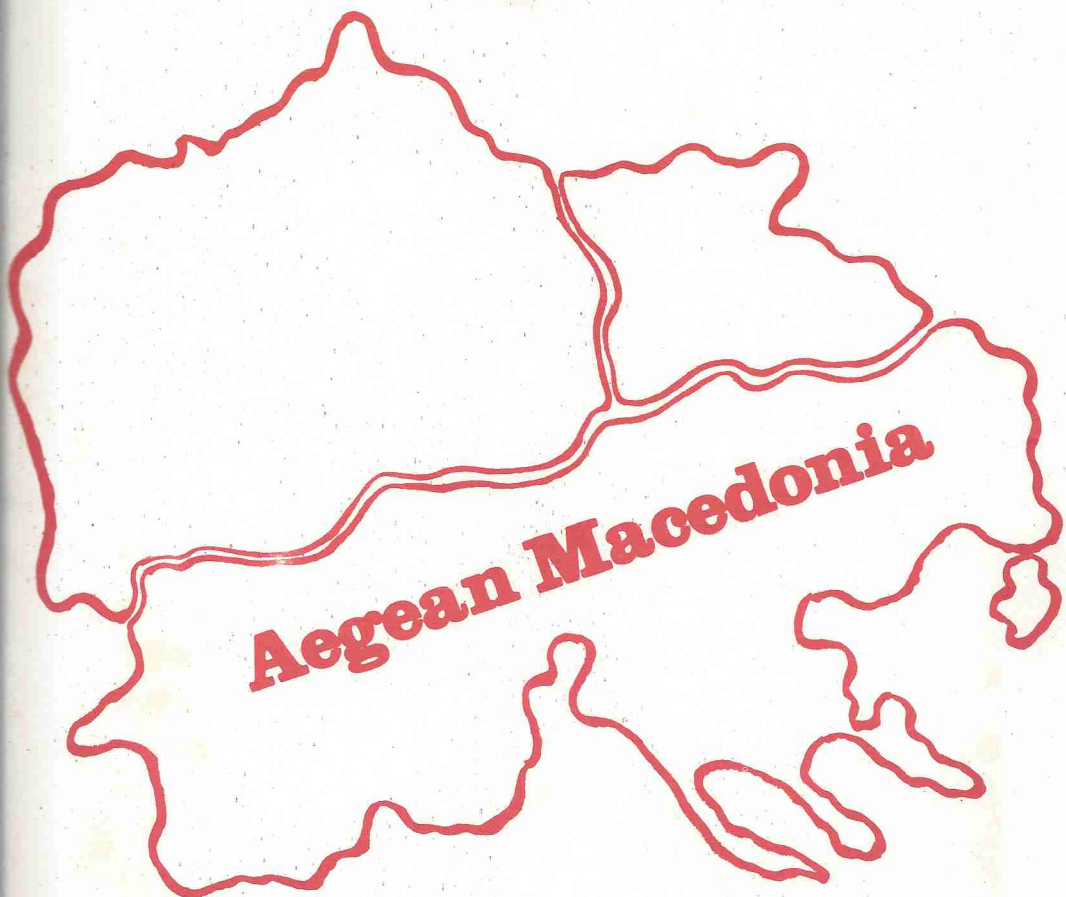


**The terror in
Aegean Macedonia
under Greek
occupation.**



The terror in Aegean Macedonia under Greek Occupation.



INTRODUCTION

Many people may ask us, why we are printing this little pamphlet with so many atrocities committed by the Greek government in the recent years. Why we should not forget them and try, to make friendship with the neighbours.

Well, we think, we have a moral strength to forgive certain atrocities committed in the past by the Greek government, if the present government does not continue the same old atrocious practice. But present Greek government, not only persist that there is no Macedonian people, but, to day in Athens they are sharpening their knives to cut more macedonian heads. The world is not aware what sinister plan is shapening in the friendly meeting between Karamalis, Todor Zivkov and the heirs of Tito.

With this little pamphlet we introduce to the world a factual reality, a documented reality, an illustrated truth, which can be varified, any time, and it is taking place right now under the very nose of the U. N. institutions. We the Macedonian intelegency could not remain silent while our Macedonian people are deprived from elementary human rights.

The world does not know that in Greek part of Macedonia, the Macedonian people are forbidden to speak Macedonian language, to educate their children in Macedonian schools, to have Macedonian churches, besides that every christian names and surnames are changed into Greek names. Further more, the cities with thousand year Macedonian names, to day are renamed with Greek names with intention to erase every sign of Macedonian culture.

Before 1912 Macedonia was ruled by Turkey. Turkish regime was despotic and brutal politicalliy, but the Macedonian people was also under spiritual oppressive rule of the Greek church. Greek fanatical clergy in close cooperation with Turkish authority murdered every prominent Macedonian intellectuals, like Brother Miladinovi . . .

Since 1912, when Macedonia was divided between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, up to now Greek internal policy remain unchanged. This policy is : ERASING MACEDONIAN PEOPLE FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, PHYSICALLY, HISTORICALLY, CULTURALLY AND SPIRITUALLY. TO THIS GENERAL POLICY, EVERY GREEK GOVERNMENT PERSISTENTLY APPLIES ITS ATROCIOUS POLICY TOWARD MACEDONIANS. AT PRESENT MR. KARAMALIS / KARAMANOV / IS PREOCCUPIED IN CONSULTING BALGARIAN PREZIDENT TODOR ZIVKOV AND THE TITO'S HEIRS HOW TO PERPETUATE ETERNAL DIVISION OF MACEDONIA . . .

Mr. Karamalis / Karamanov / is very much in trouble, because despite so much endeavour to destroy Macedonians, they are still allive with determination TO BE . . .

In this little pamphlet we expose the bare facts, so the readers will draw their conclusion accordingly . . .

We want to tell to the world, that we are a divided country, occupied by our neighbours : Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia — Yugoslavia, and that we are the most oppressed nation. We want to tell also, that our occupiers are spending millions of dollars, to destroy us, to frighten us, to silence us, or buy us to serve their purpose. They are sending their secret agents, professors, generals and politicians to misrepresent us to the Australian authority, branding us as a dangerous terrorist, because we want our recognition as a sovereign people.

Since 1912 Macedonian people have been waging a non stop struggle for unification of Macedonia. At present this struggle is intensified with new vigor and determination. We are going to expose the Greek hypocrisy. Greek government has signed every U. N. humanitarian resolution, but that does not prevent it to pursue the sinister policy against Macedonians. This behaviour we are going to change . . .

We invite the intelligent reader to read the facts and make his own judgement.

The material printed in the pamphlet is collected by Perth students and printed by the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Society for Australia.

*Initiative Student group.
Perth, 1980, W. Australia.*

**END THE
DIVISION OF
MACEDONIA NOW!
THE MACEDONIAN
PEOPLE NEEDS
FREEDOM, UNITY
& INDEPENDENCE.**

**OVERSEAS LEAGUE IN DEFENCE OF THE NATIONAL RIGHTS
OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE.**



JUGOSLAVIA

BULGARIA

This part of Macedonia fell under Serbian occupation (Jugoslavia) in 1913. In 1944 the Macedonian fighters created it's Macedonian Republic that enjoys certain freedoms, but falls short from beign totally independent.

This part of Macedonia is occupied by Bulgaria.

ALBANIA

MACEDONIA

This part of Macedonia is under the Greek terror of occupation since 1913.

GREECE

AEGEAN SEA

The Ancient Macedonians and Alexander the Great

by Hristo Andonovski

There is great interest in ancient Macedonia among our neighbours the Greeks. They have held several symposia on the theme and have engaged international authorities such as Hendrich Prizet, Klafenbach and others to prove the Greek roots of ancient Macedonia and its spiritual and material relationship to the Greeks.

Unbiased scholars write that it is still not possible to say with certainty who the ancient Macedonians were, from where they came, and when exactly they settled on the territory which was later proclaimed to be the ancient Macedonian state with its capital at Aigais, later known as Edhessa and, after the arrival of the Slavs, as Voden. Most scholars are inclined to accept the theory that the ancient Macedonians first appeared in the Kostur Basin, at the upper reaches of the Bistritsa River, and around the town of Argos Oresticon (the Slavonic Rupishta), from which toponym the name of the first Macedonian dynasty, the Argaead, derives. The Yugoslav historian Fanula Papazoglu tells us that the word *argos* meant plain in ancient Macedonian.

Greek students cite Greek mythology on the question of the choice of Aigais (Edhessa), the creation of the Macedonian kingdom, and the origins of the Macedonian kings. It is not difficult to confirm that, at the time the mythology was composed, it expressed the desire of the ancient Greek tribes, later the city states of Athens, Thebes, Sparta, etc., to establish colonies in the fertile part of the Balkan Peninsula to the north. The mythological versions, which are also used by the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, can only be interpreted as meaning that the founders of the Macedonian kingdom, Karanos and Perdikkas, came from the Corinthian Argos on the Peloponnese and not from the Macedonian Argos Oresticon, a fact admitted even by Greek historians. It is not improbable that some of the Macedonian kings, such as Alexander I, known as the philhellene, invented versions of their noble descent from the mythological hero Achilles and the Dorians, who were known for their spiritual and material culture on the Peloponnese. The legends which tell how Karanos took Aigais with the help of goats (the ancient Greek word for goat being similar) or that Perdikkas was taking sheep and goats to pasture and they showed him the

way, hence the name of the town derived from the word for goat, are considered to have no foundation in fact. It has been shown that the words *aigais* and *edhessa* in Thracio-Phrygian meant waves, or an abundance of water. And before the region of Emathia in which the town of Voden lies was settled by the ancient Macedonians, it was inhabited by Phrygians from the northern regions of Asia Minor. As the Macedonians moved eastwards, they were gradually forced out or assimilated into the Macedonian tribes.

