

*A never-ending  
campaign to erase  
everything  
Macedonian*



By  
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**A never-ending campaign to erase everything  
Macedonian**

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**How can there be no Macedonians if the Macedonian Question has  
been in existence for over 150 years? Risto Nikovski.**

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Ethnic Macedonia partitioned in 1913

## Introduction

In my over thirty years of research I have discovered that, without a doubt, there are factors, major factors, out there that want everything Macedonian erased. To this day I have not figured out why this is but I have documented how and by whom this erasure is being waged.

My aim in this write-up is to historically expose this grand but gradual campaign to erase everything Macedonian, including the Macedonian people.

While every country, old and new, was welcomed to take its place in the world during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Macedonia, an ancient country, was continuously and without exception, suppressed and prevented. The suppressions varied from time to time but have not ceased to this day.

I can only speculate as to why this is happening to Macedonia and the Macedonian people but I am certain of who is doing it and how they are doing it, which will be the focus of this write-up. But first I need to explain the underlying circumstances of how Macedonia and the Macedonian people ended up in this predicament.

It the past, it was the European Great Powers who allowed Macedonia to be invaded, occupied and Partitioned. That was well and good, but who is pulling the strings today?

Let us not delude ourselves that Greece alone changed our name, or that Bulgaria is the only one who is nationally disfiguring us. It is a notorious truth that behind all this are the interests of the United States, followed by the EU. We must not forget that after the collapse of Yugoslavia, independent Macedonia encountered a fierce international boycott on the path to international establishment. Unprecedented activities and measures were immediately launched to definitively close the “Macedonian question”. More precisely - to erase the Macedonian

people. The same policy has been ongoing all this time, for 30 years, and now - it is being finalized.

All countries negotiate and agree on current issues and future cooperation. Macedonia, however, has been forced through negotiations to revise its own history, and accept both corrections and definitions of the histories of its neighbours, making unimaginable national concessions to its own detriment.

FIRST THEY RECRISTENED US, NOW... AMERICAN AGGRESSION IS APPLIED ON A LARGE SCALE TO ERASE US EVERYWHERE. WE EITHER EXIST AS MACEDONIANS OR WE DO NOT EXIST AT ALL, THAT IS OUR CHOICE. There is no third option.

It is undeniable that Macedonia's strategic goal is to become a member of the European Union. That is a good idea. But at what cost?

Our "dear neighbours" Greece and Bulgaria will not miss a single opportunity to let us know that, for EU membership - we depend on them. And they will have countless demands or, even more so - blackmail and ultimatums. With American help, they will not stop until everything Macedonian is erased. We will then join the EU but not as Macedonians.

Why?

Because "someone" wants the Macedonians permanently erased and has been patiently doing it for many years mostly through its proxies. The Macedonian people's desire to join the EU has, once again, opened this opportunity and this time the USA has taken the lead to close the "Macedonian Question" for good.

Before I continue I want to mention something which may become relevant later. A couple of decades ago I received a phone call, which lasted a few hours, during which a of couple issues were brought up that may be relevant to our discussion here. The man on the other side of the

line introduced himself as a person working for one of the American agencies, I will not mention which one, but you can guess. He wanted to know what we were doing; what our plans were? I said I did not understand what he was asking me and asked him to elaborate. He said the articles you are writing and passing around on the internet. Oh that, I said, I am writing about Macedonia's history and as I discover more things I write about them. For what purpose, he asked. Just as a learning exercise I said, why do you ask? Well, because you may have some sort of plan? Why kind of plan, I asked. You know the kind that would reunite Macedonia, Alexander's Macedonia. I had to laugh at this point and at the same time I said you must be joking. A tiny country like Macedonia, what could it possibly do? After a short pause he asked how many soldiers Alexander had when he started the Asia campaign? I said about 45,000 of whom 15,000 were Macedonians. He then said it is determination and a good plan that brings success, not numbers. I told him I had no such plan. I was a simple person trying to learn my history and teach my friends at the same time. I then asked him what this was all about? He said that the United States works on a 100-year plan and investigates everything and if it sees a threat it likes to "nip it in the bud". In other words, eliminate it before it has a chance to grow.

This and other things I learned from that man got me thinking and pushing my envelope to way beyond what was reasonable and rational. It prompted me to ask the question why did the USA build the Bondsteel base in Kosovo? As far as I know it houses 50,000 US soldiers. I was led to believe it was there to protect the Balkans from the Russians... But then the Russians are many miles north of Kosovo.

Throughout the various chapters of this book I will provide you with information accumulated, not just by myself but also by other authors, that will show how major factors, especially the USA, are involved in the gradual erosion of everything Macedonian.

## **The Macedonian Peninsula**

As is well known, before the Roman occupation Macedonia was the only regional super power in the Balkans which lasted from Philip II's time (382BC-336BC) to Philip V's time (221BC–179BC) and became a world power in the then known world from Alexander III, the Great's time (356BC-323BC) to Cleopatra VII's time (69BC-30BC). So, one can say that Macedonia was a dominant power for over 300 years during which time it established a cultural foothold in and around the Eastern Mediterranean world, especially in the Macedonian Peninsula, today known as the Balkans.

Philip II, by war coercion and diplomacy conquered the entire region stretching from the Danube River in the north, to the Mediterranean Sea in the south and from the Black Sea in the east to the Adriatic Sea in the west. This region existed under Macedonian rule without borders for about 200 years. It again existed for another 1,800 years without borders all throughout the Roman, Eastern Roman and Ottoman occupations until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In other words, this entire region existed without borders for about 2,000 years, from Philip II's time until the Ottoman Empire began to crumble in the Balkans in the early 1800's AD.

Roman occupation was so oppressive that people found life very difficult until Christianity came into being, in which the Macedonian people found salvation. Macedonia was the first region in the Balkans to adopt Christianity and gradually propagate it north as far as Siberia.

As it is today, the Balkan Region was always multi-ethnic and multi-cultural but Christianity bound the people together.


If there is anything to be learned from this short chapter it is that the people in this region of the Balkans existed without borders for 2,000 years and for most of that time it was held together by Christianity. Also, one can say that no nations existed before the French revolution, only occupying Empires.





## МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ПОЛУОСТРОВ



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## HISTORICAL MAP OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA



# МАКЕДОНСКИЙ ПОЛУОСТРОВ



## **The Macedonian language**

A common factor, outside of Christianity, that bound the people of the Macedonian Peninsula together, the region between the Danube River in the north, the Aegean Sea in the south, the Black Sea in the east and the Adriatic Sea in the west, was the Macedonian language which, over time evolved into the so-called Slavic family of languages of today. There are three undeniable facts that the Macedonian language is the mother of all Slavic languages.

First, Macedonia was never covered by glacial ice and since the glaciers melted from the south to the north, so did the migration of people who went north and took their languages with them. The Macedonian language has its origins in the Pelasgian language, indigenous to the Macedonian Peninsula.

Second, there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that there is an indisputable relationship between the Macedonian language and the other Slavic languages as well as the toponymy in Macedonia and the toponymies in most of Eastern Europe (except in Hungary. The Hungarians are newcomers to the region).

Third, and most important, Christianity and Macedonian culture are the bedrock of Eastern Europe all the way up to Siberia. The Macedonian language, culture and toponymy, originating in Macedonia. They were shared in the entire Macedonian Peninsula and beyond all the way north to Siberia, just like the English language, English culture and English toponymy originating in England found themselves shared in North America and Australia today.

There is nothing special about the Macedonian language except that it is very old, one of the six oldest languages in the world, and relates back to the early Pelasgian language, more commonly known as the Homeric language. The only other special attribute the Macedonian language has is that it has caused many problems for the architects of our modern world about which I will speak about later.

Our mainstream history has taught us that the Ancient Macedonians spoke Greek, a language which did not exist in ancient times because the word “Greek” did not exist and is a modern creation, a Latin word. But nonetheless, mainstream history wants us to believe that the ancient Macedonians spoke Greek. Yes, some of the ancient Macedonians spoke a regional language, the so-called Attic language, but this language was spoken by only educated people such as diplomats and court officials; not by the common Macedonians. This was not a Macedonian mother tongue. The common Macedonian language that the vast majority of Macedonians spoke was their mother tongue, which mainstream history calls “another language”, a language that Alexander the Great used to summon his personal guards when he was in distress. This small fact proves to us that the common Macedonian people indeed spoke a language that was unique to the Macedonians. That language, with roots in the Pelasgian language, has survived and evolved into today’s Macedonian language and is the mother language of all so-called Slavic languages. Proof of this can be found in the fact that the Macedonian language was understood by the Slav speakers in Eastern Europe. Also, Macedonia was recognized as the cradle of the Slav literacy, which is true to this day. (Putin: Macedonia is a cradle of all Slavic literacy).

I need to mention here that the Macedonian Peninsula was also multi-lingual. People also spoke Koine, Latin, Turkish, Vlach, Albanian, Roma, etc., but these were not indigenous languages. These languages were brought there from the outside. The vast majority of the people there, spoke the Macedonian language.

The Koine language was also a Macedonian language (Koinon Makedonon) codified in Alexandria, Egypt by the Macedonian Ptolemaic dynasty and was spoken all around the Macedonian kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa. Koine, however, was never a language of the common people, it was always a language of administration and commerce.

The written form of the Macedonian language gained popularity in Eastern Europe during the rise of Christianity when the word of God needed to be spread among the common people and understood by them.

By making contact directly with the native people, the Christians began to institutionalize the local languages by giving them life through the written scriptures and through educating the masses to read and write. Unfortunately, at the turn of the new millennium, in Europe at least, there were only three scripts available upon which to base the written word and these were Aramaic, Koine and Latin. Most local languages had far richer sounds than the existing written scripts could accommodate and in time had to be refined. For the Macedonians, this would take a few centuries but eventually a single refined universal script, the Cyrillic script, would emerge and bring Macedonia back to its former intellectual and cultural glory.

With time Christianity introduced the gospel to all the people in every corner of the known world and with it came the written word, formalization and later the institutionalization of the modern written languages. The Macedonian language, to which history refers as the language spoken by Alexander's soldiers, was no exception. It too was formalized in Macedonia by the Solun Brothers Kiril and Metodi and was spread around the Macedonian speakers, known in mainstream history as the Slav speakers, and taught to priests and teachers in the Ohrid University, the first university in Europe. The priests and teachers in turn taught it to the Slavic or rather Macedonian speakers in Eastern Europe all the way to Siberia. The language, through which the word of God was spread to the Eastern European Christians (except Hungary), today is known as Church Slavonic. This language, based on the Solun dialect of the Macedonian language first came into use in church liturgy around 850AD and is still in use in some places to this day.

Naturally, the Macedonian language evolved over the last two to three millennia into many dialects which, over time, were codified into

various different languages, but still belonging to the Slavic or Macedonian family of languages.

Mainstream history calls the Macedonian language “Slavic” but offers no explanation on the etymology of the word “Slavic”. In other words, how did the Macedonian language come to be known as “Slavic”? And for this, we have to go back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century when the word “Slav” appeared in history for the first time.

First, let me say that no such word appeared in history in reference to Macedonia and the Macedonian people. So, it did not originate in Macedonia. This was very convenient for the 19<sup>th</sup> century historians who were deciding Macedonia’s fate. In order to hide the fact that the “Slavic” language originated in Macedonia they found a way to show that the word “Slav” came from north of the Danube River. By proving this, they could then say that the Slavic speaking Macedonians must also have come from north of the Danube River. But, what does the word “Slav” mean and how did it come into use to describe a vast number of people from the Macedonian Peninsula all the way to Siberia?

What mainstream history has failed to tell us, which is crucial to this story, is that the word “Slav” is derived from the word “Slovo” which in Macedonian means “word”. So, when Justinian’s people were trying to identify the tribes north of the Danube, they were told that “the people there were people of the same word”. In other words, they were people who spoke the same language. This is my understanding of how the word “Slav” came into existence.

Later, after they were Christianized, these same people came to be known as “Pravoslavi” which means “Upright and Glorious”.

When the same people were asked by Justinian’s people to describe their neighbours, the German tribes, they said they were the “nemtsi” which in Macedonian means the “mutes” because when they were spoken to they did not respond. I have personally heard the word

“nemtsi” being used to describe the Germans, not by Macedonians but by Montenegrins, which I found amusing. Then, when I asked the same Montenegrins to describe themselves in the scheme of things, they referred to themselves as “lazy Macedonians”, which I also found amusing.

Now I would like to mention one more thing. One day, a Macedonian man and his wife went on vacation to Vienna and decided to visit, what the man called, the Balkan section of Vienna. After the man and his wife sat in a very busy café two men walked in looking for a table. The Macedonian man waved them over to his table and asked them to sit with he and his wife. The Macedonian man then asked them where they were from. One of them said they were from Bulgaria. While they were conversing in English another two men entered the café. The Macedonian man also waved them over to his table. After they sat down the Macedonian man asked them where they were from. One of them said they were from Greece. Then, as the Macedonian man started explaining to his wife in Macedonian, who did not speak English, about his conversation with the strangers, the strangers started laughing. When the Macedonian man asked in English why they were laughing, they all said they too were Macedonians.

This may sound like a fairy tale but it is a true story. The Macedonian man later told me that this broke his heart; it was an emotional experience for all of them.

These stories may be trivial and even funny, but they are part of our Macedonian fate in the Macedonian Peninsula which cannot and must not be ignored or forgotten.

## The Macedonian Alphabet

Аа	Бб	Вв	Гг	А а	Б б	В в	Г г
Дд	Ѓѓ	Ее	Жж	Д д	Ѓ ѓ	Е е	Ж ж
Зз	Сс	Ии	Јј	З з	С с	И и	Ј ј
Кк	Лл	Љљ	Мм	К к	Л л	Љ љ	М м
Нн	Њњ	Оо	Пп	Н н	Њ њ	О о	П п
Рр	Сс	Тт	Ќќ	Р р	С с	Т т	Ќ ќ
Уу	Фф	Хх	Цц	У у	Ф ф	Х х	Ц ц
Чч	Ѣѣ	Шш		Ч ч	Ѣ ѣ	Ш ш	



КОИНОН МАКЕДОНОН

<b>А</b>	<b>А</b>	"А лфа" - јас зборувам,
<b>В</b>	<b>В</b>	"Вита" - живот, витална,
<b>Г</b>	<b>Г</b>	"Грам Ма" - пишува на Ма,
<b>Д</b>	<b>Д</b>	"Де 'л та" - таа светлата на Дон,
<b>Е</b>	<b>Е</b>	"Е п с ил он" - тој силнот бог,
<b>⊙</b>	<b>S,Se</b>	"Se" - буквата на богот Se,
<b>І</b>	<b>З</b>	"Зота",
<b>Н</b>	<b>А,Е</b>	"Ета" - е таа (светата буква),
<b>⊖</b>	<b>Ѓ</b>	"Ѓета",
<b>І</b>	<b>И</b>	"Ита",
<b>К</b>	<b>К</b>	"Ката",
<b>Л</b>	<b>Л</b>	"Лота" - кратка,
<b>М</b>	<b>М</b>	"Ма"- буквата на Божицата Ма,
<b>Н</b>	<b>Н</b>	"Ни" - букв. на божицата Ника,
<b>⊚</b>	<b>КС</b>	"Ксе" - буквата на богот Ксе,
<b>О о</b>	<b>о</b>	"о" - мало,
<b>Г</b>	<b>П</b>	"Пј" - буквата на богот Пј,
<b>Р</b>	<b>Р</b>	"Ро" - буквата на богот Ра,
<b>Σ</b>	<b>С</b>	"Сама",
<b>Т</b>	<b>Т</b>	"Тар"- буквата на богот Т (Тор),
<b>У</b>	<b>Ј</b>	"Јота",
<b>Ф</b>	<b>Ф</b>	"Фе"- букв. на богот на силата,
<b>Х</b>	<b>Х</b>	"Хита",
<b>У</b>	<b>Ч</b>	"Чита",
<b>Ω</b>	<b>О</b>	"О ме га" - големо О како МА,
<b>V</b>	<b>У</b>	"Ута",
<b>Q</b>	<b>Ку</b>	"Ку" - Ку Se, кај Se,
<b>⊕</b>	<b>Џ</b>	"Џота" - џам - прозор,
<b>⊗</b>	<b>Ш</b>	"Шта",
<b>КОМБИНАЦИИ</b>		
<b>ГГ</b>	<b>П'</b>	"П'Пој" - пеј,
<b>ГТ</b>	<b>П'Т</b>	"П'Тол" - камен,
<b>ГФ</b>	<b>—</b>	

*M. Stojanov*

The Koine Alphabet

## The so-called Slavs

At this point I want to say something about the so-called “Slavs” but I will let Florin Curta say something first: “Instead of a great flood of Slavs coming out of the Pripet marshes, I envisage a form of group identity which could arguably be called ethnicity and emerged in response to Justinian’s implementation of a building project on the Danube frontier and in the Balkans. The Slavs, in other words, did not come from the north, but became Slavs only in contact with the Roman frontier.” (Page 3, Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs, History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500 – 700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

The Slavs, as opposed to other hordes that invaded the Balkans in the first millennium AD, became very important during the 19th century, particularly in 1833 when Slavic languages were recognized as Indo-European. Like the English language of today, the Slavic language of the 19th century linguistically linked many nations together. Some of the 19th century Slavic academics, however, intentionally or unintentionally interpreted this linguistic commonality as an ethnic commonality, ethnically linking all Slav speakers together. In other words, if one spoke a Slavic language then one must have belonged to the “Slav tribe”, which in modern terms is the same as believing that if one spoke English then one must belong to the “English tribe”.

The idea of searching for the origin of the Slavs was born out of the theory that “all nations must have ancestors in the ancient world”. Unfortunately, the study of the Slavs began as an almost exclusively linguistic and philological enterprise ignoring historiography and archeology as a means of identifying ethnicity. Based on linguistic evidence alone, it is estimated that the ancient homeland of the Slavs most probably lay between the rivers Visla, Dneiper, Desna and the western Dniva and the Carpathians or, perhaps, in Polesje, in the triangle formed by Brest – Litovsk and Mohilev – Kiev. If any archeology was used to derive these estimates, more often than not, it was used to illustrate conclusions already drawn from the analysis of

linguistic material. The concept of a “Slav ethnicity” was a powerful tool for the nation builders and nationalists of the 19th century who used it to unite their people and the Slav language was the perfect instrument for exploring Slav history. However, Slav history began with the first mention of the Slavs, which happened to take place in Justinian’s time in the sixth century AD.

The invention of the “Slav tribe” unfortunately had negative consequences for the Macedonian people, which are still felt to this day. Assuming that Macedonians are Slavs only because their language belongs to the Slavic family of languages, has unwittingly turned the Macedonian people into victims of modern politics. After being classified as Slavs, the 19th century Macedonians were regarded as foreigners and invaders in their own ancestral lands. Since there was no historic mention of Slavs living in Macedonia before the 6th century AD it was naturally assumed that the Slavs must have come to Macedonia from somewhere else. This helped the architects who created Greece to claim that the modern Macedonians have nothing to do with the ancient Macedonians and that the Macedonian language spoken today has nothing to do with the ancient Macedonian language spoken in ancient times which, according to them, was Greek. This also avoided the idea of the Macedonian language being the mother or bedrock of the Slavic family of languages. Imagine, if in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Russians spoke a Macedonian language that originated with the ancient Macedonians, at the time when languages and ethnicities were viewed as being the same thing?

Fortunately, for the last fifty years or so, historians have turned to archeology for answers and are beginning to discover new evidence that, more often than not, contradicts the old beliefs. Archeological evidence combined with DNA and genetic studies is slowly revealing that the modern Macedonians are not newcomers but in fact are the descendants of the older races of people living in the Balkans.

As mentioned earlier, the Slavs came into being for the first time as a consequence of coming into contact with Justinian’s administration

during the 6th century AD. Unfortunately, Justinian's administrators left very few clues as to the origins and language of these people. Again, most attempts to identify the origin of the Slavs were made by linguistic and philological experts very much biased by 19th century nationalistic ambitions.

Many historians today believe that the widespread use of the Slav language began with the Veneti. During the first millennium BC, the Veneti occupied almost all of Europe including the Balkans. The Veneti are mentioned by Herodotus, Polibius, Strabo, Ptolemy, Livy, Pomponius Mela, Tacitus and Jordanes. Unfortunately, to most ancient historians the Veneti were just another barbarian tribe and very little was known about them. The Veneti were also mentioned in Caesar's book where he gives an account of the conquest of Gaul. Among other things, Caesar compliments the Veneti for offering him great resistance. "The Veneti are by far the strongest tribe on the coast," wrote Caesar. "They possess the most powerful fleet with which they sail as far as Britain." (Page 197, Jozko Šavli, Matej Bor, Ivan Tomazic, VENETI: First Builders of European Community, Boswell, B.C., 1966)

The earliest writer to mention the Veneti was Homer, some 800 years before Caesar. After Troy had fallen, the Eneoi (Veneti), who according to Livy fought on the side of Troy, drove out the Etruscans and the Eugeneis in Liburnia after a long sea voyage along the Illyrian coast and then settled beyond the Timara River. Livy also mentions that Paphlagonia, on the south coast of the Black Sea, was the homeland of the Veneti. According to Tacitus and Ptolemy, however, the great nation of the Veneti lived in the area between the Vistula, the Danube and the central Dnieper.

There is a close parallel between Justinian's Slavs and the Veneti. It was most likely that Justinian encountered the Veneti in the Danube region and, not being familiar with them, classified them as Slavs, which was simply an arbitrary administrative label for the barbarian tribes he located beyond the Danube.

Regardless of what has been said and done, what does all this have to do with the Macedonians?

It is well known that the ancient Macedonians were indigenous to Macedonia and the Macedonian Peninsula. It is also well known that the ancient Macedonian elite spoke variations of the Attic language and another language that was unique to the Macedonians. The common people, however, did not speak Attic and their mother tongue was that “other language”, which mainstream history refuses to identify. That was then but what about now?

Now the Macedonians speak the Macedonian language which belongs to the Slavic family of languages. But how can that be? Mainstream history has insisted that the ancient Macedonians spoke Greek, just like the Greeks to the south of Macedonia speak? They spoke Greek in ancient times and they speak Greek today! How in the hell did that filthy Slavic language end up being spoken by the Macedonians and, not only that, it is their mother tongue! This cannot be, it cannot be allowed to happen! It has implications... negative implications. If the modern Macedonians speak a Slavic language that means the ancient Macedonians spoke a Slavic language too. Oh my God no! That cannot be... It must not be allowed.

And thus, the Great Migration Theory was born.

It was created to explain why the Macedonians today speak a Slavic language when the ancient Macedonians spoke a Greek language. In other words, the Great Migration Theory was concocted to fool the world that the modern Macedonians were Slavs, newcomers to the region who came to Macedonia during the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. They did not say the language was brought from somewhere else, they did not say it was a dialect of the Bulgarian language, they said the entire Macedonian population came from somewhere behind the Carpathian Mountains, killed off the entire indigenous population and replaced it. Mainstream history has supported this theory to this day and since then it has destroyed everything that contradicts it and with it the

Macedonian people who are witness to this tragedy and are a constant reminder of the atrocities committed against them.

Just to summarize. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Great Powers of Europe decided that Macedonians do not exist and that the descendants of the ancient Macedonians were killed off and replaced by Slavs who came to Macedonia en masse during the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. This, however, is a blatant lie, the Macedonians have existed on the Macedonian Peninsula for over 3,000 years. The modern Macedonians are their descendants. They are not pure or direct descendants, there is no such thing. They are the descendants of the ancient Macedonians and a mix of every invader who passed and settled in Macedonia. That is the reality.

## **Destruction of the Macedonian Peninsula and the birth of Balkanization**

For those who don't know, Balkanization refers to the fragmentation of a region or larger state into smaller, often hostile and independent entities. The term describes a breakdown caused by deep ethnic, cultural, or religious differences, frequently resulting in conflict and a lack of cooperation between the newly formed groups. The origin of the term Balkanization was coined in the early 20th century, deriving its name from the historically fragmented Balkan or Macedonian Peninsula. It gained widespread use after World War I to describe the violent political and ethnic breakups that followed the collapse of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the Ottoman Empire began to break up at its fringes in the Macedonian Peninsula, it prompted what was then called the Eastern Crisis or the Eastern Question, which basically boiled down to “what was going to happen to the lands and people living on the Macedonian Peninsula after the Ottoman Empire collapsed? This was a question for the Great European Powers to ponder.

The people of the region, especially the revolutionaries who were looking forward to finally freeing themselves from the over 400 years of Ottoman occupation, wanted to create one large Christian country in which the Ottoman Muslim government would be replaced with a Christian government.

Outside of the fact that several Empires rose and fell during the 2,000-year period without borders, the Macedonian Peninsula was one country in which a variety of peoples and tribes coexisted bound by the Christian faith. The people were also aware that before the various occupations, which lasted about 2,000 years, this territory was ruled by Macedonians, so naturally it was only logical that it would be returned to the Macedonians after the Ottomans left. Right? WRONG!!

I can only imagine the chills running down the spines of the English, Russian, French and Austro-Hungarian Royals, imagining another Macedonian power emerging in the Macedonian Peninsula.

While the people wanted their own Christian country, the Great Powers wanted the Macedonian Peninsula broken up into many pieces. They were going to create small, easily manageable equally-sized and diverse countries that would hate each other and fight against one another for all eternity. And in less than a couple of centuries they succeeded.

The process by which the Macedonian Peninsula was broken up can only be described as artificial nation building or nation re-engineering because, as I mentioned earlier, the people living in the Macedonian Peninsula only wanted to live together in one country under a Christian government. This could have been done easily if the Great Powers wanted. Instead they chose something different because they did not want another large country, especially a large Macedonian country on their European continent. So, instead of looking for ways to unite the people under a single Christian governorship, the Great powers began to look for ways to permanently divide the people. And thus, the process of Balkanization began.

The people living in today's Serbia were told that they were the descendants of the Sorbs. The people living in today's Bulgaria were told they were the descendants of a Turkic tribe of elite fighters who came to the region during the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. The Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Latins and Macedonians living in today's Greece were told they were Greeks, descendants of the so-called ancient Greeks. The people living in Albania, especially the Gëgs, were told that they were a people that came to this region from ancient Albania located in today's Azerbaijan. And finally, the people living in Macedonia were told that they were Slavs who came to the region from behind the Carpathian Mountains during the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. And there you have it. No one in the Macedonian Peninsula was Macedonian, they were all something different; very different from each other and, over time, they were convinced of that and are still convinced of it to this day.

New histories were written for them to fit their new profile and foreign leaders (kings) were appointed to lead them and guide the formation of their new identities.

But as some of them began to realize what was going on, especially when their engineered narrative did not agree with their own memories and oral traditions, they began to look for answers elsewhere. However, they were quickly shut down and punished. In the meantime, when they sought the same things as their neighbours they became suspicious, not realizing that before their little countries were created they all lived under the same roof. Many felt that what their neighbours had was actually theirs. The Greeks felt like Macedonia was theirs and so did the Bulgarians, Serbians and Albanians and began to appropriate everything Macedonian, calling it Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian. No one had the foresight to look at the toponymy which was Macedonian all throughout the Macedonian peninsula. When they did, they began to change it to fit their new identities.

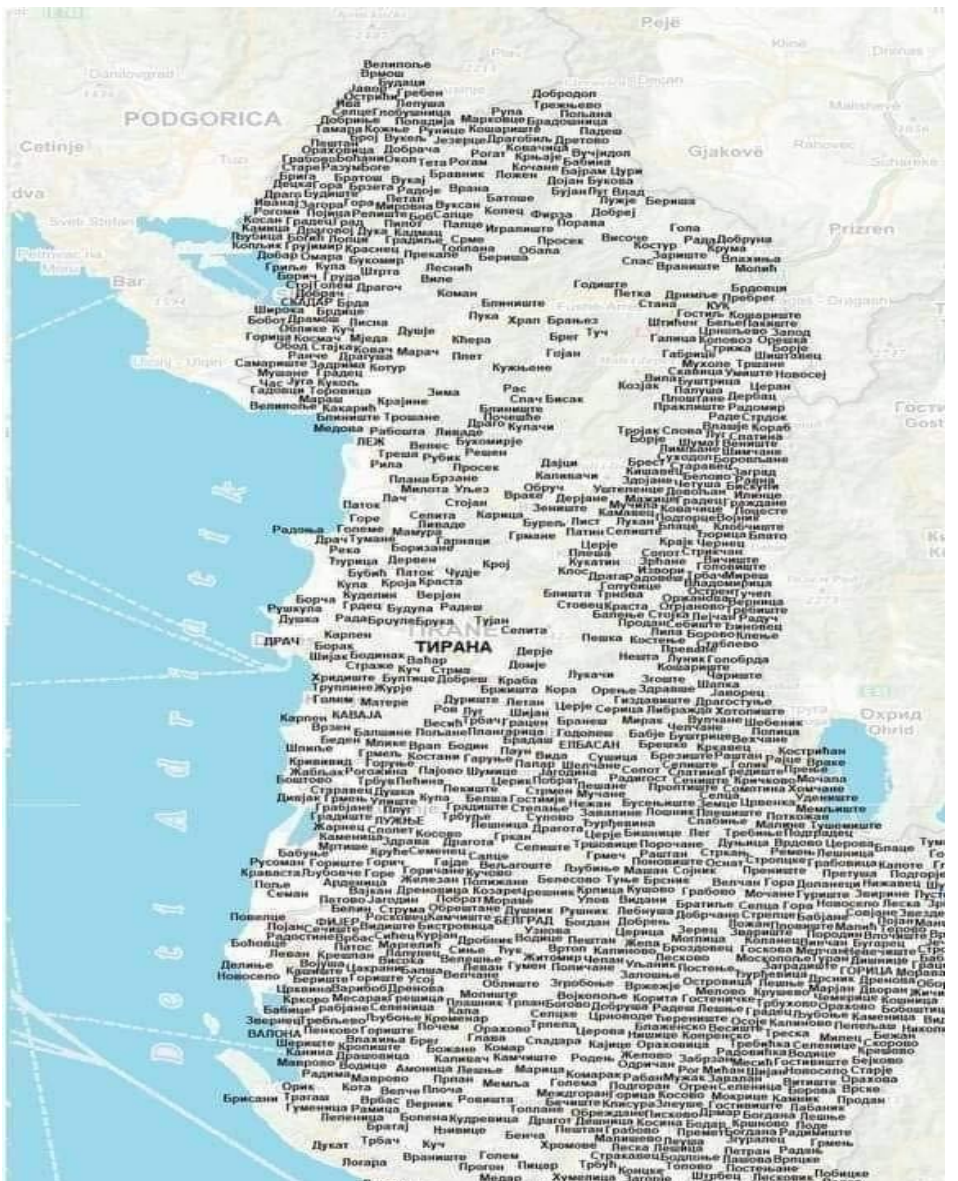
This can be best illustrated with a bunch of cousins that have a common grandfather who were adopted by a number of different families and had forgotten their past. Then they suddenly recognized their grandfather and instead of realizing that they had a common grandfather they began to fight each other shouting, “he is not your grandfather, he is my grandfather”. And so, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Albania fought over Macedonia, each claiming it was theirs. This has not stopped. It is continuing to this day. Once united under Christianity, they are now divided by artificial boundaries and artificial identities, fighting one another to no end.

This is the 19<sup>th</sup> century legacy created by the Great Powers of Europe at the expense of the Macedonian people. But this is not all! Ever since the Ottomans left the Balkans, the same Great Powers pledged to never let the Macedonian people rise up again, and to make sure of that, they waged a long and silent war to exterminate them.

What is truly sad about this story, which gave life to the term “Balkanization”, is that these innocent people were lied to about who they are by outsiders to serve outside interests. They were told to be suspicious of one another and to fight to protect part of their world and their artificial identities; and when they did exactly what was expected of them, they were laughed at and ridiculed thus giving birth to the term Balkanization.



The toponymy Fallmerayer discovered in the Peloponnesus when Greece was first created



## Albanian toponymia

## The Macedonian Question

Right after the Eastern Crisis passed and the Eastern Question began to be solved, a number of small countries were created at the fringes of the crumbling European part of the Ottoman Empire in which Macedonia stood at its center. By the turn of the century (1900) Macedonia was surrounded by Greece to the south, Serbia to the north and Bulgaria to the east. Albania was still under Ottoman occupation.

The moment all these statelets came into existence it became obvious that the rest of the European part of the Ottoman Empire would fall apart, it was now a matter of when. It was at this time that the Macedonian question was born. What to do with Macedonia and its people after the Ottomans were evicted.

The Great Powers of Europe did not want a Macedonian state to re-surface again, knowing what kind of people the Macedonians were in the past and especially if they possessed the potential to re-unite the people living on the Macedonian Peninsula into a single country. So, sometime between 1850 and 1878, they decided that there would be no Macedonian state and that the Macedonian lands and people would be divided by Macedonia's neighbours, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria.

The Great Powers convened a conference in Istanbul (Tsari Grad) in 1876 to discuss strategies on how to deal with the insurrections and the "Eastern Question" in general. Representatives of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Britain, Germany, France and Italy attended the conference and decided to place Macedonia and Bulgaria under the control of the Great Powers. The Ottomans rejected their demands and soon found themselves at odds with Russia. By early 1877, war broke out in Serbia and Montenegro followed by a massive Russian invasion of Bulgaria. The Ottoman armies were decimated and they were forced to talk peace. Peace was negotiated between Russia and the Ottomans on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1878, (the San Stefano Treaty) without Western Power consent. Russia, as usual, was concerned more with self-interests and less with the interests of the people it was trying to protect, so Russia

sought the opportunity to realize a long-held ambition in the Balkans, access to the Mediterranean Sea. The following agreements were reached:

1. The Ottomans were forced to recognize Greek sovereignty over Thessaly.
2. Montenegro was declared independent.
3. The Ottomans were forced to provide autonomy to an extended Bulgaria that included Macedonia, western Thrace, part of Albania and a district of Serbia.

The conclusion of this treaty sent shock waves not only through the Western Powers, who had a lot to lose (financial investments in the Ottoman Empire), but also to states like Greece and Serbia who had territorial ambitions of their own towards Ottoman territories.

Disturbed by the Russian tactics, the Western Powers re-convened the Eastern Question in Berlin in July 1878. At this point the San Stefano agreement was revised as follows:

1. Independence was granted to Serbia and Montenegro as well as Romania.
2. Bosnia was given to Austria-Hungary (“Britain did not want more Slavic states to form.” p. 379, Trevelyan, British History in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century)
3. The territory of present-day Bulgaria was divided into two administrative districts. Bulgaria proper and eastern Rumelia. Eastern Rumelia was given back to the Ottomans.
4. Macedonia, Thrace, Kosovo and Albania were also given back to the Ottomans.

On the verge of bankruptcy, Russia could not resist the Western Powers and gave in to their demands.

With the exception of clause 23 that required the Ottomans to provide a small degree of economic autonomy to Macedonia, Macedonia was

once again committed to Ottoman oppression. The conditions of clause 23, unfortunately, were never enforced by the Great Powers or complied with by the Ottomans.

In the spring of 1878 Macedonia and the Macedonian people had reached the crossroads of their destiny. Macedonia was one step away from overthrowing six hundred years of Ottoman tyranny when Western Powers stepped in and prevented it. Why? Was Macedonia less deserving than Greece, Serbia, or Bulgaria, the newly created states? Were the Macedonians less Christian than the Greeks, Serbians, or Bulgarians? Was the Macedonian struggle to free itself from Ottoman tyranny not convincing enough? No! None of the above!

On the surface it appeared like Macedonia was given back to the Ottomans for economic reasons, so that the Great Powers who had made investments in the Ottoman state would not lose them. But there were other reasons, more nefarious reasons, which will become apparent soon.

In any case, with the stroke of a pen Bulgaria was freed (autonomous) while Macedonia was sentenced to suffer further indignity and humiliation in the hands of the Greek clergy and the Ottoman authorities.

What many people at the time did not know was that the Western Great Powers, led by Great Britain, had decided that there would be no Macedonian State or Macedonian people in the Macedonian Peninsula.

“Unhappy with the San Stefano Agreement a compromise was agreed upon between England and Russia before the meeting of the European Congress, which took place at Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck, and formally substituted the Treaty of Berlin for the terms of San Stefano” (Page 377, Trevelyan, British History in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century)

Here is the real reason why Macedonia was given back to the Ottomans: “To our (British) eyes the real objection to the San Stefano lies not in its

alleged increase in Russian power, but in the sacrifice of the fair claims of Greeks and Serbians, who would not have remained long quiet under the arrangements which ignored their racial rights and gave all the points to Bulgaria. Lord Salisbury felt this strongly, especially on behalf of Greece.” This says it all. This confirms that the decision to “give away” Macedonia and the Macedonian people to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria had already been made before 1878. It was now a question of how and when Macedonia was going to be divided and given to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. And that decision was made by the Great powers.

The Macedonian people, however, were not at all happy about what went on in the Berlin Congress and showed their discontentment by demonstrating first in Kresna then in Razlog, but as usual their pleas were ignored.

The Ottoman army was dispatched without any opposition from the Great Powers and the demonstrations were violently put down.

Facing the possibility of becoming extinct in Europe, the Ottoman Empire began to re-organize and take demonstrations and rebellions seriously. After the Greek uprising the Sultan became distrustful of the Phanariots (Christian bureaucrats working for the Ottoman administration) and expelled most of them from his services. He came close to ousting the Patriarch and his tyrannical Bishops but Russia stepped in and prevented it. Many of the Slav (Macedonian) speaking people were not happy with being ruled by a Greek Patriarch and after Russia’s show of solidarity to the Greeks and the Patriarch, they threatened to convert to Catholicism. This created a real concern for Russia. “In the days when Pan Slavism was a force in Russia and General Ignatieff ruled Constantinople. Russia naturally feared that if the Southern Slav speakers (Macedonians) became Catholics Russia would lose its ascendancy over them.” (Page 73, Brailsford, Macedonia) In 1870 Russia convinced the Sultan to allow a new millet to be formed, thus creating the schismatic Bulgarian Exarchate Church which was immediately excommunicated by the Patriarch. Fracturing the Rum (Romeos) Millet into two opposing factions suited the

Ottomans perfectly because now Christians, instead of rebelling against the Ottomans, would fight one another. Now, in addition to the Ottoman and Greek, a third government was created that would rule the same people in three conflicting ways.

I need to mention at this point that the Ottomans would not allow political or any other kind of organizations to function in their state except religious organizations. That is why, in addition to the Patriarchy in Istanbul, they also allowed the Exarchy to open churches inside their state (they later allowed the Serbians to open Serbians churches). The moment these churches were allowed to open, they began to spread nationalist propaganda in an attempt to convert Macedonians into Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians. A well-designed plan to eliminate the Macedonians.

From a religious standpoint, minor differences distinguished the Greek, from the Serbian and Bulgarian Churches. They were all Christian Orthodox, except that the Greeks acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch in Istanbul and performed liturgy in a language the Macedonian people did not understand.

The creation of the Exarch Church and later the Serbian Church, stepped up nationalistic activities inside Macedonia and increased the stakes for territorial claims, something that had already been decided by the Western European Great Powers.

From the day they were liberated, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria were encouraged to strengthen their economies and start making claims to the Macedonian territories and the Macedonian people through nationalist propaganda promoted by their churches. Serbia introduced education for the masses and was teaching her youth about her ancient exploits and past empires that ruled Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia and that the Macedonians (except for the Bulgarians who were Serbia's enemies) were truly Serbs. That propaganda soon found its way inside Macedonia.

The modern Greeks on the other hand, infatuated with the discovery of the Ancient City States, were going overboard promoting “Hellenism” and making territorial claims on Macedonia based on ancient rites. At the same time, the Greeks were making wild claims that all Orthodox Christians were Greek. Their argument was that if a person belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church they were Greek. Here is what Brailsford had to say about that. “Hellenism claims these peoples because they were civilized by the Greek Orthodox Church. That is a conception which the Western mind grasps with difficulty. It is much as though the Roman Catholic Church should claim the greater part of Europe as the inheritance of Italy. To make the parallel complete we should have to imagine not only an Italian Pope and a College of Cardinals which Italians predominate, but a complete Italian hierarchy. If every Bishop in France and Germany were an Italian, if the official language of the church were not Latin but Italian and if every priest were a political agent working for the annexation of France and Germany to Italy, we should have some analogy to the state of things which actually exist in Turkey.” (Page 195, Brailsford, Macedonia) Here is what Brailsford had to say about how the Greeks received title to the Orthodox Church. “The Slavonic (Macedonian) Churches had disappeared from Macedonia, and everywhere the Greek Bishops, as intolerant as they were corrupt - ‘Blind mouths that scarce themselves know how to hold a sheep hook’ - crushed out the national consciousness, the language, and the intellectual life of their Slav (Macedonian) flocks. It is as a result of this process that the Eastern Church is a Greek Church. The sanctions of ‘Hellenism’ so far as they rest on the Church, are the wealth of the Phanariots and the venality of the Turks....the Slav libraries in the old monasteries were burned by the Greek Bishops.” (Page 196, Brailsford, Macedonia).

After the San Stefano fiasco, the Bulgarians too began to make claims on Macedonian territories and on the Macedonian people and their modern heritage. What was not Greek was Bulgarian.

What has not been said so far is that the Great Powers, through their proxies Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, had initiated a denationalization

and assimilation process designed to eradicate everything Macedonian and turn it into Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian. This was a Great Power policy exercised then by the newly installed monarchies which exist and are still active to this day.

I have often heard references to the Macedonian question without understanding what it really means. Why is the Macedonian question so elusive and mysterious and why has it been thrown around for so long?

The Macedonian question was not a question that Macedonians asked but rather a question the Great Powers were asking during the late nineteenth century when Macedonia was still occupied by the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire. Simply put, as I said earlier, the Macedonian question was, “What will happen to the Macedonian territories and the people living on those territories when the Ottoman Empire ceases to exist?”

Obviously, the Macedonian question was answered in 1912, 1913 when Macedonia was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. Or was it?

If the Macedonian question was answered then, why does it still linger on? And better still, why has it evolved? In view of what is happening today with regards to the Greek-Macedonian name dispute and the Bulgarian refusal to recognize the Macedonian ethnicity and language, it’s time once again to ask, “What is the Macedonian question of today?”

If the Macedonian question was satisfactorily answered by the division of Macedonia and by declaring that only Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians live in the geographic territories of Macedonia, why then do we today have a sovereign and independent Macedonian State with no less than 1.8 million people declaring themselves to be ethnic Macedonians? Likewise, if all those people living in the Macedonian territories that Greece annexed in 1913 were Greeks, then why do we today have Macedonians living in Greece? Similarly, if everyone in

Bulgarian occupied Macedonia were Bulgarians, why then do we today have Macedonians living in Bulgaria?

We can all bury our heads in the sand and keep on believing “no Macedonians exist” to the satisfaction of Greece and Bulgaria, or we can wake up to the reality that ethnic Macedonians do exist not only in the Republic of Macedonia but in all of geographic Macedonia, including the Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian annexed territories.

The Macedonian question was not solved by allowing Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria to annex parts of Macedonia and assimilate its people.

Greece and its supporters are ignoring the fact that Macedonians lived in Macedonia for countless generations or at least 1,500 years by their own accounts. They know very well that no one cares about what happened 2,300 years ago. And why does it matter? Why argue semantics while ignoring reality? Arguing semantics suits Greece and Bulgaria perfectly, because while the Macedonians are arguing over semantics Greece and Bulgaria (1) continue to make them look like fools and (2) continue to benefit from Macedonia’s occupation to the detriment of its true owners the Macedonian people.

Let’s clarify some things. First and foremost, Macedonians are people with legal rights and privileges no matter what Greece, Bulgaria, or anyone else calls them. Second, the Macedonian people indisputably lived in Macedonia for at least 1,500 years, which is more than enough to qualify them as the indigenous people of Macedonia. The Macedonian people, according to international law, have the right to self-identify in whatever way or means they see fit. So, what is the problem with Greece, Bulgaria and their backers?

The real problem here is not whether Macedonians qualify to be called Macedonians, but rather that the USA needs to solve the Macedonian Question by any means possible. Many of the previous approaches did not work for various reasons, so the USA is looking for new ways. If there is no Macedonia then there can be no Macedonians, is one of

them. Another one is to claim Macedonia is Greek and the Macedonians are Greeks. Case and point; the Prespa Agreement fully supported by the USA.

Even though Macedonia was served on a platter to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria by the Great Powers in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest and again in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles, does not change the fact that Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria gained Macedonian lands illegally by force and without the consent of the Macedonian people. Before allowing the USA to erase us as a Macedonian people by eliminating our identity, language and history, we need to react harshly and raise our case to the United Nations Security Council and not allow the USA to lead us by the nose.

Do the Macedonian people have a strong case against Greece and Bulgaria? The answer is yes! Macedonians can prove that Macedonians have been evicted from their lands and their lands have been confiscated only because they are Macedonians. Macedonians can prove that both Greece and Bulgaria have broken treaties which Greece and Bulgaria signed to provide Macedonians minority rights. Macedonians can prove that Greece and Bulgaria continue to disobey international law by not recognizing the ethnic Macedonians in their respective states. Case and point, the Greek State passed a law in 1988 allowing all Greeks by birth to return to Greece but not the 28,000 Macedonia refugee children, refugees from the Greek Civil War. These were children between the ages of 2 and 14. They are not criminals or agents of foreign states. Greece has yet to explain why these children, who now are all over 60 years old, are not allowed to return. Why is Greece on one hand claiming that everyone who lived in Greece since 1928 is Greek and on the other hand it passes a law that discriminates against non-Greeks who supposedly do not exist? Greece will not allow Macedonians to return to Greece because Greece has confiscated and sold or given away their lands to the colonists it imported from Asia Minor in the 1920s and is still importing to this day. The assumption is that Greece is removing Macedonians to make room for supposed

Greeks but the reality is Greece is exiling Macedonians to get rid of them.

