except what government sponsored institutions want us to know? Should we believe, even those of us who know better and have experienced tragedy for ourselves, that: "NOF's First Congress was the brightest moment in Macedonian history after Ilinden?" Should we believe that we have experienced "historical victory", that we received "historical justice" and other such bright "historical" moments when in fact we received "genocide"? The facts speak for themselves and they say that we experienced no such things. It is inhuman and disrespectful that our tragedy is still being abused for political purposes and personal gains. Should we not know that after our so-called "Brotherly reunion of 1946" was ordered, NOF took the role of a confused child, when "others" began to tell it what to do which, for us Macedonians, meant the beginning of the end?

We need to know the truth about what happened to us during that horrible war before we can move forward, before we can begin to heal from our wounds. We cannot continue to carry this weight of responsibility and bear the guilt of this horrid war based on what we are told and without knowing the whole truth!

To give some clarity to my point I will cite a comment made by Slobodan Chasule, which goes something like this: "...How many times and how often have the sins of Jesus' crucifixion been thrown before our eyes? If we dare say something then we risk being castigated with nasty words and accused of blasphemy!" Well, it seems that the same applies to the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. It seems that the authorities do not want us to "rock the boat", to bring attention to "problems of the

past” that might affect “national and state” interests!? Ironically we are also made to believe that these issues must remain hidden for our own good because they are more important than the Macedonian people themselves. If exposed, the Macedonian people may disappear altogether!

Are they afraid that the “Macedonian soul” has no capacity to endure if exposed to the truth? That somehow we will explode and self-destruct if we find out that our “infallible” and “wise” Macedonian leadership, the “elite of the elite”, the vanguard of our people, the holy trinity of our order was not only “human and fallible” but was also a pawn in a deadly game that committed unspeakable horrors against us?

Well, let us Macedonians worry about that! If we endured unspeakable horrors and survived then surely we can endure knowing the truth about ourselves now. But, I think that this is not the real problem that worries those who don’t want us to know our own history and who kept us silent for more than half a century?!

Let’s face it, those camps in Siberia were not built just for us Macedonians and occupied only by us Macedonians... There was something greater going on from the top of Siberia to the bottom of the Balkans... control of the people was the same everywhere... with minor differences... But let us concentrate on our own problems.

Let us talk about the conclusive judgment of my book delivered by Dr. Kiriazovski, who at one point said: “I do not see how I can be responsible and I do not appreciate Kochov’s attacks regarding Macedonian politics, political thinking, the ‘political silence on Aegean Macedonia’, inconsistent and uncomfortable policies, ‘de-homogenization of the Macedonian national consciousness’ and so on”. Kiriazovski also did not want to address or sufficiently evaluate my claims that the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, living in the Republic of Macedonia at that time, were treated like second-class citizens; by deliberately being placed in ghettos and so on... At the end he concluded that my work, my book, does not inform, but misinforms and he could not recommend it to readers

who want to learn history... of the Macedonian people. In other words, he rejected my work without being asked to evaluate it.

But, in spite of what he said about my book, Kiriazovski was not convinced that the approach he had taken was the only one because at one point he said: "It does not mean that everything is always explained as it should be. Some conclusions and assessments may require being re-assessed. Countries with venerable scientific traditions continue to study their national history and regularly perform adjustments as they unearth new information." Like I said, Kiriazovski may have been critical of my work but left the door open for change, recognizing that the world may not be exactly as we "want" it to be today!

From what I have said above a picture is starting to form; that our history has not yet been written the way it should be and that the analysis I have done for my book "(Self) Sacrifice", I believe, will add to the knowledge and perhaps clarify a few of the outstanding issues from the Greek Civil War. ...Even if my views are diametrically opposed to those of our current historiography. For me, knowing the truth is far more important than supporting the politics of the day...

Today, more than a half century later, if we had to choose what to call that war, would we call it "an ideological war" or "a national liberation of the Macedonian people"? Please allow me to also add that; this was not exclusively a Macedonian war; it was a Greek war with Macedonian involvement. It was exclusively led by Greeks who fought for their own interests and not for ours. And it was well known worldwide that it was a Greek ideological war where the Greek communists were fighting to turn Greece from a capitalist to a communist state. Ironically, as far as western history is concerned, no Macedonians took part in that war... Why? Simply because, according to Western know how, Macedonians don't exist in Greece! Informed people would see this war for what it was; an ideological war! That is why I do what I must; investigate the matter in the name of historical truth because, unfortunately for us Macedonians, this Greek Civil War, for more than half a century now, has been a historical burden. What happened to us during that war was not entirely our fault and we Macedonians should not bear

the entire historical guilt for it. Our burden today should be to get to the truth, learn from it, learn from our mistakes and make sure we don't repeat them. We were not at fault!

In short here is why:

1. As I said earlier, the Greek Civil War was not the work of the Macedonian nation living in Greek occupied Macedonia! The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were violently pushed into it by strangers, by use of malevolent propaganda. The propaganda was designed to anger the occupied Macedonian people so that they would rise like a storm to liberate themselves and do it in the tradition and spirit of previous national - revolutionary struggles, believing that it was their duty to fight for their freedom and for their Macedonia. That is why Macedonian fighters, fighting for DAG, showed such remarkable courage, determination and great heroism. This was confirmed by the Greeks themselves.

In other words, the Macedonian people were lied to. They were misled into believing that they were fighting for the Macedonian cause!

2. The Macedonian people had no national strategy of their own because they did not start or lead the Greek Civil War. They did not even have the insight to understand that Macedonia was divided by an international border placed there by the two camps of the Great Powers after World War II. Our organizations NOF and AFZH were not created by the people in Greek occupied Macedonia. They were created and managed first by the CPY, which had different interests than the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, and later by the CPG which also had different interests than those of us Macedonians. So, in a nutshell, NOF and AFZH were not “some Macedonian military - political factors in history” of which our current historiography is trying to convince us; they were simple organizations whose goals were set by outsiders designed to serve outside political interests. But the worst thing about all this is that the blame for what happened was put on the Macedonian people and, for more than half a century, silence was forced upon them so that they could not get to the truth... We were led to believe that the CPY gave us the tools and the assistance to lead this war and the

CPG pointed us in the right direction for success, but somehow we screwed up! Therefore everything that happened was our fault!

Did our NOF and AFZH leadership blindly follow CPY and CPG directives? In hind site, it would appear so! Why? Now that is the one million dollar question!

3. The Macedonian people did not create, but were more than willing to accept, NOF, AFZH and NOMS as their own organizations because the people leading them were Macedonians and naturally they had no reason to mistrust them. The Macedonian people trusted the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leadership and followed their direction implicitly and without question. This naturally opened the door for manipulation and, as we later found out, with fatal historical consequences. These organizations were needed because both the CPY and CPG were well aware that the Macedonian people would never accept or follow foreign organizations. So, the only way to get them to do what they wanted them to do was to create Macedonian organizations and work on their desires and weaknesses. The Macedonian people already had a historical desire to be free and to live in their own free Macedonian state. Then, after Macedonia was occupied and partitioned in 1913, the new desire was to have their state re-united! The Macedonian people were told what they wanted to hear, and not by foreigners and strangers but by their own people, so they were naturally prepared to follow them... Unbeknown to them they were being led into a trap!

The moment the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia began to believe they were fighting for their freedom and picked up guns to do it with, was the moment they sealed their fate. The Macedonians declared that they were arming themselves to fight for their freedom and for a free, united and independent Macedonia. The Greek interpretation of that was “a bunch of Slav bandits had picked up guns with aims at fracturing a part of Greece and giving it to Yugoslavia”! Naturally Greece declared that it had no choice but to fight back in order to protect its integrity and people. It was not only a moral but also a legal thing to do in order to protect itself. So Greece did what was required of it, it eliminated the “Slav threat” by committing a “legal genocide” against the Macedonian people!

In order to understand how this could have happened; i.e. the Macedonian people being set up for a fall, we would have to analyze the rise and fall of the Macedonian organizations. As mentioned earlier, the Macedonian organizations were needed to convince the Macedonian people that “it was the right time” to stand up and fight for liberty and that it should be done initially under CPY guidance and later under CPG direction. The plan was to get as many Macedonians involved in the war effort as possible and by any means possible. But as soon as the ranks of the so-called liberation movement began to swell up with Macedonians, the organizations leading them began to lose their influence. This was by no accident or loss of popularity; it was intentionally done by the CPY and the CPG.

On November 21, 1946, with the creation of the so-called “unity” between Macedonians and Greeks, all Macedonian organizations came under the authority of the CPG. In other words, the CPY abandoned them to the CPG. The CPG then slowly stripped them of all their powers, however little they had. After that the Macedonians did whatever the CPG wanted them to do and in the end they lost everything, including their ancestral homes... Why did things turn out this way? Was it purely by accident or was this planned right from the start? Let me put it this way! The Greeks, since 1913, wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia! If this was not planned from the start, which I believe it was, the war gave the Greeks the opportunity to get rid of the Macedonians in a legal way, once and for all!

The fact that the Greek Civil War was started by Greeks and then led strictly by Greeks means that it was a Greek controlled war. The fact that the Greek Civil War was started after World War II had ended and the world was already divided into spheres of influence, with an international border separating Greece from Yugoslavia, means that the Macedonians had no chance of re-uniting their Macedonia. In other words, the Macedonians were deceived into joining that war, being told that they would be fighting to re-unite Macedonia when in fact it was not possible to do that under those circumstances! So, if the Macedonians were not fighting for Macedonian interests then for whose interests were they fighting?



No matter how we twist and turn this problem, we always arrive at the same conclusion: if the Macedonians were not fighting for their own interests then they were fighting for someone else's interests! But in order to understand who that "someone else" was, we need to examine the end game; what happened at the end of the war?! At the end of the war the Macedonian people were kicked out of their ancestral homes; they were exiled from Greek occupied Macedonia. Greek occupied Macedonia, however, still remained in Greek hands but with less Macedonians living in it, exactly what the Greeks had always wanted since 1913! So, in essence, as it turned out, all Macedonian efforts and sacrifices went into helping Greece get rid of as many Macedonians as possible from Greek occupied Macedonia. And thus the title of my book "(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece".

And no, the impossible did not happen... Despite our efforts, Greece never turned into a socialist state and still remained under Western influence. So, many Macedonians died for nothing, even more were exiled and permanently lost their ancestral homes and Greece and the West got exactly what they wanted; a Macedonia with less Macedonians and no access for Russia to Mediterranean waters...

And how did Greece and the West accomplish this? Well, they knew how to activate the so-called "Macedonian syndrome". The Macedonian trait, the Macedonian desire for living free at any cost, the Macedonian desire to leap before looking... The "thing" that has turned Macedonians into victims countless times in Macedonian history. The thing that causes Macedonians to (self) destruct. The thing that "urges" Macedonians to act before they think... The thing that has fooled Macedonians, countless times in our history, to follow strangers while sacrificing ourselves, serving foreign interests.

## 2.2 WHAT TASK DID WE ACCOMPLISH?

(For years our souls were frozen in fear! We were surviving under the Macedonian proverbial axe... asking ourselves why?)

Why did we interpret our national defeat as victory?

We said “farewell” to our homeland... We said “farewell” to our illusions that the Macedonian state was the guarantor for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. How many candles must we now burn to atone for the victims of the Greek Civil War???!!!

What tasks did we accomplish? The only goal set for us was to destroy the Macedonian people... to destroy ourselves! But we were too blind to see it!

After DAG was liquidated, on August 29 and 30, 1949, all DAG military units withdrew from Greece and went to Albania. Then, one afternoon, the speakers boomed on and a message from the CPG Central Committee Politburo was read which said: “The DAG units withdrew from the battles in Greece because they accomplished their intended task!”

Bureli, Albania, August 31, 1949, we were asking one another: “What task did we complete?”

Two days later the leadership of NOF was sued, found guilty of treason and sent to the internment camps in Siberia.

The rest of us, Greeks included, found ourselves throughout the world, thrown into the ideological waste basket. The Greeks were later allowed to return to their homes because, according to the Greek state, they were Greeks by birth... which speaks volumes. Most of those so-called Greeks fighting amongst us were Turkish Christian colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920's! How does that make them “Greeks by birth” when they were not even born inside Greek borders? Most of the Macedonians, on the other hand, were born after 1913, after Greek occupied Macedonia became Greek. On top of that all Macedonians who fought in the war were indigenous to Greek occupied Macedonia... but according to Greek logic, they were not Greeks by birth! This is solid proof that Greece did not want the Macedonians back and found a way to get rid of them permanently! So, in the end we turned out to be nothing more than “obedient idiots”.

Since the Greeks refuse to recognize a Macedonian identity then what were these people who were born in Greece, exiled and not allowed to return because they were not “Greeks by birth”? What were they then if not Macedonians? Were they Greeks? Absolutely not! Where they Yugoslavs or Bulgarians? Obviously not because, according to the same Greece, 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks live in Greece! So, what were they then? Martians?!

From the day we found ourselves in Albania to this day, I was left to wonder what did we Macedonians do that was so bad to be treated this way? What crimes did we commit?

And should someone ask: “What happened to you after that?” I would have to say that most of us remained mute for the next 50 years, observing the world and watching life passing us by. Personally, I dedicated myself to searching for the truth, trying to find reasons for what happened to us, why we left so many dead behind and why so many of us were permanently separated from our families and exiled from our ancestral homes. We were left alone to roam the world, to fend for ourselves with no one to protect us from the aggression of our former enemies.

#### WHY ARE MACEDONIANS THE ONLY PEOPLE TO HAVE A MACEDONIAN MODEL OF SECTORAL HISTORY?

A secret kept hidden for five decades; a history without details, craftily created and fiercely defended by the syndrome of power, masking the truth. Why?!

Perhaps there is some hope for our future and that hope comes with us learning the truth about ourselves and what happened to our people in those days. It is time that we open those wounds that so far have refused to heal. Our current historiography has shifted the facts in favour of daily politics... that has to change... we cannot allow the truth to be masked by current affairs and political games. Also, it would be an unrealistic desire to want to show history without placing any blame or feeling no guilt... But blame and guilt must be placed where they belong... and not on the innocent!

Historian Lazar Lazarov, in his book “Macedonia in French politics in the Balkans 1944-1957”, in 1998, cultivating the period of time from 1944 to 1957, felt that there was a need to show the realities under which we Macedonians were treated under the various communist parties.

As a dedicated historian, most likely he felt it was his duty to pursue this avenue and that, from a historical science point of view, he felt it was the task of every society to show a mirror of its past and to give itself an opportunity to face the truth. But also to confirm that a half century of history cannot change so easily, because under those conditions we Macedonians have compiled many historical issues which have imprisoned us... and we are now “free prisoners” of our own past.

He chose us perhaps because he was impressed by the many things he saw in us, but what is most important about his work is that he is one of the first historians to suggest that a large segment of our “ideological historiography” needs an “overhaul” and a break in the pattern of our “sectoral” written history as the history of Vardar, Aegean and Pirin Macedonia. This is only a phenomenon of our un-integral interpretation of the history of the Macedonian people, which was built on “regional” information concocted to disqualify and discriminate against us and many other people.

Lazar Lazarov’s book, in my opinion, is one of the most “vivid” books ever written. It is an elaboration of past events that have been highlighted through a comprehensive analysis with an abundance of reliable facts which, perhaps, will free us from our current collective fear. Lazarov, with the French archives at his disposal, managed to piece together a continuous development of historical events from 1944 to 1957. He has opened for us another invaluable dialogue between our present and our past. But most importantly he did this without “adjusting” the facts to suit the interpretation, i.e. without the customary dual approach to the facts. As a result, his book has caused great interest and opened a view on the current taboo - topics. But, with this book he has also uncovered our half-century rare phenomenon known as “silence”... our heads being buried in the sand like that of an ostrich.

And like he said: "...There is need to emphasize that attention must be paid to the fact that the French official documentation covered here represents all three parts of divided Macedonia, treating them as an integral whole, not only geographically but also in ethnic and socio-economic terms. These views were expressed by French diplomats, military, political and economic experts..." (23)

This raises the question: What Macedonian author, in an integral part, has presented us to the world?!

Perhaps the book: "Macedonia and its relations with Greece", Skopje, 1993, from the top of science, or perhaps still a non-Macedonian author like Loring M. Danforth, author of the book "The Macedonian Conflict", Skopje, 1996, the book that, without shading, has brought us to the door of our past with striking proof of the cost of the non-integral view of Macedonian national history.

But let us follow the order of things, which will make it easier for us to peek at the root of evil and at our dark secrets, let it serve as leverage for us in pursuing Todor Chepreganov's book "Great Britain and the Macedonian National Question 1944-1948", 1997 (52), in which he wrote:

"...The CPY Central Committee in Yugoslav terms, formally set the Macedonian Question without entering into its essence and beside the fact that the Macedonian communists at the September 8, 1940 Conference, altogether clearly placed in query the solving of the Macedonian Question. At the Conference, promoted as "the Macedonian platform", behind which stood Metodija Shatorov – Sharlo, it was predicted that a struggle would ensue in which the Macedonian people would have to prove their national identity, equality with the other nations in the Balkans, freedom in their own sovereign and independent state and ultimately unity or in alliance with the other Yugoslav or Balkan nations.

During the 5<sup>th</sup> World Conference in Zagreb, Metodija Shatarov - Sharlo (who later became a victim of political games) reacted strongly to the attitude the CPY took in handling the resolution of the Macedonian National Question, especially in regards to Gilas's abstract views of the Question; referring to him as a 'chauvinist'.

Shatorov accused the CPY of sectarian backsliding. According to Shatorov, it was wrong for the CPY to want to wait and resolve the Macedonian National Question during the revolution...”

Now let us return to the investigation and see how the author analyzed the syndrome of power in a totalitarian system, in our recent history. And hopefully we will familiarize ourselves with the attempts made to solve the “Macedonian Questions” and what the desire and strategy was for the unification of Macedonia under the care of strangers.

Lazarov not only meticulously analyzed promises made by the political leaders of the time, but also reminded us of our blind faith and obedience to them, of how we were kept in the dark by cries of demagogy and how, to this day, we remain unconvinced of events that affected vital national issues.

Let us now take a look at a few excerpts from the book and see what the French documents have to say about that period of time (1944-1957):

“...Of all the regions in Yugoslavia, communism had the strongest hold in Macedonia. The Macedonian people had been oppressed for centuries by the Turks, then by their ‘liberators’. For the Macedonians the communist ideology is most acceptable. Tito found support in this region (meaning in Macedonia). For the Macedonians, their country covers parts of Bulgarian and Greek territories and they consider Thessalonica their real capital...” (185).

“No Communist Party of Yugoslavia Central Committee Plenary Sessions were held until the fall of the Informburo because the entire political power was held by the CPY Central Committee Politburo, which was convened by Josip Broz - Tito, General Secretary of the Party.

Sadly, for some unknown and unjustified reasons, Macedonia had no representatives in the CPY Central Committee Politburo, except for Kolishevski who was summoned only to those sessions which discussed issues relating to Macedonia. The greatest political power was concentrated in the body of the Politburo, which was the de-

facto nerve centre, the brain and the most directive point for all agencies and organizations in the country. The Politburo's will and policies were implemented through: Organizational – instructional departments, personnel departments, agitation propaganda departments, as well as internal party advisory committees for the various branches of work - the people's government, unions, the department of foreign affairs, education and schooling institutions, etc.” (102)

It was not by chance that Lazarov, in his analysis, asked the following very serious question: “Why did Macedonia have no representation in the CPY Central Committee Politburo throughout the entire Second World War period?!”

“...The CPY Central Committee Politburo, convened by Josip Broz - Tito, Party General Secretary, was the executive and commanding point for the entire life of the country, which in August 1948 was reorganized and in which it was evident that no representatives from Macedonia were appointed. The following nine members were elected: Josip Broz - Tito, Milovan Gilas, Ivan Boshniak, Edward Kardeli, Boris Kidrich, Franz Leskovshek, Blagoia Neskovich, Mosha Piade and Aleksandar Rankovich.” (186)

It is also worth mentioning here that, according to Greek historiography, there were no Macedonians in the CPG Central Committee Politburo or in the CPG Central Committee in general; not during World War II and not during the Greek Civil War, even though the Macedonians provided more than 50% of the resources and manpower for the war effort as well as most of the soldiers that served in DAG with honour. Unfortunately our historiography does not want to blame the CPG for any of this, not even for our national defeat. Our historiography paints a picture of the CPG as being an honourable leader who led us to victory.

## VIEW FROM TODAY

My intention at this point is to present the reader with another characteristic point of view, belonging to our time; that of Nikola Kliusev, 1998/190:

“...The people in Chento’s government, most of whom were brutally tortured and executed in the dungeons and camps by Tito’s regime, suffered a terrible fate. In addition to Chento who served as vice president of the Presidium, two other vice presidents, Panko Brashnarov from the old Ilinden guard and Professor Dr. Manuel Chuchkov suffered a similar fate. After that, Secretary of the ASNOM Presidium doctor of Sorbona Vladimir Polezhina, Minister of Economy Dr. Lazar Sokolov, Minister of Justice Petre Piruze, legendary Ilinden fighter Pavle Shatev, Interior Minister Kiril Petrushevski, member of the Presidium Venko Markovski, party secretary and political commissar of General Staff Bane Andreev and others also suffered a similar fate...”

What does Lazarov’s book, in integral terms, actually mean for us Macedonians and what does it tell us?

First and foremost it tells us that we Macedonians should have erased our illusions a long time ago that “someone else” was more interested in Macedonia and the Macedonian people than ourselves. In other words, we should not have allowed Yugoslavs, Greeks, or any other foreigners and outsiders to influence and lead us, especially when it came to our people’s fate and to our country’s destiny!

It tells us that alien propaganda left our Macedonian consciousness with too many cracks and deep mental chasms. It tells us that we were divided on many issues, some of which do not even concern Macedonia!

It tells us that we were and perhaps still are under the illusion that communist ideology was the solution to our problems, including reuniting our Macedonia. How was that even possible without our involvement as leaders of our own people, as leaders of our own destiny? Did we think that the Greeks or the Asia Minor colonists were going to free us and give us our Macedonia back? We must have had these kinds of expectations because we followed their lead all through the Greek Civil War?

It tells us that we felt our lives belonged in the services of the CPG and that we bought into its ideologies.



Taken by a half century of euphoria we believed and still believe everything. Here is an example given a long time ago, which made this author say: “On February 19, 1949, according to official French sources in Paris, filed with the tag ‘Greek secret’, a secret agreement was signed between Tito and General Markos on June 1, 1948...”

“It is well known, especially now, that Markos never wanted to cede any part of Greek territory to Yugoslavia, but this information was confirmed by the Associated Press on July 25, 1948 that, according to the Press, Markos had indeed signed a secret agreement with Tito (on June 1, 1948 ).

Apparently, by this Agreement, Markos had agreed to the unification of three regions from Greece, namely Florina (Lerin), Kastoria (Kostur) and Edesa (Voden), with Yugoslavia...” (64)

What does all this mean?!

It means that some events are factual and did take place, while others, well; they were created to mislead people and stir up things... and never actually took place! Just because they were reported by the press does not make them true... someone high up may have fabricated the information and passed it along to the press... as well as verified it as being “true” when, in fact, it was not!

Lazarov, strictly adhering to French sources, took a brave walk through history and recognized that there was not enough information on this issue to make it true so he concluded that it must have been some sort of illusion created to feed emotions and bring disappointment, especially in the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. From this discovery, Lazarov also found out that he too was learning from sources designed to mislead... which must quietly be rejected.

Lazarov must have known that at that period of time the Informburo was established. And on June 30, 1948, CPG Central Committee Politburo member Mitsos Vlandas sent a letter to all DAG Commissars to inform them of the Informburo Resolution taken

against the CPY and Tito and of the position the CPG had taken, which agreed with the Informburo. It took many months for the CPG to come up with the content of that letter. Besides that, Lazarov must have known that, on August 27, 1948, General Markos Vafiadis was suspended from being the Supreme Commander of DAG. He must have also known that Vafiadis, at the CPG Central Committee 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum held on January 30-31, 1949, was suspended from his position as President of the unrecognized Provisional Democratic Government of Greece.

He must have known, or perhaps not, that General Markos Vafiadis was born in the village Tosi near Ankara, in Asia Minor, and was planted as a colonist in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1922, a man who we, again and again, meet throughout our history, who for some reason that escapes me, we see him as some sort of “great legend”, when it is well known what he told the magazine “Epikera” about us Macedonians when he returned to Athens. Markos, at best, was an ordinary person; he was no general let alone the great general who headed the army with more than 50% of the soldiers being Macedonians. He was also not a Greek... he was a pseudo Greek at best.

Our history is full of disasters because we have a tendency to follow idiots who speak idle words, tell us what we want to hear and make empty promises. We followed a man who lied to us and misled us without thinking what we were doing... a man who eventually led us to our genocide and to our permanent exile from our ancestral homeland... And now we find his name in our historiography being referred to not as a villain, but as a hero... a “great legend” no less... Why?

What we will also find out, after reading all these books, is that our wishes may have been noble but our goals were unattainable and unrealistic. The fundamental problem is that our people in Greek occupied Macedonia had been placed in the dark and Greece made sure they were uneducated, isolated and unaware of what was possible and what was not. They had no experience in major change and no resources or knowledge to organized themselves politically or militarily. They did not even consider the option of what would happen (to them) if they lost the war? Being kept in the dark for

generations also made them naïve and trusting, which was a well exploited weakness by those who wished them harm. This, unfortunately, has happened to us too many times with huge catastrophic consequences and shows that we are in desperate need of learning lessons from our history and avoid such mistakes in the future.

### 3.0 IT IS TIME TO HIGHLIGHT THE GENOCIDE COMMITTED AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949)

“Do not laugh, do not cry, do not even disdain, but think and understand” (Spinoza)

And now, after more than half a century of silence, if, out of respect, we were to look at the “facts” as presented by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski in the various publications, what will we see? For example, what will we learn if we were to look in the section “Views and Opinions” in the January 10, 1995 publication of “Nova Makedonija” and read the article entitled “The Greats betrayed Macedonian expectations”? What will we see if we look at his own feuilleton entitled “Legitimized violence against the Macedonians in Greece after the Second World War” published January 18, 1995, or if we look at the magazine “Denes” of Friday, January 14, 1999 and read Kiriazovski’s pragmatic text? In which he briskly said: “Macedonia’s historiography is at the height of its task.” He explains:

“...For example, Macedonian historiography has argumentatively revealed the great Greek and Yugoslav communist responsibility for the tragic fate of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia after the Second World War. That is why it concluded that, if the terrible events in the five post-war years were avoided because there were objective conditions, today we would have a compact Macedonian minority in Aegean Macedonia in a compact territory and we would not have today’s problems with the current Greek government.”

This will best be understood by those who lost their ancestral homes and were anathematized, slandered and defamed by the CPY and the CPG leaderships for wanting answers. I am one of those people! I was slandered for writing my book “(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece” in 1994, in which I demanded an explanation as to how and why the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were manipulated and sacrificed in the Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949. (See: Kiriazovski: SK. IV-1118 from 8.04.94.)

How important are these so-called historians who support the politics of today and how valuable is their input? Well, if we look deeper into the situation we will find that those who give the most advice are those who are least qualified to do so!

The text written by our historian in the “Denes” publication reminded me of what Spinoza had said: “Do not laugh, do not cry, do not even disdain, but think and understand.”

Exactly! It is well known that historian Risto Kiriazovski has written many works about the Greek Civil War that should not be overshadowed in this investigation, but also not to be taken by the Russian saying: “Tak skazal nachalnik! Molchat i nerasuzhdat!” Now let us see how he came to say: “...Macedonian historiography has argumentatively revealed the great Greek and Yugoslav communist responsibility for the tragic fate of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia after the Second World War.”

Of course this raises a couple of questions:

1. What kind of Greek and Yugoslav communist responsibility could Macedonian historians have revealed????!
2. What kind of historical role did NOF play being created by the CPY and destroyed by the CPG????!

There are certain rules in a war - for example not to be personal, to be national, but for us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia the war, through NOF, according to Kiriazovski, was a revolution which aspired to continue the Ilinden traditions. In essence, while

this tragic war was nothing more than an exercise to exile us Macedonians from our homeland, for foreign interests and so that Greece could call itself “homogenous”, our own historians nourished the illusion that it was a revolution of our own making... Does no one see how NOF was created, manipulated and monopolized to serve the interests of the CPY and the CPG? How then could this war have been a “Macedonian revolution”?

As a historian, even now, half a century later, Kiriazovski and any other historian for that matter, given the irrefutable historical facts available to him, surely should have been able to deduce that this war had the designs of genocide against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. This war was not a Macedonian revolution! It was an “ideological war”! This is how it was presented to the world. It was a fight between the right and the left for control over Greece. It was also an opportunity for Greece to get rid of the Macedonians! It is that simple! We Macedonians were involved in the war, there is no denying that, but the war was not our doing. We didn’t even know what we were fighting for until it was too late! Was the war lost because the Macedonians were traitors? NO! The war was led by Greek communists and they are the ones that are responsible for everything that happened, including losing it! Were the leaders of NOF traitors? How could they be when they followed CPG directives to the letter?

