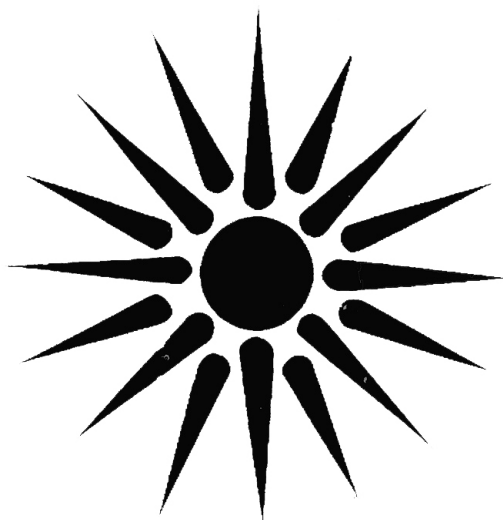


# *Open Letters*

To the Greek government, the European Union and the  
Macedonian people



By

**Stojan Kochov &  
Risto Stefov**

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

# Open Letters

# *Risto Stefov*



# Publications

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**OPEN LETTERS**  
**TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE**  
**IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND PRIMARY EXISTENCE OF**  
**THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED**  
**MACEDONIA, ANNEXED IN 1913**



STOJAN KOCHOV, Writer, historical researcher and publicist

Who are those people who seek to deprive us Macedonians of our name, our basic human rights and our ancestral hearth? Doesn't the frowning Mr. Mitsotakis know that, as my respected friend Dimitrios Ioannou often says that we Macedonians we here, are here and will continue to be here?!

**ШТО ВЕЛИ КОНСТАНТИН МИЦОТАКИС ЗА ПРИЗНАВАЊЕТО НА МАКЕДОНИЈА**

*Квас се јави ерпосери!*

**Името е сè!**

● Грција, според премиерот, се плаши дека и во иднина ќе се води пропаганда, па затоа бара промена на името на Македонија. – „Чудното недоразбирање“ никој не може да го разбере во Западна Европа, се истакнува во интервјуто на хамбуршкиот „Шпигел“

Во најновиот број на хамбуршкиот „Шпигел“ е објавено интервју со грчкиот премиер Константин Мицотакис, посетено на состобата на Балканот или на Југословенската граѓанска војна – како што се уште ја нарекуваат, и на Македонија.

Запрашан уште на почетокот за тоа дали војната во Југославија ќе го запали целиот Балкан, тој одговара дека на тоа може да се смета, но, ако се води правилна политика, тогаш таа би можела да се избегне.

За тоа дали Грција би презела воена интервенција во случај ако Бугарија или Албанија би се замешале, тој одговара дека тоа би дошло само во случај ако Грција директно биде нападната и додава дека Грција не претставува проблем за Балканот, дека таа нема територијални претензии и дека е единствена земја, која нема никакви лоши намери спрема своите соседи.

Запрашан зошто Грција преку Европската заедница го спречува признавањето на Република Македонија и дали со ваквиот став не им се дава шанса на Србите – тој одговара дека оваа Република има добри односи со Србија и дека Армијата целосно е повлечена од неа. Меѓутоа, таа би можела пак да се врати, кога ќе заврши во Босна – предупредуваат новинарите. Мицотакис на ова одговара дека единствениот вистински опасен проблем е Косово, додавајќи дека сè додека претседателот Гиторов од Скопје се држи настрана од

Косово, Мицотакис не ќе има причина да интервенира. Делот за Македонија го пренеуваме интегрално.

Шпигел: Дали можете да се помирите со постоењето на оваа држава (Македонија)?

Мицотакис: За нас е добро оваа Република да постои. Кога не би била независна, таа би се поделила меѓу Алба-

**ОПА СПИГЕЛ**

— Хамбург

нија, Бугарија и Србија. Грција тука не би се мешала, бидејќи ние не сакаме граѓани, кои не се Грци.

Шпигел: Тогаш зошто Грција упорно одбива оваа Република да ја нарекува со името Македонија, а не со името Скопје, како што тоа го прави денес? Ова чудно недоразбирање не може никој да го разбере во Западна Европа.

Мицотакис: Би пожелувал тоа недоразбирање да биде само чудно. Грција е многу изпатена, тоа не треба никог да нашите пријатели да го забораат. По Втората светска војна, кога комунистите ја разгореа граѓанската војна кај нас, оваа Република Македонија требаше, преку Солун, па сè до Егејот да се протегне. Оттогаш Скопје без прекин води една експанзионистичка пропаганда.

Шпигел: Оваа мапа бевна земја сигурно не може да претставува опасност за Грција?

Мицотакис: Република Скопје е една нестабилна конструкција, еден мозаик од два милиона жители. Опасност за нас не би можела да биде, но може да предизвика опасност за стабилноста на нашата земја. Се плашиме дека таа пропаганда ќе е водена во иднина. Затоа, Грција се залага за промена на името. Па, господата од Скопје, сметам дека тоа не ги чини ништо. Тие немаат ниту национални ниуту, ниту, историски причини ова име да го задржат.

Шпигел: Ако Македонија, според договорот, се откажува од територијалните претензии и од промената на границите, какво значење има тогаш името?

Мицотакис: Името е сè. Името е пропаганда за себе, тоа е симбол.

Шпигел: Дали компромисните форми како што се: „Торна Македонија“ или „Словенска Македонија“ се прифатливи за вас?

Мицотакис: Сметам дека ваквите компромиси не се добро решение.

Шпигел: Значи Грција е единствена, која има авторско право на името Македонија?

Мицотакис: Никој нема авторско право на името Македонија. Македонија е географски белг. Еден дел од Македонија – 50 проценти и припаѓа денес на Грција, друг дел на Бугарија и трет на Скопје. Тоа е реалноста. Земјите од Европската заедница се обврзани оваа Република да не ја признаат сè додека признавањето со името не се реши. Зошто да се понижи



Дали Грција има „авторско право“ на името Македонија: Мицотакис

Грција? Тоа е лојален партнер на Западната. Треба ли сето тоа да се сруши само поради едно име?

Шпигел: А што ако некоја земја од Европската заедница, и покрај вашите приговори, го преземеше тоа?

Мицотакис: На ова прашање Грците се мошне чувствителни. Во еден таков случај се плашам од нежелни реакции.

Шпигел: Гледате ли во Србија сојузник во борбата против Муслиманите? Турција се обидува да им помогне на Муслиманите од Балканот.

Мицотакис: Сметам дека и Турција, таа има и право за своите интереси на Балканот.

Шпигел: Не ли претставува опасност за Грција да биде отсечена од Европската заедница по признавањето на Муслиманите.

Мицотакис: Страв постои. Затоа сме и толерантни спрема Србите. Транзитниот сообраќај мора да поминава преку Србија. Исто така, и Мицотакис се залага за слободен транзитен сообраќај помеѓу Србија и Грција, со една минимална контрола низ Скопје. Затоа, потребни ни се, пред сè, добри односи со сите соседни земји. Место за оние, кои сакаат да војуваат, нема.

# Letter No. 1

## **Where does Macedonian blood come from Droutsas and Karadzaferis?**

(The unedited part of this story was published in “Nova Makedonija” on December 22, 2009)

New ideological winds are blowing from the south: Droutsas with his thesis contradicting the thesis of Bishop Karavangelis of Kostur.

I decided to address Mr. Dimitris Droutsas’s recent narrative, hoping to decipher his courage for addressing the deputies of the high legislative house of Greece and the entire world by saying: “The Macedonian identity is part of the identity of every Greek and that every Greek is born and dies with a Macedonian identity...” A thesis, which in Greek politics means: a perverted thesis after a century of claiming that “Macedonians do not exist”. Strange alchemy?

I am not surprised, but amazed by Droutsas’s audacity, so easily opposed to the thesis of the founder of the HELENIZATION OF THE MACEDONIANS, the famous Bishop of Kostur Germanos Karavangelis, and now Droutsas with his thesis is carrying out the MACEDONIZATION of Greeks.

**WHY DO THESE GREEK POLITICIANS WANT TO BE MACEDONIZED!?**

It appears that Mr. Droutsas wants to find a cure for all nationalistic diseases. But, knowing the Greeks well through wars and life, I don’t know if there will be any dignified and proud Greek who would accept Droutsas’s alchemy?!

This kind of propaganda began to flourish exactly a century ago with a well-thought-out concept, through the Greek church headed by the Kostur Bishop Germanos Karavangelis. In his

memoirs, Karavangelis described in detail the actions and the cruelest methods he carried out during the HELENIZATION OF THE MACEDONIANS in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Karavangelis also developed a codification of his actions: to kill the instinct for the term MACEDONIAN. This model was applied for a long period of time from 1900 to 1950, but continued even after that. Mr. Droutsas, I am a Macedonian from the Lerin villages and, for 60 years after the Greek Civil War, I have been living in exile together with thousands of my compatriots from the Kostur, Lerin, Voden and other regions of Greek occupied Macedonia and, to this day, we cannot return to our ancestral homes because of the law that was passed by the Greek parliament, before which you spoke and told the whole world that you are a proud Macedonian. The law was a deliberate project that was designed to eliminate the Macedonians and other minorities who lived and are living for centuries on our Macedonian ancestral homeland. These are the same Macedonians who died together with Greeks on the WWII fronts, fighting against the fascist Italian, German and Bulgarian occupiers to protect Greece. These are the same Macedonians who fought side by side with the Greeks during Greece's disastrous Megali Idea expansion campaign into Asia Minor. These are the same Macedonians who fought to protect Greece since Macedonia was brutally invaded, occupied, partitioned and 51% of it was annexed by Greece. But for the many years that Greece has been a member of the EU, the Greek government and many Greek nationalists have denied the existence of the Macedonians, not only inside but also outside of Greece, in order to deny them their human rights and rob them of their heritage. To this day Greece is passing racist laws, such as the law: no. 106.841/5-1-83, which allowed the free repatriation of "Greeks by birth", dated December 29, 1982. This law was passed purposely to exclude the Macedonians. It was designed not to allow Macedonians born in Greece to return to Greece, thus forcing them to live in exile throughout the world because they were not Greeks by birth, even though they were born in Greece. These

Macedonians, like myself, are in fact people who were forcibly mobilized by the Greek communists during the Greek Civil War. The Greek Civil War was led by Greeks the likes of General Markos who led DAG (Democratic Army of Greece). The Macedonians had neither the military nor the political leadership to lead a war on their own, but only served as cannon fodder. After the war ended, however, all those Greeks by birth returned to Greece, to their homes and were socially cared for and integrated into Greek society. Unfortunately, it was the cannon fodder, leaderless Macedonians who were accused of having ignited the Greek Civil War. The Greeks accused the leaderless Macedonians of orchestrating the Greek Civil War in order for the Republic of Macedonia to reach the Aegean Sea through Solun. It's funny to think that way because, as history is raveling more and more, it was not the Macedonians who ignited the Greek Civil War but the Greeks themselves in a conspiracy against the Macedonians. The Greek Civil War project was designed to accomplish two objectives. 1. Eliminate the communists from Greece and, 2. once and for all to exterminate the Macedonians from their homeland in Greece and make it look legitimate. And this project was realized as planned. A large number of Macedonians were killed and an even larger number, entire villages in Greek occupied Macedonia, were exiled precisely in the years 1945-1949, with no hope of ever returning. [(My village had around 600 residents before WWII and the Greek Civil War and only 60 after the wars ended. RS)

To learn more about this read the book "Macedonians and the not so civil war in Greece" located at this link:

<https://www.pollitecon.com/Assets/Ebooks/Macedonians-and-the-NOT-so-Civil-War-in-Greece.pdf>

Mr. Droutsas I want to inform you about another very important law, passed precisely by that high Greek House of Representatives. It is the law for renaming Macedonian people's names and surnames, toponyms and everything that was Macedonian in Greek occupied Macedonia to Greek. This law was exclusively directed to Greek occupied Macedonia (see

“Ephemeris tis Kyverniseos” No. 332 of November 21, 1926). It is well-known that in the civilized world, no one has a monopoly over naming and names: this includes the name of the territory, people, objects, the language and every term that the natives had used for centuries. Only Greece did this in Europe. I am talking about changing the topography, the soul of the Macedonian people in Greece. With this cruel strategy, the Macedonian people were forced to forget their own cultural identity. The goal of the Greek occupiers was: to change the gravitational core of Macedonian independence and the centuries-old self-affirmation and to abandon the secret algorithms written in the centuries-old existential code and to give all of that a Greek code. The intent was to erase the entire Macedonian civilization that for centuries was shaped on imminent axiological standards, built on the basis of certain functions of culture, without which the existence of the human race would not be possible. With that topography, we Macedonians (precisely from that part of Greek occupied Macedonia), wherever we are in the world and today - identify ourselves and look for ourselves in the world.

But we should not forget the Metaxas dictatorship - known since August 4, 1936, when General Ioannis Metaxas declared a dictatorship in Greece and a war against everything Macedonian. The regime particularly sharply opposed and punished Macedonianism, expressed either as a social activity or just through speaking the native Macedonian language. Many local residents living in Greek occupied Macedonia ended up in harsh prisons and in the dry Greek island concentration camps. Macedonians were severely punished for being Macedonian and expressing Macedonian sentiments. Shouldn't these “famous” laws also apply to Mr. Droutsas, and to all those whom he imagined as having a Macedonian identity and being proud to be Macedonian...?

Mr. Droutsas, I commend you in your commitment in wanting to be recognized as a Macedonian but shouldn't you be asking the Greek Parliament: to withdraw these racist and inhumane laws and “red lines” that dehumanized and distanced the Macedonians

as people? Believe me, the entire peace-loving world would congratulate you, and I would be among the first to do so if you did that. But Mr. Droutsas, perhaps out of curiosity, I still want to ask you: You and many like you say that you have a Macedonian identity and are proud Macedonians. Please, explain to me where such a kinship came from - your Macedonian origin, your Macedonian blood? Were you not born in Cyprus and Karadzaferis is from Asia Minor? You are strange people indeed? You were born in Cyprus and Karadzaferis came from Asia Minor, so where did your Macedonian bloodline come from? Mr. Droutsas, it is nice for all free-thinking people to personally recognize themselves and declare themselves as they see fit. This should also apply to Macedonians, Turks, Arvanites and Vlachs as it applies to you Greeks! We speak the truth and not with the language of hatred that usually makes politicians run barefoot through thorns.

Dear Mr. Droutsas, unlike you, who said you were born and will die a Macedonian but continue to live as a Greek, we Macedonians are not only born and die as Macedonians, but also live and exist as Macedonians...

## Letter No. 2

### EUROPE HAS LOST ITS MIND

“Despite all the evidence to the contrary, European Union countries say that if there are no Macedonians, there is no ‘Macedonian’ language.” But there are Macedonians!

“The unedited part of this story was published in Nova Makedonija” on October 13, 2011).

Indeed, what Europe is doing is a terrible disfigurement and one should not remain silent in the face of such horror. This European deed tramples on all human rights: human dignity and basic rights, history, culture, language, and has put the Macedonian identity in crisis. Thousands of us Macedonians born in Greece have been expelled from our native homes and today live around the world, precisely because of racist Greek laws about which Europe and its representatives are well aware. This is not new. The Macedonian people experienced this back in 1926, when the Greek “Official Gazette” (*Ephemeris tis kiverniceos*) No. 332, dated November 21, 1926, published an enacted law about renaming the entire toponymia in the occupied Macedonian territories it annexed in 1913. Subsequent Greek governments rigorously applied this law and changed all the Macedonian names of regions, mountains, lakes, rivers, cities, villages, etc., to Greek sounding ones. Later Greece did the same with the Macedonian people’s personal names and surnames. This was truly terrible and Europe was well aware of it and allowed it to take place without a single objection. Because of Greece’s communication and official documents, Europe knew that Macedonia had been invaded, occupied and portioned in 1912, 1913 and the Greek annexed part was administered under the names: “conquered lands”, “occupied lands”, “Northern Territories”, “Northern Greece” and “Greek Macedonia”.