To begin with the Macedonian kingdom strengthened its position in the territory between the Rivers Bistritsa, Luda and Vardar. According to Herodotus the first king of Macedonia, Perdikkas, asked his successor Argeus to bury him in Aigæis, or Edhessa, because he admired that place for its great natural beauty. From then onwards, even when the capital was moved east to Pella, Voden became a mausoleum for the Macedonian kings. Perdikkas was followed by Argeus, Philip, Aeropos and Alchetas, all of whom waged constant battles against the enemies of the Macedonian kingdom, the Illyrians, Lyncesti and others.

During Amintas' reign the Macedonian state spread southeast from Voden towards Piræus and the sea coast. It absorbed Mygdonia, Paeonia and later Eordea and Almopia. Amintas' successor, his son Alexander I, extended the frontiers of the state even further, to Olympus in the south, the Pindus Mountains in the west, Nidzhé in the north and the Struma River in the east. Then some towns of the Chalcidices, which were Greek colonies, also fell to the Macedonian state. Alexander I tried to develop relations with the Greeks, but his first attempt failed; he expressed his wish to participate in the Olympic Games, but as is well known, non-Greeks were not allowed to take part in them. Alexander I was insulted and tried to establish a relationship of common descent with the Greeks. He even exploited legends and folk stories for his purpose.

As a result of the improvement in communications with the outside world one of the Macedonian kings, Archelaos, decided to move his capital from Edhessa to Pella, which lay on the shore of Lake Enidzhé-Vardar and had access to the sea. At the same time the Macedonian court became a centre for artists, scholars, poets and philosophers from various countries. The thirteenth report by John Hopkins University in America on the archeological findings from the Macedonian town of Olynt on the Chalcidices talks of an autochthonous Macedonian culture with Phrygio-Thracian influences long before the contacts with the Mycenaean culture, which date from the sixth century B.C., developed. The art of Olynt and later of the other Macedonian localities, as seen in the Macedonian tomb near Vergina and ceramic vases, jars, decorations and other objects, is artistically similar to the art of Troy, Thermai and other regions and centres in northwestern Anatolia, a fact recognized by Hartley in his book

Prehistoric Macedonia

The ancient Macedonian state enjoyed its greatest phase of development during the reign of Philip II, when the frontiers of the state stretched from Thrace to the Ionian Sea in the west. Philip subjugated the Athenians and the Thebans at the battle of Chaeronea and then planned a great march to the east to free the Balkans from the potential danger of the Persians. After Philip's tragic death in 336 B.C., on the day of his daughter Cleopatra's wedding, he was succeeded by his son Alexander the Great, who was able to carry out his father's vision and destroy the all-powerful Persian Empire to its very foundations. It was inevi-

table that the long years of campaigning in Asia and the exhausting battles caused discord not only between the Macedonian Generals who composed Alexander's army, but also among the Macedonians themselves. Alexander's fame gradually waned and in 323 he died of a chill. That is, of course, only one version of Alexander's death; there are others which claim that Alexander's death was the result of a plot by the disaffected. Alexander's successors saw the enormous empire collapse as the result of various factors — the variety of peoples, interests and tendencies, poor communications, etc. The Macedonian Empire finally came to an end at the Battle of Pidna near Olympus during which the army of the last Macedonian king, Perseus, was decimated by the Roman legions. On 22 June 168 B.C. Macedonia, once renowned, became an occupied Roman province.

The Controversy over the Origins of the Ancient Macedonians and Their Language

Greek interest in ancient Macedonia increased after the annexation of that part of Macedonia by Greece. In 1913 Georgios Ikonomou, custodian of archeology, led an excavation on the area of the first Macedonian capital, Voden. The work was continued by the archeologist Stratis Pelikidis. Later, excavations were carried out in the western regions of Aegean Macedonia by Andonios Keramopoulos, and after the Second World War, in 1957, excavations were undertaken in Pella, the second capital of the ancient Macedonian state. They had one aim (it was revealed by Professor Petsas): to prove the existence of a Hellenic culture in Macedonia three thousand years ago!!! "There is no greater national work," says Prof. Patsas, "than the excavations in Pella and Voden. It is particularly necessary now, bearing in mind national conditions, to remind people in Greece and outside her borders, especially in the East, that here lives the spirit of Marathon, but with that spirit the Macedonian phalanx, too, exists and can be evoked if it is needed . . ."

The same purpose motivated two symposia held in Salonica and Kavalla. However, as the same Prof. Patsas wrote in the newspaper *Elimikos voras*, little was achieved. "We went," he said, "to solve serious problems, to throw light on some questions, to find out who the ancient Macedonians were. The answer to the question is not complete in the sources we have for prehistoric times. The Macedonian sources have not been preserved. We have information about the Macedonians mainly from their enemies, the Athenians such as Demosthenes, the Romans such as Livy, or the Greeks who had been occupied by the Romans such as Polibius . . ."

The problem of the language and origins of the ancient Macedonians also engaged the attention of the university professor Daskalakis. His ideas catch our attention when he says: "Today the most eminent foreign scholars agree that the Macedonians spoke a Doric dialect. Only a few still insist on the discredited theory of a Macedonian language different from Greek and close to the Illyrian and, some say, Thracian." According to Daskalakis the latter scholars propound their theory for their own purposes.

We can summarize the arguments advanced by experts in favour of the non-Hellenic character of the ancient Macedonian as follows: 1) the words which are considered to have been in use in ancient Macedonia and have been preserved are characterized by the consonants v, g and b in place of the ts, h and v in use

in Greek and these consonants are a feature of the northern languages (Slavonic, Celtic and Illyrian, etc.), not ancient Greek; 2) most of the words which have been preserved and are considered to be Macedonian seem quite foreign to Greek; 3) some word which the Macedonians borrowed from Greek were changed in pronunciation according to the rules of their own language; 4) most of the names used in Alexander's time are extremely difficult to etymologize; and 5) despite all the excavations in Macedonia no inscriptions in Greek dating from that period have been found.

Daskalakis concludes from all the above arguments: "Whoever disputes the Greek character of ancient Macedonia thinks he has found support in theories based on some texts the sense of which he perverts and then tries to conclude that the Macedonians, particularly during the reign of Alexander the Great, did not speak Greek but some non-Greek language among themselves. That language is supposed to be ancient Macedonian."

Prof. Daskalakis tries even to contradict the historian Plutarch, who, in his *Lives*, describes an argument between Alexander and Clytes and say: "Alexander was carried away in his rage and called out in Macedonian to his adjutants." This means that in a moment of excitement, when he could not control himself, Alexander turned spontaneously to his own Macedonian language. Prof. Daskalakis claims that the expression "Macedonian" means in this case in a Macedonian way, not in the Macedonian language. He uses a similar argument when dealing with the Latin historian Curtius Rufus, who describes how a certain Philos, one of Alexander's men, was accused of treason and brought before the court where Alexander the Great told him to defend himself in his mother tongue.

Daskalakis brushes aside Demosthenes attacks on Philip of Macedon and later Alexander the Great in this way: "The characteristics which Demosthenes ascribes to them refer to the cultural differences between Athens and Macedonia. This great Athenian could not accept the pan-Hellenic idea in Philip's plans, he was born with the spirit and body of the holy hill of the Acropolis and could not grasp the new situation."

Was Demosthenes so limited and naive? He could with mastery seduce the Athenian society of the time. Would Demosthenes have been so frivolous as to call the Macedonians barbarians, that is, non-Greeks, if it were not true? As we know, Demosthenes said quite clearly in his third oration against Philip: "Philip cannot be a friend to the Greeks That is more than a delusion He is not a Greek and has no affinity with the Greeks, he is not even a foreigner of respectable descent He is only a wretched Macedonian. And in Macedonia, as we know, in earlier times you could not even buy a decent slave."

The late Prof. Andonios Karamopoulos tried, like Prof Daskalakis, to support the theory of the Greek origins of the ancient Macedonians in his book *On the Tribal Origins of the Ancient Macedonians*. According to him the Greeks came to Macedonia most probably by way of Thrace about 2,500 B.C. They passed through the Morava and Vardar Valley and settled in the western part of the Balkans and Macedonia, which they captured from the Thracians. After about five hundred years the Thracians again became masters of Macedonia and forced some Greek tribes (the Ionians and Achaeans) to settle further south. During the thirteenth century B.C. the western part of the Balkans was settled by the Illyrians, who forced the Eordeae to move eastwards to the Ostrovo Plain. "Of the tribes which remained in Macedonia, only the Herestidae," writes Karamopoulos, "formed a state with its capital at Voden. From the dawn of

history the names of the people and places in Macedonia, such as Karanos, Perdikkas, Amintas, have been Greek."

But what written or other proof have we that Macedonia was Greek from the dawn of history? Surely it is Greek mythology? A mythology which expresses the desire of the ancient Greeks to colonize foreign territory. If the Macedonians were Greeks, why have they left no written inscriptions as did the Greeks in Athens? And why do Demosthenes, Curtius Rufus, Plutarch and Hesiod, Abel and V. Alyi and many other authors of serious studies on the origin of the ancient Macedonians make claims quite contrary to those made by Daskalakis and Karamopoulos? The case of the book *A History of the Greeks* by Karagatsis comes to mind. It was published in 1952 and expressed the view that it is a delusion to think of the ancient Macedonians as Greeks. A critic of Greater Greek sympathies raised a hue and cry and demanded that the government should stop the distribution of the book "because, if the book crosses the Greek frontiers, a great service will have been done for the enemies of the Greek nation."