Edward Hallett Carr, in his book “What is history”, wrote: “The facts speak only when the historian calls upon them to speak: the historian is the one who decides which facts will speak, in which order and in what context.”

Well, there we have it. Kiriazovski did exactly that. He used available information from the Greek Civil War and turned it into a different brand of history where Macedonians are the actors, leading figures and drivers in his story. In one of his write-ups Kiriazovski wrote: “CPG General Secretary Zahariadis, in April of 1946, met with Stalin and Tito who approved the CPG’s decision to start the Greek Civil War and promised him comprehensive help.” Further on he wrote: “In the Aegean part of Macedonia, outside and independent of the CPG and under the influence of the CPY-CPM, the Macedonian national liberation movement, led by NOF, acted

strongly which, in accordance with an agreement between Tito and Zahariadis, in October 1946, was put under CPG direct leadership.”

So what is Kiriazovski telling us? He is telling us that Zahariadis, Tito and Stalin were the political and military strategists of the Greek Civil War. Zahariadis started and managed the war as well as directed and managed NOF through the CPG. At the same time he is also telling us that NOF acted independently of the CPG? Isn't this a contradiction? What is he trying to do? Is he making it his mission, as a historian, to take the political path of least resistance and making sure the Macedonians are blamed for something they did not do in order not to offend the communists? Why? One cannot even imagine the damage this did to us, to those who were involved in that war... and for what... for nothing because we were not leading or driving that war... we were simple soldiers who followed orders and did what we were told!

If top historians like Kiriazovski said that we were “a factor” in that war, and what reason would they have to lie, then people blamed us for all the failures and everything that went wrong... We had to carry and live with the guilt for over half a century... If historians could blame us for all the wrongs that happened in that dreaded war then why not have the politicians, academics, scientists and society in general also blame us? This, naturally, made it easier for them to manipulate us and put us in our place in society.

Worse than being blamed for something we did not do was the fact that every time anyone made an attempt to correct or clarify the problem or evaluate historical facts it was quickly thwarted. Handy facts were often used that were offered in the book “Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question” by American authors Steve G. Palmer and Robert R. King who, in chapter 7 - continued interest in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia on page 125, wrote:

“The CPY was cautious in its merger actions of Aegean Macedonia. However, when the CPY stood firmly in power, the issue of unification of Aegean Macedonia was revived. In mid 1945, in the articles that were printed by the Yugoslav press, it was said that the dreadful situation of the Macedonians in Greece, who suffered under ‘the terror of the Greek chauvinists’ who were reputed to have

conducted ‘orgies of extreme anger’, was mourned.” (40) (“Borba”, June 19, 1945.)

Speaking in Skopje in October, Tito confirmed the thesis that Yugoslavia would never deny the Macedonian people their right to unite! (41) (Josip Broz Tito, “Izgradnja nove Jugoslavija”, 1 p. 158.) Quite naturally the CPG then did everything in its power to minimize the significance of the Macedonian Question.

In early spring in 1946, General Secretary Nikos Zahariadis, in preparation for the next stage of the Greek Civil War, visited Belgrade and Prague. While the Greek communists were preparing for war the CPY, through a publication entitled “Borba” (Struggle), clarified its own goals by publishing a map of the Aegean part of Macedonia showing the Macedonian “ethnic boundaries” to include Solun and a large part of northern Greece. Included in the same article with the map were words that mourned the fate of “over 250,000 Macedonians in Greece whom the Greek reactionary circles had decided to destroy”. The article also said that Greek Macedonians fought in Greek Partisan units for their freedom and they deserve the right to self-determination and to unite with their brethren in the People’s Republic of Macedonia. The article ended with a threat that Yugoslavia “cannot remain indifferent towards the destruction of our population in Greece.” (42) (“Borba”, August 26, 1946.)

When the Civil War in Greece began, the CPY, in order to simplify the CPG’s internal situation, maintained a low public profile on the Macedonian Question. However, the Yugoslavs continued to quietly work “influencing” the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. They used local camps organized on Yugoslav territory to train guerrillas and to stimulate support for the unification of Greek occupied Macedonia with the Republic of Macedonia. (43) (Barker, “Makedonija”, p. 118.) Tito was ready to use any means possible, with the exception of starting a general war, to help the aggressive needs of Greek guerrilla leader Markos Vafiadis. Yugoslavia, at that time, was in a much better position to provide Vafiadis with material aid than were Bulgaria or Albania. Also, the Greek guerrilla bases were in the mountainous region bordering Yugoslavia. Markos became dependent on Tito, and obviously the

CPY, and requested from his organizers to work in Aegean Macedonia. In early 1947 the organization SNOF, later named NOF, was chosen to take the challenge. NOF proclaimed that its goal was to grant the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia their national rights in a communist Greece. However, because of the strong influence from Yugoslav instructors and “volunteers” from the Peoples Republic of Macedonia, as well as from the propagation of the Macedonian language, with establishing schools and frequent demands for greater autonomy for the Macedonians, NOF was used to promote Yugoslav expansionist ambitions. (44) (Kofos, “Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia”, p.166-167; 170-173.)

When Yugoslavia was “excluded” or removed from the Cominform it was also removed from acting in Aegean Macedonia, thus ending its aims to unite Greek occupied Macedonia with the Republic of Macedonia. The CPY, however, continued to support Markos for more than six months after its break with the Cominform until it had a serious fight with the CPG. A fight broke out in the ranks of the CPG between pro-Yugoslav and the pro-Cominform faction. (45) (Izbit, p. 175-177.) The pro-Cominform faction won and its wishes were imposed during the CPG Central Committee Fifth Plenum at the end of January 1948, with Markos being ousted from his command function and expelled from the party. The Central Committee promised the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia “full self-determination” but also warned against the destructive action conducted by “opportunist and reactionary elements supported from abroad in order to break the unity of the Macedonians, the Slavo-Macedonian and Greek people”. (46) (Piade quoted in “CPY and the Macedonian Question”, p. 98.) Reorganized NOF tried to institute one Macedonian policy similar to the policy applied to Bulgarians and Cominform, calling for the creation of a united Macedonia as an independent state and full member of the Federation of Balkan peoples. Greek reaction to this statement was so energetic and negative that NOF was forced to withdraw its request. (47) (Hamilton Fish Armstrong, “Tito and Goliath”, p. 192; Kofos, “Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia”, p. 179-183.)

In late July 1949 Yugoslavia had closed its border to the Greek guerrillas and thus highly contributed to their final defeat. But



Kolishevski invited the Aegean Macedonians living in the Republic of Macedonia to create a legal basis for achieving their national goals. (48) (“Nova Makedonija”, August 3, 1949.)

Yugoslav involvement in the Greek revolution was so great that the CPY felt obliged to present a detailed analysis of the revolution’s failure. The general conclusion was that the CPG had failed because it clearly did not recognize the Macedonian nation and that it was quite cautious in taking military action, especially when Markos was deposed “under false pretenses”. (49) (Vukmanovich - Tempo, “How and why the national liberation struggle Greece was defeated”, p. 77.)

Well, these are the facts, presented by various authors that highlight our terrible tragedy. These are the facts that point to a certain truth that there was no Macedonian factor present in the Macedonian national strategy and that we did not have principle unity. But what we did have were people who personally attached themselves to the CPG and to the CPY, who gave rise to “ideological activism” with disregard to the cruelty and brutality it brought to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

It was the sinister games and the alien propaganda, which first acted with lies and then spoke of deadly weapons that brought us to our genocide. These are the facts that we need to embrace in order to heal from our past and to create a healthy atmosphere for the Macedonian people’s future. What happened to us is a fact! What we were promised and what was delivered are facts!

Above all it was shown that NOF’s role in the Greek Civil War was deceptive but not fiction. The people of NOF, on the other hand, seemed to enjoy playing their heroic roles with their desires to unite Macedonia. Unfortunately those desires, and the weight of them, were left for the ordinary Macedonian people to carry, who gladly accepted this heroic and misguided challenge without hesitation... which led them to genocide.

What do the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia remember about the Greek Civil War and how do they interpret what they remember? Many I have spoken with remember what they

had done and the events that took place around them. It was an intense moment in time. Human life did not matter much and hardly anyone cared to pay attention outside of trying to survive. A giant wave hit them and swept them away. In their struggle to survive they listened to the guiding voices coming from above and did what they were told! They remember these times as an era of brutal propaganda with destructive goals calling out on the people and wanting more of their blood... After the war ended it was followed by a half a century of fear and silence... no matter where these people were... at home or exiled abroad. This fear and silence kept them from talking about what happened during the war... about the genocide they experienced... a forgotten genocide... an unreported genocide... an un-registered genocide with world institutions and with the international community... a guilt free genocide for those who had committed it!

But what does all this mean for us Macedonians? Will our tragedy be forgotten forever by the world and even by future Macedonian generations? Will our new generation be ignorant of it; like they have been in the last half century? Will our sacrifices be remembered as a betrayal or as a failed revolution carried out in the Ilinden tradition?! Did these top communist leaders determine that the Greek Civil War was a historical inevitability or was it an absurd creation of their own collective hallucination for the “Soviet-ization of the Balkans”, through a “Balkan Federation”, a “United Macedonia”, etc.? Were these empty communist gestures, idle talk and confusion, motivation for the Greek bourgeoisie to, once and for all, get rid of this problem by getting rid of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia? The speculation that a part of Greek territory was going to be split from Greece and joined with Yugoslavia or that attempts were being made to turn Greece into a socialist country, motivated the Greek Right to act and remove the “threat from the north” by removing the “Macedonian menace”! According to the Greek newspaper “Ethnikos Kirikas” published on May 21, 1946, the Greek Right did not just want an eviction they wanted a full expulsion of the Macedonians: “Greece should soon expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians”! As I have said before, on several occasions, the Greek Civil War was an opportunity for the Greek state to get rid of the Macedonian people from its Macedonian occupied territory. It has been a “Greek dream” to have a Macedonia

without Macedonians! How? By expelling the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia to Yugoslavia just as Greece did after World War I when it expelled Macedonians to Bulgaria and Turkey... and then filled the empty Macedonian territory with 600,000 Turkish Christian settlers and colonists from Asia Minor.

There is no doubt that the leaders who led the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) defined it as a “class revolution” with an ultimate goal: “to establish a socialist system in Greece.” This was confirmed by Zahariadis in his book: “Problems in the Leadership” published in 1950, where on page 81 he wrote: “The existence of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republics in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe are a spectacular, credible and decisive factor for our entry into the Socialist revolution.” He was talking about the Greek Civil War being a socialist revolution; if it was a “Socialist Revolution” for Zahariadis and the Greek communists then it was a “Socialist Revolution”, a revolution to bring socialism in Greece, for everyone including us Macedonians! It is very important to know this for further analysis because the interpretation of “historical facts” in our current historiography is based on the famous Yugoslav model... a history written to suit the current political climate...

Zahariadis’s discussions and consultations with top communist leaders for starting the Greek Civil War are well-known to both Greek and foreign historians. Zahariadis had consulted with Stalin, Molotov, Torres, Toliati, Tito and others. There are a number of books that explain this:

“Ksenokratia”, ed. 1975, by a well known team of experts.

“Conversations with Zahariadis” ed. Athens, 1986, by Lefteris Elefteriou.

“Saranda hronia agones tou KKE”, 1948.

“Episima kimena tou KKE (1940-1945)” and others.

March 20, 1946 - Zahariadis left Athens and went to Prague. He used this trip as an opportunity to discuss his armed struggle in Greece with the communist party leaders and to seek assistance

from them. But, as it turned out, he received silence or advice that it was a bad idea to start a war at this point in time and that such a move would be foolish. The most notable leaders, including Torenz of France and Togliatti of Italy, told him that it was “dangerous to resort to arms” at this point in time.

On March 31, 1946 Zahariadis arrived in Belgrade and met with Tito. Among other things, they discussed the “strategy of the armed struggle” (the Yugoslav model) for which Tito promised Zahariadis material and moral assistance. See: “Danas” published on 6.03.1990, pages 418, 419 and 420. Among other things on page 64 the article said: “...the network was organized under the leadership of Alexander Rankovich (third man from the top in CPY politics) who, up until 1948, supplied the Greek partisans with 35,000 rifles 2,000 mortars (German), 7,000 anti-tank guns, 10,000 landmines, 12,000 complete army uniforms and 30 wagons of food.” The article then went on to say that: “... 8,000 people had fled Greece (and lived miserable lives in the Skopje streets) and how important it was for the first man, General Markos, to confirm the newly established General Headquarters created on October 28, 1946.”

But we must never forget that more than 50% of the participants in DAG were Macedonians. A very large proportion considering that the Macedonian population was much, much smaller than the Greek. We must also never forget that the Greek Civil War, with all its Party and military functions, was led and commanded almost exclusively by Greeks. So, the question that comes to mind is: “if the Greek Civil War was a revolution for socialism, does that mean that we Macedonians had to resolve this problem, i.e. turn Greece into a socialist state before we could obtain our national rights?”

Stalin’s meetings and the views he expressed are well-known by many historiographers. Here is what Petre Galabov, in an article entitled “The Greek Civil War (1945-1949)”, published in “Pulse” on October 27, 1994, had to say: “After Belgrade, Zahariadis traveled to Moscow where he met with Stalin, Zhdanov and Molotov. During this meeting Molotov expressed criticism of his non-participation in the Greek elections. Zahariadis answered with the familiar arguments that the elections were rigged ahead of time to legitimize

the authority of foreigners and the Right, who imposed the Greek Civil War on us.” The form and method of the Greek Civil War were discussed at a special meeting between Stalin and Zahariadis. According to Zahariadis, Stalin ordered the tactics of the struggle. He said: “You will start gradually from the villages then move towards the cities and try to avoid unnecessary military intervention from the English, do this with a view of finding a compromise.” More facts that express Stalin’s views on Greece and the CPG, keeping in mind that Stalin is in support of USSR’s political interests, can be found on pages 288 and 289 in Roy Medvedev’s book entitled “Let history judge”, Spokesman Books, 1976/473.

Historian Roy Medvedev also had his own views which are of great interest to us:

Stalin’s views: Stalin’s attitude towards Greece and the CPG during the war was unclear, even suspicious. From the available evidence we have there is a general indication that Stalin’s attitude towards Greece was negative. Stalin thought Greece was a small country and perhaps not a good place for conducting micro-strategic practices for the political interests of the Soviet Union.

In the period from April to October 1944, while attending meetings with the British and Americans, Stalin did not bring up any substantial objections to British claims of how Greece was going to be governed. When Churchill and Eden visited Moscow in October, Molotov and Eden worked on the percentage of influence in their respective spheres which were decided by Churchill and Stalin on October 19, 1944. When it came to interests in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary the concerns were completely different from those of Greece. Neither Stalin nor Molotov thought that there should be a major change to the Soviet influence in Greece already defined as 10%.

About the first round of the Greek Civil War in 1944, in his book entitled “Let history judge”, Roy Medvedev wrote: “In the clash that continued the Greek Communists received no real support from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union resigned itself from even giving moral support to the Greek antifascists. The EAM-ELAS forces, being without any help or hope, were forced to curtail their military

power struggles. After that a government was formed without EAM's participation. A while later this government and its policies contributed to creating conditions for a civil war. This, once again, is proof that at that time the Greek Communists received no moral or material support that was demanded from Stalin and the USSR..."

Here is an interesting find given by Spiridon Blagoev. (See: "Nova Makedonija" series published on May 17, 1997 under the heading: "The third and final Tito – Stalin meeting, May 1946". Here is what Blagoev wrote:

Stalin: "Did Greece raise any questions regarding Yugoslavia?"

Tito: "Regarding us there were provocations, but not recently."

Stalin: "The British have an Army there, with aims at strengthening reactions, possibly, and for other purposes."

Tito smiling: "We have a request for them: Aegean Macedonia and Solun."

Molotov: "Yes, Solun, an old Slavic city. What is needed is a way out to the Aegean Sea."

One of Greece's most prominent historiographers - Tassos Vournas, in his book "History of modern Greece – the Civil War", on page 176 wrote that Stalin, on February 10, 1948, literally told the Yugoslav delegation in Moscow that: "I do not agree with you, my Yugoslav comrades that the revolution in Greece should continue. That struggle has no hope of success. What do you think the UK and the USA, the strongest countries in the world, will allow it to bring down a line of communication with the Mediterranean Sea? Nonsense! And there's almost nothing of naval forces! No! The revolution in Greece should stop, as quickly as possible."

Stalin's statement mentioned above is also included on page 218 in Vladimir Dedier's book entitled "Tito", published in 1953. Gilas, in his book entitled "Conversations with Stalin" on page 182, confirms everything that Dedier had written, adding that Stalin had said that the revolution (struggle) in Greece needed to end!

That is what Stalin recommended to the Yugoslav delegation, most likely based on what was decided between Stalin and Churchill in Yalta and in Moscow from October 5<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> 1944, during the division of spheres of influence of the Balkans between the Great Powers. Another of Stalin's clear and undeniable positions was that the USSR was against Zahariadis's decision to announce the creation of a "United and Independent Macedonian state within a Balkan Federation" passed during the CPG Central Committee 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum. Stalin's dislike of this is made very clear in the correspondence files between the USSR leadership and Chernishov, Soviet Ambassador to Athens.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE ISSUE OF CREATING A MACEDONIAN STATE, MARCH 1949

On March 8, 1949, Soviet Ambassador to Greece Chernishov telephoned Moscow to report that the Greek reactionaries were using unprecedented aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party and against the partisan movement (DAG). The reaction was in regards to the "Macedonian Question" about which a decision was made during the CPG Central Committee 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum and during the Macedonian National Liberation Front 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress. The main thrust of this propaganda was aimed at the Communist Party and at the DAG partisans, who allegedly wanted to break the sovereignty of Greece. The reason for this was the "unification of Macedonia"... This propaganda gave Athens reasons and opportunity to conduct recruitments, transfer government troops and place the military on high alert in the areas controlled by the partisans. The Greek people have special sensitivity to the issue of Greece's sovereignty and integrity. The same concern is found in people living in the cities who are supporters of the Communists and of DAG. The Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF) is expected to convene a Congress, scheduled to take place on March 10, 1949, in the free territories held by DAG. Regarding this, the government press of the Anglo-American League has declared, with provocative measures, that the aim of the Congress is to split Greek Macedonia and create a common state with Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia and, as such the Communist Party of Greece "has committed treachery against Greek Macedonia."

According to the information Chernishov received from Moscow, the Congress organizers were told that such intent was imprudent and that the Congress should not focus on this question, and not even on the future of the Macedonian people within a Balkan Federation. It was recommended that the delegates turn their attention to the population in Greek Macedonia and orient it in the direction of combating the Monarcho-Fascist society in Greece and to fight to create a free and democratic Greece.

This means that after World War II, when people believed that the war was over and that the bloodshed had ended, we Macedonians suffered genocide and paid a high price for fighting to support a communist ideology which was not willing to support our cause. In other words, we fought defending an ideology which worked against our interests...

In February 1953 talks took place in Ankara between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey with aims at forming a tripartite Balkan Pact of Friendship.

In August 1954 the tripartite pact was amended, signed in Bled, Yugoslavia and put into effect as a military alliance between the three signatories.

The 1953 the Balkan Pact was put in place in support of Yugoslavia because of threats directed against it by communist countries. The pact did not last long. In 1961 the three countries agreed that the Balkan pact was dead in the water.

Unfortunately the signing of the Balkan pact had undesirable consequences for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia because, in order to placate Greece, Yugoslavia dissolved the "Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia" and shut down the newspaper "Voice of the Aegeans". But that was not all!

While, after World War II, the suffering and abuse ended worldwide and all blames were set aside, the Macedonian people continued to



be ignored and even blamed of “wrongdoing” for having a desire to be Macedonians. A practice that has continued to this day!

Going back to the question, which historian Kiriazovski later confirmed: “Was there a strong Macedonian national liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF that was outside and independent of the CPG and under the influence of the CPY-CPM...? Pavle Rakovski, a NOF veteran, had also talked about this in his book “The CPG and the Macedonians”, 1990, on page 107, for which Rakovski was ostracized until his death. Here is what Rakovski wrote: “At the beginning of April 1945 the Political Commission ceased to exist. It was replaced on April 23, 1945 by the newly constituted Bureau of NOF, created by the CPM Central Committee. The new Bureau of NOF for Aegean Macedonia consisted of five appointed members, appointed without a conference and without elections.

I was one of those appointed members. Our activities were led by CPM/CPY Central Committee representatives up until November 1946 when NOF was given to the CPG...”

Two months after NOF was created, the CPG leadership passed a resolution through their CPG Central Committee 12<sup>th</sup> Plenum, held on June 1945, in which they expressed their Greek position by declaring that their northern border was unsafe and threatened. They also added that: “Preserving the territorial integrity of the state is a first task of every Greek patriot!” (See: “To KKE apto 1931-1952”, p. 210.) They also went on to say that “England, as a ‘great friend’ of Greece”, i.e. the military and political presence of the British in Greece was declared as “necessary and needed in order to ensure the Greek positions and Greek border to the north”.

So, now it is becoming clear that the rhythm of global indoctrination had been accepted and that there was no turning back. This was the time when our misery began and we lost a historic chance to achieve national rights in Greece, defined by international criteria in the framework of international law. Also please note that all this was perpetrated by outsiders, no doubt to create the conditions that we would not only lose the chance to achieve our rights but also be completely exterminated from Greek occupied Macedonia.

Can we now disclose the question: “Who activated the ‘Macedonian syndrome’ for our (self) destruction?” Can we now find an answer to the question: “How and why were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia manipulated and sacrificed in the Greek Civil War (1945-1949)?” What was the period from the formation of NOF, on April 23, 1945, until NOF was given to the CPG in October 1946, or as the historian Kiriazovski wrote: “In line with an agreement made between Tito and Zahariadis, in October 1946, for NOF to be passed on to the CPG.” Was NOF sent to the local scene by the CPY and CPM so that the Greek government could justify the violence against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia after World War II? Like I said before, Greece wanted to create “legal conditions” in order to exterminate its “Macedonian menace”. So, with Yugoslav help, it concocted the scenario where: “A bunch of bandits picked up guns and were going to split up its territory and as such Greece had no other choice but to fight in order to protect itself!”

Is this not institutionalized racism?

But as Macedonians, and with our past experiences with the Greeks, we should have known better than to place our trust in strangers and foreigners. It has always been our tradition to respect strangers... but to trust them with our lives? I guess we were never taught to “respect strangers but always look after the interests of our own people first!” We also can’t dismiss the idea that strangers came to us offering us the gifts we always wanted and in our excitement we forgot that these gifts were offered by Greeks, the same people that came to our country with promises to liberate us from the Ottomans! But instead of being liberated, we were occupied and subjugated and our country was divided and annexed by them. And ever since then, they wanted to get rid of us so that they could have a Macedonia without Macedonians to remind them that they had stolen Macedonia from us! Now we are called a “minority” in our own ancestral homeland! How can we, the owners and caretakers of Macedonia, be a minority and the settlers and colonists placed there just yesterday, in historical terms, be a “majority”? This is like saying “a bunch of uninvited guests came to my house and because

they number more than my family, my house belongs to them?”  
What legal system will support that idea?

The truth needs to be known first, before we can look at the reality of the situation. The Macedonian people cannot be a minority on their own ancestral lands; they are a nation! And like Kiriazovski said, in a statement he made for the magazine “Vecher” on July 1, 1989: “One day, like it or not, the people will learn the whole truth about their own history.” So, there is still hope for us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia.

Despite the fact that there are denials of our existence, propagated mostly by our neighbours, the same culprits that invaded, occupied and portioned our country in 1912, 1913, it is a well known fact that Macedonians do exist and want their Macedonia united and independent and, at various times depending on the circumstances, will do anything to achieve that. This has been a historical Macedonian desire, a primordial force and also a weakness exploited by strangers and foreigners to make us do things that we later regret. At the same time, Macedonians have been fooled enough times not to trust just anyone to come to their rescue. The last time Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria came to our rescue, we ended up not only losing our country to them but our country was portioned into three and later into four pieces. So it was important for our enemies to invent NOF, provide it with an agenda and a lot of false promises, which they never intended to deliver, and unleash it on our people. The Macedonian people would never have trusted Zahariadis to lead them without the Macedonians of NOF urging them to do so. The NOF leadership would not have trusted Zahariadis if he created NOF. So, NOF had to be created in the Republic of Macedonia with Yugoslav promises that Yugoslavia would support an initiative for a “United and Independent Macedonia”. If Greece didn’t then surely Yugoslavia would support such an initiative. After all Yugoslavia did support the creation of the Republic of Macedonia? Why not a united Macedonia? So, NOF and the Macedonian people were sold on the idea that Yugoslavia was behind them all the way!

I want to mention one more thing here before we continue. Had Zahariadis, the communists or even NOF, initially declared this

initiative “a struggle to bring socialism in Greece” no Macedonian, or very few Macedonians, would have joined the cause. As far as the Macedonians were concerned, this struggle had to be about the “Macedonian Question”? But then why bring “communism” into a situation in the world where “spheres of influence” had already been decided? This was done for the eyes of the world! The world had to be kept behind a veil of lies! This was not a Greek Civil War as we so often and so casually refer to it to this day! It was a slaughter and total exile of the Macedonian people from their ancestral home... It was genocide. But did the international press or western history call it for what it was... even one time? The outside world had to be kept in the dark, from knowing that the Macedonians believed they were fighting for their own independence! Why is that? Because to the outside world it had to appear to be about “communism” and the communists had to be driven out of Greece because the Great Powers had agreed that Greece would remain under Western and non-communist influence! Had the world known that this was a tragic exercise to get rid of the Macedonian people from their indigenous homeland, some people in the world would perhaps have reacted differently and may have shown some sympathy towards the Macedonians. The architects of the war certainly did not want that!

Then, when NOF arrived in Greek occupied Macedonia and declared its intentions to the people, the vast majority still refused to leave their homes and go to the mountains to fight. And then came the “white terror” instigated by the Greek Right to give the people incentive and motivation to arm and defend themselves. As a result many had had enough of the Greeks and joined the struggle that NOF had planned. And we all know how that turned out... when the Macedonian people picked up guns and fought back!

But the Macedonian people were not the only target in this affair. This affair had three targets! While the Macedonians were told they were fighting for a united and independent Macedonia and the world was told that it was a fight to oust the communists out of Greece, the Greek people were told that both the communists and the Macedonians were planning to rip parts of Northern Greece apart, (Greek occupied Macedonia to be more specific) and give it to the Yugoslavs in the north. This made the Greeks boiling mad and created the conditions for an all out war which today we all call the

Greek Civil War, and we are still struggling to understand what it was about!

Naturally the Macedonian people failed to create a united Macedonia, the communists failed to turn Greece into a socialist country and no part of Greece was torn up! And why is that? Because it was never part of the plan! This was only propaganda designed to instigate the war. None of these things were intended to happen. And those, outside of the architects of this disaster, who knew about it and voiced their suspicions never lived to tell! They were immediately labeled as traitors and disappeared without a trace. The rest, those who had their suspicions, kept their mouths shut... some for more than half a century!

Things seldom “just happen by accident”, they are usually planned. The permanent eviction of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia was planned! If the Macedonians who participated in that war were “just communists” like all the other people, why then were they not allowed to return home together with the Greek communists. They were not allowed to return, not because they were communists but because they were Macedonians. Case and point: the Macedonian refugee children from the Greek civil war, some of whom were only two years old when they left, they too were not allowed to return! Why? Because they were communists?! Two year old communists?! They were not allowed to return because they were not “Greeks by birth!” So, what were they then? How can a Christian Turk born in Asia Minor be a Greek by birth and a Macedonian who was born in Greece not be a Greek by birth?

Here is what the CPG newspaper “Laiki Foni” (People’s Voice) in an article entitled “Again for the Sudetenland”, among other things, said: “... A group of Members of Parliament raised questions in parliament about the ‘Slavo-Macedonians’ and demanded nothing more or less, than to make a decision to expel them from Greece.” Those same members of parliament and leaders of the CPG later courted the Macedonian people by spreading propaganda and telling them that they were bringing measures for rights and freedoms for the Macedonian people...

According to a “Nova Makedonija” article, Dr. Risto Kiriazovski’s work: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (National Liberation Front (NOF) and other organizations of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)” was promoted on October 22, 1985 at 12 o’clock in the Institute for National History in Skopje. The title of the article was: “In the traditions of the previous National-revolutionary struggles.”

In the article Kiriazovski expressed his “stellar” moments of false ideology when he said: “The existence of specific organisms in the Macedonian issue could not have been explained without NOF’s ability to organize the struggle of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia...” In his book Kiriazovski speaks about NOF’s overall activity, but in his comparative review he only dwells on NOF’s development and political objectives in which he identifies two periods of development:

The first period ranged from April 23rd, 1945 to November 21st, 1946 when NOF acted independently of the CPG. He said nothing about the CPY/CPM’s involvement.

The second period ranged from November 21st, 1946 when NOF was under the leadership of the CPG until April 2nd, 1952 when it was formally disbanded by the CPG.