On September 7, 1938, Legal Act No. 2366 was issued which banned the use of the Macedonian language. All Macedonian localities were flooded with posters: "Speak Greek". Evening schools were opened in which adult Macedonians were taught Greek. Not a single Macedonian school functioned at that time. Macedonians were fined, beaten or jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children were further humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian.

Other punishments for those disobeying this law ranged from beatings to threats of cutting out people's tongues. LAW 1418 reinforced previous laws on renaming.

Dear Europeans, you were well aware that severe ethnic cleansing was carried out under your noses in the Greek annexed part of Macedonia before and after the First and Second World Wars and during and after the Greek Civil War, which were witnessed in detail by many prominent and respected European historians. And finally, in 1985, the Greek government passed the law no. 1,540, which resolved the issue of returning the properties of political refugees. But this law was linked to the decree of the Ministry of Public Order and the Ministry of the Interior No. 106.841, from December 1982, which stated that only "Greeks by birth" could return to Greece. With this act, Greece actually legally normalized discrimination against the Macedonian people. Europe was also well aware of this law.

I simply cannot believe the words of Mrs. Alexandra Kas Granje, when she pitifully said: "Your heart knows what your country is and that is what is important for your identity..." Yes, madam, surely the Macedonian people know and it hurts them when they hear such things but I don't know why you, the Europeans, are afraid or refuse to call us Macedonians even when you come to visit our beautiful Macedonia, but you always say "your country". It makes one think that if you had arrived from another planet and didn't know the name of our country then you would say "your country".

I would like to ask Mrs. Alexandra Kas Granje a question. What should a Macedonian person entering the European union call their country of origin when they are asked where they are coming from? Should they say “I have arrived here from my country?”

I don't want to talk about the national damage and injustice inflicted on the Macedonian people by the adjective (which you are afraid to pronounce), and it makes me think that the racist laws of Greece have expanded way beyond the Greek borders and have convinced Europe's leadership to accept them and completely ignore the Macedonian reality. You - the EU, before the Macedonian and European public, should primarily comprehensively and broadly open the real questions about the conditions that Greece has imposed and continues to impose on the Macedonian people in the Republic of Macedonia and its threats and harm to peace in the Balkans and Europe. Greece is doing this to totally destroy the Macedonian historical, cultural and national identity.

Stojan Kochov, writer and publicist



STOJAN KOCHOV, writer, researcher of historical events

## Letter No. 3

Open letter:

FOR THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE THERE IS NO SILENCE  
IN THE FACE OF HORROR

Until yesterday Samaras was consistent about the Macedonian situation; he would be happiest if Macedonia, its people and the Macedonian language were gone (23. 04. 2012).

Papoulias, president of the Greek state, said: the problem is the name, the Macedonian people and the language (19.06. 2013).

Samaras, president of the Greek government, said: “Accept erga omnes and we will let you into the EU and NATO.” (30. 06. 2013).

What can a person say, of what times and of whom do these people remind us! ?-(The Holocaust, the Siberian camps, the dry islands, the Island of Makronissos...) The current times and all peace-loving people, especially in the Balkan Region, require from us: no violence, no bloodshed and to be passive. The Europeans tell us the problem cannot be solved because it does not exist, so there is nothing to solve. In reality, however, from time immemorial from our great-great-grandfathers we have been called Macedonians. The old people used to say: We have been called Macedonians for centuries, even before the Greeks came.” Imagine, if we Macedonians had raised the issue of the genocide committed against us during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949), half a century ago, and the world knew about the persecutions committed against us, would Greece have acted like it does today? There is no chance that America, England and Europe did not know about everything that was happening to us Macedonians. They were there. They also knew that we Macedonians kept quiet about it during the war years and all during the Yugoslav period – which was the time of the red scare and forced silence.

The fact is that every reasonable person knows that Europe is trampling on the Macedonian right to national self-determination.

This policy of blackmail that Europe is applying today towards the Republic of Macedonia is a lesson that only suits the Greek leadership. Also, it has been clear that Greece does not care about the name Macedonia. All the Greek leadership wants is to forbid us from calling ourselves Macedonians and to stop us from studying our history. They want us to forget about the Macedonians in Greece and all the atrocities the Greeks have committed against us as well as the barbaric genocide and unimaginable persecutions (from newborns to the oldest Macedonian) they committed during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949).

Here are the facts which speak for themselves: After WWII and the Greek Civil War ended in Greece, which lasted a decade (1940-1949), the number of Macedonians living in Greece decreased to about 100,000 inhabitants. At this point the Greek government decided that the “Macedonian question” was irrelevant both inside and outside of Greece. It became a “non-existent Macedonian question.” The new strategy, which continues fiercely to this day, was to crush and eradicate the essence and spirit of the Macedonian people, and this is being done; (as our people in Kostur and Lerin say, “Where did the Greek come from before 1913?” meaning the Greeks in Greek occupied Macedonia were “created” from Macedonians) and it is all based on racist and unfounded, non-existent historical data.

Official Athens is trying to show that; after the large decrease in the number of Macedonians after the Greek Civil War, the remaining Macedonian residents who continued to live within the Greek state, “manifest a pure Greek national consciousness” and therefore it is necessary to “accept and demand that those Macedonians join the Greek national core”. This was the thesis of the “Conventional Greek State: One King, One Nation, One Church, One Language.” This was the policy of the Greek government until 1950 and has remained this way until this day. After that official Athens’s Greek policy was to make Macedonia and the Macedonian people a security hotspot, that this is where

security problems are generated and that we Macedonians have territorial claims.

Samaras's and Papoulias's demands are clear: Change everything that bears the name Macedonia and Macedonian such as the Macedonian language, the Macedonian identity, the Macedonian culture and so on... These are the kinds of demands which for us Macedonians are genocidal! Doesn't EUROPE know that!?

Based on international law, a citizen of a state benefits from the state's protection regardless of where he or she is. The Macedonians have the right to return in their own country and to place themselves fully under its protection. But we Macedonians, political refugees from Greece, are deprived of this opportunity even after more than half a century.

Finally, I would like to ask Mr. Antonis Samaras, and of course Papoulias: what prevented them from presenting historical facts that speak about us Macedonians that were at their disposal in the archives of Greece or Great Britain? But also, in other world archives, if they were not available in Greece.

Facts such as:

- "Memorandum - on the Macedonian question. That is, where is the situation in Greek (Aegean) Macedonia discussed, facts about the Greek terror in Macedonia. Report of the American press on the Greek terror in Macedonia. That is: the situation in Greek (Aegean) Macedonia from 16.12.1946. F0 371/58615 XII00201 P16924/298/67.

- "Memorandum from Greece on the Slavic threat to Greek Macedonia, from October 20, 1946. F0 371/58615 XII00201 P156551/298/67.

- The book "The Macedonian Conflict" by Loring M. Danforth - a professor from the USA by profession, an anthropologist. With his excellent anthropological analysis on the topic "The Macedonian Conflict" where, in this voluminous and comprehensive work, he has left a special mark on the history of the conflict and, with blatant evidence, spoke out and with respect for everything that is relevant to create an environment for real clarification of all the dark spots that had brought the Macedonian

national INTEGRITY into crisis. In his book, Loring M. Danforth speaks precisely about that topic “After the War Ended”, especially about the Macedonians in Greece.

There are also many other historical documents, even from the time when Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned. There are documents from the wars published in Greek historiography by high ranking DAG officials (this was the time in my life when I shed blood, precisely to remain Macedonian). There are also the archives in the USSR which have records of our Macedonian identity. None of these sources were explored. Why?

Because the Greek goal, a long-standing “historical” policy, has always been to erase all of the above facts and officially proclaim the long-standing Greek thesis that “there are no Macedonians”, and therefore a Macedonian state is not needed! Or - vice versa. **THAT’S WHY, THE FACTS CANNOT REMAIN SILENT WITH REGARDS TO THE MACEDONIANS!**

Now let’s get back to the essence of Mr. Antonis Samaras’s problem. The president of the Greek government has raised a serious question which is worth repeating. He said: “The problems that exist with neighbouring countries (he probably meant the Republic of Macedonia) should be completely resolved. They need to be resolved and not hidden under the carpet.”

By that did Samaras mean:

a) The return of the exiled Macedonians from the Greek Civil War? The return of their properties and citizenships. By that did he mean the elimination of the Greek laws that separate people by “Greeks by birth”, by faith, by nationality and by language? Did he mean that Greece is ready to allow us exiled Macedonians to visit the cemeteries of our grandfathers and grandmothers? Let us light a candle for our brothers and fathers who died on the Greek-Italian front and, let’s not forget those who died in the Greek-Turkish war; all those who were deployed on the front line and

were praised by the Greek generals for being valiant fighters. By that did he mean all those who left their bones on Gramos, Vicho and throughout Greece, and also those who were crippled after the wars and those who were exiled around the world and have yet to see their families? By that did he mean that Greece is ready to recognize our human rights and grant us our cultural and national rights as Macedonians in a way that Europe and all civilized humanity preaches?

b) By saying this does Samaras want us to forget all the atrocities that the Greeks committed against us and think of peace and prosperity for our peoples as EUROPEANS!?! Let all the exiles laugh and sing kumbaya and everything will come out from under the carpet and God will grant us this summer in which we will celebrate the “Great Mother of God” holiday in our hometowns and in our native land.

Stojan Kochov

## Letter No. 4

### OPEN LETTER

#### REFERENCE: WHAT DOES VENIZELOS'S RED LINE MEAN AND ON WHAT STRATEGY IS IT BASED?

Senior Greek statesman Venizelos (Turkoglu) says decisively: "Greece showed its mettle back in 2008, when it set the Greek red lines in the dispute (the Ultimatum - a request accompanied by various threats), and that now the other side is making a move. In an interview with the newspaper "Real" he then added that Greece's position is unchangeable, without any chance of concessions and that the new name that we will agree on should be for both internal and international use, that is, it should be included in the Macedonian Constitution."

Is this not horrible!? I have wondered about it myself and have asked others to comment: - Should I and my Macedonian people who experienced genocide at the hands of the Greek state during the Greek Civil War from 1945-1949, now seek permission from people the likes of Venizelos, Samaras, Papoulias and their kind to allow us to call ourselves Macedonians!?! As our ancestors called themselves for centuries!?

Mr. Venizelos, your proposal is so unreasonable and beyond the realm of any basic international human rights principle that any human being that thinks this way should resign from their position. You, with your monstrous proposal want Macedonia to capitulate and the Macedonian people to give up on themselves so that the process of eliminating everything that is Macedonian, that your predecessors began during the last century, will be completed and Macedonia will be without us Macedonians... "Surely then, even Papoulias will be satisfied because at his pleasure, the Macedonian people will forget about being Macedonians". What kind of neighbours are you!?!?

Do people in the international community really not know about this cruel Greek strategy that has been applied against the Macedonian people who, for centuries, until 1913 lived in their

ancestral homes?! Do they really not know anything about the great Macedonian deception that took place during the Greek Civil War in Greece from 1945 to 1949, which was led by the Greeks themselves and, after the war, the Greek government allowed the Greeks to return to their homes, and left the Macedonians exiled to roam the world?

Does the international community not know about the deadly ideological trap, about the depth of the tragedy, about the roots of evil and the dark secrets of the genocide against the Macedonian people in Greece during the Greek Civil War that are deliberately being concealed in Greece, from EUROPE AND FROM THE WORLD...?

### 1. FACTS AND ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE GREEK STRATEGY TOWARDS THE MACEDONIANS – REVEALED IN GREEK HISTORY FROM THE CONQUERORS THEMSELVES:

The Greek strategy was: a) Macedonia, without the Macedonians. b) The second thing the document shows is when the Greeks came to Kostur and Aegean Macedonia and c) Why was Greece's main goal; to persecute us Macedonians to this day!?

The Greek document:

Αθήνα, 2 Μάη 1906. Φάκελος Κ 59 Β, ΓΑΚ Στην αναζήτηση ζωικού χώρου για το ελληνικό κράτος, αναγκαίο για την οικονομική και εθνική επιβίωση του, πρωταρχικός στόχος της εξουσίας στην Αθήνα, αποτελούσε η γη της Μακεδονίας, όχι όμως και ο πληθυσμός της. Στην κατεύθυνση εκείνη, ο εκπρόσωπος του ελληνικού «Μακεδονικού Κομιτέτου» της Αθήνας, το οποίο βρισκόταν πίσω από το «Μακεδονικό Αγώνα», στην αντιπροσωπεία που κατέφθασε το 1905 στην Αθήνα από τη Μακεδονία και παραπονέθηκε για τη φριχτή συμπεριφορά των ελληνικών αντάρτικων σωμάτων στην περιοχή της Μπίτολα και Λέριν, τους απάντησε: «Εμείς δεν έχουμε ανάγκη τους

Μακεδόνες, αλλά έχουμε ανάγκη τη Μακεδονία» (Καραβίτης, 1994:937).

The Greek document translated by the author:

Athens, 2 May 1906. File K 59 B, GAK.

During the exploration for living space inside the Greek state, necessary for economic and national survival, the primary goal of the Athens government was the land (the area of Macedonia) but not its population. In that regard, the representative of the Greek Macedonian Committee in Athens, who was behind the representation of the Makedonikos Agon, in a delegation that arrived in Athens from Macedonia in 1905 and complained (to the representatives of the Makedonikos Agon) about the terrible attitude of the Greek andarti who were operating in the regions of Bitola and Lerin, and they replied: We (the Greeks) do not need (the people) Macedonians but we have a great need for Macedonian land. (Karavitis, 1994, 937.)

The Makedonikos Agon (War of Conquest of Macedonia) lasted from 1904 to 1908. (Much research was dedicated to this because it was of great importance to that struggle in Greek history.)

Thousands of us Macedonians born in Greece were expelled from our native places and today live around the world. This is a direct outcome precisely because of Greece's racist laws. Europe and its representatives, are well aware or should be aware of what the Macedonian people experienced back in 1926, when Law 332 was published in the Greek Official Gazette (Ephemeris tis kiverniceos) on November 21, 1926, announcing the toponymic renaming of the entire annexed territory of Macedonia. Later, it did the same with the personal names and surnames of all Macedonians. It is truly terrible, Europe should know that. It should that Greece, in all its communication and in all official documents, referred to the annexed part of Macedonia (1913) under the names: Conquered lands, Occupied lands, Greek Macedonia, Northern Greece (Voria Hellas), etc.

Mr. Venizelos, how can an EU member state such as Greece have racist laws in its legislation, such as the law: Based on the decision of the Ministry of the Interior 106.841/5-1-83, to freely repatriate all “Greeks by birth” and no others. A Law that was signed on December 29, 1982 by Giorgos Genimatas, Minister of the Interior and by Giannis Skularikis, Minister of Public Order. Mr. Venizelos, we have come to the essential question: If there were no Macedonians in Greece, there would be no laws for people who are not Greeks by birth? Right?



