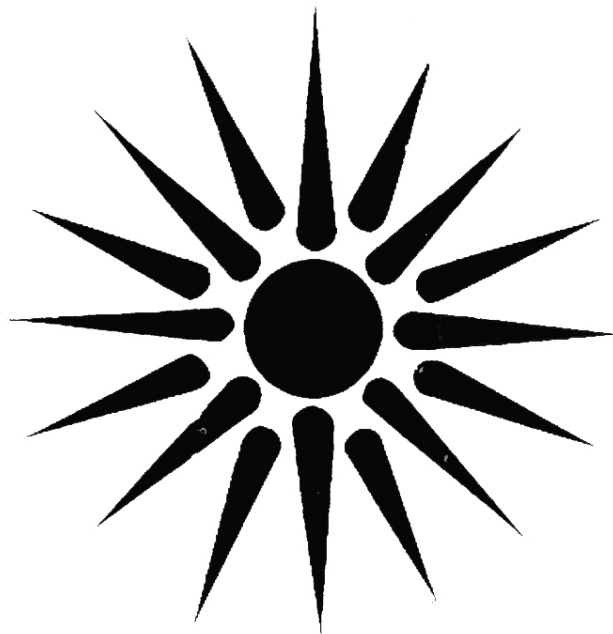


***MACEDONIANS  
THROUGH THE  
WHIRLWIND OF  
THE “RED” WASTE***



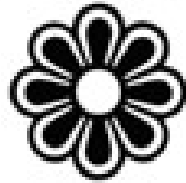
By

**Stojan Kochov**

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

MACEDONIANS THROUGH THE  
WHIRLWIND OF THE “RED” WASTE

*Risto Stefov*



**Publications**  
Toronto, Canada

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system without written consent from the author, except for the inclusion of brief and documented quotations in a review.

Copyright © 2023 by Stojan Kochov

e-book edition

\*\*\*\*\*

September 6, 2023

\*\*\*\*\*

## PREFACE

The book “Macedonians through the whirlwind of the ‘red’ waste” is about the latest great Macedonian deception that took place during the Greek Civil War (1945 – 1949).

Who wanted the peaceful Macedonian population living in Greece to join the global process of sovietization in the Balkans?

Why did we Macedonians enter the socialist model in the Balkans, when that model was already exhausted and meaningless after the Second World War?

Our research in the military-historical-political fields revealed bitter testimonies from the Macedonian people living in Greece during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949).

For more than half a century, the historical truth has been simmering under the ideological web, and the uprooted people have been melting away: wanderers and captives of great illusions.

This book will show that the ideological trap, the depth of the tragedy, the roots of evil, and the dark secrets about the genocide that was perpetrated against the Macedonian people living in Greece during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949), were deliberately concealed.

After the Second World War, the Greek Civil War was a new test for us Macedonians and it had two dimensions... which the outcome and the facts confirmed. These were: One, to expel and get rid of the Macedonian population from Greece and two, to liquidate the communists in Greece.

The attitude of the Western Powers was clear: Greece was under the sphere of influence of England and the United States, and the agreement with Stalin at Yalta <sup>1</sup> was a guarantee that a socialist system in Greece will not be allowed. The soviet attitude (Stalin)

---

<sup>1</sup> The Conference in Yalta lasted from February 4 to 11, 1945. It was attended by Presidents Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, in the presence of their foreign ministers.

however was strange: “let them meddle in capitalist affairs” and support them – but with just words. “Meddling” in capitalist affairs unfortunately led to the start of the so called Greek Civil War which resulted in ethnically cleansing the Macedonian population in Greece and legitimizing the colonists and settlers from Asia Minor internationally as the “new” and now “real” Macedonians living on Macedonian lands in Greece.

We Macedonians living in Greece should have understood that we were living in Greece as indigenous people and our roots were from there, otherwise we would have been “thrown out” a long time ago. But, by participating in the Greek Civil War, i.e. when we decided to defend ourselves with weapons reinforced by Yugoslavia, we made it possible for the Greeks to dig us out and get rid of us.

This was a time when the Balkans was full of paradoxes and controversies, a mixture of old, anachronistic and new, undefined, illusions and delusions on the one hand, and desires to extract ourselves from our historically tragic division; for years waiting for the opportunity for our unification. Unfortunately the foreigners and architects who planned this war had other plans for us. They lied to us and encouraged us to do what the time was not possible that is reunite Macedonia, which brought us devastation and eventually expulsion from our ancestral hearths.

The Macedonian peasant found himself sandwiched between the POWERS (CPY/CPM - Tito and Kulishevski on one hand, and the CPG – Zahariadis and Vafiadis on the other) and the SUBJECTS (NOF and AFZH) with no room to think or act on his own.

To look for logic in “fraternal” support, after Macedonia was partitioned in 1913<sup>2</sup> and to look for our proud ideological activists to lure the Macedonian people to “Unite Macedonia” after WW II,

---

<sup>2</sup> As a result of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the August 10, 1913 Treaty of Bucharest sanctioned by the November 14/27, 1919 Neuilly Peace Agreement and the August 10, 1920 Sevres Peace Agreement, Macedonia was divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania, which received Dolna Prespa and Golo Brdo. Greece received 34,356 km<sup>2</sup> or 51% of the Macedonian ethnic-historical territory; Serbia received 25,713 km<sup>2</sup> or 39%; Bulgaria received 6,798 km<sup>2</sup> or 9.5% and Albania received 0.5% of the Macedonian-historical territory.

was a disaster for the Macedonian people, a triumph like “dancing in the dark”.

Is there anyone who thinks that the Greek, Bulgarian or Yugoslav governments would be so stupid as to arm NOF or any other Macedonian liberation movement, so that it could separate part of its national territory?

I am pretty sure that a reasonable person would say NO!

No so called “fraternal”<sup>3</sup> communist parties (the CPG, CPY and CPB) would believe that it would be a good idea to support organizations that want to separate parts of their state territories, especially in favour of the Macedonians who they claim do not exist. On the contrary, in such a case, any of the above mentioned parties would be declared traitors. If the CPG did that with NOF especially during the Greek Civil War, it would have been condemned and declared a traitor.

If the CPY and the CPG for example, were not in favour of supporting NOF and the Macedonian people in their pursuit to achieve their goals then why did they lie and bring the Macedonian people to the brink of extinction?

The Greek Civil War was the biggest fraud and Gramos was the biggest tomb for the forcibly mobilized Macedonians who lost their lives following a lie. This was one of the most tragic events in the Macedonian people’s history. This was not a “Macedonian revolution” as has been written in our “sectoral history”, this was perpetrated genocide. It uprooted our people from their ancestral homes and left them alienated and wandering around the world.

---

<sup>3</sup> In my previous books I was senselessly attacked by historian R. Kirjazovski, who has now presented many hidden facts in this book of his, I wonder what he defended in the past: “How was it possible to look for logic in ‘fraternal’ support, after Macedonia was divided in 1913 and to entice the Macedonian for creating a “United Macedonia” after World War II. Did anyone think that the Bulgarian, Yugoslav or Greek governments would be that stupid that they would arm NOF or any other Macedonian liberation movement, just to separate a part of their territory? A reasonable person would say: NO!

For more than half a century now the historical truth has been simmering under the ideological web, and our uprooted people have been wandering around the world as captives of this great illusion.

This book aims to unearth the facts that have been deliberately concealed and expose the fallacy about the deadly ideological trap, about the depth of the tragedy, about the roots of evil, and about the dark secrets of the genocide perpetrated during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) against the Macedonian people living in Greece.

## FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

Let us now begin with Evdokia Foteva – Vera’s book “To hell and back”, published by “Az – Buki”, Skopje in 2005.

In her book “To hell and back”, Evdokia Foteva - Vera, introduced us to her own experience in the Greek Civil War by offering us sensitive testimony through a painfully recorded autobiographical story (with her ideas and ideals, consciousness and conscience, dreams and longings, joy, sorrows and pain) with many personal emotions, harsh truths with traumatic consequences: despair, disbelief, disintegration, violence, powerlessness, apathy, hatred, divisions, separations, upheavals and conflicts. Perhaps the title of this book should have been “A WORLD OF DREAMS AND A NATIONAL CATASTROPHE”. The text in this book, in its own way excites, attracts and pushes the reader to think about the place and role of Macedonian fighters and the NOF and AFZH leaderships, then and now more than a half century later. In certain chapters the book carries Vera’s thoughts, her dreams, her actions, her sacrifice (self-sacrifice), her life and ideals. It leaves an impression of a constructive, tolerant, democratic, non-sacrilegious and “non-authority-loving” person.

The text is composed along the axis of time and from the first to the last sentence this autobiographical story suggests to us that this is exactly the truth. Many events of historical and family significance related to the life of the Party, to the author, to her “openness” and overdosed in exalting in her career - the words fly from her mouth like bullets. She writes with a language of hatred and, with her

triumphal-ism, sets herself up as the new orator of the correctly written official (sectoral) history for the Aegeans.

On page 13 (9 in the translated version) of her book Vera wrote: “The honest, worthy leaders and sons of Aegean Macedonia suffered the worst. Those who encouraged our people to fight deserted and abandoned them. They were also the ones spreading the lies in the Republic of Macedonia. They were the ones who slandered those who sacrificed themselves for Macedonia. They were the ones who portrayed the struggle and all that happened in a light that would personally benefit them the most. They thought that “it was all over” and those who knew the truth would never return. They convinced many politicians and historians to rely on their lies in order to get to the bottom of things. After DAG was defeated, members of the NOF, AFZH and NOMS (Youth Organization) leadership from Greek occupied Macedonia were charged with being “agents” of Yugoslavia, Tito and Lazo Kolishevski. We were arrested and placed in a detention centre in Burreli, Albania and from there we were sent to the prison camps in the USSR. Instead of protecting us and advocating for our liberation from the allegations, the deserters and closest comrades with whom we shared both good and evil in the struggle, did everything in their power to turn us into scapegoats in order to save their own skins, thinking that we were doomed anyway and would be dead in no time. However, that did not happen, we all endured torture but survived with our honesty intact. So, we who did nothing wrong to tarnish our image, the image of our homeland and that of our people were released from prison and allowed to go the Republic of Macedonia. But when we arrived there we discovered that the deserters had turned the truth around 180°. They were startled by our arrival, but did not lose their positions and privileges in society because every government needs sycophants and informers.”

Instead of being satisfied with the conciliatory “we are all guilty”, here, even 55 years later, Vera seeks revenge and wishes to achieve it via “communist methods”.

NEW HISTORICAL FRUSTRATIONS AND RETURN TO A CENTURY OF AGONY UNDER THE IDEOLOGICAL WEB

Why not kneel before myths, with great illusions, with victims and criminals? Isn't it about time for us to find out who displaced us from our homeland? The evil in Aegean Macedonia did not fall from the sky?!

Vera's book is complex and full of incredible incidents and even absurdities: "The past is interpreted from the Party's position", once in favour of the CPG, other times in favor of the CPY. Is this an attempt at historical regression... part of someone else's centuries-old political action?

We lost our struggle to unite Macedonia, especially during the Greek Civil War, because we embraced ideological-communist cosmopolitanism and did not follow the ideas set out for us by our grandfathers from the Ilinden era, who aimed to preserve our centuries-old national values: dwellings, properties, tradition, faith and sanctuaries, dignity and the aroma of our homeland – our Motherland. If we had not abandoned our centuries-old heritage that originally belonged only to us Macedonians, we would not had to justify our self-sacrifice, the genocide experienced and the disintegrated Macedonian reality.

All throughout the book, Vera's mind often plays between remembering and forgetting, but goes exactly along the line (current) and the boundaries that were strictly determined by the Party. She describes what she remembers as a moment of truth and strongly condemns the massive violations of human rights. In the book, he made a worthy moral condemnation of the communist totalitarian regimes. But forgetting some events seem to pass easily, with a kind of temporary amnesia. She also praises herself from a historical perspective as a leader of the Macedonian women.

On page 236, with misuse of the word and with a raised voice and bitterness, Vera wrote: "When I write these lines, various thoughts come to me. Why, despite our great ability, we in Macedonia are suffering? Why do the foreigners manipulate us? It will be like this until the national wrongdoers<sup>4</sup> are revealed, until the national rises above the personal..."

---

<sup>4</sup> On the same page under wrongdoers (traitors), Vera listed the following names: Pando Vajna and Stavro Kochev. Historian Hristo Andonovski in his book



At the same time Vera said: “For my merits in the Anti-Fascist and Greek Civil War, I have been awarded the following awards:

1. - Order of Courage,
2. - Order of Fraternity and Unity with a Silver Wreath,
3. - Orders of Merit for a People with Silver Rays,
4. - Plaque of the Union of fighters of Yugoslavia,
5. - Jubilee medal from the Russian Federation, on the occasion of 50 years since the victory over fascism, 1945 - 1996,
6. - Order, 50 years of DAG, 1946 - 1996,
7. - NOF medal, 1941 - 1949.

Also, I am the recipient of numerous recognitions and praises, plaques, etc.”

Even more than 55 years later, Vera never did distance herself from her fears and from her past and never did gain the courage to freely speak about the hidden secrets of her past or to admit perhaps she may have been wrong about some things?

Perhaps she needed more time to make the necessary historical adjustments? As the leader of AFZH Vera should have had a better grip on certain issues of national interest. But, instead, she clearly depended on the foreigners (CPY/CPG) to guide her with regards to interpreting the history of the Aegean people - precisely in the interest of those same foreigners. She needed to answer for things because she herself was the person approving and implementing directives that drove the political and military actions that led the Macedonian people living in Greece to experienced genocide.

For us ordinary DAG fighters, that war keeps coming back like a deafening echo which refuses to be silenced. One thing that could

---

“Macedonians under Greece in their struggle against fascism (1940 - 1944)” on page 115, wrote: “The Macedonian communists and resistance movement cadres from Sorovich District, Lerin Region were: Kiro Pilaev, Jorgi Turundzha, Stavro Kochev, Vangel Koichev, Trifko Popovski... They were the core of the SNOF leadership in Lerin Region. The most active group of Macedonians in the city Lerin were Ilija Dimovski - Goche, Kocho Kalinov, Lambe Popov, Mihail Trpkov, Pando Durdulovski... Also, the newspaper “Iskra” had been published in the Macedonian language since 1941...”

have lessened our grief would have been if Vera made a historical correction on the most painful topics, especially the Greek Civil War, for which she did not testify above admitting that she received praise and high national recognition. She never did say anything about those who turned Aegean Macedonia into desolation sending our people into chaos.

She never asked or answered for example “Who was responsible for what happened to our people? How can we find the right answer? Who is at fault for what happened? Are we at fault? What is our reality?”

We were a people with a past, who deeply carried the faith and traditions of our ancestors, a people with a long history and centuries-old existence.

We have been deceived many times. We know that this is the case even now, but nothing has been said about it this far.

## MIGHT OF DIRTY POLITICS AND OUR MOULT

With our return to the “traces of truth” and when a person understands what Vera had said (which she does not deny) then this person may ask: “Was it possible to go ‘to hell and back’ if there was no reason for it?” What about the long term hell the Macedonian people in Greece went through which led them to their genocide? As the leader of AFZH did Vera have no responsibility in that? As a leader of AFZH was Vera not personally responsible for agitating (implementing directives issued either by the CPY or by the CPG) and manipulated the Macedonian woman? Then why, 55 years later, does she still hide the disturbing things from that big dream!? If we analyze facts and arguments in depth, that are abundant in our historiographies: Macedonian, former Yugoslav, Greek, English and Soviet, we will find truth captured in the eternal secret which has been disavowed with political intentions: Who manipulated the Macedonian people in years 1940 to 1950 and why? Who gave rise to the tragic Greek Civil War that led the Macedonian people living in Greece to their genocide? The facts speak for themselves; the evil did not fall from the sky in Aegean Macedonia. The most terrible thing to be revealed was the fact that

the NOF and AFZH leaderships took their directives from the CPY and the CPG and precisely because of that, in that chaos, we lost control of our main goal: “Preserving the people and the country of our great-grandfathers”. Instead of following our traditional path we chose to become ideologically intimate with the double standards of our new and old soul-grabbers. We joined the Party under a new world with less order and trust. With that, we misled our people in believing that our national freedom will come from our new allies. So, during that period of time, the “truth” was told according to the criterion of loyalty to the holder of power. It turned out that no one wanted to be a victim for the sake of telling the truth. Virtue was required for that.

But for the Macedonian people, especially for the Macedonians living in Greece, NOF, AFZH and NOMS turned out to be acts of political nonsense. They had no authentic strategy in their programs with a historical perspective, and did not work for the national interests of the Macedonian people. There many facts that confirm that. And, unfortunately, these NOF and AFZH leaders up to now have had one very unrealistic wish - they wanted to present history without any fault of theirs. Unfortunately for them it didn't turn out this way because the past never completely died.

Did they lack concern for our people? For years we have been asking ourselves: “Why did NOF and AFZH follow CPY and the CPG directives? Where they not aware of what was going on? Why did they massively involve the entire Macedonian population pushing people to fight for something they could not achieve?” Unfortunately, more than a half a century later, we still have no answers that make any sense.

But, despite of what happened we should know that the Macedonian people proved to be able to stand on their own feet even in the face of the strongest blows fate has delivered.

Despite all her damning criticisms, Vera, unfortunately said nothing about the hell of the war. She said nothing about the many taboo topics that have not yet been told. Forbidden passage and black spots originating from our historical loss in Greek occupied Macedonia have not yet been uncovered. Many dark and deeply

hidden secrets about our (self) sacrifices are yet to be revealed. The aggressive propaganda and the failed policies that encouraged our people to pick up arms and fight did not take into consideration what outcome this war might bring. They did not leave room for the people to evaluate what would happen if they lost the war. As Macedonians no realistic consideration was given to who will be guarding and preserving our centuries-old hearths if we were driven out like we were. And, what does all that mean? It means:

**THE HISTORY OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY DECIDED – AND THAT IS THE GREAT TRUTH!**

Why the history of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia has not been decided and is still open? A fact kept secret for five and a half decades; maybe because while they are still alive the NOF and AFZH leaders want it that way? If they wanted all those secrets revealed they would have revealed them by now.

What does Greek historiography say about the armed struggle waged by the CPG? It says: The armed struggle led by the CPG (1946 - 1949) falls in two periods:

The first period was from March 1946 (after the CPG 12<sup>th</sup> Plenum held on February 12, 1946 decided that an armed struggle would take place) to February 1947 (when a threat of an armed struggle was used to pressure the political right for a peaceful solution to the Greek question).

The second period was from February 1947 to August 1949, when the CPG wanted to defeat the Athenian regime and seize power through an armed struggle.

The armed struggle was led by the CPG (the political-ideological pillar) and DAG General Staff (the military command pillar).

So, as Vera testified in her book this brings us: **FACE TO FACE WITH OUR COMMUNIST PAST IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR.** Here Vera introduces a new concept regarding the historical facts about the Macedonian involvement in that struggle. It offers us a

DOUBLE TRUTH: for each of these three events (developmental stages of NOF). On p. 235, she said: “...NOF had various periods in its development, but mainly, it went through three phases”:

THE FIRST PHASE: “After its formation (on April 23, 1945), NOF operated independently but under strict illegal terms. During that period, it (NOF) managed to win over the masses even in the most distant places.” That’s what Vera said but nowhere did she say that NOF had a Macedonian strategy, determined by us Macedonians living in Greece.

But what Vera did not say was “Why were the Macedonian people rallied on mass to fight in a non existent war under already worn-out slogans? Didn’t anyone in NOF at the time ask themselves “what are we doing preparing for a war that does not exist?” How was this a Macedonian war? Better yet, did no one in NOF realize that this war was being planned by foreigners? Didn’t anyone in NOF question the motives for this war and how it fit with Macedonian interests in Greece especially after the spheres of influence had been decided and Aegean Macedonia fell under western influence while the rest of Macedonia fell under eastern influence. Did anyone in NOF even know that Aegean Macedonia was divided by the “iron curtain” from the rest of Macedonia?

Didn’t anyone in NOF realize that by picking up guns, with Yugoslav help, and by invading Greek territory, the Greek government in Athens might interpret that as a threat to Greece’s sovereignty? Didn’t anyone in NOF think that Greece, in defense of its territorial integrity, might “legally” retaliate? If Greece did that (like it did) what results did NOF expect to achieve? Didn’t anyone in NOF know that England and later the USA supported the Greek government in Athens morally, financially and militarily? In fact because of NOF’s actions, Greece did find itself obliged to take legal measures. The Greek government found it justifiable to protect its territorial sovereignty and to preserve its internal civil order?

Vera went on to say: “NOF’s activities were completely in the spirit of the progressive forces of Greece...” On page 31, she said: “NOF’s membership in 1945 and 1946 was persecuted in the same way by the communists as it was by the monarcho-fascists...”

IT'S TIME FOR THE TRUTH TO COME OUT:  
NOF AND AFZH WERE MISLED BY THE CPY TO (SELF)  
SACRIFICE THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WITH FAKE  
STRATEGIC PLANS AND PROPAGANDA WITH FAKE  
MACEDONIAN NATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The Macedonian people were dragged into a very dangerous game under false pretenses!

Most people would see and even admit their mistakes when they are confronted with them, but not Vera; she seems to stick to her ideological views, even 55 year later. She seems to show more interest in her predictable shading of historical facts and confusion and talk about causes instead of consequences.

How do we know that NOF was directed by the CPM/CPY? This is what we found in Yugoslav and Soviet archives: "The Macedonian organization NOF (People's Liberation Front) for Aegean Macedonia, was created on April 23, 1945, at the initiative of the CPY, that is, of the CPM, with the task of fighting by all means possible for the right to self-determination and unification of the Macedonian people. A few days later the NOF leadership decided to form armed groups, and, on May 1, 1945 they became active. After this was done the CPY took over the Macedonian national liberation movement in the Aegean part of Macedonia..."

THE SECOND PHASE: BEING RECOGNIZED BY THE CPG.

THE THIRD PHASE: BEING LIQUIDATED BY THE CPG.

With these views, Vera has presented us with a double truth; her personal interpretation and a new image of historical events seen through a prism of "a revolutionary and honest communist", but also with an attitude of a mass movement ideologue. This is the first time this has ever happened to us Macedonians.

This is what was written about these phases in official Macedonian history. We will begin with Dr. Risto Kirjazovski and his book "The

Aegean part of Macedonia after the Civil War in Greece”. This is what Dr. Kirjazovski said on p. 135:

We have identified two periods in NOF’s development and activities:

1. - The period when it was managed by the CPY/CPM (1945 - 1946) and
2. - The period when it was managed by the CPG (1946 – 1949).

So, for now we have been offered two “realities” as well as facts and arguments from the Russian, Yugoslav and Greek military archives. We will also hear from authors who were prominent NOF and AFZH activists as well as from DAG fighters. All this information will be made available in this book which aims to illuminate the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia.

WHAT WAS THE ESSENCE OF CREATING A NEW POLITICAL ORGANIZATION JUST AFTER WORLD WAR II AND BY WHOM WAS IT INITIATED? WHAT WAS THE SECRET OF THE STRATEGY THAT BROUGHT US DEFEAT IN THAT WAR?

WAS THE PLAN ALL ALONG TO LIE TO THE PEOPLE AND SEDUCE THEM ON MASSES TO PICK UP ARMS SO THAT THEY CAN PERMANANTLY EXPELL THEM FROM THEIR NATIVE HEARTH?!

These are legitimate questions that need answers so unraveling the history of the Macedonian people living in Greece will be a long and painful process. There are many historians and analysts who already know that the history they have written was incorrect but decided to stick with the mainstream narrative. They already know that the Greek Civil War was not a Macedonian revolution or a continuation of ILIINDEN, because, first and foremost, we Macedonians neither initiated nor led the two main pillars of that war:

1. Not only did we Macedonians not lead the political (ideological) pillar because we did not have Macedonians in the CPG central

organs but we constantly argued and disagreed with the direction the CPG committees were taking at a local level.

2. We Macedonians did not manage the military-political pillar either because we had no high ranking commanders. The CPG would not allow Macedonians to manage military actions because, according to them, we had no people who possessed high military knowledge.

In recent years, official history has taken an increasingly realistic view of the facts. This was confirmed by official historian R. Kirjazovski, in his most recent book “Macedonians and their relations to the CPY and CPG”. On page 218, Kirjazovski wrote: “...Despite the fact that more than a third of the forces in DAG were made up of Macedonians, there was not a single Macedonian serving in DAG General Headquarters, in DAG District Headquarters or in the DAG District Units. Out of a total of 125 DAG colonels serving there was not a single Macedonian. Until April 1949, no Macedonian served in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece or in its institutions. The same was true for the CPG Central Committee, the CPG District Committees and the CPG local Committees.”

So, what does that say about NOF and AFZH? The facts show that NOF and AFZH were simple Party soldiers whose objective was to seduce the Macedonian people into joining the war on mass. There is nothing in Kirjazovski’s statement to indicate that NOF or AFZH were a MILITARY or POLITICAL FACTOR in the Greek Civil War!

It is dishonest and malicious not to make a very clear distinction between what happened in the development stages of NOF and AFZH when they were led by the CPY and the KPG.

According to our information, after the massive violent mobilizations in Macedonia, more than 16-17 thousand Macedonians were recruited into the DAG units which represented more than 60% of the total number of active fighters in the Democratic Army. But it should also be known that more than 12-14 thousand Macedonians were also serving outside the ethnic part of



Macedonia, i.e. throughout Greece, and they had no contact with the NOF or AFZH organizations. All these fighters were forbidden from speaking Macedonian, singing Macedonian songs, or organizing themselves in Macedonian associations.

In other words, the same communists in Greece who allowed the Macedonian people to speak their Macedonian language on their native Macedonian territory were prohibiting Macedonians from speaking their Macedonian language further south on Greek territory.

Why was that? This further proves that the Greek communists were working under a hidden agenda, practicing evil black politics. They never intended to deliver on their promises. They just wanted to push the Macedonian people, especially the Macedonian women, to fight in that hellish war so they can get rid of them, permanently uproot them from their native hearth.

Still, it makes one wonder, why didn't any historian all this time say something about the Greek Civil War being a revolution or a fraud for the Macedonian people? Outside of not mentioning that Macedonian people participated in this war, on account of the false Greek claim that Macedonians did not exist in Greece, there were some historians who did mention NOF and AFZH and that that there were concerns raised about a Macedonian National Question. Whose "concerns" were these? People did talk about a Macedonian National Question after the Second World War. Where these people Macedonians like those in NOF and AFZH and were their concerns tied with the 1913 Bucharest Agreement? Or were these concerns raised by foreigners under a new plan to stage the next genocide against the Macedonian people?

At least now we can say there is one official historian who did admit that there maybe more to the history of the Greek Civil War than was previously claimed. But was this a true attempt to correct the wrongs, defeat the historical injustice, or was it an attempt to purify the man's own soul? Looking at it from above, whatever it was it was not a CRITICAL VIEW OF HISTORY. He did not take into consideration the globalization world ideology, before and after the Second World War, or he deliberately did not want to admit that

NOF and AFZ had found themselves in the CPY and CPG vise and were walking on a thin rope (exactly according to the model of ideologization implemented in practice after World War II in Greek occupied Macedonia). In particular: the CPY and CPG spread false optimism about Macedonian national interests in Greece. But from 1944 to 1948, the CPY and CPG kept the Macedonian people under their control, making it impossible for them to solve important national problems to allow them to survive, at the same time encouraging them to wage war.

Kirijazovski, in his works, has written more about the consequences of the Greek Civil War, and less about its causes. He seems to focus less on the logic of what caused the Greek Civil War and what it was truly about and more on its Macedonian mainstream narrative popularizing it like it was some kind of a true Macedonian revolution. Kirijazovski has avoided writing about the spiritual and ideological division of the Macedonian people and about that period of time when countries found themselves under the influence of various political spheres (globalization-world ideology) and this is where the questions arise. With the problems she has presented in their book, AFZH leader Evdokia Foteva – Vera, has show that we have not built a value judgment for that period of our history. We need to seek out the truth and not to show the past in a way to fit the present or a certain kind of narrative. We need to show the mistakes we made so that we do not allow them to be repeated in the future.

The need to seek the truth about the causes of the Greek Civil War, for the sake of our future, is what drove me, with good intentions, to revisit and investigate historic events for a comprehensive evaluation. I chose Vera's book because Vera was a leader of AFZH and had access to all kinds of information not available to most of us. But I must emphasize once again that, first of all, Vera's book is completely autobiographical and Vera uses it as a need to define who said what and when but also for personal and emotional purification. She tends to present problems from the point of view of consequences, very seriously and convincingly. She presents different arguments with a fantastic conviction and always with loyalty to the Party. She tried hard to convince us that what happened, the fighting, was a sacred thing ... But, as we know, modern civilization is based on virtue and the ability to tell all and

counts nothing as sacred that it cannot be critically analyzed. But it is obvious and a fact, Vera is among the many hard communists and defenders of Marxism. This was one of her favoured sayings: “When I hear the word capitalism - monarcho-fascism... I immediately reach for my pistol and grab it!” This means that she was and still remains politically and ideologically oriented even after 55 years. This is a terrible burden with a heavy legacy from the 20<sup>th</sup> century to carry...as part of the Macedonian experience. So, today when we, those of us who survived this terrible war, pick up a book like Vera’s, are obliged to critically and realistically evaluate it.

Our Macedonian official historiography is based mostly on several authors, who like Vera, served in the higher ranks in the Greek Civil War. They had privy to more information and were deemed reliable. They, being responsible for leading the Macedonian people to war, saw things differently than the rest of us. Even if they knew things were not right, they would not write about them because they did not want to present themselves as the villains in their own story. This is precisely why it is important to scrutinize and critically analyze their works.

There are also the hardliners who tend to manipulate things to have them go their way. Irrespective of whether they earned their respect or no there are those who say: “I am an old communist and you should show special respect for me...” So the question is: “Did the Macedonian CPG communists fight for a united and independent Macedonia or for something else?” This also begs the question: “Could the Macedonian CPG communists have fought for a united and independent Macedonia even if they wanted to?” Vera in her book “To hell and back” presents herself as a Party ideologue and imposes her interpretations and insights as the only truths, presenting herself as the only “worshiper” of the truth. But by doing so, she “clinches the facts and then goes and makes quite distorted comments”.

If the basic principles on which nations/states are based are: territorial, state, historical and cultural past, ethnic, linguistic and economic, then the Macedonian Communists and CPG members must have accepted the CPG programs, which in practice gave up on

territorial and the state principles. The CPG ordered this because it exclusively fought for the territorial and state sovereignty of the Greek state (and not for an independent Macedonia), and therefore the only principles that remained (accepted or not) were the ethnic and linguistic, as well as the Macedonian people's historical and cultural principles. So, what does all this mean? It means that the Macedonian communists and CPG members did not fight for a united and independent Macedonia, they fought for Greek sovereignty. It also means that the CPG and all those who it directed lied to the Macedonian people. So, if they did win the war with all their (self) sacrifices all the Macedonian people would have gotten were a right to call themselves "Slavo-Macedonians" and to speak their Macedonian language. This was especially true after May 15, 1943, after Stalin dissolved the Communist International (Comintern), which then allowed each communist party to decide on its own basic principles. The CPG already had a predefined program about this which did not include Macedonian independence. See: "History of the Macedonian People", Skopje 1988, page 345.

## SECRETS OF THE SOUTH FOR THE SOUTH MACEDONIANS - IT'S TIME TO SAY FAREWELL

WE HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR MORE THEN HALF A CENTURY FOR THE MOMENT TO UNCOVER the truth trapped in an eternal secret, but the facts say that in Aegean Macedonia evil did not fall from the sky. So, for 55 years we were told that we should be careful not to speak against those who pushed us into the Greek Civil War, because those same people created the Macedonian state. Or if we accuse and deny those people, we will have denied the Macedonian state as well? Doesn't this look like a historical setback?

But as painful as the truth may be, it should be told on behalf of future generations who should not be burdened with the heavy ideological burdens of the past.

In my research I want to open up all the questions that until now had no hope of being answered.

If we know the truth of why we suffered the catastrophic defeat, it will help us significantly in learning useful lessons from it.

I am not defending or putting down the actors involved in this tragedy. I am not a lawyer or a court; I am simply trying to understand <sup>5</sup> what truly happened and why, I want to simply know who did this to us and why. My long-term goal is to get to the ROOT OF EVIL, that is, I want to correct our national history - especially for the Macedonians in Greece. Who lured the Macedonians living in Greece into the red ideological waste and why?! What was their motive?

It is important at this point that I mention that for a long time I have not cared much for the work of those historiographers who communicated their truth only when it coincided with that of the government or with the authorities. I just want to say what a terrible, tragic time we lived in, when none of our Macedonian politicians wanted to discuss who brought the evil to Aegean Macedonia. It seems that during communist times when communist ideology dominated, the Party line and false criteria ruled over reason and Macedonian patriotism was stained with cosmopolitanism. During the real hell of the Greek Civil War, the Macedonian NOF and AFZH leaderships should have been known as the LEADERS WITH A POLITICAL STRATEGY THAT DID NOT LOOK PAST THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW. They led the Macedonian people down a blind alley and they themselves ideologically blinded got lost in the weeds of primitiveness. With their ideological blindness they placed the Macedonian villages and people under a chokehold. In that mass psychology, the Macedonians were forced into a regime whose motto was: “No one in Aegean Macedonia where NOF and AFZH ruled had the right to criticize the regime. Those who did were labeled dishonest patriots...” Public space, under this super-ideological atmosphere was losing its purpose. These conditions, imposed on the people, were disastrous for their survival. The war

---

<sup>5</sup> My aim in the long run is to uncover who was influencing the Macedonian people living in Greece after Macedonia was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed in 1912, and 1913. Who helped the Macedonian people preserve their centuries old civilization and traditional values and who encouraged them to leave their ethnic space and to experience total genocide.

destroyed the Macedonian family. Families were broken up. Men became members of NOF, women became members of AFZH and the youth became members of NOMS. With that, the family was deprived both from fathers and mothers. The people were maximally engaged in the agitation points for a future created by NOF and AFZH who in turn were directed by the CPY and the CPG.

The people used to say “everything has its time and everyone has their own illusions”. Vera too, as well as her comrades and NOF and AFZH leaders, had their own time and illusions. Everyone has seen and heard many things but many have misunderstood them. The question is how much did the people want to hear and how much did they understand? Those leaders of ours told us many things but how did we interpret them? Each person interpreted what they heard in their own way, and so did Vera. But if we don’t face the reality of the past, we will not be very happy in the future, that is also true for the people in the Republic of Macedonia.

I intend to provide plenty of glaring evidence of the absence of Macedonian awareness that we were subservient to others such as Tito, Tempo and Kulishevski. We especially behaved subserviently in front of Zahariadis and Markos and sometimes we even forgot who we were. Lured by their lies we rushed towards a promised “future” forgetting our past and present. One thing is certain we left behind an extensive record of “troubling history”.

But, even though we were misled, for years and decades, both inside Macedonia and out, we lived with the fear that we might offend those who caused us harm. And we Macedonians generously and sincerely accepted their “slogan” and bled for them for years. That “slogan” during the Greek Civil War became a “cancer” for us, leading us to shout “fight to the death” and “Death to Anglo-American fascism...”

And who knows how many more years, we exiled Macedonians who were fed many empty promises, will remain exiled. When are we going to wake up and accept the fact that we were lied to and misled? When are we going to stop looking at the Greek Civil War and talk about the GREAT SUCCESSES WE MADE?

Those Macedonian communists and CPG members in Greece went through three characteristic phases.

But, before we analyze the phases let us clarify some things: If the basic principles on which nations/states are based are historical and cultural past, territorial, state, ethnic, linguistic and economic principles, then the Macedonian communists, as CPG members, according to their accepted programs, practically gave up two principles “territorial and state”.

FIRST PHASE: The first part of Vera’s career is about how she voluntarily joined the ranks of the CPG and accepted its program and platform. The CPG, the left forces in Greece, during the parliamentary elections rated as follows: The CPG, on November 7, 1926, received 41,928 votes or 4.38% of the total vote. On August 19, 1928, it received 14,325 votes or 1.41%, on September 25, 1932 it received 58,229 votes or 4.97%, and in the March 5, 1933 elections the CPG received 52,958 votes or 4.44% of the total vote.

Not everyone can attest to the difficulties and storms that accompanied member of the CPG. The only people that could join were children of the working class, children of the future, struggling children, children of steadfastness, endurance and heroic deeds.

But, here is Vera telling us that she was a member of the CPG and fought in the military ranks of ELAS and EAM. She considers that a patriotic duty and she advocated for solving the “Macedonian question in Greece.”<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Some Western diplomats date the beginning of the Macedonian Question to 1870, when Russia forced Turkey to allow the establishment of a separate Bulgarian Orthodox Church - the Exarchate, with control over parts of the Turkish province of Macedonia. Others advocate the opinion that the question dates back to 1878, when the Berlin Congress revised the Treaty of San Stefano, which Russia imposed on Turkey after the Russo-Turkish War. With the San Stefano Agreement, Bulgaria received the borders that fulfilled Bulgarian national dreams, and the entire part of Macedonia under Yugoslavia was assigned, including Vranje, Kostur, Lerin, Ostrovo and a small part of the Aegean Sea, west of Solun. Russia at the Berlin Congress renounced the San Stefano Treaty, which returned Macedonia to Turkey. (See: Documents; Great Britain and Macedonia. (1944 - 1945).

What was the position of the Communist Party on the Macedonian Question over the years?

There were six characteristic CPG policy periods regarding the Macedonian question. These were:

1. The period when the CPG was created (1918 - 1924);
2. The period when it agreed to a “United and independent Macedonia” (1924 - 1935);
3. The period when it supported “Full equality of Macedonians within the Greek state” (1935 - 1949);
4. The period when it manipulated the Macedonian people with offers of a “United and independent Macedonia in a Balkan Federation” (from January 1949 - March 10, 1949);
5. The period when it offered the Macedonian people full equality (from 1949 - 1988);
6. The period during which it claimed a Macedonian minority (Macedonian people) did not exist in Greece (1988 to today).

Attitudes evolved as the ethnic composition of the population changed. Namely: At the CPG Sixth Congress held in December 1935, it was confirmed and determined that, according to the Party publication TO KKE AP TO from 1931 to 1952, “Such a change does not mean giving up the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-determination of nations... The population in the Greek part of Macedonia today is Greek and it is a majority (they said that after 660 thousand settlers and colonists were moved from Asia Minor into the Macedonian territory in Greece and after 80 thousand Macedonians were expelled from their homes in Greek occupied Macedonia. After this was done the Macedonian population in Greece amounted to only 3% of the total population of 10 million people) and as such the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-determination requires them to change the old slogan to fit the current conditions!” (v. 74). The same comment was made in the newspaper “Rizospastis” where it was said: “In 1935, the CPG at



its Sixth Congress, as a justification for changing the policy for a united and independent Macedonia, the majority actually accepted the “minority” argument because, after the large migration movements between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey were implemented, the Greek element in the Aegean part of Macedonia became a majority and therefore the policy for a united and independent Macedonia was no longer necessary...”

Here is another concrete explanation of the communist movement’s basic thesis:

“The communist movement, due to its essential Leninist historical discontinuity, does not place the solution of the national question on a principled basis (to always correspond to the interests of the enslaved nation), but on a tactical basis (to correspond to the so-called class interests that always corresponded with the state’s interests) interests of the dominant nation and thus essentially denied the right to self-determination of peoples”.

This means that the highest guarantee the CPG could offer was: “Full equality for the Macedonian people within Greece” and nothing more, other efforts turned out to be futile and SENSELESS ILLUSIONS which were used to attract the Macedonian people into a common struggle (especially during the Greek Civil War which turned out to be one big scam).

It is not difficult to figure out that, with this new stance, the CPG put its policy on the national question in the service and interest of the Greek national and state interests. With that act, the Macedonian people who lived in the Aegean part of Macedonia were deprived of the right to unite their struggle with the struggle of the Macedonian people from the other two parts of Macedonia and jointly fight for a Macedonian national liberation, unification and the creation of a Macedonian state.

In other words, the CPY, CPB and CPG had no intention of supporting the Macedonian people in creating a Macedonian state at the expense of their state territories. And who ever thought they would?

Besides that even our struggle to win minority rights in Greece was limited.

Were the Macedonians included in the ELAS <sup>7</sup> program?

Let's have a look:

The EAM (National Liberation Front), program was established on September 27, 1941. It mainly consisted of the following:

- A) 1. Expel the German-Italian and Bulgarian occupiers from Greece;
2. Re-establish Greece's integrity;
3. Establish self-determination in Cyprus, the Dodecanese and in northern Epirus. (Where is the self-determination for Macedonia, EAM's faithful ally?) And;
4. Strategic regulation of Greece's northern borders (meaning our so-called "partners" wanted a little more of our Macedonian lands). See the remarks in the ELAS authority newspaper "Mahitis" published on February 10, 1944. It says: EAM is the answer to the national question, yet to this day the EAM program contains absolutely nothing about us!

---

<sup>7</sup> The ELAS or "ELASITI" were members of the military also called "andartes". Andartes was a term used by the Greeks to refer to the armed Greek bands operating illegally in Macedonia before, during and after the 1903 Ilinden Uprising. The "andartes" were organized and armed in Greece and then sent to Macedonia to spread Greek influence through acts of terror. Thus in Macedonia the term "andartes" was associated with the infamous crimes committed against the Macedonian people. The Organization ELAS was jointly formed by the EAM, the CPG and the CPG Central Committee. The first ELAS military units or "Elasiti" appeared on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 1942. The first detachment of ELAS was formed in Kostur Region on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1942 and included 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs. The total number of ELAS fighters throughout Greece numbered about 70,000. On July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1943 the leadership of ELAS and Colonel Eddie Myers, head of the British military mission, signed an agreement bringing ELAS under the British Command of the Middle East. On February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1945 the "Varkiza" agreement was signed with which the left (EAM and CPG) practically handed power to the right.

B) The People's Liberation Army of Greece (ELAS) was formed on May 15, 1942 in Rummely and was organized in Partisan Detachments. ELAS's goals were decided at a joint meeting between the CPG Central Committee and EAM. Its proclamation was aimed at the citizens of Greece and at the former officers of the Greek Army, known for belonging to the bourgeois class. At the time we, the Macedonians, were not ELAS's allies or fighting partners, we were simple "Slavo-phones", ordinary soldiers to be used as they saw fit, just like our fathers and grandfathers were used in previous wars. At that time the only thing we did was loudly sing and yell the slogan "Embros ELAS gia tin Elada" (Forward ELAS for Greece)... and nothing more. But there is still another undeniable fact about ELAS and the people (the Elasiti) who fought in ELAS that we should not forget. That is the oath to which we all swore. The oath reads: "I will fight for the liberation of our motherland Greece... and I will protect the integrity of the Greek nation..." Where is Macedonia and the Macedonian Nation in this oath?