About the first period he said: “According to incomplete data, in early 1946, NOF, in addition to having its main leadership, also had 5 county, 10 district, 3 city and 32 regional leaderships with 120 professional staff belonging to NOF, NOMS and AFZH. In the territory of Aegean Macedonia 220 villages were organized (half of these were destroyed during the Greek Civil War - m.z.), working under the leadership of more than 170 village and town organizations. Its membership consisted of 4784 Macedonian and Vlach members of NOF, 4823 young men and women members of NOMS and 2201 Macedonian and Vlach women members of AFZH.” (See page 129.)

About the armed situation during that period he said: “In August there were about 100 armed fighters in Vicho and about 500 NOF

partisans in central and western Aegean Macedonia, 200 of whom were deployed in Kajmakchalan, 85 in Paiko, 130 in Vicho and 85 in Gramos. The Macedonian partisans were organized into groups of 10-15 and in squads of 40-50 fighters. The larger military formation was in Pella Prefecture consisting of a battalion.” (See page 143.)

In an article entitled “The situation in Aegean Macedonia”, written by Vania Krlevich, published in “Borba” on 09.03.1946, the author has provided data on the results of the terror instigated by Greek authorities after World War II, which aimed at eradicating the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia: From Varkiza (12.02.1945) until July 1946, 20,000 Macedonians were forced to seek shelter across the border, 22,458 were jailed, 21,202 were convicted, 225 were killed, 1,309 found refuge in the mountains...

According to the emergency measures act of July 6, 1947, there were 200 thousand democratic citizens accused of crimes against the state, of whom 80 thousand were Macedonians.

### 3.1 THE SPLENDOR AND MISERY OF “ADORED” AIMS

Does this also mean that we Macedonians, as a people, were prepared for this kind of revolution (war) to show off our pride with fire and sword?

For all of these things to happen, before the Greek Civil War became public knowledge, to prevent NOF from acting as organized by the CPY-CPM, the Greek government adopted the most rigorous laws against the Macedonian people and with them legitimized its violence against them.

By the most severe condemnations of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, the Athens government, through parliament, passed the following laws in 1945 which initiated the most terrible and ruthless terror against the Macedonian population:

LAW 543/45: “Against NOF and against persons acting on seceding territories from the Greek state.”

Decree “G” on June 18, 1946; “Extraordinary measures for public safety.”

July 7, 1945 – The Greek government enacted law number 453 and law TOD: / 45 “order, peace and justice” to ensure public safety and to stop “autonomist activities” of which the Macedonian political organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were accused. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were found to be autonomist, separatist and anti-Greek and were placed outside of the law and their members were to be judged for possessing and using weapons.

July 18, 1945 - Special law CC 43: “Against autonomist activities” was enacted by the Greek government. A law with which the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared to be autonomist and with which these organizations were placed outside of the law and their members were declared to be bandits and tried for high treason.

Forced Law (CC) 4124/1945; “Prosecution of suspected persons.”

July 20, 1945 – Law (KZ) 4124/45 was enacted to be applied only against the Macedonians.

“Prosecution of suspected persons”

July 20, 1945 – Decree “G” and laws: PZ 433/45 “Around the illegal possession of weapons” and PZ 753/45 “Around the illegal possession and use of weapons.”

“Extraordinary Measures and Public Security”

December 16, 1945 – Trials began in Kostur against 106 Macedonians from the town Rupishcha, Kostur Region. These people were accused of collaboration with the occupiers, even though they were ELAS fighters. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment and others were given lengthy sentences.

About NOF’s second period, which ranged from November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1946 when NOF was under the leadership of the CPG until April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1952 when it was formally disbanded by the CPG, Kiriazovski



wrote: “A large group of guerrillas attacked the gendarme station in Letihoro, Katerini Region, marking the beginning of the Greek Civil War in Greece.” In his book “NOF and other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949”, on page 173, Kiriazovski wrote: “On October 28, 1946 all guerrillas, numbering about 1,800 fighters, were united in the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG), headed by General Headquarters made up of Commander Markos Vafiadis, Deputy Commander Georgios Protopapas - Kikitsas, and Staff Members Lambros Kanikaridis - Lasanis, Gorgis Blanas - Kishavost and Panos Kapetenios. The basic tasks set by DAG General Headquarters, after it was constructed, were to strengthen the fighter recruitment process and to conclude a unification agreement with NOF based on the principles of the October 14, 1946 agreement reached between CPG and NOF representatives.”

This is what Dr. Risto Kiriazovski wrote in his book, but later he said: “... NOF was placed under direct CPG leadership in accordance with the Tito-Zahariadis Agreement reached in October 1946.”

This, however, is how historical facts highlight the situation: Based on the October 14, 1946 agreement made between Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG), Karaivanov, representing the CPY, and Ioannidis, representing the CPG, later made the following announcement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leadership will now fall entirely under the responsibility of the CPG. All armed Macedonian units now operating in the DAG divisions will now fall under the leadership of General Markos.”

After this surprising fact: How could the people of NOF have decided the balance of power? After what was done here, basically the CPM/CPY sold NOF out; left it like a shepherd without a flock! It is more than obvious here that the missing link to uncover these facts was “the screening and adaptation of facts” to fit the current political climate.

So, the question is: Did this act, perpetrated by the CPY/CPM and CPG, destroy NOF’s initiatives and rob the Macedonian people of

their right to seek to preserve the independent character of the Macedonian struggle? YES! By doing so the main thrust of this act was, above all, to destroy the Macedonian character of the struggle which NOF had proclaimed in front of all the Macedonian people! In the eyes of the world this was a fight between the Right and the Left, not a Macedonian liberation struggle, and it had to be kept that way!

And what was said about Kulishevski's assurances? That now the CPG was good? There are no bad communists? The CPG did this only as an enticement to put the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia in DAG uniforms?

Right after the CPY and CPG agreed on what to do regarding the continuation of the war in Greek Occupied Macedonia, Lazar Kulishevski, Secretary of the CPM Central Committee, invited the NOF Board, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, for a briefing during which Kulishevski said the following: "Now you go down there (in Greek occupied Macedonia). The CPG is now responsible for you. You must have faith in the CPG. Its policy on the Macedonian question is clear. Any questions that may surface will now be decided by the leadership of the CPG Party. Be careful not to splinter or stray from the Party. You are to work under its directives. You are to struggle and fight to strengthen your unity with the Greek people and fight hard with all your strength against chauvinism, separatism and localized tendencies." (Kiriazovski)

The question is: For what reasons did we enter the Greek Civil War and why?

It would be no exaggeration to say that of the 25, 000 fighters mobilized into the ranks of DAG, 50% were Macedonians, most of whom were forcibly mobilized. Looking at this in proportion, it means that half of the fighters came from the Greek population of 6 million and the other half came from the Macedonian population of no more than 300 thousand people. So in terms of percentages, the Greek population contributed 0.21% of its total population while the Macedonian population contributed 4.17 %, that ratio being 20 to 1. In the long term, throughout the entire Greek Civil War, the total Greek contribution amounted to 18-20 thousand fighters while the

Macedonian contribution amounted to 15-20 thousand fighters. The sum of the armed forces possessed by the Athens regime, on the other hand, was more than 300,000 soldiers belonging to all branches and armed with the latest weapons.

Let us also not forget that on March 1, 1947 - U.S. President Harry Truman announced the decision to proclaim the “Truman Doctrine” for engaging the U.S. in Greece. Greece was granted credit and advanced military equipment to equip its government army. At the same time Van Fleet, an American General anti-guerrilla specialist, was made available to the Greek government. (See: Todor Chepreganov, 1997/178.)

“... Immediately after the ‘Truman Doctrine’ was proclaimed, information services were established in Greece by FBI and OSS agents. An American military mission was also sent to Greece. Invited by the Greek government, representatives of the United States began to arrive in Greece in order to assist in the preservation and sovereignty of Greece as a nation. They were there unarmed with aims at regulating material assistance and providing advisory functions. Upon its arrival in Greece however, the American mission took over the most important headquarter functions in the army, navy and aviation as well as the organization and management of military operations, which were established to fight against the rebels...”

And as such, we Macedonians found ourselves in an environment full of accumulated hate, fanaticism and distrust, even by the CPG. The CPG did not trust us because NOF and AFZH were not only created by, until they were surrendered to the CPG, but they were also led by the CPY/CPM.

In the period after the American mission took over the military functions in Greece and before DAG was liquidated, the CPG was determined to do the Macedonian people as much harm as possible and, as the old saying goes, “to write their fate in the black pages of the red book”. This became obvious even for those who had already left their homeland. During this period of time the Macedonian people were fighting for survival and nothing more... they were told they had to fight if they wanted to live... and always under the

illusion that it was only a matter of time before they won... They only had one option in this horrid game they were playing... win!

There were many Macedonians, even some from the NOF leadership, who now were simple fighters with absolutely no authority and who still believed Zahariadis when he was telling them that DAG was going to win the war and that it was only a matter of time! They only stopped believing after Zahariadis accused the NOF leaders of losing the war, of being traitors and Tito's agents and after Zahariadis sentenced them to live out the rest of their lives in the Siberian camps... Initially Zahariadis wanted the NOF leaders executed but because they were on Albanian soil, the Albanian authorities would not allow it.

The Macedonian people, including the majority of the NOF leaders, were completely taken by this change of events and surprised and confused by the development of them being guilty of losing a war they did not lead? They were well aware of their duty which was to urge the Macedonian people to fight; i.e. to do as they were commanded by the Greek leadership, especially Zahriadis; and they did exactly what they were told! And now they were being accused of losing the war; especially after Zahariadis kept telling them that they were winning it? If they did not trust the Greeks, then they surely trusted the Yugoslavs who, only a short time ago, had passed them on to the CPG and told them to follow the CPG's lead because the CPG would look after their interests? Surely the Yugoslav's would not put them in a harmful position... at least not intentionally?

Here is what historian and author Lazarov had to say about the Yugoslavs: "... The Yugoslav leadership, during the Paris Peace Conference and afterwards, not only did not bring up the Macedonian National Question but, in the years that followed, in general it avoided! It did this in order to not disturb the smooth Yugoslav, i.e. Serbian-Greek relations."

So, every Macedonian who suffered in all this has the right to ask the questions: "Who led us and involved us in this deadly campaign? Whose foreign goals and policies were we fulfilling when we were

spilling our blood? Whose history were we writing? Who led us in the Greek Civil War and why did we fight in it?"

This was an intensive and exhaustive war that brought devastation to the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia. It was a war in which the Macedonian people fought heroically (for whatever reason)! So, why then is there no mention of this heroism or even of Macedonian participation in this war in the history of the world? Even in the history of the Greek Civil War, or the history of DAG, written by outsiders? Unfortunately the world was never made aware of the real intent of that war, or of Greece's true demography. As far as the world knew it was a war to oust the Greek communists out of Greece... and nothing more. And as far as the world knew, since 1928, Greece had declared itself homogeneous with 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks living within its borders... no Macedonians there...

The CPG Central Committee Politburo adopted an Informburo Resolution on June 30, 1948. The CPG Central Committee held its own Fourth Plenary Session on July 28 and 29, 1948.

Events that followed the Session, especially after the tangle of international circumstances with the introduction of the Informburo Resolution, had a very negative impact on the Macedonian people realizing their national rights and on the flexibility of forming their independent Macedonian state.

The CPM's Central Committee 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum was held in Skopje on April 19 and 20, 1949. See "Borba" published March 6, 1949. The CPM leadership strongly condemned the Greek communist call for a "United Macedonia" within a Balkan Federation because such a call, according to them, was "imperialistic", initiated by their "critics" who campaigned against Yugoslavia. They said that such a call "was initiated by the notorious Informburo in order to break up the unity of the Macedonian and other Yugoslav peoples, to separate the Republic of Macedonia from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to compromise socialist Yugoslavia".

The Informburo Resolution or conflict that arose between the Soviet (KPSS) and Yugoslav (CPY) Communist Parties in June 1948 was

an excellent example of how the Macedonian people became pawns of international politics. Although this conflict had nothing to do with the Macedonians, it had an extremely negative impact on the ranks of NOF and AFZH. All of a sudden there was new political stratification, new political rhetoric, new realignment problems, new opposition and new victims.

For the purpose of furthering his own ambitions, whatever they may have been, Zahariadis orchestrated the creation of a “Communist Party” for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. This party, even though completely dependent on the CPG, was named “KOEM” (Communist Party of the Aegean Macedonians).

One of KOEM’s main goals was to prevent “relationships” from developing between the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and those in Greek occupied Macedonia. In addition to creating “KOEM” and suspending all relations between the Macedonians, to make sure such relationships never developed again, Zahariadis instilled hatred in the Macedonians in one camp for the Macedonians in the other camp. Zahariadis made sure that the Macedonian National Question became an integral part of the Informburo’s anti-Yugoslav campaign in order to suspend and reverse all spiritual and political relations in existence between the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and those in Greek occupied Macedonia. As a result, the Macedonian struggle for national and social freedom was disoriented nationwide.

After Tito and Zahariadis made their Agreement part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, was transferred to Belgrade in order to represent the CPG abroad and to manage the flow of weapons and other supplies for the armed struggle in Greece. (See: Kiriazovski, “Macedonians and their relations with the CPG, 1945-1949” page 253.) For more information on this, including a complete list of equipment supplied to DAG, see “Danas” magazine published 03.06.1990, numbers 418, 419, and 420.

During the same Agreement made by Tito and Zahariadis, Tito also agreed to allow Mobilization of Macedonians inside Yugoslavia, i.e.

from those people who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves from the Greek terror.

September 27, 1947 – DAG Headquarters ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 17 to 35. With much intensity, over the course of 4 to 9 months, the Macedonian political refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia and were living in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola were also mobilized into DAG and shipped from Yugoslavia to the front in Greece, in trucks covered with tarps during the night. (See: F.M INI SK.4-271/60 p.73-76.)

There is clear confirmation that all these decisions were made without Macedonian presence or consent and that the Greek Civil War was intended to be fought in Greek occupied Macedonia. All this was decided at the Belgrade Plenum in September 1947 with no Macedonian representation!

Yet, after all these decisions were made, NOF was expected to accept all terms and conditions decided by Tito and Zahariadis without its presence or consent. Ironically, NOF agreed to all CPG demands and thus began to exhaust the Macedonian population to its maximum...

It is worth mentioning at this point, or more precisely answering the questions that many historians have asked: “Why did so many people die from the same villages in Greek occupied Macedonia?” In other words, “why did some Macedonian villages contribute so much more to the war effort than others?” Even though the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia numbered about 300,000, recruitment of fighters was not proportionally and evenly conducted. Most of the people that joined DAG voluntarily, or were forcibly recruited, came from the villages in what was called “free territories”, which basically covered Prespa Region and small parts of Lerin and Kostur Regions. Almost the entire young adult population (16 to 50) in these villages was involved in the war effort and many lost as much as 10% of their population; being killed in action or generally to death due to the war. After the front of the war was pushed in this region, most of these villages lost up to 90% of the population due to evictions by the Greek government. The Greek government refused to allow the civilian war refugees, who had fled

to Albania to save themselves, to return to their homes. Many villages were also bombed to dust.

Almost the entire civilian population that fled to Albania (as war refugees) to avoid being killed by the Greek bombs was exclusively Macedonian. Besides these people being driven out from their homes, the vast majority of the families were also separated with no knowledge if members of their families were dead or alive. People had no idea what was happening to them! Children were taken away and sent to East European countries. The majority of DAG fighters were sent to the Soviet Union and many of the civilians were sent to Yugoslavia, Poland and other East European countries.

And how did the foreign authorities involved in this tragedy try to explain the situation? On August 1, 1949 the newspaper “Pros ti Niki” (On to Victory), an organ of DAG General Staff, number 168, detailed the response made by the KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS leadership, that in Skopje, on July 29, 1949 a Conference was held in defense of the CPY. Attending the Conference were representatives of some 30,000 refugees from Aegean Macedonia, mostly the sons, brothers and sisters of the mobilized DAG fighters who had died in the battlefields of Gramos, Vicho and throughout Greece. Among other things, the Conference passed a Resolution that said that the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia will never forget the assistance received and will always preserve their eternal love and gratitude for the Yugoslav people headed by Marshal Tito. The Conference strongly condemned the CPG and slandered its leadership. In response to this Conference, the leaderships of KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS issued a statement which said: We the Macedonians will defend Comrade Zahariadis’s position and the views of the CPG leadership taken against Yugoslavia and its leadership, which is leading a treacherous policy and we will fight with the Greek Communists in a fair fight which the CPG and DAG will lead to free Greece from the Monarcho-Fascists. (See “Chronology of the National Liberation Struggle in Aegean Macedonia - (1945-1949)”, 1973.)

So, here again the CPG, or more precisely the Greek Left, has placed a wedge between the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia and those in the Republic of Macedonia. In addition to



that, the CPG, by putting words in the mouths of the puppet Macedonian leaders of the now completely defunct Macedonian organizations KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS, inferred that the families of those who died fighting for the CPG were actually traitors because they were supposedly supporting a “foreign” i.e. Yugoslav (non-Greek) position! Here again the Macedonians are turned into pawns in the deadly games the communists played!

All these things, done to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, need to be exposed in order for us to begin to understand, not only how we were directly manipulated to sacrifice ourselves but also to understand how we were used as pawns to serve the interests of greater foreign political games!

Historian Lazar Lazarov’s book, “Macedonia in French politics in the Balkans 1944-1957”, 1998, contains much factual material and important lessons for our future. This author stands apart from the historiographers who write only about what is supported by current politics and in line with what is acceptable to governments. This author has reminded us that our history must not be remembered by the actions taken by foreigners and strangers, or manipulated by ideological cronies. With remarkable dexterity he has revealed the double standard that has been hidden by the CPY in regards to its concerns and care for the Macedonian people.

What are the secret CIA documents saying?

According to secret CIA documents, the conflict between Stalin and Tito was about Tito not adhering to the idea that the Soviet leader did not want problems with the allies of America and England because of the Yalta agreement. So Tito continued to supply the communist rebels in Greece with weapons, equipment and officer corps to fight on the Greek partisan side. Stalin sent a letter to Tito criticizing him for opening the “Greek line” and for helping the Greek communists who started a fight that had no chance of success because Athens was supported by America, “the most powerful country in the world”.

From what has been said above it should be obvious to everyone that not only did the Macedonians have no chance of uniting

Macedonia because the West would not allow Greece to break up, but the communists in Greece had no chance of succeeding either! So why did Yugoslavia, against Stalin's advice, continue to support this campaign? Again, it is important to understand that events such as this war do not happen by chance, there is always a purpose to them and to understand that purpose we need to take look at the final outcome. There is no doubt here that the Macedonian people were lied to in order to get them involved in this war and eventually led, not to the victories they were promised but to their demise! Why? Because the powers to be did not want the presence of Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia... They wanted the Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia! And by doing what they did, the CPY and the CPG made that happen! They emptied Macedonia of its Macedonians! And what are the chances of that ever happening purely by chance alone? Very small... very small indeed!

What happened next? In June 1948 the Informburo published a resolution placing Yugoslavia in complete isolation from the socialist bloc.

CIA documents have also revealed that immediately after Yugoslavia was discharged by the Informbiro, Tito suspended aid to the communist resistance in Greece, even closed the borders. This was destined to end the civil war in Greece.

Now we can see how and by whom NOF and AFZH were ideologically instructed and blindly led to the gallows. And those who were left alive?! Well, they did not fair any better feeling guilty all their lives for what they had done and crying the blues in the far corners of the world where they were left to roam forever with no chance of ever returning to their ancestral homes for which they fought so hard to protect and preserve... They were not allowed to return home not even to light a candle at the graves of their dead... And our homeland; the mountains we roamed on which we spilled our blood? They are the tapestry, a historical stamp soaked in our blood that will remain unseen until it is forgotten...

What was this pseudo CPY concern all about? Here is what a senior official had to say: "In September, when the Parliamentary Yugoslav delegation visited Athens, a Greek journalist asked Mosh

Piade what he thought about the ‘Macedonian Question’, the answer given, according to Jean Belan, French Ambassador to Greece, was: ‘The Greek government is itself due to judge it (the Macedonian Question), which is purely an internal matter and every government should regulate such matters in accordance with their own processes’...” And we all know exactly what the Greek government thinks of the Macedonian Question and of the Macedonians... and how it judged them! Has anything changed since then? Has the manipulation of the Macedonians ended? No it has not! We are still being lied to and manipulated to this day...

The purpose of writing this and similar books is to inform our readers not only of our past but also to make them aware of the various methods of manipulation used to coerce us into doing things that we ordinarily would not do. Knowing the lies and tricks used against us in the past will help us identify them in the present. Our enemies, to this day, have not stopped manipulating us and our past to suit their agendas and to serve their interests. We have to become better at identifying these tactics and expose them. These are the traps that got us into trouble in the past which must be avoided in the future.

Leaving our ancestral homes was a national disaster!

Now about my book “(Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece” 1994. My attempts to “think differently”, to think outside of the usual totalitarian prescribed methodology, were not interpreted by Dr. Kiriazovski as a way of contributing to the promotion of freedom of intellectual thought, as I had intended. He and his kind saw my book as an attack against their totalitarian ideology that has always played the role of “master of the truth”! So, to counter my attempts, he wrote a 41 page report (with premeditated attempts to vilify me) and instead of publishing it, he distributed it among the “guards” of Aegean Macedonian history and instructed them to rewrite the entire passage and send it to the newspaper “Nova Makedonija” for publishing in the column under “letters to the editor”. This was Kiriazovski’s traditional method of responding to the “free thinkers” of our society. Some accepted blame. Some did not! As time has shown, not all people who can read and write are

necessarily literate. They are just not illiterate. Real literacy needs a lot more work and effort!

The material written by Kiriazovski was archived on April 8, 1994 under the title “Memoirs” no. SK. 1118, in the INI Department of Documentation.

In the “Macedonian Sun” FORUM magazine, dated December 14, 2001, Kiriazovski himself wrote the following about my book “Ideological activism over the Macedonians under Greece” (2000):

“According to S. Kochov, the current Macedonian historiography is servile, biased and submissive to Belgrade’s line of daily politics... Who motivated Kochov to want to answer the question of who is to blame for the Greek Civil War and who is guilty of the severe consequences that befell the Macedonian people?”

...Mr. S. Kochov argues that the Greek Civil War was neither a revolution nor a continuation of the famous Ilinden Uprising and that the Organization NOF enslaved the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia and surrendered them to the CPG and the CPY, where they served the CPG and CPY’s alien anti-Macedonian interests.

...If the organization NOF played a role as described by Mr. Kochov, then the leadership of NOF is a direct accomplice and responsible for the tragic consequences of the Macedonian people, therefore, according to him, it can not be amnestied or forgiven...

...Kochov accuses Macedonian historiography of not being an integrated study of the history of the Macedonian people and that it is an example unique to us (Macedonian phenomenon), which is not quite true.”

This is what historian Kiriazovski has accused me of having said in my book, which now he himself has recognized to be true and about which he has written in his last book. But I, even today, have a wide range of issues. One of the most dominant questions that dogs my mind is: “Do we have an integral Macedonian history?”

Why do I ask this question? Because, whether we like it or not, we the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia had only one homeland and we lost it. So, how unfair would it be to admit to the truth and reveal the secret as to why we lost it? How is it in “our national interest” not to know the truth of what happened to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially when our Macedonian organizations were led by the CPY/CPM all throughout the Greek Civil War?

Who and what gave Kiriazovski the right to “politicize” and deprive “us” of our rights and privileges? By “us” I mean all those fighters who did not desert DAG and did not return to Yugoslavia until later.

I and many others stayed and fought until the war was over. After that, almost the entire military formation left Greece and was sent to the USSR. While we were in the USSR I went to school and had a great time learning. It was a happy period of my life which helped me to understand, to learn and to appreciate the people and things around me a lot more than I had before. The peace and tranquility gave me a chance to review what had happened to us and sort out all the evils that befell the Macedonian people and the Macedonian family. I was able to sort out all those “historic problems” that we Macedonians lived through. By then I was very happy to be returning to my homeland, the Republic of Macedonia. But, having to go to prison upon my return was incomprehensible?!... Now, I believe that it should be clear to everyone that we Macedonians suffered immensely because “Stalin and Tito were annoyed with each other!” If you can believe that!

And as the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky once said: “He who lies to himself can easily be offended.”

Any intelligent person could have figured out what Kiriazovski’s motives were and what he was trying to do. As a historian with an academic title he asked that my book “Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece” be evaluated under academic standards and declared academically “unfit” because it was written by a layman. To do that he organized a group of so-called “scientists”, people who, for half a century after our national defeat, still pretended to be Marxists and “revolutionaries”. But I knew that these people, along with

Kiriazovski, were nothing more than “deserters” from DAG who had fled to Yugoslavia to save their own necks. Kiriazovski wanted to discredit my book in order to defend his own books, particularly his books about the Macedonians under Greece.

But in the end how did all this help him? This reminded me of what the philosopher Socrates (469 p. n. e. 399 p. n. e.) said when he was asked: “What animal bites worst?” He replied: “From the wild kind the one that is annoyed the most and from the domestic kind the one which is a bootlicker.”

At every occasion, be it a “class hassle” or a pointless “ideological act”, these people as guardians of the “open mass grave” threw every self-conscious Macedonian into it. Everything was reduced to a dangerous division of the Macedonian national body.

It is a fact that “foreign ideologies” created and have always created parallel worlds and parallel historical events inside Macedonia and among us Macedonians.

We the participants of DAG, who have a historic memory of a long series of national defeats, now know this very well. But too bad we did not know it before the Greek Civil War and before DAG’s defeat. Had we known it, so many lives that were lost in vain could have been saved. We would have known the “tricks” used on NOF and AFZH who in turn, wittingly or unwittingly, tricked the “Macedonian people” to (self) sacrifice themselves for nothing and on top of that, to lose their homes, their lands and have their identity questioned by being called “Aegeans”.

I am thankful to the then political activists who opened my eyes; because of their activities it became clear to me that they were systematically working to destroy our national pride.

The most amusing part about the people in one of those groups was the way they spoke and referred to Macedonians like themselves calling them “Greeks” and “Yugoslavs”. Remember, these people were officials, part of the elite mainstream society. So, the question is, “Were they completely incompetent and totally uninformed? Or were they implanted with computer chips and programmed to

support ‘Greek’ and ‘Yugoslav’ interests inside Macedonia?” A large number of these people were on Gogol’s list of “Dead Souls” and this reminded me of what Bielinski wrote after reading the “Dead Souls” by Gogol: “Lord, why is our truth so depressing, miserable and sad”?! It is understandable that all these articles were promoted as “a well-known model” of our past, with predetermined and premeditated thinking and with a narrow intellectual horizon. “What did they actually protect?” When asked, one said: “Our well-written history; the history of the Aegeans...”

After all the “ideological barking” I had received from them, I felt completely degraded, ruined and full of rage because I still could not find an answer, even in my own homeland; “Why was I and thousands of Macedonians like me sacrificed? Regardless of whether the Greek Civil War was “a revolution” or “fraud” – instigated by the CPY/CPM for some sort of plot, “did we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia have to be sacrificed? Did we have to experience genocide?” Why?

I was convinced that history, as a social science, must be a function of society and of free thought. And someday when that happens we will know what we are seeking to know, - the truth. There has always been a fear of history... History is true only when it is full of authentic facts and only authentic facts can remove the veil of darkness. We will know the truth when all those historical events that we experienced, pave the way into the future – with giant steps backwards.

But the question is: “Are we Macedonians simply incapable of self-criticism?”

This is not the first “horrible oblivion” that has engulfed Macedonia and swept the Macedonian people away. But please God, let it be the last! No more illusions and lies. But to achieve that, we need a radical Macedonian mentality change. Those who think they have a need to mislead and deceive – have a problem with themselves. Kiriazovski was one such person, who by his own actions proved it, when he issued his latest book outside of the INI national institution. What he said “before” and what he said “after” were two different

and contradictory things! By changing his mind, he proved that he was a deceiver!

The kind of historiography written about us, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia in the last 60 years, has shown itself to be most susceptible to politicization. And when it is “politically manipulated”, even with the most minute of deviations from reality, it produces unforeseeable consequences for the Macedonian people.

Our research has uncovered many of the “hidden” facts that other authors who have written history about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, have intentionally or unintentionally omitted. The “roots of evil” and “dark secrets” hidden for the last sixty years by the actors and perpetrators who set the “deadly trap” through ideological activism that led to the greatest deception of the century, are now slowly coming out. We will finally know why we experienced “genocide” and the largest migrations of Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia in Macedonia’s history!

Those who do not recognize or feel that the acts of genocide, perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia between 1945 and 1949, were a Macedonian tragedy will never be able to understand Greece’s fascist genocidal policy against the Macedonian people.

For that reason it is illusory to run away from fate, no matter how tragic or unfortunate it may be for us Macedonians.

History remembers both words and silence. The truth is in history. And with the truth on our side it is possible to build something real and lasting.

And why haven’t we built something “real and lasting” this far? Well, for that we have ourselves to blame. The time when we could blame “someone else” has passed. But now, since the Republic of Macedonia became an independent state we have no one to blame but ourselves for all of our mistakes. Being “masters of our own destiny” unfortunately has not taught us much; it has not stopped us from making mistakes, big mistakes that will have great consequences for years. The reasons that we still make mistakes lies



in our history, about which we have learned very little. Why? Because we allowed others, outsiders, to manipulate us, to tell us what to do, who we are and how we should feel!

We, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, have to admit that, for a long time, we have been under not only the physical but also the psychological “Greek thumb”. They have been filling our heads with lies and nonsense and we believed them; many still believe them; even some of those who now no longer live in Greece, still believe them. By doing this we are creating, we are writing our own tragic history!

What is our truth like?

Research has shown that we, the surviving Macedonians from the Greek Civil War and the survivors from all turbulent times in our history, have not been able to “shake off” our expectations and dependency on others, on outsiders, on strangers, on the CPY, on the CPG, etc., who don’t see us the way we see them. While they have proven to us that they want no part of and have attempted to “destroy us” at every opportunity, without self-respect we continue to play their games by their rules, sacrificing ourselves and dying for them. Why such false hopes? Why do we choose to live illusions? And for these reasons we allow our history to also be an illusion!

So why is this happening to the Macedonians? Why do we put our feet in their traps and our heads in their noose? Time and events have shown that the programs put in place by the CPY/CPM through NOF and AFZH to encourage a Macedonian mass participation in an “ideological and alien war” have destroyed the Macedonian nation and culture in Greek occupied Macedonia and have left the survivors stranded in alien lands with a half century old “blank stare”.

I hope you now appreciate why we need to understand what happened to us and why we need to know the “historic truth”, which has been hidden from us for more than a half century.

The following was the Left’s position after the Greek Civil War:

In September 1988, almost one year after the May 1987 Congress, CPG Secretary General Harilaos Florakis held a press conference in Solun with Greek and foreign journalists to openly explain the position he took at the Congress. In his answer to a journalist working for “Mesimvrini”, among other things, Florakis said: “On this occasion I would like to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!” (Vecher, November 5, 1988, page 9)

I remember this like it was said yesterday. During the 1950’s when I was in Tashkent, one of my fellow fighters, a brave fellow, nephew of an Ilinden fighter and son of a fighter from Kostur who was ruthlessly liquidated, said something. He said: “It is true that the Kostur fighters before us failed to create a Paradise in our Aegean Macedonia and because of that did NOF and AFZH have to create a hell there?”

Many secrets of the genocide committed against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia are hidden in the CPY/CPM archives and will remain there undiscovered along with the motives for creating NOF and AFZH in Skopje on April 23, 1945, by the CPY/CPM leadership (Tito, Kolarishevski and Mitrevski), the people responsible for putting the noose around our necks.

We all know that Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 into three pieces. We all know that two of the three pieces failed to liberate themselves. We also all know that one part survived and did liberate itself, first as a Republic within a federal state and then as an Independent State. Therefore, we should also be aware that all Greek attempts and efforts to “entirely destroy” Macedonia have failed - the Republic of Macedonia is alive and well.

This, however, is also a good place to mention that even though Greece has failed to destroy Macedonia, it does not mean that it has given up; hence the so-called fabricated “name dispute”! Greece has not stopped and will not stop doing what it started in 1913. Greece, over the last 60 years, has tried very hard, by any means possible, to suppress the Macedonian name, identity and language not only inside Greece but also outside, even in the Republic of Macedonia. The Interim Agreement Greece signed with Macedonia for alleged

Macedonian security threats is only a front for hiding what it has done and is still doing to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. All these “constitutional changes”, “flag changes”, “temporary name”, etc. are just stumbling blocks and curtains to veil the Macedonian “problem” inside Greece; the land confiscations, the terror, the murders, the deprivation of rights, the exiling of hundreds of thousands of Macedonian people and the “genocide” perpetrated against the Macedonian culture and nation!

I could stop here and leave the reader to ask their own questions and seek their own answers as to what happened to us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. But instead of doing that I prefer to present you with more evidence: facts and arguments that will lead you to understand why the Macedonian people experienced persecution, loss of their homes and lands, permanent exile and genocide during and after the Greek Civil War. Why did this happen to a peace-loving population?

Conclusion: Instead of a scream, there is silence about the genocide.

It is an undeniable fact that: It was after Greece fell under the Western Power sphere of influence, i.e. Great Britain, the United States of America and NATO, that the CPY/CPM undertook action to establish the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Skopje on April 23, 1945. It was during this time that the CPY/CPM decided to call on the unarmed Macedonian peasant to arm himself and start a rebellion against the Greek Government. This was not only “stupidity” but, as it turned out, a major “tragedy”.

It is an undeniable fact that: The CPY/CPM promised the Macedonian people that: “Yugoslavia was then the Centre of the Revolution in the Balkans and that the Macedonian question became a Yugoslav question.” This was not only a lie but a definitive death sentence for us, the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. There is no doubt that this was the formula for the “Final Solution of the Macedonian question.”

In other words the plan was: “To kill and expel the entire Macedonian population from Greece because the British did not

want to see any more Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia.”

There is also the other side of the story; what Greece did to achieve its aims in its role in exterminating the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Greece enacted a number of laws to make things nice and legal!

It enacted Decree “Z” on December 7, 1947, which stated that: “All persons abroad who express anti-national sentiments are to be stripped of their Greek citizenship.”

It enacted Decree “N” on January 20, 1948, which stated that: “The properties of those persons who participated in the ‘bandit’ war are to be confiscated.”

It enacted Law 2536/53 which dealt with: “The settlement and resettlement of border regions.”

It enacted Law 3958/1959 which dealt with “The property of the refugees.”

It enacted Law 660/1977 which dealt with “The reparation and ownership of refugees.”

And lastly the Greek government in 1985 enacted Law no.1540 making provision for the return of confiscated properties to political emigrants, read political refugees. The wording used in the legislation was again unjustly circumspect. It defines political emigrants for whom the law shall have application limited to those who are “Greeks by genus”. The term ‘Greek by genus’ is a term used by Greek authorities for all those who identify themselves as being ‘ethnic Greek’ (even though such a thing does not exist).

This is what Greece did to make sure the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia would never return to their ancestral homes... which means that after all these laws were enacted, with regards to our rights, we have been placed in a worse position than we were even before that dreadful war had started.

And to add insult to our injuries, when Markos returned to Greece, after the Greek Civil War had ended, he was welcomed with hugs by the Athens press at Athens airport as the Chief of Staff of the armed forces of Greece who fought in the Civil War. At that point a journalist from the weekly “Epikera” asked him a question alluding to the “struggle” and if it was worth it. Markos replied: “The sense was that the Slavo-Macedonians were driven out of the northern parts of Greece and that Macedonia remains Greek.” (See “Nova Makedonija”, February 25, 1992.)

This was said by Markos Vafiadis, the main culprit who led DAG during the so-called Greek Civil War and who contributed to this disaster in which so many lives were lost. He was a colonist from Asia Minor brought to Greek occupied Macedonia in 1927. His role in the war was to lead DAG as a General and, as he said “he fought to preserve Greece by driving the Macedonians out of their homeland”... This has been our fate so that the Christian Turkish colonists can have more of our lands and that Greece can live in the glory of knowing that Greek occupied Macedonia is only populated by “pure Greeks and Greeks by genus”... even though none of them are Greeks... But that does not matter! What matters is that they are not Macedonians!!

It is understandable why the so called Greeks wanted the Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia but it is still not clear why Tito and Yugoslavia wanted them out? What was Tito’s take in all this and why did he sell us out?

It is interesting to know what Tito thought when he spoke with Fitzroy McLean during a meeting. See: “Μελετες για τον εμφυλιο πολεμο (1945–1949)” (Analysis of the Civil War (1945-1949) p. 336/337, article by Jozse Pirjevichch. FO371/78716/R4691.

With the Tito-Stalin break and after the loss of the Greek Civil War.

“... The meeting that took place with Tito on May 5, 1949 was a prerequisite to McLean’s mission. It was a dinner meeting during which many issues and layers of issues were discussed concerning Yugoslavia and its position, i.e. relationship with the West. Some of these issues applied to Greece. Tito did not hide the fact that he was

of great help to the Andartes (DAG) in past years. But now the situation had changed and he said that Yugoslavia could not by itself refuse the right of asylum to political refugees. But those refugees were now kept deep inside the country and beyond the borders. It was understood that Tito could promise that in future he would not allow these people to return to Greece to resume fighting. And he would no longer provide any help to the Andartes (DAG). He also said that this information must not be revealed to the public because it would result in a very complex situation..." FO371/78716/R4691.

Tito's promise about this was kept top secret. No one was allowed to know about it because it would have damaged the Yugoslav Marshal's reputation.

### THE CPG DID NOT BRING CHANGE, IT BROUGHT ORGANIZED GENOCIDE

For more than half a century the Macedonian people were told that they were to blame for their actions and for what happened in their past. It was most unfortunate that, for all that time, they kept silent and never considered the possibility that someone else could have been guilty of the things they were blamed of doing.

It is time for historians to start telling the truth and stop blaming the Macedonian people for the malicious acts committed against them during the dreadful Greek Civil War. It is time for historians, self-nominated strategists, politicians and various ideological dupes, the likes of Variasov, who have no sense of respect for the thousands of victims that lost their lives in the battlefields, to stop idolizing the War and calling it a Macedonian Revolution. They should stop telling us that we need to respect Zahariadis's Testament otherwise known as the "Communist Pledge" for a "United Macedonia", which was nothing more than a ruse to draw us into the communist camp so that we would be wiped out to the last one! The Greeks understand why Zahariadis did this! Why can't some Macedonians? Why are they still beating the communist drum and asking us to respect someone who tried to destroy us... to the last one?

Greece did not want a United Macedonia; the Western world did not want Greece to be broken up; Stalin did not want a Greek Civil

War... But Zahariadis kept promising things that he could not possibly deliver. This is the biggest example that showed that we were duped! But there is more...

There was also NOF and the other Macedonian organizations which were created, not by the Macedonian people but by foreign hands. But, irrespective of that, none of these organizations were allowed to function freely and work for the interest of the Macedonian people. They were tools designed to dupe the Macedonian people into becoming involved in this dreadful War and nothing more! It was well known how the Greeks treated these organizations all during the War: "Make good promises to them but also carry a long stick!" They were turned into drummer boys and girls and used to bring the Greeks, human Macedonian bodies and military supplies. The Macedonian organization had little chance of operating freely because they were caught between two powerful communist parties, the CPY and the CPG, and even less chance of serving the Macedonian people's interests. Unfortunately the Macedonian people could only see the puppets in front of them and very few saw the strings and the hands of the puppeteers that made them perform. The end result, the people were marched, 90% of them being forcibly mobilized, to their "liberty or death" in this so-called "Holy War", or as some call it to "the Socialist Revolution", while being whispered in their ears that they were fighting for a "United Macedonia"!

Also, please let us not call this "genocide" a Greek Civil War! Call it for what it was: "A perpetrated war designed to permanently evict the Macedonian people out of Greek occupied Macedonia!"

And where is the proof of this? Take a look at what the British were recommending and how events eventually turned out!

"British Ambassador to Athens, Mr. R.A. Leeper, back in November 1944 toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote "... and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a

practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.” (5a) (See: FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R 20431/1009/67.)

Yes. During the war and during the half century after the war we never asked: “Why did Britain and the United States support the Greek injustices perpetrated against Macedonia and the Macedonian people?”

Does the reader still think that it was by “accident” that the Macedonian people were evicted from Greek occupied Macedonia in 1949 when Britain was “thinking” of this in 1944? Even before the so-called Greek Civil War was started? Or was the Greek Civil War part of this plan all along to get rid of those Macedonians?!

This has been kept a secret now for more than half a century, during which time the Macedonian people bore the full guilt when it should have been “someone else”!

But that’s not all! The Macedonian people were humiliated, hated and lost their homes. They were evicted from their fatherland with no hope of ever returning! On top of that many lost their lives and many others were separated from their families for many years. They were made to fear their own history and to prove their own heritage.

And then we have “bona fide” historians like Kiriazovski who, for 50 years, made sure the interests of the CPY and CPG were well looked after by writing a history that complemented them for their “support” and “protection” of the Macedonian people. He even complemented the idea of “Macedonians and Greeks fighting together and bleeding for a common ideal.” Let me see now, what did the Macedonian get for their troubles? They were exiled from their homes and brought to the brink of extinction in their own ancestral homeland! And what did the Greeks get? Well, they got to keep our Macedonia without us in it! And who made this possible Mr. Kiriazovski? The CPY and the CPG for starters, the same organizations you spent your lifetime defending!



If we are to believe historian Kiriazovski that NOF and the other Macedonian organizations were working together with the CPG for our “common cause” and that the CPG “cared” about the Macedonian people and looked after their interests, then we need to ask: “Why did the CPG, without exception, put stumbling blocks in front of these Macedonian organizations at every opportunity and why did the CPG demand harsh laws be passed to deal with them?”

Now let us have a look at the facts as presented to us by the “Zora” (Dawn) newspaper in Sobotsko, published in “Nova Makedonija” on April 8, 1995, which, without a doubt, show that Macedonian people still live in our ancestral homes and are currently struggling for our survival as Macedonians. What does the CPG have to say about that?

In part the article said: “Regarding a meeting that took place between David Shuler, US Vice-Consul to Thessalonica and the heads of the Rainbow Party in Florina, the CPG District Committee for Florina issued a statement which condemned the US for destabilizing the Balkans with their imperial policy of ‘divide and conquer’...”

Was this not the same CPG Party that, historically not too long ago, promised the Macedonian people “equal rights”, “self-determination” and even a “United Macedonia” in order to secure their participation in the Greek Civil War? The CPG must have known that such promises also carry consequences... Now the same CPG, years later, is denying the existence of Macedonians... Is this not inhuman... and criminal?

Further on the document said: “At the end here is a characteristic document from the minorities to remind the CPG of the time when it was a revolutionary Party. When it organized and led minority organizations of every minority, be they Macedonians, Turks, Albanians, Jews and others. Is it not the same CPG Party that awakened the antifascist forces in the people? And in the chapter about the Macedonian Question and how the government forces were treating the Macedonians, did it not say: ‘... the tyrannical policy and terrorist suffocation of the rights of national minorities

living in Greece is most inhuman, and in that first row are the Macedonians...? This ‘unlimited defense policy’ on the part of the CPG regarding the rights of the Macedonian people was deemed ‘national treason’ in those days...” (Sixth Congress Decision, 1935, “Communist Review” No. 2.3/1936.)

If today the CPG leadership does not have the courage to stand up for the “rights” of the Macedonian people, it should not talk about rights and it should not entangle itself in the “most inhumane terrorist suppression of the rights of national minorities living in Greece of which the Macedonians stand in the first row...”

It would be good to remind today’s communists of the following: An article entitled “The truth about the Slavo-Macedonians” was published on July 8, 1945, in the newspaper “Rizospastis”, the CPG Central Committee’s organ, in which, among other things, it was said that the Macedonian nation has its own customs, personality and history and its national awareness is quite developed.”

This is further evidence that the CPG not only has admitted that Macedonians exist but gave the world proof of their existence inside Greece as a unique nation. What is peculiar about all this is that today the CPG says Macedonians do not exist and has taken either the amnesia route about its past or it claims that “it is not the same CPG”.

But the CPG is not the only entity that has “skewed” history to fit the present. Our own historiography, the type written in the past and taught to our children through the educational system has encouraged us to “take responsibility” for what had happened during the Greek Civil War because, according to this history, “NOF was the leader of the political and military situation” in that war; with regards to the Macedonian people. This history, or should I say this kind of history, completely overlooks the fact that this war was nothing but a genocidal war to “get rid” of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia! Finally, this would be an appropriate place to pose these questions: “Why would Macedonian historians be willing to write such a skewed version of our history which blames our own people of wrongdoing when clearly “others” were responsible for their actions? Why would these historians

protect the CPM when it clearly did nothing to stop the sacrifice of its own people? And, was the CPM a “bridge” between the CPY and the CPG?”

Here is why historians must not remain silent and sometimes, at least on some occasion, need to say something like the following that was said in an interview taken from the weekly “Start” magazine, year 2, number 62, page 21, authored by Iovan Pavlovski. The interview entitled “A pure heart and a clear conscience” was conducted with Kolishevski.

“Start”: “Speaking of Rankovich: His name is closely associated with the assistance Yugoslavia provided the Greek partisans after World War II ended in 1945. And it is well-known that many of those partisans were Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.”

Kolishevski: “This bit of information comes from authentic sources. Perhaps made public for the first time here, so I want to say that we worked hard for the survival of the Aegean Macedonians, who were threatened with eviction, so we advocated there, in Aegean Macedonia, to form party organizations and partisan detachments together with Rankovich and several generals, and we accomplished those tasks with ultimate discretion. Yes, we established Provincial Committees and armed formations to defend the villages in Aegean Macedonia. We supplied the partisans with weapons and received their wounded. We fed them, clothed them, armed them and transferred them in trucks to this side of the border when they were in trouble. Objectively, in 1946, they fought a war under very favourable conditions and we gave them more of what we, as guerrillas, did not have during the war. I will tell a little story, which I have not told anyone: In the first year after our victory Kidrich led the economic life of Yugoslavia, and the people in this country were fed through his framework. He was an excellent mathematician and kept track of the food in Macedonia. We gave any excess we managed to get to the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia. Kidrich was known to get mad at my constant demands for food, and when he was angry he was known to say: ‘Please Lazo, how many Macedonians do you have in Macedonia?!’ I was upset over this so I asked Rankovich to tell Kidrich our secret. Rankovich agreed. And when Rankovich told Kidrich what all this was about, i.e. the extra

food was for the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia, he laughed and decided to keep our secret safe. The group that supplied arms to the Macedonian and Greek partisans was led by General Iovo Kapichich...”

Spheres of influence:

Here is what Churchill wrote in his memoirs about the Balkans: We arrived in Moscow in the late hours of October 9, 1944. We had our first significant meeting and counseling in the Kremlin the next day, October 10. Attending the meeting were Stalin, Molotov, Eden and myself. The Majors Boris and Popov performed the translations... An agreement was reached on the division of spheres of influence. Under this deal, Greece was entirely left to the British sphere of influence with rights, if necessary, at any time to be able to intervene with all possible means.

Degree of influence as agreed:

Romania, Russia 90% Other 10%  
Yugoslavia, Russia 50% Other 50%  
Hungary, Russia 50% Other 50%  
Bulgaria, Russia 75% Other 25%  
Greece, Russia 10% Other 90%

# FACTS AND ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN WARRIORS IN DAG

## 4.0 CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS - GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949)

4.1 Official diary of the Diversionary Brigade General Headquarters in which I served.

4.2 Sources: CPG and the Macedonian National Question (August 19, 1974)

4.3 Macedonia archives and attached bibliography.

Here is how and why our blood was spilled in support of the false ideological activism conducted by the CPG, CPY and CPM and assisted by NOF and AFZH...

February 12, 1945: The Varkiza Agreement was signed in a resort located near Athens. The Agreement was signed by the leadership of the resistance movement, i.e. the CPG and EAM on one side and the Plastiras government and British General Scobey on the other. With that Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the Right.

Note: Only one person, Aris Velouhiots, from the CPG leadership did not accept the Agreement because he saw it as capitulation of the resistance movement. On June 25, 1945 he was found dead on Mount Pind. It was later confirmed in Greece that he was assassinated on orders from someone in the top CPG leadership.

April 23, 1945: The Macedonian Organization "National Liberation Front" or NOF, responsible for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, was formed in Skopje in the CPM Central Committee premises. As part of this organization AFZH and NOMS were also formed. From the day it was formed to the day it was handed over to the CPG as part of the so-called "brotherhood and unity" formation, NOF acted under CPM/CPY directives. After that it was placed under CPG command until it was disbanded.

April 26, 1945: Speaking to the New York Times, Tito said: “If the Macedonians from the Greek regions express desire to unite with the other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes.”

June 20, 1945: NOF for Voden Region held a regional conference at a place near the city Voden. The conference was attended by 125 city and countryside delegates. Pavle Rakovski, member of the top NOF leadership, presented a report outlining the ideological content and form of the struggle. Vangel Ainovski – Oche, NOF Trustee and District Secretary reported on the organization’s financial status. The delegates, among other things, called for the liquidation of the rural guards causing terror in the countryside. (Nova Makedonija, /94.)

June 28, 1945: The CPG Central Committee, during its 10<sup>th</sup> Plenum, made the following decision: “NOF with its rapid promotion of its military formations is dangerously threatening the Greek character of Macedonia. It is threatening Greek interests and the territorial integrity of the Greek state.”

June 29, 1945: A Decree denouncing NOF was issued by members of the CPG District Committee for Voden Region and by the people of Voden Region.

1945: Law 543/45 was passed by the Greek legislature against the organization NOF, AFZH and NOMS. I.e. “Against NOF and all persons working for the secession of Greek territories.”

July 7, 1945: Law number 453 and Law TOD:/45 “For order, peace and justice” were passed to ensure public safety.

July 18, 1945: Law KZ 43: “Against autonomist activities” was passed with which the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared autonomist, placed outside of the law and their members were declared criminals to be caught and tried for high treason.

July 20, 1945: Law (KZ) 4124: “Prosecution of suspected persons” was passed.

July 20, 1945: Decree “G” and other laws: PZ 433/45 “For illegal possession of weapons”, PZ 753/45 “For illegal possession and use of arms”, “For extraordinary measures for public safety” were passed.

December 16, 1945: The trial to prosecute 106 Macedonians, accused of collaborating with the occupiers from the town Rupishcha in Kostur Region, began in Kostur. This was done in spite of the fact that these people were ELAS fighters and fought against the occupiers. Many were sentenced to life in prison the rest were given shorter sentences.

January 13, 1946: The newspaper “Rizospastis”, in defense of the Macedonians who were terribly persecuted, harassed and mistreated, said: “...this is the greatest and most dreadful persecution ever heard of in modern Greek history...”

February 12, 1946: The CPG Central Committee held a Plenum in Athens during which a decision was made not to take part in the parliamentary elections and to start the uprising (which later became known as the Greek Civil War).

March 31, 1946: The uprising was started by one of the most characteristic acts performed by the partisans, which was to attack the village Litochoro, in which 23 government soldiers were killed. This, as one of the first major acts performed in the Greek history of DAG, was accepted as the beginning of the Greek Civil War.

April 2, 1946: CPG General Secretary Zahariadis, after returning from Moscow, went to Belgrade where he met with Marshal Tito and discussed his decision to initiate an armed struggle against the Right in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised to supply him with moral and material aid. This meeting was arranged to also accomplish the following:

1. Place the Macedonian national liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF, which as of April 1945 was under the leadership of the CPY-CPM, under the CPG.

2. Transfer part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of managing supplies for the armed struggle and representing the CPG abroad. I.e. to take care of supplying the partisans with weapons, clothing, food and other materials.

3. To organize recruitment of fighters from the Republic of Macedonia, more specifically from the so-called Greek political emigrants who fled Yugoslavia. To organize hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG fighters and for Yugoslavia to take on the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance for DAG from other countries.

April 4, 1946 – The Solun right wing newspaper “Nea Alithia” (New Truth) published an article entitled “Our Sudetenland, speaking about the Macedonians who qualify as Sudetenland-ers and as such” writes the newspaper “in the interest of peace and security in Greece, they should be liquidated...”

May 4, 1946: The First Macedonian Detachment was formed at the “Trsie-Turie” mountains in Lerin Region. The detachment was led by Petre Markov from the village Neret, Lerin Region.

May 21, 1946: The newspaper “Ethnikos Kirikas” wrote: “Greece should soon expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians.” The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper “Eleftheros Typos” on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: “Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia - let them go wherever they want to go.”

July 27, 1946: A military court sentenced to death and executed Mirka (Irina) Ginova, a school teacher from the village Rosilovo, Voden Region. She was secretary of AFZH for Voden District.

August 24, 1946: Based on prior agreements between Tito and Zahariadis, one part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis, was moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who was appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups, in June 1946 by Zahariadis, left Greece and moved to Belgrade. Here he received specific directives and promises of support from the CPG Politburo. In September 1946



Vafiadis returned to Greek occupied Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he established DAG Partisan Headquarters. On November 10, 1946 Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin to NOT expand the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly causing an international situation and that the CPG should focus more or less on its political struggle.

November 21, 1946: Based on decisions made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioannidis, soon after announced the following joint agreement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leaderships will now fall under CPG leadership and the Macedonian armed units will join DAG and fall under the leadership of General Markos.”

A short time after this CPY and CPG agreement, members of the NOF Board, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, were received by Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, who told them: “You now go down (to Aegean Macedonia) there. Your leader of the struggle will be the CPG. The CPG Line is clear. Have confidence in the CPG. Struggle with all your might against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies...”

December 27, 1946: An order, order number EP 13, from General Markos read: “As of today, all NOF Partisan Units are to be placed in the composition of DAG.”

February 12, 1947: The UK government informed the U.S. government that, for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947 it would stop helping Greece. The U.S. government agreed that it must inherit Great Britain’s role in Greece because otherwise Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence.

February 20, 1947: The U.S. and Greek governments signed an agreement in Athens. The U.S. government pledged to help Greece and as a result began to exercise American dominance over Greece, pushing the UK to the side.

DAG was receiving military equipment and assistance from Yugoslavia up until January 1, 1948. For the list of equipment

provided see Risto Kiriazovski's book entitled "The Macedonians and relations between the CPY and the CPG, 1945-1949" page 263. See "Review of military equipment other assistance received by DAG".

February 24, 1947: The King of Greece and the Greek government publicly called on DAG fighters to surrender. They were given a deadline up to March 15, 1947. If they were to surrender before the March 15<sup>th</sup> deadline their offenses committed against the State and against the people would be absolved and they could return to their homes.

March 1, 1947: U.S. President Harry Truman announced the decision to proclaim the "Truman Doctrine" for engaging the U.S. in Greece. Greece was granted credit and advanced military equipment to equip its government army. At the same time Van Fleet, an American General anti-guerrilla specialist, was made available to the Greek government.

With Van Fleet's strategy and tactics applied in the last battles fought in the Vicho and Gramos battlefields, DAG was defeated and ejected outside of Greece.

May 23, 1947: The newspaper "Nepokoren", organ of NOF, edited by Pavle Rakovski, published its first issue with about 500 copies.

September 15, 1947: The CPG's III Plenum was held from September 15 to 17 during which time military matters were discussed. The following slogan was coined: "All to arms, everything for victory!" It was also decided that a free territory be created at the Kozheni Plateau surrounded by the mountains Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

September 27, 1947: DAG General Headquarters issued a mobilization order to mobilize all men ages 17 to 35. A mobilization which took from 4 to 9 months was conducted, which included mobilizing people from the Macedonian refugees who had fled Greece and had gone to Yugoslavia. Places of mobilization outside of the Greek borders included Skopje, Veles, Shtip, Bitola and various other places in the Republic of Macedonia. All these people

were shipped out of Yugoslavia and sent to join DAG. (See: F.M in INI, SK. 4-271/60, p. 73-76.)

December 23, 1947: The Provisional Government of Greece was created on December 23, 1947 in accordance with the decisions made by the CPG's Central Committee Political Bureau. The seat of the provisional government was established in Prespa, in Asamati, located in the Peoples' Republic of Macedonia. The seat of the government was supposed to be established in Konitsa (as claimed by Secretary-General Zahariadis when he said "... If we take Konitsa our government will probably be recognized..."). But unfortunately, it did not happen! DAG units fought tough battles and sustained heavy losses in their attempt to take Konitsa, but to no avail. The arrival of members of the Provisional Greek Government in Prespa was accommodated by UDBA's Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Krstich, a Yugoslav National Army officer. Originally the provisional Greek government consisted of eight members: President Markos Vafiadis, Yannis Ioannidis, Petros Rousos, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, Petros Kokalis, Vassilis Bardzhiotas, Dimitrios Leonidas and Vlandas Stringos. Then, by decree, 25 people were promoted to the rank of DAG colonels. But neither in the government nor among these officers, who represented the military and political factor of DAG, was there a single Macedonian!

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was a one-party government exclusively composed of Greek communists. Despite the fact that 50% to 60%, or more, of the DAG fighters were Macedonians, not a single Macedonian was in charge! But according to the "false" history of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, NOF was a military and political factor. How was that even possible?

Note: The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece led by Markos was not recognized by any country, which means it was conducting illegal mobilizations, especially in the Republic of Macedonia.

NOF and AFZH remained silent on this "illegal" act.

January 13, 1948: American Lieutenant General James A. Van Fleet arrived in Greece in early 1948 and assumed command of IUSMARG. Van Fleet and his group began to work on a plan to liquidate DAG by a) Continuing with the population displacement from the villages close to the mountains which support DAG, b) Raising terror in the population by conducting military operations and other military actions.

January 13, 1948: NOF's 1st Congress was held in the V'mbel village church in Kostur Region during which it was concluded that more than 20,000 of the 25-28,000 DAG fighters in the entire country were Macedonians. This means that by 1948 8,000 fighters, at most, were Greeks i.e. of non-Macedonian origin.

February 24, 1948: The American Military Advisory and Programming Group led by General Van Fleet arrived in Greece. It was announced as the "high visit" to Athens.