## ANNEX - 3

The churches used by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, as instruments of evil and propaganda, caused bitterness and disgust in the Macedonian believers. After seizing part of Macedonia, the Greek government, with its arrogant engineering, enacted terrible and violent measures attempting to make Greeks out of Macedonians. This attempt to introduce ethnic changes in the Macedonian people through the churches was a terrible thing for them. If that alone was not enough, subsequent Greek governments banned the Macedonian language, changed the names of Macedonian toponyms and then changed people's personal names from Macedonian to Greek. But more painful than that for the believers was to see their Macedonian churches, the spirit and essence of the Macedonian people, being destroyed. And now, even a century or so later, people still refuse to recognize all that as genocidal acts!?

Document in Greek:

**Αρ.Πρ.1450/1211 ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΙΚΗ - ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΣ - ΕΠΕΙΓΟΥΣΑ Ζητείται η υποβολή πληροφοριών περίσλαυοφώνων και βλαχοφώνωνενοριών**

Translation:

No. Pr.1450/1211 STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL - SECRET - URGENT Request for submission of information on Slavic-speaking and Vlach-speaking parishes.

The circular letter is as follows:

No. prot. 19/ request 389

Regarding the necessary replacement of the existing walls and altars in churches such as the icons registered as Slavophone, to be replaced with Greek and in the Greek language.

THE KINGDOM OF GREECE AND THE HOLY SYNOD OF  
THE CHURCHES OF GREECE

The original follows:

To the venerable - Metropolitans, bishops and heads of the Greek Church.

Having regard to the letter under number 59594 / from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Religion of National Education) all church leaders are hereby requested to change the wall frescoes and altars of saints with Slavic names and letters to be replaced with frescoes and icons in the Greek language.

Athens January 4, 1941.

The following is a facsimile of the original letter in Greek:

«Ἀριθ. Πρωτ. 19 / Διεκπ. 389

Περὶ ἀντικαταστάσεως τῶν τυχόν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς Ναοῖς εὐρισκομένων Σλαυικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰκόνων δι' Ἑλληνικῶν τοιούτων

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

Ἡ ἹΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

Πρὸς τοὺς Σεβ. Ἱεράρχας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος

Ἐχοντες ὑπ' ὄψει τό ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 59594/2523 καί ἀπό 17ης Δεκεμβρίου π[αρελθόντος] ἔ[τους] ἔγγραφον τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Θρησκευμάτων καί Ἐθνικῆς Παιδείας (Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων), Συνοδικῆ ἐξουσιοδοτήσῃ, προτρεπόμεθα Ὑμᾶς, ἵνα συντόμως μεριμνήσητε διὰ τὴν ἀντικατάστασιν τῶν, τυχόν, ἐν ἱεροῖς Ναοῖς τῆς Θεοσώστου Παροικίας Ὑμῶν εὐρισκομένων Σλαυικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰκόνων δι' ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τοιούτων.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 4 Ἰανουαρίου 1941

There are many historical documents such as the above, including some from the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 when Macedonia was brutally invaded, occupied, portioned and annexed by Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later by Albania. One such document is the "Carnegie Balkan Commission Report 1912-1913". There are

many such documents in the Greek historiography compiled by high-ranking DAG officials. One can even find documents in the USSR archives which speak of our Macedonian identity.

So, the goal of the great, long-standing Greek “Historical” policy, is to erase all of the above-mentioned documents and then, once again, officially announce to the world that there are no Macedonians, and in that case a state is not needed! Or - vice versa.

What can I say? Of what times and of whom do these people remind us! ?-(The Holocaust, the Siberian camps, the dry islands, the Island of Makronissos...). The current times and all peace-loving people, especially in the Balkan Region, require from us: no violence, no bloodshed and to be passive.

Venizelos’s demands are very clear and for us Macedonians they are genocidal!

**IS IT WHAT IT IS, BUT WHY IS EUROPE BLIND AND DEAF TO ALL THIS!?**

The unedited version of this story was published on Tuesday, July 8, 2014 in – “NOVA MACEDONIA”

## Letter No. 5

### NO SILENCE IN THE FACE OF HORROR

(August 20, 2003 - August 25, 2006)

STOJAN KOCHOV-Writer, publicist and historical researcher

Subject: Interview with Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, head of the Greek parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe, published in the morning newspaper on August 23, 2005, Skopje.

In an interview given in Strasbourg, Greek MP Elsa Papadimitriou, head of the parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe from the ruling New Democracy party, said that she believes diplomacy can help resolve the conflict between the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Macedonia. (Elsa Papadimitriou refused to say Republic of Macedonia at any cost and said FYROM instead.)

In her long introduction, the esteemed Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, informed us that Greece is our best economic investor and that Greece is a country that has given its neighbour (the Republic of Macedonia) the opportunity to create eight thousand jobs through Greek investments. With this, she wished to send a signal to the UN to help with a proposal to reach a bilateral agreement on the official name that both countries could agree on and finally, to put an end to this problem, because she was convinced that our future deserved it. A correspondent then asked Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou a question: "Can we today say that there are no other problems, except the problem with the name that has poisoned relations since Macedonia's independence, between the two countries, between Macedonia and Greece?"

Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou said: "We (the Greeks) have taken a big step with Nimetz's proposal regarding the name. It is a big step. ...I do not want to go into details, but for geographical, historical and national reasons we have the right... With this, we will only

open the window towards the European future of our neighbour who needs it so much. We (the Greeks) have shown and confirmed our sincerity and willingness to help. I am optimistic.” In the same vein, she continued.

Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou said: “...I have colleagues who think that only we Greeks took a radical step by signing the Interim Agreement. ...You remember how the Greek people did not want to hear about the name... But I swear to you and guarantee to you that Macedonia as a name is loaded with Greek history and there is not a single Greek among my voters, among my colleagues, who would be able to give this name to another nation, whose members arrived there during the 6th and 7th centuries. That is impossible and unacceptable!”

The interviewer replied: “I believe you but only for information purposes. There are such colleagues among us who claim that: “Neither the name Macedonia is Greek, nor were the ancient Macedonians Greek, nor was the sixteen-ray sun Greek.” They told me this is a scientific fact, supported by Ancient scholars from classical times. This includes Ephros, Dionysios Kalifondas, Dionysios Periigitis, Athinios and others, who made claims that “the western borders of the ancient City States extended to the Amvrakine Gulf in the northwest, and the Pinios River in the east, while the ethnic group of Macedonians lived north of this line.” According to history, there are no clearly defined borders, so the question is: is it possible to draw a sharp border between ancient and modern Macedonians?

If the ancient Macedonians did not disappear, killed to the last one, then surely, they participated in the process of ethnogenesis in today’s Macedonians. That, however, does not mean that one can put an equal sign between the ancient and modern Macedonians. But at the same, one cannot deny the connection between the ancient and modern peoples, even if there is no equal sign between them. In other words, the Macedonian people of today are a mix of the first layers of Macedonians that inhabited the Macedonian peninsula and all other people that left their mark there. However, the most reliable way to prove this is to use facts:

One of the best experts on Balkan history is the eminent historian Dr. Stojan Kiseliovski who, together with Dr. Irena Stavova - Kavka, have written of what we are talking about in the book "Minorities in the Balkans (20th century) - 2004.

As a comparison now let us have a look at modern Greece. According to historical Greek sources like the London Protocol of 1830, which says that "after the Greek uprising (1821 - 1829) the modern Greek state was formed consisting of 47,516 km<sup>2</sup> of land and 753,400 inhabitants. With the Treaty of Constantinople, in 1881, Greece received Thessaly and part of Epirus. Greece, however, achieved its greatest territorial expansion through the Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913) and the First World War (1914 - 1918). After the Second Balkan War, the Greek state annexed Crete, the islands of Samothrace, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ikaria and the non-Greek ethno-historical territories of the Aegean part of Macedonia.

After the First World War (1919) Greece continued with the annexation of non-Greek territories, annexing Western and Eastern Thrace. With this, the territory of the Greek state grew from 63,211 km<sup>2</sup> to 150,833 km<sup>2</sup> and its population grew from 2,631,952 inhabitants to 5,531,474 inhabitants. Then followed the Lausanne Peace Treaty and the Greek Civil War.

Dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, as an intellectual, you certainly know or you should know that. You should also know that strength in itself has no principles. And, as the great Russian fabulist once said: "The strong always defeats the powerless," and the above introductory and overall elaboration is based precisely on that playful political report. The problem, of course, is not only the name but the people who lived and have lived precisely in that Macedonian territory. But let us forget the facts and assume that you are right and that the Macedonians arrived in the Balkans during the 6th and 7th centuries AD. Now we are talking about a people who have lived in Macedonia and all over the Balkan peninsula from 700AD to this day, which is 1,300 years. This my dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, makes the argument you presented

before the European Union and the world public sound naive and shallow. Dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou we need to be practical and open about this by asking the question, “did these people, who lived in Macedonia since 700AD, for 1,300 years, not have a language, a culture, a religion, a social life, uprisings and revolutions?!

So 1,300 years of fear, 1,300 years of tears shed by mothers for the slaughter of their offspring count for nothing?

(see: =ΤΟ ΛΑΜΒΡΟΝ ΕΠΟΣ -ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΓΟΝ -ΠΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΘΗ Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ (THE LAMBRON EPIC -MACEDONIAN STRUGGLE -HOW MACEDONIA WAS FOUGHT OVER AND CONQUERED)

The denials of Ioannis Karavites and his gang who committed horrible massacres in the Lerin and Kostur villages – Acts that freeze the heart. Newborns in the cradle were afraid to cry.

No less terrible were the deeds of Kostur Greek Bishop Karavangelis, who used the Greek church to be the main assimilator, turning Macedonians into Greeks.

But in those 1,300 years the Macedonian people did not stop singing and dancing. The kind of songs and dances that did not resemble the others. For 1,300 years things were demolished and built under the bright sun that illuminated the Macedonian path which reached Ilinden. And it was precisely in the 20th century that our souls were left bare. A people without a cemetery for our ancestors.

This my dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, has shown the world how Greece, with its democracy, truly respects all the significant necropolises and historical landmarks of my Macedonian ancestors. So if the world truly did not know, it now should know how the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia are being treated by Greece. The world, however, did know because the Americans once said: “We recognized Macedonia as reality” for its centuries-old culture and identity, which it had acquired and was different specifically from the Greek one. The Macedonian culture existed in the area of Aegean Macedonia:

Kostur, Lerin, Voden, Kukush and the entire ethnic area until Macedonia's division in 1913. But the Macedonian people's fate was cruel and tragic, to be uprooted from their homeland, to be expelled and scattered around the world, so that their trace would be lost even after half a century and to this day - today, from the great tragedy that they cannot even tell each other the stories from the cemetery of the persecuted.

Dear Mrs. Papadimitriou, let me ask you this: Can you provide me with an explanation; did those ancestors of mine who came to Macedonia 1,700 years ago, as you now claim, find your ancestors here in Macedonia and never, not once mixed during those 1,700 years? Also, did those ancestors of mine stop moving south at today's artificially imposed Greek border, bordering Greek occupied Macedonia and the Republic of Macedonia? If they were not Macedonians then how did they come to be called Macedonians today? Did your ancestors not give them the name Macedonians then, so that my ancestors would be called Macedonians? Or did your ancestors, even then, fight over the name with my ancestors during the entire 1,300-year period? Dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou can you please explain to me how an artificially imposed border, erected in 1913, made all the people north of it newcomers who arrived there 1,300 years and all those south of it remained Macedonians of the ancient kind? One final question: Dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou did you not know that I am a Macedonian born in the Lerin Region, today's Greek occupied Macedonia? If all your assertions are correct, dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, then I am a descendant of the ancient Macedonians.

Enough with the nonsense Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou! You, your colleagues and your voters have misinterpreted history long enough. The fact is that you modern Greeks have never lived in Macedonia before you brutally invaded, occupied and annexed Macedonian territories during the 1912, 1913 Balkan Wars. Now you have the audacity to claim that you are descendants of Alexander the Great or more precisely, as your new Greek propaganda claims: "Opu Macedonia eki ine ke Ellas!" (Greece is

wherever Macedonia is). More precisely you want to create history based on false assumptions, making historical connections where none exist, eliminating everything that does not fit your current narrative and, of course, creating a link from today, to Byzantine times and all the way back to antiquity!?

Dear Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, I do not intend to go deep into history and confront you with the unpleasant Greek undertakings towards my ancestors, it is enough for us to be in our time, to look a little closer at the 20th century because it was then that the problem with the name “Macedonia” was born, especially after ethnic Macedonia’s division was enacted in 1913 when that name as an essence and as an eternity was the most important element for the Macedonian people. Since then, the Macedonian people, my people have been digging their political grave in their own land. More precisely the Macedonian people have been persecuted like a wolf with a one-way ticket.

### The Balkan Chronicle and the Hellenization of Macedonia

With the Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913) and the Bucharest Peace Treaty signed on August 10, 1913, Macedonia and the Macedonians were physically and politically divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Albania. Lower Prespa and Golo Brdo were given to Albania. These are facts that Europe and the European Parliament know well.

On July 15, 1919 when the problem of the rights of the Macedonian people in the annexed territories was brought up at the Paris peace Conference, it was treated as an issue relating to Macedonia’s division and demands were made to resolve it. During the conference the English policy makers remarked that based on the problems imposed by the Bucharest Treaty, it would be difficult to find a solution. That problem of the borders under pressure from Bulgaria between 1925 and 1930 was often present in the League of Nations, often thought about how to make the so-called more correct delimitation of the Balkans. However, each

time the problem of a new delimitation, that is, the problem of borders, was brought up, it was avoided. And for these reasons, the committee for new states at the Paris Peace Conference did not consider the problem. The idea for granting autonomous rights to the Macedonians in the Vardar part within Yugoslavia, and also cultural rights for the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia was supported by the Italians and especially by England. However, due to the opposition of France and Serbia, these projects were omitted.

### **The first phase of ethnic cleansing in Greece**

Instead of respecting the rights of the Macedonian people, to which Greece was signatory, it opted for ethnic cleansing.

This was achieved through the following conventions;

A/ The Neuilly Peace Treaty, signed on November 27, 1919 in the town hall of Neuilly-sur-Seine, a suburb of Paris, by Greece and Bulgaria for the “voluntary” exchange of population. This was enforced by the Kalfov - Politis Convention, for the “voluntary” emigration. The Greek authorities immediately turned it into a convention for compulsory emigration and by 1925 the Macedonian population was being massively evicted from its homelands.

B/ This was followed by the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923 for the compulsory exchange of population between Greece and Turkey.

The Greek-Turkish War (1919 - 1922) was the last historical attempt by the small but ambitious Greek kingdom to impose itself on other nations in order to realize a long-standing great-state policy, the Megali Idea of creating a Greater Greece and a pure national Hellas.

Simple as they may sound, these “legal” agreements carried unprecedented genocidal consequences for the Macedonian

people. Everything fell on the shoulders of the Macedonians because about 70 - 80 thousand Macedonians were expelled from Greek occupied Macedonia and replaced by Turkish Christian Asia Minor settlers and colonists of whom 660,000 were settled in Greek occupied Macedonia. They were known as the Profigi, Madjiri and Pondi.

## HOW DID THE MACEDONIANS GET RENAMED INTO SLAVOMACEDONIANS?!

After Macedonia's invasion, occupation, division and annexation by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, the Greek state began to impose ethnic changes (1913-1919) and from 1920-1940 developed more or less explicit rules and modalities for political intervention in order to deal with the cultural diversity and plurality of identities that emerged after the ethnic changes from two larger groups:

1. "The Macedonians, the true national members with indigenous and long roots in the region, and

2. "The Turkish Christian Asia Minor settlers and colonists, or false national members with recent immigrant origins.