Did the Macedonian communists in the CPG and ELAS ranks sign the oath "I will fight for the liberation of our motherland Greece... and I will protect the integrity of the Greek nation..."?

The second oath:

Here is the ELAS oath that everyone who joined ELAS had to take: "I swear that I will fight to the last drop of my blood for the complete liberation, stability and independence of Greece. I will fight to preserve the integrity of the Greek people and the establishment of order and basic human rights. For this purpose I will strive to fulfill the orders of PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation of Greece) by performing due diligence and demonstrating discipline. I will follow orders and instructions from my superiors and I will avoid every process that may turn me into a traitor against the Greek people."

During that period of time, the CPG position remained unchanged: "At the CPG Central Committee Third Plenum held in March 1935, in place of "the right to self-determination until secession from

Greece, i.e. united and independent Macedonia”, the wording was changed to say “complete equality of minorities within the Greek state...” So, for what kind of “Macedonian Question” were the Macedonians who voluntarily joined the CPG and ELAS fighting for?!

The Macedonian situation in Kostur Region and Kostur Region villages during the Second World War after Italy occupied the area.

With the ethnic change due to population exchanges, i.e. with the arrival of the settlers and colonists from Asia Minor, by whom the Macedonian population was terrorized as well as by PAO (Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization) whose members were exclusively Greek nationalists, the Macedonian people were attacked on a daily basis. Raids and robberies (of cattle, grain, cheese, fat and other products) were carried out and the Macedonian population was robbed and tortured. This was one of the most unprotected areas in occupied Macedonia. The Macedonian people were deliberately accused of being communists and arrested and beaten to death unlike the Greek communists who were imprisoned but still released. Not even the Italian authorities wanted to protect them. At the same time there was also the problem of scarce necessary products that the Macedonian peasants could hardly obtain (Salt, sugar, oil, gas, etc.) and were unavailable for years. One day several representatives from the villages enquired from the Italian authorities an explanation as to why they were mistreated so badly and then asked them for their support to be treated like all citizens. They did not want the Italians to protect them; they simply asked if they can protect themselves. For that purpose they asked for permission to form what ended up being called the “MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE” for Kostur Region which was given the authority to exercise civil rights through the Italian authorities. As a result the first armed unit was formed on March 5, 1943, in Kostur Region, consisting of Macedonian fighters from the region. They quickly appeared in 54 villages and their numbers swelled to 9850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek nationalist gangs. In western Macedonia in 1943, these armed nationalist Greek gangs were responsible for intimidating the Macedonian people by spreading anti-Macedonian propaganda in the form of leaflets and by other means.

Who was bothered the most by the existence of the MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE, what was the purpose for creating SNOF and who created it? See: “History of the Macedonian people”, volume five, p. 449.

It has been said that: “...The second Macedonian anti-fascist organization that appeared in the Aegean part of Macedonia in the Second World War was SNOF.

During that period in 1943, Britain made every effort to bring the Greek resistance movement (EAM and ELAS) under its control. After lengthy negotiations between ELAS and EDES and English General Staff for the Middle East, a CPG and EAM delegation arrived in Cairo to negotiate “political unity” and the formation of a “joint headquarters” with the Greek government in exile and with a number of civil parties. The joint headquarters, headed by Andy Meyers, was created on June 18, 1943, which recognized the ELAS resistance forces as an allied army. With this Agreement the People’s Liberation Movement in Greece was subordinate to the English General Staff for the Middle East. And for the same purpose, on June 5, 1943, a military cooperation agreement was signed in Lebanon. Part of that agreement required disarming the MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE and other counter-bands and their armed units still active in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions. These bands mistrusted all Greeks including the CPG, EAM and ELAS. Being “concerned” about their existence but unable to do something about it, the communist leadership sought outside help. The help came in the form of a suggestion, not from a Greek but from a Yugoslav, more precisely from a Montenegrin code named Tempo. Svetozar Vukmanovich-Tempo was a CPY Central Committee delegate in Macedonia, who during a meeting with Siantos, CPG General Secretary, in August 1943, suggested that Siantos create a special Macedonian military unit in Greek occupied Macedonia for the purpose of leading, agitating and spreading propaganda in the Macedonian language.

So, following Tempo’s suggestion prompted the CPG leadership to allow the formation of Macedonian political organizations and military formations.” And this is how and why SNOF was created

and where Macedonians were fooled into fighting against Macedonians for foreign interests.

Here is a question for you: Why did CPG General Secretary Siantos not ask the Macedonian communists in his own Party for help? Why did he have to ask a high ranking CPY representative from Yugoslavia? And did the Macedonian communists react to that? No! Because they already had accepted Tempo's suggestion that the skilful strategist he had shown himself to be: "Guardian of the royal Yugoslav border and nothing more." Tempo favoured a Macedonian movement with a pro-Yugoslav historical tendency. And because of that the Greeks trusted him especially after CPM General Secretary Metodija Shatorov – Charlo,<sup>8</sup> was eliminated and removed from power and there was no longer any possibility of realizing Charlo's ideas for some kind of spiritual unification of the Macedonian people from the entire ethnic Macedonian composition.

After this happened it should have been very clear to us Macedonians (especially those from the Aegean part), that any action we took to create a united Macedonia would be met with a knife from both the CPY and the CPG.

What that meant was that now everything that was done would be done at a Party and state political level as determined by Greece and Yugoslavia. This was also done by Albania with the same goal. An example of that was the June 20, 1943, Protocol "for close military-political cooperation" which was signed at the National Army Headquarters of Albania by the representatives of Yugoslavia (CPY) Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo, of Albania (CPA) Enver Hoxha and of Greece (CPG) Ververis.

---

<sup>8</sup> Shatorov, Metodija - Charlo (Prilep 1897 - Bulgaria, September 1944). Shatorov lived in Bulgaria since the end of the First World War. He was a member of the CPB since 1920. In 1929 he immigrated to the USSR and from the spring of 1940 to September 1941, he was CPY Provincial Secretary for Macedonia. He advocated for the formation of a one Macedonian state with the unification of all its parts. He promoted Macedonian national individuality. He was removed from his position as Secretary (under Tito's orders and replaced by Lazar Kolishevski) after the resolution of a dispute between the CPY and CPB and the Comintern regarding the Macedonian Provincial Committee's affiliation.

And that is why precisely, Papandreou's government in Cairo insisted on this kind of level of talks. Bearing in mind that this level had been accepted and solved by Yugoslavia after Charlo was removed as well as the entire CPM Party leadership and its platform. Papandreou's government demanded that the CPG and ELAS not accept any of the Macedonian conditions: not from Aegean Macedonia or from Vardar Macedonia, because "there would be historical consequences for the Greek state and its sovereignty". I don't know what else it would have taken for the Macedonian communists from Greece to realize that they were no longer accepted as true Macedonian political entities by the CPG or ELAS and that they had been lured by Tempo.

So, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED that: the solution was agreed upon by the CPY and CPG representatives again within the framework of the Bucharest Agreement between Yugoslavia and Greece.

For us Macedonians, that meant that: By defending the communist ideology, we lost our identity and our ancestral hearths forever. Our destiny is our destiny and we had to take it into our own hands, because it is cruel when people don't want to master their own destiny, then as our old people used to say, destiny masters them.

And that's what happened to us.

\*\*\*

In particular, SNOF was created and organized, but not by Macedonians but by manipulating the Macedonians! See: the book "Pascal Mitrevski and his time (1921 - 1978)", p. 20.

SNOF was created on October 20, 1943. The CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships, "concerned" about the counter-band situation that existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, decided to create a separate Macedonian organization; SNOF (Slavo-Macedonia National Liberation Front) to deal with it. SNOF, for Kostur and Lerin Regions, was created on October 20, 1943 in the village Snichani, Kostur Region, and for Voden Region a little later. The people who created SNOF were

Greeks who belonged to the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia; Hristos Kalfas (Andreas), Antonis Andonopulos (Periklis), CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region and Thanassis Kartsunis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozhani Region. Less than 6 months after it was created SNOF was disbanded. Within the six months of its existence, SNOF in Kostur Region amassed in its ranks about 2,490 men and about 2,280 women. The number of people recruited by SNOF in Lerin Region amounted to more than 10,000. SNOF emerged as a true leader and organizer of the Macedonian people's struggle in Kostur and Lerin Regions against the foreign occupiers and against the domestic traitors. Regarding SNOF's activities in Kostur Region, an article came out on April 3, 1944 and published in the newspaper "Slavo-Macedonian voice". Among other things the article said: "SNOF is the only people's liberation organization which will meet the Macedonian people's national and social demands. SNOF is the new VMRO for the Macedonians, which will lead them to the end of the work of Ilinden..." One of SNOF's main tasks in Kostur and Lerin Regions was to declare war on supporters of the Bulgarian Court and on Vancho Mihailov whose propaganda endeavoured to turn the Macedonian population in the wrong direction. But the Macedonians involved in the anti-fascist struggle against the foreign invaders and against the domestic traitors, seriously upset the CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships. It seems that by the end of April 1944 the top CPG leadership made a decision to disband SNOF in Kostur and Lerin Regions. The justification given was that SNOF's influence was "harmful" to the popularization of the Greek masses in the ranks of EAM.

SNOF's political program was a platform for a joint struggle between Macedonians and Greeks. It called for mass mobilization of Macedonians in ELAS units for the purpose of conducting an armed struggle against the Macedonian rebels and against the occupiers.

You will find more information about this in a book ("Yugoslav Communists and the Macedonian Question" by Steve E. Palmer and Robert P. King, Archon Books, 1971, p. 94-95) where the following was written:



“In the beginning of May 1943, Tempo established contact with the Greek Communists, in an attempt to establish domination of the CPY in Greek occupied Macedonia, which smoldered from the repressive measures applied by the Metexas dictatorship before the war. The situation was ignited by the Italian occupiers who organized special Macedonian gendarmes (Kostur rebels) to fight against the Greeks. The Kostur rebels received carte blanche and their influence was dangerous for CPY plans in Macedonia in a Yugoslav framework. Tempo suggested that it would be good to allow Tito’s agents (Macedonians in ELAS and the CPG) to organize and lead the Macedonians in Greece. The Greeks refused. Tempo however took his case to the Supreme Command of the Greek People’s Liberation Army (ELAS) which then allowed the Greek Macedonians to organize the Slavic National Liberation Fronts (SNOF). ELAS Command immediately agreed to combine military actions with the Yugoslav partisans but, of course, was not thrilled with the formation of separate Greek Slav units because it seemed like a move to enable Yugoslav efforts to create a Greater Macedonia. It was possible that Greece could lose Aegean Macedonia and that was the main black point of the Greek communists. Agreement to such a proposal, no matter how it was camouflaged in plans for some kind of Balkan Communist Federation, was going to strongly jeopardize their mass support.”

On August 8, in a letter to the CPG Central Committee, Tempo accepted the Greek Communist insistence to preserve discretion: “The Greek party has the following position on the issue of Macedonia. I.e. the Macedonian minority in Greece will gain its freedom and will be safe from any kind of national oppression.’ They did not recognize any right to self-determination for the Macedonian nation.”

The turmoil triggered among the Macedonian people by Siantos and Tempo is incomprehensible even to this day. It is hard to believe that Macedonians, participants in the ranks of ELAS, took part in the destruction of the Kostur rebels. It is hard to believe that they attacked 9,800 armed rebels in 64 villages; Macedonians who stood bravely against Hellenism to protect our people and our national identity. Instead of valorizing these brave fighters as a Macedonian national resistance dedicated to protecting Macedonian interests, we

blackened our own history by attacking them! And whose interests were we protecting when we did that? The Party's? What is funnier about this sordid affair is that in the end, the rebels left alive were recruited to fight for the communists... The best sons of Macedonia were recruited to fight for the interests of the Party...

The appearance of the Kostur rebel fighters was an extraordinary moment in Macedonia's reality, but in place of showing respect and dignity for them we entered a new political game and destroyed them. We now have to live with that sin.

If ever there was a nation in the world that had broken something created by its own people eons ago, then we the Macedonians must be the first. Our biggest sin was the destruction of the Macedonian rebel fighters in Kostur.

We also need to know that the rebels experienced the worst discrimination from the Greek state since the day they were born, but on top of that the Greeks made sure that they were vilified, recklessly anathematized and their history, along with their sacrifices, were forgotten.

Also, see "History of the Macedonian People", volume three.

The SNOF District Committee for Kostur District officially presented the Macedonian national question to the Communist Party of Greece on the basis of the "Atlantic Charter".<sup>9</sup> Early as January

---

<sup>9</sup> The Atlantic Charter was drafted to express the post-World War II aims of the United States and Great Britain. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain adopted the declaration in August 1941 during a conference aboard a ship off the coast of the Canadian province of Newfoundland and decided among other things that all people who participated in the liberation of the world from Fascism and Nazism would have the right to choose the form of government under which they would live; and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them. Germany's attack against the Soviet Union and the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, especially its provisions on liberation of all nations, which would take part in the anti-fascist fight, the recognition of their right to self-determination and creation of independent countries, motivated Macedonian people in the three parts of Macedonia strongly to join the wide anti-fascist movement and the resistance of the Balkan nations.

1944 Lazo Damovski, the secretary of the regional council of the Macedonian National Liberation Front for Kostur Region, addressed the CPG council for Macedonia and warned of this. On January 24, 1944 Damovski wrote: “The conditions created by World War II for the liberation movements in all of occupied Europe including the Balkans have opened new roads for the self-determination of all people. Macedonians are no exception. Macedonians have spilled blood in the 1903 Ilinden Uprising and are now fighting, spilling blood and making sacrifices to gain their freedom from the Fascists. Our friends in Vardar (Republic) Macedonia are going in the right direction...” “The Macedonians in Lerin and Kostur Regions represent the majority of the population (70%) and are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people. When they become liberated, will they, according to the Atlantic Charter, have the rights to self declare? Will they be granted the promised rights?” “The CPG promised the Macedonian people equal rights within the framework of a Peoples Republic of Greece, the same way it promised the people of the Dodekanis and Cyprus. If the CPG is serious about delivering on those promises when will it then allow the Macedonian people to freely express their ethnic culture? When will it let the Macedonians fight for their own ideals and for composing something unique to show that they are truly Macedonians? Is the CPG really afraid of being criticized by the chauvinist elements? If so, how then does it propose to form “national unity” and not receive any criticism? Does the CPG truly understand the Macedonian question? Because if it doesn’t it better learn it fast and start facing reality and make the right decision...” One by one the CPG ordered all regional Macedonian National Liberation Front wards to close down and all fighters to disband and join the ranks of ELAS. This however was not what the Macedonians wanted and some began to show dissatisfaction.

In the book “History of the Macedonian People”, volume three, page 452, it said:

“Despite the fact that the CPG and EAM leaderships used SNOF for their own political and military purposes until April, primarily in confrontation with the MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE movement, during which significant results were achieved. But it seems that towards the end of April they changed their mind. Namely, at the

beginning of May, the CPG Central Committee Politburo made a decision to disband SNOF and forced its members to join the EAM ranks.”

A short commentary: Macedonian historians (especially Risto Kirjazovski) have written that there were clashes between the Macedonian leadership and the CPG (EAM, ELAS and DAG) leaderships. That is not true: The Macedonians never had discussions with the CPG Central Committee high authorities, but often argued with the local Greek leaders in Kostur, Lerin and Voden, who served as delegates for the CPG and EAM. We, the Macedonians, never asked questions that were of vital importance for the survival and preservation of the centuries-old civilization of our ancestors. We never confronted the Greek state or the international public about the problems we were facing in Greece. Not even about the ethnic changes Greece made by bringing 640,000 Colonists and settlers from Asia Minor and depositing them on our lands. We did not raise questions or express dissatisfaction about the problems we faced in Greece after Macedonia was invaded occupied and partitioned regarding the care, rights and development of the Macedonian indigenous population.

Here is another, a more serious historiographer, had to say (See: “N.M.” 20.08.1994): “Toward the middle of 1944, the situation in Aegean Macedonia became unbearable for the Macedonian communists. The Greek communists, directed by the British intelligence service, took numerous measures to stifle the Macedonian national liberation movement:

They forbade the admission of new fighters to the Macedonian battalions under the pretext that the volunteers were unreliable;

They broke up the Macedonian national liberation front in Greece;

They banned all propaganda in the Macedonian language in Greece;

They forbade promoting the Macedonian people’s right to self-determination;

They ordered the Macedonian battalions, which had already been formed, to retreat to southern Greece. Every measure taken was aimed at stifling the Macedonian national liberation movement.

These Greek Communist moves however, did not go unnoticed so the Macedonian battalions took measures to retreat to the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, seeking protection. At the same time, a delegation of Macedonians from the Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions arrived at the NOV and PO Headquarters in Yugoslavia, which brought numerous documents of evidence about the terror and crimes committed by the Greek ELAS partisans against the Macedonian people during the past three years...” The text is entitled: “Communist against Communist.”

SECOND PHASE: The second phase, according to Evdokia Foteva – Vera, was when a larger group of Macedonians left the ranks of ELAS and joined Tito’s army. ELAS Headquarters declared them deserters and they came under CPM/CPY command.

Naum Pejov 10 - Chakalaro wrote about these events in his brochure: THE KOSTUR BATTALION IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE FIRST MACEDONIAN PEOPLE’S LIBERATION BRIGADE, December 1985, Skopje.

This is what Pejov said: “... The Yugoslav NOB and POJ units began their march towards Aegean Macedonia from Karadzova to Karaorman on Easter Day in April in the spring of 1944. One of the units, following Partisan Headquarters, established itself in the villages Bapchor and Turie in Kostur Region. In Bapchor the fighters organized a meeting during which Headquarters representative Giore Velkovski spoke. In his speech, among other things, he said that given the reluctance of the Macedonian peasants of this region to enter the ranks of ELAS, they could come and join

---

<sup>10</sup> Naum Pejov was born in the village Gabresh, Kostur Region, in 1919. He was a member of the CPG before WW II. He was arrested by the Greek police in 1939 and joined NOV in 1941. He was commander of the Macedonian partisan detachment “Lazo Trpovski”. He was a member of the SNOF District Committee for Kostur District. He led the group of fighters that left ELAS and went to the Republic of Macedonia in May 1944. He was deputy commander of the First Aegean Brigade. After the war, he held various high political and state positions in the Republic of Macedonia.

the NOB and POJ units in Vardar Macedonia. This conclusion may have been reached after assessing that the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia had a deep mistrust of the Greeks and the Greek movement and they did not want to enter into the Greek ranks. This created a genuine desire for Yugoslavia to attract these fighters into the ranks of NOB and POJ. After announcing their intentions, several villagers from the village Trsie, Lerin Region immediately voluntarily joined these units.

I (Naum Peiov) was present at that meeting in Bapchor. I was invited to attend by a letter from Anesti Panovski. At the time I was SNOF secretary in Kostur. The meeting was also attended by ELAS representatives from the Vicho detachment. Anesti Panovski served as translator. When the Greeks found out what Giore Velkovski was trying to do they became very upset and urgently sought to prevent it.

After the meeting I (Naum Peiov) met with the broader leadership from the Headquarters and with Kiro Georgievski-Deian. I wanted to know from Georgievski why NOB and POJ wanted to recruit Macedonian fighters from Greece. I especially wanted to ask if those Macedonians who were now in the ranks of ELAS could also join NOB and POJ. Georgievski's response to my question was: '... this primarily applies to fighters who want to participate in the anti-fascist struggle but who, until now, have refused to join ELAS because ELAS was entrusted to the Greek movement. These fighters did not approve of the Greek position on the Macedonian Question. Our aim is to use the anti-fascist spirit of this nation in order to perform a general mobilization of volunteer fighters. If members from the ranks of EAM and ELAS wish to cross into our ranks, we will gladly take them.'

The next day, "writes Paiov", I left for SNOF Headquarters located in the village Krchishta where I met with some Macedonian fighters from the "Lazo Trpovski" Units. The fighters I met with were Nikola Shalbarinov, Dimitar Shishkovski and Sotir Andonovski with whom I discussed Giore Velkovski's plan to recruit our people in NOB and POJ. I also met with and said the same thing to Lazo Damovski-Oshenski, Lazo Pop Lazarov and Paskal Mitrevski. But they expressed some hesitation regarding this plan and wanted to

know more so they agreed to send me and some other people to the Macedonian Headquarters in the village Sulin in Prespa. The people they selected to send with me were Nikola Shishkovski, Spiro Lazovski, Risto Jankulovski, Blagoi Daskalov and Kicha Baleva (Vera).

After arriving at Sulin, which I believe was on May 4 or 5, 1944, the group held talks with Kiro Georgievski-Deian and then left. Kicha Baleva (now Evdokia Foteva-Vera) was left behind. It was estimated that if the group stayed it would have been placed in a precarious situation.

\*\*\*

About the situation, Vicho Commissar Haralambos Haralambidis-Athanatos wrote a report detailing the meeting and what was proposed. The report was sent to ELAS General Headquarters. The report was entitled: "The politics of the Serbo-Macedonian partisans of NOB and POJ of Yugoslavia in April in the Greek territory: from Karadzhova-Prespa." See "Collection Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944/1945", vol 1 p. 135-239."

\*\*\*

Peiov further explains: "... After leaving the NOB and POJ Headquarters, the group arrived in Kostur Region in order to inform the Macedonians who wanted to leave the ELAS units and join the NOB and POJ units. But early in the morning on May 8th we were arrested and disarmed by ELAS units at a place called "Kiprievi orevi" near the village Gabresh. Among those arrested were myself (Naum Peiov), Spiro Lazarovski and Nikola Shalvarinov. We were then taken to the village D'mbeni where we were told that we would be tried for desertion and treason. The group was transferred under guard to SNOF Headquarters in the village Krchishta on May 9th.

In Krchishta we were received by the CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region, Antonis Andonakis-Periklis, and by representatives of ELAS. We were also accompanied by a large number of villagers and SNOF members who sought to liberate us.

After a lengthy discussion we were conditionally released and placed under the watch of CPG activists and ELAS units.

The situation became more and more volatile, especially with the Macedonians who served in the ranks of ELAS. There were volatile reactions from the Macedonians in the ranks of ELAS.

Under dramatic circumstances of mistrust,” writes Peiov, “we decided to leave. At dusk, on the eve of May 15, 16, 1944, around 30 fighters from the “Vicho” units got together at the village Pozdivishta and left for Mount Mali-madi towards Prespa. As we continued on our way to the Macedonian General Headquarters located in the village Sulin, we ran into more fighters who also wanted to leave. By the time we got there we were numbering about 80. There, we were received by the Political Commissar of the brigade Naum Naumovski-Borche. A plan was out together and we were dispatched to Karaorman where we were enlisted in the first Macedonian-Kosovo Brigade.”

There were strong reactions from the CPG and from ELAS headquarters. They declared an emergency and gave chase to the deserters. The reactions were not only directed at the Macedonian Headquarters but at Yugoslavia, at the Yugoslav Communist Party headquarters and at Josip Broz Tito himself.

With the fighters from Kostur Region in Karaorman switching from the ranks of ELAS to the ranks of the new NOB units in Vardar Macedonia, there was a clash in tactics between the two Communist Parties. The CPG demanded that the CPY return the “deserters” so that they could be “punished”.

The CPY, on the other hand, considered the group’s switch of allegiance a personal choice. The only way these fighters would return to the ranks of ELAS was if the CPG would allow them to form separate Macedonian ELAS units in Voden, Kostur and Lerin Regions. See: “Macedonians under Greece, the struggle against fascism 1940-1944”, p. 168.

Dobrivoje Radosavlevich - Orce, Petre Bogdanovski - Kochko and others Delegates from NOV and POJ Supreme Headquarters



participated in the talks with CPG and ELAS which took place in Voden Region in the village Rodivo on July 7, 1944 and in the village of Pozdivishta Kostur Region on Ilinden in 1944. The purpose of these talks was to further strengthen the bonds of cooperation and solidarity between the partisan units in Yugoslavia and those in Greece.

\*\*\*

Following an order from the CPG Central Committee Politburo, the CPG Bureau for Macedonia tasked ELAS Command to create, within its composition, separate Macedonian units in Voden, Lerin and Kostur Regions. Under CPG General Secretary G. Siantos's orders the Voden Macedonian Battalion was formed in the village Rodivo, Voden Region, on June 16, 1944, and the Kostur and Lerin Macedonian Battalions were formed on August 2, 1944, in the village Pozdivishta in Kostur Region.

The defectors were then ordered to be transfer from Karaorman to Koreshtata, Kostur Region.

Here is what Naum Peiov wrote: "... The Kostur Battalion decided (or perhaps was ordered?) to leave Karaorman and go to Kostur Region during the last days of July 1944. The Battalion was to go directly to the village Pozdivishta-Koreshtata (the author too returned with this Battalion). But instead of going directly to Pozdivishta, the Battalion decided to pass through the villages in Prespa and after that visited the villages V'mbel, Kosinets and D'mbeni where it held rallies calling on the people to join the fighting against the fascist occupiers.

Waiting for the Battalion's arrival in the village Pozdivishta were Petre Bogdanovski-Kocho, representative of NOV and POJ-Yugoslavia Headquarters and Renos Mihaleas, ELAS representative of IX Division. The reorganization was discussed in detail and agreements were reached with the Greek representatives about the formation a new Lerin-Kostur battalion. The announcement was made on August 2, 1944 (Ilinden) in the village Pozdivishta followed by a big rally. In the spirit of the agreement between the

CPY, the CPG, POJ and ELAS, the Macedonian people were invited to join the ranks of this all Macedonian battalion.

Even though the ranks of this new battalion were Macedonian and even though there were plenty of qualified Macedonian and loyal communists in the Karaorman unit to lead this new battalion, its leadership was entrusted to Kozmas Amindas, a Hellenized Arvanitis (Albanian). Aminda's command was shared with Ilia Dimovski - Gotse. The rest of the leading Macedonians were demoted."

\*\*\*

Immediately after their creation, the Macedonian battalions received orders to seek and destroy all armed bands, armed by the enemy. On August 21, 1944 the Kostur Battalion attacked several armed village bands and managed to disarm them without much effort. When these bands found out that the Battalions were Macedonian many surrendered without a fight and some band members requested to join the Battalions. By the end of August about 300 band members from Kostur Region alone had joined the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian battalion and considered themselves fighters of the Macedonian army. After this many band members voluntarily surrendered their arms and joined the Battalions in unprecedented numbers.

After that threats followed...

During and after these campaigns, some of these former Macedonian band members were accused of working with the enemy and were constantly threatened by extreme Greeks with threats like: "We will destroy you; we will kill you, you filthy Bulgarians, Ilinden dogs, because you want Kostur and its villages to join Bulgaria."

The former band members had accusations of their own which went something like this: "You are nothing more than thieves, you filthy Greek dogs. You come from our people but you destroyed everything of ours, our church, our language, our names, our place names, our dances, our songs... You took all these things from us and made them Greek. The people will curse you and God will

punish you... We are who we are and we will remain the guardians of our centuries old heritage.”

The moderate Macedonian communists in ELAS belonging to the CPG had some advice of their own for the band members: “Although we are all communists not all of the Greeks here are killers and hangmen like those of the old days. Come with us, join us. We are a Macedonian army and we fight with the Greeks for a better common future for the sake of both the Macedonian and Greek people.

Our fate should be tied to this native, centuries old Macedonian hearth because this is where our share of Macedonia is, this is how Macedonia was divided in 1913. Here and now we are together with the Greeks and we should solve our problems together because we Macedonians have spilled a lot of blood for the interests of the Greek state; we fought together during the Greco-Turkish War, we fought together at the Albanian front, we fought together against fascism during World War II etc. Greece is bound to respect us Macedonians because our brothers and fathers gave their lives as soldiers of the Greek army.”

And the people said: “He who does not love and respect what is his will be used by others and by strangers many times and for as long as he is useful!”

Even though the Macedonian battalions did very well in performing their tasks, the CPG Central Committee and EAM, on August 2 and 3, 1944, made a request to the Soviet government, through the Soviet military mission in Greece, to accept the Lebanon Agreement and the cabinet ministries offered by the National Unity government led by Papandreou. With this move, the Greek Party leadership renounced their pretensions to gain power by force. After that the Macedonian battalions became an obstacle to the implementation of this policy, as the civil parties that created the government did not recognize the Macedonian Nation and movement in Greece. ELAS Headquarters and the CPG then decided to disband the Macedonian battalions and deploy its fighters in the deep south of Greece as part of the ELAS units stationed there. And as such no Macedonian Military formations and no political Macedonian organizations

would exist. This news upset the Macedonians and created panic. There were various rumours floating around that by doing this the “Greeks wanted to liquidate the Macedonians”.

In short, the Macedonians were lied to and used to disarm and destroy the village bands. And the promised cooperation turned out to be a ruse.

\*\*\*

The confusion as to what was going on began after the group of fighters left Greek occupied Macedonia and joined Tito’s army. The group began to be influenced by the politics of the CPY. The group of fighters who remained in Greek occupied Macedonia began to be influenced by the CPG which in turn labeled its compatriots “deserters” and therefore “traitors”. This “split” created a paradox among the Macedonian people which has lasted to this day. Interestingly, both groups saw themselves as “patriots” and the others as “traitors”. Those who left for Yugoslavia were seen as traitors because they “fled like cowards” and left the people at home “unprotected”. Those who remained home were seen as “Greko-phils” and “traitors” by those who left because they fought on the side of the enemy, the Greeks. The best at analyzing this phenomenon were those who fled to Yugoslavia and, while they saw themselves as “patriots”, they saw everyone else as traitors, including the organizations SNOF, NOF, AFZH, NOMS, KOEM and Ilinden and the overall Macedonian movement in Greek occupied Macedonia. These people saw themselves as patriots by profession, who wanted to be rewarded for every cheer they uttered. Anyone who did not cheer for them was a traitor.

This proved that the people who allowed “ideology” to divide them, were prone to open themselves to quarreling and fighting. These double standards within a single Macedonians nation ultimately led to different visions, different desires and different situations. This ultimately led people to question “who is right and who is wrong”, a situation that further divided the Macedonian people and was easily exploitable by those who wanted to harm the Macedonian cause and the Macedonian nation.

## ORDERS FROM THE FOREIGN GODS

(Looking through military archives. See: "Aegean Macedonia in NOB September 1944 - February 1945. Volume 4 Book 3, 1996, p. 173 and 174)

Summary of Events:

October 4, 1944

A Radiograph from Svetozar Vukmanovich Tempo (also called "the most beloved brother" by the Macedonians) to Supreme Headquarters of NOB and POJ regarding the Greek resistance leadership's inappropriate attitude towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 35.

The Greeks are again seeking to crush the Macedonians in Greece. They are prohibiting them, by use of arms, from mobilizing new fighters into the Macedonian units. They are removing Macedonians from leadership positions and replacing them with Greeks. They are arresting officers, killing innocent people, prohibiting Macedonians from singing Macedonian songs and even songs about Tito.

We are advising the Macedonians to leave Greece and come to us (Yugoslavia) to avoid being intimidated, harassed and arrested. We should also receive some of the leadership comrades, authoritative Macedonians and we will form a delegation with evidence for the General Headquarters of Macedonia.

Tempo.

\*\*\*

October 5, 1944.

A Radiograph from Alexander Rankovich to Svetozar - Tempo with which he orders not to send NOV and POJ Yugoslav units to Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 3.

For now, do not send units to Greece. Send us concrete evidence so that we can launch a protest to the Greek representative (ELAS, General Headquarters, and PEEA. Andreas Dzhimas was at the Supreme Headquarters of NOV in Yugoslavia.)

\*\*\*

October 6, 1944.

A Radiograph from Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo to Supreme Headquarters of NOV and POJ, with which he reports on ELAS's oppression of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 43.

Due to the re-launching of a Greek Partisan massive terror attack against the Macedonian units in Greece, we have considered sending our units to Greece in order to fight against the Germans and in order to protect our population.

Tempo.

\*\*\*

One morning, radio London broadcast a report given by Captain Evans Hutchison Patrick. The program was devoted to the Macedonian liberation movement in Lerin and Kostur Regions, and the following was said:

“As captain and commander of the Second ELAS Battalion or Regiment 28, Goche (Ilia Dimovski), in October 1944 was ordered by ELAS command to depart for Mount Vermion (Durla). His response to that order was a flat ‘no’. He said ‘we are Macedonians and our place is in Macedonia’. I believe that Vermion was less Slavic than Vitsi, the area where Goche's battalion was then stationed and where Goche was born. He then stood up and left for

Prespa and after that he went to Monastir (Bitola) and took his battalion with him.

This battalion was joined by Chakalaro (Nahum Peiov), commander of the “Lazo Trpovski” Unit which had armed itself with captured German weapons and was fighting against the Greek bands (Andartes). He declared that his aim was to fight for a free and independent Macedonia and that he was not fighting for a Greater Bulgaria. Being Macedonian, speaking Macedonian and fighting for a free Macedonia gained him a lot of respect with the villages around Gabresh, his village of origin. His unit was attacked by ELAS and dispersed during the middle of the summer.

Even though Peiov was a communist before the war, he was disappointed with the CPG and with ELAS’s attitude towards the Macedonian Question. In May he left for Prespa with a group of his comrades and went to NOV General Headquarters located in Shulin to ask if all the Macedonians from ELAS could come and join Tito’s Army. Deian received him there and gave him shelter, but soon Peiov was reprimanded by Tito. Some say Peiov was personally removed from Tito’s army by orders from Tito himself. Peiov was sent back to ELAS under the amnesty of Goche’s battalion. When Goche got upset and left in October, Peiov kept him company all the way to Monastir (Bitola) and supported him in all his actions.

October 17, 1944.”

When Captain Markos, with his old hatred for Macedonians, found out about the fleeing battalion, he frowned and summoned all the Headquarters to immediately dispatch elite units to chase after them and destroy them.

He said: “Now... I would pursue them as I would pursue the Germans. This is a very serious issue. They might revolt in our ranks and we will suffer huge losses...”

In the book “History of the Macedonian people”, Volume 5, page 483, it says: “The Fourth ELAS Division decided to use military force to liquidate the battalion, in which it engaged ELAS Regiments 27, 28 and 53 as well as local reserves. To circumvent a

collision with ELAS and to avoid bloodshed, on October 12, 1944 the Macedonian battalion left the territory of Aegean Macedonia and moved to Vardar Macedonia. The same day and for the same reasons the Voden Macedonian battalion did the same. The total number of Macedonian fighters who severed themselves from ELAS and crossed over the Yugoslav border, numbered about 2,250”.

On October 10, 1944, when news surfaced of what was happening in Kostur and Lerin, Tempo’s emissary Rochko, from Vatasha, arrived in Sarakinovo. He asked that the battalion be placed under the command of NOV and POJ Headquarters in Yugoslavia. See: Pavle Rakovski’s Autobiography – “My Suffering”, published by AEA, Skopje, 1995.

According to CPG sources, more that 25,000 Macedonian fighters took an active role in the ranks of ELAS and ELAS reserves. See: Risto Kiriazovski “CPG and the Macedonian National Question”, p. 347.

The split and all the Macedonian paradoxes

During that period of time there was a terrible split between the Macedonian communists in Greek occupied Macedonia, a split reflected even during the Greek Civil War. The communists who remained in the ranks of the CPG continued to support the Party Line which guaranteed: “equal rights for the Macedonians within Greece”. According to our “history”, these people were considered “scum” and Greekophiles (as Evdokia Foteva – Vera calls them in her book: “To Hell and Back”, Skopje, 2005), while those who fled with the battalions to Tito’s army were labeled “deserters” and in the latter part of the Greek Civil War were called “Tito’s agents” and condemned by the CPG. This is how it was for the Macedonians of that time, a split that caused paradoxes; a split that affected the Macedonian consciousness down to the core.

After that split, during war and peace, we were a spiritually divided people and we had different visions and different desires.

\*\*\*



Rakovski in his book “CP OF GREECE AND THE MACEDONIANS” p. 108, affirms that:

“The Macedonian ELAS units were welcomed by the CPM/CPY. In fact, the Macedonian National Liberation Movement (NOD) in the Republic of Macedonia came under CPM/CPY control. The POLITICAL COMMISSION FOR AEGEAN MACEDONIA was constituted and the “FIRST AEGEAN SHOCK BRIGADE”<sup>11</sup> was created.

So, the question is: Did we believe that the Macedonians will finally feel dignified, will start realizing their dreams for the final victory in Aegean Macedonia? Unfortunately, to this day, no one has provided an assessment as to “what national and historical role did creating the Aegean Brigade in Bitola play?”

However it is necessary to emphasize that, with the formation of the political committee whose working meetings were chaired by Pekar and Minchev, as representatives of the CPM Central Committee and the First Aegean Macedonian Shock Brigade of the Aegean Macedonian National Liberation Movement, the fighters from Greek occupied Macedonia were organized into a brigade and placed in the NOV and PO composition of Macedonia in the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA), which in turn was placed under the leadership of the CPY.

In other words, “The Macedonian units from ELAS were accepted by the CPM/CPY. In fact NOD, the national liberation movement in this part of Macedonia, was passed on to the CPM/CPY leadership.”

So there was no Macedonian factor there and everything was in line with CPY policy, which had a huge impact on the Macedonian communists in Vardar Macedonia... In other words, in this historical

---

<sup>11</sup> On November 18, 1944, the “First Aegean Brigade” was created in free Bitola consisting of the fighters from the two ELAS battalions that left Greek occupied Macedonia. The Brigade was deployed in Western Macedonia (Kichevo, Gostivar and Tetovo) on December 28, 1944, with the task of fighting against Dzhemo and Mefail’s Balist (Albanian) gangs which were created during the Italian-German occupation. Then, on April 2, 1945, by a special (strictly confidential) order number 236, issued by Marshal Tito, the “First Aegean Brigade” was disbanded.

evolutionary process, the Macedonian movement was born with Yugoslav orientation: No to a United and Independent Macedonia and yes to a unified Macedonia to include the Aegean and Pirin parts, but as part of Yugoslavia.

In other words Vardar Macedonia was declared the 'Piedmont' in Macedonia's unification under the Yugoslav composition. This idea then became a slogan for NOF (organized and established in 1945 by the CPM/CPY): "We are organizing the Macedonian people into a struggle to bridge the artificial chasm between Macedonians from all parts of Macedonia, especially with the people from the People's Republic of Macedonia who are the "Piedmont" for the complete liberation and unification of all the Macedonian people."

The basic essence of those goals was to closely connect the national liberation movement in the Vardar part of Macedonia with the liberation struggle of the other nations in the Yugoslav space. But one should also take into account the CPY policy which had a huge influence on the Macedonian communists in the Vardar part of Macedonia. So, the CPY Central Committee position was to seek to channel the national liberation struggle focus into a common struggle with all the Yugoslav people.

The official Yugoslav position

At the meeting with the Greek party delegation in Belgrade, led by Anastasiadis, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, held on November 12, 1944, Josip Broz - Tito said that the question of uniting the Aegean part of Macedonia with other parts of Macedonia should not be raised and that Yugoslavia has nothing to do with it. The main task at the moment was for the National Liberation Movement in Greece to win. See: "History of the Macedonian people", volume five, p. 482.

He went on to say: With the elimination of ELAS and after the February 12, 1945, Varkiza Agreement, a new situation was created in Greece and in the Aegean part of Macedonia. Anastasiadis requested the disbandment of the First Aegean Strike Brigade. This was done by a Macedonian NOV General Headquarters' order

issued on April 2, 1945. See: “History of the Macedonian people”, volume five, p. 483.

I don't know why Evdokia Foteva - Vera did not talk about the question of why the First Aegean Strike Brigade was created and why it was disbanded? Did she not appreciate its historical and political importance?

Wasn't this part of the collective and massive fraud perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greece and in general?!

I am reminded of an old folk tale that goes something like this: “The earth does not belong to anyone, but we belong to it.”

Does it take much to understand the deep philosophy of this story? I know, from half a century of experience, that if a man leaves his country, he no longer belongs to it.

The position of ELAS and the CPG <sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> When the Party newspaper “Laiki Foni” published Bakerdzis’s infamous interview it told the world that the work done was done for the “Bulgarophone Helenes”, referring to the Macedonians. Then, when ELAS Commander General Stefanos Sarafis wrote his famous book “O ELAS” (1946, 331), he referred to the Macedonians as “Slavophone Helenes”. There is one more thing to know: Greece, after the Balkan Wars, with its Neuilly Agreement of November 27, 1919, concluded with Bulgaria, and with its 1923 Lausanne Agreement concluded with Turkey, through the so-called mandatory population exchanges, deposited many Turkish Christian colonists and settlers on Macedonian soil. As a result the Macedonian people began to lose their ethnic-territorial status in Greek occupied Macedonia. The issue of the settlers and colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia however was never discussed during World War II, when the leaders of ELAS, EAM and the CPG signed an Agreement in Lebanon on July 16, 1943, the Kaserta Agreement on September 26, 1944, and the Varkiza Agreement on February 12, 1945 with English Colonel Eddie Meyers to secure and protect Greece’s territorial integrity with its pre-war borders. So, if the CPG and the CPY knew about this then why involve the Macedonian people in the impossible attempt to re-unite Macedonia? In other words the CPY and CPG knew ahead of time that they were committing yet another fraud against the Macedonian people. They knowingly threw us into chaos so that we could be driven out of our homeland. All these demagogues who coined the slogan “United Macedonia” were well aware that they were lying to us and using us. At the same time they told the world the Macedonian question had to be dealt with because it was a threat to peace in the Balkans. But to us Macedonians, they were saying that we

Instead of attacking the remaining German units leaving the south of Greece, ELAS Commanders Evripidis Bakirdzhis and Markos Vafiadis, on October 16, 1944, issued orders to ELAS units to attack and destroy the “Slavo-Macedonian” Battalions crossing over the Yugoslav border. That was the attitude of the CPG, which shows that during that period Markos was not a “Titoist” and did not sympathize with the idea of a “United Macedonia” as part of a United Balkan Federation. (See “Studies in the history of the Greek Civil War, 1945–1949”, edited by L. Baerentzen, J.O. Smith, “Museum of Tusculanum Press”, Copenhagen 1987)

Every person who has been persecuted should ask themselves this question:

Why did ELAS want to destroy the Macedonian battalions as if they were German battalions? And now in 1946 when NOF and AFZH had entered the “joint struggle” with the Greeks, why did they expect that General Markos, the same General who personally signed the orders to destroy our Macedonian battalions in 1944, would guarantee their support and safety this time?