The name dispute between Macedonia and Greece is a fabricated issue, fabricated by Greece to take attention away from its dismal human rights record towards its minorities, especially its Macedonian minority which Greece has robbed of its heritage. Greece has created this issue to keep Macedonians on the defensive and away from seeking compensation for their lands or to fight for their human rights as ethnic Macedonians and as citizens of that state. There is no international law or precedence that would legally or morally allow for a state to evict people from their lands and rob them of their property and ethnic rights based on 2,400-year-old “ambiguous claims”. Besides, how do we know for certain and how can we prove that the modern Greeks truly have legitimate rights to the Macedonian lands and heritage? How do we know that the Macedonians themselves who lived in Macedonia for at least 1,500 years have no rights to Macedonian lands and the Macedonian heritage? Are we to take the word of a state who denies the Macedonian peoples’ existence? Are we to believe Greece, a state that has robbed the ethnic Macedonians of their ethnic rights? Who has evicted Macedonians from their own homes? Who has changed all the Macedonian names? Who has tried to make Macedonians into Greeks by force? I think not! Does the USA not see the injustice perpetrated here? Of course, it does. Unfortunately for us, all this is part of the Great Power plan to get rid of the Macedonians.

Since the Macedonian people have been placed in a position where they have to justify their identity, wouldn’t you say it is only fair that Greeks, Bulgarians and all others be put through the same scrutiny? How can a person by simply saying that they are “Greek” own the right to both the Greek and Macedonian heritage, yet a person who says they are Macedonian has no rights at all, not even the right to call him or herself Macedonian? By now it should be obvious to everyone that what is happening to the Macedonian people is part of a long-term Great Power plan to erase them.

How did all this start and what has changed since then?

As mentioned earlier, Greece is a product of Great Power intervention. It was artificially created for the first time in 1829 from the ashes of the crumbling Ottoman Empire. I am saying “artificially created” because most states when created are modeled after something vibrant and living, like a living culture or a practicing tradition. The language a newly created state adopts for its people is usually a living language or the mother language of the people. If more than one language exists, it’s usually the language of the majority that is adopted as the language of the state. Some states to be fair to all people are bilingual or even multilingual.

Greece, on the other hand, was modeled after a dead culture which existed 2,400 years ago. The language the Greek state adopted for its people was also a dead language which was only preserved by the Ottoman administration and the Orthodox Church. The name “Greece” itself is also a non-Greek word. It is a Latin word.

When Greece was created for the first time there was no Greek ethnicity. The 19<sup>th</sup> century ethnicities that comprised the raw material for the modern Greek state were Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Macedonians, Christian Turks from Asia Minor, Gypsies and other ethnic minorities. Each ethnicity that comprised the so-called “Greek ethnos” was not Greek and each spoke a unique language different from the others.

It is understandable that in order to unify these various people under one nation the Greek state had to undertake some measures in order to keep a balance between the needs of the individual against those of the state. Unfortunately, in its zeal to create a mythical nation modeled after a dead culture, which could only be viewed as ideal, the Great Powers went too far when they created Greece. They not only literally destroyed what was real but they also attempted to erase the peoples’ collective memory about their living culture, language and history and replace it with an ideal and fictitious one. For example, in Macedonia,

after Greece consolidated its control over the people, it initiated a denationalization process by eliminating the spoken and written form of the Macedonian language and replaced it with the dead language it adopted for its own people. It destroyed all records, books, monuments, religious icons, even tombstones with Macedonian writing. It changed peoples' names and gave the people new and Greek sounding names. It changed all the names of the cities, towns, villages, lakes, rivers, mountains and roads to make them look "ancient Greek". The prohibition of the Macedonian language and identity as well as the name changes were enforced by the passing of laws which exist and are enforced to this day.

In other words, Greece is Greek today not by birthright or any legal means but simply by enforcing an idea, the idea that everyone who lives in Greece is Greek.

Unlike Greece which created its "ethnos" by destroying the true ethnicities of its people, Macedonia has a living and vibrant Macedonian ethnicity. Ethnic Macedonians in the entire region of geographic Macedonia have a mother tongue comprising of at least 26 dialects. Macedonians have a living language which is at least 1,500 to over 3,000 years old. In spite of Greek attempts to eradicate it, the Macedonian language has survived and is widely spoken today. The publication of the Abecedar, a Macedonian language primer, published by the Greek state itself in 1925 is a testament that Macedonians and their Macedonian language existed in Greece.

Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria have refused to join the newly created "ethnos" for various reasons. The primary reason is because they are not Bulgarians or Greeks. Remember Macedonia was occupied and partitioned by foreign forces without Macedonian consent. In other words, no one asked the Macedonians if they wanted their country to be occupied and partitioned. There are no treaties signed by Macedonians giving Greece and Bulgaria permission to annex Macedonian territories. On top of that, no one asked the Macedonians if they wanted to become Greeks, Bulgarians, or Serbians voluntarily. Macedonians were forced

into declaring themselves what they were not under duress. They were forced to give up their own ethnic identity for the sake of joining the cult of their occupiers. Yes, “occupiers”! And now the USA is using everything at its disposal to erase everything that is left of being Macedonian.

Let’s face reality here. What the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians did, under the watchful eyes of the Great Powers, was not exactly pleasant for the Macedonian people. Upon their occupation of Macedonian territories, all three executed Macedonians en masse, evicted Macedonians from their homes and forcibly attempted to denationalize the Macedonian people turning them into Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians all at the same time. Greece went further and changed the names of people and places and gave away Macedonian lands to foreign colonists. The Serbians only changed last names. How can the Macedonians forget all that? Even those Macedonians who chose the “Greek way” were not above being systemically discriminated against. Greece has a file on everyone and if a person has Macedonian roots he or she is viewed with suspicion and prohibited from achieving higher education or high positions in the military or the Greek government. So, really where is the incentive for Macedonians to turn into Greeks? The 1914 Carnegie report is a testament of what Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia did upon the occupation and annexation of Macedonia. When war broke out in the Balkans in 1912 and 1913, the Carnegie Endowment dispatched a commission on a fact-finding mission. The mission consisted of seven prominent members from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Among them was the distinguished journalist Henry N. Brailsford, author of the book “Macedonia its Races and their Future”. A report was written and testifies to the atrocities committed by these states against the Macedonian people!

What has changed since then?

Since Macedonia’s occupation and partition, Serbian occupied Macedonia saw a resurgence of the Macedonian language and culture as

Serbia slowly softened its stronghold on Macedonia. With the advent of the Yugoslav federation, Macedonia took its rightful place as a republic inside Yugoslavia. The people chose to call their republic “The Peoples’ Republic of Macedonia” and their language “Macedonian”, to which Greece had no objection. There are schoolbooks in Greece that attest to the fact that Greece had no objection to Macedonia calling itself Macedonia. Greek children were taught in school that one of the republics in Yugoslavia was called “Macedonia” and the people living in it spoke “Macedonian”. Why did this Greek behaviour towards Macedonia suddenly change? My guess is that the USA has something to do with it. But that’s only a guess. The readers can decide for themselves.

When Yugoslavia disintegrated, the Serbian occupied part of Macedonia became the sovereign and independent state the Republic of Macedonia. Two things happened at the same time, Macedonia declared itself independent without Great Power consent, and the United States began to assert its influence in the region.

Greece and Bulgaria in the meantime continue to illegally occupy Macedonian territories and refuse to acknowledge the existence of ethnic Macedonians.

## **Greece a country that never existed before**

Who are the Modern Greeks? I can tell you who Modern Greeks are NOT. They are NOT the descendants of the so-called Ancient Greeks as they portray themselves and as mainstream history portrays them. The so-called Ancient Greeks may have been who the world was told they were, which is yet to be proven, but they disappeared a long time ago. Besides, they existed as City States and were never a single country. I can tell you with much certainty that the Modern Greeks are NOT their descendants. The Modern Greeks are nothing more than an artificial nation; imposters and usurpers of the Ancient City State and the Macedonian heritage. The only thing they have in common with the ancients is that they happened to live on the same lands.

Mainstream history tells us that Greece was created as a proxy to England to keep the Russians out of the Mediterranean waters, but what mainstream history does not tell us is that Greece was created to usurp the ancient City State and Macedonian heritage.

There was no ancient Greece. In fact, the word Greece comes from the Latin word “Graecia” the Romans used to describe a small tribe of people who lived on the Italian peninsula associated with the ancient City States. This word was long forgotten and came into use again for the first time in 1611 in the King James Bible.

Outside of protecting England’s interests, Greece was also tasked with converting the landscape and the people living on it into Greeks.

“The modification of the place names began just after the constitution of the Greek state in the early 1830’s, and went hand in hand with the reorganization of the administration of the country and its divisions into prefectures, municipalities and parishes. The people attempting the renaming of spaces were conscious of the ideological importance of this action.

The renaming of space was not achieved in a single attempt but was a long process that went on for decades. It took place each time a new region was integrated into the Greek state. This was the integration of Thessaly (1881), of Macedonia (1913), and of Thrace (1920). Every time they carried out a reform of the local administration – until as recently as 1998; when many municipalities and communities were reunited with the so-called Kapodistrian plan ‘new’ Greek classical names, previously unknown to the local inhabitants, made their appearance.

Which were the toponyms that had to disappear? According to the Greek authorities, they were the toponyms that were ‘foreign or did not sound good’, in other words those that were in ‘bad Greek’.” (“Hellenisms Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity” edited by Katerina Zacharia, pages 230 and 231.)

Hellenizing means converting everything foreign to Greek.

“The middle of the nineteenth century was the stage of a conflict between the Greek intelligentsia and Fallmerayer, who maintained that, in the middle ages, Greece was inhabited by Slavs and Albanian peoples. As a consequence, Greek intellectuals were prompt to erase all the Slavic and Albanian names which could support the rival arguments. In 1909 the government-appointed commission on toponyms reported that one village in three in Greece (that is, 30% of the total) should have its name changed (of the 5,096 Greek villages 1,500 were considered as ‘speaking a barbaric language’).” (“Hellenisms Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity” edited by Katerina Zacharia, pages 231 and 232)

# Territorial evolution

Of the modern Greek state (1832-today)



## **The First attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### ROMAN OCCUPATION

The first attempt to destroy Macedonia's ability to project power was Rome, right after the second Macedonian-Roman war after Perseus's defeat at Pydna in 168 BC when Macedonia was partitioned into four regions and became Roman territory. Since then and until the dividing walls came down during Justinian's time (527AD to 565AD), the Macedonian people were not allowed to cross the artificial borders, not even to visit relatives. This, as I understand, was done to keep the Macedonian people divided and weak.

No people suffered more cruelty at the hands of the Romans than the Macedonian people. Was it jealousy of Macedonia's unsurpassed glory or was it Rome's fear of the Macedonian people's rebellious nature? Perhaps both! Nonetheless, after Macedonia's occupation and partition, young Macedonian men were expelled from Macedonia by the Romans on the threat of death. Many left their homes and moved northward. Rome's worst fear was that Macedonia would one day re-unite again, destroy Rome and expel the Romans from its territories, not only on the Macedonian Peninsula which extended from the Danube River to the Mediterranean Sea and from the Black to the Adriatic Seas, but also from all the territories in which Alexander the Great's Empire once extended.

Unfortunately, Macedonia did not re-unite and Rome succeeded in its mission to destroy the Macedonian spirit and the Macedonian people who lived passive but miserable lives under the Roman yoke and slavery all through the Roman, Eastern Roman and later Ottoman occupations. The Macedonian people were never allowed to recover their former glory no matter how hard they tried. But while all this was going on the Macedonian traditions, culture and civilization survived and simmered and waited for its turn to flourish again. Unfortunately,

despite many attempts made to revive the Macedonian spark, it was always put down and never allowed to ignite. Every time it was willfully extinguished and it is still being extinguished to this day.

## **The Second attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### **TURNING MACEDONIANS INTO GREEKS, SERBIANS AND BULGARIANS**

As soon as the Greeks were allowed by the Ottomans to operate through the Greek Church inside Macedonia, they began the process of Hellenization, or converting Macedonians into Greeks.

For a Macedonian person to be Hellenized meant that he or she had to give up his or her own Macedonian name, his or her own Macedonian language, his or her own Macedonian culture, his or her Macedonian history, his or her own Macedonian folklore and his or her own Macedonian heritage. Here is what Karakasidou has to say. "...The ideological content of notions of the Hellenic nation, which far from being ecumenical has shown itself to be intolerant of cultural or ethnic pluralism, has led many inhabitants of Greek Macedonia to deny or hide those aspects of their own personal or family pasts..." (Page 125, Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood).

(The Bulgarians and later the Serbians, through their respective churches, applied similar measures to make Bulgarians and Serbians out of the Macedonians.)

Hellenization was never made by choice, only by brute force. One was made to "feel Greek" when it suited the Greeks. The moment one wanted something from the Greeks or one crossed one of the Greeks, they were reminded of their "true identity" and quickly "put in their place". To be Hellenized meant to lose dignity and to suffer constant and unwarranted humiliation because no matter how hard one tried to be a Hellene, one could never measure up. A Hellenized person was neither Greek nor Macedonian but a soul in limbo.

(The Bulgarians and Serbians applied similar oppressive and demeaning measures against the Macedonians inside the Ottoman state.)

To quote David Holden, “To me, philhellenism is a love affair with a dream which envisions ‘Greece’ and the ‘Greeks’ not as an actual place or as real people but as symbols of some imagined perfection.” (Page 12, Greece without Columns)

What is Hellenism then?

Before I answer that question, I will once again quote David Holden. “Further back still beyond the War of Independence, when the modern nation-state of Greece came into being for the first time, the whole concept of Greece as a geographical entity that begins to blur before our eyes, so many and various were its shapes and meanings. But if geography can offer us no stable idea of Greece, what can? Not race, certainly; for whatever the Greeks may once have been..., they can hardly have had much blood-relationship with the Greeks of the peninsula of today, Serbs and Bulgars, Romans, Franks and Venetians, Turks, Albanians..., in one invasion after another have made the modern Greeks a decidedly mongrel race. Not politics either; for in spite of that tenacious western legend about Greece as the birthplace and natural home of democracy, the political record of the Greeks is one of a singular instability and confusion in which, throughout history, the poles of anarchy modulated freedom has very rarely appeared. Not religion; for while Byzantium was Christian, ancient Hellas was pagan.” (Page 23, Greece without Columns)

Unlike Macedonia and other Balkan nations who have natural and vibrant languages, Greece artificially created and used (up until the 1970’s) an imposed adaptation of the classical language called Katharevousa. “Hellenizing” under these conditions not only rendered the Hellenized races mute but also imposed a meaningless and emotionless language on those doing the Hellenization. (If you want to learn more about the Greek language controversy read Peter Mackridge’s book “The Modern Greek Language”.)

When Greece was created for the first time in 1832, it was unclear what its national character would be? To quote David Holden, “the Greek

nation-state was a product of western political intervention - 'the fatal idea' as Arnold Toynbee once called it, of exclusive western nationalism impinging upon the multi-national traditions of the eastern world. By extension, therefore, at any rate in theory, it was a child of the Renaissance and of western rationalism. (Page 28, Greece without Columns)

Officially, today's Greeks call their modern state Hellas, and are officially known as Hellenes, but before they were created for the first time in 1832, they used to call themselves Romaioi (from the Turkish Rum millet) implying that they are descendants of the Romans. As I said before, the word Greece is a derivation of the Latin "Graecia" (Page 29, Holden, Greece without Columns) the province of the Western Roman Empire which extended from Mount Olympus to the Peloponnesus. Again, to quote David Holden, "its international use to describe the sovereign state that currently occupies that territory is merely a reflection of the fact that 'Greece' in this modern sense is literally a western invention. (Page 29, Greece without Columns)

If philhellenism is a love affair with a dream, then Hellenism is a dream of a few "evil geniuses" (Phanariots) who sought to destroy what was real in favour of creating something artificial, like a Frankenstein's Monster. Hellenism may be a dream for a few (mad men) but it has been a nightmare for Macedonia. Here is what Karakasidou has to say. "Greek natural identity was not a 'natural development' or the extension of a 'high culture' over the region of Macedonia, although now it is frequently portrayed as so. The ideology of Hellenism imposed a homogeneity on the Macedonian region and its inhabitants." (Page 94, Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood)

If modern Hellenism is a western invention propagated by the Phanariots (Christians working for the Ottoman administration) and supported by the Western European Powers, then who are the modern Greeks? According to historical records, a large majority of the Greeks of Morea that fought during the Greek War of independence were Slavs (Macedonians) and Tosk Albanians who were Hellenized after the

1930's. The Slavs (Macedonians) of Peloponnesus (what happened to them?), the Vlachs of Larissa, and the Albanian Tosks of Epirus (what happened to them?) were also Hellenized. In other words, the Greeks of today are a "forcibly Hellenized diverse collection of people". Even the Greek national dress, the fustanella, is not Greek. The fustanella is the national costume of the Albanian Tosks. (Page 230, Brailsford, Macedonia)

In addition to desperately trying to define an identity and a language for itself, after 1878, Greece stepped up Hellenization activities in Macedonia, inside the Ottoman state, through the Orthodox Church and by employing (bribing) the services of the Ottoman authorities.

The Greeks also used education to Hellenize young Macedonians. Willing young Macedonian men were enrolled in Greek schools in Athens, with promises of education, only to be poisoned with Hellenization and Greek nationalist propaganda. Many of these young men came back (home) to Macedonia only to be used as agents of Hellenism.

After the creation of the Bulgarian Church, Bulgaria was not far behind in its attempts to instill Bulgarian nationalism in the Macedonian youth. In addition to using the Bulgarian Church, the Bulgarians also offered Macedonians educational opportunities in an attempt to turn Macedonians into Bulgarians.

This was most evident when young Macedonian men, like Gotse Delchev, were expelled from the Bulgarian schools for wanting to use the Macedonian language and to learn Macedonian history. Here is what Michael Radin has to say about that. "In the 1870's, six Macedonian districts seceded from the Exarchate. Bulgarian schools were destroyed, with the Macedonian teaching intelligentsia organizing students against the Exarchate. Macedonian literary associations were discovered, to study Macedonian history and culture. The periodical 'Vine' was published to mobilize Macedonians against the vehement Bulgarian propaganda. In 1891, an attempt was made to re-establish the

Macedonian Church. This national renaissance significantly produced a Macedonian intelligentsia that was to later prove instrumental in founding IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). (Page 45, A. Michael Radin, IMRO and the Macedonian Question)

Russia's rash attempt to gain access to the Mediterranean, by creating a "Greater Bulgaria" (San Stefano Treaty), gave the Bulgarians a rationale to make territorial claims on Macedonian territory.

So, on top of the Greeks forcibly trying to Hellenize Macedonia, the Macedonian people now faced a new enemy, Bulgarian chauvinism. At the hands of the Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians and Serbians, Macedonian misery seemed to flourish as if all the evil in the world was unleashed all at once and struck Macedonia with all its fury. What makes Macedonia's misery even more tragic is that the entire world stood by, especially the Great Powers who could have done something to help the Macedonian people, and watched the horrors unfold and did nothing. Why didn't the Great Powers step in and put an end to this misery? After all, they did step in to create and liberate Greece and Bulgaria out of nothing! Why not help Macedonia, a country and people with ancient roots and traditions? Because their plan was to eliminate Macedonia and the Macedonian people. Macedonia and the Macedonian people are the only forces that can unite the Macedonian peninsula, put an end to the Balkanization and bring permanent peace to the region. Unfortunately, the Great Powers don't want that.

It should become painfully clear to everyone that what was happening in Macedonia to the Macedonian people was part of the Great Power plan to erase everything Macedonian, including the Macedonian people.

While the Greeks employed brutality, the Bulgarians adopted intrigue to sway Macedonians to their side. The Bulgarians were publicly calling for Macedonian autonomy while they were promoting a Bulgarian nationalist agenda. In the next decade after 1878, nationalist fever gripped the Balkans. The new nations (Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria) were making exclusive claims not only on Macedonian territory, but

also on the Macedonian people, each claiming that Macedonians were Serbians, Greeks, or Bulgarians, all at the same time. Each new nation desperately tried to prove its claim by propaganda campaigns, coercion and forcible assimilation. Here is what Brailsford has to say on the subject. “Are the Macedonians Serbs or Bulgars? The question is constantly asked and dogmatically answered in Belgrade and Sofia. But the lesson of history is obviously that there is no answer at all. They are not Serbs, ... On the other hand, they could hardly be Bulgarians... They are probably what they were before a Bulgarian or Serbian Empire existed...” (Page 101, Macedonia Its Races and their Future)

As for the Macedonian’s being Greek, this is what Brailsford has to say. “The Greek colonies were never much more than trading centers along the coast, and what was Greek in ancient times is Greek today. There is no evidence that the interior was ever settled by a rural Greek population.” (Page 91, Brailsford, Macedonia)

“The period immediately following the Berlin Congress demonstrated therefore, that Balkan chauvinist intent was not merely to occupy, govern and exploit Macedonia, but to eradicate the Macedonian culture, and superimpose its own culture upon a people alien to it. By guile, gun, religion and quasi-legal manipulation, the Balkan States attempted to divest the native Macedonians of their language, religion, folklore, literature, traditions and consciousness. The ultimate goal therefore, was to anaesthetize the Macedonian people, and then remold them into Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbians.” (Page 45, A. Michael Radin, IMRO and the Macedonian Question)

Did it not once occur to westerners that in the heart of Macedonia, perhaps there was a unique Macedonian culture living there? Did it not once occur to them that perhaps the Macedonians with their multicultural and multiethnic character did not want to be molded to fit the western profile of what a nation should be? By throwing the Macedonian people back to the Greeks and the Ottomans, they were punished for their stubborn ways, for refusing to be molded into monolithic uni-cultural, pseudo-homogeneous nations? Only those who

participated in the 1878 Berlin Congress and who forever committed Macedonia to suffer more cruelty and injustice can truly answer the questions. And if they did answer the question they would say: “We don’t want a Macedonia populated by Macedonians. We want a Macedonia populated by Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians. We want the Macedonians to die and disappear forever. We are in charge now and we have no place for them in our new world!”

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During the 19th and early 20th centuries, many Macedonians were exposed to strong national and religious propaganda by the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Greek Patriarchate. The ordinary Macedonian peasant usually went to church for the sake of faith, spiritual life and tradition, without delving into political and national issues. However, through church and school institutions, the Exarchate and the Patriarchate often sought to bind the population to the Bulgarian or Greek national identity.

The Bulgarian Exarchate, through priests, teachers and church books, spread Bulgarian national sentiment, presenting many Macedonians as Bulgarians. On the other hand, the Greek Patriarchate implemented a policy of Hellenization, seeking to bring the Macedonian population closer to the Greek identity and culture.

These opposing influences often created divisions between people in the same villages and families. Instead of the church being a place that unites believers in faith, it often became a means of national propaganda and political influence. Such historical documents are still misused today. Despite these pressures, many Macedonians managed to preserve their sense of uniqueness, their language, traditions and cultural identity. The struggle for their own church, education and national recognition has remained an important part of Macedonian historical and cultural history.

## **The Third attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### **BULGARIAN TREACHERY**

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Macedonian people felt that they'd had enough. They'd had enough of the Ottomans who were taxing them to starvation so that they could pay their debts to Western European banks. And they'd had enough of their neighbours meddling in their affairs. So, they decided it was time to do something. They decided to plan a rebellion!

Macedonia's neighbours, however, would not relent until they possessed Macedonia for themselves as they were promised by the Great Powers and did everything in their power to achieve that. They even went as far as sabotaging the Macedonian rebellion being planned.

To limit the size of this chapter, I will present you with only one example of how Bulgaria interfered in the Macedonian plans for the Ilinden Uprising.

It was no secret that after the San Stefano Treaty in 1878, Bulgaria wanted all of Macedonia for itself and sought ways to get it. To achieve this, Bulgaria created the External or supremacist, or as we call it the Vrhovist Macedonian Revolutionary Organization with aims to free Macedonia from the Ottomans and Annex it to Bulgaria. It was called external because it was headquartered in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Those aims, however, had to be hidden from the public for a couple of reasons. One, Bulgaria was not allowed to politically or militarily interfere in Ottoman affairs and two, the vast majority of the Macedonian people wanted a free and independent Macedonia and would not favour the idea of a Macedonia being annexed by Bulgaria.

But a closer look at this Vrhovist organization's activities reveals that it was created not to help but to weaken the real or Internal Macedonian

Revolutionary Organization by interfering in its affairs and by confusing and dividing the Macedonian people.

Bulgaria knew that the fall of the Ottoman Empire was imminent and it believed that if it occupied Macedonia first, before Greece or Serbia, it would have Russia's support and better leverage for negotiating a bigger slice of Macedonian territory. Unfortunately, at that time Bulgaria was not militarily strong enough to attack and defeat the Ottoman Empire on its own. But it figured that if there was a clash between the Macedonian people and the Ottoman authorities it would weaken the Ottoman Empire. And, at the same time, if the Macedonian people failed to liberate themselves then this would open opportunities for Bulgaria to charge in, attack and defeat the weakened Ottoman Empire, occupy Macedonia and pretend it was done in order to save the Macedonian people from the Ottoman backlash and retaliation.

But in order for this to work, the Macedonian people would have to fail in their attempt to liberate themselves.

To ensure that this would happen, Bulgaria had to, one, instigate the Macedonian people to start a rebellion and, two, make sure the liberation was a failure.

A failed liberation attempt would prompt retaliation from the Ottoman Empire and that would give Bulgaria a reason to militarily invade Macedonia without too many consequences or severe retaliation from the Great Powers.

But how could Bulgaria ensure that the rebellion would fail? By forcing the Macedonian people into a rebellion before they were ready!

And why would the Macedonian leadership agree to take part in a rebellion before the people were ready?

Well, no one said it was going to be easy. That is why Bulgaria made many promises;

1. It promised the Macedonian leadership help. Bulgaria assured the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization that it would supply it with guns and the moment the rebellion started, it promised that it would order the Bulgarian army to attack the Ottoman Empire. Bulgaria did deliver on the guns but failed to deliver on ammunition. So the guns were as good as useless.

2. It promised not to interfere in internal affairs. But unbeknownst to the Macedonians, the Bulgarians made sure that the Macedonians would remain weak. Every time the Bulgarians felt that the Macedonians were getting stronger, they would, in some small way, betray them to the Ottomans.

3. It forced an early Uprising. When the Bulgarians could not convince the Macedonian leaders to start the uprising willingly, they took matters into their own hands. The Bulgarians had the Ottomans arrest the top Internal Macedonian Revolutionary leaders and then sent their own Vrhovist leaders to replace them.

The Bulgarians, some say the Bulgarian king himself, provided the Ottoman authorities with a list of all the names of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization central leaders and in February of 1903, almost all of them were rounded up, arrested and jailed. Only a few managed to dodge the authorities. Gotse Delchev was among the few who were not caught.

No sooner had the arrests been made than members of the Vrhovist organization were sent from Bulgaria to replace the jailed Macedonian leaders. The Vrhovists met in Solun and on their own decided to start the uprising. The news of the uprising created great confusion among the unprepared Macedonian regional leadership. A second meeting was called to review the details of the Solun meeting. The second meeting was to take place in Smilevo on May 3, 1903.

Gotse Delchev was against starting an early uprising because, as the supreme commander of the Macedonian forces, he was well aware of the fact that the Macedonians were not ready to start an Uprising and win. When Delchev became aware of the Solun meeting he was furious and wanted to rush to Smilevo in person and convince the delegates that it would be suicidal to start an uprising at this point in time when most of the regions were not ready.

On his way to Smilevo, Delchev was ambushed and killed in Banitsa! Was this a coincidence? The entire Ottoman army had been looking for Delchev for months and could not find him. Let me say this: He managed to dodge the Ottoman authorities since he joined the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and also managed to dodge them while everyone else was caught. So, how was it that he was suddenly not found, but killed? I can tell you this: History has shown that it was by no coincidence that Delchev was killed on his way to Smilevo. He was killed because he was preparing to stop the 1903 uprising from taking place.

So, let us ask ourselves: “Was Delchev not a patriotic Macedonian? Did Delchev not want Macedonia to be liberated?” If he was and if he did then why would he want to stop the uprising from taking place? Unless, of course, he believed that an early uprising would not succeed and would destroy the Macedonian people’s chance of liberating themselves?! Delchev was a smart man and knew exactly what was going on and that is exactly why he was murdered!

The Smilevo meeting took place without Delchev and even though 80% of the district Chiefs reported that their districts were NOT ready for an early uprising, the uprising took place anyway. And as we know it was not only a disaster, it changed the course of the Macedonian peoples’ history forever!

And in the end, all Bulgarian promises turned out to be false. As for Bulgaria invading Macedonia after the uprising collapsed; Bulgaria was told by Russia to “stay out” because if it invaded Macedonia at this

point, it would not only lose Macedonia but it might also lose its own territory.

In fact, the Great Powers ordered all of Macedonia's neighbours to stay out of Macedonia during the Uprising and just observe while the Ottoman army pummeled the Macedonian people to death. The Great Powers also stayed out and watched from the distance, from their ships in the Aegean Sea, while Macedonian villages burned like candles in the dark of night.

The Great Powers were well aware that the Macedonian people had risen to fight for their freedom and to create a Macedonian state, but decided not to help them, not to become involved. One cannot help it but wonder why? Wonder no more. It was part of the plan to destroy the Macedonian people so that they could never rise up again.

Had the Macedonians succeeded in their fight, perhaps there would be a united Macedonian state today and Macedonia would not have been divided. But that was not part of the plan. The plan was to lead the Macedonian people into a disaster and the Bulgarian king managed his part well. So, thanks to Bulgarian interference the Macedonian people not only lost their chance at independence and creating their own country, but at the same time became prey for Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria and one step closer to their imminent destruction.

Now it was no longer "if" but "when" Macedonia was going to be invaded, occupied and partitioned by its neighbours.

## Documents

### **RESULTS OF THE CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF PIRIN MACEDONIA**

The census held is a confirmatory evidence of the nationality of the population of Pirin Macedonia. More than 70% of the population have declared themselves as Macedonians.

According to data, the results of the population of Macedonia in 1946, appear as follows:

Petrič	85–95% Maced
Sveti Vrač	80–85% Maced

## **The Fourth attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### **MACEDONIA'S PARTITION AND THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE'S DENATIONALIZATION**

Immediately after the failed Macedonian Ilinden uprising, all three countries, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, intensified their preparations for war and in 1912 the three jointly invaded Macedonia, in what is now termed the First Balkan War, and drove the Ottomans out. When the three couldn't decide how to divide Macedonia, they fought each other for more territory. When Romania got involved the Great Powers stepped in and put an end to the fighting by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest.

It would appear from what we know so far, there were no safeguards or arrangements put in the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest regarding the rights of the Macedonian people that came with the lands. In other words, the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest says nothing about the people living on the Macedonian lands granted to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. It was left up to the three occupiers to decide their fate. Or was it? There is no doubt that the option of safeguarding the Macedonian people that came with the Macedonian lands was left out on purpose so that Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria would not only continue with their denationalization plans but introduce unprecedented policies of forced assimilation and evictions.

Soon after Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria consolidated their power over Macedonian territory, through their military occupying forces, they told the people that only Greeks lived in the Greek occupied part; Serbians lived in the Serbian occupied part and Bulgarians lived in the Bulgarian occupied part of Macedonia. Anyone who did not agree with that was told to "pick up what they could carry and leave".

Subsequent to that the Greeks were claiming that people left voluntarily, but many people interviewed later testified that they were

driven out by force for various reasons including for being affiliated with the Bulgarian Church or for fighting in the Ilinden Uprising.

The Greeks also expelled many Macedonians because they were Muslims. Even though these people insisted that they were Macedonians, not Ottomans, they were expelled anyway.

After World War I in 1919 at the Treaty of Versailles, the European Great Powers ratified the principles of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest and the three occupiers Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria were basically given the right to do whatever they wanted with their part of Macedonia and with the people they inherited with it. And so, they did.

By the Neuilly Convention, signed on November 27, 1919 between Greece and Bulgaria, Greek authorities rounded up 80,000 Macedonians, mainly because they were affiliated with the Bulgarian Church, and expelled them to Bulgaria. While Bulgaria forced out about 25,000 Macedonians because they were affiliated with the Greek Church.

Then came the Treaty of Lausanne signed in July, 1923 after the Greek-Turkish war ended. This Treaty called for the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Through this Treaty Greece forcibly exiled 354,000 ethnic Macedonians because they were Muslim by religion and imported 1.1 million Christian Turkish colonists from Asia Minor, of whom 660,000 were settled in Macedonia. This in fact changed Macedonia's demography for the first time in Macedonia's history.

Now it seems, official Greek policy is to call these colonists "autochthonous Macedonians" while they deny the real Macedonians their rights and identity. Greek propaganda now claims that a population of 2.5 million "pure Macedonians" live in "Greek Macedonia"; this includes their former Prime Minister Karamanlis who is in fact an Asia Minor colonist.

Then came the erasure of everything that pointed to a Macedonian existence. Both Greece and Serbia developed policies to change people's names and make them sound more Greek and Serbian. The Greeks enacted laws that renamed all the Macedonian people's names, toponyms and place names and made them Greek sounding. The Greeks also burned all the Macedonian Bibles written in Kiril and Metodi's Old Macedonian alphabet (Old Church Slavonic) and painted Greek letters over the Macedonian Cyrillic script on church icons and other relics. The Greeks also desecrated Macedonian cemeteries by removing and destroying headstones and plowing over them. They literally destroyed all evidence of a Macedonian existence.

They also attacked the Macedonian language, the only living thing remaining that was proof of a Macedonian existence. The harshest measures taken against the Macedonian language were during the Metaxas dictatorship years after Metaxas came to power on August 4, 1936. During that time the Greek regime strongly opposed the use of the Macedonian language and harshly punished and jailed those speaking it in public or in private.

The Greek regime showed its true cruelty towards the Macedonian people when it sent many Macedonians to prison in the Greek island prison camps for simply speaking their native mother tongue; the only language they knew.

All three; Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria interfered in Macedonian affairs all through World War II and throughout the Greek Civil War; too many incidents to mention here.

But the final insult against the Macedonian people came when Greece, in the 1980's, introduced the law on repatriation which allowed only "Greeks by birth" to return to their place of origin!

And who exactly are these Greeks by birth? Here again Greece has used an "ambiguous expression" and some legal maneuvers to basically exclude whoever it wants. But we all know this ambiguity was created

to weed out the Macedonians. This was all done openly and yet, there was no one in the world who objected. Why? Because it was part of the Great Power plan to eliminate everything Macedonian.

Allow me to explain.

After all the population exchanges took place, which I mentioned earlier, Greece announced to the world that “only Greeks now live in Greece”. In the late 1920’s Greece released demographic statistics claiming that 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks lived in Greece. This was done openly. It was no secret and it was not a joke!

So according to these statistics, basically everyone who lived in Greece, say after 1930, was pure Greek. That means that everyone who left Greece during the Greek Civil War in 1949 was also Greek. So why would Greece need a law to repatriate “only Greeks by birth” if everyone in Greece was Greek in the first place? And who were these “other” people who were not Greeks by birth that Greece did not want back? They were Macedonians whom Greece figured that by not allowing them to return to their homes, Greece had done its part of stripping Macedonia, the part of Macedonian Greece occupied in 1913, of its Macedonians.

By claiming to have “98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks” living in Greece, Greek authorities whitewashed the idea of any “other” ethnicities living in Greece. On the surface this looked like 100% Greeks lived in Greece. A normal person would interpret this to mean that Greece was 100% homogeneous because the entire Greek population was “ethnically” Greek. And that is exactly how Greece wanted people to think! This also suited the factors, the major factors, out there who wanted everything Macedonian erased. Get rid of the Macedonians from Greece then from Bulgaria, Albania and eventually from the Republic of Macedonia. That was the plan all along.

But looking into their statement a bit deeper one would notice the word “Muslim” which in fact implies “religious affiliation”. The word “pure”

is a bit strange but not if we replace it with “Orthodox”. Orthodoxy can be viewed as a pure religion.

The word “Greek” is a bit confusing because there was no such thing as an “ethnic” Greek at that time. In fact, there was no ethnic or national Greek identity prior to the creation of the Greek state in 1832. So, at that point in time the idea of someone being “Greek” could have meant a number of things. A Greek citizen could be Greek. A person speaking the so-called Greek language could be considered Greek. A person living inside Greece’s borders could be called a Greek. A person with a Greek sounding name could be a Greek. And so on.

By claiming to have “98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks” living in Greece, the Greek authorities in effect meant that “98% of the population living inside the current borders of Greece were Orthodox Christians and 2 % are Muslims”, which said absolutely nothing about the “ethnic composition” of the population inside Greece. In other words, Greece doesn’t say it, but it wants you to think that 100% “ethnic Greeks” live in Greece. So, the stats Greece released in the late 1920’s reflected the country’s “religious affiliation” and NOT its ethnic composition! This, it appears, satisfied Greece’s idea of what a Greek nation is as well as covered up the idea of minorities living inside Greece.

You can see here how Greece is using ambiguity to basically include and exclude whoever it wants. Legally, here Greece can argue that a person cannot possibly be Greek if they don’t have a Greek name or if they claim to be born in a village that does not have a Greek name! So, all those who changed their Greek names back to their Macedonian names while outside of Greece were not allowed to return. In other words, you can’t possibly have a Macedonian name if you were born in Greece. This, it appears also suited the foreign factors who wanted everything Macedonian erased.

Many Macedonians who were not allowed to return to their homes complained to all sorts of institutions from the United Nations, to

Human Rights groups to the countries they wanted to leave from, yet no one was able to help them. Why? Who has that kind of power in the world to allow Greece and Bulgaria to deny people their basic human rights without consequences? Think about it because this pattern of behaviour tends to re-occur over and over when it comes to the Macedonians. Today, only the USA has such power.

Up until a few years ago, most of us were not aware of what was going on behind the diplomatic curtain in Europe, especially when it involved royal families.

But thanks to Hans Lothar Schteppan, the former German ambassador to Macedonia, we get to peek behind the curtain.

Using information from the Ottoman period he discovered in the Austrian and German archives, Hans Lothar Schteppan wrote a book called “The Macedonian Knot”, which is based on new facts that have emerged connecting the European Royals to Macedonia’s annexation by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.

Before I give you any details, allow me to tell you a bit about the relationship of the royals of that time:

The King of England, Edward 7 was married to Princess Alexandra of Denmark. Princess Alexandra of Denmark was King George I’s sister and King George was the King of Greece.

Princess Dagmar of Denmark, who was also the sister of King George of Greece, was married to the son of the Russian Tsar.

King George’s wife Queen Olga Konstantinovna was a cousin of the Russian Tsar Nicholas’s father and sister-in-law to King Edward 7 from England.

So, you can see that the royals who ruled the most powerful states were related to each other and also looked after each other’s interests.

The reason this is important to know is because of, according to Hans Lothar Schteppan, the measures taken to award Macedonian lands to the smaller kingdoms, mainly to the kingdom of Greece.

Sometime after Macedonia was given back to the Ottomans, it had been decided at high diplomatic levels that Macedonia was to be partitioned and awarded to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria under the condition that Macedonia be divided under ethnic lines. How and when Macedonia was to be divided was at the time not determined.

Here is what Greek King George I said: “I do not know exactly what the conclusion was (in Reval on June 9, 1908) but a decision on Macedonia was reached.” This statement was made after King George met with King Edward of England, Tsar Nicholas of Russia and his own wife regarding “the future of Macedonia”.

So, from what Hans Lothar Schteppan tells us, every time the royals had a meeting, King George of Greece would be asking “when can I get more land for my people?”

Here is a quote from Hans Lothar Schteppan: “Greek King George, it would appear, was strengthening his Dynastic relations for the purpose of territorial expansion into Macedonia. This became evident when, during every meeting with the Great Powers, King George lost no opportunity to beg for more territory for his Greek Kingdom, demonstrated through 250 Acts of the German Kingdom.”

Here is a quote from Hans Lothar Schteppan: “Back in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the Russian–Ottoman wars were shaking up the Ottoman Empire, England had interests in securing a passage through the Mediterranean Sea to gain access to its Indian colony. On the other hand, Russia needed uninterrupted access from the Black to the Mediterranean Sea. To prevent Russia from gaining access to the Mediterranean Sea, England established the new Greek State on the land historically known as Achaea. A new King from the European Dynasties was installed and the young State became a Kingdom, established for the first time in

1832. The first King to be installed was Otto of Bavaria (1833-62). The next King to sit on the Greek Throne was Prince Wilhelm from Denmark known as George I, 1863-1913. He is responsible for all the Imperialistic gains Greece made during the Balkan Wars.

To justify why he wanted Macedonian lands for his Greek kingdom, King George I kept referring to the 2.5 million Greeks living in Macedonia, who over the centuries referred to themselves as “Makedones”. These so-called Greeks who referred to themselves as Makedones, according to King George, in fact were a majority in Macedonia and he could not allow a small minority, referring to the Exarchates, to “usurp the name, national and cultural identity of some 2.5 million Greeks”.

When Kalnoki, the foreign minister of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, having listened to his incessant complaints about the Greek Church in Macedonia, challenged the Greek King George I about where he got the figure of 2.5 million Greeks in Macedonia, King George had to admit that the number of Greeks in Macedonia was very small. (Austro–Hungarian records of 1886).

So, having only a small number of Greeks in Macedonia, King George I would have found it difficult to free Macedonia. To increase his chances, he would have to “make” Greeks out of the Macedonians but the only access he had to do that was to “Hellenize” them through the Patriarch Church.

Another less known fact presented by Hans Lothar Schteppan in his Book “Macedonian Knot” is that during the 1903 Macedonian Uprising, Macedonian Revolutionary Dimitar Berovski, one of the organizers of the Razlog Uprising of 1876, was not granted audience with the Russian Tsar. This sounds suspicious because it was well known that Russia was helping all Uprisings in Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and even Greece. Russia prided itself on being the self-appointed protector of the Orthodox Christians, regardless of ethnicity.

Could Russia have been planning a different future for Macedonia? If Dimitar Berovski for example was a Bulgarian, as Bulgarian Propaganda likes to present him, why then was he not granted audience with the Russian Tsar? Bulgarian Revolutionaries were certainly always supported! One reason might be that supporting Macedonia would have interfered with Russian support of Bulgarian interests in Macedonia, and this would certainly have had future consequences for Russian Free Passage into the Black Sea.

There are also other aspects to this. The Imperialistic Dynastic Network of Greek King George I, also had interests in enlarging Greece's territory. Thus, Macedonia was left to fight on its own, not only against the Ottomans but also against the royal resistance. (Hans Lothar Schteppan)

“Since most historians in this time period were overwhelmingly dependent on their monarchs for their subsistence, it becomes very questionable that they would ever question their benefactors. It is however, most logical to assume that they as subordinates, accepted such and co-operated in initiating the creation of a fictitious state with a fictitious history. Historians such as Droysan, promoted such, and are being accepted today as being factual when they are not.” This quote was made by our own Pete Kondoff and confirmed by Hans Lothar Schteppan during an interview conducted by the MPO's Macedonian Tribune on October 17, 2005.

Among other things here is what Hans Lothar Schteppan had to say: “Yugoslav history is like Bulgarian history, Soviet history, East German history and Polish history. History based only on ideological specters. There is no truth, no facts, just intentions, wishful thinking, ideas and ideology. If you prefer ideology, please do so and please don't listen to me or read my book. What you have been taught in school, I am very sorry to say that I would personally not believe. So, please, you may believe whatever you like, just let me quote my documents. These documents are actual reports from the German ambassadors from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century from

Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, Vienna, London, St. Petersburg, etc., and I believe them to be factual more than I can say about Yugoslav and Bulgarian interpretations of history. I am sorry to say that.” Hans Lothar Schteppan.

There should be no doubt in anyone’s mind by now that the Great Powers, through the little proxies led by the Royal families in Europe, planned and executed Macedonia’s invasion, occupation and partition and their proxies were given full control to assimilate the Macedonian population into the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian fold, with hopes that everything Macedonian, including the Macedonian toponymy, culture, language, history and people would disappear forever.

## Actions of Macedonia's neighbours in Macedonia's invasion, occupation and partition

While the Macedonian people were preparing for an uprising, their neighbours had different plans.

The Macedonian people's loss of confidence in themselves coupled with the weakened defense of the villages, was a victory for Macedonia's neighbours who wasted no time in stepping up their nationalistic propaganda campaigns.

Another little-known fact is that after the failed rebellion, the Greek factions in Macedonia allied themselves with the Ottomans and became their eyes and ears in the villages.

As long as they kept the rebels down, people like Karavangelis, the Greek Bishop of Kostur, were given authority to carry out armed attacks on the Macedonian people, such as the one in Zagorichani.

Villages that refused to bend to the will of Karavangelis were viciously attacked and destroyed sometimes with the help of the Ottoman army.