The attitude and goal of the Greek governments throughout that period was and, to this day, remains the same: Break the historical connection of Macedonia and the Macedonian people. Therefore, it was no coincidence that Greek occupied Macedonia was renamed to Voria Elada (Northern Greece). Since the Greek government received no internal resistance from the Macedonians or external resistance in renaming Aegean Macedonia to Northern Greece, it became emboldened and went further. On November 21, 1926, the Greek "Official Gazette" ("Efimiris tis kaverniseos") No. 332 published a law on renaming the Macedonian toponyms of the entire annexed territory of Macedonia into Greek. Later, it did the same with the personal names of all Macedonians.

It is interesting to note that apparently the Greek government only focused on the now annexed part of Macedonia and did not bother

to cross the river Belitsa, also known as Bistritsa (changed to Aliakmon by the Greeks), into Epirus and change the Macedonian names of my ancestors who, as you said, arrived there 1,700 years ago. I fought in that region in the DAG units during the Greek Civil War and found many toponyms with Macedonian names. Here are some of the names of mountains I encountered: “Golio Kamenik” in Greek, “Gol Kamen” in Macedonian meaning naked rock, “Orlyakas” in Greek, “Orlov Rid” in Macedonian, meaning vulture hill, “Grammos” in Greek, “Gremost” in Macedonian, meaning steep slope. Names of towns I encountered: “Metsovo” in Greek, “Mechka” in Macedonian, meaning bear, “Konitsa” in Greek, “Koinitsa in Macedonian, meaning a place with horses. All villages called “Zagoria” in Greek, “Zadgorija” in Macedonian, meaning behind the mountains. Names of villages: I encountered “Vrbiani”, “Zlatino”, “Prisoiviani” and others. All these village names have Macedonian roots; i.e. are Macedonian. The Greek government knew that very well: So by calling the Macedonians “Slavomacedonians”, it gave them tribal attributes which corresponded to the period before the 4th - 6th century AD when the so-called Great Migrations of people took place and that by doing so the Macedonians would have nothing to do with the ancient Macedonians and their attributes. So the Greek goal was and still is to tell the world that ancient Macedonia is not the homeland of these-SLAVOMACEDONIANS.

We need to speak openly here: Greeks need to overcome the fear of being different. Greek nationalism to this day, without exception has remained fierce and unchanging, even when presented with facts. But it doesn't have to be that way. The Ottomans ruled Macedonia (and Greece) for over 5 centuries and, until 1912, did not ban the Macedonian language. You Greeks, on the other hand, have shown yourselves to be masters of continuous laws, manipulation, beatings, bans banning the Macedonian language, spreading fear, implementing methods of intimidation and committing all forms of institutional violence.

A poster was hung on every wall calling, prompting, convincing, intimidating the Macedonian people to: “SPEAK GREEK!” This is more evidence that the Macedonian people did not speak Greek because they were not Greek and were forced to become Greek. The Greeks took things even further by opening evening schools for adults; parents and grandparents. Also, let us not forget that these Macedonian people’s husbands, sons and brothers served in the Greek army and fought bravely on the fronts in Asia Minor and the Italian front and against the German and Bulgarian fascists defending Greece’s sovereignty and integrity.

### **The second phase of ethnic cleansing in Greece**

The second phase of ethnic cleansing took place when the communists began to meddle in Macedonian affairs. There are a lot of “stories” spread around about this, especially by the Greeks, so it is important to state facts in order to avoid manipulation.

As citizens of the Greek state the Macedonian people living in Greece since 1913 and up to the Second World War, experienced unprecedented oppression and reticule. They were called all sorts of derogatory names such as “Bulgars”, “Slavs”, “Slavophone Greeks”. “locals”, “indigenous” and even “nameless”. They were forced to live under strict political supervision and were deprived of human rights on a daily basis. Then, especially during the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1950), they were bombarded with strong and unscrupulous propaganda and became victims of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Communist Part of Greece (CPG). The CPG Polit Bureau (PB) and CPG Central Committee (CC) were headed by Asia Minor Turkish Christian colonists and settlers commonly known as profigi, who not only incited the so-called Greek Civil War but also made sure it was fought on Macedonian soil. They created conditions and enabled the then Greek government to carry out military terrors, destruction and deprivation making life so difficult for people, especially for the Macedonians, that they had no choice but to flee

over the border or go up the mountains and pick up a gun to defend themselves. What Macedonians did not know at the time was that all this was perpetrated to “get rid of them” in any way possible. They were literally given a one-way ticket out but, as it turned out, this was a one-way ticket only for the Macedonians. The Greeks (Asia Minor Turkish Christians or Prosfigi) were allowed to return.

Once the Macedonians picked up guns to defend themselves Greece, with help from Britain and the USA, announced to the world that these people were bandits trying to carve Greek territory for themselves. What was even worse, and a bigger lie, is that these bandits were not from Greece but from outside of Greece, from the northern communist countries, trying to steal “Greek Macedonia” and give it to Yugoslavia. After that, Greece threw up its hands and declared that “it had no choice but to defend its territorial integrity”. So, it unleashed its army to destroy the movement, which believed it was fighting for its human rights and the right to defend itself from Greek government aggression. It should be clear to everyone that all this was perpetrated to “get rid” of the Macedonians from their homeland. And that is exactly what it did!

Europe should know this; that both Britain and the USA were party to this tragic lie which involved a United Nations investigative commission sent to legitimize it.

It was under these “ideological” conditions that the Macedonian national consciousness in Greece was attacked with aims at extinguishing it. Greece exploited the condition to uproot the indigenous Macedonians who, as you said Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, lived on those lands for at least 1,300 years.

Greece did this with Yugoslav help. (If you want to learn more about this please read the book “Macedonians and the NOT so Civil War in Greece” at this link:

<https://www.pollitecon.com/Assets/Ebooks/Macedonians-and-the-NOT-so-Civil-War-in-Greece.pdf> )

Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, given the facts presented here, do you still think that what Greece is doing to the Macedonians is fair? Also, let's not forget the most elementary thing: THAT MACEDONIANS ARE HUMAN BEINGS WITH THEIR OWN DIGNITY!

But when there are no questions asked, the truth cannot be unearthed, so I want to ask you this:

“Why, in the Greek parliament, did you allow and continue to allow racist laws to be in force that applied precisely to us Macedonians - heirs of those ancestors from 1,300 years ago who are not Greeks by birth?

Based on international law, a citizen of a state benefits from its protection regardless of where he or she is. He or she has the right to return to his or her country and to fully place himself or herself under its protection. But we Macedonians, political refugees from Greece, are deprived of this opportunity. So as of October 1, 1947, a series of laws were passed:

Decree “Z” passed on December 7, 1947. “On the deprivation of Greek citizenship of persons who act anti-nationally”;  
Compulsory Law 516 passed on January 8, 1948 “On the eligibility of citizens”;

Decree “N” passed on January 20, 1948 “On the confiscation of the property of participants in the Civil War”;  
Law 2536/53 “On the resettlement and settlement of Greek border areas”;

Law 3958/1959 “On the property of refugees”;  
And finally, the most racist law in Europe experienced by Macedonians:

(Based on the decision of the Ministry of the Interior 106.841/5-1-83, the free repatriation of “Greeks by gender” was allowed.

Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, does all this not represent a historical bulwark of ethnic Greek nationalism in the minds of politicians

who even today, before entering Europe, torture themselves with unprecedented lies about us Macedonians?

Here is a short explanation:

These laws were only passed to exclude the Macedonians aged 16 to 50, who were forcibly - massively mobilized against their will during the period when the cruelest communist chaos reigned and we Macedonians served in the ranks of DAG together with thousands of Greeks and shared the fate in the dugouts of Gramos. It was there and then that I met Greeks who loved me and I loved them, but they returned to their homes and I was not allowed. Therefore, I will take this opportunity to express my deep respect to them.

During the entire period of the Greek Civil War, the Macedonian people had more than 20,000 victims, and for those of us who remained alive, the CPG leadership dug our political grave and discarded us. The CPG threw us into the ideological trash can.

Now, Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, I would like to ask you: How can a legitimate government and a member of the European Union pass such laws and still have them in force; especially for the people who did not participate in this war of their own free will and did not represent any political factor in deciding the goals of that war? Especially the refugee children ages 2 to 14?

Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, Greece has participated in collecting children ages 2 to 14 during the so called "PEDOMAZOMA" WITH POLITICAL INTENT, WHICH REPRESENTS A DEGRADATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND, THE MOST MURDEROUS INJURY OF THE MACEDONIAN NATION, THE PERSECUTION AND MARCH OF 28,000 CHILDREN WHICH WERE HANDED A ONE-WAY TICKET OUT, WITH NO HOPE OF EVER RETURNING. THIS WAS DONE ONLY TO MACEDONIANS and was part of a planned exodus, part of a strategic act which the Greek state had exercised since 1913, to violently evict the Macedonians from their homeland inside Greece, or more precisely, Greek Occupied Macedonia.

For years, Mrs. Elsa Papadimitriou, I have been reading about the many actions the Greek government has taken against the Macedonian government, i.e. against the Macedonian people, even with very indecent proposals, i.e. from the position of a political power.

I can't help myself but ask: How can the Greek government force the Macedonian government to ignore the rights of the Macedonian people (who now live in Greece) and abandon their cultural and historical values? Is that not a violation of human rights inside Europe? Do Europeans not understand that such acts are suicidal for the Macedonian people? Is Europe expecting the Macedonian people to give up, as you said, on at least 1,300 years of struggles to have their own state with its own name? Worse than that, does Europe expect the Macedonian people to also give up on their own state, the Republic of Macedonia, now and in the future?

By accepting Greece's proposal to give up on the name "Macedonia", all the efforts and struggles the Macedonian people experienced in neighbouring countries, including in Greece, for the realization of elementary human rights for the free expression of identity and the nurturing of cultural uniqueness as the Macedonian people's historical and civilizational right, would be erased. Europe knows very well that "Macedonia" and "Macedonians" are not just names but also inseparable parts of the Macedonian identity. So, the main problem the Greek government has is not only the independence of Macedonia, but the impetus it will give to the demand for the rights of the Macedonian people in northern Greece. So, for the Greek government, the problem is not the Republic of Macedonia but the ethnic Macedonians inside Greece.

Unfortunately for us Macedonians, Mrs. Papadimitriou, Greek government demands have been met under extreme pressure from Greece and the provision for the care of the Macedonian people in neighbouring countries has been abandoned by changes to the Macedonian constitution. This, however, is wrong because every country as a whole has the right to protect its own people no

matter where they live. The Republic of Macedonia also has that right. The Republic of Macedonia is historically and civilizationally obliged to take care of its people who have fallen under the rule of another country. With this act the Greek government has not only separated the Macedonian people but has also excluded those who live under its rule, from living their lives as Macedonians and from teaching their children the Macedonian language and culture, which they have the right to do. Mrs. Papadimitriou, this is happening in Greece and in the European union today...

**THIS IS WHY, FOR THE MACEDONIAN, THERE IS NO SILENCE IN THE FACTS OF HORROR!**

And one more thing: on August 10, 2003, after 55 years of exile, the Greek government allowed some Macedonian people to visit the hearths of their ancestors, not permanently but with a so-called “HUMANITARIAN PASSPORT”, which excluded the place of birth. The people’s passports had to say “Greece” and nothing else, as the place of birth. So, many questions for those who were exiled from Greece for 55 years remained to be answered: “Where is my land, where are the graves of my parents, of my grandfather and grandmother, where is that Macedonian name I am looking for? That picture from childhood? That root, that river, that signpost, that forest, that bird that woke me up. Where is the threshold that I crawled over as a child?!...”

So, Mrs. Papadimitriou, isn’t that trampling on human dignity?

Being allowed to return for a visit with conditions, each of us felt like a STRANGER IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. After being exiled for half a century we ventured through disfigured cemeteries looking for the gravestones of our ancestors and finding absolutely nothing. It is absolute horror, Mrs. Papadimitriou, when the flowers meant for the grave of a loved

one, wither in one's hands... When there is no gravestone or grave to light a candle...

If we believe..., if you believe even a little in human rights, because I am again reading your comments and I cannot believe what you have said when you said that: "...we have opened the window to the European future for our neighbour, who needs us so much. We have shown and confirmed our sincerity and willingness to help. I am an optimist..."

I am willing to sincerely congratulate you, Mrs. Papadimitriou, but before I do that I want to see you actually do something good for the Macedonian in Greece: to annul all those laws and national views against those Macedonians, the descendants of the people who lived for centuries in the country called Macedonia, and to tell Europe and the world that we have been unjustly expelled from our ancestral homes and that our basic human rights will be granted and that we will be recognized for who we really are, Macedonians, and for those who were born there, Greece will take us under its protection as its citizens. Only in this way would you be consistent to the end, but if you do not do that, then you remain consistent with your racist suspicion.

Stojan Kochov writer, historical researcher and publicist August 25, 2005 published in 4 installments in the newspaper "Macedonia Today".

## GREECE'S LONG-TERM POLICY TOWARDS THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE

(How Komutsakos, Droutsas and Bakoyannis with their red lines became icons of the 21st century)

For the most part, the Macedonian people have been silent while Greece committed acts of destruction against them. It has been a long and comfortable policy, which Greece used for a whole century to destroy the Macedonian language and national identity and, after it achieved that goal internally, it attacks the name as the last phase in its war for the appropriation of the name “Macedonia” by inventing “a red line” that “a Macedonian minority does not exist in Greece” and that “the Macedonian identity is part of the identity of every Greek who is born and dies with a Macedonian identity”. This begs the question “what will they invent next...?”

There are some who say we Macedonians, long ago, allowed others to erode our national identity! But did we? This is an age-old question about which I used to argue with my father. He would say “those damn informants among us are the cause of our problems. Even Gotse Delchev said so.” And I would tell him “where there are buyers there will be sellers... demand creates supply”. Survival is human nature. And like one of my best friends said to me when he betrayed me and I caught him: “if it wasn't me then it would have been someone else, this way I got the reward and benefited from it...”. So yes, there were and still are traitors among us but the demand was created by outsiders who wanted to lead us to an identity crisis. This was most prevalent during the initial phase when the Republic of Macedonia was looking for world recognition and the entire issue was turned into a political game. Almost all respected eminent intellectuals and scientists concluded that the non-recognition of the Republic of Macedonia was truly a political problem. It is true that many Macedonians took a different course towards seeking

recognition, thinking they could avoid the Greek trap. But unfortunately many fell right into it. Kiro Gligorov was one of them when he proclaimed that we Macedonians have nothing to do with the ancient Macedonians... Figuring that the Greeks would back off if he said that, but they didn't... He turned out to be wrong. Like many others, he miscalculated and introduced a pile of new problems for future Macedonian generations. And yes, we do have ourselves to blame. The time has passed when, if necessary, someone else could always be there to blame for that of which we ourselves are guilty. We Macedonians should admit to ourselves that we have been under the surveillance of Greek nationalists for a long time and they, for a long time, have been saying the following about us: "let the enemy sleep". This has been happening to us for more than half a century and we have been accepting it. The Greeks have cynically been calling us "Skopians" even though we all were born in the Macedonian territory today occupied by Greece under Greek rule and letting the Greeks get away with calling us foreigners on our ancestral lands. Greece knows very well who we really are and so does Europe. So, Europe, is this truly "democratic" behaviour for a civilized society?