It is worth at this point examining the work of Pulyanos, a Greek political emigrant in the Soviet Union, who had the opportunity a few years ago to study the archives in Moscow and other Soviet towns and to make anthropological measurements and investigations in Tashkent and Chirchik, where many Macedonians live as political emigrants. He wrote a dissertation in which he states that the modern Macedonians are descendants of the ancient Macedonians. Pulyanos' conclusions were welcomed in Greek scientific circles and the Greek Academy of Sciences offered him a chair at the University of Athens. The reception given Pulyanos' ideas even in Greek nationalist circles was undoubtedly the result of his support of the theory that the ancient Macedonians descended from the ancient Greeks, and therefore the modern Macedonians, as their descendants, are Greeks. And all that means that there are no non-Greek Macedonians and the Macedonian nation does not exist. All Daskalakis' writings lead to precisely that conclusion and the purpose of the symposium in Salonica in 1968 and in Kavalla in 1975 was to develop it. We are not so brave as to claim that the modern Macedonians are direct descendants of the ancient Macedonians, although the theory has a serious foundation, for the following reason: when the Macedonian Slav tribes settled Macedonia, they found another people in the region which may not have been descended from the ancient Greeks because the Romans had ruled here during the intervening period and from time to time other clans and tribes had entered the area. It is true that none of Macedonia was uninhabited, it was settled by tribes with a greater or lesser relationship to the ancient inhabitants. The Slavs, naturally, established contacts with the existing inhabitants. The extent of Macedonian Slav colonization in Macedonia is indicated by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who notes: "The whole country became Slav; it became a barbarian country."

From what we have said above, surely it is wiser to abandon all efforts to prove descent from the glories of Alexander the Great. They are pretentious and without foundation because the glory only belongs to the ancient Macedonians. If people dislike the fact that the modern Macedonians bear the name of the ancient Macedonians, they can hardly blame the Macedonians, who were moved by historical reality, a reality which is superior to the wishes and prejudices of individuals.

Alexander the Great himself gave the answer to the question: What is he? During a celebration in the Persian town of Opis a high-ranking officer asked Alexander: "You, son of Philip of Macedon who defeated the Greeks at the Battle of Chaeronea, who said that there are no longer differences between peoples and allowed us to marry Persians, from what nation are you?" "I belong to the human nation," answered Alexander the Great with a smile . . .



**Coin portrait of Alexander the Great – III – Makedonski
(356 – 323 BC)**

THE PARTITION OF MACEDONIA

As a result of the Balkan Wars (1909 – 1913) and the Bucharest Peace Treaty of July 28 (August 10) 1913, ratified by the Neuilly Peace Treaty (14/27) in November 1919, and by the Sevres Peace Treaty of July 28 (August 10th) 1920, Macedonia was divided among three Balkan states: Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria.

The total area of Macedonia before partition was 66 474 sq. kms. An area of 33 953 sq. kms was ceded to Greece and became an integral part of its territory.

As well as Aegean Macedonia, other territories were taken by Greece during and after the Balkan Wars. The area of Greece increased from 63 211 sq. kms to 129 880 sq. kms and the population increased from 2 631 952 to 6 204 684 inhabitants by 1920. By these additions, Greece's boundaries extended to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. These were in no way natural boundaries and took no account of the national feeling of the people.

Before partition the total population of Macedonia was 2 000 000. Of these people, 1 163 477 - more than half - lived in Aegean Macedonia. This population was made up as follows: Macedonian Christians about 326 000; Macedonian Moslems 41 000; Turks 295 000; Greek Christians 240 000; Greek Moslems 14 000; Christian Vlachs 46 000; Moslem Vlachs 3 500; Albanian Moslems and Christians 9 000; Jews 60 000; Gypsies 30 000; and the rest from other minorities. This was the population structure on the eve of the Balkan Wars.

It is not our intention here to consider the history of the various nationalities which made up Aegean Macedonia. We merely wish to emphasise that before the arrival of the Turks, Macedonians were more numerous than any other nationality which inhabited this territory. In spite of the frequent wars in its past, which brought devastation, ruin and migration, Macedonians continued to be the main nationality in Aegean Macedonia.

But in the period after the Balkan Wars, changes occurred in a relatively short time, and so much more impact than former invasions which had taken place over centuries. There were enormous migrations and resulting ethnic changes which brought serious consequences for the Macedonian people.

The partition of Macedonia among the three neighbouring states was great injustice to her people. They had no alternative but to fight for their national freedom. This struggle became more difficult and complex than ever before. The Macedonians in the three divisions of the country were subjected to torture, assimilation and forced emigration, all of which were intended to change the ethnic structure of Macedonia, to the disadvantage of the Macedonians.

The bourgeois government of neighbouring Greece took great political advantage of the following historical events and used them to further their aims:

1. The first and second Balkan War, from 1912 to 1913.
2. The first World War from 1914 to 1918.
3. The Greco-Turkish War from 1919 to 1922 and the Convention of Lausanne in 1923.
4. The second World War and the Civil War in Greece from 1940 to 1949.

5. The policy which followed the Civil War in Greece, which was much more refined but equally denationalising for the Macedonians. This policy was much more refined than previous ones but was equally effective in its aim of depriving the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia of their nationality.

I

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE BALKAN WARS 1912 – 1913

After the First Balkan War, which was declared on 4th October, 1912, the allied troops consisting of Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek and Montenegrin soldiers roundly defeated the Turkish troops. Turkey was forced to ask for a Peace Treaty on December 4th, 1912. The war with Turkey legally ended with the signing of the London Peace Treaty on May 17, 1913. This treaty gave the European territory of Turkey to the allied troops, but did not define their borders. Because of this there was misunderstanding about which country should take the bigger part of the newly liberated Macedonian territories and the second Balkan War flared up. This soon came to an end with the total defeat of Bulgaria.

It is worth mentioning that the misunderstandings and ambitious aspirations of the allied troops were evident in the course of the first Balkan War. In this War the Turkish and other Moslem populations in Macedonia suffered the most. The Greek and Bulgarian troops and authorities carried out the worst torture of the Moslems. These troops killed thousands of Moslems and set on fire houses, villages and even whole sections of towns inhabited by Moslems.

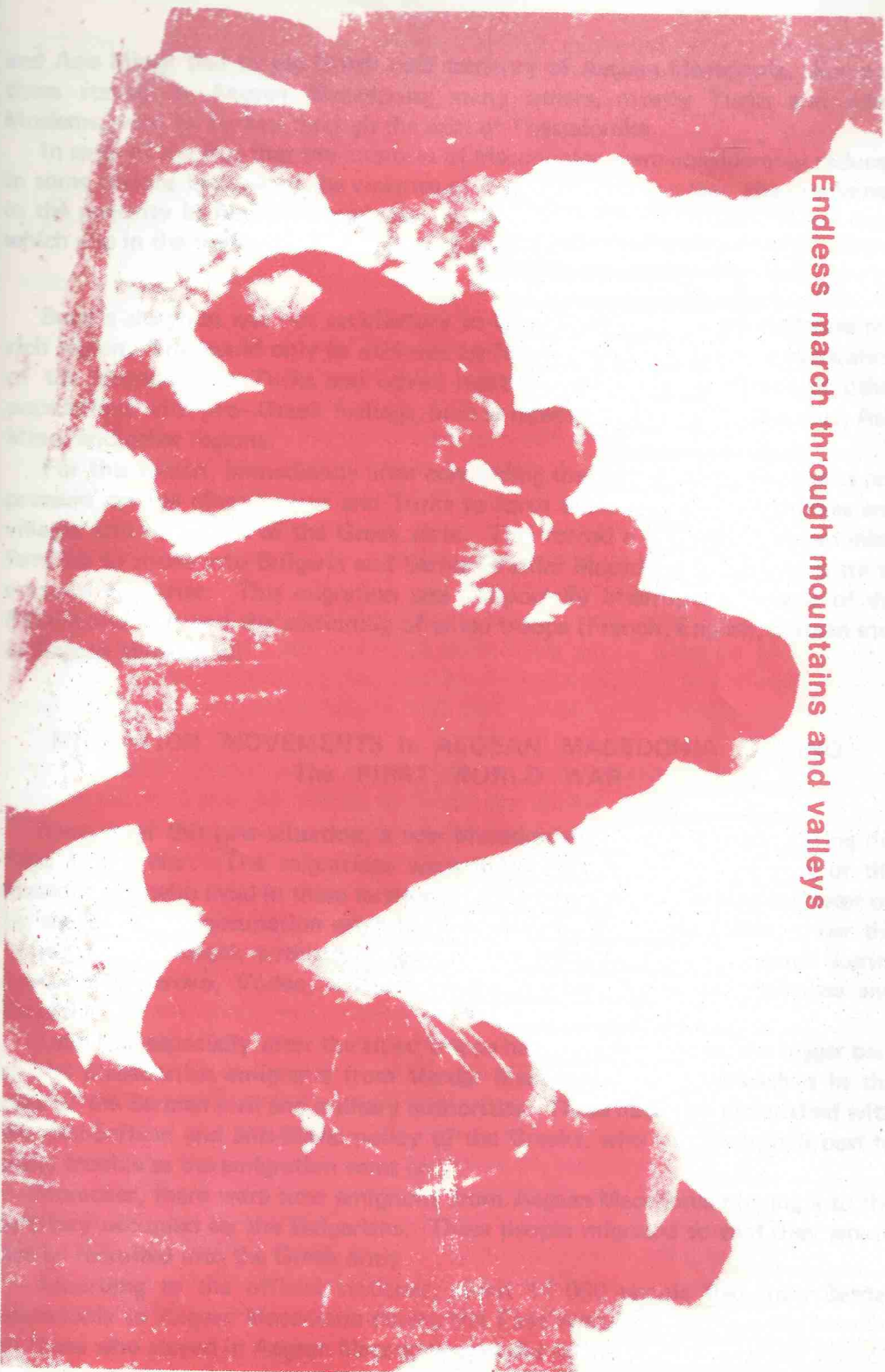
However, it was not only the Moslem population of the occupied territories which suffered, though it bore the worst of the trouble. While carrying out their imperialistic plans in Macedonia the Greek and Bulgarian occupation troops also tortured the Christian population.