Unable to convince the Macedonian people to peacefully change their allegiance by declaring themselves to be Greeks, Serbians, or Bulgarians, their neighbours use armed bands and terror tactics to force them.

It was well known that there were no Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian ethnicities living in Macedonia but that didn't stop the new Balkan States from inventing them. The wheels of the protagonists were turning when they attempted to kill two birds with one stone by cleverly substituting "ethnicity" for "religious affiliation". By the end of the 19th century the Christian Millet of Ottoman Macedonia was already divided into two millets (the Greek Patriarchist Millet and the Bulgarian Exarchist Millet).

First, since there was no Macedonian Millet there was no “governing body” to represent a Macedonian religious denomination. Second, since all Christians in Macedonia already belonged to one millet or another, it was easy to make “ethnicity” claims on behalf of “religious affiliation”.

In modern terms, all Macedonians belonging to the Patriarchist fold were considered to be Greeks. Similarly, all those Macedonians belonging to the Exarchist fold were considered to be Bulgarians.

By introducing Serbian churches and schools, Serbia later used similar tactics to claim the existence of a Serbian ethnicity inside Macedonia.

All Macedonians belonging to the Patriarchist church were given Greek or “Hellenized” names. Similarly, all Macedonians belonging to the Exarchist church were given Bulgarian names. That is why to this day people who fled Macedonia at that time have names ending in “s”, “ff” or “ch”

In many instances, brothers born of the same parents were given different last names because they happened to go to different churches. Their choice of church had nothing to do with loyalty to one faction or the other, but rather with the church’s location relative to home.

Each brother attended the church nearest to his house as he had always done. The sad part was that now with every spoonful of religion came a dose of venomous propaganda. Brother was pitted against brother, one fighting for “Hellenism” and the other for “Bulgarism”.

At the beginning of the Ilinden rebellion most Macedonian villages belonged to the Exarchate Church. With increased Greek activities through Karavangelis and others like him, the tide was turning. The Greek success was mainly due to the Ottoman-Greek alliance and the Ottoman militia’s assistance.

Russia made it clear to all parties that they couldn't invade Macedonia without Russian permission and only if the Ottomans became a threat to the Christian population.

So, plans to invade Macedonia were under way, now it was only a matter of time so Macedonia's three neighbours, the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians, after forming a series of alliances, on June 1912 with Russian help, formed the "Balkan League of Nations" in preparation for an invasion. The League of Nations in fact was simply a device for synchronizing a military effort against the Ottomans.

When Russia proposed the idea of a "Balkan League of Nations" it was welcome news for Britain, France and Italy. The League was viewed as an anti-German front, a way of ejecting the Ottoman regime from Europe and, at the same time, safeguarding (British, French and Italian) interests and expansionary ambitions.

The not so obvious Russian motive for sponsoring the League was to guarantee its own influence in the Balkans, perhaps through Serbia or Bulgaria or both.

## **The Fifth attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### **THE SO-CALLED GREEK CIVIL WAR**

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia became involved in two conflicts during the “terrible decade” from 1939 to 1949. They first became entangled in World War II and later in the Greek Civil War, hoping to gain their independence from the Greek yoke or at least gain their human rights as Macedonians inside Greece. In the end they gained nothing and lost everything. This was because the aim of the so-called Greek Civil War was to achieve the objectives that were not achieved during WWII and that was to get rid of the Macedonians living in Greece.

Very little to nothing has been written in the international forum about the Macedonians in Greece and their involvement in these conflicts. This is because the world view, as established by the major foreign factors, and propagated by Greece was that Macedonians did not exist.

Macedonians who lived and still live inside and outside of Greece, to this day, are afraid to speak of the terrible ordeals they went through during the “terrible decade” for fear of repercussions from the Greek authorities, for fear of being humiliated or just because it is too painful for them to remember. To this day it is taboo in Greece to speak of the dreaded so-called Greek Civil War, let alone mention that Macedonians were involved in it.

The Macedonian people in Greece, it seems, have been ignored by all sides. Yugoslavia ignored them because, we are told, it did not want to ruin its good relations with Greece and the West. Greece on the other hand, to this day claims that Macedonians simply don't exist and wants to erase them from history. Bulgaria, even though it has a large Macedonian immigrant population from Greece, has yet to admit that the Macedonian people are a distinct ethnic group. Bulgaria to this day still insists that the Macedonians are Bulgarians.

Even outside of the Balkan territory, people have said nothing, especially those in authority, and are content with saying nothing about the Macedonians living in Greece. So, in reality no one really cares about the Macedonians in Greece and as a result very little to nothing is known about them, especially on the international scene. “Indeed, the Macedonians in Greece are hardly ever mentioned in scholarly literature and have been virtually forgotten as a people and as a national minority.” (Andrew Rossos)

This is most unfortunate not only because of the Macedonian contribution to the struggle against Fascism and Nazism, but also because as distinct people with their own language and culture, the Macedonians living in Greece deserve to be recognized. But wait a minute here, how can a people be recognized if the major international factors want them erased? Am I deluding myself?

This chapter is about events that took place during the terrible decade (1939 to 1949) and the deception perpetrated by the Greek elite and their patrons the English and Americans as well as the Soviets who used every means possible to fool the Macedonian people to fight and die for their interests. This story is about the Macedonian human factor and what it endured and about its struggles for equality and human rights. It is a story that will reveal how the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were treated by the Greek authorities and the Great Powers, particularly by England and the United States during the terrible decade.

During these conflicts Greeks on the political right as well as on the political left have accused the Macedonian people of being autonomists, separatists, communists and even of being foreign agents. But as we will see, none of these accusations are true; the only things Macedonians were guilty of was that they struggled for equality and human rights and for the right to create their own independent Macedonian state as promised by the Atlantic Charter and other international conventions.

But despite all promises, both during World War II and the Greek Civil War, that the Macedonians would get what they earned by fighting against the fascists... they got nothing. And as we will show, they lost everything... just because the Greeks, England and the United States wanted them out of Greek occupied Macedonia and erased forever.

All through the war years the Greek leadership was divided into two camps; the Democrats leaning towards the political left and the Royalists and Republicans leaning towards the political right. Unfortunately, both sides had the same idea for the Macedonians; get rid of them at any cost.

After Greece was occupied by Fascist Germany, Italy and Bulgaria, the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) was the first to organize a resistance movement against the occupiers. The Macedonian people joined this movement because historically the CPG, at least in theory, supported the idea of equality and human rights for the Macedonian people. But as it turned out, this support was only a ploy to get the Macedonians involved in the struggle on their side.

“It (CPG) was the only political party in Greece to recognize the Macedonian national identity and to have a public policy on the Macedonian national question. Against considerable opposition, the Third Extraordinary Congress of the KKE (CPG), meeting from November 26 to December 3, 1924, endorsed the Comintern line: support for a united Macedonian state in a future Balkan communist federation. This position was in basic accord with the demands of Macedonian activists and patriots, but it was extremely unpopular among the Greeks. The inauguration of the Popular Front line by the Comintern gave the Greek Communist Party the opportunity to replace it. Its Sixth Congress, in December 1935, adopted a new policy supporting equality for all national minorities in Greece, including the Macedonian; this remained its official stand until early 1949.” (Andrew Rossos)

Between 1912, when Macedonia was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and 1939, when World War Two started, the Macedonian people had been separated by artificially imposed borders, exiled from their ancestral homes, robbed, humiliated, tortured, murdered, jailed, had their lands and properties confiscated, names changed, toponyms renamed, prohibited from speaking their language and made to feel like outsiders in their own ancestral homes.

In addition to exiling tens of thousands of Macedonians, including Muslim Macedonians, the Greek State, during the 1920's, imported over a million Christian Turkish colonists and settlers from Asia Minor and other parts of Turkey, and settled over six-hundred thousand on Macedonian lands.

There are some people, especially the Greeks, who to this day believe that the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia were communists and fought either for communist ideology or for other foreign interests attempting to break up Greek territories and hand them over to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, or even the Soviet Union. This is what the people of Greece were told, however none of this was true. The Macedonians were not the architects of any of the conflicts that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia between 1912 and 1949. The only reason the Macedonians even paid attention to the communists, as I said earlier, was because the communists were the only group of people to offer them what they wanted most, freedom, human rights, the right to call themselves Macedonian, the right to speak their Macedonian language and the right to unite their Macedonia.

The Macedonian people began to look towards the communists when the Communist International (Comintern) offered them concessions. After part of Macedonia was annexed by Greece, the Comintern felt that it was obliged to consider concessions like offering the Macedonian people in Greece autonomy and the right to self-determination or at least recognize the Macedonian nation with full rights and privileges. The Comintern saw the Macedonian people as a potentially strong ally

that could be persuaded to rally for the communist cause. This was opposite to earlier considerations made by the monarchist families in Europe and the Western Great Powers whose aims were to “partition” Macedonia and “assimilate” the Macedonian people into the nations which annexed Macedonian territories.

It is important to understand that the Macedonian territories and people were “divided” with the blessing of the European monarchies and the Great Powers. The annexation of territories was expected but the “total assimilation” of the Macedonian nation into three and later four different parts was not only unexpected but unprecedented. Not even Gotse Delchev predicted that. This was done to destroy the Macedonian nation and erase it from history. The Comintern, on the other hand, offered an alternative and the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia took it. Unfortunately, the Greek communists had different ideas for them.

Also, under Comintern pressure the Greek communists admitted that Macedonians lived in Greek occupied Macedonia and agreed to give them rights. Unfortunately, those rights never materialized because the Greek communists, as we shall see, had other plans for the Macedonians. Their aim was to get rid of them once and for all because they posed a threat to their country. We must remember that Macedonia rightfully belongs to the Macedonian people and not to the Greek people. Greece acquired Greek occupied Macedonia by an act of war and against the wishes of the Macedonian people. Deep down every Greek, be it fascist, royalist, republican, capitalist, or communist knows that. As a result, every Greek faction since Greece acquired Macedonian territories has made every effort to ensure that the Macedonia Greece stole is not taken back by the Macedonian people. The Greeks will do anything in the name of protecting Greek and western interests, even commit genocide. What is even more bizarre about this Greek obsession is that they found England to be a willing partner in this. We must also remember that England was one of the major factors that wanted, and still wants the Macedonians and everything Macedonian erased from the map.

As history has shown, the vast majority of Greeks, including many Greek communists, have done nothing for the Macedonian people that did not fit with their own interests. Only when the Greeks needed Macedonian help did they offer the Macedonians “special consideration”. Then, when they no longer needed them the special considerations were taken away. When the anti-Macedonian Greek political right, royalists and republicans needed the Greek people to rally behind them against the Macedonians, the Greek communists made it possible by offering the Macedonian people anti-Greek concessions. They offered the Macedonian people education in the Macedonian language or the right to break away from Greece, which angered many Greeks thus prompting them to act against the Macedonians. In other words, even the good things the Greek communists did for the Macedonian people were done to hurt them. The Macedonian people were simply pawns in a long Greek, English and American game.

So, the most important question to ask at this point is were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia sacrificed for the sake of a “revolution” or because of some “perpetrated fraud”? Was the so-called Greek Civil War a “spontaneous” or “planned” war to eradicate the communists and to get rid of the Macedonians? Because, as we will show, the top Communist Party of Greece leadership made every effort to control this war so that the Macedonians could not win and the communists would lose.

To make sure the Macedonians did not win, the CPG made sure that no Macedonians entered top political or military positions. In fact, the top CPG political and military positions were occupied by the likes of Nikos Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis, both Turkish colonists from Asia Minor who had the most to lose if the Macedonians won. Also, every time the Macedonians tried to build and strengthen their own political or military forces, the CPG stepped in and stopped them. The only time the Macedonians were allowed to lift up their heads was when the Greek communists needed them to make more sacrifices.

There are many other questions that we will ask and attempt to answer. For example: Why were Macedonian organizations created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to prepare for war, at a point in time when all wars had ended and the world was divided into spheres of influence? Why were Macedonians told to go to Greek occupied Macedonia to fight to re-unite Macedonia at a time when the iron curtain was closed and ran through Macedonia, dividing Greek occupied Macedonia from the other parts of Macedonia?

The architects of the “Greek Civil War” were well-aware that re-uniting Macedonia at this point in time was impossible and very dangerous. The United States of America and England were against re-uniting Macedonia and such an attempt was suicidal. The United States of America and England were prepared to start World War III to keep Greece intact and under their influence. Both Tito, the leader of communist Yugoslavia, and Stalin, the leader of the communist Soviet Union, knew that! So why then did they push the Macedonian people into a suicidal war? Both Tito and Stalin knew that Stalin had given Greece to England at Yalta, so why push the Macedonian people into a war that they knew would destroy them?

To answer these questions, we need to look at the outcome of this so-called Greek Civil War. England, the United States, the Western world in general and the Greek political right wanted to destroy the communists in Greece while England, the United States and every Greek of every faction wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece. The Macedonian people were standing in the way of Greek and Western interests in Greece so a situation needed to be created to remove them. In other words, the Macedonian people were put in a situation where they had to fight and die or permanently leave their homeland. This is exactly what happened in the end and this falls exactly in line with the United States’s, England’s and Greece’s long-term objectives. England the United States and Greece wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece and have a Macedonia without Macedonians! In the end, the Greek communists made that possible.

Another hard question to ask is did the Macedonian leaders and people in general in Greek occupied Macedonia know what was happening to them during the terrible decade? Did they know that they were being played in order to serve foreign interests? Did they know that they were headed for genocide?

This basically was the situation that the Macedonian people found themselves in during WW II and the Greek Civil War.

After the so-called Greek Civil War ended, the Macedonians who participated were permanently exiled. This included 28,000 innocent Macedonian children who had nothing to do with the war.

## The Truman Doctrine, 1947

With the Truman Doctrine, President Harry S. Truman established that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. The Truman Doctrine effectively reoriented U.S. foreign policy, away from its usual stance of withdrawal from regional conflicts not directly involving the United States, to one of possible intervention in far away conflicts.

The Truman Doctrine arose from a speech delivered by President Truman before a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947. The immediate cause for the speech was a recent announcement by the British Government that, as of March 31, it would no longer provide military and economic assistance to the Greek Government in its civil war against the Greek Communist Party. Truman asked Congress to support the Greek Government against the Communists. He also asked Congress to provide assistance for Turkey, since that nation had also previously been dependent on British aid.

At the time, the U.S. Government believed that the Soviet Union supported the Greek Communist war effort and worried that if the Communists prevailed in the Greek civil war, the Soviets would ultimately influence Greek policy. In fact, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had deliberately refrained from providing any support to the Greek Communists and had forced Yugoslav Prime Minister Josip Tito to follow suit, much to the detriment of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. However, a number of other foreign policy problems also influenced President Truman's decision to actively aid Greece and Turkey. In 1946 four setbacks, in particular, had served to effectively torpedo any chance of achieving a durable post-war *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union: the Soviets' failure to withdraw their troops from northern Iran in early 1946 (as per the terms of the Tehran Declaration of 1943); Soviet attempts to pressure the Iranian Government into granting them oil concessions while supposedly fomenting irredentism by Azerbaijani

separatists in northern Iran; Soviet efforts to force the Turkish Government into granting them base and transit rights through the Turkish Straits; and the Soviet Government's rejection of the Baruch plan for international control over nuclear energy and weapons in June 1946.

In light of the deteriorating relationship with the Soviet Union and the appearance of Soviet meddling in Greek and Turkish affairs, the withdrawal of British assistance to Greece provided the necessary catalyst for the Truman Administration to reorient American foreign policy. Accordingly, in his speech, President Truman requested that Congress provide \$400,000,000 worth of aid to both the Greek and Turkish Governments and support the dispatch of American civilian and military personnel and equipment to the region.

Truman justified his request on two grounds. He argued that a Communist victory in the Greek Civil War would endanger the political stability of Turkey, which would undermine the political stability of the Middle East. This could not be allowed in light of the region's immense strategic importance to U.S. national security. Truman also argued that the United States was compelled to assist "free peoples" in their struggles against "totalitarian regimes" because the spread of authoritarianism would "undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States". In the words of the Truman Doctrine, it became "the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures".

Truman argued that the United States could no longer stand by and allow the forcible expansion of Soviet totalitarianism into free, independent nations, because American national security now depended upon more than just the physical security of American territory. Rather, in a sharp break with its traditional avoidance of extensive foreign commitments beyond the Western Hemisphere during peacetime, the Truman Doctrine committed the United States to actively offering assistance to preserve the political integrity of democratic nations when

such an offer was deemed to be in the best interests of the United States.

What the Truman Doctrine does not say is how the United States of America became involved in expelling, exiling and permanently evicting most of the Macedonian population, including 28,000 Macedonian children ages 2 to 14, out of their homeland. They were not communists, the children certainly were not communists; why didn't the USA insist that they be returned?

The USA bankrolled the Greek Civil War and with that it expelled the indigenous Macedonian people from their homeland.

## **Laws enacted by Greek governments against the Macedonian people**

1917 - LAW 1051. Greece inaugurated new administrative jurisdictions for governing newly acquired lands in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1926 – November 21. A legal Act was issued on the change of Macedonian geographic names into the Greek version. The news was published in the government daily *Efimeris tis Kiverniseos* No. 322 of November 21, 1926. The same newspaper in its No. 346 edition published the new, official, Greek names. These Acts are still officially binding to this day. All place names (toponymia) were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers, lakes, mountains, etc., were discarded and Greek names put in their place. Macedonians were ordered under duress to abandon all Macedonian names and to adopt Greek names assigned to them by the Greek state. They were forced to change both first and last name; every surname had to end in ‘os’, ‘es’, or ‘poulos’. The news of these acts and the new, official Greek names were published in the Greek government daily “*Efimeris tis Kiverniseos*” no. 322 and 324 on November 21 and 23, 1926.

1927 – The Cyrillic inscriptions (Macedonian alphabet) in churches, tombstones and icons were rewritten or destroyed. Church services in the Macedonian language were outlawed.

1928 - In the period from 1928 to 1934, when there seemed to be a movement for better relations between the Balkan countries, successive Greek governments of the time appeared a little more elastic in their attitudes towards the Macedonian language. Some even made serious statements in favour of the Macedonians. But in order to see the differences between what Greek politicians said and did regarding the Macedonian Question, we need to emphasize the fact that back in 1926 a law was passed by the Greek Government, as published in the Greek Official Gazette no. 332 of 21. XI. 1926, which entailed the erasure of the Macedonian toponymy and replacing it with a Greek one. In other words, the Greek government passed a law to change the names of all

villages, towns, rivers, lakes and mountains in Greek occupied Macedonia from Macedonian to Greek. At about the same time in 1926 the Greek government allowed various different Greek nationalist organizations, such as the “Elino - Makedoniki pigmi” (Greco - Macedonian fist) and “EEE” (National Organization of youth), to appear which were openly raising the issue of banning the Macedonian language.

1928 - 1, 497 Macedonian place names changed in Greek occupied Macedonia turned into Greek (since 1926) by LAW 4096, a directive on renaming Macedonian place names prompting English Journalist V. Hild to reveal that “The Greeks do not only persecute living Macedonians but they even persecute dead ones. They do not leave them in peace even in the graves. They erase the Macedonian inscriptions on the headstones, remove the bones and burn them.”

1929 - Legal act issued on protection of public order. During Eleftherios Venizelos’s rule a legal Act was issued “On the protection of public order”. In line with this Act each demand for nationality rights is regarded as high treason. This law is still in force.

1936 - Macedonians suffer state terrorism and pogroms. Thousands of Macedonians jailed, sent to internal exile (EXORIA) on arid, inhospitable Greek islands, where many perish. Their crime? Being ethnic Macedonian by birth. LAW 6429 reinforces Law 4096 on turning Macedonian place names to Greek place names. DECREE 87 accelerates denationalization of Macedonians. Greek Ministry of Education sends “Specially trained” instructors to accelerate conversion to Greek language.

1938 – September 7. Legal Act No. 2366 was issued which banned the use of the Macedonian language. All Macedonian localities were flooded with posters: “Speak Greek”. Evening schools were opened in which adult Macedonians were taught Greek. Not a single Macedonian school functioned at that time. Macedonians were fined, beaten or jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children were further

humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian. LAW 1418 reinforces previous laws on renaming.

1945 - LAW 697 enacted more regulations on renaming toponyms in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1945 - Law 543/45 is passed by Greek legislature against the organization NOF, AFZH and NOMS. I.e. “Against NOF and all persons working for the secession of Greek territories.”

1945 - July 7, Law 453 and Law TOD:/45 enacted in Greece. “For 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.

1945 - July 18. Law CC 43 passed. Law “against autonomist activities” was passed in Greece 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.

1945 - July 20, Law (CC) 4124 passed. Law on “Prosecution of suspected persons” was passed. Law (CC) 4124/45 was enacted to be applied only against the Macedonians.

1945 - July 20, Laws PZ 433/45 and PZ 753/45, Decree “G” and other laws were passed: PZ 433/45 “For illegal possession of weapons”, PZ 753/45 “For illegal possession and use of arms”, “For extraordinary measures for public safety”.

1946 – September. The Greek government enacted a law designed to punish the families of army deserters. Imprisonment for political crimes was on the increase and as regular prisons became dangerously

overcrowded, new systems of detention were being invented including detention centers, islands of deportation, concentration camps, etc. Incarcerating large numbers of democrats, male and female of all ages, dated back to before the Metaxas dictatorship, which involved the punishment of people not for their deeds but for their ideas, but the sheer number of those incarcerated during this period was far larger than at any time in the past, and easily dwarfed even the thousands jailed or detained under Metaxas. There was a far greater number of women and even children detained during this period than ever before, necessitating the need for special women's camps. In 1934, for example, there were approximately 130 women jailed in the Averof Women's Prison in Athens. By 1945 the number of prisoners had grown tenfold. "The strains upon the primitive infrastructure required to support such an expansion of the system of incarceration can be judged in the remarkable collection of photos taken by women inmates and recently published under the heading "Gynaikes exoristes sta stratopeda tou emfyliou."

1947 - Legal Act L-2 is issued during the Greek Civil War, on the strength of which all who left Greece without the consent of the Greek government were stripped of their Greek citizenship and banned from returning to Greece. This included Greeks and Macedonians. In its modernized version the Act is still binding for Macedonians.

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

1948 - January 20. Legal Act M is issued, on the strength of which the property of those who were stripped of their citizenship was confiscated. The law was updated in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians.

1953 - August 23. Legal Act No. 2536 was issued, on the strength of which all those who left Greece and who did not return within three years' time could be deprived of their property. A decision on the

resettlement of Macedonians was taken. A wide-flung campaign was launched in the mass media to induce the Macedonians to leave their native areas voluntarily and to settle in the south of the country and on the islands. The Greek authorities intended to create a 60-kilometre-wide belt along the border with Yugoslavia where “the faithful sons of the Greek nation” were to be settled. In the first point of this Act it is stated that the resettlement was necessary owing to the humanitarian aspect of the matter as the living standard of the Macedonians would improve. The actual intention was to separate Macedonians living in Greece from the Republic of Macedonia. Due to a firm reaction from Yugoslavia the realization of that shameful plan was cancelled.

1959 - Legal Act No. 3958 was issued, on the strength of which the land of those who left Greece and did not return within five years’ time was confiscated. The law was amended in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians. Acts from the years 1948, 1953 and 1959 concerning property confiscation are a consequence of the 1947 ban on returning. Several villages in Greek occupied Macedonia were forced to swear “Language Oaths” to speak only Greek and renounce their Macedonian mother tongue.

1962 - Legal Act No. 4234 was issued, on the strength of which persons who were stripped of their Greek citizenship were banned from returning to Greece. The ban on crossing the Greek border also extends to spouses and children. It is still in force for Macedonians, even those who left Greece as children.

1969 - Legal Act was issued on the strength of which the settlement of the unoccupied Macedonian farms by Greeks by origin was permitted. After that a plan was put together to locate over one hundred thousand immigrants of so-called Greek origin from the ex-Soviet Union on this territory. In the future this will be a source of new national tensions. Council of Europe declares Greece “undemocratic, illiberal, authoritarian, and oppressive”. Greece forced to resign from Council of Europe under threat of expulsion. Military Junta continues the policy of colonizing the confiscated lands in Greek occupied Macedonia. Land

handed over to persons with “proven patriotism” to Greece. European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms signed by Greece states: ARTICLE 10(1) “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.”

1976 - DECREE 233 suspends about 150 past decrees, government decisions and laws since 1913. Regulations for the confiscation of properties belonging to Macedonian political exiles not affected.

1979 - 135 places renamed since 1940. The Greek vigil regarding names is an indicator of the Macedonian ethnic identity in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1982 - New attempts made to erase the Macedonian language. The Greek internal security police urged an intensive campaign to wipe out any remaining Macedonian language and consciousness in Greek occupied Macedonia. LAW 106841 political exiles who fled during the Civil War and were stripped of their citizenship are allowed to return providing they are “Greek by ethnic origin”. The same rights are denied to Macedonian political exiles born in Greek occupied Macedonia. U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARTICLE 17, “No one can be deprived of their own property against their will”.

1982 – December 29. While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister legal Act No. 10634l was issued. On the strength of that Act only Greeks by origin have the right to Greek citizenship and their right to return to Greece. Macedonians born in Greece and their families have been excluded. They were and are doomed to live in exile. Heads of various rungs of the state administration received the right to make free use of the property left by Macedonian refugees. The Greek authorities refer to that hostile Act whenever they reject Macedonian demands for the recovery of Greek citizenship taken away by default. They refer to that “law” even in their explanations to the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva! Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December

1985 – While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister hostile Act, No. 1540, was issued. This amended the previously issued Acts regulating property relations so as to make it absolutely impossible for Macedonians to return. This Act permits the recovery of illegally seized property to “Greeks by origin only”. The Macedonian refugees from Greece are excluded. Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XVII, Point 2: “No one can be deprived of his or her property freely.”

1989 - August 30. Legal Act rehabilitating the participants from the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949 was issued. These participants had hitherto been recognized as bandits. The Act granted damages and disability pensions to fighters in the civil war who now have Greek citizenship. By the same token, the Macedonian fighters living in exile – who earlier had been stripped of their citizenship - were not included.

The vast majority of the Macedonians who left Greece because of the war were not allowed to return. Some remained in the countries to which they fled, many immigrated to the USA, Canada and Australia but the majority found refuge in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

## **The Republic of Macedonia**

The resolution of the Comintern of January 11, 1934 was an official political document in which, for the first time, an authoritative international organization, led by a great power, the Soviet Union, had recognized the existence of a separate Macedonian nation and Macedonian language. This, however, was not accepted by the Western Great Powers which still had plans to erase everything Macedonian. The British, the French, the Germans... tried their luck to erase the Macedonians but without success, now it was the USA's turn.

The Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia as well as those living in the Serbian part of Macedonia, at the time inside Yugoslavia, fought on the part of the Allies against the German, Italian and Bulgarian Fascist occupiers. While the Macedonians in Greece were completely ignored, the Macedonians in Yugoslavia were recognized for their contributions and were allowed to create their own state, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, as part of Federal Yugoslavia.

The Anti-fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ACHOM) was the supreme legislative and executive people's representative body of the communist Macedonian state from August 1944 until the end of World War II. The body was set up by the Macedonian Partisans during the final stages of World War II in the Serbian occupied part of Macedonia (National Liberation Struggle), clandestinely in August 1944, in the Bulgarian occupation zone of Yugoslavia.

The first plenary session of ASNOM, was dubbed as the "Second Ilinden" because it was convened underground on the symbolic date of August 2 (Ilinden Uprising day) 1944 in the St. Prohor Phcinski Monastery, now in Serbia. The most important assembly decisions made were:

-The proclamation of a Macedonian state as part of Yugoslavia

- The decision to make Macedonian the official language of the Macedonian state
- The guarantee that the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, would be granted all civil rights, as well as the right to their mother tongue and confession of faith.
- The proclamation of Ilinden as a national holiday.
- The first session was opened with the anthem of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)
- The Assembly issued a Manifesto which described Vardar Macedonia's position under the old Yugoslavia as that of a colony and declared 'brotherhood and unity' with the other Yugoslav peoples. It also stated its support for the equality of all nationalities in Macedonia and called on Albanians, Turks and Vlachs to join the national liberation struggle.

A call for the "unification of the whole Macedonian people" across the entire region of Macedonia was made. Panko Brashnarov, a former member of IMRO and the oldest member, chaired the inaugural meeting, and Metodija Andonov-Chento was elected as president. Both wanted greater independence for the future republic. They saw joining Yugoslavia as a form of second Serbian dominance over Macedonia and preferred membership in a Balkan Federation or else complete independence. Chento and partly Brashnarov clashed with Svetozar Vukmanovich-Tempo, Josip Broz Tito's envoy to Macedonia. One of the contributors in the Assembly was Kiro Gligorov, the future first President of the Republic of Macedonia.

ASNOM became officially operational in December, shortly after the German retreat from Skopje. During this session, Lazar Kolarov, the new leader of the Communist Party of Macedonia, was declared the first deputy to Chento in the ASNOM presidency during the second session of this assembly on 28–31 December. In September 1944, Kolarov, who was a prisoner, was freed by the new Bulgarian pro-communist government. At the same session, a decision was taken for a tribunal to be created that would judge "the collaborators of the

occupiers who had devalued the Macedonian name and the Macedonian national honour”.

On the third session held in April 1945, the body transformed itself into a republican parliament. Chento was replaced by Kulishevski. ASNOM formed a committee to standardize the Macedonian language and its alphabet.

I need to mention at this point that the major foreign factors who wanted to erase everything Macedonian were not happy with this result and immediately began a propaganda campaign to discredit everything that was accomplished, calling this part of Macedonia the Macedonian people and the Macedonian language Comintern, communist and Tito’s creations. This same propaganda has also been propagated and is still being propagated to this day by Greece and Bulgaria.

Then, in 1991 the part of Macedonia that was originally occupied by Serbia during the 1912, 1913 Balkan Wars, by referendum, declared its independence from the Yugoslav federation and became a free and sovereign state called the Republic of Macedonia. This, again, was done without Great Power approval.

Although still restricted from speaking their language and practicing their culture, ethnic Macedonians living in Greece and Bulgaria, as a result, began to assert their rights as a people first by speaking Macedonian in public and then by singing Macedonian songs at weddings and festivals. Initially, from fear of persecution, they only sang and played melodies without lyrics but in time and as the numbers grew they began to add lyrics and even record songs in Macedonian.

With the imminent breakup of Yugoslavia looming over the horizon, Macedonians worldwide began to see the possibility of at last having their own State. Even the oppressed Macedonians in Greece began to feel the fervor and started to form their own movements. According to Pavle Voskopoulos, a Macedonian activist in Greece, “Vinozhito and the Macedonian activists in Greece have come a long way in the last

twenty years or so since their first appearance in 1982. It was in 1982 that, for the first time since the 1940s, Macedonian songs and dances began to be openly and publicly expressed. No one would have believed that ten years later the Macedonians would have been able to organize ‘Vinozhito’, a political party. Even after Vinozhito became a political party in Greece, no one would have believed that in the next ten years it would hold its first successful congress in Solun, the heartland of Greek chauvinism. This was only possible through the hard work and perseverance of Vinozhito’s membership and with the assistance of Vinozhito’s European partners.”

In their fight for human rights as national minorities in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, organizations such as Vinozhito, OMO Ilinden, OMO Ilinden-Pirin, Bratstvo, MIR, Prespa, MED and others began to form. To help their compatriots in the occupied Macedonian territories, human rights and other organizations began to form in the Diaspora. These organizations became the voice of the Macedonian people in the occupied territories. Initially the most active were the Detsa Begaltsi (Refugee children from the Greek Civil War) who organized worldwide and brought world attention to their plight, unfortunately without much success. Greece refused to hear their pleas and would not budge on their issues. The major foreign factors also ignored them. So, we thought!

As federal Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in the late 1980’s the Macedonians in the Peoples’ Republic of Macedonia sought their chance to finally create their own state. On September 8, 1991, in a referendum, 95% of eligible voters approved of a sovereign and independent Republic of Macedonia with Kiro Gligorov as its President.

The will of the people was confirmed on September 18, 1991 at the Macedonian Parliament with the declaration for acceptance of the results from the referendum.

The next important step in strengthening the state was the adoption of the Constitution on November 17, 1991, which was supplemented after

the 2001 conflict and the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement but to the detriment of Macedonian interests. More on this later.

The internationally legal subjectivity of the state was recognized on April 8, 1993 with an acclamation of the UN General Assembly. Macedonia was admitted as the 181st full-fledged member.

Fearing that it might lose its Macedonian occupied territories, Greece was first to object to the Republic of Macedonia's independence. But Greece was not alone in this, it had the backing of the United States about which I will mention later.

Although the European Community acknowledged that Macedonia had fulfilled the requirements for official recognition, due to the opposition of Greece (backed by major foreign factors like the USA) which was already a member of the community, the EC decided to postpone the recognition. Greece, afraid that Macedonia might put forward a historical, cultural and linguistic claim over Aegean Macedonia, insisted that the new nation had no right to use the name "Macedonia" and the emblem of ancient Macedonia on its flag.

In July 1992 there were massive demonstrations by Macedonians in the capital Skopje over the failure to receive recognition. But despite Greek objections, Macedonia in 1993 was admitted to the United Nations under the temporary reference (not an official name) "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". Full diplomatic relations with a number of EC nations followed, while Russia, China, Turkey, Bulgaria and most nations ignored Greece's objections and recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name "Republic of Macedonia". Bulgaria, however, did not recognize the Macedonian language and Macedonian people.

Greece, dissatisfied with the results, in February 1994 imposed a trade embargo on Macedonia in an attempt to force President Gligorov to make changes to his country's name, nation and language and amend the Constitution to remove Article 47 which stipulated that "the

Republic of Macedonia cares for the statue and rights of those persons belonging to the Macedonian people in neighbouring countries, as well as Macedonian ex-patries, assists their cultural development and promotes links with them.” Ironically, Greece also has a similar article in its own Constitution, as is normal for any country in the world to care for its minorities in other countries.

Faced with an economic collapse and left without any support from the international community, Macedonia had no choice but to change its flag and constitution, after which Greece lifted the embargo.

In 1995 Human Rights Watch - Helsinki condemned Greece for the oppression of its ethnic Macedonian minority, which Greece denies exists. Both Amnesty International and the European Parliament urged Greece to recognize the Macedonian language and stop oppressing ethnic Macedonians living within its borders.

Still reeling from the Greek embargo, from the internationally imposed embargo on Serbia, its traditional trading partner, and from unresolved issues with Greece, the Republic of Macedonia was faced with a new set of problems, a war at home.

Due to the conflict north of Macedonia and as a result of the NATO bombing of Serbia, an influx of war refugees numbering around three hundred thousand entered Macedonia. This created an economic as well as political strain on impoverished Macedonia which, on one hand, had to cope with a 15% population increase overnight and on another with criticisms from various human rights groups for the ways it handled the refugees.

No sooner was that crisis over than armed bands of Albanian fighters, spilled over from the Serbian conflict, began to infiltrate and stir up trouble in Macedonia.

In 2001 these illegal bands, first branded by the international community as terrorists and later as “freedom fighters” began to occupy

camps and later villages in western Macedonia. Initially these bands were seen as benign but as they started to assert themselves by restricting travel, kidnappings, torturing civilians and cutting off electricity and water supplies to various communities, the Macedonian police and military began to pursue them. There was an immediate backlash from the western media (one has to wonder why and who was behind this... the USA) which, in spite of their violent acts, the Albanian bands were viewed as human rights fighters and the Macedonian government and its people as aggressors.

As the war raged on in western Macedonia, rumours were flying, some substantiated, that certain elements in the Macedonian government were involved in sparking the conflict in order to partition the Republic of Macedonia, perhaps between Albania and Serbia, Greece or Bulgaria.

“In 1992 I came across a high-ranking NATO source in Brussels, Belgium. He revealed to me the secret plan to partition Macedonia along ethnic lines after a short war: the west would be incorporated into a Greater Albania and the left-over parts would be incorporated either into Serbia or Bulgaria. I found the plan to be far-fetched when I first heard it. I thought this person was pulling my leg. But later events showed that it wasn’t far-fetched.

The NATO source invited me out for drinks a number of times. He was a big vodka drinker. He must have had 5 or six when he let rip with the revelation that Macedonia’s days as an independent nation were numbered. I laughed and said, ‘I agree with you unless the problem of corruption and the economy are fixed.’

‘No, it’s not just a matter of money,’ he said. ‘There are greater outside forces at work that you don’t know about.’ He would not elaborate. He had another 5 vodkas and left. This cat and mouse game kept going on for a month or two, until he let it all hang out.

He revealed in great detail how war would start in Macedonia; he named names; told me how weapons were being smuggled by ethnic

Albanian insurgents into Macedonia through Kosovo and from Albania. He said a favourite supply route was through the western town of Debar, which sits on the Macedonian-Albanian border. He mentioned there were a number of mountain caves near Debar being used to hide weapons. Donkeys were being used to ferry ammunition.

But he would not tell me who was pushing for war in Macedonia. By 1993 UN peacekeepers from the UNPROFOR mission were deployed to protect Macedonia's borders. This mission later became UNPREDEP. Years later, for some crazy reason the Macedonian government recognized Taiwan and China, in retaliation, used its seat in the UN Security Council to stop the mission. With UN peacekeepers out of the way, the 2001 war in Macedonia began as a spillover from the Kosovo conflict of 1999.

The whole thing was mind-boggling. I remember talking to Mira, an elderly Serbian woman who was teaching the Macedonian language to Belgian children. She asked me what I was interested in, writing about Macedonia. I told her I would like to investigate the claims made by the NATO source and look into past Yugoslav communist crimes in Macedonia such as the infamous Chento show trial of 1946.

Her response was 'You don't need to dig up the past nor worry about the future.' I found her lack of curiosity surprising considering her ex-husband was the famous Macedonian writer Meto Jovanovski, and both her children were journalists. Son Borjan Jovanovski was a former Presidential media spokesman whilst daughter Svetlana Jovanovska is the Brussels correspondent for the major newspaper Dnevnik.

One day a fit looking man in his late 30s or early 40s walked into our Brussels office. He had very short blonde hair and had a military bearing. He introduced himself as Andreas Rhenatus Hartmann, a Member of the European Parliament for the German political party, The Christian Democratic Union (CDU).

Mr. Hartmann invited Dr. Naumovski and myself to dinner at a swanky Moroccan restaurant. The dinner went well. We talked about a wide variety of subjects but the attention inevitably turned to the Balkans. I was enjoying eating the couscous and almost choked when Mr. Hartmann said matter of factly that German Intelligence was about to open its first 'station' in Tirana, Albania since World War II, and the British were pissed off at being beaten to the punch.

I thought to myself why is this guy telling me this? He dropped more bombshells when he said that Europe, in particular Germany and France did not want an Islamic state in the Balkans namely Bosnia-Herzegovina or a Greater Albania. The German and French right-wing parties wanted to strengthen Macedonia to act as a buffer state against possible Islamic fundamentalist terrorism.

I found this at odds with the NATO source's revelations. Was Macedonia caught in the cross-fire of a power play between competing European nations? What could it possibly all mean? And why was I told this?

I could only speculate and say maybe they saw me as a young and enthusiastic journalist wanting to make a name for myself who would float the information in my articles. But what they didn't count on was unbelieving newspaper editors!" (Sasha Uzunov)

A month later it was confirmed, when a force of 400 KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) fighters was surrounded in the Village Arachinovo near the capital, Skopje. As Macedonian security forces moved in, they were halted on NATO orders. U.S. army buses from Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo arrived to remove all the heavily armed terrorists to a safer area of Macedonia.

The fighting in western Macedonia began as isolated attacks in the early spring of 2001 by armed and uniform wearing Albanian insurgents who claimed that their quarrel was with the government and its forces in Macedonia.

They also claimed that their goal was to achieve more equal rights for the Albanian minority population of Macedonia. However, in July of 2001 after achieving a sufficient mobilization of the local Albanian population, they began the conquest of territory where the Albanian population formed the majority.

Western journalists continued to portray this insurgency as some kind of armed civil rights movement, but the reality on the ground was quite different. The insurgents, in fact, achieved a semi-permanent occupation of territory through an on-going campaign of ethnic cleansing. It is now clear that in July of 2001 there was a sudden shift in the focus of their movement from conflict with police and army units to systematic terrorization of the civilian ethnic Macedonian minority in the occupied territories.

One of the first documented cases of such terrorization in occupied western Macedonia occurred on July 8, 2001 in the village Neproshteno, about 7 miles north of the city Tetovo. Thirty-year-old Darko Boshkovski was alone, unarmed and in civilian clothes when he was abducted from his car at a road block near his home that day. He reported that it was about 6:30 in the evening when a group of about 150 men in Albanian National Liberation Army NLA uniforms stopped his car and forced him at gun point to accompany them first to the nearby village of Poroj, and then to Drenovec 2, and finally to the village of Gjermo.

There, he was locked in a horse stall with two horses. He was blindfolded and questioned about his father, a retired policeman who had worked on drug-related crimes, and his possible family connection to Interior Minister Ljube Boshkovski. Then his arms were stretched and bound behind him with a rope that also bent his back to the point where breathing was made difficult. He was then repeatedly beaten over the course of the evening by a series of men, some with fists, others with clubs or shovels. He was also tied to a horse and dragged around the barn and later force-fed horse urine and dung.

About 1:30 in the morning NLA commander Avzi came and told him that they were releasing him. They then took him by car to the city Tetovo and delivered him to his waiting family, his wife and parents, who had paid a ransom for his release. He was warned not to reveal what had happened to him under the threat of further violence. He was later treated for numerous wounds, including serious internal injuries, at the local hospital and later at a sanatorium in Serbia. When his family was finally able to return to their home in the village months later they discovered that their house, shop and outbuildings had all been looted and burned. Darko's automobile, a tractor and all of the goods from their building supply business had been stolen.

A year later the family remained homeless and destitute. All that they had slowly built up or acquired over the years was gone. And visits to the village or nearby town are made all the more painful by the open presence of those who tortured him and destroyed his family's home and livelihood in western Macedonia, after the public amnesty of the terrorists. It wasn't just the Macedonian authorities and press who were reporting such incidents either. According to a report issued on July 26 by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, their mission human rights specialists found evidence of numerous human rights violations by the terrorist NLA forces. Their report on their meeting with three young Macedonian men who were being treated for injuries at the hospital in Tetovo on Friday, July 20, 2001 is typical of what they found during their investigation.

Although the young men refused to participate in a formal interview, the Mission report states that they were able to learn the following: "These persons appeared extremely fearful of Mission's presence, but ultimately consented to showing their injuries to the investigator. There were chafing marks on their wrists that appeared consistent with their hands being bound. By observing the pattern of the bruises and abrasions, it appeared they had been beaten whilst their hands were bound behind their backs. From the appearance of their injuries, it appeared they had been struck with rifle butts and wooden or metal

rods, objects typically associated with the kinds of deep bruising observed on the subjects.

One person stated briefly that a particular pattern of injuries had been caused by being struck with a wooden broom handle and a police baton. All had been beaten on the soles of their feet as well as on the back of the legs. One had reduced kidney function upon admission, but was improving. These impressions were later confirmed in conversations with the attending doctor. It was also discovered that the three young men had attended an engagement party and were standing outside the house of one of them when a car with three armed NLA members drove up and accosted them. They were roughed up, blindfolded, and driven to a location where the beating was administered.”

These two incidents were among the first of what soon proved to be a series of abductions and beatings of unarmed individuals or small groups of Macedonian civilians in the western part of the country. By July 23, the OSCE Mission had received credible information that at least 25 people had been abducted at gun point in the Tetovo region.

The ethnic cultural basis for these attacks can be seen in the case of Macedonian Orthodox Christian priest Perica Bojkovski. He was first threatened by an Albanian armed group on July 14, 2001. At that time, he was pulled out of his car by an armed group that blocked the road at the village Odri. At that time men dressed in the black uniforms and wearing the insignia of the Albanian NLA beat the priest and told him not to come back to his parish.

Three weeks later on August 9 Father Bojkovski was stopped again during a visit to one of the mountain villages that were his responsibility. At the time he was riding in a car with Pero Marcheviski on the way to the village of Dobroshte. They were both dragged from the car by armed men wearing NLA uniforms. They were taken by car to the village of Djepchishte, where they were put in a barn. There they were questioned about the names of reserve policemen and the location of army and police units in the villages they visited. When their

interrogators didn't receive the answers they sought, they began to beat the two men with guns and fists. They also put a gun barrel in the priest's mouth during the interrogation.

Their captors then drove them to another location in the village where about fifteen young men in civilian clothes locked them in a cellar. This new group continued the beating, which included demands that the priest sing Albanian nationalist songs and the call of Moslems to worship.

Eventually the priest lost consciousness and was revived with cold water. When it was discovered that he was coughing up blood, he and his companion were driven back to the village of Dobroshte, where they were again beaten and then released at their car. Father Bojkovski was later treated at the Military Hospital in Skopje, where doctors found injuries over the entire length of the priest's body.

This maltreatment of a cleric who carried no weapons and traveled openly in his religious dress on his priestly duties was clearly intended to intimidate the Christian Macedonians in that parish. It was meant to teach the lesson that no one from their ethnic religious cultural community was safe there any longer. Ethnic cleansing in western Macedonia by organized Albanian armed groups took on a truly mass character on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2001. At that time the NLA launched a series of attacks on the mixed Macedonian-Albanian villages of Tearce and Neproshteno and the all-Macedonian village of Leshok in direct violation of a cease fire that their leadership had signed on to the preceding week. Poorly armed policemen and a few local reservists tried to defend the villages, but they were overwhelmed by the sudden onslaught of hundreds of heavily armed NLA fighters.