On July 16, 1943 ELAS Commander Sarafis and head of the English Military Mission, Colonel Eddie Myers, signed a joint declaration recognizing ELAS as an allied army and placed it under Middle East Command.

Now let us examine events that followed:

October 31, 1944 a larger group of English soldiers with armoured vehicles entered Solun before ELAS. Why? Why did the English have to enter Solun first when our own forces were right there?

---

had undisputed historic rights to our fatherland and that life made no sense without an identity, which is all true, but they lied to us to get involved so that we would sacrifice ourselves for foreign interests. According to the CPG bi-weekly newspaper “KOMER” No. 16, published in August 1943: “...there is no national interference in Greek Macedonia... The Slavic and Turkish speaking populations are displaced by convention, and the Greek population gathered from all the countries in the Balkans and Asia Minor were placed in Greek Macedonia... which has become as Greek as any area of Greece proper!” (p. 331)

Three days later the BBC broke the news that British troops had liberated Solun.

In Varkiza, a resort near Athens, on February 12, 1945 an agreement was signed between the heads of the CPG and EAM, on the one hand, and the Plastiras government and the British General Scobey on the other. By signing this agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the powerless right. This was the beginning of the end for mighty ELAS which until then had control of almost all of Greece.

Now let us see the assessment given on November 11, 1948 by the CPG Central Committee. Here is what it said: “Markos Vafiadis, as Commissar of a group of ELAS divisions in Macedonia, followed a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonian fighters.” (See “Neos Cosmos” August 1950, “Ten years of struggle”, p. 470)

But why did they say this so late in the game when Markos had already been removed from command and when they needed Macedonian soldiers to fight in the Greek Civil War? Obviously they wanted to put all the blame on Markos. They lied to the Macedonian people in order to draw them into the Greek Civil War!

People were lied to and led astray by strangers. They were made to believe that they would receive their national freedom while the Macedonian leadership was bogged down with many fruitless debates on the “Macedonian Question” with the local Greek leaders in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, appointed by the CPG and EAM.

To this day no one from the NOF or from the AFZH leadership (except for Rakovski) has given an explanation as to who “interfered” the most with the destiny of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

To this day no one has explained what Tempo’s purpose was when he invited the Kostur-Lerin and Voden Region battalions to Yugoslavia.

Did that fulfill Papandreou's request? Papandreou's government in Cairo did demand from the CPG and ELAS, specifically from CPG Secretary Siantos that he get rid of everything that was Macedonian:

“...Liquidate all non-Greek (Slavophone) political organizations and military formations in northern Greece. It will be a historical mistake for the Greeks and the Greek state, if the Slavophone formations also participated in the liberation of the cities: Kostur, Lerin, Voden and other territories that are now occupied by the Germans and Italians...”

\*\*\*

How did Macedonian history interpret the defection of the Macedonian battalions from Greece and the creation of the shock brigade in Bitola?

Let us have a look at the speech given during the 61<sup>st</sup> strike brigade's anniversary celebration and try and determine the real ultimate reason and today's justifications for what happened. See the monthly newspaper “Voice of the Aegean”, year 2, number 4, December 2005.

“...Although the Macedonian fighters in the Second World War (1939-1945) fought in the ranks of the progressive Greek forces against the foreign occupiers, the CPG leadership did not allow the Macedonian movement to develop in the Aegean region. By not allowing special detachments to be formed together with the Greek liberation units in the districts where a compact Macedonian population lived, actually showed that the CPG did not want the Macedonians to be fully mobilized in the fight against the occupiers. Leading a cunning policy, the CPG eliminated the flare-up of the Macedonian combat units in the beginning. Despite the great successes the detachment led by Ilia DIMOV – Goche had, the Greeks ordered both political and military structures to move south deep inside Greece. For those reasons, the detachment moved to the territory of Vardar Macedonia. Here, more precisely, in Bitola, under order number 1, the First People's Liberation Strike Brigade was formed on November 18, 1944, by grouping the Kostur, Lerin

and Voden battalions and arming them with heavy weapons. This brigade was engaged in combat activities that liberated the western part of Vardar Macedonia, mostly the Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar and Kichevo areas...”

However, the question remains: Shouldn't these Macedonians been cautious and worked for the progress of their people, precisely in their original hearths, inside Greece? By leaving their home these battalions abandoned their homeland in Aegean Macedonia as well as the centuries-old aspiration for their own piece of land. We Macedonians living in Greece should have been well aware that we were living in Greek occupied Macedonia and our roots were there.

In conclusion: Permanent revolutionary values are always current, but did we Macedonians, by leaving our country, leave such historical values? By “escaping” from Greece, did we expect or wish to solve the Macedonian Question inside Greece? Did the shock brigade have a vision of where it was going and why it left its people behind unprotected?

So, why, even 60 years later, are issues that make no sense and did not add value to the Macedonian cause, are still emphasized?

In retrospect, if you look at the Macedonian situation in Greece and the Greek intention to get rid of us from our native hearth wouldn't you think that the battalions leaving our native soil was the first step to our political organized exodus? And who did this exodus benefit the most? The Greeks of course! It is clear as day, even though it has never been recorded in our history that our mass exodus from Greece during this period began with the battalions leaving. Because, from then on, the wheel of the Macedonian people's fate started turning faster and faster, especially during the Greek Civil War, until almost no one was left behind. When the battalions left Greece what did they do? Did they regroup and organize an offensive to liberate our people? No! They joined Tito's army in another country and fought for Yugoslav interests.

The Macedonians, who fled Greece illegally, especially during the Greek Civil War years, were identified by both the Greek state and the CPG as people manipulated by the Yugoslavs and charged with

committing “treason” and for working for another Party and for foreign interests. These particular charges have opened many historical questions...

So, we Macedonians living in Greece, now had a new historical division not only between the Macedonian communist actions, but also between pro-Greek and anti-Greek factions.

It seems to me that this was no accident. It is undeniable that the news about our battalions joining Tito’s army created a large impression on all the Macedonians who remained in Greece. But at the same time, it is quite natural for us Macedonians, along with the feeling of joy, to grow the feeling of sadness: we left our families, our homes and everything that our ancestors mourned and kept safe for centuries. We rejoiced because we thought we were “brotherly” welcomed... He who is not afraid to tell the truth, no matter how bitter it may be, is strong. In moments like these however the weak tend to lie. Maybe the CPY and the CPG did this to us on purpose, to keep Macedonians in fear, in submission, and our submission was killing us as a nation. Through their ideologies towards the Macedonians, the CPY and CPG were able (with well-thought-out joint efforts) to kill the Macedonian national feeling without a bullet, with only one goal: to maintain the status of the borders, according to the 1913 agreement with which they partitioned Macedonia.

We may disagree, but I really don’t understand what we were thinking in those days. From analyzing events, it seems to me like we were (and still are) in conflict with ourselves. I don’t understand how those who left and joined Tito’s army could love their hearths in Greek occupied Macedonia more than those who remained behind and fought to preserve their native culture? I don’t understand how those who left Greece can claim that they fought more for the affirmation of the Macedonians in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions than those who remained where they were born and fought for their survival. They fought where they were born, where it was their primordial right to defend their homeland and ancestral hearth. Another thing we should all understand is that the freedom fighters from Kostur (The Macedonian committee) and from other areas who fought for the preservation of our Macedonian homeland were the same people as us who fought with the progressive forces. We



invited them to join us and they did because they believed we were committed to the Macedonian cause. And let us not forget the progressive forces had committed many sins against them. We must not forget our fraternity.

I personally think that we Macedonians either had no idea what it meant to leave our homes and go to another, a foreign country, or we had high hopes that someone else, an outsider, was going to save us and completely relied on Tito for that. Or perhaps we believed that the communists will help us... or not help us... Or we thought the Yugoslav communists were all-powerful and that we should leave our fate completely in their hands. One thing I do know is that we should never have put ourselves in such an unreserved position.

Some of the Macedonian communists who remained in the CPG ranks reacted and addressed those Macedonians who went over to Tito's army as follows: "You have forever turned your back on your homeland and your people. Our struggle should be here, and only in this way we will be able to show our struggle and care for our people here. You will turn into people who are other people's servants and you will not be able to return?" I wonder: can someone else's servant be the master of his people, that is, the leader of his own people? (A question for both sides...). Those who left unfortunately were used by the CPY and put to work for Yugoslav interests. And those who remained in the CPG ranks were no better because they failed to protect the Macedonian people including our patriotic freedom fighters in Kostur and other areas who did not become servants of anyone. They did not raise a hand against the Macedonian people, but we raised a hand against them, fulfilling the orders and advice of ELAS and Tempo.

Each one of us should wonder: why and from what did we suffer? We suffered from ourselves. That's how we Macedonians, by developing a system to spread fear among our people, pushed them into submission making them act disastrously!

We could not be both worldly (cosmopolitan) and have order and justice for ourselves because justice has always been served by the yardstick of the stronger. And we were not the stronger.

Now with our people gone to Tito's army to fight for Yugoslav interests we were again divided. As the days went by, influenced by different ideologies and other factors, we began to question our common origin and separate our lives. Our common struggle and concern for our people became different and so did our recollection of events. Ignoring our true enemies (CPG and CPY) we began to view each other as the enemy. And precisely for those reasons we were manipulated by the foreigners and we alienated ourselves from our own people. We have become hostages to an objectively difficult problem and therefore we should not have been surprised by the ferocity of Greek nationalism and extremism.

All these criticisms of each other were a result of unclear thinking on our part. These manipulations and setups by the foreigners were killing us as a nation. Through their ideologies towards us they were able to kill our people without firing a bullet, humiliate them, devalue them as a people, and intimidate them...

After it became clear to the CPY and CPG as well as to the international factor that they had succeeded into manipulating us Macedonians into question one another's motives they moved to the next step of their plan to have the Macedonians in Greece exterminated by all means possible and make it look like it was own fault. This is why NOF and AFZH were created. They were created to go back to Greece and start a war, but against whom, the Greek state, the CPG, DAG, the Macedonians with who they disagreed... or all of the above? The bait used to convince the Macedonians to go back to Greece and fight was the Macedonian National Question. NOF and AFZH were convinced that an even greater maximum could be obtained on that issue? But 55 years later, not even Evdokia Foteva – Vera could provide an answer as to why they were really sent back. Instead she talks about personal issued and dismisses the basic political and strategic national issues like she was not part of them. Well, let me say that if we don't find out what really happened than "it can happen again..."

The question is: Who lured the Macedonians living in Greece into the ideological WASTE in which they disappeared and lost their voice, their humanity and their hope of ever returning home again.

What did the Greek Civil War bring us and why the CPY and CPG did organized that war. Why did we Macedonians bought into their ideologies and deceptions and why did we (self) sacrifice ourselves?

We need to get to the core of these issues not just for knowing the truth but for the sake of avoiding the same problems in the future!

THE THIRD PHASE: Vera's career and like she said: NOF and AFZH's development and activities.

The first phase was when "secret" illegal political activities took place from April 23, 1945 to October 10, 1946 which were led by the CPY. According to Vera this phase took place in the Federal Republic of Macedonia in Skopje, from May 1945 to the end of July of the same year, they ended with a three-month course at the CPM Central Committee facilities." See: Pg. 87 in her book "To Hell and Back".

In order to make things clear we need an answer from the NOF and AFZH leadership in which Vera was a member. We need an answer to: "What was the national strategy that can be proven, why NOF and AFZH (the People's Liberation Front for the Aegean part of Macedonia) were created on April 23, 1945, outside and independently of the CPG and of any other political entity in Greece that has been operating and managed by the CPM/CPM for more than a year.

What guarantees or protection did NOF and AFZH have from the CPM/CPY that they could count on in the future. Did they even ask or just assumed that such guarantees came automatically? Were there any misunderstandings about what the Macedonian national question meant to the Macedonians from Greece verses what it meant to the CPM/CPY? Without answers from the leaders who sent the Macedonian people to war and brought them to their destruction what are we to assume? Are we to assume the NOF and AFZH leaderships, on one side blindly followed CPM/CPY orders and led us into the abyss, or were they party to the CPM/CPY plans all along? How can we know for sure when they refuse to tells us (the truth).

The second and third phase started with the CPG “recognizing” NOF and AFZH and taking them under its control and ended when DAG was liquidated at the end of August 1949, when the entire NOF and AFZH leadership was “subjugated” and punished by the CPG. Now let us follow Vera’s most turbulent activities as AFZH leader.

## THE HIGH PRICE OF THE MASS POLICY APPLIED TO THE MACEDONIANS IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945 - 1949) WAS A TRIAL MODEL FOR ORGANIZING THE MIGRATION MOVEMENTS AND IT REALLY SUCCEEDED FOR THEM.

In early 1945 it was clear that Germany’s capitulation was imminent. The end of the bloodiest clash of civilizations was nearing. World War II was coming to an end and humanity with its many sacrifices and great heroism wished to close the book on this conflict. The world impatiently stared out of the darkness that was imposed on it by the dark forces of Berlin, Tokyo and Rome. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met in Yalta <sup>13</sup> and agreed on who was going to influence whom in the new world. The Allied troops from the West and the Red Army from the East were on their way to Berlin, the heart of the Third Reich. Hitler could not take the humiliation and committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Berlin fell on May 2, 1945 and Germany finally surrendered on May 9, 1945.

---

<sup>13</sup> In December 1944, the British provoked an armed clash with ELAS units in Athens. On February 12, 1945, the Varkiza Agreement was signed. By virtue of this agreement, all ELAS units throughout Greece capitulated and were liquidated, although only some remained active in Athens but were attacked and defeated by the combined forces of the British and the domestic reactionaries.

Cold War: Many historians dealing with the recent history of Europe and the world have concluded that the meeting of the “Big Three” that took place from July 17 to August 5, 1945 in the town Potsdam near Berlin, in the Selienkopf Palace, was basically useless except for one historically relevant consequence - the opening of the so-called Cold War. Since then, the allies of the anti-Hitler coalition, Great Britain (Winston Churchill), the United States (Harry Truman) and the Soviet Union (Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin), who managed to defeat German fascism with extreme efforts, stopped respecting each other, opening the stage in recent history that would only later get the name Cold War.

Iron curtain: It was at the conference in Potsdam that Winston Churchill formulated the phrase “iron curtain” that marked the division of Europe into spheres of influence.

Unfortunately, as it has always been in human history, the great powers remained the main actors in international life. They continued to increase their power and spread their influence beyond their borders in an attempt to model the world in accordance with their own interests. Thus, when the political and military alliance that defeated fascism fell apart in 1945, a “security dilemma” developed and began to erode relations between America and the Soviet Union.

\*\*\*

In her book, Vera has shown practically no interest in Macedonia and the Macedonian people being divided by four states, but also about that period of time when the states found themselves under the influence of various political spheres (globalization - secular ideology) and this is where the following questions arise:

Questions that so far many authors have not touched in their books written about the Aegean Macedonians.

**DURING THE NOF AND ZFZH ILLEGAL PHASE (Secret, illegal political activities) DID THE MACEDONIANS UNDER GREECE OFFER A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL SURVIVAL OF THEIR HEARTS?**

Here are some undeniable facts and key moments in NOF’s history. NOF, it appears, disregarded or did not know what was going on in the world before it entered into a conflict (to self-sacrifice its people) for other people’s interests. This means that it followed a pure ideology that had no real human context with the Macedonian peasant living in Greece. What NOF did is knowingly or unknowingly deceived its own people.

How was that possible?

Who wanted the peaceful Macedonian population living in Greece, to enter the global process of Sovietizing the Balkans? The communists (CPY/CPG) of course!

And why did these Macedonians enter the socialist model in the Balkans, especially after the Second World War was over when that model was already outdated and meaningless? Because the communists offered them what they wanted the most: human rights and the possibility to re-unite Macedonia. This however, turned out to be a lie because after WW II ended, re-uniting Macedonia was no longer possible because, as Churchill put it, the “Iron Curtain” dividing east from West was drawn in the center of Macedonia. So why did the communists lie given that it was nearly impossible to re-unite Macedonia? Because, as we will show, the so called Greek Civil War was motivated for nefarious reasons which included the expulsion of the Macedonian people from Greece.

It is well known that Greece and the other Balkan countries that occupied Macedonia had long term plans to either assimilate the Macedonian population or get rid of it. This is what the various “legal migration movements” carried out since Macedonia’s occupation and division in 1912 - 1913 were all about. So, this was the next step in the evolution of getting rid of the Macedonians from Greece, this time through ideological activism! The same foreigners who created catastrophic consequences for the Macedonian nation since pre-1912 were now doing it through ideological activism. In other words, they, through lies and manipulation convinced the Macedonian villagers in Greece to pick up guns and fight for their rights. But instead of giving them their rights they massacred them and permanently exiled the survivors and their families. Worst than that was the foreigners who started and lead this war put the blame on those poor villages and forced them to accept responsibility for what happened.

Being blamed for something that was not under their control, the poor villagers kept silent for the next fifty years while those same foreigners and their lackeys decided their fate and wrote their history.

Over fifty years later there are people who still insist that for the Macedonian people in Greece, the Greek Civil War was some kind of a grass roots autochthonous revolution - a continuation of the Ilinden Uprising - and are refusing to accept it for what it was. This

thesis however is problematic! Even though no one wants to admit that mistakes were made, the truth will eventually come out.

No one wants to admit that lives were sacrificed and people lost everything because mistakes were made, especially those Macedonians, such the NOF leaders, who initially encouraged and later forced the Macedonian villagers to fight in an ideological war designed not to help them, but harm them. They were expected to give it their all believing everything the NOF activists told them. After all they were Macedonians, and who to trust more than the Macedonian leadership. It is true that the NOF leadership was responsible for dragging the Macedonian people in this war but did they know what they were doing?

Let us look at the situation on the ground:

1. During the war period the Macedonian people were living divided in four sovereign countries each with a different political system and separated by the iron curtain

Worst than that was the application of the famous “Comintern thesis” which called for “One state - one party”, which had severe consequences for the Macedonian resistance movement operating in those countries.

Speaking of the “iron curtain”, after the Second World War ended and the famous great powers agreement on the division of spheres of influence was signed, the Macedonian people found themselves in the following situation:

The Macedonians living in the Vardar part of Macedonia (the Republic of Macedonia) found themselves 50% under eastern and 50% under western influence.

The Macedonians living in the Pirin part of Macedonia, in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia found themselves 90% under eastern and 10% under western influence.

The Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia found themselves 100% under western influence.

The Macedonians living in the Albanian part of Macedonia found themselves 10% under western and 90% under eastern influence.

Over time, after Macedonia was divided, especially after the 1919 Treaty of Versailles was put into effect and the Macedonian people's liberation struggle became illegal, and after Stalin dissolved the Comintern on May 15, 1943, under pressure from the USA and Great Britain to allow each communist party to decide on national matters on its own, it became increasingly more difficult for the Macedonian people to pursue their common struggle.

This also meant that if a Macedonian organization were to exist in any of those four states which called for a common struggle under one united Macedonian front, it would be treated and condemned in advance as secessionist, treasonous, destructive and factional. The state-legal realities of the state-occupiers who occupied and established power in the occupied Macedonian territories were strictly opposed to Macedonian national aspirations. The Macedonian national movement under these conditions acquired a separatist character (like it happened with NOF in 1945). This was true not only with the CPG but also with all four communist parties (Yugoslav, Bulgarian, Greek and Albanian). Here the essence of the problem can be defined by asking several questions. To be clearer and to avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to explain these problems accordingly.

The situation in Greece and the attitude of Great Britain and the United States.

Since Britain, under the Yalta agreement was given full influence over Greece which had 51% possession of the Macedonia's territory, then Britain also had something to say. According to a document entitled "Macedonia – Memorandum", dated August 16, 1944, written by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: "Britain was ready to give consent for the establishment of a Macedonian state within the framework of a federal Yugoslav state. At the same time, the British insisted that this country must not annex or claim other territories, regardless of whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or Greece."



Further down the same document the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made sure to remind everyone about: “The Agreement on the division of spheres of influence, and that Greece was 100% under British influence, with the right, if necessary, to be able to intervene at any time by any means possible;

That, in the summer of 1944, Tito had asked the Macedonian NOV units to secure Greece’s southern border, meaning they had to protect the sovereign borders of these countries;

That, at that time, the USA demanded STATUS - QUO in preserving the pre-war borders of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece...And that the USA was categorically against any kind of revision, even though it recognizes the Macedonian territory in Greece. (See: Vlado Ivanovski: “Why not to Solun”, “Nova Makedonija”, October 11-12, 1997, issue 3.)

Reactions and other events during that period in Greece

1. On April 17, 1946, the Solun right-wing newspaper “Nea Alithia” published an article entitled “Sudetenland of Greece, in which they talk about the Macedonians and qualify themselves as Sudetenlanders and as such, the newspaper wrote: “... in the interest of peace and security in Greece, they should be liquidated”.

The nationalist newspaper “Ethnikos Kirikas” wrote: “80,000 Slavo-Macedonians should be expelled from Greece as soon as possible”. The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper “Eleftheros Tipos” on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: “...Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia – let them go wherever they want to go...”

3. What was the attitude of the English ambassador in Athens?

“English Ambassador to Athens, Mr. R.A. Leeper, back in November 1944 toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in

which, among other things, he wrote "... and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941." (5a) (See: FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R 20431/1009/67.)

However, Leeper himself concluded that at that moment it was impossible. That idea was nevertheless realized during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949).

During the same period of time, Captain Evans and his men (of whom 18 were English) moved to Aegean Macedonia and analyzed the overall situation among the Macedonians who received him and his man and showed him trust and respect. Evans obtained first hand information during the period from March to October 1944 while stationed in the villages Bapchor, Turie and Drbishta near Mala Prespa. Some people he met proposed to create VMRO organizations and movements for establishing a so called Autonomous Macedonia under the patronage of England and America. These proposals, deemed propaganda, were based on and referred to information provided from the large number of migrant workers in America, Australia and Canada. All these actions were managed by the experienced Evans, who was an Intelligence Service agent. So, everything became clear to him and to England about what the mood was like among the Macedonians living in that region of Greece. Unfortunately his findings were used in the Greek Civil War to get rid of us Macedonians from Greece. And as it turned out it seems that NOF and AFZH supported that idea either knowingly or unknowingly.

4. According to historical facts, in 1945 and after the end of the Second World War, as many as 35, 000 ethnic Albanians – Chams from the Muslim religion, who placed themselves under Italy's protection, were expelled from Greece because the Greeks claim the Chams cooperated with the occupying German authorities. Greece declared that that chapter of its history and in Albanian-Greek relations was closed with the excuse that: "They (the Chams) collaborated with the Italian-German occupiers during the Second

World War and, being war criminals, were punished according to Greek law.”

CPY’s position and that of the People’s Republic of Macedonia

## WHY SREM AND NOT SOLUN?

People who are not entirely familiar with the situation surrounding World War II often raise the question “why did the Macedonian units have to go to the Srem front and not to Solun to liberate and unite Macedonia?” There was also the Artillery Brigade rebellion at Skopje Kale (Fort) on January 7, 1945, when officers and soldiers began to yell “to Solun, to Solun, to Solun!!!” Those rebelling were immediately turned back and some were charged with disobedience, convicted and sent to prison. Historians, who have researched this period, say the decision to send the Macedonians to Srem was not decided by one person, but by the ASNOM presidium, the highest body of the newly formed Macedonian government, after it received a direct order from Supreme Commander Josip Broz Tito.

There were several reasons why the army could not be sent to Solun. At that time there was a British presence in Greece. Stationed in Greece were around 200,000 British troops, 400 British planes and 3,000 British tanks. Besides the British there were about 100,000 Greek troops belonging to the Greek coalition and Solun was also protected by 10,000 Royal Yugoslav troops. All of them were under British command led by General Scobey. If the Macedonian army took the road to Solun, it would have had to fight against the British and their anti-fascist allies, too great a force to defeat. A collision such as this would have also jeopardized Macedonia’s chances of becoming a Yugoslav Republic and no Macedonian state would exist today. But because they avoided such a collision, the allied missions and their representatives attended the first ASNOM session.

Much has been written about this subject (See: Vlado Ivanovski: "Nova Makedonija" from October 11-12, 1997. no. 3: “Why not to Solun”. Transferred from Macedonian Times, especially number 3: “Why not to Solun” which provides an overview of events, especially in the sub-headings: “Desires stronger than

circumstances” and “Attitudes of the Great Powers”), that deserve special attention. Other authors too have tackled this subject and all of them have handled it with great ease. But no one has tackled it better or more in-depth than historian Vlado Ivanovski, who also reveals all the actions taken by the CPM/CPY.

Very competently and with irrefutable facts! Here is what Ivanovski says:

1. Conduct of the three great powers of the anti-fascist coalition: the USSR, the U.S. and the UK;
2. It is an undeniable fact that the “unification of Macedonia” was a problem for the CPY during the time of NOV and PC;
3. We cite the document from August 16, 1944, entitled “Macedonia – Memorandum”, by the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, which said: “We are ready to give consent to the formation of a Macedonian state within federal Yugoslavia. But we have to insist that this country must not attempt to annex, or seek any other territories, regardless of whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or Greece.”
4. There was mention of State Agreements on the division of interest, and that Greece was 100% under British influence, with the right, if necessary, at any time be able to intervene with all possible means;
5. That Tito, in the summer of 1944, requested of NOV units in Macedonia to secure the southern border with Greece. That meant to protect the sovereignty of the borders of these states;
6. That, at that time the United States emphasized the necessity to preserve the territorial integrity of “status quo” to prewar borders for Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece and that the United States was categorically opposed to any border revision, even though it recognized the Macedonian territory in Greece.

And at the end he concludes:

“...The political and military leadership of Macedonia realistically estimated, held and controlled the situation during the January events, not allowing emotions to prevail above reason and logic, preventing the newly formed and fragile federal Republic of Macedonia from being drawn into a war. The consequences of which would have been catastrophic.”

If we had to look into our history for the sake of our future, I would be interested to know and it is my duty as a participant in the Greek Civil War, to investigate the roots of evil, i.e. whose pushed out people into the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949), right after the Second World War? Are we Macedonians to blame for the de-Macedonian-ization of Greek occupied Macedonia? Did we have a strategy to preserve our centuries-old hearths, or did this help Greece achieve its objectives...

I don't want to talk about how only others are to blame for what happened to us Macedonians. Our historiography has hidden many things and, for more than half a century, no one has said: how and why did the CPM allow Yugoslavia to have a two-sided policy, public and secret - with which they encouraged the Macedonian people living in Greece to participate in an armed struggle. Wasn't that against the will of the Macedonian people? With that, didn't the Macedonian people allow someone else to shape their destiny? Why were the guilty actions of the CPM/CPY not explained in the Macedonian integral historiography? Why is Vera hiding this to this day?

The problem looks complicated, but that's the way it is at first glance. The truth can be simple if we look at it honestly and impartially with a sense of historical objectivity. So the question is: Were we the Macedonians (about 3% of the total population in Greece, after all the ethnic changes that took place) in Greek occupied Macedonia, politically and militarily capable, under the leadership of NOF and AFZH, as intimated by these organizations, to preserve the territorial integrity and compactness of the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia after World War II, after the borders between Greece and Yugoslavia became international military borders between the two camps of the cold war?!

## SOUND OF WAR: Policy changing events - steps taken leading to the hellish Greek Civil War

Here are some facts and arguments which prove evil doesn't fall from the sky but is part of our story in these conflicting Balkan states.

1. By order No. 236 issued directly by Tito on April 2, 1945, the First Aegean Brigade was disbanded;
2. This may have been as a result of Tito's following statement made in Moscow on April 26, 1945, when he gave an interview for the "New York Times" during which he said: "If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations". See: Yugoslav-Soviet treaty of friendship signed April 11, 1945 in Moscow, and FO 371/48388/7762.
3. According to official historiography: There is no doubt that the establishment of NOF, AFZH and NOMS had political aims as confirmed by historian Risto Kiriazovski's works (1966/181) in an attempt to reveal the "truth" by leaving us clues. But on the other hand Kiriazovski pushed the thesis that we led a Revolution and not a fraud perpetrated through the creation of NOF and AFZH. And finally in his latest book, Kiriazovski gives us yet another clue by saying that NOF and AFZH were led by the CPY/CPM during the period from April 24, 1945 to October 16, 1946.

Anyone who has read our history and those who want to know what happened will easily discover how we Macedonians made mistakes and how we put ourselves in perilous situations.

It is time that Macedonian history debunks the games played by "the great leaders, by the statements and by those who led this horror show perpetrated against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. It is time for the Macedonian people to know:

“WHO ACTIVATED THE “MACEDONIAN SYNDROME” OF (SELF) SACRIFICES IN THE YEARS 1945 TO 1949 DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR!?”

Why is that important? Because the Greek Civil War was the most tragic event that the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have experienced, which not only killed many but uprooted even more from their centuries old hearths and left them with a deep sense of alienation.

It would have been authoritative, as a living witness, if Evdokia Foteva – Vera, one of the AFZH leaders responsible for the agitation and mobilization of Macedonian women into the struggle, had spoken about this matter and answered the questions put forth in this write-up. Unfortunately she too passed on and by-passed these relevant historical issues, leaving us engulfed in fog. Why did NOF and AFZH choose war over all other options? More importantly why did NOF and AFZH allow exclusive foreign (Greek) leadership over the Macedonians? Up to now nothing has been said about this from the leadership. What were the aims behind forming a “National Liberation Front” platform, part of which were NOF and AFZH?

Now let us see how NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created according to Pavle Rakovski, one of its founders. In his autobiography “My Suffering”, published by AEA, 2000 on page 341 Rakovski wrote:

“In the middle of April 1945, I received a message from Dzhodzho Urdov asking me to immediately leave for Skopje. I did. The political committee by then had already been dismissed. In its place, at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia in Skopje on April 23, the National Liberation Front-NOF belonging to the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (its members were selected without a conference and without elections, but by cooption) was constituted or formed. Pascal Mitrevski<sup>14</sup> was given

---

<sup>14</sup> Pascal Mitrevski, as acting Secretary of the Political Commission of the Macedonians under Greece, after a CPM Central Committee decision in the beginning of February 1945, was sent to Belgrade to attend the quarterly party political school organized by the CPY Central Committee. (See: “The time of Pascal Mitrevski - 1912 to 1978”, by T. Mamurovski, 1992.)

a free hand to choose four more people and reassemble the central governing body – a five-member Bureau. He called me and told me this then he asked me for my opinion about which other four people, besides him, did I think should lead this bureau? I suggested the following: Georgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Ilo Dimakov-Goche, Naum Peiov, and Mahail Keramidzhiev.

He thanked me and left. He then constituted the Bureau as follows: Paskal Mitrevski, Georgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Mihail Keramidzhiev, Tanas Koroveshov and Pavle Rakovski.

I have already mentioned that I respected Mitrevski because he was trusted by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Party state leadership. I appreciated and respected the man simply and openly. And it seems to me that is why he decided to choose me and include me in the NOF highest governing body.

After the first sitting, the five of us went to the field to lay NOF's foundations. This was at Kostur, Lerin, Voden, Enidzhe-Vardar and Seres Regions..."

DID OUR BLOODY STORY, THE STORY OF THE MACEDONIANS IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA BEGIN WITH THE ILLEGAL DECISIONS OF NOF AND AFZH?

(Prisoners of submission and subjection - half a century, one truth trapped in an eternal secret)

What exactly was the plan for NOF and AFZH when they were formed in Skopje under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPM)? Did the leadership of NOF and AFZH, perhaps unconsciously, by order of strangers, import the "revolution" to Greek occupied Macedonia!? And through NOF and AFZH the good old principle 'if you are not with us you are against us' was applied? Was ideological activism an alibi for further destruction of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia? What exactly happened to us? Why and for what reason was this need for 'massive retaliation'? Tell me, are we Macedonians responsible for this disastrous venture!?"



DID NOF HAVE A VISION OF WHERE IT WAS GOING?!

Will we ever have the virtue to say that that decision was a wrong and a tragic policy for the Macedonians living in Greece?

The foreign philosophy actually imposed a very sensitive and harsh test on the ordinary Macedonian peasant with an ideologically violent resolve, but also stigmatized those who were not resolute or were against such absurdities as national fronts. All this turned out to be: A MEANINGFUL CHECK OF THE ENTIRE MACEDONIAN POPULATION'S MACEDONIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND IT WAS OBTAINED IN THE FIRST PERIOD FROM APRIL 23, 1945 TO OCTOBER 1946.

The fact is this was a time when we wanted less and less of our past and thinking less of returning back to Greece. The Macedonian consciousness of itself, of its reality, was completely turned towards the ideological activism we were facing. IT WAS ALSO AN ALIBI FOR DESTROYING THE MACEDONIANS IN GREECE. The foreigners wanted to push us back into the arms of the Asia Minor settlers and colonists who led the CPG, EAM, the CPG Central Committee, the CPG Politburo, the main DAG Headquarters, etc. Everything was harnessed and painfully and venomously aimed right at us Macedonians.

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1945 AND THE CREATION OF NOF, AFZH AND NOMS, THROUGH CPM/CPY POLICY FOR THE OPTIMAL MESSAGE FOR THE ENTIRE MACEDONIAN POPULATION IN SOUTH MACEDONIA

(There was chaotic uncertainty in the Macedonian outlook with much fury and shock. We entered a dramatic situation an event to remember. We took a big step into the (un) known on April 23, 1945. It was a day (time) full of asymmetric and painful destiny hoops. No one asked what the Macedonian people wanted but were deceived with many empty promises by people who could not deliver them)

## WHAT HAPPENED TO US? WHY AND FOR WHAT REASON WAS A “MASS REVENGE” STRATEGY DEVELOPED?

So we created: NOF – A National Liberation Front for our men, NOMS – A National Liberation Front for our youth, and AFZH – An Anti-Fascist National People’s Front for Women. After this was done no one talked about anything in Aegean Macedonia except for politics. A kind of climate was created that it was as if no one had time to look at other problems, other than politics and excessive agitation - to such an extent that people became politically jaded.

Why didn’t the Greeks form a similar front for Greek women before the start of the Greek Civil War? They only formed such an organization on October 23, 1948, in the village Rudari – Prespa. The organization was called PDEG (All-Greek Democratic Union of Women). It was not an Anti-Fascist Front!?

A long ago Vera should have explained the ideological platform for the mass mobilization of Macedonian woman to the front, which led to childlessness and the de-Macedonian-ization of the Macedonian home.

An Anti-Fascist National People’s Front for Women?! To fight against whom?! Who were these women opposing?! What was the purpose of their struggle?! Were their political messages to the people clear?! Did they understand that they had joined to struggle that called for the “Sovietization of the Balkans?”... the creation of a “Balkan Federation?”... or the creation of a United Macedonia?” Did they understand that neither Stalin nor Tito in that period of time wanted the realization of such undertakings? Unfortunately during the past half century or so, these questions were exploited mostly by people with a pro-Yugoslav attitude, to obscure the real political and military engagements and problems. But after the outbreak of the Greek Civil War, it turned out that their priority was to “resolve minority issues between Greece and Yugoslavia?” In other words, to “get rid of the Macedonians from Greece!”

Didn’t the NOF and AFZH leaders ever ask themselves: Why weren’t the other large minorities living in Greece, such as the Turks, Vlachs, Albanians, etc., offered the same concessions as the

Macedonians? Was it because no one wanted them to push them into the chaos?

This is especially unclear: An Anti-fascist women's front!? Fascism was declared defeated on May 9, 1945. Why exactly were the Macedonian women (only in the Aegean part of Macedonia) asked to open an Anti-fascist front when fascism was declared defeated? Did the Greek women form such a front? The answer is: NO! Shouldn't the NOF and AFZH leaders, especially Vera, have explained why this was asked only of the Macedonian women who were pushed into the hell of the war?

Why did such an unprecedented family revolution take place so spontaneously, like thunder, like a drop from the sky, so massive, so frontal?! Why did such an unprecedented absurdity take place in a civilized world?!

The model for mass participation in politics was applied in all the Great Revolutions since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was used as a means to mobilize the masses into action. However, by the end of WW II the people of Europe were exhausted by these cycles of mobilization. People suffered greatly in both life and material losses. Over fifty million died for these totalitarian ideologies. On top of that tens of millions were left homeless and had to find homes elsewhere. So, for them and for human civilization, this historical model was already exhausted.

So, the conditions for a mass armed struggle in Greece were not right. The people did not want another armed struggle. Greek historiography also confirmed that the conditions for a mass armed struggle in Greece did not really exist. The democratic forces, after the four-year war with the occupiers (Germany and Italy), were not ready for an even more difficult struggle. The majority of the people preferred to go to prison and to the concentration camps, rather than fight in the mountains again. The people from the city, even from the suburbs, were absent from DAG, and so were the participants of ELAS and the resistance movement. DAG managed to register only about 24 - 25,000 fighters in its ranks, not on a voluntary basis, but through forced mobilization, and that from the villages. The burden

of this fight fell mainly on the Macedonians, where old and young, man and women, were involved precisely because they were convinced (pushed) by NOF and the AFZH.

It seems that we have no explanation as to how and why NOF and AFZH were so successful in implementing the “model for mass participation in politics” exactly in Aegean Macedonia where only 3% of the total population in Greece lived? NOF and AFZH broke down all barriers and feverishly infiltrated the daily lives of individuals, making each of them a subject - or a pawn in the collective game. If we know that after the end of the Second World War, especially during the period of the so-called cold war and the fierce ideological confrontation between East and West, the term communism would acquired an emphasized ideological meaning... Namely, in journalism and even in political science in Western countries, especially in the USA, the term “communism” would be used as a synonym for Stalinism; as a system of political dictatorship and terror, but also full of subversive and conspiratorial actions. Within that context the expression “world communism” would be used to denote virtually any movement that sought to disrupt the existing economic and political interests of the major Western countries. Thus, the term communism turned into a propaganda cliché. Much was invested for the protection of the new regime in Greece; our stigmatization started there and then and still exists to this day, i.e. the problem with the name for example... and still we Macedonians don't understand why this is happening to us.

How much and what kind of price do we Macedonians have to pay for our mass involvement in this political game?

First, we paid a high price with the number of casualties we received in the Greek Civil War. There was not a single family that did not lose a family member.

Second, we lost a large segment of our identity during and after that war: the Macedonian family was torn apart and disorganized. With all that death and destruction people left their Macedonian homes and villages. An incredible number of them left, leaving their native hearths empty forever because they were not allowed to return. Then

it became a great challenge for them to create a new life outside their homeland.

And, finally, the Macedonian people need to know that the idea of a united Macedonia has been surrendered.

Questions that have often been asked:

1. By creating NOF, AFZ and NOMS, after the Second World War ended, did we, ourselves, not cause the fatal fate of the Macedonian people living in Greece?

2. With the well-known conflicting policies and ideological practices carried out by the CPY, CPG and CPB towards the Macedonian national question during the Greek Civil War, did they intentionally engage us with the “Macedonian syndrome” and led us to fight each other (Macedonian versus Macedonian) ruining the Macedonian cohesion and fatally disorganizing the Macedonian position?

3. So, if we had so far recognized that:

a) There was a Macedonian movement with a Bulgarian ethnic historical tendency;

b) There was a Macedonian national movement with a Macedonian ethnic-historical tendency also emerging now, after the Second World War; and

c) There was a Macedonian movement with a pro-Yugoslav historical tendency,

If we make sure to remember our history we would not continue to make the same mistakes!

We would have known that a great political oversight was taking place before our eyes in 1945-1949 (during the Greek Civil War).

After many years of investigating NOF’s creation and all the troubles that it caused us, two key questions come to mind:

1. How did we inform the world about our actions, specifically the Great Powers, and what was the Macedonian role and vision in the Greek Civil War?

2. How did we Macedonians look at this issue ourselves and were we confident throughout the entire Greek Civil War period that we would realize our vision?

Or, maybe we went along with Lenin's thesis that the communist movement would see the Macedonian national question as a tactical class issue serving the state interests of the dominant nation, in our case Greece. If that was the case then the question is: Why didn't NOF's and AFZH take another path and lead us in a completely different direction, and maybe we wouldn't have experienced a drastic national defeat.

3. The Macedonian people living in Greece made many sacrifices during this war such as loosing lives, loosing their hearths, etc. These are vital issues of national importance so why they are not covered by our integral Macedonian history, but are set on the sidelines as sectoral history, i.e. the history of the "Aegeans", like they are not at all Macedonian issues?

In the past, up until 1945, the Macedonian people living in Greece had strong spiritual and national unity. The older Macedonians, their children, their grandchildren... all lived similar lives and followed the same survival strategy in the same spirit. They cherished the Macedonian national identity and unique strategy, meaning they accepted it as a strategy for survival: "Cultural closure and the closure of the individual in the identity and in the Macedonian community". And when NOF and AFZH, being Macedonian organizations, found themselves among them, they had no reason not to trust them so they allowed them to become the dominant masters in propagating the policy they dictated:

Chronologically speaking NOF was subordinated by the CPM/CPY from the day it was created on April 23, 1945, to November 21, 1946, the day it was subordinated to the CPG under the "Brotherhood and unity" program when the CPM/CPY elegantly

washed their hands of the Macedonians in Greece. NOF remained subordinated to the CPG from November 21, 1946 until DAG was liquidated in 1949 and beyond for some years while the Macedonian people were in exile.

Testimonials: See: "DOCUMENTS - about the Macedonian people's struggle for independence and for a national state" Volume two.

## DIRECTIVES FROM NOF CENTRAL TO THE NOF DISTRICTS

September 1945

You are directed to spread the National Liberation Front wherever there are Macedonians in every village, every town, district, house, farm. Not a single Macedonian, man, woman or child must be left outside of NOF, AFZH and NOMS organizations and their influences. (pp. 721-722-723)

## NOF, AFZH AND NOMS SLOGANS DIRECTED AT THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE

One year before the Greek Civil War was declared, that is as early as November 22, 1945, the forces of NOF, AFZH and NOMS had begun their aggressive propaganda activities that included slogans such as:

"No Macedonian must be found outside the NOF anti-fascist organization. Only in this way will we be able to destroy fascism and gain our rights and the right to full self-determination." - Anti-fascist organization - NOF

"All Macedonian women forward in the Anti-fascist Women's Front (AFZH) for the complete destruction of fascism, for our freedom, for our rights." - Antifascist organization - AFZH.

The Macedonian woman organized in AFZH, the Anti-Fascist Organization, together with their leader Evdokia Foteva - Vera shouted these slogans out loud.

It is important at this point to remind the reader that as of May 9, 1945, the entire world was made aware that there was a total victory over fascism. So, why was NOF still waving banners and brandishing anti-fascist slogans? Were the NOF leaders not aware that the war against fascism had been won?

