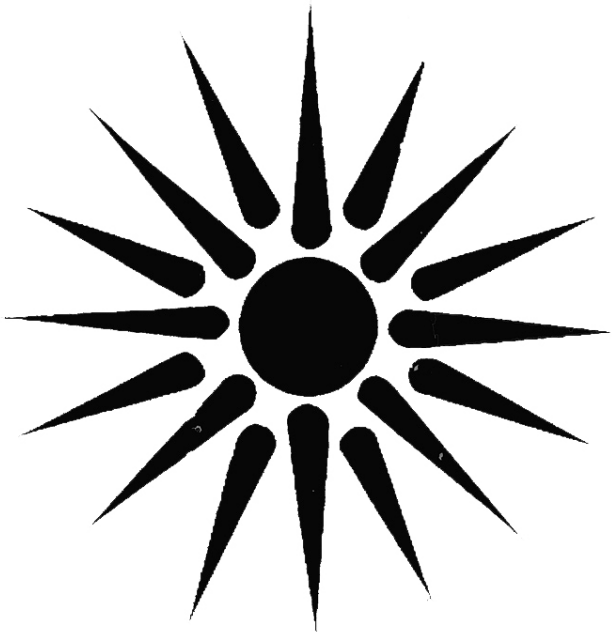
A ONE-WAY TICKET



By

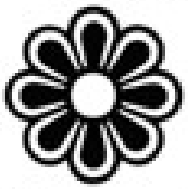
Stojan Kochov

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

A ONE-WAY TICKET

Skopje, 2001

Risto Stefov



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e-book edition

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A ONE-WAY TICKET

RESEARCH EDITION - NATIONAL HISTORY OF MACEDONIA

PEDOMAZOMA (Greek - Collection of children)
(How and who directed the genocide of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1945-1949

Historiography of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS
About the “Pedomazoma” - mass gathering of 28,000 children during the Greek Civil War

CHILDREN AGES 3 TO 14 WERE ABUSED WITH POLITICAL INTENT
DEGRADATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND A DEADLY WOUNDING OF THE MACEDONIAN NATION

28,000 MACEDONIAN CHILDREN WERE SENT AWAY WITH A ONE WAY TICKET

To my cousin Mitre Novachkov, who was one of those who were taken away with the 28,000 children to be saved but a few months layer was brought back and sent the battlefields to fight in the DAG units.

He died on September 12, 1948 in a battle at Mali-Madi.

I dedicate this book to all the deprived children, who, after the Greek Civil War did not see their parents who had left their bones on the battlefields in Gramos and Vicho fighting with the hope that one day they will return and see their children back in their homes.

***

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.

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PREFACE

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 Russians who used every means possible to fool the Macedonian people to fight and die for their interests. This story is about the Macedonian human factor and what it endured and about its struggles for equality and human rights. It is a story that will reveal how the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were treated by the Greek authorities and by the Great Powers, particularly by England, Russia and the United States during the terrible decade.

This book will show the actions taken over time by the various players and the effects they had on the Macedonian people. The information compiled is derived from various sources that include the Macedonian point of view, the Greek point of view and the views of some high level English, American and Russian diplomats.

During these conflicts Greeks on the political right as well as on the political left have accused the Macedonian people of being autonomists, separatists, communists and even of being foreign agents. But as we will see, none of these accusations are true; the only things Macedonians were guilty of was that they struggled for equality and human rights and for the right to create their own independent Macedonian state as promised by the Atlantic Charter and 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 will show, 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 book will analyze 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 l949." (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. None of this however 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, as we shall see, had other plans for the Macedonians. Their aim was to get rid of them once and for all because they posed a threat to their country. We must remember that Macedonia rightfully belongs to the Macedonian people and not to the Greek people. Greece acquired Greek occupied Macedonia by 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 a "planned" war to eradicate the communists and to get rid of the Macedonians? Because, as we will show, the top Communist Party of Greece

leadership made every effort to control this war so that the Macedonians could not win and 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 will ask and attempt to answer. For example: Why were Macedonian organizations created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to prepare for war, at a point in time when all wars had ended and the world was divided into spheres of influence? Why were Macedonians told to go to Greek occupied Macedonia 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 or 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.

Here Stojan Kochov, author of this book, takes a critical view and addresses most of the issues covered in the preface, especially the issue of the Macedonian leadership's role in the Greek Civil War.

Risto Stefov

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Every nation needs to look back and examine its history, especially after a period of turmoil… and so should the Macedonian nation especially after its national defeat during the war years. Examining and knowing the historical truth can be very helpful in setting the right course for the future… but only if that was done correctly. It seems we have not been doing this correctly, at least not for the last 50 years… which will turn out to be harmful to our course. We have allowed others, foreigners, to write the history of the Macedonian people under Greece, especially after the Second World War. As it turned out things became much more difficult for the Macedonian people after our Macedonia was invaded occupied and partitioned in 1912 and 1913. After that the Macedonian people had to struggle very hard to survive spiritually united, as one nation.

We have yet to learn the true lessons from the so called Greek Civil War [1] during which one of the greatest evils was perpetrated against the Macedonian people when 28,000 of our children were taken away to foreign lands and their parents plunged into a war that they could never win. As a result the Macedonian home was destroyed and the Macedonian family was mutilated. What most people don't know is that this was a perpetrated genocidal act to finally eradicate the Macedonian people from Greece bringing disastrous changes to the entire Macedonian ethnicity. Most unfortunate about all this was that the Macedonian people do not know the truth about what happened to the Macedonians in Greece during the Greek Civil War. There are some who do not want them to know and prefer to distance themselves from the harm they caused to the Macedonian nation, hiding their actions and hopping in time all this will be forgotten. In the meantime there are some who say Macedonians do not exist so how could they have participated in the Greek Civil War? While other claim that if such a thing happened to the

[1] The Greek press, i.e. the Greek authors from the camp of the right (the Athenian government) called the (1946-1949) war "Antisimritikos agon" (anti-bandit war) that the government forces led in general, not with the term "Civil War". However, when DAG's (Democratic Army of Greece) defeat gradually passed away over time, the term "Civil War" prevailed in Greek historiography.

Macedonian people in Greece then it must be treated as part of a separate history: “History of Aegean Macedonia”. But when we can no longer run away from the truth because we know those war years (1945-1949) severely harmed the Macedonian nation than we have no choice but to face up to it.

So, how can we interpret this ambiguous reality?!!!

My research in this political process (1945-1949) so called “Greek Civil War” aims to seek answers to the existential and essential questions about the brutal act known in Greek as “Pedomazoma”, referring to the collection of 28,000 children from 3 to 14 years of age, which turned into a terrible (collective) human tragedy.

But it needs to be said that this research, in these political processes, was complex and the answers obtained depended on the various philosophical reference sought! Getting answers outside of these ideological systems was also possible.

In this painstaking research I aim to:

Factually demonstrate actions that depict the reality of this war which so far in our history have been pushed aside in favour of daily politics. In order to obtain a realistic assessment, confirmed by facts and arguments, especially on vital national issues, we need to examine all events as presented by all sides.

We need to define who was at war with whom during this so called Greek Civil War and who fought on which side. Generally speaking, as was made known to the world, the Greek government in Athens was on one side which fought against the CPG (Communist Party of Greece) – the PDG (Provisional Democratic Government of Greece) – and DAG (Democratic Army of Greece), on the other. Unfortunately this is not the whole story; missing is the Macedonian factor, which the winners of this war had managed to cover up to this day.

Taking away the Macedonian children from their parents and homes and giving them a one way ticket to never return again, was one of the most deceitful migration acts in the 20th century. Historically

speaking, this undertaking was an unprecedented and unheard act of evil which has been kept a secret for all these years. Part of this secrecy has been our fault because we have not faced the facts of this war for a long time. Because of fear of retribution and for many other reasons, we have kept silent. Those who perpetrated this act against us, whose design was to erode and destroy the Macedonian people, have put the blame on us. Greece has closed its borders to the Macedonian people who were exiled for more than 50 years simply because they participated in that dreadful war. But in reality the borders have been closed to the Macedonians so that the Macedonian nation in Greece will disappear forever from its Macedonian ancestral land, and this is exactly what the act of the "Pedomazoma" showed.

With this act it was possible to evict, destroy, re-educate, and transplant the Macedonian people in Greece, and for over half a century make them feel like it was their own fault. But was it really their fault? As we will show, it was NOT! Their eviction was perpetrated by outside powerful forces! [2]

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[2] 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.
HERE IS THE CLASSIFIED REPORT that England had aims to get rid of the Macedonians in Greece:
Balkan States – Report 1 - December 11, 1944 Mr. Leeper to Mr. Eden Athens 24th November, 1944 Sir, I HAVE the honour to submit the following comments on Research Department paper of the 26th August, 1944, on the subject of Macedonia. (1) 2. The two formidable Macedonian problems in which Greece is concerned are: (a) that of Greek relations with the Slav world as represented by Serbia and Bulgaria, both of whom must be expected in the immediate future to be under strong Russian influence and to have Russian sympathy for their

aspirations; and b) that of the surviving Bulgarophone minority in Western Macedonia. 3. The former problem turns chiefly on that of Serbian and Bulgarian access to the Aegean, the subject discussed in paragraphs 35-40 and 41-43 of the paper under reference. There is clearly no case (or handing over to Slav Powers any part of the North Aegean coast, which in 1940 had nowhere anything but an infinitesimal minority of Slav inhabitants. On the other hand, the strategic position of Greece here, even with Turkish backing, is very weak, vis-à-vis the Slav world, so that even in her own interests it behooves Greece to come to terms with her northern neighbours. The only possible solution-however difficult in practice under present conditions-seems to be that referred to in paragraph 51, namely, a return to, and preferably an extension of, the system of free zones. A Serbian free zone at Salonica is not difficult, but a Bulgarian zone at Kavala, or even at the outlying Alexandrupolis, would probably be out of the question for a considerable period to come, in view of the passions aroused by the atrocious conduct of the Bulgarians in Northern Greece since 1941. It remains, nevertheless, a Greek no less than a Bulgarian interest that Bulgaria's desire for access to an Aegean port should be satisfied so 9 far as possible; since otherwise Bulgaria's southward political aspiration, which are now largely artificial, will be kept alive by the real and continual irritation of an unsatisfied economic need. (How far this need might be met by the alternative of a free zone at Durazzo is a matter for separate study.) It may further be pointed out that the grant of free zones at her northern ports would, in fact, be of direct financial benefit to Greece herself through the revivifying influence of increased trade on the life of those ports in general and through the restoration of a natural degree of intercourse between these Greek ports and their Slav hinterland. 4. The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available, but it appears from events during the occupation that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty’s Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. **It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941**. 5. I have sent copies of this dispatch to the Resident Minister at Caserta, to Mr. Houstoun-Boswall at Sofia and to Mr. Broad at Bari. I have, &c. R. A. Leeper. (1) See “Balkan States” print section, 26th August, Section 6.

Thus, the young Macedonian children (here we are only talking about the children taken by the communists), sent to children's homes in foreign countries, arrived with a one-way ticket (unlike the Greek children) with no prospect of ever returning home.

If we consider that childhood is the most beautiful part of every person's life (and if, instead of happiness and beautiful moments, pain and sadness are experienced), then it deeply marks the child's psyche and leaves a lasting mark, especially when it comes to the absence of parental love; a mother's tender hand and a father's support…

Thus beaten by the dry winds of the foreign lands, torn from the bosom of its parents the Macedonian child could not help but every day ask itself:

Who am I, where am I from, do I have parents: a mother…, a father…? Do I have grandparents, brothers, sisters, relatives… what is happening to me? Who brought me here and where am I going?

When such questions are asked in solitude, they can have an infinite number of answers which can deprive the child of reality and create confusion, especially when it finds itself seized in a collective under the eye of the Party and bombarded daily with "pedagogical" propaganda slogans, questions and answers, which obviously would break its soul. Then it would only be a matter of time before that child is brought up in the spirit of the Party and its leader...

And this is exactly what happened to the Macedonian children that were taken away!

And so in that spirit, every day, while standing in line, or participating in a ceremony, the Macedonian children were asked:

"To whom does General Markos belong?!"
And they all loudly answered "To us!"
"And to whom do you belong?" they were asked.
"We belong to General Marcos!" they loudly answered.

And again here the child would wonder: “Who am I, where am I from, do I have...?”

This was not only done to the children… Their parents and relatives, who were mobilized by DAG and sent to the fronts, also faced a harsh regime. The CPG, under unprecedented pressure, discipline the people and, through its ideological acts using the slogan: "Destroy the Anglo-American occupier", stripped them of their humanity. Imposed on the Macedonian parents without care, this slogan became a "cancerous wound". The parents were falsely lead to believe that they could only see their children when they defeated the Anglo-American occupier. Something that was not possible at the time. [3]

This was confirmed by the mothers at the front in 1848, four years after WW II ended and the war zones were placed under great power influence. One of the mothers was head saying: "Our poor children. When will we see them again? We will see them when we are free. How nice that would be... But in order to do that, we will have to 'defeat Anglo-American fascism'. And to defeat it sooner, we all have to fight. And we who dig trenches every day, that's our fight, that's how we fight…"

"Last night we made more (3) bunkers. We do it so that our children can return to us faster, so that we and our husbands can go home..."

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[3] From October 5 to 20, 1944 on the international scene Stalin and Churchill discussed the Balkan division of spheres of influence in Yalta. The Yalta Agreement that resulted guaranteed that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece. Here is what Churchill wrote in his memoirs about the Balkans: "We arrived in Moscow in the late hours of October 9, 1944. We had our first significant meeting and counseling in the Kremlin the next day. Attending the meeting were Stalin, Molotov, Eden and myself. The Majors Boris and Popov performed the translations…" An agreement was reached on the division of spheres of influence. Under this Agreement, Greece was to fall under the English sphere of influence with rights, if necessary, at any time for England to intervene with all possible means. The degree of influence agreed to was England 90% Russia 10%. Stalin's attitude towards Greece and the CPG during the war was unclear, even suspicious. From the available evidence we have there is a general indication that Stalin's attitude towards Greece was negative. Stalin thought Greece was a small country and perhaps not a good place for conducting micro-strategic practices for the political interests of the Soviet Union. In the period from April to October 1944, while attending meetings with the British and Americans, Stalin did not bring up any substantial objections to British plans on how Greece was going to be governed.