### **Greece so far has managed to mislead the entire world into thinking the Republic of Macedonia does not deserve to exist**

To prove this, I will exclusively use facts and arguments from Greek sources which, for half a century now, have been available in historiography and in Greek legislation for everyone to see. Greece has built a mythology, a staged act, around the Macedonian Question in order to destroy everything that is Macedonian, not only inside Greece but around the world, including inside the Republic of Macedonia. And while Greece has been doing this, we Macedonians have been sleeping and, by that, I mean we did little to stop it. How could we? We have been oppressed and abused since before the day Greece got hold of Macedonia. Greece was not alone in this, it was supported by

Britain and the United States. This became most evident when we Macedonian people living in Greece entangled ourselves with the CPG, CPY and CPM. These political entities were not there to help us, as they claimed. They were there to help Greece, Britain and the United States, to get rid of us Macedonians from Greece once and for all. The communist parties did everything in their power to entangle the Macedonians and then abandoned them. The CPG, the very same political party which offered the Macedonian people rights during the Greek Civil War, later proclaimed Macedonians do not exist. If the CPG truly believed the Macedonians did not exist then why offer them rights, even the right to self-determination? The CPG did this simply to get the Macedonians involved in the Greek Civil War. After they did, the CPG allowed the Greeks on the right political spectrum, with help first from the English and then the Americans, to drive them out of their homeland and into exile forever. This was done with one purpose in mind; to exterminate the Macedonians once and for all and extinguish the Macedonian Question.

So, if there are no Macedonians, there is no Macedonian question, end of discussion. Unfortunately for the Greeks and their patrons, Macedonians do exist and so does the Macedonian Question. The entire period of sleep and the long-standing dance that we danced with the left forces (CPG and CPY/CPM) for us were a historical delay, which can hardly be compensated, if all questions are not really opened before the Macedonian public and now comprehensively and broadly and real answers are not given for the survival and prosperity of the Macedonian nation and state. It is undeniable that the Macedonian sectoral history covering the Macedonian people from Greece, for 60 years, has been abused for political purposes, not only by Greece but also by Yugoslavia and by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. This has created a huge national misconception. Today we have generations of uninformed Macedonians, who do not know about or feel the genocide committed against the Macedonian people in the Greek occupied part of Macedonia, a tragedy of the 20th century. I am deeply convinced that after the Republic of Macedonia's

independence, Greece launched a deliberate offensive to destroy us in a step by step process applied in well-designed stages to, once and for all, erase the Macedonian people from the map of Greece. This Greek dare was based on our fragile Macedonian posture that we will forever remain silent. The Greeks felt confident that even with our struggle by all means possible, to emerge from our shell in order to bring forth our “historical truth” we would not succeed. But we know and so do they that 51% of Macedonia’s territory was annexed by Greece and came under Greek rule for the first time in history in 1913, after the Second Balkan War, that is, after Macedonia’s division by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest.

But the question that comes to mind is: “have we exposed enough evidence and presented enough facts about Greece’s past and present acts against the Macedonian people and have we formally placed these facts before the EC? Have we officially told Europe how Greece is threatening peace, trampling on the Macedonian people’s dignity and human rights? Have we presented Europe with the facts of how and when Greece committed ethnic cleansing and genocide against the Macedonian people? Or are we still acting like a herd of frightened animals waited for Greece to finish us off? This, of course, is a rhetorical question because Europe already knows what Greece did to the Macedonians inside Greece but prefers to look the other way. Is that the behaviour of a civilized and democratic organization? One needs to ask!

Let us now trace the years of crimes Greece has committed against the Macedonian people with facts and arguments:

To get to the truth of this we need to define the various historical stages during which Greece carried out malicious acts against the Macedonians with aims at erasing their existence. We also need to examine the reasons why Greek authorities believe that if Macedonia, the Macedonian identity and the Macedonian language are recognized it will directly call into question the Greek state’s integrity. If we go back in time to the rule of the

Ottoman Empire, before the 1912 and 1913 Balkan Wars, before Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, we will reach the period of the first Andartes led by Pavlos Melas and sponsored by the Greek Bishop of Kostur Germanos Kravangelis, when changes to Macedonia's ethnic composition were being made and Greeks were created from Macedonians by force. Then let us move forward to the time when Greece erased everything that was Macedonian by changing Macedonian personal names and toponyms into Greek ones. Let us not forget the Metaxas dictatorship when the Macedonian language in all its forms was completely banned and made illegal to speak in public and in private. How about the actions taken against the Macedonian people during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949) during which time harsh laws were passed targeting the Macedonians. Why stop there, why not expose all the anti-Macedonian laws Greece enacted that, in one way or another, targeted the Macedonians.

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

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

1926 – November 21. A legal Act was issued on the change of Macedonian geographic names to the Greek version. The news was published in the government daily *Efimeris tis Kivemiseos* No. 322 of November 21, 1926. The same newspaper in its No. 346 edition published the new, official Greek names. These Acts are still officially binding to this day. All place names (toponymia) were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers, lakes, mountains, etc., were discarded and Greek names put in their place. Macedonians were ordered under duress to abandon all Macedonian names and adopt Greek names assigned to them by the Greek state. They were forced to change both first

and last name; every surname had to end in ‘os’, ‘es’, ‘ou’ or ‘poulos’. The news of these acts and the new, official Greek names were published in the Greek government daily “Efimeris tis Kiverniseos” no. 322 and 324 on November 21 and 23, 1926.

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

1928 - In the period from 1928 to 1934, when there seemed to be a movement for better relations between the Balkan countries, successive Greek governments of the time appeared a little more elastic in their attitudes towards the Macedonian language. Some even made serious statements in favour of the Macedonians. But in order to see the differences between what Greek politicians said and did regarding the Macedonian Question, we need to emphasize the fact that back in 1926 a law was passed by the Greek Government, as published in the Greek Official Gazette no. 332 of 21. XI. 1926, which entailed the erasure of the Macedonian toponymy and replacing it with a Greek one. In other words, the Greek government passed a law to change the names of all villages, towns, rivers, lakes and mountains in Greek occupied Macedonia from Macedonian to Greek. At about the same time in 1926 the Greek government allowed various different Greek nationalist organizations, such as the “Elino - Makedoniki pigmi” (Greco - Macedonian fist) and “EEE” (National Organization of youth) to appear which were openly raising the issue of banning the Macedonian language.

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

the Macedonian inscriptions on the headstones, remove the bones and burn them.”

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

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

1938 – September 7. Legal Act No. 2366 was issued which banned the use of the Macedonian language. All Macedonian localities were flooded with posters: “Speak Greek”. Evening schools were opened in which adult Macedonians were taught Greek. Not a single Macedonian school functioned at that time. Macedonians were fined, beaten or jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children were further humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian. LAW 1418 reinforces previous laws on renaming.

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

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

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

1945 - July 18. Law CC 43 passed. Law “against autonomist activities” was passed in Greece with which the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared autonomist, placed outside of the law and their members were declared criminals to be caught and tried for high treason.

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

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

1946 – September. The Greek government enacted a law designed to punish the families of army deserters. Imprisonment for political crimes was on the increase and as regular prisons became dangerously overcrowded, new systems of detention were being invented including detention centers, islands of deportation, concentration camps, etc. Incarcerating large numbers of democrats, male and female of all ages, dated back to before the Metaxas dictatorship, which involved the punishment of people not for their deeds but for their ideas, the sheer number of those incarcerated during this period was far larger than at any time in the past and easily dwarfed even the thousands jailed or detained under Metaxas. There was a far greater number of women and even children detained during this period than ever before,

necessitating the need for special women's camps. In 1934, for example, there were approximately 130 women jailed in the Averof Women's Prison in Athens. By 1945 the number of prisoners had grown tenfold. "The strains upon the primitive infrastructure required to support such an expansion of the system of incarceration can be judged in the remarkable collection of photos taken by women inmates and recently published under the heading "Gynaikes exoristes sta stratopeda tou emfyliou."

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

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

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

1953 - August 23. Legal Act No. 2536 was issued, on the strength of which all those who left Greece and did not return within three years could be deprived of their property. A decision on the resettlement of Macedonians was taken. A wide-flung campaign was launched in the mass media to induce the Macedonians to leave their native areas voluntarily and settle in the south of the country and on the islands. The Greek authorities intended to create a 60-kilometre-wide belt along the border with Yugoslavia where "the faithful sons of the Greek nation" were to be settled. In the first point of this Act it is stated that the resettlement was necessary owing to the humanitarian aspect of the matter as the

living standard of the Macedonians would improve. The actual intention was to separate Macedonians living in Greece from the Republic of Macedonia. Due to a firm reaction from Yugoslavia the realization of that shameful plan was cancelled.

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

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

1969 - Legal Act was issued on the strength of which the settlement of the unoccupied Macedonian farms by Greeks by origin was permitted. After that a plan was put together to locate over one hundred thousand immigrants of so-called Greek origin from the ex-Soviet Union on this territory. In the future this will be a source of new national tensions. Council of Europe declares Greece “undemocratic, illiberal, authoritarian and oppressive”. Greece forced to resign from Council of Europe under threat of expulsion. Military Junta continues the policy of colonizing the confiscated lands in Greek occupied Macedonia. Land handed over to persons with “proven patriotism” to Greece. European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms signed by Greece states: ARTICLE 10(1) “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.”

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

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

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

1982 – December 29. While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister legal Act No. 106341 was issued. On the strength of that Act only Greeks by origin have the right to Greek citizenship and their right to return to Greece. Macedonians born in Greece and their families have been excluded. They were and are doomed to live in exile. Heads of various rungs of the state administration received the right to make free use of the property left by Macedonian refugees. The Greek authorities refer to that hostile Act whenever they reject Macedonian demands for the recovery of Greek citizenship taken away by default. They refer to that "law" even in their explanations to the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva! Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XIII, Point 2: "Everyone has the right to leave every country, including one's own, and to return to his own country." Art. XV, Point 1: "Each person has the right to

have a citizenship.” Art. XV, Point 2: “No one can be freely dispossessed of his or her citizenship.”

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

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

Need we say more Miss Bakoyannis?!

# Territorial evolution

Of the modern Greek state (1832-today)



It is a well-known fact that Greece has lied and is still lying to the world in all its communications and all its official documents about Macedonia, about its invasion, occupation and annexation of Macedonian territories. Greece never existed before 1830 when it was created for the first time by the European powers. The

world should also know that Greece's first foundations were laid down by the Philhellenes and Macedonia was never part of it. Macedonia became part of Greece as a Greek imperial expansion after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria invaded Macedonia, occupied it and then, with Great Power assistance, divided it and annexed it for themselves. Not once did Greece mention Macedonia was Greek while it was carved up and parts of it were given to Serbia and Bulgaria. In fact, Greece was prepared to take a small portion of Macedonia before the Second Balkan War erupted in 1913.

From the map above, one can see how Greece was built up over the years with annexed territories that never belonged to it.

One last thing. The people that today call themselves "Greeks" were not Greeks before 1829, they were taught or made to be Greeks initially by the Philhellenes and later by Greek governments through assimilation programs. The people that lived in today's Greece, before Greece was created for the first time in 1829, were Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Macedonians, Latins and every other ethnic group that had settled on those territories over the centuries.

At this point I would like to add an undeniable fact given to me by a highly respected Greek Doctor (Ο ΓΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΜΙΝΟΝΔΑΣ ΣΑΚΕΛΑΠΙΥΟ) who was my comrade and with whom I served in the DAG units during the Greek Civil War 1946-1949. After the war ended I found the doctor in Tashkent, USSR. This noble man, a doctor, saved thousands of seriously wounded Greeks and Macedonians from the ranks of DAG.

Following is what he wrote in his book published in Greece under the title "ΔΙΑΘΕΣΑΜΕ ΤΗ ΖΩΗ ΜΑΣ".

On page 21 he wrote:

“Στα παιδικα μου χρονια, τα ελληνοτουρκικα συνορα ητανε στι Θεσσαλια, στη Μελouna.Μετα το 1912 απομακρυνθηκαν στη Φλωρινα, στον Εβρο.” Which translates to: “During my childhood, the Greek-Turkish border was in Thessaly, in Melouna. After 1912 they moved it to Florina, in Evros.”

Even since Greece occupied and annexed Macedonian lands, over the years, it has been calling them “Conquered lands”, “Occupied lands”, “Greek Macedonia”, “Northern Macedonia”, etc. While communicating with other states and signing agreements with monarchies such as Bulgaria and Serbia, Greece has been referring to Macedonian territories as follows:

Treaty of alliance between the Kingdom of Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia, May 19, 1913.

Article 2.

In the division of **the territory of European Turkey**, which after the end of the current war will be ceded to the Balkan states according to the peace treaty with the Ottoman State...

Article 3.

The two high contracting parties... That border is based... starting from the highest peak of the Kamna range, upper Shkumba, will skirt Lake Ohrid, the western shore of Lake Prespa from the village Konisko, Dolno Dupeni, to Rahmanli, will pass through the course between the Tsrna Reka and Meglena and will emerge on the Vardar River... etc.

There is also a similar agreement with Bulgaria.

Article 7.

His Majesty the King of Greece undertakes that his government will provide all necessary facilities and guarantees for a period of 50 years full freedom of Serbian export and import trade through the port of Thessaloniki, the railway line from Thessaloniki to Skopje and Bitola..., etc. up to Articles 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Signatories: Jean Alexandropoulos and Mate Boskovic (See S. Skoko, *Another Balkan War*, pp. 405 – 408).

Here is a question: If Macedonia has always been Greek, then why did His Majesty the King of Greece allow Macedonia to be divided so broadly and easily between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria?

If Macedonia was always Greek why then did Greece, in its annexed part of Macedonia, rename all the Macedonian toponyms, the Macedonian people's names and surnames, and everything that was Macedonian exclusively by law ("Efimeris tis Kiverniseos" No. 332 of November 21, 1926).

It is well understood, or it should be well understood, that by international law no one has the right to monopolize names. This includes the names of territories, people, objects, language and every term that has been used for centuries by the native Macedonians. Europe did not do that anywhere else but allowed Greece to do it on occupied Macedonia territories. Why? Did Europe not know that by erasing the Macedonian topography, Greece erased the soul of the Macedonian people in Greece? This was a cruel strategy designed to force the Macedonian people to forget and erase their own cultural identity. Greece's goal was not only to occupy Macedonian lands but to change the gravitational core of Macedonian independence and centuries-old self-affirmation and to abandon the secret algorithms written in the centuries-old existential code and give all of that a Greek code. Greece's true aim was to erase the entire Macedonian civilization which for centuries was shaped on immanent axiological

standards, built on the basis of certain functions of culture, without which the existence of the human race would not be possible. We Macedonians, (precisely from the Greek occupied part of Macedonia), wherever we are in the world today, identify ourselves as Macedonians from places with Macedonian names. Greece has made every effort to erase that. If a person showed up at the Greek border today with a Macedonian name or toponym written on their American, Canadian, Australian, etc., passport, the Greek border guard will turn them back with the words “such a person or place does not exist in Greece!” Try it and see.

The law that changed the Macedonian toponymia and people’s names was one of the cruelest laws that erased the centuries-old Macedonian existence in those areas and served as preparation for further and larger ethnic cleansing.