The NLA soldiers went door to door in the middle of the night dragging people from their homes, from the smallest child to the oldest grandmother. Several thousand people were driven out with little or no time to gather any possessions and with little hope that there would be anything to return to later. Long lines of people, many hundreds, were

forced to make their way on foot to the nearby Macedonian hamlets of Ratae and Zhilche. Some did resist. Men who had invested years of their lives in the creation of a home, and those who could not bring themselves to abandon homesteads and communities with over a thousand years of family history in them. Some defended their homes with guns. Many resisted the invaders until it was clear that they could not win, and then they retreated along with their families. Others resisted until they were wounded or killed by the NLA. About a dozen men of Leshok and Neproshteno were wounded that day and one, Gjoko Lazarevski, died from his wounds. He was 30 years old. He had just completed construction of a new home, and he was soon to be married.

The NLA aggression and ethnic cleansing of Leshok, Gjoko Lazarevski's home village, was among the most indefensible acts of the recent conflict. The aggression took place in direct violation of a cease-fire agreement signed by the NLA with NATO mediation. It involved the occupation of a village that had never had a single Albanian inhabitant in its several thousand-year history. It resulted in the criminal looting and destruction of the lifelong personal possessions and property of all of the residents.

The NLA would later, completely outside the military conflict, set explosive charges under the foundation of a Macedonian and world cultural monument in Leshok, a beautiful Orthodox church, first built in the 14th century and expanded into a grand cathedral in the 20th century, reducing the Church of St. Atanasij to a pile of rubble. One young man who tried to resist this ethnic cleansing was made the ultimate example of what resistance would bring, when he paid with his life.

The campaign of ethnic cleansing that day also included one of the worst crimes of terror imaginable, the abduction that ended in the disappearance of individuals from a community. It was on that day, July 23, 2001, that the terrible crime had occurred. It was on that day that NLA gunmen abducted 52-year-old Cvetko Mihajlovski from a field

near his home in the village Neproshteno. At the same time, they took his 37-year-old son Vasko, whose wedding had taken place the night before, and an elderly neighbor, 69-year-old Krsto Gogovski, from their homes in the same village. They were led at gunpoint in some unknown direction and have never been reliably heard from since.

That same day 62-year-old Dimo Dimoski, who was visiting his wheat field in the neighbouring settlement of Djepchishte, was also taken by NLA gunmen. And the next day 60-year-old Sime Jakimovski was literally taken off the street of a suburb of Tetovo called Drenovec One. The day after that, July 26, 2001, in that same northern suburb of Tetovo, where some of the most heated fighting between NLA and government troops would occur, 47-year-old Gjoko Sinadinovski and 28-year-old Bobi Jeftimovski were taken. Elsewhere on that same day the NLA apparently also took 48-year-old Ilko Trajchevski and his 25-year-old son Vasko Trajchevski. Two weeks later, also in the vicinity of Drenovec, two brothers, 59-year-old Slavko and 42-year-old Boshko Dimitrievski were taken by the NLA.

The families and friends of these 12 men have endured a number of years now of agony-filled uncertainty concerning the fate of their loved ones. NLA commanders claim no knowledge of these men.

Swedish Ambassador to Macedonia Lars Wahlund recently headed an international commission to determine the facts of some 20 cases of unsolved abductions during the time of the conflict last year. His commission concluded that NLA commanders probably know the fate of the Macedonians abducted, and Macedonian officials may know the fate of several missing Albanians and a Bulgarian, but no one will reveal what they know.

Angelina Mihajlovska waited for over a year for news of her husband Vasko. The day after their wedding she and her husband and most of the guests at their wedding were kidnapped by the NLA. She and some others were released after three days. But there is a rumour that she received her husband's ear and a hand later from local NLA commander

Leka. This was said to be in retaliation for Vasko having pulled a gun on Leka when he and his men appeared at their wedding. The commission concluded that it was likely that Leka, in particular, does know the fate of eight of the Macedonian men seized in his district of operations in July of 2001. Several bodies exhumed from a site near Neproshteno, according to the commission report, may yet prove to be some of the missing. But people like Angelina Mihajlovska have no choice but to continue a campaign of public protest before the public, the government and the international community in Macedonia until the fate of her loved one is resolved. And to this day they must occasionally pass by the amnestied NLA leaders such as commander Leka on the streets, men who probably know of their missing men even if they are not directly responsible for their fate.

During the six-month open conflict, 15 civilians from the Tetovo region are known to have been killed and many others injured. The dead included Natsa and Petar Petrovski, a mother and son whose car hit a land mine set by the Albanian terrorists on the road between Leshok and Zhilche in mid July 2001. It also included the particularly gruesome murder of two-night custodians at the Hotel Brioni in the village Chelopek. One night late in August Albanian gunmen appeared at this Macedonian-owned business. They took the two hotel employees present named Svetislav Trpkovski and Bogoslav Ilievski prisoner at the time. They then mined the premises with explosive charges and blew up the hotel, at the same time killing the two workmen, who they had tied up and left inside the building to die.

Other grisly crimes committed against Macedonian civilians by armed Albanian groups during this period included the abduction and torture on August 8, 2001 of four construction workers from a site on the Tetovo-Skopje highway. These four men, who were later released, reported to authorities that in addition to beatings, they were subjected to sexual abuse by their Albanian captors, and in a final act of barbarism before letting them go, they carved the initials of the rebel group into the living flesh of the backs of their captives with knives.



Abductions, robberies and brutal beatings of unarmed civilians in the Tetovo region have continued since the open conflict ended in the fall of 2001. On the 3rd of November 2001, for example, 32-year-old Cane Trpevski was returning to his home in the village Ratae from Tetovo, where he had gone to pick up his monthly wages, when he was captured by an armed Albanian group. They robbed him and then held him for two days. During that time, they beat him over the entire length of his body, while keeping his hands tied and with a feed sack placed over his head. He reported that the worst part of his ordeal had been the fact that during that entire time they had refused to give him a single drop of water to drink.

Reserve policeman Dushko Simoski received similar treatment on April 14, 2002, when he was taken prisoner by an armed Albanian group in the village Shemshevo. They also held him bound and blindfolded in a livestock stall, while brutally beating him for over two days, before he was finally released.

Of course, active policemen and soldiers of the Macedonian army have suffered their share as well at the hands of Albanian armed groups, but at least their suffering came in the course of their sworn service, for which they are honoured today for their sacrifices.

The continued campaign of terror, death and destruction included the looting and burning of over thirty churches in the Tetovo region since hostilities began in the spring of 2001 and many hundreds of houses. The looting and destruction of Macedonian homes continued in outlying villages such as Otunje or Varvara, and even certain Tetovo neighbourhoods continue to lose residents who find life unbearable there.

In Tearce, small shops, restaurants and gas stations were damaged. There was the infamous destruction of the Brioni Hotel in the village Chelopek. Of course, many thousands of people were denied their livelihood simply because they did not dare to go to work for extended periods. Farmers couldn't reach their fields and other workers couldn't drive the roads to various workplaces. And the Popova Shapka major ski center on the picturesque mountain above Tetovo had no tourist season.

Macedonia was forced to concede defeat and was obliged to accept all the terrorist demands. When the peace treaty was signed, Lord Robertson proclaimed, "This day marks the entry of Macedonia into modern, mainstream Europe ... a very proud day for their country." (James Bisset).

After having read the above atrocities committed by a certain Albanian faction in Macedonia, who in the world would have the power to pardon that faction without any consequences? There can be but one answer to these questions... The only power in the world that can rule and overrule anything and everything... and that would be the USA.

This war placed great strains on Macedonia's economy and created a long-lasting divide between the Macedonian and Albanian communities in Macedonia, communities that coexisted peacefully for centuries.

American and French negotiators helped craft the Ohrid Accord of 2001 that ended the military conflict by granting Albanians in Macedonia rights and privileges that no minority in the Balkans has ever enjoyed to this day. It also altered the Macedonian Constitution so that it no longer referred to the Republic as the state of the Macedonian people, but as the state of all citizens of the Macedonian Republic, making it the first and only Balkan state to "denationalize" itself. The Accord was a source of terrible humiliation to the Macedonian people, but it put an end to the violent (foreign instigated) struggle that was tearing the country apart at a time when "only" hundreds had died in the fighting rather than the thousands who have been killed in the other wars that accompanied the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Since 1991 all governments in the Macedonian parliament have been coalition governments comprised of allied ethnic Macedonian and Albanian parties. In fact, Albanian militants who only a few years before had led armed paramilitary units and committed atrocities against the Macedonian people now sit in parliament as elected representatives of the Albanian people. Obviously, this is not a country where citizens are denied their democratic right to free association. This, however, cannot be said for their neighbours, Greece and Bulgaria and, to some extent, Albania. Macedonians who merely demand the right to self-identity as Macedonians and free association in organizations of their minority group are routinely harassed and intimidated by governmental authorities there.

Both the Macedonian minority organizations OMO Ilinden in Bulgaria and Vinozhito in Greece have well-documented cases of violations of their rights. Human rights groups worldwide have come to their defense and issued reports on many of these violations. Human rights courts have also ruled in their favour in lawsuits.

The western media vilified Macedonia quickly forgetting that Macedonia was the only republic to peacefully break away from Yugoslavia.

“The West has always insisted on the just principle that violence, terror, and ethnic cleansing should not pay. This principle was enforced - sometimes militarily - in Bosnia and Croatia. Yet, for tactical and political reasons, the West has made two exceptions: Kosovo, and Macedonia. In Kosovo, it rewarded a crime organization turned liberation movement (the KLA or UCK). It armed it, trained it, and transformed it into a respectable political player and partner in shaping the future and nature of Kosovo. In Macedonia, it has leaned on the democratically elected government of a sovereign country to accommodate the demands of armed terrorists, even as these terrorists continued to intimidate, murder, occupy land, and ethnically cleanse its Macedonian inhabitants. Thus, Macedonia is made to pay for the mistakes of the West in (intentionally) creating a monster (the KLA) that is now well out of their control (in the form of the NLA and ANA) and threatens to transform KFOR into 50,000 hostages in Kosovo.”  
(Sam Vaknin)

The war lasted approximately six months and officially ended with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement on August 13, 2001. In other words, the same people who created the problem now are taking credit for solving it. But the real question is why was this problem created in the first place? More on this later.

“According to the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the international community was invited to support the challenging road of Macedonia from the brink of civil war in August 2001 to peace, stability and integration into Euro-Atlantic structures.

In response to a request for NATO assistance made by the Macedonian President Boris Trajkovski on June 20, 2001, this military organization drew up the operational plan that was dedicated to the peace and stability of the Republic of Macedonia. However, NATO had imposed

three conditions for its help in resolving the crisis: conclusion of political agreement between the various parties in the Republic of Macedonia, armistice linked with amnesty for the members of the NLA and finally pledge of full demilitarization from the NLA. Once the Macedonian political parties signed the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the way was opened for NATO's first mission in the Republic of Macedonia. The NATO military support to the Republic of Macedonia effectively commenced on August 27, 2001, with Operation Essential Harvest / Task Force Harvest (TFH). This UK-lead mission involved the rapid deployment of 4,600 Allied troops that were initiated to fulfill NATO's promise to assist the Macedonian people by collecting and destroying arms and ammunition on a voluntary basis from ethnic-Albanian extremists.

By September 14, 2001, the successful disarmament of the armed Albanians was achieved and in so doing, established the conditions for the peaceful resolution of the crisis that could well have engulfed this country. Essential Harvest succeeded in collecting and destroying 3,875 weapons over 30 days. Included were four tanks and armored personnel carriers that the NLA have captured from the Macedonian security forces, 17 Strela-2M (NATO: SA-7b Grail) man-portable low-altitude air defense weapons systems, 161 anti-tank systems, 483 machine guns, 3,210 assault rifles and nearly 400,000 mines, explosives and ammunition. Because the armed insurgency was a manifestation of "discontent" among the ethnic Albanian community in the Republic of Macedonia, in accordance with the Ohrid Framework Agreement, constitutional changes have been made that are granting more rights to the ethnic Albanian minority that is 22.7 percent of the country's population of just over 2 million.

In order to prevent a rise in ethnic conflicts after the termination of the NATO Operation Essential Harvest, the Macedonian government, the EU, and the OSCE agreed that international observers should supervise the orderly return of Macedonian security forces to the areas formerly held by ethnic Albanian extremists. In order to provide additional security to the international observers, while authorities of the Republic

of Macedonia had primary responsibility for their security, on September 26, 2001, NATO began restructuring Task Force Harvest (TFH) and the next day Operation Essential Harvest was replaced by Operation Amber Fox / Task Force Fox (TFF). Further democratization and improvement in human rights through the process of dialogue and reconciliation progressed significantly and Operation Amber Fox was extended for a period of three months in March 2002 and again in July 2002.

As a result of the greatly improved security in the country, authorities of the Republic of Macedonia and NATO finally decided to bring the mission to an end on December 15, 2002. The Operation Amber Fox was of great importance for Germany because for the first time in this country's history the German Federal Armed Forces assumed leadership and logistics of a NATO military operation that was consisting of some 700 German and other NATO nations troops.” ([http://www.airserbia.com/magazin/bozinovski/eu-nato/eu-nato\\_in\\_macedonia.htm](http://www.airserbia.com/magazin/bozinovski/eu-nato/eu-nato_in_macedonia.htm)).

## **Attempts to revive Macedonianism in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania**

In regard to developments with the Macedonians in Greece, on September 8, 1995, members of the ethnic Macedonian political party in Greece, the RAINBOW PARTY, also known as the “VINOZHITO PARTY” in Macedonian, opened an office in Lerin.

On January 19, 1997 a Second Conference of the “RAINBOW” party was held in Lerin and was attended by 76 delegates of all local units. A Political Manifesto and Organizational Principles were adopted and a Central Council comprised of 19 members was elected.

The Central Council held its first session in Voden on January 26, 1997, and elected a five-member Political Secretariat, an Economic Commission, an Editors’ Council, etc.

In its Political Manifesto “RAINBOW” aired its wish to cooperate with all democratic and anti-nationalist forces in the country in its struggle for peace and European integration.

The RAINBOW PARTY is a member of the European Free Alliance, which has been standing up for the rights of stateless nations, peoples and regions for decades.

Other developments with regard to the Macedonians in Greece includes the opening of the Greek branch of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), an organization dedicated to the preservation of lesser used languages in Europe.

Across the European Union, no fewer than forty million people speak languages in their everyday lives, which are different from the official language of the state in which they are living. At present this figure represents 10% of the total European population, but shortly, with the expansion of the Union, the number of people speaking a different language from the official language of their state will be much, much

greater. Greece, too, is no exception; however vigorously the state may deny it, the facts tell their own story. A by no means negligible section of the Greek population is bilingual. It is not possible to provide precise figures, since none of the censuses carried out to date has included a question on language. The one exception was the census of 1920, yet the figures it yielded for the northern regions of the country were never published.

Moreover, the long-standing policy of marginalization and suppression has succeeded, naturally enough, in reducing the actual number of those speaking the non-official languages. This hostile treatment of heteroglossy in Greece had its beginnings in the early days of the modern Greek state, 170 years ago. In those areas of the country where Arvanitika was prevalent, every effort was made to discourage its use. There was perhaps some justification for this in the desperate efforts being made to unite the regional populations into a single Greek state, using as a means to this end a policy of homogenization of the various populations.

Macedonians, such as Nase Parisis who is currently President of the Greek branch of EBLUL, are striving to introduce the Macedonian language into the Greek educational system.

In regards to development with the Macedonians in Bulgaria OMO Ilinden PIRIN was a political party of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. It was registered as a political party in 1999 and participated in municipal elections in October 1999, where it elected five local officials. However, on February 29, 2000, the Constitutional Court in Bulgaria declared OMO "Ilinden" - PIRIN unconstitutional. This was in direct violation of the right to freedom of association and the right to freedom from discrimination.

The Bulgarian government refuses to acknowledge the existence of the large Macedonian minority in Pirin Macedonia and continues to violate its basic human rights. Members and supporters of OMO Ilinden PIRIN (political party and human rights organization) and OMO Ilinden

(human and minority rights organization) have been videotaped, harassed, beaten, fined and even imprisoned simply for asserting their ethnic Macedonian identity.

In regards to current developments with the Macedonians in Albania, in the local elections held on February 18, 2007, a Macedonian from the party Macedonian Alliance for European Integration (MAEI) was, for the first time, elected as mayor. Edmond Temelko, a 36-year-old veterinarian turned politician won the mayoral position in Prespa municipality, making him the first Macedonian elected in Albania.

Macedonians in Albania are still unable to fully exercise their basic human rights such as obtain schooling in their mother tongue, using Macedonian national symbols and participation in state institutions. Macedonians fought hard to register their political party, the Macedonian Alliance for European Integration with success, which is a major accomplishment for Macedonians because they demonstrated maturity and voted for themselves. By doing so they showed Albanian society that they are part of it and would take an active role in dealing with issues in the country.

The Prespa municipality has nine towns, inhabited mostly by ethnic Macedonians who speak their own language and foster their own cultural heritage. The Macedonian language will become the second official language and all Macedonian landmarks will be given their original names which were changed during Enver Hodza's regime.

## **The Sixth attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

### **THE SO-CALLED NAME DISPUTE**

On October 24, 2013 the Greek Foreign Ministry issued an official statement entitled “The Problem with the Name” using the offensive, demeaning and meaningless acronym (FYROM) from the UN reference. The document was interestingly loaded with lies, fabricated accusations and allegations regarding our account. Among other things, it reaffirmed the assertion that Tito “created” the Macedonian nation. There was also mention of The Hague verdict, de-emphasizing Greece’s conviction but greatly emphasizing a number of “violations” of the Interim Accord on our part...

There is a key part in this document, however, the intention of which is to justify Greece’s attitude towards Macedonia. Here is a quote:

“A State Department telegram, from December 1944, sent to various U.S. institutions, signed by the then Secretary of State Stettinius, among other things said: ‘The chatter about the Macedonian “nation”, the Macedonian “fatherland” and the Macedonian “national consciousness”, the U.S. government considers unjustified demagoguery which does not represent an ethnic or political reality, and in this current revival it sees a possible cloak for aggressive intentions against Greece!’”

As usual, this Greek document, which was certainly distributed around the world, was completely ignored in Macedonia with the exception of being mentioned on Channel 5 television. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Macedonia did nothing. Our diplomats are more likely to be concerned about global warming than about Greeks claiming that we are a fabrication...

Looking at this another way, if we did not ask the Americans for clarification if they still hold the same position, as 70 years ago, the same State Department should have reacted. By not reacting, it means

that the U.S. today is following the same policy towards Macedonia and the Macedonian people that was followed in 1944. If the U.S. does feel the same way about Macedonia and the Macedonian people as it did in 1944, then that would explain why Greece has been so abusive. This definitely explains why Greece has never been punished, not even one time for the genocide, human rights abuses, land confiscation, exiling of Macedonians and a whole slew of other abuses it perpetrated against the Macedonian people over the years.

American silence on the subject, of course, has its own merit, which we must not underestimate. However, one should not forget that activities are intertwined in international diplomacy: Why should Washington “rush” to our rescue if we choose to constantly keep quiet? In other words, we should have sought an explanation from the U.S. the moment we became aware of the information in the telegram referenced by Greece. Now we don’t know if the telegram was indeed real or a Greek fabrication to manipulate us?

Ever since the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 under the name “Republic of Macedonia” Greece has been waging a propaganda campaign against it promoting the idea that Macedonia is exclusively Greek and that no one except Greece had the right to claim its ancient heritage, including its symbols, flags and name. This was echoed, loud and clear both inside and outside of Greece.

How can Greece be making such demands when it is well known that Greece, which was created as a country for the first time in 1832, acquired Macedonian lands for the first time in 1913 by war and imperial means and by the August 10, 1913 Treaty of Bucharest. Nothing Macedonian belonged to Greece before 1913, NOTHING!

What is interesting about all this is that none of the major foreign factors objected to Greece’s outrageous claims and demands. Greece’s basis for the so-called dispute with the Republic of Macedonia is, according to Greece, that “the Republic of Macedonia harbours

territorial ambitions toward Greece's northern province also called Macedonia".

Even though the Republic of Macedonia made amendments to its constitution to disclaim any "territorial ambitions", removed all disputed symbols and changed its flag, the Greek State still stubbornly persisted on its mission to prevent Macedonia from entering international institutions and from gaining world recognition. The question here is who gave Greece this right and more importantly who had the power to veto Macedonia's desire to enter international institutions (the USA).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with relevant information that;

1. Proves that Greece has no basis for its arguments with Macedonia.
2. Proves that Greece's arguments are a ruse to sidestep a more important issue (the Macedonian Question and the Macedonian people's survival).
3. Highlight some very important issues that Macedonians living in Greece are faced with, which Greece and its foreign supporters have so far ignored.

## **ARGUMENTS**

- A. Greece claims that Macedonia is exclusively Greek because the ancient Macedonian heritage belongs to Greece but it provides no valid arguments to qualify its claims.*

The creation of the modern Balkan States during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a result of (a), the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and (b) the introduction of nationalism in the region. All the new states in the Balkans have been artificially created to prevent a large Macedonian state from again emerging on the Macedonian Peninsula.

Throughout the later part of the 500-year-old Ottoman occupation of the Balkans and up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, national awareness did not exist among the Balkan people. The concept of “nationality” was unknown to the Ottoman citizen who at the time identified only by his or her religion be it Muslim, Christian, Jew, or other.

It is also a well-known fact that the Balkan region was without borders for more than twenty centuries and was conquered, invaded and settled by a variety of people.

When Greece became a state for the first time in 1832 it consisted only of the region today known as the Peloponnesus, which was then populated by a majority of Albanian, Turk, Vlach and Macedonian speakers (there were no other ethnic indicators to distinguish the various language speakers from one another since ethnicity at the time was unknown to those people). Historically an organized and united Greek state never existed. The ancient world was never unified and existed not as one but as many City States and worlds with varying governments, languages and cultures.

Over the years the Greek people, by war and imperial ambitions, incorporated more lands into their state including Epirus, Thessaly, Crete and Macedonia, which historically were never unified as a single state and never belonged to Greece. Further, the people on those lands were also not Greeks and linguistically belonged to the Albanian, Vlach, Turk and Macedonian speaking families.

So, it would not be wrong to state that the entire southern Balkan Peninsula on which modern Greece is located today was populated by a vast majority of non-Greek people who spoke Macedonian, Albanian, Turk, Vlach and other non-Greek languages and who at the time had no national awareness and had only their religions in common.

It is also accurate to say that according to census reports compiled by the Republic of Macedonia after 1991, there are predominantly

Macedonian, Albanian, Turk and Vlach speakers living in the Republic of Macedonia today.

In other words, when the Greek State was formed in 1832 it also consisted of exactly the same ethnic identities that the Republic of Macedonia had in 1991.

The reason there is a difference between the 19<sup>th</sup> century ethnic identities in Greece and those of today is that Greece has “Hellenized” the people (mostly by force) and turned them into Greeks. In 1928 Greece declared that the population in Greece was homogeneous consisting of 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks.

Although Greece today claims that its people are the descendants of the ancient Greeks, the truth is that Greece has no basis for this claim. Its people in Greece are assimilated modern Balkanites similar to those who live in its neighbouring countries and nothing more.

In other words, a modern Greek making claims that he or she is a descendent of the ancient Greeks who lived on the same lands 2,500 years ago is equivalent to a modern Canadian making claims that he or she is a descendant of the ancient Canadians who lived on the same lands before the Europeans discovered them. How insane is that?

*B. Greece claims that the name Macedonia belongs exclusively to Greece because Greece has a province with the same name. Greece, however, provides no valid arguments as to how it acquired that Macedonian province and why only “it” can be called Macedonia when that very same province belongs to a greater geographical and historical region called Macedonia.*

Nationalism was imported into the Balkans in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and took hold in Greece, Serbia and later Bulgaria. Macedonia being the most oppressed region in the Balkans stood at the center of the then Ottoman State and was less accessible to the outside world ,so naturally

nationalism took longer to infiltrate Macedonia. This, however, did not stop the Macedonian people from acquiring a Macedonian national consciousness, from making a bid to free themselves from the Ottomans and from attempting to create a Macedonian state that would have encompassed all of geographic Macedonia including the Republic of Macedonia and all the Macedonian geographical regions held by Greece, Bulgaria and Albania today.

The Macedonians are the only people in the southern Balkans who organized a massive national liberation movement and in 1903 rose up against the Ottoman Empire to free themselves without outside help.

Unfortunately, because of Bulgarian treachery and interference, the Macedonian uprising did not produce the desired results and opened Macedonia up to foreign intrigue and territorial ambitions especially on the part of its neighbours who in 1912 invaded, occupied and in 1913 divided Macedonia among themselves.

In other words, 51% of the Macedonian geographical territory which Greece today exclusively calls “Macedonia” or “Greek Macedonia” or the “Greek Province of Macedonia” did not belong to Greece prior to 1912 and was never Greek.

Prior to 1912 Macedonia was part of the Ottoman Empire and belonged to the people who lived in Macedonia, the true owners of the Macedonian lands. Greece gained this territory through war and by evicting all those who opposed it including the legitimate owners of those lands. Greece invaded Macedonia in 1912 under the pretense of liberating the Macedonian people, occupied and partitioned it with its Serbian and Bulgarian partners against the will of the Macedonian people.

In fact, Greece gained its part of Macedonia through deception and force of arms without the consent of the Macedonian people.

Unable to free themselves from the Ottoman yoke the Macedonian people welcomed the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian armies in 1912 as their liberators. But instead of being liberated they quickly found themselves occupied and their state partitioned.

As for the name “Macedonia” I would like to remind the reader that before 1912 there was one Macedonia, the entire region of geographical and historic Macedonia, the very same region the Macedonian people rose in 1903 to liberate and create a Macedonian State. And before the breakup of the European part of the Ottoman Empire, the entire Balkan region was known as the Macedonian Peninsula.

Therefore, the Republic of Macedonia has both geographical and historical rights to call itself “Macedonia” since that state belongs to geographical Macedonia and to the people who rose up in 1903 and during the Second World War to liberate it.

As for Greece claiming rights to the name “Macedonia”, here are some facts:

In 1913 after Macedonia was partitioned, Greece named its part of Macedonia “New Territories”. Later it renamed it “Northern Greece”. Then in the late 1980’s when it was inevitable that a new Macedonian state was about to declare its independence from Yugoslavia, Greece renamed it “Macedonia” (Eastern Macedonia, Central Macedonia and Western Macedonia and Thrace).

Therefore, Greece has neither historical nor geographical rights to the name “Macedonia”. Greece only uses this argument to sidestep other more important Macedonian issues and as a ruse to deflect attention from them.

*C. Greece claims that there are no Macedonians living in Greece or in geographic Macedonia, only Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians and that the Macedonian nation was created by Tito in 1945.*

The ethnic mix of people in Macedonia prior to the 1912 Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian invasion consisted of a large ethnic Macedonian majority indigenous to the region, Turks, Arnauts (Albanians), Vlachs, Roma and other smaller minorities. In other words, the same mix of ethnic identities that exist today in the Republic of Macedonia (with the exception of the Turks who left Macedonia soon after the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian invasion) was present in the entire region of geographic Macedonia prior to 1912. There were no ethnic Greeks, ethnic Bulgarians, or Ethnic Serbians in Macedonia at that time, only ethnic Macedonians. Some were later assimilated and began to serve Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian and Great Power interests.

Most census statistics released before 1912 were compiled by Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian statisticians and were based on “religious affiliation”. As mentioned earlier, at the time there was no clear identifier to determine ethnically who was who except for language and religion. However, the vast majority of people living in Macedonia were Macedonian speakers. So, the only option census takers had was to use “religion” as an identifier of ‘nationality’. Since most Macedonians were Orthodox Christians the only difference between them was with “whose” Church they were affiliated. However, the only churches allowed to operate in Ottoman Macedonia at the time were the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian Churches. So, the census statisticians used “religious affiliation” as the identifier to which “nationality” the people living in Macedonia belonged. In other words, a person was considered to be a “Greek national” if he or she attended liturgy in the Greek Church, a “Serbian national” if he or she attended liturgy in the Serbian Church and a “Bulgarian national” if he or she attended liturgy in the Bulgarian Church. So naturally, there being no Macedonian Church, statistics showed no Macedonians living in Macedonia, only Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians.

Therefore, it is not that Macedonians did not exist, as Greece and Bulgaria like us to believe, but it was the method that census takers and statisticians employed to represent the ethnic composition of the region

that was incorrect. In fact, the method was simply wrong and only served the territorial ambitions of the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian states.

In 1991 the part of Macedonia that was originally occupied by Serbia, by referendum, declared its independence from the Yugoslav federation and became a free and sovereign state called the Republic of Macedonia. Upon its successful and peaceful separation from Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia conducted its own census study and concluded that over 60% of its population was ethnic Macedonian.

As for Greece, it has yet to conduct a proper census and still relies on outdated methods such as “religious affiliation” to determine its ethnic composition. This way it can hide its minorities and pretend that 98% of its people are pure Greeks and 2% are Muslim Greeks.

*D. Macedonians living in Greece are faced with a number of issues since the forceful invasion, occupation and illegal partition of Macedonia.*

The Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian invasion of Macedonia brought catastrophic results to the Macedonian people. After driving the Ottomans out with the Macedonian people’s help, the three invaders Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria began to fight among themselves inside Macedonia for a larger portion of Macedonian territory. In the process they burned down hundreds of Macedonian villages and murdered, tortured and exiled thousands of civilians including women and children as documented by the 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry.

Finally, when they stopped fighting they partitioned Macedonia between themselves under the August 10, 1913 Treaty of Bucharest where Greece received 51% of Macedonia’s territory, Serbia received 39% and Bulgaria received 10%.

In 1991 the part of Macedonia that was originally occupied by Serbia, by referendum, declared its independence from the Yugoslav federation

and became a free and sovereign state called the Republic of Macedonia. The parts occupied by Greece, Bulgaria and Albania remain occupied to this day.

## IMPORTANT ISSUES

There are many issues the Macedonian people deem “important”, which Greece “needs to deal with” but so far has refused to address. Some are listed as follows;

1. Greece refuses to recognize that it illegally occupied Macedonian territories in 1912 without the Macedonian people’s consent. Macedonians were led to believe that Greece was entering the conflict in 1912 to liberate the Macedonian people from the Ottoman yoke, but through deception and intrigue Greece along with its partners, Serbia and Bulgaria, forcibly occupied and subjugated Macedonia. This was done with the blessing of the Great Powers who signed the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest leaving the Macedonian people unprotected in the hands of the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians to do with them as they wished.
2. Greece refuses to recognize that Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria under the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest partitioned Macedonia into three pieces without the Macedonian people’s consent. Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria in 1913 occupied and partitioned Macedonian lands creating artificial borders that have divided Macedonian families to this day.  
What Greece calls liberation, the Macedonian people call occupation. Having one exiled from his or her ancestral home, having his or her lands confiscated, having his or her name changed, being forced to speak a foreign language, being publicly humiliated by being forced to denounce one’s own identity and being forced to publicly pledge allegiance to a tyrannical occupier is no “liberation”. It is subjugation.
3. Greece refuses to accept the fact that its army committed atrocities and genocide against the Macedonian people during the two Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913 as documented by the 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry.
4. Greece refuses to repatriate the thousands of Macedonians that it evicted from their homes and forcibly exiled after 1913, simply

- because they were affiliated with the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches. Greece exiled tens of thousands of Macedonians and had their homes and properties confiscated simply because they, during the last years of the Ottoman occupation, attended liturgy in the Bulgarian and Serbian churches; not in the Greek Church.
5. Greece refuses to allow the return of the tens of thousands of Macedonians who it expelled to Turkey during the 1920's and had their homes and properties confiscated simply because they were of the Muslim faith.
  6. Greece refuses to provide compensation to those Macedonians who's lands and homes it confiscated in the 1920's to accommodate the imported Christian Turkish colonists from Asia Minor and other places. During the 1920's Greece imported 1.1 million colonists from Turkey and settled most of them in Macedonia.
  7. Greece refuses to reverse the imposed name changes the Greek State forced on the Macedonian people. During the 1920's Greece introduced assimilation policies in Macedonia to "Hellenize" every person by changing their first and last names so that they would sound Greek. Greece did this without the consent of those whose names were changed.
  8. Greece refuses to reverse the imposed toponym changes the Greek State forced on the Macedonian people during and subsequent to the 1920's to "Hellenize" the region. Greece changed all Macedonian toponyms including cities, towns, villages, lakes, rivers, mountains, roads, etc. from Macedonian to Greek without the Macedonian people's consent.
  9. Greece refuses to reverse the illegal abolition of the Macedonian language. During the 1930's the Greek state introduced anti-Macedonian laws banning the Macedonian language and ordering the destruction of every Macedonian inscription found on buildings, monuments, gravestones and religious icons that contained Macedonian writing. People, even those who spoke no other language, were heavily fined and forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian. The Macedonian language is illegal in Greece to this day.

10. Greece refuses to abolish anti-Macedonian laws and discriminatory practices against the Macedonian people. Greece over the years has punished Macedonians for having Macedonian sentiments by public humiliation, beatings, imprisonment and murder.
11. Greece refuses to repatriate and return the properties and citizenships to those Macedonians expelled from Greece without a trial for being suspected of aiding the losing side in the Greek Civil War. Greece expelled tens of thousands of Macedonians and confiscated their properties and citizenship simply because they were suspected of aiding the losing side in the Greek Civil War.
12. Greece refuses to repatriate the 28,000 refugee children it expelled in 1948 whose citizenship and ancestral properties it confiscated.
13. Greece refuses to scrap the 1982 anti-Macedonian discriminatory law. Greece passed law 106841 in 1982 allowing Greeks by birth to return to Greece but excluded Macedonians, even though these Macedonians were born in Greece and in fact were all Greek citizens.
14. Greece refuses to end systemic discrimination against the Macedonian people which is ingrained in the Greek government, church, media, schools and other institutions.
15. Greece refuses to recognize the Macedonian minority living inside Greece today even though it is required to do so in accordance with international agreements to which Greece is signatory.

In view of the above, which the Greek State refuses to deal with, past Greek governments have concocted fewer damaging issues such as the name dispute to:

- a. Lead the Macedonian people away from important issues and bog them down with nonsensical ones.
- b. Give the world the impression that the Greek-Macedonian dispute is really about unimportant “nonsensical issues” such as

ancient history. By doing this Greece hopes to cover its misdeeds against the Macedonian people.

At the same time, it is important to remember that Greece cannot do all these things on its own, without the backing of the powerful foreign factors that stand behind it, who today are Great Britain, France and Germany led by the United States of America.

## CONCLUSION

Greece has been very successful in its endeavour and has succeeded in painting the “wrong picture” about its “dispute” with Macedonia only because it has been aided by powerful outside forces which want the Macedonian Question solved once and for all, with the erasure of the Macedonian people and everything Macedonian.

The Macedonian people do indeed have a dispute with Greece but it is not about historic names, symbols and flags, it is about equality, human rights and dignity.

Given Greece’s track record on its treatment of the Macedonian people, today’s Macedonians are left with the following options;

- I. Do nothing and accept Greece’s status quo. In other words, end the pursuit of human rights for the Macedonian people, which may be acceptable to Greece but totally unacceptable to the Macedonians.
- II. Lobby international bodies to pressure Greece into accepting its responsibilities in coming to terms with the Macedonian issue. Pressure Greece to making amends to the Macedonian people. Force Greece to recognize the Macedonian minority living on its soil in accordance with international human rights norms to which Greece is signatory and is obliged to uphold.
- III. Start lobbying for the separation of the part of Macedonia under Greek control and call for its reunification with the Republic of Macedonia.

However, given that we know Greece is not alone in this and that major forces are behind what is happening to the Macedonian people, our options are limited. But, we cannot afford to give up.

## **Macedonians and even most Bulgarians are not Bulgarian**

According to Professor Aleksandar Donski, it is high time the truth be known that Bulgarians know very little about their own history. It is a well-known fact that Bulgarian propaganda has influenced many Macedonians to believe that they are Bulgarian but the facts show differently.

Let us begin by asking some questions like: “Who were the Bulgars of History?”, “How do these historic Bulgars relate to the modern Bulgarians?” and “Could these Bulgars be the ancestors of the modern Macedonians?”

Before answering the above questions, we need to make a couple of points:

- (1) According to mainstream history to which most of the world subscribes today, the Slavs arrived in the Balkans around the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD while the Bulgars arrived in the Balkans about a century and a half later.
- (2) Also, according to mainstream history, the Bulgars were Oriental people who had names like Kubrat, Omurtag, Telec, Toktu, Pagan, Cok, etc., and spoke an Asiatic or Turkic language.

A common argument Bulgarians make today is that Tsar Samoil’s kingdom was “Bulgarian” and that Macedonian historiographers are attempting to hide this from the world. Is this true?

According to mainstream history Tsar Samoil ruled a vast region that encompassed today’s Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and even Croatia. But if we are to believe the Bulgarians that Samoil’s kingdom was Bulgarian then we must also believe that there were no Macedonians, Greeks, Albanians, Montenegrins, Serbians, Bosnians, or Croatians in Samoil’s kingdom and that all these people were actually “Bulgarians”!

The truth is that Tsar Samoil's kingdom was a multi-ethnic kingdom and the same can be said about his army. Clearly Macedonia was the center of Samoil's kingdom where he had his capitals but he recruited his soldiers from the various ethnic groups living in his vast kingdom.

So, the Bulgarian argument that Samoil's kingdom was Bulgarian is clearly false.

How then do we account for some Byzantine authors calling Samoil's army 'Bulgar'?"

There are historic documents that show that Byzantine authors did use the word "Bulgars" to refer to Samoil's soldiers. These, however, were not ethnic references. These were more like references to a certain "class" of people.

When the "Bulgars" arrived in the Balkans around the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, their behaviour seemed unusual and barbaric. They were described by some as wild and highly uncivilized barbaric people who ate raw meat and buried their prisoners alive. In the eyes of the more cultivated Byzantines, besides being barbaric, these "Bulgars" seemed "uneducated", "primitive" and "dirty". With time the word "Bulgar" too became associated with "uneducated", "primitive" and "dirty".

Even today in modern Greek the word "bulgar" means "primitive". The French also define "Bulgar poetry" as the poetry of "common people". In some Macedonian dialects the verb "se izbugari" means "to have become rotten".

Therefore, it would appear that some Byzantine authors called Samoil's soldiers "Bulgars" not because they were ethnic Bulgarians but because they looked poor, dirty and seemed uneducated and primitive like the real Bulgars.

Assuming that during Tsar Samoil's reign Macedonians were actually "Bulgars", as the modern Bulgarians would have us believe, then "Who were the historical Bulgars from whom they descended?"

Mainstream history tells us that the first Bulgars arrived in the Balkans around the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and established their first State in the northeastern part of present-day Bulgaria in 681 AD. If we are to believe that, and we have no reason not to, then who lived in Macedonia before the arrival of the Bulgars?

Those who subscribe to the "Slav migration theory" would say it was the Slavs who lived in Macedonia and had lived there for at least one and a half centuries before the arrival of the Bulgars.

Those who believe that the Macedonians descended from the ancient Macedonians, would say Macedonians lived in Macedonia at least a thousand years before the arrival of the Bulgars.

History also tells us that the "Bulgars" never settled in Macedonia. They may have looted and pillaged Macedonia but they never settled there. In fact, when the Bulgars conducted campaigns in Macedonia they conducted them against the Macedonians.

Byzantine author Leonnis Diakonis in his book "History" wrote: "In September, Simeon the Bulgarian, advanced with his army against Constantinople. He robbed Thrace and Macedonia where he devastated and ruined everything." This testimony is taken from a Bulgarian history book (GIBI).

Nicholaos Mystikos also offers testimony about Bulgarian Middle Age terror in Macedonia: "ruined homes, burned churches and monasteries, raped virgins and tortured priests..."

There are many such testimonies of Bulgarian atrocities committed in Macedonia. Why would the Bulgars do that to themselves if the Macedonians were truly Bulgarian?

If we are to assume, as some Bulgarians have done, that the Macedonians descended from the Bulgars, then we need to have some basis for “when” the Macedonians became “Bulgars”; what century, what year and what month on which to make our assumptions? Obviously, such information does not exist because the Macedonians are not and never were Bulgars!

Again, then why are such claims still made? From what we know from history, the Bulgars did invade Macedonia a couple of times for short periods of time during the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, this act alone does not qualify as a valid reason for Macedonians to have become Bulgars. This is like saying because of Hitler’s occupation of France for four years, the French people are now ethnic Germans.

The most obvious reason of course for Macedonians and others to be claiming to be Bulgars then is the same reason as Macedonians claimed to be Turks, Greeks, Serbians, etc., later and that is because by doing so they had something to gain. Even today, after Yugoslavia’s disintegration we have some 200 self-declared Yugoslavs living in Macedonia. Why? Especially since Yugoslavia no longer exists? These people declared themselves Yugoslavs because they obviously had some personal connection to Yugoslavia and not necessarily because they were “ethnic Yugoslavs”. Similarly, some Macedonians during the Middle Ages declared themselves Bulgars because they had something to gain.

Another point to make is that there were no declared Yugoslavians in Macedonia before Yugoslavia came to exist, just as there were no declared Bulgarians in Macedonia before the Bulgars invaded and briefly occupied parts of Macedonia in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Unlike Bulgaria or Yugoslavia, however, the names Macedonia and Macedonian have never disappeared since ancient times.

In conclusion, claims made by Bulgarians that Bulgars exist in Macedonia (like those of Yugoslavs existing in Macedonia) are a result of some social or economic factor and not necessarily because they are “ethnic Bulgars”. Even today Macedonians declare themselves as Bulgarians so that they can get Bulgarian passports and be able to work in the European Union. Obviously, this reflects economic factors rather than ethnic ones.

It is often said: “Macedonians, Bulgarians, they are the same people, after all they speak the same Bulgarian language; right?” Wrong! Statements such as the above are more a reflection of modern-day Bulgarian propaganda than a reflection of historical reality.

I have shown above that the Bulgars arrived in the Balkans during the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and that they were an Oriental group that spoke an Asiatic or Turkic language. Today’s Bulgarians, however, are a predominantly Caucasian group of people who speak a Slavic language. We have also shown above that when the Bulgars arrived in the Balkans they found people living there, speaking a Slavic language.

So, given the above statements we can conclude that the Macedonians are not Bulgarians and they do not speak the Bulgar language. However, given that the historic Bulgars were Orientals and spoke an Asiatic or Turkic language and the modern Bulgarians are predominantly Caucasian and speak a Slavic language, we can also see that there is an inconsistency in the Bulgarian model which postulates that the modern Bulgarians are the descendants of the historic Bulgars.

If we were to ask any modern Bulgarian today about who his or her ancestors were, he or she would say they were khan Kubrat and khan Asparuh (whose name in Bulgarian means “swift horse”). But, as we can see Kubrat and Asparuh were Orientals! Also, the title “khan” is a well-known Mongolian title. So then, how is it possible that Caucasians descended from Orientals?

We also know from history that the Bulgars were a very small group in comparison to those they found in the Balkans. It is conceivable then to assume that the small oriental group of people who spoke an Asiatic language was assimilated by the larger group of Caucasian people who lived on those lands and spoke a Slavic language.

So, the next question that begs to be asked is: “Who were these Caucasians from whom the modern Bulgarians descended?”

The truth is that today’s modern Bulgarians, to a large extent are the descendants of a small mix of “historic Bulgars” with a heaping large mix of historic Thracians, Slavs, Antes, Ancient Macedonians, Vlachs and other people who lived in the regions of modern-day Bulgaria.

According to the renowned Bulgarian historian Dimitar Angelov, more than 100,000 Caucasian Thracians lived in Bulgaria in the beginning of the Middle Ages. There is no historic event to show that these people moved or vanished so it is conceivable that the small Oriental Turko-Mongol Bulgar tribe melted among the great ancient Thracian tribes producing the modern Bulgarian nation. Professor Angelov also mentioned that many Thracian cultural elements such as customs and people’s names still exist in Bulgaria to this day.

Why then do modern Bulgarians, the vast majority of whom are Caucasians, still claim to be the descendants of the Khans who in fact were Orientals?

The answer to this question lies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Bulgarian people began their struggle to liberate themselves from the Turks. At that time, most Bulgarian revolutionaries were educated in Russia which instilled in them that they were the descendants of the fierce fighting Khans. As true as that may be, Russia failed to instill in them that the modern Bulgarians are also the descendants of the mighty ancient Thracians, a descent which they partly share with the Macedonians.

So, there is some truth to the rumours that Macedonians and Bulgarians are the same people, or should we say similar people, since both partly descended from the ancient Thracians and they both speak dialects of languages that have Thracian words.

The real Bulgarian language is well-known to the researchers today and it is similar to the present-day Tatar language. So, yes, WE HAVE a similar cultural heritage, but it is ancient Macedonian and Thracian rather than Bulgarian (read: Turco-Mongolian)!