If our religion teaches us that man is responsible for his every action, then according to his behavior he can be rewarded or punished. The Communist ideology however teaches us that a person must always fulfill Party tasks as required by the Communist Party. The Party!!?? Communist ideology demands that its ideological activists behave accordingly and are not allowed to 'I think differently'. In other words Communist ideology demanded total submission from a common person. Only the Party was allowed to have power and magic. The individual had no responsibility, because his or her responsibility was fully directed by the Party. In time ideological activists became proud of themselves, knowing that they were strong, intelligent, thoughtful and very important in fulfilling Party postulates!!!!

So, the question that begs to be asked is what was NOF and AFZH's responsibility? Were they not part of the Communist Party? And what about the slogans they carried?

As we will show, militarily speaking, they were deeply deceived, completely manipulated, utterly terrified and hopeless.

So, what kind of responsibility can we demand from them? If they were not responsible for anything then why were they sent to the Siberian prisons?! This is all nonsense but the gods of war still remain silent!

How did the Macedonian woman feel about all this??? Could her parental heart go against nature?!!!

This was what one woman was heard saying: "...No, I'm not leaving my friend, my sister and my brother to fight here, and I leave with the children. I know that they will be safe, I have full confidence in the women chosen too look after them. I will be able to contribute more to the fight if I stay here..."

How can that be? How can a woman, a mother, who lost everything, suddenly decide to abandon her own children in favour of fighting in an ideological war? Did she even know what she was doing? Unfortunately this is true...

Doesn't this mean that she totally submitted her will to some external (ideological) force!? Isn't this unprecedented abuse of ideological power?

This kind of controlled aggressive behavior can also be seen in the slogans:

"No Macedonian should be left outside NOF, the anti-fascist organization."

"Only if we are organized in this way will we be able to destroy fascism and get our rights and the right to full self-determination."

"Join NOF, the Anti-fascist organization, on mass."

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

But there were also those who had not forgotten the painful wounds inflicted on them by the cruel Greek Civil War.

One child, one of the older banished children, who lived through the homes in Eastern Europe, with a hazy memory, wondered: "Oh, I want so much to see my parents again, my family, my friends…" A wish that could not be fulfilled...[4]

But there is also another thesis, which seems more realistic, if we did not voluntarily leave our country than who made us leave? Remembering his past one such young person asked: "What wrong did we commit? "Who forced us to leave? Who did we serve, whose

[4] Greece issued legal acts to ban Macedonians who participated in the Greek Civil War from returning to Greece. The ban on crossing the Greek border also extended to spouses and children. It is still in force for Macedonians, even those who left Greece as children without permission from the Greek government. This included the 28,000 children from the "Pedomazoma" conducted by the Communist Party of Greece. (See Risto Stefov, "Macedonians and the not so Civil war in Greece", Risto Stefov Publications, Toronto, 2019).

interests did we serve? Are our people obliged to suffer like that? For how long…?! No single person can perpetrated such an act of evil... So, why am I the only one to blame? And what about the orders like me? What did they do?"

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WE NEED TO FACE THE TRUTH - THE LAST ACT IS NATIONAL FORGIVENESS

And, finally, the question: "Why have the ideological activists (including the CPG, CPJ, CPM, NOF and AFZH), for the last fifty years have not bothered to apologize to those children, mothers and fathers that they tormented… but instead stand on the side that: "We saved you! We saved you from the Monarcho-Fascist clutches..." How hypocritical is that?!! Or, perhaps in their naivety, ignorance or delusion, they truly believe they save those people. In other words they pretend to be unaware of any wrong doing…

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DID WE MACEDONIANS UNDER GREECE HAVE A STRATEGY FOR THE SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL SURVIVAL OF OUR HEARTHS?

Here are some undeniable facts and key moments in NOF's history that show how NOF entered the conflict and fought (and sacrificed its own people) for other people's interests. In other words, NOF under the influence of the CPY and CPG was responsible for convincing the Macedonian villagers living in Greece to enter an ideological war under the guise that they will gains their human rights but in the end they lost everything.

Did NOF deceive its own people?

How was that possible?

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

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

It is well known that Greece and the other Balkan countries that occupied Macedonia had long term plans to either assimilate the Macedonian population or get rid of it. This is what the various "legal migration movements" carried out since Macedonia's occupation and division in 1912 - 1913 were all about. So, this was the next step in the evolution of getting rid of the Macedonians from Greece, this time through ideological activism! The same foreigners

who created catastrophic consequences for the Macedonian nation since pre-1912 were now doing it through ideological activism. In other words, they, through lies and manipulation convinced the Macedonian villagers in Greece to pick up guns and fight for their rights. But instead of giving them their rights they massacred them and permanently exiled the survivours and their families. Worst than that was the foreigners who started and lead this war put the blame on those poor villages and forced them to accept responsibility for what happened.

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

Over fifty years later there are people who still insist that for the Macedonian people in Greece, the Greek Civil War was some kind of a grass roots autochthonous revolution - a continuation of the Ilinden Uprising - and are refusing to accept it for what it was. This thesis however is problematic! Even though no one wants to admit that mistakes were made, the truth will eventually come out.

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

Let us look at the situation on the ground:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The thesis “One state, one party”

When the communists introduced the idea that each existing state with recognized borders can only have one Party, and no single party can exist over more than one state, the Macedonian people once again found themselves fragmented and had to struggle alone in the state in which they existed. In other words, they could not

have a single Macedonian party covering the four states in which they existed.

This fragmentation of the Macedonian territory did not only disconnect the Macedonian people's struggle but it also provided legal support for the continued annexation of Macedonian territories. With the introduction of this thesis the existence and development of the all-Macedonian liberation organization, that is, the establishment of a single Macedonian national liberation struggle leadership was permanently prevented.

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

This is how Dr. Stojan Kiselinovski explained the basic communist movement thesis in his article:

"The national and state revolutionary movement (1893-1944) in Macedonian" published in the daily magazine Pulse on March 17, 1995.

"Lenin and the communist movement did not provide a solution to the national question in favour of minorities (which would have been in line with the interests of the enslaved nations), but instead Lenin offered a solution in favour of class (which was in line with the so-called class interests that were always in line with state interests and with the interest of the dominant nations) and thereby essentially denying some people's right to self-determination."

This means that during the so called Greek Civil War years it was more than clear that the Macedonian people could not have created a common and united Macedonian front but instead had to struggle as minorities in accordance with the wishes of the CPG, CPY, CPB, and CPA.

The Comintern program however did support minority rights which were accepted by the CPG. This is what the program said: "Full rights for minorities equal to those of other citizens within the Greek state." Unfortunately this was only valid from 1935 to 1949. This was confirmed by our (CPG, CPJ and CPB) instructors who had graduated from the Party school in Moscow in the years before World War II. They themselves agitated for this. This was true for all parts of occupied Macedonia. The instructors however strictly adhered to these Comintern resolutions, which were passed during the 7th Congress in 1935. Even though the program originated from the communist movement at the beginning of the Second World War, the thesis "One state - one party" represented a fundamental obstacle to every program or action taken that had aims to unite Macedonia. But, here again the Greek communists asked the Macedonian leadership to convince the Macedonian population to rise up and fight for the right to self determination even though they knew it would not be possible to achieve anything. They did this after the population exchanges took place in Macedonia, when the Macedonian people were already a minority within their own ethnic space. Why did the Greeks do this? Obviously so that they can get rid of the Macedonians and carry out their program to fully Hellenize their part of Macedonia. So the question that needs to be asked here is "did NOF knowingly participate in this genocide or did it blindly follow CPY and CPG directives?"

It is highly unlikely that NOF and the Macedonian leadership really knew what was going on - outside of their own circles. They simply believed the Greek communists trusting that they were truly our partners in this war. But, in the end it was the Macedonian people that paid the ultimate price. We did not only loose the war; we lost everything; our country and our young generations who to this day still roam the world with no hope of ever being allowed to return.

There is also the question about how much did the Macedonian communists in the CPG know about this? And did they struggle for an independent and united Macedonia? If they did, how could they have given the situation with the Comintern program and the fact the Macedonian territory was divided by the iron curtain? Did they ignore these obstacles?

If the basic principles on which nations and states are based one are: territorial, state, historical and cultural past, ethnic, linguistic and economic, then the Macedonian communists, as members of the CPG, must have practically abandoned the two principles: territorial and state.

It was a priority for the CPG to fight exclusively for the territorial and state sovereignty of the Greek state, and therefore only the ethnic and linguistic identity, as well as the historical and cultural past of the Macedonian people remained on the table; sometimes accepted but most of the time not accepted. This means that for all the (self) sacrifice we made during the war years this is all the CPG was prepared to offer us, especially after May 15, 1943, after Stalin dissolved the Communist International (Comintern) thus allowing every communist party to operate independently. (See: History of the Macedonian people, Skopje, 1988, page 345).

3. Great Britain's position

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

Further down the same document the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made sure to remind everyone about: "The Agreement on the division of spheres of influence, and that Greece

was 100% under British influence, with the right, if necessary, to be able to intervene at any time by any means possible;

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

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

Note: The following is a broader explanation of Great Britain's position: British diplomacy was mostly concerned with the Macedonian issue especially after the end of the Second World War. At this time the British became more concern about their interests in Greece and in the Balkans. They were worried that their interests in the region would be threatened by the creation of a Macedonian state. Great Britain's position on the Macedonian question was expressed in a Memorandum on Macedonia, prepared by the Foreign Office research department on August 20, 1944. According to the Memorandum, the idea of an independent Macedonia was not accepted but instead a number of variants for a federation were being looked at as follows:

a) This variant called for creating a Balkan Federation, which would include Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey? In that variant, Macedonia would be autonomous. The Great Powers however would not accept this variant.

b) This variant called for creating a Federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whereby Pirin Macedonia would join Vardar Macedonia. This variant received support from the USSR, but only if the interests of Greece, Turkey, and Britain would not be threatened.

c) The British would not even accept the formation of a future Macedonian state within a Yugoslav federation, unless the

Macedonian state and the Yugoslav state leadership agreed to British demands that no attempts would be made to annex Pirin and Aegean Macedonia, because that would threaten British interests in Greece and Turkey. This Memorandum was submitted to the United States and to the USSR governments and they too had to agree to it. After that the Memorandum was sent to the Yugoslavian, Bulgarian and Greek governments. (See, "British Documents on Macedonia", Vol. 1, 15, 22 and 64).

4. The USSR's position

WHAT WAS THE USSR'S POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF CREATING A MACEDONIAN STATE IN MARCH 1949?

On March 8, 1949, Chernishov, the Soviet diplomatic agent in Greece, telephoned Moscow and informed the Soviet authorities of the Greek reactionaries using unprecedented aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party of Greece and against the "Andart" (Greek fighter, mercenary during the Turkish Empire, fought for the conquest of Macedonia to join Greece. This is what the Greeks called the DAG fighters) movement as well as the "Macedonian question" (a decisions made at the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum and at the 2nd NOF Congress). This propaganda, according to Chernishov, was primarily aimed at the CPG's actions and at the Andarts (DAG), who were allegedly inclined to destroy Greece's sovereignty. Therefore the question of unifying Macedonia should not be pursued at this time because this kind of propaganda will help the Athens government to recruit and transfer government troops with high military readiness to these parts controlled by DAG. The Greek people have a special sensitivity to the issue of Greek integrity and sovereignty, but the same concern arises among the people who now live in the cities and are communist and Andart (DAG) sympathizers. In particular, the next NOF congress is expected to convene on March 10 in the free territories that are under DAG's control. On that occasion, the Anglo-American League state press, with provocative intentions, will declare that the Congress will decide on the annexation of Greek Macedonia into a common state with Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia and that the Communist Party of Greece is "betraying Greece".

In accordance with the information that Chernishov received back from Moscow, regarding the USSR's position [5] on this matter, the Congress organizers were told that their intentions to speak about this issue during the Congress would not only be reckless, but would be detrimental to the future of the Macedonian people within the framework of some kind of Balkan Federation. Instead of pursuing this course the USSR recommended to the Congress delegates to turn their orientation towards the population in Greek Macedonia, and orient them to the fight against the monarcho-fascist society in Greece and to fight for the creation of a free and democratic Greece.

5. The ELAS and CPG's position

On October 16, 1944, ELAS commanders Evripidis Bakirdzis and Markos Vafiadis issued orders to the ELAS army units operating in Macedonia to begin destroying German army units retreating from the south of Greece and attack and destroy the so called "Slavo-Macedonian" battalions which had defected to Yugoslavia. These orders came directly from the CPG, [6] which shows that at that time

[5] The Soviet Union's policy towards the Macedonian Question was a function of USSR's global policy and strategy in general and for Greece in particular. Stalin used the Macedonian Question, as well as the British, Americans and Greek attitude towards the Macedonians living in Greece, as a cover for his policy that he implemented in the countries that fell under Western influence after the Second World War. During the Second World War, the communist parties in the countries that had divided Macedonia firmly respected the declarative principle of the great powers for not changing the pre-war borders. We should also know that Stalin on his own initiative decided to dissolve the Comentern and formally recognized the right to each communist party's independence. Stalin also supported the thesis of 'One state, one party'. The same Stalin with his forces in Moscow (October 1944) decided the division of spheres of influence in the Balkans and allowed the borders to remain 'status quo'. This was Stalin's answer to us and all the others who were looking for salvation from the USSR. That was the first blow struck against us and the reason why we lost our spiritual unification which left us without a strategy for our spiritual survival of our ethnic space in the Balkans.

[6] In May 1944, a larger group of Macedonian fighters and activists from Kostur and Lerin Regions, separated from ELAS and moved to the Vardar part of Macedonia where they joined the ranks of NOV and POM. As a result, the CPG labeled them deserters which prompted even those who had later returned to leave again.

Markos was not a “Titoist” and did not sympathize with the ideas of a United Macedonia, within the framework of a Balkan Federation.