Right after Greece annexed Macedonian territories it immediately began to implement its ethno-genocidal policy by first expelling the Macedonian population which refused to be immediately assimilated under the guise of “voluntary population exchanges” and began to colonize the Macedonian territory with foreign settlers and colonists. After the Muslim Macedonian population was expelled in 1913, the next mass expulsion took place in 1923 with the Lausanne Agreement between Greece and Turkey during which time more than 640,000 Turkish Christian colonists and settlers from Asia Minor were settled on the Greek occupied part of Macedonia. Thousands of Islamized Macedonians and other people, especially those who participated in the Ilinden Uprising, were expelled.

The exarchist Macedonians were expelled next. These were Macedonians associated with the exarchist church. This population exchange took place in 1927 between Greece and Bulgaria, under the Molov – Kafandaris Agreement.

At that time, the Greek state called the newcomer settlers Prosfigi or Pontians (from the Pontos) and the Macedonians Endopians

(natives). Further, as the assimilation processes developed, the Proslfigi became proud Macedonians and the native Macedonians became undesirables to be persecuted and abused. So the question is: “How is it possible to ethnically cleanse Greece if the Macedonian people and the Macedonian territories in Greece were always Greek?!” “Why does Greece need to assimilate the Macedonian people if they were always Greek?!” “Why did Greece need to change the Macedonian toponomy and people’s name if they were always Greek?!” This is surely a strange phenomenon practiced nowhere else except in Greece. Why?

The Metaxas dictatorship – which was initiated on August 4, 1936, when General Ioannis Metaxas declared a dictatorship in Greece. The regime particularly harshly opposed and punished everything that was associated with the Macedonian identity, expressed either as a social activity or simply by people speaking the native Macedonian language. Many local residents from Greek occupied Macedonia ended up in harsh prisons and in the Greek dry island prison camps.

Every Macedonian, including myself, who, during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War, participated in those conflicts would like to ask the following questions:

1. Why is Macedonia and the Macedonian people a problem for Greece?
2. Given that Greece did not exist before 1829, did Macedonia steal Greek history or did Greece steal Macedonian history?
3. Why have we Macedonians been silent about the GENOCIDE committed against us during the years 1940 - 1950 precisely by the Greek governments?! And why are there still thousands of Macedonians wandering around the world, exiled and not allowed to return to their homelands!?

After the Greek Civil War ended, all the Macedonians that left prior to or during the conflict, to save their lives, were not allowed to return to their ancestral homeland. They found

themselves exiled forever. Many of them were children, women and old people who did not participate in the conflict. Yet they too were not allowed to return, prohibited by Greek law. (Law No. 1540 and No. 106841/5-1-1983, which stated that only “Greeks by birth” can return to Greece.)

It was with this kind of major strategic measures that the Greek state began the historical erosion of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. Greece’s aims were and still are, to erase everything that is Macedonian including language, culture, history, all famous ancestors, all famous heroes and to destroy all the powerful Macedonian symbols. This has not only been happening inside Greece, in Greek occupied Macedonia, but also outside. According to Loring Danforth, even now in Australia, the Greek priest warned the Macedonian people not to speak Macedonian: “Whoever speaks Macedonian will not receive communion!” (See page 359, “The Macedonian Conflict” by Loring Danforth.)

However, the Greek state has taken even more cruel and inhumane measures: There are exiled parents whose sons fought in the Greek army to preserve Greece’s sovereignty. The sons gave their lives in the Turkish-Greek War and the Italian-Greek War and today their parents have been exiled are not allowed to return. All those parents lived off the compensation the Greek state paid them for the death of their sons who died fighting for Greece. Many of these parents left Greece during the Greek Civil War, to save their lives. Then, after the Greek Civil War ended, they were not allowed to return. Most of them died all over the world, with a sense of guilt, feeling like they somehow had wronged Greece. Due to the severe oppression imposed on them, by the Greek state, a lot of these old and debilitated people used to say: “the Greeks are worse than the Ottomans. The Ottomans had no faith (were not Christians) but they had a sword. The Greeks have neither faith nor a sword.”

The national Greek identity in Greek occupied Macedonia was built with the systematic destruction of the Macedonian national identity.

But what is surprising now, and even more cruel, is that Greece, as a NATO and EU member, does not want to admit that, by signing the August 10, 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, it undertook the following obligations: Under Article 7, Paragraph 1 “All Greek nationalities (communities living in Greece) will be equal before the law and will enjoy the same civil rights regardless of race, religion or language.”

Paragraph 3: “Differences in religion, belief and faith shall not be used against any Greek nationality (community) in the enjoyment of civil or political rights, such as, for example, access to state affairs, employment, duties and appointments, honours or the practice and expression of professionalism of each individual.”

Paragraph 4: “No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use of the language of any Greek national community in receptive communication, trade, religion, the press or in publications, in any respect. This also applies to public gatherings, meetings and public speech.”

Article 8: “The Greek national communities belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and protection under the law as other Greek national communities. In principle, they shall have equal rights to establish, manage and control their own funds, charitable and religious institutions, schools and other educational institutions, with the right to use their own language and to practice their own religion freely and without hindrance in such institutions.”

Article 9, paragraph 1: “Greece shall ensure, with regard to the State educational system, in cities and districts in which a significant number of national communities other than those who speak Greek live, that adequate facilities are built to ensure that in primary school instruction is provided at the same level as for those who receive instruction in Greek and through their mother tongue. This provision shall not prevent the Greek Government

from introducing compulsory Greek instruction in the said schools”;

Article 16: “Greece agrees to be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any breach or threat of breach of any of these obligations, and the Council may thereupon take immediate action and issue directives, orders and may also decide according to the powers in the circumstances... The Greek Government hereby agrees that in the event of any disagreement, the dispute may, if the other party considers it necessary, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as a decision under Article 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.”

The signatories, or verifiers, of the Bucharest Peace Treaty (countries that may always initiate a dispute or under the articles of the treaty) are: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India.

After a century of ethnic cleansing and fierce discrimination and assimilation of Macedonians in Greece, now as a member of the EU and NATO, with the same idea and cynicism; Greece is positioned as an imperial power, as a state with asymmetrical supremacy over the Republic of Macedonia (to destroy everything Macedonian) with claims to ancient and Eastern Byzantine heritage.

And now the Greek government and current Greek politicians and creators of Greek history seem to have forgotten that thousands of Macedonians have left their bones in wars defending Greece’s sovereignty: the Turkish - Greek War of 1921 and the Italian War, the Second World War and the most tragic for Macedonians - the Greek Civil War, in which the Macedonian people experienced GENOCIDE.

But also for many other historical and political issues arising from the GENOCIDE OF THE MACEDONIANS in the Greek Civil War and after it.

After that war, only the Macedonians lost everything: a) human rights, b) the right to return to their ancestral homes, c) the return of their properties and d) the right to integrate into the Greek state with personal and collective rights to cultural and national development within the framework of the Greek state, as former citizens of Greece.

The laws passed against the Macedonians are the greatest testimony:

So, if we look at the key elements of social order presented in this document: the law, the family and the nation, we Macedonians are spoken of, only in the laws but not in the elements of the social order in Greece! The facts speak for themselves. Examine the mentioned laws that have been passed in the Greek parliament and you will see that those laws reference only the Macedonians.

We suggest, Miss Bakoyannis, that you browse through those laws, and you will see for yourself what we are talking about. Also, we believe that the Americans, Europeans and our Christian Lord know about these laws and your attitude towards the Macedonian people.

Law KZ 375/14 was passed in December 1936. Several Macedonians were suspected and characterized as disloyal citizens and were interned on the Greek islands under this law. That law applied precisely to Macedonians, the descendants of the natives who were not Greek by birth?

Then followed the laws for the prosecution of Macedonians:

Law PZ4124/45 “on collaboration with the occupiers”. This law was only applied against Macedonians - the Kostur committees.

Law KZ454/45 “against autonomist activities”, and especially Law KZ453/45. Passed to prosecute all the Macedonians who were organized in the political organizations NOF, NOMS and AFZH.

Draft law for the forced expulsion of Macedonians across the border in 1946; strip the Greek citizenship of persons who act anti-nationally”;

Coercive law 516 of January 8, 1948 “On the eligibility of citizens”;

Decree “N” of January 20, 1948 “On the confiscation of the property of participants in the Civil War”;

Law 2536/53 “On the resettlement and settlement of Greek border areas”;

Law 3958/1959 “On the property of refugees”;

Based on international law, a citizen of a state benefits from its protection regardless of where he or she is. He or she (a Macedonian) has the right to return to his or her country and to fully place himself or herself under its protection. But we Macedonians, political refugees from Greece, are deprived of this opportunity even half a century later.

Where is your concern for the protection of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia inside Europe?

The first time our common Macedonian voice of protest was heard was in the Republic of Macedonia’s parliament when, with a single voice, we demanded that the name Macedonia be protected because Macedonia belongs to all the Macedonian people including those Macedonians from Greece and those living in Greece and wherever else they may live. They are our brothers and sisters who were separated from us after Macedonia’s

partition in 1913. This parliament cannot and must not pass an act that will renounce part of our own people.

Unfortunately, this did happen. Nothing like this has ever been seen anywhere in the world before where a country renounced its own people to satisfy the greed and ambition of another country who abused those people. Our Macedonian politicians have succumbed to pressure, blackmail and corruption and renounced one, cut another, threw out a third, from our constitution and defiled our Macedonian national morality. Instead of succumbing to pressure, the Macedonian people, long before they were forced into this situation, should have campaigned worldwide in Europe and other countries like the USA to show people who we are, and why the Greeks are doing this to us. Unfortunately, many of our academics and writers who, for generations, were raised in the Yugoslav state had no knowledge of the Macedonian tragedy. They were surprised by all this and never addressed Mr. K. Mitsotakis, Mr. A. Papandreou, Mr. K. Karamanlis, Mrs. Bakoyannis who insisted that “a Macedonian minority does not exist in Greece”. They never addressed Mr. G. Papandreou and Mr. D. Droutsas, heroes of the day, who also insisted that: “the Macedonian identity is part of the identity of every Greek who is born and dies with a Macedonian identity”. What about the Macedonians born in Greece who have been persecuted, abused and exiled, Mr. G. Papandreou and Mr. D. Droutsas, why is there not a single word said or written about them in the last fifty years? What about the Macedonians from Greece against whom Greece committed genocide? When will they be mentioned?

Then, another category of patriotic Macedonians appeared, which has always existed and still exists to this day, who were taught by the state (we can blame the communist system for that) to take more than to give and now use worn-out phrases to spread fear that we will lose all of Macedonia if we make too much noise. Pure Macedonian philosophy, which nourishes our long-standing comfort. Be silent, far be it for us to do anything...

Well, there have always been people like that and that has been the reality with us Macedonians. Look at the Torbeshi, the Grkomani, the Bulgaromani, the Serbomani, the Titoists, the Zahariadists, the Marcoists, the Soroists and who knows who else. We have rebuked Europe many times and opposed it most sharply with various articles that say: “The ultra-right democracy of Europe shamelessly degrades the goddess of Justice in whose name it has sworn since the existence of a seed, people, state, empire, slaves and persecutions.” But it is interesting that in front of the eyes of Europe we have forgotten the problems of our own people from Greek occupied Macedonia which for decades have neither been addressed, nor publicly exposed; especially the genocide committed against them by Greece and the persecutions that they endured from 1945 to 1949.

The Prime Minister of Greece emphasized that the problem is complex but that a mutually acceptable solution must be found and that this solution will be found soon.

If Papandreou really believes that Macedonia and Greece have more things that bring them closer than drive them apart, then a wide range of issues in the field of human rights, history, culture, identity crisis, etc. should be opened. Yes, these are real issues that need to be mutually resolved by reasonable people because they will impact the future like they have impacted the past. But before any issue is resolved it must be publicly identified and understood first by the Macedonian and Greek public, and then by the entire international community. Before anything can begin Greece must stop threatening the Republic of Macedonia and attempting to destabilize peace in the Balkans. Instead of paying lip service, looking the other way and placating Greece, Europe too should comprehensively and broadly open the Macedonian question and stop its member states Greece and Bulgaria from totally destroying the Macedonian historical, cultural and national identity. And as a final and serious problem, we have to explain to the general and Macedonian public and the entire world public

that we Macedonians from Greece did not lead the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949) and, therefore, should not bear the blame for starting it. It must also be understood that we, the Macedonians in Greece, were manipulated and pushed into the Greek Civil War and were then sacrificed.

If, however, we look at the Greek government Memorandum to the UN from those days, there are claims that NOF and the Macedonian people fought for the secession of Greek territories. This was a total lie, which our historiography should have explained years ago, that it was never the Macedonian people's intention carve out any territory or to get embroiled in another war. The Greek Civil War was planned and initiated long before the Macedonians became involved. In fact, it was planned by Britain, Greece and Yugoslavia long before NOF was sent to Greece to recruit the Macedonians. But, as we well know, the Greek Civil War was started by Britain and Greece and finished by the USA and Greece, for two reasons; 1. To "crush the communist movement in Greece" and 2. To "get rid of the Macedonian menace from Greece".

#### HOW AND WHY THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA WERE MANIPULATED AND SACRIFICED DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR 1945 - 1949.

It is true that we Macedonians from Greece participated in ELAS and DAG but never became a political entity, nor did we gain a historical identity and in those wars we lost more than 30,000 people, victims of WW II and the Greek Civil War. But the fact remains that our historiography, with its incorrect interpretation of historical processes, seemingly "established" a historical identity that we supposedly "created" Macedonian institutions, Macedonian military units, a leadership raised by the Macedonian people, etc. But the fact is that ELAS and DAG were exclusively under the control of the Greek communists who manipulated the

Macedonians to do for them what they wanted. What is more astonishing is that the Greeks to this day insist that Macedonians do not exist yet, during the Greek Civil War, they led a campaign to “carve out” Greek territories for themselves. We have been anathematized as autonomists, secessionists, etc. But the most important thing is that even from the parent party (CPM) we were persuaded to obediently obey the CPG. The truth, however, is different: After World War II at the Yalta Conference on February 4-11, 1945, the Balkans were divided into spheres of influence and the borders of the states were a status quo, and Greece fell under Western influence and according to the CONSPIRACY, the Communists were supposed to be liquidated and the Macedonians expelled.

We Macedonians were lured into the caldron of our demise by offers from the CPY/CPM that implied that we Macedonians could only gain our national rights through a struggle. And even though we were witnesses to what the Greek communists and the CPY/CPM led by Tito, did to us, which we are not denying, we say nothing... We do nothing... We have lived in SILENCE for over half a century. For many years we have lived with the conviction that by fighting in the ranks of the Greek communists, they will be the first to protect us and we will gain national rights. But here is what General Markos, to whom the Macedonian people entrusted their sons to fight in DAG, said: “The main benefit of the Greek Civil War was the eradication of the Macedonian people!”

When Markos Vafiadis, who in 1948, after the battles of Gramos, was suspended by Zahariadis and threatened with exile in the city of Penza, USSR, that great general and “strategist” was greeted at the Athens airport by his adversary, the general of the government army, Mr. Tsakalotos. Vafiadis was greeted like a heroic Greek. In an interview with the Greek news, to the question: “What was the main benefit of the Greek Civil War?” He answered: “The eradication of the Slavo-Macedonians from Northern Greece.”

Here he was, the legendary General Markos (the tobacco worker) to whom we entrusted the Macedonian fighters to fight for the freedom and rights of the Macedonian people.