I have asked several present-day Bulgarians: “Why do you declare yourselves with the foreign Asian ethnonym ‘Bulgars’ and not with the ethnic name of the famous Thracians who were one of the oldest and highly civilized people in Europe when it is more than obvious that you are their descendants, much more than descendants of the primitive Asian Bulgars?” No one answered me except one who said that for him it is a very painful question. It reminded him of the primitive Asian Bulgars slaughtering almost 5,000 Thracians in Serdika, yet present day citizens of Serdika (Sofia), although they are in a large percent, descendants of ethnic Thracians, now are “proud” of their “Bulgarian name”, i.e. of the name of the murderers of their own ancestors! Isn’t this a tragic comedy? However, there are people in Bulgaria who have begun to declare themselves as ethnic Thracians.

**Сведоштво:**

**Во 1982 година некогашни премиер на Југославија М Планинц во посетата на Бу со претседателот Тодор Ж и прашањето на Планинц за бугарската политика не ги признава Македонците, Ж го рекол следново: „Како да признаеме. Во Бугарија има стотина илјади Помаци (бугарски муслимани), мил пол Турци, два милиони Македонци. Има и Власи и Колку Бугари ќе останат? !**

Testimony:

In 1982, the former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Milka Planinc visited Bulgaria with President Todor Zhivkov, and when asked by Planinc why Bulgarian politics did not recognize the Macedonians, Zhivkov said the following: “How can we recognize them? There are a hundred thousand Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims) in Bulgaria, a million and a half Turks, two million Macedonians. There are also Vlachs and Roma. How many Bulgarians will remain? There is no politician in Bulgaria who can do that, because Bulgaria will collapse!” Clear, loud and clear.

## **Risto Ivanovski - EVIDENCE THAT THE BULGARIANS ARE 100% MACEDONIANS AND HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE BULGAR=TATARS=CHUVASHES**

According to Polybius (2nd century BC), “the Illyrian language is a Macedonian dialect and so is the Thracian language.

Thrace and Illyria were located south of the Danube river, on the Macedonian Peninsula. In 1808, the Macedonian peninsula was renamed by a German geographer to the Balkan Peninsula. The Ancient Macedonians were pelazgians in origin (herodotus, thucidides, plato...), who spoke the homeric language which later was referred to as the Slavic language (German linguist passoff-1815 and Greek linguist choulkas-1907).

This was confirmed by the evidence that the official languages in Greece from 1830 to the present day were three languages: Koine (the so-called ancient Greek language from 300 B.C.E.) and the Koine language heirs (katharevusa-1868 and dimotic-1917). These languages had nothing in common with Homer’s Slavic language. It has also been confirmed that only Macedonians lived in the Macedonian peninsula! So, the Thracians and the Illyrians were Macedonians!

The Bulgar invasion during the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD was so small and insignificant, it left a very minor trace. The Turkic Tatar invaders who spoke a Turkic language were assimilated by the indigenous population in less than three generations.

## **Risto Nikovski – America’s Role in Macedonia’s Troubled Journey to International Recognition**

If Macedonians were not as strong as a “solid walnut tree”, they would have disappeared a long time ago. They survived despite the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, the Treaty of Versailles in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, NATO Bucharest in 2008 and Chicago in 2012. No doubt they will also survive all the EU manipulations in Brussels which, for too long now, have been playing with Macedonia’s fate and with the fate of the Macedonian people. “If the Macedonian people managed to survive all the genocides inflicted upon them during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century then they will survive everything thrown at them today,” said Nikovski.

And as such we must fight and we must get to know our opponents. Athens is not our exclusive opponent. Also included among our opponents is Washington, which works for its own regional interests, a key point made in career Ambassador Risto Nikovski’s newly published book “America’s Role in Macedonia’s Troubled Journey to International Recognition”.

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/America%27s-Role-in-Macedonia%27s-Troubled-Journey-to-International-recognition.pdf>

To provide his readers with the full story, Nikovski delves into issues involving the U.S. from the beginning, i.e. from the day Yugoslavia broke up. The U.S. immediately recognized each ex-Yugoslav state except for Macedonia. He does an excellent job in covering the so-called “name mediation process” about which Nikovski said the process of our country’s accession into the United Nations was not discussed at all. The United States, not Greece, challenged us in the UN and overpowered us with that God-awful reference. It is also Washington that manages Nimitz’s mediation process.

Nikovski, in his book, has provided details that show the “name issue”, the “Kosovo issue” and the “2001 war” are part of Washington’s same

scenario. He has also provided details covering the U.S. role in the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Nikovski says that it was the U.S. that challenged our name at the UN and imposed the reference, not Greece, and that the U.S. managed and still manages mediations carried out by Matthew Nimetz. The wide range of aspects, depicted in the book, are interconnected like the anatomy of a human body, which cannot be studied separately. VECHER devoted several key and decades long topics on the subject. Nikovski concluded that an agreement with Greece on Macedonia's constitutional name is not only impossible, it is absolutely unnecessary. The terminology used when we say we are "negotiating" in New York is "VERY WRONG", said Nikovski.

"In the beginning all politicians, most journalists and a few 'experts' called the mediation process in New York 'negotiations.' But there were no negotiations and there should not be any. Who can negotiate, and under what mandate can they negotiate the name of a state immortalized in its Constitution. There is no mention of 'negotiating' in the UN Security Council documents either. Who has the right to impose or negotiate with whom the constitutional name of a sovereign state and, in our case, a historical name?" asked Nikovski.

The vocabulary used in the UN documents states: "To encourage the parties to continue to cooperate in order to expediently overcome their differences." That is all! It does not imply any bilateral agreement between those involved. Nikovski pointed out that Nimitz may also be hiding something. At first glance, it seems like it is a minor segment of America's policy towards Macedonia. Minor but serious and extremely important; that is U.S. persistence and insistence on settling the dispute and seeking direct agreement with Greece. This, however, is utterly unacceptable for Macedonia and so the Macedonian people were stuck with the temporary agreement. We have no need for such an agreement, nor are there any provisions made in the UN Security Council documents for such an agreement.

“If we or anyone was to negotiate a bilateral agreement with Greece, then everything, all outstanding issues between our countries, must be put on the table, addressed and resolved. This must include the status of the Macedonian people living inside Greece, the status of the exiled Macedonian people from Greece, their properties, citizenship and many other such issues... If Greece or anyone else wants us to negotiate with Greece then, seriously, let us open all outstanding issues, also important to Macedonia and to the Macedonian people... But it seems this has not occurred to anyone, least of all Greece. So, one cannot avoid but think that this problem, i.e. ‘negotiating Macedonia’s name’, is nothing more than an attempt to openly ‘exterminate’ Macedonia and not to assist in overcoming its issues. This is why this process must be terminated where it began; in the UN Security Council,” advised former Ambassador Nikovski.

Nikovski emphasized that the “renaming of Macedonia” and “solving the Albanian national question” issues are two parallel processes coordinated by Washington. Namely, “the Kosovo issue and the war of 2001 are also part of the same scenario,” said Nikovski who served as Macedonian ambassador in Tirana during the 2001 crisis.

Nikovski said if Washington considered Macedonia’s interests and helped Macedonia, it would have experienced considerable success in stabilizing the Balkans, despite the Greater Albania project. The way it did things, he said, we can safely conclude that the U.S. overvalued its role.

Nikovski warned that if anyone today tries to dismember or appropriate Macedonian territory, under the ongoing “Albanization” process, which is aggressively being implemented, things will be done completely differently and if these Albanization destructive tendencies are not quickly curbed, the pumpkin will inevitably explode, there is no doubt of that. This will lead to a broader (military!) conflict.

“Perhaps the Great Churchill left us an important message when he said: ‘For as long as we are going through hell we will keep going! We

have no other choice. The least we can do is unite. Plight and suffering always bring out such qualities in people'. This can also be the case with us," said Nikovski.

The statement, "If my grandmother was a British queen, I would be a princess" also deserves some attention. In the same way it applies to people, this statement also applies to countries. Macedonia, unfortunately, has no such luck or hereditary influence but has become what it is today through its Golgothas and suffering. And as it is the way it is, it thrives to be the best in every aspect, in the region and in the world. Becoming ruined is her greatest risk. The sooner Washington realizes this, the better for us all. Then, hopefully, others will follow.

## **Risto Nikovski: The USA was behind the challenge of our name at the UN**

### Admission to the UN

On July 23, 1992 the Macedonian government made a proposal to its parliament for joining the United Nations. On July 29, 1992 the Macedonian parliament adopted a resolution to join the UN and on July 30, 1992 President Gligorov sent a letter of request to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, formally requesting admission to the world organization.

The fact that Macedonia applied to the UN for admission late was not by choice. Macedonia was held back by its non-recognition by the U.S. and the EC (Washington, London, Paris, Berlin...). These countries were not willing to recognize Macedonia and thus would not open its admission to the UN. They were the same countries that would eventually decide Macedonia's fate (with regards to its admission to the UN). And thus, Macedonia found itself in a vicious circle. The "Macedonian Question" was put in the hands of the EC and its Edinburgh Summit, held in December 1992, and it failed to find a solution. The problem was then shifted to the United Nations and ended up directly under American control.

By then the U.S. had pledged its support to the Albanians, which became obvious sometime later. But that does not mean that Washington was not working on the case right from the start. The Americans, being engaged in the Balkans, simply could not stay out of Macedonia's problems and sit on the sidelines, especially in critical times. Therefore, it is inconceivable to believe that Washington was not involved in the processes that were shaping Macedonia's future. Washington's delayed recognition of Macedonia proves that the Americans were active players in the game.

Even Macedonia's late filed application for admission to the UN was not in accordance with the advice of the main factors. It was premature

and that's how it was treated. UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, kept it in his desk drawer for over five months and pulled it out only after a way was found to contest Macedonia's name. The procedure for admission was then opened in January 1993. It was no "coincidence" that several years later Boutros Ghali was rewarded by the Greeks with some kind of prize which, if my memory serves me right, was one million dollars! This was Athens's appreciation for Ghali's role in Macedonia's delayed entry. This was one of the key conditions designed to cripple the Macedonian state, especially after being slapped with a reference instead of its proper name.

Did Ghali keep our application for membership in his desk drawer on his own or with American blessings...? you decide!

On May 22, 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Croatia were admitted to the UN without any problems. Even though there was a war starting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it seems that it was not a problem for the U.S. and for all the others. Macedonia on the other hand, which had none of those problems, was not recognized. Why? Let's say it was not because of the delayed application, or because of some policy errors, or because of some concocted plot of Gligorov's, as some critics now claim.

The UN Security Council (UNSC) is the ultimate authority or governing body of the United Nations. Procedure dictates that the UNSC make proposals to the UN General Assembly as to which countries should be admitted. The UNSC consists of 15 members, of whom five are permanent and belong to major powers. They are the U.S., Britain, France, Russia and China. These members also have veto power. The other ten are elected members with a two-year mandate and every year five are changed.

It was the UNSC that disputed Macedonia's name and suspended its use. On behalf of the EC, Britain, France and Spain, as a non-permanent UNSC member, proposed that Macedonia be admitted to the UN with a reference. The U.S., at the time, did not get directly involved. However,

do you think that if Washington had even the slightest concern about how Macedonia was treated it would have sat on the sidelines and done nothing? I don't think so. If Washington had given its blessings to Macedonia's entry do you think it would have entered the UN nameless? I don't think so.

There is no doubt that the UNSC is and always has been dominated by the U.S., which is the main financier of this world organization. And there is no doubt that the U.S. had already made its position about Macedonia very clear while Macedonia was waiting to be admitted. In 1992-3, besides China which sat on the sidelines and weak Russia which was thrown into chaos before it went bankrupt, it can be said with absolute certainty that Macedonia's entry into the UN was managed by the United States. Of course, this was done in agreement with its EC proponents, whose "merit" in this should not be minimized. Greece, on the other hand, in spite of its posturing, had no direct role in this process because it was not part of the UNSC.

One of the key arguments that points to American involvement in denying Macedonia its rightful name is the flagrant violations of the UN's normal admission procedures. Even though the UN Charter was precise in determining qualifications for membership, in Macedonia's case two new conditions were added which the country had to meet before it could be admitted into the UN!? This was a classic move of unprecedented blackmail, forcing Macedonia to join the UN without a name! It was this illegal manipulation of rules that forced the so-called "name dispute" on Macedonia and pushed it into limbo. Macedonia was forced to deal with an imposed obligation to seek a solution to its own name, which was disputed and could not be used internationally.

No one, apart from the U.S., can permit itself to ignore the UN Charter and proceed with illegal procedures for the admission of a new member as it happened to Macedonia. None of the other UNSC members have that authority. Not Britain, not France, not Spain and not even all three put together. This dance, no doubt, was led by the United States. Greece was completely out of the picture.

Considering that the UN Charter of Rights was illegally tailored for Macedonia to deny its entry into the UN with its rightful name and to impose a reference on it, we can freely conclude without risk of making a mistake that it was done by none other than the coordinated effort of the United States. Everything else was technical and tactics. There are no facts or arguments to point to anyone else. If the United States was in favour of Macedonia entering the UN with its constitutional name, the reference would not have been imposed. If Washington felt that the reference proposed by Britain, France and Spain was not a good idea it would not have been accepted. This confirms that there were prior agreements of these three countries with the United States.

There is no doubt that there will be a historical black mark left on the UN for the way it conducted itself in Macedonia's admission. This also clearly shows that the political interests of "certain" powers are placed ahead of respect for the UN Charter of Rights, which is a gross violation of International Law. The UN was put in place to avoid actions such as these and protect the rights of the weak and innocent, not to ignore them. This is usually how terrorists operate, working outside of the law.

Boutros Ghali assured Gligorov that admission to the United Nations with the reference would be brief, for only a few months, but that did not happen, which goes to show that the problem was not with Greece alone but also with someone else, someone very powerful. Did Greece alone have the clout to influence Ghali to pull such a stunt and get away with it? Or was this someone else's doing? No doubt it was not Greece alone. It had to be someone else in addition to Greece, someone much more powerful and experienced. So, I ask you, how is it possible for a top international political organization to stoop so low and unscrupulously lie to a president of a country?

Looking at the problem from today's perspective, was Boutros Ghali bluffing or was this someone's plan all along? Ghali should have known, of course, that no solution, no matter how simple, could be

realistically expected to be found in just a few months. So, the question is why did Boutros Ghali make such a promise to Gligorov? Was he convinced that Macedonia was not going to last long and would fall apart very soon? Was Ghali of the same mind, like that Greek extremist Samaras, who openly discussed Macedonia's quick demise? We can now say, with enough certainty that many analysts and politicians then were of the belief that Macedonia was not going to last long. Why? What did they know that we didn't?

Did the Americans have similar thoughts? Is that why they delayed Macedonia's recognition? The probability of the U.S. having such thoughts was high. Why else delay Macedonia's recognition for almost two years? Why tolerate Greece's illegal blockade on Macedonia knowing that the UN had already placed sanctions against Serbia and had cut off Macedonia from its largest trading partner? Everything was set in place to "strangle" Macedonia.

Not knowing what was going to happen, many countries delayed their recognition and waited for a final outcome. Macedonia of course survived the critical period and evolved into a relatively successful country despite all the huge external obstacles placed in front of it. It survived its domestic divisions, in good part stimulated, orchestrated and paid for from abroad. And it also survived its own mistakes.

Thus, the old story was confirmed that Macedonians are indestructible!

I would like, at this point, to take the opportunity to address some politically motivated accusations, demeaning Macedonians for accepting the reference as a condition for Macedonia's admission into the UN in 1993. Was this treason or some kind of irresponsibility on the part of the Macedonian leadership? Let's say, right at the outset, that what took place in the UN was not the Macedonian leadership's doing and such accusations are baseless and only serve to further deepen the divisions among the Macedonian people!

News that a fully independent modern Macedonian state was about to emerge from the Yugoslav breakup had caused some alarm in the region. In August 1988 Greece was first to take measures to rename its “Northern Territories” to “Macedonia and Thrace”. This was done by decree issued by the then Greek Prime Minister. Of the 13 administrative districts in the country, three were renamed. The new names given were “Western Macedonia”, “Central Macedonia” and “Eastern Macedonia and Thrace”. This was the first time ever that Greece officially used the name “Macedonia”. Use of the word “Macedonia” was practically forbidden in Greece because it was associated with the Macedonians living there, who, as a minority in Greece, have never been recognized and since Greece’s acquisition of Macedonian territories in 1913, have been subjected to continuous oppression, abuse and several genocides. Greece understood that a discernible independent Macedonian state would inevitably affirm the Macedonians as a distinct people with their own language, culture and traditions... And, as it had done in the past, Greece did everything in its power not to allow a Macedonian state to emerge. And by renaming some of its districts to “Macedonia”, Greece made it clear that the name “Macedonia” belonged exclusively to Greece and no one else (i.e. Macedonia) had the right to use it.

In other words, it was not the name that was a problem for Greece - it was the people. So, right from the start the “existence of Macedonians” was a problem for Greece. But how could Greece openly challenge this problem without revealing its real motive and being accused of human rights violations? It used the next best thing and focused its objections on the country’s name instead. Because the real culprits behind Greece, as we have seen from our research, bearing their full weight, were first the U.S.A., then France, Germany, Great Britain... This was a coordinated effort with Greece visibly standing in the fore...

Left alone, and with all those wars raging on the territory of former Yugoslavia, Macedonia had no room to maneuver. Washington, Paris, Berlin, London... all had sent Macedonia a crystal-clear message: “If you want to join the United Nations, whose membership will open

access to the IMF, the World Bank... you cannot do that with your Constitutional name. If you stay out of the UN then you will shoulder the responsibility for your people being isolated and all alone.” It was hard to imagine a greater threat of blackmail than this. Macedonia was already impoverished by the huge inflation generated by Belgrade. On top of that it lost the market it shared with the Yugoslav federation. It had insufficient production of energy and was depending heavily on imports from the outside. The biggest problem was the shortage of foreign currency to pay to import oil. Total state reserves were less than 30 million US dollars, not enough to pay the oil bill for three months. At the same time because of the illegal Greek embargo on one side and the UN sanctions on Serbia on the other, the northern and southern border were blocked making export and import - impossible.

Macedonia was left with little choice. The main international actors were determined not to allow Macedonia’s integration into the international scene. Given the circumstances, the question was not whether but how long Macedonia was going to last? Many figured weeks or perhaps several months maximum; certainly not years. At the same time Macedonia’s neighbours were discussing plans for its division... In such circumstances the normal thing to do was to look for an easier way out because the alternative would have been complete collapse.

Macedonia’s admission to the UN was illegally implemented with suspension of its Constitutional and historic name. Instead a temporary reference – the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – was imposed. Macedonia never accepted or recognized the reference and never signed any documents with it. Macedonia never used the reference itself but simply swallowed it as it had no other choice. The reference does not oblige Macedonia in any way. This is a fact which must be constantly emphasized. Macedonia could not prohibit others from using the reference since this is how our country was registered in the UN. However, we do have the right and it is our obligation to intervene each time the reference is used and to explain to people that it is an illegal reference imposed on the Macedonian people... and that our

historical and constitutional name is and always will be Macedonia. If we keep silent and don't intervene people will use the reference in ignorance thinking that it is our name, which we chose for ourselves. We must do our best to not allow its use in anything. It is our joint responsibility to stop its use.

9.5.1. Our Macedonian diplomats in New York and Brussels (NATO and EU), after Macedonia's admission to the UN, made a huge unpardonable error by allowing the reference to take widespread use, which is not only offensive to the Macedonian people but it has plunged our country into a bogus dispute. We literally walked into a Greek trap with our eyes wide open because the decision of the UNSC was that the reference be used only within the UN system.

Any attempts made to stay completely out of the UN in 1993 would have been dangerous for Macedonia no matter how we look at it. That, however, does not mean that, had we been a bit more persistent and stubborn, we wouldn't have gotten some gains out of it? Macedonia had no idea and could not have guessed how far it was going to be pushed by the main factors leading its case. Perhaps one day, when the archives with all these secrets are opened, we will find out. Looking at the situation from today's point of view we should stop arguing and have no doubt that in 1993 we acted reasonably and responsibly.

Looking at the situation from the outside in, today, like yesterday, the same factors are treating us no differently. The same forces

- a) ignore the Copenhagen Criteria which they themselves have implemented,
- b) ignore the judgment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague,
- c) are using force against all democratic rules and principles, just to prevent Macedonia from joining NATO and the EU,
- d) work, again and again, outside of international legal limits... in order to "rename" Macedonia... What does this tell us? It tells us that there is incredible concentrated effort, primarily by the U.S., of countries to attain their own regional aspirations at Macedonia's expense. There is

little that they will not do to achieve their goals. However, if 20 years ago we could not resist their will, today we can but it is certainly not going to be easy. It is no joke going against the will of superpowers.

Our main weaknesses are

a) the largest domestic opposition party has a slender spine and is ready to bend to outside pressure, and

b) Albanian aspirations for a “Greater Albania”. Albanian leaders are ready to solve their “Albanian national question” which is not only supported by the U.S. but it is internally managed directly by Washington.

## **Risto Nikovski - The name dispute, Kosovo and the 2001 war are part of the same scenario**

The book “America’s Role in Macedonia’s Troubled Journey to International Recognition” by Risto Nikovski can be found at <http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/America%27s-Role-in-Macedonia%27s-Troubled-Journey-to-International-recognition.pdf>

To fully understand America’s role in the Troubled Macedonian Journey to International Recognition, after the Yugoslav breakup, one would have to uncover all organic connections that exist between the so-called “name dispute” and the resolution of the “Albanian national question”. One would also have to understand American policy in the Balkans, events that took place in Kosovo in 1999 and the 2001 war in Macedonia.

We have already shown that Macedonia’s entry into the UN, by its official name, was denied and the name suspended from international use by the UNSC. We have also shown that all this was orchestrated by Washington. Careful analysis of the puzzle has revealed and confirmed that the denial of Macedonia’s name is closely connected and imbedded in American strategic interests in the Balkans. What we don’t know is who initiated the name issue first, Athens or Washington, but it has become quite clear that the U.S. used it as a tool to implement its regional plans in the Balkans. We have also demonstrated that, when it came to Macedonia, the U.S. was willing and prepared to violate the UN Charter of Rights, ignore the International Court of Justice ruling in The Hague, not to mention international principles and procedures, to rob our country of its name and our people of their identity...

This is how America behaves not only in Macedonia and in the Balkans but worldwide. America always exercises its global policy in its best national interests. Macedonia is only in its way because we don’t fit with its main goals. So, given America’s desires and superpower status in the world, it is only natural to conclude that American desires supersede those of Greece. So, it is only natural that the U.S.A. is using

Greece to achieve its own aims. For Macedonia it is crucial to understand that the U.S.A. is the main (if not unique) factor in all efforts to rename Macedonia and to deprive the Macedonian people. It means that the key for the solution to the problem is in Washington, not in Athens.

It is extremely important for Macedonians to understand that what the Americans are looking for is not an isolated and arbitrary concession from Macedonia. In question is the realization of American interests in the region. Our name is a means for America to achieve its goals in the Balkans. The main role for American strategy is played by the Albanians. Greece and Bulgaria are just additional tools that are needed to achieve its goals. Serbia no longer has a strong role because it has already been sacrificed for other American plans.

Along with the name problem, and in correlation with it, runs the process for solving the “Albanian national question”. There can be no doubt that the manager of this process is none other than Washington. There can be no mistake that the U.S. used military force in order to create Kosovo as a second Albanian state. This goes to show that American interests are directly aligned with Albanian interests and the U.S.A. will do anything in its power to protect those interests even if it has to erase Macedonia and its people from the world map. So, the Americans have latched onto existing disputes, such as the one with Greece about the name, and have taken them to new heights. The name is not a problem but the Macedonian identity is. Solving the so-called “Albanian national question” heavily depends on removing the Macedonian identity, which Washington has no qualms about doing. U.S. Balkan policy heavily depends upon strengthening the Albanian position in the region. This is an important American project in the long-term which unfortunately has negative consequences for Macedonia and the Macedonian people. Not just for the Macedonian state and the Macedonian nation but also for the entire region. The first victim of this policy was Serbia. Now the U.S. is focused on Macedonia. In the long term, this American policy is absolutely contrary to Greek strategic interests, as well. Blinded by anti-

Macedonian hysteria and historical emotions, Athens does not recognize those dangers.

Risto Nikovski had an interesting personal experience during his tour as Ambassador in Tirana (1998-2002). Sometime in June 1998, he received information that the Albanian Academy of Sciences, at the request of the country's President, Redzhep Meidani, was preparing a platform to address the "national question". Nikovski immediately informed the ambassadors of France, Germany, Italy... and, of course, the U.S.A. stressing that such a document was not in the interest of peace and stability in the region. Nobody reacted and the "Platform for the solution of the national Albanian question" was published in October of the same year. The document, openly or indirectly, advocated for a greater Albanian state. Or, in other words – for all Albanians to live in one state!

When he was asked what the American position on this document was, newly appointed American Ambassador Limpreht first ignored its significance. When we insisted that this document promoted a "Greater Albania", which included territories belonging to three or four of Albania's neighbours, Limpreht thought for a moment and said he would read it again. His final judgment was that there was nothing contentious in it and that it did not call for use of force to achieve Albanian national objectives. At that time, it seemed the Americans had no problem with Albanian nationalism and extremism. But soon it became evident and proved that Washington was strongly behind it. That the "Greater Albania" project was directly supported to serve American interests in the Balkans! At that time, we did not know that the U.S. was already deeply involved in secret Albanian military preparations in Kosovo and that the document was just another tool in their overall strategy.

Limpreht was assured that his judgment of the document was not correct with a special analysis prepared on three pages listing the facts of the "Platform..." leading to different conclusions. It was true that it did not directly call for using force but it was accurate as well that the

aims put in the “Platform...” could not be achieved – peacefully! The very near future, the wars in Kosovo in 1999, and in Macedonia in 2001, proved who was right.

This episode clearly reveals the real U.S. policy towards Albania and the Albanians and Washington’s support of Albanian objectives and national aspirations. During the period when these conversations were taking place, American military experts were secretly engaged in the recruitment of KLA operatives and their preparation in secret camps in Albania. Naturally, the use of force followed not only with extensive U.S. support but also with sophisticated American weapons. So, it soon became clear why the U.S.A and Ambassador Limpreht stood behind the Albanian document calling for a resolution to the Albanian National Question... This did not happen by accident; clearly it happened with American blessings. Events that followed absolutely confirmed that!

Washington never had any great trust in the Macedonians, Serbians, Bulgarians, etc., (“Slavs”) in the Balkans or in the Greeks. The dissolution of Yugoslavia and the wars that followed turned the Albanians into a major U.S. partner. Credit for this, of course, must be given to Milosevich and his extreme policies, which took the region hostage for almost a decade. During and after Yugoslavia’s breakup, America’s main opponent was Milosevich. Albanians, on the other hand, were traditional enemies of the Serbs and were directly confronted by Milosevich. Thus, the way was now clear for a new partnership to open between the Albanians and the Americans. At the same time, the Albanians were willing to die for the realization of their dream, a “Greater Albania”, for which the Americans were more than willing to oblige them. So, with interests aligned a great partnership was in the making.

The U.S.A. in the Balkans was playing the Albanian people’s card and not particularly Albania’s as a country. But, even avoiding support for Albania, by supporting the Albanian people, Washington gave its direct support to Tirana which constantly advocated on behalf of all Albanian people, wherever they lived even though Tirana had no mandate, much

less the right to represent Albanians outside of Albania. Albanians live in Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, southern Serbia, Greece, etc... even in the United States. The same was also practiced even by the Albanian ambassadors to Skopje. They often used unacceptable vocabulary, speaking for “Albanian territories” in Macedonia, for example, or in the name of the Albanians living in the country. Unfortunately, all these provocations were ignored by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During Albania’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration, a six-meter Albanian flag was hoisted in the village Greshnitsa, in Kichevo Region inside Macedonia, with Ahmeti’s blessings. Source: “Nova Makedonija”, November 20, 2012. The flag-raising was illegal but its purpose was to show that the Albanian celebration was possible in all so-called Albanian territories. This part of sovereign Macedonia is considered “Albanian territory” by the Albanians. According to Ahmeti: “The Albanians will not allow any daring black hand to reach for it (the six-meter flag) and take it down...”

The Albanian Ambassador to Macedonia in Skopje said: “The dimensions of this unusual flag in the ‘Albanian territories’ today is an expression of respect...” If the Macedonian government could do nothing about Ahmeti, it should have at least expelled the Albanian Ambassador for making such a disrespectful comment. This, unfortunately, was not done...

Because no one in Macedonia reacted to this incident, the famous Jason Miko took it upon himself to react (“Flaw in the Framework Agreement”, “Dnevnik”, November 29, 2012). He quoted a statement made by Bujar Osmani, DUI spokesman, in which he said: “As a sign of mutual respect, all Macedonian citizens should share the Albanian joy and should not raise the question whether it is legal to fly the Albanian flag, because the Albanians will interpret it as a provocation?!?” Ascertaining that: “You Bujar, obviously do not understand the concept of the rule of law!”

The highly respected Jason Miko was absolutely right, but no doubt everything was clear to Bujar also. The statement is an expression of DUI's hypocritical policies; it was a severe provocation and direct insult for the Macedonians.

And nothing happened. The only conclusion is that Bujar was right!

It was common practice for Tirana and for Albanians everywhere to use the term "Albanian lands" when referring to regions outside of Albania which is nothing less than open and classic irredentism.

As was already mentioned, events in Kosovo, which culminated in 1999, were secretly prepared by the U.S. and the UK special services. Their military instructors, private military companies, like the MPRI, trained the KLA (in Kosovo) military operatives in secret camps in Albania. The U.S. and the UK were instrumental in providing them with arms and ammunition. It should not be underestimated though, that the arsenal that was robbed from Albanian military depots during the chaos that took place in Albania in 1996/7, also ended up in their hands. These activities were carried out to fulfill the prerequisites of two primary American goals: a) the destruction of Milosevich and b) the unification of all Albanians.

## **Risto Nikovski: The 2001 War in Macedonia**

Macedonia did everything it could to avoid the wars that followed the breakup of Yugoslavia. It allowed the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) to take away huge caches of arms, technical equipment, transport equipment and other military means... common property worth billions of dollars, just to avoid confrontation. And in place of being rewarded for its peaceful and civilized behaviour, Macedonia became a victim of someone else's interests. Worse than that was the short, 2001 staged war which had devastating consequences for Macedonia.

A large part of what had been done and created in the 10 years after Macedonia's independence, with hardships, sacrifices and unimaginable conditions was destroyed by the 2001 war. Macedonia was thrown back at least for another 10 years. Of course, this was by no accident. Terrorists, trained and armed in Kosovo, attacked Macedonia and inflicted immeasurable damage. All this was directed by the U.S., with aims of realizing its own interests in the Balkans.

Macedonia's army and police suffered unprecedented indignity in this war. A handful of terrorists, as they were initially referred to by NATO Secretary-General, Robertson, put the Macedonian forces and political structure of the country to shame... starting with the country's President and Supreme Commander of the army, the government, General Headquarters and the Ministry of Internal Affairs... A small gang of mercenaries held the entire country hostage from the Tetovo fortress. Our huge investments in security forces up to that time proved to be fruitless. We realized that we had no security system and had to improvise on everything. In these dramatic and critical moments, the situation looked more like a deliberate sabotage than an organized defense against the aggressor.

At the time we had no idea that behind the terrorists stood the U.S. Then, as today, very few people were even aware of what was happening behind the scenes. And today, most people don't want to

think about 2001. They either don't want to know or are not willing to face the truth.

Insult on top of injury, an unprecedented disgrace for the Macedonian state was the drafting and signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement; its content in particular. From our side it was negotiated by extremely inexperienced but particularly ambitious personalities. In contrast, the Albanians employed foreign experts.

Following the successful military operation in Kosovo in 1999, a brief war took place in Macedonia in 2001. There is little doubt that the war in Macedonia was deliberate, planned and started in Kosovo, which at the time was a U.S. protectorate, although formally, under UN auspices. The NLA was created and prepared by the same forces that created the Kosovo KLA. After achieving positive results in Kosovo, it was only logical that the next Albanian target would be Macedonia (and the three municipalities in Southern Serbia, which we will not discuss here). The original intent was to "liberate" the parts of Macedonia that the Albanians considered "Albanian territories". This would have been the shortest path for achieving a "Greater Albania". But when that plan failed, the Albanians and their supporters resorted to plan "B". In the center of plan "B" was the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which was to achieve the same goal - to recompose Macedonia contrary to all world experiences and practices. Where a minority would be elevated to the status of ethnic community and Macedonia would become a pluralistic society and divided more than ever before. Means were created where the majority could be manipulated, paving the way for the state's gradual destruction. Ethnicities were institutionalized and with that, in place of overcoming the divisions, they were cemented in the Constitution. The achieved concessions, however, are a temporary solution. So, the questions were – what the next step would be and, of course, what kind of final solution should be expected?

In regards to Macedonia, this American policy began by blocking Macedonia's recognition in the early 1990's and reached its peak during the Kosovo crisis and the 2001 war in Macedonia. Had the crisis in

Kosovo not taken place, the 2001 war in Macedonia would have been unthinkable. In fact, the war in Macedonia was a continuation of the Kosovo war, with the sole aim to finalize the “Greater Albania” project.

The independence of Kosovo was the decisive step towards the creation of a so-called “Greater Albania”. After separating Kosovo from Serbia, the question was no longer if, but when this project would be completed? By “liberating” Kosovo and creating a second Albanian state, 70% of the total project was already completed. The next step was to tackle the “liberation of Albanian lands” from Macedonia. The three municipalities in Southern Serbia and the four in Montenegro were of less importance. And, for now, liberating Chamiria from Greece was not in the plan.

The concept of a “Greater Albania” is not “imaginary” as some want to assert. The dream of all Albanians living together in a single state is not a pipe dream. It is enshrined in the preamble of the Albanian Constitution and it is in its advanced stages of implementation. Pandeli Maiko, Former Albanian Prime Minister, in a TV interview in Tirana, at the beginning of the new millennium, clearly stated that: “The process has been initiated and is now irreversible”. Many Albanians in Albania share this opinion, including political, scientific and intellectual elites. In the period from 1998 to 2002, over 100 top Albanian elites were asked the question of what a “Greater Albania” means to them. Only Gramos Pashko, Vice President in the first Berisha government, after the democratization of Albania, now deceased, said that it was a meaningless pipe dream. None of the others rejected the concept as impractical. The explanations given, in general, were not brilliant, sound and precise but the term itself was not questioned. Nobody had a clear idea of what it really meant but no one was also distanced from it.

During the celebration of Albania’s 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary, at the end of 2012, Albanian Prime Minister Berisha used the occasion, while speaking in Valona, Albania, to remind everyone that (Greater) Albania’s borders are from Preveza in Greece, to Preshevo in Serbia, and from Skopje to Podgoritsa in Montenegro (“Nova Makedonija”,

28.11.2012). Even though his statements challenged the territorial integrity of four sovereign states, no one reacted.

A series of nationalistic provocations followed, originating in Tirana. They are no doubt the result of Albanians achieving a number of successes in the region and now they feel the need to put their demands forward. A culmination was recently reached when an illegal Albanian monument was removed from the center in Preshevo, Serbia. To this Berisha responded with the words: “This shows that Serbia is a racist country” and that “one day ethnic Albanians will unite in one country in the Balkans”, and that “this act proved once again that there is only one way that the Albanian people can enjoy their freedom, which they have acquired with their blood and that is by the unification of the Albanian people!” (“Dnevnik” 21.01.2013)

The “Greater Albania” project was masterfully run right from the start. Activities on the project intensified sometime in the 1960’s, in Kosovo, and culminated (but not finished) with Kosovo’s independence. Everything done to this day (2013) was done without any technical, tactical, or strategic errors. The project progressed at a slow pace, millimeter by millimeter, and eventually reached its main goal - independence. Tirana played a role in all this; there should be no doubt about it. However, although the Albanian state was established in 1912, it lacked the statesmanship and necessary experience to do this. The Albanians in Tirana definitely lacked the capability to manage such a process and so did the Albanians in Kosovo. So, the question is, who and from where were the strings pulled? The answer is yet to be determined. For now, we can only say that, with little doubt, in the period after the Yugoslav disintegration, this process was managed by the USA.

The Albanians, all these years, did not work on these plans alone. This is confirmed by a small but concrete example. There is no question that the well-known American analyst and activist Janos Bugaiski is a major Albanian lobbyist. Sometime in the early 2000’s he participated in a regional conference in Tirana. Manifestations in his vocabulary,

although disguised, advocated for a greater Albanian outcome in the region. It was a provocation to find out who financed Bugaiski's trip to Tirana for this particular conference? It was confirmed that the American Embassy in Tirana covered his expenses! Would the Americans have been willing to pay for someone with whose views they did not agree?

Milosevich, in his tribulations, not only crippled Serbia but also turned the Balkans into a victim of violent American policies, including the policy to solve the "Albanian national question" by force. In its attempts to impose its own interests in the Balkans, the United States has blocked all positive regional processes. To date the collateral damage has been Serbia and Macedonia and indirectly Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the future, without a doubt, U.S policies will also prove extremely harmful to Greek interests.

## U.S. and the 2001 War – The Albanians in Macedonia

The 2001 war was a key segment and the best benchmark of U.S. policy towards Macedonia. It was the key stone in the mosaic of American politics. Unfortunately, the war inflicted historic damage to Macedonia. Macedonians were forced to make strategic and irreversible concessions. The question that would determine the final fate of our country was left open. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the basic aim of the war – “liberation of the Albanian territories” – failed despite the unprecedented weaknesses demonstrated by the Macedonian side.

It is extremely important to note that, at the beginning of 2001 the Albanians in Macedonia were left out of the American plan and were caught completely by surprise in the events that led to the 2001 war. In the end, the leaders of the DPA and PDP parties had to sign the Framework Agreement, even though, at first, they had no idea what was going on. This is proof that

a) the war was not about the rights of Albanians in the country, and  
b) the war was not organized by the Albanians but by the Americans.  
Who else could have had the ability to exclude Xhaferi, Thachi and other Albanian leaders in Macedonia from this fateful historic Albanian event, directly connected with their future?

Without any doubt it can be concluded that if Albanians, even those from Kosovo, were the real instigators and leaders of the 2001 war, and not someone else, then the war would have been conducted on a Pan-Albanian basis. In other words, it would have been done in coordination with all Albanian leaders in the region, including those in Macedonia. This would have been an all-Albanian project as was, for example, the case in Kosovo and the KLA, when secret camps were created in Albania and fighters were recruited from everywhere, even from the U.S. If the aggression against Macedonia was done exclusively by Albanians, then why include some Albanians and exclude others? Both Tirana and Skopje (Tetovo) would have had the same role as Prishtina. Meaning, to attack Macedonia would have been “an all Albanian plan”. The only logical explanation could be that all Albanians were not

included in this plan because it was someone else's plan. Nevertheless, the plan was convenient for the Albanians and they realized it.

There is no doubt that the entire operation in Macedonia was coordinated in Kosovo. The entire planning, training and other preparations, overall logistics, etc. were carried out in Kosovo. A strong confirmation of this is the fact that in the first three months all military operations in Macedonia were driven from Kosovo. Every day operatives were crossing the border back and forth. This shows that everything was organized and coordinated in Kosovo, including transportation.

Let us not forget that everything originated in Kosovo, formally a UN protectorate but practically under NATO command, was led by American generals. There were tens of thousands of troops, some foreign but mostly American: over 30,000. We should also emphasize that Kosovo, in all its segments, was deeply infiltrated by CIA operatives as well as other relevant U.S. intelligence services which had an eye on everything that was going on inside Kosovo. So, the question that needs to be asked is: how could these Albanians organize, train, raise arms, cross borders on a daily basis and carry out military operations in neighbouring Macedonia undetected and without the knowledge of the U.S.? Is it possible that the NLA leadership alone, from Prizren, Kosovo, led a war inside Macedonia with NATO and the United States being unaware? It is unthinkable!!!

Things became clear with the first five NLA releases, which informed the world that the Albanians were fighting for the "liberation of the territories". Journalist David Binder in "Newsweek", dated March 22, 2001, quoted Ahmeti as saying: "Our sole purpose is to remove the Slav forces from the territory which is historically Albanian" (article by Jason Miko – "Vrakanje na kolosek", "Dnevnik", March 7, 2013).

In the same column there was a quote from an article written by Patrick Bishop for the "Telegraph" published March 12, 2001 entitled "Macedonia began with an attack" in which Patrick wrote: "Albanian

rebels in Macedonia want division along ethnic lines and say they are ready to plunge the Balkans into another conflict unless their demands are met.” There was also an article by Peter Beaumont and Nick Wood (“Observer”, March 11, 2001) which quoted a statement made by Shkelzen Malichi, a prominent journalist in Prishtina, who said: “I am familiar with the ideology, mentality and motivation of the forces that caused the armed conflict in Macedonia. I met with them, especially with immigrants from Europe. They tried to convince me that Macedonia is an artificial creation, formed to harm the Albanian nation. They argue that the forced separation of the Albanian nation is a historical injustice. This injustice should be corrected, they say, by dividing the Macedonian Slav from the Albanian part. The Albanian part should be allowed to unite with Kosovo or, better yet, to become part of a united Albanian state.”

Given the circumstances, there truly was no place in this war for Xhaferi, Thachi and Imeri of the DPA and PDP (Albanian parties in Macedonia). No matter how extreme they may have been, in their own way concerning the “Albanian national question” they tried to solve their problems through the institutions to which they belonged. The fact that they were not very successful in this area was because the state leadership made some serious miscalculations. It is evident that after the Yugoslav breakup, Macedonian authorities did not pay enough attention to the Albanian minority in its society, which needed urgent measures to overcome its problems. Its neglect gave the 2001 war some legitimacy, although that was not the reason for it. The basis of the 2001 war was a “Greater Albania” and to serve U.S. interests in the region.

Turning the “war of liberation” into a “humanitarian war” for the rights of the Albanian people in Macedonia was a total farce. This war, right from the start, was led by the National Liberation Army (NLA)! If the original mandate was to “fight for rights” then why did they need a “National Liberation Army”? The war was not started to fight for rights, it was started to fight for something else. The name said it all: their intent was to “liberate” territories, not gain rights! Menduh Thachi was

absolutely right when he argued that: “One cannot gain human rights through a war, one can only gain territories...” (KOD TV show, aired on Channel 5 on June 26, 2011)! Robertson’s terrorists, guided by their U.S. mentors no doubt, quickly changed the aim of their war from “liberation of territories” to “fighting for human rights”, when they realized that the basic plan was out of reach, but their intentions unfortunately remained the same!

The KLA was well-trained, had war experience in the Kosovo war and was accustomed to using modern American weaponry including rifles with night vision equipment. Somewhere down the line, the KLA was regrouped. Part of the force was transferred to the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) and became the Kosovo army. The rest of the force was demobilized and dismissed. A lot of these former fighters had no jobs... especially the ones from Macedonia. These fighters became the initial recruits for the NLA which later was expanded to include Albanians from Macedonia. And thus, a planned breakup of Macedonia was being arranged.

According to all indications, in accordance with the completed plans, the breakup of Macedonia was expected to be an easy job. Macedonia was already deeply divided politically and a war would have driven it deeper into the abyss. The chaos, they figured, would have driven the country to collapse, thus making the “liberation” of territories not only possible but easy. Although their predictions were largely correct, that did not happen. This was totally unexpected by Washington... Macedonia did not collapse...

Confirmation of the deep U.S. involvement in the 2001 war in Macedonia is the fact that the U.S. had already “taken over” Macedonia’s military. At that time Macedonia’s military needed reform, so management of this process was handed over to a private American mercenary organization called Military Professional Resources Inc. (MPRI). This was an independent organization consisting of U.S. military veterans who followed Washington’s dictates. Private companies such as this received their licenses to

operate from the State Department and the Pentagon, and then worked for money wherever they were sent. They basically ran proxy wars. They went everywhere the State Department directed them. Colonel David Hackworth of MPRI wrote: "...in the former Yugoslavia MPRI operated under the shadow of the Pentagon and under the engagement of the State Department..." (See "Wanted: guns for hire..." at <http://hackworthe.com/09jul01.html>)

This is how MPRI came to Macedonia. In 1998 the Macedonian government signed a contract with MPRI, to reform the Army according to NATO standards. The American veterans came to Macedonia in 1999, with special plans and ambitious tasks. And, as we shall soon show you, they actually played the role of a Trojan horse. They entered the Macedonian Army General Headquarters through the front door and did everything in their power to prepare the Macedonian military to fail in the 2001 war. In other words, they prepared Macedonia for capitulation...

In order to understand what happened we need to mention that MPRI, before coming to Macedonia, was in Kosovo. It was first engaged in creating and training the KLA force in secret camps in Albania. After that it became involved in the Kosovo war and, ultimately, in the Kosovo Protection Corps. In 2001 MPRI "harmoniously" coordinated "the liberation of Albanian territories" from Macedonia, from both Skopje and Prishtina. The best proof for that is that, during the evacuation of several hundred NLA terrorists from Arachinovo, in 2001, conducted at the request of NATO (USA), we discovered that there were also 17 American "trainers" belonging to MPRI trapped among the terrorists!

Upon their arrival in Skopje, MPRI did everything in its power to weaken the Macedonian military and the Macedonian Ministry of Defense. Source material and details for what we are about to tell you, regarding MPRI's involvement in the Macedonian military, comes directly from Macedonian General Pande Petrovski.