A persecuted person may ask:

Why did ELAS want to destroy the Macedonian battalions, like they wanted to destroy the German army? And, knowing that Markos Vafiadis signed the order to destroy the Macedonian battalions during WW II in 1944, why did NOF and AFZH want to enter into a partner ship with him later, during the Greek Civil War (1946-

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At this point it is important to explain how ELAS and the CPG viewed the Macedonians:
For example, one side we have ELAS commanders Evripidis Bakirdzis who, during his famous interview with he CPG Party newspaper “Laiki Foni”, told the world that the Macedonians were “Bulgarophone Hellenes”. On the other hand we have General Stefanos Sarafis, supreme commander of ELAS, in his famous book entitled “About ELAS” (1946, 331), he told the world that the Macedonians were “Slavophone Hellenes”. There is one more thing that we should know: After the Balkan wars, after the 1919 Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria and after the 1923 Treaty on Lausanne with Turkey, Greece changed the ethnic composition in Macedonia with the so-called mandatory population exchanges. By the time WW II started the Macedonian people had already lost their ethnic-territorial status. During WW II Greece eliminated the Macedonian question, especially after the ELAS, EAM and KPG leaderships signed the 1943 Lebanon, the 1944 Caserta and the 1945 Varkiza Agreements with English colonel Eddie Myers guaranteeing Greece’s territorial integrity and the STATUS QUO with its borders. Later on the so called Greek Civil War (1945-1949), also the work of the CPY and the CPG, pushed the Macedonian people into chaos bringing their destruction in rivers of blood and with the loss of their hearth. All these demagogues who were in favour of the slogan “United Macedonia” were well aware of the lies they were propagating. They officially maintained the position that the Macedonian question was a threat to peace in the Balkans, but for us Macedonians, it was indisputable that we had historical inviolable right to our fatherland, because it made no sense to live without an identity. But did we have to sacrifice ourselves like that under this foreign fraud?!
This is what the by-weekly magazine KOMEP, organ of the CPG Central Committee, number 16 published in August 1943, nicely said: “There is no national confusion in Greek Macedonia... The Slavic and Turkish population were evicted according to the conventions, and the Greek population was gathered from all the countries of the Balkans and from Asia Minor and placed in Greek Macedonia... which has become as Greek as any area of Greece proper!” (s, 331.)
On the other hand we Macedonians are proud of our history and to this day we still say that the Greeks were our most faithful allies during the Greek Civil War. No wonder our older and wiser people say: “We suffer from our own false beliefs!”

1949)?!! Did they not know what they were doing? Or was there some other reason?

On July 16, 1943, ELAS Commander Sarafis and British military mission leader Colonel Eddie Myers signed a joint declaration which recognized ELAS as an allied army and placed it under Middle East Command. On October 31, 1944, a large group of British soldiers with armored vehicles entered Solun. They were followed by ELAS. WHY? Why did ELAS allow the British to occupy Solun when in effect ELAS had the power and opportunity to do so?

Three days later, BBS, the London radio station, announced the news that British troops had liberated Solun. On February 12, 1945, an Agreement was signed in Varkiza, a resort near Athens, between the CPG and EAM leaders on one side and Plastiras's Greek government and British General Scobie, on the other. With that Agreement, EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the Greek political right, ELAS's and the CPG's opposition. As a result ELAS was finished.

Here we presented the facts as they happened but now let us have a look at what kind of assessment the CPG Central Committee Politburo gave? According to a CPG resolution dated November 15, 1948 this is exactly what was said: "…As the Commissar of the group of ELAS division in Macedonia, Markos Vafiadis followed a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonians fighters..." (See: "Neos kosmos", August 1950, "Ten years of War" p. 470). But, why was this said after Markos was already removed from his post and more Macedonian fighters were needed to fight in the Greek Civil War? The answer should be obvious. Once again the CPG fooled the Macedonians into fighting for its interests!

False memory syndrome

Question: Despite the Great Power attitude of not wanting a Macedonia, why did the state and political leaderships in Macedonia and in Yugoslavia did not give up on the Macedonian people's desire to unite Macedonia? There was desire to solve the problem of joining the newly created Macedonian state in Yugoslavia to Pirin

Macedonia trough the creation of a Federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But if that were to happen, it was argued, the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia, with their massive participation in DAG, would then exercise their rights after their victory. Unfortunately the Federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria could not be achieved, nor could DAG win, so Macedonia's unification never happened.

To look for logic in "fraternal" support, after Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 [7] and to look for our proud ideological activists to lure the Macedonian people to "Unite Macedonia" after WW II, was a triumph like "dancing in the dark".

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

I am pretty sure that a reasonable person would say NO! And that it would be obvious that the so called "fraternal" communist parties (the CPG, CPY and CPB) would not believe it would be good idea to support organizations that want to separate parts of their state territories, especially in favour of the Macedonians who they claim do not exist. On the contrary, in such a case, any of the above mentioned parties would be declared traitors. If the CPG did that with NOF especially during the Greek Civil War, it would have been condemned and declared a traitor.

How did they react at that time?

6. Bulgaria's position

[7] As a result of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the August 10, 1913 Treaty of Bucharest sanctioned by the November 14/27, 1919 Neully Peace Agreement and the August 10, 1920 Sevres Peace Agreement, Macedonia was divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania, which received Dolna Prespa and Golo Brdo. Greece received 34,356 km2 or 51% of the Macedonian ethnic-historical territory; Serbia received 25,713 km2 or 39%; Bulgaria received 6,798 km2 or 9.5% and Albania received 0.5% of the Macedonian-historical territory.

Trajcho Kostov was one of the fiercest opponents of a Federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In a long-standing tradition of Bulgarian statehood he reasoned that, with the differences that had arisen over time in the structure and mentality of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, in his opinion nothing good could come out of such a federation. Chernenko was in favour of a Federation without delay, while other members of the Politburo (Kolarov and other Bulgarian communists) in principle were in favour of a federation, but with great reservations and were not enthusiastic. It was obvious that this principle was based solely on pleasing Moscow.

We should not forget that after Aleksandar Stamboliski's government fell in Bulgaria in 1923, the Macedonian movement (with a Bulgarian ethnic historical tendency) in Pirin Macedonia was passed on to the VMRO (Supremacists) Todor Aleksandrov and especially Vancho Mihailov, who wanted to convince the international public that he wanted to create a future piedmont for an independent Macedonia.

7. Yugoslavia's position

How and why did the CPM allow Yugoslavia (CPY) to have a two-sided policy: public and secret - with which it encouraged the Macedonian people in Greece to take part in an armed struggle? Wasn't that against the will of the Macedonian people who after WW II were looking forward to living in peace? By doing so did the Macedonian people allow "someone else" to shape their destiny? Why was this "two-sided policy" on the part of the CPM/CPY not explained in the integral Macedonian historiography?

Let's follow the events:

We should also mention at this point that the national liberation war in Vardar Macedonia in the fall of 1941began with the slogan "free Macedonia". But after ASNOM was held and the People's Republic of Macedonian was created, there was no longer need for NOV (People's Liberation Army) in the Vardar part of Macedonia. NOV's basic goal was to liberate the Vardar part of Macedonia and to assist with the liberation struggle of the other nations in the Yugoslav space. However, one should also take into account CPY

policies which had a huge influence on the Macedonian communists in the Vardar part of Macedonia. So, the position of the CPY Central Committee was to channel the focus of the national liberation struggle into a common struggle with all the Yugoslav peoples.

See: Edward Cardel: Struggle for recognition and independence of New Yugoslavia, 1944-1957, Memoirs, Communist, Skopje, Misla, Skopje 1980, 122.

Edward Cardel, in a long welcoming speech which was longer than the ASNOM Presidium Report, outlined the possible scenarios under which Macedonia can survive as a state. During his speech Cardel made sure to emphasize that Macedonian was impotent and incapable of conducting its own policies as an independent Macedonian state. He was sure to emphasize that Macedonia could only exist in a "strong Yugoslavia", which was a prerequisite for a "happy Macedonia without fearing for its freedom and independence", that "a free and equal Macedonia was the strongest pillar of Yugoslavia... there is no freedom for any of our people without our unity..." (Nova Makedonija, January 3, 1945, Year 2, number 28).

On October 16, 1945, as a candidate for Kumanovo district, Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo, in his pre-election speech in Kumanovo, resolutely opposed all those who saw the unification of Macedonia outside the borders of Yugoslavia, or a united Macedonia under the auspices of the Great Powers. According to Tempo, all those who supported that idea were the same people who were responsible for the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia from 1941 to 1944.

But, as far as a united Macedonia was concerned, Great Britain was of the opinion that unification could not take place or that an independent Macedonia could not exist outside of Yugoslavia. That process was especially blocked during ASNOM's Second Session, when the Macedonian people, represented by Pavel Shatev, Petar Piruze, Kiro Gligorov, Metodi Andov - Chento, Shakir Vojvoda, Panko Brashnarov, Mihajlo Apostolski, Lazar Sokolov and others, who advocated for a free and independent Macedonia. At the time Macedonian national aspirations were condemned by the Yugoslav

representatives headed by Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo and Edward Cardel. Namely, after the First ASNOM Session and after the Macedonian state was created, the Macedonian leaders began to act politically independent from Belgrade, and a certain number of Macedonian politicians began to make attempts to open trade and economic cooperation with Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, without consulting Belgrade. After Tito was informed about this, he sent his representatives to attend the ASNOM Second Session, who condemned the Macedonian politicians labeling them "separatists and chauvinists" and calling Macedonian policies "nationalistic and chauvinistic". After the Second Session and after they convicted Metodi Andov - Chento and others, the CPY Central Committee held a meeting in Belgrade during which a decision was made to clean up the "separatist-chauvinist elements" in Macedonia one by one and gradually removes them all. And, as is known, the entire job was done by the end of the fifties which was especially critical during the existence of the Information Bureau, which was used to cleanup the national elements in Macedonia more than anything else. After this was done the British seemed to breathe easier. According to British documents from that time it was said that the "controversial Macedonian question" was not mentioned at the ASNOM Second Session, concluding that Tito brought the rogue Macedonian elements under control and that we (the British) will no longer have any problems…" See: interview, Dr. T. Chepreganov, January 23, 2002, "Vesnik".

This means that the Macedonian factor that was concerned with preserving Macedonia's historic and cultural whole was gone and replaced with Macedonians who towed the CPY line and carried out CPY policies which had a huge influence on the Macedonian communists in the Vardar part of Macedonia... So, in this evolutionary historical process, the Macedonian movement turned into a pro-Yugoslav movement which made its official position clear: "There will be no United and independent Macedonia! But there could be a unification of the other parts of Macedonia (Pirin and Aegean Macedonia) within the framework of Yugoslavia..." (In other words if Yugoslavia was accepted as the mother country of the three parts of Macedonia, they could unite under a Yugoslav umbrella).

This means that the CPY wanted the Vardar part of Macedonia to be declared the "Piedmont" which would unify all of Macedonia in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [8] This was also attempted by the CPM/CPY in 1945, through NOF's program created by the CPM/CPY which called for: "Organizing the Macedonian people in a struggle that would bridge the artificial gap between Macedonians from all parts of Macedonia, and especially with the Macedonians from the Republic of Macedonia which represent the "Piedmont" for the complete liberation and unification of all the Macedonian people…"

So, what have we learned from all this; especially from the Yugoslav experience? If we learned anything it should be that it is very difficult to achieve goals in an unwilling world. We should have also learned that in our desire to satisfy our national Macedonian primordial desires we were prepared to do anything… including allowing ourselves to be manipulated by outsiders for their own gains to our detriment. To satisfy our national Macedonian desires to be united and independent brought us more harm than good. No matter how we look at this and how many historians and authors analyzed it, what we attempted to do during the Greek Civil War proved to be unrealistic and impossible to achieve… That does not mean that we should stop fighting for our rights… It means that we should be more careful who we trust…

So what was Yugoslavia's official position?

This is what Tito said on November 15, 1944 in Belgrade during a meeting between him and Anastasiadis, member of CPG Central Committee Politburo: "Yugoslavia has no claims on Greek Macedonia and this entire campaign (about unification) has nothing to do with us..."

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

Then, in January 1949, when the CPG Central Committee announced its new position on the Macedonian national question during its Fifth Plenum which recognized the Macedonian people's right to self-determination and statehood, and allowed them to create Macedonian state within a Balkan Federation, Rankovich said that such an act was directed against Yugoslavia's integrity. He said this two times, once on February 8, 1949 during a CPG delegation visit to Skopje led by Miltiadis Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Central Committee and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece. He then said it again in Belgrade on February 16, 1949. Rankovich again said this to Porphyrogenis in Belgrade in April 1949 during their second visit but this time it was said with more emphasis.

Why did the CPY have such hatred for everyone that was in favour of a united Macedonia? Why did the CPY do everything in its power to destroy them? Why did Yugoslavia sent so many people, mostly young men, to prison because they were supporters or sympathizers of the idea of an independent Macedonia. Why did the CPY believe these people were "undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia?" Or was it something else? Something still unknown to us…?