March 15, 1948: The newspaper "Eksormisi", issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Greek Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated March 7, 1948 entitled "Parents and children appeal to the government". Further down the article it said: "From mid-February to March 5, 1948 parents from 59 villages from the free territory gave 4,784 children." The same newspaper carried an article on March 20, 1948 saying that the Interim Government decided to evacuate all the children up to age 14 to be sent to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland and, according to their data, the total count amounted to about 28,000 children.

April 28, 1948: An AFZH Congress, led by Evdokia Foteva – Vera, was held in the free territory of Vicho.

June 1, 1948: The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau made a decision to suspend Mihailo Keramitchiev, President of NOF, and Pascal Mitrevski, NOF Board Secretary, because they were alleged to have conducted an "unprincipled factionist struggle".

August 27, 1948: Sitting of the CPG Central Committee Politburo with an agenda:

a/ The struggle in Gramos called: “Epic of the Northern Pindus, political and military questions and decrees.”

b/ Removal of Markos Vafiadis as General and Leader of DAG due to illness and his departure for Moscow. (Note: Then, the system produced the term “ideologically crazy”, which grouped very smart and healthy people with the lunatics.)

c/ The New Military Council was to consist of:

1. Nikos Zahariadis - President and Supreme Commander of DAG.
2. Georgios Vonditsios - Head of military battles.
3. Vasilis Bardzhiotas - Political Commissar of General Headquarters.
4. Michos Vlandas - Responsible for military resources.
5. Leonidas Stringos - State Administration.

d/ Reorganization of General Headquarters by region and creating military divisions. Promotion of officers into DAG high military ranks.

Attachment: Order (August 27, 1948) - Taking into account the newly created situation on December 23, 1947 and DAG’s proposal.

Decisions:

1. Decision to reorganize the major district headquarters and to create divisions.
2. The divisions to be appointed as follows;

- I - Division: Thessaly
- II - Division: Rumely
- III - Division: Peloponnesus
- VIII - Division: Epirus
- IX - Division: Macedonia
- X - Division: Macedonia
- XI - Division: Macedonia

During the sitting of the Headquarters of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, August 27, 1948.

President and Minister of DAG's armed forces, General Markos.

November 15, 1948: The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau decided to suspend General Markos as Chief of DAG and member of the CPG Central Committee. By a special flight from Tirana, Markos was transferred to Moscow in March 1949.

November 23, 1948: DAG headquarters ordered the mobilization of Macedonian men and women ages 17 to 35 only in the Vicho area. Practically all Macedonians in Kostur and Lerin Regions were mobilized.

January 30-31, 1949: The CPG Central Committee held its 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum during which it coined the slogan "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation." And because of this the Central Committee of NOF convened its 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum on February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1949 and proclaimed its new principles for the future of the Macedonians in Greece.

February 9, 1949: As requested by Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was sent to Skopje to meet with NOF representatives who had deserted DAG and demanded that they recruit at least 300 new fighters from the refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves. Those demands were not met.

February 12, 1949: DAG units attacked in an attempt to enter the city Lerin. Their actions failed. Because of the poor coordination and strategy, the DAG units endured a catastrophic defeat. Around one thousand DAG soldiers died and were wounded.

March 7, 1949: The CPG Central Committee denied coining the slogan "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation." The CPG also denied accepting NOF's new program principles drafted during NOF's 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress on February 3, 1949. In March 1949 the Interim Government in Greece was overhauled.

March 27, 1949: A founding meeting was convened during which 163 communists, delegates of the 2nd NOF congress, were invited to participate and unanimously agreed to form their own Communist Party. In other words the Communist Party of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia - KOEM (56). This was to be a separate organization but part of the CPG. (This event was deemed as being the “high point” of the CPG’s care for the Macedonians, but we will leave it to history to determine how true that was...)

June 16, 1949: The AFZH women’s Executive Board, led by Evdokia Foteva - Vera, passed a resolution to induct Macedonian women en masse into the fighting force in defense of the Vicho frontline.

August 10-14, 1949: A Greek government offensive was initiated against DAG. A force of 60,000 Greek government troops commanded by General Van Fleet of the U.S.A., organized in 6 divisions from all branches of the military, with 200 tanks and armoured cars and with about 100 aircraft of all types, was unleashed on Mount Vicho. Opposing this force was commander Michos Vlandas of the resistance with 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. On August 15-16, 1949 DAG units retreated into Albania, but in the following days about 6,000 were transferred to reinforce the fighting in Mount Gramos.

At 04:30 hours a group of aircraft took off from Lerin airport, flew over Prespa and immediately began to shoot at anything that moved. They opened fierce machine-gun fire on the partisans that were fleeing towards the narrow road located between the Great and Small Prespa Lakes. One of the aircraft flew too low and crashed on the rocks in a flaming ball of fire.

The entire area was turned into a slaughterhouse with an unseen mass of civilian deaths. Both military and civilian personnel were shot at and the place was littered with bleeding, dead and wounded bodies.

DAG was defeated in the period during August 13 and 14 with 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured fighters. The Government side sustained only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. DAG

units retreated into Albania but in the following days about 6,000 were transferred to reinforce the fighting on Mount Gramos. This was the time when the slogan “Gramos will become the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascist government army” was coined.

August 24-29, 1949: During the night of August 29-30, government troops began a new campaign against Gramos. Again, commanded by U.S. General Van Fleet, this force was larger by three battalions than that of Vicho. Placed in charge, of the resistance side in Gramos and of Gramos DAG General headquarters, was General Georgios Vontisios-Gusias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from the battlefields of Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and the retreat for Albania began on August 30. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured, 650 wounded and about 400-450 voluntarily surrendered. Losses on the government side amounted to 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.

August 30, 1949: While the last battles in Gramos were still raging on, DAG General Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw claiming that their intended task was now completed. What intended tasks were they completing? With this DAG was declared liquidated and its units were ordered to go to Albania.

October 7, 1949: While stationed in the “Burrelli” locality in Albania, the CPG ordered the arrest of eleven NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders suspected of being spies and traitors. Based purely on speculation and innuendo the entire leadership was found guilty and on October 7, 1949, 11 members and one other activist were arrested and later sent to the prison camps in Siberia. The rest of the DAG fighters were sent to the Soviet Union under the CPG slogan “Με το οπλο παραποδα”.

September 16, 1950: Ioanis Sofianopulos, leader of the leftist liberals and former Foreign Minister of Greece, in a debate in the Greek Parliament, admitted that “there is a Macedonian minority in Greece but, according to international law, that minority does not exist and can not claim any protection because it did not prove itself to be loyal to the state in which it lives” on account of its mass participation in the Greek Civil War in the years 1945 to 1949. (See: “Dimokratikos Typos”, September 16, 1950)



November 5, 1988: In September 1988, almost one year after the May 1987 Congress, CPG Secretary General Harilaos Florakis held a press conference in Solun with Greek and foreign journalists to openly explain the position he took at the Congress. In his answer to a journalist working for “Mesimvrini”, among other things, Florakis said: “On this occasion I would like to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!” (Vecher, November 5, 1988, page 9)

### Withdrawal of the DAG units to Albania

On August 30, 1949, government troops attacked Western Gramos with all their military forces. The artillery and aviation alternately bombed DAG positions continuously. It was a hellish situation for DAG and its units. Unable to withstand the enormous pressure from the stronger opponent, DAG units began to leave Gramos in the evening of August 30, 1949, withdrawing to the territory of the Republic of Albania. This was literally the end of DAG’s military activity in the region.

The DAG 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Divisions withdrew to Bulgaria during September and October 1949. The last DAG remnants, located in the southern parts of Greece, withdrew in early 1950.

At this point it is important to say something about DAG and the National Government Army’s military strengths.

In May 1949 the National Army General Staff began preparation for a military strike against DAG. The operation was code named “Pirsos”.

The National Army military structures and numbers at that time were as follows:

150,000 regular soldiers,  
50,000 national defense forces,  
25,000 gendarmerie forces,  
7,500 police,  
50,000 special units,

14,300 navy,  
7,500 aviation.

Thus, the sum of the armed forces possessed by the Athens regime was more than 300,000. The military forces possessed by DAG numbered no more than 25,000 soldiers.

These are confirmed by the following sources:

1. Tassos Vurnas, p. 159-160; During the fall of 1948 the DAG military force numbered about 18,000 fighters;
2. Vassilis Bardzhiotas, as a second person of importance in DAG, wrote that by the end of 1949 the DAG force had grown to 30,000 fighters;
3. The newspaper “Neos kozmos”, 1950, p. 624, 637; wrote that the total number of DAG fighters during 1948-1949 was about 25,000;

The Athenian Regime’s large and well-equipped military formation was too much for the DAG partisans to resist during the August 28-30 offensive, so they fled to Albania.

On September 30<sup>th</sup> Ioanidis Ioannis officially asked Stalin to provide DAG and the CPG two bases, one in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not provide one in Albania.

For more information see the book: “ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ (1945–1949)”;

“Before 1947, 90% of the DAG fighters were forcibly mobilized, the rest were volunteers. After that, right up to the end of the Greek Civil War, there was no confirmation of any fighters volunteering.”

The question is: Under the circumstances stated above, how can we Macedonians realistically call this Civil War, a “revolution” or an extension of the famous Macedonian “Ilinden Uprising”? What part of it qualifies to be called a “Macedonian revolution”?

At the end, after we examine all the assembled facts and arguments, it should become clear to us that the final outcome of what the Macedonian warrior experienced in the history of DAG can only be described as “genocide”.

We Macedonians sacrificed a lot and gained nothing. But in all this, I would like to take the opportunity to mention a couple of names; a man and a woman who were my comrades and who bravely and heroically died in battle believing that they were fighting for the Macedonian cause and for the benefit of all Macedonians. They were Kosta Solev – Sulio, born in the village Chereshnitsa and Tina Andreevna - Tsveta born in the village Mokreni. Tina was a fearless Macedonian and a brave fighter who fought in the ranks of DAG and died in the mountains above the village Turie. Tina was the granddaughter of the Voivoda (leader) Nikola Andreev who fought in the Ilinden Uprising. Kosta Solev – Sulio was a decent man and a great Macedonian patriot.

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Perhaps all of this, all of what has happened to us Macedonians, can be explained by the old Latin saying that: “At certain times, there are situations where a great deal of national resources are spent, from which the nation has very little to gain!”

## 5.0 Epilogue

Dark secrets of the past and the outcome of events due to the fatal appearance of the organizations NOF and AFZH.

Who and how were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia led in the Greek Civil War? More importantly, had we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia not entered the Greek Civil War after World War II, as organized by NOF, would we have had a historic chance to solve the Macedonian Question in Greece? Was entering the Greek Civil War a historically tragic mistake for the Macedonian people? Was the Greek Civil War merely a vehicle to just “get rid of us” or was it to also “prevent us” from achieving our human and national rights in Greece just like our compatriots did in the Republic of Macedonia? Who actually

mobilized us and with what strategic goals was NOF formed that led us to an armed struggle? Why did we reject the alternative to fight for our rights by legal and peaceful means while staying put in our homes and lands? Why were we armed and taken to the mountains even before the Greek Civil War had started? Was the option of arming ourselves and starting an armed resistance our idea or was it organized by outside “ideological activists” and we just simply carried out their strategic goals without questioning them? And why have we been silent for more than half a century now, was it, unbeknown to us, to protect the perpetrators who did this to us... who led us to genocide? Given the world circumstances, after World War II, did we as a people, ever consider if we actually had the intellectual, political and military capability to “fight for our rights” as we did and at the same time protect the Macedonian population and preserve the integrity of our homes and lands in Greek occupied Macedonia? Did we not understand that after the Great Powers divided the world into “spheres of influence” their attitude was a policy of “status quo”? Did we not realize that an international border, guarded by the opposing camps, was running between Yugoslavia and Greece and dividing the same Macedonia we wanted to unite?

We saw how, at one point in time, the British expressed a desire to “move the ethnic Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia” and send them somewhere north of the Greek border. Could NOF have been created and given strategic goals to accomplish just that? Was this a means of preserving the “Iron Curtain” between the two camps? Anything that is possible must not be ruled out! We must not allow this analysis to take the old path taken by our so-called “guards of the history of the Aegean Macedonians” who declared that the Macedonians “had no other choice” and that “no other scenarios were possible”.

Another question that comes to mind is “If the Greek Civil War was truly a civil war of “Greeks fighting against Greeks” then why was this war not located in all parts of Greece! Why were the Macedonians, through NOF and AFZH, specifically targeted and coerced to pick up guns and start fighting? Why were the CPM and CPY involved in “someone else’s” war?

I have asked these kinds of questions in the past which, I must say, have struck “raw nerves” with some people. Difficult as they may be these questions not only need to be asked but they need to be answered in order for us to face our demons, unlock the secrets of our past and move on in life. Our history needs to be corrected to reflect the reality of what truly happened to us and not to protect the perpetrators of our genocide!

For the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, memories of the Greek Civil War are murky at best and historical records are scant. Almost everything that has been written about us was written by the victors, our enemies, and is cloaked in lies, deception and politically correct propaganda. Some sources, especially western sources, go as far as saying that we do not exist, so how could we possibly have been involved in this conflict? The facts however speak differently, we do exist and our understanding of our own history is very much different than that written by the victors. Many crimes were committed against our people before, during and after the Greek Civil War, which are now cloaked in lies and deceit. Our lands in the fourth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century became a wasteland and we were given a one-way ticket out of our ancestral homeland. Those are the facts! So, who are we to blame for that? Again I must emphasize our primary and only contacts during this fiasco were our NOF and AFZH activists who got us involved in the war in the first place. Then we have the CPY/CPM principally led by Tito and the CPG led by Zahariadis, behind which stood Stalin. On the other side of the conflict we have the Greek government, behind which stood Britain and the United States of America, who made no secret of their hatred of us because we were involved in the insane ideological war.

The most dangerous and biggest error we Macedonians made was that we had no grasp of our obligations towards the fate of Greek occupied Macedonia and we did not refine our struggle to help us survive and protect our deep family roots which are a confirmation of our identity.

Exactly for these and many other reasons (intentionally premeditated by shady authors in the ranks of the Greek Civil War

and by official Macedonian historiography) the Greek Civil War remains a mystery and a delicate phenomenon to explain.

Six decades of searching for the truth, of interpreting military and political issues and of sifting through problematic Greek history regarding the Macedonians has made me very bitter. I don't hate anyone, I don't hate any nation but I will not allow others, especially foreigners, to walk over the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. It is a great injustice. We Macedonians in our long period of struggling; the Ilinden Uprising, World War I, the Greek-Turkish War, World War II and the Greek Civil War, were exploited to the max by foreigners. I especially want to emphasize what I personally witnessed; the ruthlessness, the insolence and the ideological manipulation of our people by the Greek government and by the left of both the CPY and the CPG.

My aim here is not to insult and offend the authors who wrote about that "conflict", referring to it as "a revolution" and to the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia as "a political and military factor" in that revolution. (The same authors now shyly call that same "conflict" the "Greek Civil War", emphasizing that it was not a "Macedonian War", as did Academic Ivan Katardziev in the newspaper "Nezaborav" published in March 2010.)

As I have done in my previous books, my aim here is to try and conduct a serious analysis of our history. I want to uncover the flaws in the arguments presented to us in the last six decades when we were discouraged from talking about our history, our memories, our emotions and about the tragedy and genocide our people experienced.

Regardless of who said what and what was written by our historiographers, we all must admit that what happened to us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War was no less than a catastrophe! It was an evil catastrophic scenario where the Macedonian people were pressured to take sides. Indecision and hesitation were frowned upon as ideological activists of the popular front, more often than not, used tactics like "If you are not with us then you are against us and with the fascists!", which forced people to commit against their will in order to avoid

problems and survive. In these unclear dim times full of ambiguity, old and new fears surfaced and made the people ripe for irrationality. This ambiguity gave rise to confusion especially about the unification of Macedonia, the Balkan Federation, Autonomy and eventually secession... which combined with the urgency to “act now before it’s too late” drove people to act irrationally and without thinking. Of course all this was not a coincidence or took place by accident; it was purposely perpetrated to motivate the people to act without thinking and to stay ignorant of the consequences of their actions. Most confusing of all were the promises made of what socialism was going to deliver in the future. Obviously what was offered was not only unrealistic but half true. The peasants were offered “better” lives but it was not explained to them “who was going to work” to make their lives better and how they would be better off working for the government instead of for themselves. The arguments offered to them were academic, pipe dreams at best... but they did not know that... none of them had any experience living in a socialist system and no one told them that they would be the ones who would have to work to support such a system. This means that all these “explanations” offered were not learned from experience. They were learned from outsiders and strangers who had told the NOF agitators what to say. But the Macedonian people had no reason to “doubt” the people of NOF because they were Macedonians and who better to look after Macedonian interests than the Macedonians themselves? Right?

The Macedonian people should have known better; that things don’t come easy to them, especially about Macedonia, and that strangers and outsiders cannot be trusted. Our history is full of examples of betrayal by strangers.

Naturally, by allowing outsiders and strangers to guide us and lead us in a dangerous game such as the Greek Civil War, we put ourselves at their mercy and, as it turned out, they led us to our genocide!

After we surrendered ourselves to their will it was easy for them to place us in this cruel scenario in which we found ourselves - engaging the Right. Opening the door for the mass media to vilify us and giving Greek prosecutors and investigative authorities the

opportunity to accuse us of being criminals, traitors, adventurers, secessionists, crypto fascists, etc. The Greek government had been looking for opportunities to destroy us for years and the appearance of NOF, AFZH and NOMS gave them the opportunity to do it legally. We gave the Greeks the opening they needed in order to degrade and destroy the Macedonians, physically and spiritually, by enacting the laws: 4124/45; 753/45; 453/45; 43/45; TOD/45; Decree G/46 and others.

These laws and decrees, however, were enacted before the beginning of the Greek Civil War! These laws and decrees were passed in 1945. The Greek Civil War did not start until March 31, 1936!

NOF and the other Macedonian organizations were formed on April 23, 1945, not in Greece by the Macedonian people but in Yugoslavia by Yugoslav politicians. This means that Belgrade was responsible for the adoption of the “future solutions” for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

The tragedy about all this is that our historiography, up until recently, has been silent on the formation of NOF and has placed no responsibility on the part of the CPM/CPY regarding the greatest disaster the Macedonian people have ever experienced in recent history.

This, once again, confirms that there are still many secrets intentionally buried in the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia; a people who were permanently driven out of their ancestral homeland and led to experience genocide at the hands of the Greeks and their supporters.

What I find odd about all this is why did the Macedonian leadership think that the “Macedonian Question” could be solved by an armed conflict? Human rights are usually gained by political and by legal means. A person does not just pick up a gun and shoot at people when he or she wants his or her rights recognized? They simply follow the political and legal processes available to them... If you pick up a gun and start shooting at people you can be certain that you will get yourself killed...



And of course there is NOF and the other Macedonian organizations and how they were treated. As mentioned earlier, NOF was under the influence of the CPM/CPY from April 23, 1945 until November 21, 1946. Then, on November 21, 1946, at about the same time the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was formed, NOF was turned over to the CPG until it was disbanded on December 23, 1947. Even though NOF did everything the CPG asked of it, the Greek communists still demanded harsh laws be passed against all members of NOF. And in the end, those who served it well were labeled traitors and sent to the Siberian camps.

And let us not forget that NOF had no say in how it was shuffled from one communist hand to another and how its programs and goals were imposed on it by strangers and outsiders. For example, Ivan Karaivanov from the CPY and Ioanis Ioanidid from the CPG, on November 21, 1946, decided to change NOF's program goals. NOF's new program goals were to instruct the Macedonian people to fight together with the Greek people in an alliance. The Macedonian people were told that they now had to fight for their survival in order to "save themselves".

All the examples given above show one thing: that NOF was led with a big stick, first by the CPY and then by the CPG, with very little or no room to manoeuvre on its own. But after the Greek Civil War was over we are told, by our own historiographers no less, that NOF was an autonomous, strategic Macedonian factor with its own program goals.

If that were true, and if NOF was not led by the nose by foreigners and made to work for foreign interests, then I would like to know: "With what kind of assurances did NOF call on our people to join this 'revolution' as a continuation of our Ilinden Uprising?" What kind of ultimate effect did NOF think this "fraternal union" with the Greeks, a tactic instigated by strangers, would have on the Macedonian people both in Greece and in Yugoslavia? Did NOF foresee the problems that the Macedonian people would have if the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia followed the dictates of the CPG and the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia

followed CPY dictates while there was a verbal war raging between the two communist parties?

Did NOF consider that by following the CPG line it would infuriate the CPY and would turn Yugoslavia and all it had to offer the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia against it? Did NOF consider that by taking the side of the CPG, which was against the CPY, that it would benefit its arch enemy the Athens regime, the then legitimate authority of the Greek state? By disassociating themselves from the “supposed” protection from Yugoslavia, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia opened themselves for Greek cruelty and persecution of the ultimate kind - genocide!

No! NOF never acted like it considered any of the above because NOF was not a creation of the Macedonian people but an elite organization created by the CPM/CPY and as such it did the CPM/CPY’s bidding! And when it was passed from the CPY to the CPG it did the CPG’s bidding! If NOF had followed its own program directives it would not have had to change them midstream during the struggle... for no apparent reason! If NOF had acted independently it would not have had to be “passed on” from one communist hand to another!

NOF was simply “the tool” needed to mobilize the Macedonian people and to later be blamed for the catastrophe it caused. “All to arms and everything for victory!”

Yes, the people of NOF had a real role in this war but it was not the role we are led to believe by our historiography! The people of NOF did their heroic part magnificently and united the Macedonians in their struggle for their common good... which the people had no reason to doubt! The Macedonian people also had no doubt that the time for action was “now” because that’s what they were led to believe! Especially when the people of NOF spoke in the name of the people! And today we wonder why so many people from the same villages lost their lives in this struggle? Some villages lost as much as 10% of their population in this war because they were led to believe that they were fighting for their own interests... And who led them to believe this? NOF of course! And who led NOF... by

the nose...? The CPY and the CPG! And when NOF was no longer needed its membership was discarded in the ideological waste basket... More precisely, the top leadership of NOF was sent to the Siberian prison camps... and not on vacation!

There was also a “third period” for NOF which lasted from the time it was disbanded on December 23, 1947 until DAG was liquidated on August 30, 1949. This was the time when NOF accepted the program of the Interim Democratic Government of Greece, a government that was not recognized anywhere in the world. A self-recognized government desperate to continue the struggle by further committing the Macedonian people to war and by offering them: “Equal rights as national minorities and freedom to carry out national activities!” if they won the war. (See: AE: 179/47.)

Even if NOF wanted to be independent, and there is no reason why it wouldn't want to, both the CPY and the CPG carried big sticks. Those who had desires to stray from the CPY or CPG pre-prescribed path tended to disappear and were never seen or heard from again. So NOF closely followed the instructions given to it by the communist parties. And from what we found out from our research, there was also the carrot for those who “did as they were told”. The communists tended to reward those who were loyal to them with “Party perks” and “nice gestures”... for as long as they were useful. And of course when they were needed the most, these Parties invented new ways to keep them in line, like the CPG for example. When the CPG was in need of NOF it adopted the philosophical line: “... let them sleep for now and give them some attention to show that we care for them...” This, of course, was done intentionally in order to collectively silence the Macedonian consciousness. The communists also used other kinds of manipulation. Zahariadis was a master at creating mistrust between the various members of NOF... by telling one person what “bad things” another person had said about them and naming that person.

During this period of uncertainty the Macedonian people were played so well and so often that they had lost their sense of reality and had fallen into a state of exhaustion and despair. They lost many lives, they lost their children to the so-called “save the children program” and eventually they lost their homes and lands, the very

things they rose up and joined the struggle to protect... What was done to them was a disaster of national proportion... it left them scarred for life... They were made to feel guilty for what they had done, which threw them into a long silence... suffering in silence...

The “save the children program” or “pedomazoma” (children collection) as the Greeks called it, was another disaster that befell the Macedonian family.

“... Certainly one of those famous works referred to as rescue the children in conditions of war and all dangers and suffering. Both sides cannot ignore the human beliefs and arguments that the children were intentionally displaced. For the andartes (partisans) the children were considered a future human source to supply the military service. Since March 1949, UNSCOB had received many notifications and complaints that the children taken away were forced by the andartes to return to fight in their ranks. In 1948 there were expectations that the war was going to last a long time and the children would be needed for future recruitments. There were also numerous reports and credible evidence that many of these children were already returned to Greece to fight.” Lars Boerentzen.

Unfortunately the “real reasons” or the “whole story” behind the “save the children program”, is still “unknown” to us. Our memory and our “mixed up” history is “fussy” regarding this subject and we tend to believe only the propaganda that this was “truly a program to save the children” and not some “insidious” plan to use them for cannon fodder at some future time... even though some us saw some of these children with our own eyes, returned and killed in the battlefields...

If we look back into our history and if we understand what our predecessors stood for we would understand the meaning of the words “you can bend us but we will not break”. This is how we survived six centuries of Ottoman rule and managed to remain intact as a nation. But somehow all that changed when, during the Greek Civil War, we adopted the attitude that “you can break us but we will not bend”. This is how we lost many lives and were eventually driven out of our ancestral homeland and turned into eternal wanderers.

This “change of attitude” however was not by coincidence. We experienced national defeat and became eternal victims because we took the “easy” path chosen for us by those who wanted to do us harm. We were just “too proud” of what we were doing and failed to see where this pride was taking us. We only realized what was happening to us after DAG lost the war. We were told to expect victory; it was a matter of time and even after we gave it our all and everything we had, we still failed... unfortunately for some of us pride still stood in the way of seeing the truth...

Every DAG warrior since then has raised the question: “What communist party in this world has turned against its own members who died fulfilling its own objectives?”

What generals abandon their own army, leaving it to roam the world, and they return home as heroes?

Even today, why are the heirs of the old CPG afraid of telling the Greek people the truth about DAG and that a Macedonian identity exists in Greece?

But what is most tragic about this is that these people who were called DAG fighters, who were mobilized in the Greek Civil War by NOF and who were kicked out of their homeland, remained in limbo while the people of NOF who actually mobilized the fighters were allowed to return to Yugoslavia, i.e. to the Republic of Macedonia. And of course they were honoured when they returned. The fighters themselves and the thousands of refugees, including the children, the elderly, the infirm, the parents who lost their sons and daughters to the war, remained out there in the world under the collective status of “Greek political immigrants” stationed in various camps awaiting the end of their lives... Why were the leaders of NOF praised and treated honourably for their dismal failure to deliver what they promised the Macedonian people? And why were the fighters, the people who actually put their lives on the line for NOF abandoned and made to feel guilty for what they had done?

There is one plausible explanation for all this and the events that took place prove it, and that is that NOF did deliver on its

objectives. It delivered on the objectives of those who perpetrated the Greek Civil War, whose goal was to rid Greek occupied Macedonia of its Macedonian population... And that is exactly what happened!

I would agree with the “guardians” of the “History of the Aegean Macedonians”, only after they answer my questions instead of criticizing me for asking them. My intention here is not to use my research to judge these people, but as a learning document in search of the truth, no matter how bitter it might taste.

I believe that my two books “(Self) Sacrifice” and “Ideological Activism - Macedonians under Greece” are a modest contribution to future generations for better understanding the history of the Macedonian people. My intention for writing these books was simply to search for the truth about my people. One of the most important questions in my mind is to find out why, in the absence of an integral factor, did we allow the Greek Civil War to swallow us whole?

For example:

1. Why did the families of those who fought and lost their lives in this War end up being driven out of their homes en masse?
2. Why were the so-called Macedonian leaders of this alien ideological trap allowed to enter Yugoslavia and most of the active ordinary fighters found themselves in limbo all over the world?
3. We seem to know a great deal about the Jewish genocide in Srebrenica but almost nothing about our Macedonian genocide in Greece?
4. Why did the majority of ethnic Macedonians, referring to geographic and historic Macedonia, remain observers for the last half century and do nothing to stem the tide of our space becoming smaller?

## 6.0 ATTACHMENTS

6.1 The following are sources of information that provide literary and critical analysis on the subject of “ideological activism”:

ПЕТРЕ М. АНДРЕЕВСКИ “НЕБЕСКА ТИМЈАНОВА”.  
ИЗДАВАЧ НАША КНИГА”, СКОПЈЕ, 1989 ГОДИНА.

ДИМИТАР ДИМИТРОВ “УМЕТНОСТ И ЧОВЕКУВАЊЕ”,  
ИЗДАВАЧ “МАКЕДОНСКА КНИГА”, СКОПЈЕ, 1992  
ГОДИНА.

СТОЈАН КИСЕЛИНОВСКИ “СТАТУТОТ НА  
МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ЈАЗИК” (1913-1987), ИЗДАВАЧ МИСЛА”,  
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6.2. The people of Kostur existed throughout many centuries up  
until the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Greeks arrived and, after Macedonia  
was invaded, occupied and partitioned in 1913, they began to  
assimilate them and turn them into Greeks. The most disastrous and



catastrophic period for the people of Kostur was 1940 to 1949. It was a disaster of genocidal proportions and a phenomenon in the Balkans.

“Oh my God! There is no pen to write with to describe the horrors and atrocities committed against these people by those beasts armed from head to toe. They committed unheard of horrors never before seen in this world and in the history of mankind...” (Russian Embassy representative in Bitola about the village Zagoricheni massacre on March 25, 1905, during the so-called Greek Struggle for Macedonia.)