See “Testimonials – 2001” by Pande Petrovski at <http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/Testimonials-2001.pdf>

Before continuing any further, let us say that the MPRI team, while working in Skopje, was in constant contact with its MPRI colleagues in Kosovo. As we mentioned earlier MPRI created the NLA, i.e. the Albanian terrorist group that invaded and attacked Macedonia and led its operations in Macedonia in 2001. So, what we are telling you here is that the MPRI organized a war against Macedonia at the same time as it was conducting reforms in the Macedonian military. In other words, the MPRI was aware of everything that was happening inside the Macedonian military and that classified information, that it was entrusted with, was passed on to the NLA. The NLA knew everything about the Macedonian military; the movement of its unit; its schedules; positions it was occupying... down to the level of morale, political, security and military readiness. Similar information was sent to Kosovo to inform its colleagues there of the situation in Macedonia and its structures. This was invaluable information for the aggressors. With the MPRI in its ranks, the Macedonian security forces were fighting a foe who knew every move they were going to make before they even made it! But, unfortunately for them, they underestimated the Macedonian military’s capability in the battlefield. Their assumptions turned out to be unrealistic. The Macedonians were a lot tougher than they thought!

In any case, it wasn’t long before the MPRI handlers in the Pentagon realized that their main goal was unattainable by aggression alone, so they transformed their efforts into a “humanitarian” operation. In other words, they dressed the wolf in sheep’s clothing!

That is more concrete proof that the Americans were involved in the operations in Macedonia, not just the Albanians. If the Albanians had run the war on their own they would not have just given up their first aims so easily and so quickly. They would have done everything in their power to achieve their “Greater Albania” dream by detaching lands from Macedonia. They would have even risked a wider

confrontation in the Balkans. But, it seems, those steering the war were not prepared to take such an excessive risk. They were top pragmatists who quickly adapted to the conditions and switched to plan “B”. The objective of plan “B” was to accomplish the same thing but peacefully through a “Framework Agreement”. They did not fulfill their initial task by force but the war paved the way for realizing the same thing... gradually... in the not too distant future...

Many hidden lies and intentions came to the fore when the “purpose” of the war was changed. How can they say it was a “humanitarian” war when it was started from the outside and it did not include the Albanians inside Macedonia? Instead of being the war leaders, they did not even know what was going on. Was this a rebellion or a war? If it was a rebellion why was it fought by an organized army (NLA)? Who invited the outsiders to come to Macedonia and fight for their human rights without them? What kind of rights were they interested in? Thus, by changing the aim of the terrorists, as Robertson called them, the project lost its foundation. Is this not enough evidence to show that someone else was behind the plan called “NLA” and someone else stood behind the 2001 war in Macedonia and that the Albanians were only the executors?

The Albanians in Macedonia were part of the political system. They were MP’s, ministers, directors of public companies ... and had no basis, no logic and no specific and sustainable need to take up arms and begin shooting at their colleagues with whom yesterday they had sat together in Parliament and in government... First, even with the emergence of the NLA in the hills, the Albanians in Macedonia had no justifiable reasons to pick up arms and fight against their fellow Macedonians. Second, there was no critical mass of discontent in Macedonia because, as unusual as this may sound, at that point in time inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia were on a level of mutual tolerance, even though there were many unresolved issues vital to the Albanians in Macedonia. And third, between Xhaferi and Thachi on one side and Ahmeti and his uncle, Veliu, on the other, they had no chance of finding common ground to start a war. It was difficult if not impossible for

them to have started the war in Macedonia. Until the U.S. (Frowick) imposed it, Xhaferi had no need to talk to Ahmeti.

The details of what happened in 2001 are not sufficiently known even today, let alone at that time. Something happened that started the war and still, to this day, no one has investigated and analyzed its causes. In 2001 we knew nothing, today at least we have some ideas.

The old folks were right when they said “the wolf may change its hair but will never change its nature”. So, the Americans, our “partners”, as many Macedonians even today call them, may have changed the nature of the war but not their goals. They adapted new conditions to achieve the same old goals. Their task was reformulated: “If they couldn’t immediately ‘liberate’ those territories all they needed to do was set the conditions and be prepared to ‘liberate’ them later”. And this is the situation we are finding ourselves in, all this time later!

If not before, then certainly when the nature of the war was being changed, the Americans initiated the next phase of the project which would eventually be called the “Ohrid Framework Agreement”. By total restructuring of the political system of Macedonia, they found sophisticated ways which, after a certain period of time, would open opportunities for peaceful Albanization of parts of the country. Those processes, over time, would lead to federalization of the country and create conditions for a “legal” separation and alteration of boundaries, without use of arms.

Does anyone have any doubt that this is exactly what is happening in Macedonia, all these years after the 2001 war?

The sixth announcement made by the NLA was the transformation of the war from “a war of liberation” to “a humanitarian war”, thus creating the opportunity to legitimize aggression. When this announcement was made, the NLA immediately received open support from the United States and NATO. Experts like Peter Feith, and others of similar expertise, all intelligence operatives, were immediately sent

to Macedonia to support the efforts of yesterday's terrorists and today's humanitarians. We can reliably assess that these so-called experts, had secretly worked very closely with yesterday's terrorists, even before. Now working in the open, under a new umbrella, they were doing everything possible to help the "humanitarians" reach their new target - the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Everything had already been made public. Without any scruples the Americans were now using NATO and the OSCE to do the same thing openly, which until yesterday they were doing covertly. Macedonia was blockaded and at war and these people were doing whatever they wanted, including allegedly disposing of hazardous waste materials from their helicopters into Macedonian lakes.

There is much more evidence and from several different sources that point to U.S. involvement in the 2001 war in Macedonia. For example, basing his evidence on some secret documents leaked to the Netherlands, Christopher Deliso wrote that "...continuous telephone contact was maintained between the NLA and senior U.S. officials. Such conversations were recorded by European Secret Service personnel. When the Americans found out they broke contact but immediately supplied the NLA with computers that had built-in telephone technology and their communication continued on." Deliso is an American journalist who lives in Skopje and has written several books about Macedonia.

Another source is Dutch journalist and researcher Hub Jaspers. Jaspers did an interview with KFOR Commander General Klaus Reinhardt, a German officer who served in Kosovo. According to General Reinhardt, "some of the UCK fighters left Kosovo to fight for the NLA in Macedonia." ("Nova Makedonija", December 10, 2012, "My story about UCK fighting for the NLA in Macedonia created fears in The Hague") General Reinhardt also said that "...when KFOR jailed a KLA subject for fighting for the ONA in Macedonia, the next day the Americans ordered his release. The orders always came from the highest-ranking American officers in Europe!"

## How terrorists became “Human Rights Activists”

If someone were to ask “if the Americans were truly behind the 2001 war in Macedonia, then how was it possible for NATO Secretary-General Robertson of Britain, in the beginning, to label the NLA “a terrorist organization”? Isn’t NATO under American control?

Yes, the contradiction is undeniable, but only at first glance. In the beginning the Americans were conducting super covert operations in Kosovo (UCK) and in Macedonia (NLA) about which nobody was allowed to speak publicly, let alone support. The alliance was kept out of the loop and could not have been seen as standing behind the Albanians. There was a lot at stake in the beginning and the implementation of classic American “dirty politics” had to be hidden from everyone. Therefore, Robertson may not have known.

The next logical question to ask is “why the turn around?” Why did they not liberate the “Albanian lands”? Why did the NLA, in its sixth announcement, declare itself “humanitarian” and turn its military aggression into a struggle for human rights? Was it possible that the Americans were defeated in Macedonia?

The only possible explanation is that whatever they were trying to do proved unattainable! The same happened with the three South Serbian municipalities, where the short war aimed at their incorporation into Kosovo. There were two short unsuccessful wars in the Balkans but with long lasting and unforeseeable consequences. As it turned out ambitions were much greater than the possibilities. The terrorist’s target was not reached despite Macedonia’s non-readiness for war and despite all the efforts that were made by the MPRI to help the Albanian terrorists...

The U.S. took all necessary measures, including supplying the Albanians trainers and advisory personnel, for the 2001 war in Macedonia to succeed. All this was unmistakably planned by U.S. services, including Robert Frowick, who was sent to Macedonia with

special status in the OSCE Mission to Skopje at the most critical time in our country's recent history. He was undoubtedly a CIA operative although he claimed to be a former American diplomat. If he was a diplomat he certainly was working for the Agency. Frowick had been in Skopje before, in the early 1990s, when he unscrupulously interfered in Macedonia's internal affairs, to the detriment of our long-term Macedonian interests. This time he was sent to Macedonia at exactly the time when the terrorists became "humanitarians". He came with instructions to

- a) create the right conditions so that the Ohrid Framework Agreement could be imposed on the Macedonian people and gain their compliance and,
- b) to make sure that the aggressors were included in the political system of our country. There was no better tool than the OSCE for the realization of this project.

Reconciling the Albanian leaders in Macedonia with the leaders of the terrorists coming from Kosovo was certainly one of the most difficult tasks for Frowick. Convincing the DPA and PDP leaders of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia to accept the NLA, Frowick in parallel was preparing the text for the future Ohrid Framework Agreement, the draft of which was signed in Prizren. On May 22, 2001, Frowick basically dictated to Xhaferi (DPA), Imer Imeri (PDP) and Ali Ahmeti (NLA) the Prizren Declaration which was to include almost all the basic elements of the forthcoming Framework Ohrid Framework Agreement. Among other things, there were requirements for serious amendments to the Macedonian Constitution to create "equality between the Albanians and the Slavs in Macedonia" (the word "Slavs" was used and not Macedonians!); for "performing military service in the municipalities of birth" (which practically called for federalization or division of our country!); for "entry of NATO forces into the entire territory of Macedonia", and so on.

Frowick did all that behind the backs of Macedonian authorities after he was expelled from Macedonia. Did he act on his own or did he follow

someone else's precise instructions? The readers can make up their own minds about that. All we can say with certainty is that

- a) his father or grandfather did not send him to Macedonia and
- b) the OSCE had no role in what he did. He used the OSCE to achieve someone else's interests.

The "Prizren Declaration" is proof that the text for the Ohrid Framework Agreement was an American creation. There is no doubt that the text was prepared in Washington.

The Albanian parties in Macedonia, the DPA and PDP, had no choice but to accept the NLA because the United States stood behind it. If that were not so, then there was no other chance of drafting the "Prizren Declaration". One can only imagine how Xhaferi and Thachi must have felt at that time? They were witnessing a war in Macedonia, led by Albanians, in which they were not involved but were forced to support. Do you think that if the United States was not behind all this Xhaferi and Thachi could have been convinced to cooperate with Ahmeti and at the same time be left on the sidelines? Do you think that Xhaferi and Thachi would have listened to some guy named Ali Ahmeti or his uncle, Veliu, and let them be involved in Macedonia's politics, if not forced by the United States?

And if it was really an "Albanian war" why did they have to be "forced" into it?

Looking at this from another point of view, if the United States did not lead this dance and did not stand with all its authority behind Ahmeti and his uncle, could the possibility of an armed confrontation have taken place between Xhaferi and Thachi, on one side, and Ahmeti and Veliu, on the other if Xhaferi and Thachi were excluded from this plan? More precisely – would there have been an open inter-Albanian confrontation in Macedonia between these two factions? Most likely yes! Ahmeti and Veliu, the classical aggressors, would have fought for control of what they already had in Macedonia, regardless of the fact that they were all Albanians. The danger was absolutely real. However,

the top American diplomacy that pulled the strings from behind eliminated these dangers. That was one of the main reasons why the U.S. was so deeply involved in the conflict – to prevent inter-Albanian misunderstandings.

The relationship between Thachi and Xhaferi (while he was still alive) on one side and Ali Ahmeti on the other, today (2013), is still “uncooperative”! They constantly look at each other through the scope of a rifle!

Xhaferi and Thachi were faced with a serious handicap. After the Kosovo war, which gained the U.S. permanent Albanian loyalty, they could not react any differently and ignore American interests. Therefore, they had to accept a new secondary and humble role, including the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement for which others fought and became their political rivals. The two Albanian parties in Macedonia have sustained “collateral damage” from the 2001 war and are on the margins. (If we exclude the brief period after the 2006 election when the VMRO DPMNE was in coalition with the DPA.)

Menduh Thachi, according to an article published by “Dnevnik” on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2011, entitled “The Framework Agreement cannot be the reason for a holiday”, confirmed that the DPA knew nothing about the 2001 war at the time. He said: “The 2001 war was a great shame for the Albanian people. It was a Marxist-Islamist war.” Unfortunately, Thachi could not have made this statement in 2001 or 2002, although he certainly was thinking the same. Now he can say that after the Ohrid Framework Agreement the state was irreversibly reconstructed in an unacceptable way, with long and unforeseen negative consequences. He would have been a traitor if he had said that at the time; labeled as someone who worked against the Albanian cause. He would have been labeled an anti-American. Then, he and his kind had no choice but to keep quiet and embrace their new American partners. And now, he can only speak on behalf of the DPA, which lost its prestige and position of power, possibly forever, because of the war. But, overall, the Albanians

got more than they ever dreamed of in Macedonia, just like they did in Kosovo.

The same Thachi, according to Lupevka's channel 5 TV show KOD, which aired on June 26, 2011, said: "Wars are led only for territories. Human rights are acquired by different means..." He was absolutely right and publicly confirmed that the 2001 war was all about carving out parts of Macedonia as directed by the U.S.

The greatest benefactors of the war, however, were the Albanians.

MPRI and general Griffiths, the head of it in Skopje, do confirm that Washington played a key role in the NLA creation and in its operations in Macedonia.

Frowick, through the Prizren Declaration, uncovered Washington's intentions in regards to the Macedonian state and the Macedonian people.

The seventeen American military trainers, caught in Arachinovo among the NLA fighters when they were surrounded by the Macedonian Army, proves very clearly that the U.S. was directly involved in the 2001 war in Macedonia. This discovery was the jewel in the crown.

Overall, in 2001 Macedonia was put in a precarious situation. The same force (MPRI) that was managing the NLA and aggression against Macedonia was also managing the Macedonian military responsible for defending Macedonia. In other words, the Americans were right in the middle and pulling strings on both sides involved in the war. And we know very well that they were helping the Albanians at the expense of the Macedonian people. It was a classic puppet show! The Americans did whatever they wanted while Macedonia was being destroyed and people were dying. The Americans were waging a war for "rights" on behalf of the Albanians in Macedonia without even letting them know!

Let us not forget that the aggression in Macedonia received general and widespread condemnation. The world media supported Macedonia and saw it as a victim of Albanian irredentism. In the beginning, not all Albanians supported this aggression either. Some were confused by the attacks and even condemned them. This secret American military operation left many people holding their breath. Among them was Ismail Kadare, a world-famous writer and a proven Albanian nationalist. He openly condemned the war. He was afraid, like many others that the gains the Albanians made against Milosevich would be lost and this kind of behaviour would jeopardize Kosovo's independence. Later, after it was discovered that the U.S. and NATO were behind the 2001 war, Kadare and others changed their opinions.

## American involvement in the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement

The concept of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, prepared by Washington, is a superb illustration of the U.S. treatment of the Macedonian state and its people. In place of putting the Macedonian people as the central pillar of Macedonia and building everything else around it, they did just the opposite. They marginalized the Macedonian people. In fact, through the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the U.S. prevented the development of a civil society which would have been a foundation for the new structure. Of course, as we now know their intentions were not honourable towards the Macedonian people. Certainly, and not by accident, Washington created a destructive system designed to develop a multi-ethnic confrontational society whose aims ultimately would be to split the country apart. The aim was for the Albanians to take as much control of Macedonia as possible, naturally with Washington's backing. This is the way the "Greater Albania" project, crucial for the United States' regional interests, could be realized. Just like the Fascist Italians did in the Second World War.

A civil society is not possible when a country is polarized along ethnic lines. In Macedonia's case conditions were set so that a unitary society would not be functional and Macedonia would be directed to become a bi-national state. If a civil concept was implemented, the U.S.A. would not have been able to use the Albanians in Macedonia for their interests. The Albanian factor in the country could not be monolithic and could not be manipulated from abroad.

In the annex of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, where changes to the constitution were formulated, the Preamble "Macedonian people" - was deleted! The idea was to annul the Macedonian character of the country! Later, following a number of fierce Parliamentary debates, not all of the proposed changes to the Constitution were implemented. Under Stojan Andov's insistence the words "Macedonian people" were put back in the Preamble. In many places the Ohrid Framework Agreement used the words "communities which are not a majority in

Macedonia” and “majority” in place of Macedonians. The United States turned the Macedonian nation into an “unnamed” nation called “majority”. They did their best to avoid its mention in the entire Agreement as if the Macedonian people did not exist!

“Our” negotiators working on the Ohrid Framework Agreement must have agreed that the country had to lose its national, Macedonian character because, according to the Agreement they signed, the words “Macedonian people” had to be removed from the Constitution. Knowing that all neighbouring countries are national (except for Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose future is uncertain) and Greece has even proclaimed national homogeneity of its population, which is inconceivable in this region, then the proposed solutions are perfect proof of the American intentions concerning Macedonia.

Our politicians and “experts” swallowed all this up without considering its consequences... and it is certain that they will not pass the judgment of history.

One episode in Parliament that deserves special attention is when the words “Macedonian people” were “restored” to the Preamble of the Macedonian Constitution. Then the true intentions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement creators were revealed. Stojan Andov set the conditions that if the words “Macedonian people” were removed from the Preamble, the amendments to the Constitution would never be passed. At that point the rest of the text was also revised giving the minorities a higher profile. The aim of this move, and we know who was behind the whole project, was to again belittle, degrade and devalue the majority nation (the Macedonian people) and its role in the country. Thus, minorities were “promoted” as “people who are part of the Albanian people, Turkish people, Vlach people, Serbian people, Roma people, Bosniak people and others...”! The cost of “returning” the words “Macedonian people” back into the Preamble was the elevation of “minorities” to “parts of other peoples”! There is no such solution anywhere in the world. But worse than that is the fact that neighbouring countries have been given an open door to meddle in Macedonian

affairs as part of the rights “of their people”. And if at any time there is any perceived “possibility”, these countries can intervene on behalf of these people to “save” their state from being divided! At the same time, Greece and Bulgaria have yet to recognize the existence of any minorities, especially Macedonians, and they have been there for ages!

From a Macedonian perspective, the only positive outcome of this Agreement was that the unitary character of the state was left intact. The greatest failing was the lack of precise definition of the Macedonian language as a means for mutual communication. At the same time the limit of use of the Albanian language was not clearly defined. As a result, the portion of the Agreement relating to the Macedonian language is not implemented and is deliberately ignored by the Albanians. This will inevitably lead to problems later. If a country has no common language that everyone will learn and understand then such a country could easily prove to be not functional. The only language that can fulfill a state function is the Macedonian language but in order to achieve that we need to take decisive measures and regulate its implementation in accordance with the spirit of the Ohrid Framework Agreement before the unitary character of our country is jeopardized. The practice of non-acceptance of the Macedonian language by the Albanian population in Macedonia is not by coincidence but by design. It is designed to lead Macedonia away from its unitary character.

Essentially there is a fundamental need for the Macedonian language to be implemented and to serve as a unifying factor, which everyone must learn and use. It would have been the strongest guarantee for a stable future. Without a mandatory language for all to speak, there will be no survival for any federal let alone unitary state. If the unitary character of the state is not based on real and functional mechanisms then it means nothing.

Conversely to the Agreement, the Albanians, en masse, are consistently and illegally pushing and spreading the use of the Albanian language. The Albanian Ministers in the Government use official letterheads

printed in Albanian only; documents for external use are printed in both Macedonian and Albanian (Besimi in the Ministry of Defense, for example); as ministers, they use the Albanian language in international communications - in meetings and correspondence; the Albanian presidents of Parliament's commissions speak in Albanian, ignoring the fact that they represent the state and not the ethnic community; ministers also speak to the Macedonian media in Albanian... Someone could say that these are only small things to which we should not pay attention. That would be true, if the abuse was not deliberate. Unfortunately, the abuse here is deliberate and is done for the sole purpose of expanding the use of the Albanian language at the expense of Macedonian. And once it is an established practice it is not to be discussed.

Exactly because of that, the Macedonian government, in time, must vigorously react to prevent any manipulation aimed at the Albanization of part or the whole of Macedonia. Items that are outside of the Ohrid Framework Agreement should not be allowed to be implemented unless both sides agree. Everything that is outside of the Ohrid Framework Agreement is illegitimately acquired and should be stopped. These acts, coordinated and orchestrated by the Albanian parties, and most probably backed by the U.S., are only designed to lead to the destruction of the Macedonian state.

It is crystal clear to the Albanian leaders that the Macedonian language is left as the last pillar of the unitary character of the state. So, it is obvious that they will do everything possible, well-planned and in the long-term, to break it down from all sides, little by little. Based on the Ohrid Framework Agreement, Amendment B or the new Article 7 of the Macedonian Constitution says: "In the whole territory of the Republic of Macedonia and in International Relations the official language of use is the Macedonian language and the Cyrillic alphabet". Unfortunately, the Albanian leaders in Macedonia are enjoying everything from the Ohrid Framework Agreement that fits their narrow and nationalistic interests, and ignore the rest. So, when you see the

total mosaic it becomes obvious that they are interested only in the “Greater Albania” project.

The consequences are already visible; Albanians are bent on avoiding learning the Macedonian language. That is a technique of ghettoization and a *fait accompli*. Their purpose is twofold, a) to make the Macedonian language a barrier for communication and b) to create space for two languages, which they are persistently and stubbornly doing at this moment. Such a policy leads to the destruction not only of the unitary but, in particular, the Macedonian character of the state, leading to federalization. Everything moves along at an unprecedented level of absurdity: soon, it would appear, Macedonians will have to learn Albanian if they want to understand the Albanians and not vice versa. It is normal that Macedonians living in areas where the Albanian population is a majority already speak or will learn Albanian, but for their personal need and not as an obligation.

Another negative segment of the Agreement, which at first glance does not attract too much attention, was the requirement for new administrative divisions in the country. It may have looked like an easy job since the then 123 or so municipalities could not have survived. About fifty of them were too small and dysfunctional. According to Article 3.2 of the Ohrid Framework Agreement “audit of municipal boundaries will be taken by local and national authorities with international participation”. Why should the change of municipal boundaries be supervised and approved by foreigners such as the U.S.A.? During the signing of the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement nobody from the Macedonian side thought that this was planned as a second stage of the destruction of the Macedonian state. They obviously did not suppose that the idea was to Albanize parts of the country.

While nothing was suspicious on our side, everything had already been planned by the “facilitators” who were preparing the groundwork for the new administrative division leading to the Albanization of Struga and Kichevo, and for Skopje to become bilingual followed by a good part of the country.

The process of Albanizing parts of the country started in 2004 and was finalized with the 2013 local elections. That's when the Albanian candidates openly began to campaign for mayors, claiming that voting for them meant the Albanization of their municipalities underlining that it was the result of the new administrative division of the country. They stressed that it meant the realization of their dream. There is not a single argument that Washington was not behind this development. The Americans were active participants in determining the new boundaries of the municipalities in 2004 and they have put this obligation in the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Well planned, isn't it?

We have proof that everything that was said before is correct. Let us remind you that a referendum was organized to prevent the country's devastating new administrative division. But then, quite unexpectedly, just before its eve, Washington partially and temporarily recognized Macedonia by its constitutional name and thus undermined the referendum. This is absolute confirmation that the United States stood behind the entire plan. The Albanization of parts of Macedonia was so important to the Americans that they would do anything, even recognize Macedonia's name, to ensure its success! They obviously took it as a viable and strategic step for fulfillment of their long-term interests.

After the war of 2001, when the U.S. failed to divide Macedonia by force, it took a different approach. It was clear to them that Macedonia could not be divided from the outside, but only from the inside. That is why they declared that it was no longer possible to change borders in the region. It seems that 2001 can be considered as the last attempt for changing the borders in the region – by force. Later it became difficult because any violent attempt at changing Macedonia's borders could ignite the entire region. That is why the plans were adopted for Macedonia to be broken down by Albanizing parts of it from the inside. The U.S. moves made in 2001 and 2004 are beginning to bear fruit today.

Another crucial negative political consequence of the Ohrid Framework Agreement was that, ipso facto, the Macedonians accepted

- a) the Macedonian state to be a Macedonian-Albanian creation,
- b) Macedonia's main pillar was to be agreements between Macedonians and Albanians, and
- c) that everything can and should be negotiated...

Today, looking at all that from a regional aspect, there is not a single doubt that that was exactly what the U.S. wanted to achieve. The maneuvering space of the Albanians has been enlarged and they misused it to the maximum. They are continually seeking and getting concessions, almost always unprincipled. Millimeter by millimeter they are making irreversible strategic gains. One time even Ahmeti admitted that the Albanians are not in any hurry. Of course, this was not Ahmeti's policy, he is only implementing it. If the U.S. was not behind them, Albanian behaviour in Macedonia and in the wider region would have been very different.

On top of everything Thachi is making claims (2012) that the Ohrid Framework Agreement is now dead and that a new Agreement is required, one written by Thachi. Today he has new ideas on how Macedonia should look and tomorrow someone else will present new unprecedented Albanian requests: until the project of "Greater Albania" is finalized. It is a process that flows and its coordination functions flawlessly. This certainly does not mean that Washington is behind all these Albanian demands. There are also genuine Albanian demands but they are not substantial.

The fact is that the Ohrid Framework Agreement truly opened ways for improving the position of the Albanians in Macedonia. In the past, one can argue that they were exposed to many injustices, most of which were inherited from the Yugoslav Federation, which required immediate attention. However, during the Yugoslav breakup Macedonia itself was in a difficult situation. But there is no justification for why the then leadership did not recognize the problem and place it

on the table. This was a serious mistake. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that

- a) the 2001 war was foreign aggression with aims at occupying (“liberating”, for the Albanians) parts of Macedonia,
- b) the war in no way had a “humanitarian” character and
- c) the war was definitely not started because of the unresolved status of the Albanians in Macedonia. The “excuse” that the war was started for “humanitarian” reasons, is a textbook lie exploiting our uneasiness to address this problem on time.

### The Ohrid Framework Agreement

- a) is one sided,
- b) it devalues the position of the Macedonians, i.e. the majority of the population, and
- c) it did not establish bases for long-term stability of the country. On the contrary, the Agreement is worded such that it could easily jeopardize the survival of the Macedonian state. Of course, this was not done by accident. All kinds of controversial mechanisms were introduced to regulate, in detail, the Albanian needs without limiting their possible future requests while neglecting the other ethnic communities in the country. On the other hand, the position of the majority, i.e. the Macedonians, is not at all regulated, leaving them very little maneuvering room.

There should be no doubt that the Ohrid Framework Agreement was one of the biggest strategic mistakes of the state. It was not the choice of the country’s leadership, but rather it was imposed by the U.S. That is why Frowick, through the OSCE Mission, Perdue, Feith and all the other bullies, I mean “facilitators”, were sent to Macedonia. The fact that Frowick secretly, without the knowledge of the Macedonian authorities, promoted the draft of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, through the Prizren Declaration, says it all. It is true, our leaders were under extreme American pressure and influence but as well naïve and ignorant enough to accept the unacceptable. Agreeing, for example, to sign a document that removed the words “Macedonian people” from the Preamble of the Constitution, demonstrates extreme amateurism

through unacceptable and unthinkable indulgence. We don't need any more arguments to describe the level of competence in "our" negotiators in Ohrid.

By saying this we are not implying or advocating that the Ohrid Framework Agreement should be ignored or disregarded. What was done was done but the Agreement needs to be implemented because we signed it. It is very difficult to correct historical errors. We now must live with it while trying to minimize the damage. Unfortunately, it seems that we are repeating our mistakes, making the damage bigger and bigger, as we sit on the sidelines and watch things take shape. What we should be doing is not permit, at any cost, anything to take place outside of the Agreement, or anything that might lead to ruining the unitary status of our country, or to become part of the "Greater Albania" project... which in Macedonia happens almost every day! Even the parts of the Agreement which we erroneously accepted must only permit a selective part to be implemented, only what is convenient for the Albanians but does not harm the state and the Macedonians. We cannot allow all parts to be implemented that only serve the interest of the other side!

The above examples partially illustrate how and where the Ohrid Framework Agreement is misused. In a subtle way, without scruples, it is being widened so that illegitimate gains can be made by illegal use of force. Then, while Macedonia is being slowly and progressively Albanized, the Macedonian political leaders are concentrating on creating coalitions to hold on to power or combining forces to take over power.

It is completely absurd to be in a political situation where the Albanians, as part of the government coalition, almost openly and persistently work on the "Greater Albania" project, while the Macedonian opposition is attacking and condemning the government for not being flexible enough with regards to Albanian demands! Claiming that the ruling party was holding its coalition partner (DUI) under its control! Anyone, even one with very little political knowledge

can see the negative processes at play here. If this was not an unbelievable and pitiful situation it would have been very funny. The reason the opposition is acting this way is very clear - to undermine the coalition and gain power even at the expense of national interests!

At one point a wonderful solution was found for responsible management of the demographic policy that would not touch very sensitive inter-ethnic relations. The birth rate of the Albanians is very high, probably the highest in Europe, and that of the Macedonians is very low. The proposal was to stimulate higher birth rates in municipalities with low births no matter who lives there. But before such a policy could be implemented, one of the top opposition leaders, Shekerinska, strongly opposed it. She publicly said: “And what will the Albanians and the other ethnic communities think of such a program, that we are working to prevent demographic changes in Macedonia?” (Shekerinska: “How will the Albanians interpret a program for higher birthrates?”, “Nova Makedonija”, September 18, 2008)

Shekerinska is probably not aware or is ignoring the fact that balanced demographic development is one of the most important responsibilities for a government to implement. She obviously has no concern for the changes in the Macedonian demographic structure which, for some time now, had extremely negative tendencies with unforeseeable consequences. She does not understand or refuses to admit that these changes are not random but well-planned, a result of Albanian political and religious social forces working behind them. (We already mentioned that religious leaders would not allow their young worshippers into their mosques unless they had five children!). It is high time these tendencies are changed. Shekerinska, obviously, wants to “protect” the Albanians because her political ambitions cannot be achieved without their support. The Albanians know the “Platform for the solution of the national Albanian question”, an official document of Tirana, where it was planned through a high birth rate to increase their numbers in Macedonia in order to achieve their political goals. But Shekerinska has either not read the Platform, or has not understood it, or is simply ignoring it. There is no fourth possibility.

What was unclear to Shekerinska was quite clear to the people from the village Dolno Sonje, near Skopje. Sopsishte Municipality is mainly inhabited by Macedonians but there are several villages where only Albanians live. In total the municipality has a low birth rate. So, a villager from Sonje commented: “Now Albanians from other places will come to the villages in our municipality, with the singular purpose of receiving incentives for the many children they will bear”!

With regards to the incentives for higher birth rates, nothing happened. The Constitutional Court, for reasons only known to the judges, annulled the law. The explanation given was that it was only for primary school level. The Constitutional Court and its judges should be ashamed of themselves for being unaccountable and for the damage they did to our country.

In Macedonia everything is possible. We have people high up in the party’s hierarchies who not only have insufficient knowledge about geo-politics or geo-strategies but also have lack of simple judgment. The top executives of the judiciary, in this particular case, have demonstrated no knowledge of or even a sense of our key social problems, which require urgent attention. But worse than that is that these people think that they know everything and care only about their own careers and/or parties, which seem to be more important to them than the well-being of the state.

Let us remind the reader that the Albanians have achieved a stage where they can block Macedonians in more senior positions if they have opposed Albanian demands in any way. Thus, the Albanians have a kind of control over the Macedonians and they are very careful in addressing Albanian interests. That might hurt their careers. So, the Macedonian politicians keep quiet, pretending they do not see the realization of the “Greater Albania” project. As a matter of fact, the Macedonian politicians themselves are responsible for the inferior position they are in and why they do not have any influence in the selection of the Albanians, in government and other high positions. We

should all remember, for example, when they said no NLA commander will ever be promoted to a high public position. Very soon, after the first election in which DUI participated, this promise was neglected. Many NLA commanders are and were ministers in the Macedonian government. Even the one who shut down the drinking water supply to the taps from Lipkovo Lake was made minister. Instead of sending him to be tried in The Hague he was made minister... The latest news is that one of them became Minister of Defense!?

There is no doubt that the Ohrid Framework Agreement put an end to the 2001 war in Macedonia and helped sort out a number of injustices that the Albanians had been exposed to in Macedonia. These changes must be welcomed. Unfortunately, the Agreement has a serious negative twist as well: it has laid the groundwork for accelerating the “Greater Albania” project tendencies which, unless seriously treated now, will create grave consequences in the future. Even though in principle Macedonia’s unitary character has been left intact, in practice it has been attacked and very little to nothing has been done to stop or reverse its erosion. No agreement can be eternal or irrevocable. The latest proof of this is the Interim Accord, signed with Greece in 1995, which has proven to be worthless. The Americans stand behind that Agreement as well as behind Ohrid. The result is known – the clause in the Interim Accord that obliged Greece not to hinder Macedonia from joining NATO and the EU – is not respected anymore. By the U.S.A. as well! And that was one of the two points of the Accord that were in favour of Macedonia. All the rest defended Greek interests. If they didn’t keep their word for the first agreement, how do we know that the U.S. will continue supporting Macedonia’s unitary character as “guaranteed” by the Ohrid Framework Agreement? Or will they change their position immediately after they assess that it is no longer part of their plans?

The fact that, unlike the Macedonian, the Albanian side in Ohrid had foreign experts, speaks for the lack of responsibility of our top leadership. It was an unpardonable mistake. Obviously, they

underestimated the historical importance of the event and the consequences of the war.

## Fierce American pressure placed on Macedonia to capitulate - The Karpalak incident

Days before the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, fierce and bloody pressure was placed on Macedonia to capitulate and accept the proposed agreement. Macedonian politicians were intimidated with threats of escalating the war on many fronts. Then shortly before August 13, the terrorists carried out several missions during which they massacred 18 members of the Macedonian Army and wounded many others...

The Karpalak incident took place on August 8, 2001 when 10 Army reservists were ambushed and killed. According to General Zvonko Stoianovski, commander of the BB and PVO (“Testimony” by Pande Petrovski): “At 9:30 a.m. that day a KFOR helicopter flew over the area. At 10:00 a.m. we flew over the Karpalak area with our helicopters where we saw two NATO vehicles (two jeeps). One vehicle drove off and escaped while the other one hid in Novo Selo...” Petrovski also wrote: “...Karpalak would not have happened if the Supreme Commander had not listened to its ‘advisors’ before signing the Framework Agreement...” and continued - “Even now it is still not clear to me who ordered the withdrawal of the Karpalak police post on August 6, 2001, the Ministry of Defense and General Headquarters were not informed about that!” See “Testimonials – 2001” by Pande Petrovski at <http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/Testimonials-2001.pdf>

The ambush took place at 9:30 am, exactly when the KFOR helicopter flew into the zone. Obviously, they wanted to see for themselves if their plan was being implemented properly. Two hundred kilograms of explosives were also placed on the highway to demolish it but the presence of the Macedonian helicopters scared off the terrorists before they had a chance to blow it up.

On August 9, 2001 five workers were kidnapped from GP “Mavrovo” and then their bodies were “ornately carved” with knives. The

“Engravers” were never punished even though the authorities knew who they were.

After that it was the attack in Radusha. About that, Petrovski wrote: “We knew that the NLA had a ‘recruit training camp’ near the Krivenik, inside Kosovo, about one kilometre from the border... The terrorists who launched the attack, from the Kosovo side and at the same time from inside the village Radusha, were allowed to freely communicate with Krivenik even though KFOR forces were there beside them on the other side of the border.” There had been a conflict in Radusha earlier but it was not as fierce as this one. The attack began on the night of August 10, 2001 with the offensive originating in Krivenik, lasting three days. According to intelligence sources, 600 terrorists were aided by volunteers from the Kosovo Protection Corps. Their goal was to occupy the water sources in Rasche, which supplied Skopje with water.

On August 10, 2001, eight Macedonian soldiers were killed and six were wounded when a mine was exploded at the entrance of the village Liuboten.

Days before the Ohrid Framework Agreement there was news that an imminent NLA attack on Sarai was going to take place on August 13, 2001. This was psychological warfare against Macedonia to keep it in constant vigilance and wear it down with fabricated news about the number of NLA attacks that were going to take place...

If anyone believes that all this escalation, before signing the Ohrid Framework Agreement, was the doing of the Albanians alone, they are lying to themselves. Why was there a KFOR helicopter flying over Karpalak and two NATO jeeps visiting the area at the exact time when the ambush took place? All this was organized and the doing of someone a lot more sophisticated than the Albanians. Someone was monitoring and directing activities from the distance with sweeping strokes. Who could that possibly have been? The readers can decide for themselves.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed on August 13, 2001. The additional pressure obviously did its job. Under the circumstances even more capable negotiators than the Macedonians would have probably found themselves in a bind.

## **Risto Nikovski - The Interim Accord, the NATO summit in Bucharest and The Hague verdict**

### **The Interim Accord**

The Interim Accord, signed by Macedonia and Greece on September 13, 1995 was not an obligation derived from the Security Council Resolution with which Macedonia was admitted to the UN. There is no legal connection between the Interim Agreement and the Security Council Resolution, only a functional one. Unfortunately, with the Interim Accord Macedonia's position in the dispute has been considerably devalued. The language used in the Interim Accord is much worse for Macedonia compared to its use in the UN document.

Since we know that the Interim Accord was an American initiative then we should not be surprised by the formulation of the text, in which hidden are initiatives which are contrary to our long-term interests.

The Interim Accord was drafted with the active participation of former mediator Cyrus Vance and is naturally a logical segment of Washington's mosaic of a long-term policy towards Macedonia; a policy which we will try to evaluate in this book. The Agreement was signed under the direct involvement of American diplomat Holbrook, commonly referred to as the "bulldozer". So, the question is - "why was Holbrook involved if this was not a United States initiative, i.e. if the U.S. was not behind the whole name issue"? Holbrook, definitely, did not become involved because the UN Secretary-General asked him!?!

The way the Interim Accord was handled is clear proof that Washington managed both the name problem and its mediation. Let us not dismiss that Athens too was involved in the preparation of the Accord.

The Interim Accord was well thought out and designed to achieve a number of specific goals.

First, the Interim Accord came into being because there was a need to establish normal communication between Macedonia and Greece. Most probably, it was a result of the “tolerance” demonstrated by Macedonia.

Second, the Interim Accord was to be the vehicle by which issues of interest to both parties were to be resolved, even though the accord was designed to favour Greece. But we can’t say it was all bad. Despite the damage it inflicted, there were certain benefits that emerged from it. One being Greek recognition of Macedonia...

Third, with the Interim Accord, Macedonia, for the first time, was forced to officially accept that there was a problem with her name. The document was signed with our country being nameless... i.e. being referred to as “the second party”. It is true that Greece was also referred to as “the first party” but that had nothing to do with Greece’s name because no one was disputing it.

Fourth, another purpose of the Interim Accord was to open new avenues for the achievements of levels not possible through the UN. These, of course, were not put in to benefit Macedonia. By signing the accord, at least indirectly, Macedonia in fact legalized the illegal procedures that challenged our country’s name in the UN.

Fifth, the ratification of the Interim Accord in our Parliament was not only unnecessary but a huge mistake with strategic consequences. There was nothing in the Accord that required parliamentary approval and Greece, rightly so, did not seek such approval. The Interim Accord was entered into force one month after it was signed and no additional procedures were necessary. With its ratification, unfortunately, Macedonia gave the Accord undue importance and the problem with the name received state-wide dimensions. Officially, at the highest level, we approved a document that worsened our position in the dispute.

Sixth, Article 5 of the Interim Accord stated: “The Parties have agreed to continue negotiations under the auspices...” That part was meaningless because something that does not exist could not possibly

continue... There were not, nor could there have been, negotiations between the two sides. Such a formulation was directly degrading our country's position. It was accepted that the name of the state was subject to negotiation when there was not, nor could there have been such an obligation in the UN Security Council Resolution. No one has the right to impose conditions on us where we had to negotiate our own name. Not as a sovereign state!

A few years later, in an interview, President Gligorov informed the public that the term "negotiations" was adopted because of strong pressure and blackmail from Greece. The Greeks threatened there would be no agreement without "negotiations"! This certainly does not excuse us from making such a mistake, but it makes us more aware of the "games" that were being played at that time. We were far from the level of expertise needed to make such an important decision... At the same time, we should have known which side Holbrook and the other Americans were supporting when they were preparing the Interim Accord.

Seventh, the Interim Accord used the term "differences", while the UN Security Council Resolution spoke of a single "difference" over our country's name. Normally "differences" (plural!) mean more than one thing and not singularly just the name.

Eighth, with Article 21, Macedonia abandoned the opportunity to go to court and seek legal justice! It robbed us of the opportunity to apply to The Hague and legally fight against the illegal procedure by which our country had been admitted to the UN... in flagrant violation of the UN Charter (Constitution)! That is why we must take the problem back to the UN General Assembly, as well as seek advice from the International Court in The Hague, a year after we withdraw from the Interim Accord! That's the term of notice.

Ninth, with Article 23, Macedonia accepted to sign a "final agreement" with Greece, placing our side in an extremely unfavourable position. Maybe that was the main American aim in drafting the Interim Accord;

to prepare a foundation to bring the issue back to bilateral waters where Macedonia's maneuverability would be minimized. The Americans know perfectly well that Macedonia and Greece would never agree to anything that takes into consideration, at least, our minimal requests. With this move they tied Macedonia's hands behind its back with practically no chance for a positive outcome. But, as was mentioned earlier, if Macedonia is to sign a lasting agreement with Greece, it must uncover all outstanding issues between the two countries, not just the name. If we don't do that we would be making yet another strategic, unpardonable political error. This means that any final agreement with Greece must include and regulate the position of the Macedonian minority living in Greece and the needs of the Macedonian people exiled by Greece, including their properties...

Is such a thing possible? You decide!

Tenth, the name was internationalized from the outset and it should and must be treated as such to the end. Macedonia was crippled by the UN Security Council and not by Athens. Therefore, we need to go back to where the error was made in the first place and seek a resolution there. A dignified exit for Macedonia must be found in the UNSC. Taking any other route will hurt our interests even more.

Eleventh, given that a solution must be sought from the UN Security Council, our diplomacy must start working overtime with Russia, then China and why not with the UK, as permanent members of the Council to have more understanding for our most legal aspirations. France is closely linked with Greece and we can hardly achieve anything there, however, Paris too must be constantly and directly informed about our position and the moves that we are going to make. Without any doubt, the U.S. is the key to this problem and currently its manager. Therefore, the first thing we need to do is make our policies clear to the U.S., then, over time, ask for their support. They are the only ones who can reverse what has been done so far. At the moment this may seem unrealistic...

Twelfth, the vocabulary used in the Interim Accord has truly revealed America's aims in narrowing Macedonia's maneuverability. It is a step by step approach and a gradual process of deconstructing everything that is Macedonian, continuously implemented since the early 1990's.

A different thesis could be developed for the timing and motives for drafting the Interim Accord.

The first assumption is that such an agreement was not needed while the Greek border blockade was exhausting Macedonia's economy leading to collapse. There were clear indicators that the U.S. also, not only Samaras from Greece, expected Macedonia would not survive. Why else would the blockades of Macedonia's border from the south (by Greece) and from the north (because of sanctions against Serbia) be tolerated for so long by the main international factors, by the U.S. in first the place, when daily havoc on Macedonia was unprecedented? Why else would the U.S. delay its recognition of Macedonia for years without any public reason? In 1995, four years after the Yugoslav dissolution, Macedonia continued to endure in spite of all hindrances imposed on it. This gave a strong signal that Macedonia was not going to collapse so the U.S. undertook new measures to ensure its destruction. Was the Interim Accord the first step in that direction? You decide!

The second assumption was that, without a "bilateral agreement", relations between the two countries would be constantly strained and there would not even be minimal dialogue or cooperation. The border would remain blocked and Greece would not recognize Macedonia and thus the dispute would escalate... And if this were to happen, the entire region might become a security risk, which would require urgent attention. That, in itself, would jeopardize U.S. aims for closing the "Macedonian question", which could not be done quickly. In such a situation and due to the wars in the neighbourhood having just finished, there was no real room for Macedonia's immediate partition, or for it to be renamed by force. Thus, the likely conclusion was that the Macedonians had proved themselves to be tougher than anticipated and

thus the U.S. would have to use different means and stages to achieve its aims.

The steps that follow will confirm this. It is within this framework that we see: a) the 1999 declaration of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Macedonia (when with American involvement and with our consent the Macedonian language was ignored), b) the 2001 War (when attempts were made to fragment our state by force and after those attempts failed, the state was reconfigured by fraudulent means), c) The United States recognizing Macedonia in 2004 by its constitutional name (in order to successfully Albanize parts of the country), d) Macedonia's membership in NATO in Bucharest being blockaded (when Macedonia was officially blackmailed to change its name if it wanted membership in NATO)...

Drafting of the Interim Accord was an American initiative. The final text was, more or less, three times more in favour of Greece than it was for Macedonia. On top of that there were many negative implications for Macedonia imbedded in it. Articles 5, 6, 7, 21 and 23 were entirely advantageous for Greece while only Articles 1 and 11 were favourable for Macedonia. Every other Article was, more or less, in support of both sides, although there were more pro-Greek tangible benefits imbedded in it. Key benefits for Macedonia were: a) Greek recognition of Macedonia (Article 1), and b) Greece's obligation not to block Macedonia's integration into international organizations (Article 11). Unfortunately, Athens ignores that obligation and continues to block Macedonia's integration into NATO and the EU. It is important to also mention that the Interim Accord put an end to the two-year long illegal blockade of the border. In fact, ending the blockade was America's strongest argument in squeezing Macedonia to sign the Accord. It is clear that the blockade was introduced and lasted as long as it did in order to force Macedonia to sign the Accord. Macedonia suffered enormous damages daily as a result of the blockade which, no doubt, was kept for so long in order to weaken Macedonia to the maximum.