What about NOF's role in all this. NOF was created by the CPM/CPY and later subordinated to the CPG. [9] So how was NOF

[9] April 23, NOF (People's Liberation Front) is formed along with the Women's Anti-Fascist Front (AFZH) and the Youth organization (NOMS). The ELAS fighters who earlier had left Greek occupied Macedonia and went to Yugoslavia came under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPY/CPM). It was from these fighters that, in Skopje on April 23, 1945, the organization NOF was formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation for a new conflict - the Greek Civil War. From the day it was formed to the day it was handed over to the CPG as part of the so-called "brotherhood and unity" formation, NOF acted under CPM/CPY directives. After that it was placed under CPG command until it was disbanded. NOF never acted independently. The NOF organizational leadership, named in the documents as the "NOF Main Board" or the "NOF Senior Leadership", was made up of six members that included Paskal Mitrevski, Giorgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Atanas Koroveshovski, Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, Pavle Rakovski and Mincho Fotev. The leadership was appointed on May 21, 1945 in Skopje, in the "Matsura" building on "Ortse Nikolov" street. Paskal Mitrevski was appointed Political Secretary.

different from any other liberation organization in the world that participated in a war? NOF was never allowed to act independently. But when it came to placing blame, NOF and the Macedonian fighters paid the heaviest price. What was worst than that was the truth was never told... There are some who still say the Macedonians fought heroic battles and should be seen as "patriots who died for their homeland…!" Whose homeland? The Macedonian in Greece lost their homeland… The truth is that it was the Greeks who turned out to be the heroes because, as the Greek state claims, they convinced us to fight and win Macedonia for them. The Greeks led the war… Every commander who led us and participated with us in the Greek Civil War was Greek. Those Greeks who commanded us during the war turned out to be great patriots to make us fight and die for their homeland so that Macedonia would remain Greek. Isn't that what General Marcos solemnly declared in Athens. [10]

Atanas Koroveshovski was made responsible for military affairs. Mincho Fotev was appointed Secretary of NOMS and SKOJ. The NOF leadership functioned under the body of the CPM (Communist Party of Macedonia). During NOF's constitutive meeting, discussions took place to determine responsibilities for the various organs and functions of people's Boards as well as the responsibilities of the AFZH Secretary. However, the answers to these questions were deferred to the next meeting. After NOF was established, British and American agents in Greece initiated a strong propaganda campaign in support of Vancho Mihailov, creating an autonomist movement under the slogan "united and independent Macedonia". Their real goal was to create spy and sabotage centers to combat the people's liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia and to work against the People's Republic of Macedonia with "espionage and subversive activities against the people's democratic Balkan countries, but primarily against the SFRY".

[10] After the battle for Gramos was fought in 1948, Zahariadis suspended Markos Vafiadis and sent him into exile in the city Penza in the USSR. When the great general and strategist as he liked to be called, returned to Greece from the USSR, he was welcomed at Athens airport by General Shakalotos a Greek government army officer who welcomed him as an honored Greek. In an interview with Greek journalists, Vafiadis was asked: "What was the main benefit of the Greek Civil War?" He said: "The eradication of the Slavo-Macedonians from Northern Greece…" During the Greek Civil War Markos Vafiadis, a tobacco worker was the Macedonian people's legendary general to whom the Macedonian fighters entrusted their freedom and the Macedonian people's rights. But what is even more humiliating than that is that, fifty years later, our historiography still claims that we the Macedonians, especially NOF, were a military and political factor in this war and that the Greek Civil War for us Macedonians was a continuation of Ilinden's ideals, goals and traditions for the unification of Macedonia.

This truly was a tragedy…

8. The ideological offensive with its cosmopolitanism (against the Macedonian national consciousness) terribly shook the Macedonian people at the core

Even worst that that, incomprehensible even to this day, is how we Macedonians, participants in the ranks of ELAS, followed Greek orders to destroy Macedonian units [11] which were truly fighting to protect our people and preserve our Macedonian identity. We actually participate in the destruction of a compact unit, organized by 64 Kostur Region villages, [12] with more than 9,800 armed

[11] 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 by the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) to destroy the Kostur Region Macedonian bands.

[12] When the Macedonian people in Kostur Region had had enough of Greek belligerent bands attacking them they formed the "Macedonian Committee" for Kostur Region which appeared on March 5, 1943. A group of forty-eight villagers, representatives of the various villages in Kostur Region convened and decided to form the "Macedonian Committee" for Kostur Region whose aim was to defend the sixty villages in that region. The Italians allowed them to arm themselves in order to protect themselves from the Greeks. The first Macedonian armed freedom fighting band was formed in Kostur and consisted of 9,850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek

Macedonian freedom fighters that stood bravely and dignified against the Greeks and refused to accept Hellenization and give up their Macedonian national identity. But, instead of calling these people patriots and resistance fighters, our history denigrated them by any means possible, even calling them traitors. But miraculously during the Greece Civil War these same people, all who were still alive and their sons and daughters, and enlisted them to fight in DAG as the good sons and daughters of the Party...!

The appearance of the Macedonian freedom fighters in Kostur Region was an incredible moment for the Macedonian reality, but instead of having respect and dignity towards our own people, we are now constantly playing political games, especially with those who bore the most guilt destroying the Kostur freedom fighters.

If we consider that there is no nation in the world that has demolished something that was created (indigenously) by its own people, then we Macedonians must be the first! Precisely for having destroyed the Macedonian Kostur Committee.

We should know that the Kostur freedom fighters were the ones who experienced the most terrible discrimination perpetrated by the Greek state against the Macedonian people. Unfortunately their deeds have not only been forgotten by our history but they have been thoughtlessly anathematized. For the sake of a few Macedonians that had joined the Bulgarian counter-bands, many of our patriotic Macedonians have been fiercely denigrated. Instigated mainly by foreigners some of our people were led to speak ill and shamefully humiliate our most patriotic people. What's worst than that is that ordinary people, listening to trusted CPG politicians gave life to those lies. Even during the Greek Civil War high ranking politicians including some from NOF and AFZH cultivated harmful anachronisms in our national existence with which they viciously attacking their political opponents… Were they aware of how much

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nationalist gangs. But, the moment the "Macedonian Committee" was formed the Greek communists began a fierce propaganda campaign against it, labeling it "fascist", "autonomist", "Bulgarian", etc., in order to discourage Macedonians from joining it and to make sure it looked like it was anti-liberation and anti-partisan.

they burdened and insulted their own people, especially the young Macedonian generations (children of the freedom fighters and of the old partisans)? Were they aware of how much they were clouding their young souls and their national consciousness?!

9. Which international institutions recognized NOF and AFZ as legitimate entities from which they could seek state and legal protection?

SO, WHEN THE DICE WERE ROLLED CHAOS WAS UNLEASHED, THE PAST WAS CANCELLED, AND REALITY BECAME A MEASURE OF THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF CRUELTY. THE FUTURE OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE LIVING IN GREECE AWAITED THEIR NATIONAL DEFEAT, DEATH AND PERSECUTION.

“The opinion of the more powerful is always the best!” Lafontaine.

If we ignore the bitter truth about the Macedonian situation, it means that we are powerless to face it. This is a fact even a half a century later. But let us not ignore the actions taken by the Macedonian organizations:

Calling the people to join a national uprising is a virtue but it can also be a trap. It is a fact that NOF and AFZH did call on the Macedonian people living in Greece to massively fight in a national front for implementing their strategic goals. So the question is did NOF and AFZH have any guarantee that their goals were legitimate and supported by anyone? Did they consult with the Security Council or the United Nations or did they just leave that up to Greece and Yugoslavia? Did NOF and AFZH know that they were strictly controlled by the Balkan communist parties and could do nothing to achieve their own goals without CPY and CPG permission?!

There is no way they could not have known. Their directives came directly from the CPY and the CPG and did not necessarily align with Macedonian interests or with the Macedonian strategy (if there truly was a genuine Macedonian strategy). The Macedonians were

basically used by the CPY and the CPG to benefit their own interests.

Since our Macedonian leaderships in NOF and AFZH did very little to escape the clutches of the CPY and CPG, perhaps because they were in no position to do so or because they didn't want to try, means that they were willing to be ruled and be subservient souls. This proved to be true given the outcome of events which led the Macedonian people to their national defeat and genocide.

Unfortunately because of our weak and tangled position we took during the Greek Civil War, we not only lost our hearth then but we created future consequences for all Macedonians in Europe and we have been facing them to this day. One of those is our country's name…

When the Second World War ended and fascism and Nazism were defeated people began to look forward to living in peace in a time where bloodshed would no longer be allowed. But by becoming involved in the Greek Civil War, a risky adventure, the Macedonians paid a heavy price and experienced ethnic cleansing and genocide. The Macedonian people, especially the Macedonian communists, should not have engaged themselves in this high-risk adventure. There would have been no Greek Civil War without the Macedonian participation. Had we not fallen under CPY and CPG control, things would have turned out differently. In defending the communist ideology, we lost four identity and our ancestral hearths forever. And because we did become involved we accepted blame for what happened to us. [13] This tragic affair unfortunately permanently entered the Macedonian consciousness…

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[13] 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

The question that needs to be asked at this point is was there no one from the Macedonian leadership that could see the big picture of what happening there? That the war (WW II) had ended and that Fascism and Nazism had been defeated, that people were looking forward to living in peace, that the iron curtain had been drown over Macedonia, that the WW II war zone had been divided into spheres of influence, that Greece with status quo borders had been placed under Western (British) influence and that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were place under Eastern (USSR) influence…? Was there no one in our team of Macedonian political strategists that could see that?

It seems that the answer is No! We all kept silent like we were mutes! We found SALVATION IN SILENCE. Especially after the 1953 Law was signed and a WALL OF SILENCE was created. [14]

Macedonian people had to go by any means possible. This information was later discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches in which the English wanted to expel 120,000 Macedonians en masse from their homes in Greek occupied Macedonia. In doing this the English requested the assistance of the fascist Yugoslav government before the communists came to power and received a positive response. The fascists agreed to take the Macedonians and resettle them on Yugoslav territory but Yugoslavia fell to the communists before this could happen and WW II ended. So, it would appear that the plan to rid the Macedonians from Greece was continued after WW II by instigating the so called Greek Civil War during which the CPG was led by Nikos Zahariadis, an English agent and Josip Broz Tito, head of the CPY.

[14] - August 23, 1953. Legal Act No. 2536 was issued, on the strength of which all those who left Greece and who did not return within three years time could be deprived of their property. A decision on the resettlement of Macedonians was taken. A wide-flung campaign was launched in the mass media to induce the Macedonians to leave their native areas voluntarily and to settle in the south of the country and on the islands. The Greek authorities intended to create a 60 kilometer-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.

After what happened, should the Macedonian people still seek a "war outcome" knowing that the primordial desire in the common Macedonian is to remain Macedonian, no matter how much he or she suffers in order to preserve his or her country, language and people – the future generations?

Before we answer that question we must first understand the desires of those, the foreigners, who brought us to this situation. Yes, we want a Macedonia of our own, but do those around us, who are more powerful than us, want us to have a Macedonia of our own? It had been proven over and over again that they don't. So, we must conclude that, in the near future at least, a "war outcome" can not bring us a desirable solution… Quite the opposite… It could bring us more disasters and genocide…

If those foreigners wanted us to have a Macedonia they would not have invaded, occupied, divided and annexed our country. But more than that, they would not have divided us spiritually and attempted to either assimilate or destroy us. Therefore we must accept the fact that they do not want us to have a Macedonia or to be Macedonians which is reflected in their attitude towards us since before our country was divided. All they did is brought us devastation, disaster and genocide after genocide so that they could get rid of us once and for all. Regarding our involvement in the Greek Civil War; this was seen as a problem in the eyes of the world… with lasting consequences which are proving to be disastrous for our future… Case and point: Our Macedonian name, our Macedonian language and our Macedonian ethnicity… have yet to be internationally accepted… and they may never be.

The foreigners who authorize and those who carried out Macedonia's division have not only been in favour of dividing the Macedonian territory but also our spiritually integrity as ethnic Macedonians which, for many centuries have lived as a whole in geographic and historic Macedonia The desire to divide Macedonia and to spiritual divide the Macedonian people has been there since before the Ottoman Empire was driven out of Europe, perhaps since the 1870's, when the Great Powers decided on how to carve up Macedonian and the remainder of the Ottoman Empire. No care or concern had been shown for the destiny of the Macedonian people

since then; not by Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria or the world. In fact great effort has been made to falsely prove that Macedonians do not exist. To some extent we can say that even our own institutions have abandoned us. The educational system in the Republic of Macedonia, for example, has been indifferent to the Macedonian people's history outside of the Republic of Macedonia. Even the Macedonian government in the Republic of Macedonia, under International pressure, had to amend the Macedonian Constitution and abandon fighting for the rights of the Macedonian people in Greece and Bulgaria.

The arguments explored in this study are not in favour of the so called history of the "Aegeans" which, in many cases, supports the CPY and CPG thesis which has taken a completely different critical attitude towards our historical events. Hidden from view also is the fact that it was not the Macedonian people's idea to start or participate in the Greek Civil War and that they were pushed into it through NOF and AFZH by the CPY and the CPG. What happened and we have to accept that, but in terms of who did what, we have to be clear in presenting the facts. For example, how can NOF and AFZH be responsible for our destiny when our destiny was planned by the CPY and CPG? Unfortunately these facts have been covered up for the last half century. It must be clearly stated that a few foreigners in the CPY and CPG were pulling us by our noses and then found us guilty of what they did and we, the Macedonians from Greece, have been paying the price and keeping silent about it for over 50 years.

Today important research about migration problems is being carried out all over the world in an attempt to discover what caused them and why. New studies are appearing and the cruelest and most complex elements of the projected persecutions are revealed. Unfortunately nothing has been done about the migration movement problems we Macedonians in Greece experienced while we are being forced to keep silent about them. Our science has remained deaf to this problem for a long time. It is as if nothing happened to the Macedonians living in Greece and to their 28,000 children who were taken away during the Greek Civil War, who to this day do not have the right to return.

The problem with the children taken away during the Greek Civil War for us Macedonians, represents one of the most tragic and serious problems in Macedonian history. Why? Because nothing like that had ever happen before, not even during the cruel Balkan wars. To grab an innocent child and to take it away for political intentions and to never allow it to return to its parents is one of the cruelest acts one can perpetrate against a child. This happened to 28,000 Macedonian children who were taken from their homes with a promise that they will be returned, and then sent away with a one-way ticket. This was done to the Macedonian children but not to the Greek children who were allowed to return. After the Greek Civil War ended the Greek people who participated in this war were allowed to return; but not the Macedonians. They remained displaced around the world. This was not only true for the children but it also for their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, grandfathers and grandmothers with unprecedented brutality.

Our main goal in this book is to obtain a much more realistic view of the events that took place when the children were taken away and to get to the historical truth of the political intentions [15] why the two warring parties: the Government of the Athenian regime in Athens, and the Partisan Provisional Democratic Government of Greece (CPG and DAG), who fought in the Civil War from 1945 to 1949, took the children.

The conflict between these warring parties was exclusively ideological and class-related (but also not very clear according to the views of the top CPG leaders, Markos Vafiadis and Nikos

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

Zahariadis, as well as the views of the top leaders in the CPM/CPY) to do with organizational issues in Greek society, i.e. the communists allegedly fought for socialism, that is, for the global project: Sovietization of the Balkans.