But what is most humiliating and shameless is that our Macedonian historiography claims, even after half a century later, that we Macedonians were a military-political factor in that war and that the Greek Civil War was a continuation of the Ilinden ideals, goals and traditions for the unification of Macedonia. These are pure lies. We Macedonians were never a military or political factor. We were led to pick up guns so that Greece and Britain and later the USA could destroy us legally. We fell for their trap and are still paying the price.

These are problems that really require truthful answers so that, once and for all, we can throw away the blame that we sometimes impose on ourselves. There is a danger, as our comfortable policy of silence has shown, while we allow everyone, for years, to destroy our Macedonian identity, we still remain quiet and are still blamed for things we did not do.

And now, after the Republic of Macedonia surfaced, we still rely on parties which are not at all interested in the Macedonian identity and, of course, once again we are placed under pressure to find solutions which continue to erode our Macedonian identity.

Stojan KOCHOV

Skopje Writer and publicist (2012)

## Letter No. 6

### THE TERRIBLE DECADE 1939 TO 1949

What happened to the Macedonian people during the terrible decade 1939 to 1949 was nothing new. They were involved in many conflicts long before that but one thing that remained constant over the years was their desire to live free and independent. They fought several uprisings against the Ottoman Empire without success. They even lost their chance to assert themselves as a Macedonian nation during the 19<sup>th</sup> century when new nations were being created in the Balkans. But what happened to them was not entirely their fault.

The aim of writing this letter was to give the reader a general high-level historic overview of events that took place which explain what happened to the Macedonian people and who was responsible for it.

The Macedonian nation failed to assert itself during the 19<sup>th</sup> century mainly because the 19<sup>th</sup> century European monarchies and the European Great Powers did not want a Macedonian state with Macedonian people to exist in the Balkans. This was as much a reality then as it is today. I don't know for sure why this was but it became obvious after the Russian-Ottoman war ended in 1878 and after Greece, Serbia and parts of Bulgaria were granted their freedom while Macedonia and the Macedonian people were given back to the Ottoman Empire. The decision to free Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and give Macedonia back to the Ottomans was made by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress in July 1878. Ever since then the future of Macedonia and the Macedonian people has been in question.

After Macedonia was given back to the Ottoman Empire without any guarantees for the safety of the Macedonian people, the Ottomans began to crack down harder than before, not only

because the Macedonians fought on the side of the Russians during the Russian-Ottoman war, but also because the Ottomans did not want to lose more lands to insurrections. As a result, the Ottomans placed a tighter grip on Macedonia making the lives of the Macedonian people a lot harder. Not being able to count on the Great Powers for help, the Macedonian people had no other option but to struggle and hope that one day they would free themselves on their own.

To make matters worse, the European monarchies and Great Powers promised to give parts of Macedonia to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. But since they did not know how Macedonia was going to be divided, it was decided that it would be divided along “Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian national lines”. At that time, however, no such nationalities existed in Macedonia. So, the Great Powers forced the Ottomans to allow Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria to establish churches and schools in Macedonia through which each state could promote its propaganda in an effort to make Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians out of the Macedonian population. In time their presence created fierce competition between the three states, each fighting for the souls of the Macedonian people. The situation got to a point where the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians began to bribe, terrorize and even torture and kill Macedonians through armed gangs in order to force them to come to their side. So now the Macedonians had not only the Ottomans to contend with but also the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians behind whom stood their patrons the European Great Powers.

Once the Macedonian people made up their minds to revolt, two trains of thought began to develop. The wisest, which included Gotse Delchev, supreme commander of the Macedonian Liberation Movement, thought that the best way to free Macedonia and keep it intact and outside of the hands of the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians was to agitate the Ottoman

Empire for Macedonia to become an autonomous Ottoman province... and, of course, over time, independent.

The second train of thought was for Macedonia to seek outside help and fight to gain its own independence. Even though they suspected that the Great Powers had different ideas for Macedonia, some of the Macedonian leaders still believed that there was hope that the Great Powers would come to their rescue if they started a rebellion. One of the Macedonian revolutionary leaders even went to Russia and asked the Russian monarch for assistance but was refused.

Once the Great Powers and their proxies discovered that some Macedonians wanted to seek autonomy and remain inside the Ottoman Empire, they began new preparations to prevent that. They began to interfere in Macedonian internal affairs through Bulgaria. A second Macedonian revolutionary organization, an external or Supremacist organization, was formed which pretended to work for Macedonian interests but in fact was supporting Bulgarian and Great Power interests.

The idea behind the Supremacist revolutionary organization was to start a massive conflict between the Macedonians and the Ottomans so that both would weaken and become “easy prey” for Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. The Supremacists had to make sure that the Macedonians did not win. A win could be avoided if an uprising was started early before the Macedonian people were fully prepared and before an agreement with the Ottomans was reached for Macedonia to become an autonomous Ottoman province.

The Supremacists accomplished both tasks by making sure the Macedonian people were stripped of their true leaders, except for Delchev, while preparations were made to start the 1903 Ilinden Uprising, an early uprising before the Macedonian people were fully prepared. When Delchev found out about this he called a

meeting to call off the uprising but was assassinated on his way there.

The uprising was a catastrophic failure, which not only weakened the Macedonian people and broke their spirits but also stripped them of their true leaders and left them in the hands of the avenging Ottomans. Ten years later, in 1912/1913, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed Macedonia and its people and began to turn them into Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians en masse by force.

Some of the Macedonian leaders suspected that Macedonian territories might be annexed by Macedonia's neighbours but the "total denationalization and assimilation" of the Macedonian nation into three and later four different parts was not only unexpected but unprecedented. Not even Gotse Delchev predicted that. This, unfortunately, was done to destroy the Macedonian nation and erase it from history.

This, unfortunately, did not end when Macedonian territories and the Macedonian people were annexed but, with Great Power help, continued into the future reaching the level of genocide several times after that. The reader must remember that nothing could happen in the Balkans without Great Power approval and these genocides were no exception.

Even though similar events took place in Serbian and Bulgarian occupied Macedonia our focus in this letter will be mainly on the events that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia.

When the Greeks consolidated their power in Macedonia they told the Macedonian people that this was Greece now and that they were now Greeks, and if they didn't agree they could pick up what they could carry and leave immediately. Many did just that; they picked up their things and left.

The Macedonian Muslims were all kicked out and so were the Macedonians who insisted on being Macedonian and not Greeks, Serbians, or Bulgarians. Those who insisted too much found themselves with a noose around their necks hanging from a tree.

Sometime later Greece exchanged populations with Bulgaria and got rid of more Macedonians and imported all kinds of non-Greek people from Bulgaria and the Caucasus's who claimed to be Greeks.

Before 1913 and before the Greco-Turkish war, the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia were a majority with minorities such as Albanians, Vlachs, Christian Turks and others. After Greece occupied Macedonian territories it cleansed itself of non-Greeks; it assimilated everyone it could, evicted those who did not agree with its principles and jailed and murdered all those who caused trouble.

But those who were assimilated were still Macedonians and still a majority in Greek occupied Macedonia, that is until Greece deposited 600,000 Turkish Christian settlers and colonists it had acquired during the population exchange with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne. After that Greece published demographic statistics claiming that the population in Greece was 98% pure Greek and 2% Muslim Greek. Ever since then Greece has been covering up the fact that Macedonians existed in Greece and has been misleading its patrons, particularly the English, about its ethnic composition.

After Greece occupied Macedonian territories it closed all Macedonian language schools and churches and expelled the priests. The Macedonian language and names were forbidden, and the Macedonians were referred to as Bulgarians, Serbians, or natives. By law all place names were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers, lakes and mountains were discarded and Greek names put in their place. At the same time

the Macedonians were forced to change their first and last names; every Macedonian surname had to end in 'os', 'es', 'ou', or 'oulos'.

In the years following World War I, the Macedonian people underwent extensive measures of systematic denationalization.

One of the worst Greeks the Macedonian people had to face was Metaxas. Metaxas and his Fascist supporters were extremely anti-Macedonian and wanted everything that was Macedonian erased, including the Macedonian language.

All this was happening under the watchful eyes of the Western Great Powers and nothing was done to stop it. Without a doubt, Hellenization in Greece was taking place with Western Great Power consent.

Greek policemen often stood outside people's windows just to hear what language they were speaking and fined the entire family if they were caught speaking Macedonian.

After people realized that they would be fined and even physically punished and force-fed castor oil for repeat offences, fear and suspicion began to set in, forcing people to keep silent.

This assimilation-ist policy, however, was not new. And, as I said earlier, it was started a long time ago and became evident around 1878 when it became clear that Macedonia would not be allowed to become a nation state and would be divided among the other Balkan nations. Ever since then, the practice of denationalizing the Macedonian population has continued all throughout the years and is continuing to this day with the forceful name change imposed on the Macedonian people in the Republic of Macedonia. Let me be clear on this, the name change imposed on the Republic of Macedonia, aided by the western foreign embassies in Skopje is nothing new, it is a continuation of a

Western Great Power policy that was drafted sometime before 1878 to exterminate the Macedonian nation and everything that is Macedonian.

During World War II, when the Western Great Powers thought no Macedonians existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, English spies and military personnel dispatched to Greek occupied Macedonia to monitor the war situation discovered that Greece had been lying to them. Contrary to Greek claims that no Macedonians existed in Greece, a sizable Macedonian population, speaking the Macedonian language and aware of its Macedonian consciousness, was living in its territory. When the British found this out they again resumed their policy of extermination. Some people say the English must have panicked because of fear of Russian influence and the possibility of these people wanting to carve out “Greek territory”, but the truth is England never wanted a Greek Macedonia with Macedonians in it. So, the English, as they had done in the past, decided that the Macedonian people had to go by any means possible. This information was later discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches in which the English wanted to expel 120,000 Macedonians en masse from their homes in Greek occupied Macedonia.

In doing this the English requested the assistance of the fascist Yugoslav government before the communists came to power and received a positive response. The fascists agreed to take the Macedonians and resettle them on Yugoslav territory but Yugoslavia fell to the communists before this could happen.

Now let us go back and have a look at the general situation on the ground during the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation of Greek occupied Macedonia.

In terms of their cultural rights, the Macedonian people found more freedom under the German, Italian and Bulgarian triple occupation than they did under Greek rule. As long as they did

not cause trouble for the occupiers, the Macedonian people were not prohibited from freely speaking their Macedonian language or from calling themselves Macedonians. The biggest trouble they faced came from the Greek fascists, Metaxas's former supporters who now worked for the occupiers. These people were thugs and criminals and were the first to offer their services to the occupiers as long as they were allowed to rob and torment the civilian populations, especially the Macedonians. After they formed their gangs these fascists began to terrorize the population. They particularly disliked the Macedonian people, especially those who openly spoke their Macedonian language and asserted themselves as Macedonians. The Macedonian people complained to the occupiers but that did not seem to help, except for the Italians who also disliked the fascist Greeks and allowed most of the Kostur Region villagers to arm themselves and fight back.

After the Bulgarian fascists occupied parts of Macedonia they too attempted to organize and arm Macedonian people under the organization "Ohrana" but for different reasons; to fight for the Bulgarian cause. But all the Bulgarians could attract was the criminal element which was willing to do harm to its own people for any cause as long as it personally benefited.

In the German and Bulgarian occupied parts of Greek occupied Macedonia, having no other option, the tormented Macedonians fled to the mountains to save themselves from the Greek terror. There they organized into groups, armed themselves and fought back for their survival. These small groups often combined together into larger groups to repel Greek fascist attacks on their friends, families and villages.

Not long after the triple occupation of Greek occupied Macedonia, in addition to the foreign occupiers there were Greek fascist criminal gangs working for the Germans and Italians, Macedonian fascist criminal gangs working for the Bulgarians, Macedonian armed groups protecting the Kostur Region villages

from all Greeks in general, and Macedonian armed groups in the mountains protecting themselves and their villages from the fascist Greeks.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) began to organize a resistance movement in an attempt to expel the occupiers but it was not popular with the Greek people so it created and led a national liberation movement (EAM) that included all the left leaning parties in Greece, which were closer to the Greek working class.

There are several reasons why the CPG took the initiative to organize a resistance movement. First, as part of a greater plan it would be able to expand the communist ideology so that communism could take root in Greece. Most people, especially the Macedonians, had had enough of the fascists and wanted change. Second, because it represented the working-class multitudes it would be able to harness their power and spill their blood in future revolts, instead of the blood of the bourgeois and their supporters who saw no profit in dying for a cause. Third, because the CPG was the only party to recognize the existence of the Macedonian people in Greece, it would be able to harness their power not only to fight against the occupiers but also to keep them from being swayed by occupier propaganda, especially Bulgarian propaganda which offered autonomy and independence for Macedonia.

But no sooner had the CPG established itself as the leader of the resistance movement in Greece, then England began to worry about losing Greece to the Soviet Union, especially when the Soviets turned the tide on the war with the Germans and began to drive south.

To make sure Greece remained in the English sphere of influence, England began to infiltrate the CPG with its own spies and people. It even managed to infiltrate the top CPG leadership with

Siantos, one of its agents, who was appointed temporary Secretary General in charge of the CPG. This way England would be able to control the situation in Greece in the future and make sure things went its way.

After the CPG formed its resistance army called ELAS, it began to disband the Macedonian armed groups in the mountains and made every effort to incorporate them into ELAS. Those who refused were attacked and disbanded by force. When it amassed enough of a fighting force ELAS began to attack the fascist gangs and the Macedonian bands in Kostur Region but without success. They were simply too powerful. The CPG needed a better plan, especially against the Macedonian bands in Kostur Region so, with Yugoslav help, it came up with the idea of forming a Macedonian organization called Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front (SNOF) and its military wing Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army (SNOV). The idea behind SNOF was to have the Macedonians fight it out – Macedonians fighting Macedonians - and get the Kostur Region bands to surrender. The plan worked. All the Macedonian bands in the villages, one by one, surrendered their arms and joined SNOF. SNOF's peaceful tactics of persuasion and its agitation through the Macedonian language press contributed a great deal to not only the surrender of arms but also in convincing members of these bands to join SNOF and even ELAS. After that SNOF was abruptly dissolved and SNOV was disbanded and its fighters were absorbed by ELAS. In other words, SNOF, regardless of what the Macedonian people were told or thought of it, was nothing more than a communist weapon concocted by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) to destroy the Kostur Region Macedonian bands.

At the time, on the surface, the CPG looked like and officially acted like any other Balkan communist party, so the general impression was that the CPG would eventually bring socialism to Greece, rights to the Macedonian people and would look north to

Moscow in the future. But deep down the CPG was not like the other Balkan communist parties, at least not at the top level. While the CPG preached a communist ideology it harboured nationalist ideas and made Greece's sovereignty, with Greek occupied Macedonia in it, its highest priority, something Moscow would not support. Moscow was looking at a communist Balkan federation with Greece in it but without Greek occupied Macedonia. No Greek of any political affiliation was prepared to give up Greek occupied Macedonia for socialism.

As it turned out the West, particularly England, was offering Greece exactly what it wanted and was prepared in time to deliver it. But for the time being the CPG had to act like a communist party in order to prevent the Soviet Red Army from "liberating" Greece and to maintain a lid on the local communists and the Macedonians. In other words, the CPG's objectives were to keep the Slav armies from invading Greece, to use the real communists and Macedonians to drive out the occupiers and to make sure the communists or the Macedonians did not win or take power. This became evident when the CPG started looking to the West.

