

On Bulgarian Matters



Risto Nikovski

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On Bulgarian Matters

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rstefov@hotmail.com

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To all the unawakened “Bulgarians”!

IS IT POSSIBLE THAT A “MACEDONIAN QUESTION” EXISTING FOR ALMOST 200 YEARS, WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD WAS CONCERNED WITH, WITHOUT THERE BEING MACEDONIANS? DID THE MAJOR WORLD POWERS, WHO DEALT WITH THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION, NOT KNOW WHAT THEY WERE DOING? WHY, AFTER ALL, DID THE BULGARIANS NOT TELL THEM THAT THERE WERE NO MACEDONIANS?

..*

SCIENCE HAS STATED THAT MAN, THROUGH EVOLUTION, HAS DESCENDED FROM AN APE. IS IT POSSIBLE THEN THAT MACEDONIANS DESCENDED ONLY FROM BULGARIANS? WHAT ROLE DID THE BULGARIANS PLAY IN THIS CASE?

“Although Bulgaria was the first country in the world to recognize the independent Macedonian state, this act, in itself, was ambiguous. Shortly after the Bulgarian government recognized Macedonia, Bulgarian President Zheliu Zhelev stated that Bulgaria had recognized only the ‘political creation’ called the Republic of Macedonia. Zhelev added that Bulgaria would never recognize the Macedonian nation and language. Thus, President Zhelev and other politicians from the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) began to repeat the postulates of the Zhivkov era: that the Macedonian nation was ‘artificially created’ and that was based on the Bulgarian nationality, which existed in Vardar Macedonia. The Macedonian language, according to these same Bulgarians, “is a Bulgarian dialect”, changed under the consciously imposed Serbian influence. It was further stated by the same Bulgarians that, the two states (Bulgaria and Macedonia) have a ‘common history’, and the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia would have to recognize these ‘facts’ and ‘historical realities’”... “Since then,

Macedonia has been perceived by the same Bulgarians, as a 'second Bulgarian state'.”

(The above was written by Chavdar Marinov, a Bulgarian historian, in his book “The Macedonian Question from 1944 to the Present”, published in 2010 and translated in Macedonia in 2013, by the Open Society Foundation - Macedonia)

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MACEDONIA'S HARDSHIPS AFTER INDEPENDENCE:

- Macedonia's long non-recognition. The USA was the main bearer of the process for Macedonia's non-recognition. Proof: Washington recognized the independence of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina on April 7, 1992. Four months later, in August, it established diplomatic relations with these countries and immediately sent ambassadors. War was starting in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- the US recognized independent Macedonia on February 9, 1994, almost two years after it recognized Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The USA established diplomatic relations with Macedonia on September 13, 1995, more than three years after it did with the other three post-Yugoslav republics. Christopher Hill, the first USA ambassador to Macedonia was sent at the end of July 1996. That took place four years after the USA sent ambassadors to Ljubljana, Zagreb and Sarajevo. And not only that. Shortly after arriving in Skopje, Hill was appointed President Clinton's special representative to Kosovo, where he immediately engaged in preparing for the war that would follow in 1999. Macedonia was the closest country to the key American interest in the region.
- For comparison to the USA, the first six EU (then EC) countries recognized Macedonia on December 16, 1993, and immediately established diplomatic relations. Their first ambassadors (of Great Britain, Germany...) were in Skopje at the beginning of 1994. The USA had not yet recognized Macedonia as an independent state,
- In diplomacy, recognizing states, establishing diplomatic relations and sending ambassadors is a routine process. Of course, there must have been reasons for the delay. Why did the USA, most critical for Macedonia's survival, not follow that basic rule for many years? It obviously had its reasons:

- American policies of denying an independent Macedonia were a direct indication to our neighbours (Greece, Bulgaria and Albania) that the “Macedonian question” was on its way to final closure and that they too should pursue their own interests. To rob Macedonia of its independence the following stumbling blocks were introduced:

- As a condition for admission to the UN (1993), illegal suspension of the constitutional name and imposed mediation by the Security Council of the world organization;
- Planting of an Interim Agreement with Greece (1995);
- Imposing a shameful declaration with Bulgaria (1999);
- Military aggression from Kosovo, under American direction (2001);
- Seventeen American military instructors were discovered in Arachinovo, among the NLA terrorists;
- After the humiliating defeat in the war, the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) followed, which completely changed the constitutional character of the state and erased its Macedonian character;
- With a new administrative division (2004), invented by the United States, a part of the state was completely unnecessarily Albanianized,
- So that the referendum would not succeed against the disastrous new administrative division the USA recognized our historical name, but only temporarily and partially (until the country was renamed and only for mutual communication);
- Instead of granting Macedonia admission into NATO at the summit in Bucharest (2008), a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum were imposed by the USA; – First the renaming, then membership;
- A brilliant verdict in The Hague (2011) in favour of Macedonia, which everyone ignored;

- With illegal wiretapping of telephone conversations, a colour revolution was carried out by hooligans financed by G. Soros... a deep political crisis was created (2014 – 2016). This enabled a violent change of government, name change and NATO membership;
- A kind of coup d'état was carried out in Przhino (2015);
- The “Tirana Platform” was published (2017), which will directly lead to the federalization of Macedonia;
- The Albanian language becomes equal to the Macedonian language, and the Albanian minority becomes a state-forming people;
- Capitulation agreements with Bulgaria (2017) and Greece (2018), which erase the Macedonian people, language...
- Bulgarian veto on EU membership negotiations (2020)

These are indisputable facts. All the capitulation and treacherous agreements that Macedonia had to (or did?) sign were American...

Does anyone still think that the aforementioned and numerous other 30-year pogroms against Macedonia and Macedonians are the work of Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and not the USA? If Washington had not been decisively behind all of this – nothing would have been possible. That is the truth.

MAIN MESSAGE

Macedonia has no other option but to immediately cancel the “Agreement on Friendship, Good Neighbourly relations and Cooperation” with Bulgaria if Sofia does not, without any delay, accept to stop blocking our negotiations for membership in the European Union and does not officially commit that, with no additional conditions, it will not hinder the negotiations themselves. This is the only way for Macedonia to get out of the impasse into which it has been brought by the Bulgarian national-chauvinist policies, based on the signed agreement. Otherwise, very easily, Macedonia could be waiting at the doors of the EU again in the next 30 years, as was the case with Greece. We are on the move for such a step forward. We need to do this, of course, to avoid giving up our Macedonian national identity and Macedonian language. Sofia has left no possibility for the survival of Macedonianism and the fact is that all political factors in Bulgaria are united on that line. For them, there is no doubt that until 1944 we were “Bulgarians”, and the Macedonian language was and remains a dialect of Bulgarian.

The way in which this medieval Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia is formulated (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences - Government - Declaration of the Parliament), leaves no room for any compromise. Their Parliament will certainly not withdraw the declaration, and it is binding for all and there is no room for different behaviour. Either the Macedonians will give up who they are, or there will be no EU for Macedonia. As a result of fierce propaganda, based on incredible deceptions, the same policy is supported by the vast majority of the Bulgarian people. All attempts so far (German, Portuguese, various non-papers...) are disastrous for Macedonia and no sane person should accept them. The goal of all these attempts is the gradual destruction of Macedonianism, unlike the Bulgarian phantasmagoria - to capitulate immediately.

If we allow the friendship treaty to be the basis for the destruction of the Macedonian people and their Macedonian language, we deserve nothing better.

Macedonia must immediately cancel the treaty.

INTRODUCTION

After 30 years, it should be clear to everyone that the hardships that our country is going through are not, and in no way can be, the result (only) of the interests and policies of our neighbours. They do not have the appropriate opportunities and competencies for such a thing, despite centuries-old aspirations. The Greek dispute over our name was only the formal beginning of our suffering and therefore the problem was immediately internationalized. The bilateral character was changed to pave the way for the intervention of its direct initiators - the foreigners. Athens remained in the background and the management was taken over and led all the time by the USA, whose regional interests dominate this case. In order to conceal the truth and achieve a staged approach, the problem with our name is being made official in the EEC (EU). And logically, as the competent authority for Europe, Brussels was not ready to recognize Macedonia. Then, the name issue was transferred to the UN, then to NATO, to return to the EU again... The beginning, when the EEC (EU) was responsible, lasted until Macedonia's admission to the UN, in order to mature the plans for what should be done with Macedonia. Then the reference "former Yugoslav..." was also conceived. The UN followed, where, through blackmail for entry, the country was illegally crippled with an international suspension of the name, imposition of a reference and mediation.

After those heavy initial defeats, there were also successes with the recognitions of over 120 countries with the constitutional and historical name, which dealt a strong blow to the USA, the EEC, the neighbours... They were forced to change their entire policy towards Macedonia, with NATO taking on the main role instead of the UN. Dissatisfied with what had been achieved, they began using force against Macedonia: first armed and then political. First, the US and the alliance organized the aggression from Kosovo in 2001, which was followed by the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Second, at the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), the country was placed under blockade, blackmail and an

ultimatum – first the name, then membership. This transfer to NATO was necessary because the UN did not have the basis and conditions for new pressures on Macedonia, which, in turn, were at the disposal of the alliance, which immediately began to use them. Bucharest was the key and tragic turning point for Macedonia, which our politicians did not understand. Since then, the US has openly become the bearer of policies to disintegrate the Macedonians, openly insisting that the state be rechristened. They no longer hid their main role in the “Macedonian question”.

In the same 2008, the now well-known Philip Reeker came to Skopje as ambassador. He behaved like an unelected governor and publicly demanded that Macedonia be renamed, and our politicians, like humble servants, tolerated it. Before him, none of the American ambassadors publicly declared their opinion on the name, which unequivocally shows that American policy was changed precisely in Bucharest (2008). This meant a rapid and constant weakening of Macedonia’s position, both in the imposed name dispute, and in general. We know the result: a violent change of government followed, capitulation agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, and the devastating law on the Albanian language. After that was achieved, the problem was returned to the EU again. This is because the complete closure of the “Macedonian question” and the erasure of the Macedonians, which was objectively not possible in the previous stages, can only be achieved by the US through membership negotiations (35 chapters). So, all of our transfers from stake to stake were not at all accidental, but had precise intentions and established tasks. It can safely be concluded that until 2008, time worked in Macedonia’s favour, and then against its interests. Our politicians and diplomats did not notice this at all.

This is how the tragedy of the Macedonian people and their modern state developed. However, in order to understand the state to which the people and the state have been brought, one must know two basic things. The first is that what Bulgaria is now monstrously demonstrating towards Macedonia is logical and expected and their

current violence should not surprise anyone. On the contrary. It is not normal to assume that someone who has been trumpeting the same policy for almost 150 years, no matter how unrealistic and, above all, extremely national-chauvinistic, will suddenly change the diction to something new, different and more dissimilar. Such a thing rarely happens because it requires either a lost war or someone's fierce pressure, which is not there now. The same statement fully applies to Greece. The second and key thing is that Sofia, like Athens, is not implementing (only!) its own policies. It is a primitive instrument of American Balkan plans, humbly supported by Brussels. This is a dictate, completely complementary to Bulgaria's centuries-old interests. The essence comes down to the fact that this is Sofia's last chance to realize its historical syndromes. These are the two main frameworks in which the current Bulgarian actions, the situation in the country and the analyses in this book should be viewed.

It is not at all in dispute that the Bulgarian historical syndromes towards Macedonia are very deep. This must be taken into account at every opportunity. Their current national-chauvinistic policies are obvious proof of this. For a way out of such situations, such as ours with Bulgaria, appropriate solutions without direct confrontation are very difficult to find. If one naïvely expects the opponent to "come to their senses", defeat is inevitable. Macedonia is reacting in exactly the same way to the open Bulgarian aggression, which is a concrete consequence of the capitulation friendship agreement imposed by the USA, for the sake of their common needs. The agreement shows the complete diplomatic amateurism of Macedonian politicians. Their bent spine is also a result of the fact that they are mere puppets in the hands of foreigners. Only in this way can one understand the obvious willingness to trample on fundamental national and state interests for nothing. This is a classic betrayal. The direction in which they are now persistently heading only portends new disasters.

The "Macedonian question" has existed for a long time. It was actualized after the San Stefano Peace Treaty, in March 1878, and after

the Berlin Congress, when the peace treaty was annulled three months later. The question existed because – a) there was no Macedonian state, and the Macedonians were unrecognized as a people and exposed to terrible torture; b) all neighbours had aspirations towards the Macedonians and the territory they covered; c) the Macedonians never had leaders or sufficiently strong organizations that would lead them in the fight at least for autonomy in the Ottoman Empire, if not immediately for their own state; d) the Macedonian elite lived mainly in Bulgaria, was deeply divided, its representatives killed each other, mainly under the influence of foreign secret services and e) for Bulgaria there were never any Macedonians, it considered all those who declared themselves as Bulgarians and infiltrated agents into their organizations, with the intention of “raising their awareness” and imposing its interests. To this end, the Bulgarian services created internal conflicts and divisions, which led to their self-destruction, which, all together, was disastrous for the Macedonian people. With few exceptions (Georgi Dimitrov), the role of the Bulgarian state towards the Macedonians was always extremely negative. It is the same today. The Bulgarians are greater enemies of the Macedonian people than the Greeks, although they are not very different from them. These are also part of the reasons why the Macedonians were the last to create their own state in the region.

After the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, and the dismemberment of the Macedonian ethnic territory, everyone considered that the “Macedonian Question” was definitively closed. The assessment was that the fate of the Macedonians was sealed with the 1913 Bucharest Peace Treaty, confirmed by the Versailles Peace Treaty, after the First World War. As expected, various genocides followed the Macedonians. Between the two world wars, there were several isolated events that reminded us of the Macedonians, but they seemed more like stages in the irreversible process of their erasure. One such example was the “Macedonian Primer”, which, by order of the League of Nations (today’s UN), had to be prepared by Greece in 1925, but it was never

used. Therefore, it can be safely said that the appearance of the Macedonians during the Second World War was a great and unexpected surprise for the world. It seemed as if they had risen from the ashes, like the legendary Phoenix bird. Unlike Bulgaria, which, precisely because of the seizure of Macedonia, sided with fascism, the Macedonian communists, together with all the patriotic forces in the country, joined the anti-fascist front, fighting for their freedom. Led by Tito, the Yugoslav partisans, including the Macedonian ones, made an undeniable contribution to the victory over fascism. If it were not for the resistance in Yugoslavia, Hitler would certainly have attacked the USSR in March, and not at the end of June 1941. If that had happened, the fascist armada would probably have reached Vladivostok before winter, destroying the USSR, and the ultimate winner in the war would have been completely uncertain. The five main leaders of anti-fascism were Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt, De Gaulle and of course Tito.

The Second Session of AVNOJ, held in Jajce, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on November 29, 1943, was crucial for Macedonia. AVNOJ was the National Assembly, or Parliament, where it was decided that the new federation would have six states, including Macedonia. That is the foundation of the modern Macedonian state. That day should be celebrated, but for now it is not advisable. Chauvinists from neighbouring countries, who still do not want to understand that Macedonians have existed for centuries and millennia, come up with indecent theses that Tito supposedly invented the Macedonians as a people! That is plain stupidity, but if we celebrate that date now, all those political imbeciles will think that we accept their inventions and stupidities. After these machinations and atrocities end up in the dustbin of history, we will then immediately declare November 29 (1943) a holiday.

The First Session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for Macedonia's National Liberation (ASNOM) was held on August 2, 1944, in the Prohor Pciniski Monastery. This was when the Federal or People's Republic, which later became the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, was

officially proclaimed. This is the most significant date in the modern history of the Macedonian people.

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It is more than obvious that, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, the independent Macedonian state was unacceptable to the international factors. Therefore, the question was logical – how was it possible, in the mid-1940s, for those same forces to swallow a Macedonian state? The answer is not simple but it can be sought in the fact that Yugoslavia, and Tito personally, had undeniable merits in the victory over fascism, and none of the Western leaders dared to challenge the plans for the Macedonians to have their own state because they were also part of the anti-fascist coalition. In any other situation, this would certainly have been prevented. Tito, indeed, had some merit in the formation of the Macedonian state, and we must respect that accordingly, but not as an (al)chemist who invented the Macedonian people, as the fools in neighbouring countries claim, but as the end of the previous Macedonian suffering of an unrecognized and persecuted people. After all, a people either exists or it does not, but it cannot be invented. Such a thing is impossible.

The other key factor, why the Macedonian state was accepted in 1944, was that it was not independent but became part of a federation. There should be no doubt that at that time, the Western powers led by the USA would in no way have swallowed Macedonia as an independent state. Namely, it is well known that the ASNOM session, in Prokhor Pchinski, was attended by American and British military personnel, two majors, which shows that the dumpling regarding Macedonia had already been swallowed. That this was not easy and without obstacles and challenges is evidenced by the fact that the then US Secretary of State, Stettinius, in December 1944 (according to ASNOM!) signed and sent a telegram from the State Department to the relevant American institutions in which, among other things, he emphasized – *“The chatter about the ‘Macedonian nation’, ‘Macedonian homeland’, or*

‘Macedonian national consciousness’, this American Government considers to be unfounded demagogy that does not represent ethnic or political reality, and sees in their current revival a possible mask for aggressive intentions against Greece!’

This document was disclosed by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 24, 2013. It was the only case when Athens, intentionally or not, openly showed that behind its policy towards Macedonia stood the USA. The comment made by the Greeks was full of lies, subterfuge and fabricated accusations against Macedonia, in a word - offensive, but when the telegram was analyzed, many things become clearer. It radiated enormous American dissatisfaction with the creation of the modern Macedonian state, which they had to accept. It is clearly seen that they could not prevent the formation of the new Republic, but that the USA, just like Bulgaria and Greece, continued to ignore the fact that ethnic Macedonians lived in Macedonia. The telegram precisely claims that there is no “Macedonian nation” or “Macedonian national consciousness”. This sheds a whole new light on the presence of the American major at ASNOM, because the position of the State Department, which followed, is clear enough. The question remains open whether that position has changed in the meantime, generally and in essence, or, although covertly, has remained a key element of American policy towards Macedonia? The way they have treated the Macedonian people after the collapse of Yugoslavia absolutely confirms the lasting value of the telegram. The fact is that after the acceptance of our constitutional name, in November 2004, in order to prevent the referendum that would have prevented the Albanianization of parts of the country with the new administrative division from succeeding, the United States publicly spoke of the “Macedonian people” and the like, but this looked more like a formal and manipulative use, than a fundamental change in the 1944 positions. In fact, only four years later, in 2008, Washington clarified that they had temporarily recognized our constitutional name and that they would be the first to use the new name, which would have to be agreed with

Athens. They worked meticulously, so that it would happen as soon as possible.

Today, it can be claimed with almost complete certainty that, in relation to Macedonia, Washington has always persisted with the policies expressed in the telegram of December 1944. Without exception, all the ordeals that the Macedonian independent state went through, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, were under American direction. If those policies were not current before, they were reactivated after Macedonia became independent. In our country, no one is engaged in researching such essential issues and then we wonder what happened to us and are surprised by the defeats and misfortunes to which we are exposed. It would be interesting, for example, to check whether Macedonia was included during the visits of high-ranking American delegations to Yugoslavia or whether they deliberately avoided it? Such data would be a good indicator of the long-term American attitude towards Macedonia.

There is no information whether, after the publication of this document in Athens, any of our politicians asked the Americans – first, whether the telegram was credible and, second, whether their aforementioned policy was still valid? The question would not be without foundation since, after Macedonia's independence, Washington took almost five years to send an ambassador to Skopje. While ambassadors were sent to Ljubljana, Zagreb and Sarajevo only 10 months after their independence. There is a strong impression, which still requires concrete proof, that the US easily uses the adjectives associated with Macedonia in relation to our country and people in order to lie about their “friendship” and “good intentions” while, in essence, the 1944 policy remains in effect. One of their ambassadors, Paul Wohlers (2011-2015), publicly advocated the formation of a political nation in the country, which means the erasure of the Macedonians. In fact, direct proof of this is the fact that, from 1991 until today, it is they who are most deeply focused and persistent in their efforts to close the “Macedonian question”, by erasing the Macedonian people. If this is so,

and it is indisputable, then all that is needed is to gather as many facts and arguments as possible to fully expose and see the true American policies and plans towards Macedonia. We have already seen many times that they are extremely disastrous for us.

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Objectively speaking, in the years after World War II, there were no conditions for the unification of Macedonia. The best evidence is the above-quoted State Department telegram. It is also certain that the USSR would in no way have confronted western countries over Macedonia because the Cold War had already begun. Our historical aspirations were indisputable, as were the commitments of the great patriots of the time (Chento...), but the real political situation was something completely different. The best evidence of this is the failure of the Greek Civil War. In any case, a huge achievement for the centuries-old Macedonian cause was the formation of its own state in 1944. If that had been missed, if Macedonia had remained a Serbian province, judging by numerous indicators, the most realistic assumption is that, gradually, in the years that followed, the Macedonian people would have been assimilated and finally exterminated from the world stage. That is why August 2, 1944 is the brightest day in recent Macedonian history. It is a key turning point because the Macedonian state, with an official Macedonian language, schools, universities and appropriate state institutions, opened up all prospects for the overall development of the suffering people. From that point of view, on the whole, the years spent in the Yugoslav federation are of historical importance for the Macedonian people.

The collapse of the federation was supposed to open up new national perspectives for us, but what followed showed that even today an independent Macedonian state is not acceptable to the so called “democratic” West. Above all, to the USA. In principle, the reasons for this are apparent but no one has yet tried to fully clarify them. It is undeniable that we are talking about the regional interests of the only

superpower, the USA, which are obviously acceptable to the main European countries (Germany, France, Great Britain...). After all, they do not have much choice because of Washington's great dominance. It can be concluded that a certain role in this, which was not that great, was played by the historical aspirations of Macedonia's neighbours towards Macedonia. Bulgaria and Greece are the main ones here, but the Albanian appetites, which are especially important for the United States, should not be underestimated. Namely, the Albanians are now the USA's main regional ally and strategic partner. This was emphatically expressed in 2001, with the aggression from Kosovo. It is well known that the Bulgarians and Greeks believe that the Macedonian people do not exist and that everything related to them is a political fabrication. It is not at all unimportant that the same thing was promoted in the aforementioned American telegram from 1944. The historical syndromes of our neighbours, which are the result of severe national-chauvinism, were a solid starting point for American intentions in the region. Conversely, the long American non-recognition of Macedonia was an excellent signal for them that they should continue and strengthen their aspirations towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. The Bulgarian position was always seriously worse and more dangerous for us than the Greek one, which is now being shown in action. The Greeks are bothered by the name because of the use of the brand Macedonia, which associates with ancient history, which they consider their own, which has nothing to do with the truth. However, the Greeks do not deny that we are a separate ethnos/people, but they do not want us to call ourselves Macedonians. For Sofia, however, we are just unaware "Bulgarians". The third neighbour, Albania, officially considers part of Macedonia to be Albanian territory, which is open irredentism. They constantly repeat this at the highest political level, which must be worrying. It is symptomatic that no one is slapping them on the fingers, which, albeit implicitly, means consent. After all, in 2001, the aggression from Kosovo began with the aim of liberating the alleged Albanian territories. The terrorists were called the NLA - the National Liberation Army. It was a gross fraud and a vile political

deception when, later, the US declared them “human rights fighters”. A greater outrage than that, as well as a more hostile act towards Macedonia, cannot be imagined. Imagine – the “People’s Liberation Army” fought for human rights! What kind, we all know now. The fourth neighbour, Serbia, has aspirations towards the church which, in the Orthodox setting, is always within the framework of the state. When the church is not recognized, even indirectly, it means that the Macedonian state is not recognized either. That leaves room for different policies.

All this shows that, if Macedonia disintegrates, all the neighbouring vultures are ready to take their share of the spoils. The absurdity is that the open aspirations of the neighbours towards Macedonia are the best guarantee that there will be no war! With so many interested parties, it can easily grow not only into a Balkan war but also into a world war, which would not be the first in the region. That is why no one will allow such a risk. This is also a good indicator of the options of the United States for our future. Washington will not allow a new war because it will open the way for Russia to return to the region, and they want that the least. However, there will be no peace either because the United States is destroying the Macedonian state and people with both the Albanian factor in the country and the capitulation and treacherous agreements with Macedonia’s neighbours. All this is under direct USA control. Therefore, it is not at all a coincidence that the United States does not condemn the aspirations of Macedonia’s neighbours towards Macedonia. Especially now, with the Bulgarian fantasy. They are wisely hiding behind the formal support for the start of membership negotiations, which at least implicitly means that we should accept Bulgarian blackmail.

In a situation where all neighbours have aspirations towards Macedonia, and unresolved scores with it, the conclusion logically imposes itself that the country is a potential risk, that it was and remains a Balkan powder keg. If so, and so it is, it is logical if not normal that the international factor, which has always dominated the region, is now

seeking long-term solutions in which there is no place for the Macedonians, and the country is structured according to their needs and the needs of Macedonia's neighbours. The process is in its final phase. And without mentioning how much there is and how much we are at odds with each other, so that we cannot agree on anything, it becomes clear that no serious person would play our card. This is just one explanation that requires detailed research and assessments of the motives of the Western powers for the disastrous policies they have been implementing towards Macedonia for 30 years, blocking us at every step, in open attempts to destroy us. The fact that the Albanians (not Albania) have become a strategic partner of the US in the region, and they also have a role in Macedonia, probably has its place. One of the elements of foreign (American) analyses is certainly the danger of another great power (Russia...) penetrating the region through Macedonia. That is why they want to part ways with its Macedonian character in time according to the motto - it is better to prevent than to cure. With such a policy, they obviously underestimate the risks that will inevitably follow because the injustices and humiliations to which the Macedonian people are exposed are not easily forgotten. It leaves deep dissatisfaction and wounds that can change many things and one day bring the rebel committees back to start a long-term struggle for survival. It does not have to be with weapons. Wrong policies always come back like a boomerang.

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The long-term Greek blockade of Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations, behind which the same factors were hidden as now, in the case of Bulgaria, caused enormous damage to the country, which was ultimately forced to capitulate. It was prepared for a long time and systematically, and on the side of Athens were literally all international actors, with minimal exceptions. And those few, who had some understanding of our universal aspirations, did not interfere in the criminal activities of the main actors, although all the arguments, including even the political ones, were on our side. However, it had

long been clear that, in the end, Bulgaria would take over the baton. It was extremely wrong for the Macedonian political elite to ignore this, although it had to be aware that it would come to this one day. The latest Bulgarian blockades of the negotiations for membership in the Union are a completely logical consequence of Sofia's historical syndromes and their bullying possessiveness towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. These are their last chances to achieve at least something of their sick, unreasonable and unachievable ambitions to appropriate us. Now, Bulgarian arrogance (in the language of our visionary, Krste Misirkov), has replaced Greek arrogance. Athens got much more than it dreamed of and we capitulated in the most shameful way. The way things have gone, the case could easily be repeated and Sofia could get the impossible. That is why there is a blockade, especially since the background is the same as in the previous case: everything is being done again under the direct and fierce dictate of the US and its allies. The role of our politicians, who have not shown an ounce of reason, let alone patriotism, is identical. No one could have baptized us without our consent, something that we humbly and for freely accepted. And now, no one can declare us as Bulgarians if we do not again "agree" ourselves.

When one looks at the whole picture or the mosaic of events related to Macedonia, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, it becomes clear that the main goal of the USA is the erasure of Macedonianism. It is in this context that one must also see the current Bulgarian policy which states that there is no Macedonian people, language... It is a historical fabrication of Sofia, which is now a strong American tool that should not be allowed to be used to its full potential, because it fits perfectly into their scenario for the Macedonians. Therefore, there should be no doubt that the USA is completely behind the current Bulgarian aggression against Macedonia. Of course, Bulgaria is also solving its maximized historical syndromes at the same time, but that would not have been possible if in this way the American plans for the final closure of the "Macedonian question" were not being fulfilled.

Following the logic of the events of 1991, everything that Sofia is shamelessly demanding from us today is exactly what Washington expects. The USA has dedicated a lot of effort to it all along. If we analyze the overall American policy towards Macedonia, even superficially, since the beginning of Macedonia's independence, what is happening to us now with Bulgaria, just like before with Greece, fits perfectly into American regional interests, defined most likely back in the late 1980s, when the collapse of Yugoslavia was certain. The USA has been working on it all the time. That is the key. All other explanations or interpretations do not hold water because they do not have serious arguments and only serve to deceive us.

The best proof that the US is behind the war that Bulgaria has declared on us are their long-term joint preparations that led to this offensive. While we were sleeping, they were gradually preparing the ground so that Sofia could now make a U-turn and impose a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum on us. After all, history repeats itself for us: at the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), the US also made a U-turn and imposed a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum on us. Sofia received direct support from Washington regarding Macedonia by signing the 1999 declaration. With it, Washington forced us to give up the language and the Macedonians in Bulgaria, which was the first stage in Sofia's erasure of Macedonianism. With the declaration, in parallel, they also opened the way for Sofia to join NATO and the EU. That would have been impossible due to the open problems that Bulgaria had with Macedonia. It was no secret that the declaration, whose text was obviously American, and for us fatal, was imposed on us with the personal involvement of Strobe Talbott, then Deputy Secretary of State of the United States. He publicly thanked the Bulgarians for the help provided to him by their ambassadors in Skopje and Sofia. It was signed by Prime Ministers Ljupco Georgievski and Ivan Kostov. It is difficult to assume that Georgievski did not know and did not understand what he was signing. The fierce American pressure was undeniable, but it remains unclear whether our prime minister had

other, personal reasons, when it is known that he later obtained Bulgarian citizenship and Bulgarianized his name to Ljubcho. In any case, the declaration is one of the key steps in the disintegration of the Macedonians and the signatory bears great responsibility. Not only historical.

However, the declaration was only the first step in the destruction of Macedonia's position. It was not a sufficiently important and significant document for Bulgarian needs and ambitions because it was not ratified in the parliaments. Therefore, the 2017 friendship agreement followed, which definitively gave Bulgaria the right to do whatever it wanted with Macedonia, either through a common history or through a joint commission that would have to write and determine our history. The text of the agreement is identical to the declaration but with additional disadvantages for Macedonia. There should be no doubt at all that Washington certainly pressed hard for the agreement to be signed. However, that does not amnesty the perpetrators.

We received clear evidence of the role of the United States from the American embassy in Skopje. The text of the agreement, which was signed on August 1, 2017, was finalized and published a few days before that - on July 27. That same evening, the American and Bulgarian embassies in Skopje issued a joint statement, welcoming and praising the agreement! The joy of the Bulgarian Embassy that they broke our necks is logical and understandable. But what is the American Embassy looking for here and why is it interfering? The answer is simple – the victory over Macedonia is shared, just like the project that needs to be implemented! There is no other logical explanation than the efforts for Macedonia to capitulate were coordinated between them. Had there not been such cooperation, the US Embassy could only have reacted separately.

These are facts that no one can deny. They are indisputable. For now, it is not entirely clear what Bulgaria expects for its dishonest role, because what it publicly demands, that our fathers and grandfathers were

Bulgarians - is unattainable. The key question also remains open – what is the ultimate goal of this American policy? It is difficult to predict but it is certain that the American planners, who are soullessly shaping our fate, are fully aware that the erasure of Macedonianism, in itself, is not enough but must be developed into some kind of perspective for the Macedonian people. Once it is destroyed from an international perspective, some way will have to be found to fit it into a solution that will not lead to a new war, since its final disappearance will take a long time. There are indications that, for this purpose, in an extremely vulgar way, Sofia now has to start playing its part in the process of Burglarizing the Macedonians, but with our consent. The current refusals to discuss identity and language, by President Pendarovski (January 2021), mean nothing. First, he has no authority to decide on this and is only at the service of the Prime Minister, although he shows a certain independence. Second, as always, the USA will not easily give up its intentions and plans, and the pressure will be unbearable. Third, as has been the rule so far (the Interim Agreement, the 1999 declaration, OFA, Przhino, Nivitsi...) they will plant some solution on us that our amateurs will present as a victory, but in fact it will be just a new capitulation and betrayal of the people and the state. More precisely, this will be a new serious step towards the complete erasure of the Macedonian people. Obviously, the goal is to reduce us to one people living in two states. Brussels will certainly be involved in these historical malfeasances, whose double standards are permanent and everyday and with which, as many times before, it will deceive us with some kind of European perspective that is now further away than ever. That was also the case when they planted OFA, Przhino, Nivitsi... Our defeats were always in the name of rapid accession to the EU. Unlike Pendarovski, in a TV interview, Zoran Zaev left a strong impression that for him Bulgaria is – *“a superior partner and we need to adapt”*. There can be no more direct proof that he was ready for a new capitulation. However, in the meantime, Zaev has taken a step back. He obviously understood what Sofia’s goal was. Thus, on a video Economic Forum in Tirana (“Evening” from 13/3/2021), he said –

“Over the past year and a half... we have faced new unprincipled issues and bureaucratic positions that cannot and must not be a stumbling block to the prosperity of (N) Macedonia”... “But, to be crystal clear and to repeat the Government’s position once again. We will never allow ourselves to discuss what cannot be discussed. And that is who we are, what our identity attributes are and what is the genesis of our statehood and language.” Everything has been said but not yet decided. As you will later see in this book, both language and identity are on the negotiating table with Bulgaria. You will also see that disastrous promises have been made. The blunder remains because even before the agreement with Greece, Zaev claimed that there would be no and could not be a re-naming and change of the Constitution, and then all of that was done. It is difficult to trust such a politician. Let us hope that the case will not be repeated, although the blunder will haunt us for a long time.

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In the following pages, you will read selected columns, published in the media, which mainly deal with problems related to Bulgaria. In almost all columns, immediately below the title, the date when they were published is also included. The aim is to place their content in the appropriate time context of when they were written. The columns repeat certain facts, which is inevitable in such occasions. The events that involved us in recent years are noted, through which, gradually, step by step, Macedonianism or, more precisely, the Macedonian people are being destroyed. The bearer is the foreign factor, which uses top techniques of its secret services, combined with appropriate sophisticated policies, while our politicians behave like bulls in a china shop.

A SHORT REVIEW OF THE BOOK “THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION FROM 1944 TO THE PRESENT” BY THE BULGARIAN HISTORIAN CHAVDAR MARINOV

The book was published in 2010 in France, where the author received his doctorate. It was translated and published in Macedonia by the Open Society Foundation – Macedonia in 2013. It is a serious attempt to shed reasoned light on the policies and events that were significant for the relations between Yugoslavia (Macedonia) and Bulgaria, in the period after 1944. Overall, the book can be assessed as quite measured because the author tries to offer facts. That is also the greatest value of the book, which deserves attention because it contains very important details from the Bulgarian archives, previously unpublished. We begin with a brief overview of it to make it easier to understand today’s Bulgarian nonsense.

The author records the views of both sides on various historical figures and events, trying not to take sides, although, on the whole, he thinks like a Bulgarian and was certainly influenced by their policies. He writes that he consulted numerous Bulgarians and foreigners, but there is not a single Macedonian among them, which is incomprehensible to a researcher. However, in the text he quotes several Macedonian historians, which means that he read their works. A key shortcoming is that Chavdar Marinov, while providing valuable facts and examples, does not at any point try to explain the conditions in which the Macedonians lived, primarily in Bulgaria, but also in the Ottoman Empire, that is, in foreign countries. He does not mention the Bulgarian political and religious domination (the Exarchate) nor the objective impossibilities under the given conditions for the Macedonians to declare themselves nationally as anything other than “Bulgarians”. He did not try or, as a Bulgarian, could not or did not want to see the fact that, in all those complete or partial enslavements, the Macedonian people were driven into a terrible fear in their bones in order to forget their national identity and assimilate. It has been historically proven that

once fear is driven into their bones, everything else is easily implemented. Then you can manipulate people, as you want and as much as you want.

I personally saw that this was so during my service in Albania. The dictator, Enver Hoxha, had recognized the Macedonians as a minority, which is an extremely important fact for us. This was limited territorially, to only nine villages in Mala Prespa, although their names were Albanianized. The regime, however, had driven strong fear into their bones that they were not allowed to use that right and publicly declare themselves as Macedonians. The same practice was even intensified after the democratic changes in the country and lasted for a long time, although in a milder form. In the meantime, the intensified assimilation took its toll and a good part of the new generations - became Albanians. It is undeniable that the fear engraved in the bones lasts forever. Whatever happens, getting rid of it is almost impossible. Macedonia is also to blame for such a development of events, at least for the period after the 1990s when nothing was done for the Macedonians in Albania. We allowed them to move to Macedonia, which was a catastrophic mistake.

Things in Bulgaria, however, become clearer if you know how many Macedonians were persecuted, mistreated, tortured, imprisoned and killed after 1944, just because of their nationality. Then it becomes clear why the people were always afraid and did not dare to speak about their identity, which was not only not officially accepted, except for a short period during the time of Georgi Dimitrov, but was also forbidden and expressing it was punished. Why doesn't Marinov write anything about this kind of situation in Pirin Macedonia?

However, although with a completely different intention and explanation, Marinov notes and confirms the fear in the bones. On p. 41, he quotes a local party secretary from the Pirin region, who said – *“The population does not distinguish between Macedonians and Bulgarians. I asked several people if they knew what they were, and*

they answered: 'Bulgarian Macedonians'...". The author does not comment on this, and probably wants to show that it is one and the same, which means that they are all Bulgarians. But the example shows exactly the opposite: this is classic proof that these are pure-blooded Macedonians who are afraid to openly say what they are and therefore hide themselves. If they were not Macedonians, they would have directly answered that they are Bulgarians! Like all true Bulgarians. Their answer absolutely proves that they are – Macedonians, with fear in their bones. Or, at the very least, that they are not – Bulgarians!

On this topic, the information published in the newspaper “Narodna Volja” by Georgi Hristov, published in Blagoevgrad, is interesting, that Boris Sarafov, in 1902, talked to a Russian journalist and publicist, who asked him: “*Well, what are you - Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian? Some claim that you are Bulgarian, others that you are Greek and still others that you are Serbian?*” Sarafov wisely replied: “*The answer is in your question - it clearly confirms that we are something fourth - Macedonians.*” B. Sarafov’s logic is extraordinary – the fact that everyone appropriates the Macedonians and presents them as their own shows that everyone is lying and that none of it can be true. If they were really Bulgarians, they could not be Serbians or Greeks at the same time, if, on the other hand, they were Serbians, they could not... and so on. The only logical conclusion is that they are something fourth, more precisely Macedonians, who were not officially recognized as a separate people, because they did not have their own state, and therefore everyone appropriated them.

It is also striking how the Macedonians in Albania concealed themselves. When asked – what are you? they answered with – one of our people! It could not be wiser. No one, can identify them. One of our people can mean Albanian and Turk and whatever else you want it to mean and by looking at their face they will tell you they are – Macedonian. Now you understood one another.

But let's get back to Marinov, who on p. 18) wrote – *“The year 1878 can legitimately be considered the beginning of the ‘Macedonian Question’. ... Since then, Sofia’s foreign policy has been dominated by an irredentist project whose first goal is the annexation of Macedonia and, thus, the creation of ‘Greater Bulgaria’, outlined in San Stefano.”* He estimated that – *“In general, few sources confirm the Macedonian ethnic or national self-identification among local Slavs before the 20th century. That is, on most counts, Sofia historians seem faithful to the names inherited from the past: historical figures who expressed a distinct Slavic Macedonian identity were less common than residents of Macedonia who declared Bulgarian affiliation.”* Thank you for what you said, Marinov! The frightened ones may have been more numerous but it means that a certain number, nevertheless, declared themselves as – Macedonians, not as Bulgarians. That is the essence. Let Sofia accept that indisputable fact – that the Macedonians have not been around just since 1944, that they existed before, and there were no problems between the two countries.

The key thing is that there were Macedonians, no matter how many they were. After all, it was clear to everyone, due to Sofia’s irredentism, which Marinov also emphasizes, it was not very wise to declare yourself Macedonian after 1878. The author repeats this on page 21 where he said – *“As we see, the Macedonian identity also existed, although differently articulated.”* He also mentions that – *“In certain contexts, the Slavs of Macedonia equally developed an exclusive Macedonian nationality. For example, such is the case with the self-taught historian and lexicologist Gjorgjija Pulevski who, in 1875, printed a Dictionary of Three Languages: Slavo-Macedonian, Turkish and Albanian.”* Marinov also mentioned Krste Misirkov – *“In 1903, shortly after the disaster of the Ilinden Uprising, he published a pamphlet that is today seen as a ‘manifesto’ of Macedonian nationalism: On Macedonian Matters.”* He also pointed out that – *“Later, in St. Petersburg, his colleague Dimitrija Chupovski began publishing the newspaper ‘Macedonian Voice’ which spread the same*

ideas: the Macedonian Slavs are not Bulgarians, Serbs or Greeks, but they represent a separate nation.”

Quite correctly, on p. 30, Marinov wrote – *“Since the 1920s, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) has promoted the thesis of the special national character of the Slavic Macedonians. It was formulated by Georgi Dimitrov, the famous leader of the BCP and the Comintern. Since the 1930s, Bulgarian communists, natives of Macedonia, have been involved in the creation of Macedonian historiography and even Macedonian literature: this is especially the case with the Pirin poet Nikola Vapcharov. Later, these facts will be particularly unpleasant for Sofia, so the BCP will do everything to hide them.”*

Regarding the creation of a federation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on p. 35, Marinov wrote – *“In June 1946, the situation evolved: Stalin proposed to the leadership of the BCP the introduction of ‘cultural autonomy’ in Pirin, as a first step towards the unification of Macedonia. This directive was soon approved by the Central Committee of the BCP, which decided to launch a campaign for the promotion of the Macedonian language and culture in the Pirin region, declaring that its unification with federal Macedonia would take place on the basis of a unification agreement between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.”* Marinov also mentioned that – *“On October 11, 1945, Pirin celebrated the national holiday of the Macedonian state.”* That means a year before Stalin’s directive, which could only have been an expression of the Macedonian feelings of the population, without any Bulgarian campaign.

Let us recall that, after the Inform Bureau resolution, adopted in Bucharest, at the end of June 1948, as a result of the clash between Tito and Stalin, which condemned the internal and foreign policy of Yugoslavia, the plans for unification were rejected without exception. As a result, Yugoslavia moved away from the dogmatic Soviet communist concept and began to implement a policy of self-government and non-alignment that allowed the people a decent life,

unlike other EEZs. There was nothing to buy in the shops, coupons were used for a long time, it was forbidden to travel to Western countries... Misery, poverty and limited freedom, while Yugoslavia was something unattainable for them.

However, the price of that split, and the decent life that we all lived in Yugoslavia afterwards, was paid by Macedonia and the Macedonians. It is difficult to imagine how things would have turned out if the Informbiro had not happened, but, in any case, the price of the “liberation” of Yugoslavia from Soviet domination meant the end of the freedom of the Macedonians in the Pirin region and the failure of the civil war in Greece, where the Macedonians were promised that they would enjoy universal national and human rights. Marinov also wrote about the census in Bulgaria, when in 1946, 169,544 people declared themselves Macedonians (p. 40). In the area of Gorna Dzhumaja, today’s Blagoevgrad (Pirin Macedonia), they represented 63.6 percent of the total population, which means a large majority.

Now, Sofia is trying to prove that declaring themselves Macedonians was achieved by pressure on people to declare themselves so, which is frivolous and utterly meaningless. Marinov also claims that the above percentages were achieved by party and political pressure on the people to declare themselves so. Such party propaganda certainly existed, but that in no way can be the reason why the people declared themselves Macedonians en masse. After all, if the Bulgarians were forced to register as Macedonians, they would have certainly rebelled and protested. Marinov has also mentioned that the only resistance against the new regime in Pirin was organized by the “Mihajlovists”, sympathizers of Vancho Mihajlov, who claimed that there were no Macedonians. It is more likely that among the registered Macedonians there was not a single Bulgarian. On the contrary, there should be no doubt that many Macedonians, however, did not dare to express their feelings because of their long, bad experiences which obliged them to be extremely careful. Fear...

Even more interesting is the second census, held in 1956, seven years after Georgi Dimitrov died (1949) and eight years after the Inform Bureau resolution. That was a period when Bulgaria gradually changed its policy towards the Macedonians and closed everything that was in the Macedonian language - all theaters, schools... According to the census, there were even more Macedonians in 1956 - a total of 187,789, of whom 178,862 resided in Pirin Region. If there was any party agitation in the previous census, there certainly wasn't in this one. And, if there was, it could only have been in the opposite direction - pressure on Macedonians not to declare themselves as Macedonians. In 1956, the dictator Todor Zhivkov came to the head of the BKP and would rule until 1989.

CURRENT BULGARIAN POLICY IS A REAFFIRMATION OF ZHIVKOVISM

(January, 2021)

Marinov's book clearly shows that the roots of the current policy of Bulgarizing the Macedonians dates back to the time of Todor Zhivkov. The leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party (p. 66) took the position that – *“To recognize a separate Macedonian language was tantamount to giving up a part of ‘Bulgarian history’. Macedonians should take on the role of a nation devoid of historical traditions. They were a recent and accidental product.”* Zhivkov stated - *“There is no Macedonian nationality either in the Pirin region, or in Aegean Thrace, or within our diaspora in Canada or the USA. Only in Vardar Macedonia is a Macedonian nation formed in an objective historical way.”* During Zhivkov's visit to Belgrade in December 1966, Krste Tsrvenkovski raised the “Macedonian question” and was fiercely attacked by Zhivkov, who asked him – *“What happened to the hundreds of thousands of attested Bulgarians, before the Second World War, (who are) in all the statistics – Serbian, Yugoslav, Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian? What happened to all those Bulgarians, did they disappear to the point that now there is not a single one? ... You want us in Bulgaria to repeat all your fabrications and forgeries? ... You, the Macedonian leaders, must understand very well that we, the Bulgarians, will not renounce our history.”* Before members of the BCP Central Committee Zhivkov said – *“The re-Bulgarization of the Vardar Macedonians was inevitable”*. Marinov puts this in the context of the census conducted in 1965, when the total number of Macedonians, from 187,789, was reduced to 9,632, of which 1,437 in the Pirin region, or 0.5 percent of the total population.

In his book, Marinov argued that Sofia is now fulfilling the tasks set by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in April 1967 (p. 78). According to which:

1. There is no historical and scientific data on the existence of a Macedonian nation, state or language before 1945;
2. The existence of a Macedonian Socialist Republic within Yugoslavia is recognized, where, starting from 1945, Macedonian national consciousness began to form;
3. The population of the Blagoevgrad district is an inseparable part of the Bulgarian nation;
4. The right to free national self-determination of all those living in Macedonia and consider themselves Bulgarians will be pursued.

Usually, the decisions of the Politburo were followed by a directive for their implementation, and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN) was supposed to – *“coordinate the activities of all Bulgarian historians, literary and philological scholars, with the aim of developing a common position regarding the history, culture and language of Macedonia.”* And thus, immediately began the correction of school textbooks and a wide international propaganda campaign in Russian, French, English and Spanish. Foreign scholars were “encouraged” to publish works on the “Macedonian question in accordance with historical truths”. A huge scientific and publishing activity was initiated dedicated to the past, culture and language of the “Macedonian Bulgarians”. The archives, wrote Marinov, had to distinguish which documents should be published and which should be removed and not be available, especially for Yugoslav historians. For the author (p. 90), it is not at all disputed that there was a – *“complete crystallization of purely nationalist motives that determined the policy of the Bulgarian communist regime in this period”*. The Bulgarian leadership believed that - *“in this way, the identity tendencies in Yugoslav Macedonia could be turned to their advantage”*.

Zhivkov, however, formulated the Bulgarian position regarding Macedonia, which is now experiencing a complete revival, as early as the beginning of 1963 (pp. 64-66) - *“The BCP recognizes the ‘creation’ of a ‘Macedonian national consciousness’ as an ‘objective reality’, but limited to Yugoslav Macedonia. It appeared after the Second World War and was created on an ‘anti-Bulgarian basis’“*. At the BCP Central Committee Plenum, held on March 11 and 12, 1963, things went a step further. First, Grigor Prlicev was declared a Bulgarian “revivalist”, to which the Yugoslav ambassador reacted. Then, at the plenum, Zhivkov “established” that “Samoil’s state was Bulgarian”, that “Macedonia is the cradle of the Bulgarian Renaissance and the creation of the Bulgarian nation”, he “affirmed the Bulgarian identity of the VMRO activists, especially the famous Gotse Delchev”... Zhivkov said - *“it would not be Marxist for the Bulgarians to give up their history, from figures-symbols such as Cyril and Methodius, the monk Paisius of Hilendar and the brothers Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov.”* Zhivkov was quoted saying - *“the Macedonian language is only ‘a speech that belongs to our Western speeches, a dialect’. This is the language that was used by Cyril and Methodius and by the medieval Ohrid writers.”* According to Zhivkov - *“the population of Pirin is part of the Bulgarian nation”,* and - *“Macedonian emigration to Bulgaria is not part of the ‘Macedonian nationality’”*. Marinov correctly said that – *“the party leadership did not hesitate to delve deeply into historiographical debates”*.

This was the definitive break with Georgi Dimitrov’s policy. Zhivkov, just like his successors now, set a condition – *“Bulgaria accepts the existence of a Macedonian Republic in Yugoslavia while its leaders renounce interference in the ‘internal affairs’ of Bulgaria”*. According to Zhivkov – *“the Bulgarian nation was dismembered by the Berlin Congress in 1878: 30 – 40 percent of the territory and the Bulgarian people were cut off”* and *“World War II did not resolve this issue”*. The solution for Zhivkov was – San Stefano Bulgaria.

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Just like the Greeks later with the name, Marinov wrote that the BKP leadership, read – T. Zhivkov had a position that language is the key to denying the Macedonians since the beginning of the 1960s. Since then, the complete non-recognition of the Macedonian language and its treatment as a dialect of Bulgarian, which is now only becoming more and more vampiric, began. In the meantime (1999 and 2017), we made catastrophic mistakes by signing that our language is according to the Constitution, which means that it is not autochthonous. Marinov also pointed out that since 1972, Sofia has been demanding a joint commemoration of historical figures and events. This is yet another proof that the communist blunders of Zhivkov are still relevant today, and even more emphasized than ever. According to the logic of things, B. Borisov personally should be the link between current Bulgarian policies and communism. As a “gorilla” of Zhivkov, in one way or another, Borisov must have been impressed and imbued with his views and now he has a rare opportunity to implement them. Who says that EU membership brings civilizational and democratic benefits? Bulgaria has demonstrated the opposite.

There is another similarity with Zhivkov’s time. According to Marinov, the then Bulgarians announced that in the period 1968-1969 more than 1,500 articles of an anti-Bulgarian character were published in the Macedonian press. And today they complain about the same thing, only adding a zero to the number. Borisov and his “geniuses” do not show any originality in their aggression towards Macedonia. Thus, in the contemporary Bulgarian papacy, which has been going on for more than a century, the “newest”, strangest and most incredible thing is that Sofia is constantly talking about some kind of hatred of ours towards them, and about anti-Bulgarian politics, and even then, and even less now, they do not count their anti-Macedonian “outpourings of love”, with which they deny that we exist as a people, that we do not have our own language... For them, this is probably an expression of “brotherhood”, through “proven historical facts”. They do not notice their uncontrolled wretchedness with which they want to appropriate us

against our will. Even if we were dogs, we would hate them. Are they so limited that they cannot understand this? Is it possible to spit on someone, step on them and, on top of that, wonder why they rebel? Have our Bulgarian “friends” gone so far? After what they are doing to us now, can’t they understand that every Macedonian, but we are that, forgive us, their stomachs churn when their country is mentioned? It is not hatred but simply disgust that will last a long time. The Bulgarian behaviour is just one more proof that nationalism, especially wrapped in chauvinism like theirs, is a serious and incurable disease from which there is no escape. Such incomprehensible situations, like their policy towards Macedonia, also displace the diplomatic vocabulary: expressions must be used that do not serve honour.

Elaborating on the tactics of Zhivkovism towards Macedonia, Marinov makes an excellent point (p. 83) – *“Obviously, concern for ‘good neighbourliness’ came last. Purely nationalistic motives triumphed, setting the machinery of the state-party into motion.”* Today there is no “state-party” but that does not prevent the “democrats” in Sofia from showing that they tirelessly continue the communist ideology, in its worst form. This must be made clear to our “friends” there, especially since we now even have a friendship treaty that they are recklessly abusing.