The reason for my introduction of several authors and their books is to give the reader a wider perspective on the subject and to clarify some of the reasons why the genocide took place in the absence of the Macedonian factor. At the same time I want to introduce the various interpretations offered by these authors in regards to the history of the people of Kostur Region in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Nine tough decades have passed and very little remains of what was witnessed of the genocide in Kostur Region. Kostur Region is located at the southern most part of ethnic Macedonia and located inside it is the Kostur Diocese. And now, as we enter a new century, many people are asking: “How is it possible that so many people were killed from each of the villages in Kostur Region during the Greek Civil War?”

Well, believe it or not, it is true. Proportionally, many more people were killed in the Kostur Region villages than anywhere else. Why? Isn't it about time that we start looking for answers? What brought this evil to Kostur Region and why? Kostur has been a sought out target for destruction since the day Hellenism made its way into Macedonia. Today Kustur Region, an iconic space, the centr of Macedonian-ism, is a wasteland. Its people were either killed or given a one way ticket out to leave and never return. A centuries old nation existing in compact communities has been systematically ethnically cleansed over many years. And then, during the Greek Civil War, the Greeks perpetrated genocide against the people of Kostur.

The books offered here are source materials that identify us and our close ancestors and are meant to tell our story regardless of which ideological side we belonged to, which political side we sided with, and what kind of uniform we wore. The truth is that we ran towards our genocide following the lead of foreigners and strangers. There was not a single Macedonian leader to stop us from following the madness, to educate us, to warn us of the risks we were taking, to save us from losing our ancestral homeland, to spare us of our humiliating defeat!!!

1. Book: “ILINDENSKATA EPOPEJA” (development of the Macedonian liberation movement) Volume 1. By Angel Dinev.

Dinev speaks with piety about the Ilinden Uprising, about the magnitude of the Macedonian spirit, about the development of the Macedonian liberation movement from 1893 to 1903, and about the Macedonians struggle for liberation from Ottoman feudal slavery.

In the chapter about Kostur he talks about the pure revolutionary spirit carried deep in the souls of the Kostur revolutionary leaders Vasil Chakalarov, Lazar Poptraikov, Manol Pozov, Pando Kliashev, Misho Nikolev, Mitre Vlaot and many others. Kostur Region alone had an active insurgency in which more than 4,170 insurgents were involved. This shows that we Macedonians at that time not only had a desire to liberate ourselves but also an optimal strategic program with the ultimate goal of creating a Macedonian state that would cover the entire Macedonian ethnic space. Dinev talks about the strategic places like Klisura, Neveska and other towns that were occupied by the Ilinden insurgents. He also describes the mass movement of the population and how the first bomb foundry was created in the village Smrdesh.

This testimony about Ilinden was also confirmed by Greek historian Dimitris Lithoxou in the long article he wrote for the “Zora” newspaper in July 1995.

2. Book: МИТРЕ ПАНЦАРОВ - КОСТУРСКИТЕ ВОЈВОДИ”, 1994, self-published by Dr. Fani Martinova - Butskova.

This book takes us back to the temple of Macedonian history. Butskova has created a stratification of historical events which show that the Macedonian nation paid its dues in blood to create its own country.

She describes the heroism of our insurgency leaders and their devotion to the struggle against the Ottomans as well as their struggle against foreign propaganda. She makes it very clear that our ancestors, the Ilinden leaders, were against submission to anyone; submission for them was the lowest form of human behaviour.

In the spirit of objectivity Dr. Butskova has selected the most characteristic periods when she wrote about the village Konomladi (Kolomnati):

1. The Macedonians participated in the Ilinden Uprising en masse with heart and soul;

2. During the course of ELAS (1941-1944), the call to arms was weak due to mistrust of the Greek leadership; (See p. 228 Memorandum. It describes the actions the Greek ELAS fighters took against Macedonians.)

3. One of the most characteristic periods was the time of ideological activism (Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949) during which Konomladi lost 68 fighters. It was estimated that more than 367 fighters were mobilized in the ranks of DAG from that village alone. After the war was lost none of those fighters were allowed to return to their homes. Greece made sure of that through a number of laws it passed.

3. Book: “Ο μακεδονικός αγών (Απομνημονεύματα) Αρχείου Μακεδονικών αγώνος Πινελοπι Δελτα, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1959, ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΒΑΝΓΓΕΛΗΣ”

In his memoirs Karavangelis proudly tells all about what he did to the Macedonian people, including about the task he was given to Hellenize the people of Kostur. He was known as Karavangelis the Bishop of Kostur.

Feeling satisfied about what Karavangelis did for his “patrida”, the first “tell all” edition turned out to be a great embracement for the Greek people, not because Karavangelis confessed to the atrocities he committed, including the human skulls he displayed of people whom he had murdered, like the trophies of animals, but for the pride he showed in doing it, especially from a religious person; a Bishop no less!

In a passage in his memoirs he wrote: “I told them you are all Greeks since the time of Alexander the Great, but then the Slavs came and turned you into Slavs. You look like Greeks and the soil you live on is Greek. After all, our church and dioceses were always at the forefront of freedom. The Bulgarians have proved themselves incapable of even liberating themselves; they depended on Russia to do that for them. Now you are waiting for Bulgaria to liberate Macedonia? And you live under the illusion that European diplomacy will say that Macedonia is Bulgarian? Lerin and Kostur are barely two days walk from the Greek border, while the Bulgarian border is a distance of at least seven days!

... Today I told him ‘you will be with us and you will be the first man I will send down to meet the Greek kings and your children will attend school in Greece’. Kote accepted my offer and I blessed him as a ‘soldier of Christ’ and he became Captain Kote... I paid Kote a monthly salary of ten liras. His children (heroes) today they are officers in the Greek army...

... In early 1901 I went on a long tour and visited all the Slavophone villages of Koreshta Region as well as the villages Rula, Trnaa, Trsie, Drenoveni, Gabresh and Chernovishta and returned them all to Orthodoxy.”

This is what Bishop Germanos Karavangelis confessed but our Kote went beyond that and reached new heights! On October 25, 1903, Kote delivered the head of our famous revolutionary and poet Lazar Pop Traikov to Bishop Karavangelis for a handful of coins. And this is how Macedonians were bought...

The propaganda to turn Macedonians into Greeks began to flourish a little over a century ago, when the Macedonian people lost their bid

to free themselves from the Ottoman occupation in 1903. The concept of making Greeks out of Macedonians was managed through the Patriarchate church headed by Germanos Karavangelis. Karavangelis did not spare us any details regarding the tactics he used to “make” Greeks out of Macedonians, as recorded in his memoirs. Karavangelis used extreme force and terror to accomplish his objectives, which in the long run proved to be very effective. He was one of the first practitioners with instinct to kill the term “Macedonian”. His model and experience proved useful to the Greek cause.

The most gruesome and most disgusting methods of Hellenizing Macedonians in Kostur Region arrived in Kostur in 1903 with the Greek Church, headed by Bishop Karavangelis. Karavangelis’s ultimate goal was to “make” as many Greeks as possible out of the Macedonian population so that when the time came to partition Macedonia, Greece would have proof that Greeks existed in Macedonia and Greece would receive a larger share of Macedonia’s territory. Argos Orestikon, or Rupishta as we Macedonians call it today, is located in Kostur and is the original home of the Ancient Macedonian Argive Dynasty, founded around 800 BC, so the people of Kostur had special significance for Greece even though Greece denies that Argos Orestikon was a significant place in Macedonian history. The people of Kostur were the best Macedonian sons and daughters and contributed a great deal to Macedonia’s history, so it was by no accident that Karavangelis was sent there to Hellenize them all by any means possible!

“Oh, my God! It is impossible to describe the horrors and atrocities committed against the people of Kostur without breaking down emotionally. Horrible men, monsters, armed from head to toe were hired and paid to commit atrocities unheard of before in the history of mankind.” These were the words of a Russian diplomat stationed in Bitola, attempting to describe what Karavangelis’s goons had done in Zagorichani.

But in spite of what Karavangelis and the Greeks had done to the people of Kostur before Macedonia’s 1913 partition, it was nothing in comparison to what the Greeks did in the terrible decade from 1940 to 1949 when Kostur experienced “total genocide”.

Note: The books referenced in this brief review do provide some justification as to why genocide was perpetrated against the “non-existent” Macedonian factor in Greek occupied Macedonia, particularly in Kostur Region.

After nine tough decades, only our blood has remained witness to the genocide perpetrated against the people of Kostur. Kostur Region is the southernmost part of ethnic Macedonia. At the same time the Kostur Diocese was based in Kostur. And now, at the end of the century, many people are asking the question: Why were so many people who were killed during the Greek Civil War from the Kostur Region villages? But that’s precisely what happened and we should be looking for the cause of this evil.

It is frightening, however, to realize that this was purposely done to us, not because of the ideology we supported, not because of the political party we belonged to, but because of who we are, Macedonians, something we cannot escape, something we cannot change! We were meant to experience genocide; we were meant to die; we were meant to be exiled; because of who we are, “Macedonians”!!! It is frightening indeed!

Germanos Karavangelis was born in 1866 in the village Stipsi, located on Lesbos Island. He successfully completed his education at Munich University, graduating as Professor of Theology. Then in 1900, at the request of the Greek government, he was appointed Metropolitan of the Kostur Diocese. Soon after that Karavangelis created a network of priests, teachers and others that he could bribe with gold, all through the Kostur Region villages. Much of what he did along with Pavlos Malas, including the harshest methods he applied; he recorded in his own memoirs. Pavlos Melas was the chief organizer of the Greek armed terror bands that appeared in Macedonia in 1901.

Pavlos Melas (his real name was Mikis Zezas) was born in Messalina on March 29, 1870. He was originally from Epirus. For his exploits and the role he played in fighting against the Macedonian rebels, he was appointed, in 1904, leader of the Greek struggle in western Macedonia with Kostur as its centre.

Many of the older villagers remembered the dark days of the Andartes; the slaughter, the looting, the frightening things that happened when the Greek Andartes, headed by Pavlos Melas and Germanos Karavangelis, came here in 1904 and began to torment the people. There were some really angry people amongst the Andartes, especially the Cretans. They tormented the people something awful even though they had done nothing to them and were still under Ottoman rule.

Melas's obituary read: 'He heroically died on October 18, 1904 in the village Statitsa, Kostur Region'. His last words were: 'No Bulgarian shall be left alive!' Unlike Karavitas who said: 'We don't need the Macedonians, we need Macedonia!'

4. Book: "АНДАРСКИОТ КОЛЕЖ ВО ЗАГОРИЧЕНИ-1905 ГОДИНА" by Dr. Aleksandar Traianovski.

Dr. Traianovski, in his characteristic way as a historian, strictly followed the facts in order to uncover the great tragedy committed by the cut-throat Greek Andarts in 1905 in the village Zagoricheni and against the entire Macedonian population in Kostur Region.

He used irrefutable facts to show the world the kind of brutality the Greeks employed to triumphantly Hellenize the Macedonian population in Kostur Region.

5. Book: "ГРЧКАТА КОЛОНИЗАЦИЈА ВО ЕГЕЈСКА МАКЕДОНИЈА (1913-1940)", by Dr. Stoian Kiselinovski.

The Macedonian people experienced total assimilation after Macedonia's invasion, occupation and division in 1913, a subject which Dr. Kiselinovski has covered well in his book "Greek colonization of Aegean Macedonia (1913-1940)". Using exceptional arguments, Dr. Kiselinovski has covered the Greek assimilatory policies used and the problem they posed and continued to pose in the de-Macedonian-ization of Macedonia. He calls it an unprecedented genocide in Macedonian history. The terror unleashed on the Macedonian civilian population in the aftermath of the Balkan wars was unprecedented; the brutal way the Greek army

behaved made mothers not want to have children. Entire communities were destroyed just to realize the idea of one country, one nation, one language and one political will.

These are acts of non-recognition, discrimination and assimilation of Macedonians. Dr. Kiselinovski talks about the dangers in modern developments which occurred after the Greek Civil War and led to the shifting of demographics and to a new historical status for the Macedonian population. He argues that 30,000 Macedonians, including 8,000 children, were forced by the Greek authorities to leave their homeland and go to Eastern European countries in order to destroy the ethnic compactness of the last Macedonian oasis in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions and to make room for a new colonization of Greek occupied Macedonia.

6. Book: “НАРОДНООСЛОБОДИТЕЛНИОТ ФРОНТ И ДРУГИТЕ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ НА МАКЕДОНЦИТЕ ОД ЕГЕЈСКА МАКЕДОНИЈА (1945-1949)”, by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.

Historian Kiriazovski is recognized by the Macedonian public mostly for his famous book: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (“National Liberation Front (NOF) and other Aegean Macedonian Organizations (1945-1949)”.)

Here is what he said about his own book: “The most important point is oriented around NOF as the central leader of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement, which I insist is documented in my work authentically and brings out the most complex events and arguments.”

In the same book, on page 338, there is a quote taken from “Nova Makedonka” April 1, 1948 which says: “Today NOF and AFZH have historical importance and urge the Macedonian people to join the ranks of DAG en masse because their freedom and life can only be guaranteed by an armed struggle!”

According to Pavle Rakovski, a NOF Voden District Conference was held near Voden in Greek occupied Macedonia on June 20,



1945. The Conference was attended by 125 city and village delegates. Pavle Rakovski, member of the top NOF leadership, reported on the ideological content of the struggle and the forms it was expected to take. Vangel Aianovski – Oche, NOF Secretary of the District Trustee Committee, reported on NOF’s financial situation. Among other things, the delegates called for the liquidation of the rural village guards (Poljaks). (Nova Makedonija, 1994.)

7. Book: “ΟΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ (1940–1949)” by G. Gkasis

Gkasis has dedicated his book “The immortal people of Kostur” to those who fought for their freedom, democracy and socialism for Greece with rifle in hand. He wrote that these people died with the words: “Long live freedom, long live socialism, long live the CPG, long live Greece!” And with that they paid tribute to all those who fought in the ranks of ELAS and DAG in the mountains Gramos and Vicho.

Gkasis made a list of casualties (with many inaccuracies) suffered by the Kostur Region villages. This is an important document because it shows the kind of disaster the people of Kostur experienced (see list that follows).

All through his book Gkasis pays tribute to the heroic armed struggle during which the CPG took the people like a storm and led them to fight for their freedom. Unfortunately Gkasis “forgets” to mention that many of those fighters were Macedonians and that the CPG abandoned them and their families in their hour of need; to be driven out of their ancestral lands and to this day not able to return to their homes. So the question Mr. Gkasis, that every well-intentioned Greek should be asking, is: “Why are these people condemned to perpetual injustice?!”

In his book Gkasis also talks about the founders of the CPG and the top party membership in Kostur and cites the following personalities as important:

1. Dzhimas Andreas – Samariotis, lawyer, CPG official, member of the CPG Central Committee, member of the ELAS General Staff. He was a member of the EAM, ELAS and CPG delegation during the talks in Cairo in August 1943. He was from Kostur, organizer of EAM and ELAS.

2. Andonopoulos Antonis - Pericles, worker, activist in the communist movement before the war. Since the beginning of 1943 up until the end of the war he was CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region. He was commissar in a division of DAG during the Greek Civil War.

And this is how our communist comrade Gkasis has informed us Macedonians, historians and Balkan-ites of the “truth” about us Macedonians from Kostur Region.

His reviewers gave Gkasis much respect for his work, especially for mentioning the atrocities committed in Kostur Region, for showing respect for the fallen soldiers and for creating the following table of the fallen in the Kostur Region villages. Unfortunately he makes no distinction between Macedonians and Greeks and all the people he mentions, he mentions only by their Greek names.

The last column in the list of villages that follows shows the number of fallen during the Ilinden Uprising. This information was taken from the book: “Илинденска епопеја” (Развојот на македонското ослободително движење), Volume 1, by Angel Dinev.

#### People killed in the villages of Kostur Region

Village Name	Greek Civil War	Ilinden
АПОСКЕП	8,	5
БАБЧОР	64,	-
БОБИШТА	-,	17
БРЕШТИНА	23,	-
БОМБОКИ	39,	7
ВИШЕНИ	43,	7
ГАБРЕШ	31,	-
ВМБЕЛ	-,	24

ГАЛИШТА	-,	-
ГОРЕНЦИ	21,	-
ДОБРОЛИШТА	28,	-
ДРЕНОВЕНИ	29,	15
ДМБЕНИ	52,	46
ЖЕРВЕНИ	2,	-
ЖУПАНИШТА	60,	8
ЗДРЕЛЦИ	14,	-
ЗАГОРИЧЕНИ	53,	22
ИЗГЛИБЕ	20,	-
ЈАНОВЕНИ	26,	-
КЛИСУРА	234,	-
КОНОМЛАДИ	52,	10
КОСИНЕЦ	27,	45
КОСТУР	8,	-
КУМАНИЧЕВО	25,	6
КРЧИШТА	17,	-
КОСТУРАЖЕ	23,	-
ЛОБАНИЦА	-,	15
МАЊАК	6,	2
МОКРЕНИ	65,	71
НЕСТРАМ	91,	71
НОВОСЕЛЕН	9,	-
ОЛИШТА	15,	-
ОМОТСКО	9,	-
ПЕСЈАК	15,	-
ПИЉКАТИ	19,	-
ПОЗДИВИШТА	46,	-
РЕВАНИ	3,	-
РУЉА	-,	-
СЕТОМА	17,	-
СМРДЕШ	36,	96
СЛИМНИЦА	24,	-
СТАТИЦА	43,	-
СТАРИЧАНИ	35,	5
СТЕНСКО	26,	-
ТИОЛИШТЕ	36,	4
ХРУПИШТЕ	35,	-
ЧЕРЕШНИЦА	15,	11
ЧЕРНОВУШТА	11,	2

ЧЕТИРОК	-,	-
ЧУКА	17,	-
ЦАКОНИ	6,	-
ШЕСТЕОВО	29,	8
СНИЧАНИ	-,	-
СВ. НЕДЕЛА	-,	-
ЗЕРЕЦ	-,	-

The first and somewhat honest recognition of this human disaster, not only in Kostur Region but in all the Macedonian villages, was offered by the magazine “Sholastis” published on January 18, 1989. Among other things the article said: “The Slavo-Macedonian villages were loaded with a disproportionately large burden during the struggle... especially in the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG).” This is about the only recognition we have received because Greek historiography (communists) has not officially said anything about us Macedonians after the Greek Civil War.

But it is important that we mention the fact that the war was located in exactly these villages, in Macedonian villages, as confirmed by these sources which make mention of the so-called “free zones” or better known as the villages that were under DAG control. In addition to the Kostur Region villages, mentioned in the table above, there were also villages in other regions of Greek occupied Macedonia that suffered just as much; maybe with fewer casualties, but just as equally with devastation and loss of population due to migration and expulsion. This includes all the villages in Mala Prespa as well as the villages Zhelevo, Oshchima, Trnaa, Rula, Besfina, Psoderi, Trsie, Turie, Lagen, Neret, Gorno Kotori, Dolno Kotori, Negovan and many others in Lerin Region.

The only villages that were under the control of the Greek government army in Kostur Region were Rupishta, Kostur itself, Nestram and a few other smaller villages.

But, despite our official historiography, most of what happened in Kostur Region has not been forgotten thanks mainly to the effort of the Kustur Region people who have written about their experiences in biographies, in village monographs, etc.

And in all those monographs there is a chapter with a list of the fallen who died in the various wars, including those who died during the genocidal Greek Civil War. At least one person from these villages has made the effort to catalogue these names because they belonged to his or her friends, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, parents, etc. In addition to that some wrote about their personal experiences, which provides us with first-hand testimony of what happened. Most of what is written in these monographs is simple observation of events as they transpired in certain places at a certain time. But when they are viewed together they form a bigger picture, a visible pattern that not only verifies what truly happened but pieces together our true history and not the manipulated history that has been written for us.

But still the question, remaining deep in the consciousness of each one of us, is: “How is it possible, as indicated by these monographs and by Gkasis’s chart, that so many people have been killed from the same family and from the same village?” We have no memory in recent history of something like this ever happening; not even during the Ilinden Uprising!

To find piece of mind some have said: “... This happened because those who lack compassion for humanity enjoy the destruction that wars bring...” But if we get to the core of the problem and have a good look at the political processes, which for us Macedonians were conducted by foreigners for foreign political aims, we may get some answers.

**FIRST:** We first need to know why the CPG called for an armed resistance exactly one year after the Varkiza agreement was signed.

From a political standpoint, most Greek historians agree that the Greek Civil War was a huge historical mistake because it took place after World War II ended and after the Great Powers had already agreed on the division of spheres of influence and after it was decided that the state borders in the Balkans were to remain status quo and that the Greek-Yugoslav border had already become a militarized frontier between the two opposing camps.

If this were truly a “Greek Civil War”, as it was made known to the world, then Greeks would have been fighting against Greeks all over Greece. Unfortunately the facts as we know then speak differently! As far as the world knew, Macedonians did not exist and no Macedonians fought in that war. There was no mention of Macedonians in the history of DAG even though about 50% of the DAG fighters were Macedonians and the Macedonian people, almost exclusively, supported the war effort.

If the CPG intended to keep its promises, then why did it lie to the world about the Macedonians? Was this an unintentional error or was it purposely done for “other reasons”? Could this “other reason” explain why so many Macedonian people from the same village died?

1. The problem that historians have with DAG’s history is grounded in the so-called historical decision made during the 2<sup>nd</sup> CPG Central Committee Plenum and that was to begin the armed uprising on March 31, 1946, exactly one year after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, when the left, i.e. EAM and the CPG, handed over power to the right, which is viewed as a historic mistake.

Given our massive involvement in this war we need to ask: Were the Macedonians considered a factor when this Varkiza Agreement was signed? And the answer is NO! As a matter of fact, the entire time we Macedonians fought in the ranks of anti-fascist EAM and ELAS, we were never partners with the Greeks. SNOF, at the time, was not seen as a relevant factor or political entity. All negotiations between the Right and the Left were conducted exclusively by Greeks; EAM and ELAS on the left side and the Greek government and the English military mission on the right.

2. Historians of course also have a problem with the decision made during the 3<sup>rd</sup> CPG Central Committee Plenum held in Belgrade in September 1947 during which, according to Gusias, only six members of the CPG Central Committee and several military personnel attended, among whom there were no Macedonians.

The Plenum decided to oblige DAG General Headquarters to start mobilizing recruits right across the country so that by March 1948 there would be 60,000 armed fighters in DAG. At the same Plenum it was decided to switch fighting tactics from self-defense to going on the offensive and take power by force. To achieve this goal plan “S” was put into effect, also known as operation “Lake”. This plenum also coined the slogan: “All to arms and everything for victory!” At this Plenum it was decided to create a free territory on the Kozheni plateau, which was surrounded by the mountain Massifs of Pindus, Pieria, Karakamen, Kajmakchalan and Vicho. The plan was to liberate the towns Lerin, Voden, Negush, Sobotsko, Konitsa and others as a first stage to liberating all of Greece.

From what was said above, there is clear confirmation that all these decisions were made without Macedonian presence or consent and that the Greek Civil War was intended to be fought in Greek occupied Macedonia. All this was decided at the Belgrade Plenum in September 1947 with no Macedonian representation!

SECOND: Macedonia nihilism, errors, citizenship and rivers of blood.

1. Half a century has passed and we Macedonians still don't know what the national strategy for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia was behind the formation of NOF in Skopje on April 23, 1945. Why was NOF created outside and independent of the CPG and any other political party in Greece? Why was NOF and its program goals guided by the CPM/CPY for more than a year and why was it directed to struggle to attain national rights and the right to self-determination for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia by an armed struggle? Why did the leadership of NOF, a few days after its formation on April 28, 1945, decide to establish Macedonian partisan units? (See: Kiriazovski 1995/202)

And more importantly, how was NOF going to achieve all that; i.e. national rights and the right to self-determination for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia? Was it not clear to NOF that part of the population in Greek occupied Macedonia would not support a Macedonian national liberation movement? It would appear that NOF was not ready, unable, or simply failed to

face many of the complex problems that were to occur internally and externally. NOF was unable to evaluate its strengths, interests and strategic plans and we have yet to hear from NOF, the CPM or the CPY as to why that was? This leaves us, the participants in this war, to ask:

a) How was NOF going to convince 600 thousand settlers and colonists, who did not see themselves as Macedonians and who numbered the same or more than the Macedonians, to support the Macedonian position; i.e. exercise self-determination in Greek occupied Macedonia when the colonists and settlers saw themselves as Greeks and wanted to stay in Greece?

b) Was NOF not aware that almost the entire Left, EAM and the CPG, was headed by settlers and colonists including Zahariadis, Partsalidis, Ioanidis, Markos and many others? Did NOF expect to gain their support for Macedonian self-determination?

c) And why would the settlers and colonists support the Macedonians now when these same people led the anti-Fascist struggle in which all members of NOF served and fought in the ranks of EAM and ELAS, when no Macedonian was given any consideration? And not only that, many Macedonians were jailed and exiled when they made mention of national rights for the Macedonians. Many Macedonians were slandered, anathematized and labeled autonomists, secessionists, bandits and Slavophones! Did NOF forget all that?

But let us return to the greatest manipulation of all. Let us return to April 2, 1946, to the time when Tito and Zahariadis met in Belgrade, without the presence of a single Macedonian, and decided that:

1.1 The Macedonian National Liberation Movement in Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF, which since April 1945 was under the direction of the CPY/CPM, was to be transferred to the CPG leadership and the participation of the Macedonians was to be a condition for the victory of such a revolution.

1.2 The CPG was free to recruit fighters from the Macedonian and Greek political emigrants in Yugoslavia.



2. We Macedonians were shuffled from one communist hand to another, between Tito and Zahariadis.

For those who find this hard to believe, then ask yourselves this question: “Did Kolishevski and the CPM Central Committee not know about Tito and Zahariadis’s agreement to involve the entire Macedonian population in the armed struggle through the mass recruitment activities carried out by NOF, AFZH and NOMS? Were they not aware of the Greek reactions to such a struggle? Did they not know how the Greek government was going to respond to such a move and what ‘a Macedonian uprising’ might motivate it to do against the Macedonian people?” All one had to do was read the newspapers which spared no words to describe the Greek sentiment. It was made abundantly clear that neither the Great Powers nor Greece was in support of such action, especially the dismemberment of Greece! So tell me, where was this struggle going? And if it was not the responsibility of Kolishevski to guide the struggle, then why advise the Macedonian people to get involved in it in the first place? (See: “Directives and recommendations made by Lazar Kolishevsk” in Kiriazovski’s book, 1995/29.)

On September 27, 1947 the General Headquarters of Markos’s Partisan units, before the Democratic government was declared, which makes this act illegal, issued orders to mobilize fighters aged 17 to 35 years. But after this mobilization, because it was carried out only in the Macedonian villages, only 15,000 to 17,000 fighters were mobilized. Just for comparison: in the spring of 1946 when the Greek Civil War began, the Greek government possessed the following numbers: 27,000 policemen from whom 14,000 were from Northern Greece (i.e. Greek occupied Macedonia); paramilitaries about 5,000; national military units 17,000 (40 battalions); 75,000 regular soldiers (7 armies and two free brigades) (See: “DAG-strategic issues and management tactics,” G. Maltezos Dzhumerkiotis, p.60.)

According to Dzhumerkiotis: “It is well-known that in 1947 DAG had not resolved either the issue of military supplies or the issue of arming its fighters with ordinary battle machine guns and other battle assets, as well as ammunition. It also remains to be explained

why, on the one hand, Zahariadis gave Markos orders to increase the number of fighters in DAG to 60,000 while Ioannidis gave Markos orders to acquire arms for only 4,500 fighters. It is also well-known that Markos, in 1947, ended up sending home thousands of fighters who wanted to voluntarily enter the ranks of DAG.” (p. 354) The question is: “Why did General Marcos conduct an illegal mobilization only in Macedonia, mobilizing young and old and wreaking havoc on the Macedonians?”

On November 23, 1948 DAG headquarters ordered, only for Vicho Region (Aegean Macedonia), to mobilize all men and women ages 17 to 35. This applied to all men including those who were left behind to construct fortifications and those who were left behind due to illness. Practically the entire Macedonian population in the Kostur and Lerin Regions was recruited during this mobilization.

It would be no exaggeration to say that of the 25, 000 fighters mobilized into the ranks of DAG 50% were Macedonians, most of whom were forcibly mobilized. Looking at this in proportion, it means that half of the fighters came from the Greek population of 6 million and the other half came from the Macedonian population of no more than 300 thousand people. So in terms of percentages the Greek population contributed 0.21% of its total population while the Macedonian population contributed 4.17 %, that ratio being 20 to 1. In the long term, throughout the entire Greek Civil War, the total Greek contribution amounted to 18-20 thousand fighters while the Macedonian contribution amounted to 15-20 thousand fighters. This also partly answers the question why so many Macedonian people died from the same village.

Following is a list of battles that took place during the Greek Civil War. These were frightful battles where the opponents had forces as high as ten times larger and were much better equipped.