So, if this was strictly an ideological class war, then how did the Macedonians fit in it, especially NOF [16] which, according to its own propaganda, fought for the Macedonian people's national rights?

So, what exactly was NOF's role in this ideological class war? NOF was created by Tito and the CPY for the purpose of preparing and involving the Macedonian people in Greece in a future war. NOF was later subordinated to the CPG to carry out the war. All this time NOF faithfully served the CPY and CPG and carried out their orders without question. NOF's main role in the Greek Civil War was to mobilize the Macedonian population and involve it in the Greek Civil War on mass, which it did very successfully. But then, after DAG was defeated and the war was lost, NOF and all its Macedonian fighters had to leave Greece along with the Greek fighters. After they crossed over the Albanian border all the fighters were sent to the USSR. Thousands of Macedonian fighters, including members of the CPG that fought in DAG side by side with the Greeks, were given a one-way ticket out. The Greeks who committed the same sins in the struggle for socialism in Greece, including the "great Greek communists", were allowed to return to their hearths, only because they were "Greeks by birth". This is a fact!

A reasonable person justifiably may ask: "What were the resulting consequences for the Macedonian people living in Greece as a result of NOF's creation? In addition to unknowingly lying to the people to get them involved in an ideological war and ending up loosing everything, NOF's creation also created future problems between

[16] NOF (People's Liberation Front) along with the Women's Anti-Fascist Front (AFZH) and the Youth organization (NOMS) were created on April 23, 1945 under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation for a new conflict - the Greek Civil War. But the Greek Civil War did not star until March 31, 1946, about one year later. How did Tito and the CPY, who created NOF, know a Greek Civil War was going to take place one year before it began? Was this in anticipation, or was this war pre-planned?

those Macedonians from Greece who left Greece and went to the newly created Republic of Macedonia and those who remained in Greece and fought in the Greek Civil War. The problems began right after the Republic of Macedonia was created when some Macedonians, under the guidance of the CPM/CPY refused to fight in the war. They were in opposition of the CPG's position and practice towards the Macedonian question. These Macedonians left the war and demanded that their right to self-determination in Greece be recognized. The rest of the Macedonians continued to fight and to follow the Greek communist party' position on the Macedonian question which recognized the Macedonian people as a minority with minority rights within the Greek state. This split the Macedonian people into two camps: one following the CPG, and the other following the CPM/CPY. This was yet another method the CPY and CPG found to successfully divide the Macedonian people. Why did the CPM/CPY support self-determination in Greece for the Macedonians when it was obvious that the West, especially England and the USA, would not support it. What possible gains would Tito have now, after he opposed this very same thing only a few years ago?

Remember, NOF was independently created by the CPY, that is, outside of CPG influence, and was sent to Northern Greece to agitate the Macedonian population to become involved in a future war that would have tragic and irreconcilable consequences for the Macedonian people that included disagreements, clashes, suspicions and sharp prejudices that lasted even after November 1946, after NOF and the CPG "united" [17] (according to our historiography) in a common front.

This is how NOF and the CPG "united":

[17] In October 1946, NOF and the CPG reached an agreement to combine forces and jointly fight against the Monarcho-Fascists. This was done following a directive issued by the CPM Central Committee ordering the NOF Main Board to make arrangements to have NOF put under the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece. After a difficult and arduous journey, an Agreement was finally reached to unite NOF and the CPG. NOF was not represented during the final talks to determine the conditions under which the unification was to take place. The NOF leadership participated only in the preliminary discussions.

The Macedonian NOF units were unconditionally disbanded and the NOF fighters were absorbed by the CPG units.

The CPG reserved the right to appoint "good commanders" (in other words, Greek) in its Military Headquarters in whom it had full confidence.

This is how NOF was placed under CPG control; removing all its (supposed) authority and placing it under CPG subordination… all throughout the Greek Civil War and after it, even to the present day. Therefore we should not have a problem recognizing that NOF was not a military or political factor during the Greek Civil War, as has been described by our historiography for the "Aegeans". This was a well know fact all throughout the Greek Civil War period.

This deliberate act of creating NOF for the purpose of gaining Macedonian rights in Greece by war, organized by the CPM/CPY, was catastrophic for the Macedonian people living in Greece who had to pay dearly for wanting to just be Macedonians and as a result, faced (self) destruction, better known as the "Macedonian syndrome". [18]

Did NOF and AFZH called on the Macedonian people to enter the struggle under NOF's own national characteristics and aspirations? Yes they did! And whose program principles did NOF follow. The CPG's of course! [19] And were these program principles not contrary

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[18] See APPENDIX A (CIA report)

[19] On February 3, 1949, for example, the 2nd NOF Central Council Plenum was held during which its program principles were introduced in which it was proclaimed: "That Macedonia will be unified and the Macedonian people will live in a single independent Macedonian state." This, as it turned out, was a drastic attempt, a last political maneuver on the part of the CPG to keep the Macedonians in the war. We already know how the Greek government and the West, Britain and the Unites States in particular, felt about splitting Greek occupied Macedonia from Greece. Then on March 7, 1949, the CPG backtracked on promises. The CPG Central Committee denied coining the slogan "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation." The CPG also denied accepting NOF's new program principles drafted during NOF's 2nd Congress on February 3, 1949. In March 1949 the Interim Government in Greece was overhauled. More specifically the CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying any decisions being made during the 5th CPG Plenum regarding the Macedonian Question and

to the CPG's "Greek national interests"? Yes they were! So, what were NOF's national goals then, and are there any documents available that shows them? Or was NOF entirely submissive and servile to the CPG?

The most tragic thing about all this is that NOF and AFZH have not been held responsible for misleading the Macedonian people in Greece from April 23, 1945, to September 11, 1946, while they were under the influence of the CPM/CPM, before they were subordinated to the CPG.

Are we Macedonians expected to forget what really happened and bear the entire guilt for allegedly loosing the war!? Unfortunately that is what is expected of us and that's what we were taught for more than half a century, and even now, we are expected to live in a climate of conformism… But, at the same time we know the past never completely dies.

Ironically those who should have been speaking during this half-century were silent and those who should have been silent have been speaking.

But, it would be a great historical sin to our Macedonian science if we, the victims, continue to remain silent. In fact our silence will continue to feed the malicious and genocidal efforts of foreigners. That is why it is important for us to speak up and write our own history.

There was no doubt that the Macedonian people explicitly trusted NOF and AFZH and did what the Macedonian leaders asked of them including picking up arms and fighting, and even surrendering their children to them without question. But what the Macedonian people did not know was that NOF and AFZH were under the complete influence of strangers (the CPY and CPG) and blindly following their directives and false promises that "we will win the war". The strangers were lying to them and had no intention on delivering on their promises or honouring the promises. And that is why they

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regarding NOF's programming principles outlined at the 2nd NOF Congress on February 3, 1949.

made sure the Macedonians lost the war. And when they did, the strangers put the blame on NOF and on the Macedonian people. Searching for the truth of what happened during that dreadful and catastrophic war was not only painstaking but very painful.

To add insult to injury, these same strangers and their supporters refuse to accept the fact that the Macedonian people living Greece were sacrificed for other people's interests. They refuse to accept that NOF and the Macedonian people were manipulated during the Greek Civil War. Even a half a century later people still refuse to accept wrong doing and claim that the foreigners who did this to us had "good intentions" Unfortunately those "good intentions" have puts us in a position to not only lives and our hearths, but also to face constant backlash in all spheres of our life to this day, and even before our own Macedonian people.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PROCESSES AND EVENTS AFTER WW II - (THE VARKIZA PERIOD - 1945) [20]

Some historians say that the Greek Civil War began in 1945 sighting events that have contributed to it. But the Civil War actually began on March 31, 1946, when the village Lithohori was attacked on the night of March 30, 1946, by armed CPG sympathizers and members of ELAS, who were against the signing of the Varkiza Agreement.

But serious historiographers, especially the leadership and participants of DAG (not the Macedonians because we had already entered into an armed resistance with the formation of NOF on April 23, 1945, one year before the Greek Civil War started), asked themselves the following question:

Why did the CPG call for an armed resistance in March 1946, almost exactly one year after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945?

Greek historiographers have described the Greek Civil War as a big historical mistake because it took place after WW II ended and after the Great Powers in Yalta had divided the world into spheres of influence. As a result borders in the Balkans were to remain "Status quo". But rarely have these historiographers gone beyond calling the war a mistake by considering that it may have been purposely perpetrated to "rid of the Macedonians" from Greece.

[20] On February 12, 1945, an Agreement was signed in Varkiza, a resort near Athens, between the CPG and EAM leaders on one side and Plastiras's Greek government and British General Scobie, on the other. In July 16, 1943, with this Agreement, EAM and ELAS (numbering about 70,000 soldiers) signed an Agreement with Colonel Eddie Myers, head of the British military mission, by which ELAS subordinated its command to the British in the Middle East, thus practically handing over power to the political right. That was the end of ELAS.

A government was already established in Greece and the iron curtain was drawn over the northern border. The state borders separating Greece from Yugoslavia were "STATUS QUO"

After the Second World War ended, many things began to take place in Greece, especially after the Varkiza Agreement was signed and political power was seized by the right. According to Greek historiographers, persecution of the left forces (CPG, ELAS, EAM and others) began in the 1945 winter and spring months and was primarily organized and coordinated by the British [21] through the newly formed Greek government.

Organized terror

The following table describes the acts and the number of victims involved in the "organized terror" perpetrated by the right forces against the left in Greece, in the period from February 12 to March 31, 1946. The document was prepared by the EAM central committee and delivered by Mihalis Kirkos to the UN Commission of Special Observers during one of their sessions:

Shot	1, 284
Wounded	6, 681
Interned	31, 632
Arrested	34, 931
Disappeared	151
Raped	165

And about 500 other, on various grounds.

Why was this violence and terror unleashed on the people? Was it to instigate a new war?

For the record, let it also be known that the EAM report was written in 1945 in French by Octave Merlier, director of the French Institute in Athens. (See: Thassos Vournas, 1981/32, Athens).

[21] The British government had engaged numerous forces in Solun: a concentration of about 80,000 men and a large number of motor vehicles, tanks and cannons. Stationed at the Serres airport (12 km from Solun) were also about 200 British fighter planes and 60 bombers.

Government military force up to 1946

This was the status of the government military forces up to the beginning of July 1946, organized and composed in four hill divisions:

- 8th Division in Ioannina;
- 15th Division in Kozheni;
- 10th Division in Solun; and
- 7th Division in Kavala.

The total government military strength up until July 1946 was 104,000 soldiers, of which 45,000 were infantry. They were organized into 80 infantry battalions.

America's influence in the development of the Greek government military forces

Many important things happened during the period from 1946 to 1947, especially under Western power influence, but the most important thing that was achieved was Greece falling under American and English influence as was agreed at the Tehran Conference.

1. In February 1947, Great Britain informed the United States Government that, for economic reasons it would stop helping Greece as of March 31, 1947. The US government had estimated that if it did not inherit Great Britain's role, Greece will inevitably fall under USSR influence.

2. An aid agreement was signed in Athens between the US government and the Greek Government, with which the American dominance in Greece began, pushing out Great Britain.

3. On March 1, 1947, US President Harry Truman announced a resolution proclaiming the "Truman Doctrine" for US involvement in Greece. Greece was granted a loan and modern military equipment to equip its government army. At the same time American General Van FLEET, a specialist in guerrilla warfare, was

made available to the Greek government. General Van FLEET, commander of the American-Military-Advisory and Program Group, arrived in Greece at the beginning of 1947.

With the strategy and tactics applied during the Greek Civil War period, especially during the last battles on the Vicho and Gramos fronts in August 28 - 30, 1949, DAG was defeated and thrown out of Greece's borders into Albania.

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But if we look at this whole war situation from a global or a Greek government perspective, there are things missing. For example, missing from it are the Macedonians. The Macedonian participation is not even mentioned in Greek government, and especially in Western publications, which deal with the Greek Civil War. As a nation the Macedonian people did not only contribute more than 50% of the military resources for DAG, but also supported them economically and in other respects. [22] But there is nothing mentioned about them, not even their failures. Hence, it is time for us to not only point out these omissions and inconsistencies but to also correct them and show the world that mistakes had indeed been made. We need to show that Macedonians did participate in the Greek Civil War in a big way. We also need to show that were betrayed by the foreigners who led us and point out the mistakes we made as a result of that. We also need to find the answer to the question: "Is it possible that we willingly gave up our children because we believed their propaganda?"

1. The problem facing analysts and historiographers about DAG's history is their inability to conclusively decide when the Greek Civil War was started. Was it on February 12, 1946, when the CPG

[22] On March 20, 1949, in a speech delivered to the DAG Political Commissars, Vasilis Bardzhotas, DAG General Staff Political Commissar, regarding the Macedonian fighter contribution in DAG's ranks, among other things, said: "...The Slavo-Macedonian fighters and officers are considered the best that DAG has to offer. They fought and still fight bravely. These heroic people give their best. They sacrificed their children, their property, their houses... Every house has a wounded or dead person. The DAG Vicho Mountain unit fighters are 20 to 50% Slavo-Macedonians..."

Central Committee (during its Second Plenum) decided when the armed uprising was going to begin or was it on March 31, 1946, when the village Lithohori was attacked?

At this point we also need to ask "Were we Macedonians a factor in these various Agreements that the CPG and EAM had signed?" The answer, of course is NO, we Macedonians were not a factor!

And why not?! Because, until then, we were not a political entity nor did we fight to become one in Greece.

Let us now have a look at some historical events that took place:

In the second decade of October 1944, the Lerin-Kostur battalion separated from ELAS and moved to Vardar Macedonia (SFRJ), where it was organized into a brigade in the composition of the NOV and PO Macedonian-Yugoslav National Army (JNA).

THIS IS WHAT THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREECE WERE TOLD ABOUT THAT:

The Macedonians from Greece who left the ranks of CPG, EAM and ELAS were harshly condemned but welcomed by the CPM/CPY. Now, with help and instructions from the CPM/CPY a POLITICAL COMMISSION FOR AEGEAN MACEDONIA was created in Bitola, whose working meetings were presided over by a representative of the CPM Central Committee.