According to Marinov, there were also hesitations in the Bulgarian positions. He claims that, towards the end of November 1971, in Budapest, Zhivkov told Kiro Gligorov – *“in Pirin, live not only Bulgarians but also Macedonians”*. There is no information whether the Macedonian side took advantage of this statement? In the same year, there was a willingness in Sofia to sign bilateral agreements with Yugoslavia in the Macedonian language. Such is the example of the Agreement on Cross-Border Movement, signed in November. At least three agreements were signed in Macedonian and Bulgarian, and there are indications that there were five and that one of them is still valid. It could easily be the Agreement on Cross-Border Movement. Our

unforgivable mistake is that we did not insist on continuing such a practice.

Interesting is Marinov's conclusion that – *“despite numerous Bulgarian complaints, the existence of the Macedonian people and language, in general, was not disputed by Soviet academics. The same was the case with other socialist countries, where the Bulgarian leadership actively propagated its position on the Macedonian dispute.”* This is a good indicator to seek support from these countries now. If they did not give in to Bulgarian aggression then, today it is even less possible. After all, the indignation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, about Saints Cyril and Methodius and our framework for negotiations with the EU, directly shows this. That Moscow's position and those of other Slavic countries was not accidental, is also evident from the following. In May 1967 (pp. 73 - 74), Krste Crvenkovski, as president of the Central Committee of the SKM, was in Sofia. The conversation with Zhivkov was fierce this time too. It is crucial that Zhivkov reaffirmed the impossibility of accepting a separate Macedonian national identity with a sincere admission: *“what should I say to the Central Committee of our party where more than 50 percent of the members are Macedonians! What should I say to the Writers' Union where 100 out of 300 are Macedonians!”* We can freely conclude that this is, in fact, the main Bulgarian problem: Macedonians have always made up the majority of their political, military and intellectual elite.

It is undeniable that when you get into the mud, there is no going back. You just fail. The centuries-old Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia is excellent proof of this. For example, on the one hand, they claim that they liberated us in 1941 when they occupied the country, previously conquered and occupied by the German fascists. Now they are not convincing us that they liberated Macedonia at the end of World War II, and they “forget” that the Bulgarian fascist government capitulated on September 9, 1944, after Bulgaria was liberated by the Red Army. Tito, in turn, in an agreement with Georgi Dimitrov, in order for Bulgaria to rehabilitate itself from the shame of participating on the fascist side,

allowed their newly created units to participate in the final operations for the liberation of Macedonia. The reason and occasion was G. Dimitrov's position that the Pirin region should be united with Macedonia, within the framework of Yugoslavia. On that basis, they were also forgiven the war reparations of 25 million dollars, which they had to pay to Yugoslavia (Macedonia). The role of the new Bulgarian units in Macedonia was absolutely negligible. But, according to their logic, the second "liberation", which is a grave lie, could only have been by their fascism! With that, the first one is automatically erased.

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Marinov's book is an important document for shedding light on Macedonian-Bulgarian relations, especially in the current conditions of the re-vampirization of Zhivkovism. It gains significance because nowhere in it is it mentioned that after World War II in Macedonia 20 thousand Bulgarians were killed, and that more than 100 thousand were tortured and imprisoned, as Sofia is now inventing. They claim this in their "explanatory memorandum", which they widely distributed in the EU, which will be discussed below. Marinov has researched the Bulgarian archives in detail and, apparently, there are no documents, evidence or witnesses for such a thing, which means that these are new phantasmagoria of today's sleepwalkers in Sofia. How else can they convince the people that we are savages who must be punished with blockades and blackmail for the EU? This shows that Sofia is ready for anything to realize its historical syndromes. They are fabricating grave fabrications and, at the same time, saying that we were unconscious "Bulgarians"! Don't they understand that any normal person would give up on such brothers, murderers?

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In the "explanatory memorandum", which Sofia sent to Brussels and all members of the Union in September 2020, with - *"a request to conduct negotiations for (our) membership on that basis"*, among other forgeries and nonsense, it was written – *"The archives testify to the*

execution of more than 20,000 people between 1944 and 1946, who identified themselves as Bulgarians and represented the political and intellectual elite of SR Macedonia. More than 100,000 Bulgarians were killed, imprisoned, exiled or sent to concentration camps!?" That is an unprecedented, unreasonable and shameful Bulgarian lie and criminal fabrication. Such data was published by a certain Dimitar Gotsev, leader of VMRO-BND before Karakachanov, in a book published in 1998, without any evidence, without documents... and with the bluff that – such data was in the archives! Such shamelessness was not used even by the greatest deceivers in history. After all, during that period (1944/46), thanks to Georgi Dimitrov, relations between Macedonia (Yugoslavia) and Bulgaria were very good. The most shameless thing in this Bulgarian arrogance is that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is also manipulating these numbers pulled out of its sleeve. Is it possible that the people who sit in that pantheon of knowledge do not have an ounce of dignity and honesty, at least human, if not scientific? Is it possible that they accept such open disgrace? The fact that Brussels tolerates all this shows that the Union is simply a collection of heavy-handed bureaucrats, driven by personal interests. There is no more appropriate expression for them than – vultures! Instead of slapping the fugitive chauvinists in Sofia on the fingers, they tell us to make an agreement with them! What should we make an agreement about – are we what we are? Their only “justification” is our silence. There is even logic in this: it is truly incomprehensible that someone would portray you as a beast and you would not react. Macedonia must immediately demand evidence from Sofia that we have killed so many “Bulgarians” and, if they do not have it, which is indisputable, they must be internationally disgraced and the possibilities of taking them to some European court or international body (UN, Council of Europe...) must be examined. They must be condemned for spreading chauvinistic propaganda.

It is difficult to imagine anything more monstrous than the lies that Bulgaria is spreading about Macedonia around the world. Even their

former friend, Joseph Goebbels, the czar of fascist propaganda, would envy them. After all, if so many people were killed and tortured, it could not be hidden even in China with more than a billion and a half inhabitants. After the war, Macedonia had about a million inhabitants, which means that two out of every 100 were killed. What did their closest relatives do? Did they all keep quiet? If over 100 thousand were persecuted, that would be a full 10 percent of the population. If that were the case, and it wasn't, that would be a historical precedent. Similar terror and crime have never happened anywhere in history. Both before, and after. Should we apply to the Guinness world book of records?

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CHECKMATE FOR THE BULGARIANS AND GREEKS: THERE CANNOT BE A “MACEDONIAN QUESTION” FOR 150 YEARS WITHOUT THERE BEING MACEDONIANS!

(August 2014)

It is undeniable that the “Macedonian Question” has been current on the international scene for almost 200 years. Even those who superficially follow politics know this very well. This undeniable fact finally checks the historical nonsense of the Bulgarians and Greeks, who claim that there are no Macedonians even today. Namely, without there being Macedonians, it is impossible to imagine that there was a “Macedonian Question” in the world? The various Borisovites, Dimitrovites and Karakachanovites, Samaras and Papoulias are ridiculous when they speak and claim such nonsense. This undeniable fact must disarm everyone, and put both Athens and Sofia before a fait accompli, in any situation, when they try to deny the existence of Macedonians. There cannot be no Macedonians and be a problem and discussed for 150, 160... years. Is it possible that they do not exist and have been current for so long, to be a topic among the great powers and at the most important world events, to be on the table at international congresses and peace and other conferences, at meetings between leading world politicians, and in their statements, in the media, in the League of Nations... If Macedonians were talked about so often and at such levels, they could not possibly have been non-existent. Such a thing is theoretically impossible. They had to exist. Even if they wanted to, the Comintern and Tito could not have “invented” something that had already been internationally discussed, at least a century before them. Or, perhaps, they “invented” us - retroactively?! All together, the Bulgarian and Greek historical syndromes are first and foremost a ridiculous and, at the same time, huge, shameful, unworthy, absurd... fabrication and manipulation.

It is known that Sofia and Athens turn a deaf ear to everything that confirms that Macedonians are centuries-old in these regions. However, the (too) long existence of the “Macedonian question” is absolute and solid evidence that completely nullifies and throws into the water all their invented “theses” and “hypotheses”. Thus, if Bulgaria and Greece really consider themselves serious states and if they even minimally respect their state dignity, they should urgently change their unreasonable and already overturned policy towards Macedonians. Sofia also gets a cue (force) from the Greek utopia that they will succeed in crossing out and erasing us as a people. Perhaps they are deluding themselves that if the Greeks succeed, then our only choice would be to “realize” that we are “little Bulgarians” and thus, for them, this miserable epic, which they sing about in the 21st century, would end victoriously. Hope always dies last, even when it is false and unfounded, as is in this case. Bulgaria and Greece clearly prove this. However, there should be no doubt that both Bulgaria and Greece are fully aware that they are playing the wrong card and that, basically, it is a question of their severe historical syndromes. It is also clear to them that they cannot gain anything because their aspirations, expectations and desires are extremely unrealistic and therefore - impossible. Unfortunately, inertia is stronger than anything and Sofia stubbornly remains on the same line even though they have already experienced terrible defeats in both world wars. They were on the wrong side of history only to conquer Macedonia and appropriate the Macedonians. Bad policy has brought and is still bringing them enormous damage but they have never learned a lesson from it. Sad, in any case. It is obvious that this is a centuries-old and painful longing, for which there is no cure. The same applies to Athens.

Sofia and Athens know all the historical facts about Macedonia and the Macedonians very well, although they persistently trumpet that they do not exist, that someone invented them. They know very well, for example, that William Gladstone (1809 – 1898), the most prominent British politician of the 19th century, who was prime minister for more

than 15 years and another 20 and a half as a minister, was concerned about the fate of the Macedonians. Let us not forget that this was a period when Great Britain was a major world power, whose word, attitude, policy... had weight. In a letter dated January 2, 1897, addressed to F. V. Hirst, Gladstone wrote – “... *Why not Macedonia for the Macedonians, Bulgaria for the Bulgarians and Serbia for the Serbians*”? He mentioned the Macedonians first, which also means something! It should be investigated how he knew that such a people existed, apparently without consulting Athens and Sofia? Was Gladstone something like Baba Vanga and felt that many years after him the Comintern and Tito would “invent” us and he was just anticipating it? Only Bulgarian and Greek “politicians” and “historians” can and should give an answer.

Fortunately, distortions and lies always have short legs. Stupid Bulgarian politics (just like Greek politics) is a great and unprecedented anachronism. They want to convince themselves first and then others, including us, that: here, come on, okay... now you are Macedonians but until the Second World War - you were “Bulgarians”, that our roots are common. What genius! And what happened? Suddenly, after the war, the people changed their national feelings, their language... From “Bulgarians” they became Macedonians. And no one rebelled. That’s what Tito decided, right. Did he have a magic wand? Is that so? To be surprised and not to believe. And our grandfathers? What were they? Did they lie when they told us that they were Macedonians, and nothing else? And before that, didn’t they, for almost 40 years endure Serbian oppression and claim that we were “Serbians”?! And what did they achieve? Nothing! Ignoring a people is useless, moreover, it is not only indecent but also shameful and outrageous. At least in the 21st century. In the 19th century, it may have been a way of conducting high politics in order to grab everything possible but not now.

Let’s conclude. No one in the world should have the slightest dilemma anymore, let alone in this country, that the OFFICIAL AND PERMANENT Bulgarian policy is that - there are no Macedonians,

Macedonian language, history, culture, tradition... For them, all of that is - Bulgarian! If that is so, and it is so, then it must be crystal clear to us that Bulgaria is an organized state where there are no improvisations and no personal opinions, attitudes, positions, but, at least when it comes to Macedonians – everything is unanimous and completely coordinated. It has been like that for at least a century and a half. At all levels. From the top of the state down to the common worker. Everyone is implementing the aforementioned, deeply wrong, anti-historical and anti-civilizational policy towards Macedonia. These facts, which are indisputable, are a sufficient warning to be as careful as possible about everything related to this neighbour. This means that in their every move, act, initiative, event... we must perceive this permanent political doctrine of theirs. It must be clear to us that they constantly, with all their might, and at every opportunity, strive to achieve their goal. Always to our detriment. Often they succeed because of our irresponsibility.

For the Greeks, however, the brand “Macedonia” is controversial, through the derived various adjectives derived from “Macedonia”. Basically, they do not deny that we are a separate nation only on the condition that we do not call ourselves - Macedonians. If we were called Slavs, Brsjats... Uyghurs... Mayans... for them there would be no problem even if the name of the state was the same as now. At least for a nuance, their position is less bad than the Bulgarian one, although, at the end of the day, the result is - the same! Both do not recognize us, constantly block us, place conditions on us, blackmail us... in order to achieve some of their own political goals. And, most importantly: they will not accept for a long time, let alone ever, that we are - Macedonians! And we, we cannot be anything else!

Sofia and Athens are resurrecting the “Macedonian question” because right now they are being given their last chance to win: some at the expense of the Middle Ages and the period before World War II, and others at the expense of the ancient past. The fact is that their historical syndromes can only be used before our entry into NATO and the EU.

As soon as we step into them, even with the reference, or give up such intentions - the story is over. Bulgaria and Greece will be left empty-handed. They will no longer have the chance to place conditions on our Macedonianism. That is precisely why Sofia has now emphatically begun to show its “wormy teeth”! Until now, they have been tactful by letting Greece “defend” their interests. Now, they have opened their cards and have no scruples in their attempts to prove the impossible and achieve the unattainable... The complementary policies and interests of Athens and Sofia, towards Macedonia, are one hundred percent, because the goal is the same - to wipe out the Macedonians! What kind of compromise is possible with them here, judge for yourself.

In all this nonsense, three handicaps are crucial for us:

- a) that we want to join the Euro-Atlantic organizations, and they are inside and are fully using this advantage;
- b) that they enjoy broad support from their own people; and
- c) that a complete state consensus has been built in Athens and Sofia regarding the illegitimate aspirations towards Macedonia.

Unlike them, here we have a complete cacophony even on the most strategic issues. The Macedonian government has one position, the opposition another, the Albanian parties a third... and everyone is pushing their own policy even on the external level. In addition, a whole series of “free” experts and journalists, most of whom are paid from abroad, are working against the fundamental interests of their own people.

Who knows which way – but we are on the move! We must go on the offensive everywhere, and constantly “bombard” the Bulgarians and Greeks with the crowning fact that the 150-year history of the “Macedonian question” explains everything about the centuries-old existence of the Macedonians. We must openly and resolutely make it clear to them that with this fact, their policies of denial become pointless and ridiculous. With this argument, understanding and support

should be insisted on in Washington, Brussels, Berlin, London, Paris... and in Moscow, Beijing... Everywhere.

In international relations, it often happens that states try to take advantage of given situations, not paying much attention to legality, morality, principles... This is actually how Bulgaria and Greece behave towards Macedonia. We most often forget that unwritten rule even when legitimacy is not in dispute! We miss the chances that are offered to us, and that is unforgivable. We pretend to be more Catholic than the Pope, just as we were the most Yugoslavs in the federation. In contrast to the current Bulgarian behaviour towards us, in 1999 we were extremely generous towards them - completely unnecessary, and strategically deeply wrong. Then, under the direct dictate of the USA (Strobe Talbot, Deputy Secretary of State), we signed the extremely harmful Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation, with which we confirmed that there were no open issues between our two countries. In doing so, we opened the way for Bulgaria to join both NATO and the EU. Otherwise, Brussels would have insisted that Bulgaria clear the disputed issues with its neighbours, which are of essential importance to us. Without the declaration, Bulgaria would have needed the green light from Macedonia as well, to enter both organizations, and would have had to emphatically show flexibility in relation to its historical syndromes towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. That would have been an historic opportunity for us to make a point. However, not by chance, and with direct and well-planned American intervention, and to the obvious detriment of Macedonia, Sofia received everything - on a platter. Naïvely and inadequately, without demanding any concessions, we confirmed to them that there is nothing controversial between the two countries. It is difficult to imagine a greater irresponsibility on our part.

WHY WAS BULGARIA THE FIRST COUNTRY TO RECOGNIZE MACEDONIA?

(November, 2020)

In addition to the unreasonable demands made on Macedonia, Sofia constantly brags immodestly about being the first country to recognize its independence. This is an indisputable fact, but, as we pointed out at the beginning of this book, the background to that act is not exactly something to beat your chest about. In December 1991, prematurely and unilaterally, Germany recognized Slovenia and Croatia, thereby undermining the agreement reached in Brussels, that recognition should take place jointly by the EC (EU), on January 15, 1992. A few months before that, the so-called Badinter Commission was formed for this purpose, whose proposal was to be made public on that very day. However, after Berlin learned that the commission was proposing Slovenia and Macedonia and not their ally, Catholic Croatia, it undermined the EC (EU) agreement in an extremely incorrect and rude manner. Then, Brussels had no choice but to follow Berlin's decision and, on the scheduled January 15, 1992, to avoid a split, also recognize Slovenia and Croatia. Anything else would have created a deep crisis in the Community. This was happening shortly after the unification of Germany, which, in this way, demonstrated its new muscles, thus playing Macedonia. This extremely incorrect move by Germany caused inestimable damage to the country, which remained unrecognized. Its future was completely changed because it was prevented from receiving what was due to it according to the Badinter Commission report.

These are undeniable facts, although it must be known that it only later became clear that the German moves were not only their policy against Macedonia but part of a wider scenario, which was then sketched in Washington, in cooperation with Greece. The scenario is still relevant today and is being carefully adapted and implemented. Accordingly, it cannot be claimed that Brussels, even without the shameless subterfuge

of Berlin, would have accepted the proposal of the Badinter Commission for Macedonia. However, even in such a case, different conditions and modalities would have been created, which could not have been worse for Macedonia than those created by Germany.

In conditions when the EC (EU) proved unworthy of the role it objectively plays in Europe, Sofia reacted and on the same day (January 15, 1992), recognized the independence of Macedonia. That was certainly an important move for our country, but only in principle and temporarily. Consistent with its historical nonsense, on this occasion Bulgaria also made it clear that it does not recognize the existence of a Macedonian nation and language. This was stated by President Zhelju Zhelev (quoted at the beginning of this book) who, by the way, considered himself and behaved as a liberal democrat. However, as can be seen, he was also in line with the Bulgarian historical syndromes. If they recognized the state, and not the people, which otherwise goes without saying and goes hand in hand, it means that they treated and recognized Macedonia as a second Bulgarian state. And the current Bulgarian blackmail and aggression not only confirms this, but also aims to force us to agree with this nonsense of theirs.

Why was Sofia the first to recognize Macedonia? Towards the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992, Sofia had enough political information, and intelligence from the secret services, that recognizing Macedonia would not be an easy task and that its future was not clear. The main signals came to them from the USA. First, they were certainly afraid that the country could return to some kind of new Yugoslavia, which would definitely ruin all their centuries-old aspirations. Second, they were aware that Macedonia could disintegrate and therefore they believed that it should survive, in order to be part of a future Greater Bulgarian state. After all, if Sofia had no hidden intentions, it would have been normal to immediately establish diplomatic relations and send an ambassador to Skopje and thus really help Macedonia. But none of that happened – they left and stopped. They were obviously afraid that with an ambassador in Skopje, if a breakup occurred, they

would be out of the court games for its division. They would be disqualified by those who did not recognize independence and who would have had a wider room for maneuver. The missed opportunity was taken advantage of by Turkey, which recognized Macedonia on February 6, 1992 and immediately established diplomatic relations and sent the first ambassador to Skopje. The Bulgarian one came much later. Recognition followed from Slovenia, Croatia, the Philippines...

From the facts listed above it is clear that Bulgaria did not recognize Macedonia as an expression of support and friendship, nor was it the result of any good intention, for which we should be grateful, but rather the product of pure calculations and the possibility of military profiteering. The move was extremely important for us, but there is not much to brag about on their part that they were the first, but there are more things of which they should be ashamed. During that period, Sofia also participated in trilateral meetings with our neighbours, where the topic was Macedonia, without our participation. These were in no way gestures of friendship because they had open claims towards our country. At the same time, Milosevich, for example, proposed to Mitsotakis to divide Macedonia between Greece and Serbia.

Nations and languages are not internationally recognized, nor does Macedonia demand this from Bulgaria or any other country. In diplomacy, when states are recognized, it automatically means that the people living in that country, the language they speak and everything else that is characteristic of it are also recognized or, more precisely, accepted. The Bulgarian acceptance of the state (Macedonia), meaning the form but not the content (the people, the language...), is a precedent on a world scale. A greater absurdity and stupidity can hardly be imagined. The problem, however, is with us: while they do not publicly and openly deny it, we pretend to be inadequate and remain silent. We even sign some kind of agreement for friendship and cooperation with someone who openly and loudly claims that we do not exist. This undermines the dignity of the state and represents self-negation. The Bulgarian shamelessness that we do not exist as a people, which has

lasted for at least 150 years, was elaborated in detail by their dictator Todor Zhivkov, and now it is only becoming more and more vampiric. Bulgarians, during Zhivkov's time, lived in misery. They were the biggest Stalinists in the Eastern Bloc and their totalitarianism did not allow them to travel to the West, so that they would not see how people lived there and become aware of their misery. And, in such miserable conditions, in order to deceive the people, the easiest way was to incite nationalism, with nonsense about Greater Bulgaria, in which Macedonia should also be. It is unfortunate that the same policy is still current in Sofia today. Despite EU membership, material and spiritual poverty reigns there again, completely accompanied by crime and corruption. Perhaps more than a million people have already fled the country. Their latest unrealistic dreams regarding Macedonia should also be seen in that context.

The Bulgarian thesis that the Macedonians are an invented nation is an unprecedented folly. Is it possible for such people to understand that a people cannot be invented? Both the Comintern and Tito only acknowledged reality and nothing more. You cannot give by force, you can only take. No one could make us Macedonians by force. Bulgarians, even less so. A people either exists or doesn't. Third, the Macedonians have been a reality for centuries, if not millennia. It is a historically proven fact that a people cannot be invented, but therefore it can be exterminated. There have been many such examples, and this has been done with the Macedonians in Bulgaria for a long time. Technically, that is called genocide. How long has Sofia been harassing the Macedonians and, step by step, exterminating them? And they are still there and will be there forever. Bulgaria is on the pillar of shame with the 13 judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, precisely because of the negative attitude towards the Macedonians. Because of them, it is under constant monitoring by the Council of Europe. When will the politicians in Sofia come to their senses that beauty cannot be achieved by force? Even when it has been used for

more than 100 years, without substantial results, as in their case the denial of the Macedonians?

Bulgaria was very lucky that, in the late 1990s, the US was interested in opening the way for it to NATO, in order to surround Russia with members of the alliance. Bulgaria's problems with Macedonia, which are now exploding, were already widely known at that time and had to be resolved beforehand because it is the practice not to bring the problems of the candidates with their neighbours into the organization. To this end, with American help, Macedonian Prime Ministers Georgievski and Kostov signed a declaration that was devastating for us. We confirmed that there are no open issues between the two countries and enabled Bulgaria to become a NATO member and later join the EU. The most absurd thing in all of this is the fact that we temporarily and only formally resolved a difficult Bulgarian problem and historical syndrome with our extremely unreasonable concessions. Our actions were beyond reason. Instead of us setting conditions, in order to open the way for Bulgaria to NATO, the Americans did not give us a second chance: they forced us to give up both our Macedonian language and our minority in Bulgaria. Greater amateurism on our part is difficult to imagine. Of course, unless something more terrible is at stake: namely, the then Prime Minister, Georgievski, later received Bulgarian citizenship.

Washington's pressure was certainly fierce, but there is no justification for this national betrayal - there is and cannot be. Almost no one in our country understood that either then or now, but the highest politicians had to be clear about what it was about. Our real political and diplomatic capacities are extremely limited, which is no excuse. And when you behave like that, the punishment will come to you. Now, as a condition for our entry into the EU, Bulgaria openly wants to definitively destroy us as a people. And they are not alone. However, they are right about one thing: they told us a long time ago that their support for the EU will not be unconditional! Unfortunately, no one here understands that either. That is because our "politicians" are

pursuing other people's interests. They pretend to be great Christians and return good for evil. They are not interested in the fact that people will be sacrificed.

The Friendship Treaty is the same text from the 1999 declaration, only supplemented with our new treacherous concessions, such as the invented common history. It is the basis of the current Bulgarian aggression, which is direct proof that the treaty is also under American direction. No two peoples have the same history.

Fortunately, nothing that is imposed by force has any chance of long-term success. The American President, A. Lincoln, said – nothing is permanent if it is not correctly resolved. And W. Churchill sent a good message – if you are going through hell, keep walking.

We have no other choice.

BULGARIA ENTERED NATO AND THE EU THANKS TO THE CZAR AND MACEDONIA

(August, 2016)

Bulgaria became a member of NATO in 2004 and the EU in 2007. These were exceptional steps for our eastern neighbour. Basically, however, they were not the result of any great achievements in reforming the Bulgarian society, which is in many ways demagogic, but mainly as an expression of other people's interests. The first element that accelerated Sofia's path to Brussels was the neighbourhood with Russia. The US was extremely interested in all the countries bordering Russia becoming part of the alliance as soon as possible. This, in turn, automatically opened the way to the EU. The goal was to surround Russia from all possible sides, which is also today's US policy. Now, Georgia and Ukraine are of priority interest to the US and NATO. Kiev was faced with a false, unnecessary and destructive choice and blackmail – either with Russia or with Europe. And, it is known that the country has two parts: the east with pro-Russian, the west with pro-European determinations. In principle, but also more natural, it would have been for Kiev to be allowed to cooperate with both the EU and Russia, without an ultimatum. We all know the consequences: Ukraine has been destroyed as a state. Washington's plans, however, were to demonize Moscow, and that was easiest through Kiev, which they succeeded in. Thus began the new Cold War.

For us, however, the second part of the story is much more important. In addition to the Russian card, through which Bulgaria had an extremely important advantage, two other factors were crucial for its absolutely rapid progress towards Brussels. The first was the return of Tsar Simeon Saxe-Coburg, this time in the "form" of Prime Minister (2001 – 2005). The second is our Macedonian inadequacy: by signing the Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation (1999), we confirmed

that Sofia is our good neighbour and that there are no open issues between us. This can also be called the immaturity of our political elite to face modern challenges, although at its core lies extreme irresponsibility, equal to treason.

Saxe-Coburg had free rein to work only for Bulgarian state interests. He was not burdened with personal ambitions, let alone party ones, for the next elections. He did not have to calculate the details at all. He was aware that he was disposable and agreed to that. He wanted to leave a mark and – he succeeded. He was fully dedicated to the path to Brussels and the goal was achieved. The proximity of Russia was certainly a strong “argument”, which helped him in his case. However, the consequences in the EU are extremely negative and far-reaching: after the forced admission of Bulgaria and Romania, which were not ready for membership, the Union realized that they had rushed. That mistake of theirs, in which we also had a part, affected the entire process of admitting new members to the Union, of which we are also victims. There will be no more enlargement.

It is known that Brussels pays special attention to good neighbourly relations and that NATO and the EU do not admit new members that have unresolved problems with their neighbours, such as Bulgaria had with us. Sofia’s weakest card in this regard was precisely Macedonia. It did not recognize the Macedonian minority and did not implement the Strasbourg judgments on its rights; it had an inquisitorial attitude towards the Macedonian people, towards their language, history and culture.... If the declaration had not made our unforgivable historical mistake by making unnecessary and unthinkable concessions, Bulgaria could not have joined NATO or the EU. It would have been forced to commit to changing its medieval policy towards the Macedonians in order to overcome misunderstandings and open its path to Brussels.

And instead of us seizing the historic chance to influence together with Brussels to stop Bulgarian anti-civilizational stereotypes, we gave them an unprecedented gift that can only be measured by historical betrayal.

Instead of reacting fiercely in Brussels about historical syndromes and centuries-old injustices and insisting on their revision, Prime Minister Ljupco Georgievski signed the aforementioned declaration, with which:

- a) we lied that there were no open issues between the two countries;
- b) we gave up on the Macedonian language as a native and autochthonous language, formulating it as a constitutional category, and constitutions, change –right; and
- c) we declared our minority in Bulgaria non-existent!

Sofia did not hide that our capitulation was a great success for them. They openly wrote that they got more than they expected. However, in this case, the credit was not theirs, although the defeat was only ours. Behind the project stood – the USA! The creator of our historic defeat was Strobe Talbot, the then US Deputy Secretary of State. This in itself implies that the text of the declaration is American and fits perfectly into their policies for the gradual destruction of this people, which they have been meticulously implementing for 25 years. The precedents that they imposed on us with the declaration will only come to light in the period ahead of us, especially the denial of the Macedonian language.

The fact is that we put the declaration in a drawer immediately after signing it, which confirms that everyone was aware of the stupidity that was committed. But our signature cannot be denied. Sofia finished the job and entered NATO and the EU and continued to insist on an agreement between the two countries because the declarations are non-binding documents, without any particular weight. You sign them and you do it your way, as we did, and nothing to anyone. That is why Sofia is now pushing for the same content to be translated into a new form. No less, no more, it should be a supreme document signed by two states. It is an agreement on friendship and cooperation, which they will be able to wave everywhere. Unlike declarations, such agreements are ratified in parliaments and show that there are no open issues between the two states. Practically, Sofia wants our supreme confirmation of its

medieval policies, more precisely, agreement that we are not Macedonians, that we do not speak the Macedonian language, that we do not have our history, culture, tradition... All together, that we are - unconscious “Bulgarians”. Too simple not to understand. They do not hide that this is their blackmail if we want them not to hinder us on the road to Brussels. With such an agreement, they will relatively easily prove that the Macedonian language is only named that way in the Constitution and in fact was and remains a Bulgarian dialect. They will certainly insist that it be written that way in the EU language column...

The best proof that the above is true, is Sofia’s ultimate insistence that such an agreement be signed. Why else would they blackmail, if they do not have specific and precise ulterior motives and plans? In their policies towards Macedonia so far, this is a key issue. In contrast, in our country, even at the top of politics, many do not understand the case. They do not understand the background of the Bulgarian blackmail because this is diplomatic finesse. Recently, for example, meetings between the two academies, MANU and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, have become more frequent. And while our academics, if they are not already sleeping comfortably, are dozing off, the Bulgarians are constantly poking us with cowardly eggs with which they valorize their unprincipled policies, which boil down to the fact that for them there are no Macedonians here, but we are all “Bulgarians”. In principle, ours do not react. They either act as cosmopolitans, or pretend to be absent. The essence is that they are scientific and political idiots.

The same applies to the Bulgarian insistence on joint celebration of historical events and personalities, with the Ilinden Uprising being the most emphasized, which is not at all a coincidence. Here too, we do not have a clear position, and we also had a Prime Minister, V. Buckovski, who openly supported the initiative. It is undeniable that between the two countries we have a mixed part of history, because numerous top Macedonian personalities lived and worked in Bulgaria, because the language was closest to them and there was no Macedonian state for them to work in. It is undeniable that they were all under terrible

nationalist pressure from both Bulgarian politicians and the church, but they had no other choice. All the time, Sofia played the card that they were all “Bulgarians” which must lead to Greater Bulgaria.

Without any strategy, we have already made certain concessions regarding these joint celebrations, which in essence are not necessarily controversial in principle. However, this is a big mistake because nothing has been received in return. Just like the Albanians and the Greeks, the Bulgarians manage to get certain concessions from us without anything in return, which not only does not change their time-worn policies but, on the contrary, serve as proof that they are on the right track and that time is working for them. If this is the case, and it seems so, why would they change their attitude towards the Macedonians? Especially in light of the 25-year American unwavering persistence to cross us as a state and destroy us as a people.

There is a strong impression that apart from Blaže Ristovski, who could not cover everything, no one else at MANU is dealing with this issue. This is a great and unforgivable omission of the academy. Unlike them, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is the engine of unacceptable and outdated Bulgarian policies towards Macedonia and they are conquering the field step by step without ours remembering. They are a serious country, especially in terms of history, and there are no surprises and setbacks with them. The same policy is being implemented at all levels. With us, everyone leads their own and everyone is considered the smartest.

We should have no doubts that Sofia will increasingly be an obstacle on our path to Brussels. The fierce pressure for the aforementioned agreement is the best proof of that. They want us to give them solid arguments with which they will destroy us. It can be claimed with absolute certainty that behind them, just like behind Athens, and behind the Albanians, the USA has been standing all along. All this is part of the same scenario that has been shaping our heads and keeping us at the bottom for a quarter of a century.

After Bucharest (2008), Sofia does not have to expose itself emphatically. Since then, we have been blocked, blackmailed and given an ultimatum by Brussels, not by Athens. Bulgaria will only get involved if it is necessary due to some unforeseen changes. The reason, for example, could be the fierce pressure to which Greece is now, for the first time, being exposed. The intention of the US is for it to accept their model of resolving the name issue, while this crisis continues in our country, which was planted precisely for that purpose. It is a great manipulation and deception that the solution should be a replacement for the UN reference with a new, permanent name for the state for alleged external use. This is not possible without our consent. If we fall into such a trap, it must be clear to us that, in a few years, this formula will inevitably turn into erga omnes. And for home. Macedonians will find themselves in the dustbin of history.

Faced with the danger of definitively “losing” Macedonia, Sofia may try to impose its own game and make unexpected moves. The so-called “antiquization” is already throwing ideologists in Sofia into despair. If our genesis goes that far, it simply means that we could not be someone’s invention as a people and all their historical manipulations are pointless. This may be an occasion for Sofia to act more aggressively towards Macedonia and place obstacles on our path to Brussels. It is for these reasons that the signing of a new agreement is imposed, because with it Sofia decides everything. We should be aware that Bulgaria will not accept for a long time that if there has been a “Macedonian question” for more than 150 years, which is not in dispute, it was not possible without there being - Macedonians! The question was instigated and is the result of the injustices faced by this suffering and centuries-old people. If it were so, and it was, Tito and the Comintern would not have needed to invent it.

MACEDONIA BROUGHT BULGARIA INTO NATO AND THE EU AND IN RETURN WAS BLACKMAILED

(December 2019)

Macedonia, indeed, anything is possible: instead of Sofia paying the price for our unprecedented anti-national concessions, with which we opened the way to Brussels, we bent our backs. As could be expected, in Skopje the declaration was quickly put in a drawer and the announced cooperation was forgotten. This was logical because it was contrary to the fundamental interests of the Macedonian people. Sofia did not protest because it had completed its main task and entered NATO and the EU. Macedonia, on the other hand, did not receive any gratitude, let alone any compensation. While we were complete amateurs, others worked for Bulgaria's interests and achieved what Bulgaria wanted. Without Macedonia clearing Sofia's path to NATO and the EU, it can be argued with great certainty that Bulgaria would have wandered and waited for a long time. But, not everyone is as naïve and amateur like us. Now, when Macedonia is moving towards Brussels, as the biggest executioners, the Bulgarians are ready to tear our skin out, and Washington is loudly silent although behind the scenes it supports the Bulgarians and is teaching them what to do. We must understand that when it comes to the Macedonians, the US is always on the other side of the barricade. This is because such are their interests in the Balkans, which Macedonian politicians either have no idea about or pretend that their hands are tied. Sofia imposed the agreement on us because it was aware that the declaration would not be enough for them to be able to blackmail us on the path to the EU and insist that our language is defined by our constitution.

The agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, "our" politicians promoted as a great success in resolving the historical heritage and problems with neighbours, which is absolutely wrong. Quite the opposite, with the

agreements the problems can again be put on the table, with our admission that we are to blame for everything, not the others. With the agreements, we are practically giving up on ourselves. From today's perspective, the US policy of gradually erasing Macedonianism is admirable, which is best seen in these two agreements, as well as in the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA). To begin with, they challenged and suspended our name from international communication (1993). Then, instead of mediation, they imposed negotiations on us (1995). The peak of the aggression against Macedonia came in 2001, from Kosovo, which was fully organized by the USA. Then came the OFA, which largely erased the Macedonian character of the state and reduced the Macedonian people to an ethnic community. With the new administrative division (2004), however, Kichevo, Struga, Skopje... were Albanianized and the way was opened for bilingualism.

The first capitulation agreement called the Interim Agreement was signed with the Greeks in 1995. With it, Macedonia accepted an unimaginable degradation of its position in the imposed and fabricated name problem, which inevitably pointed to a renaming and it was only a matter of time before that would have to happen again. We experienced the second capitulation in 1999, with Bulgaria, through the declaration of friendship and cooperation. The third and largest one happened with the Albanians, in 2001. The Ohrid Agreement was called a framework agreement because it was only the beginning of the changes and concessions, with which Macedonianism would be cut to the root. While the Macedonians thought that with the OFA relations with the Albanians in the country were resolved forever, it was clear to foreigners and Albanians that it was only the beginning of a huge number of illegitimate concessions, which would follow. The general rule is that frameworks are given to expand, not to narrow, at least in our case. Our next, or fourth capitulation was Przhino where illegally, outside the institutions of the system, some kind of agreement was written by hand and only in English, which was obvious proof that it was imposed on us by foreigners. In fact, it was a classic political coup,

initiated by the boycott and political manipulations of SDSM, which included illegally wiretapped conversations announced as “bombs”, a color revolution carried out by hooligans... The agreements with Bulgaria and Greece that followed were our new capitulations, which are also framework ones. They only opened the way for Sofia and Athens to push us further in the process of negotiations for EU membership.

Our amateurs are happy that Bulgaria and Greece support our obtaining a date for negotiations with the EU as soon as possible, and they are not aware that only then will their real blackmail follow that will finally destroy us. For now, Serbia is not in the game and there is no humiliating agreement in sight with them. Belgrade, without a doubt, is closely following what is happening in our country and, at a given moment (maybe through the church?), may come up with its own demands. Serbia is not in the game because it is outside the orbit of the USA and, at least for now, has no right to a share of the spoils. However, it should not be forgotten that with the 1913 Bucharest Peace Treaty, the Serbs received Vardar Macedonia, which they voluntarily gave up. Such a thing was possible only by the communists. No Serbian government, neither before them nor after them, would have done such a thing. The communists made their mistakes everywhere, including in Yugoslavia, but fortunately based on their emphasized internationalism, after the Second World War, the Macedonians created their own state. In favour of the Macedonians, the Serbian communists voluntarily gave up their spoils obtained with the 1913 Bucharest Agreement, which was partially revised by that act.

According to the announcements, the next move of the USA, wholeheartedly and vassally supported by Brussels, should be an attempt to create a political nation in our country, with the definitive erasure of the Macedonians as a people. This was announced by the American ambassadors in Skopje and recently announced by Z. Zaev from Podgoritsa with a new nebula that the Macedonian people were

multiethnic! There is no such people in the world. The man has confused people and state.

Bulgaria is dissatisfied because with the Nivitsi Agreement, Greece was given much larger and unimaginable concessions than the Bulgarians. Therefore, there is a flood of statements from the Bulgarian side that are basically ultimatums and blackmail. This culminated in a declaration in the Parliament, which set us more than 20 insulting and humiliating conditions that we need to fulfill for EU membership. Among other things, we must accept that we did not have our own history before 1944 and all of this will have to be written on our historical and cultural monuments and our museums will have to be rearranged accordingly! Their ultimatum also includes changing our history textbooks on the condition that historical documents be studied in Bulgarian! They also ordered us to rehabilitate the “victims of the Yugoslav communist regime who were allegedly persecuted because of Bulgarian self-awareness”... To top it all off, there is the condition that we send a verbal note to the UN members, which should also emphasize that - *“we will strictly and fully adhere to the agreement with Bulgaria, and especially with regard to the language clause of the Agreement”* (that it is in accordance with the Constitution)... Simply unbelievable. It looks like a pioneer oath. Even if it had occupied us, Bulgaria would not have been able to behave so recklessly. It would have had to abide by international norms.

There is no one here to remind Borisov and the fugitives around him that, during Zhivkov’s time, five bilateral agreements were signed with Yugoslavia in Bulgarian and Macedonian. If they do not recognize our language, they should at least annul these agreements.

At the same time, Bulgaria placed conditions on Albania for - *“the maximum guarantee of the right of the so-called Bulgarian national minority in this country to study the Bulgarian language as a native language in the areas of Golo Brdo, Gora, Prespa, Korcha...”*. This was done despite the fact that these people are Macedonians and not

Bulgarians... This confirms that their aggression against Macedonians is well-planned, complete and long-term. It is crucial for us that the destruction of Macedonianism is not only Sofia's goal. If the US had not stood behind the Bulgarians, they would never have dared to pursue such national-chauvinistic policies towards us.

This is the peak of Bulgaria's fascist attitude towards Macedonia. Sofia has given us an ultimatum, which usually follows - war. Everything that is demanded, almost without exception, is absolutely unacceptable. At the time, Austria-Hungary acted similarly towards Serbia, and after it was rejected, a war began that quickly turned into the First World War. Fortunately, there will be no new wars in the Balkans, but this Bulgarian chauvinism shows that there will be no peace, even with all our pitiful daily bending of the spine and trampling on our own dignity.

Our politicians do not react to these shameful provocations, which are unprecedented. They behave as if nothing had happened, they ignore Sofia's ultimatum that is equivalent to an atomic bomb that will destroy everything Macedonian... what is left of it. If anyone thinks that by remaining silent they will appease the Bulgarians, they are greatly mistaken. This only encourages them. We should not confront each other, but it must be emphasized that conditions and blackmail will not get us anywhere, and at the same time, broad international support must be sought.

According to "Sloboden Pechat", dated 2/12/2019, Macedonian President S. Pendarovski, in an interview with the Bulgarian agency BGNES, said – *"The time has come for good relations with Bulgaria", "Bulgaria has pulled us out of total isolation", "Gruevski has established the darkest anti-Bulgarian propaganda", "the lack of road infrastructure between Skopje and Sofia prevents us from getting out of this fog and realizing and understanding historical facts"* (does the president seriously think that roads are the problem?), *"with Z. Zaev and B. Borisov we have politicians who are non-standard and not burdened with historical loads and emotions"* (is this man talking about

B. Borisov? We already know who Z. Zaev is and what he is like), *“there is not a single Bulgarian TV channel in Skopje, including satellite”* (there are several of them. They don’t have ours).

According to “Vecher”, dated 2/12/2019, in their interview, S. Pendarovski also said that – *“between Sofia and Skopje there are 222 kilometers that can be covered in three and a half hours, and there are the same number to Thessaloniki, which can be covered in an hour and a half.”* He did the math: to cover so many kilometers in so much time to Thessaloniki, an average speed of 150 kilometers per hour is required. In the interview there is not a single word about the ultimatum to Macedonia from the Bulgarian Parliament!

How long will we bury our heads in the sand?

BULGARIAN POLICIES ARE PART OF THE AMERICAN SCENARIO

(June 2021)

We can fool ourselves as much as we want, but, with regard to Macedonia, the interests of the United States and Bulgaria largely coincide. The current brutal Bulgarian aggression fits perfectly into American regional policies and, especially, into the scenario that has been patiently and delicately implemented for 30 years. More precisely, Sofia is just a pawn obediently carrying out orders from Washington. Just as was the case with Greece before. The goal is common – closing the centuries-old “Macedonian question”. The task now is for the former “Bulgarians” from Macedonia, who have been pretending to be Macedonians since 1944, to come to their senses and return to Sofia’s embrace. Bulgarian syndromes of appropriating Macedonians, just like Greek negations of everything Macedonian, are more than 150 years old. American impulses emerged after the collapse of Yugoslavia, when the United States became the main factor in the Balkans. Thus, in relation to Macedonia, the Washington – Athens – Sofia triangle has been functioning flawlessly since the beginning of the 1990s. For reasons not fully established, the Macedonians do not fit into the American visions of the region. We, on the other hand, do not investigate this, although it is the key to our future and the survival of our state and people.

The fact is that the United States did not recognize Macedonia as an independent state for a long time. They sent an ambassador to Skopje four years after Ljubljana and Zagreb, and even after Sarajevo, where there was a war. The recognition of a state and the establishment of diplomatic relations are technical matters, as long as there are no political obstacles. As in our case. A similar example is Palestine. Such an American attitude fully revealed their policy towards Macedonia. No

additional explanation was needed, although no one understood it here. It was also a clear message to Athens, Sofia, Tirana... that the Macedonian state, to say the least, is - disputable. Our neighbours understood this perfectly well and, with various strategies, immediately maximized their ambitions towards our country, which they are only now completing. The mosaic of events unequivocally shows that the undisputed organizer and coordinator of everything that has happened to us so far is - Washington. The indicators that the US is now exerting strong pressure on Bulgaria, to enable the start of negotiations as soon as possible, have several aspects.

The first sign is that there are certain misunderstandings between them. The impression is that the US is angry because Bulgaria overestimates itself and wants to wipe out the Macedonians overnight, which is not exactly realistic. The US probably appreciates that the formal elimination of the Macedonians as a separate people is not an easy task at all and that it must be done gradually. They are absolutely right if they believe that wiping out a people requires both a longer time and more refined methods. It is essential that the US does not condemn Sofia's intention at all, which is bloodthirsty at its core. It can be concluded with great certainty that the US is "scared" by the senseless Bulgarian demands, to immediately accept that our fathers and grandfathers were "Bulgarians". This could be counterproductive and come back to them like a boomerang. They probably fear that with excessive and hasty aggressiveness, their plans will be jeopardized.

The second possibility is that the pressures from Washington are just a mask for the public, to conceal joint actions and interests, and that, behind the scenes, they support Sofia to continue at the same pace. There is quite a bit of logic in this because among politicians in Macedonia there is an obvious readiness for a new capitulation, prepared precisely by the American side.

The third sign is that, practically, everyone is interested in Macedonia starting negotiations as soon as possible. This applies to Washington,

Brussels, but also to Sofia and Athens..., which means that the pressure from the US is not harmful to anyone, not even Bulgaria, and therefore not only cannot be disputed, but is also logical and in the interest of everyone.

The fourth sign is that the long blockade of Macedonia is a grave shame for the US and the EU, and therefore they want it to be overcome as soon as possible. In a way, the US is now defenseless. They planted the Nivitsi agreement with many promises, which practically shattered the Macedonian people, and in the end they did not provide any consolation prize. Membership in NATO was their priority.

The key for everyone is that negotiations are the only way, with the least effort and most transparently, to send Macedonianism to the dustbin of history. Gradually, millimeter by millimeter, chapter by chapter, to erase the national characteristics of the Macedonians and, not overnight, according to the ideas of uneducated Bulgarian politicians. This ordeal will last at least 10, and most likely 20 years. It will be a period when Macedonia will experience smaller or larger national defeats every day.

Sooner or later, Macedonia will certainly start negotiations. The Bulgarian blockade has the sole purpose of strengthening its positions for the easier destruction of Macedonianism in the process that will follow. For us, two things are crucial

- a) how long the negotiations will last; and
- b) whether Macedonia will finally be admitted to the EU.

Given that, ideally, the negotiations will last at least 10 years, and that membership in the Union is our long-term goal, a complete reset of our foreign policy is necessary and without any delay. Short-term and medium-term plans must be made. Otherwise, precious time will be wasted unnecessarily. It is indisputable that Macedonia should do everything necessary to become a member of the Union as soon as possible, but if that goal does not depend on us then appropriate

solutions must be sought in the interest of the citizens. Reforms must continue and the obsession with Brussels must be adjusted to the conditions.

We must also be aware of the serious indicators that our membership may not be to the liking of the main world factors. If the resistance against the crossing out and erasure of Macedonians increases and if the demands for the cancellation of the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece intensify, which must happen if we are a people with dignity, it is unlikely that they will accept us into the EU, even if we meet all the criteria. The reason is simple – as a member of the EU and NATO, Macedonia will be able to immediately cancel both agreements! And it will be a member and no one will be able to do anything to it. There are no mechanisms to expel us, much less impose sanctions on us, and most likely everything will come down to some kind of public criticism. This means that our future remains uncertain. After the blockades by Greece, Bulgaria appeared, and who will be next and with what – no one is investigating. All this clearly confirms that the obsession of our politicians with the date for negotiations is mere nonsense that boils down to playing a joke on the people.

If it is true that the US appreciates that the erasure of the Macedonians cannot, according to Bulgaria's phantasmagoria, be carried out overnight, they are probably relying on their own and Greece's experience. The US waited a long time for Macedonia to surrender, with almost no results. A full 17 years passed during which the US

- a) did not recognize the country;
- b) suspended its constitutional name from international use;
- c) imposed some kind of reference on it;
- d) forced it to mediate on the name (identity);
- e) imposed a disastrous interim agreement with Greece... and what not, and all of this without much success.

The film broke at the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), when they completely changed their policy towards Macedonia. From patiently waiting for their genocidal project for the Macedonians to be realized, maintaining a false “friendly and constructive” atmosphere, Washington then made a complete turnaround and began an aggressive policy of blockade, blackmail and ultimatums – first the name, then membership. We continued to play the role of absenteeism and did not notice it! However, despite all our complete incompetence, even for that, the final stage of the destruction of the Macedonian state, Washington needed another 10 years after 2008. The text of the Nivitsi agreement, which produced our crucial defeat, was signed only in 2018. Coincidentally, the authors of the text were the Americans.

It has long been felt and expected that Bulgaria would play a significant role in the destruction of Macedonianism. Sofia’s attitude towards Macedonia and the Macedonians has always been significantly worse than that of Athens. However, there were no signs that Bulgaria would try to deliver the final blow in such an unscrupulous and quick manner. The reason is probably the readiness of Macedonian politicians to make all kinds of concessions, even disastrous for the Macedonian people, just to start negotiations with the EU. Obviously, they have some kind of obsession with entering the EU and therefore are even easier victims of foreign interests. On that basis, they have been manipulating the people for a long time. Consciously or not, which is not very important, our ignorant politicians are providing unprecedented opportunities for us to be beaten as a people. In such a constellation, Bulgaria obviously assessed that no time should be wasted, but the task given by the United States should be completed immediately. To achieve that goal, all the competent institutions there were harnessed, from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, through the Government to the Parliament, as well as an unprecedented propaganda machine, with the help of which they ensured enormous support from the people for obviously insane goals. The intention was that the blow they would deliver would be deadly and immediate. Let the Macedonians disappear. The Bulgarians,

in their atrocities, not only want to instantly erase the centuries-old historical memory of the Macedonian people but, fed up with their national-chauvinistic experience from the time of their own fascism in World War II, they also want to erase our memories, the memories of us, the living Macedonians. Greater political stupidity is hard to imagine.

Just as Athens was before, now Sofia is the main executor of American policies towards Macedonia. The key evidence is the two devastating documents that we signed with Bulgaria, which were prepared in the USA. The first was, for us, the shameful declaration of 1999, which was imposed on us by the then Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbot. The second was the devastating agreement on friendship..., signed by Z. Zaev and B. Borisov, on August 1, 2017. It is the same text of the declaration, further expanded to the detriment of Macedonia. Proof that it is the work of the USA is the fact that on July 27, 2017, four days before it was signed, the American and Bulgarian embassies in Skopje issued a joint statement that the text of the agreement was fabricated. If the USA did not have a key role in the project, why would their embassy appear in the joint statement with the Bulgarian one? The agreement is ours, with Sofia and, at least formally, has nothing to do with Washington. When all these facts are known, can anyone claim that the current Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia is independent? Especially when the documents on which it is based are American? The centuries-old Bulgarian inaccuracies regarding the non-recognition of the Macedonians were an excellent basis for creating an alliance with the USA, against Macedonia. That is, in fact, the worst message for us. And this time, just like in the case of Greece, our opponent is the United States, and Bulgaria is only their outpost.

As things stand now, there is no room for optimism. However, everything depends on us. If we continue to accept the humiliations to which we are exposed, we deserve no more.

WHY DID BULGARIA DECIDE TO BLOCK MACEDONIA IN BRUSSELS?