Nevertheless, it should also be emphasized that, thanks to the Interim Accord, today we have the extremely favourable judgment by the court in The Hague, as our strongest argument in the dispute.

Our biggest advantage has been the fact that after the Accord was signed we somehow were left alone and in peace for several years, which worked well for Macedonia. We have received a number of recognitions under our country's constitutional and historical name and our country's international position has continued to strengthen. Nearly two-thirds of the world's countries have recognized us as Macedonia. According to the number of people, probably four-fifths of the people in our world have accepted our country's Constitutional name. Greece and its partners in the meantime are losing ground.

As time passed Macedonia became more stable and prosperous. But, it seems, some international factors did not like that. Which ones, judge for yourself. This positive process lasted until 2001.

Looking from today's position (2013) we can say with certainty that the 2001 war, in addition to accelerating the "Greater Albania" project, also aimed to stop Macedonia's stabilization. Since the plans of the main international factors were not completely realized it was normal to expect new measures. It seems that Washington rang the alarm. So, with the armed aggression from Kosovo, a war was started in Macedonia at the beginning of 2001, which completely changed how Macedonia was treated. It was to end in 2008 at the NATO summit in Bucharest. The goal was to give Macedonia a punch in the nose and let it know that American interests cannot just be ignored.

The U.S. not only stopped Macedonia's progress but pushed it back in time. Without being directly at fault, Macedonia sustained massive damage in all aspects of life, in politics, in the economy, in ethnic relations... The American strategic planners obviously concluded that Macedonia's membership in NATO could only strengthen its position, making it almost impossible to force it to change its name and rename

its people. If Macedonia was inside NATO then the Americans could not treat it the way they do now...

It's clear now that Greece's obligation not to prevent Macedonia's membership into NATO become an American problem for the realization of their plans for the country and the region as well. The only way out of this was for Greece to ignore (that part of) the Interim Accord! And that is exactly what it did!

The fact that Washington and not Athens made these arrangements was confirmed by Nimetz in an interview given for Voice of America ("Dnevnik", March 3, 2008, "The Accord is over, now we need a new Agreement"). In the interview Nimetz said: "Compromises were made at that time but the Interim Accord has ended. We are now talking about a new deal and people need to look at what can be done now..." In other words, only a month before the Bucharest Summit, Nimetz announced that the Interim Accord was no longer valid and therefore Greece no longer had obligations not to block Macedonia's entry! So, the stage was set to block Macedonia's accession into NATO.

For the first time Nimetz publicly, in this interview, put the "name issue" in historical context. He said: "The 'Macedonian question' may be present for hundreds of years...!" There is a strong impression that he may have done this inadvertently or why not on purpose, and uncovered both the essence of the problem and his ultimate goal. In other words, Nimetz connected Macedonia's name with the "Macedonian question" and told us that he was actually working with aims to close it! The key to the problem was not the name but the Macedonian people themselves.

There is no better proof than this to show that this whole mess we are in is about "the Macedonian people" and not about the name "Macedonia". Otherwise, why mention the "Macedonian Question" which is much older than the "name dispute"? When it was on the agenda, there was no Macedonian state! The functional relationship made between the "Macedonian Question" and the "name of our state"

was strictly done in order to deny the existence of a separate Macedonian nation.

From whom, if not from Washington, was Nimetz obliged to send us the message mentioned earlier? This statement too is confirmation that Nimetz works for the State Department and not for the UN. Why else would he come out with news that the Interim Accord was no longer valid? The Interim Accord is a bilateral agreement between Macedonia and Greece and has nothing to do with the UN. Why would the UN, much less mediator Nimetz, have an interest in ending its importance? Nimetz, according to his mandate, has no connection with the Interim Accord, which means that he is not authorized to make such judgments.

(In fact, the “abolishment” of the Interim Accord, no doubt would strain relations between Macedonia and Greece because there are no conditions for a new agreement. Thus, the search for a solution would become more difficult. It would also be to Nimetz’s detriment because his function on behalf of the UN would become more difficult).

We should be grateful to Nimetz because he has been a valuable source of information, although slightly encrypted, regarding the essence and background of U.S. handling of Macedonia. Events that follow will uncover more of this. Nimetz made the statement for someone’s needs, but for whose needs? Clearly there is no other candidate outside of the U.S. According to the mosaic of American long-term policies, the U.S. has special interests in keeping Macedonia from joining NATO... unless it changes its name.

The U.S. kept silent on the issue of renaming our state and our people until Nimetz made this statement on public radio. In 2008 in Bucharest the U.S. was the main instigator who pushed Macedonia to change its name. While making such a request, the Americans openly declaring that they would immediately start using the new agreed upon name!

## The NATO Summit in Bucharest

Macedonia should have been admitted into NATO under its current “reference” during the Bucharest Summit held from April 2 to 4, 2008. It was normal to expect admission because one, all NATO members had confirmed that Macedonia had met all the necessary criteria for admission, including Greece, and two, the Interim Accord “guaranteed” that the attempt could not be blocked.

Instead of admitting Macedonia, NATO completely changed its own policy toward the country. With the highest conviction we may state that the new treatment of Macedonia was introduced under the dictates of the U.S. The main aim was to block the membership of Macedonia in order to press it to accept changes to the name of the country and the national identity of its people. Nimetz practically announced it in advance in his radio interview. He did it in the name of Washington, not in his personal name. Applying the blackmail combined with the ultimatum – first the name and then membership, NATO and the EU left their doors for Macedonia – shut!

At the Bucharest Summit, there was a deliberate violation of Greece’s obligation not to hinder Macedonia’s accession into NATO. This was done not by Greece alone. Greece was supported by all its allies in ignoring the Interim Accord, a UN international agreement. This act alone should have disgraced NATO, its leaders and all member states without exception. Macedonia sustained collateral damage and paid for the consequences resulting from hidden interests, manipulation, double standards, unprincipled acts and inconsistencies... not to mention bullying and violations of international law. Law and justice were grossly violated at the Summit. If this is democracy, then what isn’t?

Even though Greece may have profited from this the most, as we will see later in the text, the change of policies in Bucharest was not to her merit.

Like all other members of the Alliance seeking support, Greece can count on the solidarity of other members, can use procedural opportunities, or use its veto power. But it is unrealistic to believe that a small and insignificant country like Greece can make major decisions and impose its will on important matters... Greece does not have the authority to dictate new policies for NATO. New policies cannot be formulated on the basis of the assumption of solidarity among the member states but only on the ground of concrete interests of the leading members. The role of solidarity, one of the basic rules of the Alliance, is very limited in that sense. It can hinder implementation of some policies, can make exemptions but definitely cannot create new ones, as in the case with Macedonia.

If in Bucharest, for example, Greece was really the main obstacle to Macedonia's admission to NATO, at least, there would not have been a change of policy in the Alliance; i.e. to impose a permanent blockade plus the blackmail for Macedonia to change its name. There would be no conditions where ultimatums are formulated, i.e. "change the name first, then membership..." Greece's doing alone could have resulted in Macedonia's rejection but without imposing new, massive and unbridgeable consequences for it. That is the maximum that Greece could have done. There was no veto in Bucharest. In order to avoid a direct Greek blockade, all members lined up behind this "new" policy.

Nevertheless, Greece violated the Interim Accord by being part of the consensus. Without it, it was not possible to reject Macedonia's entry into NATO. Athens, however, indirectly hindered that...

As mentioned earlier, there is no other country in the NATO alliance, outside of the U.S. that has the authority to dictate new policies. If Washington, for example, had the slightest doubt that this new policy was inadequate and bad for Macedonia... it would have had no chance of being implemented. Also, if the U.S. had had a different attitude towards Macedonia, than the one described above, then it would have intervened on Macedonia's behalf and the result would have been quite different. If Washington had thought that Macedonia should have joined

NATO under its reference, i.e. if the U.S. respected the Interim Accord, the new policy would not have been invented and Macedonia would have been admitted into NATO. In fact, generally speaking, the Americans take responsibility for at least 30% of all alliance decisions. In this particular case, however, the Americans undoubtedly took a more dominant role... nearly one hundred percent. No doubt the U.S. also had support from France, Germany... and so on; a kind of support that should not be underestimated.

After the Bucharest Summit, the dealings with the name issue were moved from New York to Brussels. But its overall manager remained - Washington. With its new policy towards Macedonia, NATO has exceeded its authority and illegally interfered in the mediation exclusively covered by the UN. NATO established new norms, much beyond the ones described by the UN Security Council, which were silently accepted by Macedonia. In the UN documents, for example, there was no explicit requirement for Macedonia to change its name. So, who gave NATO the right to demand that Macedonia change its name, imposing blackmail?

Nimetz also got a new role in Bucharest. Since then he has been working for Brussels but as before - directed by Washington. It was especially apparent before the end of 2012 and during the beginning of 2013, when talks of a date for negotiating Macedonia's membership into the EU were being discussed. After a long break Nimetz was "reactivated" for the needs of the European Union. Nimetz had never worked for the UN and his most recent involvement, yet again, proves that Nimetz always worked for U.S. interests...

The transfer of the mediation from New York to Brussels, no doubt, was made for pragmatic reasons. While Nimetz from the UN side had no tools to pressure Macedonia, NATO and the EU not only had the right tools but also used them immediately. They started using force by blocking and blackmailing Macedonia to change its name, usurping its universal right to use whatever name it wanted. Nobody has the right to

force a sovereign state to change its name in order to be admitted into an institution. This is public humiliation of the candidate.

Indications are very strong that the NATO Summit in Bucharest meant the beginning of the final stage of closing the “Macedonian Question”. In fact, from what Nimetz had told “Voice of America”, that a new final agreement with Greece would be necessary, is – unachievable! It is no surprise that after Bucharest a violent offensive was started, using all means including brutal force for Macedonia to capitulate.

There is one more point which deserves our attention because it fits perfectly with America’s long-term attitude towards Macedonia. At a press conference, just at the end of the Bucharest Summit on April 8, 2008, Daniel Fried, Assistant Secretary of State, during a provocation from a Greek journalist (“Macedonians are a fact for the United States”, “Dnevnik”, April 9, 2008), said: “I do not think that the Macedonian language is called as such. The Macedonian language exists. Macedonians exist. As you know, the Macedonian language has been studied by the State Department!” He also said: “There is certainly a historic Macedonian province, which is something different from the state... It is clear that the Government of Macedonia has no pretensions. We recognize the difference between the historic territory of Macedonia, which is certainly larger than the state...”

The Greek Foreign Minister Bakoyannis reacted immediately from Athens: “Such statements do not help to resolve the disputed issues between Athens and Skopje.” She then said: “Athens will not be drawn into such discussions...”

Unfortunately, Macedonia remained deaf to Washington’s precious official position and did not take advantage of the comments made. Since then, not a single statement has been made by Washington in support of the Macedonian people, or the Macedonian language... All that followed from the U.S. side were promises that the name and not the identity of the people were under discussion...! More and more lies.

The Americans repeatedly say that they support Macedonia's NATO membership but do not mention that it can only be done under one clear condition... "first change your name..."

And our politicians not only remain silent about such ordinary bluffs but publicly thank the Americans for their support!? Journalists do the same and no one asks the American officials: "Under what conditions are you supporting us?"

The roots of Daniel Fried's assessments were left uncovered by our aide. Fried was a diplomat since 1977 who served in senior positions with the State Department until May 15, 2009, just a few months after President Barak Obama's inauguration. We can only guess at the reasons for his excellent statements concerning Macedonia and hope that his leaving the diplomatic service was not as a consequence – of them?!

## Why President Bush's support was not enough

Not to leave any dilemma about the reality of our previous explanations we need to clarify President Bush's involvement in Bucharest. At the Summit, Bush had personal ambitions to stabilize the southern flank of NATO by adding Albania, Macedonia and Croatia to it. His statement that the three countries would become members, meaning Macedonia as well, was overridden after less than 24 hours! Nothing like that had ever happened to another American president! Obviously, the administration did not share Bush's personal interests any longer, as his mandate was finishing and Macedonia was left in the lurch.

We can only guess that the recycled plans for Macedonia, prepared in the meantime, proved that its membership in NATO, even with the UN reference, would make it impossible to proceed with pressure for changing its name. Such an outcome was definitely not acceptable to Washington.

While Bush went into history, the American bureaucracy is still there. In any case, Bush deserves our respect and we have to look for ways of rewarding him in return.

According to unconfirmed reports from Turkish sources, the night before the summit Bush met with Turkish President Gul who he asked not to set any conditions for the admission of Albania and Croatia, without Macedonia. It was speculated that Turkey could support Macedonia's condition that all three join NATO, or none. Bush did not want to risk the summit to experience a total failure without admitting any new member. Ankara, despite its undeniable commitment to Macedonia's membership, apparently was not ready to confront the U.S., the sole superpower. And who would?

The fact that Turkey did not voice its support for Macedonia in Bucharest, also confirms that the U.S. stood behind Macedonia's rejection, not just Greece. If Athens was the bearer of this blockade and the architect of the new policy, Ankara would have certainly and

vehemently opposed it and would done everything in its power to help Macedonia join NATO. But because the United States was behind the rejection, Turkey had some normal concerns.... The bite would have been too much for Turkey.

According to information received from reliable sources, Macedonia officially did not request that Turkey play the three-card hand; all three candidates together or none. If that was true then there was a serious error made by the Macedonian side. It has to be done. If Ankara was prepared to take such a step it would have been up to them. Whether it was going to succeed or not, would have been another matter. Our initiative, in any case, would have obliged Turkey to act in our favour, to the maximum.

In Macedonia there was speculation that the government, in collusion with President Tsrvenkovski, did not play well in Bucharest. That Bush was left in the lurch, by not giving him a chance to help us because our people did not come out with a clear position on Nimetz's latest proposal ("Republic of Macedonia – Skopje"). Unfortunately, all these accusations are baseless because Macedonia had no role in the "high politics" played in Bucharest. It was a play for foreign ideas, plans and interests. So, no matter what our position was the outcome would have been the same... Nimetz's proposal was unacceptable to Athens and thus the U.S. did not permit Macedonia's entry into NATO with the reference. Our officials were powerless to change anything. The decisions had already been made in advance.

A higher level of manipulation was in fact staged in Bucharest to prevent Macedonia's full integration into the international community. In the UN admission Macedonia was seriously handicapped. Its name was illegally suspended and a reference was imposed. There is only one reason for this: to rename the state and the people. Since attempts to change the name thus far had failed, NATO began to use pressure (blockade, blackmail...) in Bucharest to achieve the American aim. This was done by the same countries that had already impeded

Macedonia in the UN. In both cases Macedonia was a victim of secret and illegal policies with no chance of influencing the outcome.

The first-time international rules were ignored, with regard to Macedonia, was in 1993 in New York. The first “victim” of abuse was the UN Charter of Rights. The Charter of Rights was ignored in order to “depersonalize” Macedonia.

In 2008 in Bucharest, at the NATO summit, the Interim Accord was ignored because it turned out that it had some favourable items for Macedonia.

Aside from Macedonia, another collateral victim in Bucharest was President Bush, who showed support for Macedonia. After the Summit, Bush invited Tsrvenkovski and Gruevski for a meeting in Zagreb, where he was visiting. After that, on his initiative, the two countries signed a Memorandum of Security and Cooperation in Washington. This is the best proof that our leaders did not make any wrong moves in Bucharest. These gestures were top honours for Macedonia. We got the special consolation prize!

## The Hague verdict

After the Interim Accord was violated at the Bucharest Summit, Macedonia filed charges against Greece before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Macedonia needed to take this case to court because it could not afford to sit idle and be bullied. Macedonia was quite surprised that the Court unanimously ruled it its favour. The Court clearly specified that Greece was in breach of the Accord as it hindered Macedonia's attempt to join NATO.

Unfortunately, the verdict changed nothing. At first, Washington, followed by Brussels, vehemently opposed starting the Court application and later completely ignored the verdict. That, however, did not diminish its importance. The Court ruling is the strongest weapon in Macedonia's hands. At the same time it weighs heavily on Washington and Brussels, even though they refuse to acknowledge it. After arranging Macedonia's illegal admission to the UN, now they are again grossly violating the international legal system.

There was an article in "Dnevnik", published on April 10, 2013, under the heading "Serbian to be or not to be" in which the following was written: "Gruevski spoke of having major disagreements and a fight with an 'important ambassador' who was angry because the Prime Minister did not accept his recommendation not to file a lawsuit at The Hague." We are absolutely certain that that "important ambassador" was none other than Philip Reeker, American Ambassador to Macedonia. There should also be no doubt that had something more than a "recommendation" taken place, Reeker would have been very upset. Reeker was known to get into fits of uncontrolled rage when something was done against his will.

Washington finally tipped its hand concerning Macedonia, with the treatment of its intention to go to The Hague and after that by ignoring the verdict. These gestures definitely confirm that our opposition in the name dispute is not Greece but the U.S.A. We could see that Washington - a) had hidden intentions towards Macedonia, b) would

not accept anything that did not fit with its plans, and c) not only managed but also fully controlled the so-called “name dispute”. We can clearly see that there is firm American determination to achieve goals, even at the expense of the Macedonian nation. Washington would not hesitate to violate the UN Charter of Rights, to ignore The Hague ruling or not to take into consideration obligations coming from the Interim Accord, an international agreement prepared just by them! Why else would the U.S. oppose The Hague verdict?

Looking at this from another angle: why would the United States oppose Macedonia going to The Hague and ignore the Court’s verdict? Because of Greece? Why were the Americans and not the Greeks telling us that we need to solve our problem through dialogue without use of a court? How can we have dialogue with Greece, a country that does not accept that we exist as a separate nation? In fact, how can such a dialogue even be possible with someone who does not respect its contractual obligations even after it was tried in court?

If the United States had no ulterior motives and was serious about helping Macedonia, it would have abided by international law. Unfortunately, as much as the United States likes to hide its true intentions, they are still calculatingly hostile and diametrically opposed to Macedonia’s interests. If American intentions were positive towards Macedonia, the United States would have had no logical reason to oppose The Hague verdict. And if the problem was in some U.S. obligations toward Greece then The Hague verdict would have been an excellent opportunity to say – we are very sorry but we must respect the judgment of the court!

What do you think, why does the United States, and all the other countries standing behind it, have to qualify this problem to be a “political” one? The answer is simple – just to be able to use force in solving it! And, the problems are becoming “political” only in cases when the powerful are – not in the right! The “political problems” tend to be resolved by force, military or otherwise, through a revolution, through a dictatorship, by bombing (Belgrade, for example...), through

a coup... Let us not fool ourselves, the world has always been and still is ruled through power. Democracy, diplomacy, etc., are devices designed to serve the powerful. The moment a ruling did not serve their purpose it was no longer valid; including The Hague verdict! If there was really the rule of law then all of us would have been equal, but we are not. That is a fact. The strong and wealthy are always “more equal” than the rest. This is how it was 100 years ago, this is how it is today and this is how it is going to be for a long, long time. There is no difference in what kind of society you live: socialist, capitalist... It is the same everywhere. The ordinary citizen was, is and always will be “less equal”.

NATO instantly ignoring The Hague verdict has given us further evidence that Washington, and not Brussels or Athens, was behind the Alliance’s negative attitude towards Macedonia. This was confirmed by NATO Secretary General, Rasmussen, who rejected the verdict just a few hours after it was released. He said it does not apply to or implicate NATO.

The Secretary-General had no mandate to decide about the matter himself. His reaction was possible because he must have been briefed well in advance or instructed on the fly just as the verdict came out – only by Washington. The Alliance could not have a common position because there was not enough time to consult the members! And even if an Alliance meeting was held, there would have been members who would have needed extra time to consult their headquarters. Would there have been a consensus on how to react? It seems certain that Washington wanted no controversy surrounding this issue and decided on its own. So, in order to avoid any complications, Rasmussen was authorized to distance NATO from the verdict. The job was done and there was nothing more for the member states to say or do. Yet another stab with a knife at democracy...

In order to avoid any misunderstandings, let us explain that, formally, The Hague court has no legal authority over NATO. The Alliance is an international organization outside of the UN system and is not under the

Court's jurisdiction. Nevertheless, that is only in principle. But, even though NATO acts independently, it still must respect international institutions, international agreements and documents and abide by codes of conduct, rules, principles and procedures... All these also apply to NATO because the Alliance is part of this same international legal order.

It is important to mention the fact that all NATO members are part of the UN and as such are bound by UN rules and must respect the UN Charter. No country can be admitted to the UN if it refuses to abide by it. UN member states and all UN organs, except for the Security Council, are also bound by the ruling of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Greece is even among 60 or so countries which has additionally committed itself in writing to respect the Court's verdicts.

NATO is nothing without its members. Without members, there is no Alliance. NATO consists of countries that are also members of the UN and they all bring with them obligations, commitments and responsibilities already made within the UN. All that must be respected and implemented by NATO as well. NATO cannot ignore The Hague verdicts related to its members. It is a disregard of international law; a practice adhered to by terrorist organizations.

There are no practical reasons why NATO should ignore the UN obligations and international agreements of its members, especially The Hague verdicts. The Alliance must implement all of them. If this is not done then NATO is disregarding its doctrine and devaluing its international position.

It would have been different had the Court declared that there was some irregularity with Macedonia's admission at the Bucharest Summit. Then both Washington and Brussels would have been right, The Hague could not have judged NATO's actions. However, Macedonia never asked for such a ruling and the Court did not follow that path. The Court found Greece guilty of breaching the Accord at a NATO Summit, meaning

that the Alliance would have to accept, respect and implement the ruling. Athens received this verdict because of its behaviour at the NATO Summit in Bucharest; not at the Olympic Games in Peking!

NATO (and Washington) must respect the Court's judgment even if it comes through member states and not directly from it. If it is not so, why then have Washington and Brussels tried so vehemently to deter Macedonia from initiating proceedings in The Hague? If the Court's judgment had nothing to do with NATO and the EU, then why did they engage themselves in preventing it? NATO needs to build its policies by respecting the international obligations of its member states, otherwise the Alliance would be working outside of the law.

NATO should have respected the verdict against Greece and should not have allowed Greece to prevent Macedonia's membership. If for example, a soccer player from the team "Peniarol" was banned from playing for a year by the Uruguay Football Federation, and if the same player then went to Athens and became a member of "Olympiakos", a local Greek team, would he be able to immediately start playing for the new team before his sentence had expired?

Of course, the soccer Federation of Uruguay, or of any other country, had no authority over the Greek Federation. However, the player, let's call him Pedro Rodriguez, should not be allowed to play until his sentence expires. The Soccer Federation in Greece must respect the punishment. Such obligations are derived from the International legal codex. Otherwise the world would be thrown into chaos.

Here is another example: Could a Greek man who was married in Greece and moved, say to Germany, Russia, China, or Zimbabwe, marry someone in the new country before he had divorced his spouse in Greece?

Marriage has separate regulations in different countries and no legislation in one country has impact on another country. Yet Vassilakis, let's call him that, would commit fraud if he were to ignore

his present wife and re-marry without a divorce. This is a punishable offense.

So, if on an individual level, no matter where we are, we are obliged to honour our contractual obligations, then how can a country, a member of a serious international organization such as NATO, not do so?

Both examples given have shown that obligations undertaken in one place cannot be ignored in another. Their importance is valid everywhere, unless one happens to be living in a lawless and otherwise unregulated society. Refusal to assume responsibility is not only unacceptable, it is considered criminal behaviour. This also must apply, by all means, to Greece and to NATO... That is why Greece was found guilty by The Hague court. And let us not forget that the examples given here also illustrate how Athens, Brussels and Washington behaved towards the Interim Accord before The Hague judgment. It has been proven by the verdict delivered that their behaviour was indeed illegal... which should have been an embracing slap on their faces. Unfortunately, they continued to function as if nothing had happened.

NATO's consensus regarding Macedonia was again reaffirmed during the Chicago Summit in 2012, at a time when the entire Alliance was well-aware of The Hague verdict and Greece's condemnation by it. On what legal grounds was this consensus reached for the entire Alliance to refuse Macedonia, yet again, from joining NATO? This is another confirmation that NATO is functioning by using force... Chicago confirmed yet again that the Americans care only for their own interests.

It is important at this point for us to mention that we all should be happy that Macedonia did not succumb to Washington and Brussels' fierce pressure not to take Greece to The Hague. It is also important to recall that President Tsrvenkovski, was also against going to the court. What is interesting about this is that after The Hague verdict was announced the same people inside Macedonia ignored the judgment just like the Americans did (Andov called it a decision, or something else,

but not a verdict). It is not realistic or logical to assume that those Macedonians, who refused to accept the verdict for what it was, did it without foreign influence. Whether it was politically motivated or purely lucrative for them, only time will tell. Is there anyone who can explain why they were against seeking justice for their own country after it had been exposed to so much injustice? Who were they vying for?

## **Petre Nakovski - SYMBOLISM OF THE PRESPA AGREEMENT (THE PRESPA DISASTER)**

Today is August 14, 2023. It's dawn. The gray morning is dissolved by the rays of the sun rising from behind the peak of Mount Tsutse, part of the lofty Pelister Motif.

From the balcony I see the first rays that are waking up Galitsa and the hills beyond the border. The sunlight slowly descends, illuminating the elongated rock in Nivitsi spreading over the blue waters of Prespa Lake. That's how it is now. That was not the case on August 14, 1949. Planes suddenly flew like eagles from Bela Voda Mountain that day and showered Prespa with fire. Everything was burning and the sky was darkened by the smoke from the exploding and burning napalm bombs. Prespa was burning and together with it burning were the people from Prespa, Kostur Region, Lerin Region and the DAG fighters that were accompanying them. The last day of the great and bloody battle of the Greek Civil War was passing in fire and flames. On this day so many years ago, Prespa was burning.

Much has been said and written about that day and the days before and after it, mostly depending on the current, tomorrow and more distant needs of the outlined state goals. It is rare to speak and write about the truth in such a way that it should not be forgotten.

Seventy-five years ago, like tomorrow, August 15, the bells rang for the last time in Prespa. The great Christian holiday, the Great Mother of God, was celebrated. Today the bells ring only in Nivitsi. And once the people of Nivitsi and the rest of the people of Prespa celebrated the great holiday together.

The Great Mother of God is the protector of Nivitsi and all of Prespa. That day, guests came to my village from Kosinets, Lobanitsa, D'mbeni, Smrdesh, V'mbel, Dolno Papratsko... After the service in the church that bears the name of the Holy Mother of God, everyone happily celebrated the great holiday in festive clothes to the sound of all the bells from the surrounding villages.

Then?

Then the Greek Civil War began and the bells fell silent and have been silent to this date. Petre Nakovski

There is no one in my village today to ring the bell, no one to light a candle, pray and bow to the Holy Mother of God, to Christ the Savior, to all the saints.

Today, since morning I am under the burden of this memory, I am very sad...

This morning, looking from the balcony at the blueness of the lake and the sky, the green of the forests spread over the surrounding hills and mountains in the crown of which lie the two Prespa lakes, I look back with pain to the last days of the Greek Civil War. Like tomorrow, seventy-five years ago, on the morning of August 10, 1949, before the sun had risen well, fighter planes from the airfields of Ioannina, Kozheni, Kostur, Lerin and Solun pulverized the trenches and bunkers of the promise and the hope called "On The enemy will not pass by." It passed and the government army, supported by tanks, armored vehicles, hundreds of cannons and mortars given to it by the Americans, went on the offensive. Defenders and attackers one against ten. The most dangerous positions were defended by disabled fighters, who remained forever in the fire and ashes of the bunkers and trenches, never to be heard of or seen again.

I have not experienced those tragedies and horrors, but spiritually and with all consciousness I feel and experience them as my own unhealed wound and unceasing pain.

Years have passed, but the memory has not faded, which is a significant part of our great human, national and Macedonian suffering. During those days, my knowledge was enriched by the book "History of the Grashan War", which was given to me ten years ago by my acquaintance from Lerin.

In it, with knowledge and hard work, the author brings you into the whirlwind of horror and does not leave you indifferent and spend the night with a peaceful sleep. The horror will follow you until dawn and your day will be like hell.

On August 13 and 14, 1949, the Greek Air Force dropped 34 bombs weighing 250 kg on the flat area of the Small Prespa Lake and on the entire road from Prevalot to R'bi and Peroo-Kulata, up to the village of

Nivitsi. 530 bombs weighing 125 kg, 1,900 bombs weighing 10 kg, 620 rockets, 26,000 grenades, 43,000 machine-gun bullets and 70 napalm bombs, at that time the most terrible and murderous weapon. They were dropped from American and English planes on the poorly armed, but unusually brave fighters of the Democratic Army of Greece, in whose ranks of the total number of 25,000, 14,000 were Macedonians, boys and girls aged 16 to 25, fought, a small part were volunteers, and the largest number forcibly mobilized. Along with fellow Greeks, they were in the largest number, as well as Macedonians, village boys and girls.

The hell on Gramos lasted 70 days and nights. An epic of endurance, heroism, courage, fighting and faith. They were defending against a hundred thousand government army troops well-armed by the United States of America and accompanied by American and English military advisers.

These brave Macedonian fighters defended the hills, mountains and rocks and died on the rocks and behind the rocks. One year after the bloody battle for Gramos and after the bloody and unsuccessful battles for Negush, Voden and Lerin, a military unit was caught in the hills and mountains of the Vicho region, where, by order the CPG and DAG Headquarters and of the Politburo the slogan "the enemy will not pass Vicho" was thrown around while the entire civilian Macedonian population, from all the villages around Vicho Region and Prespa, regardless of age, was mobilized to dig trenches and build bunkers, but only during the night. The people were convinced that the enemy will never be allowed to pass. They waited for the enemy and welcomed it... And the enemy came and used napalm on Gramos in the seventy-day battle over the barren bluffs, hills and cliffs over which, in addition to thousands of cannon and mortar shells, aircraft bombed the area as well as innumerable machine-gun and automatic rounds pounded the ground. Then the Royal Air Force planes dropped napalm barrels filled with a combustible mixture in which both people and land burned. Thus, from June 14 to August 20, 1948, Gramos burned and was defended, where the flowering of Macedonian and Greek youth perished.

The author does not say how many shells and bullets were thrown by the cannons, mortars, tanks, rifles, and machine guns. The area of that

space is not larger than 10 square kilometers. A lot of metal fell on that space on the crippled DAG units and on the large number of civilians who rushed in unprecedented panic to the Peroo-Tower to find salvation on the peninsula they called Africa. The author has noted that 80 percent of those who retreated through this open space were killed. No, this wasn't a battlefield. It was a slaughterhouse. A lot of iron and lead was dropped, and the bones of the many dead lie in the mass graves in the area between Rabi and the Peroo-Kulata bridge, in the sands and reeds between the Great and Little Prespa Lakes. Aegeans didn't die there, Macedonians died there, and those who managed to stay alive were sentenced to permanent exile.

One of the most beautiful landscapes in Macedonia today, was burned by fire on August 14, 1949.

And in the village church in Nivitsi, before that, on March 25, 1949, the NOF Second Congress was held in which 700 delegates participated, most of whom were DAG fighters during which time, CPG general secretary Zahariadis solemnly praised them and insidiously deceived them. For the entire duration of the Greek Civil War, Prespa was its center.

On the far shore of the Little Prespa Lake, not far from the border with Albania, was the village of Drenovo - now it is gone. It was a notorious communist camp. Those whose sons and daughters did not share the forced mobilization or defected to the other side were imprisoned and tortured here. After whole days, to the point of exhaustion, they dug tunnels at the foot of the nearby mountains to house the weapons. They wanted to re-educate them with hard, slave labor. Years ago, somewhere, far in the north, millions through the war came to freedom in the gas chambers. The partisan general was also shot here, whom the senior leadership blamed for the failure of the struggle to capture Voden. He, whose name was Geogragiadis, paid the guilt of others with his life. Above are the villages L'k, Orovnik, Popli, further north - Shtrkovo, Medovo, and to the north-east R'bi and above German. On the other side of the Little Prespa Lake - Nivitsi. This circle of villages, together with the houses, courtyards, cellars, cattle, meadows, gardens,

mountains and caves throughout the Civil War, were all together one great military-political base of the Democratic Army of Greece.

Until the end of the war, Prespa was the headquarters of the military and political leadership of DAG and the CPG and the headquarters of NOF. Weapons from Yugoslavia and other communist countries were brought to Prespa and from Prespa at night, they were loaded on horses and mules from Prespa and transported to Gramos. In Prespa was the printing house that printed Macedonian newspapers; the first courses for Macedonian teachers and the first Macedonian schools were opened in Prespa. Prespa was a free territory and a thorn in the side of Athens.

Seventy years later, from Prevsalot, on the winding asphalt road, Prudolu and Katko, then at the village of R'bi and immediately on the left, dozens of black Mercedes were driving. They were in no hurry. They crossed the bridge and turned right, straight ahead, a short stop at the bend – something like a parking lot from where you can see the entire eastern shore of the Great Prespa Lake and above the village of Dolno Dupeni, our villa with the Sun from Kutlesh. I am not sure if they were looking at me, but I could see them from the balcony with the binoculars. I see how someone waved a black flag and the convoy of black Mercedes disappeared around the bend near the church of St. George. I don't see them now, but I know they've already gone downhill.

The road ended in Nivitsi.

They did not carry bombs, they carried the text of an agreement called the Prespa Agreement. They drove along the same road where on August 13 and 14, 1949, hundreds of fighters of the Democratic Army of Greece and residents of Prespa and more distant villages, died. They drove along the road where the defeat and the exodus began. Smiling faces in the cars. Among them the signatories, the prime ministers and they, who for years promised, enticed and exerted pressure, they, the representatives of the Western world, where there is no president, prime minister, or minister left who did not stain the Macedonian red carpets

and shamelessly lied from the floor of the Parliament. And the representatives of the people, as they called themselves, and in the parliamentary seats, fattened up their asses, they believed in everything. Not one was found to open his mouth or lift a finger to ask. Their silence was their consent to any deception.

Greek and Macedonian television broadcast live. On the television screen, pictures of the surroundings, of the surrounding rocks. A new picture appears on the TV screen. Next to a rock, once bloody, hanging over the lake - a festively decorated table, state flags and them - the signatories and advisors. Cameras were buzzing, televisions were broadcasting. A short wait, the signatories, ministers of foreign affairs sign something that legal scholars, experts and professionals judged that the text of the agreement was written by others, and signed by those who were herded, that they did not even read it. In any case, legal science and time will tell and we will see the consequences and the damage done by those signatures. The signing was marked by loud claps, hugs, sloppy kisses, cold handshakes.

The chefs of the bitter dish were walking slowly, not like before. The question seems to be written on their faces: is there any other fool in the world who would sell the name of his country? The one smiling the most and certainly the happiest in the bunch was our prime minister. Looking at the television screen, I was reminded of another performance of his in 2010, when in front of a bunch of his supporters and idolaters, with wide waving hands and with visible hatred on his face, he shouted at the top of his voice: when we come to power, we will expel them from their jobs all those who do not think like us and with even greater hatred visible on his face, shouted even louder: - When we come to power, then we will eat people alive! I looked at him and thought to myself: from whom did he learn those hand movements, from whom did he inherit that expression so clearly visible on his cheeks? He came to power and we saw what he did.

And for what he has done, he happily thought about what to give to his Greek colleague. It then occurred to him. He untied his red tie and gave

to his Greek brother, as he had called him many times, with a big smile. And he, the poor man, did not accept it.

The color of the prime minister's tie reminds me of the blood spilled and of the lives lost here in Prespa. It also reminded me of the forgotten red stars of the Vardar Macedonian partisans, who waved a red flag during the attack. The partisans in Aegean Macedonia also wore a red star on their partisan berets, above the Greek letter DELTA, the symbol of DAG. A red star shone on the hat of DAG partisan Tina Andreeva, a young DAG officer and hero. Everyone called her Cveta after the role of Cveta in the drama the Macedonian blood wedding.

Long applause and voices of joy and smiles of triumph flooded Nivitsi. That day, none of those present heard the painful moans of the wounded being treated in the partisan hospital inside a cave near Graždano; no one heard the terrible screams and wails of those who perished in the napalm flame and fire raining on them.

How many years, after that triumphant performance, the two friends were left without the promised Nobel Prize and without the government seat. That's what the big man always wants - glorification, but only for one use, and the advisers, who often soiled the red carpets, no longer appeared in the government corridors and on the floor of the parliament.

Questions and demand for an answer will last for a long time, why was the Agreement signed in Nivitsi, in this particular place?

Was it to remind us that our language was outlawed and forbidden to be spoken, the use of which was followed by trials and the payments of fines, castor oil, public beatings, pulling of nails, putting hot eggs under the armpits, putting a hoop on the head and a live cat under the shirt, beating on the feet, eating a hot pepper, the shearing of the cross, the prisons and the island concentration camps?

Did they, on this side of the border who enthusiastically signed the Prespa Agreement, know the above historical facts?

It is well known that State Agreements are always signed in solemnly decorated halls, and not in a once deserted hill and lakeside village where almost seventy years ago Macedonian and Greek blood was spilled in the name of freedom. Was the Agreement signed here because of Prespa's beauty or because of the beautifully arranged Nivitsi, once one of the poorest villages in Prespa? Or was the Agreement signed here so that Athens can again warn and remind us that it was right here, in Prespa, where the Greeks tortured our compatriots, and those who managed to save themselves from the napalm, and were expelled beyond the border without the right to return, and that with this Agreement we have given up not only on our dead but also on our living?

In the years after the end of the Greek Civil War, the Greek authorities ordered the collection of mines, bullets, shell casings, fragments of aircraft bombs, cannon and mortar shells, the leveling of the trenches and bunkers, and searched under every bush and stone, picked, collected, brought out what they collected and transferred everything somewhere else so that all traces of the evil that took place there would be erased.

In the heart of the green mountain range, Prespa without its people was silent for a long time, dumbfounded by impotence, rage and pain. A silence occasionally broken by the cry of lake birds. That's how it was until the authorities of this tame country brought Vlach shepherds from Epirus and refugee Greek cattle herders from Albania. Lively Prespa but without the original people of Prespa. Other customs and a language that they never spoke took over their houses.

Now Nivitsi, once the poorest village in Prespa whose people subsided by hunting and selling smelts, is a famous tourist village. It is medium sized and rich.

Hundreds of tourists from all over Greece leave a bunch of money there. They are attracted by the nature and by the rich table with delicious Macedonian dishes and Macedonian wines. And when its

name is said, some people are horrified and others are happy and proud. The Greeks named the village PSARADES (Fishermen), and our politicians rename our country SEVERNA (NORTH). Both names are ugly.

Years ago, when I was collecting materials for my book, *On the Road with Time*, I searched the shore of the little lake Prespa where I saw a cradle in the reeds growing in the water.

I began to wonder who in this cradle was left without a mother and which mother was left without a baby that grew without a lullaby in this cradle?

The lake waves, quietly, gently rock the cradle and above it the reeds sing songs of praise. Of the many songs sung, which song is happier, and which one is sadder and more painful?

I watched the empty cradle and felt pain and my chest tightening. Whose cradle is this? I did not pick it up in my arms. I left it to the waves to rock and to the reeds to rustle a lullaby...

There, in those places of ours, many cradles remained empty and many mothers without children.

The signatories who said they signed the Agreement in the name of the people should be ashamed.

Did they also forget, in the name of the people, what happened there? I can still hear the wailing and feel the terrible suffering of the people wounded and killed, burned with napalm and I watch their escape through the sleeplessness and forests where they were looking for salvation. From what? From who?

Centuries ago, thousands of blind people arrived in Prespa. It took years before a few foreigners settled in Prespa and in the worst time Prespa was again emptied of its people.

Maybe years from now, one of the signatories might scold himself publicly and loudly after realizing that it was a real shame what happened here recently.

I have the impression that these prophetic words were written today. What is happening to us and what is being done to us today does not look like any other colour, but only black, because our people, according to the standards of foreigners, mark our blackness and shape our future.

As I write this, I feel like praying out loud:

- Our Father, who art in heaven, come down from heaven to the land called Macedonia, forgive us our sins, understand us and the evil ones, show them the way home...

AMEN!

So, once again, why did the Greeks choose Nivitsi as the place to sign the Prespa Agreement and why did the Macedonian side accept it? Prespa has been a killing field, a place of many sacrifices where Philip II's and Alexander the Great's best soldiers came from and who sacrificed themselves during the Macedonian campaigns. Prespa is the place where Tsar Samoil's entire army was blinded and sent home. Prespa is the place where the Greek army massacred the DAG soldiers and Macedonian civilians fleeing the Greek Civil War to save their lives but were cut down by the Greek military Machine. Prespa is the last place the Macedonian survivors saw before they were permanently exiled from their homeland by the Greek authorities.

What kind of signal was Greece sending us and what kind of an Agreement did we sign?

Our country was named Macedonia in 1944, at ASNOM, after the centuries-old Macedonian people, and not after the region in which it is located. But, in order to cut our country's umbilical cord with the national identity of our people, our country's name was changed in Nivitsi and devalued into a meaningless geographical term with our

foolish consent. Therefore, all that we were told and manipulated to accept that, for the world, we will remain Macedonians, were mere lies and stories for young children. Those who already call us North Macedonians are absolutely right, and are only beginning to see the inevitable practice, which will spread uncontrollably. This is because we, with our signature, accepted that the Macedonians are in Greece, and not in our country or anywhere else. We have given up on ourselves.

## About the Prespa Agreement

The Prespa Agreement provides that the Republic of Macedonia takes the name of Republic of North Macedonia. This new name is to be used for all purposes (*erga omnes*), that is, domestically, in all bilateral relations and in all regional and international organizations and institutions.

The deal includes recognition of the Macedonian language in the United Nations, noting that it is within the group of South Slavic languages, and that the nationality of the country will be called Macedonian/citizen of the Republic of North Macedonia. Also, there is an explicit clarification that the citizens of the country are not related to the ancient Hellenic civilization that inhabited the northern regions of modern-day Greece. Specifically, Article 7 mentions that both countries acknowledge that their respective understanding of the terms “Macedonia” and “Macedonian” refers to a different historical context and cultural heritage. When reference is made to Greece, these terms denote the area and people of its northern region, as well as the Hellenic civilization, history and culture of that region. When reference is made to the Republic of North Macedonia, these terms denote its territory, language and people, with their own, distinctly different, history and culture.

Additionally, the agreement stipulates the removal of the Vergina Sun from public use in the Republic of North Macedonia and the formation of a committee for the review of school textbooks and maps in both countries for the removal of irredentist content and to align them with UNESCO and Council of Europe standards.

The Prespa Agreement, which replaced the Interim Accord of 1995, was signed on June 17, 2018 in a high-level ceremony at the Greek occupied Part of Macedonia border village Nivitsi (Psarades in Greek) on Lake Prespa, by the two foreign ministers Nikola Dimitrov on the Macedonian side and Nikos Kozias on the Greek side, and in the presence of the respective prime Ministers, Zoran Zaev on the

Macedonian side and Alexis Tsipras on the Greek side. The meeting, among others, was also attended by Matthew Nimetz, the UN's Special Representative, Rosemary DiCarlo, the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Federica Mogherini, the EU's High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Johannes Hahn, the European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy.

After the ceremony was completed, Tsipras, along with Zaev, his Macedonian counterpart, crossed over the border to the Macedonian side of Lake Prespa for lunch at the village of Oteshevo. The symbolic move marked the first visit of a Greek prime minister in the Republic of Macedonia since Macedonia declared its independence in 1991. Then, on June 13, 2018, Zaev announced that North Macedonia was changing the license plates of its vehicles from MK to NMK to reflect the country's new name.

The Macedonian government later announced that the statues of Alexander the Great, Philip II of Macedon, and Olympias of Epirus, which were raised as part of the Skopje 2014 program, will be given new inscriptions with clarifications that they symbolize the Ancient Greek period and are "honouring Greek-Macedonian friendship".

On July 5, 2018, the Prespa agreement was ratified by the Macedonian parliament with 69 MPs voting in favour. However, Macedonian President Gjorge Ivanov vetoed the bill. Under the Macedonian Constitution, if the Parliament readopts a law with a majority votes from the total number of MPs, the president is obliged to sign it into law. On June 20, the Prespa agreement was once again ratified by the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia with 69 of the total 120 MPs voting in favour. VMRO-DPMNE, the opposition party, boycotted the parliamentary session and declared the Prespa Agreement a "genocide of the legal state" and a "genocide of the entire nation".

On June 25, the Greek Foreign Ministry informed the EU and NATO that Greece is no longer objecting to Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic

accession under the new name. The next day, however, President Ivanov refused to sign the agreement and threatened Macedonian Prime Minister Zaev and the ruling coalition's MPs with imprisonment of at least 5 years for voting in favour of an agreement which, according to Ivanov, puts the Republic of Macedonia in a subordinate position to a foreign state. "I do not accept the constitutional change aimed at changing the constitutional name [of the country]. I do not accept ideas or proposals which would endanger Macedonia's national identity, the individuality of the Macedonian nation, the Macedonian language and the Macedonian model of coexistence. In the presidential election, 534,910 citizens voted in favor of this electoral program. The agreement goes beyond the scope of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 817 (1993) and 845 (1993), since it refers to the "difference in the name of the State" and not to the "disputes" to which the agreement refers", Ivanov said, adding that "This agreement brings the Republic of Macedonia to subordination from another country, namely the Republic of Greece. According to Article 308 of the Penal Code, "a citizen who brings the Republic of Macedonia to a state of subservience or dependence on another state is punishable by imprisonment of at least five years". The legalization of this agreement creates legal consequences that are the basis for committing a crime."