Even today, people still remember those people who made them feel euphorically happy. Unfortunately those people didn't know what they were doing. Still I respect them, because their delusion was beautiful, but they were delusions. Their delusions were beautiful, they loved their people, there was nothing more beautiful than that, but they loved them in the wrong way, they destroyed them: they made them sacrifice themselves, deprived them of their children, made them homeless and threw them out into the world from where they could never return. And those NOF and AFZH politicians of ours, looking ridiculous and confused, were turned into trash and shipped to the Siberian tundra.

And this is how the Macedonian people found themselves; stunned and devastated... they were asked to participate on mass so that they could be crushed in the so-called "revolution" which the NOF and AFZ activists called "continuation of Ilinden".

There is an old saying that goes something like this: "In order for others to believe me I have to say something that I believe in myself..." So, the question here is what convinced NOF, AFZH and NOMS to believe and put their trust in strangers? Why did they believe they could win a war when there was overwhelming evidence to the contrary? Why did they have such high expectations for the Macedonian people with such a vague purpose? On the other hand, why did the Macedonian people trust NOF, AFZH and NOMS and not the CPG? The answer to this question is simple. The CPG was seen as a Greek organization and the Macedonian people did not trust the Greeks no matter to which party they belonged. On the other hand they trusted NOF, AFZH and NOMS because their leaderships were Macedonian. I remember people saying we need to trust them because they are "our people". When NOF, AFZH and NOMS began to call for massive participation the people figured it was finally possible to achieve their centuries old aspirations of becoming free from a foreign yoke. They had no idea that this was a



foreign trap from which there was no escape except by death or exile.

And as the Greek government and CPG would later openly say: “Tito had aims at annexing Greek (occupied) Macedonia” (ibid p. 205) “with help from NOF, AFZH and NOMS” (ibid p. 271).

So, the question that comes to mind is: “WHO WERE OUR ALLIES DURING THE COURSE OF THE GREEK CIVIL WAR?” And the answer is “NO ONE!” Not even the CPM since it too was subordinate to the CPY. In other words, the Macedonian people were used and suffered immensely and spilled rivers of blood for someone else’s interests.

Now let us examine some of the facts:

It would appear that no Macedonian national strategy was created in Skopje on April 23, 1945 when NOF, the National Liberation Front for Greek occupied Macedonia, was created, that was outside and independent of the CPG or any other political entity in Greece that was acting for or led by the CPM/CPY. NOF’s program <sup>15</sup> for over a

---

<sup>15</sup> In 1946 NOF adopted this program with some corrections. We don’t know what the program looked like in 1945 (it was most likely given orally) but was set out with the following tasks:

1. The irreconcilable struggle of the Macedonian people from the Aegean part of Macedonia to win their national and social rights;
2. Affirmation of the Macedonian national identity;
3. Actualization of the Macedonian national question in the political life of Greece;
4. Organizing resistance against the terror and genocide imposed and systematically carried out by the Greek reactionary authorities on the Macedonian population;
5. Strengthening the national unity of the Macedonian people;
6. Uncovering Vancho Mihailov’s autonomist activities carried out by his supporters and breaking up their spy network in this part of Macedonia. The spy networks and their agents also operate as Anglo-American sabotage centres which fight against the national rights of the Macedonian people;
7. Disclosure of the Anglo-American plans, which aim to turn the Aegean part of Macedonia into a base for espionage and subversive activity against the Republic of Macedonia and the whole of Yugoslavia as well as against all the Balkan people’s republics;

year was to fight for national rights and for the right to self-determination. In order to achieve that strategic goal NOF was required to begin an armed struggle. On April 28, 1945, NOF began to form Macedonian partisan units. (See: Kiriazovski, 1995/202). In other words, NOF was sent to Greece by the Yugoslav government to start a war...

So the question that comes to mind is: “How was NOF expected to accomplish this?” It is more than clear that most of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia at the time did not have the same expectations or goals and demands as NOF. This was quickly confirmed by the fact that the people were not willing to start a new war. In other words, NOF failed in its initial attempts because it failed to properly assess the people’s strength, much less their strategic interests and plans. Unfortunately none of this was made clear by the NOF, CPM and CPY strategists.

So, the question is?

a). Given that the population living in Greek occupied time was a lot more than 50% non-Macedonian, shouldn’t NOF have at least made inquiries if these people wanted an independent Macedonia? The least NOF could have done was ask these colonists and settlers if they wanted to live in some kind of Balkan federation. Did we make enemies of them by not consulting with them or, given how the Greek government was treating the democratic people, did the Macedonian communist leaders assume they were actually doing them a humanitarian favour?

b) Did NOF not know that those colonists were already at the forefront of the Left forces in Greece including in EAM and the CPG? These people were assumed to be Greeks and were not

---

8. Strengthening the brotherhood and unity between the Macedonian people and the Greek people and together with all the progressive forces of Greece, the Macedonians fight against the common enemy; and

9. Organizing the struggle of the Macedonian people to bridge the artificial gap Macedonians from all parts of Macedonia, especially with the Republic of Macedonia, which represents the “Piedmont” for the entire liberation and unification of the Macedonian people. See: NOF’s organ for Aegean Macedonia “Bulletin”, no. 9, March 15, 1946.

included in the EAM and CPG programs as minorities. Did NOF not know that Zahariadis, Partzalidis, Iozinidis, Vafiadis and others were colonists and would not support self-determination for the Macedonians? How could they? They were occupying Macedonian homes and lands which the Greek government gave them for free. What would have happened to them if Macedonia became independent or in a Slavic federation? NOF never made that clear to anyone.

c). It is obvious that NOF was only a pawn in this game first manipulated by the CPY and later by the CPG. It was never an important political entity or factor in the anti-fascist struggle or in the direction the Greek Civil War took. Sadly our Macedonian mainstream history disagrees and insists that NOF was indeed a factor. If that was so then why was NOF never allowed to command its own forces? Why was NOF persecuted every time it demanded national rights for the Macedonian people? Why were the NOF leaders slandered and anathemized as traitors, autonomists, separatists, etc?

CPM/CPY policies and the development of NOF, AFZH and NOMS for optimal popularity in the Macedonian population

So, if Markos's political strategy and tactics were not to fuel the armed resistance with experienced ELAS fighters, then what was his logic? Why then was NOF using unprecedented tactics in amassing the Macedonian peasants using a combination of political demagoguery and sentimental manipulation?

This is how our famous distorted symbiosis was created! Offering false promises and having false beliefs and expectations.

Instead of facing the reality of the situation on the ground, NOF instead tried to create a different reality; fulfill the CPY/CPG's requirements, a situation that the war planners needed to eradicate us. In the process both the Greek government and the CPY/CPG used the strictest measures to terrorize the Macedonian population and force it to either fight or flee.

(See NOF Leadership Report, February 9, 1946, on NOF's Organizational Structure in Aegean Macedonia: Am. Collection Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1945-1949, AE: 86 and 87. Published in "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1946", T. SH. docs 42 and 43, pp. 97, 100, 103-106.)

## Villages / Members of the CPG / NOF / NOMS / SKOJ / AFZH

### Kostur District

#### 1. Prespa Locality

A. German Region	16 villages
B. Africa Region	7 villages

#### 2. Koreshtata Locality

A. D'mbeni Region	9 villages
B. Drenoveni Region	14 villages
C. Tiolishta Region	14 villages

#### 3. Poletto Locality

A. Zhupanshta	12 villages
B. Rupishta Region	10 villages
C. Kastenariata Region	18 villages
D. Kalevishta Subregion	5 villages

### Lerin District

#### 1. Lerin Locality

A. Buf Region	13 villages
B. Katorski Region	15 villages
C. Banichki Region	6 villages
D. Ofchareni Region	9 villages
E. Turie Region	6 villages

#### 2. Sovichko-Kailari Locality

A. Exshi-Su Region	5 villages
B. Aitos Region	8 villages
C. Mokreni Region	16 villages

### Voden District

1. Meglen Locality
  - A. Kronchelevo Region                      13 villages
  - B. Sobotsko Region                         11 villages
  
2. Ostrovo Locality
  - A. Ostrovo Region                            7 villages
  - B. Mesimer Region                         11 villages
  - C. Tsrno Marinovo Region                8 villages

According to a report, meetings were held on a regular basis in January. Most villages accepted the NOF line and fought under NOF leadership. The report also outlined exactly how many people belonged to each of these organizations, and the figures were staggering. One gets the impression that the entire Macedonian population was very much influenced by these organizations. There are other details.

For Organizational Leadership  
 Secretary, S. R.  
 (Moscow - Belgrade - CPG)

**IN OTHER WORDS NOF AND AFZH WERE CREATED AND ORGANIZED BY THE CPM/CPY AND, AS WAS SHOWN, THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE BECAME VICTIMS OF EMOTIONAL INFECTION FOR FOREIGN INTERESTS**

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

According to historian Vanche Stojchev (see: featurette "The forces that prevented the unification of Macedonia" (N. M. of 8. 9. 2001): "...A founding bureau for the People's Liberation Front (NOF for

Aegean Macedonia) was constituted in Skopje on April 23, 1945, on the initiative of the CPM. This bureau was headed by the CPM Central Committee. The main task of this Macedonian organization was to stand at the head and lead the struggle of the Macedonian people in the Aegean part of Macedonia. The composition of NOF included NOMS and AFZH. All their members were transferred to the Aegean part of Macedonia. The presence of NOF was immediately rejected by the monarcho-fascist and British forces. The presence of NOF was also rejected by the CPG Central Committee and by EAM who declared it a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece. The Macedonian people gave NOF their support in the struggle however NOF failed to establish itself as a governing body. The CPY and CPG were also unable to provide significant assistance to the Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia, while the CPG protected Greek interests. Tito's statement to the 'New York Times' if 'Macedonians from the Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes...' acted as stimulus for the Macedonian people and for the CPM Central Committee to act. This also acted as stimulus for the opposing forces in Greece which took criminal measures against NOF and the Macedonian forces in Greece..."

As a result the Macedonian people in Greece became victims in a war that should have never taken place. Given the international situation at the time, there was absolutely no external or internal support for the Macedonians fighting for their rights in the way they did. So getting involved in the Greek Civil War was pure illusion. But the question that still remains unanswered is why did NOF get into this situation? Better still why did Tito and the CPY support this venture? Perhaps the answer lies in the results of what happened at the end; the Macedonians became victims of the CPY and the CPG and lost everything. We Macedonian may have not understood what we were doing but the CPY and the CPG surely did. So, why did they lead us into a destructive path of no return?

When NOF was created the CPM/CPY was not at war with anyone and NOF operated outside and independently of the CPG. It was managed by the CPM/CPY (See: Kirjazovski 1995/10). So why did the CPM/CPY create NOF?

On top of that, there is no doubt that NOF's (CPM/CPY) optimal goal was to induct all Macedonians living in Greece into the war. Why all of the Macedonians? If the CPM/CPY wanted NOF to "win the national rights and the right to self-determination for the Macedonian people living in Greece" then why didn't it do that not too long ago when the Macedonian people wanted to fight in Solun and not in Srem. Why was the top Yugoslav leadership against the slogan: "Let's turn our weapons towards Solun", that is: "On to Solun and not to the Srem Front?!"

Following CPM/CPY strategic goals, NOF, AFZH and NOMS established themselves in 5 districts, 10 sub-districts, 3 cities and 32 regional leaderships. There were 120 professional cadres in 220 villages (half of these villages were completely destroyed during the Greek Civil War) of which 170 had functioning organizations. Military formations were also created - up to battalions. (See: Kirjazovski 1985/143).

From a historical point of view, WW II ended with the defeat of fascism, unfortunately, it seems no one told the Macedonian leaderships in NOF and AFZH, as they continued to use anti-fascist slogans in their rhetoric and propaganda before and during the Greek Civil War. That, and the fact that NOF and AFZH took up arms inside Greece gave the Greek government reason to not only attack NOF but to pass laws to get rid of the Macedonians, once and for all. Even though there were Greeks involved on the partisan side of the Greek Civil War, these laws only applied to Macedonians. This however, was nothing new. The Greek government used violence and unprecedented terror against the Macedonians even before the Greek Civil War had started. This terror was intensified after February 12, 1946, after the CPG held its Second Plenum during which it decided to raise arms, but the actual Greek Civil War was not officially declared until March 31, 1946.

The ratio between the forces of the left and the right at the time when the decision to start the armed struggle was made was as follows:

The Greek Government forces were composed of 44 battalions. The National Guard consisted of a total of 30,000 fighters. There were

8,800 officers and soldiers from the hill army brigades. The Gendarmerie was the first state military force to be reorganized in the spring of 1946. It then numbered 27,000 soldiers, of whom 14,000 were in Northern Greece (in Macedonia: Kostur, Lerin, Voden, etc.) In addition to the regular units and the paramilitary and military formations, there were also units such as the MAI (units that protected the interior), MAD (persecution units) with about 35,000 soldiers. All of them were under the command of experienced army officers. At the same time, there were about 166 armed terrorist gangs operating throughout Greece, organized and directed by the extreme political right.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN POWERS WAS CLEAR, BUT THE SOVIET ATTITUDE (STALIN) WAS STRANGE: “LET THEM MEDDLE IN CAPITALIST AFFAIRS” AND SUPPORT THEM – BUT WITH JUST WORDS. YUGOSLAVIA, ON THE OTHER HAND, POSSESSED A DOUBLE POLICY - PUBLIC, WHICH RESPECTED THE INTEGRITY OF GREECE AND PRIVATE (SECRET) – PREPARE THE MACEDONIANS IN THE AEGEAN PART OF MACEDONIA FOR AN ARMED STRUGGLE.

So, in short, the unjust order, imposed in Yalta, was followed by a disorder, also cruel and no doubt even bloodier for us Macedonians living in Greece, who found ourselves divided into four states. The idea of “world communism” was emptier in meaning than ever before, and it is astonishing to ascertain that in the face of all this helplessness. But, after the Second World War, for us the ideological propaganda, successfully waged by the “foreigners” who led us did its job – we trusted our “strategists” without question.

CPG and Greek government reactions to NOF’s creation

How did the left forces in Greece react to the creation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, by Yugoslavia in Skopje?

This is what the CPG Central Committee proclaimed during its 12<sup>th</sup> Plenum, which took place two months after the founding of these organizations:



“We resolutely oppose any territorial claim from any side against Greece. Preservation of the Greek state territorial integrity is the primary task of every Greek patriot...” (TO KKE AP TO 1931-1952, p. 110). Furthermore, it was said that England, as a “great friend” of Greece, declared that the English military-political presence was necessary to secure Greece’s positions and borders in the north.

Well, it should now be quite clear how we accepted the rhythm of global indoctrination and there was no turning back. And this is how we lost our historic chance to exercise our national rights in Greece, which were determined by international law.

CPM Secretary Kolishevski’s concern for the NOF and AFZH cadres

Interview: “with a pure heart and clear conscience”

Following is an interview entitled “With a pure heart and clear conscience” given by Lazar Kolishevski <sup>16</sup> to Iovan Pavlovski of the weekly magazine “Start” (year 2, no. 62, p.21).

Start: About Rankovich whose name is closely linked to the help Yugoslavia provided to the Greek partisans in 1945, after the end of World War II. It is well known that among those partisans were many Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. What do you say to that?

---

<sup>16</sup> Based on the decision made on October 14, 1946, by Tito and Zahariadis, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioannidis, reached the following agreement: “The entire leadership heading the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS was to be taken from the CPY and subordinated to the CPG, and NOF’s armed units were to be placed under the command of General Markos. Some time after this agreement was finalized, Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, invited the entire NOF Main Board, headed by Pascal Mitrevski, to his office and, among other things, told them the following: “Now you go down there (to Aegean Macedonia), the CPG will lead your fight. The CPG’s line is correct. Have confidence in the CPG. Fight with all available forces against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies...”

KOLISHEVSKI: There is little known about that from authentic sources. For the first time I want to say that it was about the survival of the Aegean Macedonians who were threatened with eviction, and we advocated there, in Aegean Macedonia, to form party organizations and partisan units. We were leading that action with several generals together with Rankovich with ultimate discretion. Yes, we formed a Provincial Committee and armed formations to defend villages in Aegean Macedonia. We supplied the partisans with weapons and treated their wounded. We fed them, dressed them, armed them, and transported them by truck to this side of the border when they were cornered. Objectively, they were fighting a war under very favorable conditions in 1946. We gave them everything that we as partisans lacked during the war. I'll tell you a little story I haven't told anyone before. The second year after we won the war Kidrich concerned himself mainly with Yugoslavia's economy and, in that context, was able to feed the people of our country. He was a great mathematician and could not help but notice that I was constantly asking for more food for Macedonia, more than what was allocated to us. The surplus we gave to the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Kidrich was angry by my constant demands for more food. In his anger he used to say: "Well, Lazo, how many Macedonians are there in Macedonia? You keep asking for more and more food!" He made me uncomfortable, so I told Rankovich that we had to reveal our secret to Kidrich. Rankovich agreed. When we told him what we were doing with the extra food he accepted our explanation with a smile and had no problem with me asking for more food and other supplies. The group for supplying weapons to the Macedonian and Greek partisans was led by General Iovo Kapichich. (Later Kapichich was promoted to director and was made responsible for the Goli Otok prison.)

From Kolishevski's statement above, it is clear that even the top generals involved in the Greek Civil War from the Yugoslav side were not Macedonians thus confirming that NOF, AFZH and NOMS were seduced by foreign goals and interests that served the Yugoslav national army's militant general staff and CPY policies.

Now let us have another look at Kolishevski:

The question of Macedonia's reunification was raised again in the months immediately before adopting the constitution for the Republic of Macedonia and before the Paris Peace Conference. According to a Foreign Office report, dated August 13, 1946, Lazar Kolishevski was present at the Macedonian people's front First Congress held from August 2 to 4, 1946. The report highlighted that at the Congress Kolishevski was introduced as President of the People's Republic of Macedonia and Secretary of the Macedonian people's front territorial board. M. Neshkovich was introduced as President of the Serbian Government and Frane Frol as Minister of Justice of the Federal Government. Also present were a delegation from Macedonia under Bulgaria headed by Krsto Stoichev, a delegate of the Bulgarian Parliament, and delegates from Greece or "Aegean Macedonia". Also present was Eugene Laurenti from Trieste. The Congress strongly emphasized the Macedonian people's desire to be free in a Republic of Macedonia within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. This however could only be achieved through strengthening cultural ties with the Pirin Region of Macedonia. National awareness of the people in that part of Macedonia would create conditions for uniting these areas with the Republic of Macedonia. Regarding the idea of unification, it was emphasized that there was little to no publicity in the press in Yugoslavia until a Manifesto appeared. The attitude towards Greek Macedonia was vague and no more than platonic sympathy. But it was as it was and the idea began to float in the air.

In Bitola in one of his speeches Kolishevski opposed the idea of a united and independent Macedonia outside of Yugoslavia or as a protectorate of the great powers. According to Kolishevski, this would "destroy the current Macedonian federal unit". (See: T. Chepreganov, 1997/152.)

Tempo, with new political messages:

On October 16, 1945, as a candidate for Kumanovo district, Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo, in his pre-election speech in Kumanovo, resolutely opposed all those who saw the unification of Macedonia outside the borders of Yugoslavia, or a united Macedonia under the auspices of the Great Powers. According to Tempo, all those who supported that idea were the same people who

were responsible for the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia from 1941 to 1944.

So there was no Macedonian factor there and everything was in line with CPY policy, which had a huge impact on the Macedonian communists in Vardar Macedonia... In other words, in this historical evolutionary process, the Macedonian movement was born with Yugoslav orientation: ‘No to a United and Independent Macedonia and yes to a unified Macedonia to include the Aegean and Pirin parts, but as part of Yugoslavia. This means that the CPY wanted the Vardar part of Macedonia to be declared the “Piedmont” which would unify all of Macedonia in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.’<sup>17</sup> This was also attempted by the CPM/CPY in 1945, through NOF’s program created by the CPM/CPY which called for: “Organizing the Macedonian people in a struggle that would bridge the artificial gap between Macedonians from all parts of Macedonia, and especially with the Macedonians from the Republic of Macedonia which represent the “Piedmont” for the complete liberation and unification of all the Macedonian people...”

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1946

Development of partisan forces and General Markos’s shrewd tactics for keeping the force small

At the beginning of 1946 the CPG and EAM, given the political climate in the country, decided it would be premature to develop the population and amass its forces for an armed resistance, and as such, thousands of experienced ELAS soldiers and officers, as well as CPG members and sympathizers were sent home where they were fiercely persecuted by the new Greek government of Athens.

---

<sup>17</sup> According to a number of analysts after several years of persistently building the Yugoslav unity a crisis developed in the Yugoslav “identity” around 1980. The SFRY national identity began to weaken and was rejected by most of the people living in the SFRY. Macedonia had already gone through similar phases when Bulgaria and Greece refused to recognize the existence of the Macedonian nation. By now it should be obvious that creating a new national identity is not so easily achievable even after many years of trying.

What is really surprising about all this is that while the CPG and EAM dismissed/demobilized their experienced fighters, the CPM/CPY created NOF in order to mass mobilize the Macedonian population and prepare the Macedonian people for war. Obviously, this shows that strategy and tactics were being carefully planned by strangers (CPY/CPM) for the Macedonian people's future.

What is also surprising is that after the CPG dismissed its ELAS fighting force, thus preventing the leftist forces throughout Greece from participating on mass. It later forcibly mobilized those same ELAS fighters in DAG. And, it is no wonder that from the 25,000 partisans forcibly mobilized in DAG's 50% were Macedonian fighters. The rest were Greeks. That means that out of the Greek population numbering eight million there were no more than 18-20 thousand Greek fighters in DAG. And that out of the Macedonian population numbering three hundred thousand there were about 15-20 thousand Macedonian fighters in DAG, throughout the Greek Civil War period (1946 - 1949).

According to General Zafiropoulos's research, the partisan forces during 1946 developed according to the following dynamics:

- Until April 1946	950
- May	1,300
- June	2,700
- July	3,500
- August	3,600
- September	4,490
- October	5,930
- November	7,450
- December	9,285

Which means the ratio of government forces to partisan forces was 10:1 and the military armaments were unmatched.

But let us look at the facts:

Markos Vafiadis said to me (Kisavos): "...When I arrived in Belgrade I immediately met comrade Ioannidis in an office where I also met two CPY leaders; Tempo (Vukmanovich) and Rankovich.

They asked me what they needed to do to help us (DAG). I told them that we needed armaments for 18,000 fighters. As soon as Ioannidis heard that (that I was looking for armaments for 18,000), he stood up and said: ‘Markos, are you thinking straight? What are you going to do with all that armament?’ He then said ‘You only need enough to arm 4-5 thousand, not one more...!’” (Page 94. Kisavos).

Markos continued:

When I (Kisavos) asked Markos “why did you change the number when you returned from Belgrade back to Greece?” Doctor Sakelariou was there with me. Markos said: “Ioannidis changed my number in Belgrade, Comrade Georgi.”

It is most certain that the number was changed by the Yugoslavs and by Ioannidis and since then Markos gained special sympathy from the Yugoslavs and personally from Tito, which is noticeable to this day. In other words, the CPY and the CPG wanted a small left armed force in Greece. Was this how were they going to win against the Greek government or was this done to get the Macedonians and the communists into trouble?

In his book Kisavos has confirmed that, after returning from Belgrade to his headquarters in Greece, Markos decided to send large numbers of DAG volunteers back to their homes. For example: about 1,500 - 2,000 volunteers were returned home and after their return the enemy mercilessly destroyed them like “dogs”. Kisavos also cites other examples, such the one where Kostas Aridas, Political Committee Secretary of Trikala, returning a large group of volunteers back to their homes. These volunteers had firmly made up their minds that they wanted to fight in the surrounding area of Thessaly. They were prepared to go into the mountains and fight. When they returned home they were all were arrested and shot. (Page 88.)

According to Kisavos, another, more tragic and even shameful event took place:

“When the CPG authorities tried to send home a group of about 250 armed young volunteers from the Kalambaka-Kastrakiou District, the volunteers resisted and on their own initiative, organized themselves into 2-3 companies and decided to fight alone against the enemy government forces during the largest military operations the government army had undertaken.

They were led by Spiros Tsaras from the village Kastraki, Kalambaka. During the fiercest fighting they proved to be excellent fighters without any casualties. But, instead of congratulating them for their bravery, the leadership in Markos’s headquarters scolded them for disobedience and, for a long time, viewed Spiro Tsaras with suspicion.

So, if Markos Vafiadis’s political strategy and tactics were not to arm the resistance movement on mass with experienced ELAS fighters, then where should we look for the logic for this political move? Let us not forget that when Markos was dismissing volunteers while NOF was recruiting Macedonians villagers on mass:

(Moscow - Belgrade - CPG)

(The following facts reveal key moments in NOF’s history - from the military archives: USSR, Yugoslavia and the CPG)

March 20, 1946 - Zahariadis left Athens and went to Prague. He used this trip as an opportunity to discuss his armed struggle in Greece with the communist party leaders and to seek assistance from them. But, as it turned out, he received silence or advice that it was a bad idea to start a war at this point in time and that such a move would be foolish. The most notable leaders, including Terez of France and Toliati of Italy, told him that it was ‘dangerous to resort to arms’ at this point in time. Georgi Dimitrov asserted that ‘the international situation does not allow an outbreak of a new armed conflict, especially one that would directly interfere in the affairs of the Western allies in the Balkans’.

All those leaders knew very well that Zahariadis had returned to Athens in May 1945, after being imprisoned in the Dachau Camp in

Germany for nine years, which had left a strong impression on him and gave him a new attitude towards the world. He returned to Greece on a British plane and, immediately after returning, took up his former duties as CPG Secretary General and began to work.

Zahariadis laid out his Party's aspiration for the newspaper "Rizospastis" by saying that the CPG "never attempted to seize power against the wishes of the people and he had never had to pursue a course of action against the Trotskyites, anarchists and idiots".

At the same time the communist party leaders knew that "Aris Vilihiotis" was the "symbol of Greek guerrilla" whom Zahariadis publicly reprimanded by referring to him as an "adventurer" who, with his "reckless behaviour", prompted the Right to attack the Left. Subsequently, following this, he was expelled from the Party and shortly afterwards was killed by the Right.

But during his meetings in Prague, Zahariadis did receive much information about Marshal Josip Broz Tito who, 'after his successful guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia, had aims at expanding the revolution all over the Balkans'.

Disappointed by the reception he received in Prague, Zahariadis, on his way back, decided to pay Tito a visit in Belgrade.

Zahariadis was well-received by Tito who communicated with him in Russian and, after toasting him, Tito asked Zahariadis: "What do you think about the future of the Balkans?" To which Zahariadis replied: "Marshall, that's why I come to you, being urged by many leaders who have much respect for you and for your success with the guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia." Zahariadis then went into a detailed explanation in regard to the political situation in Greece, emphasizing that the people were ready to fight and take power away from the Anglo-American imperialists.

Unable to hide his excitement, Tito, feeling comfortable being surrounded by his subordinates, Rankovich, Kardelli, Dzhilas, Tempo, Kolishevski and others, said: 'Life does not go back, it moves forward. Revolutions bring progress in society and develop



productive forces. On behalf of the Communist Party and the people, I promise you extensive assistance and whatever is needed to organize an Army. You know that after World War II, we immediately thought of starting a revolution but even today in Aegean Macedonia the same revolutionary power exists in the citizens of Greece, the Macedonians. They are led by our experienced centres and have a long revolutionary tradition. We are willing to put under your command those forces and the forces available in the Bulkesh Camp.’

Tito then turned to Kolishevski and said: “Lazo, take notes and do everything to bring those forces together under the motto ‘brotherhood and unity’ and put them under the authority of the CPG who it can use in its revolution.”

Here are the notes dictated for Kolishevski by Tito:

a/ NOF and AFZH are to break away from you (CPM) and be attached to the CPG. Do not get involved and do not give mixed orders on how to fight. Do not tell them to fight for a united Macedonia. And of course change their program goals and lead them to accept the CPG program goals;

b/ NOF is to form a central authority that will answer and report to a CPG Regional Committee;

c/ Put the armed Macedonian units in Aegean Macedonia under the command of military officers who are under the command of the CPG.

See how the English and Americans are doing it in Greece.

“But all this Comrade Nikos,” said Tito, “will have to be approved by the old man, Generalissimo Stalin before we can act on such a revolution.’ But Tito already knew that Stalin was in the mood to cause trouble for the capitalists and was sure he would accept Zahariadis’s proposal.

Zahariadis excitedly then said: “I am ready to take this to the Generalissimo and get his approval”.

“I am ready to convey all this to the Generalissimo and ask for his support.”

“Here’s to the future of the revolution!” said Tito, continuing, “Be determined, not afraid, don’t be afraid of casualties and overcome all difficulties, so you will succeed in your intentions. That’s what a revolution calls for! Grab everything firmly in your hands and, with great certainty, you can count on us!”

\*\*\*

Towards the end of March 1946, after his stay in Yugoslavia, Zahariadis left for Moscow where he had talks with the Soviet leaders. During one of his meetings, Stalin, Molotov and Andrei Zhdanov approved Zahariadis’s proposals, which he made on behalf of the CPG. After that Zahariadis had a secret meeting with Stalin during which Stalin instructed him to “gradually begin the armed action from the villages towards the cities in order to prevent a premature military intervention by the British and to give him time to work on a means of finding a compromise”.

Stalin, while filling his pipe with tobacco, looked at Zahariadis directly in the eyes and asked:

“Do you see Marshal Tito as the future leader of a Balkan Federation?”

Confused, Zahariadis wanted to avoid the question but replied anyway:

“The Marshall is a great strategist and an internationalist,” he said. “And I have received a promise from him that he will give me 20,000 armed and ready fighters who were hunted by the Monarcho-Fascist armies.”

Stalin then said: “According to my information, Marshal Tito, in only a year, has organized the Macedonians for a heroic struggle in Aegean Macedonia, in Greece and has established successful Macedonian organizations. Examples of these are NOF-National

Liberation Front, and AFZH – Macedonian Women’s Anti-Fascist Front which are directly led by the CPM / CPY. All these fighters were pursued by Markos after World War II. All those fighters who constituted the ‘Aegean Brigade’ are now in Greece and are struggling for a united Macedonia. What are you going to do with all these Macedonian military and political formations? The old sense of a united Macedonia will persist in them until ‘the socialist revolution in Greece’ prevails and after that they will be fine. Socialism is the same everywhere...” concluded Stalin.

Zahariadis then took out a sheet of paper that read: “Agreement between the CPG and representatives of the Macedonian state.” According to this agreement “the Slavo-Macedonians from Greek Macedonia, on the one hand, have pledged to support the CPG during the elections in its bid to gain power. With this power lies the only hope for a favourable resolution of the Macedonian Question. On the other hand, they pledged to help the CPG in cases where incidents between the left and right may arise during the elections.”

Stalin then said: “Macedonians are heroic fighters known to be strong people.”

But Zahariadis confirmed that, “They can easily be manipulated and are victims of history.” Zahariadis also informed Stalin that all military formations and political organizations known as “brotherhood and unity” belonging to Marshal Tito will now be placed under CPG control.

“Marshal Tito has international insight in the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism,” said Zahariadis, to which Stalin replied,

“So, you have agreements regarding the revolution! That’s good. Then proceed as you think it necessary. Now go and prepare a draft resolution of your decision for the CPG Central Committee.”

With that Stalin wanted to appear as a moderate, good, unobtrusive and generous leader giving the impression that he was an admirer of the revolutionary thoughts of other leaders in the camp of socialism.

After the meeting Zahariadis said: “The CPG has ceased to seek a peaceful solution to the Greek issue and now will devote itself to seize power by force of arms!”

Stalin was well aware of Tito and Zahariadis’s agreement: “Tito’s main concern was to protect the new federation.” From this new development Tito’s position became clear to Stalin. Tito knew that Yugoslavia was 50% influenced by the West and strongly endeavored to keep the Yugoslav federation intact, as was emphasized many times by the Yugoslav Security Service and by the Yugoslav Army General Staff: “...it is best to keep the war out of Yugoslav borders and to wholeheartedly assist, than to have it inside Yugoslavia.” This was acceptable even to Stalin because it preserved the socialist camp created after World War II.

But neither Stalin nor Tito were prepared or willing to take action to bring victory to the Greek communists or to reunite Macedonia.

Stalin in fact could not foresee providing “strong military action” to Greece in the near future and made no particular promises of support but he did recommend to Zahariadis that when it comes to forming a People’s Liberation Army it is best to respect Tito’s advice.

The next day Zahariadis went to Belgrade to work out organizational details with Tito regarding assistance and cooperation. He also asked Tito to define all problems, characteristics and prospects associated with the Democratic Army and measures to be taken to prepare for a future war. Zahariadis was received in Moscow as a bold revolutionary leader. Stalin sat in the great hall on a hand-knitted chair, puffing on his pipe with a smile on his face while the other leaders, including Molotov, Zhdanov, Malenkov, Mikoian, Kaganovich, Suslov, Baria and Bulganin, members of the Communist Party of the USSR Politburo, drank “Pertsovka” vodka.

The waiters busied themselves offering the guests all kinds of snacks. Stalin, at one point, looked at Zahariadis and, with a smile on his face, wished him success in his upcoming revolution. Zahariadis then calmly and obediently stood up in front of the Generalissimo and, in broken Russian, uttered the following words:

“Glubokovazhaemi tovarish Iosif Visarionobich, bolisoe spasibo. Zhelaiu Vam krepkoe zborovie i ushte mnogie leta da ne vodite vo sotsialismot kon pobeda na komunizamot. (Deeply respected Comrade Josif Visarionovich, many thanks.

I wish You good health and may You, for many summers, lead us in socialism towards the victory of communism.) Your advice will be our roadmap that will lead us in our struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, until the working class in the world achieves its final victory.”

\*\*\*

On April 8, 1946 Zahariadis returned to Belgrade and was received by Tito. When he stood before the Marshal, awe stricken, Tito told him: “If we are already revolutionaries and internationalists, our duty is to help ‘revolutions’ and I don’t see any reason why we should be against the revolution in Greece, which you have taken measures to realize. For that I can only congratulate you, Comrade Nikos. Gather everyone who can hold a rifle. That is normal in every revolution and the people want that.” Tito then lit a cigar and continued walking through the spacious room and when he returned to his table he asked Zahariadis: “What is the mood of the youth?” Zahariadis replied: “Great!”

This is what was said in the book “Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question” by Steve E. Palmer and Robert R. King, Archon Books, 1971, p. 117:

“In the beginning of May 1943, Tempo established contact with the Greek Communists, in an attempt to establish domination of the CPY in Greek occupied Macedonia, which smoldered from the repressive measures applied by the Metexas dictatorship before the war. The situation was ignited by the Italian occupiers who organized special Macedonian gendarmes (Kostur rebels) to fight against the Greeks. The Kostur rebels received carte blanche and their influence was dangerous for CPY plans in Macedonia in a Yugoslav framework. Tempo suggested that it would be good to allow Tito’s agents (Macedonians in ELAS and the CPG) to organize and lead the Macedonians in Greece. The Greeks refused.

Tempo however took his case to the Supreme Command of the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) which then allowed the Greek Macedonians to organize the Slavic National Liberation Fronts (SNOF). ELAS Command immediately agreed to combine military actions with the Yugoslav partisans but, of course, was not thrilled with the formation of separate Greek Slav units because it seemed like a move to enable Yugoslav efforts to create a Greater Macedonia. It was possible that Greece could lose Aegean Macedonia and that was the main black point of the Greek communists. Agreement to such a proposal, no matter how it was camouflaged in plans for some kind of Balkan Communist Federation, was going to strongly jeopardize their mass support.”

THUS THE TRIANGLE BETWEEN: STALIN, TITO AND ZAHARIADIS WAS CLOSED. FROM A POLITICAL GAME TO A MILITARY DISASTER.

BUT, WHY CAN'T WE MACEDONIANS FROM 1945 UNTIL TODAY GET OUT OF THAT MOST TERRIBLE COMMUNIST TRIANGLE?

They led their own world politics, interfered in other people's affairs, constantly planned revolutions and strikes, but we became the only victims of genocide - world WANDERERS.

Now: Political and military aid from Yugoslavia to the CPG, not to NOF and AFZH.

During his stay in Belgrade Zahariadis, was awe-struck by the meeting he had with Marshal Tito, particularly by Tito's determination to set up a central task force to help the Democratic Army of Greece. The task force, headed by Aleksandar Rankovich, consisted of General Iovo Kapichich, Deputy Federal Minister of Domestic Affairs, Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Ucha Krstich, Lieutenant Colonel Mile Vrbitsa, Giuza Radovich, Marshal Milutinovich, Major Drago Miovich, Major Obradovich Trninich, Captain Giuro Giurits, Lieutenant Iovan Popovich, Lieutenant Rade Kosmanovich, Krste Pengovski, Shime Benchich and soldiers Lazar Seferovich and Boshko Jovanovich. There was also a special team comprised of medical staff. Included in this team were Lieutenant

Colonel Velimir - Bratsa Maistorovich and Dr. Iovan Bielich. Their task was to organize a hospital to treat the wounded and a means of transporting wounded from the battlefields to the hospital. The task to acquire and supply weapons for the Democratic Army fighters fell to Major Vladimir Dekich, Major Sveta Stefanovich, Lieutenant Iovan Popovich and Lieutenant Petar Luchich. An impressive number of weapons and materials were acquired including cannons, machine guns, rifles, Panzers - Fausta, pistols, hand grenades, radio stations, overcoats, horses and lots of food worth upwards of five million dinars.

Zahariadis paid a visit to the Greek camp in Bulkes, Vojvodina where he observed the military training of the 5,000 fighters already inducted.

In his speech Zahariadis ordered all political refugees to use “an iron fist” against the Anglo-American imperialist and Monarcho-Fascist regime in Athens. He told them: “You are obligated to carry out the CPG solution. Arm yourselves with the weapons provided for you by Marshal Tito and return to Greece to fight against the Monarcho-Fascists because their regime aims to destroy the democratic forces and to install a fascist regime in Greece.” See: Dragan Kljakich, “Sovetizatsia Balkanske zone” – Confessions of Lazar Kolishevski, Belgrade, 1992, publisher “Radnichka Press”.

When Zahariadis returned to Greece on April 9, 1946 he went to Solun where he gave a speech to his followers in which he warned the Greek government that the people would not stand for the abuse they were getting and that they would be forced to defend themselves by resorting to arms. The attack on the village Lithohori in Katerini Region during the night of March 30/31, 1946, on the eve of the elections, was just one example of what the future might bring.

In order to win over the Macedonians, on April 14, 1946, in Solun, Zahariadis said: “The government has directed its terror against the Slavo-Macedonians... Why are the Monarcho-Fascists carrying out such terror acts against the Slavo-Macedonians? Their first aim is to break their beliefs (the thoughts of NOF and AFZH), the Democratic

People's beliefs and second, they want to sow discord between the Greeks and the Slavo-Macedonians..."

\*\*\*

In early June 1946, Zahariadis, without consulting anyone, appointed Markos Vafiadis to the Politburo, made him a member of the CPG Central Committee and put the former ELAS Captain in charge of the future Democratic Army of Greece (DAG). He then ordered Markos to leave for the mountains and take over leadership of the "partisan groups that were already active".

British Ambassador Norton: "According to the envisaged plan, on August 25, 1946, Ioannidis and Rossos crossed over to Belgrade where, on September 1, 1946, they met with Markos Vafiadis who was there to consult with them on specific military and political issues. After going to Belgrade, Vafiadis returned to the Aegean part of Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he formed the Headquarters for the guerrilla forces. At the same time he appointed regional commanders who began to organize their fighters into armed units. In December 1946 these combined units were officially consolidated into the "Democratic Army of Greece" (DAG). Vafiadis was appointed Chief of the Democratic Army and was given the pseudonym General Markos."

Evdokia Foteva – Vera calls NOF's RECOGNITION BY the CPG the Second Phase of NOF's development.

However, it's not like that. Among our Macedonians living in Greece (who were NOF and AFZH leaders), almost all "coincidences" hide a clearly visible reason behind them. The key word is "hide".

What is the truth? Did the Macedonians agree with the CPG RECOGNITION? With NOF and AFZH!? Or with those who until yesterday manipulated us and we became their servants?

Historical facts show that: "Based on the decision made between Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG) on October 14, 1946, Karaivanov of the CPY and Ioannidis of the CPG later made the following



declaration: “The Macedonian organizations NOF (AFZH NOMS) and its leadership are to be fully subordinated to the CPG and the small armed Macedonian military units are to be incorporated into DAG under the leadership of General Markos”.

In other words, all this was “arranged” at State Level between Yugoslavia and Greece, which means that it was done with strict adherence to all “State Level” Treaties including the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest; the Treaty by which Macedonia was partitioned.

## THE LAST BIG LIE

(The peak of the Macedonian state without a sense of national consciousness about the fate of the Macedonians living in Greece)

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

Our research has shown exactly who hung the communist ideological chain around our neck as well as who tightened it. It is precisely this chain (created by the CPY and placed around our necks by Kolishevski) that made the Greek Civil War cruel, bloody and Godless. This “chain of slavery” has not, to this day, been explained. As a result we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia have been reduced to numbers, even among ourselves. Our common denominator became: “To whom do you belong and who are you?” [Translator’s note: When Macedonian fighters from the Greek Civil War were returning to the People’s Republic of Macedonia, the Yugoslav authorities, most of them Macedonians

themselves, sent these fighters directly to jail to be debriefed instead of welcoming them back with open arms as they had expected. There they were asked political and impersonal questions because, according to those who experienced this, the Yugoslav authorities cared more about the fighters' allegiance; whether it was to Tito or to Stalin, than they cared for the well-being of the individuals themselves.] So those who fought with Kulishevski's chain around their necks had to now fight for a new life and for a new place to live. On top of that, "servitude" was demanded of them.

But in order to understand Tito's reasons and motives for his involvement in Greek affairs, after World War II when all conflicts were over, we are required to do some thorough research.

The explanation given to us by the Yugoslav leaders that "they did what they had to do because of internationalist impulses" is not very convincing. Why? Because these problems started to crop up around the fall of 1948 when Yugoslavia was starting to warm up to the Western powers.