Due to its historical syndromes, Bulgaria never really had much choice in its policies towards Macedonia. World War II was a rare chance to realize their dreams and they would have made an unforgivable mistake if they had not tried to use it. Allying with the Nazis, whose armada was ready to conquer the entire world, was an ideal opportunity to realize “the most romantic part of their history” and that would have been tantamount to betrayal of national interests. It is undeniable that Bulgaria, precisely because of Macedonia, became fascist, and is there a better romance than an alliance with Hitler? (In May 1997, the new President of Bulgaria, Petar Stoyanov, said – “*Macedonia represents the most romantic part of Bulgarian history*”). Today, Sofia is also faced with a limited choice and therefore must react aggressively. First, it is aware that Washington is trying with all its might to close the “Macedonian question” and that this brings ideal opportunities for them and, secondly, if before Macedonia’s entry into the EU they do not materialize their unfulfilled dreams, by finally erasing Macedonianism, there will be no new chance. In other words, the situation for them is - to be, or not to be. Now or never. Knowing this, and in agreement with the USA, they first imposed on us the devastating friendship agreement... and then thoroughly prepared themselves and went on the attack, quite consciously and deliberately leaving no room for concessions. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN) prepared the basic document against Macedonia, which should mean that everything was based on scientific and historical facts. Then, the document was accepted by the Government and the Parliament proposed it as a declaration for which all MPs voted, without exception! They were playing on an all-or-nothing basis. We have already emphasized that Sofia is implementing someone else’s scenario all the time and therefore receives strong support, although carefully concealed. This is just one more piece of evidence for the accuracy of the 1944 State

Department telegram claiming that there were no Macedonians. We will mention two more pieces of evidence. Few people know, for example, that Richard Holbrooke, the famous American diplomatic bulldozer who mercilessly bullied his way through the Balkans, wrote in his book – “To End a War” – “*Gligorov, at the time Tito’s finance minister, almost literally invented his country in late 1991 and early 1992*”. It’s clear enough, isn’t it? It’s obvious that he also knows about the 1944 telegram. Robert Frowick, another American diplomat, obviously a CIA agent with typically emphasized arrogance and aggressiveness, at the beginning of the 1990s and during the American-Albanian aggression from Kosovo, in 2001, meddled around here for a long time, scheming and shaping our destiny by implementing secret American plans. Frowick told Denko Maleski, when he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1991-1993), that Macedonia was “*a child of tar*”. D. Maleski did not understand the meaning and weight of the message, which was quite precise: no one wants an independent Macedonian state outside of a federation. R. Frowick openly told us that it was unacceptable to the United States. (D. Maleski even published a book - “The Child of Tar”, without even understanding what it was about). These two examples confirm the durability of the American positions since 1944. All their other different and tactical moves towards our country are reduced to ordinary diplomatic techniques. For example, according to one of the oldest definitions, diplomats are defined as honest people who lie in the interests of their country. That American diplomats are at the best at this, goes without saying. And we, until we understand this and face the truth, will go around in circles and go downhill.

WHO AND WHY (WILL) PREVENT US FROM ENTERING THE EU AND NATO?

(April, 2013)

At the European Council in Brussels, in December 2012, when Bulgaria prevented Macedonia from receiving a date for negotiations, many were left, and a good part still are – astonished and surprised. Some even thought that we had provoked them with the film “Third Half” and expected that it would soon pass and Sofia would be our promoter in the Union. The reality however, is very different. The Bulgarians play their game and, if necessary, act a little naïve. The end justifies the means, right. They insist on signing an agreement, as if they are asking nothing from us except friendship and cooperation. Or, according to the Brussels dictionary – good neighbourliness. And, in essence – they want to cripple us. It is common knowledge that for Sofia we are unconscious “Bulgarians” and that our language is a dialect of Bulgarian. And here lies the catch: with the agreement they should cement exactly that, and with our acceptance.

It is clear to everyone interested in Macedonia: from Athens, through Sofia and Tirana to Washington (Brussels is impersonal and dances to other people’s music played mainly from the other side of the ocean) – it is clear to them that when Macedonia becomes a member of NATO and the EU, the chances of the country and the people being united will become minimal. Symbolic. This means that the set goals must be achieved now because then it will be too late. That was the reason why Washington came up with the blockade and blackmail for Macedonia for NATO (2008), with the motto – first the name, then membership. The choice is clear to them: either they will destroy us as a people before entering the EU and NATO, or they will have to admit defeat. But it is well known that those involved in Macedonia’s case do not accept defeat.

The long-standing policy of ignoring Macedonia and Macedonians simply does not allow Bulgaria to be out of the game. In the given circumstances, it is more than logical that Sofia is trying to profit. In the agreement, with which we are expected to become “friends”, they propose strategic concessions from us to which no normal person should agree. They want to raise the disastrous formulations, used in the 1999 Declaration, which can only be accepted by totally irresponsible and sold-out people. In the declaration our language is degraded and the goal is to expand the same formulation for general use, including within the EU and NATO. They also want us to capitulate and renounce our support for the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, which is also verified in the declaration. In order to properly perceive the whole, we must remember that the text of the declaration was prepared in Washington. Not in Sofia. The humiliating formulations, which deny the Macedonian language, and through it the people who speak it, fit perfectly into the policy that the United States has been pursuing towards Macedonia since the collapse of Yugoslavia, to this day. It is a policy of gradually breaking down everything Macedonian, and the declarations are documents that do not bind anyone. A friendship treaty, on the other hand, symbolizes the highest level of relations between countries and binds because it is ratified in parliaments.

When the above facts became known, Sofia’s behaviour in December became logical, expected and inevitable. The only thing that was not known was when all this would be acted on. Sofia had no more time to wait. When we register as Macedonians in NATO and the EU, when it is officially recorded that we speak Macedonian, the job will be done. The previous Bulgarian policies towards us will fall into disrepair. It will be too late to “wake us up”. They used the film “The Third Half” only as a good excuse. Nothing more.

The roles that Athens and Washington have been playing around Macedonia for 20 years are well known. The first has the license for the name dispute, and the second delicately manages the process of disintegrating the Macedonian people. Although Sofia’s capture in the

dance may have surprised some, we should be aware that another player will soon appear, probably more dangerous even than Bulgaria. Regarding the name of the country, the behaviour of Albanian leaders in the country, but also in the region, so far and in general, has been correct. Occasionally, they announced their demands and limits but in a sufficiently discreet manner. At least publicly, they pretended not to interfere in the process and let it develop, certain that their time is coming and everything is to the detriment of the Macedonians and to their long-term benefit. They will deliver their demands when the final phase arrives, when the framework of the exit solutions is known. For now, the only unacceptable fact is that Tirana is the last in the wider region to ignore our name and insist on the UN reference. We should not doubt that this is not a coincidence at all.

There is irrefutable evidence that Washington directly controls and coordinates the behaviour of Albanians in the country. The US is building its strategy towards Macedonia, taking into account, above all, the interests of Albanians in it. This relationship cannot be outside the resolution of the “Albanian national question”, which Washington is openly stimulating. In that context, the name of the state also falls under this category, the change of which suits the Albanians. No one should be convinced that they do not want to be either “Macedonian” citizens or to have “Macedonian” citizenship. They have not yet articulated this publicly but, as Ali Ahmeti said, they are in no hurry. Such things are done once every 100 years or more and there is no need to rush. The goal is being achieved millimeter by millimeter... It must be admitted that they are doing it excellently. Without the slightest mistake.

At the moment when the decision on the name of the state is on the table, the Albanians will appear as another factor that will seriously question the historical aspirations of the Macedonian people. They will be unique in their demands, they will threaten with weapons if necessary and, without a doubt, publicly or covertly, they will be supported by Washington, as in everything else for the last 20 years. Extremely ambiguously, as now with regard to NATO membership, the

US will tell us that it absolutely supports us but, of course, on the condition that we first re-christen ourselves and reach an agreement with the Albanians and satisfy their illegitimate demands. And the Albanians, let's not fool ourselves, will do everything not to accept a name that does not reflect the Albanian character of the state. They have already announced that. All this is assuming that one or more of our sold souls, will accept changing the name of our state.

In order to prevent such a development of events, necessary measures must be taken immediately. We must not allow ourselves to be surprised or astonished again, as in the case of Bulgaria.

THE KEY QUESTION IS IN WHY DOES BULGARIA INSIST THAT WE CELEBRATE THINGS TOGETHER. EVERYTHING ELSE IS UNIMPORTANT

(“Why a joint celebration?”, “Utrinski”, July 5, 2014)

If there is no motive – there is no murder. At least planned. That is why it is strange when an experienced politician, like Ljubcho Georgievski, advocates for joint celebrations with Bulgaria of personalities and events, listing only historical reasons without delving into the motive, or rather the contemporary (but also centuries-old!) political background. There are no coincidences in politics. In no case can the brazen and rude Bulgarian imposition of celebrating dates and personalities together be viewed only from a historical perspective and comparing Macedonia’s relationship with Serbia with its relationship with Bulgaria. This is a deliberate play with the truth and the public, since Serbia does not deny that the Macedonian people exist. This is a well-calculated attempt to defend the indefensible, with a one-sided presentation of the case. It’s like praising the bride for many values but concealing that she is a little pregnant! The ultimate lie and abuse is when parts of the truth are deliberately hidden. In this case, it is quite clear who L. Georgievski is “rooting” for.

First and foremost, in this specific case, the goal of the other side must be specified. Let’s see if there are any hidden cowardly eggs or if this is a well-intentioned initiative, without insidious calculations. If the background is not clean, Georgievski’s historical reasons are worthless and irrelevant. If, on an equal basis, we mutually agree to celebrate something together, we will easily find a thousand reasons for it. Second, it must be clarified what our interest is? What would such a move bring us and is there a danger of falling into someone else’s traps and having some negative consequences for the country and the people? Once those two things are clarified, everything else is easy. When it

comes to positive and pure initiatives, there is no need to defend them with historical facts or any other practice. They impose themselves and do not raise any dust. But when someone wants to forcefully impose something on you, when they insist on a non-reciprocal agreement, when what applies to you does not apply to them – something is already wrong here. It is more than obvious that they have hidden goals.

So, the key question is - what is Sofia's motive? What do they want to achieve and what would be the consequences for Macedonia? Is there something universal, generally acceptable in that, that we cannot dispute and be ashamed of? Or, is it a petty and miserable peasant trick to trick us? To "help" us become "aware" Bulgarians? L. Georgievski, must see the forest for the trees, if he does not have hidden intentions. After all – why do L. Georgievski and his like-minded people so persistently advocate for having joint celebrations with Bulgaria? For the sake of history? What does that mean for the present? What will Macedonia gain from that and at what price? Most specifically, does L. Georgievski have the slightest doubt that Bulgaria's goal for jointly celebrating Ilinden and Gotse Delchev is to prove that we are all – Bulgarians, right? Can that not be clear to him? Sofia has absolutely nothing else that it would like to show and prove. If that is so, and that is so, then why should we celebrate together?

If the above questions are answered objectively, there is no room for discussion. Everything is clear. The cowardly Bulgarian eggs are on the table. Naked. And this is where the story must end because the intentions are not honest. At no time and under no circumstances did the Bulgarian state recognize that there are Macedonians or a Macedonian language and it did not support an independent Macedonian state. Except as a second Bulgarian one! That is the permanent Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. The only exception was when Gjorge Dimitrov was leading Bulgaria after the Second World War, but now Sofia is trying with all its might to deny that period, to erase it from history. But it is being done in an extremely inadequate way. They also joined the EU but remained in the

19th century. If all this is known, and this is indisputable, then everything else becomes clear and the “justifications” given by L. Georgievski are a naked deception and fall flat. It is his right to support joint celebrations, but his motives can in no way be “supported” by history. It seems like L. Georgievski is closing both eyes and wants to assure us that it is Bulgaria that we should be grateful to for the fact that TMRO, BMORO and VMRO were active in their country... As if their services had the merit that our top revolutionaries from there fought for their Macedonia.

And let’s not ramble too much and unnecessarily. Our roots are not Bulgarian but autochthonous Macedonian. That is clear to everyone except for the few who want to change history. The chances, however, of making us Bulgarian are nil. Sofia is just unnecessarily wasting time to prove the unprovable. Our grandfathers and great grandfathers told us that we are Macedonian and that is a centuries-old legacy. We should ask L. Georgievski and those like him – IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THERE ARE NO MACEDONIANS AND THERE HAS BEEN A “MACEDONIAN QUESTION” FOR MORE THAN 150 YEARS? It is not possible, is it? There is no logic in arguing for a century or two, among the main world factors, for something that was “virtual”! There were Macedonians but they were appropriated... This fact should put an end to Sofia’s historical syndromes. Its obsession with Macedonians and the Macedonian language in the 21st century is - ridiculous.

Let’s ask L. Georgievski - how could the Macedonian revolutionaries have behaved within the framework of the rigid Bulgarian regime and its undisguised aspirations towards Macedonia and the Macedonians? To openly fight against Sofia and thus self-destruct and do nothing for their Macedonia? Or, did they adapt to the conditions and achieve the most they could? After all, even today a huge number in Macedonia do not agree with the changed name of the state but have to use it because it was forcibly entered into the Constitution. The key question is why does Bulgaria insist that we celebrate things together. Everything else is unimportant.

And what could our old revolutionaries be if not Bulgarian teachers? Macedonian? Paid by the non-existent Macedonian government? There was no such thing but they fought in various ways, to create a Macedonian government. And it still exists today! And in what language were they supposed to communicate with others and with each other? The assessment that all letters, documents... were in Bulgarian proves absolutely nothing. This was not because they felt Bulgarian, as the author suggests, but because they did not know Turkish, Serbian, or Greek. Bulgarian, on the other hand, was closer to the Macedonian language than Greek and Turkish and it was normal that they used it widely. Thus, they did not catch the eye of the authorities, who were already persecuting them. As for 1941 and the pictures with the reception of the Bulgarian fascist troops, there are several explanations. First, the Bulgarian fascists were already in the country and could easily organize such a reception with a little propaganda and tricks, and even coercion of the people; second, it is logical that the Macedonians hoped that the Bulgarian troops would also bring the long-awaited freedom from the Serbian yoke. But they were wrong. As now, Sofia had other plans and precisely because of its desire to conquer Macedonia it became fascist and for centuries it missed the mark and failed. Unfortunately, it continues to function in the same way, even now. The Bulgarians have not learned anything and will never learn.

Macedonia's attitude towards Serbia may not be Scandinavian, but it is different because we have no threat from there. Not yet! The attitude of the Serbian church towards the Macedonian church certainly does them no honour, but that is another story. We do not have any non-acceptance and denial of the people, language, history... at least on the part of politics.

So that nothing remains unsaid, it should be said that in history we really have common parts with Bulgaria. And we should celebrate them together. Why not Ilinden, but as a symbol of the Macedonian struggle

for freedom and our own state, and only as Macedonians and Bulgarians, and not to show that we are all some kind of Bulgarians, even if not fully aware of it. Why not sign a protocol about that? Both in Macedonian and Bulgarian. But, instead of that, since 1999, L. Georgievski publicly devalued and crippled our Macedonian language, accepting at least implicitly that it is a dialect of Bulgarian. One day, responsibility will have to be taken for that.

The Macedonians are not and have never been aggressive, but have developed a defensive instinct. It is unfortunate that today, that instinct is dulled in some. Most likely for personal benefits.

As in everything else when it comes to relations with Bulgaria, the problem is in Sofia, not in Skopje. That must be made clear or should have been clear to L. Georgievski. It is the Bulgarians that spread hatred against us, not us against them.

THE GOVERNMENT AND NAME WERE CHANGED WITH A CRISIS IMPOSED FROM THE OUTSIDE (2014 – 2016),

(June 2016, before the December elections)

There are enough facts that show that Washington's decision to take decisive steps against the ruling party in Macedonia, due to their stubborn opposition to their intentions to divide the state and the people, was made sometime before 2011. In February of that year, Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski was in Washington to meet with Joe Biden, the Vice President of the United States. From what is known, the talks were extremely unpleasant. First, there was no press conference and N. Gruevski spoke to our journalists on the street. Second, the main evidence for this is the statement made by F. Reeker, US ambassador in Skopje, ("Dnevnik", March 4, 2011), who publicly warned us: *"The situation in Macedonia has not changed after the messages of concern that Prime Minister Gruevski received at the meetings in Washington. On the contrary, after February 16, US concerns have intensified!"* That was a red card for N. Gruevski, after the yellow card he had already received in Washington. It is unbelievable that N. Gruevski did not understand this, but it seems that he was not ready to destroy the state and Macedonianism. This is an example of the way the USA rules the world. They warn you and it is up to you whether you "come to your senses" or not. They do not forgive. Either you will dance to their tune or you will disappear from the political scene. There is no third option! And whether they will use wiretapping, accusations of crime and dictatorship, colour revolutions carried out by hooligans or something else, it does not matter. There are numerous such cases in the world (Salvador Allende, in Chile...). There are countless elaborate techniques in the CIA's rich practice. By ignoring the warning, N. Gruevski enabled a new stage in the overthrow of his government to begin. Very likely, the signal was then given for the start of intensified

illegal wiretapping of telephone conversations in the country and other riots that followed.

Formally, the deep political crisis began to shake the foundations of the state after the elections, held in April 2014. In the evening, immediately after the ballot boxes closed, without any official objection and without waiting for the results, SDSM, the opposition, announced that it did not recognize the elections and began a boycott of the Parliament. There should not be a shred of doubt that this was not an indigenous decision of the domestic party, but a foreign decision to start the process to overthrow the government that did not want to capitulate and give up the name of the state and the identity of the people, primary regional interests of Washington developed after the collapse of Yugoslavia. In the elections, the previous government, led by VMRO DPMNE, won by about 200 thousand votes and 61 parliamentary seats. This shows that even if there were irregularities and abuses during the voting, and there are always such things in our country, they did not in any way affect the results. The opposition's decision to not recognize the elections and boycott parliament fits perfectly into the US efforts to create a crisis that would enable both a change in government, a change of the name, and a rapid NATO membership. These have been the emphasized US interests in relation to Macedonia for a long time.

The deliberately created deep political crisis reached its peak when the opposition began to publicly present the illegally tapped telephone conversations of the highest officials of VMRO DPMNE. Both the secret recording of the telephone conversations and their public presentation were classic crimes. N. Gruevski and the government allowed the violation of the laws and thus wrote their own verdict. Journalist Milenko Nedelkovski publicly told Gruevski - either surrender or you will be arrested. It turned out that he was absolutely right. But it was an open secret that the American and other Western ambassadors in Skopje had strictly ordered N. Gruevski not to arrest the leader of the opposition. And he, every day, published so-called "bombs", or rather illegally tapped telephone conversations, which were

punishable by law. N. Gruevski listened to the foreigners, and again made a mistake. The most indicative thing was that the wire tapped conversations of politicians from VMRO DPMNE were published but not those of DUI MP's, who were part of the government. This is the best evidence that the operation had aims to overthrow N. Gruevski, a symbol of the national survival of the Macedonians, and not against some crime or the like. This only confirms that Western secret services were hiding behind all this. The opposition did not have the capacity for such a project. After all, in 2015 it was mentioned that the wire tapping lasted four years. That takes us back to 2011, which confirms that it all started after N. Gruevski's visit to Washington. The US lost patience, he was invited to be given an ultimatum and, if it was not accepted, they decided to overthrow him.

Gruevski's visit to Washington (2011) must be seen in the context of their increased interest: Macedonia to become a member of NATO as soon as possible. They deliberately and rapidly worsened relations with Russia and practically started a new cold war. To this end, the possibility of the Russians returning to the Balkans through Macedonia had to be urgently closed. Unfortunately for us, our name has gained significance in recent years, precisely because of the conflict between Moscow and Washington. It would not be wrong at all to conclude that we have been given some (unnecessary and bad for us) role in the global conflict, which is escalating in relation to Ukraine. This was confirmed by the US Secretary of State, John Kerry, who clearly told us that we are in the line of fire, although he did not show his cards to the end. However, it is clear that it can only be the American line and, only, against – Russia. After the open confrontation with Moscow, the stabilization of NATO's southern flank in the Balkans became the main priority for Washington, which also dictated Macedonia's rapid admission into NATO. The roots of the crisis in Macedonia from 2014 to 2016 can be seen in these urgent American needs. The USA shook the foundations of our state in order to force us to urgently accept a change of our name, without which admission to NATO was not

possible. That was the only way to include us in the alliance because Washington was firmly blackmailing – first the name, then membership. N. Gruevski was not ready to take such a step and that is why they consigned him to history. If, however, “our” new leaders were a little smarter, it would have been clear to them that Washington was in a hurry and that there was a possibility that our demands, tactics and conditions regarding the Nivitsi agreement could have been met. But, we were also rushing towards the EU, which we will not join for at least 20 years, and that is why they accepted everything.

These issues are not considered in depth in our country and therefore it is common to publicly give completely wrong interpretations. In one part, of course, there is also a clear intention to conceal the real situation. For example, after the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), it was believed in Macedonia that our accession was prevented by a Greek veto, which has nothing to do with the truth. American dominance in NATO is several times stronger than in the UN. The American word in the NATO alliance is (almost) law. Not only does the US finance more than 70 percent of its activities, but it is also the guarantor of European security, and therefore everyone must listen to them. Before Bucharest, all NATO members agreed that Macedonia had met the criteria. Even Greece stated this. And instead of membership, a complete reversal in the alliance’s policy towards Macedonia occurred. They imposed a blockade on us, with blackmail and an ultimatum – first re-christening, then membership. NATO policy is determined by Washington, and the influence of others is minimal. There was no Greek veto, and it was the US that did not allow us to join. Just as they crippled us in the UN Security Council in 1993, with an illegal international suspension of our constitutional name.

The episode with President George Bush is certainly confusing, but it is logical and clear. He was at the end of his term and was trying to get Macedonia into NATO, which would have been his merit and success. He was prevented from doing so by his associates who understood that Macedonia, once it becomes a member state with the reference, will not

be able to be renamed. It will be equal and no one will be able to force it to change its name. This is clear evidence that the “Macedonian Question” was to be closed by deleting the Macedonians, crucial for the USA, and that is why they left us out of NATO. G. Bush was defeated by his own administration, which was already working on a post-Bush America. Victoria Nuland’s attempts to rename us on the spot, which she herself boasted about, failed. What we offered, however, – the Republic of Macedonia (Skopje) – was not sufficient nor acceptable to them. The reason is obvious: it does not involve the renaming of the people. The term – “Macedonia” is not undermined by any addition directly related to it (northern, new, upper...), which is automatically transferred to the people. In Bucharest, Greece played only an episodic role as an interested party. Nothing more. The veto policy, which Greece loudly promoted there, was intended for domestic use as a whole. If, however, Greece was really the main blocker, Turkey would certainly have come forward to help us. Ankara did not react because it did not want a confrontation with Washington, which is only proof that the US was leading the game. If this were not the case, Turkey would certainly have set a condition – either all three candidates be admitted, or none! It is not at all true that we left G. Bush in the lurch, as some in this country have been alleging. On the contrary, Bush appreciated our effort and invited B. Tsrvenkovski and N. Gruevski to an unusual meeting in Zagreb, as a “consolation prize”. Then some useless security memorandum was signed in Washington, which was an additional positive move on his part. With these two acts, G. Bush showed that he had been played by his own people and apologized (to us) for the injustice towards our country.

It is extremely naïve and unreasonable to believe that all these years Washington wanted us to join NATO by the reference, and Greece did not allow it! In the practice of the alliance, such a thing will be unthinkable for a long time to come. Even those who understand politics and diplomacy the least are aware that if the US really wanted to, we would have been a member of NATO since 2008. No one could

have prevented it. Not even Germany, France and Britain together, let alone Greece alone, as our “experts” interpret the NATO summit in Bucharest. However, after 9/11 in New York in 2001 and in the wake of the coup in Kiev (2014), which was long in preparation and there were rumours that the US had “invested” as much as five billion dollars to overthrow the pro-Russian president, V. Yanukovych, things changed. After Ukraine, Macedonia’s membership in NATO became imperative, probably out of fear that Russia might seek compensation precisely in the Balkans. In such conditions, our re-baptism had become almost the main task of Washington, and this could most easily be achieved by creating a deep political crisis, with the American ambassador in Skopje entering the scene as an unelected governor.

It can be concluded that with the crisis imposed on us from 2014 to 2016, Macedonia has been brought to its knees again, just like in 2008 (Bucharest), 2001 (ORD), 1995 (interim agreement), with the blockade of the southern border (1994), just like during our admission to the UN (1993)..., to succumb, according to a precisely crafted American scenario, which is constantly adapting to the conditions and is persistently and dedicatedly implemented. The scenario also determines the role of the mercenaries and vassals who prepared and activated the wiretapped “bombs”; of the “colour revolutionaries”, who were paid modestly by Soros; of petty journalists and the like. Our unwillingness to face the truth about our real opponent is also calculated, as is the internal division. They made the most of all of this. The goal does not change: to break the people apart by renaming their state.

The crisis was developing brilliantly because N. Gruevski either did not know how to resist, or could not, and he suffered his main defeat through the so-called Przhino agreement, concluded on July 15, 2015. It was a kind of coup with our participation and consent. The boycott of the Parliament opened the way for all our “friends” to meddle in our country, of course under the direction of the American ambassador, J. Bailey. He previously served in Turkey, and it was said that he was actively involved in the mass riots against President Recep Tayyip

Erdogan, organized on Taksim Square in Istanbul. Przhino was preceded by the “colour revolution”, financed by Western sources and previously organized in other countries; clashes with aggressive demonstrators during which several police officers were injured; camping in front of the Government buildings, and the like. The Ministers of Interior and Transport, as well as the head of the secret service, were forced to resign immediately. An interim government was also agreed upon, with the resignation of Prime Minister N. Gruevski 100 days before the early elections scheduled for April 24, 2016. A Special Public Prosecutor’s Office was also established to investigate high-level crime, noted in the illegally wire tapped conversations and similarly published telephone conversations. In the face of all these unprecedented departures from VMRO DPMNE, the opposition (SDSM) only had to return to Parliament.

The agreement was supposedly prepared by Commissioner J. Hahn from the EU and three MEPs, but the script and text were certainly mainly American. Their ambassador participated in all phases of the negotiations, and the original of the agreement is written only in English. Przhino is a synonym for a protectorate state. First, state institutions were blatantly ignored by seeking a solution outside of them and, albeit tacitly, by accepting the SDSM boycott. Such a boycott is unthinkable in the West; second, even if there were electoral abuses in 2014, they did not affect the results at all; third, two Macedonian and Albanian political leaders were agreed upon, just like for the OFA in Ohrid, which publicly demonstrated federalism in the country and ignored the role of the majority; fourth, albeit implicitly, with all the concessions it made, VMRO DPMNE admitted and accepted that it was responsible for major crimes that were later not proven at all, although the SPO conducted a classic political persecution against its members; fifth, the SPO persecuted only politicians from VMRO DPMNE and not from DUI, its coalition partner, who, if there was already a crime, were certainly at least as involved, if not more, which should not be disputed. After all, in the “bombs” that SDSM published, there were no

incriminating wiretapped conversations of DUI figures. They were pardoned in advance. This is the ultimate proof that both Przhino and the entire crisis were designed to bring down N. Gruevski and for Macedonia to be defeated for its name; sixth, the Albanian leaders tried with all their might to put their ethnic demands on the table, but without success. That is precisely why, at the beginning of May 2015, in Kumanovo, a serious terrorist incident occurred when eight police officers were killed and more than 40 were wounded. A larger group of Albanian terrorists came from Kosovo in order to impose ethnic demands in Przhino. Thanks to the efficient action of the police, which dismantled the terrorist gang in two days, that was prevented. If the conflict had continued, negotiations with the terrorists would have been imposed on us again, just like in Ohrid (2001). In that case, the Przhino agreement would have been supplemented.

In January 2016, N. Gruevski resigned and an interim government was formed. Elections were scheduled for April 24. However, they were first postponed to June and then to December and VMRO DPMNE was played. SDSM had a low rating and that is why foreigners postponed the elections. With intensified propaganda, the government was fiercely vilified. N. Gruevski resigned almost a year before the elections, although the obligation was 100 days. That was also the goal of the foreigners, aware of his high prestige among the people. In the elections in December 2016, VMRO DPMNE won again, with two more MPs than SDSM but, at the last moment, the foreigners again prevented him from forming a government.

THE “SOROSOID” PLEVNELIEV LEFT US WITHOUT DILEMMA

(January, 2017)

The people say that the Turkified are greater Turks than the real ones. The saying is also used, greater Catholics than the Pope. Here, somewhere, is the current Bulgarian president, Rosen Plevneliev, who comes from a Macedonian family from the Aegean part of Macedonia, and therefore must prove himself to be the greatest Janissary. However, he deserves our gratitude for the statement he made before leaving office. As president of Bulgaria, R. Plevneliev could not tell us this openly and it is good that he has now eased his soul. He gave us an excellent reason for many of us to become aware because he completely opened the cards and there was no possibility of hesitation at all. If we are not ready to understand and face the truth, the problem is ours. In fact, to put it mildly, we also behave shyly towards Washington, Brussels... which are the bearers of the defeat of Macedonianism. This is a lesson for all those in this country who do not want to believe in the true, permanent and fully coordinated Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia. Unlike them, however, there is nothing in our country that could be called a policy towards Bulgaria. Everyone improvises, lets things flow and acts in good faith towards those who do not spit and, therefore, in the end, we come out extremely inadequate. On the whole, we behave amateurishly and irresponsibly.

Without any doubt, the ideologist and creator of this policy is the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN). Therefore, this statement by R. must be the last warning, lesson and guide for MANU in the cooperation with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which lately, it seems, is being realized more and more dynamically in a rather uncritical manner. Relations should be developed but extremely

carefully, so as not to run into, as before, their anti-Macedonian schemes.

What, in fact, did R. Plevneliev tell us with the statement – *“Macedonia should join the EU and that is a cause for Bulgaria as well, but not for Macedonianism. Macedonianism is an ideology that is not only anti-Bulgarian, but also anti-democratic!?”* He continued to ramble on about this topic and concluded – *“I sincerely think that my children and the children of our brothers on the other side, in Skopje, should be brothers...!”*

First, we are not and can never be brothers with the Bulgarians. Not us, much less our children. We are Macedonians and they are Bulgarians. The desire to be “brothers” means that we are all Bulgarians. We are - “unconscious”. Moreover, the sentence is also incorrect: his children and the children of “their brothers” from Macedonia – genealogically can only be cousins, not “brothers”! And we can, should and must be good neighbours and nothing more. Many things should connect us, but the politicians in Sofia are running away from them: they have unattainable ambitions.

Second, R. Plevneliev clearly repeated to us that for them, we are – a second Bulgarian state. He could not have told us more openly that Macedonians, as a people, for them – definitely do not exist.

Third, we are directly informed that there is no hope for us to enter the EU as Macedonians, with the Macedonian language, Macedonian culture, traditions... As has already been announced, Bulgaria will not allow this. In addition to Brussels and Athens, now Sofia is also setting up a blockade which, to be honest, may be the most rigorous. The Bulgarian position towards Macedonia is essentially worse than the Greek one. Athens does not deny that we are a separate people, language... but let’s just not call ourselves – Macedonia and Macedonians... because of the brand and antiquity. With another name for the state, the people, the language... they will generously support us.

That is unrealistic, impossible and unfeasible, but Sofia says – there are no Macedonians and accepts only that we are “Bulgarians”.

Fourth, the assessment that Macedonianism is an “*anti-Bulgarian and anti-democratic ideology*” showed R. Plevneliev’s low intellectual capacity and the absurdity of the Bulgarian syndrome towards our country. It is pure nonsense. Nebulosity. Stupidity. Mental deviation. Stupidity. Absurdity. Idiocy. Crazy. Out of the mind. Filthy. Bloodthirsty. Insane. Horrible... You can qualify the existence of a people and a state in various ways, but it can in no way be an “ideology” and even less something - “anti-democratic”. The man does not know what he is talking about. It is not clear to him how he should use the expressions.

This is an excellent occasion to demand an explicit explanation from Sofia - is that their official position on Macedonia? Not that we don’t know that, but this is also related to EU membership and this is an opportunity to condemn their uncivilized attitude that takes us back to the 18th century. Bulgarian politicians rarely explicitly deny the Macedonians like this. And in response to their reaction, a diplomatic offensive must be undertaken in Brussels, Strasbourg (the Council of Europe and the European Parliament), Washington, Berlin... Moscow, Beijing... with a Memorandum that will demand condemnation of such a policy and support for Macedonia. President Gjorge Ivanov and his colleagues should do the same. We have no doubt that the Western centers are also behind the Bulgarian fascist and chauvinistic attitude towards the Macedonian state and the people, but our task is to make it visible, to put it on the table because none of them are proud of such a policy. As long as we remain silent, the caravan will move on. If, however, our offensive becomes fierce and daily, everyone will have to think deeply. The arguments are on our side and we must use them if we want to change things. The path for broad action has opened up for us and it will be a great loss if we do not use it. We have slept through numerous similar situations so far and it will probably be the same now.

This statement must be used to the maximum in connection with the imposed agreement on friendship and cooperation. The fact that they insist so much on the agreement is proof that the goal is to wipe out the Macedonian people. Any strategic concession of ours, as in the shameful Declaration of 1999, would be tantamount to (second) suicide. Our side should only ask – is this request of yours in line with the statement of R. Plevneliev, from January 22, 2017, that we do not exist as a people and that we are “brothers”? Everything that is not reciprocally set must be rejected without discussion, and with a remark – this cannot be demanded from “brothers”!

Everything that is proposed on an unequal basis must be rejected with indignation. The Bulgarian side must understand that such an agreement can only be signed by the Macedonian and Bulgarian people, within the framework of their state bodies, and that, according to international practice, the agreement must also be signed in the Macedonian language, without any monkey business with mention of the constitutions, as in the 1999 declaration. If this is not accepted, the negotiations should be stopped. Without strong demands we only show that nothing is sacred to us and that we are ready for anything. That is why they are imposing blockades, blackmail and ultimatums on us – first the name, then membership. So far, we have not officially rejected the bully policy from Brussels. And, naturally, they are pushing it and so are others (Sofia) following Brussels.

Another example shows that R. Plevneliev’s statement indicates the durability of Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia. For a long time now, the Bulgarian national and satellite television FOLK has been continuously broadcasting songs in pure Macedonian. These are Macedonian songs composed in Bulgaria and performed by Bulgarian singers! Almost every second song is like that! These are cowardly eggs that we do not notice, and we should seek an official explanation - what does such a practice mean? It is not at all naïve. This was conceived by their top strategic planners. Does anyone want better proof for foreigners that the Macedonian language is a dialect of

Bulgarian? Here, let them listen to the songs that have been broadcast on Bulgarian television for years! This should be proof enough. When it comes to us - that is how Bulgaria behaves. So far - successfully. But, we cannot let things like that go unchallenged. Our diplomacy must raise the issue in Sofia, but also on a broader field. If we do not expose this vileness in time, it will hit us on the head.

R. Plevneliev did not become famous as president. They were not satisfied with GERB, the party that nominated him. Therefore, he will not have a second term. The Sofia newspaper “Telegraph”, dated January 19, 2017, sent him away with a longer text entitled - “Soros’s servant is leaving from the bottom”. They assessed him as an American henchman and a braggart who also boasts about deeds done by the government.

At the last press conference, R. Plevneliev assessed his term as successful, while, according to the newspaper “Sega”, dated January 20, 2017, Vice President M. Popova “poured cold water on him”! She told him to his face that he had made numerous mistakes, left society divided, abandoned the secret services... K. Karakachanov assessed him as the weakest president so far, and Z. Boychev, from the BSP, that he was completely dependent on GERB and Boyko Borisov.

In a long interview with the newspaper “24 Chasa”, from January 16, 2017, R. Plevneliev boasted that Barack Obama was his close friend with whom he had 25 meetings and 30 with A. Merkel. He emphasized that they had his mobile phone number without mentioning whether he had theirs. He noted with great pleasure that last September (meaning during the UN General Assembly, 2016) he saw Obama three times in the same day! He listened to him when he spoke in the General Assembly, then he was at the joint lunch with all the heads of delegations, which he also attended, and they “talked for a long time” (although they sat at different tables)?! In the evening he was also invited to the reception where they took pictures, and Barack and Michelle Obama hugged him so tightly that his jacket shifted! *“He was*

proud” that his term ended at the same time, just two days after B. Obama’s! However, the most special moment in his politics was when the German President, J. Gauck, “*held his hand for minutes, in front of all the media*”! In a trance he concluded – “*I am Obama, I am Merkel, I am Gauck*”!

Sad and shameful. What Balkan complexes, what nonsense.

WHAT IS HIDDEN BEHIND THE AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA?

(July, 2017)

The Macedonian people are centuries-old and a millennial reality that no sane person can deny. Traditionally, with recognition, all issues related to that state are resolved. However, when recognizing Macedonia, Zheliu Zhelev, President of Bulgaria, said that this does not imply recognition of the Macedonian people and language, which is a world precedent.

Contrary to all international regulations and rules, perhaps as a unique case in world history, Sofia recognized Macedonia, the state, but at the same time denied the existence of the Macedonian people living in that state and their language. Not only does it deny and appropriate them, but as they are, they do not exist for it. Unseen and unheard. What did Bulgaria recognize then, if not the people living in Macedonia? If there are no people, there cannot be a state. Bulgaria forgets, or rather pretends to be shocked, that if there were no Macedonian people, there would be no Macedonian state. It was not created by any Bulgarians. In the censuses, the vast majority of the people declare themselves Macedonians. If Sofia thinks that this was or is the result of some directive, now or at the end of World War II, you have not heard greater stupidity. Their phantasmagoria that we are a second Bulgarian state, and the people are “unconscious Bulgarians” is pitiful. We all know the background of their historical misconceptions and syndromes, but we do not demand anything from Sofia. We simply do not accept its incorrectness, intolerance and negatory attitude towards the people and the language... Or, in general, its shameful, unsustainable and anti-historical policy towards Macedonia. It would be much more logical for our attitude towards Sofia to be much more fierce because, at its core, it is a question of classic irredentism. By appropriating the people,

Bulgaria articulates open aspirations towards our territory as well. No more no less. They act like they live in the 19th century when such disputes were possible. It is truly too much when an EU member state, with a nod to Brussels, behaves like this in the 21st century. It is an unprecedented shame for everyone.

Such is the reality in NATO, in the EU, and more broadly on the world stage. The main factors, who all the time talk about democracy, human rights and the rule of law, in practice, when their interests are at stake, do not understand any of that. In such cases, nothing else matters. Do you remember the disrespect shown for the Hague ruling that was in favour of Macedonia? When something is not to their liking, that's how they behave.

And, look at the miracle: the Bulgarians want to sign an agreement with us, but on the condition that we accept that we are not who we are, that we speak a non-existent language, and all of that on an asymmetrical basis. Too much even for Bulgaria alone. If anyone in this country is ready to sign an agreement under such conditions – the fierce judgment of the people will not fail them. Not only with history. If, however, the people tolerate it, we do not deserve better. The lies we are told that Sofia will help us on the road to Brussels, and that is why we should submit and sign the shameful agreement, are hideous manipulations and an unprecedented fabrication and deception. Others decide on our membership to NATO and the EU, and Bulgaria's role in that process is zero. It will have no role even when it presides over the European Council next year (for six months). That is a mere formality and nothing will depend on Sofia, absolutely nothing. They will only play the role of the British Queen. They will experience a little false importance and glamour, and that is all. It is undeniable, however, that Sofia can put obstacles in our integration processes. We can be completely sure that these things will happen only if they are in the service of other people's interests (and dictates!), and not only Bulgarian ones. If the main actors consider that this is not opportune,

Bulgaria will immediately get slapped and will withdraw as if nothing had happened.

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1. All bilateral agreements are signed in the languages of both countries. Bulgaria, in addition to Bulgarian, signs with Germany in German, with Italy in Italian, with Serbia in Serbian... Why doesn't Sofia want this universal rule to apply to Macedonia? We all know the answer: because they are not ready to sign an agreement in the Macedonian language because for them such a language does not exist. They consider it a dialect of Bulgarian. The essence, however, is much deeper: for them there are no Macedonians who would speak it. The language does not exist because there are no Macedonians as a separate people. And, if there are no Macedonians, then the language can only be phantom. Bulgaria's attitude towards Macedonia must be seen as a whole.

2. In all bilateral agreements, both parties treat each other on an equal and reciprocal basis, with symmetrical rights and obligations. Bulgaria insists that this universal rule does not apply to Macedonia. They are imposing an agreement on us that will be asymmetrical – with more of our obligations and more of their rights. Agreements of this type are forced to be signed only by countries defeated in war. We really shamefully lost the war in 2001 and that is why we signed the OFA, but that is no reason to sign another humiliating agreement. This is also the case with Bulgaria. Accepting any asymmetry in the agreement is an unworthy act for a sovereign state and under no circumstances and under no pressure or blackmail should we accept such a thing. That would be an unforgivable historical mistake. Only protectorates sign such agreements. Rightly so, and then all other states will treat us in the same way.

3. Sofia insists on such an agreement because it wants us to agree with its policy and officially confirm that both the language and we as a people are invented. Whether by Tito or the Comintern is not so

important. It is not at all a coincidence that our name is also in question. Without our consent, they cannot change our name and that is why they are doing everything they can to force us into an agreement with Greece, so that we accept a new name. The case of the language with Bulgaria is exactly the same. Can anyone now say that there is no coordination in the destruction of Macedonianism? Their aim is to sacrifice the name and the people through Athens, and the language through Sofia, which includes additional support for the erasure of the people. As Macedonians, we are expected to abolish ourselves, and those invented in Greece will remain. All in the name of democracy and law.

4. If so, and so it is, we already have enough reasons to resolutely oppose such an agreement with Sofia, which is offensive to every Macedonian because it humiliates all of us. Signing it would mean that we consciously deny ourselves and accept that Bulgaria rightfully ignores our people and language.

5. The basic question is - why does Bulgaria insist on signing a friendship and cooperation agreement using blackmail, if the two prime ministers, in 1999, signed a "Joint Declaration", which is shameful and humiliating enough for Macedonia? Why does Sofia want a new agreement with virtually the same content as the declaration? Why does Bulgaria threaten that without the agreement it will block our Euro-Atlantic integration? It doesn't take much intelligence to understand that behind that are hidden secret intentions and interests. The reasons are serious. Declarations have limited meaning. They are not binding documents. It is a kind of joint statement that announces certain ideas, intentions, plans and even desires and... that's it. Usually, very little and often nothing, of what is written in the declarations, is implemented. They remain words on paper, exactly as happened with this one, - the 1999 Macedonian-Bulgarian declaration. The declarations are not subject to any further legal proceedings. They are signed and put in a drawer. Treaties and Agreements are something completely different. They are binding. According to international practice, they are above

domestic legislation, when they are ratified. Bilateral agreements are deposited in the UN and most of them are ratified in national parliaments... It is a common practice for countries to regulate a whole range of issues of common interest by agreement. From regulating borders and waters, protecting investments, avoiding double taxation, to all types of cooperation... The number of agreements reflects the level of cooperation between two countries.

6. The pinnacle of regulation between two countries is precisely the agreement on friendship and cooperation, which Sofia is now insisting on and with which Bulgaria is blackmailing us. In principle, this kind of agreement is signed only by countries that do not have any open mutual issues. It shows that everything is settled between them. Therefore, there are not many such agreements in the world. Whether the relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria are at such a level, everyone can answer. The very fact that Sofia wants to impose the agreement on us with shameful blackmail already says it all: they want to prove the impossible. This means that they want us to accept their centuries-old negationist policies towards the Macedonian people. For those who want to understand, it is quite clear that, by imposing the agreement, Sofia wants to realize several precisely determined intentions that it is hiding because they are extremely vile. That is why they want to replace the declaration with a supreme state agreement because only in this way can they impose their interests on the international level. If we succumb, we will only show our political inadequacy. The 1999 declaration has completed its role at that time, which was dual and which we will elaborate on in more detail here. But, it is insufficient for a broad international devaluation of the Macedonian language, and implicitly of the Macedonian people. To deny it as something non-autochthonous, non-existent and as a dialect of another language, specifically Bulgarian, they need an agreement.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA?

(July, 2017)

Even a superficial analysis shows that Bulgaria's main goal is the international devaluation of the Macedonian language.

1. Bulgaria cannot imagine a better "proof" than with an agreement that the Macedonian language is not autochthonous, so that it can pressure institutions to register the language everywhere, not as an autochthonous language but a language defined - "according to the Constitution" of the state. Quite rightly, Sofia will use the agreement everywhere that Macedonia officially agreed to have its language marked in this way. That is one of the basic rules in politics and diplomacy - once a precedent is set, it is binding and everyone can refer to it. Bulgaria will do this, without any doubt. That is why it is blackmail.

2. We should not delude ourselves that this is some kind of trickery, political vanity or internal Bulgarian political needs. On the contrary, it is a matter of clear pragmatism, for which they certainly have support from Washington, since this segment also fits perfectly into the American quarter-century destructive policy towards Macedonia. As we have seen, the 1999 declaration was also an American creation. There are numerous goals that, through Sofia, Washington began with the declaration, and plans to end with this agreement.

3. The first goal is to finally remove the Macedonian language as a symbol of the Macedonian people, equal to all others. The declaration was not enough for that because such documents do not require parliamentary approval. With the agreement, which will also have to be ratified by the Parliament, we will FORMALLY give up our native language.

4. The second parallel goal is to finally confirm that there cannot be a separate Macedonian people if there is no longer an autochthonous Macedonian language. A people without a language - there is none. They go together. This would prove their age-old thesis that “we are all Bulgarians.” Athens is the main bearer of the task of destroying the Macedonian people, by changing the name. Sofia has a secondary role by denying the language.

5. The third goal, which we have already mentioned, is one of the key traps set for us by the agreement. Sofia will do everything to impose this formulation of the language for the widest international use because Macedonia agreed to it. Sofia will insist that “*the Macedonian language defined according to the Constitution*” must be used everywhere. Thus, our language will not be autochthonous, real, but will be something invented, even - stolen. With that, we will become a crippled state that does not have its own language, leaving all options open for the fate of the state and the people. Bulgaria’s calculations are that in this way, on an international level, they will create a basis for its sick ideas that Macedonia is not a real state, that it is someone’s creation, using a “*constitutional language*”. Their point would be that their aspirations towards the people and the language, and thus towards the territory, are completely legal and legitimate.

If anyone thinks that these are far-fetched assumptions, they are very much mistaken. This is an (ancient) diplomatic practice. After all, why else would Bulgaria insist and blackmail us by signing an agreement with such a formula? To humiliate us? What will it achieve with that? To show strength and power? They don’t need such things. But, it is just a tool for them to decimate us internationally and put us in permanent dependence. More precisely, to impose their policy that we are “unconscious Bulgarians” and thus leave the way open for them to eventually realize their historical aspirations towards Macedonia, through various options that will follow. Of course, according to the conditions that will eventually make this possible. After the collapse of

Yugoslavia, the endings in the Balkans are not yet over. Sofia is just sharpening its claws just in case.

6. The fourth goal, or rather the thread of all their plans, is to prove that, at least until World War II, we were all Bulgarians and that all our historical heritage up to that time is unique, and only Bulgarian. From Samuel and before him, through the Ilinden and other uprisings, to the Serbian occupation of Vardar Macedonia, which was Bulgarian territory with the same people, right. That is why they insist that we celebrate all those events together because for centuries we have been the same - Bulgarians. With the agreement and the joint celebration, it is inevitably demonstrated that we accept our Bulgarian roots, we agree that this is our origin and that the Macedonian language is a dialect of Bulgarian. After World War II, it was codified into something separate, but the basis is undeniably common and both (Bulgarian) states agree with that.

6. The fourth goal, or rather the thread of all their plans, is to prove that, at least until World War II, we were all Bulgarians and that all our historical heritage up to that time is unique, and only Bulgarian. From Samuel and before him, through the Ilinden and other uprisings, to the Serbian occupation of the Vardar Banovina, which was Bulgarian territory with the same people. That is why they insist that we celebrate all those events together because for centuries we have been Bulgarians too. With the agreement and the joint celebration, it is inevitably demonstrated that we accept our Bulgarian roots, we agree that such is our origin and that the Macedonian language is a dialect of Bulgarian. After World War II, it was codified into something separate, but the basis is undeniably common and both (Bulgarian) states agree with that.

7. In short, Sofia believes that if we sign the agreement, we are in fact admitting or accepting that we are a creation or invention of the Comintern or Tito! That means that as a people we have existed since the end of World War II, then we codified the Macedonian language, based on a Bulgarian dialect, and therefore they recognize it only as part of our Constitution, more precisely, not as autochthonous. And

Macedonia has a constitution from 1946, which should mean that the Macedonian language has existed since then, and that before that - it did not exist! Because there was no constitution...!?

8. Even from space one can see that Bulgaria has secret intentions towards Macedonia. A proven rule is that you don't build a house with someone who has hidden plans. They will lie to you. It is not at all advisable to build a friendship with a country that, under the table, but quite visibly, makes calculations diametrically opposed to the fundamental interests of the Macedonian people and their state. We should not sign such an agreement with Sofia until the Bulgarians open their cards, until they present true and sincere ideas. This means that they should first publicly say that we are and have always been Macedonians and that our language is Macedonian, not Bulgarian. It is indisputable that some Macedonians lived and worked in Bulgaria and that we should celebrate some Macedonian figures together. In fact, we can celebrate anyone and anything together, but by agreement, as two separate peoples, who speak different languages, although they are also understandable. No other way and only after they swallow the historical truth. No way before that. As long as their goal is to deny the Macedonians as a people, we should be extremely restrained in every respect. Let's develop relations where it is not disputed, but let's not give up on ourselves. Infrastructure connectivity should not and must not be held hostage to anyone's historical syndromes. We should look ahead.

9. There are indisputable and proven historical facts which precisely deny the crude Bulgarian arrogance. The main argument is that the "Macedonian question" has existed for at least 150 years, at least since the Berlin Congress held in 1878. Is it possible then for such a "question" to exist without Macedonians? How is that possible they just "appeared", let alone were "invented", 70 years ago, during World War II, and for almost a century before that there was a "Macedonian Question"? A topic frequently discussed at numerous international forums?! We must ask the Bulgarians for an explanation – how did the

unconscious “Bulgarians” manage to open the “Macedonian Question”? Something is not right, right? If we do not do this, if thanks to our political illiteracy we sign a capitulation agreement, we will confirm that we treat the Bulgarian historical syndrome as if it were credible!

10. If anyone thinks that all this is an exaggeration, let them watch the debates on Bulgarian television and everything will be clear to them. Bulgaria is certainly part of the forces that want to destroy the Macedonian people at all costs because only then will we become - “conscious Bulgarians”. It is up to us whether we will allow this to happen or not. The imposition of the agreement is their decisive step.

11. The hardening of Bulgaria’s attitude towards Macedonia came in December 2012. It was at the European Council in Brussels, when Sofia for the first time began to challenge our Euro-Atlantic integration processes. The insistence on signing this agreement, as a condition for their cooperation, dates back to that time, which shows that this is a new and long-term strategy and clearly – blackmail. Another question is whether and to what extent this is just their policy, although we must remember that Washington and Brussels have the same attitude towards Macedonia, which also previously imposed a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum on us – first the name, then membership. The identity of the two policies cannot be hidden and it is difficult not to connect them. Athens is also here, of course.

12. The change in Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia was no surprise to those who follow the case. Greece has long been saying that Bulgaria can and should grow into a greater threat on our path to Europe. The trilateral (Athens – Belgrade – Sofia), held in July 2017 in Solun, was certainly fully dedicated to Macedonia. This was the moment when we were put up for sale. Bulgaria and Greece certainly consult regularly and, lately, probably coordinate because the general impression is that we have been brought to our knees and that it is time to cut the “Macedonian knot”. The Bulgarian offensive is certainly part of this assessment. The “Tirana Platform” must also be seen in that context. It

can be argued with great certainty that all this is being led by the main international factor, the USA, for the sake of its own regional interests. In politics and diplomacy, as in life, nothing is accidental. The “Macedonian question” is about to be closed and everyone is working on it, including our political amateurs. Can Greece, Bulgaria and Albania simultaneously issue ultimatums to us and not be led or, at least, instigated by a single center? The key question for us is – where are we in all these fateful events created for us?

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To understand that the friendship agreement with Bulgaria is also a USA project, we must examine the proof in the fact that they imposed the declaration on us in 1999, which was its basis.