It began with the signing of the Lebanon Agreement to form a coalition government with other Greek civilian parties, including the political right parties it was fighting against. The Agreement also called for disarming the Macedonian people as a means of destroying the Macedonian national liberation movement which had been building since the start of the triple occupation.

It then signed the Caserta Agreement, requiring all resistance forces in Greece to be placed under English command. After this ELAS was placed under the command of the English supported Greek government in exile which brought into the forefront the question of what to do with the Macedonian forces. The political right, being in direct command of ELAS, did not want Macedonian forces to exist because that would provide

undeniable proof that a Macedonian population existed in Greece. Also, the Macedonians posed a danger to Greece's sovereignty.

Then, after Stalin and Churchill divided the Balkans at Yalta, and Stalin accepted the idea that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece, the so-called "December events" began. Violent acts were staged in Athens in order to vilify ELAS and have it disbanded and give the English a reason to enter Greece legally.

After that the Varkiza Agreement was signed which called for EAM to disband ELAS and hold a referendum on the return of the monarchy in Greece. By signing the Varkiza Agreement the CPG basically surrendered power to the political right and the English.

This should give you an idea of how events were developing in Greece during World War Two and the direction the CPG was taking.

But as WW II was winding down communists still existed in Greece, who at the time were a majority, and so were Macedonians who were promised self-determination by the Atlantic Charter and other concessions by the CPG.

When WW II ended the communists were still there and so were the Macedonians looking for the promised concessions they earned by fighting on the side of the Allies. Unfortunately for the Greek government and for England these were unresolved matters which had to be resolved. So once again the CPG's help was needed. But before anything could be resolved the Greek government in Athens had to be legitimized and take root.

After England installed its agent Zahariadis as general secretary of the CPG, the English turned to the CPG to help them elect the liberal party which, in turn, opened the door for the political right to take power. All Zahariadis had to do was encourage the

democratic forces to support the liberals. He told the people to support the liberals in order to keep the “Monarcho-Fascists” from taking power. But then when the liberals took office they opened the door for the “Monarcho-Fascists” to take over.

After the “Monarcho-Fascists” took control of the security forces in Greece they began to torment the democratic forces and terrorize the Macedonian population. They demanded that the Macedonians leave Greece. Unfortunately, their tactics did not work because the Macedonians were not going anywhere. So, a new plan had to be put in place. If they were not going to leave under duress they would be removed by other means. For example, if the Macedonians were to pick up guns and begin to fight against the Greek government, say to carve out Greek territory, then the Greek government would have no choice but to fight back. Its actions would also be supported by its allies England and the United States because their intervention would be deemed of “legal” character because they were there to help the “legally elected government” and the “lawful regime in Greece” against “subversive elements”.

Here again the English and their Western partners turned to the CPY and CPG for help. While the rightists in Greece were tormenting the democratic forces and terrorizing the Macedonian population, the CPY was creating a new people’s liberation movement for Greek occupied Macedonia (NOF). Zahariadis in the meantime was preparing the democratic forces inside Greece for a new armed struggle. Both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union agreed to support the CPG in this.

NOF arrived in Greek occupied Macedonia before the new armed struggle, later termed the Greek Civil War, began and started preparations to arm the Macedonian people. But by then WW II had ended and the Macedonian people did not want to fight and refused to join NOF. To make them fight the political right (“Monarcho-Fascists”) began to escalate its terror activities

against the Macedonians to unprecedented levels, forcing many Macedonians to run to the mountains and join NOF in order to save themselves.

After NOF established itself on the ground and was ready, the CPY subordinated NOF to the CPG and the CPG used it as an instrument to rally the Macedonian people and initiated the armed struggle.

At first the Macedonian people were told they were fighting to save themselves from the Greek terror, later they were told they were fighting for equality and human rights in Greece, after that they were told they were fighting for a united Macedonia and for independence from Greece. Eventually, as the war became very hot, they were told they were fighting for their survival.

In the meantime, while the English were telling the world a civil war was being fought in Greece - communist Greeks fighting against capitalist Greeks, the Greek population was told that the Greek government was fighting against Slav bandits who, with help from the Greek communists, were trying to steal their Macedonia from them.

There are patterns that show that when the Greek government needed to “do something” against the communists or against the Macedonians in Greece the CPG was there to help. When the Greek government needed to pass an anti-Macedonian law or rally the Greek people to fight in the war against the Macedonian people, the CPG was there to make it happen. In order to upset the Greek people, the CPG often offered the Macedonian people concessions like recognition, rights, independence and so on. It was then up to the Greek press to declare these concessions treacherous. These CPG tactics had a dual effect; they rallied both the Greek and Macedonian people to fight against one another. On the one hand they rallied the Greek people behind their government to fight against the Slavic bandits who wanted to

steal their Macedonia from them. On the other hand, they rallied the Macedonian people behind the democratic forces which promised rights and self-determination. All the Macedonians had to do was fight and win the war and these concessions would be theirs. All the Greeks had to do was fight and win the war and Macedonia would remain Greek.

On the surface it seemed like the CPG was doing “goods things” for the Macedonian people like allowing them to speak Macedonian, opening Macedonian schools, offering them equal rights, offering them the right to self-determination, etc. But if we dig deeper we will find that all these things were done for ulterior and sinister motives. As history has shown, all these concessions were temporary and later withdrawn. In other words, the CPG made these concessions not for the benefit of the Macedonian people but for the benefit of Greece and its patrons England and the United States.

What is interesting here is that the CPG made sure all these offers were made to a phantom people the “Slavo-Macedonians”, who were defined as Slavic speaking Greeks who lived in Greek occupied Macedonia, who had nothing to do with Macedonians in Tito’s Yugoslavia.

But that was not all the CPG did to help the Greek government and its patrons England and the US win the war. Before Zahariadis started the armed uprising in Greece, later termed the Greek Civil War, he did a few things to make sure that the Greek government won. First, he agreed to England coming to Greece, in fact he insisted on it. Second, he agreed to form a coalition “unity” government with the rightists, the CPG’s enemy. Third, he refused to expand DAG and turn it into a powerful army when he could have, when the Greek government was weak and when the CPG could have taken power. Fourth, he refused to take part in the March 31, 1946 elections, allowing a rightist government to win and take hold of power. Fifth, he refused to allow

independent Macedonian organizations and military formations to exist, which could have helped him win the war. Sixth, he and his top people hand-picked the battles DAG fought making sure the opponent was prepared to fight and win, like in Konitsa. Seventh, he turned DAG from a successful hit and run mobile army into an unsuccessful stationary army fighting at fronts giving its opponent the ability to target it with its heavy artillery and aviation. Eight, he brought the war north into Greek occupied Macedonia where he had set up free zones and liberated territories. As a result, the war brought death and destruction forcing the Macedonian people to leave their homes en masse and head north across the border to save themselves. Nine, he made sure every capable Macedonian was involved in the war effort and as a result became an enemy of the Greek government. Ten, he gave the Greek military enough time to prepare before he ordered the attack on Lerin. Eleven, when the war was escalating and concluding he made sure that every Macedonian village was emptied of its people and they were sent over the border into Albania. Twelve, he made no attempt to sign a surrender agreement with the Greek government and safeguard the return of the fighters and refugees. In fact, he made sure the Mavedonians fleeing for their lives were out of Greece, enabling the Greek government to close its borders and permanently exile them with no hope of ever returning.

The Greek Civil War was rigged from the start and was designed to destroy the communists in Greece and get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. This is what England and later the United States wanted and this is why they supported the Greek government and the top CPG leadership. The Greek government made it no secret that it wanted the communists destroyed and the entire Macedonian population expelled from Greece. It made that very clear through its newspapers, the Greek media and by condoning and secretly supporting terrorist activities against the Macedonians and the democratic people in general. Control of how this was going to be done was left up to the CPG top leaders. For all this to be legal

the Greek government had to take a defensive position and only react, that is, fight back to protect Greece's sovereignty. The CPG had to do the rest. So, to make sure the Greek government met its objectives, the CPG set the conditions as stated above and appointed the "right people" to lead the war. The top CPG leadership made sure these leaders had the most to lose if the communists or the Macedonians won. The English made sure the CPG top leadership was infiltrated by loyal Greeks the likes of Zahariadis and Vafiadis who had the most to lose. Zahariadis and Vafiadis were both Christian Turkish colonists from Asia Minor deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920's and given Macedonian lands and homes for free. These people were told that if the Macedonians won the war they and all the colonists and settlers the Greek government deposited in Macedonia would be thrown out. At the same time, even though the majority of the fighting force in this war was Macedonian, no Macedonians were allowed to lead independently. If the CPG truly wanted to help the Macedonian people it would have allowed the Macedonians to independently create and lead their own organizations and military.

After receiving reports of how badly the communists and Macedonians were treated in Greece with English support, the Soviet Union saw an opportunity to intervene by asking the United Nations to remove the English military from Greece. The UN declined. Like it is today, the United Nations at that time was dominated by Western influence which tended to support England's interests more than care for the Macedonians or the communists in Greece.

As a counter to this, Greece then sent its own delegation to the United Nations claiming that the war inside Greece was brought from the outside, particularly by the communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania and supported by the Soviet Union. Greece and its patrons England and the United States, needed to make this war look like it was brought into Greece by

outsiders otherwise it would have been difficult to explain why Slav-speaking Greeks would want to carve out Greek territory and give it to Yugoslavia. Also, it would later make it easier to explain why Greece exiled all the DAG fighters and would not accept them back. This also explains why the CPG did not negotiate DAG's surrender and the return of the fighters to their homes in Greece. If the war could be blamed on outsiders then there would be no reason to explain anything.

The United Nations did send an investigative team which conducted an internal and external investigation but its findings were inconclusive. Greece made sure the "right" people were interviewed who gave the investigators false information. Unfortunately, the fact that NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greece to start a war did not help the situation. Eventually the United Nations voted in favour of Greece and ordered Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania not to recognize the communists in Greece or to support the war effort. Nothing was done about the Macedonian condition.

Sometime later, realizing that things could get a lot worse in the Balkans, the Soviet Union ordered Yugoslavia to stop supporting the war effort in Greece. Stalin began to worry when there was word that the Greek government was asking the United States to think about using atomic weapons against DAG in the Macedonian mountains. "Look what they did in Japan, thousands of kilometers away... Imagine what they would do here if we continue to interfere in their affairs..." said Stalin to Tito. Unfortunately, Tito refused to comply which started the Stalin-Tito feud turning the entire communist bloc, including the CPG, against the CPY. This was very bad for the Macedonian people who were caught in the middle. The feud left no middle ground; the Macedonian people were forced to decide if they were "for Tito" or "for Stalin". And if they were for the one that meant that they were against the other. The Macedonian people were split in two and began their own feud calling each other traitors. In fact,

Stalin was so upset, after attempting to assassinate Tito several times and failing, that he threatened to dismantle Yugoslavia. He told Tito he was going to assemble an army from the Macedonian fighters and send it to carve out the Yugoslav part of Macedonia and create an independent Macedonian state. And that is the reason why the Soviet Union took all the exiled DAG fighters to Tashkent, USSR after the Greek Civil War ended.

Years later, when the fighters began to return to their homeland, not being welcome in Greece, they landed in the Republic of Macedonia. Upon their entry they were sent to a prison for interrogation and asked if they were for Tito or Stalin... and God help those who said they were for Stalin. The Macedonian fighters who fled the Greek Civil War and went to the Republic of Macedonia before the war was over succumbed to CPY propaganda and began to accuse the Macedonians still fighting in the war of being traitors; fighting for the Greek cause. The Macedonian fighters who fought in the Greek Civil War to the end and were sent to Tashkent succumbed to CPG propaganda and began to accuse the fighters who left during the war of being traitors, deserters and of abandoning their families and homeland.

There were no Macedonian heroes in this war on either side, only villains and victims, blaming each other for losing the war. History took the side of the architects who started this war and placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Macedonian people. They started a feud, Macedonian accusing Macedonian of wrong-doing, which is still going on to this day, to cover up the truth. Yugoslavia was very much a part of the conspiracy to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece as much as Greece, England and the United States were.

Risto Stefov

## Letter No. 7

### **THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA DURING THE TERRIBLE DECADE 1939 TO 1949**

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia became involved in two conflicts during the “terrible decade” from 1939 to 1949. They first became entangled in World War II and later in the Greek Civil War hoping to gain their independence from the Greek yoke or at least gain their human rights as Macedonians inside Greece. In the end they gained nothing and lost everything.

Very little to nothing has been written in the international forum about the Macedonians in Greece and their involvement in these conflicts. Macedonians who lived and still live inside and outside of Greece, to this day, are afraid to speak of the terrible ordeals they went through during the “terrible decade” for fear of repercussions from the Greek authorities, for fear of being humiliated or just because it is too painful for them to remember. To this day it is taboo in Greece to speak of the dreaded so-called Greek Civil War.

The Macedonian people in Greece it seems have been ignored by all sides. Yugoslavia has ignored them because, we are told, it did not want to ruin its good relations with Greece and with the West. Greece on the other hand, to this day claims that Macedonians simply don't exist and wants to erase them from history. Bulgaria, even though it has a large Macedonian immigrant population from Greece, has yet to admit that the Macedonian people are a distinct ethnic group. Bulgaria to this day still insists that the Macedonians are Bulgarians. Even outside of the Balkan territory, people have said nothing and are content with saying nothing about the Macedonians living in Greece. So, in reality no one really cares about the Macedonians in Greece and as a result very little to nothing is known about them, especially in the

international scene. “Indeed, the Macedonians in Greece are hardly ever mentioned in scholarly literature and have been virtually forgotten as a people and as a national minority.” (Andrew Rossos)

This is most unfortunate not only because of the Macedonian contribution to the struggle against Fascism and Nazism, but also because as distinct people with their own language and culture, the Macedonians living in Greece deserve to be recognized.

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

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

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

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

This story shows the ways and means by which this was done with assistance from the English and the Americans.

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

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

Between 1912 when Macedonia was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria and

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

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

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

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

earlier considerations made by the monarchist families in Europe and the Western Great Powers whose aims were to “partition” Macedonia and “assimilate” the Macedonian people into the nations which annexed Macedonian territories.

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

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

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

So, the most important question to ask at this point is were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia sacrificed for the sake of a “revolution” or because of some “perpetrated fraud”? Was the so-called Greek Civil War a “spontaneous” or “planned” war to eradicate the communists and to get rid of the Macedonians? Because the top Communist Party of Greece leadership made every effort to control this war so that the Macedonians could not win and so that the communists would lose. To make sure the Macedonians did not win, the CPG made sure no Macedonians entered top political or military positions. In fact, the top CPG political and military positions were occupied by the likes of Nikos Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis, both Turkish colonists from Asia Minor who had the most to lose if the Macedonians won. Also, every time the Macedonians tried to build and strengthen their own political or military forces, the CPG stepped in and stopped them. The only time the Macedonians were allowed to lift up their heads was when the Greek communists needed them to make more sacrifices.

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

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

To answer these questions, we need to look at the outcome of this so-called Greek Civil War. England, the United States, the Western world in general and the Greek political right wanted to destroy the communists in Greece while England and every Greek of every faction wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece. The Macedonian people were standing in the way of Greek and Western interests in Greece so a situation needed to be created to remove them. In other words, the Macedonian people were put in a situation where they had to fight and die and then permanently leave their homeland. This is exactly what happened in the end and this falls exactly in line with England’s and Greece’s long-term objectives. Both England and Greece wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece and have a Macedonia

without Macedonians! In the end, the Greek communists made that possible.

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

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

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