The second Balkan War began on June 29, 1913 and was much more violent than the first. The Macedonian people suffered terribly. Thousands of innocent Macedonians, most of them women and children, were killed by the Greek forces. The worst of the attacks were in the Kukush and Demir Hisar regions, where the military operations were carried out. Ten Macedonian villages and the beautiful town of Kukush were burnt and left in ruins. The Bulgarian troops were equally violent towards the Greek population, especially in the towns of Seres and Dokast.

As a result of the two Balkan wars about 112 000 war refugees poured into Bulgarian territory. About 50 000 were Macedonians, 30 000 of them from Aegean Macedonia.

About 15 000 refugees, mostly Turks, a few Greeks, Macedonian patriarchs and Vlachs from Bulgaria, Vardar Macedonia and Pirin Macedonia, from Thrace

Endless march through mountains and valleys



and Asia Minor fled to the Greek held territory of Aegean Macedonia. Some of them stayed in Aegean Macedonia; many others, mostly Turks and other Moslems, went to Turkey through the port of Thessalonika.

In spite of the fact that the numbers of Macedonian were considerably reduced in some regions because of the violence of the Second Balkan War, they remained in the majority in Aegean Macedonia, but were a minority in Vardar Macedonia, which was in the framework of Serbia and Bulgaria.

Such a situation was not satisfactory to Greece, which aimed to Hellenise this rich region. This could only be achieved by forcing the assimilation or evacuation of the Macedonians, Turks and others resettling the area with Greek or other populations with pro-Greek feelings, such as newcomers from the Caucasus, Asia Minor and other regions.

For this reason, immediately after concluding the Peace Treaty the Greeks put pressure on the Macedonians and Turks to force them to leave their homes and villages and move out of the Greek state. This forced a number of Macedonian families to move into Bulgaria and Serbia (Vardar Macedonia) or to emigrate to overseas countries. This migration was temporarily interrupted because of the First World War and the stationing of allied troops (French, English, Serbian etc) in Aegean Macedonia.

MIGRATION MOVEMENTS In AEGEAN MACEDONIA DURING The FIRST WORLD WAR

Because of this new situation, a new Macedonian emigration began during the First World War. The migrations were in three directions. One part of the Macedonians who lived in these territories, dissatisfied by the Serbian and later on by the Bulgarian occupation went towards Aegean Macedonia. Here, under the "care" of the Greek authorities they moved into the border regions: Lerin, Sorovitch, Ostrovo, Voden, Meglen, Enidze, Vardar, Gumendze, Bojmitsa and Kukush.

Later on, especially after the allied troops had again left Bitola, the bigger part of the Macedonian emigrants from Vardar Macedonia found themselves in the care of the Serbian civil and military authorities. These had been dissatisfied with the anti-Serbian and anti-Slavic policy of the Greeks, who had done their best to make trouble as the emigration went on.

Moreover, there were now emigrants from Aegean Macedonia moving into the territory occupied by the Bulgarians. These people migrated so that they would not be recruited into the Greek army.

According to the official statistics, about 14 000 people fled from Bardar Macedonia to Aegean Macedonia during the First World War. This is the number of those who stayed in Aegean Macedonia and did not return after the war.

About 41 000 Macedonians fled to Bulgaria, about half of them being from Aegean Macedonia. This migration to Bulgaria, divided into years, was as follows: 3 759 in 1915: 6 713 in 1916: 2 376 in 1917: 13 454 in 1918 and 14 785 in 1919. This was a great number of emigrants, but many of them returned to their place of birth when the situation returned to normal. The migrants, especially in the autumn of 1916, consisted of peasants and citizens who were removed by force from villages and towns on the front line. Among them were inhabitants of the towns Dojran and Gevgelia.

Of these 41 000 Macedonians, about 5 500 settled in Plovdiv and its vicinity, and the rest in other towns and regions of Bulgaria.

The First World War ended satisfactorily for Greece. It spread into Thrace, which according to the Bucharest Peace Treaty, belonged to Bulgaria.

A lot of Macedonians left Aegean Macedonia because of the forced emigration; on the other hand, about 100 000 migrants with a pro—Greek attitude had been settled there. But the situation remained unsatisfactory for Greece. The greater part of the population was not Greek, but consisted of Macedonians, Turks and other nationalities. Besides that, some of the population consisted of Macedonians from Pirin and Vardar Macedonia, who though patriarchs/patriots were not of "much interest" to the Greeks.

We have already seen that about 50 000 Macedonians emigrated from Aegean Macedonia to Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. This forced emigration of the Macedonians did not turn out as expected by the Greek authorities as about 270 000 to 300 000 Macedonians remained in Aegean Macedonia.

Taking this into consideration the Greeks and allied troops forced Bulgaria into a special Convention, which was based on Article 56, line 2 of the Neuilly Peace Treaty. The convention expected a "voluntary" exchange of population between Bulgaria and Greece. This aimed to justify the forced emigration of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia to Bulgaria. But even the defeated Bulgaria did not put up any resistance because it intended to be free from Greek population which was living in Bulgaria, especially in Plovdiv and its surroundings as well as in towns and villages around the Black Sea.

It was envisaged that the migrants would be guaranteed compensation for their estates, and a special commission for this purpose was set up by the Council of the League of Nations on September 20, 1920. The Commission's President was Lieutenant Colonel A.C. Corfe of New Zealand and its vice—President was Major Mariel de Roover of Belgium. There were also a Bulgarian and a Greek on the Commission. It was supposed to supervise and facilitate the emigration from Aegean Macedonia and the payment of compensation for the estates of the migrants. But neither of the Convention nor the Commission achieved anything in practice. During the three years after it was set up the Commission found that neither the Macedonians and Thracians who were living within the framework of the Greek state, nor the Greeks living in Bulgaria, wished to leave their homes.

Finally, in the worm home



During the period from 1919 to the autumn of 1923, hardly 800 people took advantage of the services offered by the Greek and Bulgarian Commission to migrate. Of these, less than a third (about 250 persons) were Macedonians.

However, there was another significant factor in the changes in ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia – the Greko-Turkish War between 1919 and 1922. The Greek bourgeoisie had megalomaniac aspirations towards Asia Minor, especially the coast-line. This they considered to be theirs by the law of history. They alleged that they inherited it from the former Byzantian Empire. This claim resulted in war with Turkey, which was much more powerful than Greece. The war lasted three years and a great many Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia who were fighting the Greek army were killed. The war ended with total defeat of Greece.

Turkey took advantage of this victory to present to Greece the Convention of Lousanne. It provided for the forced emigration of all Christians from Turkey into Greece and of all Moslem population of western Thrace and for the Christians in Constantinople because of their long-term residence there.

The Turks in the course of their military operations in 1922 had moved the Greek population by force from the coastline of Asia Minor. During 1923 and 1924 the Convention forced them to move back into Greece.

So Greece found itself finally in an inferior situation and had to give up its megalomaniac plans for Asia Minor. However, it took advantage of this forced migration, which involved about 1 230 000 people, to change the ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia. More than 640 000 newcomers were settled there as a result of the Convention and at the same time more than 300 000 Turks and other Moslems (of whom more than 40 000 were Macedonians) were moved out.

On the pretext of having difficulty settling the refugees, one or more families were put with each Macedonian family. This was done especially in the border regions to make life unbearable for the Macedonians. This was followed by taking away their land, houses or other property. Physical terror and other kinds of pressure were not avoided. Also, all over Aegean Macedonia armed units were formed which, on a pretext of looking for guerillas, terrorised Macedonian families. Many were thrown into jail and even murdered. Among the mass murders must be mentioned the murder of nineteen Macedonian peasants from the villages of Trlis, Kapachoy and Lovchen who were tied up and shot on July 27, 1924. In November 1925, peasants and other citizens from Lerin and its surroundings were thrown into prison. Many were shot and the others condemned to long term slavery.

The numerous terrorist activities of these armed units and other methods of violence which were carried out by the Greek authorities forced a lot of Macedonians to move into Bulgaria and a smaller number into Vardar Macedonia or into what was then SHS, especially into the regions of Bitola, Gevgelia and Strumitsa. According to the official statistics about 33 000 Macedonians migrated to Bulgaria between 1923 and 1928 because of these circumstances and about 10 000 into SHS.

These Macedonians were forced to emigrate because conditions were unbearable. They were continuously terrorised and provoked by the Greek authorities and armed groups. It was natural that they should emigrate, feeling that this was the only solution, thinking that in this way they would be spared from hanging, from the physical and emotional horrors and free from the nightmare of such an existence and would find relative peace by emigrating.

THE SETTLEMENT of the MACEDONIAN EMIGRANTS in BULGARIA

Without going into the details of the emigration procedure, where the people were stripped of all their belongings almost to their skin, we will give a short account of the first years in Bulgaria.

When there was a large number of Macedonian families ready to emigrate and they had received the necessary documents, new troubles, tortures and suffering began. They would arrive at a railway station where a special freight train should have been waiting to take them to Bulgaria and instead they would have to stay there for days, sometimes for weeks before being taken over the border. Instead of this being the end of tragedy, new sufferings were heaped on them, made even more unbearable because of the insecurity and uncertainty about their future.

Here are some representative reports from trustworthy Bulgarian officials who were responsible for receiving and arranging housing for the refugees. A member of the National Committee, D. Dinev, in his report to the Executive on 11th August, 1924 on the way the refugees arrived and what help was given them, wrote "... In Svilendgrad the refugee families arrived at midnight or even 1.30. Here they were disinfected, vaccinated and detained in the camp for anything from three to ten days. They were desperate, and did not get a kind word from anyone. They were burnt by the hot summer sun and exposed to the wind and the rain. None, not even the sick or mothers was allowed to be quartered in the quarantine barracks. Their troubles were not ended when they were released from quarantine."