1. On February 22, 1999, the prime ministers of Macedonia (Ljubcho Georgievski) and Bulgaria (Ivan Kostov) signed the “Joint Declaration”, which was a huge historical mistake for us. Macedonia practically gave up its minority in Bulgaria and catastrophically devalued its own language. Contrary to universal international practice, the formula for both languages was – “Macedonian language, according to the Constitution of Macedonia and Bulgarian language, according to the Constitution of Bulgaria”. Someone will say – but the two languages are in the same position, which is true, but no one, including us, disputes the Bulgarian language and such a formulation does not harm it at all. No one will refer to that. Quite the opposite, Sofia in this way CONFIRMS THAT THERE IS NO MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE, it is according to the constitution, which means it is not autochthonous. In other words – just a dialect of Bulgarian. By signing the declaration, our side accepted that. The Bulgarians are not ready to sign a text with a non-existent (Macedonian) language for them, and Ljubcho Georgievski and the government did not mind that. That is why the Constitution is cited and constitutions are changed, right?

2. The echoes in Bulgaria said it all: everyone thought they had received more than they expected. Obviously, they did not believe that we would

agree to annul our language and eradicate Macedonianness. And the USA received much more than they had hoped for. In our country, however, there were no major ripples, except that the then opposition, now in power, quite rightly, was fiercely against the declaration, even though they have now signed the agreement. These days, television stations have been quoting Gjorgji Spasov, who was one of their leaders at the time. Listen and be ashamed. They said one thing then, they are doing another today. Pathetic Macedonia. Without a strategy.

3. The fact is that Bulgaria was the first country to recognize independent Macedonia (on January 15, 1992), on the day when the EC, at the behest of Germany, recognized Croatia, together with Slovenia, but not Macedonia, going against the “Badenter Commission” proposal. But, at the same time, Sofia stopped there. It did not establish diplomatic relations and did not send an ambassador. The US and the EC did not recognize Macedonia for a long time. It was calculated that it could disintegrate. Later, the assessments changed, but relations stagnated. There were 22 agreements prepared that Sofia did not want to sign in the non-existent Macedonian language. This went on until 1999. The agreements were then signed, but relations remained at a low level. The popular saying that beauty cannot be achieved through force was confirmed. Inevitably, it will be the same now, if the agreement is signed in an unacceptable form.

4. Little is known that during Yugoslav times, three or five agreements were signed with Bulgaria in the Macedonian and Bulgarian languages! Even during the time of Todor Zhivkov, when the denial of Macedonianism was the fiercest and greatest, Sofia had to officially accept the Macedonian language! In the Federation, it was a practice, if the head of the delegation was from Slovenia (usually in Austria and Italy) or Macedonia (in Albania, Bulgaria and Greece), that bilateral agreements were signed in the language of the head of the delegation, and not in Serbo-Croatian. Since there was no other way out, Bulgaria then swallowed the Macedonian language and signed the agreements. Instead of waving it around, we rejected something that we had already

achieved during Yugoslav times. This is an unforgivable political, diplomatic and also historical mistake.

5. It is time to remind ourselves that by renouncing our minority in Bulgaria, which, unlike the declaration, will be final with the signing of the agreement, Article 49 of the Constitution will be violated. According to it, the state is obliged to – *“take care of the position and rights of members of the Macedonian people in neighbouring countries...”*. This means that the agreement should be immediately submitted to the Constitutional Court. Let us hope that the court will react and reject it.

6. It is a grave mistake if the 1999 declaration and the current agreement with Bulgaria are not viewed from a broader perspective of how Macedonia was treated on the international stage, as an independent state, after the collapse of Yugoslavia. These two documents for us are extremely important, which are a direct continuation of the policy of disempowering the Macedonian people, which began with the illegal UN Security Council (1993) decision to suspend our constitutional and historical name from international use. The goal was, and remains - to deny the identity of the Macedonian people. Changing the name of the state inevitably leads to disempowering the people.

Those in the know know very well that the UN Security Council is under the complete control of the United States. This was especially emphasized at the beginning of the 1990s, when Russia was in chaos and did not represent a balance in the Security Council. Thus, the United States must have been the key in disempowering Macedonia in the UN. However, if the USA was against or did not agree with the suspension of our name - this could not have happened. So, the USA's role in the case is undeniable and, according to the logic of things, decisive. It does not matter whether the USA was active or passive.

7. Now the crisis that has been shaking the foundations of our country for the past few years, planted from abroad, is coming to an end

precisely in order to bring the Macedonians to their knees and accept a re-christening and humiliating agreement with Bulgaria. Today (July 20, 2017) we hear that the ambassadors of France and Germany supported the proposed Bulgarian agreement, which is an unprecedented shamelessness and criminal disregard for the diplomatic code. The fault lies with us, however, because we allow them to do that. We tolerate them as unelected governors, which is classic self-humiliation.

8. It is good that Macedonia has launched an offensive to overcome the blockade, blackmail and ultimatum from Brussels, as well as to resolve the problems with its neighbours. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that we are not to blame for the aggressiveness of the countries around us, for the Greater Albania project being implemented by the United States, for the incompetence of Brussels, nor for its servile attitude towards Washington and for the illegal policies of double standards that they are jointly implementing towards Macedonia. The name is an imposed problem, as is everything else related to its neighbours. The only thing that is indisputable is that the consequences are ours. This means that we must seek solutions ourselves. However, this must not be done naïvely and without an appropriate strategy. We must understand that we urgently need top world expert assistance, similar to the one employed with the application to the court in The Hague, where we won overwhelmingly. We must continue to tirelessly and resolutely fight for our universal rights because our opponents remain deeply buried in their centuries-old trenches and look at us with mockery, but also with the hope that we will fall into their primitive traps. We must not allow that because the Macedonian people and the state are at stake. The agreement with Bulgaria is such a classic case. The people will not allow their own destruction, no matter who works on it. There are solutions favourable to Macedonia. It is up to us to specify these solutions and fight for them.

9. There is no problem in the world that cannot be solved in a short time. The only question is who will make what concessions. That's where the spears break. Macedonia must not undertake anything that will call into question the identity of the Macedonian people and their language. That would lead to further destruction of the state, with all its disastrous consequences. The conversion of the Macedonians will inevitably lead to a new bloody Balkan war. Fortunately for us, it is not acceptable to anyone to have a war and as such we have to play that card. This is where the salvation for Macedonia lies. Not a single politician who is ready to bend his spine at the expense of the people and the state will survive in this country. Zheliu Zhelev beautifully emphasized that there are no democratic solutions with undemocratic methods. And his Bulgaria, with open blackmail, is imposing exactly such methods on us. Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, claimed that incorrect solutions are not permanent and will have to be reconsidered. That was true for the declaration, and it will also be true for the agreement.

10. Finally, as a general lesson, we can freely conclude that anyone who thinks that the United States wants Macedonia to join NATO, and Greece does not allow it, has no idea about international politics and diplomacy. If that were an American interest, everything would have ended long ago. It is obvious that it is not. They are playing other cards.

11. This is just an appeal to be extremely careful with political moves because all indicators confirm that Macedonianism is on the verge of complete destruction. It is an indisputable fact that the quarter-century effort to achieve this is nearing its end.

THE AGREED TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA IS HUMBLING FOR MACEDONIA

(July, 2017)

The already agreed and published text of the agreement on friendship, good neighbourly relations and cooperation with Bulgaria is shameful, insulting and humiliating for Macedonia. It is truly incredible that it is significantly worse even than the devastating declaration from 1999, with an additional and serious denial of Macedonianism. Today, July 27, 2017, when the text of the agreement was published, we received direct proof that this new unfortunate defeat of Macedonia is again the work of the USA. Just like in 1999. The embassies of Bulgaria and the USA in Skopje issued a joint statement welcoming the agreement! Why was there a need for the two countries to celebrate together if the project is not joint? There is no other explanation why the two embassies would appear together.

This is just another example of direct proof of the deep American involvement in all our quarter-century-long struggle so far. At the beginning of our suffering, in the 1990s, when the highly illegal mediation of the UN Security Council on the name issue began, US President Bill Clinton appointed Matthew Nimetz (from 1994 to 1997) to be his personal representative in that process?! According to what logic and criteria, did the president of the only superpower need to have directly followed a bilateral problem? Didn't he have more important problems to solve? That inevitably means that the main intention was to influence. Why else would he interfere? There is only one conclusion - the US has direct and important interests in and regarding Macedonia. That has been an indisputable fact for 25 years. Now, it is the turn of the US to bluff us through an agreement with Bulgaria, which will finally eliminate the autochthonous nature of the Macedonian language and open the doors wide for the renaming of the state and the erasure of

the Macedonian people. With this agreement, the international position of the Macedonian language has been definitively destroyed. It is crucial that this was done with our consent. We can be absolutely sure that Sofia will not allow our language to be registered anywhere in the world (UN, NATO, EU, OSCE...) without the addition - “*according to the Constitution*”. The Macedonian language will not exist anywhere.

Washington only has to finish the epic with the language and the people, started through Athens, in Sofia, and the story of Macedonianism will be completely and definitively over. Just like with the name change with Greece, our consent is now crucial. Bulgaria’s nonsense cannot be fulfilled if we do not give up the language and accept that we are “unconscious” Bulgarians. This is already being worked on persistently. Macedonia is showing that it is ready to bend its spine and capitulate. And Bozhidar Dimitrov, and the like in Sofia, still cannot understand that there are such amateurs among us who will sign such an agreement. Obviously, our new government is ready to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the Macedonian people, through strategic and historical concessions. This is an unprecedented chance for all vultures to satisfy their appetites, whether from the neighbourhood, or from Washington and Brussels. As it is, the agreement is the end of Bulgarian needs for historical falsifications. With this, Sofia proves and we accept that the roots of the Macedonians are Bulgarian. The agreement contains only Bulgarian interests with complete disregard for the Macedonian ones and is full of illogicalities and contradictions. Not a single word is in favour of Macedonia and the Macedonians. The text is asymmetrical and directly and openly denies the historical character of the Macedonian language and its autochthonousness. This is one of the key Bulgarian interests in the agreement, although the others should not be underestimated. Here is the trap: if according to the agreement, our native language is according to our Constitution, how was it before? HOW WAS IT BEFORE 1944, BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE MODERN MACEDONIAN STATE? THEN WE DID NOT HAVE A CONSTITUTION AND

NOW, ACCORDING TO THE AGREEMENT, WE ACCEPT THAT WE DID NOT EVEN HAVE A MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE! Is it clear enough what nonsense we are going to sign? Didn't our grandfathers know what language they spoke?

1. The agreement does not mention the Macedonian people at all. There is no such thing for Bulgaria, and our negotiators, obviously, did not want to "provoke" them with something that does not exist! To sign a friendship and cooperation agreement between two states, and to ignore the terms "Bulgarian" and "Macedonian" people is, to say the least - beyond reason. Cooperation and friendship are between nations, between people, and not between ministries, institutions, administrations...

2. There are no minorities and they are not mentioned either. If Macedonia had any interest in such an agreement, the first thing it should have done was show concern for the situation of the Macedonians in Bulgaria. It is well known that they are not recognized, that they are being fiercely assimilated, that they have no rights and that they are persecuted because of their national feelings. The judgments of the Strasbourg Court, on the registration of the party of the Macedonians in Bulgaria, OMO ILINDEN - Pirin, are not respected.

How can friendship be built with Bulgaria without regulating the status of the Macedonians there, who are still numerous even if there are fewer and fewer of them? What kind of friendship will we build with someone who does not recognize us as a people, and shamelessly denies our minority?

3. Macedonia has to insist that Bulgaria apologize for the fascist occupation in World War II, even in the mildest possible way. But, it seems, such a thing is out of the question because we have been assigned the role of a country defeated in war, which we obediently play. Instead, we will change their fascist past in our textbooks!?! Why else would they be Bulgarian friends?

4. The preamble to the agreement states that cooperation will be - “*on the basis of mutual respect, trust, understanding and mutual respect for the interests of both countries*”. There is absolutely nothing of the above in the Bulgarian attitude towards Macedonia.

5. In the same section, the emphasis on – “*the fundamental significance of the Joint Declaration of February 22, 1999, in relations between the two countries*” sounds extremely unnecessary and like a slap in our face. Something is being valorized that represents an obvious and offensive denial of Macedonian national and state interests and which, unfortunately with our consent, destroys one of the two pillars of our state – our Macedonian language. This is because with it the agreement gains weight. Professionals versus amateurs.

6. This part of the text ends with a classic denial of Macedonianism. It is concluded that the agreement envisages – “*the common history, which connects the two countries and their peoples*”. Since the history is common, in other words Bulgarian, it is normal not to mention the “Macedonian people”. There are no such people. We agree. There was no such nonsense in the declaration.

7. We have already explained that the Bulgarian help on our way to Brussels is completely meaningless. Even Sofia recognizes this. Article 2 of the agreement states that Bulgaria – “*will support the Republic of Macedonia in obtaining an invitation to NATO membership in accordance with the relevant decisions of the NATO summit meetings*”. Since the NATO summit, back in 2008, imposed a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum on us – first the name, then membership, this means that Bulgaria, in the friendship agreement with Macedonia, reaffirms its support for the blockade imposed on us by the alliance! As soon as the NATO summit decides not to admit us, Sofia will be the first to applaud. After all, they are quite important in both NATO and the EU, but when it comes to Macedonia, they make themselves important.

8. To our additional detriment, with Article 3, Macedonia undertakes the obligation that – “*the two contracting parties will organize, by*

mutual consent, joint celebrations of common historical events and personalities...”. There is no more whether we want to or not. “Mutual consent” is necessary because there is no other way, but it should not be disputed that we will dance to the tunes of Sofia and Washington, and together we will celebrate - Bulgarian history.

9. Article 5, which is copied from the declaration, refers to our obligation to give up on the Macedonians in Bulgaria. So, far we have done nothing for them, and without that, now the Parliament will have to confirm, by ratifying the agreement, that there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria. That is the business of those who feel that way and has nothing to do with us. They will cross us out anyway. This agreement is completely asymmetrical because there is no similar obligations for Sofia. They can freely raise awareness of the (nonexistent) “Bulgarians” in Macedonia, and we have to accept that there are no Macedonians among them!

10. The Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Zaharieva clearly told us – *“Skopje needs to decide whether they will continue to be isolated from their neighbours and the world, making themselves very big and important, or whether they want to have European perspectives.”* This sounds more like a threat to me than a friendly message. What do you think?

MISTAKES MUST NOT BE REPEATED: THE AGREEMENT WITH BULGARIA MUST BE CANCELLED IMMEDIATELY

(January, 2021)

The Bulgarian blockade is just one in a series to which independent Macedonia has been exposed. It is probably not the last. They were all part of the same scenario, conceived in Washington, which are being ruthlessly implemented. The goal is to finally close the “Macedonian Question”. The long non-recognition of the country’s independence was the first blockade. This began the process that was designed to destroy the Macedonian people, which was obviously unacceptable to the world. The second blockade prevented Macedonia’s admission to the UN. Membership was supposed to be a mere formality but it was not for us, even though we met all the conditions. Our name was illegally suspended and an offensive reference was imposed with mediation... All with the aim to redefine our country, and with it the people. All of this was a flagrant violation of the UN Charter. The Greek blockade imposed at our southern border in 1994 was the third blockade. In Bucharest (2008), the US undertook the fourth blockade and it was done in desperation because more than 130 countries had accepted our name. With it the process of the final annihilation of the Macedonian people began, which is now taking place. Then, in a shameful way, NATO closed its doors to us, and with them the doors of the EU, with blackmail and an ultimatum – first the name (renaming), then membership.

All those who still think that these blockades were accidental and unrelated to each other have no idea what is happening to us, nor what kind of irreversibility they are forcibly pushing us into. The bearers of such a modern Macedonian tragedy are not and cannot alone be Greece, Bulgaria or any third country. Only the US can generate such long-term and precise policies. However, the role of our politicians should not be

underestimated. The key is that no one could have re-christened us without our consent, and we gave them that right for nothing in return. Therefore, our executioners have an excuse and tomorrow they will ask – why did you agree? That is the key to our defeat and therefore the blame is largely ours.

What is common to all blockades is that Macedonia never vigorously opposed them with the arguments it always had. Without exception, all blockades were illegal, contrary to international law and outside all established procedures, principles, rules... In the aforementioned cases, as in many others, Macedonia just bent its back and accepted and fulfilled everything that was required of it. It never opposed or set any conditions. The exception was Macedonia's application to the Court in The Hague, but even the excellent verdict ended ingloriously because foreigners ignored it and we ourselves did not use it to our advantage. All these years, our behaviour was shameful, irresponsible, incompetent, an expression of incompetence and lack of patriotism... And of course there was corruption and crime, whether material or political. The pressure of foreigners is no excuse because they are paid for it and do their job professionally, although, perhaps, they personally may not have agreed with the inconsiderateness that they officially imposed on us. They were certainly overjoyed with their successes but, most likely, at the same time, they were amazed at the amateurism of our politicians.

Until now, Macedonia has behaved submissively, and the position of the country has been constantly deteriorating and we have been losing both the state and the people piece by piece. It is high time, and perhaps the last chance, to say – NO and not to allow any more destruction with our consent. If we have learned anything from our inglorious past as an independent state, then, after the veto on the start of negotiations with the EU, Macedonia has only one option in its relations with Bulgaria: to firmly tell them that, if they do not immediately end the blockade, we will cancel the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. The explanation is simple – the agreement did not create conditions for the development

of relations, but for blockades. They are abusing it for their national-chauvinistic goals and for the materialization of their meaningless historical syndromes, and we will no longer tolerate that. This kind of an agreement is not needed.

We must learn a lesson from the Greek blockade of the southern border, set in February 1994. It was a terrible blow to our economy. The main blood flow was stopped because a good part of the exchange with the world goes through Solun. At that time, the northern border had also been blocked for a long time, as part of the UN Security Council sanctions against Serbia. Macedonia was left without railway connections to the world. Oil imports also stopped, bringing almost all activities in the country to a standstill. It is unlikely that any other country would have endured two years under an almost complete transportation blockade.

With this terrorist move, Greece made a complete turnaround in the dispute over our name and brought Macedonia to an almost hopeless situation. Bulgaria achieved the same by blocking our EU membership, which now seems unattainable. The Greek blockade came at a time when Macedonia was stabilizing after the storms associated with non-recognition, admission to the UN... because numerous countries began to recognize us by our historical name. Our southern border was blocked after the world factors, who mercilessly wanted to destroy us as a people, realized that things were getting out of control. This was by no means just a Greek move. No one took any concrete action, except for lukewarm verbal condemnations, which confirms that both Washington and Brussels practically supported the blockade. The logic is clear: with a destroyed economy, Macedonia was expected to capitulate much more easily. The damage suffered is incalculable and is measured in billions of dollars. Compensation can still be claimed.

Our unforgivable and historic mistake was that we did not respond to the blockade. While the border was closed to our people, thousands of tons of Greek goods transited through Macedonia every day. I, the

author of this text, who was then the undersecretary (state secretary) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), vigorously advocated for reciprocity and for a blockade of the southern border on our part as well. I also submitted specific data on the huge quantities of Greek goods that were transported through our country every day. However, this was not accepted. The view that it was too early for Macedonia to show its teeth was wrong. Thanks to the blockade, the Interim Agreement (IA) with Greece (1995) followed, with which the US maximally devalued our position in the name dispute. It defined that there must also be a permanent agreement with Greece, which inevitably led to a deadlock and our complete defeat. If, however, we had fought back, it is very certain that things would have turned out completely differently: a) Athens would have had to quickly end the blockade because its damages would have been enormous. There would have been strong demands in Greece itself. This would have minimized our damages; b) there would have been no Interim Agreement or, alternatively, it would have been incomparably better for us and, most importantly - c) we would not have been led to unconditional capitulation in Nivitsi, an agreement that arose from the Interim Agreement, and to the shameful agreement with Bulgaria. The turnaround and success that Greece achieved with the blockade is the root of all our subsequent suffering and defeats.

This is not playing the role of a general after a war. It is about facts: the Greek blockade of the border allowed the United States to do whatever it wanted to us. Let's be completely objective: perhaps it was precisely because of its peace-loving policy in the 1990s that Macedonia survived as a state. It did not allow the wars of the former federation to spread south. If that had happened, a new Balkan conflict would inevitably have followed, probably fatal for us, but for everyone else as well. No one would have been able to control the inevitable chaos. The fact is that Macedonian restraint, practiced by President K. Gligorov, brought us points and ratings that would probably have been jeopardized if we had shown our teeth and blocked the border in return, but the damage

we suffered is enormous and incalculable and that should not have been allowed. In the situation at that time, it was certainly impossible to assess how far one could go with one's own moves, especially when it was known that on the other side, behind everything, stood the USA. All the strings were in their hands, and it was already felt that Macedonia, as it was, was not acceptable to them. That is why they did not recognize it for a long time, they left it without a name... However, in politics, certain risks must be taken in order to achieve the desired goals. Without risks, there are no victories. That is the wisdom without which it is difficult to preserve one's own. Seen from today's perspective, Macedonia had to respond to the Greek barrage on the border with reciprocity. That omission was our key mistake and had catastrophic consequences for our country. These are just thoughts expressed out loud and history will certainly give the final verdict.

We are again under a blockade that in many ways resembles the Greek one. If we did nothing then and suffered heavy defeats, this time WE MUST NOT REPEAT THE SAME MISTAKE. If we do not immediately issue an ultimatum to Sofia – either the blockade or the agreement, we will certainly find ourselves in the same situation as in 1994/5. If we do not act responsibly and decisively, either the US, as then, or Brussels now, will come up with a “solution” with some new “interim agreement”, an annex or something similar, which will be disastrous for us. We must understand that foreigners are defending their interests; not ours. The USA is not our “friend” and “partner” because they re-christened us, not just the Greeks, and the EU does not know what it wants. If we do not prevent the evil that is at our doorstep, we will face our final defeat. We no longer can afford to make mistakes.

Both the Greek and Bulgarian blockades are just new evidence that the destruction of the Macedonian people was conceived and managed by the same center.

Apart from the advantage that Sofia has with its EU membership, it must be emphasized in our analyses that a good part of the nonsense

they seek is based, with quite good arguments, on the capitulation agreement. Extremely unreasonably, with it we accepted – a) that our language is not autochthonous but derived from our Constitution, which ipso facto recognizes that it is a Bulgarian dialect; b) that we have a common history, which can only be Bulgarian because two peoples cannot have the same history, thus they are one people; and c) that a commission be formed that should determine our history. With these indisputable facts, OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED ON OUR PART, Sofia can achieve whatever it wants in Brussels, in the ordeals that we will face for EU membership. The Union and its members are already showing understanding for this. The reaction of the Czech Republic and Slovakia is more the exception than the rule and is mainly caused by the revolt that Sofia unscrupulously appropriated the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius.

Our unreasonable tolerance for extreme Bulgarian chauvinism so far is a message to Sofia that they are right and that they should continue to do what they are doing. Keeping quiet about their nonsense means that we are resigned to the consequences that inevitably lie ahead. So far, we have been quiet about the meaningless and offensive statements coming out of politicians in Sofia, now we need to respond appropriately to the “explanatory memorandum”. It is an international document that we have ignored. Overall, our restraint meant complete irresponsibility. We are facing a difficult historical challenge, which no one should underestimate. As never before, Macedonia is at a historical crossroads. Everyone must think three times what and how they will, or will not, undertake. Responsibility will follow. Justice may be late but, in the end, it reaches everyone.

Even a minimal understanding of diplomacy, as well as politics, shows and proves that nothing is achieved by bending the spine. Our tolerance of the Greek blockade in 1994 and the defeats that happened to us after that, confirm this. Success can only be expected by those who fight mercilessly for their rights. The humiliating and shameful acceptance of blockades, blackmail and ultimatums, as well as turning a blind eye

when you are spat on and made to feel inadequate, leads only to inevitable defeat.

WITH THE CAPITULATION AGREEMENTS, MACEDONIA RESOLVED ITS PROBLEMS WITH NATO AND THE EU, BUT NOT WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS

(February, 2019)

In 2008, in a shameful, illegal and bullying manner, NATO (and the EU) imposed a blockade, blackmail and ultimatum on us – first the name, then membership. That did not serve their honour and they wanted to get the matter finished as quickly as possible, of course by re-christening, but that took too long. Later, our admission to NATO became urgent due to the confrontation between the USA and Russia. Our re-christening followed and with-it Brussels overcame its shame. In order to solve our problems, Macedonia was forced to sign capitulation agreements with Bulgaria and Greece. As a result, we soon joined NATO while EU membership remained uncertain. However, with the agreements, we have not solved the problems with our neighbours at all. At least their centuries-old denials of the Macedonian people, language...

Our humiliating and treacherous acceptance of all Bulgarian and Greek conditions in those harmful agreements, imposed on us by other factors, which did not bring anything good on a permanent basis were just desperate moves on our part. These agreements are worthless pieces of paper, silent witnesses to our defeat and the renunciation of ourselves as a separate people. What we did will inevitably come back to us like a boomerang. We have accepted that we are not Macedonians and now their new steps will follow to erase every trace of everything that is Macedonian.

All claims that the problems with our aggressive neighbours, whose policies towards Macedonia for more than a century have been classic irredentism, have been resolved and that mutual friendship has begun are a simple lie. It is difficult to imagine a greater illogicality and senselessness. The problems only have a new quality – our acceptance of the blame for them. As a result, our neighbours will be hitting us on the head for a long time, they will erase everything related to our identity, they will deny us as a people to the maximum, and we will not

be able to defend ourselves because we have signed that we are not what claim to be. No one can imagine a more tragic situation for a people. And “our” politicians and MPs, after they re-christened our country and destroyed the people, were hugging each other in the Parliament! You will see it but you won’t believe it. Don’t they know what they are doing? It is normal that the Albanians celebrated because with these historical Macedonian mistakes and stupidities an opportunity is created for the completion of their Greater Albanian project. It is inexplicable, however, why “Rainbow” and Pavle Vaskopoulos spoke positively about the agreement with Greece, when it also erases them as a Macedonian minority? Some things don’t add up. Only Kica Kolbe and other writers like her know why it is acceptable... The unanimous support of the Diplomatic Club, however, does not surprise us because it is obvious that there they have no idea what diplomacy is, and that it was founded with the sole purpose of supporting the government. These are people who built careers and became ambassadors mainly along party lines, and that always has its price. But, even without any diplomatic experience, people can easily conclude that the agreement is a great misfortune for Macedonia. To accept the erasure of all national institutions (MANU, MRT, MNT, MOB, MIA...) and not be aware of what is happening is beyond the mind of any person, let alone a diplomat.

The only thing that is true is that the agreements open the way for us to NATO, which after Bucharest (2008) was illegally closed with a violent blockade, blackmail and ultimatums. The price paid for that is enormous and unacceptable, which reduces the entire undertaking to an unforgivable historical mistake. After all, when terrorists take hostages, Western countries do not negotiate with them, so as not to give them legitimacy. Completely contrary to such good practice, with the two humiliating agreements, we gave full legitimacy to the illegal and impudent blackmail for our membership in NATO and the EU, related to the name, which was imposed on us by Washington, Brussels, Berlin... And we shamefully capitulated. We also threw into the trash the verdict of the highest world legal institution, the Hague Court, which clearly showed that we were right. And not only did we negotiate with the terrorists, but we also accepted all their vile, insulting and

ruthless conditions. As if we were defeated aggressors! There is absolutely nothing additional that we could sacrifice in the agreements with Sofia and Athens, from what we (over)gave. We demolished the pillar of our national identity - Macedonianism and ignored the key fact that our current state got its name from the people and not from the region. Extremely concerned, we can conclude that the historic Macedonian defeat has not solved a single problem with our neighbours. They “let” us join NATO because that is an American priority, and that’s all. The European Union, which is our real interest, is another story. While the agreement contained a clear obligation for Greece to enable our rapid membership into NATO, there is nothing about the European Union. The text of the Interim Non-Obstruction Agreement is being repeated, which has already been shown to mean nothing, even with a ruling from The Hague. Greece will certainly not dare to resort to some kind of general blockade, but in the accession process, through the 35 chapters that will be negotiated it will put obstacles in our way every day. They will mercilessly drain the last drop of Macedonian blood from us. As true “friends”, right!? K. Mitsotakis has already announced this.

The agreement with Bulgaria, and especially the agreement with Greece, are being glorified in a way that has nothing to do with the truth, with the sole purpose of deceiving the people. First, it is claimed that we have become friends with these two countries. How can you be friends with someone who claims that you do not exist? In fact, the information that comes from there every day shows exactly the opposite. The Bulgarian campaigns to deny the Macedonians have never been fiercer. Bulgarian extremism is spreading more and more. They believe that now they need to finish us off as a people, language, history... All their statements are for the black chronicle. This is new confirmation that Sofia’s position towards Macedonia is worse than Greece’s. For Athens, however, the fight for the brand “Macedonia” now begins. Since we have accepted, with the agreement, that we are not Macedonians but that there are only Macedonians in Greece, their attitude, will now be more relaxed towards us. Especially when/if Bulgaria manages to re-christen our language, a demand that will probably follow.

Unlike Bulgaria, it must be admitted that a certain catharsis has also occurred in Greece regarding the “Macedonian question”. First N. Kotzias said that their slogan – *“Macedonia is one and Greek”* is irredentist. It is unfortunate that we did not use it earlier. This was repeated by Syriza MP Nikos Filis, who concluded that there are more Macedonians and that with this slogan they are deceiving themselves. In Parliament, he also said that – *“when Greece first conquered this region in 1912, the majority were ethnic Macedonians and for decades it was ethnically cleansed to make it Greek”*. He explained that the Greeks became the majority in the Greek part of Macedonia with the population exchange with Turkey in 1921/1922. And A. Tsipras was quite eloquent. In Parliament, in a “showdown” with the communists, he mentioned – *“70,000 refugees from the Greek Civil War who, in 1983, the Greek state deprived of the right to return to their homeland”*, he continued – *“nor will I refer to the Slavo-Macedonian Irini Gini – Mirka Ginova, a communist, the first woman executed in the Greek Civil War”*. At the end he asked – *“How does the CPG think that the Greek state could and should recognize this country? How? By what name? What do you think we will call these people?”*

Until now, such a thing was unthinkable in Greece. Their centuries-old policy of denying the Macedonians will certainly not change, but these are positive impulses. After all, 69 percent of Greeks are against the agreement. The historical syndromes are very deep and the opposition, which will most likely be in power in the fall, has made it clear that it is also against the agreement. It will not annul it because, in fact, it is overjoyed that the problem is being solved, that they will not have it as a burden but, in parallel, they are playing on the card of extreme Greek nationalism, which is a reality and is burning among the people. And, in the EU negotiations, they will crush us to the maximum. In parallel, it is certain that they will react sharply to our every affirmation of Macedonianism, which will be an almost daily occurrence. This will create serious new problems for us.

They will rewrite our language in the EU negotiations, something that was said by the EU ambassador S. Zhogar (“Vecher”, August 30, 2018). He said – *“The language of Blazhe Koneski and Mateja Matevski... to become an official language in the EU translated like*

never before”. Do you think he accidentally says – the Macedonian language? He obviously knows what will come next. Our politicians, however, obviously do not. When we signed the Protocol for NATO accession, the Macedonian language was not used. Someone prevented it. Someone who will continue to do so.

It is a notorious fact that the problems with our neighbours have not been resolved at all. Any subsequent, responsible and nationally conscious, Macedonian government will have to do everything in its power to restore the rightful name of our country and revise or cancel the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece. In a word, to restore the dignity of the Macedonian people and their national institutions.

A great battle has been lost, but the war has not yet been won.

THE DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS – A SYMBOL OF MACEDONIAN NATIONAL DEFEAT

(October 2019)

The date for negotiations for EU membership can be freely declared a symbol of the Macedonian national defeats that have been happening to us in the last few years. The date encompasses and signifies the tragic and devastating policies that our country has been pursuing in an extremely amateurish manner. The defeats are numerous, and the main ones are the treacherous agreements with Bulgaria and Greece and the law on the Albanian language, with which our country effectively becomes a federation. It is normal that after these inadequate moves, Macedonia will receive new blows, which will intensify and expand in the period to come.

The people remember well that the motive with which they sold us these agreements was that they would pave the way for us to join the EU and that precisely for this reason the historical sacrifices that are being made are worth it. The referendum was the peak of that nonsense. With complete naïvety and political and diplomatic blindness, our “leaders” forced negotiations with Greece in an extremely irresponsible manner precisely to get the date in 2018. In that unnecessary and senseless mess, disastrous concessions were made for which one day we will have to answer. Let’s hope that will be soon. Our collaborators in the destruction of Macedonianism even assured us that we got a date last year (2018), but we did not understand that. They manipulated us and lied to us that with the two agreements, which inevitably erase Macedonianism at its roots, the historical syndromes of these neighbours of ours, who have long denied our existence as a people, had supposedly been overcome. At the same time, they assured us that with these agreements we had strengthened our national identity and that the Bulgarians and Greeks would from now on be our (greatest) friends and partners. From all of this, absolutely nothing has been achieved except the rechristening of our state and the disintegration of our people.

Based on these gross deceptions and ruthless fabrications, wrapped in the unrealistic European perspectives of our country, our suffering people were encouraged to support these disastrous solutions. Another reason was the long-standing delusions that membership in the Union would solve all our problems and make us richer overnight. Let us hope that all the deluded people now understand what is happening to us, realize that membership in the EU was a trap that led us to this situation. It is undeniable that Macedonia should try to become a member of the European Union. It is also a fact that this is in the interest of all citizens, but not at any cost and not by signing unacceptable agreements. The very fact that Macedonia humbled itself, and allowed a situation where our people are denied their existence, in order to be accepted into some kind of union, says everything – both who we are and what we are. And there is nothing more important than dignity. For our “leaders”, this basic rule obviously does not apply. There is an old saying that what one fool can ruin, a hundred smart people cannot fix. That is exactly what is happening to us now. Although the leader is always the most responsible, in our case the culprit is not an individual. There are more than one. Just remember when 60 MPs raised their hands in the Parliament to prove themselves as Macedonians. The Albanians had something to vote for, but not the Macedonians. The fact that they had no idea about politics and diplomacy is no excuse. After all, most of the top brass have been in politics and diplomacy for a long time and must have learned at least something. Thus, it can be quite rightly assumed that some of them work for other people’s interests. But if we keep electing this kind of people, we have no one but ourselves to blame. After Macedonia again did not receive a date for negotiations in October 2019, and France for the first time openly announced that there would be no new enlargements (maybe not at all), statements by numerous foreigners in support of our country logically followed. All of them were aware of their personal contribution to our suicidal moves as a people, made by the changing of the name of our country, the Constitution... And even though they are now publicly regretting that we did not receive a date, until yesterday they were blocking us, blackmailing us and giving us an ultimatum that we must first change

our name (which would destroy the identity of our people) if we want to join the European Union. They have fulfilled their tasks and interests and are now hypocritically lamenting our fate after we bent our spines for nothing. However, let's be honest: no normal person in the world would listen to them except our "wise men". I wonder what these foreigners must have thought of us; were we out of our minds? It is a fact that Western politicians praised us with all their might for our self-destructive moves. The reason was simple - we solved their problem. The illegal blocking of our membership into NATO and the EU was a great shame for Washington and Brussels and that is precisely why they evicted N. Gruevski; because he was not ready to trample on his own people.

Not getting a date for negotiations is not a tragedy. It only showed the amateurism of our government. After all, if we had gotten the date last year, nothing essential would have changed. The hopes that Brussels would come to solve our problems are completely wrong. Those who are looking for a whip from outside only show that they are incompetent in their tasks. The only remedy in a case like this is resignation, but our politicians do not have such a virtue. Getting a date, however, will not bring us much joy because when we start the negotiations we will enter directly into hell and through a big door. THAT IS THE PLAN. Then the combined Bulgarian and Greek aggression against the remnants of Macedonianism, more precisely against the Macedonians, will begin, followed by unbearable and insulting terror. There was one open issue between Slovenia and Croatia with which Ljubljana blocked the negotiations in Zagreb for almost two years. Sofia officially announced that it has and wants to solve 71 problems. It wants to impose as many stumbling blocks as it can! They have already spelled out some of them such as: our renunciation of our Macedonian language, of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, of the Bulgarian fascist occupation, of our history... All of them are of essential importance for our country and people and cannot be resolved in a short time. However, we must not allow concessions. That means that there will be no membership either. Sofia does not hide this. MFA, E. Zaharieva openly told us that the date does not mean

membership. After all, if they block us for six months for each of the announced 71 problems, how long will we negotiate?

Although in a more convoluted form, Athens is also delivering similar ultimatums. It seems that their efforts will concentrate on obtaining a monopoly for the international use of the brand “Macedonia”. This will mean that for the world there will be nothing of ours that is Macedonian: brandy, wine... Nothing.

Allow me to once again say - with the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, Macedonia solved nothing... not a single problem of its own. It only accepted and made official, as something legal and legitimate, Greece’s and Bulgaria’s centuries-old syndromes that we do not exist as a people. We agreed to allow the definitive closure of the “Macedonian Question”, which is only possible by erasing the Macedonian people.

And that has been happening for a long time. Negotiations with the European Union is an ideal chance for them to finish it. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, Washington meticulously implemented and managed that process. All the others, from Athens, Sofia and Tirana to Brussels, are just active extras who are extremely disciplined in carrying out their roles foreseen in the Washington scenario.

We deliberately skip over our glorification of NATO membership because it is the main interest of the United States, in order to close the region from a possible Russian penetration. It was precisely for this purpose that the project for signing these shameful agreements was carried out by Washington. The people are once again being led into the delusion that membership in the NATO alliance, which has in the meantime become the main world aggressor, is some kind of great benefit for our country. Macedonia has no business in this military organization and should stay on the sidelines because their interests do not correspond to ours. This was best seen in 2001 when NATO, through the United States (or vice versa), waged war against Macedonia. And for the remaining 26 years they did the same, but in a more sophisticated manner. Their strategic partner in the region are the Albanians and therefore they are openly implementing the Greater Albania project, which is endangering our country.

Now, all that remains for us is to feel like Macedonians. No one can forbid us from doing that. At least for a while. Until some new genius

comes to power and tells us that it is time to stop making monkeys out of ourselves, pretending to be something that officially does not exist.

These, however, are not dark thoughts. This is not a nightmare. This is the sad reality of the Macedonian people at this moment. The announced elections are the only way that can lead to a positive turn. Let the people decide. If they support this policy of historical defeats, we deserve what we get.

If someone stumbles on the same stone a second time, they deserve to fall again.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE UNION IS CLOSED WITH THE NEW METHODOLOGY

(February, 2020)

Until the October blockade of the EU enlargement (2019), which was by no means just a move by E. Macron, as was usually said – the candidates pretended to make reforms, and Brussels pretended to trust them. And the caravan moved on. Now, after the draft of the new negotiation methodology was published, we have a completely different situation: Brussels will pretend to accept them, and the Balkan candidates will pretend to trust them. The Union burned itself out with the premature admission of Bulgaria and Romania, and with that the Brussels-Balkan saga ended. The new methodology was in no way invented to facilitate admission. The goal is the exact opposite: no membership without meeting the high criteria. Only countries that have truly come closer to the fundamental values of the Union will qualify, which, in turn, are objectively unattainable for them in the long term. The draft emphasizes three criteria. First – *“accession to the EU is a process that requires and supports FUNDAMENTAL reforms and political and economic changes in the candidate countries”*. In other words, there will be no turning a blind eye. Second, *“Member States will be invited to contribute to the accession process as systematically as possible, including through on-the-ground monitoring with their experts, with direct contributions in the annual reports and through sectoral expertise. They will have the opportunity to regularly assess overall progress”, and will also have to confirm the so-called “annual enlargement package”, where – “the achieved reforms as well as the tasks for the following year will be elaborated in detail”*. Third - *“Member States will have to agree when the candidate country will move forward to the next phase of the negotiations”*. Fourth, clusters

are created. Greater obstacles than these, which will make negotiations as difficult as possible, cannot even be imagined.

The draft clearly states that the requirements are real, not imaginary: (1) rule of law, (2) elimination of mass corruption, (3) free media, (4) independent institutions and professional administration, (5) substantial democracy, (6) economic reforms for accelerated development and convergence to the level of development of the members, (7) good relations with neighbours, (8) coordinated foreign policy... We know very well how far all the candidates are from these criteria. The aim of the new methodology is to prevent the membership of unprepared countries because 62 percent of the French, 61 percent of the Germans, 58 percent of the Austrians... are against enlargement. With such figures, what normal leader in these countries would accept new members, especially from the Balkans?

Objectively, all the candidates will need several generations to achieve the aforementioned requirements. The most unacceptable is the insistence in (6) “... *for accelerated development and convergence to the level of development of the members*”, which takes decades. The problem is that the conditions in the region are different, and with them the habits of the people. The low standard of living is the biggest obstacle. When the basic rule is - manage and survive, when people are on the verge of poverty, and such people are numerous, European values are a noun. Solutions are sought in corruption. This is massive because people in the public sector; police, judiciary, education, healthcare and, of course - in the administration live from it. It is a vicious circle that will not enable European values for a long time. Starting from these indisputable premises, it is clear that there will most likely be no new members for the next 20 years, and the date for negotiations means absolutely nothing. If they were to give it to us tomorrow, and that would possibly only be to influence the upcoming elections, endless negotiations would follow, similar to what happened with Turkey. Although Serbia and Montenegro, which have been negotiating for a long time, have been excluded from the new

methodology, the new criteria will certainly apply to them as well. As an exception, only Montenegro can be admitted to show that enlargement is not dead.

The Macedonian story is the worst. After we shamefully gave up our name and identity, with the capitulation agreements, we almost openly gave Athens and Sofia the right to trample on us in the negotiation process. In the most official way (Government, Parliament...), Bulgaria has already made it clear to us that if we want membership we must meet more than 20 ultimatums and blackmail, which are absolutely unacceptable. Greece is acting a little more restrained, but the intentions are the same. They have already said that they will do everything to improve the harmful Nivitsi agreement, which is only possible through our EU negotiations. We do not know the details, but there is no doubt that everything will be disastrous for the Macedonians. These two countries, even if with tacit consent, are probably cooperating against us. About 15 years ago, after a visit to Athens, a British expert on the Balkans said that they expected Bulgaria to get involved in the name issue and take over the baton. That is now a reality.

In the draft methodology, the most dangerous thing for us is the increased role of European Union members in the negotiation process. That is how it is designed to allow Bulgaria and Greece to hinder us whenever and however they want. In principle, this procedure has no major impact on Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Kosovo. Serbia is already negotiating according to the old scheme and Croatia will not be able to interfere with them in any significant way. And for these reasons, Macedonia's negotiations with the European Union will be our biggest golgotha so far. In every chapter, in every cluster, our two neighbouring countries will certainly put countless obstacles. Eventually, everything that is left of our Macedonianness will be destroyed. If we want to progress, we will have to humbly give up many essential things. The two neighbouring countries will be the executors of the American policy of finally erasing Macedonianism.

“Controllers” from Bulgaria will certainly be constantly with us and in all chapters they will plot in an uncompromising manner. They will demand the impossible. The Greeks will not lag behind. They will go around in circles. The fact is that Athens and Sofia are wholeheartedly committed to starting the negotiations as soon as possible. It is in their interest because only in this way can they achieve all their remaining illegal and illegitimate interests, which they failed to squeeze into the disastrous agreements with us. (Just like the US did to us with the Interim Agreement in 1995). However, for us, the most important fact is that they do not care at all about Macedonia becoming a member and therefore they will do everything to prevent us. Their goal is to negotiate endlessly and thus depend on them. There are two main reasons. First, Bulgaria and Greece are aware that if we enter the Union, we will be able to cancel the agreements with them without much problem and regain our name and everything else that historically belongs to us. Practically, this would be without serious consequences because there are no mechanisms to expel us. Second, if Macedonia is part of the European Union, the Macedonians in these two countries, who are completely disenfranchised, will get the wind at their backs. Although we shamefully gave up on them, they will become visible again and their voice will be heard more. Therefore, Bulgaria and Greece will do everything to make our negotiations last for decades. Only in this way will they be able to complete the assimilation, or rather the genocide against the Macedonians in their country. With the new methodology, these two countries have enormous room for maneuver to keep us out of the European Union for as long as possible. Just like Turkey, which is a victim of similar policies by more important members. This is nothing new. First R. Plevneliev directly told us: Macedonia - yes! - but without Macedonianism. Without the Macedonians. There is no indication that the USA does not share Bulgaria’s and Greece’s plans. The above scenario fits perfectly into their current policies towards Macedonia.

The draft methodology also perfectly reflects the deep crisis of the European Union, which is why enlargement is not possible. It will certainly take longer. Brussels is without clear roadmaps. Apart from the need to keep the rest of the Balkans out, they have no other strategy. It is not at all clear to them that a relatively rapid transformation of the countries in the region, which is their long-term and lasting interest, is possible only through the process of membership negotiations, which should begin as soon as possible and must not last too long. In this way, with their unfulfilled promises, they create disappointment among the peoples and political elites, and leave an empty space that will lead to even greater and more brutal American domination, which is not at all in the interests of the European Union.

It is difficult to lead and move forward when the motives and perspectives are lost, which until yesterday were indisputable and constantly repeated by the representatives of the European Union. Brussels does not understand that for them, all political and security problems can come mainly from the Balkans and that it is always better to prevent things than to cure them. The differences with Washington, which are likely to escalate, can easily be reflected in this region. Brussels' inability to face the Balkan problems must be worrying. Without Kosovo, which is far from the Union, the other five countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro) have about 16 million inhabitants, which does not pose any challenge to the Union, which has almost 450 million. The EU is the result of a historical vision, without which one can never get far. Obviously, they are missing something like that in Brussels now. These are realistic assumptions and expectations that we must take into account. The announcements that the European prospects are not exactly rosy for us and that alternative options and solutions that are necessary are not clear and precise enough. Deceiving the people with some date and the sacrifices that are made for that purpose, have thrown us into the abyss.

SOFIA AND THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK FOR MACEDONIA

(September, 2020)

The Bulgarian “explanatory memorandum” to EU members, which denies everything Macedonian, starting with the language and the people, aims to incorporate their historical syndromes into the negotiating framework for Macedonia. Everyone must ask themselves – is it possible in the 21st century for someone to challenge a centuries-old and even millennia-old people? Aware of their policies towards Macedonians, at least in the last 150 years, Sofia’s move should not surprise us. Except for the short period during Georgi Dimitrov’s time, we were always “Bulgarians” for them... The maximum they are willing to accept is that we are a creation of Tito, and previously of the Comintern, and that as such a people, with a language that for them is a dialect of Bulgarian, we began our existence after the Second World War...

The current vulgar Bulgarian violence against Macedonia is a serious and dangerous cold war that will not end with any mercy. That is completely out of the question. It is not even theoretically possible for Bulgaria to give up its historical fogs. On the contrary, there is complete agreement among them that we do not have our own historical roots but are “ethnically and linguistically engineered”, made possible by the communists, as stated in the aforementioned memorandum. All political factors, together with the great mass of historians, intellectuals, scientists... believe that there are no Macedonians as a separate people. That is how they have been indoctrinated.

The memorandum is the finalization of the centuries-old Bulgarian aspirations towards Macedonia and the Macedonians because with our entry into the EU they are left without the possibility of any senseless

disputes and blackmail. When we are inside the EU, they will be unable to do anything to us. Our membership negotiations are an ideal tool for them to achieve the unthinkable. And, naturally, Sofia is now (ab)using it to the maximum. Although our politicians are trying to minimize the Bulgarian threat, it is very likely that it will bring severe and lasting consequences for the Macedonians.

The first phase of their memorandum is currently underway: they are trying to include as many of the demands as possible in the negotiating framework. They will certainly succeed in some way. How much – we will see. In the second phase, they will try to postpone the start of our negotiations, which is expected in December. It is just a pressure tactic and making it clear that we depend on them. Sofia will play that card as long as it is not counterproductive for its EU partners. Our chance is that Germany, however, will resolutely strive for the start to happen this year, while it presides over the EU, because that will also be its success. The negotiations, on the other hand, will be the third and most dangerous phase for us. In order to hinder and blackmail us as much as they want and when they want, the Bulgarians will have all 35 chapters in the six clusters at their disposal. Tactically, Sofia wants to postpone the negotiations, but it can hardly wait for them because only through them can it make its fascist and chauvinist goals concrete. Only then will they be ruthless, this is now just a prelude. They will have an almost unlimited right to block at any moment. They will demand concessions that will be disastrous for us and no one will be able to stop them. If Bulgaria stops somewhere, Greece, Cyprus will take over... The negotiations with the EU will be fierce harassment that will call into question our fundamental national interests. If we continue with the current capitulation policy, which is likely, we will increasingly give up on ourselves as a people. This is a realistic scenario.

As rarely before, a great uproar has arisen in this country regarding these Bulgarian stupidities and absurdities, which is good. The memorandum is deeply offensive to every Macedonian as well as to all free-thinking people. The interpretation that the memorandum is the

result(s) of Sofia's internal political needs, which can be overcome after their elections, is absolutely not correct. This is a centuries-old Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia, for which there is a complete national consensus. Whatever happens there on the domestic front, whether prime ministers and governments change, the same policy will probably continue with greater intensity, not less, in relation to Macedonia. In fact, there is even some logic in Bulgaria's behaviour: if we sacrificed the centuries-old name with Greece, thereby largely trampling on our national identity, why not now give up the language as well? Why would we be a mother to the Greek idiotic historical syndromes, and a stepmother to the Bulgarian ones, which are in no way different? For both, we have long ceased to exist as a people, and why should we now make a distinction between them? Does anyone have any doubts that they are not coordinating their policies towards Macedonia? Does anyone doubt that Athens' task was to erase the Macedonian character of our state, which was one of the key steps in the disintegration of the Macedonian people, and Sofia should clear up the language issue? We should not forget that the manager and director of the entire regional Balkan project is the United States. All the devastating agreements that Macedonia has signed since independence until today are their work (Interim agreement, OFA, Przino, Nivitsi, the "friendship" agreement with Bulgaria...). And not only ours but all in the Balkans (Dayton, Kumanovo...). In all moves towards Macedonia, from independence to today, the goal was to erase Macedonianism, or rather - the Macedonian people, which has been skillfully managed all these years. We are already in the final moments of the project. It is normal that our neighbours, with their historical syndromes, have a major role in that process.

Unlike our know-it-alls, who have no idea what they are signing, everything is clear to the Bulgarians: they have a precise strategy and are planning for the long term. The consequences for us are here, already visible and will follow. In the memorandum, Sofia, logically, goes with maximum demands and insists that our language be - "the

official language of the Republic of (N) Macedonia”, and not Macedonian. However, they are aware that this will not be possible for them and that is why they are going with the second variant - “according to the Constitution...”. This is an offensive formulation for the state because all other languages in the EU will be French, Spanish, Croatian... and only ours with a tail. Made up. It will be almost impossible to reject this formulation because the documents with Bulgaria are signed like that and it does not oblige us to use it wherever it is requested. That is why it was planted on us in 1999. Sofia will not miss the chance.

With the declaration and the agreement, Sofia received a good part of what it illegally and illegitimately demanded, but not everything. There are still several questions that they formulated last year in the document prepared by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, approved by the government and made official by the Parliament in the form of a declaration. There are more than 20 Bulgarian demands there, or rather blackmails for Macedonia. Macedonia kept quiet about all of this. But, with the memorandum, the main points are now on the EU member tables.

Who knows how, Macedonia will be tested again. So far, we have failed most of the tests and now we are facing our final defeat. If we do not come to our senses and launch a decisive offensive in defense of our universal rights, we will be doomed. Spreading optimism that the problems with Bulgaria are solvable, that a compromise is possible and that Sofia will withdraw from its extreme positions is an extremely naïve and wrong policy and tactic. Instead, we should run to all EU members asking for support, presenting arguments that are almost all on our side. There is no more urgent task for the state. We must draw from our experience with Greece because the same thing is happening to us again. We must not deceive ourselves – behind the Bulgarian aggression against Macedonia, just like behind the Greece, stand the main international factors, which means that their withdrawal is not an option. If we want to survive as a people, we must fight resolutely. And

a cursory analysis of all our calvary, from 1991 to the present, clearly shows that the closure of the “Macedonian Question”, can only be achieved by the erasure of the Macedonians, which is the final step in this process. That must be made clear to our authorities. Otherwise...

Currently, the only solution for us is to tell Sofia that they have two options. The first is to lift the blockade of Macedonia’s negotiations with the EU and to commit that they will not hinder us in the negotiations on all 36 chapters. The second is, if that is not acceptable to them, then Macedonia immediately withdraws from the friendship agreement. If it is the basis for blockades of the country and for endless obstacles and symbolizes antagonism, we do not need such an agreement.