1. Battle at North Pindos, (June 26 to July 22, 1947);
2. Battle for the city Konitsa (December 24, 1947 to January 4, 1948);
3. Battle in Kailari, (October 18, 1948);
4. Battle in Bukovic (November 10 to 14, 1948);

5. Battle for the reception of the heroic unarmed phalanx from Rumeli to Mount Pieria, (March 16, 1948);
6. Battles in Agrafa: Villages Karoplesi, Smokovo, Kerasovo and Mount Niala (April 8 to 22, 1947);
7. Battle at Ilia, Furka, Taburi-Greco, (July 31, 1948);
8. Battle at Golio-Kamenik, (June 21, 1948);
9. Battle at Klevti (June 28 to August 1, 1948);
10. Battle at Taliaro-Likokrema and Eastern Smolika, (July 31, 1948);
11. Battle at Alevitsa, (June 14, 1948);
12. Battles to conquer the cities Edessa, Sobotsko and Negush, (December 22, 1948 to January 14, 1949);
13. Battle for the conquest of Lerin, (February 12, 1949);
14. Battles in Kajmakchalan, (June 4, 1949);
15. Major battles for the re-taking of Gramos (April 1 & 2, 1949);
16. Battles at the heights of Bulgara, Kotelsko-Gramos, (April 4, 1949);
17. Battles at Patoma-Gramos, (June 2, 1949);
18. Battles for Vicho. The fiercest battles were fought at Lisets and at Iamata, (August 10 to 14, 1949);
19. Dramatic battle fought at Kulata - Prespa between the two lakes, (August 14, 1949);
20. Battles at Black-Gramos, (August 24 1949);
21. The last battles of Gramos, (August 24 to 29, 1949);
22. Battles at Kiafa (elevation 2322) in Gramos, (August 30, 1949, just less than 10 hours before DAG's defeat).

On this day, history will witness a terrible event; the heroic death of Petso Romev, commander of the 426 battalion within brigade 118. He was born in the village Gornichevo, Lerin Region, in 1919.

Hundreds of fighters, members of the CPG and much of the democratic force that took part in this disastrous war, have wondered why the CPG continued the fighting in August 1939 after its defeat on the Vicho and Gramos frontlines?

We never did get an explanation why the CPG was fighting battle after battle when its leadership was well aware that it was losing the war? Why not negotiate surrender while they still could? What was the CPG trying to do? Why was it pushing the DAG fighters to hell?

Was there confidence high up in the DAG and CPG leadership that the DAG forces were capable of holding onto Gramos because they were led by General Gusias? Or was there conviction in the slogans raised by Vassilis Bardziotas, the second man in DAG, that: “Gramos was not Vicho, Gramos will become the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists! Long live the CPG and DAG!”

After the devastating losses in Vicho and Gramos, the slogans continued to exist on the walls... “We are soldiers of Greece... at every moment Greece is calling on us to liberate it from the Monarcho-Fascists...”

This war for us Macedonians was the most tragic event in our modern history, which is correlated with the pattern developed by Bishop Karavangelis, because all of us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, especially those from Kostur Region, have been left without roots and have been implanted with a sense of alienation. That war was a new test for us Macedonians, which had two dimensions now factually confirmed. That war was led simply to change the demographic in Greek occupied Macedonia in favour of the settlers and colonists on one side and to give the Greek government the opportunity to expel more Macedonians on the other.

The Greek government used this opportunity well by exploiting:

1. The establishment of NOF on April 23, 1945, and,
2. The March 31, 1946 CPG Central Committee 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum Decision to start the Greek Civil War which was a skilful strategic move to tighten the noose and bring hell to Greek occupied Macedonia in order to exhaust its population, particularly in Kostur Region.

So the question here is: “Would the Macedonian population have been exhausted had these two events not materialized?” If this had not happened, today we would have a compact Macedonian population, consisting of several hundred thousand and we would have lived in a compact Macedonian territory.

Given the above stated facts we can now attempt to answer the question: “How is it possible that so many people died from one village?”

Let’s say that we allowed this to happen because we placed our trust in those whom we believed to be telling us the truth... And the victims in Gkasis’s list are our brothers, fathers, mothers, sisters, villagers, relatives, comrades and countrymen; which gives rise to the question:

“What evil have we exiles committed, all these fifty years, to not have the right to return to our homes and light a candle on the graves of our relatives!?”

But this was not the only punishment handed out to the people of Kostur. The people of Kostur made many sacrifices, which the communists recognized, including the lives lost in the defense of Kostur Region by the legendary freedom fighting bands. These people were made sacrifices by ELAS and various other Greek military groups who had it in for the Macedonians.

8. Book: “БУГАРСКАТА ПРОПАГАНДА ВО ЈУГОЗАПАДНА МАКЕДОНИЈА (1941-1944)”, by Tashko Mamurovski.

The book “Bulgarian propaganda in southwestern Macedonia (1941-1944)”, by Tashko Mamurovski, is an edition of the Institute of National History, Skopje, 1989. In this book Mamurovski talks about the implications that exist in the Macedonian consciousness where now we Macedonians do to ourselves exactly what Bishop Karavangelis and others modeled for us, i.e. the desire to make Bulgarians or ideological soldiers out of us... but not Macedonians.

After reading this book, based mainly on what people remembered particularly about the Macedonian people’s trials in Kostur, a question comes to mind: “Do we need someone to assure us about the truth, to explain to us that these divisions and self-evaluations were the wishes of the Macedonian people? That these were done by the Macedonian people for some kind of self interest? No, these are stories that can still be found, concocted by some of our more misguided and negligent contemporaries, made up in order to

preserve their own sinecures. But no such stories and insights carry any weight today before our modern Macedonian intelligentsia.

In the third chapter of this book Mamurovski wrote: “Activities carried out by Bulgarian agents in Kostur, in other words the activities carried out by Bulgarian emissaries on March 5, 1943 in order to form armed detachments in Kostur, resulted in the formation of the first unit numbering 80 counter-bandits and headed by Zivko Shekerov.” (p. 43)

Mamurovski has entangled himself in something that he has no basic knowledge in and wants to simulate an ideological superstructure which includes forms of social consciousness. This absurd dogma is not only a sin against these people, but also a national evil. We have hundreds of cited examples by Dr. Hristo Ivanovski, a man of high virtue, a scientist, a professor and a man who has been awarded high recognition, which show differently. His father, Vasil Ianakievski - Mussolini, was fingered as being a Bulgarian agent who, according to the Yugoslav model of writing “the history of the Aegean Macedonians”, was a rebel and a counter-revolutionary. As a result his reputation was tarnished for life. So the question is: “Is this how we are we building our Macedonian history? And how much longer are we going to mistreat the Macedonian people this way?

It makes one wonder why an academic such as Mamurovski would want to stigmatize, defame and cast aspersions on his own people? Mamurovski and others like him have also failed to mention that many of these so-called “Bulgarian agents” happened to be the sons and grandsons of the Ilinden fighters who fought to liberate the Macedonian people from Ottoman slavery to create a Macedonian state! More than 4,700 Macedonian freedom fighters, during World War II, raised arms to defend the honour of the Macedonian people and it was by no accident that the Greeks wanted them liquidated.

These were the villages, for example, which were armed and placed under the protection of our Macedonian freedom fighters: Tikveni, Izglibe, Maniak, Kosinets, Lobanitsa, V'mbel, Breznitsa, Gorentsi Starichani, Dobrolishta, Chetirok, Gorno and Dolno Drenoveni, Pozdivishta, Chernovishta, Konomladi, Gorna and Dolna Statitsa,

Aposkep, Setoma, Tiolishta, Blatse Chereshnitsa, Prokopana, Olisha, Zagorichani, Mokreni, Bobishta, Kumanichevo, Gorentsi, Bomboki, Lichishta, Kondorabi, Galishte, Zdreltsa, Zheegozhe, Starichani, Rupishta etc., and their central headquarters were located in Kostur, Rupishta and Koreshtata. Each was a political entity of the Macedonian subjects in each of those Kostur Region villages. This is why the Greek government in exile wanted them liquidated before it took power in Greece. The Greeks did not want to have the job of dealing with a Macedonian political entity.

By writing this book, Mamurovski has denounced the Macedonian freedom fighters and, before the Macedonian public, has accused them of being traitors. He used information given to him by people who wanted to slander the entire Macedonian nation. For a critical analysis and review of this author's confusing work see Dr. Kiriazovski's report in "Glasnik" year 39, no. 1-2, page 157, 1997. Only people who lack logic and scientific understanding, and who don't care about the damage their work will cause, write like this. It is our history we are talking about here and the least we could do is apply some common sense and thoroughly study the subject we are writing about.

In short, by what I am saying here, I want to send a message to INI and Mamurovski that if they want to stay in a strong Macedonian position, let them reply to Bulgarian author Georgi Daskalov (Book 10). Please express your views whether there really were or were not Bulgarians in Kostur Region fighting in the Greek Civil War and whether the Macedonians in Kostur Region were fighting for a Bulgarian national consciousness!

Book 9: "Македонските војводи низ собитијата на народните песни во Воденско, Мегленско, Леринско и Косурско", by Kole Roshev, Az Buki Vedi, Skopje, 1997.

Kole Roshev's book "Macedonian leaders through folk songs in Voden, Meglen, Lerin and Kostur Regions" does not belong to anyone's foreign propaganda, but talks about the discovery of the cultural and national identity of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. This is precisely the kind of book that tells us that we Macedonians have a great cultural heritage, a glorious past

and ancestors of our own and that we have no need to believe the many years of foreign propaganda that has been targeting us.

Roshev has shaped his work with great love and skill and has given us a primordial connection with the Macedonian people's age-old struggle. He has shown us how our ancestors, with tenacity, have struggled against slavery to save their ancestral homes. Roshev, with immense love, has studied a huge number of old songs that embody the magic, the living conditions, the rituals, the games, the rites and the ceremonies of our ancestors. These are perfected songs that have been orally passed on from generation to generation.

Kole Roshev's work undoubtedly represents a segment of new found national wealth. As a chronicler of his time, Roshev devoted his analytical talent and spirit to capture our libertarian thinking and has fought in defense of our right to survive. He has proven to be an excellent researcher and a collector of irrefutable evidence of our culture, existing for centuries in all the regions of Greek occupied Macedonia, especially in Solun, Voden, Lerin and Kostur Regions.

Most of the lyrics of these great and impressive songs that Roshev has collected are about our age-old revolutionary struggles. Their poetic content is about the heroes of the Macedonian people. The texts are grouped by regions and the authenticity and sources of the songs and beats are confirmed. These songs have provided us with the opportunity to do an in-depth analysis on all walks of life and on the many years of our existence. These songs affectionately reveal a wealth of human emotions: our grief and joy, our dreaming of happiness and freedom, our strong will to revolt against our oppressors, etc. The songs from Greek occupied Macedonia are characterized not only by their rich content, but also by their artistic and aesthetic value. One can feel the full emotion and warm spirit of the Macedonian people who composed them...

These are not simply songs and chants, they are a picture of life by which our people have expressed their hopes, fears, desires, pain, love and wishes and are now a portrait of our history. This is part of our collective wisdom which has now become part of the folklore of the region. In addition to having historical value, which this author has already shown us, these songs have poetic value, an art form



which we can study, imitate, compose and sing. When read, these songs bring out the memories of the echo that roared through the mountains and fields because our people sang while they worked sowing and harvesting crops, cutting wood in the forest, burning fires at home in the fireplace, herding sheep, plowing, building, sending the freedom fighters to battle and burying the fallen. This is why Kole Roshev's work represents a cultural discovery for our national identity. It shows that Macedonians, a Macedonian nation, existed and thrived in Greek occupied Macedonia. Working with love in this grand endeavour, which represents part of our cultural heritage, Roshev has not only discovered, but authenticated this treasure which is evidence of our history and of our existence in Greek occupied Macedonia and eliminates all speculation and alien propaganda regarding the existence of our national identity and our Macedonian consciousness, which our oppressors persistently deny.

Roshev painstakingly went through world publications and various other literature published by Slavists, ethnographers, historians, folklorists, travelers, prominent political and religious personalities, etc., in order to authenticate the origin of these songs and the Macedonian villages and cities to which they belonged. He used geography, topology, ethnography, history, religion, legends, folklore, language dialects, etc., in his comparative study. With all this and in terms of our centuries-long national existence in these regions, he chose Meglen, Voden, Lerin and Kostur Regions for his study. He did this by region because of the volume of material available and characteristically identified as belonging to these regions.

Roshev's meticulous, detailed and painstaking collection of songs about the "Macedonian leaders through folk songs" for Meglen, Voden, Lerin and Kostur Regions is exceptional and, through the tradition of oral transmission, has captured the cultural trends and the moral habits of life of the people that lived there. This is exactly the kind of mark we needed to confirm our originality in this region as an authentic indigenous culture and to provide the necessary evidence to debunk the propaganda of our foreign occupiers.

Roshev applied the same model and procedure of synthesis (an amalgamation of several different elements in a whole) to almost all

the villages and towns that were the subject of his study. He also did the same for his own village, Sarakinovo, as follows:

- He described the geographical area with some elements of biological geography. He described the importance of plant life, natural resources and climate conditions. He even described elements of political geography in which he shows social and public relations in the secular development of Meglen Region.

- Historical elements dominated his descriptions, with all the spiritual and cultural creations (morality, religion) including memories of life as witness of the time, i.e. as the light of truth.

- The ethnic culture is described with incredible insight, depicting the elements of the life of individuals and groups with reasonable realism.

The author has given us detailed insight into the social habits, norms, laws, systems of communication and symbols, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the people he studied.

- Many of the songs Roshev studied were born as a result of the anger our people felt towards the brutal ways of our occupiers. The songs were about self-defense, boldness and heroism.

These songs will prove to be a powerful antidote to the foreign propaganda that has plagued our people for a long time. Roshev's work will return us to re-evaluate the history that has been written for us and will remove any doubt that may exist about who we are and how long we have existed. And knowing who we are, a people with a long and rich cultural heritage left for us by our ancestors, we will no longer need to be silent.

Roshev's work has awakened the voices of our ancestors, particularly those of the freedom fighters and their leaders who fought to liberate Macedonia and its people and who died singing these songs.

And by comparing the previous two books (book 8 and 9) we see that the same people are referred to as "Bulgarian agents" and

“counter-bands” by one Macedonian author and as “heroic defenders” of the Macedonian national and cultural heritage by Roshev.

10. Book: “Б’ЛГАРИТЕ В ЕГЕЈСКА МАКЕДОНИЈА (Мит или реалност)”, publisher “Macedonian Science Institute”, Sofia, 1996, by Georgi Daskalov.

In his book “The Bulgarians in Aegean Macedonia (Reality of myth)”, Daskalov refers to the Macedonians by what others call them. He says in Athens they called them “Greek Slavs”, in Belgrade, Skopje and Moscow they call them “Macedonians”, in Washington they call them “Slavo-Macedonians”. But even though today Macedonians are a fact in the demographic structure of Greece, he wants to call them something else...? He hints at this throughout his entire book but leaves a special impression in chapter 7. Here he talks about Bulgarian self-awareness during the storm of the Greek Civil War with surprising scientific courage, because no such information is registered in the Bulgarian annals of historical events. All his claims here are supported only by the concerns the Slav Committee in Sofia undertook after DAG was liquidated, to accommodate some of the people cast out of Greece by the CPG and DAG. He also claims proof of Bulgarian self-awareness by elaborating on the correspondence carried out between the Macedonians in employ of the Bulgarian consular service and the Bulgarian state. What does this mean? It means that the Bulgarians were doing the things we should have done in the first place and that is to “have welcomed all the Macedonian people who were cast out of Greece to the Republic of Macedonia. This should have been the concern of the CPM/CPY since they were the creators of NOF, the instigators of the mobilization of the Macedonian people and the culprits who pushed the Macedonians into the hands of the CPG and DAG. Our people were used and in the end cast out to wander the world. And now our people, especially the DAG fighters, were only allowed to return to the Republic of Macedonia by approval of the Yugoslav Security Services. And on top of that, only the Macedonians who had not sinned against the right ideology were allowed back... This is the kind of tactics Karavangelis applied during his time: break the Macedonian core... Turn Macedonians into what you wanted them to be... Turn them into “Greeks by

birth”, “people with a Bulgarian self-awareness”, “ideological soldiers who have not sinned against Yugoslavia”, etc. It happened exactly the way our enemies had always wanted it to happen!

1. Here’s what Loring Danforth, in his book “The Macedonian Conflict” 1996/90, had to say:

“... A lasting match between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece for it... which country will regain control of Macedonia began in 1890, and all three new national states send irregular group guerrilla fighters...”

“... These three countries fought a fierce propaganda war whose objective was to instill the ‘right’ sense of national identity in the Christian villages in Macedonia in order to justify their rights in the territory in which these people live, with only one purpose, all those people later to reintegrate the national mean ‘Greek’, ‘Bulgarian’, or ‘Serbian’ in a national sense.” But now, after the Greek Civil War, they want many things from us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. But the most important thing they wanted was to first turn us into ideological soldiers so that they could ultimately make us a minority in our ancestral homeland and solve the Macedonian Question on their own without Macedonians and without a Macedonian nation.

2. George F. Kennan, in the book “The other Balkan Wars” A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry, published in the Bulgarian language in Sofia in 1995, on page 8 of the introduction: The Balkan Crisis 1913 and 1993, wrote:

“The defeat of the Ottomans ended in a situation in which the armed forces of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece conquered the territories of the defenseless Macedonians. All three states had their own aspirations in these areas, which could then be contested at the expense of others. That is because it is not surprising that before last year, 1913, a war was led between the previous allies. This war was called ‘The Second Balkan War’.”

The question is: If Macedonia belonged to Bulgaria why did Bulgaria agree to ally itself with Greece and Serbia to fight the Ottomans and to divide their own country?

3. If Macedonia has always been Greek or Bulgarian, why did Greece “annex” Macedonian territories and perform ethnic cleansing on its own people? Why did Greece have to change all those Macedonian toponyms and people’s names to Greek... if Macedonia was always Greek?

Soon after it initiated the programs to change all the names in Macedonia, Greece implemented more policies to ethnically cleanse the Macedonian territory it occupied of its Macedonians. In 1923, by the Treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey, Greece expelled all the Macedonian Muslims and replaced them with 640,000 Christian Turkish colonists and settlers. Then in 1927, by the Mollov – Kafandaris Agreement, Greece expelled more Macedonians to Bulgaria, including many of those who participated in the 1903 Ilinden Macedonian Uprising against the Ottomans.

The Christian Turks that Greece settled in Macedonia call themselves “Ponti” but we call them “Prosfigi”. They call us “endopii”, which in Greek means “natives”, “indigenous”. Ironically however, these “Ponti” or “Prosfigi”, in a turn of events, today have become the proud Macedonians and the “endopii”, the real Macedonians, are persecuted and robbed of their lands and identity!

But to return to the question: How is it possible for Greece to carry out ethnic cleansing against one’s own people? Also, how could Bulgaria take “its people” and allow Greece to keep their lands? To date there is no such phenomenon observed anywhere.

But a benevolent reader may ask: Why are we, half a century later, still speculating about this when the Bulgarian state had ample opportunities to formally speak to international institutions about “its people”? Has it forgotten its own people? Why has Bulgaria not used International forums to seek and regain what it complains it has lost? Maybe because Macedonia was never Bulgarian or Greek? And that it belongs to the Macedonian people?!

Seriously why did these Slavic countries, who pretend to be kin to the Macedonians, allow this “ethnic cleansing” of Macedonians to take place so easily?

### 6.3 Typical activist destructive polemics

(Reason for “Pamphlet with dangerous intentions and goals”, May 29, 1994, “Nova Makedonija” in connection to the book “(Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece”.)

The text (contribution) is a striking example which speaks of the mindset in existence during the tragic Greek Civil War (1945-1949) years. And as such I requested to also join in and contribute to this and to other critical essays in this book because there were some things that needed clarification, particularly the evils of activism. And through this I wanted to bring awareness and some clarity to the destructive polemics waged against my own book.

But what is most tragic about this is that these people who were called DAG fighters, who were mobilized in the Greek Civil War by NOF and who were kicked out of their homeland, remained in limbo while the people of NOF who actually mobilized the fighters were allowed to return to Yugoslavia, i.e. to the Republic of Macedonia. And of course they were honoured when they returned. The fighters themselves and the thousands of refugees, including the children, the elderly, the infirm, the parents who lost their sons and daughters to the war, remained out there in the world under the collective status of “Greek political immigrants”, stationed in various camps awaiting the end of their lives... Why were the leaders of NOF praised and treated honourably for their dismal failure to deliver what they promised the Macedonian people? And why were the fighters, the people who actually put their lives on the line for NOF, abandoned and made to feel guilty for what they had done?

There is one plausible explanation for all this and the events that took place prove it and that is that NOF did deliver on its objectives. It delivered on the objectives of those who perpetrated the Greek Civil War, whose goal was to rid Greek occupied Macedonia of its Macedonian population... And that is exactly what happened!

I would agree with the “guardians” of the “History of the Aegean Macedonians”, only after they answer my questions instead of criticizing me for asking them. My intention here is not to use my research to judge these people, but as a learning document in search of the truth, no matter how bitter it might taste.

I believe that my two books “(Self) Sacrifice” and “Ideological Activism - Macedonians under Greece” are a modest contribution to future generations for better understanding the history of the Macedonian people. My intention for writing these books was simply to search for the truth about my people. One of the most important questions in my mind is to find out why, in the absence of an integral factor, did we allow the Greek Civil War to swallow us whole?

UNCOVERING THE HALF-CENTURY OF SILENCE (Who was Vorias?)

All moral codes regarding writing columns for newspapers were trampled on when, on May 29, 1994, a man was allowed to publish his vulgar views in the column “Pisma” (letters) without censure. And why did he do this? To earn some points, no doubt, by reprimanding me with the words: “And one more thing... In place of Mr. Kochov expressing gratitude for the rich historical work created with great effort by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, who set the conditions for the creation of the entire past of the movements in Aegean Macedonia, Mr. Kochov, like a demon, thrust himself upon him in order to show that Kiriazovski did someone-else’s bidding or was affiliated with the regime.”

Instead of commenting on my work, this man showed his arrogance and ignorance by attacking me personally for having a different, if not unique, view of events and how they transpired.

Before that, on May 26, 1995, the public was given the opportunity to read an article written in “Delo” about the work of ideological activist Dimitar Ugrinovski. The article was an open letter written by Professor Dimitar Dimitrov, published by “Nova Makedonija” on May 26, 1995. I too was allowed to say a few words to address this declared activist Dimitar Ugrinovski, who is now playing the role of

“guardian of the written history of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia”. I did this for a couple of reasons: first because the topic of my research is “ideological activism”. I did this in the name of the people (people know that all revolutions are raised in the name of the people, but none of them are raised by the people). I wanted to know from this man how it was possible, for more than half a century now, to accept such historical forgery and to pass it on to future generations as historical truth? And second, because I was scolded by this “theoretical” shod activist in an unacceptable, rude, violent and primitive way, I felt it was appropriate to reply. From his letter it is clear that this pseudo fighter and communist does not have the mental capacity to formulate arguments on his own and that someone stood behind him...

The first ethical question that comes to mind is: “Why is this deserter now defending the history of the Greek Civil War? And as it is well-known in the world, no nation would allow its deserters to write its history.

At one time I thought of taking legal action against him for defamation of character but I changed my mind. I thought that if he truly believes in what he wrote in his so-called “memoirs” (SK. / 4-271), then he certainly believes in what he once gave the archives of INI in Skopje. If that is true then he should be sent to the court in The Hague.

This is the kind of person Dimitar Ugrinoski - Micho was, also known by the code name “Vorias”.

It is appropriate at this point to ask Mr. Vorias: “Who are you really and what gives you the right to tell everyone to be quiet!!! Why should people remain silent regarding their own destiny; regarding the tragedy thousands of Macedonians experienced; regarding the thousands who passed through your hands and into the arms of death while fighting for the guerillas in Greece? You are a deserter, and sadly you did not get to enjoy Zahariadis’s promise of a united and independent Macedonia, made exactly two months before DAG was liquidated.



Mr. Dimitar Ugrinoski - Vorias (former Greek-nostalgic and now plain Micho) why did you only touch on a single question in my book? Was it because you recognized the sentence: "... from May 1947 to the end of August of the same year, I had the confidence of NOF and the headquarters of the 24<sup>th</sup> Brigade located at Mounts Paiak and Kajmakchalan, and with the knowledge of authorities there, I came to Skopje for four months and sent hundreds of fighters into the ranks of the NOF-DAG partisan units...”?

Mr. Vorias it is silly, more so now, to spread misinformation because it is more than clear that NOF did not have any units. Only DAG had military formations and they were led by Markos.

Mr. Vorias, the least you can do is to allow us the opportunity to clarify some things. Did you really do all those things you claimed that you did in your “autobiography”, now located in INI (Institute for National History) in the “memoirs” section registered under number Sk. / 4-271 in 1960?

This is what you wrote on page 73: “... at the beginning of the month of May two friends came, Greeks, representatives from Skopje, named Menelaos and Iraklis.” This is what Vangel Aianovski – Oche wrote on page 139 in his book “Egeiski Buri” (Aegean Storms):

“The CPG and DAG Greek leadership not only underestimated the Macedonian potential for leadership and fighting skills, which were performed above expectation, but those who performed well were unjustly executed as exemplified by Kyriakos, former commander of the Kajmakchalan squad in 1947, who, without cause, killed 10 Macedonian fighters. Killed by Iraklis Meltiadis (Kyriakos) were: Tasho Panaiotov from the city Voden, Risto Zaikov from Voden, Geli Utov from Voden, the brothers Birizov from the village Teovo, Toshi Lushev from Teovo, Krum from Ponadsko and Vangel from the village Tresino.”

The same was also confirmed by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski in his book: “NOF and the other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949”. On page 279 Kiriazovski wrote:

“Once they made contact with me they read me a note, sent from Mounts Paiko-Kajmakchalan headquarters. I was given the task to mobilize fighters in Skopje and Titov Veles. I accepted the directive and responded positively. Immediately, the next day, I started to work fulfilling this very important task by preparing to send fighters, i.e. to pass them over the border. I stayed at the American Palace near the cinema “Culture” and a place for collecting leftover clothing and other things, belonging to those I escorted over the border, was organized at number 14 JNA street in a place called “heroic apartment”.

We had a designated place of departure for the fighters to gather in the second part of the park near the Vardar River. The fighters were not allowed to walk in groups; they had to walk individually until they reached their destination at the designated place. When a few gathered, a closed truck came and picked them up. They were supplied with food at a house here at the end of Madzari. Pick-ups were carried out day and night. Regarding larger groups, like the one composed of about 80 fighters which had returned from work from the track “Brhko – Banovich”, so as not to compromise the mission, the entire group was taken to the current Veterinary Institute and from there it was sent to Kajmakchalan. Doing this was hard work for me, but I had help from my friends G.A and A.G. T. Ch. helped me with the clerical work. T. Ch. today is located in the Aegean building “Green market” in Skopje.” For obvious reasons, I decided not to mention the full names of Ugrinovski’s friends and helpers in my book. I felt it was unnecessary.

“... The SKM Central Committee and several comrades from UDB were also aware of my work here, which I carried out until the beginning of August and managed to mobilize not less than 700 Aegean fighters and moved them across the border. All this work was carried out under strict secrecy. But despite of all that, I was personally compromised and so were many friends and fighters I did not know. People showed up and wanted me to transfer them over the border. I, of course, in the beginning did not send people I knew nothing about and what their current attitude was towards today’s SFRY.

At the transfer, prior to their departure from Skopje, many of the fighters had left a lot of money. With that money I helped those families who sent their sons in motion. That assistance included purchases of fabric for making clothing, shoes, etc.”

When I asked to find out who this Dimitar Ugrinoski - Micho was and how with his inherent inventiveness attributed things that are not even subjects in my book, and when I read his “autobiography”, some of which was mentioned above, I was stunned and asked myself “what nation would allow this kind of behaviour?!” Indeed, I did not want to comment, or deal with exposing people of such character. My book is clear, and it is well known for whom I have created a wide range of issues. Let’s say that they are historians and institutions that feel they are competent to provide historical valuation. But allow me to ask Mr. Dimitar Ugrinoski – Micho, i.e. Vorias, a few questions.

1. In regards to your work, didn’t you think that it was illegal, immoral and a crime against humanity to mobilize the refugees from Greek occupied Macedonia who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves and bring them back to Greece to fight in the Greek Civil War, the same war they fled to avoid it in the first place?

2. Didn’t you think that the work you were doing could be categorized as crimes against the rights and freedoms of citizens, a violation of the equality of citizens? Why did you say: “I, of course, in the beginning did not send people I knew nothing about their history and what their current attitude was towards today’s SFRY”? Did you not think that it was illegal to take other people’s money? You said: “At the transfer, prior to their departure from Skopje, many of the fighters had left a lot of money. With that money I helped those families who sent their sons in motion...” First, let me correct you here, these people you speak of were not fighters, the vast majority were ordinary civilians. Second, did you really buy fabric for the families of those people you took? You never did explain how much you collected and what kind of currency it was: dinars, gold, silver dollars, marks, drachmas, etc? And why did you not return this money to the families as currency but you had to buy fabric for them?