After being sold out by Tito, NOF and AFZH were now burdened with the task of having to struggle together with their enemy. Up to now they were directed by the CPY to fight to "liberate themselves" from the Greek yoke by creating a "United Macedonia" separate from Greece. Now they were condemned to fight for "Unity and Brotherhood" with the Greeks, the same Greeks they were preparing to overthrow! This so-called "Unity and Brotherhood" was now the new foundation on which their future would be built. And as such, the time for de-Macedonia-nizing Macedonia was coming closer. After attempting to "break away" from the Greeks, this new "Macedonian allegiance" to the Greeks not only created confusion, particularly with those Macedonians who had already fled to Yugoslavia, such as the Aegean Brigade, but it also created confrontation and mistrust between the Macedonians themselves. In the eyes of some Macedonians, yesterday's NOF and AFZ "liberators" of Macedonia, overnight became "Greek-o-phil traitors".

There is an old saying that goes something like this: "A nation that does not draw experience from its past, can hardly plan its future..."

This leads one to ask: “What have we not learned from our history?” Well, it would appear that we still have not learned about how we managed to survive for centuries and still maintained our ancestral hearths. Yes, it is true, especially we Macedonians living in Greece, we still haven’t learned our authentic history, mainly because Greece would not allow us. So, it is time to do that! One way to do that, for us who can and who live in free countries, is to revisit our past and draw out the truth; if not for ourselves then for our future generations. Some people are already doing that; but not enough. Let’s not forget the most elementary thing: that above all our people living in Greece have roots there and have lived there with their dignity for centuries! But should we continue to feel like we are strangers in our own country or have to justify our existence to our occupiers then we cannot escape our destiny until we are all exterminated.

The fact is that those who want to destroy us knew (know) much more than us, we know almost nothing about them!! To this day we fear and hide from them and hide what they’ve done to us, which explains the PHENOMENON OF OUR SUBJECT CONSCIOUSNESS?

Isn’t that vassalage? Isn’t it true that now the Macedonian organizations got a new master to whom they should be servants?

Is that, as Evdokia Foteva – Vera puts it “getting RECOGNITION FROM the CPG?”

Yes, right now the Macedonian organizations have become vassals: subordinates, dependents and servants of the new master with unprecedented concessions:

If one of the basic national attributes is language, then how could NOF and AFZ, after the so-called “Brotherhood and Unity” (1946) “give up” the Macedonian people’s national identity?

Were the Macedonians units recruited in DAG sent deep south into Greece allowed to speak Macedonian? NO! They were ordered to use their “Greek names” and “speak Greek at all times”.

Shouldn't someone be blamed for the CPM/CPY and CPG throwing us into the ideological waste?! How are we going to stop that pain, that constant and permanent pain of ours: for the loss of our homes, for our loved ones who left their bones on the battlefields during the Greek Civil War? How are we going to heal from that?

On April 2, 1946, on his way home from Moscow, CPG General Secretary Zahariadis stopped off in Belgrade where he met with Marshal Tito and discussed his decision to launch an armed struggle against the political right in Greece. Zahariadis received Tito's full support, that is, a promise to supply him with moral and material help. The following was also agreed during this meeting:

1. The Macedonian national liberation movement in the Aegean part of Macedonia, led by NOF, which since April 1945 was under the leadership of the CPM/CPY would be passed on to the CPG leadership.
2. Part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ianis Ioannidis, would be transferred to Belgrade to lead the armed struggle from abroad, taking care to supply the partisans with weapons, clothing, food and other materials.
3. The CPG would be allowed to freely recruit fighters from the ranks of the Macedonian and Greek political immigrants in Yugoslavia. It would be allowed to organize hospitals for the sick and wounded DAG fighters. Yugoslavia would assume the role of organizing and coordinating aid for DAG from other countries.

Based on the Tito – Zahariadis April 2, 1946 Agreement, part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis Ioannis and the necessary apparatus, was illegally transferred from Athens to Belgrade on August 24, 1946. General Markos Vafiadis, who in June 1946 Zahariadis appointed organizer and head of the partisan groups, illegally left Greece and moved to Belgrade, where the CPG Central Committee Politburo gave him specific directives. In September 1946, Markos moved to Aegean Macedonia, where on October 28 1946, he established the Main DAG partisan unit Headquarters.

Then, on November 10, 1946, Zahariadis received orders from Stalin to not create a massive armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because the international situation supposedly did not allow it and that the CPG should look into finding a political solution to the struggle, etc.

Again, based on the Tito – Zahariadis April 2, 1946 Agreement, the CPY and CPG, represented by Karaivanov and Ioannidis, on November 21, 1946, reached the following agreement: “The leaderships of NOF, AFZH and NOMS were to be placed under CPG command and the Macedonian armed units were to be added to the DAG composition under Markos Vafiadis’s leadership. This was all organized by the CPY and CPG, Tito and Zahariadis, without Macedonian consent.

A cold sweat poured over NOF, AFZH and NOMS, like ice, and shivers ran down their backs.

Terribly confused (now like sold slaves), their inflamed faces darkened, they submissively promised the CPG that, with their authority, will do everything to bring the Macedonian fighters and people into DAG’s (Democratic Army of Greece) ranks. One of them even said: “We will wake the dead if we need to, let them too join this holy revolution, let us all fight together, living and dead!”

Let us also remember what Rakovski had said:

“... During our meeting with Kolishevski when we were preparing to return to Aegean Macedonia in order to lay the foundations of the revolution, Kolishevski, in his first class cynical speech, said to us: ... ‘That we Macedonians were a talented people, with appallingly visible international and revolutionary orientation, with a sense of tact and strategy’ and that Tito told him: ‘Now is your moment!’ ...”

Maybe one day everything will be clear... What kind of forces hid behind our people who served foreign gods?

On November 10, 1946 Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin to stop the expansion of the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because of an alleged “international situation”. The CPG

was also told that, in the interim, it should give precedence to the political struggle over the military one. This was done when the ranks of DAG were being filled with Macedonians, both young and old. But in this case it was not the “foreigners” (CPY/CPG) who were calling for “mass recruitment” of fighters, it was our own leadership! It was the NOF and AFZH leaders and activists who were pushing the Macedonian people, by use of politicized propaganda, to join DAG en masse to fight in the Greek Civil War. But to fight for what?

The aim of strangers or foreigners is to turn the villains who work for them into heroes with whom the entire population can identify, and at the same time reduce the real heroes to villains.<sup>18</sup>

CONFUSE THE PEOPLE, OR...?!

The political messages coming out of NOF and AFZH were not very clear. Even though these organizations were very effective in “recruiting” fighters and workers for the war, which was basically what they were told to do, they were not sure of the overall plan and how it was going to unfold. So they did what they were told and put the entire Macedonian population at risk. And in retrospect, as we all know, the Greek Civil War turned into a massive struggle of life and death which resulted in disaster for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

This tangle of misunderstanding, confusion and comforting illusions shows us that darkness ruled the Macedonian leadership. After 1946 this kind of “successful awakening of the Macedonian

---

<sup>18</sup> At the June 4, 1956 meeting of the Presidency of the “Ilinden” organization belonging to the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, created on Zahariadis’s initiative, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in delivering his paper about the persecution of Macedonians by the CPG, among other things, said: “... During the period when DAG was fighting and after its defeat, Zahariadis implemented a policy of vilifying and persecuting a good part of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters. Although the charges were completely unfounded, it was very easy for Zahariadis to label the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters “enemy agent” etc. Based on these false accusations in 1948-1949 and later, more Slavo-Macedonians were arrested and some were liquidated...” (Am F-21/1600).

consciousness”, in fact, was not needed at all, not for the CPY and not for the CPG. It had no significant value when all the Macedonians, along with the NOF and AFZH leadership found themselves trapped in the CPG vice.

One of the great manipulations perpetrated by the CPY and CPG against the Macedonian people was done on April 2, 1946 when Tito met with Zahariadis in Belgrade to discuss the “struggle” that led to the Greek Civil War i.e. to discuss the Macedonian people’s fate without the presence of a single Macedonian. Here, yet again, was a shining example of “foreigners” deciding the fate of the Macedonian people!

Tito and Zahariadis, without a single Macedonian present, decided that: The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, now led by NOF under the direction of the CPY/CPM, will be placed under the leadership of the CPG!

Again, without a single Macedonian present, they further decided that: NOF and AFZH will now strive to create an alliance with the Greek people in order to save the Macedonian people from physical extermination.

The ideological offensive with its cosmopolitanism working against the Macedonian national consciousness shook the Macedonian people down to their native roots.

What made the situation even worse, was the fact that this “ideological offensive” came down from high up in the NOF, AFZH and CPG leadership. Politicians among the leadership, even before the start of the Greek Civil War, nursed dangerous anachronisms about our national existence and life, attacking political opponents, Partisans and every single Macedonian who did not see any benefit to the Greek Civil War. NOF and AFZH, it would appear, were either unaware of this or decided to ignore it, thinking that “communists can be trusted” and “communists can do no wrong” and so dedicated themselves to follow the CPG’s lead. If not this, then how else can one explain NOF and AFZH’s actions in recruiting young and old Macedonians, men and women, en masse to fight for DAG and give their lives to “a cause” that was neither

“defined” nor “understood”? If the cause was “defined or understood” then “what was it that the Macedonians were fighting for?” To “liberate” their country? To gain human and national rights? Were NOF and AFZH even aware that by engaging Macedonians in this war they would be endangering the entire Macedonian population?

If Macedonians were fighting to “liberate” Macedonia, then why were the Macedonian fighters, when entering the ranks of DAG, asked to make the following pledge: “I, son of the Greek people and fighter of DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) pledge to fight to defend the integrity and security of the state borders of our motherland Greece ... etc.” How were the Macedonians going to liberate Macedonia when they, as sons of Greece, pledged to fight to defend the integrity of Greece, their “supposed” motherland? Since when was Greece their motherland? Where was Macedonia, the homeland of the Macedonians in this pledge if they were truly fighting to “liberate” Macedonia?

If the Macedonians were led to believe that they were fighting for “human and national rights” then why were they called “Slavo-Macedonians (and what does that even mean)? Why were the Macedonian fighters, in missions south of Olympus, prohibited from using their Macedonian names and from speaking their Macedonian language? If the Macedonians had no “national rights” when they were fighting “side by side” with the Greeks, what made anyone think that they would be freely granted these rights after the fact? Was it because NOF and AFZH truly believed that because this “particular bunch Greeks were communists, they would keep their promises?”

This is the truth. These actions were part of the foreign strategy to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. By manipulating NOF, the foreign strategists and architects of the Greek Civil War accomplished their goal. And because NOF was involved the Greek state had no choice but to take legal measures to protect itself. The measures included unprecedented terror and persecution, military operations, jailing, torture, exile in the Greek islands, etc. The Macedonian people were forced to flee their homes



and seek shelter in Yugoslavia in order to save themselves from the terror the Greek government security forces had unleashed on them.

Was this a miscalculation, a misunderstanding or pure manipulation? Today we know that it was pure manipulation which caused the Macedonian people to bring disaster on themselves. They blindly followed a maze created for them by the CPY and CPG which cost the Macedonian people dearly. And now, today, there are people who still blindly defend NOF's actions. It is understandable that it was difficult to get out of the maze because the manipulations and strategies were so well crafted by the CPG and the CPY that even those who were labeled "hard nationalists" could not see them. They too had succumbed to the daily aggressive propaganda.

But based on the outcome of events for NOF this was a struggle in chaos! And in chaos whoever is powerful is righteous. So justice is not in righteousness but in power. This has been the case with NOF!

In other words what really happened is that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia gave up their freedom because they were seduced by NOF's offer to liberate them and for that we had to put our trust in foreigners to lead us, but only for a certain period of time. (See: "DOCUMENTS - On the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and the formation of a Nation-State" Volume II.)

This however was viewed as NOF and AFZH threatening Greece's territorial integrity which prompted the Greeks living in Macedonia and in all of Greece to fight against NOF, to save their Greek Macedonia.

So when NOF appeared in Greece hell broke loose in that region which created a gray zone, a dangerous place to live and a field for military-strategic competition between ideologies for other people's goals.

If we analyze this unfavorable situation a bit more, especially from the point of view of national interest, no one in their right mind would have taken up arms at that time, especially not the non-violent Macedonian people. But, led by the CPM/CPY, NOF did

take up arms. The Greek Civil War was an illogical war for the Macedonian peoples so why did NOF get involved and why did it mobilize the entire Macedonian population in Greece? WHY?!! How did NOF think it could achieve success?

Everyone who has suffered in that war has asked the question WHY?!

The shame of it all is that what was done to the Macedonian people was done “in the name of the people”. Sadly the words “in the name of the people” were a compulsory part of the political vocabulary, a motive and an alibi for numerous ideological shifts, military goals, territorial conquests, and ethnic cleansing.

Today, more than half a century later, each of the wanderers (those who left their ancestral home and now live all over the world) who lived through the tragic Greek Civil War, especially the Macedonians from Greece, will say that it was brutal and unnecessary. It was fatal for our people. Unfortunately none of the leaders that led that war would admit that. However “EVIL IN AEGEAN MACEDONIA DID NOT FALL FROM THE SKY!?! SOMEONE ORGANIZED IT AND INTENTIONALLY BROUGHT IT THERE!”

Maybe not by will...

For the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia memories of the Greek Civil War are murky at best and historical records are scant. Almost everything that has been written about us was written by the victors, our enemies, and is cloaked in lies, deception and politically correct propaganda. Some sources, especially western sources, go as far as saying that we do not exist so how could we possibly have been involved in this conflict? The facts however speak differently, we do exist and our understanding of our own history is very much different than that written by the victors. Many crimes were committed against our people before, during and after the Greek Civil War, which are now cloaked in lies and deceit. Our lands in the fourth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century became a wasteland and we were given a one-way ticket out of our ancestral homeland. Those are the facts! So, who are we to blame for that? Again I must

emphasize our primary and only contacts during this fiasco were our NOF and AFZH activists who got us involved in the war in the first place. Then we have the CPY/CPM principally led by Tito and the CPG led by Zahariadis, behind which stood Stalin. On the other side of the conflict we have the Greek government, behind which stood Britain and the United States of America, who made no secret of their hatred of us because we were involved in the insane ideological war.

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1947

Now we have entrusted General Markos with our destiny, trusting him with his empty promises.

With the Ioanidis – Karaivanov Agreement and with Kolishevski's directives, NOF was completely and almost unconditionally surrendered to the CPG.

Markos also issues his first order:

Order No. EP 13 of 27. 12. 1946, read: "As of today all NOF partisan units are to be added to the DAG composition."

In other words, from that day forward NOF was neither a political nor a military factor in the so called "Brotherhood and unity" partnership with the CPG. In fact from that day forward the delicate balance that had been created between CPG and NOF began to deteriorate as the CPG, encouraged by the top CPM leadership began to stranglehold NOF. It was not long after that that NOF became a victim of political games. And, soon after, it found itself in the hands of the unscrupulous absolutist CPG government.

Did anyone ever stop to think that these people now running NOF were the same people, the former ELAS fighters who fled to Yugoslavia and for whom Greek hatred was never forgotten? And were NOF and AFZH ever recognized by any International Institutions as legitimate entities?

Here is a document, translated from Greek that may shed some light: "... A year had not passed, when in the evening of October 24, 1947

several Politburo members including Ioannidis, Stringos, Markos and Evripidis Georgios - Petros invited Mitrevski, Keramitchiev and Vera for a 'special conversation.'

Markos coughed in his hand and looked at Mitrevski but nobody could guess what thoughts were passing through his head. Markos felt that he needed to reprimand the NOF and AFZH leaders once and for all. He made a stern face and loudly and sarcastically laughed and began to speak:

'You need to be reminded that you are members of the CPG and this I want to emphasize, not once, but three times. There is only the CPG and no one else. I do not understand why you think that one day the Macedonians will noisily rise and leave the Democratic Army of Greece. NOF and AFZH are not just yours; I say that to you as your superior. You are well aware that you have been placed under the CPG umbrella with the blessing of Marshal Tito and our leader Zahariadis. First you need to be communists and then patriots. That's how you should be looking at the Slavo-Macedonian Question and not thinking about some sort of "United Macedonia". If you desire a "United Macedonia" then what will happen to us, the Profigi, as you call us, where will we go? Return back to Asia Minor?!

Oh, my Slavo-Macedonians. You should, ONCE AND FOR ALL, UNDERSTAND THAT THIS COUNTRY - MACEDONIA NOW BELONGS TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE LIVING HERE AND THAT IS US THE PROSFIGI! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH MACEDONIA IN GREECE ANY MORE.

This has been said many times; even Lenin said it many times: Minorities must obey the majority. You are fighting for other people's interests and against mother Greece. But in the end you will lose. Nobody is going to help you; neither Tito nor Stalin. Whatever happens to you will be your own fault because you alone are responsible for bringing suspicion to yourselves in the eyes of the Party...

We know every detail about each one of you,' said Markos, while showing them a piece of paper with the words 'strictly confidential' written on it: 'We have been informed by Periklis Kolodakis, head of the Security Service in the Democratic Army of Greece. So stop your trickery, you are wasting your time and losing opportunities to advance in political life.

What do you want? Do you want the Party to make generals out of you?! You have read the "manifesto addressed to the Liberation Army of the Chinese people". It says: "All officers and soldiers need to be educated as bravely as they fight to bring military victory."

You have failed to free yourselves from the grips of chauvinism and have isolated yourselves from the Slavo-Macedonian people, especially from those 6,000 fighters in the Democratic Army of Greece who bravely fight and sacrifice themselves for the high ideals of the socialist revolution in Greece.

We very well know everything about you; we know every one of you, your political activities and the responsibilities that you have undertaken for the Yugoslav information services.

Information from our intelligence services has revealed that: 'The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in order to have insight and influence on events in Greece and on the Macedonian Liberation Movement, secretly committed a large number of fighters and NOF activists (who returned from Yugoslavia) through organized channels to inform them about everything that was happening in the Aegean part of Macedonia and in Greece. The NOF leadership was forced to receive and execute directives from both the CPY and the CPG leaderships.'

Are you aware that by doing this for the CPY you are actually doing a lot of damage to yourselves which will have severe consequences for you and for your people? Your attitudes are not in line with the views of the Party. But I believe by the time you wake up and realize that, it will be too late. The Party does not tolerate fractionism. By now our intelligence services have identified dozens of Macedonians who will be prosecuted as Yugoslav agents'. And so will the numerous deserters."

There was another long pause. – “Probably so”, - said Ioanidis and continued: - “Don’t think that the revolution is a game. But when you read a lot and when you also think a lot, you will convince yourself that it is worth sacrificing for the Party’s goals.

You Slavo-Macedonians, you have to understand these two worlds, your world that you are now looking for a lot and the world of the Greeks so that we can be carefree. We are ready to send you back to Skopje and don’t think that you are less Titoists than Ilia Dimovski - Gotse and many others, who we recently sent back or deserted. They are unfit for DAG’s ranks for the CPG for Greek society in general. There is no return to Greece for them! I am telling you that in the name of the Party!”

After this reprimand, in the name of the revolution, the NOF and AFZH leaders became seriously involved in a wider range of political activities that served Greek interests more and more.

In other words NOF and AFZH accepted their naïveté and carelessness about their own destiny and made decisions that helped the Greeks organize and carry out ‘soft’ ethnic cleansing. They unwittingly de-populated the Macedonian people from the Greek occupied part of Macedonia. They were not aware of the limits as to what was possible, especially after WW II ended, and what the Macedonian people actually could gain from the Greek Civil War. NOF and AFZH, through the instructions of the CPG, violently thrust the ‘red stake’ into the hearts of the Macedonian villagers in Greek occupied Macedonia. With their violent mobilization they pushed Macedonians, especially Macedonian women, into DAG units which were then deployed in the depths of Greece where most of them were destroyed.

There is no case like ours registered in the annals of history.

If NOF was truly a Macedonian led organization it would have strived to, as much as possible, serve Macedonian interests. It would have made some concessions to the CPG, of course, but without sacrificing the entire Macedonian population. It would not have caused permanent and inviolable damage to its own people - at a

national level. But we know that NOF was not a Macedonian led organization because it was created by the CPM/CPY and then handed over to the CPG. But we still don't know for sure for what political goals?! The only ones that know for sure were the CPY and the CPG strangers!

And so our hopes were pinned on the CPG. We Macedonians young and old, men and women, found ourselves in DAG uniforms and our children ages 3 to 14 found themselves all around the world. In other words we cooperated in our own "soft ethnic cleansing".

NOF's misery however doesn't end there.

In order to have insight and influence on events in Greece and on the Macedonian Liberation Movement, the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership secretly committed a large number of fighters and NOF activists (who returned from Yugoslavia) through organized channels to inform them about everything that was happening in the Aegean part of Macedonia and in Greece. The NOF leadership was forced to receive and execute directives from both the CPY and the CPG leaderships. This CPY move proved to be harmful with severe consequences for the Macedonians. Their activities for the CPY did not go undetected and were used by the CPG to accuse NOF of being a CPY agent. Dozens of Macedonians were convicted and hundreds prosecuted as Yugoslav intelligence services agents. This dual role the Macedonian NOF leadership played resulted in its split and in the creation of two extremely opposite wings (supporters of the pro-Yugoslav policy created by the CPY and pro-Greek communist policy led by the CPG), which waged an irreconcilable struggle against one another: Macedonian against Macedonian.

It was clear that the CPM/CPY with its propaganda campaigns had politicized and handicapped the Macedonian people, especially the Macedonian villagers in Greek occupied Macedonia, and later when they were left to the CPG's disposal they were simply neglected, and poverty ravaged, but almost all engaged in big politics. The CPM/CPY creating NOF was by no accidental but, at the same time the CPM/CPY did not destroy the Macedonians. It was a time when big policies were decided by small leaders. We all know when NOF was sent to the Macedonian villages in Greece and through its

influence managed to create “waves of hope for a triumphant revolution”: to first organize the men, and later the women in the AFZH, and the youth in NOMS during which time the Macedonian family found itself in chaos, disintegrated, and the Macedonian home turned into a village office. Rural women became the laughing stock and bitterness in the politics of these organizations, and hatred bound them more firmly than love.

How can we forget that? It was a time when all kinds of narrow-minded, immature, and unscrupulous types emerged on the surface, leading liberation movements, individuals and entire nations to ruin. Our participation in that struggle was a historical delay, but also unnecessary.

For a long time during the war we Macedonians lived in a world of lies, after the war for more than half a century we remained living in a world of sadness - WANDERERS. Our justification today is the same: I am not an enemy! I was lied to! I believed them! Since then our entire lives have roll downwards and we were tuned upside down. We became a people of lost hope and betrayed expectations. We experienced a national defeat by losing the historical territory of our homeland; a sacred place recognized in civilization. We deserted our sacred place and left it to the profigi (Asia Minor settlers and colonists) who were brought to our Macedonia by Venizelos from 1924 to 1930, precisely for this purpose, to inherit everything that was primordially ours.

The history for us Macedonians in Greece should be written to reveal the truth: For starters, who lit the fire and why? How and why did we loose the right to return to our native hearths? Why do some of us, more than 55 years later, still defend the idea that our sacrifice in the Greek Civil War was inevitable? When the truth is that we were trampled under CPG boots! Why do people still wonder if we fought for a united Macedonia, against Anglo-American imperialism, or against some third party that we still vaguely carry in our consciousness from the genocide we experienced and cannot define?!

Our aim was to “unite Macedonia”. We fought to “unite Macedonia”! How could we do that if we had no representatives in



the political top, in the CPG Central Committee or in the military in DAG's Main Headquarters? We had no Macedonian representation in the top organizations which were the bearers of that war? But what bothers me the most is that during the Greek Civil War, we Macedonians contributed more than half of DAG's forces. If we take into account that the official number of DAG soldiers had climbed to 25,000 - 30,000 fighters at the peak of the war, and we Macedonians filled more than half of that composition, it means that we Macedonians contributed 6 - 7% of the total Macedonian population (280,000 – 300,000) while that percentage for Greeks was 0.35 - 0.40% of the total Greek population (9,000,000 – 10,000,000).

How and why did we allow strangers to lie to us and to get us to (self) sacrifice ourselves for them? By allowing this to happen in Greek occupied Macedonia almost all the Macedonian villages were abandoned, people were separated from their native places and a legal migration process was created. It was enough for some fake authority outside of Macedonia to say something to us and we went out of our way to implement it.

We know that what the Macedonian people were proposing as a national program (unite Macedonia), was unacceptable to all political forces in the Balkans, from the left to the right, and the borders of the Balkan states were declared unchallengeable.

We Macedonians had been biased towards Big Brother for years, that is, until J. C. Stalin decided to dissolve the Communist International (Comintern) on May 15, 1943, and to take an oath before Churchill and Truman promising them that the borders in the Balkans will remain unchanged (with a divided Macedonia).

One thing is true, the political forces in the Balkans supported a “minimum program” and nothing more, but with a particular suggestion “to act under the leadership of the relevant communist party” and only within the framework of the Yugoslav, Greek and Bulgarian revolutionary movements. With that kind of suggestion, made by the left forces in the Balkans, it was very clear that we Macedonians had to respect the Bucharest and Versailles Agreements. This was also the wish of the Western powers.

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1948

If Markos Vafiadis's political strategy and tactics were not to arm the resistance movement on mass with experienced ELAS fighters, then where should we look for the logic for this political move? Let us not forget that when Markos was dismissing volunteers, NOF was recruiting Macedonians villagers on mass.

Everything was under the control of the CPG and DAG General Headquarters.

The 1<sup>st</sup> NOF Congress was held on January 13, 1948 in the church of the village V'mbel, Kostur Region. During the Congress it was proclaimed that: "The first NOF congress was the brightest period of Macedonia's post Ilinden history ... and stands on the international stage with sincere intentions of assisting the development of the Greek movement. During this Congress NOF agreed that "three quarters of the Macedonian partisans would fight in the DAG ranks south of Olympus, that is, in all parts of Greece..." It was also said that more than 20,000 Macedonians were mobilized into DAG units. And, according to information provided by DAG General Staff, at that time there were no more than 25 - 28,000 DAG fighters in total in all of Greece. See the book: "National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations of Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)", published by "Kultura", Skopje 1985.

In his book "NOF and other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949", on page 212 Dr. Kiriazovski wrote: "The leadership of NOF, despite past bad experiences, different phenomena of insincerity and opportunism on the part of the CPG leadership, took the international position and sincerely intended to assist in the development of the Greek movement. It agreed that three quarters of the Macedonian partisans should be sent to fight in the ranks of DAG south of Olympus, in all parts of Greece. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the Greek youth movement it agreed to disband NOMS, the Macedonian youth organization, and its members were advised to join the Greek youth organization EPON..., and in order for the Agricultural Party of Greece to exist, i.e. to survive, NOF had to allow its members to enter its ranks..."

But did the Macedonians from NOF and AFZH take into account the Macedonian identity?!

It was said that the deployment of the Macedonian units in the depths of Greece was as a precaution, so as not to repeat what happened in 1944, when the Macedonian battalions separated from ELAS.

This is exactly what Truman warned:

“...If Greece falls under the control of an armed minority then confusion and anomalies can easily prevail in the entire Middle East. Furthermore, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a deep reflection on all European countries whose peoples are struggling ... If we don't help Greece in this critical moment, the consequences will be severe for the West and for the East. We are obliged to take immediate and decisive action.” To this end, Congress was asked to provide 4,000,000 dollars in economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union condemned this as “Truman's doctrine”.

## HIGH VISIT TO ATHENS

On December 31, 1947, the American military advisory and program group “JUSMARG” headed by Van Fleet was established. Through the US Military Advisory Group, the Americans established control not only over politics and the economy, but also over the armed forces.

War Diary:

On February 7, 1948, American Lieutenant General James A. VAN FLEET, took command of JUSMARG, and a week later, together with the head of the British military mission, Major General STEWARD ROLLINS, were attached to the Greek National Defense Council. See: Foreign Office to Belgrade, March 4, 1949.

But let me remind Evdokia Foteva-Vera that there is a strange version of our story, which perhaps explains why the historical truth

about the Macedonians under Greece has not yet been revealed, a version that is still not “accepted”. That version says that the Macedonians under Greece were pushed into the Greek Civil War by the Macedonians who managed the FRM (Federal Republic of Macedonia) on CPM orders. It would appear that this was another of the CPM/CPY important secret strategies. It also served to solve the problems at that time that arose with “We want to go to Solun and not to Srem”, etc., because they represented a dangerous potential for unrest in Yugoslavia. In that version, it is said that there was a large Greek lobby and that, through England and America, played a major role in its realization. As a result Yugoslavia disarmed and disbanded the Aegean brigade and then created NOF in Skopje, managed it for more than a year and then forced it to submit to the CPG.

Couldn't Vera see that the ideological activism promoted by foreigners was spreading like a malignant disease attacking the souls of the Macedonians living in Greece in the years 1944 to 1950...?

To look for logic in “fraternal” support after Macedonia was partitioned in 1913<sup>19</sup> and to lure the Macedonian people to struggle for a “United Macedonia” after the Second World War ended by using our proud ideological activists, was a triumph of “dancing in the dark”.

Did anyone believe that the Bulgarian, Yugoslav or Greek government was so stupid that it would arm NOF or any Macedonian liberation movement, just to give up part of its state territory?

I am pretty sure that a reasonable person would say NO! And that it would be obvious that the so called “fraternal” communist parties (the CPG, CPY and CPB) would not believe it would be good idea

---

<sup>19</sup> As a consequence of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the Bucharest Peace Treaty of June 28 (August 10) 1913, sanctioned by the Neully Peace Treaty of November 14/27, 1919 and the Sevres Peace Treaty of July 28 (August 10) 1920, Macedonia was divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Albania receiving Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo. Greece received 34,356 km<sup>2</sup> or 51% of the Macedonian ethnic-historical territory; Serbia 25. 713 km<sup>2</sup> or 39%; Bulgaria 6.798 km<sup>2</sup> or 9.5% and Albania 0.5% of the Macedonian-historical territory.

to support organizations that want to separate parts of their state territories, especially in favour of the Macedonians who they claim do not exist. On the contrary, in such a case, any of the above mentioned parties would be declared traitors. If the CPG did that with NOF especially during the Greek Civil War, it would have been condemned and declared a traitor. What about NOF's role in all this. NOF was created by the CPM/CPY and later subordinated to the CPG. So how was NOF different from any other liberation organization in the world that participated in a war? NOF was never allowed to act independently. But when it came to placing blame, NOF and the Macedonian fighters paid the heaviest price. What was worst than that was the truth was never told... There are some who still say the Macedonians fought heroic battles and should be seen as "patriots who died for their homeland...!" Whose homeland? The Macedonians in Greece lost their homeland... The truth is that it was the Greeks who turned out to be the heroes because, as the Greek state claims, they convinced us to fight and win Macedonia for them. The Greeks led the war... Every commander who led us and participated with us in the Greek Civil War was Greek. Those Greeks who commanded us during the war turned out to be great patriots to make us fight and die for their homeland so that Macedonia would remain Greek.

## FIRST AFZH CONGRESS

On April 29, 1948, AFZH held its 1<sup>st</sup> Congress near the village Besfina in Prespa, Greek occupied Macedonia, in an open space because of the threat of the Greek Monarcho-Fascist aviation bombing the villages. More than 420 delegates participated in the Congress from all the districts in Greek occupied Macedonia, including women DAG fighters and guests from all the organizations and parties participating in the Greek Civil War. Evdokia Baleva-Vera chaired the Congress.

Among other things the following was said in a speech: "... Today's Congress finds the Macedonian woman with a clear national consciousness. It finds her as an officer and DAG fighter and as a hero who fights on an equal footing with men in the battle lines of all auxiliary sectors..."

## TWO CONCEPTIONS OF DAG'S STRATEGIC WARFARE

On August 25, 1948, at the insistence of Zahariadis, by secret decision of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, General Markos was removed from his position as Commander-in-Chief of DAG and expelled from the Politburo.

The official announcement of Markos' removal from his position came early on August 28, 1948, when Radio Free Greece reported that the "CPG Extraordinary Plenum, taking into account that for several months comrades Hrisa Hadzhivasiliou and Markos Vafiadis had been seriously ill and were unable to carry out the serious tasks assigned to them by the CPG Central Committee, unanimously decided to release them from their Party duties..."

The day later, on the same radio, General Markos' open letter addressed to the "Greek people, to DAG and to all comrades" was read in which he confirmed that due to his poor health he was forced to resign from his position as Provisional Democratic Government President and Commander of DAG.

In early September 1948, General Markos arrived in Moscow from the Tirana airport on an Ilyushin air plane.

After Markos was removed there was an urgent need to replace him. On August 27, 1948, Zahariadis explained that he had come up with the idea of creating a Military Council (VVS), which would manage all DAG military formations.

The summit opened with playing the national anthem and Zahariadis himself read the agenda which was followed by loud applause and shouts: "Long live the great Stalin!" and "Long live our faithful leader Zahariadis!"

## THE FOLLOWING WERE DECIDED AT THE SUMMIT

a/ Zahariadis was appointed President of the High Military Council who now became Commander-in-Chief of all DAG forces in Greece;

b/ GUSIAS was appointed head of DAG military operations;

c/ GUSIAS was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel General, and BARGIOTAS, VLANDAS, IPSILANTIS AND PALIOLOGU were promoted to Major General;

d/ IOANIDIS replaced Markos as President of the Provisional Government.

The above is yet another fact that the Greeks led the Greek Civil War, not NOF and AFZH. The entire Macedonian population was mobilized to fight in the Greek Civil War yet there was not a single high ranking Macedonian in the top leadership. But then we have the NOF and AFZH leaders telling us that we will realize our dreams and continued to push us even harder to fight the war. And we the sun-loving Macedonian sons and patriots believed them. We were willing to sacrifice our lives in order to continue our centuries long struggle for an independent Macedonia because we believed that one day our dream would come true. And that is how the strangers were able to make us (self) sacrifice ourselves for their interests.

We have seen and have survived many things; upheavals, dramas, etc., but none of our top leaders want to admit the truth. The Foreign Office in Belgrade, March 4, 1949, enounced:

On August 20, Zahariadis asked his commander Markos to go on medical leave in Moscow.

The former Yugoslav ambassador to Prague assured the British ambassador in Belgrade, Sir Charles Peake, that “Markos preferred Tito’s type of communism to the Cominform variant,” while Vebler, Yugoslavia’s deputy foreign minister, in a conversation with British Secretary of State McLean, pointed out that the removal of Marcos was “a case of Titoism”. However, it seems that the only real reason for Markos’ removal was his disagreement with Zahariadis over DAG’s strategy and tactics, that is, his advocacy of guerrilla warfare. All interpretations linking Markos to “Titoism” are unfounded because, as Sfikas said “not only did Markos agree with the CPG’s negative point of view of Tito, but if he was a “Titoist”,

his trip to Moscow in September 1948 would have probably been a journey to eternity.”

## PEDOMAZOMA - A VIOLENT CHILD COLLECTION PROGRAM WITH POLITICAL INTENT TO DESTABILIZE THE MACEDONIAN HOME...

Who directed the fate of the Macedonian people in Greece that led to their genocide?

It was an unprecedented act for NOF to have collected the Macedonian children and to have surrendered them to the CPG and DAG. It should be openly said that NOF was nothing more than an instrument of the CPG. NOF no longer represented anything. After surrendering the children, NOF also left the parents of those children at the CPG's disposal.

While important research is conducted on migration issues worldwide, our migrations over the years have been ignored and our people have been compelled to remain silent... because it was and apparently still is politically correct. While papers of new studies are emerging in the world today, revealing the cruelest and most complex elements of projected persecution, ours sadly remain hidden. It seems the science of this subject for us has remained deaf for over half a century. No one seems to care, as if nothing happened to the 28,000 children exiled from Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War. No one seems to care that these children have been deprived of their parents, their homes and their rights and who, to this day, still have no right to return home.

The problem with the Macedonian children taken away during the Greek Civil War for us Macedonians is one of the most serious problems in Macedonian history. Why? Because it did not happen even during the cruelest Balkan wars... innocent children were not taken and exiled with political intentions. Our Macedonian children were kidnapped and sent away from their homeland with a one-way ticket... The Greeks were given a return ticket. After the Greek Civil War ended the Greeks returned to their homes but the Macedonian children were left out to roam around the world. This also happened with their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, grandfathers and



grandmothers. The Greek authorities have demonstrated unprecedented brutality, especially since they call themselves the cradle of modern civilization, doing everything in their power to prevent the Macedonian people's return to their birthplace, to their ancestral roots. It would not have been so ironic if both the Macedonian and Greek people were given a return ticket since both people participated equally in the same war.

The main goal of this research is to arrive at realistic views of the historical truth and the political intention of the so-called "Pedomazoma".<sup>20</sup>

The gathering of children, carried out by the two warring parties: the Government of the Athenian regime in Athens,<sup>21</sup> and the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece (CPG and DAG) in the mountains, who fought each other in the Greek Civil War 1945-1949.

By taking this approach did we solve the Macedonian Question?!

---

<sup>20</sup> According to UNSCOB - A/754 - 1948, the action taken by the Greek government and by Queen Frederica to collect the children and isolated some of the villages was done in order to cut DAG off from its resources, food products and future manpower and to make it impossible for DAG to mobilize more soldiers. This policy proved to be successful and gave the government the opportunity for greater control in certain regions of Greece. Also in the same document it was said that the action taken by the CPG to remove 28,000 children from Greece was done in order to secure its manpower and military resources. In March 1949, UNSCOB launched numerous petitions demanding that DAG refrain from sending children to the battlefields. In 1948, when the children were collected, the CPG probably expected that the war would continue for several years and many of the children who were taken away would have to return to fight in Greece.

<sup>21</sup> On July 2, 1948, the Greek Parliament accepted the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan envisaged economic assistance, confronting and solving all economic problems, especially the industry and economic development of Greece. However, a good part of the funds (out of 300 million dollars, about 190 million was for the armed forces) that were allocated to Greece, in accordance with the Marshall Plan, were used for military purposes, that is, for DAG's liquidation and for placing Greece under complete American control. This plan was implemented in Greece at the height of the Greek Civil War. But, as it turned out the funds allocated by the "Truman Doctrine" were not enough to decisively confront DAG.

## DIRTY DEEDS AMONG MACEDONIAN POLITICIANS

It is hard to believe but the Macedonians hated each other and were often divided into two camps. The problems were deep, but only according to ideological convictions. This was confirmed by most of us who fought in this war. The so called Revolution was not in our souls, it was driven by outsiders and leaning towards the powerful.

Not all confrontations were instigated by outsiders, no: they were also instigated by Macedonians. The problem with the Macedonians was that they believed the accusations hurled against them by other Macedonians like they were all true, even if they were lies propagated by the top non-Macedonian leadership. Zahariadis ranked among the top for spreading lies and creating problems for the Macedonians. He would say to a Macedonian when he or she came to his office that so and so said this about you - usually something insulting and demeaning. The disappointed Macedonian would then say something negative against their accuser which then Zahariadis would use against them and so on.

Another thing about Macedonians, especially the NOF and AFZH leaders, who persistently expressed their pride in the presence of Macedonians but would never admit being wrong. It is a fact that not a single NOF or AFZH politician ever admitted being wrong, including Vera who wrote the book "To hell and back".

On top of that some of these politicians who were also authors, like Vera, tended to support the Party line even if they had to bend the truth. The Party was always right, even when it was wrong! Or the Party could do no wrong even when it harmed people for its own interests!

But which Party did these Macedonians support? The CPY or the CPG? They couldn't support both because the Parties sometimes or at different times supported contradictory policies. And, as we well know they could not call themselves communists if they did not belong to a Party.

So the NOF and AFZH politician or activist was sent on a one way street. Those affiliated with the CPY tended to influence the Macedonian refugees in Yugoslavia and at the same time vilified those Macedonian who supported DAG. Those affiliated with the CPG tended to influence those who fought for DAG and vilified those who fled to Yugoslavia. This blind loyalty to their Parties unfortunately split the Macedonian organizations into opposing camps.

It is obvious that both sides were preoccupied fighting with one another over Party politics instead of fighting for Macedonian interests. Unfortunately this has been happening to us for more than half a century since Aegean Macedonia was “turned into a grave in which everything was buried”.

This “infighting” however did not stop the Macedonian “influencers” from influencing their followers to see things their way, even after the war was over. No wonder the Greek Civil War became a catastrophe for the Macedonian nation not only from the beating we received from the Greeks and international factor but also from the wide divide the communist legacy left us with.

No one will disagree that the Greek Civil War was a disaster for the Macedonian people that lived and are still living in Greece but will any of the leaders that participated in that war tell us what happened?

The NOF leadership to this day has yet to tell us whether the armed struggle that the democratic forces started, after the Varkiza Agreement was signed, i.e. after the Second World War ended, was inevitable and whether it had the most elementary conditions for success, or whether it was caused and imposed on us by the great powers, in the interest of global strategic goals for reorganizing the Balkans. And, was it possible to solve the Greek internal issue by political means, so that the Macedonians did not have suffered the genocidal attacks and in Greece today we would have a completely different situation.

The documents we have been looking at have provided us with enough information to determine what kind of relationship the CPY

had with the CPG and vice versa. From what we learned they had a passive and cooperative relationship and were primarily concerned with how to stay in power. Theoretically, they had a pale relationship and played by some of the rules in the so-called “the political team”. But how did they act towards the Macedonians is another question. Were they honest and truly concerned for the Macedonians or did they just use them to achieve their own goals. After what was done to us and the disaster, destruction and genocide we experienced, can we trust the communists to be honest?

And again, being an AFZH leader why doesn't Vera say something?!

It is a fact that as leader of AFZH, Evdokia Foteva-Vera has made the Macedonian woman march in politics and die on the battlefield in the Greek Civil War. But even though more than 55 years have passed, Vera still has not given us any historical facts. Why exactly was the Macedonian woman put under the military regime and with such unprecedented numbers in relation to the Greek woman? This is a serious question which has remained open in our historical science.

Being authoritative and deeply persuasive, as a communist of course, in her convictions, on page 33, Vera said: “... then and now I think and say the same thing, that honest communists never shift their guilt to others as did Zahariadis who shifted his responsibility for the loss of the movement to others, to us Macedonians. Is that fair?” On the same page we read her accusations against her comrade Rakovski:

“ Earlier, before the developments, Pavle Rakovski had written a letter addressed to the CPG Central Committee and to Zahariadis, criticizing himself for not being honest with the CPG leadership. In Prespa he had supposedly proposed to some NOF leaders that they flee to Yugoslavia so that they would not be arrested, but Mincho Fotev opposed him. Thus, on the basis of this letter Zahariadis found grounds to lay charges in Bureli, Albania.”

How could Pavle Rakovski first be a Yugoslav and then, after he returned from the USSR to Yugoslavia, be accused of being a

Russian spy? In his book “Autobiography” - my suffering, on page 181, he wrote: “... In Alma-Ata, after his release from the Siberian prisons, Mitrevski immediately requested visas to leave for Yugoslavia. I argued with conviction: our place is among the thousands of our Macedonian fighters and people in Tashkent, USSR and other places...”