Because the constitution required the president to sign, the ratified agreement was allowed to be officially published in the country's official gazette with a footnote detailing the constitutional and legal situation in place of the president's signature.

The withdrawal of the Greek veto resulted in the European Union on June 27, approving the start of accession talks with the Republic of Macedonia, to begin the next year conditional on the implementation of the Prespa agreement and the change of the nation's constitutional name to Republic of North Macedonia. On July 11, NATO invited Macedonia to start accession talks in a bid to become the 30<sup>th</sup> Euro-Atlantic alliance's member.

On July 30, the Macedonian parliament approved plans to hold a non-binding referendum on changing the country's name that would take place on September 30. However, there was only a 37% turnout of whom 91% of the voters voted in favour but the referendum was not carried because of a constitutional requirement for a 50% turnout. The total turnout for the referendum was at 666,344 people of whom some 260,000 were ethnic Albanians. Ignoring the outcome, the government pushed forward with the name change.

On October 15, 2018, the Macedonian parliament began debating the name change. The proposal for the constitutional reform required the vote of 80 MPs, i.e. two-thirds of the 120-seat parliament.

On October 16, US Assistant Secretary of State Wess Mitchell sent a letter to VMRO-DPMNE leader Hristijan Mickoski, in which he expresses the disappointment of the United States with the positions of the leadership, including him personally, and asked him to “set aside partisan interests” and work to get the name change approved. Mickoski expressed his hope that the Republic of Macedonia will be part of NATO and EU family very soon, “but in a proud and dignified way, not humiliated, disfigured and disgraced.”

On October 19, the parliament voted to start the process of renaming the country to “North Macedonia”, after a total of 80 MPs voted in favour of the constitutional changes.

On October 30, the Skopje Public Prosecutor's Office opened a case against Macedonian President Gjorge Ivanov for his refusal to fulfill his constitutional obligations in signing the Prespa agreement after it was ratified by the Macedonian Parliament.

On December 3, 2018, Macedonia's Parliament approved a draft constitutional amendment, with 67 lawmakers voting in favour, 23 voting against and 4 abstaining. A simple majority was needed at this stage.

After some political wrangling over constitutional issues related to the multi-ethnic makeup of the state, all Albanian political parties in Macedonia voted in favour of the name change along with the governing Social-Democrats and some members of the opposition.

On January 11, 2019, the Macedonian Parliament completed the legal implementation of the Prespa Agreement by approving the constitutional changes for renaming the country to North Macedonia with a two-thirds parliamentary majority (81 MPs).

The international community, NATO and European Union leaders, including Greek PM Alexis Tsipras and Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz, as well as heads of neighboring states, congratulated Macedonian Prime Minister Zoran Zaev. British Prime Minister Theresa May described the vote as a “historic moment”, while Kosovo’s President Hashim Thaci expressed his hope that the Prespa Agreement, which resolved the Macedonia name dispute, can be used as a “model” for resolving Kosovo’s dispute with Serbia.

Albanian President Ilir Meta congratulated the name change and Albanian Foreign Minister Ditmir Bushati hailed the vote and explained that it was the Albanian political parties that were the “decisive factor”.

Former Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski in exile in Hungary, condemned the Prespa agreement, saying that Zaev “scammed” and “tricked” the Macedonian people over the country’s name change, and that the Greek politicians imposed an unfavourable deal on Macedonia that outlines exclusive Greek claims over “ancient history”.

On January 13, 2019, Greece’s Defense Minister Panos Kammenos and his Independent Greeks party quit Greece’s ruling coalition over the Prespa Agreement, potentially leaving the governing coalition without a workable majority in parliament. Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras then held a confidence vote on January 16 and survived 151–148, with one lawmaker absent. Tsipras survived the vote with 145 of his Radical Left Syriza party and with 6 MPs who were either Independents or

Independent Greeks (ANEL). In the days prior to the Prespa Agreement ratification by the Greek Parliament, over 60,000 protesters (according to police; 600,000, according to organizers) from all over the country arrived in Athens to demand the rejection of the agreement; some of these protests had become violent, with the police required to use tear gas to disperse the groups.

During the last week, public opinion poll showed that over 65% of the people were against the ratification of the Prespa agreement, whereas many popular Greek artists (S. Xarhakos, V. Papakonstantinou J. Kotsiras etc.) agreed that a referendum should have been held.

On January 19, Mikis Theodorakis' editorial was published in which he characterized the ratification of the agreement from Greek MPs as a "crime", demanding a referendum in Greece on the agreement as well.

On January 23, just a day prior to the ratification in the Hellenic Parliament, hundreds of scholars, professors, writers and artists from all over Greece signed petitions in support of the Prespa agreement.

In a February 2019 survey, a public opinion poll done for Sitel TV channel in Macedonia showed 44.6% of respondents were positive about the Prespa Agreement, while 45.6% were negative. A majority, 59.5%, expressed that the agreement would positively impact relations between both countries and 57.7% felt that the two states would implement the accord. Half of respondents, 50.5%, stated that the Macedonian government did well in negotiations with Greece and 40.7% disagreed. Survey participants (49.2%) felt that the agreement would make travel into Greece easier.

On January 25, 2019, Greece's Parliament approved the Prespa agreement with 153 votes in favor and 146 votes against, with 1 abstention. Shortly after the ratification, Greece's Alternate Foreign Minister Georgios Katrougalos signed the enacted law of the Prespa Agreement in the Greek Parliament.

The international community, including the Prime Ministers Theresa May of the United Kingdom, Justin Trudeau of Canada, Boyko Borisov of Bulgaria and Edi Rama of Albania, Presidents Emmanuel Macron of France, Hashim Thaci of Kosovo, Donald Tusk of the European Union, and Jean-Claude Juncker of the EU's Commission, USA's and Germany's foreign ministers, Michael Pompeo and Heiko Maas respectively, Romania's EU minister George Ciamba whose country held EU presidency, as well as NATO's chief Jens Stoltenberg, welcomed positively the ratification. Furthermore, the Republic of Macedonia's Prime Minister Zoran Zaev, in his congratulatory message to his Greek counterpart Alexis Tsipras, whom he called "a friend", described the ratification as a "historic victory" which "ends a long-standing diplomatic conflict between Athens and Skopje". Russia, on the other hand, opposed the Prespa Agreement citing the low turnout in the non-binding 2018 referendum on changing the country's name. Hungary, which gave asylum to former Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski, a staunch critic of the agreement, also lobbied against it.

## **Risto Nikovski – Washington’s role in relations between Skopje and Sofia**

In order for us to fully clarify America’s policy towards Macedonia, we need to look at one more important event.

On January 15, 1992 Bulgaria was the first to recognize independent Macedonia. It was an extremely important move for us, especially since we knew that Sofia would not accept the existence of a Macedonian nation, language... From Bulgaria’s point of view however, what Bulgaria in fact was recognizing was probably a second Bulgarian state populated by Bulgarians who had not yet realized that they were Bulgarians. Diplomatic relations were not immediately established because Sofia suddenly got cold feet. From then on Bulgaria took the wait and see position - is Macedonia going to survive?

Because Sofia considered that the Macedonian language did not exist and is a Bulgarian dialect, relations between the two countries stagnated. There were 22 agreements drafted and waiting because bilaterally they needed to be signed in both languages. But since mention of the Macedonian language was needed, unacceptable to Bulgaria, the agreements could not be signed.

Years passed without any movement.

Finally, there was a breakthrough in 1999. The stalemate was broken only because of American “interference” forcing Macedonia to concede on very important strategic issues. This happened under Stroub Talbot’s watch, a well-known American diplomat, then Deputy Secretary. This was when Sofia and Skopje signed the famous 1999 “Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation”. In a statement to Bulgarian television, Talbot “revealed” that he was being helped by the U.S. ambassadors (Christopher Hill) in Skopje and (Avis Bolin) in Sofia.

By looking at the Declaration we can see that, without any doubt, we have allowed our language to be devalued and to be treated as if it were

invented. Talbot's participation in this matter "proves" that the devaluation of the Macedonian language was done with American assistance and with strong U.S. pressure. According to the formulation used, the Declaration was signed under the words "relevant official languages of the two countries, in accordance with the terms used in the Bulgarian Constitution for Bulgaria and the terms used in the Macedonian Constitution for the Republic of Macedonia"! The Bulgarian language has no bearing because it is not in dispute. For the Macedonian language this meant that the language was not timeless and indigenous but belongs to a constitutional category, defined by the Macedonian constitution, and as we all know constitutions can be changed.

The second, completely unnecessary Macedonian concession made refers to the section in the Declaration that says: "Nothing in the Macedonian constitution could be interpreted as grounds for interference in Bulgarian internal affairs, in terms of defending the status of the Macedonian people in Bulgaria who are not citizens of the Republic of Macedonia."

According to popular Bulgarian analyst, Kamen Minchev, Macedonia, with this Declaration, has made two concessions and Bulgaria has made only one. ("Relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia following their joint declaration signed on February 22, 1999", from the Weekly Commentary, March 1-5, 1999) According to Minchev, Sofia "recognized" that the Macedonian language was used on Macedonian territory but not on Bulgarian territory. He considers that as a step positive for Macedonia. However, so that there is no confusion, Minchev concluded that: "With this, Bulgaria does not recognize the Macedonian language or the Macedonian people."

Minchev assesses that with the second part - "Macedonia declares that it has no longer the right to say that a Macedonian minority exists in Bulgaria and to insist that it is granted certain rights and freedoms." Minchev immediately recalled that this was contrary to Article 49 of the Macedonian Constitution, with which Macedonia was obliged to look

after the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece and Bulgaria. In the end, Minchev cited Marin Raikov, current interim Bulgarian Prime Minister (at the beginning of 2013), then Deputy Foreign Minister, who led the Bulgarian delegation in the Declaration negotiations, who said: “We have achieved more than we expected.”

If he was honest to the end he would have cried like the Croatians: “Thank you, Talbot! Thank you, USA!”

We should be comforted that no matter what we sign, the Macedonians in Bulgaria cannot just be erased; they are a reality that cannot be ignored. For now, and for the sake of the ones who have survived.

However, it is never that easy.

When their country of origin gives them up because they live as a minority in another country, their chances of survival are reduced to practically zero. The process of erasing the Macedonians in Bulgaria has been ongoing for a long time and without us formally renouncing them. From the hundreds of thousands who existed in the past, it remains to be seen if tens of thousands still remain Macedonian in Bulgaria today?

However, the fact is that regardless of its constitutional obligation, Macedonia up to now has done nothing for the Macedonians in Bulgaria, during and after the Yugoslav Federation. So, the concessions made in the Declaration, are on the top of irresponsible policies that are bringing disastrous historical consequences for that part of the Macedonian national fabric.

Both concessions made in the Declaration are of strategic importance for Macedonia. The “credit” for devaluing the legitimacy of the Macedonian language and for giving up on the Macedonians in Bulgaria, without a doubt, belongs completely to the U.S. Nevertheless, the guilt is ours because we signed the Declaration. The U.S. gave Sofia

more than it would have ever dreamed (according to Raikov) - with our consent.

With the formulation used, the Macedonian language was put in an inferior position to all other languages. It looks as if it is not real and is defined only by our Constitution. By signing the Declaration, Macedonia, in fact, has accepted grounds for the Macedonian language to be disputed. Unfortunately, this precedent carries severe consequences. Through it, Bulgaria will never allow the Macedonian language to be registered as such during Macedonia's EU accession, if that ever happens. The Bulgarians will insist on the use of the wording as specified in the signed Declaration. After all, we have given them our consent. Thus, in the EU nomenclature we will find languages registered as French, Croatian, English, Bulgarian... and in place of "Macedonian" we will find "in accordance with the terminology of the state's Constitution". Meaning fictional and artificial...

In the Interim Accord with Greece, we signed that the name of the state is a problem! In the Declaration with Bulgaria we accepted that our language is a problem... We entered the UN without a name. In the EU they will only accept us if we change our name and give up our identity and language... Where does it all end? All that is missing now is for someone to sign a document that says that the Macedonian people were invented by Tito... and we alone will end our story...

One thing however is clear: The common denominator of all these procedures has been the United States. Time after time the U.S. has studiously and persistently clipped Macedonia's wings and cut Macedonia's roots one by one. The days when Macedonia can no longer fly and will dry up and wither away are not far off. Unless we wake up in time and together say - "ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!"

If Washington was a "partner" and a "friend" as many Macedonians still claim it to be, then why did it force us into this position, knowing very well Bulgaria's attitude towards Macedonia? Looking at the problem from another angle, the U.S. has insistently and persistently

put Macedonia in a lose-lose situation, wearing it down until it capitulates! So far, the U.S. has done everything in its power to destroy Macedonia... its policy has been nothing but consistent... Pressuring Macedonia to sign the Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation with Bulgaria in 1999 was part of the same goal... to weaken Macedonia by all means possible... This time by attacking its language!

Not a “random coincidence”! They want us to change our name for external use, replacing the UN reference. At home, they “permit” us to call our country – Macedonia. Now they want us to do the same with our language; Macedonian for internal use only! What great coordination! Do you still think these are “random coincidences”, or are there powerful forces at work, in parallel, behind all these issues? How many times do we need to be shot before we understand that they are trying to kill us?

What more validation and evidence would you need, to not see the same scenario repeated again and again under different circumstances and coming from the same center?

Nowadays (late 2012) the 1999 Declaration has again resurfaced. Bulgaria, logically, wants to raise the Declaration to the level of an “Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation”. “Declarations” and “agreements” are completely different documents. It’s like comparing a Mercedes 350 to a Fiat Uno. Both are cars, but... One cannot put in the same basket an “Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation” with any other accord. It is a top document signed between two countries confirming that there are no open issues between them. We know very well that with Bulgaria there are unresolved issues of fundamental importance for Macedonia. So, the question here is: Is Sofia insisting on signing such a document to confirm that everything is fine between the two countries? In other words, that we agree to being “Bulgarians” with our language as a dialect of Bulgarian?

There must be another reason for attempting to impose such an agreement. Are we to assume that Sofia is “concerned” that the

“Declaration” is not a strong enough document for Brussels to register our language in accordance with the formulas used in it? Even though, according to diplomatic practices, the precedent with the declaration is enough. So, to be sure that our language will be “devaluated” Bulgaria wants an iron clad “agreement”, not just a simple “declaration” ... Bulgaria wants a “guarantee” which only comes with a solid “agreement” and not by waving some declaration in Brussels...

Declarations are never subject to parliamentary ratification. A Cooperation Agreement must pass parliamentary procedure, otherwise it cannot be enforced. And if we do that then we will confirm, in a much stronger way to Bulgaria, all the embedded strategic concessions we made in 1999. It will then mean that the Macedonian state would finally and officially abandon its language and the Macedonians living in Bulgaria. You can also be sure that Sofia will not sign the Agreement without the wording it wants to see on it.

If, however, we accept, sign and ratify such a text, we will definitely show the world that we are incapable of holding and managing our own Macedonian state.

Sofia is dissatisfied because Macedonia has not implemented the 1999 Declaration. It is our duty to constantly remind them that everything that was imposed by force, everything that was dishonestly, unfairly and abnormally imposed... cannot succeed. We have to stress to them that even, God forbid, through blackmail, blockades, etc., if we are again forced to accept unacceptable and non-reciprocal agreements it will also remain as only text on paper. Unfortunately, this document will leave deep traces in the Macedonian people and our relationships will slide. It's pure physics. Macedonians will be angry about the Bulgarian intimidations and they will not be forgiving.

Sofia is wasting time. The Bulgarians are needlessly making fools of themselves, asking for the impossible. Even if they are healing their hang-ups with it, they are wrong. They cannot take what is ours. Even if

they take it, it will never be theirs. Neither the people nor the language... They are creating enemies unnecessarily...

Both nations are close in so many ways. Languages, traditions... History also connects us in so many ways. In many events it could be treated even as common. When there was no Macedonian state, many extraordinary Macedonians lived and worked in Bulgaria. A large number of the top Macedonian intellectuals, revolutionaries and activists studied, lived and worked in Sofia and throughout Bulgaria. There are dozens of events that we have to celebrate together but as two separate nations, as we are. We are not, nor have we ever been Bulgarians. We are Macedonians and speak the Macedonian language.

In the past many people declared themselves Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, Macedonians, Muslim Turks... because they had no other choice. No one officially accepted them as Macedonians. All of the neighbours were pretending that they were their own people... My grandfather, Itso Pope, in Resen, during the Serbian occupation, at a census taking was asked: "Your nationality?" He replied: "Macedonian!" Very angry, they told him there was no such thing. He then said: "Then write down whatever you want!" We can imagine that the same was happening in Bulgaria.

After Bulgaria understands and swallows all this, and its historic syndromes are dumped onto the compost heap, then it will be time for new unlimited horizons to open between our two countries and our two peoples.

Until then... Sofia will be on the move.

## **Risto Nikovski - BULGARIAN POLICIES ARE PART OF THE AMERICAN SCENARIO**

We can fool ourselves as much as we want, but, with regard to Macedonia, the interests of the United States and Bulgaria largely coincide. The current brutal Bulgarian aggression fits perfectly into American regional policies and, especially, into the scenario that has been patiently and delicately implemented for 30 years. More precisely, Sofia is just a pawn obediently carrying out orders from Washington. Just as was the case with Greece before. The goal is common – closing the centuries-old “Macedonian question”. The task now is for the former “Bulgarians” from Macedonia, who have been pretending to be Macedonians since 1944, to come to their senses and return to Sofia’s embrace. Bulgarian syndromes of appropriating Macedonians, just like Greek negations of everything Macedonian, are more than 150 years old. American impulses emerged after the collapse of Yugoslavia, when the United States became the main factor in the Balkans. Thus, in relation to Macedonia, the Washington – Athens – Sofia triangle has been functioning flawlessly since the beginning of the 1990s. For reasons not fully established, the Macedonians do not fit into the American visions of the region. We, on the other hand, do not investigate this, although it is the key to our future and the survival of our state and people.

The fact is that the United States did not recognize Macedonia as an independent state for a long time. They sent an ambassador to Skopje four years after Ljubljana and Zagreb, and even after Sarajevo, where there was a war. The recognition of a state and the establishment of diplomatic relations are technical matters, as long as there are no political obstacles. As in our case. A similar example is Palestine. Such an American attitude fully revealed their policy towards Macedonia. No additional explanation was needed, although no one understood it here. It was also a clear message to Athens, Sofia, Tirana... that the Macedonian state, to say the least, is - disputable. Our neighbours

understood this perfectly well and, with various strategies, immediately maximized their ambitions towards our country, which they are only now completing. The mosaic of events unequivocally shows that the undisputed organizer and coordinator of everything that has happened to us so far is - Washington. The indicators that the US is now exerting strong pressure on Bulgaria, to enable the start of negotiations as soon as possible, have several aspects.

The first sign is that there are certain misunderstandings between them. The impression is that the US is angry because Bulgaria overestimates itself and wants to wipe out the Macedonians overnight, which is not exactly realistic. The US probably appreciates that the formal elimination of the Macedonians as a separate people is not an easy task at all and that it must be done gradually. They are absolutely right if they believe that wiping out a people requires both a longer time and more refined methods. It is essential that the US does not condemn Sofia's intention at all, which is bloodthirsty at its core. It can be concluded with great certainty that the US is "scared" by the senseless Bulgarian demands, to immediately accept that our fathers and grandfathers were "Bulgarians". This could be counterproductive and come back to them like a boomerang. They probably fear that with excessive and hasty aggressiveness, their plans will be jeopardized.

The second possibility is that the pressures from Washington are just a mask for the public, to conceal joint actions and interests, and that, behind the scenes, they support Sofia to continue at the same pace. There is quite a bit of logic in this because among politicians in Macedonia there is an obvious readiness for a new capitulation, prepared precisely by the American side.

The third sign is that, practically, everyone is interested in Macedonia starting negotiations as soon as possible. This applies to Washington, Brussels, but also to Sofia and Athens..., which means that the pressure from the US is not harmful to anyone, not even Bulgaria, and therefore

not only cannot be disputed, but is also logical and in the interest of everyone.

The fourth sign is that the long blockade of Macedonia is a grave shame for the US and the EU, and therefore they want it to be overcome as soon as possible. In a way, the US is now defenseless. They planted the Nivitsi agreement with many promises, which practically shattered the Macedonian people, and in the end they did not provide any consolation prize. Membership in NATO was their priority.

The key for everyone is that negotiations are the only way, with the least effort and most transparently, to send Macedonianism to the dustbin of history. Gradually, millimeter by millimeter, chapter by chapter, to erase the national characteristics of the Macedonians and, not overnight, according to the ideas of uneducated Bulgarian politicians. This ordeal will last at least 10, and most likely 20 years. It will be a period when Macedonia will experience smaller or larger national defeats every day.

Sooner or later, Macedonia will certainly start negotiations. The Bulgarian blockade has the sole purpose of strengthening its positions for the easier destruction of Macedonianism in the process that will follow. For us, two things are crucial

- a) how long the negotiations will last; and
- b) whether Macedonia will finally be admitted to the EU.

Given that, ideally, the negotiations will last at least 10 years, and that membership in the Union is our long-term goal, a complete reset of our foreign policy is necessary and without any delay. Short-term and medium-term plans must be made. Otherwise, precious time will be wasted unnecessarily. It is indisputable that Macedonia should do everything necessary to become a member of the Union as soon as possible, but if that goal does not depend on us then appropriate solutions must be sought in the interest of the citizens. Reforms must

continue and the obsession with Brussels must be adjusted to the conditions.

We must also be aware of the serious indicators that our membership may not be to the liking of the main world factors. If the resistance against the crossing out and erasure of Macedonians increases and if the demands for the cancellation of the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece intensify, which must happen if we are a people with dignity, it is unlikely that they will accept us into the EU, even if we meet all the criteria. The reason is simple – as a member of the EU and NATO, Macedonia will be able to immediately cancel both agreements! And it will be a member and no one will be able to do anything to it. There are no mechanisms to expel us, much less impose sanctions on us, and most likely everything will come down to some kind of public criticism. This means that our future remains uncertain. After the blockades by Greece, Bulgaria appeared, and who will be next and with what – no one is investigating. All this clearly confirms that the obsession of our politicians with the date for negotiations is mere nonsense that boils down to playing a joke on the people.

If it is true that the US appreciates that the erasure of the Macedonians cannot, according to Bulgaria's phantasmagoria, be carried out overnight, they are probably relying on their own and Greece's experience. The US waited a long time for Macedonia to surrender, with almost no results. A full 17 years passed during which the US

- a) did not recognize the country;
- b) suspended its constitutional name from international use;
- c) imposed some kind of reference on it;
- d) forced it to mediate on the name (identity);
- e) imposed a disastrous interim agreement with Greece... and what not, and all of this without much success.

The film broke at the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), when they completely changed their policy towards Macedonia. From patiently waiting for their genocidal project for the Macedonians to be realized, maintaining a false “friendly and constructive” atmosphere, Washington then made a complete turnaround and began an aggressive policy of blockade, blackmail and ultimatums – first the name, then membership. We continued to play the role of absenteeism and did not notice it! However, despite all our complete incompetence, even for that, the final stage of the destruction of the Macedonian state, Washington needed another 10 years after 2008. The text of the Nivitsi agreement, which produced our crucial defeat, was signed only in 2018. Coincidentally, the authors of the text were the Americans.

It has long been felt and expected that Bulgaria would play a significant role in the destruction of Macedonianism. Sofia’s attitude towards Macedonia and the Macedonians has always been significantly worse than that of Athens. However, there were no signs that Bulgaria would try to deliver the final blow in such an unscrupulous and quick manner. The reason is probably the readiness of Macedonian politicians to make all kinds of concessions, even disastrous for the Macedonian people, just to start negotiations with the EU. Obviously, they have some kind of obsession with entering the EU and therefore are even easier victims of foreign interests. On that basis, they have been manipulating the people for a long time. Consciously or not, which is not very important, our ignorant politicians are providing unprecedented opportunities for us to be beaten as a people. In such a constellation, Bulgaria obviously assessed that no time should be wasted, but the task given by the United States should be completed immediately. To achieve that goal, all the competent institutions there were harnessed, from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, through the Government to the Parliament, as well as an unprecedented propaganda machine, with the help of which they ensured enormous support from the people for obviously insane goals. The intention was that the blow they would deliver would be deadly and immediate. Let the Macedonians disappear. The Bulgarians,

in their atrocities, not only want to instantly erase the centuries-old historical memory of the Macedonian people but, fed up with their national-chauvinistic experience from the time of their own fascism in World War II, they also want to erase our memories, the memories of us, the living Macedonians. Greater political stupidity is hard to imagine.

Just as Athens was before, now Sofia is the main executor of American policies towards Macedonia. The key evidence is the two devastating documents that we signed with Bulgaria, which were prepared in the USA. The first was, for us, the shameful declaration of 1999, which was imposed on us by the then Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbot. The second was the devastating agreement on friendship..., signed by Z. Zaev and B. Borisov, on August 1, 2017. It is the same text of the declaration, further expanded to the detriment of Macedonia. Proof that it is the work of the USA is the fact that on July 27, 2017, four days before it was signed, the American and Bulgarian embassies in Skopje issued a joint statement that the text of the agreement was fabricated. If the USA did not have a key role in the project, why would their embassy appear in the joint statement with the Bulgarian one? The agreement is ours, with Sofia and, at least formally, has nothing to do with Washington. When all these facts are known, can anyone claim that the current Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia is independent? Especially when the documents on which it is based are American? The centuries-old Bulgarian inaccuracies regarding the non-recognition of the Macedonians were an excellent basis for creating an alliance with the USA, against Macedonia. That is, in fact, the worst message for us. And this time, just like in the case of Greece, our opponent is the United States, and Bulgaria is only their outpost.

As things stand now, there is no room for optimism. However, everything depends on us. If we continue to accept the humiliations to which we are exposed, we deserve no more.

## **Risto Nikovski - WHY DID BULGARIA DECIDE TO BLOCK MACEDONIA IN BRUSSELS?**

Due to its historical syndromes, Bulgaria never really had much choice in its policies towards Macedonia. World War II was a rare chance to realize their dreams and they would have made an unforgivable mistake if they had not tried to use it. Allying with the Nazis, whose armada was ready to conquer the entire world, was an ideal opportunity to realize “the most romantic part of their history” and that would have been tantamount to betrayal of national interests. It is undeniable that Bulgaria, precisely because of Macedonia, became fascist, and is there a better romance than an alliance with Hitler? (In May 1997, the new President of Bulgaria, Petar Stoyanov, said – “*Macedonia represents the most romantic part of Bulgarian history*”). Today, Sofia is also faced with a limited choice and therefore must react aggressively. First, it is aware that Washington is trying with all its might to close the “Macedonian question” and that this brings ideal opportunities for them and, secondly, if before Macedonia’s entry into the EU they do not materialize their unfulfilled dreams, by finally erasing Macedonianism, there will be no new chance. In other words, the situation for them is - to be, or not to be. Now or never. Knowing this, and in agreement with the USA, they first imposed on us the devastating friendship agreement... and then thoroughly prepared themselves and went on the attack, quite consciously and deliberately leaving no room for concessions. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN) prepared the basic document against Macedonia, which should mean that everything was based on scientific and historical facts. Then, the document was accepted by the Government and the Parliament proposed it as a declaration for which all MPs voted, without exception! They were playing on an all-or-nothing basis. We have already emphasized that Sofia is implementing someone else’s scenario all the time and therefore receives strong support, although carefully concealed. This is just one more piece of evidence for the accuracy of the 1944 State

Department telegram claiming that there were no Macedonians. We will mention two more pieces of evidence. Few people know, for example, that Richard Holbrooke, the famous American diplomatic bulldozer who mercilessly bullied his way through the Balkans, wrote in his book – “To End a War” – “*Gligorov, at the time Tito’s finance minister, almost literally invented his country in late 1991 and early 1992*”. It’s clear enough, isn’t it? It’s obvious that he also knows about the 1944 telegram. Robert Frowick, another American diplomat, obviously a CIA agent with typically emphasized arrogance and aggressiveness, at the beginning of the 1990s and during the American-Albanian aggression from Kosovo, in 2001, meddled around here for a long time, scheming and shaping our destiny by implementing secret American plans. Frowick told Denko Maleski, when he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1991-1993), that Macedonia was “*a child of tar*”. D. Maleski did not understand the meaning and weight of the message, which was quite precise: no one wants an independent Macedonian state outside of a federation. R. Frowick openly told us that it was unacceptable to the United States. (D. Maleski even published a book - “The Child of Tar”, without even understanding what it was about). These two examples confirm the durability of the American positions since 1944. All their other different and tactical moves towards our country are reduced to ordinary diplomatic techniques. For example, according to one of the oldest definitions, diplomats are defined as honest people who lie in the interests of their country. That American diplomats are the best at this, goes without saying. And we, until we understand this and face the truth, will go around in circles and go downhill.

## What exactly is the EU doing to Macedonia?

Article by Tana Karakamish

1. The question that Macedonia should address to the EU institutions should no longer be "what Bulgaria demands of us", but "what are the limits of the European conditionality".

Macedonia does not challenge the right of the EU to set conditions for membership. Macedonia has the right to ask whether there are legal limits to those conditions. The rule of law implies that the policy of enlargement must also be limited by law.

2. National identity is a European, not just a Macedonian value.

Article 4(2) of the EU obliges the Union to respect the national identity of states. If national identity deserves protection after membership, why shouldn't it also deserve protection before membership?

The EU cannot simultaneously protect the national identity of member states while ignoring the identity of candidate countries.

3. Macedonia should open the issue of "pre-accession constitutional and national identity". Do candidate countries possess a constitutional and national identity that deserves legal protection during the negotiations?

Yes, of course.

Does the process of integration have limits when it comes to issues of language, history, culture, and self-identification? Yes, of course.

4. The Macedonian case is a European precedent.

The case is not just a bilateral dispute. It represents the first serious test of the relationship between enlargement policy and the national identity of candidate countries. The EU must answer these questions.

5. Macedonia does not demand privileges, but equal European standards. No previous candidate state has faced conditions that directly address historical narratives and identity issues. The question is whether all candidate countries are treated according to the same rules.

It is a matter of equality, legal certainty, the rule of law.

6. The European Union must itself apply the values required of the candidate countries. The EU requires candidate countries to respect democracy, the rule of law and human rights. The same principles must apply when setting the conditions of access. Otherwise, a double standard is created.

7. So far, we have talked a lot about the doctrine of protection of constitutional/national identity developed by the constitutional courts in Germany, Italy, the Czech Republic, France, Spain, Poland, Hungary and other courts. The Macedonian case raises a new question: Is there a right to protection of the pre-accession constitutional/national identity of candidate states that deserves protection before a state's membership of the EU? This is a matter of European importance, not just of Macedonian national interest.

8. It is time for Macedonia to insist that the debate on these crucial issues be shifted from Sofia to Brussels and Luxembourg. The debate so far has focused on Macedonian-Bulgarian relations. The new debate should focus on;

- the legitimacy and legality of the access conditionality;
- the rule of law in the enlargement process;
- the protection of national identity;
- the legal limits of the discretion and arbitrariness of the EU institutions.

9. The key question to the European institutions should be whether the European Union may, in the name of enlargement, set conditions that enter into the core of the national and constitutional identity of the candidate States, when the Union itself is constrained by its own values, the principle of the rule of law and the obligation to respect the identity of the peoples and States wishing to become part of it.

## **The Sixth attempt to destroy the Macedonian Identity and people**

What we have described up to now has been in the past, but what does the future hold for Macedonia and the Macedonian people?

There should be no doubt in anyone's mind by now that the United States of America has picked up and is carrying the baton towards solving the 150 or so year old "Macedonian Question" with aims at solving it with the destruction of everything that is Macedonian including the erasure of the Macedonian people.

In the past the Great Powers destroyed the Macedonian Peninsula by carving it into little countries and giving them polarized artificial identities turning them into countries that never existed before. In their character they embedded fear and hatred for one another (Balkanization). The Great Powers then turned to Macedonia, and even before it was liberated from the Ottomans, tried to turn the Macedonian people into Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians, by force and intimidation and through church affiliation. Then they allowed Macedonia's neighbours to attack, invade, occupy and partition Macedonia into three pieces in 1913 and later into four. And by erecting artificial borders, they again divided the Macedonian people just like the Romans did in 168 BC.

After expelling the undesirables (Macedonians in 1913, who refused to become Greeks, Serbians or Bulgarians) they tried to assimilate the rest, turning Macedonians into Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians and Albanians by force. On top of that, in an attempt to erase them completely, they changed the Macedonian people's names and toponyms making the Macedonian landscape look alien and different than what it looked like for thousands of years. Then they made the Macedonian language illegal and prohibited the Macedonians from speaking it. This was their mother tongue, the only language they spoke for over 3,000 years.

Unfortunately for the Great Powers and their proxies, despite their suffering, many Macedonians refused to be completely assimilated,

eliminated or erased, and remembered who they are and survived to this day.

The Great Powers thought they had turned all the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia into Greeks, but they have not. They thought they had turned all the Macedonian people in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia into Bulgarians but they have not. The authorities in Serbian occupied Macedonia, after the birth of Yugoslavia and after World War two, relented a little and allowed the Macedonian people some freedom and so did the authorities in Albania. As a result, the Macedonian people in 1944, created their own tiny Macedonian state, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, as part of Federal Yugoslavia. This, however, was again done without the blessing of the Euro-Atlantic Great Powers. But, outside of showing their displeasure, there was nothing the Euro-Atlantic Great Powers could do because that region fell under Soviet Union influence where they had no control.

The Great Powers, especially Great Britain and the United States, did everything they could, including supporting the Greek side during the Greek Civil War to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece but they did not eliminate them completely. There are still Macedonians in Greece today and they remember who they are. And so, the Euro-Atlantic Great Powers waited until Yugoslavia fell apart. And when it did, and the Republic of Macedonia gained its independence, again without Great Power blessing, displeased, the USA picked up the baton and began planning Macedonian's erasure.

And how will the USA succeed where others failed in the past?

As we have learned from the previous chapters, the USA became involved in every aspect of Macedonian life after the Yugoslav breakup. As we have shown in previous chapters, the USA meddled in the name dispute with Greece, in Macedonia's inability to register its name with the United Nations, in its entry into NATO, in Macedonia's inability to care for the Macedonian people living outside of Macedonia, especially in Greece and Bulgaria, in Macedonia losing its flag, in Macedonia

having to change its constitution to satisfy Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian demands, in the 2001 war, and so on.

Then, when the Macedonian people thought that everything was over and everyone's demands were met, Macedonia began to ponder its entry into the EU. This gave the USA and its proxies another chance, perhaps their last chance to deal the final blow and eliminate Macedonianism once and for all.

And, how exactly will this be done?

Let's say that the Republic of Macedonia will not be partitioned for fear of sparking another Balkan war in which Russia may get involved and complicate things for the USA and its proxies.

So, the idea is to solve the "the Macedonian Question" by erasing everything Macedonian. First erase the name and then the entire Macedonian identity, language and history. The idea is, if there are no Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia then there can be no Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania.

The first step to eliminate Macedonia was carried out by Greece which involved the renaming of our country from the Republic of Macedonia, to "North Macedonia". But that's only the first step. The next step is to rename the Macedonian people to Albanians and Bulgarians and then again rename "North Macedonia" to something else, to reflect the new reality. But, we the Macedonian people will not let them do that.

Nonetheless, Greece will get another chance to force a name change again because not everyone in Greece was happy with the name "North Macedonia" especially with the word Macedonia in it. The name North Macedonia was the USA's idea because the USA wants a smooth and gradual name change process so as not to rock the boat too much all at once. Greece however, cannot wait for the opportunity in the future to have the word "Macedonian" completely removed from the name. This will happen during Macedonia's negotiations to enter the EU where Greece will use its veto power to force the change. Greece did as much as it could so far, but it will not relent, it will wait its turn. It will now

wait for Bulgaria to do its thing with the Macedonian identity, language and history before it acts.

We already talked in previous chapters of how the Albanians in Macedonia acted, with American assistance, to “liberate” Macedonian territories. First, they tried by military force but when they did not succeed they used human rights but all they could do with that is gain more rights but not lands. Their next approach will be to federalize Macedonia and in due time, separate Macedonian lands by referendum and join Kosovo and Albania under the “Greater Albanian Project”. But first they have to get rid of the Macedonians. This is where Bulgaria comes in.

While Greece is focused on the name, Bulgaria’s focus is on the Macedonian people, Macedonian language and Macedonian history.

Ever since Bulgaria was created as a country (not as an empire) for the first time in 1878, after the Russian-Ottoman war and after the San Stefano Agreement, Bulgaria desperately wanted to possess Macedonia and its people. Unable to succeed because the European Great powers did not want a large Bulgaria, the Bulgarians felt they were robbed of their dream.

So, after that, at every opportunity, the Bulgarians tried to grab more of Macedonia. They first fought Greece and Serbia during the Second Balkan War but Romania ruined their plans. Then, they joined Hitler’s coalition during WW II in hopes of grabbing more of Macedonia but again it did not work out for them. But, to this day, they have not given up.

Bulgaria has now partnered with the USA in an attempt, to again grab more Macedonian lands, but first it has to prove those lands belong to Bulgaria. The only way that can be proven is by proving that the Macedonian people are Bulgarians, that the Macedonian language is a dialect of the Bulgarian language and that the Macedonian history is Bulgarian history.

Every historian however, worth their salt, knows this is not true so, why has the USA partnered with someone who promotes such bizarre ideas, if not for nefarious reasons?

While Greece claims that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia are Slavs who came to Macedonia during the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, and the only real Macedonians are Greeks, Bulgaria has claimed that the Macedonians have always been Bulgarian but have just forgotten. Both Greece and Bulgaria agree that the Macedonians living in the Republic of Macedonia have been created by the Comintern and by Tito. How quickly they forget that it is they who were artificially created during the breakup of the Macedonian Peninsula, Greece in 1832, by Britain, France and Russia and Bulgaria in 1878, by Russia, and that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and in all of historic and geographic Macedonia, are the original people who lived on those lands and who have chosen to remain true to themselves and have refused to bend to the will of those who have tried and are still trying to re-engineer them into something they are not.

The USA should have paid more attention to history before it partnered with Bulgaria and Albania, both of whom in the past had partnered with Nazi Germany during WW II, then, after WW II, with the Soviet Union and Albania with China. I am not implying that that was a bad thing, I am only reminding the USA of the volatility of its partnership. If the winds shifted in the past they will surely shift in the future, so what will happen to this partnership?

So the question is, how long will the Bulgarians and Albanians tolerate the USA before they again switch partners. I am just saying.

Anyway, the Bulgarians claim that before Tito's time the people living in the Republic of Macedonia were Bulgarians who spoke a Bulgarian dialect. The Bulgarians also claim that the Bulgarians from Bulgaria proper, were not fascists and that during World War II, they invaded Macedonia, not to occupy it, but to liberate it. Then, after the Bulgarians were driven out, Tito convinced the Macedonian people to give up their Bulgarian identity and become Macedonians. Tito did that to punish the Bulgarians for trying to liberate Macedonia and take it away from Yugoslavia. The Greeks made similar remarks during the Greek Civil War claiming that Tito was trying to take Macedonian

lands from Greece and join them to Yugoslavia. They all seem to forget that those lands belong to the Macedonian people, which were taken from them during the two Balkan wars.

In any case, the Bulgarians claim that the Macedonian language is a dialect of Bulgarian and that it is not a real language but an artificial creation codified by Tito. The Greeks also agree with this assessment.

Today, as Macedonia aspires to join the EU, the Bulgarians are using their veto power to blackmail Macedonia into making all kinds of concessions - to Macedonia's own detriment. With guidance from the USA, Bulgaria wants to turn the Macedonians into Bulgarians.

Before it will allow the Macedonian people to negotiate their way into the EU, Bulgaria wants them to admit that they are Bulgarians, that Macedonia is a second Bulgarian state, that the language they speak is a Bulgarian dialect, that Macedonia's history is Bulgarian history and that the Macedonia's revolutionaries, such as Gotse Delchev, were Bulgarians.

Realizing that this is a bit excessive, the USA has pulled back on Bulgaria's leash and wants to take these actions slowly and progressively, one by one, with signed agreements, starting with the Good Neighbourly Relations Agreement.

The goal here is to do everything possible with Macedonian agreement. In other words, the USA wants to prove that the Macedonian people living in the Republic of Macedonia are Bulgarians and that there are no Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and if there are no Macedonians there then there cannot be Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania or anywhere else, and they want to do this with Macedonian signed agreements (protocols).

The aim here is to trick, bribe and blackmail the Macedonian authorities by any means possible to accept the idea that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia are Bulgarians. And both Brussels and

Washington are on board with this. Measures for doing this have already been implemented. The Bulgarians have opened and are opening more clubs in Macedonian cities and Macedonian villages with a single aim, to create Bulgarians where they do not exist.

People, we are back in the 19<sup>th</sup> century!

Bulgaria has been using and will use any means possible including paying people money, offering free education, giving out Bulgarian citizenships, handing out Bulgarian passports, etc., in order to create Bulgarians where none exist. These are methods with which both Washington and Brussels agree and are willing to overlook.

One might ask, isn't it illegal to give EU passports to non-EU citizens?

The Bulgarians are already doing it so why hasn't Brussels reacted? Because this has Washington's backing and Brussels does not want to rock the boat. It is part of the long-term plan to create Bulgarians out of the Macedonians in order to erase the Macedonians.

Ask yourself this; Has Bulgaria offered passports to Turks, for example? NO! Only to Macedonians to claim that they are Bulgarians.

As part of its offer not to veto Macedonia's accession into the EU, Bulgaria is asking Macedonia to recognize these non-existent Bulgarians as a constituent people living in Macedonia, and put them in the Macedonian constitution. Bulgaria is asking Macedonia to include NOT the Bulgarian minority living in Macedonia but the (nonexistent) Macedonian-Bulgarians living in Macedonia. That is, the Macedonian citizens that have Bulgarian passports. Even though this is highly irregular no one from the international community or from the European Union has objected, not Brussels, not Washington... In fact, many international factors are in favour of this, especially France.

Even though this was never part of Macedonia's requirement to join the EU, Bulgaria has insisted that Macedonian history should be modified

to accommodate Bulgarian demands, which includes the recognition of Macedonian revolutionaries as Bulgarian.

You see, if we agree that Gotse Delchev was Bulgarian then we will have to agree that he fought for the Bulgarian cause and that Macedonia is a second Bulgarian state.

Now imagine if Macedonia's most historic figures, such as Delchev, were Bulgarian then what are the rest of us? If we agree that Gotse Delchev was Bulgarian and the Ilinden Uprising was Bulgarian we will admit that we are all Bulgarians, and Macedonians do not exist. This will satisfy everyone but will erase the Macedonians and that is exactly what the USA, Britain, France, Greece, Bulgaria and the Albanians want.

What makes this whole thing bizarre is that the USA is on board with all this, which should tell us at least one thing. That the USA is trying to solve the Macedonian question by completely eliminating the Macedonian people. No Macedonian people in Macedonia means no Macedonian people anywhere which perfectly satisfies everyone.

I, however, have a question for the Americans. If Tito and the Comintern created the Macedonians and the Macedonian language in the Republic of Macedonia, then who created the Macedonians and the Macedonian language in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania? Especially in Greece where the Comintern and Tito had no influence?

The Macedonian people have been around for over 3,000 years that I know of, perhaps even longer, what makes you think that they will go away now because the USA wants to solve the Macedonian Question?

It is up to the Macedonian people to decide their destiny not the USA, and they can do that simply by not agreeing to your ridiculous agreements and protocols.

If the European Union truly wants Macedonia to join their club, then it should invite the Macedonian people to join it as Macedonians without allowing countries like Greece and Bulgaria to abuse them for selfish reasons. Unless of course, this whole exercise has been created to solve the 150-year-old “Macedonian Question” by erasing them?

## **Source material that supports the effort to destroy Macedonianism**

For the full story I encourage the reader to read the following books, especially those by Risto Nikovski.

A Bed for the Wretched, by Petre Nakovski

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/A-Bed-for-the-Wretched-e-book.pdf>

A Century of Silence, by Stoian Kochov

[http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/A-Century-of-Silence\\_1913-2013\\_English-2nd-ed.pdf](http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/A-Century-of-Silence_1913-2013_English-2nd-ed.pdf)

A Glorious place called Greece, by Risto Stefov

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/A-Glorious-Place-Called-Greece.pdf>

A one-way ticket, by Stojan Kochov

<http://www.pollitecon.com/Assets/Ebooks/A-One-Way-Ticket.pdf>

A Stone too is soil, by Petre Nakovski

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/A-Stone-too-is-Soil.pdf>

A Story told about a person from Zhelevo A book about Risto Mavrovski, by Spiro Mavrovski

<http://www.pollitecon.com/html/ebooks/risto-stefov/A-Book-About-Risto-Mavrovski-English.pdf>

America's Role in Macedonia's Troubled Journey to International Recognition, by Risto Nikovski

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