3. You say that “all this work was carried out under strict secrecy” and that “... the SKM Central Committee and several comrades from UDB were also aware of it...” Can you now please tell us who your boss was and who were your UDB co-workers and friends who were charged with the same task for other cities? Or do you think that it is still a secret?! The entire civilized world has already disclosed all war secrets.

4. In your letter of May 29, 1994 you said that you were sent by NOF and in your “autobiography” you said: “... at the beginning of the month of May two friends came, Greeks, representatives from Skopje, named Menelaos and Iraklis.” And, as you explained, you went to Skopje after they instructed you.

5. Why did you do all that in secret? Why did you hide it from your own people? Why were these people not sent to battle with pomp and ceremony like it is customary for revolutionaries when they join a revolution? If the word on the street was that this was a continuation of the Ilinden Uprising then why was it a secret when these people were sent to Greek occupied Macedonia? Why did you desert if you were such a supporter of the liberation of Macedonia? Why did you surrender and betray our people, without knowing what their fate would be, to Gusias, a cobbler promoted to general, and to Markos, a tobacco producer calling himself a General? I personally know many of those people you betrayed because they joined the DAG units in Gramos where I was serving. At least by now you should have a tiny glimmer of what happened to us and realize that the war was a catastrophe for us Macedonians! From what I have learned about you Mr. Vorias, it seems to me that you are still in denial; since you still believe that Zahariadis would have allowed us the right to secede, and even unite Macedonia. I do not know if you and I could ever come to an understanding?!!!

6. And finally, let me ask you this: do you not feel the need to publish the lists of the names of the people whom you send to their death so that they can at least be mentioned in memorial services? There are many people out there who still don't know what happened to their children, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and friends. To be truthful, I was touched by the memorial service for the 150 young people held at “Trite Cheshmi” (Three fountains) in

Shtip when the camera showed a woman with faded, watery eyes. She looked familiar to me, a likeness to one of my brave co-fighters who lost his life in an explosion in the “Kleftis” locality in Epirus. Mr. Ugrinoski, it is obvious that you are still preoccupied with the culmination of cynicism. That: “The people will eventually forget! And will continue to play in their own drama!” After all, it is evident that your intentions are frustrated: with insinuations, wild desires and closed mindedness when it comes to evaluating problems raised before our history and before state institutions. Solving these problems are of vital interest to our nation, especially after half a century of silence, and need to be addressed and not marginalized with unprecedented sarcasm and immoral irony. Allow me to point you to your writing style, sounding like it was written by the propaganda section of the Stalinist Comintern. Mr. Ugrinoski you were so critical of me personally that, in the name of daily politics, you completely missed what I was trying to say. My aim is to get to the truth, to expose the manipulations perpetrated against our people who suffered immensely in this war and by this war. My aim is to pay tribute to the fallen. If you had read the first page in my book you would have understood that.

Mr. Ugrinoski I did read your “autobiography”, which you filed with INI. And being familiar with the political climate of the time, I decided that there was no point in analyzing the work you did, except for revealing the problem of the illegal mobilization which I named: “Uncovering half a century of silence”. That is why, Mr. Ugrinoski with your glorious name Vorias, you have remained a hero and a martyr guarding the anti-fascist glory. But fate is still playing with you, like a boomerang, opening this painful issue for the Macedonian people and returning you to the “darkest” segments of your life, which you are trying so hard to forget. So time is not forgiving... it is cruel and horrible. Cruel is the curse for those who wronged the Macedonian people for wanting to be Macedonians. Cruel is the curse for those who conducted the violent expulsion of the Macedonian children.

Mr. Ugrinoski, you say that you were deeply offended by my book and call it an unscientific pamphlet and that I have only become aware and raised these regularities 45 years later and therefore you evaluate them as invalid. But that is your problem. It is unbecoming

of you at your age to insult me and slander my work. Ironically, you have done exactly that!?! This is why I will never accept to debate with you. This which I have now done, Mr. Ugrinoski, do you think I did because I needed to explain myself to you; to reply to your arguments? No! I did not do this to clear your bad conscience because, sorry to say this Mr. Ugrinoski, I would not do that for a sycophant!

P.S. All we can hope for now is that all of us who lost loved ones, will one day see the hand of Macedonian justice write the wrongs perpetrated against us... including by people like Vorias.

#### 6.4. Bibliographical notes for contributions in this book

По магистралата на злото: Вија Костур - Иркутскаја област, објавен во македонско сонце, 7.10.1994 година;

Повик за човекување, објавен во македонско дело, 28.1.1994 година;

Конзистентна аргументација на нашето битие, објавен во македонско дело, 4.2.1994 година;

Со златно цвеќе до тајните сили на духот, објавен во македонско сонце, 14.7.1995 година.

Молитва: да ни се врати божјото потекло, објавен во македонско сонце, 25.11.1994 година;

Одблесок низ обрачот на нашево доба: ИТИС ТИМЕ ФОР ЧАНГЕ!, објавен Македонско сонце 9.12.1994 година;

Зрело и смело забраздување низ збигорениот забо рав на злата коб, објавена во списанието "Современост" октомври - ноември бр. 7-8, 1993 година;

Осаменички вик низ ветриштата на глуво раздобје, објавен во Македонско сонце, 23.9.1994 година;

Најчистиот спомен на едно детство во едно утро на големиот рид, објавен во Нова Македонија “ЛИК” 18.7.1993 година;

“Црвениот коњ” до работ на успехот, објавен во Нова Македонија, 13.6.1981 година;

За некои карактеристики на македонските свадби во леринските горски села, објавен во иселеничкиот календар 1978 година;

Геноцид над македонците под Грција (1945-1949) во Граѓанската војна:

1. Време на растајнување, објавено во македонско дело, 17 март 1995 година;

2. Сјајот и бедата на “возвишените” цел, објавено во македонско дело, 24 март 1995 година;

Трајно сведоштво за (не) човештината на човекот, објавено во македонско сонце, 5.05.1995; Аус тралиум Мацедониан Њееклс 17-24 мај 1995 година;

Со возвишена ода низ тајните глетки на судбината, објавена во македонско сонце, 7.07.1995 година;

Агонијата на верноста и отпадништвото, објавено во “Дело” 23.06.1995 година; “Македонско сонце” 23.06.1995 година;

Конечно, во храмот на македонската Историја, објавено во “Македонско сонце” 25.08.1995 година.

Скенирање по изгубеното за човекување, објавено во “Дело” 13.02.1997 година.

## 7.0 CRITICAL EVALUATIONS (Reviews and personal views)

### FIRST REVIEW

On the work entitled “Идеолошкиот активизам над Македонците под Грција 1945-1949 година” (Ideological Activism - Macedonians under Greece 1945-1949), by Stoian Kochov.

The work with the above mentioned title is a synthesis of published critical review articles found in scientific and public forums in the Macedonian literature to which the author has appropriate affinity and a critical review of the historical events that belong to the political history of the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia. Stoian Kochov is a passionate researcher who, as a Macedonian historian, brought new winds in terms of the historical problems in the Aegean part of Macedonia. In his work, especially in the second part, Kochov shows his maturity as an analyst of historical events in which he was also a first hand witness. But that does not mean that he has glorified his own participation and presented events in a positive connotation, but clearly, specifically, objectively and boldly he has stated the silent facts that have been omitted in the past. Kochov explained why the Greek Civil War was started in Aegean Macedonia and he did this with an objective approach and strength of arguments. He explained who the agents of the war were, the role of the political and military leadership in Yugoslavia and Macedonia and, of course, in Greece. He explained that the most important thing Greece wanted from this war was to expel the Macedonian people from their ancestral homes, making it a classic genocide, greater than that committed by Germans on the Jews. It is also important to mention that the so-called democratic public around the world kept silent on this matter. There was not a single media report showing that genocide was perpetrated by the Greek state and its accomplices in Greek occupied Macedonia. There is no doubt that this great political game had a disastrous effect on the Macedonian people, which Stoian Kochov has successfully discovered and brought to the fore.

Even though Kochov's labour is based on reviews and written materials presented to the public through the media and special editions, it does not decrease the value of his work but rather gives it greater weight. Kochov has laid a solid foundation for further research of this topic by the next generation of Macedonian historians. He has raised many questions which need answers and further clarification of the many historical problems that today



plague the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, and especially relations between Macedonia and Greece. Therefore, this book will be an excellent addition our collection of important books. Kochov has asked the right questions, which not only bring awareness to the problems but demand the right answers. The Macedonian people were not sufficiently prepared to undertake the task they did during the Greek Civil War and of course this cost them dearly. Just from this point of view this book, although not directly, indirectly brings a message that any further division of the Macedonian people would have disastrous consequences.

Based on the foregoing and considering that this book will have scientific and social benefits, I am pleased to offer it for printing.

Skopje, April 19, 1993. Sincerely,  
Dr. Gorgi Malkovski

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## SECOND REVIEW

Of the manuscript “Идеолошкиот активизам над Македонците под Грција” (Ideological Activism - Macedonians under Greece 1945-1949) by Stoian Kochov.

Reviewer: Dr. Simon Drakul

For the first basic author’s foreword, for this class of important books of vital introductory and unifying meaning, the manuscript consists of sixteen separate texts (reviews, assessments, polemics, articles, etc.) in their predominantly and frequently published form, published mostly in “Makedonsko Sontse”. According to their character, these texts are mainly reviews and evaluations of noteworthy releases (plus a film) - combined, in one way or another. They are normally unique in the virtues of interest – i.e. in the great theme of the Aegean Macedonian tragedy from 50 years ago that took place in the Aegean or “Greek” part of the ethno-historic Macedonian territory. Starting with the evaluation of Petre M. Andreevski’s book “Neveska Timianova”, Dimitar Dimitrov’s books “Umetnost na Chovekuvanie” and “Megiu totalitarism i

Demokratia”, Stoian Kiselinovski’s book “Statusot na Makedonskiot iazik (1913-1987), Ivan Chapovski’s book “Vrakianie na poetot vo Meglen”, Nikola Kliusev’s book “Kamen ostrov”, Paskal Gilevski’s book “Angeli na progonstvoto”, Petre Nakovski’s book “I kamenot e zemia”, Kita Misirkova – Rumenova’s book “Katerni godini”, Kole Mango’s books “Vik” and “Za Makedonskite chovekovi prava”, along with pervasive emphasis on some of the issues raised by Stole Popov’s movie “Tsrvaniot Kon” and the script of Tashko Georgievski’s novel by the same name (Tsrveniut Kon), make up the contents of the first part of Stojan Kochov’s book. The second part, however, contains the fundamental texts that are worthy of the title: “History (still) needs to answer the question of who activated the ‘Macedonian syndrome’ that caused us to self-destruct in the years 1945-1949 during the Greek Civil War?”

(Motive: Reactions to the publishing of the book “(Self) sacrifice the Macedonians of Greece” gave rise to the text “Vreme za rastanuvanie” (It is time for reaction). Among the final and already quite clearly separate pieces of this book, there are two texts with one motive, entitled: “Za eden tip na aktivistichko destruktivno polemiziranje” (For a type of activist destructive polemic”) and “Otkritie na polvekovniot molk (koi e gospodinot Vorias)” (Uncovering the half-century silence (Who is Mr. Vorias?)).

The second title at first glance, quite logically, seemed like it would be difficult to scratch together as a whole and as such so would be the settling of accounts of the different lines and areas of content units in this likely handwriting. But only at first glance; because the essence of this content not only supercedes heterogeneity, but is namely of such multilateral content that it consistently adds value. And exactly this wealth in these areas, in these views and in these parts make up the manuscript and provide it with its force. Diversity, transformed into quality and energy collected from many places, furnish this important and uncompromising text in its uniqueness. In it, in its basic tone, regardless of what kind of view or title is in question, it gives rise to polemics not with individual views (although it has them) but to polemics with the uniqueness of each situation, silent in the last 50 years in our historical science but, not only there, in all of our social public forums; a cruel and false indoctrination, ideological knowledge of that - that lay in the starting

point; a basis that caused tragedy; that ended with the worst possible persecution of the Macedonian people; being driven out from their ancestral homes from the most heroic, most revolutionary, most freedom seeking and most patriotic ends of Macedonia throughout all its history - Kostur, Lerin, Voden, Prespa, Enidzhevardar, Solun, Seres – and in one word from the Macedonian Aegean region.

Questions have been raised which, in the traditional Macedonian way and experience, when answered, will be turned into historical lesson. Lessons that will hopefully prevent future victims; because there is no greater impairment of a victim than the sense of being ignorant of their own true past.

The history of our people must be learned through strict adherence to critical knowledge and essence. In history, the argument is worthy only as much as it provides a deeper insight into the secrets of the most conflicting elements in a myriad of components that make up the historical moment; meaning, of the most important but invisible elements which are a result of somewhat appropriately declared and widely propagated by the propaganda machine with promises of challenging perspectives.

The author deepens and continues to place meaning on the questions, on the subject which is in his second book – to the end of all his concentration, in this case – inciting and encouraging the placing of consideration on the uniqueness of the question for the totality of the Macedonian territory. Regardless of the borders to which country, when it comes to the specific history and heterogeneity of its historical result, the Macedonians belong, they belonged to one or another Macedonian floor. The division of the Macedonian territory led to the division of the Macedonian National Liberation movement during the antifascist struggle in the Second World War. The Macedonian people were also divided according to the state to which they previously belonged and now, to multiple parties - Greek, Bulgarian and Yugoslav Communist Party, all members of the Comintern. And thus without the existence of a Macedonian Communist Party or any other unifying thread, the Macedonians were left totally divided after the formal dissolution of the VMRO (U).

From this perspective, unwittingly or not, this manuscript has assumed an all far-reaching initiative to expose the Macedonian communist environments that loosely tied the four-part unity of the Macedonian anti-fascist people's war. And as is shown in the best of light and through the atrocities experienced, we paid dearly for this four-part loyalty.

The situation was complicated even more by the continuation of the conflict in the Aegean part of Macedonia when World War II formally ended. The allies that once fought together in the anti-fascist war, found themselves at odds after that war was over; with the Macedonians being caught in the middle. Stoian Kochov, as part of his effort in this book, has highlighted many of the problems that have resulted from this.

The Civil War in Greece, however, and the emergence of DAG, which continued the war for another 4 years, gave rise to a battlefield, guerrilla warfare, fraction-ization, ideological activism and worse consequences for the people in Aegean Macedonia.

Hidden behind the ideological defeat was the long kept secret of a classic example of ethnic cleansing. How was it possible for such a tragic and irreparable result to take place? - asks the author. This he would not be able to find, not even with the most rigorous means – not a single stranger. Then who was the person who first exposed the Macedonian people to rise in the national liberation struggle on such an extremely dangerous ground at the most explosive possible moment? And as the spell of this slogan took full effect; and when people rose with all their powers - then the handlers of this struggle manipulated the Macedonian participation. The fighting was led by the “cobbler” Gusias and by the “tobacco” producer Markos, now promoted to generals. The entire strategy was created and led exclusively by Greek strategists even though 50 percent of the DAG military force was Macedonian. Because of this, for a long time, Macedonians persistently continued to die after the strongholds Vicho and Gramos were lost to the enemy. Special people were sent to the entire Aegean Macedonian region and a few to the south of Macedonia to recruit patriotically minded young people among whom were refugees that had fled to the liberated Republic of Macedonia. Children were taken from their mothers in the

Macedonian villages and sent out into the world with no hope of ever returning... How was that possible? How was it possible that for the last 50 years all this was explained by the dark ideological falsehood, while we kept silent? There is no end to the questions, which is logical at the very thought of such a tragedy. The question is, was there an ethnic cleansing strategy underlying in relations to DAG in Aegean Macedonia? What was the role of Yugoslavia; the role of the Republic of Macedonia, its politics, its police, in all this? And finally, what kind of results did the Informburo Resolution yield in the end from plotting such a strategy? Who were those indoctrinated individuals among the Macedonian communist cadres, thinking they were performing heroic deeds, while surrendering our people to be exterminated and exiled from their ancestral homeland?

There is a good grasp in Kochov's manuscript about all the things that have been said. His main characteristics are: clarity, experience, argumentation, principled engagements, a love for the truth and the highest possible accuracy. Of course none of this is possible without making the effort to recover from the ingrained ideology and indoctrination; without a deep and sympathetic truthfulness and love for mankind; which will not let us pass without resistance, even without pain. Those who cannot free themselves from this indoctrination live in delusion and in the confidence that brought them to this crucial moment - heroic! Yes, heroic! But heroic for whom and against whom? Are some of the questions this author and this reviewer are asking... the reviewer, in this case is entirely on the side of the author and in support of his manuscript. It is within the author's right to ask these questions... which he does with passion.

But the truth is, that which was historic yesterday is still current today; and that is how it is going to be for a long time, especially with our neighbours; such as the one to our south.

The imperative challenge here is for the Macedonian people to generally become familiar with themselves and with the global conditions of the time, but also with the entire simple, complex and complicated chronicle of the Macedonian existence from then until now. Without such knowledge it will be even harder to face tomorrow...

Finally, it is important to tackle the notion that invariably suggests that there were Macedonian self-sympathizing principles and agreements, found in which are the basis for the possibility that a Macedonian would do harm to his own people. This is remote but perhaps possible because our overall history is about suffering and talks about suffering and nothing else, so anything is possible.

In the way the truth is spoken; in the way the merits are taken from those who earned them; in the same way the people expect nothing good from the privileged... In my opinion the highest value of the manuscript lies in this challenge, which I recommend for immediate publication.

Dr. Simon Drakul

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### THIRD REVIEW

With a personal view of the manuscript “Идеолошкиот активизам над Македонците под Грција” (Ideological Activism - Macedonians under Greece 1945-1949) by Stoian Kochov.

Reviewer: Iagnula Paskal Kunovska M.A.

Revolution or fraud! This is the dilemma that Stoian Kochov had the courage to tackle. He was the first author that dared to put it in written words; to place it before the consciousness of the people; in front of all us who, in the last long fifty years of history, kept silent, behaving like hypocrites, keeping our eyes closed over our own destiny and over the abyss at whose edge we are still hanging.

Back – following the historical footsteps of our destruction, Kochov has returned us to our past, to the facts which clearly have brought us standing before the Macedonian people of that period, before the Macedonian people under Greece and before the Greek Civil War of 1945-1949. Kochov has helped us gather our forces, alone by ourselves to recognize and to admit to ourselves that we are the people who suffered this tragedy, we are the people who were

victimized and driven out of our ancestral homes as a direct consequence of the past. Today we are facing the truth and gaining courage to stand up and mention that Solun, Kostur, Lerin, Voden... are our cities and we have no right to abandon them because that's where our homes are, built and left there for us by our Macedonian ancestors... built on our own soil.

The tireless and truth-seeking Kochov, who himself has experienced this tragedy, cast aside the set dilemma and offered us incontrovertible historical and political facts about the Greek Civil War and its tragic effects on the Macedonian people under Greece. He explicitly chose to research the Greek Civil War and DAG because of his own suffering and because of the many sacrifices, or (self) sacrifices as he calls them, that were made of so many Macedonian people. In that sense Kochov calls for casting out the forged historical lies, which have plagued us until now and which have turned us all into victims.

This labour, which is an elaboration on the Macedonian literature with content the author is particularly interested in, because it relates to the history of the Macedonian people from the Aegean part of Macedonia, in the first part, through reviews, emphasizes not only the value of literary works with Aegean topics, but especially stresses his love and grief as a first hand witness in the tragedy of his own people. He presents a mature historical commentary of facts with documents that he tirelessly researched and collected, in order to place them before the public. His passion for this work is a result of personal pain. He has a need to expose us all to the documented actions of our past. He wants us to know that, contrary to the strategy directly related to the process of self-destruction of the Macedonian nation - a nation that has experienced genocide and manipulations which have stayed with him to this day. It is a fact that the consequences of the Greek Civil War have been exploited politically and twisted to fit in our historiography and literature that was been written for those motives.

The author pays special attention and appeals to everyone to toss aside the "revolutionary pride" of the Macedonian people that have been lied to; of the Macedonian people that have been manipulated and sacrificed in an unspeakable tragedy which, up to now, has been

shamelessly promoted as “History of Aegean Macedonia”. This was done by people who used our tragedy for their own gains, who prospered from them for more than 50 years. There is nothing for us, the victims of this tragedy, of which to be proud!

Appalled by this incomprehensible deception, the author asks: - How is it possible? - Referring to the political manipulation of the sufferers. In that sense, the second part of his book is a pictorial history, a whirlwind of claims that politics can proudly manipulate human destiny. So consequently processed by the rise and fall of activism, which as a battle cry, sought justice with fire and sword and took us all to hell, to the evil that we call self-extermination.

Where was the national strategy? - asks the author, more for the sake of our readers, fearing that many still find “cosmopolitanism” charming despite the havoc it left us in, not only in our homeland, but also in the minds of all of us who were permanently exiled.

Stoian Kochov, like the Bible, has reminded us that time is an objective judge and that the silence must soon come to an end... because the universal maxim is - to start talking, we owe it to our history, to our case and to our tragedy.

The genocide which we experienced in the name of some option for Macedonian national interests does not exist for the author! We thought, said Kochov, that we fought for our national interests and option but without a strategy, therefore we only fought and gave our lives in defense of the Communist ideology, for someone else’s interests.

Who activated and for what purpose was the “Macedonian syndrome” of self-destruction activated, asks the author. And as the champion of truth, Kochov, in a loud and clear voice discloses his findings before the present and future generations. We have been the victims of alien ideological ploys and the CPM was just a bridge between the CPY and the CPG, which wittingly or unwittingly played a role in the destruction of its own people. Oh, is there a greater evil?



If we were blind and deaf for the last 50 years, and if we are still the same today, then what will we offer our future generations? Asks the author with a tone of fear.

As dramatic as his well-founded fear may be, Kochov points to the fact that the Macedonian fighters who fought in this war were never led by Macedonian generals - there were none. The Macedonian fighters were entrusted to Markos, not a Macedonian but a Madzhir dog, a settler and colonist, a Turkish Christian immigrant from Asia Minor, planted in Macedonia to turn Macedonians into Greeks. And did we expect him to solve our age old Macedonian national Question in our favour? As the leader of the armed struggle his plan, unfortunately, was to bring us our destruction. He waited 50 years and, just before he died in 1992, he told us what his true role was in that conflict. He said: "My role in that struggle was to drive the Slavo-Macedonians out of the northern parts of Greece. We were killing Slavs (Macedonians) in order for Macedonia to remain Greek."

And this is how this Madzhir dog, or Greek by birth, General Markos was prepared to solve the Macedonian national Question. And we, the Macedonian army, gave ourselves to him to lead us to our death.

Do you need more evidence of this? Then just pick up Kochov's book and read on. You will find out it was strangers and outsiders that led the said struggle and that their objectives had far reaching consequences - to exterminate the Macedonian national potential, to destroy a lasting testament to a people who have lived in their ancestral homes for centuries.

But where were the Macedonians..., our own leaders? The author openly asks this in order to emphasize the fact that they were nowhere to be found because there were none. The strategists who planned this conflict did not want Macedonians at the helm. There was no place for Macedonian leaders in this Macedonian tragedy. And those who were supposedly "leaders" had no power to act and operated as someone else's obedient, deaf and dumb servants... After the Greek Civil War they too were collected and cast out and, when they eventually returned to the Republic of Macedonia, took it

upon themselves to write “the heroic history of the winners...” in which they hid our national curse and our genocide.

All those strong leaders of ours, in the name of their simplicity, never did find the strength to name, to call the uprooting of our people from their fatherland for what it was, a genocide which began with the Greek Civil War and lasted to this day; the same as the half century of silence and hidden truth.

No one – said author Stoian Kochov - to date has asked – until when are we going to maintain silence about our tragedy. No one has asked what to call the evil that befell the Macedonian people under Greece, the evil that is still ongoing, thanks to our false pride, silence and absence of self-awareness.

It is easy to say “I am proud that I was a Communist...” But what would be decent for this proud communist is to admit that she was wrong and to bear responsibility for her mistakes. Their actions had consequences and they had the opportunity all these years to correct their mistakes from which an entire nation, an innocent population, had suffered.

The author remembers with bitterness the pain from his own words saying that there was no longer a need for silence. There was no need to forget the fact that the Macedonians have taken our own children from the arms of their mothers in the name of the revolution. We sent them to the mountains to fight for socialism. And without morals and scruples, like complete fools without conscience, we allowed our own children to be taken away from us and sent away to roam the world with no chance of ever returning home. We sent them away to grow up like orphans in foreign countries, to never be embraced and comforted by their mothers. And this is how our homes became empty, says the author, and this is how life and our century old voices were extinguished in our villages... This is how we helped the Greeks to keep the spoils they so easily won in 1913 via the Bucharest Treaty, when 51% of our Macedonia was handed to them and again in 1919 in Versailles. We in fact struggled for our own destruction, we sent our own children to an early grave... and for what? For the freedom of Greece... and

so that the Greeks could bulldoze all those graves and remove all traces that we ever existed...

All we have now, thanks to our “proud” people, are only the memories and shame of “defending” our Macedonia dressed in DAG uniforms. And this exactly is the truth about the proud upstanding Macedonian! - says author Stoian Kochov whether you like it or not. Even if this hurts someone’s “pride”, which the Siberians called “a shameful end”, then so be it!

Regardless of the fact that many people may find it difficult to understand; i.e. that they did bad things when they were called to do good things for their people in the name of the truth of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, for the simple reason that they should not only have been there physically, present among their people, but they should have been there psychologically and should have helped prevent our tragedy. They should have foreseen that our genocide was planned and should have done everything in their power to prevent it. They should have realized that only the Macedonian people rightfully can resolve the Macedonian Question and that a solution could not be imposed, especially by the unreliable Greeks... Unfortunately this is what happened and who is to be blamed for that? That is why today we need to be brave and face our tragedy – says the author – to learn from it so that it is never repeated. This is why we need to present to our people an impartial history, not a suppressed version of it...

The author feels beholden to himself and to his people despite the unfounded attacks on him as a writer and historian and on his brilliant book “(Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece”, which have caused him personal pain. He is forgiving and continues to work, free from influence and from the political interests of the day. His aim is to make his work, the archival material he has uncovered, available to the public and as such his work is invaluable.

The author has personally suffered immensely as a participant in DAG, which gives him the right to openly speak about his experience and voice his concerns. The pain and grief he feels has motivated him to not only become familiar with that part of our

history for himself but to also put his findings onto paper for us all; for our benefit.

Kochov does not want to hide the fact that we, the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, have been driven out of our own country, from our ancestral lands, with our help, by being misdirected and manipulated. He also does not want to hide the fact that when we returned to the Republic of Macedonia, after the Greek Civil War ended, we were treated as second-class citizens and placed in ghettos...

His views – his facts and his analysis of the evil that was committed during the historical years of the Greek Civil War, are loud and clear. He adamantly disagrees with previous stated positions on our national historiography. The author, with his knowledge as a fighter of DAG, is telling us that the “class struggle” he fought in was never about liberating Macedonia and the Macedonian people as a nation, and therefore it makes no sense for us to be proud of a lie, a scam and what was perpetrated against us!

In the end, after 50 years of silence and untruths, the author openly welcomes historical corrections which provide a different light to what actually happened; the Macedonian syndrome of self-destruction.

Thanks to the daring move of this author, today the “white” pages of our history are open and as he himself says - like it or not – we will face the truth of our history – of our own destruction... this is the only way we can understand our age-old wish about a United Macedonia... which is not uprooted and it never will be...

Skopje, April 30, 1995

Sincerely,  
Iagnula Paskal Kunovska M.A.

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ПЕРО СИМИЌ – “ТАЈНАТА НА СТОЛЕТИЕТО.”

И КНИГАТА: “КОС И УДБА”- АКЦИИТЕ И ДОКУМЕНТИТЕ  
НА ТАЈНИТЕ СЛУЖБИ

Note from the author:

I wrote this book 16 years ago (1984), because of all that I have  
been through I could not remain silent!

Stoian Kochov

About the Author

Stoian Kochov was born in 1930 in the village Turie, Lerin Region.  
During the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) he was an active  
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## Acronyms

AFZH - Women's Anti-Fascist Front  
ASNOM – Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia  
BRP(k) – Communist Party of Bulgaria  
CPG - Communist Party of Greece  
CPM - Communist Party of Macedonia  
CPY - Communist Party of Yugoslavia  
CVG - Greek Civil War  
DAG – Democratic Army of Greece  
EAM – National Liberation Front  
ELAS – National Liberation Army of Greece  
EON – National Youth Organization  
EPON – All Greek National Youth Organization  
KOEM – Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia  
KOS - Counter-intelligence Sector of JAN  
NKVD – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs  
NOBG – People's Liberation Struggle in Greece  
NOBM – People's Liberation Struggle in Macedonia  
NOF – Peoples' Liberation Front  
NOMS - Peoples' Liberation Youth Organization  
OKNE - Communist Youth Organization of Greece  
ONOO – Local People's Liberation Council  
OZNA – People's Defense Division  
PAO - Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization  
PDEG – Pan-Greek Democratic Union of Women  
PDOG – International Federation of Democratic Women  
POJ - Partisan Units of Yugoslavia  
SID - Information Services of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
SNOF - Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front  
SKP(b) – Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
UDBA - Directorate of State Security  
USSR – United Soviet Socialist Republics