Nor were their troubles ended when they were transported to settlements in various regions of Bulgaria. An official report dated 11th June, 1924 says "... In several places between Bourgas and Mesambria we met groups of desperate refugees who resembled anything but people...."

It is clear that the Bulgarian authorities rarely met the desires of the refugees, and the circumstances were so dreadful that they easily fell victim to disease. It was not unexpected then that Dr. Talev, in his report cabled to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and to the National Committee in July 1924 said "...I came to the conclusion that all the refugees in the Bourgas region were infected by fever....The very bad road and hunger exhausted the refugees. We are very sorry that people have died of fever."

An account in the report of the Annual Assembly of the National Committee of Macedonian philanthropic societies, held in Sofia from 31st January to 2nd

February 1926, shows an even worse picture of the treatment of the refugees by the Bulgarian authorities. In this report it was stated that "The refugees came naked, hungry, tortured and exhausted. They hoped that here in free Bulgaria would be an end to their slavery, their physical and mental suffering, that they would be accepted as brothers and be able to settle at least temporarily. But it was extremely difficult for them. On arrival at Svilengrad station they were treated as prisoners, and interned in Lovechko. They were called "Eschims and barbarians" by the Mesambrian village mayor in a letter to the regional mayor of the town of Bourgas." The report concludes with the devastating sentence that "because of deprivation, despair and hunger, death reaped a rich harvest. Of the refugees in the Plovdiv region 20% died. In the Rouse region, up to 80% died."

This was true also of other regions, as was reported in many official documents as well as in a book by Andre Wurfain, who wrote (P. 106): "Accommodated temporarily in school buildings, railway stations, cottages or tents, they easily became susceptible to all infections, because they were already exhausted by their deprivation. A lot of refugees were sent to the fertile land of Bourgas, as there was a lack of other arable land. A fever devastated the settlers there and in only two years 65% of the refugees around Bougas had died."

Lucien Cramer in the "International Red Cross Revue" (Vol. VII No. 83, Nov. 1925) painted a similar picture when he wrote "When we saw the miserable situation of the refugees in Bulgaria, we thought we were in one of the circles of hell in Dante's "Inferno". It was an intolerable scandal."

The delegates of the Interbational Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, Procter and Ticksie, during a visit to the refugee camps noted "It is horrible. We are so touched that we can not eat nor sleep peacefully because of the ugly scenes we saw in the refugee camps."

These are just a few glimpses of the plight of the Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria, a consequence of the megalomaniac plans and aspirations of Greece and Bulgaria against Macedonia, for which the Macedonian people paid dearly.

The settlement of Macedonian refugees in the territory of the kingdom of SHS was relatively easier because there were fewer refugees and conditions were more normal. Also, the "South Star" which was published in Bitola, "Politics" published in Belgrade and other Yugoslav papers and the news agency "Abala" were registering the deviations and terror which the Greek authorities had perpetrated against the Macedonians.

It should also be mentioned that for the same political reasons there was emigration from Aegean Macedonia to overseas countries between the two World Wars.

In order to get a clearer understanding of the events which happened after this emigration, it is necessary to discuss the motives and processes of emigration in earlier times. The tradition for Macedonians, especially those from the poorer regions, to go abroad is very old, and this reached a peak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There were migrant Macedonian workers in Constantinople, Anatolia, Egypt, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and in the countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

These migrant workers were craftsmen and manual workers such as masons, millers, bakers, owners of pastry shops, innkeepers, makers of tiles and ceramics and small traders. Most of these workers left their families in villages where they would come back to visit them from time to time, buy estates and build rich houses. Only rarely did they take their families to live with them where they worked, in cities such as Constantinople, Sofia, Bucharest, Belgrade, Alexandria and Cairo. The tradition of going further afield, at first to the countries of Western Europe, is more recent. The idea of going to overseas countries began mainly because of the terror of Turkish authority, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The greatest migration was to America after the Ilinden uprising during which Macedonian villages were decimated by burning by Turkish troops and 'bashibozuk'.

There was even greater migration to overseas countries, especially from Aegean Macedonia after the Balkan Wars. This was mainly for political reasons. At first this migration was because of the aspirations of the Greek authorities, as already mentioned. However, because of the altered circumstances due to the First World War, from 1916 onwards Greece tried to reduce the number of Macedonians emigrating from Aegean Macedonia. At the end of the Great War, and especially after the end of the Greco-Turkish War there was a great increase in the migration of Greeks from Asia Minor into Aegean Macedonia. At the same time Macedonians were emigrating to overseas countries, especially to Canada and Australia. The flow of Macedonian migrants increased considerably after 4th August, 1936, when the dictatorship of Metaxis began in Greece. At that time there was even more violent persecution of the Macedonians. They were forbidden to use the Macedonian language even in their own homes and the number of prisoners and internees increased. This process continued until the Second World War, indeed, practically until the declaration of the Greco-Italian War on 28th October, 1940.

From this it can be seen that the Convention of Lousanne (24th July, 1923) which enforced the migration of the Christian population from Greece to Turkey and the emigration of Macedonians to Bulgaria and Vardar Macedonia and to overseas countries, basically changed the ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia. These enforced movements gave the Greek bourgeois megalomaniacs the results they wanted.

However, in spite of the enforced migration of about 90 000 Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia between 1912 and 1940, the number of Macedonians remaining there was still quite large. Taking into consideration the natural rate of increase, which is on average 24%, the number of Macedonians there in 1940 was between 300 000 and 320 000 which is about the same as it was before the Balkan Wars. However, in many regions of Macedonia such as Enidze Vardar, Gumendzi, Kukush, Demir Hisar where there had never been any Greeks in the historical past, Macedonians were now a minority. In the regions of Voden, Lerin and Kostur there was still a relatively high proportion of Macedonians, ranging from 55% in the Voden region to 85 % in the region of Lerin.



The Macedonian fugitive from the Kukush area cries upon her husband's tomb

So it is an historical fact that as a result of the Balkan Wars, the First World War, the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1927, the Conventions that followed and the policies of denationalisation and assimilation of the Greek government changed the ethnic composition of Aegean Macedonia to a very great extent. Never-the-less her population showed a continuing growth. From 1 084 022 inhabitants in 1920 the population increased to 1 410 884 in 1928 and to 1 752 091 in 1940. This last increase was due mainly to natural growth.

THE MIGRATION FROM AEGEAN MACEDONIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE CIVIL WAR IN GREECE

The process of denationalisation and assimilation was temporarily interrupted because of the Second World War and events following it. It is worth mentioning that during the Greco – Italian War declared by Mussolini on October 28, 1940, the Macedonians fought in the front line and showed great heroism. They fought so well because they were sure that this struggle against fascist aggressor was an international obligation and a contribution to the defeat of the mutual enemy of all peoples.

In the April of the War of 1940, Greece and Aegean Macedonia with Greece's framework became a war trophy of German militarism. Aegean Macedonia also became the currency for buying other consciences and interests, in particular Bulgarian revenge and Italian fascism.

For the Macedonians, as for all the other peoples of Europe subjugated by German, Italian and Bulgarian fascism, the only way to realize their eternal ideals was the way of armed struggle. They did not hesitate, though they well knew that, as in previous centuries, this way was full of sacrifices and suffering.

Because of the historical circumstances all Macedonians, including those from Aegean Macedonia and the Greeks should have fought together in this struggle against their mutual enemies, the German, Italian and Bulgarian invaders. The Macedonians hoped that during or after the War they would regain their national rights in the new anti-fascist Greece. But in practice, although the Macedonians participated strongly in the great anti-fascist combat, they became aware that the anti-fascist forces in Greece had no intention of giving any rights to the Macedonians. On the contrary, they were doing everything in their power to thwart any such intentions and desires of the Macedonians.

In this regard of course those Greek forces fighting under the aegis of the occupier were the most to blame. Armed occupation troops crossed into Macedonian villages and territory, plundering, terrorising and murdering Macedonians. There were armed units from Kirtsidakis, Kolaras, Poulos, Papadopoulos and Kisa Badzak. With great pleasure Andon Chaush and other leaders of the collaboration PAO attacked those Macedonian villages which had in the past shown themselves to be more revolutionary and stronger in their resistance.

The anti-fascist forces in Greece finally threw down their weapons. The convention of Varkizha on February 12, 1945 settled their fate. Immediately after this the situation in Greece became extremely bad. The Macedonians again found themselves in a dreadful situation. Another era of terror began. Murders, raping of women and girls, plundering, burning of houses, imprisonment, other types of violence and persecution were everyday occurrences.

In order to know the situation in which the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia found themselves immediately after the Second World War, it is necessary to look at the documentation issued by the Archives of Macedonia in the Aegean Macedonian edition of "PLW" Vol. I, II, III, and IV and in the Yugoslav and international press of that time. There is also very full documentation gathered by the questionnaire Commission of the United Nations.

The waves of emigration increased daily. It was clear that in spite of international protests the Greek monarcho-fascist state was resolved to liquidate the Macedonians.

For instance, on February 20th, 1945, Greek armed troops attacked the Macedonian village of Volak, in the Drama region, where they murdered seven peasants, burnt forty houses, plundered the village and drove 350 peasants away. On the same day a similar armed group attacked the Macedonian village of Cruchuligovo, in the Seres region, where they arrested fifteen peasants, plundered the village and persecuted thirty three families until they fled across the border.

In East Aegean Macedonia in a single month, from February 12 to April 12 1945, Andon Chaush's group killed twenty nine Macedonian peasants, imprisoned 3 100 Macedonians, plundered ten villages and caused hundreds of Macedonians to flee across the border.