Our false optimism announces new unprincipled, unacceptable and historically wrong concessions, with which the Macedonian people will definitely be devastated.

One day, someone will have to answer for all of this.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN POINTS IN BULGARIA'S “EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM”?

(September, 2020)

In the “explanatory memorandum”, Bulgaria has formulated its precisely defined and official policy towards Macedonia and sent it to all EU members, requesting that Brussels conduct our membership negotiations on that basis. The memorandum states, demands, insists, emphasizes, specifies, concludes... that:

– *“the enlargement process must not legitimize the ethnic and linguistic engineering that occurred during the former authoritarian regimes”, (which should mean that the Macedonians as a people and their Macedonian language were invented then and as such they should not exist),*

– *“Macedonia is a geographical and historical area... therefore, all attempts to impose the geographical term Macedonia as the official name of the newly created state in 1992 have burdened all these 28 years with political sensitivity. In neighbouring countries, the term ‘Macedonian’ is used to denote geographical origin, rather than national identity. In Bulgaria, hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians identify as ‘Macedonians’ in relation to their regional affiliation”,*

– *“after the First World War, when part of the area of Macedonia was included in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the vast majority of the Slavic population clearly identified themselves as Bulgarians”. Belgrade tried to impose a new “Southern Serbian” identity and when that failed, Tito resorted to imposing a new identity, this time ‘Macedonian’...”. “Tito’s project was realized by inventing a new history, which laid the foundations of this new ‘Macedonian’ concept”,*

- *“ASNOM, controlled by the communists, on August 2, 1944 announced the existence of a separate ‘Macedonian’ language”,*
- *“the necessary attributes for the new national identity were developed by falsifying documents and erasing all links to the Bulgarian roots, language and origin of this population”. “This continues in independent Macedonia”,*
- *“archives testify to the execution of more than 20,000 people between 1944 and 1946, who identified themselves as Bulgarians and represented the political and intellectual elite of the SRM. More than 100,000 Bulgarians were killed, imprisoned, exiled or sent to concentration camps”,*
- *“Bulgaria cannot accept that the ongoing process of nation-building in the Republic of (N) Macedonia will take place by revising our common history, denying our common ethnic and linguistic roots or unfounded claims for the existence of a ‘Macedonian minority’ in Bulgaria. These manifestations... are contrary to European values and should not be legitimized by EU accession”,*
- *“the agreement recognized the common history of the two countries and confirmed the so-called ‘language clause’. It also confirmed that... any claims for the existence of a so-called ‘Macedonian minority’ on the territory of Bulgaria are unfounded”,*
- *“local citizens (including former prime ministers) L. Georgievski and V. Buckovski, as well as former minister D. Maleski, who spoke in support of the common historical past, were subjected to hate speech and defamation campaigns”,*
- *“Macedonian representatives have always opposed the jointly agreed concept of a common history, trying to replace it with a ‘shared’ or ‘intertwined’ history”,*

- *“‘Macedonian language’ or ethnicity did not exist until August 2, 1944. The purpose of their creation was to sever ties between the population of the then SRM and Bulgaria”,*
- *“... the official language used in today’s Republic of (N) Macedonia can only be considered as a written regional norm of the Bulgarian language”,*
- *“With the 1999 declaration, signed by the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Macedonia, both sides agreed to call the official language of the country ‘... Macedonian, in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia’. The same provision is also set out in the agreement.” “This clause presupposes, among other things, the understanding of the Bulgarian side that the official language of the current Republic of (N) Macedonia is codified by a legal norm in its first Constitution as an independent state, adopted on 17 November 1991”,*
- *“The term ‘Macedonian language’ used in the 2018 Prespa Agreement... is not mandatory for third countries”,*
- *“The Third UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, from 1977... has no political character and its decisions do not produce legally binding consequences with regard to the recognition of the so-called ‘Macedonian language’”,*
- *“... Bulgaria insists that EU documents (both before and after accession) refer to the ‘official language of the Republic of (N) Macedonia’ or, in case of absolute necessity, to the ‘Macedonian language’ with an asterisk and the explanation ‘according to the Constitution of the Republic of (N) Macedonia’”,*
- *with the agreement, Macedonia agreed that – “there are no objective historical or demographic grounds for the request for minority status for any group of citizens in Bulgaria”. “Like other member states... Bulgaria does not grant collective, but only individual rights. Therefore, the demands for minorities provoked from abroad are unacceptable”,*

– *“Bulgaria expects Macedonia... to suspend the above-mentioned policies... This will be a precondition for obtaining Bulgarian consent for any further step in the integration process”*,

– *“The new constitutional name ‘Republic of (N) Macedonia’ contains such a geographical definition. The optional short name clearly refers to a geographical region, part of which falls within the sovereign territory of neighbouring countries, including Bulgaria. Therefore, in order to avoid misunderstandings or misinterpretations, on 7 May 2019, Bulgaria informed the UN that... it will use the constitutional name “Republic of (N) Macedonia erga omnes as the sole name for this country”*,

– on 25 April 2020, when the European Council decided to open negotiations with Macedonia and Albania, without setting a date, Bulgaria submitted a statement for the minutes, which *“reflects the framework position adopted by the Government on October 9, 2019 and approved by Declaration by all political parties in the Bulgarian parliament”*. *The statement emphasizes the importance of good neighbourly relations and therefore “they should be assessed at every stage of the accession process”*,

- *“the strict, full and irreversible implementation of the letter and SPIRIT of the friendship agreement... WILL BE A PREREQUISITE FOR ANY PROGRESS IN THE PROCESS OF THE COUNTRY’S ACCESSION TO THE EU”!*

..*

The memorandum leaves no doubt that, after the agreement with Greece, Bulgaria is determined to destroy everything that remains of Macedonianism. The key for them is the guarantee for the full implementation of the friendship agreement, according to their interpretations regarding the common history, the language according to the constitution, that there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria... They will put blackmail on all 35 chapters - take it or leave it.

MACEDONIA MUST RESPOND TO BULGARIAN AGGRESSION

(March, 2021)

After independence, Macedonian foreign policy does not have many arguments to boast about. Numerous mistakes have been made, many of which are unforgivable, and the biggest ones culminated after the elections in December 2016. The new government began a massive sell-out of Macedonianism in a way that deserves not only political but also criminal responsibility because the Constitution of the country was flagrantly violated. The government followed the instructions of foreigners, which also implies their interests, neglecting Macedonian ones. The agreement with Greece was Macedonia's key capitulation. It was drafted in such a way as to re-christen the country in order to open its entry into NATO. There is no doubt that Macedonia's interest in joining NATO was primarily that of the United States, in order to close the space for Russian penetration. In the Nivitsi agreement, there is nothing about our accession to the European Union, which is a key interest of the country, except that Greece will not hinder us. And with the Interim Agreement (1995), Athens committed itself to the same and grossly ignored it, which led to the excellent judgment from The Hague for us. All Western "democracies", however, supported Greece in ignoring the judgment, and thus the international legal order. These facts show that "our" negotiators were complete amateurs and did not know what they were doing. More precisely, they were acting in a puppet show. If they had already accepted that the agreement guaranteed accession into NATO, as an American interest, then they had to demand better conditions for Macedonia. They had to demand concessions from Greece on behalf of the United States. But quite the opposite happened, instead, the agreement was extremely asymmetrical to our detriment and all the concessions were made by us, without a

single Greek one. The formulation of the Macedonian language, which is only temporary, can be interpreted as some small success for us, which is nonsense in itself because no one from the outside can verify our language. The goal in Nivitsi was to destroy the roots of our national identity, and this was done in a masterful manner, while the language is left for Sofia to finalize.

The procedure with Bulgaria was started back in 1999 with the declaration of friendship, and was completed with the agreement in 2017 and is already in its final phase. Our amateurism from Nivitsi is just a repetition of that of 1999, which only shows that both Macedonian parties, one in 1999 (L. Georgievski) and the other in 2017 (Z. Zaev) are on the same line in selling out our Macedonian national identity. With the declaration, Macedonia opened the way for Bulgaria to join NATO, which was also in the interest of the United States due to the encirclement of Russia, where we made all the concessions and it should and had to be the other way around. Just as our future is now in Bulgaria's hands, theirs was in our hands then. We could have placed conditions and blackmailed them... And instead of insisting that Sofia get rid of its historical syndromes towards Macedonia and the Macedonian people and trying to have the United States concentrate the pressure on Bulgaria, we shamefully gave up on the Macedonian language and on the minority... Unbelievable!

These are sad stories that confirm the assessments that Macedonians are cosmopolitans who change horses, namely Dorat or Bucephalus, for a plucked chicken. Scary but true. It is high time we come to our senses and realize that a wall is not broken through with the head but with the mind. Macedonia has human capacities but it needs to learn to use them. These are examples of how Macedonianism is being destroyed with our direct participation. If we continue like this, our fate will end up in the mud. Instead of spineless behaviour, it is high time to take matters into our own hands. We must create the political will for responsible behaviour. All the messages from the EU member states confirm that this is the moment. They are unanimous that Bulgaria is

alone in the blockade but that we must solve the problem with them ourselves, that it must not be part of the negotiations, nor be introduced into the Union. No member wants to confront Sofia for our sake, and does not condemn its medieval policies, which is not very correct and honest, but understandable because everyone looks after their own interests. The Prime Minister of Croatia was even rude and impudent in his assessment that – the two countries should agree on the language! All this shows that either we will deal with Sofia ourselves or there will be nothing from the EU. Bulgaria has thrown down the gauntlet to us and if we do not accept it and do not respond appropriately, we will face a defeat more catastrophic than the Greek one. That means either giving up our national identity and language, or our aspirations to become a member of the EU. Third – there is no third option.

There is always a solution only if there is a will and if there are leaders who will lead the people. In this case, Sofia should be told that if it persists with its demands, we are withdrawing from the friendship and cooperation agreement. Only with this kind of reaction on our part, which is completely logical and based on precise facts and arguments that no one can deny or dispute, can we change the situation which is, otherwise, hopeless for our country. We can be sure that all members of the Union will support us, albeit tacitly, and favourable comments can be expected in their media. If we do not do this, nothing can force Bulgaria to change its policy, which has been made official in a top political manner (BAN - Government - Parliament). In this way, Bulgaria deliberately left itself no room to maneuver for any concessions, and therefore we should be on the move: either we go on the offensive and openly oppose its blackmail and nonsense, or there will be nothing from the EU. Sofia is in no hurry at all, and if we are not ready to give up on ourselves, this time completely and definitively, we can with great certainty expect this blockade to last as long as the Greek one - about 30 years. Until we capitulate.

We made a similar mistake with Greece when we did not respond to their blockade of the southern border (1994 – 1995) and after 25 years

we signed a capitulation. The blockade of the border completely changed our position in the imposed and fabricated dispute and if we had also closed the border to their goods that were transiting through our country in large quantities, things would have turned out completely differently. We would never have come to this point. If we did not learn a lesson then, as with the Nivitsi agreement, we should at least come to our senses now and not repeat the same mistakes, the price of which is immeasurable.

If we take action, the international factor (read – the USA), which stands behind Sofia, will certainly try to change our minds and will exert fierce pressure in that direction, although they will also be aware that we have no other choice. Given that all the arguments are on our side, there will be no need to retreat. All opponents will realize that they have gone too far in relation to our country and will change their policies, albeit gradually. Anything else would lead to a betrayal of our core interests. We will remain on the sidelines for a long time and will not get anywhere.

The excellent news is that MANU, led by L. Kocarev, has woken up from its centuries-old sleep and stood on the bumper of Macedonianism where it belongs. The refusal to change the name of the academy is an excellent indication for more similar actions. And the return of our constitutional and historical name is not an unattainable goal. All that is needed is for the Constitutional Court to rule that the Nivitsi Agreement flagrantly violated the Constitution of the country, which is not at all in dispute. This has been done repeatedly. Not only was the Constitution completely ignored, which is a serious crime, but our Constitution was negotiated with a foreign state and then forcibly changed. Thus, the agreement automatically becomes invalid. If the constitutional judges have dignity and some honour and conscience, they should have done so by now. However, it seems that we will have to wait for a change of government and new people who will be ready to fight for our survival and annul all the criminal acts, with which a merciless genocide was committed against the Macedonian people.

Recently, in Albania we had an example that the Constitutional Court not only can but must play its role. The former Prime Minister, S. Berisha, concluded an agreement with Greece regarding the maritime border between the two countries, which was criticized in the country for being in favour of Athens. After a long time, the Constitutional Court annulled the agreement, even though it was also ratified in Parliament, and everything was returned to its original state. The Constitutional Court of Kosovo, on the other hand, ruled that the government was irregularly elected and overthrew it. Only our constitutional judges are sleeping a deep (political) sleep on the job.

THE CODIFICATION OF THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE MUST NOT BE MENTIONED IN ANY DOCUMENTS WITH BULGARIA

(May, 2021)

If anyone really thinks that Washington and Brussels, followed by Berlin, Paris... are on our side in relation to the brutal Bulgarian aggression, they are very much mistaken. It is only undeniable that everyone wants the blockade to be overcome because it shows precisely their inefficiency. To that end, they are making serious moves for us and Albania to begin negotiations for EU membership. That is positive but it does not mean that, at least in the next 15, 20... years, we will enter the Union. At least, not as Macedonians. The key is that they are not demanding concessions from Sofia, but first and foremost only from us, although the other side is also under strong pressure to reach a solution. There are foreign analysts who even believe that Bulgaria's blockade suits France, in order to prevent enlargement, and that it was not alone. It is important for us to know that "no one" from the European Union condemned the Bulgarian nonsense. The same applies to the United States. Only the Croatian President, Z. Milanovich, publicly distanced himself from Sofia. His Prime Minister, A. Plenkovic, who is most directly connected to Brussels by function, publicly ridiculed his support for Macedonia. Everyone else is playing the game. The Czech Republic and Slovakia are outraged, but only by Bulgaria's attitude towards Cyril and Methodius.

During its presidency of the European Union (July - December 2020), Germany committed to starting our negotiations, which would have been their success, but it did not happen. Berlin continues its efforts, however, Macedonia must be careful about what it can and can not accept in the compromises offered to it. Western countries are extremely pragmatic and ready for all kinds of subterfuge to achieve

their goals. Double standards are their permanent characteristic. We must be aware that all their proposals for compromise are unfavorable to us and the question is only how harmful they are. Last year, for example, the Macedonians and Bulgarians were invited to Berlin to reach an agreement. On that occasion, “our side” accepted the proposed document while Sofia rejected it. With it, Bulgaria was given the right, in the framework of the negotiations, to include its statement that – *“they accept the Macedonian language in accordance with the constitution of the country”*, and the German presidency was obliged to – *“ask the Council to officially note the Bulgarian position that when the Macedonian language is mentioned, it should be considered in accordance with Macedonia’s Constitution”*. It followed that – *“Macedonia is ready to officially declare that the Macedonian language was codified in 1945”*. The document also states that both sides – *“will focus especially on the work of the Joint Commission on Historical and Educational Issues”*. Although these formulations were devastating for Macedonia, the reactions in our country were positive. They were probably imposed by the apologists of the government. The document practically formalizes the Bulgarian demands, and our mention that our language was codified in 1945 will be interpreted as meaning that such a language did not exist before that.

In May 2021, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, as the chairman of the Union, accompanied by the Commissioner for Enlargement, O. Várhelyi, brought to Skopje a document similar to the German one, which was certainly worse for us because the first one was rejected by Sofia. The text was not published and it was only confirmed that it also emphasized 1945 as the date of codification of the Macedonian language. They came from Sofia and their attempt failed there because they were rejected. Our acceptance of both the German and Portuguese proposals, which were worse for us, only devalued our position in the dispute. It only shows that we are ready to accept anything to start negotiations, and a sign for Brussels that they should just continue offering new, worse proposals. We are here, waiting, prepared for

another defeat. Our readiness to give up is clear to both Sofia and Brussels. And the fact that, by the way, we only accept the proposals as a good basis for negotiations is a story for little children. Why, then, does Sofia not accept them as such? Because it strengthens its position. Unlike us, they know what they want and how they will realize it. The key is that, practically, they also imposed improper negotiations with Bulgaria on us.

At first glance, nothing really seems controversial in mentioning 1945 as the year of codification of the Macedonian language, but that is not the case at all. **First**, because both documents, proposed by Germany, supposedly had the “task” of overcoming the Bulgarian abominations, with which they claim that until 1944 we were “little Bulgarians”, without our own language. Knowing this, we must ask ourselves - **WHY IS IT STRESSED THAT OUR LANGUAGE WAS CODIFIED IN 1945? WHAT IS THE PURPOSE?** The explanation is very simple - in the given context, we openly, directly and officially confirm that until that date, until 1945, there was no Macedonian language! In any case, that is how Sofia interprets that fact and, in the future, will capitalize on that basis in denying our language. And not only Sofia but also others... The logic is clear, especially when we know that Sofia, precisely from that year, “most generously and nobly”, “admitted” to us that there was a Macedonian language, which until then was only a dialect of Bulgarian. Whether we like it or not, by signing a document mentioning 1945, we only confirm their thesis. For Sofia, there are no doubts that until then the Macedonian language did not exist, and the one invented by ASNOM is not original but a dialect of Bulgarian. **Second**, and crucially, by signing such a document, we officially agree that our language is disputable. We accept that it will be on the table in further proceedings. Why else would they mention 1945? It proves nothing in our favour. Quite the contrary.

We made the same cardinal mistake in 1995, when Stevo Tsrvenkovski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed the disastrous Interim Agreement with Greece. There too, also for the first time, we officially confirmed

and, worst of all, accepted that our name can be disputed. There was no such thing in the UN documents. To make the stupidity complete and permanent, although it was unnecessary, we ratified the Interim Agreement in the Macedonian Parliament, with which our own state most officially accepted that our name is disputed! Amateurs have no horns. We know what followed and how we were shamefully rechristened. History is now repeating itself on even more essential issues – identity and language.

Third, and extremely important, with our emphasis on that indisputable fact and date of codification, as we have already mentioned, albeit indirectly and implicitly, we agree that the Macedonian language has existed since 1945. It would not be so if the documents proposed by Germany and supported by Portugal, which means Brussels, in addition to the date of codification, would state that the Macedonian language had previously been used by Macedonians for centuries. Or if it were mentioned that the initial codification was carried out by the revivalist Gjorgijja Pulevski, while Krste Misirkov, at the beginning of the 20th century, made the second codification of the Macedonian language. If there were such explanations, the mention of 1945, as a final codification, would not be controversial. The context in which this is done, however, has a very clear goal – to show that Bulgaria is right in terms of denying the Macedonian language. That is the game: the sheep are supposedly numerous but the wolf takes his own. The consequences will follow, just like with the Interim Agreement. Pandora's box will be opened and everything else will be routine.

Fourth, by signing such a document, which is clearly a cowardly egg-laying, we are not closing and resolving the monstrous Bulgarian fabrications and manipulations regarding our language and identity, but are only postponing them by undermining our position and strengthening theirs. The blackmail of our language and identity, imposed by Sofia, certainly does not end with such a document. On the contrary, it only comes to the fore and will continue fiercely in the negotiation process. One can imagine what will come next, and it will

certainly be disastrous for Macedonia. History is repeating itself again. Our know-it-alls lied to us when they told us that by signing the shameful agreements with Greece and Bulgaria, all problems with these neighbours would be solved, and, as we can see, they were only opened and put on the table with all the other disastrous consequences for us. Now Bulgaria is in focus, but Greece will also come back. Many things remain unclear for them. Now, they are waiting and watching.

These are sophisticated diplomatic steps that undermine the roots of the Macedonian language, and thus the Macedonian national identity. That is also the main point of Bulgaria, and the support they enjoy is quite large. These are top-notch finesses that no one here will notice, let alone understand. Just like in 1995, with the Interim Agreement. The consequences will inevitably follow. Who knows what hidden traps are in the Portuguese document. We should have engaged top world experts in connection with our name a long time ago, and because we did not do that we ended up in the dustbin of history. Now we are in absolutely the same situation and we must not repeat the mistake. Something like an International Council for the Salvation of Macedonianism should be urgently formed, with top domestic and foreign experts. When you know the configuration at the top of the state, it is clear that such a thing is out of the question because it will work against our capitulation, which is being persistently implemented. In the given conditions, it is likely that MANU, together with the Institute of Macedonian Language, should initiate a procedure that would demonstrate with arguments that the first codification of the Macedonian language was made by Krste Misirkov, also referring to Gjorgji Pulevski. In fact, the date of codification of the Macedonian language is the beginning of the 20th century, while 1945 can be considered the date when the language was officially codified. The decision is ours and no one can interfere with us. If science moves in such a direction, politicians will not have the power to stop it. The pressure that will follow will only cause a revolt among the people.

The experience of the Albanians is also interesting. They celebrate the day of the Albanian alphabet in 1908, which is before the formation of the state. As far as is known, at the congress in Bitola two alphabets were chosen which have nothing to do with the current one. However, that does not prevent them from celebrating that day. Unlike us, they know what a state is and how it should be protected.

**ZAEV: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE
OSMANI: THE LANGUAGE ISSUE SHOULD BE RESOLVED
WITH TWO UNILATERAL STATEMENTS**

(July, 2021)

Our complete illiteracy and comprehensive amateurism in foreign policy are best illustrated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, B. Osmani. Speaking at the Prespa Forum, which was held these days, he reaffirms our position (“Vecher”, July 2, 2021) that – *“The proposal to resolve the language issue with two unilateral statements still remains”*. What did B. Osmani tell us? First, that the language is on the table and that it is being negotiated, although everyone, except him, has been claiming all along that this is not true. Second, such a solution is a real catastrophe and our complete defeat, as we have already explained. This means that Bulgaria will officially declare, and this will be part of the negotiating framework for us, that the Macedonian language did not exist for them until 1944, but that it was Bulgarian. We, in turn, will declare that the Macedonian language was codified in 1945. And what is the conclusion? If you have even an ounce of common sense in your head, you will understand that Sofia is right: they say that it did not exist until 1944, and we confirm that in 1945 we created the Macedonian language. No more, no less. We are not allowed to mention that the Macedonian language has been spoken for centuries and therefore, de facto, we accept that the language has existed since 1945. There cannot be a simpler peasant trick. An easier capitulation than this for us is unimaginable. If we allow this, and it is on its way to being realized, it means that we agree that we are someone’s invention and that as a people we woke up sometime in 1944. With the help of Tito, of course. An unprecedented comedy, with extremely tragic consequences.

At the Prespa forum, with which we commemorate (celebrate?) our catastrophic state and national defeat in Nivitsi, the Prime Minister once again stated that language and national identity were not negotiated with Bulgaria (“Vecher”, July 2, 2021). In the published part of the Portuguese proposal, however, the two statements on language are precisely noted, which B. Osmani also mentioned. If language is not on the table, why make such statements?

It must be added that, some time ago, B. Osmani already told us that both language and identity are on the table, but then he claimed that they are not negotiable. Now, he is correcting himself a little. After all, if they were already on the table, they were not there for decoration, but to be topics of negotiations. If we have allowed them to be there, and without our consent this was not possible, the reason can only be our readiness to dismember them. Based on these indisputable facts, let everyone decide what is being negotiated with Bulgaria.

Everything related to our relations with Bulgaria and Greece is not to be believed. At the Prespa Forum, Deputy Prime Minister N. Dimitrov (“Vecher”, July 2, 2021) pointed out that – “*(N) Macedonia managed to resolve the long-standing name dispute precisely because Greece recognized and accepted the citizens’ right to self-determination*”. First, he is not saying this to the Macedonians but to the citizens. He does not want to offend the Greeks that such a thing, albeit temporarily, still exists. At least for the sake of home. Secondly, self-determination is a universal right and Greece cannot recognize it for us. Macedonia self-determined itself as a state a long time ago, and Macedonians as a people did the same centuries ago. The fact is that Greece, with our signature, managed to secure a complete monopoly on everything Macedonian, and this will only spread during our EU negotiations. Indeed, there is one of our “successes”, albeit only temporary. The Nivitsi agreement mentions our language as Macedonian! Brilliant – the Greeks accepted that we speak Macedonian, although for them we are not Macedonians, but they are! That has only been valid since 1967, but still it is something. However, according to the obvious division of

labour between our neighbours, which is ongoing, our language will be written off by – Sofia. N. Dimitrov is not to blame for the fact that Greece and Bulgaria agreed to this, of course under the auspices of the USA. He did not have to know about it, and he did not have time to analyze and assume what and where it would come from, after his signature on the capitulation, in Nivitsi. If he played or did not play chess, he had to know that he was always combining and planning. That there are public and secret scenarios. The Portuguese Secretary of State for Europe needed to tell us things and we again (pretended) not to believe them. Everything that was said was absolutely correct. The key is that it was directly confirmed to us that these are policies of Brussels, which means Washington as well. And that we are North Macedonians and that our language was Bulgarian... That means that Sofia has full support and that everything Macedonian about us must go to hell, if we want to be in the EU. Of course, if we continue to behave irresponsibly like this everything Macedonian will go to hell.

It is unprecedented naïvety that some believe that the new name, which has been imposed on us by force, will not be reflected in everything in this country, including the people, language, history... on the anthem, the coat of arms... on the names of all institutions, organizations, associations, unions, services, centers, groups... Everywhere where there were adjectives where the word - “Macedonian” is found. Regardless of whether they are connected to the state or not. It is our inevitable obligation and will gradually be imposed on us in our approach to the EU. There will be no exceptions, and the fulfillment will be controlled by Athens and Sofia on a daily basis. The events related to the Football Federation and other sports federations and organizations were not accidental. This was just the beginning, we are being pressured to make changes even before we begin EU negotiations. They are impatient. The agreement only opened that process and emphasized the obligations that, consciously or not, we have accepted. The others will follow, based on international practice. If there is no longer a state called Macedonia, because we signed and

agreed, no derivatives of that name are possible. Everything is clear to everyone except our political amateurs. When the name is France, everything is French, when the name is Denmark, everything is Danish... but when the name is (N) Macedonia, everything must be (N) Macedonian. Both the language and the people... Everything. There is no agreement that can be stronger than international practice.

It is sad and tragic, shameful and humiliating when Macedonia seeks justice by referring to Nivitsi. Everything is foretold by the agreement! And, what is beyond reason, those solutions should bind the entire world. For example, a people, language, history should not be extracted from the name of the state... although that is inevitable and normal. First, does anyone imagine that everyone in the entire world will refer to what is regulated in the Nivitsi Agreement and will behave accordingly (on Athens's orders, i.e. Washington) and, second, that our capitulation agreement should be respected and that we should not be called (North) Macedonians, or that we speak the (North) Macedonian language..., as, quite rightly, the Portuguese woman said to us? That is our grave nonsense, through which our people are being lied to. Have we forgotten that the reference "*former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*", was invented only for use in the UN system, but eventually spread everywhere? Quite inevitably, the same thing will happen again in this case. This is how the world works, and whether our "wise men" understand this is a secondary question.

While we sleep or play the part of idiots, the Bulgarians do not rest. Our "friend" R. Radev, as S. Pendarovski, who humiliated himself by flying his plane, described to us, recently met with a handful of representatives, his mercenaries from some planted cultural center "Ivan Mihajlov" in Bitola. Who knows by what means, he said that he - "*demands that Macedonia respect the rights of its citizens, who identify as Bulgarians...*". Can you now imagine one of our politicians meeting with representatives of the huge and disenfranchised Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and saying the same thing? No one, from the president, to the prime minister, to the deputy prime minister for

European affairs... have said such a thing. Of course - not. "Our" politicians are busy building good neighbourly relations and spreading the European spirit while ignoring Bulgarian aggression, for "higher goals", for which they are also sacrificing the Macedonians from Pirin Macedonia. In fact, the most absurd thing in all this nonsense is the fact that Sofia is constantly talking about the persecution of (the non-existent) Bulgarians in our country, for which there is no document of their existence except medieval lies, while there are 13 judgments by the European Court of Human Rights relating to the persecution of Macedonians in Bulgaria. And while they are spreading all these primitive activities of theirs, such as the reception of the Bitola residents by R. Radev, throughout Europe, we keep silent. Naturally, Europe, including the Portuguese, will believe them because we have made no effort to expose any of their lies. This means that we agree with their nonsense.

The American presence at the Prespa Forum, was emphasized and visible. This can also be considered as a kind of triumph for them, after all the defeats that we experienced under their direction. Ambassador K. Burns concluded – *"you are asked to do much more than other candidates for EU membership, but you will be more prepared"*. This was said like it was a good thing but it sounded like a prelude to make new strategic concessions? "More prepared" for what, if not for more concessions? M. Palmer, on the other hand, supported – *"the reasonable solutions of the Portuguese presidency and the strong European partners"*. This should be new confirmation that the positions of Lisbon's are actually those of Brussel's, of which there should be no doubt. And since this is Brussel's position, there should be no doubt that these are American policies. Both K. Burns and M. Palmer, as well as Assistant Secretary of State F. Reeker, who is well known to us from before, strongly supported the opening of negotiations with Macedonia. All condemned the blockade, but not the unreasonable Bulgarian blackmail. Previously, the US had demanded that Bulgaria resolve the problems with Macedonia on a bilateral basis, without blocking the

enlargement which, albeit implicitly, showed understanding for their aspirations. The negotiations, in fact, have long been an excellent fit into their long-term policy towards Macedonia, on a twofold basis: first, that the final disintegration of the Macedonians should continue through Bulgaria's unreasonable demands, which are not disputed, and, second, that most of it should be realized in the negotiation process and therefore should be completed as soon as possible. Sofia is also moving within these frameworks, although it has overdone it a bit in its attempts to erase us as a people overnight.

A bright spot in Prespa was Professor Edward Joseph's assessment that – *“the blockade of Bulgaria is a betrayal of European values”* which was neither left alone nor disputed by the Dutch ambassador in Skopje.

FROM MISTAKE TO MISTAKE: PENDAROVSKI MUST NOT USE RADEV'S OFFICIAL SERVICES

(May, 2021)

The latest news that the President of our country, Stevo Pendarovski, will travel together with Bulgarian President, R. Radev, to celebrate the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius in Rome is, to say the least, surprising. R. Radev will come to Skopje and they will continue to Rome together on his plane. As if the two countries, and their presidents, were the closest of friends. "Sloboden Pechat", dated 12/2/2021, very vividly described the relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia - "*They don't even spit, but we say 'it rains'*". Either no one here understands anything or everyone is pretending to be inadequate. Even those who don't understand politics know that Bulgaria is waging a vile and aggressive war against the fundamental interests of Macedonia. Bulgaria blocks and blackmails us in Brussels; it does not recognize our basic values; it proclaims that until yesterday, we were all Bulgarians; it humiliates us every day both as a people and individually... And among the spitters there is R. Radev. The question that needs to be asked is - how is it possible for S. Pendarovski to accept any personal favours from R. Radev under these conditions? This move tramples on the dignity of the state. It is offensive to Pendarovski and to all of us. All this sends completely wrong signals. It shows that they are simply and deliberately playing with us and doing what they want with us. What impression will be made in Brussels of such a move by Sofia and us accepting it? This is our unforgivable mistake with which we erase their sins. That is also their main goal.

Have we forgotten that, at the beginning of March 2021, it was R. Radev who gathered his security services, which were under his control, and tasked them with protecting the rights of Bulgarians in Macedonia?! Quite rightly, S. Pendarovski immediately reacted with an

assessment that R. Radev was interfering in our internal affairs. In fact, he treated Macedonia as if we were one country. And that alone is enough reason to refuse any personal cooperation with him. And now, with the plane ride, R. Radev is showing that we are one and the same – one people in two countries. By playing along with the Bulgarians we are confirming exactly that.

You can imagine the kind of propaganda the Bulgarians will throw around in Bulgaria – seeing R. Radev flying with Pendarovski to Rome! We always help brotherly Macedonia, even though they constantly spread hate speech against us at every chance! We lend them a hand while they kill and mistreat Bulgarians... And similar phrases that will have a first-class reception among the Bulgarian people. The same stupidity, if not more terrible, was committed on 22/12/2020, when the Minister of Health, V. Filipche, certainly not by his own decision, sat in the Bulgarian government and we can only imagine with what chosen words, from the bottom of his soul, thanked them for the promised and never delivered Bulgarian vaccines. He certainly made statements and had interviews on local television with which he glorified the Bulgarian generosity. It can be guaranteed that everyone in Bulgaria was familiar with this noble move of theirs towards the ungrateful Macedonians, which in the end cost them nothing, and we were naïvely manipulated. Therefore, it should not be surprising that all Bulgarians fully approve of their uncivilized and medieval policy towards our country. Apparently, our amateurs forget, or do not know, that propaganda is often more important even than politics. “Vecher”, from 26/12/2020, reported the statement made by Karakachanov who revealed the Bulgarian strategy – *“Bulgaria does not give vaccines to its neighbours, only to its compatriots”*.

In the aggression against Macedonia, the “most outspoken” were the ministers K. Karakachanov and E. Zaharieva, but Prime Minister B. Borisov and R. Radev were not far behind. All of them were like-minded and creators of the monstrous constructions against Macedonia. We will quote only a few statements made by R. Radev. According to

“Vecher”, from 17/10/2020, he said – *“Politicians cannot abdicate from this important process for Macedonia and Bulgaria. It is high time to find a political solution that will confirm all the principles of respect for history and good neighbourliness and respect for our identity and language. There is always room for compromises, but they cannot be made with history, identity and language or with the demands of national minorities”*. That should apply to them but not to us, right. He added – *“Finding a solution is primarily the responsibility of the candidate country for EU membership”*.

This statement of his is from October 2020, and in mid-May 2021, S. Pendarovski came out with a request to Bulgaria, which I personally welcomed, that Sofia should determine whether the problems between the two countries are of a historical or political nature, with the conclusion that if they are historical, there is no place for them in the EU negotiations. In principle, this is completely correct and this should be insisted on in Brussels. However, we now see that Bulgaria and R. Radev were aware of the danger of a similar definition and approach last year and therefore clearly decided and emphasized that they were seeking a political solution for historical issues! We will see below that they are not the only ones seeking this. In order to strengthen their position, they also give historical issues a political character. This thesis of theirs does not hold water in any case, but Macedonia, if it is not too late, must lead a well-thought-out and persistent action to separate history from the negotiation process with the EU. For this purpose, appropriate documents should be prepared that would be distributed in Brussels and more widely. How capable are we in dealing with this kind of issue is another question. If history, however, remains part of the negotiation process, it would be a difficult precedent and no other country, at least from the Balkans, will enter the EU. And on other occasions, R. Radev repeated that compromises cannot be made with history and the language which, of course, for them are Bulgarian. The Macedonian people and language for everyone in Sofia, including R. Radev, simply do not exist. At least not until 1944.

The Bulgarian effort for a political solution to historical issues is nothing new and should not be surprising. They are just using the case we had previously with Greece, with our name. Back then, the Western “democracies” made it clear to us that this was a political issue not a historical, legal or any other issue. It is known that political issues are resolved by force and coercion and not by legal means and in a principled manner. That is how we came to the historical defeat in Nivitsi. Logically, Bulgaria insists on the same practice.

On this topic, the article published by infomax.mk, on 19/5/2021, under the title – *“The German ambassador embarrassed the Bulgarian ambassador in Macedonia”* deserves special attention. Among other things, A. Holstein said – *“Last fall, the EU made another request, which was the historical conditions, what is correct and what is not, in the past 100 years of the history of the Balkans. And, at the end of the year, such an assessment was made, which will be part of the accession criteria”*. However, it was added that – *“The EU should be a moderator, but it should not correct and judge in such disputes when it comes to misunderstandings about the events in the past 100 years and that this is outside the principles that guided the enlargement process – transparency and predictability”*! The article is not very clear, but, nevertheless, it shows that the EU is also getting involved in the historical issues of the Balkans!? So far, in our country, no one has mentioned such a thing and the question is whether the authorities have any idea what is happening in Brussels, which could be extremely negative for Macedonia? Bulgaria certainly had its role in that.

We will also mention the statement made by R. Radev, as reported by “Sloboden Pechat”, from 21/12/2020 – *“Bulgaria will not give in because the ‘Good Neighbourly Relations Agreement...’ on our part shines with well-intentioned naïvety, but it did not fulfill the reciprocal goodwill”* and continued – *“I say, we are two countries, we are brothers. The agreement was well-intentioned. When it became clear that it was not being respected, in 2018, I said that a new annex was*

needed. In Bulgaria, we must be united until the Macedonians understand the path to the EU”.

According to mkd.mk, from 26/3/2021, R. Radev said – *“Macedonia’s progress towards full membership in the EU is a strategic goal of Bulgaria. However, it depends on the readiness and political will of Macedonia... to respect the rights of citizens who openly express their Bulgarian national identity”!*? What brilliant politicians we have! Instead of discussing the position of Macedonians in Bulgaria, for which there are 13 final judgments of the European Court of Human Rights regarding their mistreatment, to which they have been exposed for centuries, the main topic is the non-existent “Bulgarians” in Macedonia. Should this failure of ours be viewed as a historical success? It is difficult to imagine a greater shame.

According to “Vecher”, dated 2/2/2021, R. Radev criticized B. Borisov’s government of failing to present the Bulgarian position on Macedonia in the EU. He explained that the dispute confirmed the thesis of Vice President I. Yotova that – *“just granting Bulgarian citizenship is not enough for successful cooperation with Bulgarian communities abroad”*. She is absolutely right: 200 to 300 Bulgarians vote in the Bulgarian elections in Macedonia. According to “Vecher”, dated 21/1/2021, I. Yotova previously insisted that Bulgarian demands be included in the negotiating framework for Macedonia.

All these examples clearly and unequivocally confirm that there is a complete consensus in Bulgaria about the blockade of Macedonia’s EU membership and that the blackmail is supported by everyone. Their essence is that until 1944, there were neither Macedonians nor a Macedonian language. And then, one night, all the “Macedonian Bulgarians” went to bed as “Bulgarians” but woke up the next day and became newly invented - Macedonians. With the help of Tito, of course. They also created a language that, normally, can only be a dialect of yesterday’s Bulgarian. Even a top magician must admire and envy Tito: what he achieved in just one day!

When you know all this, it does not seem at all wise to accept any favours from R. Radev and pretend that some kind of friendship between Macedonia and Bulgaria exists, which the Bulgarian side will abuse. At the very least, it is humiliating. It would be good if possible, and if there is still time, to cancel it. Let's cancel it and save our dignity.

S. Pendarovski certainly knew all this since 14/2/2021, when a "*White Paper on the Language Dispute between Macedonia and Bulgaria*" was published in Sofia, translated into several languages and distributed around the world. Previously, Bulgaria prepared and sent an "explanatory memorandum" to Brussels and to EU members. I publicly asked the president - what has Macedonia done to respond to these aggressive challenges, full of fabrications and grave lies? The Macedonian President has a clearly defined role in foreign policy and if the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is already an Albanian, who often leads policies in the interests of Tirana and Pristina, it is his obligation to fill that gap. There is no one else. So that there are no misunderstandings, I will quote what the First Deputy Prime Minister, A. Grubi said: – "*The Kosovo issue is a priority for us*" (mkd.mk, from 19/3/2021). He certainly thinks that this is the priority of the Albanians in Macedonia. If, however, the Macedonian issue is not a priority for the president, there is no one else to defend us.

MACEDONIA AND THE BULGARIAN STORIES

(April 2020)

There has been a great deal of fuss, these days, again regarding Bulgarian policies towards Macedonia, even though they have been a reality for almost two centuries. Sofia's permanent policy is that there are no Macedonians and we are just "unconscious Bulgarians" and, consequently, if Macedonians do not exist, there can be no Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, no Macedonian language, history, tradition, culture... Nothing Macedonian. The procedures for our entry into the EU gave them excellent opportunities to butcher us as much as they wanted and to prove the unprovable. It is logical what they are doing, after we signed a devastating declaration with them (1999) and a friendship treaty... (2017). Their only "concession" is that, after World War II, Tito (or the Comintern) did not "invent" us for some people and they admit it. What generosity! However, to avoid misunderstandings, what is new is that they now want to put those 70 years of "Macedonianism" in a Bulgarian framework. They want us to accept that Macedonia is a second Bulgarian state, while the name Macedonians is equal to Prespanski, Marioski...

Contrary to their long-standing state experience in foreign policy, our "politicians" behave like ordinary amateurs. The fact is that we have no diplomatic tradition, but thirty years of independence should have been enough to understand at least the basic things, although one of the oldest crafts is not easily and quickly mastered. It is obvious that in our diplomacy (and also politics) children, cousins, neighbours, friends... of the influential have been stuffed into positions of influence, instead of capable people who will defend Macedonian interests on the fierce international (and domestic!) stage. Our personnel policy has always been useless, and after our independence it had become even worse. A former commander of the NLA, a defector from the Macedonian army

where he had taken the oath, was appointed Minister of Defense. It is difficult to imagine a more suicidal move than that.

From Austrian sources, the public learned about Sofia's document with its conditions for our EU membership. The opposition raised a storm and, rightly so, accused the government of hiding a document that would further burden our negotiations. The government was caught red-handed, but the news from Brussels should have been brought to us at least by MIA. If it was sent, and it had to be, someone deliberately hid it. The reactions to this document, however, once again show that our politicians are not up to the task and out of kilter with our country.

B. Marichich, a technical negotiator with the EU, explained that the European Council unanimously decided to start negotiations with Macedonia, which Bulgaria also voted for, and that this document had no influence on that decision. But he, like Brussels before him, is hiding the essence that the document is intended for the negotiating framework, which is now being prepared. Sofia wants its demands to be included in the framework, which will not be easy, but it has the right of veto and will impose conditions. So, the negotiations are conditioned by Bulgarian blackmail, although B. Marichich claims that this is not the case.

At the very least, it is strange that Minister N. Dimitrov claims that – *“this (Bulgarian) statement has many unilateral conditions that are contrary to the Treaty of Friendship... The Macedonian language is a key and an inseparable element of our national identity”*. If so – why is there no reaction? It seems that the minister does not understand that we, with the agreement, we accepted (1) we have a “common history” which, ipso facto, means that we are one people. Namely, there are no two peoples who have a “common history”. Between Macedonia and Bulgaria, only part of the history is like that, as is the case between all Balkan neighbours. Sofia insists on that formulation to prove that there are no Macedonians, and with the agreement, as accepted there is no going back, and (2) that our language is not autochthonous, but that it

stems from our Constitution. For mkd.mk, N. Dimitrov said that - *“we will never accept the insertion of anti-European bilateral conditions...”*. A shameless lie - we have already “inserted” the conditions into the agreement with Bulgaria, which means that it binds everywhere. There are no more exceptions. It is a done deal. There is no place for penniless pilgrims in diplomacy.

And S. Pendarovski’s reaction - *“The Bulgarian statement highlights the position of one country, and is not a common position of the European Union, there is no stopping the negotiations”* is far from the truth. President Pendarovski knows very well that the European Union is working with full consensus, that the negotiations have not started but have only been announced, without a set date and, most importantly, that the negotiating framework for Macedonia is now being prepared. We will have to wait and see what will be included in it. In any case, Brussels cannot (completely) ignore the Bulgarian document. The only question is how much and in what form it will be accepted. Three things are crucial: (1) if Bulgaria does not accept the negotiating framework, there is no start of negotiations, (2) any member state can block negotiations in any of the 35 chapters or, now, in the six clusters, and (3) with the new negotiating formula, member states are directly involved in negotiations and their abuses will be a reality. There is no doubt that Bulgaria and Greece will use this right to the fullest. Our suffering in the negotiations will be unbearable and often insurmountable due to their uncivilized blackmail. Slovenia has been blocking Croatia at the border in the Piran Bay for almost two years.

When S. Pendarovski believes that – *“we should not be afraid that... we will lose the right to call our language Macedonian”*, he seems to overlook that we, precisely in the declaration and in the agreement with Bulgaria, accepted that our language is not autochthonous. We signed that our language is defined in accordance with our Constitution, which means a constitutional category and constitutions change. We have ruined our language ourselves and now we will suck what we have crushed. The most we can get in the EU is the same formulation:

Macedonian language, according to the constitution of the country and that is the goal of Sofia, which knows that it cannot get any more. Not like all the others - Croatian, French... ours will have a tail. It is a shameful degradation that shows that the language is not original. And, if it is not, it can only be - a dialect. In any case, our defeat will be complete: if we demand that the language be without a tail, they will show us the agreement, with our signature that shows that we agreed with it. The decision for its ratification was signed by S. Penarovski.

A crucified state and on the way to federalization, a language with a tail, a people disputed... this is what the former Macedonian state looks like today.

In an interview with mkd.mk S. Pendarovski said – *“and in the past when we had misunderstandings with Bulgaria, we resolved them through open cooperation”*. It would be good for the president to point out at least one such example of essential importance, which was resolved in our favour. There is no such thing and there will be no such thing, especially in the EU negotiations process. However, it is not crucial that the Bulgarian document was hidden. We already knew what Sofia was demanding without that. It is worrying that none of our politicians have said what they have done after Bulgaria took this step? Obviously nothing. That is our misfortune. When this Bulgarian initiative hits us on the head and when our people come to their senses, it will be too late because the EU will already have a negotiating framework, with Bulgarian demands included. There will be no choice.

Whether we admit it or not, we are facing a new blockade which, by the way, is completely expected and was announced by Sofia long ago. What they are demanding from Brussels is a decision by their government, finalized with a declaration in Parliament. This is official Bulgarian state policy to which we reacted inadequately, with shameful phraseology, as if we did not understand what was happening and where it was leading. Well, here it is. Sofia was

The people need to know the facts: (1) Bulgaria supported the opening of negotiations with Macedonia because it suits it; (2) It is actively preparing for the negotiations, will blackmail us for the date and will implement delaying tactics to secure its own benefits; (3) The course of the negotiations will be unbearable for us because Sofia, and also Athens, will have unacceptable demands in almost every chapter. As a result, the negotiations will last too long, and perhaps decades. At no cost will Bulgaria give up its historical syndromes for Macedonia and the Macedonians: this is its last chance to impose them; (4) Bulgaria has already declared war on us, to which we have not even reacted, let alone responded.

The clause in the agreement that the Joint Expert Commission on Historical and Educational Issues will submit an “annual report on its work” is “fortunate”. This means that they have planned to work on it for several years using Sofia’s current blackmail, aiming to immediately capitulate on its historical plan, which is crucial for the identity of the Macedonians. That is why this process must be rejected with indignation. The problems that the commission is considering are not daily politics, but extremely complicated and centuries-old, and therefore require a long time to resolve. We should insist on the involvement of foreign experts.

Although we delude ourselves that the capitulation agreements with Bulgaria and Greece have solved our mutual problems, this move by Sofia confirmed that they only actualized them, with us taking the blame, and now our new bloody torments begin.

Finally, one trick. Unlike our amateurism, Bulgaria is a country with all the sights. Aware of the great fuss in our country about their document in Brussels, B. Borisov sent us a video that he sang our song about the coronavirus. It is now a hit in our media. A more successful propaganda campaign for reducing the damage, one cannot imagine.

BULGARIA ANTE PORTAS (BEFORE THE DOORS)

(October, 2020)

Two thousand and a half years ago, Hannibal stood at the gates of Rome and posed a serious threat to the besieged city. Today, in front of the door that should lead Macedonia to Brussels, our eastern “friends” are standing with ominous threats. They are not joking at all because they have no choice: they are victims of their own centuries-old historical syndromes that, if they do not valorize them now, will fail them. That is why Bulgaria has publicly declared a special war against us with which they want to destroy the Macedonian people, which we are ignoring. Our politicians minimize Bulgarian attacks that penetrate the core of Macedonianism and publicly challenge our existence, which leads to our national catastrophe. To this extremely shameless Bulgarian blackmail, “our” politicians respond with - we will agree, we will find a compromise, believing Bulgaria will not hinder our negotiations... And, like the greatest amateurs, they repeat that Bulgaria is our friend. If that is so, and it is not, then who is our enemy at the moment? Our silence only shows a willingness to make concessions, which gives Sofia direct additional strength to insist on fulfilling its blackmail.

While we do not even have a clear policy, let alone a coordinated approach, everything is going smoothly in Sofia. Their position towards Macedonia is defined by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which should mean that it is a strictly scientific approach, although it is based on political decisions and on their unrealized historical phantasmagoria that led them to shameful fascism. After this policy is implemented, through the Government, and finalized by Parliament with a declaration as an official state policy, there is no longer and cannot be a dilemma, let alone a misunderstanding – this document obliges all Bulgarian persons and institutions, at any time and everywhere, to act within its

framework. There are more than 20 conditions that Macedonia must fulfill if it wants to join the EU. All of them are extremely humiliating for our country and require the Macedonian people to renunciate themselves. That this is a permanent Bulgarian position is also confirmed by the frequent statements made by their politicians. We will quote just a few:

– former Bulgarian President, Georgi Parvanov: *“The Bulgarian struggle for freedom led to the creation of a Macedonian state”* (mkd.mk, from 16/6/2019);

– Bulgarian President Rumen Radev, said: *“We will support Macedonia, but not at the expense of Bulgarian history, language and identity”* (“Vecher”, 20/9/2019);

–Bulgarian Prime Minister Boiko Borisov said: *“We have stated what our conditions are for Macedonia’s EU integration.”* And added: *“... and I would give them the most brotherly advice – not to set impossible conditions for themselves”* (“Vecher” from 8/5/2020);

– Bulgarian Minister of Defense Krasimir Karakachanov said: *“Macedonian and Bulgarian are two words of the same thing”* (“Vecher”, 16/12/2019);

– Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kristijan Vigenin said: *“Macedonia’s path to the EU passes through the Good Neighbourly Relations Agreement!”* (“Vecher” from 6/6/2013).

Vigenin’s statement, which is from 2013, confirms that Sofia was deliberately imposing the friendship agreement as a key tool to endlessly obstruct and blackmail us on the path to the EU, long aware that this is the only way they can destroy Macedonianism. In contrast, our laymen had no idea what was happening in Sofia. Although the international pressure was certainly fierce, we should not have signed the agreement under any circumstances because this would give them an indisputable trump card in blocking Macedonia. They will wave the good neighbourly agreement everywhere, of course as they understand

it. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, E. Zaharieva, publicly told us that the criterion for implementing the agreements was not invented by them, but by Brussels. They will only (mis)use it.

One of the most characteristic statements by our politicians, who pretend that there is no problem in Bulgarian policies towards Macedonia, is that of Minister Nikola Dimitrov, given on TV Sitel, on 13/9/2020 – *“The fact is that Gotse Delchev is a significant hero for both the Macedonian and Bulgarian people”*. The same has been repeated by President S. Pendarovski and others. This is a notorious untruth because such a thing is not even theoretically possible. Why doesn't anyone say what Gotse's merits are for Bulgaria? The fact is that Sofia is only abusing G. Delchev to claim Macedonia through him because he is the symbol of our struggle for freedom and independence. It's very simple - if Gotse fought for an independent Macedonia, a state of the Macedonian people, which is an indisputable fact, he could not have fought for the interests of Bulgaria. The interests of both were diametrically opposed. In principle, G. Delchev had to be tried by Sofia for his fight for a free Macedonia for the Macedonians, which the Bulgarians appropriated. If we agree to a joint celebration of Gotse, it would mean direct and open acceptance of the shameful Bulgarian theses that G. Delchev was a hardened Bulgarian and that he fought for a Bulgarian Macedonia. Or, in other words, he considered that we are also – “Bulgarians”. There is simply no other explanation. Bulgaria refuses to officially recognize that we are a separate people because that would reveal and admit that it has been stealing our history all along! These are the frameworks within which Sofia will operate, which will create huge problems for us on the path to the EU.

Someone should remind the Bulgarians that Georgi Dimitrov believed that – *“The Macedonian movement has many enemies, but the worst is Bulgarian imperialism and fascism”* (“Nova Makedonija”, 1/5/2020). These are truths about Bulgarian behaviour, which must be repeated and exposed. As a result of Bulgarian ultimatums and blackmail, our commission on historical issues, resulting from the agreement, has been

put in an impossible position. It is time for our members to withdraw themselves with dignity, because our state does not dare to take such steps. To resign, means the whole thing will brought back to the beginning. They also have specific reason for resigning: they have been played by the Bulgarian side in an extremely undignified manner. After the commissions agreed on the joint celebration of the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius as Pan-Slavic enlighteners, which is actually true, Sofia began a procedure for declaring them Bulgarian. If we, despite this, celebrate them together with them, it will explicitly mean that we accept that they and we also are Bulgarians! Very simple and straightforward. That is sufficient reason for the commission members to resign.