The Aegean Brigade was formed in free (from the Fascists) Bitola on November 18, 1944, and was composed of fighters from the Macedonian battalions that left Greece as well as from newly arrived Macedonian refugees from Greece.

What does this tell us? This tells us that these Macedonian left Greece to get away from the clutches of the CPM but to only land in the clutches of CPY. And why did they allow this? They allowed this, because, we Macedonians have not learned our lessons and continue to allow strangers to lead us to recurring tragedies that overtake us on the road to our future.

"WHY NOT TO SOLUN"?

"...The political and military leadership of the newly formed Macedonia state realistically assessed the January events and decided not to allow emotions to prevail over reason and decided not to drag the Macedonian population into a new war. They figured fighting against its allies from the anti-fascist coalition, on whose side they fought during the Second World War, was not a good idea because many lives would have been lost for nothing and the newly formed Macedonian state would have been dragged into yet another senseless war."

On the surface this may look like a betrayal to the Macedonian cause and to the Macedonian people in Greece, but we will let history decide that. In the meantime if we did march into Solun we would have faced massive English resistance. [23]

DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE

On December 9, 1944, McLean, head of the British Mission in Belgrade, visited Josip Broz Tito and told him that the act of creating the (Aegean) Brigade implied territorial claims on the Greek and Bulgarian territories and asked him to not interfere in

[23] On October 31, 1944, a large group of English soldiers in armoured vehicles entered Solun supposedly beating ELAS to the punch. Three days later the BBC in London announced that British troops had liberated Solun. In less than a month later, on November 14, 1944, a damning British diplomatic report sent from Leeper to Eden, dated Athens November, 14, 1944, surfaced. Among other things the report revealed secret plans to get rid of the Macedonian population from Greek occupied Macedonia. British Ambassador to Athens Mr. R.A. Leeper, in November 1944, toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote "…and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941."

Greek affairs, that is, in the clashes taking place between ELAS and the British forces in Athens, which began on December 3, 1944.

Tito convinced McLean that Yugoslavia had no intention of making claims on Greek Macedonia and that the First Aegean Brigade would not be sent to Greece. On December 22, 1944, Tito issued the following orders; 1. The Aegean Brigade was ordered to remain put, that is, not to go to Aegean Macedonia. 2. All aid promised to ELAS to be halted, that is, not to be given to ELAS. 3. And, as per Stalin's directive to the CPG leadership, to stop the armed struggle in Greece and seek a peaceful solution to the conflict with England.

On April 2, 1945, by strictly confidential special order number 236, Marshal Tito requested the disbandment of the "Aegean Brigade."

Our historiographers however have a different answer: "Not a whole month after the Aegean Brigade was created in Bitola, the CPG and ELAS demanded that it be disbanded and that its fighters be sent back to Greece to join ELAS, which neither the Aegean leaders nor Josip Broz Tito agreed to." (See; Dr. Risto Kirjazovski, featurette - through the fighting pages of Aegean Macedonia: Ilija Dimovski-Gotse).

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1945 AND THE CREATION OF NOF

(The creation of NOF was a chaotic uncertainty for the Macedonian people. It was an event to be remembered. It was a big step into the unknown. April 23, 1945, was a day when foreigners messed with our destiny and when no one asked the people about anything.)

1. So, by creating NOF and AFZH, after the Second World War, did we not cause our own problems in Greece?

Well, we can blame ourselves for being trusting and not vigilant enough but we call also say that it was the outsiders who enticed us by lying to us. Regardless, we should have known better than to trust the well-known conflicting communist party (CPY, CPG and CPB) policies and practices towards the Macedonian national question. We should have known that they would exploit us, deliberately engage us in this "Macedonian syndrome" and lead us to fight against one another: Macedonian - against Macedonian?

We continue to fail to remember that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the past, up until 1945, the Macedonian people living in Greece had strong spiritual and national unity. The older Macedonians, their children, their grandchildren… all lived similar lives and followed the same survival strategy in the same spirit. Unfortunately, even after WW II, despite promises [24] otherwise, they still lived under

[24] 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. These promised concessions unfortunately for the Greek government and for England 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.

oppression and still had no rights as Macedonians. After 1945, the CPM/CPY, through NOF, began to exploit that unfortunate Macedonian situation and began to offer the Macedonian people options through which they could gain their rights if they fought in a future war… But there was a catch; they could only get the rights if they fought and won.

Most Macedonians did not want to fight, especially after WW II ended and were looking forward to living in peace.[25] But that did not workout and the Macedonians living in Greece were dragged in yet another war.

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.

[25] After WW II ended 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 to fight, the CPY subordinated NOF to the CPG and the CPG used it as an instrument to rally the Macedonian people and joined the armed struggle.

Chronologically speaking NOF was subordinated by the CPM/CPY from the day it was created on April 23, 1945, to November 21, 1946, the day it was subordinated to the CPG under the "Brotherhood and unity" program when the CPM/CPY elegantly washed their hands of the Macedonians in Greece. NOF remained subordinated to the CPG from November 21, 1946 until DAG was liquidated in 1949 and beyond for some years while the Macedonian people were in exile.

WHO WERE OUR ALLIES IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR?

The answer is: no one! Not even the CPM, because it too was completely subordinated to the CPY.

If the CPM, CPY and CPG were not our true allies then why did they engage the Macedonian people to fight in the Greece Civil War? Why was NOF created and mandated to "fight for the national rights and the right to self-determination of the Macedonians living in Greece?" [26] if that was not the CPY/CPG's intent?

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[26] In 1946 NOF adopted this program with some corrections. We don't know what the program looked like in 1945 (it was most likely given orally) but was set out with the following tasks:
1. The irreconcilable struggle of the Macedonian people from the Aegean part of Macedonia to win their national and social rights;
2. Affirmation of the Macedonian national identity;
3. Actualization of the Macedonian national question in the political life of Greece;
4. Organizing resistance against the terror and genocide imposed and systematically carried out by the Greek reactionary authorities on the Macedonian population;
5. Strengthening the national unity of the Macedonian people;
6. Uncovering Vancho Mihailov's autonomist activities carried out by his supporters and breaking up their spy network in this part of Macedonia. The spy networks and their agents also operate as Anglo-American sabotage centres which fight against the national rights of the Macedonian people;
7. Disclosure of the Anglo-American plans, which aim to turn the Aegean part of Macedonia into a base for espionage and subversive activity against the Republic of Macedonia and the whole of Yugoslavia as well as against all the Balkan people's republics;
8. Strengthening the brotherhood and unity between the Macedonian people and the Greek people and together with all the progressive forces of Greece, the Macedonians fight against the common enemy; and

More than a half a century has passed and the question "why was NOF truly created for and what was its real purpose" has not been adequately answered. What was NOF's real national strategy? Why was it created in Skopje on April 23, 1945, by the CPM/CPY and mandated to lead a war in the Aegean part of Macedonia, outside and independent of the CPG? Why was NOF created to lead a war that did not exist and did not start about a year later?

The NOF leadership was sent to Aegean Macedonia on April 28, 1945, to form Macedonian partisan units to fight in a non existent war. (See: Kirjazovski, 1995/202)

Suppose NOF was truly created to "fight for the national rights and the right to self-determination of the Macedonian people living in Greece". How was NOF going to achieve that? What portion of the population living on that part of Macedonia was going to support such an undertaking? Did the people that led NOF not know that the Macedonian people were a minority in that region? Did the people in the CPM/CPY who mandated NOF not know that the Macedonian people living in Greece were a minority in that region? Did NOF consult the majority of the population about its undertaking and did they get support from it? No! NOF never bothered to do any of that. It never bothered to face the very complex problems created by the internal and external factors. Nor was NOF able to assess its own forces, much less its strategic interests and plans. It completely relied on the CPM/CPY and later on the CPG to do all that. In fact why didn't anyone in NOF, the CPM the CPY or in the CPG provide answers as to how was NOF going to achieve its mandated objectives under these circumstances?

So to be clear, would NOF have been able to achieve self-determination for the Macedonian people in a newly created situation in Aegean Macedonia, still under Greek control, given the

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

population exchanges that took place in 1924 during which over 600 thousand Asia Minor non-Macedonian settlers and colonists were settled on Macedonian land by which the Greek state turned the Macedonian population into a minority? Would the majority of the population living in Aegean Macedonia been in favour of Macedonian self determination if it came to a vote? No one bothered to answer the question so we will answer it for them.

No, NOF would not have been able to fulfill its promise because the Macedonian population was a minority in its own native land. The other people would have voted against self-determination because they were loyal to Greece who gave them Macedonian lands.

Identity	Nationality	%
Greeks	711,428	50.36
Macedonians	240,000	17.00
Karamanli	210,000	14.87
Armenians	80,000	5.66
Jews	68,206	4.83
Vlahs	44,414	3.14
Roma	25,302	1.79
Miscellaneous	33,127	2.35
Total	1,412,477	100

Included in the “Greeks” row is the diverse refugee population that came from the Caucasus. The Greek population by origin and language is actually less than 50% of the entire population living in Aegean Macedonia. (See S. Kiselinovski 2000/48.)

a) Like I said before, did anyone from NOF ask the colonists and settlers living on Macedonian lands if they wanted to live in some kind of Balkan federation? Let us ask ourselves, would we have made enemies of them if we did ask? But the question still remains; as Macedonian communists how did the NOF people react to the actions taken by the Greek government to change the ethnic composition in Aegean Macedonia? Were they in favour and saw this as a humane act towards the colonists and settlers? Or were they against it? If they were for it then how do you supposed the

Macedonians, who lost their lands to the colonists and settlers, would have felt? If they were against it them they certainly would have made enemies of them.

b) Did NOF not know that those same colonists and settlers were leading the leftist forces in Greece like Zahariadis, Partzalidis, Ioanidis, Vafiadis, etc. Did NOF truly expect these people to support NOF in obtaining Macedonian self-determination? Surely the people in NOF must have known that they would not.

c) Why did the CPG not allow NOF to become a political entity during the anti-fascist struggle? And did the people of NOF forget that they were persecuted when they demanded national rights and were slandered and anathematized as autonomists, secessionists, and Slavophones?

Now let us go back to the biggest manipulations perpetrated by the CPY and CPG against NOF on April 2, 1946, during a meeting between Tito and Zahariadis in Belgrade, without the presence of a single Macedonian, during which they decided:

1. That NOF and the Macedonian People's Liberation Movement for the Aegean part of Macedonia be passed on from being directed by the CPM/CPY to be directed by the CPG. And NOF's program goals were changed to read: NOF will now fight in alliance with the Greek people to save the Macedonian people from physical extermination.

Perhaps this was part of the strategy the foreigners (CPY/CPG and their Great Power supporters) used to achieve their own objectives through manipulating NOF. As a result the Greek state began to take legal action against the Macedonian population persecuting Macedonians and using unprecedented terror against them including sending the military to harass and shoot at them. People were forced to leave their native hearths and flee to Yugoslavia or the Greek government security forces would send them to prison to the dry Greek island concentration camps. [27]

[27] 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

2. Those who escaped to Yugoslavia, unfortunately, were not safe. The CPM/CPY and the CPG agreed to recruit DAG fighters from those Macedonians who fled to Yugoslavia. The CPG was allowed to recruit from the entire political emigrant population in Yugoslavia. In other words those people who managed to save themselves from Greek terror were now were being mobilized and sent back to hell. It is obvious that "something unusual" was happening to the Macedonians, because both the Greek government and the communists (CPM/CPY/CPG) were abusing them. So, it's not unreasonable for one to ask: What is wrong with us Macedonians? Why our friends and enemies treat us the same way?

3. Conditions for the Macedonian people radically changed after Tito and Zahariadis, that is, the CPY and the CPG, agreed to pass NOF from CPY slavery to CPG slavery. Unfortunately oblivious to all this, NOF became even louder with its slogans for total mobilization of the Macedonian people. NOF made many loud calls and proclaimed that the CPG was our only savior and well-wisher for solving the Macedonian national question for the Macedonian people living in Greece. They also echoed that the CPM/CPY were in agreement. (See: Lazar Kolishevski's directives and recommendations in Kirjazovski's book 1995/29).

In other words, the NOF leaders believed not only that the CPM was not going to steer them wrong but they (CPM/CPY) were going to protect NOF. The NOF leaders had no idea or did not care that they were in pursuit of other people's interests.

The misunderstandings, or whatever you want to call them, with regards to the tasks NOF performed under CPY/CPG manipulation unfortunately hurt the Macedonian cause more than it helped. This resulted not only in loss of life and property but left many Macedonian people in exile with no prospect of ever returning

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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 either leave their homes and go to Yugoslavia or run to the mountains and join NOF in order to save themselves.

home. And what did NOF gain? Nothing! Unfortunately NOF's actions are still being blindly defended by some people. It has been difficult to pass through the labyrinth of manipulation surrounding the CPG and the CPY, because they had a well-designed strategy in which even those so-called "hard nationalists" succumbed to their aggressive daily propaganda, in favour of so-called "class" rights, and as things progressed "national" rights (especially for us Macedonians) were left behind and forgotten. In simple terms, it appears as if the war was about class rights. But, this is how things appeared from the outside. What about from the inside? Did the simple Macedonian villager who gave his life know that he was fighting for class rights? No! The villager was told he was fighting so that he can be recognized as a Macedonian with full rights… In other words NOF lied to him.

Fighting for class rights or to make Greece communist was also a big lie. According to the Yalta agreement Greece rightly fell under western influence. The West fought against communism. When Britain and later the USA got involved in Greece, the communists in Greece had no hope in hell of winning; the top CPY and CPG leaderships must have known about that. (See the preface in this book). If they did know about that then the CPY and the CPG lied to the people in order to draw them into the so called Greek Civil War. But why?! The Greeks and their supporters the British and the Americans wanted to eradicate the communists in Greece and to get rid of the Macedonian population (from Greece) once and for all!

But, as things turned out for NOF (and for all us Macedonians, especially those living in Greece), the Greek Civil War was a chaotic war and in chaos those who are powerful are right. In other words justice is not in correctness, but in power.