On page 197, Rakovski wrote: “Be that as it may, but the fact remains: Mitrevski and Vera in Moscow accused me of being a Yugoslav agent working against the CPG and DAG, and in Skopje they accused me of being a Soviet agent working against Yugoslavia while, most characteristically, knowingly lying in both cases...”

On page 298 Rakovski wrote:

“...I WAS SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYED BY MY FELLOW CO-FIGHTERS... As a Macedonian communist - I PROTEST AGAINST THESE ACCUSATIONS...”

One time during a buffet held at the Institute of National History, comrade Todor Simovski passionately defended our community against some of my attacks! He said: “How dare you publish state secrets and attack the state...!?” As far as I know, I was talking about the creation of NOF and that it was managed by the CPM/CPY for a year and a half...

It is a fact that Rakovski was slandered after his return to Macedonia, his family was not taken care of and he was not given his own grave after his death on February 10, 1990. He was buried in someone else’s grave.

It should also be said that after Rakovski died Evdokia Foteva – Vera wrote a decent and honest article about his death in the magazine “Macedonia”, Skopje, no. 444, 1990, which showed immense respect for Rakovski’s image and work depicted under the title: “A life devoted to the Fatherland” with subtitles: “Fighter and cultural actor”, and “In the very confines of a Soviet prison.”

NOF and AFZH in political chaos - an eruption in the Macedonian consciousness.

Confidence in politics and in the Macedonian politicians was lost in the chaos when control of the most important goal was lost:  
PRESERVING OUR MACEDONIAN NATION.

...After its formation on April 23, 1945, the CPM/CPY appointed the NOF leadership and then after October 14, 1946, NOF was handed over to the CPG and to the Greek communists along with the fate of the Macedonian people from the Aegean part of Macedonia. At this point the Macedonian people in Greece faced a great danger of completely losing their independence and becoming disoriented and turning into an instrument working for foreign interests. And that is exactly what happened to Macedonian NOF and AFZH leaders who found themselves split into two opposing currents. In one current were NOF Secretary Pascal Mitrevski and Mincho Fotev, and on the other were Mihajlo Keramitchiev, Evdokia Nikolova - Vera, Pavle Rakovski, Vangel Aianovski - Oche, Ilia Dimovski – Gotse and Lazo Poplazarov among others.

\*\*\*

...In his numerous reports, letters, statements, etc., to the CPG leadership Mitrevski consistently attacked the Macedonian leaders from the other current accusing them of being separatists, of carrying out anti-party activities, of making contact with illegal circles in the Republic of Macedonia, for living opulently, etc. On February 19, 1948, Paskal Mitrevski sent a letter to the CPG Central Committee Politburo demanding the removal of the old NOF leaders and replacing them with new people (“fresh blood”). Among other things Mitrevski said: “...these people are entangled in factionalism, nepotism and barren Macedonia-nism. They are glory-seekers, anti-party actors, follow petty interests and have desires for leadership. Because of this they have led the organization into sectarianism and chauvinism...” The guiltiest of them all, according to what Mitrevski said to Petris (Georgios Eritreadis - Petris member of the CPG Central Committee and DAG deputy commissioner for Central and Western Macedonia), were Pavle Rakovski, Mihajlo Keramitchiev and Evdokia Nikolova - Vera.

...For me the question of agreement and unity with Keramitchiev - Vera - Rakovski is not only a Party obligation, but a task. However, those comrades had a need to transform and Party reconstruct. In that way, Keramitchiev's adventurism, Rakovski's self-centered intellectualism, and Vera's fickleness and leadership spirit would be broken. Maybe these comrades confirm everything, accepting the Party line and orders, recommendations, etc., but in practice they were far from the party's eye, and things were different.

\*\*\*

The Macedonian members of NOF and AFZH often impeded one another and Zahariadis used their minor disputes to inflame the principle of "divide and conquer". He allowed certain "pluralistic opinions" in his closest circle and used those opinions to create disputes and hostility among the Macedonians. This benefited him immensely because he was able to better define his control over them and his power with suggestions and ideas.

Zahariadis decided to also test the Macedonian intellectual and political capacity in Greek occupied Macedonia and to determine the leadership's trustworthiness after spending a long time under CPY/CPM (April 23, 1945 to October 14, 1946) influence when the Macedonian consciousness was under Yugoslav political influence.

Extract B: "...March 27, 1948 - Zahariadis took the next very significant step to change NOF from the inside. For secretary of the party's faction in NOF, he imposed the well-known anti NOF and exponent of CPG politics in the Macedonian national liberation movement, Stavros Kochopoulos whom Evdokia Foteva - Vera in her book "To Hell and Back" calls "scum". NOF leadership was handed over to Kochopoulos; a man who hated NOF!

#### ZAHARIADIS'S TEST FOR THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE MACEDONIANS FROM THE ORGANIZATIONS NOF, AFZH AND NOMS

March 1948 – DAG General Headquarters issued an immediate order to mobilize almost the entire NOF and AFZH membership and the memberships of all other Macedonian associations. The CPG

leadership then asked the Macedonian leadership to submit a proposal on how the Macedonian activists could be engaged in the mobilization.

Among other things, here is what Mitrevski said in his report to the Greek leadership: “The issue of mobilization of personnel, according to your directive, after extensive discussions we eventually agreed as follows:

As per Keramitchiev’s suggestions, Pavle Rakovski and Lazo Poplazarov were to be appointed Brigade political commissars. Vangel Aianovski (Oche) and Mihailo Malio were to be appointed Battalion political commissars. Lambro Cholakov was to be appointed Battalion quartermaster.

As per Vera’s suggestions: Rakovski and Poplazarov - political commissars of the Brigade, Malio and Cholakov - political commissars of Battalions, and Oche - Brigade officer.

As per Stavros Kochopoulos’s suggestions: – Rakovski, Poplazarov and Malio to be moved to the command of the Battalion. Cholakov and Oche to the company.”

... Pascal Mitrevski informed the Greek party leadership that at the top of NOF and among the Macedonians there were separatist tendencies, chauvinism, nationalism, factionism and antiparty tendencies. (Report submitted to the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau on April 12, 1948)

See: p. 233 “... Mihailo Keramitchiev, Vera Nikolovna, Pavle Rakovski, Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, with their letters addressed to the CPY Central Committee, begged the Yugoslav leadership to intervene and convince the CPG leadership to change its attitude and policy towards the Macedonian people”.

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1949

Mobilizing Macedonians outside the Greek borders: February 9, 1949



(Is this not an act contrary to international human rights?)

At the request of Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was admitted to Skopje and a meeting was held with NOF representatives during which the CPG delegation demanding that NOF recruit some 300 new DAG fighters from the refugees who had fled Greek occupied Macedonia and were now living in Yugoslavia. Their demands were rejected.

Zahariadis's first optimistic scenario: "The Macedonian people will be granted self-determination." So, did Zahariadis offer the Macedonian people a vision for an independent Macedonia?

## ZAHARIADIS'S CONFESSIONS AND DISCLAIMERS

### HOW EMPTY PROMISES BECAME PART OF THE WAR:

On January 30-31, 1949, the CPG Central Committee held its 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum during which it dropped the slogan "Independent and united Macedonia within a Balkan Federation". On February 3, 1949, the NOF Central Council plenary was convened and new NOF principles were proclaimed for the future of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

The following was stated in the NOF Second Plenum resolution: "The Second Congress will be the Congress during which the new programming principles of NOF will be proclaimed in which the age-old aspiration of our (Macedonian) people, i.e. the unification of Macedonia into a single independent state, will be realized. The Macedonian state will be equal to all other states within a Federation of People's Republics encompassing all Balkan people. This will be the Macedonian people's grand achievement after many years of struggling and bloody fighting. The Macedonian people's uprising will be proclaimed during the NOF Second Congress where all forces will be tested and the Macedonian people will be united around NOF. Then, together in a joint struggle with the Greek heroic people, they will bring victory against the Monarcho-Fascists and the American imperialists. The Second Congress will especially focus on the enslaved Macedonian population in cities such as Lerin, Kostur, Voden, Enidzhe Vardar, Gumendzhe, Seres and Drama

where they will rise to an irreconcilable struggle against Monarcho-Fascism and the Anglo-American occupiers and quickly gain their freedom and fulfill their deeply rooted aspirations in their struggle to create a People's Republic of Macedonia”.

So, did this mean that new horizons for canceling the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest and Macedonia's division were opening?!

## DISCLAIMER OF BALKAN FEDERATION AND TRAMPLED PROMISES

On March 7, 1949 the CPG Central Committee released a statement denying that there ever were any CPG decisions made regarding the Macedonian question during the CPG's Fifth Plenum or during NOF's Second Congress held on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1949. So, once again history should have taught us that promises made during war are not always what they seem.

The CPG Central Committee denying the slogan for Macedonian's unification.

(The document in Greek can be found in the Macedonian archives.)

This means that the CPG had returned to the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) positions.

What was Zahariadis's goal? Did he want to evaluate our maturity regarding the Macedonian national question three years into struggle, to find out what we wanted? Because it would appear that it was unclear to the CPG what NOF and AFZH's role was from April 23, 1945 to October 1946, while these organizations were under CPY control.

Zahariadis, responding to criticism, confirmed that NOF and AFZH had a dual purpose:

First to massively involve the Macedonian people in the struggle and second, to neutralize the separatist activities of the group of former NOF and AFZH leaders who had defected to Yugoslavia and who were now advising DAG fighters to desert, because, according

to the defectors, there was no purpose for the Macedonians to bleed in that war.

CPM/CPY reactions regarding NOF and their recommendations to the CPG on what to do with them

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

Lazar Moisev, in his book "Bugarska Radnichka Partia (komunisti) i Makedosko pitanie", Belgrade, Borba, 1948, p. 288-290 wrote: "To raise the Macedonian unification question outside of Yugoslavia's borders was a provocation against the Macedonian people's independence and interests."

In fact, the fiercest opposition came from those who organized NOF and sent it to Aegean Macedonia a year before the Greek Civil War started. Now they were the ones complaining that such an issue would cause "ethnic cleansing, secession and other genocidal activities in all neighbouring Balkan countries". Lastly, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were the only ones who experienced genocide.

Meaning, Yugoslavia (CPM/CPY) like Greece (CPG) was against any revision of borders and strictly fought for the preservation of its own position in accordance with the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest.

\*\*\*

A CPG delegation led by Miltiadis Porfirogenis, CPG Central Committee Member and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Democratic government of Greece, was received in Belgrade by A.

Rankovich. Regarding the formation of a Macedonian state within a Balkan federation, Rankovich said: "...such an act was directed against the integrity of Yugoslavia." See: "Borba" published April 27, 1949.

But the question is: What did the CPM/CPY intend to do with NOF and AFZH after they formed these organizations in Skopje on April 23, 1945 and dispatched them to Greek occupied Macedonia to organize the Macedonian people for an uprising!? Is there any information that would point to a deal made between Stalin and Tito? I.e. to do everything possible in order to maintain socialist systems in the Eastern European countries after World War II! After the Yalta agreement even Yugoslavia became unsure with 50% Western influence and 50 % Eastern.

There are analysts who speculated that there was a plan to Soviet-ize the Balkans and that is why Yugoslavia was encouraging the Macedonians to participate. But these speculations were denied by Stalin himself and later by Tito. But there was the possibility of having lit a fire in someone else's backyard. After all was it not Stalin who said "fight partisan style, not very violently, slowly but do interfere in capitalist affairs..." Tito initially supported the same position and that is why he wanted to lure the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia and maximized their involvement in a new conflict. And when this new conflict did start, "Tito handed over the Macedonians to the Greeks with absolutely no guarantees as to what was going to eventually happen to them under Greek control..."

But one thing remains unclear to us even 55 years later: WHOSE VICTIMS ARE WE!?

\*\*\*

In the clash between the CPY and CPG i.e. during the anti-Yugoslav campaign waged by the Informburo, the CPG leadership did attempt to include the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia into their conflict.

DURING THE 2ND NOF CONGRESS THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE RETURNED TO THE 1913 TREATY OF BUCHAREST

March 25 and 26, 1949. The 2nd NOF Congress was held in the village P'pli in Prespa Region, with over 700 delegates and guests attending. The greater number of delegates were members of DAG.

The Congress was opened by Evdokia Nikolovna – Vera, who among other things said: “Today we are holding NOF’s Second Congress, during which we will proclaim the new programming principles of our organization. The Macedonian people, who have sustained hundreds of casualties, with their victory, tomorrow will alone be able to determine what they want. This Congress is held at the most crucial time because the Macedonian people are already involved in a struggle against the Monarcho-Fascists...”

Attending the Congress on behalf of the CPG Central Committee, Nikos Zahariadis said: “NOF’s Second Congress is being held at a difficult but decisive moment. I heard Glizburg speak in Athens last night and he said that the situation in early 1949 was very critical, like never before... Because of that, all measures undertaken during this Congress must be such that they contribute to your people so that the struggle is even greater and that we together make every effort to win this year. From this aspect, your Congress is a military Congress and must convince your people to maximize their contribution. We need to mobilize all your forces in Macedonia, all your assets and use every opportunity to achieve victory. Your Congress is a Congress of unity of the Macedonian people.

Now I will pass the question to those who nurture the need for unity among your people. He who deserts the struggle and spreads rumours that ‘the Greeks will betray you’ is betraying his own people.”

Note: All this about which Zahariadis spoke in front of the Macedonian people was a never before seen manipulation and hypocrisy purposely perpetrated against the Macedonians, a small nation of people, against whom this great fraud was perpetrated, which pushed them deeper into this insane and disastrous war. At this point in time Zahariadis was well aware of the real situation and status of the war, yet he continued to push the Macedonian people into it and destroy them to the last one. And to think that NOF was

part of this and totally oblivious of what was happening, simply boggles the mind! Was there no one in NOF that knew that Stalin had already instructed Zahariadis to stop the war and was due to go to Moscow for discussions on April 10, 1949? Why then did both the CPG and NOF keep pushing the Macedonian people to fight?

DEFORMED CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN UNDERSTANDING. NO DIVISION BETWEEN THE NOF (MACEDONIAN LEADERS) AND NOTHING ABOUT RESPONSIBILITY. NO CARE FOR THEIR PEOPLE PREPARING FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THEIR CENTURY OLD HEARTS?!

There are those who say: “There is no need to divide the Macedonians, they will divide themselves; they can organize a schism better than anyone...”

The Informburo Resolution or conflict that arose between the Soviet (KPSS) and Yugoslav (CPY) Communist Parties in June 1948 was an excellent example of how to divide the Macedonian people. Although this conflict had nothing to do with the Macedonians, it had an extremely negative impact on the ranks of NOF and AFZH. All of a sudden there was new political stratification, new political rhetoric, new realignment problems, new opposition and new victims. Unfortunately no one bothered to tell the DAG fighters, who now found themselves outside beyond Macedonia’s ethnic borders, about these games being played. So after NOF was dissolved, both the CPY and the CPG began to manipulate the fighters as they wished.

After being under the leadership of the CPY for nearly two years, then after being passed on to the CPG without completely severing its ties to the CPY, the NOF leadership became divided and began to take sides in two opposing camps. One camp was influenced by the formation of the Macedonian state within Yugoslavia and continued to maintain its connection to Yugoslavia, believing that Yugoslavia would bring salvation to the Macedonian people and solve the Macedonian question in Greek occupied Macedonia just as it had for the People’s Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia. The leadership of NOF that joined the other camp was well aware of the CPY and

CPG agreements. It was well aware of the Yugoslav directives which subordinated NOF to the CPG. For those reasons and for opportunistic reasons, this camp became loyal and obedient to the CPG. This is why this NOF camp also defended the notion of equality within a democratic Greek state. This part of NOF, even though it belonged to the opposite camp, had not completely severed its ties with the CPY, which meant that despite the 1946 agreement between the CPY and CPG, the CPG did not have full control over NOF. Because Yugoslavia was a very important factor in DAG leading the struggle in Greece, the CPG did not take radical measures to completely cut off ties between NOF and Yugoslavia and repress all influence exerted by the People's Republic of Macedonia on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. After the KPSS and CPY collided, however, this course was completely changed. Shortly after the Informburo<sup>22</sup> Resolution and the NOF Central Council 1st Plenum, held on August 8, 1948, Zahariadis suspended the main leadership of NOF and AFZH. And thus, this is how things were done in the eternal Balkans. Now the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia became preoccupied in a dramatic schism, while at the same time struggling to fight in an alien war for alien interests.

After that, NOF and AFZH become "fictitious" organizations completely depleted of responsibility and were only there to serve Zahariadis's interests and to be used as scapegoats for Zahariadis's ambitious blunders.

Second (intentionally) optimistic scenario: create a Communist Party for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

**MANIPULATING THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WITH THEIR OWN HISTORY**

**- ALL NOF AND AFZH LEADERS RETURN TO STATUS QUO POSITIONS WITH REGARDS TO THE BORDERS BETWEEN GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA.**

---

<sup>22</sup> The Informburo resolution was accepted by the CPG Central Committee Politburo on June 30, 1948, and by the CPG Central Committee during its fourth plenum, held on July 28 and 29, 1948.

On March 27, 1949, a constituent meeting of 163 Communists, delegates of the NOF 4th Congress, was convened, where it was unanimously decided to form a Communist Party for the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia, which would be a separate organization and part of the CPG and would be called KOEM. It was said by some people that this event was the brightest point in the CPG's care for the Macedonian people. But we will let history tell how truly bright it was and has remained...

One of the main goals for creating KOEM was to prevent any spiritual and other connection between the Aegean and Vardar Macedonians.

Now let us have a look at what our mainstream historiography has to say about this event: "The creation of KOEM was a tactic with the ultimate goal of making the Macedonian national question an integral part of the anti-Yugoslav Informburo campaign, causing all spiritual and political ties between the Macedonians from Vardar and Aegean Macedonia to be severed. This was a deliberate act by the CPG to disorientate the national liberation movement of the Aegean Macedonians and to include the Macedonian factor in the alleged reasons for DAG's defeat." (See: Vechev Newspaper - "Historical Truth is Not Daily Politics". July 2, 1989, by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.)

Is it difficult to accept that we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia became the object of vengeance between CPG and CPY ideological views and between Greek and Yugoslav state policies.

On June 20, 1949 the KOEM (Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia) leadership, under Zahariadis's direction, accepted and signed a resolution which confirmed allegations leveled against Yugoslavia and the NOF and AFZH Organizations. Included among the allegations leveled were the following:

"NOF and AFZH are organizations harbouring agents who in Aegean Macedonia acted together with and had connections to 'OZNA', 'the JNA Intelligence Service in the Yugoslav General Headquarters' and 'Kolishevski'. They were all working towards the same goals: 'to undermine and break up the CPG', especially NOF



which worked from the inside to subordinate CPG policies to the CPY, whose main goal was the acquisition of Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia.”

There were many accusations leveled against almost all NOF and AFZH members including personal attacks and personal insults of moral nature. These were attacks made against their identity and allegiance. However, every single member of NOF and AFZH who was a successful enforcer of our collective allegiance and awareness stood for three important things:

- 1.) Ideologically stood behind the CPY or the CPG,
- 2.) Was guaranteed a leadership position and
- 3.) Enjoyed State Party privileges.

Unfortunately, we cannot say the same about the thousands of fighters in the ranks of DAG who gave their lives during the Greek Civil War and in the end lost their families and their homes. The CPY, CPG and Greece made them wanderers of the world. All those fighters lost their true history and have never been able to find happiness. To this day, they are not mentioned or appreciated, not even in the histories of the CPM/CPY, Russia, or the CPG in Greece.

A new situation

On April 4, 1949, an Agreement was signed in Washington to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which would consist of the U.S., UK, France, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Iceland, Denmark and Norway.

This was a significant agreement that put Western European states under American control.

In addition to signing the Agreement, the governments of all signatory states approved military service agreements with the United States, which set out the conditions for US assistance to these states and the appropriate arming of military formations.

With the creation of NATO a US-led international regrouping was formed which opened the door for the “Truman Doctrine” and the “Marshall Plan”.

Forming NATO had a profound effect on the overall Greek government position in the Greek Civil War.

#### (SELF) SACRIFICE OF THE MACEDONIAN WOMAN

On June 16, 1949, the AFZH Executive Board of the Macedonian women from Greek occupied Macedonia adopted a resolution to activate Macedonian women in defense of the Vicho front line. “NOVA MAKEDONKA”, AFZH magazine.

#### PROPOSALS MADE TO THE CPG FOR ENDING THE WAR

On April 11, 1949, CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis was summoned to Moscow where the Soviet leadership ordered him to end the armed struggle in Greece and withdraw. Zahariadis was told that things as they were developing were dangerous for peace and for the democratic people and nations, and that the Soviet Union had information that the Americans, motivated by operations against DAG, would invade and occupy Albania. The Soviet Union would not be able to help Albania due to the severance of its relations with Yugoslavia. Zahariadis was strictly told that DAG would not be able to get help, as of May 1, 1949 and that Albania and Bulgaria would close their borders.

On April 12, 1949 Stalin personally informed Zahariadis to end the war and gave him his reasons. Stalin also told Zahariadis that there was a good possibility that the Greek government army would attack Albania to stop DAG and that in turn would draw in NATO. Because of its ideological differences with Yugoslavia, the USSR would be unable to provide assistance.

But then on May 4, 1949, suddenly, the Soviet leadership notified Zahariadis that DAG’s withdrawal was temporarily suspended and that DAG should continue to fight.

With all these facts before us how can we even pretend that this war was a Macedonian revolution? How can we believe that the Macedonians were political and military factors in the Greek Civil War? How can we believe that the Macedonians were in command of DAG where there was not a single Macedonian high ranking officer among them? The only thing we can believe is that NOF was very successful in mobilizing more than 15,000 Macedonian fighters from the peasant population who proved themselves to be worthy of the name “fighters”, even though they were led astray!

Should we even waste our words to describe the manipulation of strangers and those amongst us who would even think that such activities existed in the very same people who were ready and willing to give their lives in this war? Did our NOF and AFZH spiritual leaders suddenly forget what they had brought us here to do and were now willing participants in this manipulation? If not they, then who should have worried about the fate of us Macedonians? Was Party affiliation to the CPY or to the CPG more important than the fate of the Macedonian nation which they condemned to fight in this war?

There is nothing wrong with admitting guilt to being victims of foreign manipulation and apologizing to the Macedonian people. At the same time they cannot continue to make claims that they were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War and not take responsibility for what they did. They were at the forefront urging the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse. They were at the forefront of the child collection program that ended in disaster. They were the ones who called on the Macedonian people to become involved in a war that not only turned them into casualties but caused them to lose their ancestral hearths forever.

#### OVERVIEW OF EVENTS THAT ADDITIONALLY EXPLAIN THE GENERAL FLOW OF THE SITUATION IN AEGEAN MACEDONIA - CPG MANIPULATIONS

The Informburo Resolution adopted on July 28-29, 1949, during the CPG Central Committee 4th Plenum was the topic of discussion. The Plenum decided to accept the Informburo Resolution and summarized it under a separate document entitled: “CPG Central

Committee 5th Plenum Resolution regarding the Communist and Working Parties and the situation with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.” However, because of what was said in the resolution “specifically by the CPG and its position towards Yugoslavia” the Plenum decided to keep the Resolution “internal and not release it to the world”.

The BCP and KPSS leaderships were not happy and did not endorse the CPG’s secret policy towards the CPY and vowed not to allow “another Tito” to appear in the Balkans.

\*\*\*

In response to this conference, the KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaderships, as well as the DAG fighters whose families were in Yugoslavia but still defended the CPG policy, issued a statement saying: “We Macedonians will defend the position and view of Comrade Zahariadis and the CPG leadership taken against Yugoslavia and its leadership, which is leading a treacherous policy and we will fight with the Greek Communists in the struggle led by the CPG and DAG until we free Greece from the Monarcho-Fascists”.

#### EVENTS IN SKOPJE AND THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA – CPM/CPY MANIPULATIONS

February 9, 1949. Porfirogenis (CPG and Politburo member) led a CPG delegation to Skopje where he held a meeting with NOF representatives and demanded that they recruit around 300 new fighters for DAG from the Macedonian refugees who had earlier fled to Yugoslavia from Greek occupied Macedonia. His plan, however, was not realized.

\*\*\*

August 1, 1949. The newspaper “Pros ti niki” (To Victory), organ of DAG General Headquarters, (no. 168, published on August 3, 1949) carried the KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS leadership response to the July 29, 1949 Skopje Conference attended by representatives of some 30,000 refugees from Aegean Macedonia (whose children,

brothers and sisters were mobilized in the ranks of DAG and died in the battlefields of Gramos, Vicho and throughout Greece and who were now defending CPY politics).

Among other things the response said: "Several former activists of NOF and AFZH – Tito's clique of traitors, who deserted from the ranks of DAG, are now treacherously calling on all Macedonians who are fighting in the ranks of DAG to desert. They are using slogans such as 'Brothers, Macedonians! Drop your weapons and flee to Yugoslavia. No longer shed the blood of Macedonia for foreign interests. The Greeks lied to us and want to sacrifice us in this war'!"

A resolution was passed during the Skopje conference which said: "The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia will never forget the assistance provided by the Yugoslav people led by Marshal Tito and will always preserve their eternal love and gratitude." The conference strongly condemned the CPG's defamatory campaign and rejected its latest slanders.

#### STALIN AGAINST TITO AND TITO AGAINST STALIN WITH THE MACEDONIANS AT THEIR MERCY

During this ideological rivalry and political games played by Stalin and Tito in the period between 1948 and 1949, Stalin began to design a new concept, "The Vishinski Plan" to overthrow the Yugoslav leadership. This plan, among other things, envisioned a campaign to create an "independent Macedonian state", which, under the auspices of the Infoburo, would encompass all Macedonians from "Pirin, Vardar and Aegean Macedonian". The Infoburo slogan for creating a United Macedonian State called on all Macedonians from the Aegean and Vardar parts of Macedonia to work against Yugoslavia. For more information on this see: Milovan Djilas, "Razgovority so Stalin" (Talks with Stalin)," p. 175 - 178.

Milovan Djilas in his book "Vlast" wrote: "This harsh, violent and reckless conduct was a consequence of the view that Cominformism must be uprooted from its roots." "This view was not designed by any forum; it was designed by Tito himself who was the highest forum, if not unique, regarding these kinds of issues. By being

witness to the Stalinist Soviet experience, which worked to fulfill personal desires and ambitions, Tito knew that after the Revolution Stalin could jeopardize him and the Yugoslav state by internal communist opposition. So, in the fall of 1948, Tito began to call for, and not only one time, sending people to jail and to the camps! And in this instance some served him well even if they had to work against their own people.” For more details see: “Utrinski Vesnik”, published July 3, 2006.

In the book “Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question” by Steve E. Palmer and Robert R. King, Archon Books, 1971, on p. 117, the following was written: “Beyond the differences expressed by the Yugoslav and Soviet party leaders, in February 1948, Stalin changed direction by attempting to create a Bulgarian - Yugoslav Federation in order to subdue the Communist Party of Yugoslavia but was having difficulties convincing the Yugoslavs to accept his direction. In this confused situation, the Macedonian Question was completely avoided during the first Bulgarian Congress held in January 1948. But during the Pirin Macedonian Party conference, held at the end of April in Blagoevgrad, a hostile attitude was taken towards the initiatives of the Macedonians from Yugoslavia. When the CPY was excluded from the Cominform on June 28, 1948, there was a big break in relations between Yugoslavia and Moscow.”

After the Cominform resolution, the Bulgarian Party began to furiously attack the Yugoslavs and took immediate steps to eliminate Yugoslav influence on the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia.

During the CPB Central Committee Sixteenth Plenum, held on July 12, 1948, it was stated that: “A Federation of Southern Slavs and the eventual annexation of Pirin to create a United Macedonia was only possible if Yugoslavia were to remain faithful to a common Socialist Front (i.e. the Cominform).”

December 1948. During the CPB 5th Congress Dimitrov announced: “Our party has always defended our standpoint and it will continue to defend the position that Macedonia belongs to the Macedonians.” But then he added that national unity was possible “only within a federation of southern Slavs”.

## REACTIONS FROM THE U.S. AND FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS

A Memorandum addressed to the central informative service of the U.S. Department of Defense claimed that: "...aims of the Soviet Union and neighbouring socialist countries were to bring the Communists to power in Greece by creating an independent Macedonia which was to enter into the Yugoslav composition and for Greek Thrace to join Bulgaria. In such a situation the Soviet Union would have a way into the Aegean Sea and full control over the Balkans."

G. Marshal, U.S. Minister of Foreign Affairs, after arrived in Athens on February 14, said that the U.S. government is satisfied with the changes in Greece and, in the interests of the U.S. and the United Nations, Greece will receive help to preserve its independence and territorial integrity.

On December 27, 1947 the Greek government passed special legislation PR 509/47, "regarding state security measures and constitutional protection of its citizens", according to which the CPG and EAM were outlawed. Then with U.S. approval, 650 people were arrested in Athens from December 25 to 28, suspected of being communists.

In this "created" setting in which there was no "realistic" hope of DAG winning militarily, the CPG began to warm up to the Greek government. On January 27, 1949 the Provisional Democratic Government, during a radio broadcast, offered a new peace proposal, as follows:

- 1). Review all treaties and agreements relating to the freedom and independence of this country,
  - 2). Opposing armies are to maintain their territories,
  - 3) Current proclamation for political amnesty,
  - 4). Re-establishment of all political liberties,
  - 5). Start negotiations to form a government acceptable to both sides.
- This government will precisely define Articles of Agreement to be signed and terms under which to hold free elections in two months.

However, as was in previous cases, this peace proposal too was deemed suspicious and unacceptable.

On February 1, 1949 British ambassador Norton informed Tsaldaris, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, that “There was no change in British policy towards the bandits (DAG Partisans)”.

On July 10, 1949 Tito closed the Yugoslav border to Greece and the CPG, under a KPSS directive, on July 23, 1949 broke ranks with the CPY. After that the Albanian government recommended to the CPG to begin “downgrading” the Macedonians...

NOF AND AFZH CADRES ARE ORDERED BY ZAHARIADIS TO REPORT TO DAG GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

October 3, 1948. NOF cadres were asked to report to the village Rudari in Prespa, Lerin Region. There, Zahariadis informed them to go and join the ranks of DAG. Here is what Vera in her book “To Hell and Back” had to say: “Immediately I agreed. (This meeting was held in order to arrange which NOF cadre had to go where in DAG’s ranks.)

You will go,” he said to me, “to the DAG 18th Brigade where you will serve as a political assistant commissar.” (Vera then was an example of a good Macedonian and was under the leadership of political Commissar Tashko Gushevski - Maki and Commander Pando Vaina.)

At the end of her autobiography Vera gave the following statement: “With our arrest there was no more NOF but the Organization continued to linger on outside of Greece and in 1951 was renamed “Ilinden”. As usual, the heads of “Ilinden” were hand picked by Nikos Zahariadis, which included Pando Vaina, Stavro Kochev etc. These “internal enemies” went to Bulgaria where they terminated NOF and “Ilinden’s” activities.

Official history after 1995



For his latest official description of the Macedonian and the CPY and CPG attitudes towards them, see Risto Kiriazovski's book "Makedontsite i odnosite na KPJ i KPG (1945 -1949) – ofitsialni dokumenti so komentari", 1995, Chapter 8, p. 201. Kiriazovski is now supporting a new position which opposes and contradicts what he had said in his earlier books published before 1995.

The National Liberation Front and other institutions of Macedonia (1945 - 1949) from 1985 and other books published until 1995 by the same author.

"... It is time for the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, and beyond, to face the entire truth and for every stakeholder to take responsibility for what happened. It is time to name things by their true names. It is our obligation..."

#### HUNTING DOWN "TITO AGENTS" AND DAG COMBAT UNIT DESERTERS FLEEING TO YUGOSLAVIA TO SEEK PROTECTION FROM THE CPM/CPY

Some of those deserters, until yesterday, were senior members of NOF and AFZH. They were now abandoning DAG to save their own skins. Did they forget that, for the last two years, they had been responsible for agitating the people, for creating a strong party apparatus and for maintaining high spirits in the Yugoslav party? All these members of NOF and AFZH were communists, loyal to the Parties, sent there by the CPY. This included Evdokia Foteva – Vera, leader of AFZH, who, on page 204 of her book "To Hell and Back", said:

"...They, down in Aegean Macedonia, in the CPG, NOF, AFZH, NOMS, always served with intrigue (she was thinking of all those in DAG who had deserted during the Greek Civil War and fled to Yugoslavia - R. Macedonia)... Mincho (later her husband) and I were by nature truth-loving, brought up to be honest... We remained true to NOF of Aegean Macedonia to the end."

"Dimitar Trpovski, a friend of mine from my village, on April 11 – 12, took me to the Greek 'Iafka' (telegraph office) in Skopje so that I could visit with a group of NOF leaders who had deserted DAG

and fled to Yugoslavia in 1948. Included among them were Mihail Keramitchiev, leader of the group, Vangel Aianovski - Oche, Steriana Vangelova - Slaviana, Lena Stoikova - Mirka and others, who immediately attacked me and told me that we had surrendered to the Greeks. I got angry and told them that they were despondent and deserters who had left their people in disarray and ran off to hide, to save their own skin and their own families, while we, who were loyal to the Party and to our people, remained there and were prepared to fight and die..." For more information see p. 85.

So, given that Vera has offered us her honest opinion about these people being "deserters" the question that comes to mind is: Were these people ever in favour of a United Macedonia in a Balkan federation or were they defending the Party (CPY) thesis that the Party would give the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia a Yugoslav solution? So, why did they leave Aegean Macedonia for the second time? The first time was when they left with the Aegean Brigade. Why did they leave after convincing and pushing so many Macedonian fighters to join DAG and fight in the battlefields all across Greece? Why did they leave the Macedonian fighters in the hands of the Greeks? Why did they not fight for what they preached, for a Macedonian solution?

This most striking condition outlines their commitment to the CPG and the reaction towards their own comrades whom they called deserters. Their focus and commitment should have been to Macedonia and they should have sought a solution that benefited the Macedonian people and not ask people "are you with Tito or with Zahariadis"? Unfortunately instead of promoting what was good for Macedonia and for the Macedonian people they allowed divisions to foster and alienated the people by asking them: "Are you with us and if you are not, then, you are not with everyone!" These kinds of statements were premeditated and had a devastating effect on Macedonian unity. I am more afraid of distortions of the truth than I am of having to mention this fact:

Liljana Panova in her book "End of an Illusion, the Greek Civil War and the Macedonians 1946-1949", on page 159, wrote: "... Nikolova (Vera) confided in Aianovski – Oche and told him that the 'CPG began to again implement its policy of creating divisions among

NOF cadres’, and that ‘today there are three factions in NOF, one with Paskal Mitrovski, one with Pavle Rakovski and the third with Koichev’ and that the ‘CPG was again preparing something against NOF’.”

There was an explanation in a footnote that went something like this: “A meeting took place during the night of April 12 and 13. Attending the meeting were Rakovski, Nikolova, Tane Naumov, NOF Board Secretary of Lerin District, Keramitchiev, Dimovski - Gotse and Vangelova – Slavianka.”

So, from what Vera has told us, there was something going on with the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Whatever it was it took place between 1940 and 1949, especially among our Macedonian leaders: “Propagandize, organize, lead the Macedonian people to war and then leave...” That is precisely what happened! It is a fact that our leadership in the organizations: CPG, KOEM, SNOF, SNOB, NOF, AFZH and NOMS led the people to war and then fled leaving them in the hands of our enemies to be slaughtered like lambs and to be exiled from their homeland forever!

Ever since they pushed the Macedonian people into the trenches of war, the most basic misjudgment has arisen among the Macedonian leaders of NOF and AFZ. The following occurred:

IDEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT ABOUT “WHO WILL LOVE MACEDONIA MORE AND WITH WHOM TO UNITE IT” or “WITH WHOM TO SOLVE THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION”

Now, after they bowed to their masters, they became politically disoriented and each realized that “any one of them could be next to be shot”.

The Macedonian NOF and AFZH leaders, with different attitudes and each with their own party baton, set out to collect a sufficient number of surviving fighters or refugees in order to form “real fighters” for the future of Macedonia and the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

What does that tell us?

It tells us that our political leaders (regardless of their ties to the CPY or the CPG) did not understand how wars were fought. Their understanding was that wars were fought with full distinctiveness and had a clear beginning and clear end. But we the Macedonians, during the Greek Civil War, had nothing to distinguish us. We did not plan the beginning or the end of the war. We were simply manipulated and used to the maximum and then left out in the cold to become eternal wanderers of the world.

Continuing to follow Vera, who so far has given us insight into her position and that, even though she was a leader and organizer in the struggle, she does not feel responsible for what happened because she feels she acted diligently and did everything that was required of her by the Communist Party.

But it also shows us that after so many people lost their homes, so many people became wanderers of the world and so many more people became victims of their doing, Vera, as a leader of AFZH who fought for a united Macedonia and then firmly accepted the CPG attitude that the Macedonian would be guaranteed “equality rights” the same as the Greeks and status quo with respect of the borders and nothing more, felt like a victim herself who was manipulated by the Greeks just like every Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia.

What about the “deserters” who defended the thesis that Yugoslavia had all the answers for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia?

It is more than obvious that those who were against the CPY’s position were not “for” a “United Macedonia in a Balkan Federation”, as was later stated by the CPG. No, they were not for a United Macedonia as not all Macedonians were who took part in the 2nd NOF Congress. They were now “courting” the CPY and the Yugoslav authorities and claiming that they were a “pro-Yugoslav Macedonian movement” and were happy with the status quo regarding the borders!

All those leaders of ours now referred to as “deserters” have written their own historiographies, biographies and books of personal encounters after they came to Skopje. They even wrote about how the CPG attempted to convince them to return to Greece and establish their own Macedonian units. In other words, the Greeks were now hunting the very souls who had earlier left the battlefields to save themselves. They now wanted them to return to Greece and fight in the battles in Gramos.

But they were not interested in going back to Greece; they were more interested in “making history on behalf of Yugoslav interests” and, as a result, they left no details about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

So what does this all mean? There is an old saying: “If you don’t know why you suffered a setback, you are no smarter than you were before.” Even half a century later, surely someone must want to know how and why we got mixed up in this Greek Civil War.

We were sold on many illusions. We did whatever we could without realizing that we were harming ourselves. Our national goals were blurred at best and our leaders were efficiently manipulated by our enemies no less. We were naïve and we were sold on a lot of goods that were unrealistic and unattainable. We had big dreams and big aspirations and foreigners and strangers took advantage of us and turned our dreams against us. And that very well, I believe, sums it up.

#### SITUATION OF THE MACEDONIAN FIGHTERS AT THE END OF THE WAR

Nineteen forty nine was a year of vicious fighting and burning emotions. Only the misguided and ordinary mobilized peasants remained in the DAG units. Most of our NOF leaders fled without even saying good bye to us... The liquidation of DAG entered a dramatic stage and the deadly trap for the Macedonians was set... It was then a matter of time before the Macedonians were made homeless and wanderers of the world.

It is true that all politics are dirty, but then there are dirtier politics, vicious and horrible politics. Those were the politics of those people who called upon the Macedonian people to rise and fight in a revolution that had no turning back. I do not know if history has even seen a similar example made of a nation.

## UNWANTED, PAINFUL TRUTHS - COMMUNIST CAMPS FOR FUTURE MORTALS

However, not everyone remained silent. They knew the death camps were created for them. The closer the Greek Civil War was coming to an end the more the Albanians were forced to take account of their own involvement in Greek activities. This could have compromised Albania and exposed it to dangers of being attacked by NATO. Because of this, on May 5, 1949 Mehmet Shehu, Albanian Minister of the Interior, gave orders to disband the camp near the Greek-Albanian border, where Greek citizens sentenced to death by the Democratic Army courts were kept.

Most of the prisoners held in these camps were Macedonians accused of being agents of Yugoslavia and working for the Yugoslav intelligence Services: OZNA, KOS and judgments were carried out on the spot.

Similar camps also existed in Prespa. The prisoners here were almost entirely old people who publicly condemned NOF, AFZH and DAG for what they had done to their children. They were all mothers, fathers and wives of soldiers who currently served in DAG or who had already perished. They were the parents of two or three children mobilized into DAG. They were supporters of DAG and the war effort and now they sat in jail while their properties and crops were neglected, unattended and rotting in the fields.

So what happened and WHO KILLED THE SPIRIT OF THESE PEOPLE TO WANT TO DEFECT EN MASSE?!

When a person has deep thoughts he or she tends to be honest and virtuous. People like that show determination and loyalty. But in our case our people followed Kolishevski's message who told them: "...

to fight honestly and have faith in the CPG” and to stay with the Macedonian fighters whom they mobilized...

But the question is why does Evdokia Foteva - Vera, even over 55 years later, clings to the same delusional ideas that lead us into spiritual desolation? What and whose national interests does this serve? Maybe we are somewhat confused as to who we served and for what purpose we were dying, but there should be no doubt that it is time to finally clearly and openly look into the eyes of the horrible ideological subjugation in that war, at least from people like Vera, who have given us many relevant arguments about the Greek Civil War.

Official historiography has been written to take into account the reprisals against Macedonian fighters in DAG units and about the affairs of Macedonian fighters in Gramos and Vicho, about whom it said: The Security Services and DAG’s Court Service worked hard at eliminating all Macedonians who agitate in favour of Yugoslavia. Many Macedonians were arrested on July 5, 1949 and judgments were passed by DAG’s Court. After that it was the “Buf” and “African” affair, the “isolation camps for Macedonians in Vicho Region”, “the Kajmakchalan Squad” and many others. People were convicted of “deserting” and according to their testimonies they deserted because “they had no faith in the CPG’s decision making process and mistrusted the CPG Central Committee’s actions towards the Macedonian fighters...”

The CPG and DAG General Headquarters, on the other hand, were accusing Macedonians of being directed by various intelligence services and by three diversionary centres. The first was operated by the CPM and personally guided by Kolishevski. The second was controlled by OZNA and the third was controlled by group II of the Yugoslav General Headquarters.

Convinced of this, the CPG and DAG General Headquarters decided to send a high-level delegation to Skopje. The delegation arrived in Skopje on February 8, 1949 and had its first meeting at 11 am the same day. Lazo Kolishevski and Tsvetko Uzunovski attended on behalf of the CPM and Miltiadis Porfirogeros and Nikos Georgiadis

attended on behalf of the CPG, while Pascal Mitrevski served as translator.