When analyzing the Bulgarian attitude towards Macedonia, it must be emphasized that Sofia does nothing without the consent of the United States, which is the cause of all our problems. After the SFRY's collapse, all scenarios for Macedonia were created by the USA, including this last one, and the official devaluation of the Macedonian language began with the elevation of Albanian to the level of the second official language in the country. All of its plans in the Balkans, in which the universal rights of the Macedonian people are excluded, are being implemented by Washington with the help of our neighbours. Sofia and Athens have their own illegal and illegitimate aspirations, but their realization is possible only within the framework of American interests. Bulgaria did not try to prevent Macedonia's membership in NATO because it was in the interest of the United States and they, like ordinary lackeys, followed their moves. The EU, on the other hand, is our emphasized interest and that is why Sofia is posing - blackmail.

BULGARIAN BLACKMAIL AND MACEDONIAN NEBULAS

(June, 2020)

The government is trying with all its might and in a miserable way to minimize Sofia's official threats, although it is obvious that our negotiations for membership in the Union will be subject to their uncivilized blackmail, which they have already publicly specified. The authorities are making nebulous statements, thereby blatantly lying to the people that we have no problems with Bulgaria, that the threats and blackmail from there were their internal affairs that had nothing to do with Brussels. And Sofia has publicly and openly imposed a blockade on us, in some ways even more terrible than the Greek one that preceded it – either you fulfill everything we demand, or there will be no membership. In short, they demand that we accept that we are “Bulgarians” by gender, that as Macedonians we were invented during World War II, which means by Tito, that there is no Macedonian language, except an invented one, according to the Constitution of our country... They rightly claim that with the agreement we signed with them, we agreed that we have a common history, and it is not possible for two peoples to have the same history, unless one was under occupation by the other. After all, in such a case, what would the Turks, under whose rule we were for 500 years, say? But Sofia is ready for an unprecedented “concession”: it accepts that with some (chemical?) operations during and after World War II, a part was torn off from the “Bulgarian ethnic fabric” that formed the state of Macedonia, in which live invented Macedonians. That newly invented people, since then, has been developing its own language, a dialect of Bulgarian, its own history, previously exclusively Bulgarian...

All this is nothing new. This is the same Bulgarian policy that, with few exceptions, has lasted for more than 150 years. It is a historical syndrome that is not easily cured. After all, there is no need to cure it

now when the other side (Macedonia) is ready to capitulate and destroy its own fundamental interests. Sofia now has the only chance - to achieve the impossible. When on the other side you find political amateurs who do not even know what they want and even less understand what is what, then you have a field for deep plowing. Just like with Greece, we signed a fateful agreement (for us) with a country that does not recognize that we exist as a people, that we have our own language, history... We must not sign such an agreement unless it loudly and clearly says with whom they are signing and in what language. (And it had better say “with Macedonia and in the Macedonian language) Anything else is a defeat and a betrayal of our own essential interests.

There is another important point that must be explained separately. Among the Bulgarian blackmails is the demand that we accept that we were not under Bulgarian fascist occupation during World War II, although this is an indisputable historical fact. As a sign of acceptance of this Bulgarian foolishness, Prime Minister Z. Zaev ordered the word “Bulgarian” to be erased from the monument to the national hero Blagoj Yankov – Mucheto, in Strumica, to leave only the statement that he was killed by a “fascist bullet”. This a humiliation for our people and for our country and there are no words to describe it, nor can a similar example be found anywhere in the world. Zaev, you should be ashamed of being Macedonian. And Sofia’s demands are serious even though they really were fascists. When it concerns Macedonia they truly believe that they “liberated” it, not occupied it because, at least until then, as we will “admit” to them later, we were – “Bulgarians”. We had a common history and we were one. Bulgaria simply has no room to maneuver except to continue irrevocably, as it has started. If the Bulgarians accept that we have always been a separate people, which is an undeniable fact for anyone who understands things, they will admit that they have been stealing our history for centuries. This is unacceptable for Sofia, no explanation needed. That is why they are trying to save face with a primitive gimmick that we were invented by

Tito. Let's agree that this is so, but how are they going to explain that Macedonians existed, not only in Yugoslavia, but all over the world including in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania... And at the beginning of the 20th century, when they moved to America with Turkish passports, they declared themselves Macedonians... What should we do with them? Who could have invented them? These are Bulgarian inventions that can only be passed off as fugitives. Washington and Brussels, on the other hand, support the Bulgarians because they fit their interests.

BULGARIAN – MACEDONIAN GAMES

(May 2020)

The cards are slowly opening and the solutions that will further destroy Macedonianism are already being felt. So, Sofia has taken a “step” towards reality by accepting that today we are Macedonians, although this is an evident fact that no normal person can deny. They are moving towards a “compromise” with a “concession” that was unthinkable until yesterday. Imagine, Macedonians existing for Sofia! And, for all those who are not up to date with the problem, the move means Bulgarian adaptation to reality. So Sofia is also mumbling. However, this is just an ordinary cunning peasant attempting to deceive the people. The key thing for Sofia remains – until World War II, when Tito declared us a nation, and we promoted the Bulgarian dialect in the Macedonian language, we were Bulgarians. If such Bulgarian cuckoo eggs are swallowed, it will practically mean that we agree that this is a second Bulgarian state, and the Macedonians are so named after the region, without any special ethnic characteristics. Just like the Pelagonians, the Miyaci...

The Bulgarians also claim credit for freeing us from the Serbian yoke and that we must be grateful to them for that. It is normal that in no case should we mention that it was the work of the Bulgarian fascists, in collaboration with Hitler. If someone “liberated” you from another occupation you shouldn’t be ungrateful, right. After all, it is a fact that some of the Macedonians also hoped that the Bulgarians, even as fascists, would bring some kind of freedom, not an even more terrible occupation.

No one can dispute that there has been a Macedonian state for more than 70 years and that we play the role of Macedonians well, no matter how difficult it is for us. And here, Bulgaria is ready to acknowledge

that truth. But nothing is free in life. The price is simple – to officially recognize our Bulgarianness until the 1940s, for which the main steps have already been taken, when we accepted that we have a common history and that our language is defined according to our Constitution. Those facts now only need to be put into proper operation and the job is done. In order to deceive the people, Sofia will repeat that we are Macedonians, and our historians from the joint commission will refine the common history by accepting all the good-neighbourly Bulgarian demands for the origin and national identity of the countless Macedonian activists who lived and worked in Bulgaria, which is indisputable. If we already agree that we were “little Bulgarians” until 1944, there is no logic in claiming that all the Macedonian revolutionaries and intellectuals who lived there were not Bulgarians! We all were.

According to the available indicators, the top Macedonian politicians agree with the Bulgarian phantasmagoria and will publicly thunder that they have achieved their goal, which is that today, for Sofia - we are Macedonians! Who cares since when we are Macedonians and whether we were Bulgarians until 1944? No one will ask - why our parents and grandfathers shamefully lied to us that they were Macedonians, and that they were disguised “Bulgarians”. If we accept the Bulgarian “truth”, we will be told that we have cemented our national identity again. They will not say that this will mean cemented as a Bulgarian, and not as a Macedonian identity, but little things are not important. It will not be difficult for them to lie to us, not after our capitulation in Nivitsi.

Announcements of our new defeat are numerous. President S. Pendarovski told us that Gotse Delchev was a Bulgarian but he fought for Macedonia. Weren't there thousands of Russians, Serbs, Macedonians, French, Italians... who fought against Franco's dictatorship in Spain, but were they all Spaniards? Why shouldn't Gotse Delchev be a (Bulgarian!) internationalist? According to Macedonia Mk Mkd, from 17/6/2020, S. Pendarovski also took a step forward, sorry, back when he said - “...*Nobody in Bulgaria disputes the present.*”

Neither the language nor the ethnicity. From the Bulgarian side, they say, let's see how it was in history. So, I think that can be a starting point". True, that can be a "starting point" but towards hell. This means that the president of the Macedonian state doesn't understand anything and accepts that we are Tito's invention, from World War II! Denko Maleski also provided a similar solution - that we have been fasting as a nation since 1944. He is part of the Macedonian president's cabinet and it is no coincidence that the same winds blow from there. MFA, N. Dimitrov, stated in an interview that - "*Bulgaria cannot benefit from complicating Macedonia's European future. I am convinced of that...*" ("Vecher", dated 10/9/2020). It is unfortunate if he is truly convinced of that and does not see that Sofia openly and at all costs wants to denationalize us. B. Borisov scolded Z. Zaev for saying that the Ilinden Uprising was Macedonian and he, with all his might – apologized! ("Sloboden Pechat" dated 11/8/2018).

We should be clear that the Bulgarian obsession that we were invented by Tito and that we have existed as a people since 1944 aims, above all, to show and prove that there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria and there cannot be. That is their weakest point. Here, however, there is also a small "technical" problem – the fact that the court in Strasbourg, has condemned Bulgaria as many as 13 times for discriminating against the Macedonians in Bulgaria! Is it possible that the judges there are all lunatics? The fact that we do not react is another (sad) story.

It is not at all a coincidence that Sofia began its offensive precisely by denying the Macedonian language and announced that it would not allow the country to enter the EU if it is not accepted that it is a dialect of Bulgarian. However, it is clear to them that sacrificing the language would be too big of a bite, although our unscrupulous politicians are ready to give up everything of our national language in return. It can be argued with great certainty that the imposed promotion of the Albanian language as an equal in Macedonia is part of the American scenario for the devaluation and degradation of the Macedonian language. This paves the way for its gradual elimination. It can be expected that a

solution will be sought in Brussels on this basis. The West has been planning this for a long time and will not allow itself to be in a deadlock. At this point as a first phase, the Macedonian language, with the addition that it is - “according to the Constitution” of the country, will be declared as non-autochthonous and non-original. Then, new degradations will follow.

In all this cacophony, the most terrible thing is that after Sofia brought to light all its blatant demands, Macedonia did not react at all. In such diplomatic moments, silence is a sign that what has been announced is accepted. Otherwise, in one way or another, the blow is returned. At the very least, a broad diplomatic offensive should have been launched with international factors with a request for support and condemnation of the adversary’s impudence. But there was no such thing in our country. This, once again, shows that something is hidden under the table, that there is a readiness for new betrayals. It has always been this way in history - if you step in the mud, you will sink further and further. After the Nivitsi agreement, anything can be expected. Without a change of government, there is no salvation. Finally, we must register and emphasize the shameful, medieval Bulgarian appropriation of the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius. They, just like Gotse Delchev, although they fought against the interests of the Bulgarian state, are now being appropriated. In our country, there is silence, except in the media. MANU, the institutes of national history and the Macedonian Language and other competent institutions should have and must react. Their silence, however, is very likely the result of a signal from the authorities, not to make waves. Otherwise, at least some of these competent institutions would have woken up from their deep sleep. The Slavic public and institutions must also be mobilized. These were pan-Slavic activists, educators and great figures. The only one that showed up was “Vecher”, which published on the entire front page, - *“They appropriated Delchev and Cyril and Methodius. They still have Santa Claus left”*.

BULGARIAN ILLITERATE

(November, 2020)

The expected veto in Brussels has arrived, confirming that something is wrong with the Bulgarians. You have to be out of your mind to claim that your parents and grandparents were “Bulgarians” until 1944, and after that, you, together with your parents and grandparents, turned into Macedonians. This monstrous twist by Sofia is not only meaningless but ridiculous. Possibly, someone might believe this 150 years from now, when new generations will live in Macedonia who will not have any direct memories of what their great-great-grandparents were. We have spent a good part of our lives with our parents and grandparents, we have grown up and matured alongside them and we know very well what they were. And now, completely out of its mind, Sofia is blackmailing us to agree and sign a document that declares we were all “Bulgarians”!? Maybe there are some, an extremely marginal number of individuals who feel this way, but to make a general claim about everyone... Well, for that you already need to be completely immersed in extreme political national-chauvinism, which destroys common sense. In the Bulgarian case, it is a return to their fascism from the Second World War.

Don't B. Borisov and the other Bulgarian jokers realize that if our parents and grandfathers were really “Bulgarians”, they wouldn't have had to hide that feeling and not pass it on to us, their children? Wouldn't they have secretly and subconsciously instilled Bulgarian national feelings in us? If they really felt “Bulgarian”, and Tito forbade them from being so, we today, whether we like it or not, in one way or another, would inevitably have show our Bulgarian roots. Such a thing cannot be hidden, even if it were a taboo subject. If nothing else, at home and secretly we would have sung Bulgarian songs. But nothing like that ever existed. Quite the opposite, we remember our parents and

grandparents telling us that we are Macedonians, which they instilled deep in our souls. Too bad for Sofia but our ancestors raised us as Macedonians, spoke to us in our beautiful Macedonian language, passed on to us our Macedonian history, taught us to sing Macedonian songs and put us to sleep telling us Macedonian stories...

In fact, this kind of example, in many ways shameful for them, can even be found in Bulgaria. Macedonians were persecuted, especially in Pirin Macedonia, imprisoned, tortured and condemned, victims of a severe national genocide but despite this, to this day, they have remained what they always were Macedonians. All this happened to them only because they declared themselves Macedonians, and Sofia's fierce bloodthirstiness, which lasted almost a century, did not succeed in destroying them. And when it was forbidden, both in Bulgaria and Greece, they spoke to each other in Macedonian and sang Macedonian songs. Professor Stojko Stojkov, in a book he published, has described how these people were mistreated for feeling Macedonian. It would be a good idea for Bulgarian political leaders to read it. The fact is that Bulgaria managed to assimilate some of the Macedonians, but that is a historical shame for them. That atrocity is still being repeated by Sofia today: 13 judgments have been passed by the European Court of Human Rights, condemning Bulgaria for disrespecting the fundamental rights of the Macedonians in that country. Even the ministers of the Council of Europe have passed a resolution demanding that Sofia respect these judgments. Because of this, Bulgaria is on the hook and is under constant monitoring by the Council. It is high time that our eastern neighbour steps out of the policies of the 19th century and realizes that the Macedonians are a reality both in Macedonia and Bulgaria, where no one can deny them and erase them with any bilateral agreement, signed by any irresponsible Macedonian politician. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the ultimate reason for these vile and inadequate Bulgarian blackmails towards Macedonia is precisely the Macedonian minority, which does not enjoy any universally guaranteed rights; in an EU member state! And the Minister of Foreign

Affairs, E. Zaharieva, directly confirmed this when she said that they are the biggest part of the problem.

Obviously, Sofia calculated that the Macedonians will be eliminated most easily if they are erased from their home country, that is, if it can be proven that there are no Macedonians in Macedonia. Then there cannot be a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria either. Of course, the opposite is also true: if there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria, there cannot be any in Macedonia either! That is precisely why Sofia set the border up to and from 1944. The plan was poorly conceived because it is beyond reason and resembles the most severe form of chauvinism, but the goal is clear: if there were no Macedonians in Macedonia until 1944, there is no basis for them to have existed in Bulgaria before that. But Macedonians do exist in Bulgaria; Tito did not invent them either! Europe is already wondering about its wits, mocking the crazy idea, but they will not publicly criticize it for the sake of solidarity and so as not to disgrace the Union. The influential “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” wrote: *“according to Sofia - the Macedonians are - ‘an artificial nation’, and the Bulgarians are - ‘a gift from God’ or ‘fallen from heaven’“!* Enough has been said about this insanity.

There are many indicators that both the European Union and all its members have long regretted accepting Bulgaria, but only now will they realize that their mistake is historic and that because of it everyone will be on the pillar of shame. At the same time In the past, Sofia was always on the wrong side. All of its allies ended in disgrace: they were either defeated or disintegrated. The last was the USSR. Is this what awaits the EU if it does not expel Bulgaria in time?

Our ancestors lived in the Ottoman Empire for centuries, and were also victims of Bulgarian conquests several times before that. But the period of fascism in World War II stands out, when Macedonia was turned into an occupation zone, which Hitler assigned to Bulgaria. Meanwhile, our people were already under Serbian occupation. Even in the most difficult historical conditions, Macedonians never gave up on who they

were. Many fought and died for a free Macedonian state, and all current attempts to erase all of this from our collective memory are doomed to a heavy defeat.

These days, Sofia is misusing Minister of Defense R. Shekerinska's grandmother's letter. Shekerinska's grandfather had written a letter to his wife that he had fought for the – "*unification of Macedonia with mother Bulgaria*". This was certainly not the only case, but it was not common. At that time (1943), the partisans had already been massively launched into a general national struggle against the Bulgarian fascist occupier, widely supported by a huge part of the Macedonian people and all others who lived in our area.

In contrast, my grandfather from Resen, Itso Pope, struggled for 17 years for a free Macedonia and often told me and my late brother – never forget that you are Macedonians: your father, I, my father and my grandfather, were and are all Macedonians. Even though I was very young at the time, I remember it as if it were yesterday, and he died in 1949. At that time, we did not understand his legacy, but he achieved his goal. His grandfather, however, whom he loved and respected very much, and about whom he told us interesting stories, was born somewhere around 1820. He was Macedonian 200 years ago, although unrecognized and without national rights. That is why there was a "Macedonian question".

The Bulgarian nonsense about Macedonia and Macedonians, which has been going on for about 150 years, is well known to all of us. However, it is simply incredible that the current Bulgarian "intelligentsia" wants to force us to give up not only our historical memory, from 100 or 150 years ago, but also our personal memory! From what we were brought up with. With these stupidities, obscenities and nonsense, prepared by their academy of the "illiterate", all Macedonians are insulted, wherever they are, including those in Bulgaria. However, in all this nonsense, we should not be surprised by Sofia's historical babbling. They are well known and, at least for us, it should not be a surprise. The key is why

are Washington and Brussels silent? They make noise every day and give us lessons about some kind of democracy, rule of law, human rights..., and in this particular case they tolerate shameless chauvinism within their own ranks: Bulgaria is a member of NATO and the EU. The Union's position that we should reach an agreement with Sofia is astonishing. For what? For whether we are what we are, or are we something else, projected in the dark corridors of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences? The fact is that Berlin, which presides over the EU (July - December 2020), is exerting fierce pressure on the more vampiric Bulgarian fascism to hold its hands up. However, the handicap is great because Sofia deliberately left no room for maneuver for an agreement, madly trying to achieve the impossible. It is regrettable that solidarity between the members is once again being overemphasized, which is a dangerous precedent for the EU. Brussels must publicly and officially condemn Sofia because this is unprecedented aggression against a candidate country for membership, on a completely unacceptable basis, and if this is tolerated the process of enlargement of the Union is over. Otherwise, the case will be repeated with other candidates. That would be a serious failure for Brussels, with far-reaching consequences.

The conclusion is undeniable. It would really take serious madness to prevail in Sofia to ask current Macedonians to sign that their parents and grandfathers were "Bulgarians" until 1944. By doing so, you are treating them as if they were truly invented. That is first-class cunning, but by doing so Sofia is being put in a hopeless position both in the EU and in relation to Macedonia.

However, in every evil there is also good. This is one of the rare cases when everyone in this country is united against Bulgaria's outrageous behaviour. Even the government's megaphones are on the same line, which means that they have received the appropriate signal, although the Prime Minister's statements often do not fit into the general picture. We will soon see whether this is an expression of some kind of diplomacy or preparation for capitulation. According to experience so

far, the latter is more likely. The fact, however, that Sofia has counted 10 or 15 thousand criticisms or condemnations of its policies in the media here should be an excellent indicator that they have taken a completely wrong direction. This clearly shows that they have no chance of success and that their aggression has firstly not united us and secondly, undermined in the long term the possibility of some kind of friendship between the two countries and peoples. So far, there has been no hatred at all against Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in this country, although due to their centuries-old denial of the Macedonians, there has always been a basis for such a thing. Now, after all that Sofia is doing to us, the ordinary Macedonian will inevitably feel deep contempt and revulsion towards them. Sofia has dug up all the war hatchets against Macedonia and this cannot remain without serious consequences.

WE HAVE TO ADMIT: BULGARIA IS, AFTER ALL, RIGHT!

(December, 2020)

What an irresponsible people we have been! Tokmaks (blockheads)! For 150 years, Sofia has been doing all sorts of monkey business to turn us into Bulgarians and we don't give a damn. Bulgarians, eh! If they liked us so much, if they were so obsessed with us that they even became friends with Hitler to possess us, and we became first-class punks for letting them down. Unprecedented. Although the Bulgarians are quasi-Slavs because they have Tatar origins, we should and must have accepted the extended hand of friendship a long time ago. We allowed it to dry up and now we are surprised that no one controls it and it is like an interplanetary ship with untrained pilots who can block and even destroy everything. On the other hand, we have B. Borisov and K. Karakachanov (E. Zaharieva is just a tiny pawn in their filthy game), deeply offended and confused that their centuries-old foolishness has gone without our friendly response. They continued to make moves as if they were still in the 19th century. Because of our behaviour they have no other choice: we let them get stuck in the mud and they are sinking deeper and deeper. No wonder they are denying us as a people.

Some, half-heartedly, criticize our older eastern "brothers" of being fascists. What shortsightedness! They deserve world recognition for that. Doesn't anyone understand that if Bulgaria had not been with A. Hitler and B. Mussolini, they would most likely have won? A. Hitler and B. Mussolini's pact with Sofia was the reason why they were destroyed. All Bulgarian allies ended up in the dustbin of history. The last one was the USSR. If Brussels does not understand this, the same fate awaits NATO and the EU. Thanks to Macedonia's case NATO and the EU, now have a good opportunity to come clean with Bulgaria and

save themselves from repeating history. Macedonia, on the other hand, should glorify their fascism because they “liberated” us!

The Bulgarians really don't have it easy with us, no matter who we are. If we already scrapped the adjective Macedonian and its derivatives with the agreement in Nivitsi, why are we now playing games with Sofia? Are we going to play dead after death? If MIA, from Macedonian... became Media...; if MOB, from Macedonian Opera..., became **National...** which, as a process of self-sacrifice, certainly strengthens our **national** identity... why are we now getting carried away with Bulgaria? Do we have any consistency in the idiocies we are committing? This is an excellent chance to finally give up these, for us, key adjectives that we have already planted on the Greeks. If someone starts a legal procedure against Philip II and Alexander the Great's rule, they will have to argue with Greece. It has already been proven that both Philip and Alexander conquered the “Greeks”. We will not have any problems. Athens is not at all aware of how we stranded them in Nivitsi.

Bulgaria, on the other hand, is absolutely right in wanting to definitively bury Macedonianism so that we stop disturbing the Balkans, Brussels and especially Washington, which as well-intentioned and partner-like wants to exterminate us. We deserve nothing better when we are stuck proving what can be seen from Mars and we know very well that this truth does not suit the world powers and is contrary to their illegitimate and illegal interests, which they forcefully impose everywhere. Who are we not to accept what force decides? In a democracy, there is no better way than the use of force to ensure human rights and freedoms. We are the most ordinary intruders when we cannot understand that it is an unforgivable mistake not to shear the sheep (Macedonia) under the skin, when it wants and expects it. The reasons are not important. If EU membership is not at stake, anything else is possible. The case with the Union is even more interesting. It is an example of double standards, unprincipledness, inconsistency and puppet behaviour towards the USA.

If you find fools on whom you can fulfill all your false and crazy historical dreams, it is extremely irresponsible not to do so. That is why Sofia is right. The Bulgarians saw how we sold out everything to Athens for nothing and they, naturally, stood in line. In Nivitsi, we have already proven that we are completely nationally irresponsible. Perhaps it is only unclear what we mean by identity, history, cultural heritage... and whose values should we defend - ours or those of the enemy? We behave as if we are playing football to allow the other team to score on us. At the same time, we should admire the Bulgarians who devotedly follow the phantasmagoria of their government, to which everything is clear, as if they were advised by Baba Vanga. These are people who, in the 21st century, have easily brought fascism and chauvinism back into their politics, even though they are part of the EU. Macedonia is just a good excuse for them. The Babylonian whore always behaves the same way.

This is the mosaic in which Macedonia, more or less, exists today. After the huge “success” in Nivitsi, erasing everything that is Macedonian, we cemented our national identity in the most exclusive cemetery. Confirmation of this is that the main leaders of the international scene came to our funeral (Merkel...) who officially played the role of gravediggers. Thus, we confirmed the cosmopolitanism for which we are known to exchange a horse for a chicken, as S. Vlahov - Michov would say. And, indeed, you would have to be a fool if you did not continue on the same glorious path. Fortunately, “our” political amateurs have a special gift for that. And Sofia, selflessly provided them with an exclusive chance and opportunity for a new capitulation and betrayal of fundamental national interests. It is very rare in world history, if ever, for a state to have the chance to be nationally dishonoured and destroyed three times in a period of just a few years. And, what is most admirable, that politicians boast about doing it.

The third element is the law on the Albanian language with which the foundations of the modern Macedonian state have been undermined. We should be very grateful that, apart from the Greeks and Bulgarians,

the Albanians are also strictly implementing the precise American directives for the definitive closure of the centuries-old “Macedonian question”. They are behaving aggressively, simply not believing that the idea of the Prizren League is being fully realized, even though the creation of a Greater Albania will undermine their security in the long term, in the Balkans and in Europe. It is good that, as a loyal vassal, the EU does not even think of challenging the interests of the United States in the region which, in the end, will cost it dearly. If the Balkans do not remain a powder keg, how else will Washington manipulate the old continent?

We should be overjoyed that the United States, our irreplaceable and noble “strategic partner”, who shamelessly baptized and depopulated us, considered it too risky to physically destroy us. They can easily send us “liberators” from Kosovo again, but that is dangerous because it opens up space, God forbid, for the return of Russia, and there is no greater misfortune than that for the USA. This would mean that all their previous successes would be lost when, with NATO members, they surrounded and isolated Moscow, although they solemnly promised that, if Germany was unified, they would not expand NATO to the East (an agreement between James Baker and Mikhail Gorbachev). Aware, however, of what kind of barren sheep they were dealing with in Macedonia, the US chose an easier plan. Instead of using cannons, where even one of their own, at the very least, would go to St. Peter’s, this is how, step by step, in an extremely peaceful way, they are throwing the Macedonians into warm and sincere Bulgarian embraces, in an extremely peaceful way. The devil, however, neither plows nor digs. Sofia overestimated itself, believing that with blackmail, blockades and ultimatums it could quickly achieve the impossible and immediately declare us Bulgarians. If not us, at least our parents and grandparents, which created a permanent rift: how could they lie to us, their children, that we are Macedonians, and they were “Bulgarians”? The parts, however, where there are no “Bulgarians”, and which Tirana, in an agreement with Washington, officially calls “Albanian territories”,

with the formalization of the borders will be opened to Albania and Kosovo. Formally, the state will survive, thanks to the danger from Russia, and the “Macedonian question” will be closed by erasing the Macedonians, and all Albanians will live in one state. A political nation will also be invented.

These “brilliant” plans are possible because “our” surtuks (jerks) ignore the political consequences of their follies. It is good that they are silent about the fact that two peoples cannot have a common history, but only one. It is great that they are also waving that the Macedonian language “according to the Constitution of the country” is becoming a more important factor, although, in essence, such a formulation means that the language does not exist, that it does not exist, that it is invented. If we had not behaved so sophisticatedly, Sofia would not only have vetoed us in Brussels, but most likely would have sent the announced regiment to sort us out. As you can see, there is no escaping the invented Bulgarian truth.

Finally, let us conclude that our temporary resistance that Gotse Delchev is not Bulgarian is beyond reason. Together we should celebrate him, and Ilinden, and all other events related to our heroes who lived in Bulgaria. Sofia is aware that Gotse and the others fought for Macedonia and recognizes this, but claiming that it was for Bulgarian Macedonia. After all, this is the only way they can confirm their aspirations towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. All of them have no other merits for Bulgaria and, otherwise, they should have been tried as traitors. And now, how can they admit that they were Macedonians when for them there was no such thing and there can be no such thing? With that, it becomes crystal clear that it is not even theoretically possible for them to have a Macedonian minority living in Bulgaria. Do you see that Sofia is right again? Everything is so obvious but who can understand: those who have a common history also have an obligation to commemorate it together. If we do not completely rehabilitate San Stefano, we have done nothing. We are on the move.

For us, it would be more appropriate to examine how Tito managed to transform us into Macedonians? How did he make us learn the north-south and east-west Bulgarian dialect as the Macedonian language? Did he send teachers to every family? Was there resistance to the violent Macedonianization? Were those 20,000 Bulgarians, about whom Sofia informed the whole of Europe, not killed in that process of cruel Macedonianization? Did they refuse to realize that they were Macedonians...? Our gratitude to the EU, the USA, Germany... must be daily because they do not take sides with this Bulgarian nonsense and only force us to agree with Sofia about who we are, what we are and what language we speak. Let's capitulate, shall we? Just like in the case with Greece. We already have that experience. The second is always easier. Everything has its price and we should be grateful that they do not tell us that it is indecent, inconsiderate and unscrupulous. To know what is what, a few days after his "historic", although for us extremely devastating interview with BGNES, Z. Zaev received a letter from F. Reeker, as open support for what was said. Here, tell me why Sofia would give in, when it is absolutely right?

MARCH 3 (SAN STEFANO) CANNOT BE A BULGARIAN NATIONAL HOLIDAY

(September 2019)

Bulgaria is waging a war against Macedonia that cannot be “colder”. The country’s top leadership, together with the entire “intelligentsia”, is mobilized with the sole purpose of proving that we are unconscious “Bulgarians”. They are aware that either they will achieve this now or all their long-running historical syndromes regarding the Macedonians will fall into disrepair. The capitulation agreement that we signed gives them the right to prove the unprovable and it must be admitted that it is the duty of politicians to use such rare opportunities. Sofia is behaving in the same way. They are trying with all their might to appropriate a key part of our history with the sole purpose of convincing us of our Bulgarian origin. The symbol of all this is, of course, Gotse Delchev. According to their ideologies, he was a great “Bulgarian” because he fought for Macedonia, as a second Bulgarian state. Delchev has no other historical merits for Bulgaria.

There is hardly a greater humiliation than accepting to negotiate with neighbouring countries for your history. That is exactly what our country did and now we should not be surprised by what is happening to us. By signing the disastrous asymmetric agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, Macedonia has placed itself in a dependent position whose consequences could be fatal for the survival of the Macedonian people. Our incompetent politicians assured us that these agreements solved the problems with these countries and that they became our friends, which was an unprecedented fabrication and heavy manipulation. The truth is that those centuries-old problems were only opened and put on the table for our further execution, with our admission that we are guilty of them. With the agreements, absolutely nothing was resolved in our favour.

After all, a sovereign state never signs an asymmetric agreement with another. Only countries defeated in wars and protectorates do that.

Now we are convinced that the aggression against Macedonia, both by Athens and especially Sofia, has never been more pronounced and dangerous. Both have clear intentions to deal a final blow to the Macedonian national identity: one through the name, the other through the language. They believe that the moment has come to finally close the “Macedonian question”. After all, Sofia openly told us that Macedonia can be in the Union, but not Macedonianism, or rather - the Macedonians. And while all this is happening our politicians “wisely” remain silent. And if they speak out, like President S. Pendarovski, they insist that G. Delchev really declared himself a Bulgarian, but fought for Macedonia! There is no greater stupidity and should not be expected even from a high school student.

The historical commissions with Bulgaria and Greece are already a fact. The danger of disastrous consequences from their work is quite real. If we were a normal country, with responsible politicians, all competent institutions would have at least been activated now to help our commissions save at least what they can. However, this is heresy for politicians who, as bearers of the capitulation, now have no face to fight for our interests, which they have already betrayed. Therefore, quite the opposite, they leave our commission members to the winds with the sole purpose of completing their sellout of Macedonianism. And not only that: the question is whether MANU, the Institute of National History and similar institutions have received a political order to stir us up? How many “scientists” are paid at the Institute, and we have heard nothing about their “important” discoveries about our history. Now, instead of coming up with facts and arguments every day about Gotse and all our other activists (who will inevitably come next for appropriation by Sofia) or giving suggestions and proposals on how to oppose the Bulgarian monkeys – all of them, with rare exceptions – are silent. If they are doing something, the public should know because it is interested. Or, as everywhere else, here too a good part of these

institutions are run by someone's incompetent children, relatives, neighbours...? MANU has already proven that it is uninterested in state and national issues.

Here we will try to specify a weak point on the Bulgarian side, which could be a reason for our initiative.

Since 1990, Bulgaria has officially celebrated March 3 as a national day. That is the day when in 1878 the **preliminary** San Stefano Peace Treaty was signed between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which was defeated in 1877/78 Ottoman-Russian war. This agreement is called preliminary because it never entered into force and was revised after only three months, on June 13 of the same year, at the Berlin Congress. According to Russian ideas, in San Stefano a Greater Bulgaria was created that included almost all of Macedonia, parts of Serbia (Piot, Vranje...), Greece (Northern Thrace and parts of Eastern Thrace) and Albania (Korcha...). According to the San Stefano agreement, Bulgaria had more than 170 thousand square kilometers, while today it has about 110 thousand. Russia created Greater Bulgaria as a vassal state, which was contrary to the interests of the Western powers, who did not accept this agreement. Russia was forced to revise the San Stefano agreement and then implement what was agreed in Berlin. The Albanians were also dissatisfied with the San Stefano agreement and, as a result, formed the Prizren League whose goal was Greater Albania.

After the fall of communism (1990), Sofia declared March 3 a national holiday. And what is happening? They celebrate their national holiday, either inside the country or at their embassies, where they expect us to visit them. That is the order. The symbolism is not to be underestimated. They insist that we congratulate them on the day that Macedonia was placed under their rule! According to available information, our government never gave instructions either to boycott these provocative Bulgarian celebrations, or to attend them at a lower level. These are the two diplomatic opportunities that we, consciously or not, do not use. We pretend as if everything is fine. But it is not. For

25 years now, there has been a serious problem that we seem not to notice. Our practice (was) wrong. And Sofia achieved its goal because we did not react. Therefore, it should not be surprising that to this day, Bulgarian aspirations towards our people, language, culture... have not changed.

And before 1990, for many years Sofia celebrated March 3 as Liberation Day, which is also controversial. Namely, the war ended in December 1877 when Bulgaria was liberated. For all neighbouring countries, especially Macedonia, their choice of March 3 as a national holiday is extremely provocative. It openly symbolizes their irredentist aspirations towards parts of several neighbouring countries. There is no basis, no justification, for Sofia to use something that was preliminary and that has not entered into force at all, that is, something that does not exist, as its national holiday, something that is unacceptable to several countries. After all, even if the agreement, behind which supreme irredentism is hidden, had entered into force, Bulgaria would not have been allowed to use the day for this purpose. We should have no doubts that Sofia glorifies San Stefano solely as a symbol of its “right” over Macedonia and the Macedonians. It is not at all a coincidence that March 3 was declared a national holiday precisely in 1990, when it was clear that an independent Macedonian state would emerge, which would have to be appropriated. The issue absolutely needs and must be brought up in the negotiations of the commissions that deal with historical issues between the two countries.

It is interesting that Sofia is threatening us with a blockade of the date for EU membership negotiations, and Athens is doing the same but indirectly, insisting that it must be shared with Albania. And the fact is that both can hardly wait for us to start negotiations because only through them can they tear out what little is left of our Macedonian national identity. This may only seem contradictory at first glance because the primary goal of procrastination is to put us in a more dependent position.

Flexibility and tolerance are synonyms for culture, but they must not be overdone. They can become counterproductive. In life, sometimes it is smart to give in, to swallow a pill, to accept something unpleasant... for the sake of some higher goals and interests. The people have said it well that - the smart one gives in! That is a good warning and admonition that any willingness to compromise must be most carefully analyzed and checked, so that it does not hit you in the head later. That often happens. Tolerance can also prove to be wrong. Macedonia has been a good example of exactly that for 25 years. We have always treated the problem of our name in this way and, if you do not constantly knock on the table for something that is unacceptable, do not expect understanding and any changes from the other side. Something that you do not ask for, no one will give you. Nothing is guaranteed, especially when it comes to Macedonians. That is how it was and will remain so.

Until now, Macedonia has shown enormous patience towards Bulgaria. We have gone through countless provocations, all in some attempt to help them rise above their own historical syndromes. And it was all in vain. There is no result whatsoever. Sofia still wants to tear down a wall recklessly, which has never been and cannot be successful. The latest attempt is the dictate that we sign an asymmetrical agreement on friendship and cooperation, as if we were defeated aggressors in a war.

One of the main lessons in diplomacy is that relations with neighbours are the most important and difficult. It is case almost everywhere, not only in the Balkans. Over the centuries, the historical destiny was shared with its neighbours, for better or for worse, in wars and in cooperation. The events in the Balkans, however, were most often orchestrated and led by other forces that had their own interests and for that purpose confronted the countries of the region. Occupiers and borders changed, even populations were exchanged, and all of this left deep traces and consequences that are reflected for many years. These legacies are always a great burden, and solutions are very difficult. It is the same in the Middle and Far East, it is the same throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the moment, for example, there are six or

seven disputed border issues between the USA and Canada, about which little is said...

PARADOXES OF BULGARIAN “HISTORY”

(January 2020)

After the shameful Bulgarian national - chauvinistic and fascist outbursts towards Macedonia, including the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the government and the Parliament, on 31/12/2019, a long interview with the Bulgarian “historian” Plamen Pavlov appeared in the Bulgarian agency “Focus” (*“In Bulgarian-Macedonian relations we should start from the position that we are dealing with one people living in two states”*). The title says it all and he is a true “scientist” when he claims - *“that is how it is and it cannot be otherwise”, or - “... there cannot be another position in science”*. No one explained to poor Pavlov that in science everything *“can be different”* and *“there can be another position”* if arguments claim the opposite. That is the role of science - not to be enslaved by any policies and dogmas. It is fortunate that the “scientist” Pavlov, seriously ill with historical syndromes and burdened by schizophrenic policies, did not live earlier. Otherwise, our planet would still be considered a flat surface.

Like Bulgarian politicians and historians, who deny obvious facts, Pavlov also lies that Macedonia spreads hatred towards Bulgaria. On the contrary. There has always been too much tolerance and there was an interest in cooperation, but if the other side believes that you do not exist, there is no room for friendship and cannot be. The fact that for 150 years or more, the “Macedonian question” has been on the agendas of the main world factors is the best confirmation that there have been Macedonians, and they were disadvantaged. The world did not know that all people descend from monkeys and only Macedonians from Bulgarians. The equation is not very pleasant.

And Plamen Pavlov claims that there is no Macedonian language, that it is the *“norm of the Bulgarian language”* to decisively conclude - *“our*

position is clear. It cannot be different". And it was different, which means that it is changeable to them and he is either spreading fabrications or does not know what he is talking and writing about. Three or five interstate agreements and protocols were signed between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the Macedonian and Bulgarian languages. If there was a Macedonian language then and now there is not, those documents should be annulled because they reveal Bulgarian inconsistencies. Pavlov is bothered by the language because he wants to prove with primitive machinations that there are no Macedonian people. The facts with which he tries to deny the Macedonians completely demolish the thesis that the Macedonian language, as a dialect of Bulgarian, is key proof that we are – "Bulgarians".

More than 150 million people speak Arabic but not all of them are "Bulgarians". There are Egyptians, Jordanians, Kuwaitis, Arabs - Berbers... Pavlov correctly claims that – *"no one speaks about a Mexican, Argentine... language"*... because in Latin America the majority speak Spanish. Pavlov again overlooks that their language is the same, but they have different nations and again they are not all "Bulgarians". Although it sounds incredible, he makes the same imbecile mistakes – *"no one in Austria will object that their language is German"*, to add that we in Macedonia do not accept that our language was "Bulgarian". Didn't they whisper to him that Austrians live there, not Germans, and that, by the same logic, even with a "Bulgarian dialect", it does not mean that we are "Bulgarians"? After all, according to the above examples, even speaking pure Bulgarian does not at all deny the fact that we are Macedonians, although language is an extremely important identity feature. His ingenious thought is that - *"to claim that there has been a Macedonian language since time immemorial and that it has always been different from Bulgarian... that is absurd in itself"*. The only thing he does not explain is why it is "absurd"? Probably, that should be understood. He masterfully concludes – *"there can be no concessions on that"*. What kind of

“concessions”, Pavlov? And from whom? How pitiful it is when someone is exposed by senseless politics!

Pavlov nicely specifies: “*national feeling is an individual issue*”, but it is immediately denied because that right does not apply to Macedonians. Sofia decides for them. He explains that in Macedonia there are people who – “*did not have the opportunity to discover their Bulgarian self-awareness... due to furious anti-Bulgarianism*”. This is already a brilliant discovery! That should apply to 99.9 percent of Macedonians who did not have the opportunity to become nationally “aware”. That is precisely why Bulgaria and Pavlov are in a hurry to correct it.

There is no logic or connection in the comparison that Pavlov makes between Macedonia and Bulgaria with Greece and Cyprus and with Romania and Moldova. On the contrary, he is running off at the mouth again. Greeks live in the first two and that is not disputed by anyone. Just as Albanians live in Kosovo and Albania. The latter are an example of two nations that speak the same or a similar language, but one is Romanian and the other Moldovan. The “scientist” Pavlov persistently tries to defend the impossible because he has no basic knowledge of the matter.

Only Georgi Dimitrov was not entangled in the Bulgarian historical syndromes and it was clear to him that ignoring the Macedonians in Bulgaria was a political crime. The famous communist Tsola Dragojcheva, however, who in the 1960s and 1970s ran at the mouth against Macedonia, in July 1945, wrote: “*The question of national freedom for the fascists was a question that inflamed hatred between peoples... This truth was especially strongly felt and understood by the Macedonian people...*”. At that time, there was such a people for her, but later - no. And she came to her senses. At the return of Gotse Delchev’s bones to Skopje, on October 7, 1946, the later president of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences, Todor Pavlov, said - “*Delchev was deeply convinced that the liberation of Macedonia could come only*

through serious preparation and raising of a nationwide armed uprising... to which he devoted all his strength...”; “... Gotse’s dream was for the liberation and all-round success and greatness of the Macedonian heroic and in every respect wonderful people”.

These are facts that “historians” like Pavlov cannot comprehend. That’s how much their intellect is lacking. Brainwashed people are a terrible and irreparable thing. The Great - Bulgarian utopia of San Stefano is a meaningless and empty dream from which Sofia should wake up as soon as possible. Not for the sake of Macedonia but so that it does not embarrass itself.

Pavlov should read Chavdar Marinov’s book (“La question macedonienne de 1944 a nos jours”, which we have already written about), so that many things will become clearer to him. Marinov also presents the Bulgarian positions but with an attempt at objectivity. He recalls that AVNOY and the Fatherland Front of the BCP, at the end of 1943, simultaneously recognized the right of the Macedonians to national unification. And before that, back in 1923, as General Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Bulgarian Vasil Kolarov said that *“the Macedonian population wants to be recognized as a nationality and to receive its national rights”*. In an interview with mkd.mk, on 19/9/2019, regarding the “quarrel” over Gotse Delchev, Marinov assessed - *“... at least from the Bulgarian side we see a very clear nationalistic engagement of historians”*. Pavlov fits in perfectly.

Pavlov and his ilk must realize that the fact that the Serbs claimed that we are Serbs, the Greeks - Greeks, and the Bulgarians still consider us Bulgarians, unequivocally shows that we are something - a fourth. It is impossible for three to appropriate you if you are not different from all of them, although similar. If you are part of one of them, the others are out and have nothing to ask for.

It is interesting that Sofia is now aggressively appropriating the Macedonians from Albania but is not allowed to mention those in

Greece. Again, miserable and shameful vassal policies. Bulgaria and the Pavlovites are still peeking out from the 19th century.

The genius Albert Einstein said: two things are limitless – the universe and human stupidity. (There is no evidence that he was referring to Bulgarian policies towards Macedonia. He was not that clairvoyant.) And he added – I am not entirely sure about the universe.

BULGARIZATION WITH OUR HELP

(April, 2019)

While everyone (not only) in the Balkans invents myths about their origins, to make everything more convincing, we are champions in denying our past. Before the Second World War, all our activists, who lived in Bulgaria for almost a century, had no other choice but to say they were – Bulgarians. Today, under the influence of Sofia's propaganda and pressure from other centers, our know-it-alls have decided to abandon being Macedonians by agreeing to negotiate our identity with Sofia, and in an extremely humiliating manner! This is the result of our subject mentality, in which we have our own opinion, but we do not agree with it. Doesn't anyone understand that those people lived in Bulgaria, which, except for the time when Dimitrov was in charge, never recognized the existence of Macedonians as a separate people, with their own language, history...? Doesn't anyone understand that in those times, declaring yourself a Macedonian and beating your chest meant losing your job, persecution, imprisonment, if not something more cruel? Everyone had Bulgarian citizenship, Bulgarian documents, Bulgarian passports... which identified them as Bulgarians. They were paid from the Bulgarian state budget...

After the Balkan wars ended, the same thing happened in the occupied Vardar part of Macedonia, where Macedonians not only had to say they were Serbians but had to change their first and last names to Serbian sounding ones. In parallel, some were Serbified, and others were Bulgarianized. But, just because we were forced to call ourselves Serbians or Bulgarians did not make us so, we were still Macedonians. However, when we felt we were free to express our true sentiments the previous practice, when in places where it was written that we were Bulgarians, we put - Macedonians, which apparently, according to Bulgaria, was wrong and now we are being beaten on the head because of it. What

lacks in this scenario is a simple explanation, and that is, those Macedonians who were declared Serbians and Bulgarians had no choice in the matter. It should not have been done that way, but historians should have explained why these people had to declare themselves that way and why there was no possibility of it being different. N. Vaptsarov, for example, said in a very sophisticated way – “this country is not my country”, although he wrote wonderful poetry in Bulgarian. If he wrote in Macedonian, there was nowhere to publish it. He had no other choice.

In historical analyses, the key elements must be taken into consideration: the time and the conditions in which those people lived and worked. Although they were Macedonians they, as teachers, could not teach in Macedonian even in schools in Macedonia, which was occupied and the vernacular was banned. Based on the above facts, there should be no dilemmas for us: each of our activists, who lived and worked in Bulgaria, IF JUST ONCE, ON ANY OCCASION, IT WAS DECLARED THAT HE OR SHE WAS MACEDONIAN, HE OR SHE WOULD BE TREATED ACCORDINGLY. It must be crystal clear to us that only in those rare moments did he or she tell the truth that on all other occasions he or she had to hide their true identity. Forced, without the possibility of choice, he or she could have “declared” himself or herself Bulgarian 10 thousand times without it having any greater significance. He or she simply had no other option without endangering his or her job, life, family... The most important thing for our activists in Bulgaria was to survive because that was the only way they could continue their national mission. IF SOMEONE DID NOT FEEL THAT WAY, THEY WOULD NEVER SAY OR MENTION THAT THEY WERE MACEDONIAN. Except for the provocateurs. That must be our way of defining the Macedonians who lived in Bulgaria. Except for the provocateurs. That must be our way of defining the Macedonians who lived in Bulgaria. Each of that constellation of important and historical figures, it is enough for him or her to reveal his or her soul just once, to send us a hint of who he or she is and what he or she is, so that we

would not have any dilemmas. There is no need for some truths to be constantly proven. If, on the other hand, someone was really a Bulgarian, there was no need, nor even the possibility, on any occasion to declare that they were Macedonian. Such a thing is out of the question. According to American President A. Lincoln, the key rule in troubled times and wars is to force the opponent to die for his country, not you for yours. Our people in Bulgaria had no other choice.

For the Bulgarians, who ignore our existence as a people, there is no stronger argument against their nonsense than the fact that the “Macedonian question” has been current for more than 150 years, and even today. It is not possible for there to be no Macedonians, and for there to be a question about them! Even Zhivkov admitted on several occasions that there were Macedonians in Bulgaria, but that there were no conditions for their recognition. They have established themselves in the highest state authorities. It is also indisputable that some of them have completely Bulgarianized themselves. They, on the other hand, would certainly not declare, on any occasion, that they are Macedonians. For the sake of their career, they would hide it as their biggest secret. Historical unscrupulousness has already brought certain results to Bulgaria and now, in many ways, things are going in its favour again. Our biggest mistake was that we did not take advantage of the period when we were in Yugoslavia, when a large part of the misunderstandings with Bulgaria regarding the Macedonians could and should have been cleared up. Now, after the collapse of the SFRY, the USA is the main player in the Balkans and is ready to close the “Macedonian question”, by erasing the Macedonians and, naturally, Bulgaria is doing everything to profit as much as possible. For now, they are succeeding but it depends on us how long it will be like this.

A large part of the top Macedonian figures lived and worked in Bulgaria because there was no Macedonian state, and the conditions there were the most favorable in many aspects. They were educated, employed, and had families there... The Bulgarian state made this possible for them, for which it deserves respect but, at the same time, it

also deserves condemnation because it insidiously and with all its might tried to assimilate them. Although no means were chosen, Sofia's calculations did not coincide with the aspirations of numerous Macedonians who were aware that their Macedonianism was not acceptable to the Bulgarian state. Therefore, they pretended and hid all the time and whenever they had to declare themselves, they wrote that they were Bulgarians, all in an attempt to outwit the state and survive. That is the essence in which the majority of Macedonians living in Bulgaria existed. Although with different characteristics, the fate of the autochthonous Macedonians from Pirin was similar.

A short period after the Second World War, during Georgi Dimitrov's time, Bulgaria realized the unsustainability of its historical syndromes. The Macedonians in the Pirin region then received the right to declare themselves as they were, followed by educational, cultural and other rights, and there was even talk of annexing this region to Macedonia, i.e. the SFRY. The situation changed completely in 1948 after the USSR severed relations with Yugoslavia. Macedonia paid the price of the Inform Bureau. Sofia completely changed its policy and once again continued with the unsustainable denial of the Macedonians and their appropriation. It was similar in Greece. A large part of the logistics for the Democratic Army of Greece - DAG, which fought against the government forces, went through Yugoslavia. Others helped, but Belgrade (via Skopje) was key. There was both logic and symbolism in this because a serious percentage of the fighters in DAG were Macedonians from the Aegean region. They were promised that they would receive their rights that universally belonged to them and that was the motive for their massive participation in the war. The question is how the civil war in Greece would have ended if the split with Moscow had not occurred?

In the period that followed, the Yugoslav people benefited from the break with the USSR, but it was disastrous for Macedonia's interests. From 1948 to the present day, with a policy of denying everything Macedonian, a huge part of the Macedonians in Bulgaria have already

been assimilated. It is the same in Greece and in Albania, although the Macedonians there are recognized as a minority. Now, it is our turn to be assimilated from Vardar Macedonia. If we do not wake up in time and defend ourselves, the same fate awaits us as the Aegean and Pirin people.

After the signing of the capitulation agreement with Bulgaria (2017), under the directive of the government, but also under the directive of the foreign factor that shapes our destiny, there were analyzes, columns... in our public that drive the water to the Bulgarian mill. Means are not chosen. Among the leaders of this nonsense is Denko Maleski, who in almost every text, and there are daily ones, writes about Macedonian nationalism as the cause of the problems with our neighbours. Along the lines of the untenable Bulgarian and Greek thesis, he also claims that the Macedonian nation was created during the Second World War. Greater stupidity, cheers. After all, if Tito really did “create” or “invent” a Macedonian nation in our country during the war and immediately after it, how will D. Maleski and his ilk explain the fact that in the Bulgarian census in 1956, over 180,000 people identified themselves as Macedonians? Did Tito “infect” them too? Or did he “whisper” to them to declare themselves that way? It would be interesting to explain how they became nationally “aware” during the war when Bulgaria was not on the side of the partisans and communists but was a fascist country?... If it weren't tragic, it would be funny.

Finally, let us repeat once again: according to the probable American scenario, there will be no more war in the Balkans, nor will there be any forced change of borders. And we Macedonians, after they officially rechristened and dismembered us as a people, and left us without our national institutions and symbols, will gradually “awaken” in the sense of identity and will increasingly be thrown into the arms of Sofia. That process has begun and will flow through joint celebrations of historical events and other modalities, while no one can stop the Albanian unification, with further relativization of the existing borders. Whether

anyone in this country will understand all this and do something to correct the historical mistakes is another question.