In the Kostur region, the Macedonian villages were continuously attacked by armed troops and were raped, plundered and mistreated in every way. For example, on April 6, 1945, the village of Kumanichevo was attacked. About sixty houses were plundered and many things were confiscated, such as 1 000 head of sheep and 110 head of horses and cattle. On April 23 the village of Galishta was plundered and on April 27 the village of Aposkep. In the same month the village of Zagorichani was also plundered and forty peasants were imprisoned. In the village of Maniac twenty two peasants were thrown into prison and 2 000 sheep and 500 head of horses and cows were taken away. One hundred and sixty houses in the village of Chetirok were plundered and fifteen men and three women were taken hostage. One woman was killed. Two thousand five hundred sheep were taken away together with 600 horses and cows.

In April, 1945, almost all the Macedonian villages in the Kostur region were plundered and robbed; many Macedonians were arrested, rapings and individual murders were rife. The villages which suffered most were Izglibe, Tioloishta, B'mboki, Goson, Starichani, Ludovo, Rupishta, Semasi, Markoveni, Pesjak, Krchishta, Gorno Papratsko, Grache, Zupanishta, Smrdesht, Gabresh and D'mbeni.

The same situation occurred in the Lerin, Voden, Meglen, Enidze Vardar, Kaljarsko, Kukush regions, and others. Up to the end of June, 1945, 800



Large numbers of Macedonians were killed in several massacres during the regime of the Greek Monarcho -Fascist government. The above photo ;taken in 1948, shows two Greek policemen in front of their station in Lerin with the heads of 27 Macedonians who fought for national and social freedom.. The blood of the innocent patriots including children will surely be avenged!

peasants were taken away, just in the Kostur region. In the Kukush region, 110 peasants were killed, more than 400 were imprisoned, 2 500 were persecuted until they fled over the border and more than one thousand fled to Yugoslavia. For the same reason, 2 000 persons from the Kostur and Lerin regions fled across the border to Yugoslavia. In July, 117 men and women were killed. Twice as many Macedonians from the Lerin region were put in prison as from the Kostur region.

As well as this terror, the Greeks improvised courts in order to condemn the Macedonians to capital punishment and life—long slavery. This was also intended to intimidate them more and more and force them over the border. On April 25, 1945, in Thessalonika, six Macedonians were condemned to death and two were given life—sentences with hard labour. In July in Kostur, 109 Macedonians were condemned to death. On July 18, the Greek authorities put enormous pressure on the Macedonians in the village of Tekelievo, in Thessalonika region, to force them to leave the village and go to Yugoslavia. On August 12, eight Macedonians from the Voden region were condemned to death and shot in Thessalonika. On 17th November, nine youngsters near the village of Barovitsa in the Gumendzi region were hiding in the woods, afraid of being caught. They were all killed. During the whole of 1945, this terror continued with the same intensity; if anything, the pressure on Macedonians to leave their homes and emigrate to Yugoslavia was greater.

Such a dreadful situation gave rise to protests and interventions of an international character. Even the American Slavic Committee in July of that same year (1945) sent cables to Truman, Stalin and Churchill asking them to take measures to end the terror which the official Greek authorities were inflicting on the Macedonians. Similarly the President of the Macedonian Union in USA, sent a protest letter to the Greek Ambassador in USA. However, all this, did not improve the situation for the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia. On the contrary, it worsened.

The terrorising of the Macedonians and the Greek democratic citizens was the main reason for the Greek Civil War. This war lasted a little over three and a half years, from the early spring of 1946, to the autumn of 1949. It ended with the defeat of the democratic forces in Greece. The results of the Civil War were widespread. Dozens of Macedonian villages were ruined. About ten thousand emigrants found themselves in Yugoslavia and in other East European countries. The troops of the Greek authorities persecuted the DAG troops, whose core consisted of Macedonians. Their fundamental intention was to ruin Macedonian villages and frighten the inhabitants and force them to flee. For this reason many Macedonian villages were entirely deserted.

More than 20 000 Macedonians were the victims of these anti-fascist and civil wars in Greece. Thousands were imprisoned, scores of villages were ruined and more than 50 000 Macedonians were forced to flee their homes and cross the border under dreadful conditions.

With the end of the Second World War and the Civil War in Greece one more phase of forced emigration for the Macedonians ended. A comparison of the

1951 census with that of 1940 best shows the situation in the Kostur and Lerin regions, where the Macedonian population was the highest. In the Lerin region there were 19 504 fewer inhabitants and in the Kostur region 17 868 fewer. So in 1951 in these two regions together there were 37 372 inhabitants fewer than in 1940; If the increase by birth and by new arrivals after the Civil War are taken into account then the number of Macedonians remaining in these regions is much lower.

The population was reduced in almost all the regions of Macedonia, especially in Meglen, Gumendzisko, Demir Hisar, Seres, Drama and other regions. It has been estimated that the number of Macedonians either killed or forced to leave their country between 1941 and 1949 was more than 70 000.

From these figures it can be seen that the reduction of the Macedonian population in Aegean Macedonia in the three years of the Civil War in Greece, (1946 – 1949) was almost the same as that suffered in the twenty eight years from 1912 to 1940.

How many Macedonians then remained in Aegean Macedonia immediately after the Civil War in Greece? We know that just before the Greco–Italian War of 1940, the number of Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia was between 300 000 and 320 000. In 1951, when there were official Greek statistics for Aegean Macedonia which took into account the loss of 80 000 inhabitants in the period 1940 – 49 and the natural increase, which was smaller because of the circumstances, only 250 000 Macedonians still lived there.

THE MIGRATION FROM AEGEAN MACEDONIA TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES AFTER THE CIVIL WAR IN GREECE

We have already seen that there were great migrations and other alterations of the ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia between 1912 and 1949 as a result of historical events and the discriminatory policies of the Greek authorities. But in spite of the big reduction over this relatively short period of four decades, 250 000 Macedonians remained in the "care" of the Greek authorities.

It is well known that minorities can and should represent a bridge between neighbouring peoples and states, for understanding and collaboration in all spheres of life. Unfortunately, in this case this did not happen. Instead, discrimination against the minority continued.

Forced emigration to overseas countries had been proved an effective measure for reducing the numbers of Macedonians and continued to be applied. This process had considerably reduced their numbers up to the time of the Second World War, absorbing any natural growth there may have been. After the Civil War in Greece the emigration of Macedonians to overseas countries was even more rapid as a result of Greek policies which discriminated against the Macedonians and created great insecurity among them. The Greek authorities speeded their emigration by all means possible. Their migration was directed mainly to Australia and Canada, but some went to the USA.

The process of migration after the Civil War in Greece may be divided into two periods: from 1950 to 1961 and from 1962 to 1971.

In the first period, the migration though important was less than that in the second period. The largest number of migrants in this first period came from the Kostur and Lerin regions, though there were also many from other regions. Some came from regions and settlements where such migration had not been known before. The largest number came from the Lerin region, where the population numbered 69 391 inhabitants in 1951, and 2 035 less in 1961. The number who migrated was probably greater, because this figure does not take into account the increase due to births or the fact that some Macedonians had resettled in villages which had been deserted during the Civil War.

In the Kostur region, although the number of inhabitants was 1 180 more in 1961, compared with 1951, the number of emigrants was also very great, as can be seen from the reduced numbers for Macedonian villages shown in the census figures.

The second phase of emigration took place in the period from the end of 1961 to 1971. The results of this emigration can be judged from the annals of the Greek Bureau of Statistics and from considerably reduced number of inhabitants in the Macedonian villages.

We have attempted to give a short survey of the population movements and their repercussions on the ethnic structure of Aegean Macedonia for the period from 1912 to 1971. They were the most important in Europe in this period. Above all, the motives were political.

However, in spite of this treatment and the reduction in the numbers of Macedonians in the last six decades, it is interesting to note that today in the Voden, Lerin and Kostur regions they are in the majority.

The continuing presence of 1 220 000 Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia shows that it is not easy to tear up a people by the roots and banish them from the homeland which has been theirs for centuries. All the measures of violence have not availed.

It is in the interest of any country to have policies which respect the rights of the minorities living there, which acknowledge their individuality and give them the right and possibility of freely developing all their national traditions and culture.

It is in the interest of Greece itself to have this policy, as throughout history it has been proved that to deny the freedom and national traditions of peoples and minorities does not lead to collaboration and closeness among peoples but to dissension and violence.

THE FIRST MACEDONIAN PRIMER BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS – THE ABECEDAR

The Versailles Treaty signed by the victors and the defeated states after the First World War, and the earlier Treaty of Bucharest of August, 1913, brought to an end all hopes for the foundation of a separate Macedonian state. A large part of Macedonia (34,000 sq.k.), with a Macedonian population of about 1,300,000, became part of Greece. The great powers tried, by drawing up a series of international treaties with Greece, to ensure minimum minority rights for the Macedonians, who had been the major ethnic element in Macedonia until 1913 and now found themselves a national minority whose rights have been questioned by Greek regimes to the present day. These treaties – the Treaties of Neuilly and Sèvres, the Kalfop-Politis Protocol among others – were to be implemented under the auspices of the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Neuilly, which was signed by Greece and Bulgaria in 1919, described the duties of the Greek government with respect to the protection of the national minorities, particularly in articles 49 and 54.

The Treaty of Sèvres, which was signed in Sèvres in France in August, 1920, charged Greece with ensuring national equality for all the minorities within her borders. Article 7 of this treaty states: *No restrictions may be sanctioned which restrict the free use by each citizen of Greece of any language, whether in private or trade relations, whether in the field of religion, the press or publication of any kind, or at public meetings. Besides the introduction of an official language by the Greek government appropriate facilities must be given to the citizens of Greece who speak a language other than Greek for the use of their own language, whether orally or in writing, or before the courts.*

Article 8: *The citizens of Greece who belong to national, religious or linguistic mino-*

rities must be granted the right to equal treatment as citizens of Greece. They will have, for example, equal rights to open, manage and control institutions, schools and other educational institutions in which they are free to use their own language and confess their own religion.