The following points were made on behalf of the CPG Central Committee:

1. Hostility is developing in the ranks of the Macedonian element, which is working against the joint struggle between the Greek and the Macedonian people...
2. Along with the Macedonians, there are also Greek refugees now located in Yugoslavia. This is creating an unfriendly situation...
3. At the centre of this propaganda against our movement is a group of Macedonians, cadres, who left Greece under NOF's direction and are now working against CPG and DAG interests, urging Macedonian fighters to desert the fighting units etc.

After returning to Greece from Belgrade on April 7, 1949, P. Rosos went to DAG General Headquarters and conveyed to the leaders what he had learned from the so-called Macedonian NOF and AFZH "deserters" who were now living in Skopje; who had earlier fled to Yugoslavia to avoid persecution from the Greek authorities. Among other things Rosos said that they had told him to tell the Macedonian fighters "to not be fools and fight and die for DAG's benefit..." For more information see Kiriazovski 1995.

THE SENSE THAT SOMEHOW THE MACEDONIANS WERE A POLITICAL FACTOR IS LOST

WAS THERE AN EXIT FROM THE CHAOS?

There was mention among the Macedonians: objectivity and obligation towards one's own nation.

All this, once again, confirms the fact that we lost our chance. It escaped us. We ran away from it. Instead of gaining our freedom, we gained sorrow, distress, pain and anguish which caused us to divide and turn on each other. We divided and ruined our people.



We disoriented ourselves and took on new burdens that would haunt our future.

On top of all that, we left our homeland behind; we abandoned it as our return to it became uncertain. Our future too became uncertain, undefined, because it depended on our past. And what exactly was our past? Well that entirely depends on who you talk to! More precisely, that depends on whose history books you read! Since there were no victors amongst us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, and we hardly had support from anyone, we left that part of our history to be written by others, most likely by those who perpetrated this scheme against us. So, what kind of history do we expect to be reading? Well, there are some things that are certain. We know, or should know, that what happened to us and the crimes committed against us, including the crime of our permanent exile from our ancestral homes, were a fact, a horrible event that actually took place. But what we don't know for sure is if these crimes were intentional or accidental and who perpetrated them against us? For this we will have to blame those who wrote our integral history and who purposely hid the truth from us, included among them are the CPM, CPY and the CPG. We know the CPG lost the war and tried to blame the Macedonians for it. We also know about the Greek attitude towards the Macedonians. What we don't know for certain is the CPY's attitude towards the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and its involvement in the Macedonian organizations? Why did the CPY create NOF and AFZH on April 23, 1945? Why did they send these organizations to Greece to start a war and what was their role from April 23, 1945 to mid- October 1946 when they were led by the CPM/CPY?

So at this point, allow me to pose a fundamental question: "How long are we expected to sit here with our eyes shut as evidence about this is piling before us?!"

We can clearly see from the Macedonian absence in high level military and political positions that we, the Macedonians, were either incapable or not allowed to lead anything larger than a military unit. Given this fact, then why does our integral history say that the "Macedonians were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War?" If it is true that the Macedonians were NOT a political and

military factor, which is a more plausible scenario than the other way around, then what was the purpose of involving the Macedonian people in the war en masse?! Did we simply put our entire trust in Zahariadis and do what we were told without thinking? How does that then make us a political and military factor in the war?

One thing is clear: From my long and extensive research I have discovered that the NOF and AFZH leadership, even with its split loyalties, some loyal to the CPY and others loyal to the CPG, was honoured and well looked after by the Party. The ordinary Macedonian fighters, those who bled and died for this war, on the other hand, were left out to dry! They were not only abandoned, they were also persecuted for “ideological principles” which most did not even understand. In the end it was they who lost everything, including their ancestral homes, and became permanent refugees roaming the world. They were the ones who experienced genocide!

Is there another truth? Is there even a single person, a NOF or AFZH leader perhaps, who can attest to the truth as to why these things happened to us? And if there is can we believe and trust such a person? Unfortunately, to this day, no one from NOF or AFZH has admitted that they did anything wrong themselves or have apologized to the Macedonian people for what happened to them. And that for me has been a great sore point.

After DAG’s 50th anniversary, a group of researchers from “Rizospastis”, organ of the CPG Central Committee, decided to publish an article entitled “50 years after DAG”. The article was a sequel published in 90 parts during 1996 and 1997.

The article was a revision of what took place and the approaches taken during the 6th Plenum (1956), the 7th Plenum (1957) and during the 8th CPG Congress (1961). The overview covered the CPG’s politics when the party was led by Nikos Zahariadis, particularly during the period from 1945 to 1949 and evaluated the mistakes made and the harm some of those “mistakes” had on the development of events and the decisive role in the war.

Here are some facts: ... Regarding the December battle which lasted 33 days resulting in ELAS's defeat and the February 12, 1945 Varkiza agreement being signed, the authors of the article "50 years after DAG" accepted Stalin's position with regards to the conflict between the English and ELAS in Athens. As a result of this, KPSS, CPG and APT delegations met in January 1950 in Moscow, during which Stalin said that the Varkiza agreement should not have taken place and that ELAS should continue the fighting outside of Athens. According to Zahariadis's notes, Georgi Dimitrov sent him a telegram on January 15, 1945 recommending that the CPG leadership endeavour to deal with the English to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. To this, the note said, Stalin reacted sharply by saying, "Dimitrov is not the Central Committee of KPSS."

Why was Stalin recommending this? Was it because he wanted an agreement with Tito? No, it was because he wanted to safeguard the socialist system in Yugoslavia and in the other Eastern European countries by drawing the fire away from them. His idea was not to over-power but to interfere in Greek affairs and used the Macedonians to do it... Who better than the Macedonians who, for many years, longed for their independence and for a united Macedonia.

But one thing still remains unclear, even over 60 years later: "Whose sacrifices are we?" "Who pushed us into sacrificing ourselves to a point of extinction?"

Tito's opinion and attitude expressed at the meeting with Maclean is interesting.

(See: Analysis of the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) p.336/337, article by Jože Pirjevich: FO371/78716/P 4691.

## BREAK UP OF TITO-STALIN RELATIONS AND THE END OF THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

"... The meeting that took place with Tito on May 5, 1949 was a prerequisite to McLean's mission. It was a dinner meeting during which many issues and layers of issues were discussed concerning Yugoslavia and its position, i.e. relationship with the West. Some of

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

The Greek Civil War experience taught us to conform to the Party's ideological orientation and that the "attitudes of the stronger are always better for us!"

Calling the people to join a national uprising is a virtue but it can also be a trap. It is a fact that NOF and AFZH did call on the Macedonian people living in Greece to massively fight in a national front for implementing their strategic goals. So the question is did NOF and AFZH have any guarantee that their goals were legitimate and supported by anyone? Did they consult with the Security Council or the United Nations or did they just leave that up to Greece and Yugoslavia? Did NOF and AFZH know that they were strictly controlled by the Balkan communist parties and could do nothing to achieve their own goals without CPY and CPG permission?!

There is no way they could not have known. Their directives came directly from the CPY and the CPG and did not necessarily align with Macedonian interests or with the Macedonian strategy (if there truly was a genuine Macedonian strategy). The Macedonians were basically used by the CPY and the CPG to benefit their own interests.

Since our Macedonian leaderships in NOF and AFZH did very little to escape the clutches of the CPY and CPG, perhaps because they were in no position to do so or because they didn't want to try, means that they were willing to be ruled and be subservient souls. This proved to be true given the outcome of events which led the Macedonian people to their national defeat and genocide.

Which means that after the Second World War ended, and fascism and Nazism were defeated, people began to look forward to living in peace in a time where bloodshed would no longer be allowed. But by becoming involved in the Greek Civil War, a risky adventure, the Macedonians paid a heavy price and experienced ethnic cleansing and genocide. The Macedonian people, especially the Macedonian communists, should not have engaged themselves in this high-risk adventure. There would have been no Greek Civil War without the Macedonian participation. Had we not fallen under CPY and CPG control, things would have turned out differently. In defending the communist ideology, we lost our identity and our ancestral hearths forever. And because we did become involved we accepted blame for what happened to us.<sup>23</sup> This tragic affair unfortunately permanently entered the Macedonian consciousness...

What kind of people were these political strategists who planned all this, especially in the Balkans where historical fanaticism and various accumulated deadly ideologies existed? The Balkans were and have remained to be the region of conflict in Europe, especially

---

<sup>23</sup> During World War II, when the Western Great Powers thought no Macedonians existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, English spies and military personnel dispatched to Greek occupied Macedonia to monitor the war situation discovered that Greece had been lying to them. Contrary to Greek claims that no Macedonians existed in Greece, a sizable Macedonian population, speaking the Macedonian language and aware of its Macedonian consciousness, was living in its territory. When the British found this out they again resumed their policy of extermination. Some people say the English must have panicked because of fear of Russian influence and the possibility of these people wanting to carve out "Greek territory", but the truth is England never wanted a Greek Macedonia with Macedonians in it. So the English, as they had done in the past, decided that the Macedonian people had to go by any means possible. This information was later discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches in which the English wanted to expel 120,000 Macedonians en masse from their homes in Greek occupied Macedonia. In doing this the English requested the assistance of the fascist Yugoslav government before the communists came to power and received a positive response. The fascists agreed to take the Macedonians and resettle them on Yugoslav territory but Yugoslavia fell to the communists before this could happen and WW II ended. So, it would appear that the plan to rid the Macedonians from Greece was continued after WW II by instigating the so called Greek Civil War during which the CPG was led by Nikos Zahariadis, an English agent and Josip Broz Tito, head of the CPY.

the Western Balkans which have always been simmering potential trouble spots. What is even more bizarre is the fact that while these same strategists and politicians were engaged in building new “civilizations” in Siberia and in the Goli Otok, we, the Macedonians, in those same 55 years could not even assess if these people did more good or more evil to us? No! We all kept silent like dummies! There was safety in silence, especially after the 1953 Balkan<sup>24</sup> Agreement. There was a wall of silence after that for certain!

In every ordinary person exiled, there was only a small primordial desire: to remain Macedonian no matter how much suffering it took, just so that one day they could return to their own country and speak their own language and see their own family.

Unfortunately, those who physically divided Macedonia and the Macedonian people also wanted them spiritually divided and made sure that these people would never return and never have their desires fulfilled. This, unfortunately to this day, has been a problem for the Macedonian people not only in Greek occupied Macedonia but also outside.

Macedonia’s enemies, particularly Greece and Bulgaria, over the last century, have vilified the Macedonian people and are making sure “no one” is sympathetic to them! In fact the spiritual division of the Macedonian people is also an attempt at eliminating the Macedonian people’s integrated desires and vision of a single Macedonia.

---

<sup>24</sup> In February 1953, tripartite talks on forming a Balkan Pact of Friendship between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey were led in Ankara. In August 1954 the Pact was amended and put into effect after it was signed in Bled (Yugoslavia). The Pact was a military alliance between the three signatories. Unfortunately the 1953 Balkan Pact was a spur of the moment thing in support of Yugoslavia against threats directed against it by the communist countries and that is why it did not last long. In 1961 the three countries agreed that the Balkan Pact was dead in the water.

But the Pact did have undesirable and lasting consequences for the Macedonian people. When Yugoslavia signed the Balkan Pact it made the following concessions to Greece: It dissolved the “Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia” and shut down the newspaper “Voice of the Aegeans”.

A great number of arguments investigated in this write up are not part of the “official” history written about the “Aegeans”. Greece has completely omitted the Macedonian contribution on both sides of the war. In addition to Macedonians being mobilized in the resistance movement, the Greek government also drew on the Macedonian population by drafting Macedonians into its armed Greek government forces. That too was not mentioned in history. In fact all sides in the Greek Civil War today deny that Macedonians even existed! Macedonians on one side were deceived into joining a struggle which promised them freedom and self-determination; Macedonians on the other side were then forced into a draft to fight against the struggle; brother fighting against brother; husband fighting against wife; sister fighting against brother. When will all this come out? When will we wake up to the reality of what truly happened to us? This is what happens when you allow strangers to control your destiny and use and abuse you! All the things stated in this write up “did” happen to us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia because we allowed ourselves to be placed in the hands of those who wanted to control our fate. We placed our trust in them, we placed our fate in their hands and they did what they wanted to do; destroy us! This is exactly what happened! Deeds speak for themselves!

The conflict between the two warring sides was supposedly a class struggle which had little meaning for the ordinary Macedonian who was living a self-sufficient life in the village, working for himself. So, how was this global project called socialism going to improve his life? Would the ordinary villager have been better off surrendering his grandfather’s fields to the state and working for the state? And what villager, if he had known this, would have willingly agreed to give up his meager ancestral possessions to a strange Greek or Yugoslav institution? So, you can see how the Macedonian people were lied to and duped into joining the struggle during the Greek Civil War. The ordinary Macedonian was told and believed that they were fighting for freedom and justice. He believed he was fighting to free himself from the injustices of the Greeks and the Greek state. Greek injustices pushed the Macedonian people into this war which began even before Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned during the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Attempts by Greek authorities to extinguish everything Macedonian and the

prejudices of Greek society against the Macedonians pushed the Macedonian people into this war because they were looking for a way out! They had had enough of Greece and the Greeks and took their chance to unshackle themselves from the Greek yoke, being totally unaware that all this was a ruse and that they were being set up for a big fall! If you don't believe me then take a look at who was at the top leading this struggle and ask yourself, if not to get rid of the Macedonians then what were Markos and Zahariadis, both colonists from Asia Minor, fighting for? Were they fighting to help the Macedonians achieve their rights? What was their interest in that and how would they have benefited "helping" the Macedonians gain control of their territory, especially after they had colonized their lands? Or, to ask the question another way, what would have been more beneficial for the colonists, to drive the Macedonians out or to allow them to regain their lands which they lost to the very same colonists in the first place? I think the answer is obvious! Even Markos, on several occasions, had told the Macedonians not to be such dreamers!

## SOVIETIZATION OF THE BALKANS

The role of NOF and AFZH during this period of time was of paramount importance. The organizations NOF and AFZH at that time were faithfully serving the Communist Party of Greece (as advised by the CPY). The CPG on the other hand, used this opportunity and its "communist card" to get NOF and AFZH to organize and mobilize a large number of Macedonians into the Greek Civil War. NOF and AFZH were very successful in mobilizing the Macedonian people who were totally blind to the outcome of the game they were asked to play. In retrospect we can see for ourselves what happened; we fought for socialism in Greece and the socialists gave us a one way ticket out of our homeland.

It is important that every sensible person ask themselves these questions: "What exactly was the purpose for forming NOF <sup>25</sup> and

---

<sup>25</sup> On April 23, 1945 the CPM Central Committee established NOF in Skopje. Soon afterwards it established AFZH and NOMS. Then, after the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" deal was formed, NOF fell under CPG control. Before that NOF had acted under CPM/CPY directives. After DAG was defeated and dissolved, the entire NOF leadership was sent to the internment camps in Siberia.



AFZH to lead the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia? Why were these organization placed under Yugoslav influence (CPM/CPY)? And why were they later surrendered outright to the CPY? Why were the Macedonian people told that they would be fighting for a United Macedonia under a Yugoslav federation and later reversed direction and told that they would remain under Greece but would be fighting for their rights? Who made all these decisions for the Macedonian people and what was gained by it all? And how does our history answer these questions? These are serious questions and should be answered by our history.

Unfortunately our history has not been very kind with regards to the story of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and its chapters are full of “not answers” but “politicized terms”. For example: “The Macedonian Bureau of the CPG”, which was an office for the Macedonians in Greek Macedonia, has used the following “favourite” attributes to describe our story: “Aegeans”, “The bloody epic of the Aegeans”, “Belomortsi” (Mediterranean people), “Chetniks”, etc. Why is that? As far as I am concerned, we are “Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia” which perfectly defines us and describes our current situation. By calling us by any other name, you are helping our enemies break us down. It makes their effort easier to break down our collective consciousness. I can understand why this needs to be pointed out to outsiders who are not familiar with our history and current situation. It is a darn shame however, to have to point this out to Macedonians and to official historians no less!

It is not just the terminology; some authors have problems with asking the right questions and getting the right answers. There are too many stories, too many points of view, too many contradictions. This however should not be the case; facts should speak for themselves and, in retrospect, what the facts say does not paint a pretty picture. Some say we fought for our freedom and to secure our homeland. Okay then, how did we do that? What evidence do we have that supports this? Some say we fought for “ideology”. There is some credibility in that statement but then for whose ideology did we fight? The ideology we fought for turned out to be a

---

curse that nearly obliterated us. So, what did we fight for? What did our almighty historiographer Kiriazovski say we fought for? Illusions? Why did he wish to remain silent regarding important issues? Why did he become a guard of state secrets and only supported the facts that were favourable by current politics?

As I have, I am certain that every single Macedonian refugee and casualty of the Greek Civil War has raised the question: “Why has our real story not been told? Why must our dramatic and tragic experience be twisted to fit the current political climate? Even though we lost over 20,000 lives doing what we were asked to do, what was expected of us to do, today historiographers make up stories about us. Some say we never existed; some say we were a creation of Tito; some say we fought in a revolution to create a Macedonian state; some say we fought for our human rights! Did we fight for some or all of those things? Or are we still clueless as to what we fought for? Someone must know? If so then, how long are they going to remain silent to protect the interests of the CPG and the CPY? Until all refugees and fighters are dead and gone?

Let me go back to the question: Was the Greek Civil War a Macedonian revolution, an extension of the traditional Ilinden Uprising? Could we have United Macedonia as many official historiographers have speculated? For more information see Risto Kiriazovski’s book “Macedonians and their relations with the CPY and the CPG (1945-1949)”, 1995.

Well here is what our official history, written for us, has to say: “On April 23, 1945, before the Second World War was over, the Right, with help from Great Britain, imposed its authority in Greece by introducing harsh repressive measures against the resistance movement, especially in Greek occupied Macedonia. The Right did this outside and independently of the CPG. To counter the Right’s policies, strategy, and tactics the Organizations CPM, SKOJ and NOF (NOMS and AFZH) appeared. Simultaneously with NOF, armed units were organized, poised to start guerrilla warfare. The CPM was the organizer of all these activities. By this act, the Macedonian National Liberation Movement in Greek occupied Macedonia was institutionalized. As the leader of the Macedonian Liberation Movement, NOF’s aims were to use all forms of struggle,

to fight for self-determination and unification of the Macedonian people.” P. 10

Also see the book “Great Legal Discrimination - Greek politics in Aegean Macedonia after World War II”, Skopje, 1996. According to this book: “NOF and the other organizations were led by the CPY-CPM since their inception in November 1946”. P. 181

Also see the book: “National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations of Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)”, published by “Kultura”, Skopje 1985. The authors of this book wrote: “NOF’s first Congress of NOF (January 13, 1948) was the brightest event in Macedonia’s post Ilinden history.”

Let’s see what other interesting things Dr. Kiriazovski had to say... In his book “NOF and other Macedonian organizations in Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949”, on page 212 he wrote: “The leadership of NOF, despite past bad experiences, different phenomena of insincerity and opportunism on the part of the CPG leadership, took the international position and sincerely intended to assist in the development of the Greek movement. It agreed that three quarters of the Macedonian partisans should be sent to fight in the ranks of DAG south of Olympus, in all parts of Greece. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the Greek youth movement it agreed to disband NOMS, the Macedonian youth organization, and its members were advised to join the Greek youth organization EPON...” Does this really need comment? If NOF was a “factor” in the daily politics and military affairs, as Kiriazovski claims it was, why then did it surrender itself to the Greeks! Where in the world has a revolutionary organization, with any clout, surrendered to its alleged “allies” (true enemies as it turned out)? And Kiriazovski wants ME to give up writing?

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

Cholakov Lambro, Paskal Mitrevski and Urania Iurukova. The photograph was taken in Almaty, USSR, in 1955.

## THE USSR'S POSITION

### WHAT WAS THE USSR'S POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF CREATING A MACEDONIAN STATE IN MARCH 1949?

On March 8, 1949, Chernishov, the Soviet diplomatic agent in Greece, telephoned Moscow and informed the Soviet authorities of the Greek reactionaries using unprecedented aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party of Greece and against the "Andart" (Greek fighter, mercenary during the Turkish Empire, fought for the conquest of Macedonia to join Greece. This is what the Greeks called the DAG fighters) movement as well as the "Macedonian question" (a decisions made at the CPG Central Committee 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum and at the 2<sup>nd</sup> NOF Congress). This propaganda, according to Chernishov, was primarily aimed at the CPG's actions and at the Andarts (DAG), who were allegedly inclined to destroy Greece's sovereignty. Therefore the question of unifying Macedonia should not be pursued at this time because this kind of propaganda will help the Athens government to recruit and transfer government troops with high military readiness to these parts controlled by DAG. The Greek people have a special sensitivity to the issue of Greek integrity and sovereignty, but the same concern arises among the people who now live in the cities and are communist and Andart (DAG) sympathizers. In particular, the next NOF congress is expected to convene on March 10 in the free territories that are under DAG's control. On that occasion, the Anglo-American League state press, with provocative intentions, will declare that the Congress will decide on the annexation of Greek Macedonia into a common state with Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia and that the Communist Party of Greece is "betraying Greece".

In accordance with the information that Chernishov received back from Moscow, regarding the USSR's position <sup>26</sup> on this matter, the

---

<sup>26</sup> The Soviet Union's policy towards the Macedonian Question was a function of USSR's global policy and strategy in general and for Greece in particular. Stalin used the Macedonian Question, as well as the British, Americans and Greek

Congress organizers were told that their intentions to speak about this issue during the Congress would not only be reckless, but would be detrimental to the future of the Macedonian people within the framework of some kind of Balkan Federation. Instead of pursuing this course the USSR recommended to the Congress delegates to turn their orientation towards the population in Greek Macedonia, and orient them to the fight against the monarcho-fascist society in Greece and to fight for the creation of a free and democratic Greece.

## END OF THE WAR - SOLVE THE AEGEAN PROBLEM BY EXILING THE MINORITIES!

The Greek Civil War was a national disaster for Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. It left thousands dead, thousands more maimed and disabled and countless broken families. The vast majority of those who fled lost their ancestral homes and lands and became permanent refugees.

Once and for all it should be understood that the people from our villages in Lerin, Kostur, Voden and other regions of Greek occupied Macedonia, had no intention of leaving their homes at the end of the Greek Civil War. So, one would have to ask: "Why then did they leave?" What and who encouraged the people from the villages to leave their homes and properties and head for Albania? Was there some sort of a plan to get rid of every Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia? Was there a plan to "ethnically cleanse" Macedonia of its Macedonians? Is that why Markos and

---

attitude towards the Macedonians living in Greece, as a cover for his policy that he implemented in the countries that fell under Western influence after the Second World War. During the Second World War, the communist parties in the countries that had divided Macedonia firmly respected the declarative principle of the great powers for not changing the pre-war borders. We should also know that Stalin on his own initiative decided to dissolve the Comintern and formally recognized the right to each communist party's independence. Stalin also supported the thesis of 'One state, one party'. The same Stalin with his forces in Moscow (October 1944) decided the division of spheres of influence in the Balkans and allowed the borders to remain 'status quo'. This was Stalin's answer to us and all the others who were looking for salvation from the USSR. That was the first blow struck against us and the reason why we lost our spiritual unification which left us without a strategy for our spiritual survival of our ethnic space in the Balkans.

Zahariadis, both colonists from Asia Minor, were put in charge of “managing” the war?

It should also be understood that NOF and AFZH had no political or military power and had no influence on the war so why did they call on the Macedonian people to rise and fight and for what?

October 9, 1949. The CPG Central Committee held its 6th Plenum in Bureli, Albania. The Plenum rejected its previous position which called for the “Independence and full national self-determination of the Macedonians under Greece”, adopted during the 5th Plenary Session on January of the same year and returned to the notion of “Equality for the Macedonian minority within the Greek state”. The plenum also decided to disband NOF and AFZH.

During a delegation meeting led by Stalin between the KPSS, CPG and APT leaderships, held in Moscow in January 1950, a few issues were discussed. One was the conflict between the CPG and the APT, another was a letter addressed to the KPSS Central Committee written by General Markos Vafiadis accusing Zahariadis of being an Intelligence Service agent. And a third was a discussion regarding CPG politics aimed against Macedonian national issues.

It was also found that it was wrong of Zahariadis to have established KOEM, the Communist Party for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Acting on Stalin’s directives, the CPG leadership held its 7th Plenum on May 14 to 18, 1950, during which the following issues were discussed:

1. KPSS suggestions, and
2. The internal political situation in Greece and CPG objectives.

During the Plenum Zahariadis took the position that “Tito’s betrayal, with help from his NOF agents inside Greece, played a decisive role in DAG’s defeat.”

We can see from the overall analysis, that the Macedonian National Question was always present in the daily politics of the Greek Civil

War. It was held there in the foreground to remind everyone of it but there was never any real intent to solving it. It was only there to serve the purposes of those who instigated the war and to fulfill their objectives. The Macedonian Question was used to spur the Macedonian people into action, to frighten the Greek right to take measures and to justify UK and US intervention in Greece in favour of the Athens regime. In the beginning the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia used it to create new socialist states but later used it to deflect the war away from Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately the consequences of these policies had devastating effects on the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and subjected them to great cruelties including genocide.

\*\*\*

In the end everything was on the table:

There are transcripts that exist in the UN of Russian and American dialogue with regards to the Macedonians of Greek occupied Macedonia, which deemed the Macedonian issue “a threat to the peace in the Balkans” and that discussions should take place about “population exchanges”. Meaning a transfer of minorities was proposed...

So what did all this mean for us Macedonians? It meant that the “powers” wanted us out of our ancestral homes and away, far away, from Greek occupied Macedonia. And isn't that exactly what happened?

Up to this point we have faced the roots of evil and our dark secrets. It is time now for us to learn our own history and acknowledge our political immaturity. Leaving our ancestral hearths is proof of our “National defeat”. Worse than that, is that we kept silent for more than six decades, while being imprisoned and quarantined in foreign lands. Have we become complete robots controlled by foreigners? We need to show some respect for ourselves and start looking at our “black spots” in Macedonian history.

Are you convinced by any of this or do you still believe we experienced a “Revolution” as told by our “sectarian history”!?

The Moscow Document:

When Stalin and Zahariadis finished their talks on September 16, 1949, a summary document was prepared and signed by Stalin. The document defined the reasons for DAG’s defeat which the CPG needed to grasp as a basis and roadmap for its new political line and the form of struggle it had to apply. This is what was said:

“1. After DAG’s defeat in Vicho and Gramos the situation in Greece changed, forcing the CPG to change its political line.

DAG’s defeat was attributed to:

- a) The CPG being unable to solve its problem with reserves for DAG and supplying DAG units located in central and southern Greece.
- b) The aid provided to the Monarcho-Fascists in Athens by the Americans and the British turned the tide in the war.
- c) Tito and his clique’s betrayal.” ... 6 additional points were also given.

This document provides us with sufficient information to prove that we Macedonians, during the Greek Civil War, did not make any demands and were in no position to make any demands regarding the Macedonian Question. It also proves that the continuation or ending of the war had nothing to do with us...

But just today (February 25/26 2006), as I am writing this text, the newspaper “Makedonija Denes” (Macedonia Today) published an article entitled “Does Macedonia have the ability to unite?” It was an excerpt from Risto Kiriazovski’s book “Makedonsko Nacionalno Prashanje I Gragianskata Vojna” (Macedonian national question and the Civil War).



What was his aim? What did he want to accomplish by that, especially today when we are desperately looking for someone to answer for the victims of communism?! Perhaps his goal was to keep the question open and from time to time endeavour to shade the CPM/CPY's treatment (through NOF) of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. And at an elementary level, to prove to us that the Macedonian leadership did everything it could for our people, but it was the great powers that prevented everything.

In October 1949 the NOF and AFZH leadership was arrested, jailed and placed under investigation.

Based on decisions made during the CPG Central Committee 6th Plenum on October 9, 1949 and during the Party Conference on October 7, 1947 in Bureli, Albania, DAG General Headquarters, the CPG Central Committee Politburo and DAG's Security Services, after receiving prior approval from the competent Albanian authorities and personally from Mehmet Shehu, Albanian President, the NOF and AFZH leaderships were sequestered. Included among those sequestered were Paskal Mitrevski, Pavle Rakovski, Mincho Fotev, Evdokia Nikolova - Vera, Urania Pirovska, Mihali Maliov, Tasho Hadzhianov, Lambro Cholakov, Hristo Kolentsev - Kokinos and Lazo Pop Lazarov. All these people, after being arrested and jailed, were sent to prison camps in Siberia because they were suspected of being "Tito's agents".

All throughout October and November 1949, all the DAG fighters and civilians located inside Albania, instead of being returned to their homes or sent to the Republic of Macedonia, were transferred to various Eastern European countries.

Based on the October 1949 Moscow agreement, the fighters and refugees were picked up from Albania by Russian ships and transferred to the following countries: Romania 9,100; Czechoslovakia 11,941; Poland 11,475; Hungary 7,253; Bulgaria 3,071 and the Soviet Union 11,997 DAG fighters.

Many changes took place from October 1950 to May 1955 with people relocating in order to reunite with their families. As a result

of that, for example, the number of refugees in 1955 in the Soviet Union's Uzbekistan rose to 16,000.

Tashkent in Uzbekistan was reorganized into "towns" where the immigrants lived under a regime organized by the CPG with its own party organizations representing more than 8,000 Greeks and Macedonians.

Stalin died on March 3, 1953, at the end of an era. May history be his judge! The situation in the Soviet Union began to change after Stalin's death and on February 23, 1956 the KPSS held its XX Congress, introducing fundamental changes inside the USSR as well as in the Balkan communist parties.

The CPG splits into two factions

Two factions of the CPG were created among the political refugees in Tashkent. Zahariadis's faction was supported by Niazov, Central Committee Party of Uzbekistan First Secretary. The anti-Zahariadis faction was supported by Melnikov, Central Committee Party of Uzbekistan Second Secretary.

Our return to the People's Republic of Macedonia

One of the best explanations of the return to the People's Republic of Macedonia was given by Evdokia Foteva – Vera which deals exclusively with her own personal experience and the welcome she received upon her arrival. Vera said many positive things about her experience after her return, particularly how she was taken care of by the state. In her book she also mentioned how the state also took care of the "deserters" who had fled the Greek Civil War to save their own skins. She was being very open and honest when on page 204, she said: "... Those who deserted DAG, NOF, who fled the war, not only left our people at the mercy of the enemy, but in our absence, here, they spread unbelievable lies... Even when they were down there in Aegean Macedonia, in the CPG, NOF, AFZH and NOMS, they served with intrigue. These people took the truth about DAG and NOF and turned it 180 degrees. They did this because they thought that we, who were sent to the Siberian prison camps would never return alive."

Let's talk about the return of the refugees and fighters!

The return of the refugees and fighters was nothing like the return of the NOF and AFZH leadership. While the NOF and AFZH leaders, upon their return, were welcomed with open arms, we the fighters who spilled our blood, died and were maimed for life in this war, had to prove our allegiance before we were allowed in. We “the brave fighters” as historian Kiriazovski has often referred to us had to prove our loyalty by serving time in jail. Our welcome was from the airport, from the train station, from the bus station... directly to jail so that our national identity could be confirmed and so that later we could be ranked into “eligible” or “ineligible” for entry and for benefits provided we were not convicted of being “Russian spies”. The fighters were then placed in different “ghettos” in Avtokomanda, Chair, Kisela Voda, etc., most probably for some unknown purpose. But as young people eager to get on with our lives, many of us managed to crawl out of the ghettos and mix with other Macedonian people, and not just with the “Aegeans”. Those left in the ghettos, for whatever reason, for the last 60 years felt like second-class citizens. These once proud people had to live with a sickly painful feeling of being pushed into this segment of life while endlessly waiting to go home...

#### TIME FOR DESIRE AND LOST ILLUSIONS - HUNGRY FOR OUR NATIVE LAND

After the Greek Civil War ended the Macedonian people who left Greek occupied Macedonia were left with nothing except their desires. But as it turned out, life soon taught them that even that was too much to ask. No wonder they became so unhappy.

Many Macedonians have pondered: “I fought to the end of the war but without knowing why. Nobody recognized my contributions, not my history and not the Greek history which the communists wrote...”

The burden is heavy and hard to bear but we carry this burden and we bear it every day.

## NEWS: THE NEWSPAPERS “POLITIKA” - BELGRADE AND “NOVA MAKEDONIJA” – SKOPJE

(August 23, 1992)

Tito put a “freeze” on the Aegean Macedonians.

In order to have a secret and lasting union with Greece, 42 years ago Tito ordered Yugoslavia not to raise any questions regarding the fate of the Aegean Macedonians in northern Greece; a practice which lasted many decades.

Explanation: “In the summer of 1950, Tito decided to solve his problem with Greece and benefit Yugoslavia immensely. This was done through an agreement with his old military contact Fitzroy McLean. McLean arrived in Brioni in June 1950 as an unofficial representative of the British government, prepared and empowered to make Tito an offer if the results of his talks with him were favourable. The talks went better than expected and an agreement was reached but was kept secret. The British promised Yugoslavia 30 million pounds worth of aid and a loan of 11 million pounds...”

### FROM THE MACEDONIAN ARCHIVES

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

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

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

Unfortunately the signing of the Balkan pact had undesirable consequences for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia because, in order to placate Greece, Yugoslavia

dissolved the “Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia” and shut down the newspaper “Voice of the Aegeans”.

News: “Utrinski” newspaper – Skopje

CIA Facsimile of a document disclosed: CONTINUING SATELLITE AID TO THE GREEK GUERRILAS. CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM RELEASE IN FULL - central intelligence agency:

Secret CIA documents about Tito, Yugoslavia and the Greek Civil War

Title: - Clash between Tito and Stalin left the Macedonians in Greece in a lurch.

What were CIA impressions about Macedonia and about Belgrade-Sofia relations?

Title: - Independent Macedonia major threat to Tito during Inforburo days.

Deportation: According to a 1949 CIA report about Macedonia, if Tito was faced with a serious threat in 1949 by the establishment of an independent Macedonian state, Tito was prepared to organize mass deportations of Macedonians to other parts of Yugoslavia...

“... There are CIA documents relating to the Greek Civil War, dating from 1946 to 1949 that give new meaning to events from that period. U.S. intelligence information clearly shows that the then Yugoslavia and Macedonia, as part of the federation, actively participated in and aided the rebel movements in northern Greece. The subsequent withdrawal of Yugoslav support and the defeat of the communist guerrillas, the CIA attributes largely to the conflict between Tito and Stalin.”

(August 8 and 9, 2005)

Who should answer for the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, a country of unhappy people with a

dark fate? We are people, victims without a history; no history in the Republic of Macedonia and no history in Greece. We also seem to have a long amnesia among ourselves because we continued to keep silent for more than half a century allowing strangers to manipulate us and take over our lives! The world changed many times over the past 60 years and yet to this day we remain silent...

For more than half a century now I have asked myself the following questions: Why did the Communist Party of Macedonia allow both the CPY and the CPG to sacrifice the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia? Why have we allowed official history to claim that we do not exist! How is that even possible? Why have we allowed our enemies to drag us through the mud without reacting! Are we that incapable? Are we, the brave warriors who threw ourselves into the fire and fought like lions, actually afraid to speak up when it comes to our identity?

Why did the CPM allow NOF to fall into the CPY and CPG's vice grip and find itself in a position of having to walk along the razor's edge?

Did the CPM not know what NOF was doing for the CPY and later for the CPG? Because the more we look at this the more we realize that the "meaningless chaos" in Greek occupied Macedonia was planned well in advance and that in order to do what the planners wanted, they needed NOF and AFZH to fulfill their strategic interests and objectives. That is why NOF and AFZH were created on April 23, 1945 and their objectives were dictated by outsiders until October 16, 1946!

In other words, we do not need great wisdom and analytical skills to arrive at the conclusion that the "conditions for legal persecution and expulsion of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia" were created and organized through NOF and AFZH. This crime cannot be hidden and is very difficult to forget.

We cannot believe that the CPM, standing between the CPY and the CPG, was totally unaware of what was being done to the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and neither can we dismiss the idea that that CPM was not party to it!

Was the CPM leadership blind and deaf to the ideological activism of strangers, spreading propaganda like a malignant disease of the soul, in the years 1944-1950 or was it simply stupid...?

Why did we discard the alternative of having not to fight at all? It would have been “less glorious” but at least we would have preserved ourselves and our homes. Today our villages would have been full of Macedonian people. It seems that every time we are pushed by outsiders to “do something” we end up losing more and more of ourselves and of our home! Today we are being pushed to change our country’s name! What disasters will await us tomorrow if we do that? So the pushing from the outside by outsiders, as it turns out, is not done only in war times, it is done all the time. That is why it is “very important” for us to learn from our history and from our own experience “not to trust outsiders and do things suggested by them” before thinking of all the consequences. We need to learn to think for ourselves and do only what is right for us and do only things that we are capable of tackling on our own...

In the end, I know that “we” were responsible for our own defeat because we did not resist against those who we truly needed to resist. To trust maybe a noble thing but it can often get you into trouble because those you trust may not be trustworthy, even if they are your own kind! There will always be scammers and extremely unscrupulous people out there who look for ways to gain advantage over us and, as history has shown, they will gain advantage over us if we allow them to. So you see the victim too has a role in this and the victim’s role is to “not” allow themselves to become a victim and for that, one has to be wise and far seeing. When will we wise-up as to what has been happening to us over the years? Well, I would have to say that that depends entirely on us! I can tell you one thing; there will always be scammers “buyers for our souls”... We need to learn to recognize them before they get us into trouble... The answer is in our history... We just have to start paying attention...

COMRADES, FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

Finally, Evdokia Foteva - Vera talks about the high-ranking enemies and friends from whom, as leader of the AFZH, she received directives.

It is very difficult to define them “ideologically”. They were communists, nationalists, Great Greeks, peacemakers, democrats, and they would have changed every other ideology as well, if only to strengthen the Asia Minor settlers and colonists in Greek occupied Macedonia.

In the chapter “DAG’s defeat” on page 21 of her book, Evdokia Foteva – Vera said: “... Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee General Secretary, after Vicho fell to the enemy said: ‘Gramos will be the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists’. But that did not turn out to be the case. DAG suffered numerous casualties but had it not backed down and fled to Albania, the opposite would have been true. Gramos would have been the tomb for DAG. For the longest part, after removing General Markos Vafiadis from his command and abandoning the proven military strategies of the so-called ‘Supreme War Council Law’, Zahariadis worked personally with his Politburo installing new ‘military strategists’ who had absolutely no relevant experience.”

So, was Markos a general or a criminal? A story was written in an issue of the Greek newspapers, “Ta Nea” and “Epikera” printed in Athens, about a meeting that took place in Athens between General Markos with General Tsakalotos, his opponent. Tsakalotos at that time was in command of the Greek government forces and this meeting took place during a time when the Greek Civil War was still ongoing. Most convincing about this, the article said, is how General Markos hugged, with a heartfelt embrace, his enemy General Tsakalotos from the Greek government forces during the Greek Civil War when the two men met. At their meeting Tsakalotos said to Markos: “If we had done this before the Civil War started we could have saved many lives.” To this General Markos replied: “It is true that many people died because of me but you must never forget that I did this for the future of Greece. The true meaning of this war was to drive the Slavo-Macedonian out of northern Greece so that Macedonia could remain Greek. (See: “Nova Makedonija”, February 25, 1992.)



In other words, according to General Markos, the Macedonians fought in the Greek Civil War to lose their homeland permanently!?!? So, as a representative of the Communist Party of Greece, Markos openly lied to the Macedonian people about their involvement in the Greek Civil War!? Ironically as it turned out, General Tsakalotos, the Macedonian people's supposed enemy, was more humane towards the Macedonians than was Markos, whom Macedonians saw as their saviour. In other words, when Macedonians were sacrificing their lives to honour General Markos, he intentionally led them to their extinction. So you tell me, was he a saviour or a criminal?!

So here we have the two top leaders on the resistance side of the Greek Civil War. One of them was called Nikos Zahariadis, born in Andrianoupolis in 1903. He graduated from higher education. He committed suicide as a prisoner in the city of Sorgun in Siberia in 1973. The other was called Markos Vafiadis, born in the village Tosiye in 1906 in Asia Minor. He finished fourth grade. In the Civil War (1945 - 1950) Zahariadis chose Vafiadis and made him a general and president of the provisional government for a day. Vafiadis took his day in 1948, but declared him sick, suspended him and sent him into exile, in the city of Penza, USSR. Nikos Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis, both colonists and settlers from Asia Minor and both leading the Macedonian people in an alien war, lured by CPM/CPY lies and coaxed by the activism of NOF and AFZH, with big promises of freedom and a new and much better way of life!

In the name of building a "New World" they brutally trampled on the dignity of the Macedonian people, besmirched their national sentiments and persistently denied them their Macedonian national identity. And in the end they said good bye to us as we were driven out of our ancestral homes...

Then when they thought that it was all over and behind them, the Macedonians were again confronted with years of dirty slogans; swept by the red storm; filled with dark thoughts and robbed of their destiny. And not that there was any truth to it, but they were also called "intruders".

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

Who was Nikos Zahariadis:

Nikos Zahariadis was born on April 27, 1903 in Edirne, Eastern Thrace. His father was employed as a clerk at “Razim”, a French commercial tobacco company based in Constantinople. From 1911 to 1912 Nikos Zahariadis lived and attended school in the “Ibin Paiko” settlement in Skopje, where his father worked as a representative of the “Razim” Company. In 1913 he moved to Solun. In 1922 and 1923 he worked as a sailor, a job which took him to the Soviet Union where he became a member of the Communist Party. In 1924, with the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, Zahariadis’s family was moved to Greece. In 1924 he visited the famous Communist University of Eastern European nations KUTVE in Moscow. Nikos Zahariadis was leader of the Greek communist movement and secretary general of the CPG from 1936 to 1956. Zahariadis treated the CPG like a cult and had absolute confidence in Stalin and his Communist Party, which he believed to be infallible. He himself admitted to this. Zahariadis committed suicide in 1973 while serving a prison sentence in Sorgun, Siberia.

The CPG Central Committee 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum was held in February 1946, during which Zahariadis was convinced that conditions were right to “start an armed struggle”.

This resulted in the start of the tragic Greek Civil War, which, after several successes, fell into a hopeless situation and gradually sank and passed into the most destructive phase, with the catastrophic destruction of the left forces.

In August 1948, Zahariadis relieved General Markos Vafiadis as DAG's Commander and Chief. Vafiadis was known for his Partisan style strategy and tactics with a small but effective force. Vafiadis did not believe in frontal warfare. Unfamiliar with the conduct of warfare, Zahariadis wanted DAG to be seen as a real army capable of defending its territory, even on large fronts.