GOTSE DELCHEV CANNOT BE A HERO AND REVOLUTIONARY FOR BOTH MACEDONIA AND BULGARIA

(October, 2020)

It is impossible and unthinkable for Gotse Delchev to be considered an equally important hero and revolutionary for both Bulgaria and Macedonia. Both countries can celebrate him, but only separately. Although our political sages are wretchedly, compromisingly and humbly trying to point out that he is important for both countries, in order to satisfy the Bulgarian extremely dishonest aspirations, this is theoretically unfeasible. Why is this so?

First, this is not possible because the interests of the two peoples have been deeply opposed for centuries. We see that this is still the case today. Therefore, one is against the other and they cannot go together. If Gotse fought for Bulgarian interests, he was automatically against Macedonian ones. And vice versa.

Second, in his time, as today, Sofia did not recognize that the Macedonians exist as a separate people, nor did it support their autonomy or independent state. Its only goal was to assimilate them. The Bulgarian appropriation of everything Macedonian is well known and still continues fiercely.

Third, quite understandably, Gotse Delchev is the focus of Bulgarian interest because he is the cornerstone of all Bulgarian phantasmagoria regarding Macedonia. Gotse Delchev was the symbol of Macedonianism and Sofia, by claiming him to be Bulgarian, believes that it will be the easiest way to prove that we are all “Bulgarians” because rightfully, as such, he could only fight for a Bulgarian Macedonia.

Four, Sofia often planted false reports and documents that all efforts for some kind of autonomous or independent Macedonia were just a stage or a way to return it to the Bulgarian embrace. Therefore, it was the easiest way to get the territory and the people and that was the goal of both Gotse and all other Macedonianists. In those deceptions, the thesis about Gotse Delchev is their mainstay.

Five, in this way, they also concealed the struggle of the Macedonians for their own state, presenting it in a completely different and wrong light.

Six, any of our acceptance of ultimatums about the Bulgarian national identity of Gotse Delchev will mean directly agreeing with their nonsense that until World War II we were Bulgarians, and then Tito “decided” that we were Macedonians, in order to distance us from Sofia.

Seven, for Sofia there is no option that Delchev was not a Bulgarian, because then he could only be a Macedonian and for them there are no such people and cannot be any. Therefore, we must be aware that their room for maneuver is extremely narrow.

Eight, if Gotse Delchev was really Bulgarian, there are three possible versions:

- a) that he was a traitor to his own people because he was indisputably fighting for a free and independent Macedonia;
- b) that all his statements and actions about Macedonia and the Macedonians were a grave deception because he worked for Bulgarian medieval aspirations and wanted to Bulgarianize the Macedonians. And in order to mislead them, he lied that he was Macedonian and that he was dedicated to their cause. However, all this is too far fetched and cannot be proved with anything;
- c) as a Bulgarian, he sincerely fought for Macedonia as a just man who was aware that the Macedonians were disadvantaged and wanted to

help them. In that case, however, Sofia would have to accept that if he was already Bulgarian, there were also Macedonians whose rights he fought for. The question is how acceptable would that be for Bulgaria?

These are mere hypotheses that only further dispel the Bulgarian nonsense because we all know that Gotse Delchev was Macedonian. After all, why else would he want to be buried in Macedonia? As a well-deserved “Bulgarian”?

Together, we can freely conclude: under the given conditions, our members in the joint commission should immediately and unconditionally ask Gotse Delchev to withdraw from the topics being discussed. The reason is sufficient – Sofia is setting an ultimatum regarding him and in such conditions there is no possibility for any expert debates. Politics must be put aside. Our proposal should be for everything to remain as it is now because a different mutual agreement is not possible. Bulgaria has the right to honour Mr. Delchev as it wants and as much as it wants, and we have such a right too. Under no circumstances is a joint honouring even considered. The Bulgarians should be openly told that there remains hope that, one fine day, Sofia will accept the truth. Only then will it open the doors to true friendship, which is natural for the two neighbouring and close peoples. It is certain that such a thing will be long awaited, if it ever comes at all. In the meantime, we must behave appropriately, and not act like clowns (not only politically).

At the moment, an important question to which we must demand not a charlatan but a solid answer from Bulgaria is the following: if Tito really did invent us, the Macedonians in Vardar Macedonia, where did the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia come from? How was a mirage of hundreds of thousands of Macedonians possible? Who invented them? Georgi Dimitrov? Or, if there are no Macedonians, why then is the European Court today judging Bulgaria for genocidal behaviour towards the Macedonians inside Bulgaria? Where did the Macedonians

inside Bulgaria come from? If they exist surely then there must be Macedonians existing inside Macedonia as well?

In this long-term mess with Bulgaria, Macedonia must be aware that the basic rule in international negotiations is to present your maximum expectations as minimal. While we constantly show readiness for shameful compromises, unlike us, Bulgaria does it perfectly. Just like Greece before it. Thus, they are both increasing their own and narrowing our room for maneuver. This is exactly how Sofia treats our language. The goal is to completely devalue the Macedonian language by explaining, or rather stating that it is defined – “*according to the Constitution of the country*”. Such a formulation directly confirms that the Macedonian language is someone else’s dialect. There is no example in the world of another language that arises from some document, even a constitution. Ours would be the only one, which would confirm that it was invented. Sofia is aware that even such a formulation will have a hard time passing and therefore it is going with a meaningless request for a complete denial of the Macedonian language without mentioning it (“*official state language*”) in order, in the end, to be “generous” and “allow” that it has a tail, as a constitutional and changeable category. The US and the EU will applaud their flexibility, and we will act overjoyed. And that would be a historical catastrophe for Macedonia. Our handicap is that our “wise men” (politicians) have already used this offensive and humiliating formulation twice: first in the 1999 declaration and then in the 2017 friendship agreement... We must fight back and prove that all this was done under pressure and with well-intentioned goals and that it can only be used bilaterally with Sofia and nowhere else. The chances of success however, are minimal because we have signed documents with such a formulation and that in diplomacy is binding. Once a concession is made, it applies to all interested parties. We must fight to correct historical mistakes, and if we fail, the consequences will be incalculable.

Difficult times await us. The negotiating framework for Macedonia will be negotiated for a long time in Brussels. Bulgaria has set unacceptable conditions to make that impossible. It has left itself no room for compromise and if it withdraws, it will suffer a heavy political defeat. Bulgarians are aware that the membership negotiations are the moment when Macedonianism should and must be further crushed. Therefore, they will go to the end. For them, this is to be or not to be. With entry into the EU, Macedonianism will definitely be established on the international stage. The EU is an operational organization, much more important to us than the UN. And in Brussels we will be marginal, but we will often be in the focus of events and we will benefit, which will affirm us as a people. If that happens, Bulgaria will lose the two-century struggle and their historical syndrome regarding the Macedonians will turn out to be false. That is why war has been declared against Macedonia. If it is not acted upon and responded to appropriately, it will inevitably lead to our terrible defeat. The people must not be fooled by the statements made by political leaders in power, who are trying to minimize the Bulgarian stupidity by claiming that national identity and languages are not internationally recognized. That is true but our case is not like that. We are not seeking recognition of our national identity or the Macedonian language from anyone. The problem is that Bulgaria and Greece deny them and publicly claim that neither the Macedonians as a people nor the Macedonian language exist. That is contrary to all international standards. When a state is recognized, the people living in it and the language spoken there are automatically recognized (or accepted).

The fact is that many things are mixed up in the histories of the Balkan peoples. The main reason is that they were all part of the Ottoman Empire for five centuries (which does not mean that the Turks are to blame for everything!). Winston Churchill's famous saying is that – *“The Balkans produce more history than they can bear”*. Such was the Balkans - at a crossroads, where religions, languages, alphabets, peoples mixed... the interests of various (great) powers met or clashed,

wars were fought... The case between the Macedonians and the Bulgarians, however, was the most specific and special, again for several reasons. The main one is that the Macedonians were always the base of the Greater Bulgarian ambitions, which they formally realized with the signing of the San Stefano Treaty, and practically during the Bulgarian fascist occupation of Macedonia, from 1941 to 1944. A major handicap is the fact that the Macedonians were the last to create their own state and because of this, a large part of their leaders lived and worked in Bulgaria for a long time. Attracted by the similarity of language, Sofia gave them advantages, but always with ulterior motives: for them to become more Bulgarian. It is undeniable that part of the histories of all Balkan countries is common. However, only part. In no case can one speak of any common history between any two countries, including Macedonia and Bulgaria. Either they are two peoples, with different histories, or they are one people, with the same history. That is why Sofia insists on the claim of a common history, to prove the unprovable. Our problem is that the Macedonian amateurs signed an agreement by which they accepted that our history with Bulgaria is common. With that move, the key interests of the Macedonian people were erased. After all, if we already have some kind of common history with anyone, and again only partial, it is only with Turkey: we existed for almost 500 years under the Ottoman Empire.

It is funny, however, when Bulgarians say that Macedonia is the most romantic part of their history. Do they forget that it was precisely because of Macedonia that they experienced a severe national and historical shame when they were part of the most terrible world plague – fascism? If that is some kind of romance for them, may God protect their minds.

COULD GOTSE HAVE DECLARED HIMSELF A MACEDONIAN?

(June 2019)

If Macedonians today, when Bulgaria is a member of the EU, still cannot declare themselves as Macedonians, how then could Gotse Delchev do so 150 years ago? If they declare themselves Macedonians, people in Bulgaria at the very least quickly lose their jobs and are placed under police surveillance. All people who openly say they are Macedonians are treated at least as antisocial individuals. This is how forced assimilation is carried out, which is already in its advanced stages, like it was during Delchev's time, judge for yourself. As a Macedonian people, we have never existed for Sofia. For over 100 years, thousands of Macedonians have been constantly persecuted, arrested, mistreated and even killed in Bulgaria. National sentiment was sufficient guilt for a terrible pogrom. These are facts that everyone knows, and there is no need to prove them. If anyone, however, does not believe (the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, Zaharieva, for example) let them leaf through the newspaper "Narodna Volja", which is published in Blagoevgrad, and they will read about incomprehensible tragic human destinies, victims of the centuries-old criminal Bulgarian policy towards the Macedonians. Everyone has a first name and surname.

Sofia keeps repeating that Gotse Delchev declared himself a Bulgarian, but does not say whether he could have declared himself a Macedonian without being persecuted? Oh, he could not. It would not be strange if, in some way, the Bulgarian state is also hiding behind his murder because he never and nowhere stood up for Bulgaria, but fought for his Macedonia. The evidence that he was Macedonian is innumerable, and among them is his granddaughter who claims it. Doesn't she know what he was? It is extremely sad, however, that President S. Pendarovski emphasized the fact that Gotse declared himself Bulgarian, without

emphasizing that he always was and remained – Macedonian, and when he made the declaration he had no other choice. Macedonian politicians behave vassally, to the immense detriment of Macedonianism. With such a policy, our fate is in the mud. We are not even allowed to say what language the Macedonians speak in Greece! Do they speak Turkish?!

After the Balkan Wars, the Macedonians in Serbia also lived, worked and studied in the same conditions, as Gotse did in Bulgaria. Everywhere they were identified as Serbians, with changed names and surnames, which they themselves had to use. Before the Second World War, my father studied in Belgrade as Chirilo Nikolich but his Macedonian name was Kiro Nikovski. If he wanted to study, he had no other choice but to use the name the Serbians gave him, but he was and remained – Macedonian. According to Bulgarian cunning, if my father was of interest to Belgrade, they would have now declared him a Serbian. He had to declare himself this way otherwise, he would not have been able to study. S. Pendarovski would confirm that, without thinking and explaining.

Those who follow things, and who are not necessarily historians, understand why Bulgaria has been treating Gotse as a Bulgarian until now, and now wants to confirm it at all costs, but with our consent. Practically, Macedonia is currently under occupation, as someone has accurately assessed. Everything is changing: the name of the country, identity cards, passports, license plates... up to the Constitution, and national institutions are being disfigured... It was probably not as terrible in Serbian occupied Vardar Macedonia or during the Bulgarian fascist occupation. In Skopje, we now have an Albanian and Turkish theater, but not a Macedonian one! The Greeks banned it. Things are happening to us that were normal during the Serbian and Bulgarian occupation and during World War II. This will be going on until we liberate our country.

The way things are going, the commissions to oversee historical issues, provided for in the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, will completely erase the political, historical and cultural memory of the Macedonian people. Over time, our identity will gradually become some kind of Slavic amorphous mass that will be easily manipulated. Or, it will remain more like a museum relic. Someone masterfully assessed that Macedonianism is dying and Macedonia's neighbours have the task of dividing its legacy. Gotse is the symbol through which Sofia is attempting to prove that we are "Bulgarians" and now it has a historic chance to prove it and ratify it internationally, with our consent. The Bulgarians will never accept that Gotse is Macedonian, although they do not have any solid and irrefutable argument to deny his Macedonian origin. Otherwise, the historical syndrome for the Macedonians will fail them. Sofia unexpectedly got stuck in this one way street. There is no choice. Their shameful, uncivilized and fascist policies towards the Macedonians have been revealed. If they accept, as their great Georgi Dimitrov did, that Gotse was and remained Macedonian, all the "cards" for our "Bulgarianness" will fail them. It is good that in the end, all the lies will come to light.

The nervousness that Sofia manifests reveals the long and serious Bulgarian societal illness in relation to Macedonia. Bulgaria made tragic historical mistakes in both world wars, siding with the fascists, with the sole aim of obtaining Macedonia as a war booty. They failed but clearly did not learn the lessons.

It is an undeniable fact that numerous Macedonians devotedly and faithfully served Bulgaria, forgetting and/or ignoring their national affiliation but that's another story. Many were at the top of Bulgarian politics (A. Ljapchev, S. Radev...), which only speaks of their qualities. How they felt nationally was their right. Someone has written that the Macedonians were very successful in Bulgaria because they were intellectually superior, which is of course an assessment on an individual basis.

However, let's not be naïve. This unprecedented ferocity and aggressiveness of Sofia is not the result (only!) of their historical aspirations. What is happening with Macedonia after the collapse of Yugoslavia, all these 30 years, including this episode, is part of an American scenario for Macedonian disintegration. Their interests are at stake. The challenge to the constitutional and historical name was by no means just a Greek policy. It was an occasion to erase the Macedonian people, after whom the state itself was named. It did not get its name from the region but from the people who founded it in 1944.

Washington is the manager of the entire project and everyone else is an extra. The volleys from Sofia are not possible without American consent. Obedient throughout history, as always, Sofia ran into trouble and got stuck. They left no room for turning back and that is our main challenge. They expected to break us more easily but they were wrong.

Bulgarian intransigence will be fierce and we must prepare for it. If, however, we accept that Gotse was not Macedonian, then we will definitely be Tito's invention. The decision about Gotse will be a key indicator of how far we have come or how broken we are. There is no doubt that new dumplings will be swallowed. With the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece, which are capitulative, we have only opened "Pandora's" box and nothing more. In the years to come, our wounds will constantly and profusely bleed until they dry up, when we will be gone because our neighbours, encouraged by our incompetence, are already demanding the impossible (Gotse). Until now, defending our own universal rights, we have not been inferior to our neighbours. Now we are. And, logically, we will be exposed to low blows from all sides. The most terrible and cruel ones are yet to come.

Who knows which way, but we are on the move again.

WILL THE AGREEMENT ABOUT GOTSE DELCHEV BE THAT HE WAS A BULGARIAN WHO FOUGHT FOR MACEDONIA?

(August, 2019)

The difference between professionals and amateurs is simple: the latter do not understand things and usually make mistakes with lasting consequences. The agreements with Bulgaria and Greece are such examples. The bearers of these “projects” assured us that they had solved the problems with the two neighbours which, after all, were an obstacle to our integration. For this purpose, unimaginable concessions were made, for which we will pay the price for a long time. It was classic amateurism. The fact that they did not accept us into the European Union immediately, these sacrifices should not have been made. A year has passed and there are no negotiations, and there will be none in the near future. And when they do start – it will mean nothing. Most likely, the negotiations will last 15 years, if not longer. That is too long a period for a state to wait, let alone an individual. In this many years, many things can change, for better or for worse. It is almost impossible to predict what will be current and attractive after so much time. The Union may survive but it will be completely different from what it is today. Whether it will still be interesting to us then, cannot be said with certainty. For now, Macedonia should invest all its strength in becoming a member. That is our broader interest, but we must monitor the real situations that are changing. The price we have paid so far is too high and humiliating and is not at all appropriate for what we (will) get.

Time has already shown that the centuries-old problems with these two countries have not been resolved by the two capitulation agreements; that Macedonia has not made any historical steps; that European perspectives are not opening up for us, while the Atlantic perspectives were a strong interest for the USA and that is why they are progressing;

that the two neighbours have not become our friends and supporters at all... It can already be concluded that there was not a single gram of truth in the propaganda statements our side concocted in these disastrous foreign policy moves we made.

And, while we remain silent and do not waver so as not to upset our new “friends”, they insult and belittle us through ultimatums and blackmail. The Bulgarians behave the same way as they have for the last 150 years, but much more aggressively. For them, nothing essential has changed except our agreement that we are to blame for their historical syndromes and that we do not exist as a people, language, history... With the agreements, they were given the opportunity to crush us and it would be incomprehensible for them not to use it.

Let's start with Bulgaria. In January 2017, before his term ended, President Rosen Plevneliev clearly said – *“Macedonia should enter the EU, but not Macedonianism, which is an ideology that is not only anti-Bulgarian but also anti-democratic”*! This means that the country can enter the EU but without Macedonians. His successor, Rumen Radev, in July 2019, requested that – *“Sofia set red lines for Skopje”*. To provide support for the EU – *“but not unconditional and not unreserved”*. Foreign Minister Zaharieva told us in June 2019 that – *“a date for negotiations does not mean membership for Macedonia in the EU”*. A more direct message, cheers. In Skopje, on August 1, 2019, Prime Minister Boyko Borisov set an ultimatum and blackmail – by October a solution MUST be found and we must agree that – *“Gotse Delchev was a Bulgarian who fought for Macedonia”*. He said – *“he absolutely does not want to block Macedonia in October on its path to the EU”* but *“he has his own limit and will not allow himself to be accused of betraying Bulgarian history”*. Why our people are surrendering their own is not his problem.

It is interesting that almost the same formulation (*“Delchev declared himself a Bulgarian and at the same time fought for an independent Macedonian state”*) was used by President S. Pendarovski at the end of

June, signaling that it was an already agreed solution between the two sides. That would be our complete capitulation, with unforeseeable consequences, and our part of the commission will have no choice but to accept it. If they do not succumb, they will deserve the greatest recognition. That was a historic slip-up and an unforgivable mistake by S. Pendarovski. He accepted that Macedonians did not exist before 1945, and he had to emphasize that G. Delchev had no objective opportunity to declare himself a Macedonian, which is indisputable. Unlike us, Sofia knows what it wants and how to achieve it.

Why does Bulgaria insist so much that G. Delchev is a Bulgarian? The fact is that he has done nothing for Bulgaria, and here Sofia admits that he fought for Macedonia. Why then do they celebrate him? That is because he is the symbol of the Bulgarian appropriation of the Macedonians. The goal is to prove that G. Delchev, as a Bulgarian, could only fight for Bulgarian Macedonia. This unmasks but also determines their uncompromising attitude towards his nationality. It must be clear to us that the Bulgarians will never, at any price, accept that Gotse Delchev was not a Bulgarian. Otherwise, he could only be a Macedonian, and for them there were no such people, and there are none! And this is just the beginning. Similar ultimatums and blackmail from Sofia will follow for Dame Gruev, the Miladinov brothers... and for a whole host of other Macedonian figures who once lived and worked in Bulgaria. Quite logically, regarding all these issues, the work of the joint commission on historical and educational issues is followed and commented on by Sofia in an extremely nationalistic manner. As usual, we remain mostly silent here.

Statements made by Bulgarian MEPs (A. Kovachev...) do not need to be commented on. However, when the Minister of Defense, K. Karakachanov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Zaharieva... continue with their derogatory rhetoric one must not remain silent. Our diplomacy should have harshly reacted when journalist L. Ognyanov, in an interview with their Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said on television that he - *“prefers”* to call Macedonia *“Southwestern*

Bulgaria”, and the Deputy Minister remained silent, which means that he agreed. In such cases, not only should there be an official protest, but the ambassador from Sofia should also have been withdrawn. At the moment, however, we do not even have an ambassador there, which is a separate story. It shows to what a low ebb we have fallen as a state.

Relations with Bulgaria have never been worse. They will continue to deteriorate as long as we pretend to be defeated by their aggression and that we are giving up our right to defend ourselves. It has long been known that Sofia will be our main obstacle on the road to Brussels. Our relations with Bulgaria are more complex than with Greece. We must no longer make mistakes because they are already of a historical nature. The disastrous consequences of the capitulation agreement must be minimized at all costs, up to and including its annulment. The first test is Gotse Delchev. It is good that Sofia quickly revealed its cards, so that we do not deceive ourselves that the problems are solvable.

The situation in Greece will develop similarly, although it is not currently the focus of interest. The government has changed there and new policies are inevitable. It is crucial to know that Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis and his party are overjoyed that the Nivitsi agreement has been signed and that this burden has been lifted from them. They are also aware that this is the most that Greece could have received and that they could not have dreamed of anything more. Implicitly, this was confirmed by the new Minister of Defense, N. Panayotopoulos, who said that - *“the agreement is not something that can be changed or annulled”*. It is normal, however, that the party capitalizes on the agreement with the voters, using the deep-rooted and massive historical syndromes in the country regarding Macedonia and Macedonians. The new government is in an almost ideal position - it criticizes the agreement, and in fact is happy about it, and during our negotiations for EU membership it will have countless chances to make points, so to speak, to improve it. They will be the greatest patriots and will set us perhaps more than 100 unacceptable and offensive new demands, like true friends, right. It should be known that A. Tsipras was

sacrificed for the American interest in Macedonia entering NATO as soon as possible. Before becoming prime minister, he had no problem with the fact that we are Macedonians and the country Macedonia, but then he had to follow and implement the Greek centuries-old policy of denial. He was aware that with the signature in Nivitsi he would lose the next elections, and the price probably included significant financial aid to get Greece out of the terrible bankruptcy. In other words, for the sake of saving Greece, A. Tsipras had no choice but to sacrifice himself. That is a true politician.

In Parliament, during the vote of confidence of the new government, K. Mitsotakis confirmed – *“the priority is to mitigate the negative consequences of the implementation of the Prespa agreement”*, which means that it is a permanent policy. He emphasized that - *“the main point will be the development program for Northern Greece, the protection of Macedonian products and a major international campaign for our Macedonia”*. He reiterated that – *“the behaviour and good cooperation of our neighbours will determine their progress towards the EU”*. It is more than clear that on the road to Brussels they will hinder us at every step. According to “Kathimerini”, for us and Albania - *“Athens is the key to EU enlargement”*, for which they will be expecting - *“certain concessions in return”*. For us, they will be mainly offensive and unacceptable.

We also learn about the work of the commission on historical and educational topics mainly from Greek sources. The president of the Greek part of the commission stated - *“After a two-day battle, it was accepted in Skopje that the Slavs have nothing to do with the Ancient Macedonians and that the ancient Macedonian history and culture were part of the ancient Greek civilization...”*. You can read it twice and not believe it. Who gave the commission a mandate to make such conclusions and on what documentation? It is impossible to achieve unanimity on such important issues even at an international symposium of top historians. Our politicians are again silent. Nothing new or unusual here.

We can be sure that Athens and Sofia are eager for us to start EU negotiations so that they can impose additional conditions on us through ultimatums and blackmail. We will be constantly on the defensive and they will score points on a daily basis. Secretly or tacitly, they will coordinate with each other because their interests completely coincide, and that is to wipe us out as a Macedonian people.

WHAT ARE GOTSE DELCHEV'S MERITS FOR BULGARIA?

(December, 2020)

Why have none of our historians published anything about Gotse Delchev's merits for Bulgaria? Once this is clarified, everything will become simpler. The fact is that he fought against the Ottomans, but with a crystal clear stance that it was in the name of Macedonia and the Macedonian people, and not in favour of Bulgaria. Even with amateur research on the Internet, it can easily be determined that in all Bulgarian source documents about him it is said that he fought for Macedonia all the time. There is no information anywhere that he did anything for Bulgaria. There is no better proof than this that Delchev is important to them only to prove the unprovable that he, as a Bulgarian, worked for their interests in relation to Macedonia and the Macedonians. That would mean that he was acting in relation to Macedonianism all the time. This is an unprecedented deception and audacity, which we must not fall for at any cost. If we agree to celebrate him together, it will mean that we agree with their assessment that he fought for Bulgarian Macedonia. Delchev can in no way be a hero of the two countries because their interests have always been diametrically opposed: the Macedonians died for their freedom and state, and the Bulgarians did everything to appropriate them. If Delchev fought for one, he was a complete enemy of the other. If he yearned for Bulgarian Macedonia, as Sofia dishonestly and without evidence claims, for which there are no documents, then there is no place for him in our history. There is no basis for us to celebrate this pivot of Macedonian history together. While Gotse dedicated his life to Macedonia as we have it today – free and independent, Bulgaria has always sought to appropriate Macedonia and prove that the Macedonians are Bulgarians. For this purpose, Bulgaria was on the wrong side in both world wars. They were partners with Hitler's fascists. And Gotse left a vow that his eternal resting place

would be in the capital of free Macedonia. It is extremely unfortunate that these Bulgarian mental deviations are experiencing their zenith today. All the half-hearted statements of our politicians that G. Delchev is a common hero are mere nonsense which, in turn, undermines all efforts to find an acceptable solution with Sofia. If someone cannot understand all this, there is no escape for him.

Sofia has no other concrete trump cards with which to “prove” that Macedonia and the Macedonians are “unconscious Bulgarians”. Delchev is their main “argument” in that shamelessness, but our other important historical figures who lived and worked in Bulgaria will also come to the fore. When this is the case, and there is no other acceptable explanation, it must be known that there is no theoretical prospect of Sofia agreeing to anything that would call into question this 150 year old senseless policy of theirs. Gotse is their invented and false symbol through which they affirm all their painful aspirations towards Macedonia and the Macedonians. Without him, all their historical manipulations are crippled because they have no other serious “arguments”. There is no other explanation. On the other hand, he is the pillar of our epics for freedom and independence. The incompatibility between the Bulgarian and Macedonian positions is complete, and thus any compromise becomes impossible.

The Bulgarian obsession with Macedonia and the Macedonians is too old to surprise anyone. The current Bulgarian explosion of anti-Macedonian policies is the result of historical syndromes that forced them to be on the wrong side and to embarrass themselves at key historical moments. They cannot forgive us for that. This, fundamentally regrettable Bulgarian saga, is now becoming their imperative because Macedonia’s membership in the EU will finally sink all their shameful aspirations in this field. Their defeat will be complete. These policies of theirs have nothing to do with the internal situation, elections, etc. History is at stake. That is why Sofia is ready to feign incompetence just to save what can be saved. They got stuck in the mud and there is no going back. Every new step is a new collapse.

Imagine, they even made Josip Broz Tito the culprit! If we had not given up on him, there would have been no membership in the EU! And Slovenia and Croatia (Tito was a Croat!)? If Tito was a dictator, their T. Zhivkov was Satan. With him, they lived a devilish life and we lived a European one. That was the difference.

The fact is that the modern Macedonian state was created during his time, during and after World War II, as a result of Macedonian anti-fascism. If Tito really invented the Macedonians as a separate people, Sofia rightly cannot and, by God, should not forgive him. Something that was purely “Bulgarian”, although not very “conscious”, for you to declare, and forcibly, to be some kind of Macedonian, is truly the ultimate arrogance. Sofia was the first to discover that he was also a magician.

MACEDONIAN POLITICS OF CAPITULATION

(November, 2020)

At every opportunity and everywhere, everything is competition. At home, at work, in the company... Everywhere you strive to be better, the best... Almost no one in our country understands this and does not apply it because social norms are mainly based on false equality and party affiliation. Competition is considered to be something indecent. Instead of seeking and discovering the abilities of each individual, we assume we are all good at everything, which means we are good at nothing.

Americans, on the other hand, have long understood that progress is not possible without constant competition. And that is why they are the first in the world, in almost everything. In schools, in every class you know who is good at what, and it is the same in all educational institutions... in all segments of society, everywhere, everyone's predispositions are sought and discovered and on that basis people are allowed to build their careers. Maximum effort is made to professionally direct each individual, which is possible only through appropriate competitions. This is how an optimal allocation of human resources is made, which is key to better results. On one occasion, in an American club in Jakarta, a mother was playing tennis with her six- or seven-year-old son. After playing for a while, the mother said - now let's keep score. The child rebelled but she was determined to find out who was a better player. At first I condemned the attitude of the mother, who started with regular serving and counting, but I quickly understood the message and philosophy. Only by counting and defeat would the child strive to one day beat first the mother and then others. Otherwise, everything would remain in a vicious circle: aimlessly playing for their entire lives. Like in our country.

The above example relates to our above-mentioned disastrous national and state policy, after the emergence of the renewed Bulgarian fascist tactics. The main thing that the leaders of our country must know is that in politics and especially in diplomacy:

a) there are no fraternal peoples because such a thing is excluded in international practice and

b) between states there are only interests that are reduced to constant mutual competition. There is no friendship. It is only some kind of apparent, even false form in relations.

It is like this from the beginning to the end. With all partners and especially with enemies. If you do not join the race, defeat does not kill you. In one way or another. You have to move, not to pass others but to stay in your position. Otherwise, others will overtake you, as the Bulgarians are doing to us now, and you will fall behind. Therefore, every Bulgarian document had to be answered with its own argument. Especially the “explanatory memorandum” that they sent across Europe and the world. That would also be our privilege because in the face of the facts, all their phantasmagoria will turn out to be ridiculous. Our basic duty is to tell the spineless European people what is what, and to do it daily, on a broad basis and at all levels. And if they know all this and, most likely, the details are not sufficiently known to them, it is our sacred duty to spread the truth, especially now that our fight is for survival. The European bureaucracy has inherent double standards and is ready to turn a blind eye to all truths if they do not fit into their interests. If no one fiercely defends them or demands that the truths be respected, Brussels will remain silent or will pretend to be offended. After all, Bulgaria is their member, which means it enjoys their privileges, and we are not. Therefore, it is our obligation to awaken the conscience of Europe and demand that it publicly declare itself against the resurrected Bulgarian national - chauvinism.

After all the terrible Bulgarian provocations about our national identity, the (non)existence of the Macedonian language, the denial of the

Bulgarian fascist occupation, the erasure of our history... it is simply incomprehensible why Macedonia is silent? The Bulgarians are shooting at us with all their weapons, mobilizing Europe and telling it that we are a fictional people..., and we act like we are not there. We act like we do not understand what is happening. And it must be clear to everyone by now that the Bulgarian goal is definitely the destruction of the roots of Macedonianism. They are saying this publicly (Plevneliev). As long as the Bulgarian dogs were barking only at home, you will say - hey, let's not make waves and create additional animosities, it is for their internal political needs. But when they sent the ball to Brussels and all the members of the Union, seeking support and imposing a blockade, blackmail and an ultimatum against Macedonia, there is no explanation, let alone justification for our silence. Europe could only interpret this as meaning that we have no arguments against the Bulgarian phantasmagoria. Even worse, that we agree with their "truths". Nothing else. They inform Europe that the Macedonians are the result of "linguistic and ethnic engineering" and we do not react. Not reacting is interpreted as agreement! This is unbelievable.

It is a question of vampirizing the Bulgarian aspirations from the Second World War, sublimated in San Stefano, in 1878. Sofia openly declared war on us, although for now cold, and these are the most tragic competitions in history. Us ignoring it, however, has no justification because we are allowing the uncivilized and mentally deranged Bulgarian politicians to do whatever they want all throughout Europe. And instead of accepting the challenge and competing and fighting to prove, with an appropriate and fierce response, who is right, we humbly accept their direct blows, threats, blockades, blackmail and ultimatums. We send them messages that we will find a compromise and reach an agreement, that they are our friends and promoters in the EU... And we lie to ourselves that this is only an internal issue inside Bulgaria (S. Pendarovski). There are many other examples of nonsense that show our unimaginable political and diplomatic amateurism, and this at a

time when the foundations of the Macedonian people are being attacked and threatened. There is certainly no better way to go to hell.

We already have proof that our behaviour was extremely wrong and counterproductive to our key interests: according to a poll over 80 percent of Bulgarians supported the aggressive policy against Macedonia. That should worry us greatly. The stupidity of politicians is one thing but the attitude of the Bulgarian people is quite another, which is the result of terrible prolonged propaganda against Macedonia. After all, the first Bulgarian veto has already arrived in Brussels and all our obfuscations have fallen into disrepair.

Why do you think the world has never understood the problems our minorities in Bulgaria and Greece experience? Because the Macedonians never caused any problems. They were always peaceful and loyal citizens, they did not make waves, they endured injustices and no one understood their heinous position. Thus, they became victims of genocide and almost disappeared. If you remain silent, no one will care about you. After the Nivitsi agreement and the war that Bulgaria has now declared on us, we are in a similar situation here in the Republic of Macedonia, like our Macedonian minorities in Greece and Bulgaria. While we remain silent, Sofia is aggressively demanding and will probably get a large part of what it wants, or there will be no EU membership for us. If Macedonia continues like this, to stay on the sidelines, almost as if it were uninterested, it will deservedly be a scapegoat. After the agreements with Bulgaria and Greece and the law on the Albanian language, we are making a new classic historical mistake that will cost us dearly. Here the logical question arises – is our silence accidental? Or is the debt to the foreign factor, which brought this set of people to power precisely to destroy Macedonianism? Before the agreement with Greece, Prime Minister Z. Zaev declared that we would never change the name, that our Constitution is excellent and changing it is out of the question, that bilingualism is out of the question, only for it all to change. This shows that nothing is accidental and that the worst can and should be expected.

The fact that Sofia is maximally concentrated on using all means against Macedonia, that all institutions are set up on that front, while with us everything is kept secret and all information comes from Sofia must be worrying. This is nothing new: it was the same with Greece, which was followed by capitulation. And in this case, the lack of transparency can only mean that the truth is not pleasant and that a new national defeat is coming our way.

Hope for some kind of help from Brussels is pointless. We must be aware that there is a regular emphasis on the solidarity of the members, most often at the expense of truth and justice. If we do not fight fiercely, they will not even think of taking into account our interests. We already have such experience from the case with Greece. Guided by pragmatism, if no one knocks on the table, they will have their own way, no matter how unprincipled or illegal it may be. This is how the world works, where the argument of force will rule for a long time to come, and not vice versa. Therefore, Macedonians have no rights in Bulgaria and Greece.

The Macedonian public has no information whether anything concrete has been undertaken on a diplomatic level to defend our universal rights in relation to Bulgaria. It did not have to be done publicly, but it can be asserted with great certainty that nothing serious has been done because there are no indicators. Only, as the EU presidency, Berlin is strongly committed to starting the negotiations in December. The reason is that it would be either their success or failure. However, they do not condemn Bulgaria's uncivilized blackmail and are only looking for some kind of compromise, of course to our detriment. It is good that some criticism of Sofia has appeared in their media, which confirms that it is under pressure. The fact is, however, that not a single EU member has publicly condemned Bulgaria's impropriety. The December conference, on the other hand, for which our politicians have clung like a blind man to a stick, does not mean anything in itself because Sofia will certainly continue with its blackmail during the negotiations. With the negotiating framework, it is only trying to strengthen its position.

Although it may sound contradictory, it is better for Macedonia if Bulgaria blocks the start of negotiations in December. That would be a serious blow to Brussels, Berlin and a large part of the EU members, which would inevitably lead to some kind of isolation of Bulgaria. That would also be its European defeat. Then, Sofia will not have free rein from us to demand the impossible. Naturally, its position will weaken and the pressures on it will increase. It's a pity that this Bulgarian farce is not widely known so that some famous author could write a comedy about it, so that the whole world could laugh at them. Something similar to "Romanov and Juliet" by the brilliant Peter Ustinov. Bulgarian fools gave their souls for it.

OUR “POLITICS” AND BULGARIAN AGGRESSION

(June, 2021)

A father returned from his trip and his son, who was replacing him in the long court case, visibly proud, boasted that he had solved the case on which his father had worked for 30 years. Shocked, the old lawyer said that the case which had paid for his education could have been solved a long time ago. This joke, in which there is certainly some truth, is reminiscent of the behaviour of “our politicians”. They are emphatically proud that we capitulated to the asymmetric agreements with Bulgaria and Greece and openly manipulate the people that they cemented our national identity and language with them. You have certainly not heard anything funnier. And the two agreements, as they are, to our complete detriment and completely contrary to the strategic interests of the Macedonian people, could have been signed by all previous politicians both at the beginning of the 1990s and at any time thereafter. Aware of what that would mean for Macedonianism, they were quite rightly careful and responsible. Nikola Gruevski negotiated the agreement with Bulgaria for almost 10 years and did not sign it because he was not ready to capitulate. He did not accept the common history and other crazy demands. Because of that, B. Borisov publicly spat on him and declared that he did not want to meet him. However, that was an American project and that is why N. Gruevski was replaced. He was wrong not to comment publicly on the Bulgarian demands and not to explain what was happening and why. After all, there is nothing easier than to capitulate and surrender the fundamental interests of your state and people. Cowards are numerous in history.

Just imagine how cemented our national identity is when it is known that everything Macedonian now exclusively belongs to Greece, and Bulgaria wants us to sign that we are (were) Bulgarians. How have we cemented our identity when now we are not allowed to use the name

Macedonia, let alone the adjectives Macedonian, etc., including in national institutions such as MRT, MANU, MOB, MIA..., and even in naming products such as our wine... in tourism... in everything. A Macedonian theater can only exist in Greece. Only at home can we use the name Macedonia for our country and Macedonian for our people and language, but that is only temporary. According to the plan, the complete pogrom will follow in the negotiations for EU membership.

The most tragic is probably the fact that those who destroyed the Macedonian state and people either do not know, or do not understand, or are playing dumb... that everything that is left of Macedonianism after Nivitsi and the agreement with Bulgaria will be crushed in the negotiation process. The plan has been prepared in Washington for a long time and is precise. Although a little premature, the process has already begun these days. Athens officially requested the renaming of the Football Federation of Macedonia and challenged the right of our football team at the European Championship to use the international code – MKD. And, what is crucial – they will succeed. This is just the beginning. They were rejected now but this will be finalized during the negotiations. The Nivitsi Agreement is not innocent. If Greece has already “given” in on some “rights”, which are contrary to international practice, they simply will not apply. This is because if we have already accepted that there is no state named Macedonia, there are no conditions for any derivatives of it to exist or survive. At least that is what is appearing on the international scene. We will be able at home to quietly call ourselves Macedonians and use the adjectives, until time erases them too. Exactly as it happened with the Macedonians who live in Greece and Bulgaria: the complete genocide will be gradual.

Not only the logic but also the practice is indisputable: there can be no Macedonian Football Federation, or an MKD code, or anything else related to the name Macedonia, if there is no such state anymore. If a Macedonian state does not exist there cannot be Macedonian institutions, organizations, codes, trade brands... That is how the world works. The new name (will) have to be reflected in everything, without

exception. That is exactly why they changed our name – not to change our name but to erase the derivatives that arise from it. That applies above all to the people. The goal of the whole undertaking was to erase the Macedonians, who will henceforth be North Macedonians. It should not be surprising that Greece has set its demands in the football sphere on that very basis. The cards are already open and someone just needs to understand that. Anything that is contrary to international practice and principles in the Nivitsi agreement does not bind anyone. That is stronger than bilateral agreements. The Greeks knew this very well when they signed the agreement and that is why they threw us various consolation coins (that everything not financed by the state, so to speak, could be Macedonian), and our talents, thanks to their ignorance, had no idea what was going to happen to us.

Let us repeat: this is just the beginning of our new suffering. Let no one doubt that our anthem will also be sacrificed. At least the lyrics. It is inappropriate because the state that sings it no longer exists. For many years, the Albanians were furious about the anthem and did not hide it. However, when they realized, and were probably told, that in the EU negotiations they would inevitably change it, they withdrew, wisely keeping quiet and waiting. Oh, if only our politicians measured up to the Albanians in this country, there would be no end to the possibilities. They teach us lessons every day on how one should fight for their national cause and preserve and build one's own identity. Our politicians do exactly the opposite. On their televisions, there are folk songs and dances all day long, and sometimes until 03.00 in the morning.

No one should have illusions that anything Macedonian will remain in our country. Step by step, we will have to incorporate the new name with the addition wherever Macedonia needs to be written, or the adjectives to do with Macedonian. The Nivici agreement is a done deal. The execution is gradual and long-term in order to make it easier for them to understand us. It will be a horror without end. In the negotiations, Greece and Bulgaria will often appear with their demands,

as they do now with the football team. However, it does not always have to be Athens or Sofia. Why, for example, should Cyprus not demand a change to our anthem, on the principle that such a state does not exist? The same applies to everything else. With the addition, Macedonia is a completely new international entity.

Sofia's demand that Brussels guarantee the implementation of the agreement is another mess that we have thrown ourselves into. And strangely enough Brussels, with some adjustments, has accepted everything, which is beyond reason. The European Union does not have and cannot have such authority. The agreement is bilateral, it was not signed at the request of Brussels and must not be given a broader meaning. The mentor was the USA. What is even stranger is that "our people" also agree to the guarantees, probably not understanding what is at stake. Surely none of them have asked themselves - why is Sofia demanding guarantees from the agreement? How wise it is to agree with Brussels' guarantees, judge for yourself.

We will conclude that our disastrous foreign policy has brought us into a shameful and humiliating position in relation to both Greece and Bulgaria. While Sofia thunders that we do not exist as a people, that we do not have our own language and history... but are someone's invention, at the same time Sofia is accusing us of spreading hatred against them! And our people are silent. The Bulgarians spread hatred against us all over the world and while we suffer we endure! Simply incredible! What insincerity! The Bulgarians are a serious clinical case but we act like we are in a coma.

MACEDONIAN POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC AMATEURISM HAS NO LIMITS

(May, 2021)

It is inevitable that mistakes will be made. However, repeating the same mistakes when it comes to the country's strategic interests, and by top politicians, is no longer ignorance but tantamount to a national catastrophe and tragedy. This is exactly what is happening to Macedonia. Basically, the political and diplomatic amateurism, which we have recently demonstrated in our relations with Bulgaria, is the height of irresponsible behaviour. Let's examine it one step at a time.

First, the unfortunate joint commission agreement that the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius should be jointly celebrated by both Macedonia and Bulgaria as pan-Slavic enlighteners. After all, this kind of practice had already been established. The Holy Brothers were responsible for bringing literacy to all Slavic countries and therefore all Slavic countries should be invited to the celebration of their anniversaries, starting with the largest, Russia. The problem arose last year when Sofia, in the most official way, began a procedure in Parliament to declare Saints Cyril and Methodius Bulgarians and the alphabet they created – a Bulgarian script.

If they are Bulgarians for Sofia, there is no basis for us to celebrate them together. Unless, of course, we also feel like “unconscious Bulgarians”. Regarding this issue, our people are silent and pretend to be inadequate. Sofia humiliates us by demonstrating “brotherly” care for us, and yet R. Radev flew Stevo Pendarovski to Rome for the celebration, which we have already assessed as a national shame. These are their masterful moves with which Bulgarians try to minimize their classic national chauvinism carried out towards Macedonia. Why would S. Pendarovski want to celebrate the Holy Brothers if they were

“Bulgarian” enlighteners, especially together with R. Radev and fly with him? What did S. Pendarovski try to show with this stupidity?

Second, the fact is that Sofia is taking maximum care to control the enormous damage it is doing to itself with its unreasonable policies towards Macedonia. This is also shown by the statement made by R. Radev in Brussels, at the EU summit. According to “Sloboden Pechat”, dated 26/5/2021, Radev said that Bulgaria’s priority is to share its vaccines with Macedonia!?! This shows that Bulgaria is a country that knows what it wants and how to get it, and their leaders are not illiterate amateurs like our politicians. The European Union must have been astonished by the Bulgarian audacity towards Macedonia, boasting about sharing their vaccines with “their brothers”, which they promised almost a whole year ago, when they were needed most but then did not give them to them and probably intending had no intention of doing so. And why should they?

Third, Bulgaria is constantly adapting in the dispute with us, unlike our politicians who most often throw out phrases that worsen the country’s position in the dispute. Consciously or not, they support the Bulgarian positions. The interim Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, Svetlan Stoev, (“Sloboden Pechat”, from 26/5/2021), said that – *“this monitoring by the EU is a guarantee that the bilateral agreements that have been signed AND THAT ARE ABOUT TO BE SIGNED, will be implemented”*. The most interesting thing here is that S. Stoev announces to us that there are document(s) that we have yet to sign. We, on the other hand, must make sure that anything else we sign must be maximally favourable to us. Do not give in, please.

The problem, however, is that the European Union has no authority to guarantee bilateral agreements, nor can it accept such a thing, although Bulgaria insists on such stupidity. That is the first side of the coin. The other is even more important for us and it is obvious that S. Pendarovski does not understand it either, or that is what is being done, which is even worse. In a statement from Rome, he confirmed that there is no

problem for Macedonia if the implementation of the friendship agreement is guaranteed by Brussels. Is it possible that the president is not clear about which parts of the agreement Sofia is seeking guarantees for implementation? This certainly does not refer to Bulgaria's support for our integration into the EU, nor to the construction of the highways between the two countries... but to three things:

- a) the common history, which can only be Bulgarian, which means that there are no Macedonians as a people,
- b) the Macedonian language which can only be according to the constitution, which means that it is not autochthonous, and
- c) that there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria. So, for the same demands that are now the main ones for Sofia and for which it is implementing a blockade and blackmail.

Our acceptance of guarantees from the EU for those three main Bulgarian demands means that we are giving up on ourselves in advance because we accept that they will be implemented with the help of Brussels.

Vice President I. Yotova emphasizes that – *“a solution must be found for both countries in order to fulfill the 2017 Good Neighbourly Relations Agreement”*. And here there are no dilemmas about which parts need to be fulfilled and which our amateurs signed, as if they had fallen from space.

Fourth, S. Pendarovski, in Rome, tried to defend R. Radev by saying that, supposedly, he did not insult us, that he was considerate but, nevertheless, supported all Bulgarian (national - chauvinistic) demands from Macedonia. It is unclear if the president was telling us that R. Radev is our best friend in Bulgaria? Maybe in the world too? After all, why did he fly with him knowing that he supported the uncivilized blackmail from Sofia? The key thing is that S. Pendarovski obviously does not mind that for his “friend” R. Radev we do not exist as Macedonians and do not speak the Macedonian language, but a

Bulgarian dialect, but he did not insult us on that basis! Is that not insulting enough? The positions taken, to say the least, are extremely incomprehensible and unacceptable. In relation to Macedonia, R. Radev is a like-minded person with B. Borisov, E. Zaharieva, K. Karakachanov... There is no difference between them. We have already quoted his statements and our behaviour is shameful. There is no other word.

Fifth, the most shameful of all, however, are the statements of our top politicians that Sofia recognizes that we are Macedonians and that we speak the Macedonian language but that our roots are disputed. It's not clear whether they're making themselves look bad or whether they want to declare us all to be bad. Someone has to explain to them that we are the roots and everything else is wasted words.

MACEDONIA, A COUNTRY WITHOUT DIGNITY

(December, 2020)

You would have to be blind not to notice that Bulgaria is shamelessly performing a circus show with Macedonia, and we are voluntarily (are we?) accepting the role of a clown. What is happening to us is shameful and humiliating. Things have reached the point where every normal person should be ashamed of being Macedonian. Look how far they have brought us! Our state being brought to the verge of extinction is not entirely the fault of foreigners, who pursue their own interests and for whom Macedonia is an experimental rat, but of the amateurs who run our country, about which they even boast. The credit, however, is shared because they were re-elected several times. If the people support them, we deserve what we get.

And after everything Sofia has done to us in the last year or so, after publicly saying that we do not exist as Macedonians for them and that we speak a Bulgarian dialect, some people have decided to accept a gift from them in the form of vaccines! It is the same as going to the executioner for coffee and publicly thanking him. Whatever the gift, it had to be refused. If it were a matter of life or death for all the citizens of this country, we would have to think ten times and then say – NO! That would be a normal reaction after Sofia's inappropriate and for us disastrous behaviour recently. And instead of acting with at least a little dignity and self-esteem in this whole mess, the Minister of Health went to give recognition to the "humane" donors, who are playing with us and our feelings and emotions. We accepted the role of a circus clown and we are proud of it. Does anyone in this country understand that the chauvinists in Bulgaria, who resurrected their fascist aspirations towards Macedonia, with this low and shameless move, and to our shame, are profiting both at home and abroad? That the gift is shameful propaganda, with which they are completely unfulfilled like

Neanderthals? Not only political but also all kinds. They want to show that they are our “friends”, even “brothers” and that their political nonsense and historical blunders, with which they want to destroy us as a people and a state, are something natural and normal without any negative connotation. These are insidious calculations that only illiterate politicians and idiots fall for. This is terrible propaganda, which even their partner from the Second World War, the notorious J. Goebbels, could envy. And to fall for such a primitive trick, you really need to have a great gift. To understand these Bulgarian tragedies, you don’t need to be a politician, an intellectual, or... but you just need to have a little common sense so that everything is crystal clear to you.

Everyone must be aware that, among its partners in the EU and beyond, Sofia is trying to reduce the damage from its atrocious policies towards Macedonia, and we are helping it. It has already received red cards but only from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which is shameful for the Union. Where are the others to react against their national-chauvinistic demands? Brussels has shown for the umpteenth time that double standards are their way of behaving, which is truly regrettable for an organization of such rank.

This move by the Bulgarian planners is extremely wise because it gives an additional dimension to their policy towards our country. If anyone understands international relations, politics and propaganda at all, it would immediately be clear to them that Sofia is giving us part of the vaccines like we were unconscious “Bulgarians”. With one move, double the profit. According to their manipulations, to which we have been victims for too long, because they consider us a people with Bulgarian roots, we logically deserve a share of the vaccines they receive from the EU. With that gesture, they only confirm that they care about their “brothers” and thus prove their meaningless theses. This is a policy of hot and cold. So that there is no doubt, their Minister of Defense, K. Karakachanov, also slapped us in the face. Completely wrong, some believe that he is the creator of these ruthless Bulgarian policies and that they are related to the next elections, which has

nothing to do with the truth. What he says is absolutely believed by the entire government, and not just them. Does anyone forget that the Bulgarian Parliament adopted a declaration that defined this Bulgarian policy towards Macedonia? It claims that we are “Bulgarians” and speak a Bulgarian dialect. The declaration was UNANIMOUSLY voted on. All political parties and MPs supported it. In the most official way, Bulgaria formulated a permanent national policy towards Macedonia that no one can adjust, without first changing it in Parliament. Any different action would be an act against the interests of the state. This should also be known to all who naïvely expect Bulgarian politicians to make substantial concessions towards Macedonia. Such a thing is not possible without parliamentary procedure.

The Bulgarians mercilessly mistreated us with the announced gift, without even mentioning how many vaccines they would give us, or when. Such a thing, in principle, is not accepted because it presupposes some kind of abuse. Especially in a situation when they are waging an open war against us. One must ask how much and when? At least to see whether the gift deserves attention. All this says that, apart from the propaganda effect, which is extraordinary for them, they have not undertaken any specific obligation. They can give us vaccines but they do not have to. Although it is hard to believe that they will do so, there is such a possibility. It is more likely that they will throw some leftovers at us like dogs, with maximum publicity. After all, if they offered us even half of the vaccines they will receive from the EU, it would have to be refused. With the perfectly executed circus show, they have already achieved their goal. Everyone has heard about their “humanity”, although there is not an ounce of such a thing in all this, but it is a matter of ordinary political cunning of which they should be ashamed. They are playing political populism with our naïve politicians, but the victims are all innocent citizens of this country.

And instead of politely refusing the offer, which was an open provocation, our Minister of Health sat at a Bulgarian Government session, where he did not choose his words of thanks... There was

certainly no media outlet in Bulgaria, from the smallest to the largest, that did not devote maximum publicity to this stupidity of ours. That was also the goal of their former firefighter, now Prime Minister, Boyko Borisov, and the attempt was maximally successful. It is very likely that he and his followers seriously doubted that anyone in Skopje would swallow their vile bait, even though they had countless examples of the true “capabilities” of our Macedonian politicians. In any case, their experiment was successful.