If the Macedonian people were told that they were going to fight a civil war in a class struggle and if they had been invited by the CPY, practically no one would have participated. So, what happened? The Macedonian people participated in this war only because they were invited by NOF, a Macedonian organization supported by the CPM, and because they were promised that they would be fighting for their Macedonian national rights. But, instead of delivering what it

promised, NOF forced them to (unknowingly) fight for the interest of the foreigners (CPY/CPG) that created and led NOF.

Testimonials:

See: “DOCUMENTS, the struggle of the Macedonian people for independence and for a national state”, Volume two.

NOF MAIN LEADERSHIP DIRECTIVES TO THE NOF DISTRICT COMMITTEES.

September 1945

It is your duty to expand and install NOF in every city, village and farm house wherever Macedonians exist. No Macedonian man, woman or young person should be left out of NOF, AFZH or NOMS influence. (pp. 721-722-723)

NOF, AFZH AND NOMS SLOGANS

NOF, AFZH and NOMS created a militant movement as early as November 22, 1945, that’s one year before the Greek Civil War was officially declared in Greece:

Slogan of the NOF anti-fascist organization:

“No Macedonian should be left outside of NOF, the anti-fascist organization.

Only this way we will be able to destroy fascism and get our rights and the right to full self-determination.”

Slogan of the AFZH anti-fascist organization:

“All forward! All Macedonian women join the Anti-Fascist Women’s Front (AFZH) for the complete destruction of fascism, for our freedom and for our rights.”

(NOTE: The entire world knew that on May 9, 1945, the Fascists lost the war and fascism was declared dead. Unfortunately it seems

that our NOF Macedonian leadership somehow missed that, and as per their slogans, continued to fight against the Fascists sending our good Macedonian sons and daughters, villagers from Kostur, Lerin, Voden Regions, etc. who endlessly trusted them, to their death. If the Greek leadership used such slogans, no Macedonian would have entered that war).

The Macedonian people knew exactly who the NOF leaders were. They were the people who made them euphorically happy, they promised them what the earned for centuries; freedom from slavery! The NOF leaders were worthy people and I respect them, because their delusion was beautiful, but it was a delusion. Their delusion was beautiful, they loved their people, there was nothing more beautiful than that, but they did the right thing the wrong way. As a result they destroyed the people that they loved: they made them sacrifice themselves, deprived them of their children, made them homeless and threw them out of their homes with no chance of ever returning. In the end our NOF and AFZ leaders were blamed for loosing the war and were sent to the prisons in the Siberian tundra.

Before the Greek Civil War started the Macedonian people were terrorized, persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and forced to flee the country. All this was done by the Greek government and by some Greek communists in order to spur them to join NOF and fight. This was the state the Macedonian people found themselves in before they massively participated in this dreadful war and were crushed. Tragically this is what the NOF and AFZ leaders and activists called "the continuation of Ilinden" (Ilinden Uprising).

There is a saying: "For someone to believe in me I have to say something that I believe in." So the question is: why did the NOF and AFZH leaderships trust these foreigners (CPY/CPG) so much?! Why did they believe they could win this war under the given circumstances and with unclear Macedonian goals? Another question is: Why did the Macedonian people trust NOF and AFZ, and not the CPG? This question can easily answered, that is: "Because the people leading NOF and AFZH were Macedonians and those leading the CPG were not." And because they were Macedonian the people believed them. And, like I said before, NOF and AFZH offered them what they wanted: "To be free as

Macedonians!" Unfortunately what these poor Macedonians did not know was that the architects of this entire fiasco were foreigners (CPY/CPG) with entirely different goals in mind. And, as it turned out, they wanted to get rid of the Macedonian from Greece...

No one has ever openly and publicly said that they "wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece". That however, was the end result, the outcome of this war. The Greek government prepared laws in advance to not allow the Macedonians to return, after they crossed over the Greek border. After the Greek Civil War ended when people started asking "what happened" the Greek government and the CPG openly said: "Tito had territorial claims on Greece (ibid., p. 205), and was attempting to annex Aegean Macedonia with NOF's help." (ibid. v. 271).

REVISION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

A statement that Tito made in Moscow on April 26, 1945, may have given the Greeks reasons to suspect that Yugoslavia was making claims on Greek territory. On April 26, 1945, during his stay in Moscow, Marshal Tito gave a statement to the "New York Times" in which he said: "If the Macedonians from the Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes…"

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Interview:

"With a pure heart and a clear conscience…"

During an interview entitled "With a pure heart and a clear conscience", conducted by journalist Jovan Pavlovski and published by the weekly magazine "Start" (year 2, no. 62, p. 21), this is what, among other things, Lazar Kolishevski [28] said:

[28] Based on the decision made on October 14, 1946, by Tito and Zahariadis, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioannidis, reached the following agreement: "The entire leadership heading the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS was to be taken from the CPY and subordinated to the CPG, and NOF's armed units were to be placed under the

START: “Speaking of Rankovich: His name is closely associated with the aid that Yugoslavia provided to the Greek partisans in 1945, after the end of the Second World War. And it is well known that among the Greek partisans there was a large number of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.”

KOLISHEVSKI: “Little has been said about it in authentic sources. Perhaps this will be the first time more can be said so I want to say that it was about the survival of the Aegean Macedonians, who were threatened with expulsion, so we advocated for the formation of party organizations and partisan detachments there, in Aegean Macedonia. Together with Rankovich and a few generals, we led that action under extreme discretion. Yes, we established a Provincial Committee and armed formations for the defense of the villages in Aegean Macedonia. We supplied weapons to the partisans and took care of their wounded. We fed them, we clothed them, we armed them, and we trucked them over to this side of the border. Objectively, they waged a war in 1946 under very favourable conditions: we gave them everything that we, as partisans, lacked in the war. I will tell you a short story, which I have not told anyone before. During the first year after our victory (after WW II), Kidrich managed the Yugoslav economy, and, within that framework, he was responsible for feeding the people in this country. He was an excellent mathematician and he couldn’t help but notice that I constantly asked him for food for Macedonia, more than what was allocated for us. We gave the surplus to the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia. Kidrich kept getting angry at my constant requests for more food, but he was diplomatic about it. One day he said: “Please Lazo, how many Macedonians are there in Macedonia that you have to constantly ask for more food…?!” I became uncomfortable, so I spoke to Rankovich and asked him if we should tell Kidrich our secret? Rankovich agreed that we should. And when we told him what it was all about, he accepted our secret

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command of General Markos. Some time after this agreement was finalized, Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, invited the entire NOF Main Board, headed by Pascal Mitrevski, to his office and, among other things, told them the following: “Now you go down there (to Aegean Macedonia), the CPG will lead your fight. The CPG’s line is correct. Have confidence in the CPG. Fight with all available forces against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies...”

with a laugh and did not complain when he was subsequently asked for more flour and other kind of supplies. After we explained to him what was happening he gave me a kiss. The group that supplied the Macedonian and Greek partisans was headed by General Jovo Kapichich."

Given what Kolishevski and the generals were doing shows that this war was dirty war for the Macedonian people in Greece and confirms that NOF was misled by foreign goals and interests led by the JNA military General Staff and by the CPY.

Now let us get acquainted with Kolishevski and his take in all this:

"...The question about Macedonia's unification was brought up again in the months immediately before Federal Macedonia's constitution was adopted. This was during the time when the Paris Peace Conference was taking place. Regarding the First Congress of the People's Front for Macedonia, held from August 2 to 4, 1946, the Foreign Office was notified on August 13, 1946. According to a report, the following people were present at the Congress: Kolishevski, President of the People's Republic of Macedonia and Secretary of the territorial board of the People's Front for Macedonia, M. Neshkovich, President of the Serbian Government, Frane Frol, Minister of Justice of the Federal Government, a delegation from Pirin Macedonia headed by Krsto Stojchev, a delegate from the Bulgarian Assembly, delegates from Greece (or Aegean Macedonia as they called it) and Eugene Laurenti, a delegate from Trieste. This Congress was special because it spelled out the "Macedonian people's desire to be free and united in the Republic of Macedonia within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia." However, this idea could only be realized if cultural ties were created between the people of Pirin Macedonia and those of the Republic of Macedonia. But such conditions were not created. In other words the "idea of unification", was not publicly promoted in the Republic of Macedonia. I.e. 'little to almost none was publicity said in Yugoslavia about such unification until the Manifesto appeared'. At the same time 'the attitude towards Greek Macedonia was uncertain and was something more than platonic sympathy'. From this it was clear that something was floating in the air…"

In his speech he gave in Bitola, Kolishevski opposed the idea of a united and independent Macedonia outside the borders of Yugoslavia or under a protectorate of the Great Powers. According to Kolishevski, that would represent "the destruction of the current Macedonian federal unit…" (See: T. Chepreganov, 1997/152).

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

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

If we analyze this unfavorable situation a bit more, especially from the point of view of national interest, no one in their right mind would have taken up arms at that time, especially not the non-violent Macedonian people. But, led by the CPM/CPY, NOF did take up arms. The Greek Civil War was an illogical war for the Macedonian peoples so why did NOF get involved and why did it mobilize the entire Macedonian population in Greece? WHY?!! How did NOF think it could achieve success?

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

IT SHOULD BE WELL UNDERSTOOD THAT NOF WAS CREATED AND ORGANIZED BY THE CPM/CPY AND THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WERE ITS VICTIMS WHO SACREFICED THEMSELVES FIGHTING FOR OTHER PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

First: NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created on April 23, 1945 by the CPM Central Committee in Skopje and were managed by the CPM/CPY until November 1946. Their program goals were to win the national rights and the right to self-determination for the

Macedonian people living in Greece. (See: Kirjazovski Risto, 1966/181 and Rakovski Pavle, 1990/199).

Historian Lazar Lazarov (1998/62) has also made references to reports that Gérard Raoul Duval, French consul general in Solun, sent to the French government on September 26, 1945, in which he said the following:

"...The headquarters of the NOF organization is located in Skopje, on Yugoslav territory... but it seems to me that the propaganda spread by NOF to the Slavophones deals with the idea of an autonomous Macedonia, and the Yugoslav government controls this organization and sees Greek Macedonia as own part of the Yugoslav territory..." (p. 62).

According to historian Vanche Stojchev (see: featurette "The forces that prevented the unification of Macedonia" (N. M. of 8. 9. 2001): "...A founding bureau for the People's Liberation Front (NOF for Aegean Macedonia) was constituted in Skopje on April 23, 1945, on the initiative of the CPM. This bureau was headed by the CPM Central Committee. The main task of this Macedonian organization was to stand at the head and lead the struggle of the Macedonian people in the Aegean part of Macedonia. The composition of NOF included NOMS and AFZH. All their members were transferred to the Aegean part of Macedonia. The presence of NOF was immediately rejected by the monarcho-fascist and British forces. The presence of NOF was also rejected by the CPG Central Committee and by EAM who declared it a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece. The Macedonian people gave NOF their support in the struggle however NOF failed to establish itself as a governing body. The CPY and CPG were also unable to provide significant assistance to the Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia, while the CPG protected Greek interests. Tito's statement to the 'New York Times' if 'Macedonians from the Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes...' acted as stimulus for the Macedonian people and for the CPM Central Committee to act. This also acted as stimulus for the opposing forces in Greece which took criminal measures against NOF and the Macedonian forces in Greece..."

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

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

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

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

From a historical point of view, WW II ended with the defeat of fascism, unfortunately, it seems no one told the Macedonian leaderships in NOF and AFZH, as they continued to use anti-fascist slogans in their rhetoric and propaganda before and during the

Greek Civil War. That, and the fact that NOF and AFZH took up arms inside Greece gave the Greek government reason to not only attack NOF but to pass laws to get rid of the Macedonians, once and for all. Even though there were Greeks involved on the partisan side of the Greek Civil War, these laws only applied to Macedonians. This however, was nothing new. The Greek government used violence and unprecedented terror against the Macedonians even before the Greek Civil War had started. This terror was intensified after February 12, 1946, after the CPG held its Second Plenum during which it decided to raise arms, but the actual Greek Civil War was not officially declared until March 31, 1946.

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

The Greek Government forces were composed of 44 battalions. The National Guard consisted of a total of 30,000 fighters. There were 8,800 officers and soldiers from the hill army brigades. The Gendarmerie was the first state military force to be reorganized in the spring of 1946. It then numbered 27,000 soldiers, of whom 14,000 were in Northern Greece (in Macedonia: Kostur, Lerin, Voden, etc.) In addition to the regular units and the paramilitary and military formations, there were also units such as the MAI (units that protected the interior), MAD (persecution units) with about 35,000 soldiers. All of them were under the command of experienced army officers. At the same time, there were about 166 armed terrorist gangs operating throughout Greece, organized and directed by the extreme political right.

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

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

CPG and Greek government reaction to NOF's establishment

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

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

"We resolutely oppose any territorial claim from any side against Greece. Preservation of the Greek state territorial integrity is the primary task of every Greek patriot…" (TO KKE AP TO 1931-1952, p. 110).

WHO WERE THE IDIOLOGICAL LEADERS OF THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949) AND DID WE MACEDONIANS PARTICIPATE IN CREATING CPG POLICIES?

It has been said that 123 delegated attended the CPG 7th Congress, held on October 1, 1945, of whom the majority belonged to the labour parties and the agricultural peasant party.

At this time there was a change in the Central Committee and Politburo Party leadership. Most of the people who took over were young Party cadres in their 30's. CPG General Secretary Zahariadis was only forty-two years old at the time.

The CPG Central Committee composition consisted of the following people:

1. Permanent members (30)

Anastasiadis Stergios, Arambadzis Nikos, Vasiliadis Aristos, Vutusianos Michos, Vafiadis Markos, Vlandas Dimitris, Grios Apostolos, Eritriadis Giorgis, Zaguridzis Nikos, Zaharatos Miltiadis, Zahariadis Nikos, Zevgos Giannis, Zografos Zisis, Ioannidis Giannis, Katsavras Vasilis, Markezinis Vasilis, Mavromatis Panagiotis, Mouzenidis Adam, Bargiotas Vasilis, Blandas Ahilleas, Parsalidis Michos, Plumbidis Nikos, Porphirogenis Miltiadis,

Rousos Petros, Siantos Giorgis, Soukaras Sotiris, Stringos Leonidas, Titilos Giorgis, Hadzivasiliou Hrousa, Hadhis Thanasis.