After dismissing Vafiadis, Zahariadis himself took command of DAG and forced it to fight frontal combat against the Greek National Army which was 10 times larger, better equipped and supported by the United States of America.

Because of this, in August 1949, DAG fought on two fronts, one in Vicho and another in Gramos and was almost destroyed. It would have been completely destroyed had its fighters not fled to Albania. By changing strategy, Zahariadis made a big mistake and placed the entire movement in jeopardy. But what does Zahariadis say about it? "It was not a defeat, it was a small setback; the fighters needed a little rest and to catch their breath before returning to their guns on the front line: To oplo parapoda."

Voice of the insurgent radio: ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE INFORBIRO

On November 4, 1949 the Greek rebel radio transmitted the CPG Central Committee's official statement regarding the causes of DAG's defeat. Among other things, the broadcast announced that: "From the day the communist and worker party informburo exposed Tito's treason, slave imperialist gangs began to openly undermine the heavy and uneven struggle of the Greek people. The gang of traitors and deserters were established in Skopje and Belgrade and this clique organized and led defections from the Democratic Army. Tito then deprived it of the necessary supplies. Finally, he not only allowed the Monarcho-Fascist Army to use Yugoslav territory to attack the Democratic Army at Kajmakchalan, but also allowed his forces to attack our back during the battle in Vicho..."

Vukmanovich – Tempo in his book "How and why the national liberation struggle in Greece was defeated", on page 77 wrote: "Yugoslavia's involvement in the Greek Civil War was so great that

the CPY felt obliged to present its own analysis of the rebellion's failure. The general conclusion was that the CPG failed because it did not explicitly recognize the Macedonian nation and that it was not cautious in its military actions, especially after General Markos was deposed 'under false pretenses'."

Nikos Zahariadis, in the capacity as CPG Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the DAG Military Council, while speaking at the 13th Conference in 1950, which dealt with why DAG had lost the war, said: "If I had known much earlier what Tito was going to do, I would have reconsidered whether to take up arms and fight in the Civil War."

"NOF was created by Tito and Kollishevski. Its founding membership and core leadership was composed of Tito's agents, the likes of Mitrevski, Keramidzhiev, Gotse, Rakovski and others who worked for the sole purpose of advancing Belgrade's interests in Aegean Macedonia... They used the Slavo-Macedonian National issue to achieve their nationalistic plans – the merger of Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia..." Zahariadis wrote this and it was adopted by the CPG Macedonian Special Council membership (72) then reviewed and accepted by the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau. So the Greeks were well aware of what was happening. See "To KKE 1918-1952", p. 271, which is also quoted in Pavle Rakovski's book 2000/347.

From the small production of historiographic works available to us, we have the book entitled "Nepokoren dokraj" by Argiti KOVACHI, a DAG major, published by MI - AN, Skopje, in 2005, in which written on page 75 is the following: "...In Rumeli (Greece) we lost all our squads not to liberate territories, but to secure our daily bread. No other liberation movement in the world happened to have such unbalanced leadership and such incompetent command. Tricksters made sure to become leaders, hold prominent positions, hide and enjoy themselves well. Many of them also danced in a high-ranking way, talking about struggles and sacrifices. A shame! That's why suffered. The truth will shine when ordinary fighters, who burned in the hellfire of the (Greek) Civil War, speak and write. Adventurers, braggarts, scoundrels like Markos, Gusjas, Vlandas, military illiterates – who brought DAG's failure. Of course, the

biggest blame lies with Zahariadis, Bargiotas and others from the political leadership. The end of the (Greek) Civil War was crowned with the devastation of Koreshta (Kostur Region), Prespa, and Vicho Region. There are no longer large villages left in Koreshta. Everything was devastated...! Tens of thousands dead on the battlefields, hundreds of victims at the military court in Lerin. Why don't you go dig up the bones of the eight hundred and fifty (850) victims in the mass grave outside Lerin? Greece has lost and will lose a lot more if it does not stop persecuting the population of Western Macedonia in Greece and if it does not allow thousands of Macedonian refugees to freely return to their homeland. The end of the (Greek) Civil War had tragic consequences, especially for the population of Vicho Region. Apart from the huge casualties on the battlefields, in the last battles on August 13 and 14, 1949, by force and at gunpoint, the people's militia (members of the Provisional Government and DAG under the command of the CPG) forced the population from Prespa, Kostur, Lerin and other Regions to flee to Albania. If, during our retreat from Vicho, on the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of August, that population had not been forced to flee to Albania, those regions would not have been devastated.

(Aren't these CPG leadership moves through the people's militia forcefully evicting the Macedonian people from their homeland acts of genocide?)

“... Even Averov (a Greek government representative) was unable to bring his like-minded people from Metsovo - Epirus to those places and possess the properties of the native Macedonians. How many dirty games were played on the backs of these simple people! It is time to think about who divide the people into external and internal refugees...” Such is the judgment of this brave and worthy Macedonian warrior - Major Argiri from Kostur Region.

\*\*\*

Zahariadis continued to manipulate the Macedonian people until the last political power he had as CPG General Secretary.

At the June 4, 1956 meeting of the Presidency of the “Ilinden” organization belonging to the Macedonians from Greek occupied

Macedonia, created on Zahariadis's initiative, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in delivering his paper about the persecution of Macedonians by the CPG, among other things, said: "... During the period when DAG was fighting and after its defeat, Zahariadis implemented a policy of vilifying and persecuting a good part of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters. Although the charges were completely unfounded, it was very easy for Zahariadis to label the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters "enemy agents", "Tito's agents", etc. Based on these false accusations in 1948-1949 and later, more so called "Slavo-Macedonians" were arrested and some were liquidated..." (Am F-21/1600).

The reaction responded sharply against his statement and at, Soviet intervention, Zahariadis was removed from his position as CPG General Secretary at the 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum held in Tashkent in March 1956, and the following year he was expelled from the Communist Party of Greece.

Nikos Zahariadis, General Secretary of the CPG Central Committee said: "If I had been informed as I am today, this would not have happened to me".

After this, he was sent to a jail in Siberia where in 1973, he committed in the city Sorgut in SIBERIA.

## CONCLUSION

ALL COUNTRIES AND NATIONS THAT HAVE AN OLD CULTURAL STRATEGY MANAGED TO SURVIVE. WHAT HAPPENED TO US MACEDONIANS?

So, while Zahariadis and his cronies were building a "new world" with a lot of help from the Macedonians, they were also "trampling on the dignity of the Macedonian people" by lying to them and playing with their "national feelings" and by persistently denying their national identity. And at the end they told them that they were not welcome; not even on their own ancestral lands...

Then when they thought that it was all over and behind them, the Macedonians were again confronted with years of dirty slogans; swept by the red storm; filled with dark thoughts and robbed of their destiny. And not that there was any truth to it, but they were also called “intruders”.

After the disastrous Greek Civil War ended, Zahariadis, who was a power figure and a myth, a strategist of the revolution, made an assessment after the fact about the war, but now not with a violent political speech (that was what he was known for), but with a justification for himself before history. All the leaders justified themselves in almost the same way, including NOF, AFZH the CPG and the CPM/CPY. Some of these leaders saw themselves as the only devotees of truth, even though they committed obvious violence against history. Unfortunately a significant part of events and personalities that were part of the Macedonian past in the Aegean part of Macedonia, to this day, have remained and have not been fully explained.

From one lie to another, lie after lie, Zahariadis gave us his assessment of the war. But what does that mean for us Macedonians who were given a one-way ticket out and were permanently exiled from our homeland?

Part two of the post-Greek Civil War horror. This is what reliable facts say and this is the historical truth. These facts show the dark and darker curtain of our destiny.

The Greek Civil War was and still is a key national issue for us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, but somehow it has been dislocated from our national interests. It has become a secret political problem, which still exists but we can't talk about it. And whose interests are we serving by not being allowed to talk about it? The fact that we were not allowed to talk about it has been confirmed by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, consisting of legal experts who held a meeting on January 23, 2006 during which Vania Toshevski said: “...all practical steps in this direction have been blocked by Yugoslavia. And it was done in favour of Greece...” Are we not the victims in all this? Over 60 years have passed, it's time that we turn

the page and begin discussions about what truly took place in Greece and get to the true purpose of the Greek Civil War in relation to the Macedonian Question.

I believe that the exiled Macedonians uprooted from Greek occupied Macedonia, at some point or another, realized that all ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism were created by ambitious people who were thought to be concerned for the good of humanity. For example Lenin created a system which eventually destroyed him. Power in the hands of only one person is always a real source of danger. But no other country had a government like the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, in other words the CPG, which was so cruel to its people that it abandoned its own defenders, the DAG fighters, allowing the Greek government to exile them for over half a century and keeping silent about their fate...

The CPG it seems has forgotten that thousands of Macedonians gave their lives for the sovereignty of Greece. It seems it has forgotten that thousands of people became victims during the resistance against the Germans. The CPG, it seems, has forgotten that thousands of Macedonians served in the ranks of DAG and died in the battlefields throughout Greece. The CPG seems to have forgotten that Greeks were allowed to return to their homes and make a life for themselves while the Macedonians were left out to wander the world after being given a one-way ticket out! Is there any sense of humanity left in the CPG, or any other Communist Party in which we put our entire trust?

At the end of our extensive military and political analysis we can conclude one thing; that the CPY and the CPG, during the Greek Civil War, wanted to resolve all their problems inherited from partitioning ethnic Macedonia in 1913 and to prove to the Macedonian people that they would “never” support a “United Macedonia”.

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were definitely victims of the CPY/CPM and the CPG, who fueled the war and then blamed the Greek government for instigating the white



terror, for destroying Macedonian properties and for exiling so many Macedonians.

The burden we have been carrying for the last six decades or so is heavy and many things are still unclear, which begs asking some fundamental questions. For example, who started the war in Greece? Was it started out of necessity in an attempt to save the Macedonian people and went horribly wrong? Or was there a plan perhaps by the CPG or the CPY, or by both, to rid the Macedonians from Greece?

Surely by now it has come to light that all of the organizations SNOF, SNOB (created by the CPG) followed by the Greek Civil War with the organizations NOF, AFZH, NOMS (created by the CPY) and KOEM and “Ilinden” (created by the CPG) and their propagandas did create a centre of a massive cult of personalities. But one thing they forgot is that they needed to love their country and their people, not just their party interests and seizing power.

There are many questions about our Macedonian leaders, yet no one has showed courage to provide answers and to admit that they were indeed involved in tragic and deeply misguided politics, especially during the Greek Civil War when the entire Macedonian nation was driven to a national disaster.

Did the NOF and AFZH leadership behave responsibly throughout all this? Well, one thing we can say is that they were deeply divided abroad and often gathered around a party leader who was in opposition to another party leader. One faction of Macedonians supported the CPY and fought against another faction of Macedonians who supported the CPG! And where was their concern for Macedonia in all this? Nowhere to be found! This should show you how politically mature we were in those days!

Let us rephrase our question. Did our Macedonian leadership have difficulties functioning outside of the CPY and CPG? Were they capable of making major political and strategic decisions on their own, particularly during the war? Were they capable of preventing the loss of our homes and us from being exiled outright? If they were then why did they not act? Why did they put the Macedonian people’s destiny into the hands of strangers?

And so Aegean Macedonia became a land of very sad people. Most likely, they kept silent on purpose, and as it turned out, more than 55 years later, lack of critical thinking contributed to the apathy not only in people but also in historical science. Everything about the tragedy of the Greek Civil War seemed to have sunk into the quicksand of history.

So, in my attempt to write this book, I tried to add some light to our very vague and hazy past and I made sure that no matter where I looked, at something strange, at something hard to recognize, I looked at it with critical thinking in mind.

It turned out that a person seduced by ideology is a great wonder. They would like people with virtue to tell the truth, not to lie, not to have vanity, not to get frustrated, not to bluff, not to be calculable, not to invent double truths, to be clean, to ask the right questions with indifference, to know the answers and what will happen next. We met such open questions from Evdokia Foteva - Vera, but also many shadows. I think that absolutely every person deserves to be respected. But the world changed and we remained mute observers. We were silent, our steps were heavy and painful, and for the past 55 years or so we looked at each other in disbelief.

The burden is already too heavy, and it can no longer be carried. I can't help but remember the many thousands of my comrades who left their bones on the battlefields of Gramos, Vicho and everywhere else in Greek occupied Macedonia but not a thing has been said about them in our integral history, not a word... Don't you think that we have been punished enough? Don't you think we have wandered enough for the last half century feeling "guilty" like we have committed some kind of unforgivable evil...?

So, the time has come to no longer believe the lies we have been told. It seems to me that after hiding the truth for so long the lies have become truth; lies and truth have become equal. But one thing is certain, this did not happen by chance, especially in politics. This study may be disturbing, unhappy and boring but it is an attempt to free us from the alleged sins we have been burdened with. We have been "punished" enough for our sins but it was not entirely our fault

for what we did. The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia have been led through very obscure paths. But every path has something to tell us. HISTORY WILL BE REMEMBERED. HISTORY IN THE FUTURE WILL PASS JUDGMENT ON EVERYONE.

This was just the END OF THE LAST LEADER'S STORY.

What did time offer us after our catastrophic experienced in the Greek Civil War? Some people thought of themselves as worshipers of the truth, others committed violence against our history, but history is no one's "privilege". Unfortunately there are the DAG participants and those who fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves, that are out there who have been thrown into the ideological waste basket, about whom history is silent, and does not say:

WHOSE VICTIMS ARE WE MACEDONIANS FROM GREECE...!?

For the past 55 years we have suffered. We are still suffering even now. Slowly the "unprecedented" lies, some from our people but mostly from outsiders and foreigners, are burning us...

But the worst legacy left to us from the Greek Civil War is: Our Macedonian people don't want us either. This is confirmed by the following FACTS AND ARGUMENTS:

We have been written off: When the Republic of Macedonia found itself in a vulnerable position, because Greece imposed an economic embargo on it, Greece blackmailed it into changing its constitution in ways that were damaging to the Macedonian people living inside Greece or originating from Greece. This was a politically motivated act to take focus away from Greece, away from the Greek atrocities committed against the Macedonian people, the illegal Greek confiscation of Macedonian properties, the continual Hellenization of Macedonians and the Greek denial of human rights for the Macedonian people living in Greece. This act, I call an immoral use of political power applied in the absence of spiritual rule!

By accepting this kind of a proposal, all Macedonian efforts and struggles in neighbouring countries, including in Greece, for the realization of elementary human rights for free expression of identity and for the cultivation of cultural uniqueness as our historical and civilizational rights, were underestimated. We all know very well that Macedonia and Macedonian are not just names but also an inseparable part of the Macedonian identity. So, the main problem the Greek government had was not only the independence of Macedonia, but the impetus it would give to the demand for rights for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. So for the Greek government, the problem is not the Republic of Macedonia, but the Macedonians in Greece as an ethnicity.

Greek government demands were unfortunately accepted and the Macedonian constitution was amended to abandon care for the Macedonian people in the neighboring countries. But in practice the whole world knows that every nation (including the Republic of Macedonia) is historically and civilizationally obliged to care for its people who fell under foreign states. With this act, in the absence of spiritual power as a rule, our people were separated again to satisfy Greece...

Care after 55 years:

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION FOR THE  
PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE LEGAL  
EXPERTS RECOMMENDED: IT'S TIME TO CLOSE THE  
"AEGEAN ISSUE"!

Parliament to condemn the genocide of the Aegeans

Hristo Ivanovski a Helsinki Committee representative said that the Aegean issue must stop being a romantic topic for writing novels. "The Parliament should discuss this and condemn the genocide against the Macedonians in Greece", suggested IVANOVSKI.  
Tuesday January 24, 2006.

A small comment: In his article entitled "Humanity of Macedonian Communism" Dr. Zoran Todorovski said: "In the period from 1945 to 1993, about 50,000 Macedonian citizens were arrested, deported,

tried, imprisoned, sentenced to death, shot, killed, disappeared or had political and prison records”.

At the Tribune organized by “VREME”. Macedonia and communism - do they still live together? It was said: AMNESTY - YES, BUT NOT AMNESIA.

The question is will there be an amnesty for the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia who were victims of the Greek Civil War? Will it have a place in native history? Why did the CPM, led by Kolishevski, allow NOF to find itself in the grip of the CPY and CPG and in a position to defend the logic of insanity? Didn't the CPM know that NOF did an invaluable service to the CPG, but no less to the CPY? Are the facts being forgotten that the communist chain of the Aegean people was hung and tightened personally by Kolishevski (following a directive from the CPY)? Have they forgotten that facts speak undeniably: NOF and AFZH were organized by the same regime and on April 23, 1945, sent to fight in Aegean Macedonia and were directed until 1946 directly by the CPM/CPY? Do they think that 55 years later all those victims will still have AMNESIA?!

Canceled: LEAVE US ALONE TO FIGHT OUR WAR

(Don't bother to protect the minority in Greece)

“No Macedonian government can solve the problems of the Macedonian minority in Greece. The Macedonians in Greece should do that because they live in a country which is committed to respecting human rights”, said Pavle Voskopoulos from “Vinozhito”.

“Our fight is not only for the rights of the Macedonian minority. We stand for a more democratic and European society in Greece. We are the only minority movement in the Balkans whose leadership includes members of the majority” said Voskopoulos.

Tribune: “The Macedonian national question in Greece and the Greek national myth”, organized by “VREME” and “AZ-BUKI”, Saturday, January 28, 2006.

March 5, 2006

## A VIRTUE ENCOUNTERING THE REALITY OF THE PAST

Hristo IVANOVSKI, "Memories and thoughts", Self published, Skopje, 2001

Ivanovski, with his exceptional text, proved to be an objective author and historian. He told us the bitter lesson and the basic reason for the Greek Civil War phenomenon which often characterized the dictatorship of totalitarianism at the time attached to the structure of globalization. Ivanovski also spoke as a critic of every essential value from our historical past. In his autobiography, Ivanovski is merciless to himself, as only a pure man could be. With an analytical approach to a chaotic time (from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) at these Balkan crossroads, he was able to give us an abundance of historical details; he showed us that the past never completely dies. Ivanovski is real and at times unbearably cruel, he digs deep in those ruins that give a person the confidence to see the humanity and (self) sacrifice in the Macedonian people in Greece. Ivanovski, knowingly and factually has opened the problem for a firm belief in the foundations of those ruins, dividing the world into good and bad, positive and negative, and terrible and wonderful. All those dealings with the real world, and personally being taken in by the progressive utopia, showed how all this could become synonymous with revolution. He explains that utopia, no matter how unrealistic and fanatical it is, could not have been so influential at the time of his conceptual thinking and the guiding primordial ideas that made him join that war. The power of these personal thoughts and memories exactly and convincingly paint a mental picture of the ideals of that time in which the power of ideological activists was manifested (1940 - 1949). But the question is "why did people wait to look for the key", to speak and assess how to present life, how to present people in such a way that would touch the intimacy of every person who went through that continuous, impossible, contradictory and non-unique world.

With his noble memories, armed with extraordinary strength and wisdom, Ivanovski decided to write a book entitled "Memories"

which is exclusively about his native people in Kostur Region and about his past, which in its entirety testifies to a larger part of the history of the Macedonian people living in Greece. He devoted himself exclusively to the past, to the dignified feeling that does not erase that power or terror, but is swallowed up and turned into ghosts, ghosts of the past, a flash of a time, of a tragedy, of a memory, which naturally fades, not because of forgetfulness or because of the passage of time, no, it may erode only in the inspirational feeling of life. Ivanovski, probed into those experiences, but now hidden, seemingly non-existent, unacceptable spaces in his own soul, but also in the souls of every wanderer. Ivanovski is different in his (not) typification of the victims and (not) friends, but he will see the human and the beautiful in everyone, both in the most ignorant and in the most cruel, he will see it where we least expect it, but is tolerant with condemnation and acceptance or non-acceptance.

The most touching confessions in Ivanovski's book is the abandonment of his native land:

“July 1944... the Greek gangs that cooperated with the German occupier, who had been robbing and killing throughout the Macedonian villages, were activated... our property was looted... it was June 1944, we were herded into a truck: with my mother and two sisters and together with my uncle's family we left for Bitola. And so began our wandering around the world.”

The pain and crying of parting from his native land was great. There, his childhood and everyone he loved disappeared, and he didn't know how or where to find them! Everything from which his life was once torn disappeared, everything disappeared without explanation and justification; there was nothing there from those Ilinden fighters who fought and gave their lives... there was no hope... (65)

Ivanovski, wished to speak virtuously before the court of history about the (self) sacrifice of the Macedonians in the Greek Civil War, which was the most tragic event for the Macedonian people in Greece (but also for the entire ethnic group), because it uprooted as from that part of Macedonia and instilled in us a sense of alienation

with those merciless expulsions. Ivanovski speaks of life, of humiliation and dignity, of piety and loyalty, of contempt and delight, of fear and courage, of the greatest possible suffering in wars, gradually exposing its horrific and regenerating inhuman dimensions.

“My return to Aegean Macedonia... it was an open secret that all the young Aegeans who defected to Yugoslavia were mobilized as volunteers by NOF activists and sent back to Greece to fight in DAG’s ranks. I was a student in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade... So, on February 4, 1948, we found ourselves at the railway station in Bitola... Several times a day, the NOF cadres told us not to wear anything with Macedonian and Yugoslav writings, we were specifically ordered to hand over all documents and all our money and valuables. We were also informed that we should change our names and surnames from Macedonian to Greek, so I became Hristos Yanakis... so at age 17 I became a DAG soldier (andartis) and a direct participant in the tragedy of my people...” (70 - 71).

As a direct participant this is exactly how Ivanovski recounted the Greek Civil War to us. Ivanovski was torn between his aggressive instinct and the anarchist structure of the army, which in general did not have a single Macedonian mark, because we Macedonians were not in the two pillars that lead the war: the political and the military. Namely, in that war, the Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH lived (imagined themselves) in a virtual world, with directed reflection and propagated to the Macedonian people that that war was a revolution and a continuation of the famous Ilinden Uprising. The NOF model of political action, which was installed as early as April 1945, following the suggestions of the CPM/CPY, was projected with major elements from all previous models that turned out to be directed against us Macedonians. It was precisely this political concept in which there was a built-in conflict between the Macedonians and the Greeks, and it was with a different target national program, but never officialized, but with a changing direction. After the Macedonians were totally mobilized, as it turned out, NOF was forced to play a big game against its own will - it started to agitate for a change in the rating in the interest of the CPG, and this brought it to a gradual collapse in the depths of its own political functioning. Under the power of a CPG dictatorship, the



main leader of the Greek Civil War, all Macedonian organizations were oriented in the service of improving DAG's military resources. There were many pitfalls, both from the Greek government's reaction, from the CPG and from the CPY, but whether NOF had the strength to perceive all that was a question that requires deeper analysis, since our historiography, the "history of the Aegeans" is without many details (without the secrets of the CPM/CPY and CPG secret ideological activists and the truth is defended by totalitarianism). This book however says that the time is coming when we can no longer run away from the truth, and we need to revise our consciousness.

Ivanovski has noted that after DAG was liquidated on August 28 - 30, 1949, infighting began to take place not only on a national basis but also on an ideological basis. The CPG began to accuse people of betrayal calling them "Tito's agents in DAG..." And who could those agents be? The Macedonians or Slavo-Macedonians as the Greeks called us, of course. I remember the gatherings attended by members of the CPG Central Committee and by many of our Macedonians who somehow or other defended the theses and attacked their comrades and leaders as Tito's agents... The NOF and AFZH leaderships were condemned and exiled to the Siberian prisons, and the Macedonian fighters were left with a one-way ticket to roam the world... (130).

But Ivanovski as a true patriot, not a historian by vocation, confirmed himself as one of the most knowledgeable historiographers. He is also a true friend. Ivanovski has told us the truth even when it was not pleasant and that is exactly how he wrote about what had happened to him in his life (but so true, as if it also applied to thousands of Macedonians who were DAG participants). Ivanovski told us that he was not spared, not even a moment, from the horror of the war, but he did express doubts about the justification of the sacrifices we made in that war. He speaks directly about the most terrible things and manages to describe those psychological moments so clearly that the reader will think: how could there be such a devaluation of human life, precisely from those who we did not expect it, in those extremely cruel events and returned to us with communist irony with giving and taking away rights and freedoms, until self-determination for the formation of

“United Macedonia” in some kind of Balkan federation (1949). Events that surprise and confuse... that create horror due to the lack of clear Macedonian representation of what was actually planned and what happened in that war. Events in which the fighters were thrown into total delusion and devalued, without any reason and in which we slowly and slowly realized that the only way out was to bring our own non-existence (thrown into the ideological waste).

In that respect, Ivanovski showed us and spoke about the entire absurdity of war, but also about the fate of man, the individual whose life in war has no value. In his writing Ivanovski has conveyed to us the then view of man (in the war), of life that was lived in a different way, a way that we cannot imagine now, when the author himself became his own accomplice, who was overwhelmed by the national feeling and therefore it was normal: it was important to bravely die for our Macedonian homeland or for the ideology.

So, the question that comes out of all this is: was there another side to the war or was there no other side?

What is the human value and happiness that awaits us in the future? What is its power? Is there justice for us Macedonians, the kind the Greek fighters received?!

Is the (Self) sacrifice and resistance to horrors based only on the strength of one’s own ideological belief that is invisible but omnipresent and reaches the most hidden regions of our hearts and in the most secret spaces of our human soul? And does it remain in a person until their death? For some - YES! People like that do not recognize the (self) sacrifice of others and manipulation skillfully perpetrated against us Macedonians at that time by the politicians from the powerful centers. But even today, this continues even after half a century later.

Reading Ivanovski’s confessions simply leaves you breathless.

“Battle for Lerin February 2, 1949... During the descent, after a gully, unexpectedly, as if he had sprung from the ground, an enemy soldier appeared who did not notice us earlier than we did, and from

8 - 10 meters fired a burst into me. Fortunately for me, most of the bullets hit my machine gun, which was hanging on my chest, and only a few bullets hit me in the upper part of the thigh of my right leg... The soldier standing in front of me was surprised... He wondered how I was still alive after he emptied an entire magazine of bullets on me. I too was surprised by his appearance and that I was still standing and alive. I don't know how long the daze lasted, but when I looked at my machine gun, I saw that it was broken - the cartridge and the holder had fallen. Meanwhile, the soldier took out another magazine in order to finish me off. Then I remembered my "Valter" (machine gun) that had saved my life..." (110).

Everything was dead in ten minutes, corpses of people and animals were mixed together. A person cannot imagine a more shocking picture. The stream in the gully was literally flowing with blood. (111).

This was the kind of strength a young man who went out to fight for Macedonia had in his own belief in the ideology and utopian intentions. A man wearing a uniform, who stepped firmly and accurately hit the opponent on the temple with a sniper shot and was promoted to a DAG officer. But it should be known that he did it as an ideological soldier, because at that time ideology usually fed us with political ideas inspired or supported by the system of government in that army, but no less utopian (our Macedonian) intention referred to those landmarks that transcend reality. He showed that we Macedonians, as ideological soldiers, risked our lives for an honest and morally acceptable humanity. It speaks of one of the greatest evils of human history. And he wonders: what about the homeland? Is it just a place where we happen to be born and raised? Isn't that the homeland of our ancestors whose graves are still there today? Yes! Like it or not, we were born there and that there is our motherland. We were born from those parents and that place was where our fate was decided for centuries. Unfortunately even today when we live in a civilized world we still keep silent! We never ask about our homeland. Why!?

Ivanovski kept living afraid, confused and traumatized fearing that all the world's value principles, all principles, all basic humanistic categories were simply compromised, because he and many others

like him did not get any satisfaction, but instead after that cruel war they got a one-way ticket out of their homeland simply because they were Macedonians and they didn't even have the right to return to die on their fatherland.

In his memoirs, Ivanovski opened up the painful question (return to the Republic of Macedonia under the same regimes and paths as his previous comrades): "... Again back to my homeland. Immense joy and delight... It was the beginning of April 1962... We stayed at Idrizovo Prison for 8 or 9 days, where every day for 4-5 hours an inspector with a typewriter interrogated me and opened a file for me... Our stay in Idrizovo Prison was about testing UDBA's power and psychological effects on the returnees like me."

Ivanovski told us the entire truth about how it was to live in exile and how he desired to remain a Macedonian. But with his return to his homeland it was unclear to him and to others like him, why he had to "not look, not listen, not speak... but accept to be our collaborator and deliverer". He had a half a century to think of how to get out of the margins of the political Yugoslav historiography in which there was desired to create a new category for us returnees called "prisoners of consciousness". The idea was to divide and value our comrades from "how big" or "how small" Macedonians they were into "how big and small" traitors they were. This reminded Ivanovski of the NOF slogans promoted during the Greek Civil War that went something like this: "Do you really want to be a patriot? Then join DAG's ranks!" And of the constantly repeated phrase: "If we have to we will all perish for the CPG which speaks the truth out loud,!" Well, as we can see no compact Macedonian nation was ever built with subject consciousness... And now this is what is done to the people who gave their lives convinced they were doing it to free their homeland. This is what Ivanovski discovered in his search for the truth. But in his search he unearthed even more questions such as: what is happening to our destiny? What is the future of our nation and its history? Who will care about the fate of the Macedonian people living in Greece?

Ivanovski composed his memoirs in order to free himself from the nightmares he went through during and after the war. He also did this in order to contribute to the "Testimony for the Truth" and to no

longer look for meaning in silence. He did this to combat the historic distortion about “The Aegeans”.

What is the truth? What is its human value? There is another fascinating point in this book, and that is the unburdenedness of hatred. That exactly which we (the people from Vardar, Pirin and Aegean Macedonia), I don't think, will learn in a thousand years. Ivanovski did not speak of nationalists, but of people with a national consciousness. This is truly an extraordinary study of a micro cultural society, of the sociological and psychological elements that created Kostur and Kostur Region, Lerin and Lerin Region, Voden and Voden Region. And suddenly it became clear to us why, since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hellenism fueled the migration movements of these people, either through wars (especially in the period (1900 - 1908) or because of economic problems.

The book is amazing, honest, and well organized. Given the scant information we have it is well presented and covers a large part of the tragedies our people experienced. It is a faithful record of our destiny.

April 12, 2003

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Stoian Kochov was born in 1930 in the village Turie, Lerin Region. He lived in Skopje.

Stoian has published the following books:

### TITLE, TYPE, PUBLISHER

СРЕДБА, раскази, „Студентски збор“ Скопје, 1989.

ЕДНА МРТВА ВОЈСКА, поезија, „Македонска книга“ Скопје, 1992.

(САМО) ЖРТВУВАЊЕТО НА МАКЕДОНСКИОТ НАРОД ПОД ГРЦИЈА, критички огледи, „Матица македонска“ Скопје, 1994.

МРТВОТО ЛИЦЕ НА ВОЈНАТА, поезија, „Македонско Сонце“ - Скопје, 1996.

ЃОРЃИ ПЕЈКОВ - МАКЕДОНСКИ ВОИН НИЗ ИСТОРИЈАТА НА ДАГ(1945-1949), Моно граfiја, „Академик“ Скопје, 1996.

ТАЛКАЧИ, роман, „Матица македонска“ Скопје, 1997.

НОВА ГОДИНА ВО ЗЕМЈАНКИТЕ НА ГРАМОС, роман, „Матица македонска“, Скопје, 1998.

КАЗНА БЕЗ ВИНА, роман, „Матица македонска“ Скопје, 2001

ВО ПРЕСРЕТ НА СУДБИНАТА, раскази, „Огледало“, Скопје, 1998.

ИДЕОЛОШКИОТ АКТИВИЗАМ НАД МАКЕДОНЦИТЕ ПОД ГРЦИЈА, критички огледи, „Матица македонска“, Скопје, 2000.

ГРЕВОТ НА ПОТОМЦИТЕ, роман,

ЕСЕИ И ЛИТЕРАТУРНИ ТОЛКУВАЊА, критички огледи,  
„Матица македонска“, Скопје, 2002.

КОБА, раскази, „Ворлдбук“, Скопје, 2002.

ГРОБАРОТ ОД ЛЕРИН, роман, “Детска радост”, Скопје, 2001.

ЈАМКА. Роман,

БЕСОТ НА ЈУЖНИТЕ ХРИСТЈАНИ, роман,

Stojan Kochov - (Author, collector, translator from Greek and  
Russian)

## LITERATURE REVIEW

- Ајановски Вангел - Оче, Егејски бури, Скопје 1975
- Андоновски Христо, Вистината за Егејска Македонија, Скопје, 1972
- Андоновски Христо, Дипломатска антимакедонска игра, Скопје, 1969
- Андоновски Христо, Македонското национално малцинство во Грција, Бугарија и Албанија, “Гласник”, Скопје 1974, бр. И
- Андоновски Христо, Меѓународните договори и билатерални конвенции меѓу Грција, Бугарија, Турција и Југославијам, “Разгледи”, Скопје, 1962 ИВ
- Андоновски Христо, Македонците под Грција во борбата против фашизмот (1940-1944) ИНИ, Скопје 1968
- Апостоловски Ванчо, Грција, односите во Југославија и прашањето за Егејска Македонија. Нова Македонија, Скопје, 1952, февруари 10.ИЦ 2237
- Бунтески Ристе-Бунте, Методија шаторов-шарло (политички ставови), издавач, Друштво за уметност Прилеп, Скопје, 1996.
- Буцкава Фана-Мартинова, и ние сме деца на мајката земја..., издавач “Здружение на децата бегалци од Егејскиот дел на македонија” - Скопје, 1998.
- Благоев Спиридон, Околу причините и последиците на проширување на бугарската окупациона власт во нови области на Егејскиот дел на Македонија во летото 1943 година. Гласник ИНИ, Скопје, 9183, ЦЦВИИ 1-2
- Григоријадис Фивос, Историја ту емфилиу полему, 1945-1949 (То дефтеро андартико) (Историја на Граѓанската војна 1945-1949), (Второ партизанство) Атина Том И, ИИ, ИИИ и ИВ, издавач К.М.Камаринопулос
- За проблемите на Егејска Македонија. Изјава на Димитар Влахов на конференцијата зза печатот во Париз. Нова Македонија, Скопје, 1946, септември 19ИИИ 527, стр.4
- Зифиропулос Д. То ККЕ ќе и Македонија (КПГ и Македонија) Изјавуваме високо дека Грција нема право на Егејска Македонија, рече во својот говор на предизборниот митинг во Битола Димитар Влахов, потпреседате на Президиумот на Народната Скупштина на ФНРЈ. Нова Македонија, Скопје, 1946, септември 22.ИИИ 530, стр.4



Керамитчиев Михајло, Појавата на НОФ во Егејска Македонија. Глас на Егејците, Скопје, 1951, април 11. ИИ.8

Кирјазовски Ристо, Народноослободилениот фронт и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949). Култура, Скопје, 1985

Кирјазовски Ристо, Македонски национални институции во егејскиот дел на Македонија (1941-1961), ИНИ, Скопје, 1987

Кирјазовски Ристо, Македонската политичка емиграција од егејскиот дел на Македонија во источноевропските земји по Втората светска војна. Култура, Скопје, 1989

Киселиновски Стојан, КПГ и македонското национално прашање (1918-1940). мисла, Скопје, 1985

Киселиновски Стојан, Статусот на македонскиот јазик во Македонија (1913-1987). Мисла, Скопје, 1988

Киселиновски Стојан, Егејскиот дел на Македонија (1913-1989) Култура, Скопје, 1990

Киселиновски Стојан, Националното и државното во македонското револуционерно движење (1893-1994), МАНУ, Скопје, 1995

Киселиновски Стојан, Етничките промени во Македонија (1913-1995), ИНИ, Скопје, 2000.

Кочов Стојан, (Само)жртвувањето на Македонците под Грција, “Матица Македонска”, Скопје, 1994

Кочов Стојан, жорџи Пејков-македонски воин низ историјата на ДАГ (1945-1949)-монографија, издавач “Академик”, Скопје, 1997

Кочов Стојан, Идеолошкиот активизам над Македонците под Грција, издавач “Матица македонска” Скопје, 2000

Кочов Стојан, Есеи и литературни толкувања, издавач “Матица македонска”, Скопје 2002

Кочов Стојан. Билет во еден правец, издавач, „Матица македонска”, Скопје 2004

Кочов Стојан, Големото враќање на талкачите, издавач, „Современост”, Скопје 2006

Клјакиќ Драган, генерал Маркос, Загреб, 1979

Мамуровски Ташко, Бугарската пропаганда во Југозападна и Централна Егејска Македонија (1941-1944). ИНИ, Скопје, 1989

Митревски Паскал, Учеството на македонскиот народ од Егејска Македонија во борбите против фашистичките окупатори. Нова Македонија, Скопје 1945, октомври 11.??237

Митревски Паскал, Триесет години од Првата конференција на СНОФ (И-ИИ) Нова македонија, Скопје 1973, декември 25-26  
ЦЦЦ, 9672-9673

Митревски Паскал, Критички осврт на трудот на Вангел Ајановски-Оче, “Егејски бури”, издание на ИНИ-Скопје, 1975. Гласник на ИНИ, Скопје, 1977, ЦЦИ, 2-3, 195-211  
(Одделен отпечаток)

Митревски Паскал, Првите органи на народната власт и формирањето на Привремената демократска влада на Грција за време на Граѓанската војна 1945-1949 година. Симпозиум: АСНОМ-остварувањето на идеите за создавање на македонската држава. МАНУ, Скопје, 1977, с. 199-211 Од. Отпечаток)

Мојсов Лазо, Околу прашањето на македонското национално малцинство во Грција (Еден поглед врз опсежната документација). ИНИ, Скопје, 1954.

Наковски Петре, Мекедонските деца во Полска, издавач, млад борец, Скопје 1987.

Пејов Наум, Прилози за односот на раководителите на КПГ по македонското национално прашање. Главен одбор на македонците од Егејска македонија, Скопје, 1953

Пејов Наум, КПГ и македонското национално прашање (ИВ-ИЦ). Глас на Егејците, 1953, ИВ, 32-37

Пејов Наум, Македонците и Граѓанската војна во Грција. ИНИ, Скопје 1968

Пејов Наум, По повод првиот конгрес на НОФ во Егејска Македонија. Во прилог на вистината. Глас на Егејците, Скопје, 1951, јануари 10. ИИИ, 18

Раковски Павле, Македонското национално прашање низ политиката на КП на Грција (или Политиката на КП на Грција по македонското национално прашање) Гласник ИНИ, Скопје, 1968, ЦИИ, 3

Раковски Павле, Кон согледување на историската вистина. Погледи, Скопје 1980, ЦВИИ, 8

Раковски Павле, КПГ, ЕАМ, ЕЛАС и македонското НОД. Гласник на ИНИ, Скопје ЦЦВИ, 2-3

Раковски Павле, КП на Грција и Македонците (Согледувања, размислувања, сознанија). Македонска книга, скопје, 1990

Раковски Павле, Автобиографија-моите страдања, издавач, АЕА издавачи, Скопје, 2000.

Ристовски Блаже, Македонија и македонската нација, издавач “Детска радост”, Скопје, 1995

Симовски Тодор, Населените места во Егејска Македонија.ИНИ, Скопје, 1978

Симовски Тодор, Македонско национално прашање низ политиката на КПГ во текот на НОБ.Гласник на ИНИ, Скопје, 1972,ЦИВ, 2-3

Фотева Евдокија - Вера „До пеколот и назаде”, издавач Аз - Букие , Скопје 2005

Халет Кар Едвард, што е историја, Култура, Скопје, 1990

Арент Хана, Изворите на тоталитаризмот, Култура, Скопје, 1990

Стив Е.Палмер и Роберт Р.Кинг, “Југословенскиот комунизам и Македонското прашање”.Арцхон Боокс, 1971

Лоринг М.Денфорт, “Македонскиот конфликт”, Македонска книга, 1996

“Македонија и односите со Грција”-Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје, 1993

Тодор Чепреганов, “Велика Британија и македонското национално прашање (август 1944-1948)”, издавач ИНИ, Скопје, 1997

Лазар Лазаров “ Македонија во француската политика на Балканот 1944-1957”, издавачи ИНИ и Матица македонска, Скопје, 1998

Приручник (Зборник материјала): Грчки народ у борби за слободу, 1947 година.

Весници и списанија.

Автори од грчката историографија кои исклучиво пишувале само за Граѓанската војна

(Насловот на оригиналот” Студиес ин тхе Хисторс оф тхе Греек Цивил Њар, 1945-1949, едited бс Л.Баерентзен, Ј.О.Смитх, “Музеум Тусцуланум Пресс”, Цопенхаген 1987.)

## ABBREVIATIONS

UNSCB	United Nations Special Committee On the Balkans
AFZH	Women's Anti-Fascist Front
Andartes	Greek mercenary fighters who fought during the Ottoman occupation to conquer Macedonia and join it with Greece. Most were from Greece proper and from Crete. They were operating in Macedonia (Kostur, Lerin, Bitola, Resen and Mاريوvo Regions). The name "Andartes" was used by the Greek government to describe the ELAS fighters during the Greek Civil War.
BURANDARS	Armed Greek government soldiers
GSH	General Headquarters
DAG	Democratic Army of Greece – active during the Greek Civil War 1946-1949, led by the Communist Party of Greece
EAM	(Greek) National Liberation Front
EDA	Greek Democratic Left
EDES	National Democratic Alliance of Greece - the Greek Army which cooperated with the Germans, as well as with the English
ELAS	National Liberation Army of Greece
EPON	Greek National Youth Organization (pro-communist)
IVE	Defenders of Northern Greece 1941-1942 cooperated with the Germans

PG	Agricultural Party of Greece
IB	Informburo
EPPE	Central Committee for Political Refugees from Greece
EMPEDA	Military Training Center
KZ	Criminal Law
KOEM	Communist organization of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek Occupied) Macedonia
CPG	Communist Party of Greece
CPY	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
CPM	Communist Party of Macedonia
LOK	Mountain hunting military unit - part of the Greek government army
NOV	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Army
NOD	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Movement
NOMS	(Macedonian) National Liberation Youth Union
NOF	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Front
MAI	Greek Self Defense Units on the ground (armed organized civilians who fought against DAG when needed)
UNO	United Nations Organization

PAO	Greek Liberation Organization 1942 - 1944, cooperated with occupier against the liberation movement in Greece
PB	Politburo
PDVG	Provisional Democratic Government of Greece established in 1947 at Gramos, (more precisely in Asamati on December 23, 1947)
PEEA	Political Liberation Committee
PZ	Compulsory Law
SNOF	Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front
UDBA	State Security Administration
CC	Central Committee
CS	Central Council