The expression “brothers” that “our Bulgarian friends” constantly use, which is not at all accidental, also deserves special attention. In politics, the expression has a long and extremely negative history. It is used in situations when someone dominates others and thus conceals the real situation. Among brothers, one is always older and, as such, has various privileges and must be listened to. In politics, there are no, nor can there be, brothers. That expression is used exclusively as a political deception and arrogant appropriation. There are no permanent friends either because both they and enemies change. There are only interests and nothing else. It is not at all surprising that Sofia waves that expression around, but when you listen to “our politicians” you have to ask yourself - do these people understand anything? It is high time to openly and loudly tell the Bulgarians that we are not and will never be “brothers”.

They announced that over 80 percent of Bulgarians support their chauvinism towards the Macedonians. That is no coincidence. The propagandists there, who are obviously capable of low blows, published or quoted their open memorandum in all media outlets that the Bulgarian state distributed throughout the world. Extremely inaccurate, shameless, impudent, outrageous, unscrupulous... it claims that after World War II, 20 thousand Bulgarians were killed in Macedonia and 100 thousand were tortured. Once the people read such things, and do not know that they are shameful fabrications, how can they react differently? It causes deep revolt and a need for revenge. And now, after our clownish role in their circus show with vaccines, the

Bulgarians are completely convinced that their policy is correct. Everything is so simple for the smart ones, and for the rest, this is atomic physics.

Although they were few in number, the fact is that there were those in Bulgaria who condemned the blocking of Macedonia in the EU. With vaccines, they all got a slap in the face. It turned out that they do not sufficiently understand national policies that are, to say the least, “brotherly” and much more complex than their views and criticisms.

For now, Bulgaria is not and cannot be our friend, and we cannot and should never be brothers. It is a cruel aggressor against Macedonia and Macedonians because, without any justifiable basis, it hinders our prospects for EU membership. It is high time that we behave appropriately and respond, and not just bend our backs and give in. The Bulgarians rightly believe that we have killed 20 thousand of their people because no one on our side has denied it.

Oh, Macedonia, Macedonia. To what low and humiliating heights it has fallen! When dignity is lost, everything else becomes irrelevant. No one considers you a serious subject anymore. It has become worthless to everyone. This is the level this country has been brought to, after all the unreasonable concessions we have made since independence until today. That is why things like this happen to us. Until we knock on the table and decisively say – ENOUGH, they will continue like this. It is logical that after Greece, Bulgaria also came forward. During the EU negotiations, they will change and be supplemented. There will be others. At home, however, Albanians are already demanding and receiving what THEY DO NOT deserve. Unfortunately, there is no government in sight in this country that will oppose the mental deviations of its neighbours. The behaviour of our people is a separate story that must be of concern.

There is no war that you can win if you do not fight. Every bend in the spine leads to inevitable defeat and whets the appetites of others. If someone does not understand all this, there is no help for them.

P. S. After the publication of this text, information appeared in the media that Israel offered a million vaccines to the Palestinians but they refused them! That's how it is when one has dignity.

MACEDONIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

(February, 2020)

Macedonia is in NATO. Good luck to us. It was an American interest and that's why they forced us to rechristen ourselves and disfigure ourselves because we were unacceptable as Macedonians. After long hesitation, the EU also decided to open negotiations with us, but without a date. That is certainly a good step forward for the country and should be welcomed even though the price we paid was unacceptable, and the way they treated us was shameful. However, the uncertainty about our membership still remains. Turkey has also been negotiating for a long time but will it ever join? Probably not. Our deep obsession with a date, which was the basis for unprecedented political gamesmanship with the people, still persists. Now with a new deception: they threw us a hook but no bait. At least formally, we are closer to the Union than ever but, most likely, that means nothing. If we do not want to live in a vicious circle that suits only deceitful politicians, which includes almost all of them, we need to objectively analyze our membership prospects. We must be aware that Macedonia is not a normal story, which has been confirmed by our 30 years of independence. All this time our country has been treated like something undefined, contested, unacceptable... None of what happened to us was accidental, and least of all, a question of Greek historical syndromes. Quite the opposite, the most influential Western factors that dominate the world were and still are against the existence of our country. At the beginning of this book, we explained what we went through during this 30 year period, and the illegal, extremely unprincipled and unscrupulous things done to us, with open use of force, and as a result we can only imagine what else will await us in the days to come.

Back in the day, French President, F. Mitterrand, told K. Gligorov that Macedonia's problems are political and that international legal norms,

principles and procedures do not apply to them. This means that solutions (will) be sought by the use of force and not by diplomacy. None of them paid attention to the Hague verdict, precisely on that basis. If they have been treating us like this for 30 years, it would be truly naïve to believe that things will change. Especially now, when we ourselves have accepted the renaming and erasure of the Macedonians as a people. We must also see our future through the same or similar prism, which is increasingly dark and uncertain. Macedonia's objective interest is to join the European Union and for that purpose all necessary reforms should be made that are primarily for the benefit of the Macedonian citizens. The key thing, however, is what are the real chances and possibilities for our entry into the Union, in an acceptable period? Membership in NATO was a priority of the USA and that is why it was forced. The stories that NATO will strengthen our security, contribute to faster development, foreign investment and the like are just propaganda firecrackers. Right after joining the alliance, Albania has been in chaos for many years, which confirms that this is not true at all. After all, Macedonia is not threatened by any danger from outside, but only from within. In 2001, the US and NATO organized aggression from Kosovo and, with the help of the Albanians, realized a complete change in the constitutional character of the state. And now, when we are inside NATO, the same scenario could be repeated. As a member, however, the country will be directly involved in activities towards third countries, which are largely illegal and aggressive. On that basis, like numerous other European countries, we could be the target of retaliatory terrorist attacks.

Joining NATO was also necessary because of the imposed principle that it should be an informal condition for joining the Union. The practice was established due to American needs in relation to the countries of Eastern Europe, former members of the Warsaw Pact, which the alliance was supposed to "purify". This also applied to us.

We mentioned that the USA and the European Union pursued a shameful policy towards Macedonia, which was, to a large extent,

humiliating for us. As a result of our incompetence but also of the domestic situation and divisions, we never responded adequately to foreign provocations. This, in turn, allowed them to force us in the same way and bring us to this situation. The same relationship continued after we capitulated over the name and again did not receive a date for negotiations. They continued with their policies of double standards and deception with empty promises, and our politicians behaved naïvely. For example, the majority of the European Union membership supports the start of negotiations with Macedonia. However, Germany, France and half of the others insist that this be done together with Albania. The other half believes that Tirana is not ready and is therefore against it. This is a new sophisticated blockade of Macedonia and pure manipulation because we are collateral damage. They are spinning us into a vicious circle. Such an attitude towards Macedonia is not naïve at all. It is obvious that Washington and Brussels have hidden cards. After the blackmail and the ultimatum to rechristen ourselves, after they achieved their goal, they found themselves in a vulnerable position. Very quickly it became obvious that the name was just an excuse... Promises were not fulfilled. Now they don't know what to do. They will change the negotiation procedure, they will not have an enlargement before the Union is reformed, they... And, in the meantime, they have destroyed the Macedonian state and destroyed the Macedonian people. Doesn't this sound like the 18th and 19th centuries to you?

Is it possible, after everything that has happened to us and is still happening, that there is room for some optimism? Is it possible for Macedonia to join the EU in the foreseeable future? Objective analyses leave no room for hope. Almost all indicators show the opposite. Although the majority of the Union, including A. Merkel, have publicly committed to our date, that does not mean membership at all. For several reasons. If it is true that the "Macedonian question" is now being closed, and everything shows that things are going in exactly that direction, then how is it possible that those same factors will allow our

membership in the EU? They don't give a damn about the fact that erasing the Macedonians will in no way lead to peace and security.

If it is true that the US and our neighbouring “friends” do not want Macedonia to join the Union, and this seems to be the case according to numerous parameters, then we can expect the membership negotiations to last for 20 years, similar to Turkey. Only in this way can the “Macedonian question” be completely closed, which seems to be a key interest of the US. In any case, whether we join the EU or stay outside, Macedonians will once again be a factor in the Balkans, but only if we are willing enough to fight and are capable of winning. We should follow the example of the partisans who, in the 1940s, almost barefoot, created a modern Macedonian state. As always, many things will depend on us in the future. If we behave inappropriately as we have done so far, we deserve to be erased as a people.

The prospects for EU membership are long-term not only for us but also for other Balkan candidates. The first and main reason is the Union's unwillingness to expand due to the upcoming internal reforms. Second, there are serious consequences from the bad experience of Bulgaria and Romania's premature membership, when they were not ready for it. We have concrete confirmation that these are Brussels's exact policies, although they constantly lie that enlargement is ongoing. Montenegro, for example, has been negotiating since mid-2012, has opened all 35 chapters, but has closed only three, and that temporarily. No one knows when Podgorica could join the EU. Perhaps this will be stimulated to show that enlargement is not dead and the population of 600 thousand is no challenge for the Union. Serbia has also been negotiating since January 2014. It has opened 18 chapters, temporarily closed two and is making slow progress. In 2019, only two new chapters were opened, and in 2020, none. The end is completely uncertain. If Montenegro, which has no obstacles from its neighbours, has been negotiating for almost nine years and it is not known how long this will last, what can be said about us?

P. S. Former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, who is an excellent expert on the situation in the Balkans, wrote the following in a column in “Nova Makedonija” (21/8/2021) – *“After Croatia’s accession in 2013, the expansion of the Balkans into the EU practically stopped”*. He concluded – *“But now, when the chances for Balkan integration are disappearing, the current farce cannot continue”*. He believes that the EU should propose an agreement to these countries, which would include an offer for membership in its customs union and single market.

**EU COMMISSIONER OLIVÉR VÁRHELYI IS ABSOLUTELY
RIGHT**
(May, 2021)

What is Macedonia's main problem today?

The Bulgarian blockade of its EU integration.

What is the basis for this Bulgarian policy?

The root of that policy is the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourly relations and Cooperation between the two countries, signed on August 1, 2017.

Does that mean that if it were not for the treaty, Sofia would not have had grounds to block and blackmail Macedonia on its path to the EU?

Exactly. Their historical follies regarding Macedonia are centuries-old, but they would not have had concrete "ammunition", or rather practical "arguments", to fire at us and hinder us, if it were not for the Treaty of Friendship.

If so, why doesn't Macedonia cancel the treaty?

Why is nothing being done to force Sofia to change its position? Why was there no response to their so-called "explanatory memorandum", which was full of nonsense and fabrications? If the daily chatter coming from top Bulgarian politicians, full of threats, was already being kept quiet, why was a written document distributed throughout Europe and beyond ignored? Isn't that unreasonable? Thus, you give the impression that you agree with the heinous manipulations and that you have no facts and arguments to refute them. After all, if the Treaty of Friendship... does not open the widest possibilities for cooperation, why is it allowed to be the basis for hostile action and aggression towards Macedonia?...

1. For now, the Macedonian side has no answers to these and many other imposing logical questions. In short, that is the genesis or diagnosis of our current hopeless situation. As usual, therapy - there is none. There is only occasional empty “words”, like these days in Brussels, when the Prime Minister “swore” that our identity and language were sacred to us and that they could not be negotiated. According to “Nova Makedonija”, from 11/05/2021, the Prime Minister said – *“the Macedonian language and identity, imposed as an issue by Bulgaria, must not be the topic of Brussels’ discussions and engagement at all and that this is the only way Macedonia will continue to discuss its European future”*. And then he added – *“The Macedonian identity, apart from being a matter of pride, is also a matter of facts, science, tradition and the national identity of our people. It is not and will not be a subject of negotiations...”*. This sounds nice, but it should be said to Sofia, not to Brussels. With Bulgaria, however, both our identity and language have been on the negotiating table with our consent for too long and we have not lifted a finger to change that.

This is just part of our tragedy.

Just five days before that, on 06/05/2021, “Sloboden Pечат” wrote that the Prime Minister indicated that he was ready for negotiations with Bulgaria, in the name of the European future, where he said – *“Bulgaria recognizes and says that they have no problems with the Macedonian language and the Macedonian people, but come on, they say, let’s determine the roots. We will find the roots, if we are smart, in a European way...”*.

In Brussels, the Prime Minister said - *“the Macedonian language and identity were imposed as an issue by Bulgaria”* and before that, in Skopje, he claimed that Bulgaria had no problems with the Macedonian language and people! Which one is true? Who has a problem with our language and identity? Sofia? Brussels? Us, ourselves? The European Union is carefully monitoring all our statements and actions and, in the end – after all this, what will they think of us and our policies towards

Bulgaria? Nothing other than that we do not know what we want. That we are spouting nonsense and that there is an unprecedented cacophony here. After all, how does the Prime Minister imagine that we should or can “establish our roots” with the Bulgarians? Even in a European way? First of all, why with them? That idea is beyond the mind. Bulgaria has already established our roots and is not ready for any compromise on that. It is up to us to accept it or not. That is the problem, which is not accidental at all. Here is why.

According to the portal mkd.mk, on 22/03/2021, the then Bulgarian Foreign Minister, E. Zaharieva, stated for the German publication “The European”, that - *“Zaev accepted that the Macedonian identity has existed since ASNOM in 1944” and that - “Gotse Delchev and all the Ilinden revolutionaries were Macedonian Bulgarians... and that they are not Macedonians at all”*. She emphasized – *“Bulgaria will not allow Macedonia to enter the EU until everything promised in the signed friendship agreement is delivered...”*. Probably, here lies the reason for the diametrically opposed statements our politicians make. An attempt is being made to relativize the undertaken obligations that are disastrous for the Macedonian people.

2. The above examples show that there is practically no such thing as Macedonian foreign policy. On the contrary, personal policies are being implemented that are extremely incomprehensible, counterproductive and historically harmful. They are being implemented by people who are ready to capitulate and in the process there are also Albanians involved, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, B. Osmani, who are now openly working for other people’s interests. They are supported but also led by a foreign actor who has had a clearly defined goal for 30 years - the annihilation of the Macedonian people.

3. We must solve the problem with Bulgaria ourselves. We must win or, at least, stop the open war Bulgaria is waging against Macedonia. That will be difficult because of the promises made, for which Sofia certainly has enough evidence and witnesses. The EU is not the one who should

solve things. Therefore, they will not interfere, although our amateurs hope for exactly such a thing. That is unthinkable. The message from all its centers is the same - solve the problem with Sofia and the negotiations will begin immediately. All the crazy whining in Brussels and other centers only demonstrates our incompetence. We have brought ourselves into a hopeless situation and now we want someone else to pull us out of the mud. From both Brussels and member states, we should only seek support through appropriate condemnation of the Bulgarian phantasmagoria, which must first be properly documented with facts and evidence, which we have in abundance. Only in this way will we strengthen our position. Only the sick must be treated, and that is Bulgaria. We must make the effort. In order not to upset the Bulgarians we neglected to properly mark Gotse Delchev's anniversary after his death; for two years now, we have not awarded the annual science awards that bear his name... We have apologized to the Bulgarians for publicly mentioning that the Ilinden Uprising was Macedonian... We are constantly strengthening Sofia's position and maximally supporting their hostilities against us with our senseless behaviour. And who is to blame? Brussels and Varheiu? Plain stupidity.

4. For more than 10 years, Bulgaria has been exerting pressure and blackmailing us to sign the friendship agreement with inserted terms - "*common history*" and "*language according to the Constitution*", because it was aware that with those it could most easily destroy us. It is precisely for this purpose that Bulgaria, with help from the USA, included these provisions that are disastrous for us in the agreement because the "*common history*" can only be Bulgarian, and if the language is "*according to the Constitution*", it is not autochthonous but can only be a dialect of Bulgarian. This is the easiest way to end the centuries-old history of Macedonianism. After our "politicians" signed the document agreeing to this nonsense, Sofia can now do, and already does - whatever it wants. Who knows whether our amateurs even now understand what nonsense they allowed to enter into the agreement? After all, the same thing happened to us with the Ohrid Framework

Agreement, and with the Nivitsi Agreement, and with the law on the Albanian language... with which our country was gradually reduced to a mere trifle. Objectively, in such a situation, MACEDONIA HAS NO OTHER OPTION THAN TO CANCEL THE AGREEMENT IMMEDIATELY. For tactical reasons, we need to ask Sofia in advance to stop the blockade and blackmail without delay and to commit that it will not hinder us in the negotiations for EU membership, if it wants the agreement to survive. They should be given one last chance, although their refusal is quite certain. It is undeniable that all interested parties (EU, USA...) will fiercely advocate that this does not happen, but in that situation we will lead the dance and dictate what and how things should be done. We need to do this of course, if we want to succeed. The initiative will be in our hands and we will set the conditions. Our position will be as strong as possible and only then can we seek an acceptable solution with Bulgaria.

Our ordeals regarding EU membership will continue because it is a process of at least 15 years, or more, but we will lead the game ourselves and will not be anyone's pawn. Then our prospects will be greater because Sofia's main argument now is the agreement, and Brussels must understand that we reject all these Bulgaria claims. Implementation of the agreements between Macedonia and Bulgaria cannot be made a condition by the European Union. The provisions on "common history" and "constitutional language" provide a real opportunity for Bulgaria to harass us and butcher our identity, history...

5. S. Pendarovski gave a good definition that Bulgaria should choose whether its problems with Macedonia are of a historical or political nature? If they are historical, as they are, they cannot be an obstacle to our negotiations with the EU. Historical issues are not discussed in the European Union. To the Bulgarian nonsense, that the Macedonian people have existed since 1944, we have an even stronger answer that checks these mental deviations of theirs. Sofia should ask itself – is it possible that for almost 200 years there has been a "Macedonian question" on the world stage, without there being Macedonians? Have

world politicians been arguing for so long about a made-up topic? We should quote the greatest British politician of the 19th century, William Gladstone (four times prime minister) who said – “*why not Macedonia for the Macedonians, Serbia for the Serbians and Bulgaria for the Bulgarians*”. It is not by chance that he mentioned Macedonia and the Macedonians first. If for him there were already Macedonians somewhere in the middle of the 19th century, where did they disappear for 100 years, for Sofia to rediscover them only in 1944, at ASNOM?

Bulgaria has no factual answers to these questions. All their senseless theories and historical syndromes have no basis and are pulled out of their sleeves. It’s just that someone needs to slap that in their face, instead of promising what should not and must not be promised.

6. A big uproar has arisen in our country as a result of a statement made by the EU Enlargement Commissioner, O. Várhelyi, who said that it is very likely that Albania will not wait for Macedonia and that it will start negotiations before Macedonia. It seems that we have also been making problems about this in Brussels. First, it is shameful to ask Tirana not to wait for us. Second, it is Brussels that decides. Third, O. Várhelyi is absolutely right in what he said. If we continue to behave indolently and irresponsibly, the blockade could last for years. Under these conditions, Brussels can tactfully wait another year or two and then it will have to open the doors to Albania, although it should not be forgotten that several EU members are against the rapid admission of Tirana. Fourth, it is normal that other officials in Brussels insist that the two countries should continue together. That is their current policy. They are not interested in what will happen next. Fifth, O. Várhelyi is in charge of enlargement and is obliged to think in the long term. Therefore, he announced the modalities that can become a reality for everyone in a relatively short time. There is no need for objection because he does not say when this will happen, he does not threaten with any deadline, but only warns us and for that we should be grateful to him.

CAN THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE BE SAVED?

(January, 2019)

The agreements with Bulgaria and Greece erased the Macedonian people as a reality in the Balkans, and with the law on the Albanian language, the Macedonian state went down in history. Immediately after the collapse of Yugoslavia, the United States announced all this as inevitable, but no one in Macedonia understood what they meant. We behaved like blind people: we considered our enemies to be “partners” and, naturally, we received our deserved punishment. During the collapse of Yugoslavia, only Macedonia became independent without war; it selflessly tried to stop the bloodshed in other parts; it showed unprecedented tolerance and patience towards our aggressive neighbours... But it received nothing in return. Washington did not allow Macedonia to be accepted as an independent state. The reasons were much deeper than the name, which was abused as a formal obstacle and the easiest way through it to destroy Macedonianism. That this is absolutely true is confirmed by the three most recent key events, listed at the beginning of this text (the two agreements and the law on the Albanian language), which erase the Macedonians as a people. This is the end of the tragedy that we have been living with for a quarter of a century and which has been outlined in the American scenario since the beginning of independence. However, this does not mean the end of all our suffering. During the negotiations for accession to the EU, fierce denials of what is left of Macedonianism (the language...) awaits us. Then they will explain it to us. K. Mitsotakis revealed the secret. And let us not deceive ourselves, it is not at all a coincidence that the disintegration of the Macedonian people and the federalization of their state are happening in parallel. Thus, with one move, the “Macedonian question” is closed and the “Albanian national question” is solved. Washington is convinced that it is pacifying the Balkans, which is completely wrong. With unrealistic policies, it only opens old wounds that will not heal for a long time.

There are no serious analyses of American policy towards Macedonia in our country. There is talk about the Greek role, about blockades, vetoes... which has nothing to do with the essence. All projects related to Macedonia are conceived and managed by the USA, and they are not mentioned anywhere. They remain hidden. The fact that there are no attempts to penetrate the essence of the dispute in our country should not be surprising. It is not right. We do not interfere in our own affairs either. It was similar during the previous government which, at least, was not ready for capitulation and betrayal.

In June 1992, in Belgrade, the US Secretary of State, James Baker, asked the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic - how long do you think Macedonia will last? That says it all and is key evidence that the name was not the reason why the US did not recognize our independence for a long time. They expected that Macedonia would disintegrate and were certainly working on it because it later became clear that such a state did not fit into their visions and plans for the Balkans. J. Baker checked on the spot whether Macedonia would survive, because neighbours always know more and better. That is the reason why the US did not recognize independent Macedonia for such a long time. The long Greek blockades of our southern border must also be seen from that perspective, in conditions when the northern border was also closed (UN sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). No one reacted and the goal became clear - to drain Macedonia economically and thus destroy it more easily.

Mutual recognition, diplomatic relations and the exchange of ambassadors between countries is a routine matter. Of course, if there are no hidden intentions. Our name could in no way be an obstacle due to which the US recognized Macedonia two years after Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, established diplomatic relations three years after them and only after four years sent an ambassador to Skopje. In contrast, Great Britain, Germany, France... had ambassadors in Skopje about 16 months after Zagreb and Ljubljana. They also used tactics and were late but not for a whole four years. Why would

Washington be more “concerned” about our name than European countries so as not to send an ambassador? It just means that the US had other interests and calculations. The bombing of Belgrade (1999) and the independence of Kosovo (February 2008) revealed some of them. They told the story through the imposition of the shameful declaration with Bulgaria (1999), the aggression from Kosovo and the Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001), the blockade and blackmail in Bucharest (2008), the agreements with Bulgaria (2017) and Greece (2018), the law on the Albanian language (2018)... The US is the one who is destroying the Macedonians and their state.

We must be clear that the US’s Balkan policies are neither, nor can they be, in the service of or in the interest of any Greek interests. Washington always follows only its own, and other people’s interests are only realized when they coincide with theirs. That is exactly what happened in this Macedonian tragedy, and Greece is paying a lot of dividends. The Albanians benefited the most from Macedonia and the Macedonian people’s coincidental destruction, among other things, due to the fact that Macedonians are an obstacle to a complete solution to the Albanian national question and the practical creation of a Greater Albania, which the United States has been working hard on for more than a quarter of a century. Their victory, however, is Pyrrhic. In the long run, Athens will pay dearly for the Americans playing the Albanian card. The erasure of the Macedonians as a people and the albanization of their state will have incalculable consequences for the interests of Athens. It is incredible how they do not see this? United, the Albanians will very quickly “remember” Chamiria and the Chams. We should not forget the fact that there are already close to 1.5 million Albanian immigrants in Greece and the bear (USA) may soon play with them as well. The erasure of the Macedonian state and the Macedonian people will not benefit anyone in the region. Least of all Greece. It will soon be realized that, without exception, Macedonia and the Macedonians were the ideal solution for everyone, but it will be too late. The problems are yet to come.

These days (“Vecher” from January 12, 2019) Prime Minister A. Tsipras said – *“The failure of the Prespa Agreement leads to Greater Albania”!* The assessment is completely wrong. On the contrary, it is the Prespa Agreement, together with the Bulgarian friendship agreement, and the law on the Albanian language, that are key steps for the Greater Albania project. Once the Macedonians are wiped out and Macedonia is federalized, even if only informally, there will be no obstacles to the full realization of the Greater Albania dream. With that, the Albanians will have achieved their maximum and will no longer need American help. They will “rebel”, they will not be at a distance from Washington and they will multiply their regional ambitions, which will also penetrate deeply into Greece. The mafia there is run by Albanians. They are making big money that they can easily turn into politics and terrorism. Albanians are becoming the main factor in the Balkans, aware that they fit into the interests of the United States. The border between Tirana and Pristina is already a formality and Edi Rama will abolish it; crime has long been in their hands (drugs, weapons, prostitution, migrants...)... They will be powerful in every aspect and the Americans will no longer be necessary for them. They will increasingly pursue their own path. The main victim will be Greece but also peace in the region. Albanians are fascinatingly unique regarding their national issue. However, in the struggle for power at the state level, there is enormous intolerance among them in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia... They see each other everywhere through a crosshair, ready for confrontation. This will inevitably lead to serious clashes between them and destabilization of the region.

After the ratification of the agreement, A. Tsipras says that our country, which they forcibly renamed with the help of others, and destroyed the Macedonian people - would be friendly to them?! That is nonsense, although it may be a matter of ordinary political bluff. According to Nivitsi, Greece is the symbol of the Macedonian destruction and every normal Macedonian in the future will think about how and with whose help they can erase these injustices and shameful humiliations and

return everything to the way it was, including the name. Nothing else. And, on the other hand, K. Mitsotakis is already talking about new blockades that are already planned in the USA... That is the genesis of our heavy historical defeat. We capitulated in an unworthy, amateurish way with catastrophic consequences. The damage is incalculable, enormous but that does not necessarily mean that our Macedonianism is definitely dead. We are like Piraeus, and the blame for what happened to us is largely ours. If we do not take any action to come back to life again, like the phoenix from the ashes, we do not deserve a better fate. This government was brought in to implement a precisely worked out scenario, but it is the people who should prevent its disastrous and treacherous policies. Now we need to go to new parliamentary elections as soon as possible and let the people have their say. If they once again support the government and validate its self-destructive policy, then there is nothing left to ask for. We have gotten what we deserve. However, if the people decisively say - NO! to these shameless and ruthless American policies implemented by our quislings, then the new government should immediately begin appropriate procedures to restore constitutionality and legality in the country; to hold all usurpers of our fundamental interests and rights accountable; to begin a process of revising or canceling the imposed unworthy agreements as well as the law on the Albanian language...

In the meantime, several Bulgarian television stations continue with the crude appropriation of our folk music. They compose new songs that they sing in pure Macedonian and take over our other folk songs and dances and present them - as Bulgarian. Every second or third song is like that. We are silent and they create evidence that the Macedonian language is a dialect of theirs, and we are - unawakened "Bulgarians". We also have a friendship agreement... which Z. Zaev glorified. Who knows how many times the ball has been in our court. Many times so far, we have either not seen it, or we have dropped it. We no longer have a choice: either we will fight to exist and be who we are, or we

officially accept that we will no longer exist as a Macedonian people. Time will tell if real heroes rise to defend us.

Without showing that we are worthy as a people and ready to face the challenges that are thrown at us by the main world factors, we have no chance of correcting the historical mistakes we made. Without such a confrontation, we will only sink more and more. We are on the move. It depends on us whether we will survive...

IS IT POSSIBLE TO BRING BACK MACEDONISM?

(April, 2019)

Our country has been rechristened and that is a fact. Macedonia was not militarily defeated by Greece, but it signed a capitulation agreement by which it accepted to erase everything that is ours and Macedonian. At least officially, this means that there are no Macedonians. Unofficially, however, no one can forbid us from feeling that way about our home. The project is American. After Yugoslavia collapsed, the USA became the “emperor” in the region and we became its victim. As much as we were a bother for Athens, Sofia and Tirana as a people, we were more of a bother for the USA. We did not fit into Washington’s plans for the Balkans, which is crucial for our destiny. Whoever has not understood all this does not understand the processes that are disastrous for Macedonians.

We are no longer allowed to use the name “Macedonia” and the adjectives Macedonian, etc., but Greece can use them wherever it wants, whenever it wants and as much as it wants. That says it all. They have gained a monopoly on these terms, for now with minor exceptions. With that name they have a university, an airport, many agencies... which is not disputed by the agreement and will remain so. There will be nothing with the prefix ‘Macedonian’ in our country. Everything has been or will be rechristened - MANU, MRT, MOB, MIA... At least abroad, there will be no Macedonian wine, music, songs... Everything will get a new name. The disfigurement that is happening to us was most easily seen from the fact that in the country Macedonia there will be Turkish and Albanian theaters, but there must not be Macedonian. Aware of this, the government did not cancel the MNT, but rest assured that it is only temporary, so as not to cause greater dissatisfaction. We will see how long they will play tactics with the anthem. *“Today, a new sun of freedom is rising over Macedonia...”* is already a forbidden

sentence for us. That time is over. Such a sun can only “rise” in Greece, not here. That is why the anthem was not played during A. Tsipras’s visit. If that had happened, K. Mitsotakis would have quoted the words to his political rival before which he stood still, which would have been disastrous for him. The excuse that A. Tsipras’s delay was the reason was a simple lie. After all, the Albanians have already raised the issue of the anthem and the change is imminent. They are persistent: they were looking for a consensual president, the likes of which there is none in a unitary state and, lo and behold, they got it. A state does not collapse overnight, nor does another, large one, that is built so quickly. It takes time. Step by step. There is no place for morons here. Things will slowly fall into place, because this whole mess with the name, among other things, is also open to satisfying the interests of the Albanians who are the main American partners in the region. With an independent Kosovo, Greater Albania is almost achieved. With one move, the US completes two major things: it satisfies the nationalist appetites of the Albanians, and it closes the “Macedonian question”. That is why so many congratulations come from the West for our capitulation. What a great miracle, while erasing everything Macedonian, the government claims to be strengthening our national identity. It has long been known that stupidity knows no bounds. To erase the Macedonian character of the state and to claim that by doing so you have strengthened Macedonianism does not seem very logical, but whoever believes, believes.

Today, the main question is – what next? What are the paths we should follow? What can be saved from the enormous losses we have suffered? It is undeniable that every step in defense of our fundamental interests will be almost impossible because our capitulation has come in handy for the USA, NATO, EU... who have been illegally and by force destroying Macedonia for many years precisely to bring us to this state. Now, having achieved their goal, they will be fiercely against any changes. With the capitulation, we solved their problems but not ours at home, and even less with our neighbours who have been brought to a

stage of escalation that will fry us for a long time. The only new thing now is the fact that with the agreements we have accepted full blame for their centuries-old aggressive and irredentist policies towards our people and, since 1944, towards our state. We agreed that it was our mistake that they deny that we exist as a people, that we speak our own language... that the only problem is our unbearable and unacceptable nationalism, which Denko Maleski wrote about so often. For neighbours to claim that you are not who you are, and for you to oppose it, is truly gross extremism. That is why we have given them a strong new impulse to continue with their policies because the definitive erasure of the Macedonians has already begun. And the fabrications of our government that the Greeks are now our friends and strategic partners are the most ordinary nonsense. For the most part, they have achieved their maximalist ideas, but among the vast majority of Macedonians the dissatisfaction is deep and lasting. It will smoulder and spread and will wait for an opportunity to correct the injustices committed and the shameful betrayal, no matter how long it takes. In history, we have had many similar situations from which we emerged victorious. That's how it will be now.

Attempts to overcome the Nivitsi agreement will be long-term and not easy. We cannot do it alone in any case. When the conditions are created, an appropriate strategy should be made by engaging top legal experts from the world, who know the UN system well. They would be part of some kind of headquarters that would also include our people. This requires a government and a leader who would be ready to fight for the return of Macedonianism. In principle, the strategy should have four parts.

1. On the domestic level, everything possible will have to be done to insure the Constitutional Court rules that the Nivitsi Agreement violated our Constitution. If the Constitutional Court rules that it is unconstitutional, which is absolutely not in dispute, it automatically becomes invalid and the job is done. Opponents will be numerous both at home and abroad, but the state and people are only defending

themselves in this way. Macedonia can withstand that pressure, but on condition that all Macedonian parties are united. Another question is how possible that is.

2. If the Constitutional Court fails, in the first phase it will be crucial not to apply the erga omnes provision of the agreement. That depends only on us. This would restore the national character of the numerous institutions that were renamed and the historical name would be fully used within the state. This can be done unilaterally, without formally revising the agreement, similar to what Greece did by disregarding the Interim Agreement according to which it was not allowed to block us on the path to NATO and the EU. As now, that agreement was also signed by the foreign ministers, and the text was also prepared in Washington... If they could ignore the most important part of the disastrous agreement for us, why can't we now behave equally? So let them take us to the court in The Hague where we will have a miracle of first-class arguments and prove that we are right. A strong argument would be the resolutions of the UN Security Council where the name of the country is the only noted problem. The Vienna Convention on International Treaties would also be an additional one.

3. The third part would be the return of the name Republic of Macedonia to the Constitution, with an explanation that (temporarily?) abroad it would be used with the addition – “North”. This can be achieved most easily if the Constitutional Court declares its change unconstitutional, as it was. However, such a thing can hardly be expected from our Constitutional Court now. Defending the constitutional order is something they do not care about at all. Changing the Constitution will be a difficult problem due to the required 2/3 majority in the Assembly and due to the positions of the Albanian parties. However, it is ours to fight for something that was treacherously lost. Basically, this means the annulment of all new amendments to the Constitution. And only with a possible decision of the Constitutional Court, everything will automatically return to the beginning.

4. The fourth segment is the external use of the new name. Objectively, in the short term it will be almost impossible to remove the suffix - “North” from international use. There must be a readiness for a longer process and we, in no case, should give up in advance.

Our above rethinking and engagement will cause a storm in NATO, in the EU and especially in the USA. We will face fierce political pressure, blackmail... They will use all possible measures to stop us, including various forms of threats to the country, even by overthrowing such a government with their agencies and domestic mercenaries. They will also have arguments because in the UN we accepted that our name is a problem. However, it is undeniable that the new executive authority will have to immediately begin decisive actions in this direction. By then, our membership in NATO will probably be finalized and these adjustments of ours will be reflected in the negotiations for entry into the EU. That will not be a major handicap because those negotiations, whenever they start, will last at least 15 years. Our indisputable argument is that the entire re-christening procedure was unconstitutional and as such invalid. Treaties are binding but not Holy Scripture and can be canceled or revised. Greece did not even respect the Hague verdict and it does not matter to anyone. Charles De Gaulle said that international agreements are like young girls and roses - they last as long as they last! In the coming period, people will certainly become more aware that the survival of the Macedonian people is at stake and that we must face all the challenges that will in no way be pleasant. If we want to remain Macedonians, we have no other option. In the event that the majority of the people come to terms with the erasure of Macedonianism, the defeat will only be temporary. Historically disgraced, unworthy of our ancestors who sacrificed their lives for us, we will wait for a true leader to emerge.

If we do not do everything to save our Macedonianism, if we remain indifferent and afraid, in the end we will all be traitors.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE BALKANS AFTER YUGOSLAVIA WAS DISSOLVED?

The end of the USSR and Yugoslavia was the beginning of a new Balkan era. At the beginning of the 1990s, for the first time in history, the United States set foot in the Balkans, with the intention of staying permanently. The wars in the post-Yugoslav period gave them an excellent opportunity to anchor themselves there, aware that the region was becoming important to them. From here, they can most easily influence Turkey's growing international ambitions, but also the future of the EU, in order to structure it to their needs as much as possible. The United States has never accepted the EU as a partner, but has always treated it more as a competitor, which is completely incomprehensible and for which there is no objective reason. If the United States has any logical ally, it can only be the EU. Let's leave aside D. Trump, who openly wanted its disintegration – such a policy has been outlined for a long time. After Iraq, the United States divided the European Union into Old and New Europe. The old was the Western world, which did not support the invasion of Iraq, and the new were the former socialist states, which stood behind the USA, accustomed to obedience (formerly to Moscow). Recently, the increasingly aggressive American policy towards Russia deserves special attention. It is largely conceived as a strong tool in relation to the EU. Washington's confrontation with Moscow maximizes the EU's dependence on the US. Europe is collateral damage of the cold war between the two giants, which has already begun with the crisis in Ukraine, and the Union has to pay the bill. In the given conditions, the EU has no choice but to follow US policy. The President of France, E. Macron, tried to build a (more) independent policy, advocating for strengthening European defense capabilities in order to reduce dependence on Washington, which is absolutely necessary but, with the tightening of relations between Russia and the US, all of this is now

falling apart. After all, this is precisely why Washington is going after Moscow.

The assessments that appear from time to time that the US is withdrawing from the Balkans have no real basis. They have invested too much in the region to just leave. When we consider the proven American policies regarding Macedonia, which do not take into account our universal rights, trying to erase Macedonianism (the people), this is a bad omen for us. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, the main enemy for the West was S. Milosevich and the only ones who fought against him were the Albanians. Thus began the American-Albanian strategic partnership, which has a long-term character. In order to gain the loyalty of the Albanians, the US is realizing a large-scale Albanian project that is, after the independence of Kosovo, more than 70 percent complete. (And the fascists of B. Mussolini, in World War II, in agreement with A. Hitler, created Greater Albania). Its finalization, forced by the US, affects the entire region, but most of all - Macedonia. That is part of the answer to why we are bothering: the renaming is a big step towards the realization of the great Albanian aspirations. If the Macedonians are wiped out, the path to a Greater Albania is almost completely open. These plans put forward by Washington have been confirmed by the wars in 1999 and 2001, the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), the partial recognition of the name, Przhino... It is the same scenario that is persistently being implemented. American policies are completely wrong and the Balkans, but also Europe, will pay dearly from their consequences.

The USA has never trusted the so-called "Slavs" and an alliance with them is the last thing they would do. Russia remains USA's eternal enemy. The Greeks are not acceptable to them either. There has always been anti-Americanism there. Thus, the Albanians got their chance. The USA, perhaps, did not notice that, during and after the Second World War, the greatest friend of the Albanians was Yugoslavia. They wrote it off and wrote the USSR off. And they "got bored" of it and then became friends with China. The Albanians rejected them too. As a rule,

all previous strategic partners were treated as their greatest enemies. Now it is the USA's turn. Time will tell how long this latest Albanian "love" will last.

In the last few years, the situation in the region has become even more complicated. The fact is that strategically, the Balkans are becoming increasingly important:

- a) in relation to Russia, which has always been present and influential here and, according to the USA, Russia should definitely be expelled;
- b) in light of the recent biblical migration of peoples, who pass here on their way to Europe. This exodus practically shown all the connections between the restless Middle East and the Balkans and its key role in the transfer of the announced millions of emigrants; and
- c) within the framework of the growing presence of Turkey, which affirms neo-Ottomanism. Thus, the strategic importance of Macedonia has also increased significantly. However, this spectrum of the latest regional events, at least for now, does not work in our favour. Migrants can stay with us, as is currently the case with Bosnia, and Turkey's return can be reflected more broadly on religious grounds. In this context, the developments in Republika Srpska, which is most exposed to Russia, must also be seen. Because if such a relationship is established, even Serbia could easily be next in line for the shot. Aleksandar Vuchich has been re-elected, but his balancing act between Moscow, Beijing, Brussels and Washington could cost him dearly. A scenario similar to the violent change of power in Macedonia could also happen in Belgrade. These days (February 2021), a wiretapping affair involving President A. Vuchich was discovered there, which is very reminiscent of the case in Macedonia.

It is undeniable that Macedonia is the weakest link in the region and a historical bone of contention. It is known that all neighbours have some aspirations towards our country. It is no coincidence at all that the "Macedonian question" has been current for more than 150 years and

has always been an international problem, which has been the topic of many world forums. Obviously, this is also the case today. Its definitive closure, with the erasure of the Macedonian people according to American ideas should, it seems, save the region from a cancerous wound in order to calm our neighbours. It is a dangerous idea because it amounts to a classic genocide of a centuries-old people, which cannot be achieved painlessly. The name is identity or identity is a name. Without a name, there is no identity. If you cross out France, there will be no more French people. Some other people will appear under a different name.

The political earthquakes in the Balkans are not over. The collapse of Yugoslavia has not yet been finalized. Currently, Macedonia is at the center of events, and Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina will follow. There will be no wars but the turbulence will be fierce.

DID THE COLLAPSE OF SFRY STIMULATE OUR NEIGHBOURS?

When the circumstances are favourable, even average people become heroes. In unfavourable conditions, even geniuses fail. After Yugoslavia collapsed, the conditions made it possible to realize the unimaginable dreams of Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece, all at the expense of Macedonia. From the beginning, Bulgaria supported the dissolution of the federation, believing that it was high time for Macedonia to come into its embrace. Greece was against it, aware that it would lead to the promotion of the Macedonian state, people, history... which would call into question its aspirations for a monopoly on the Macedonian brand. The “transition” lasted a long time because Macedonia was not ready to capitulate. When it happened: Greece got more than it expected; Bulgaria is on its way to achieving the same; and the Albanians also suffered a lot, which is, however, not comparable to the secession of Kosovo from Serbia. The credit for this development of events does not lie with our neighbours, but with the United States, which through them, but also directly, realized its own Balkan interests. In a delicate way, Washington first stimulated and then used the historical syndromes of our neighbours against Macedonia. After Yugoslavia collapsed, the compatibility of the interests of the United States and our neighbours towards Macedonia coincided to the maximum. The American policy of long-term non-recognition of the independent Macedonian state, its mutilation by suspending the name from international use and imposing a fictitious reference, with a classic abuse of the UN system, was a direct, open and clear signal to our neighbours that the “Macedonian question” was back on the table. It was a kind of call to them to maximize their historical aspirations towards the Macedonian people and their territory. That is exactly what followed, and was dictated by precise American management. A fierce war against Macedonia began which, after so many blockades, blackmail and ultimatums, is now only being finalized. When our

ordeals over these 30 years is analyzed from every aspect, there is abundant evidence that it is the United States that is the bearer of the pogrom against the Macedonians. And Athens, Sofia and Tirana were just excellent tools in their hands.

When one looks more closely at the American strategy towards Macedonia, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, one can easily see their perfectionism in long-term planning for the annihilation of the Macedonian people. Aware that such goals cannot be achieved in a short period of time, they act and progress in stages, step by step. On this occasion, we will not dwell on the numerous indisputable facts mentioned elsewhere in this book, nor on the fruitless mediation on the name, the main goal of which was to prepare the country for renaming, but we will immediately focus on relations with Bulgaria. Sofia has long since begun a long procedure for finalizing their intentions and plans regarding the erasure of Macedonianism. The first blow for us was the declaration of friendship and cooperation (1999), with which the Macedonian minority in Pirin was declared non-existent. After we accepted that there are no Macedonians there, although it is undeniable that they have been there for centuries, we consciously or unconsciously raised the question for ourselves – if there are no Macedonians there, how can there be Macedonians here? In fact, when Sofia says that there are no Macedonians among them, it means that they are nowhere, that they are all Macedonian Bulgarians. Simply put, it means that with our consent the brutal erasure of the Macedonians began. The second blow was the war in 2001 when, with the OFA, the Albanian factor from the region joined in our disintegration as a Macedonian people and state. The third blow was the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008). There, a complete turnaround was made in the US attitude towards Macedonia which, in order to “come to its senses”, was blocked and blackmailed. This allowed Bulgaria to enter the scene again: in 2017, the declaration was turned into an agreement of the highest category. That was the fourth blow. The agreement with Greece followed as the fifth and its main task was the general erasure of the

Macedonian national identity. This was done in the most subtle way, by renaming the state that had received its name from the people and not from the region. Since the agreement with Greece failed, or perhaps it did not aim to completely erase the Macedonians, now Bulgaria is on the move again. With the sixth blow, through the mechanisms of the EU, it should finish the language and definitively eliminate the Macedonians as a separate people, presenting them as “Bulgarians”. This is the last stage of the key part of the American scenario. Everything else that will follow will be a mere technique. In the meantime, so that nothing remains unsaid and in order to tie the hands of the Macedonians, the country was quickly admitted to NATO. This closed the possibilities for the possible involvement of third parties in the illegal and violent meddling of the Americans in “Macedonian affairs”.

In the meantime, to round off the whole process, the procedure for the albanization of the country was intensified, with the promotion of the Albanians into a state-forming people. This was started with the OFA, but a huge step forward is also the declaration of the Albanian language as equal to Macedonian. This move has nothing to do with what was agreed in Ohrid. With this, practically, the state is (in)formally federalized. The fact that Albanian politicians speak in Albanian and on behalf of the state, which is allowed only in a federation, cannot be interpreted otherwise. It is a collective and not a human right, which only confirms that the unitary character of the state has been abolished. Time will tell what the next American moves will be, to which we, as a rule, do not react. First, we need to wait to see what kind of defeat “our” politicians will accept with Sofia, which will determine the sequence of moves and the speed with which we will be crushed.

HOW GUILTY ARE WE FOR EVERYTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED TO US AFTER 1991?

The public often holds theses that we are phobic and that others are to blame for everything. The claims that these quarter-century-old calamities are the result only of our ignorance, incompetence, or of some kind of dictatorship of N. Gruevski are truly beyond reason because they ignore the constant direct foreign interference in the country, including those of the secret services. The bearers of such theses must be someone's mercenaries. It is very symptomatic that they themselves do not have a bad word to say about foreigners at all. Part of the media, politicians, analysts... see and treat the foreign factor as something pure and well-intentioned towards Macedonia (a bad habit). They say they have come only to help us, to get us out of the mess we have gotten ourselves into. The truth is completely different: first, the foreigners are here to do their job, not ours; second, they (Washington, and even Brussels) have clearly defined interests in and for Macedonia, which do not correspond at all with our historical aspirations, and third, it is the foreigners who brought us to this state, which is also proven here in this book. A cardinal mistake of our politics and diplomacy is that it does not at all remind the foreigners (the USA) of their role and direct contribution to our suffering. We have never opened the cards with Washington regarding their real policies towards Macedonia. We have never been critical of Brussels, which only shows our servility and insecurity in ourselves. We behave all the time as if we were absent. And they, on the other hand, when there are no more reactions and criticisms from us, it is natural that they believe that they are successfully realizing their needs and interests and that they should continue like this. For 30 years, foreigners have been shaping our destiny, but they, the globalists, pretend to be blind regarding their illegal, dishonest, violent and underground policies with which they are destroying us. All domestic supporters of foreigners openly play the

role of a fifth column and are without any doubt (small!) paid for their betrayal.

However, it should not be disputed at all that we all bear a large part of the blame for everything that is happening to us. This does not diminish the fact that we are victims of external forces that ruthlessly fulfill their own needs. We give in to their pressures, although there are probably threats, and this is where our guilt begins. Otherwise, it is not possible to analyze the situation we have been brought into. It would not be possible without our complicity. The mistakes we have made must not be underestimated but the background must also be known. Overall, our direct contribution to the suffering we have been living with for more than a quarter of a century may be minimal but decisive: we have allowed them to treat us this way and impose on us whatever they need. They have proven that they have no scruples in the realization of their own goals. There is too much evidence that Macedonia is a classic victim of foreign interests, sublimated into a dangerous conspiracy. We will mention only a few:

- after the collapse of the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, 20 new states emerged that sought international recognition. Except for Macedonia, all other 19 states were immediately, routinely and without any problems, internationally recognized and admitted to the UN;
- Macedonia, on the other hand, was faced with blackmail and an ultimatum for admission to the UN. Unlike all the others, membership was possible for us only as a nameless state! Our name was shamelessly and illegally suspended from international use and a reference was imposed, some kind of code, under which we would be recognized. In the procedure, the Charter (Constitution) of the world organization was cardinally violated. Macedonia had no choice and had to swallow the dictates of the “Western democracies”, led by the USA, without officially accepting the reference, in order to enter the UN;
- we do not mention the long American non-recognition of Macedonia; nor the Hague, when our “foreign friends”, led by the USA, ignored the

crystal clear and unanimous verdict; nor the war in 2001... the Greek illegal blockade of the border, which all the “democrats” tolerated for two whole years? What was all that about? Solidarity or foreign conspiracy?

Let us clarify: it is an obvious fact that at no time, since the 30 years of independence, has Macedonia functioned (or did it) under normal conditions. The word – conspiracy – is too mild to explain the political imperialism to which we have been exposed all these years by the USA and its partners. They wanted to burn us but they did not succeed. We are talking about policies of double standards, which are synonymous with international terrorism.

WHY DID THE USA RECOGNIZE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL NAME IN 2004?

Politics and diplomacy never go in a straight line. They are always seasoned with various spices that, at first glance, can confuse and point you in the wrong direction. This is also the case in our case. For example, the Macedonian public never found out why the United States, on November 4, 2004, recognized our constitutional name, albeit only partially and temporarily? We will quote the statement made by State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, published on November 5, 2004, which is available on the Internet, and reads: *“Washington decided to recognize the country’s constitutional name in support of Skopje’s efforts to implement the decentralization law. This recognition emphasizes the determination for a permanent, multiethnic, democratic Macedonian state within its existing borders...”*. This says it all. The recognition took place on the eve of the referendum against decentralization. They achieved their goal and the referendum failed. Let us not forget that the US recognized our name only for mutual communication, not internationally and, most importantly, temporarily. Without much fuss, Great Britain has been practicing the same trick since 1999. Shortly after the NATO summit in Bucharest (2008), the US publicly informed us that our country must be renamed as agreed with Greece, and they would be the first to accept the new name. This American diplomatic proposal and political vileness shows how important the permanent Albanianization of parts of the country, achieved with the new administrative division, was to them, which must be connected to their plans for a Greater Albania, which they are tirelessly implementing. They made an unexpected and unthinkable concession to us, albeit temporary, which completely confused us, and the government abused it so that the referendum would not succeed. This is how the powerful act. The administrative division is our great and unforgivable historical mistake.

We rejoiced in vain. The statement made by the State Department spokesperson, why and how they recognized the name, did not receive adequate publicity in our country and we thought that the US was changing its plans for Macedonia. We expected some more reasonable policy regarding our name and national identity, but instead the US's negative attitude towards Macedonia became even more aggressive. After Bucharest (2008), open, unprecedented and fierce American pressure began to force us to rechristen ourselves.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

At this moment, the only thing that is certain is Macedonia's borders will not change due to the danger of a new war breaking out. Everything else remains completely uncertain for us because for 30 years a kind of genocide has been carried out against the Macedonians, which is now in its final phase. The facts indicate that a formula is being sought through which the Bulgarian role in Macedonia will be dominant, at least in the part where Macedonians live, who will be expected, over time, to free themselves from, according to the Bulgarians, "historical misconceptions" and reconcile with their "true roots." Bulgarian demands for the opening of Bulgarian higher education institutions in Macedonia, other forms of their influence and what not, are direct evidence of such plans, undoubtedly stimulated and supported by the USA. Albanians, on the other hand, will most broadly connect with Albania and Kosovo through the complete relativization of borders. They have already received a building for their parallel or next government in Skopje, which in one way or another will probably be made official in the near future during the (in)formal federalization of the country. The outcome will be no Macedonians in Macedonia and all Albanians will live in one state. This way both the "Macedonian question" will be closed, and the "Albanian national question" will be solved. A big accomplishment with a single blow. These are the plans that the Macedonian political elite, if not careful, will fulfill. If the people continue to remain silent, the politicians deserve congratulations for the capitulations they have led us to. The key to the future continues to lie in the people who, with their maturity, if they have it, should show the directions for saving Macedonianism in the elections. There is still time and opportunity.

There should be no doubt that Macedonia is facing a complete defeat. The knife has already reached the bone and the only question is how and when the government will swallow the last dumplings, thereby acknowledging that as a people we are someone else's creation and as

such we do not have our own memory, our own history, our own roots... and therefore we should end up in the garbage dump of history. By allowing the centuries-old “Macedonian question” to be closed, we will give up on ourselves in the most shameful way. This must be urgently prevented.

The Macedonian case is a true classic act of how a state and a people are destroyed, even in the 21st century. One day, probably, it will be studied as a unique world example at numerous universities.