Article 9: *In the educational field the Greek government will take appropriate action to ensure that the children of those citizens who do not speak Greek, in regions and towns where they are numerous, receive primary schooling in their own language...*

This treaty, which was of international importance, charged the Greek government not only with the *de jure* recognition of the Macedonian national minority within the borders of Greece (the largest minority according to the Greek author A. Evgidis), but also with responsibilities towards this minority. The execution of the regulations set out in the Treaty of Sèvres was supervised by the League of Nations itself. In his book *National Questions*, published in 1954, Sotirios Kodjamanis, a Greek politician of Macedonian origin, comments: *„The victors in the First World War not only imposed the recognition of national, religious and linguistic minorities on Greece, but forced her to recognize that the agreements reached on the question of the minorities held international force and were guaranteed by the League of Nations. We were obliged to respect these conventions, even though a sovereign state, except with the agreement of the League of Nations.“*

Bulgaria, although defeated in the First World War, attempted to take advantage of the Treaty of Sèvres: she claimed that the Macedonians in Greece were a Bulgarian minority. The Greeks, too, had an interest in the Greeks in Bulgaria and the two countries

ABECEDAR



ΕΝ ΣΩΗΝΑΙΣ

ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ

The title page of the primer published in Greece

found a common language which was expressed in the Kalifov-Politis Protocol.

On 29th September, 1924, an agreement between Bulgaria and Greece was signed by the Bulgarian minister for foreign affairs, Kalifov, and the Greek minister Politis in Geneva. This agreement recognized and gave con-

crete form to the rights of the „Bulgarian“ minority in Greece and the Greek minority in Bulgaria. The Kalifov-Politis Protocol was a spontaneous declaration by Greece accepting the intervention of the League of Nations for the defence of the Macedonians in Greece. Agencies of the League of Nations were to come into direct contact with the members of the minority, give appropriate advice to the Greek government and report on their activities to the secretary-general of the League of Nations every six months. Rusos, the Greek minister, even held talks with the representative of the League of Nations, Robert, to discuss aspects of the protocol and its application thus giving this document great importance.

The Greek government took concrete steps and opened a separate department within the Ministry of Education which was to be responsible for the education of the minorities. This step resulted the following year, 1925, in the publication of the first Macedonian primer in Greece, the *ABECEDAR*, which received much favourable publicity in the Greek press. The reason events took such a constructive course lay not only in the specifications of the treaties themselves but also in the desire of the Greeks to make a good impression on the members of the League of Nations whose sympathy was needed if Greece was to be awarded an international loan and successfully resettle a large number of refugees from Asia Minor, who entered Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne was signed by Greece and Turkey in 1923.

Athenian newspapers such as *Atinaikos tipos* and *Eleftheron vima* wrote favourably on the steps taken by the Greek government which, in contrast with the royalist government of Yugoslavia at the time, showed considerable understanding of the freedom and rights of the minorities. *Eleftheron vima* wrote: „A department for ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, which is to be known as the Department for the Education of Foreign-Speakers and have its own section head, has been formed within the Department of Education. It will appoint special inspectors for the education of minorities. Greek nationals who belong to these minorities enjoy the same rights as other Greeks to open and manage educational institutions. They have the right to use their mother tongue and to worship according to their own faith. Greek must also be taught in their

schools and the Greek government will pay teachers of this subject.

„In towns and villages in the new regions (this refers to Aegean Macedonia and Western Thrace – N.B.) where there are 40 pupils between the ages of 6 and 12 their parents may send a request for a primary school to the inspector. These schools will be supported by the Greek government and the teachers will be appointed by the the Ministry of Education. These teachers, apart from their other qualifications, must have a diploma in the language in which they will teach. Text-books must be approved by the Commission of the Ministry of Education. Permission may be sought to form separate classes within Greek schools to study the languages of the minorities . . .”

The Greek government also took further measures which would give effect to the promises made to the representative of the League of Nations, Robert, concerning the minorities in Greece. A special commission composed of members with a knowledge of Macedonian was formed within the Ministry of Education and was entrusted with the task of preparing a primer for the Macedonian schools.

Nikolaos Zarifis, a publicist and specialist in Balkan questions, considered the preparation and publication of the Macedonian primer to be a quite exceptional event in the life of the minorities in Greece. In an article he wrote for *Elefteron vima*, 19.X.1925, entitled „The Minorities in Greece” he said: „We already have a primer prepared for the Slav-speakers. It was carefully and conscientiously compiled by specialists such as Papazahariu, Sayakcis and Lazaru. This is a work which, though it presented many problems during compilation, is a scholarly achievement and suitable for use . . .”

„The commission was right to prefer the Latin alphabet for ease of application and simplicity although a hundred years ago, the commission tells us, text-books in the Macedonian-Slav dialect using the Greek script were published in Moskopole and other places in Macedonia. The Latin script was also preferred as it is considered to be an international alphabet which is also used in many other Slav dialects (Polish, Czech, Croatian, Slovenian).”

Zarifis also discussed the primer itself: „Before us we have a primer, the *Abecedar*, which is intended for use in the schools

which will be opened in Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace for the children of Slav-speaking Greeks. The children of Slav-speakers in Greece will be taught through this primer. The primer is printed in the Latin script and compiled in the Macedonian dialect.”

The primer was printed on 40 pages and composed of two parts – a primer and a reader. The compilers rejected both the Bulgarian and the Serbian Cyrillic alphabets, a fact which was later to cause angry objections from the Bulgarians and the Serbs, and respected the Macedonian speech of the Lerin–Bitola region. The following text from the reader illustrates this point:

SNAGATA NA ČOVEKOT

(Site luge imat edna glava, dve race, dve noze. Glavata ima zgora kosi, i napret dve oči, eden nos i edna usta. Ustata natre ima zabi i eden jazik. Zabite set beli, jaziko je crven. So ustata jadime, pieme i zboruvame. So racete rabotame, so nodzite odime, tirčame i ripame. Jas skokam birgo i ripam mnogo visoko.)

MANS'S STRENGTH

Everoyne has one head, two arms, two legs. The head has hair on the top, two eyes in front, one nose and one mouth. The mouth has teeth inside it and a tongue. The teeth are white, the tongue is red. We eat, drink and talk with our mouth. We work with our arms, walk, run and jump with our legs. I run fast and jump very high.)

The measures taken by the Greek government in 1924 and 1925 to bring about the publication of the *Abecedar* were also discussed by Dimitrios Vogazlis in his book *National and Religious Minorities in Greece and Bulgaria* published in 1954. He stated that the failure of these effort to come to fruition can be blamed on the governments of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at that time. Both these neighbouring countries wanted the primer to be written in their language and script. The Greek government did not follow the lead given by the Bulgarian and Yugoslav governments and call the Macedonians Bulgarians or Serbs, it held to the opinion that they constituted a separate nation regardless of the names they were given.

It is not surprising that there were circles in Greece who were implacably opposed to the cultural rights due the Macedonians according to the Treaties of Neuilly and Sèvres which were honestly supported by the Greek minister for foreign affairs, Rusos, the expert in international law in the Greek government Nikolaos Politis, and the left-wing liberal leaders Yoanis Sefianopulos and Papanastasiu among others. However, the reason the Greek government failed to implement its plans to open Macedonian schools lay primarily in the fact, mentioned in the *London Times*, 12th March, 1925, that it was frightened by the threats made by the Yugoslav government to cancel the treaty of alliance with Greece and discuss with the Bulgarians the division of Greek Macedonia into spheres of influence. The Yugoslav government could not agree to the view that the Slavs as far as the Yugoslav border should be „Serbs“ while south of this border they should be Macedonian. The Greek government was also afraid of the reactions of the internal royalist opposition and the possibility of isolation on the Balkans. As Yoanis Sefianopulos wrote in his book *How I Saw the Balkans* from 1927 „the Protocol and the *Abecedar* were rejected just as a mother of an illegitimate child abandons him under pressure from the local community.“

In these circumstances the *Abecedar* suffered a tragicomic fate. Some of the packages containing the primer arrived in Ostrovo, but the threats of the police chief forced the people of Ostrovo to throw them into the lake. In the little town of Sorovich the following comedy was played out:

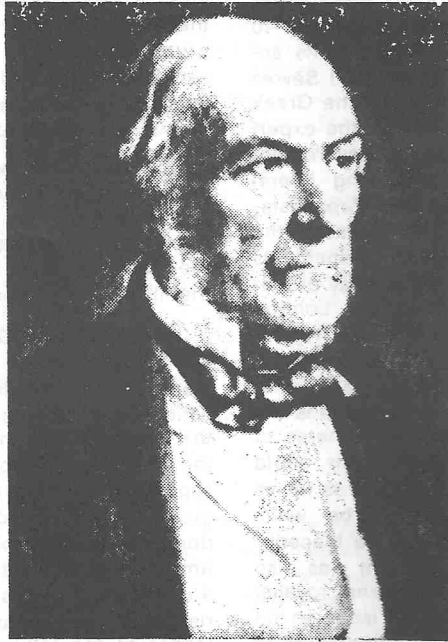
The mayor gathered the people in front of the town hall and ordered Dini Adzhitipev, a citizen who had attended a school run by the Bulgarian Exarchate before 1912 and

knew a Slav language, to give his opinion of the *Abecedar*. Adzhitipev looked through the primer which, as it was written in the Latin script and not Cyrillic, he was unable to read and pronounced that it was not written in the language of the Macedonians.

Some people, who had been prepared in advance, used this moment to shout out that a primer that they could not read was not necessary. This was enough to ensure that the *Abecedar* was burned in the square of the little town of Sorovich.

Whether the Greek government under Venizelos behaved insincerely and inconsistently when implementing the measures which were designed to ensure the rights of the Macedonians in Greece does not affect the fact that Greece officially recognized a separate Macedonian nationality and the language of the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia. This standpoint was supported at the time and later by authoritative people such as Alexandros Papanastasiu, leader of the Agrarian Party in Greece, Yoanis Sofyanopulos, leader of the left-wing liberals, the minister Rusos, the jurist Nikolaos Politis, the publicists Nikolaos Zarifis, Dinisios Romas, Grigorios Dafnis and Dimitros Vogazlis, the school inspector Papaevgeniu Sotirios, and others. Yoanis Sofianopulos accused the government of inconsistency and criticized Balkan chauvinist circles by pointing out that the pressure to change *-opov* to *-opovic* and *-opulos* could not be continued endlessly. Balkan understanding and friendship could only be achieved with the recognition of the rights of the minorities.

The publication of the *Abecedar* in Greece fifty years ago remains a valuable contribution to the history of Macedonian literature and linguistics.



W. E. Gladstone

"MACEDONIA — FOR THE MACEDONIANS"

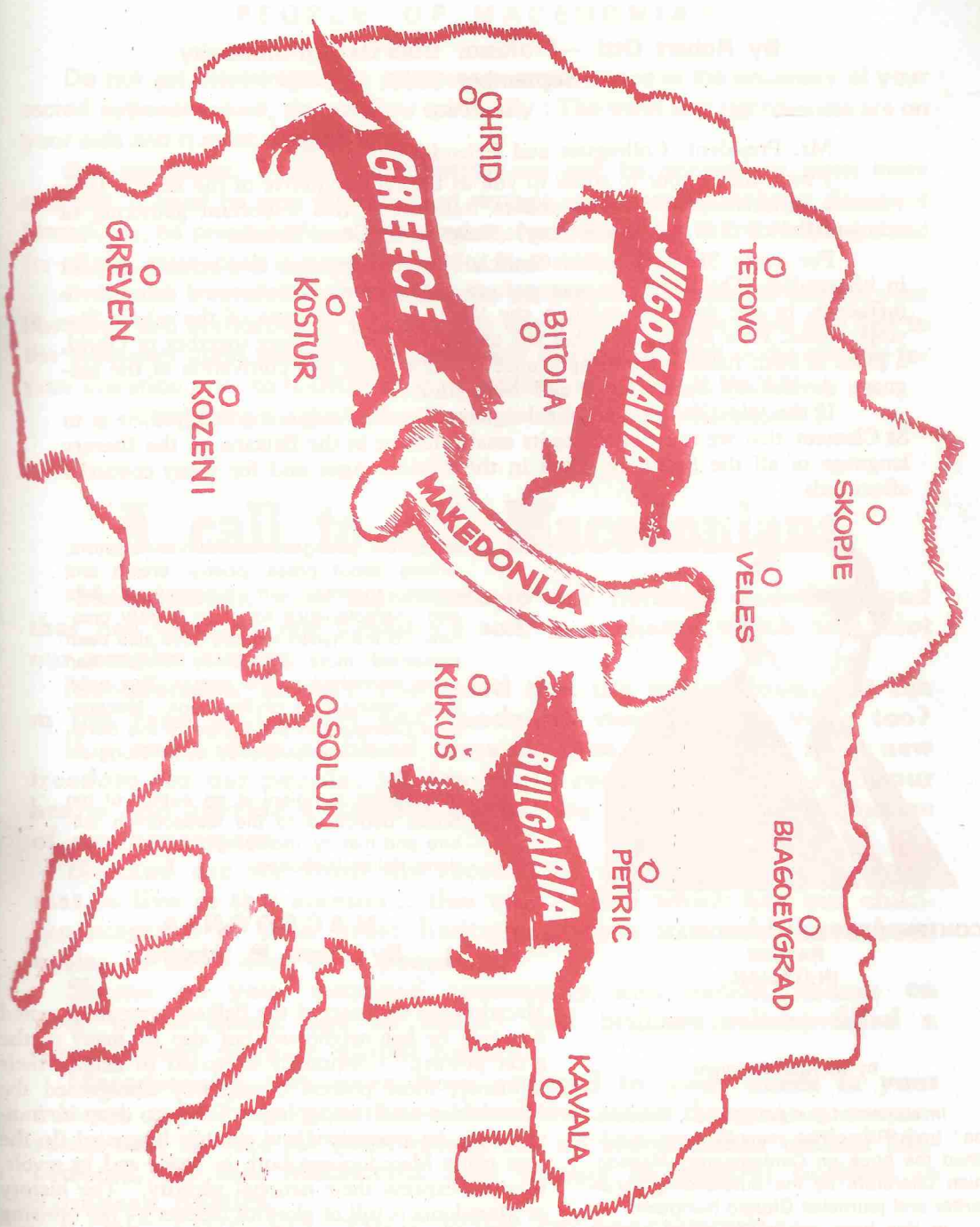
**(William Gladstone in the House of Commons 1897)
Text of W. E. Gladstone's letter to the Byron Society
for aid to Christians.**

"Harwarden Castle".
January 19th, 1897.

Dear Sir,

The hopelessness of the Turkish government should make me witness with delight, it being swept out of the Countries which it tortures. Next to the Ottoman Government nothing can be more deplorable than the jealousies between Greek and Slav and the plans by these States for appropriating other territory. Why not Macedonia for the Macedonians as well as Bulgaria for the Bulgarians and Greece for the Greeks?

Signed,
W. E. Gladstone.



GREECE

JUGOSLAVIA

BULGARIA

MAKEDONIJA

OHRID

TETOVO

SKOPJE

VELES

BLAGOEVRAD

PETRIC

KAVALA

KUKUL'S

OSOLUN

KOZENI

KOSTUR

GREVEN

By Robert Otti — Professor from Oxford University
September 1966.

Mr. President, Colleagues and Friends!

I have the honour to speak to you as the representative of the British Universities Association of Slavists and to transmit to this important gathering of scholars the cordial greetings of my colleagues in Great Britain.

For every Slavist the Old Church Slavonic language is a central element in his studies. This language sprang from a Macedonian dialect and went on to influence, in one form or another, the languages and culture of the whole Slavonic world. How appropriate that we, as Slavists, should meet together in Ohrid, a place of such fundamental importance in the growth and cultivation of the language devised by Saints Cyril and Methodius!

If the Old Church Slavonic language owes its origin to St Cyril, it is to St Clement that we must attribute its establishment in the Balkans as the literary language of all the Southern Slavs in the Middle Ages and for many centuries afterwards.



CONTEMPORARY MACEDONIAN LITERATURE
IN ITALIAN

BY GIORGIO NURIGIANI

by Giorgio Nurigiani

In edition of the publishers "Teleuropa" from Rome has recently been published the book on Contemporary Macedonian Literature by the outstanding Italian writer and journalist Giorgio Nurigiani.

In this book the author gives a total survey of the development of the Macedonian literature between the two wars through Kocho Ratsin, Nikola Vaptsarov, Kole Nedelkovski, Anton Panov and others

up to the youngest Macedonian creators, writing about prose, poetry, drama and critics, together with biographical data and characteristics for their literary creation. To the Italian readers have also been presented more poems by Macedonian poets translated by the author. This book is a continuation of the book "Macedonian Literature in the Period of the Survival", which was published by G. Nurigiani in 1974.

Giorgio Nurigiani is an author of ten books dedicated to the Macedonian culture and history, including here the Macedono-Italian Dictionary.

MACEDONIA
By Lowett F. Edwards

Macedonia is the heart of the Balkans, greedily coveted not only by her neighbours but also by many of the great powers. Continually exercised to extend their influence, these powers consistently disregarded the Macedonian tradition, going so far as to deny its individuality, its aspirations and even its language. In the past many Macedonians, both in peace and in revolt, tried to express their national identity. The history of Macedonia is full of glorious defeats — the uprising of Karpoš or the story of Kruševo and the Ilinden revolt. It has been left to a new and revolutionary generation to achieve the aims of the Macedonian people, to revive their language, to win their independence and to assert their national identity.

PEOPLE OF MACEDONIA!

Do not get discouraged, do not lose your confidence in the sincerity of your sacred national cause, do not bow spiritually: The truth and righteousness are on your side and it must conquer!

But remember, freedom and liberty can not be donated or given away as a gift. It must be won through hard struggle with weapons in hand. People of Macedonia, be prepared for a new combat, for a new ILINDEN Glories and for all the great ideals it stood for and for final victory!

Only with a revolutionary struggle you the people of Macedonia can win your liberation and unification in this way you can re-pay the debts you owe to the thousands upon thousands of heroes and martyrs who fell in the struggle for your liberation prior to ILINDEN, at ILINDEN, and after ILINDEN.

Everything for the Liberation and unification of Macedonia!

A call to all Macedonians

Macedonians, your ingratitude to our heritage and the blood that has warmed our Country's soil, is a shame which will blot our peoples history.

Macedonians, haven't you heard that the same blood that ran in the veins of Delchev and Sandanski runs in your veins too?

If a single drop of blood remains, then let it usher in a new freedom for our people; let this blood react with what is in your hearts and provide a stimulus so that we may break the bondage of our oppressors.

Blinded are we from the records of world renown, I suggest that to live in this manner... this way of life which has our children sceptical of their great heritage... then it would have been better to have died as a people.

Shame on you, outraged community and nation, shame on you, whose heroic age of history and brilliant culture filled a transcendent page in global history.

Macedonians, you have been reduced to your knees in your infamy, arise from your knees brothers, make this year a memorable one, devote all your energy for an independent unified Macedonia. So that Macedonia may occupy its rightful position in European politics.

LONG LIVE ALL TRUE SONS OF MACEDONIA!
LONG LIVE UNITED, FREE AND INDEPENDENT
MACEDONIA!