2. Candidates for permanent membership (15)

Vazvanas Vangelis, Vetas Vikos, Vontissios Giorgis, Giftodimos Kostas, Dimitriou Giorgis, Theos Kostas, Kapeta Allegra, Katou Rodi, Koligianis Kostas, Loules Kostas, Makridis Theodoros, Maharaopoulos Hristos, Partsalidis Avra, Roumeliotis Nikos, Tsianis Mihalis.

3. Composition of the central control commission (5)

Danialidis Polidoros, Karagkitsis Pantelis, Paparigas Michos, Sinakos Mihalis, Farmakis Kostas.

One day after the November 7, 1945, 7th Congress ended the First Plenum was convened during which the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau was constituted. The following people were elected:

1. Permanent members (7)

Sianthos Giorgis, Zahariadis Nikos, Ioannidis Giannis, Hadzivasiliou Hrisa, Partsalidis Michos, Bargiotas Vasilis, Petridis Tasos (Anastasiadis Stergios).

2. Candidates for permanent membership (3)

Stringos Leonidas, Zevgos Giannis, Roussos Petros.

In terms of age in the ten-year period (1940 to 1949) the CPG was represented by a body of quite young people.

The age groups at the 7th Congress were as follows:

20-30 years 73 representatives
31-40 years 100 representatives
41-50 years 46 representatives

Note: This means that Macedonians were not a political or military factor. (Not a single name belonged to a Macedonian in the above lists).

See: ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ 1946–1949 τομος 1 ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ, 2001, στρ. 136

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Overview: CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS IN 1945

Date	Description of events or documents
12.02.1945	An agreement was signed in Varkiza, a resort located near Athens, between the CPG and EAM resistance movement leadership on one side and the Plastiras Government and British General Scobie on the other. With that agreement, Greek command was subordinated to the British in the Middle East. (On February 12, 1945). EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the political right.
23.04.1945	NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Skopje in the CPM Central Committee premises. From their formation until the so-called “Brotherhood and Unity” was established between NOF and the CPG, NOF acted according to CPM/CPY directives. After that NOF acted under CPG directives until it was disbanded.
26.04.1945	In Moscow, Marshal Tito gave a statement to the “New York Times” in which he said: “If the Macedonians from the Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes.”

	NOF for Voden held a District Conference on June 20, 1945, near Voden, Aegean Macedonia which was attended by 125 delegates from the city and from the surrounding villages. Pavle Rakovski, member of the Main NOF leadership, submitted a report regarding the ideological content of the struggle and how it was doing. Vangel Ajnovski – OCHE, NOF District Secretary, submitted a report on the financial situation. Among other things, the delegates demanded that the village civil guards terrorizing the villages be liquidated. (NM/94)
28.06.1945	The CPG Central Committee during its 12th Plenum decided that: "NOF, with its rapid growth and its military formations, is dangerously threatening the Greek character of Macedonia; Greek positions, Greek interests and the territorial integrity of the Greek state".
29.06.1945	PROCLAMATION signed by the Voden Region CPG District Committee, by CPG members and by some people in Voden Region, condemning NOF.
1945	The Greek legislature passes laws against the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS. LAW 543/45: "Against the organization NOF and the persons who act for the secession of Greek territories".
07.07.1945	LAW number 453 and LAW TOD:/45 "For order, peace and justice". "For ensuring public safety."
18.07.1945	LAW CC 43: "Against autonomist activities". By this law NOF, AFZH and

	NOMS were declared autonomist, and were placed outside the Law. Their members were declared bandits and tried for High Treason.
20.07.1945	ENFORCED LAW (CC) 4124: "For criminal prosecution of suspicious persons".
20.07.1945	DECREE "G" and other laws: PZ 433/45 "On illegal possession of weapons", PZ 753/45 "On illegal possession and use of weapons." "For emergency measures and public safety."
16.12.1945	A trial was held in Kostur against 106 Macedonians from the town Rupishta, Kostur Region. They were accused of collaborating with the occupier despite the fact that they were ELAS fighters who fought against the occupiers. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment and others to long sentences.

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1946

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

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

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

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

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

- Until April 1946	950
- May	1,300
- June	2,700
- July	3,500
- August	3,600
- September	4,490

- October	5,930
- November	7,450
- December	9,285

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

But let us look at the facts:

Markos Vafiadis said to me (Kisavos): "…When I arrived in Belgrade I immediately met comrade Ioannidis in an office where I also met two CPY leaders; Tempo (Vukmanovich) and Rankovich. They asked me what they needed to do to help us (DAG). I told them that we needed armaments for 18,000 fighters. As soon as Ioannidis heard that (that I was looking for armaments for 18,000), he stood up and said: 'Markos, are you thinking straight? What are you going to do with all that armament?' He then said 'You only need enough to arm 4-5 thousand, not one more…!" (Page 94. Kisavos).

Markos continued:

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

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

In his book Kisavos has confirmed that, after returning from Belgrade to his headquarters in Greece, Markos decided to send large numbers of DAG volunteers back to their homes. For example: about 1,500 - 2,000 volunteers were returned home and after their return the enemy mercilessly destroyed them like "dogs". Kisavos

also cites other examples, such the one where Kostas Aridas, Political Committee Secretary of Trikala, returning a large group of volunteers back to their homes. These volunteers had firmly made up their minds that they wanted to fight in the surrounding area of Thessaly. They were prepared to go into the mountains and fight. When they returned home they were all were arrested and shot. (Page 88.)

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

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

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

Developing NOF and AFZH and CPM/CPY policies for Macedonian mass participation

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

(See NOF main leadership report dated February 9, 1946, on NOF's organizational structure in Aegean Macedonia: Am. Collection "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1945-1949", AE: 86 and 87. Published in the edition: "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1946", T. Sh..., doc 42 and 43. Pages 97, 100, 103-106.)

Villages / CPG members / NOF / NOMS / SKOJ / AFZH members

KOSTUR REGION

1. Prespa District
   - A. - German area — 16 villages
   - B. - Africa area — 7 villages

2. Korestata District
   - A. - D'mbeni area — 9 villages
   - B. – Drenoveni area — 14 villages
   - C. – Tiolishta area — 14 villages

3. Poleto District
   - A. – Zhupanshta area — 12 villages
   - B. - Rupishta area — 10 villages
   - C. – Kastenaria area — 18 villages
   - D. – Kalevishta area — 5 villages

LERIN REGION

1. Lerin District
   - A. - Buf area — 13 villages
   - B. - Kotor area — 15 villages
   - C. – Banitsa area — 6 villages
   - D. - Ovchareni area — 9 villages
   - E. - Turie area — 6 villages

2. Sovich-Kailari District
   - A. - Ekshi-Su area — 5 villages
   - B. - Aitos area — 8 villages
   - C. - Mokreni area — 16 villages

VODEN REGION

1. Meglen District
   - A. Krontselevo area — 13 villages
   - B. – S'botsko area — 11 villages

2. Ostrovo District

A. – Ostrovo area	7 villages
B. – Mesimer area	11 villages
C. – Tsrno Marinovo area	8 villages

The report emphasizes that meetings were regularly held in the month of January. Most villages accepted the NOF line and fought under NOF leadership. The report also states exactly how many people belonged to each of these organizations, and the numbers are staggering giving the impression that the Macedonian population was completely under the influence of these organizations. There are other details.

Organizational Management - Secretary, s. b.

(Moscow – Belgrade - CPG)

Development of NOF and AFZH forces - (The following facts are key moments in NOF's history)

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

1. The Macedonian national liberation movement in the Aegean part of Macedonia, led by NOF, which since April 1945 was under the leadership of the CPM/CPY would be passed on to the CPG leadership.

2. Part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ianis Ioannidis, would be transferred to Belgrade to lead the armed struggle from abroad, taking care to supply the partisans with weapons, clothing, food and other materials.

3. The CPG would be allowed to freely recruit fighters from the ranks of the Macedonian and Greek political immigrants in Yugoslavia. It would be allowed to organize hospitals for the sick

and wounded DAG fighters. Yugoslavia would assume the role of organizing and coordinating aid for DAG from other countries.

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Based on the Tito – Zahariadis April 2, 1946 Agreement, part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis Ioannis and the necessary apparatus, was illegally transferred from Athens to Belgrade on August 24, 1946. General Markos Vafiadis, who in June 1946 Zahariadis appointed organizer and head of the partisan groups, illegally left Greece and moved to Belgrade, where the CPG Central Committee Politburo gave him specific directives. In September 1946, Markos moved to Aegean Macedonia, where on October 28 1946, he established the Main DAG partisan unit Headquarters. Then, on November 10, 1946, Zahariadis received orders from Stalin to not create a massive armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because the international situation supposedly did not allow it and that the CPG should look into finding a political solution to the struggle, etc.

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

The goal of the foreigners (CPY and CPG) here was to make heroes out of some of their henchmen through whom an entire nation would be implicated and reduced to villains. On top of that the same foreigners created conditions where Macedonians were made to hate each other. This definitely was done to members of NOF, even by Zahariadis himself, telling one member of NOF false tales of what another member of NOF [29] had supposedly said creating friction between them.

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[29] At a session of the Ilinden Presidency established on Zahariadis's initiative, held on June 4, 1956, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in his report on the persecution of Macedonians by CPG officials said: "...When DAG was active in combat

Some time after the Tito – Zahariadis April 2, 1946 Agreement was made, the NOF main board membership, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, was received by Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, who said to them: "You are now to go down there (to Greek occupied Macedonia). The CPG will now be the leader of your struggle. The CPG line is the correct line. Have confidence in it. Fight with all the forces available against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies..."

This entangled understanding of comforting illusions shows that there was a sunset (darkness) in the Macedonian leadership.

Now we authorized General Markos to shape our destiny

Order no. EP 13, dated February 27, 1946, issued by General Markos, read: "From today forward all partisan units are to be included in DAG."

So, from this date forward NOF was neither a political nor a military factor. After the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" agreement was reached with the CPG, all its importance was taken away. After this a delicate balance emerged between NOF and the CPG, as NOF slowly became the CPG's vanguard. Encouraged by the top CPM leadership NOF became a victim of foreign political games and fell into the hands of CPG's unscrupulous absolutist rule.

The Macedonian leaders should have well remembered the CPG's hatred and fatalist attitude towards the former ELAS fighters, which was later repeated against the NOF leaders and fighters.

But sadly none of this was entered in the annals of our history.

1. If NOF was truly a Macedonian political entity it should have defined what kind of concessions it could make for the CPG, while

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and subsequent to its defeat, Zahariadis pursued a policy of defaming and persecuting a good portion of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and other people. For no reason at all he was quick to label them "agents of the enemy". In 1948 and 1949 and even later, many Slavo-Macedonians were arrested, and some liquidated based on false allegations... (Am, F-21/1600.)

not inflicting lasting and inviolable harm on the Macedonian people. But the opposite happened. The CPM/CPY, not the Macedonian people, created NOF and therefore the CPM/CPY, handed it over to the CPG. Since NOF was not created by the Macedonian people its true political goals were never defined. In other words only the CPM/CPY knew NOF's true aims!

And now our hopes were placed back on the CPG's table, we were placed in DAG uniforms and our children were sent all over the world. In other words we worked hard to "ethnically cleanse" ourselves.

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1946

Date	Description of events or documents
12.02.1946	The CPG Central Committee 2nd Plenum was held in Athens during which it was decided to abstain from the parliamentary elections in Greece, which led to the armed struggle.
31.03.1946	The partisans attack government forces in the village Lithohori killing 23. As one of DAG's major actions this incident was credited with the start of the Greek Civil War.
02.04.1946	On his return from Moscow, CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis stopped off in Belgrade to meet with Marshal Tito to discuss his decision to launch an armed struggle against the political right in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised him moral and material help. The following were agreed to at this meeting: 1. Place the Macedonian People's Liberation Movement for Greek occupied

Macedonia led by NOF, AFZH and NOMS under full CPG control. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in April 1945 and since then were under CPM/CPY control.

2. Move part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of leading the armed struggle in Greece from abroad and providing weapons, food, clothing and other supplies for the partisans.

3. Allow the CPG to recruit fighters from the people who fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. In other words, allow the Greek communists to recruit fighters from the ranks of the Macedonian political refugees who fled Greek occupied Macedonia to save themselves. Yugoslavia was also required to assist in organizing hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG fighters as well as assume the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance provided for DAG by other countries.

13.04.1946 The CPG newspaper “Rizospastis” came out in defense of the “Slavo-Macedonian” people by pointing out the terrible and unbelievable abuse they endured at the hands of the Greek terrorists. The newspaper went on to say that: “The persecution perpetrated against the Macedonians was unprecedented in modern Greek history...”

17.04.1946 The Solun based daily nationalist newspaper the “Nea Alithia” publishes an article entitled “Our Sudetenland”, speaking of the Macedonians and

	qualifying them as Sudetenlanders that should be liquidated in the interest of peace and security in Greece.
04.05.1946	The first partisan detachment was formed on the Trsie-Turie Mountain in Lerin Region and headed by Petre Markov from the village Neret, Lerin Region.
21.05.1946	The nationalist newspaper "Ethnikos Kirikas" wrote: "80,000 Slavo-Macedonians should be expelled from Greece as soon as possible". The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper "Eleftheros Tipos" on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: "...Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia – let them go wherever they want to go…"
27.07.1946	A Greek military court sentenced Mirka Ginova to death. Mirka was a teacher from the village Rosilovo, Voden Region. She was also secretary of AFZH for Voden District.
24.08.1946	Under the Tito-Zahariadis agreement, a part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ioanis Ioanidis, as well as all necessary apparatus, was illegally moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who Zahariadis appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups in June 1946, left Greece illegally and moved to Belgrade where he received specific directives and promises from the CPG Central Committee Politburo. In September he moved back to Greek occupied Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he formed DAG Headquarters. On November 10, 1946, Stalin instructed Zahariadis to end the

armed struggle during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly creating an international situation, and instructed the CPG to give primacy to a political struggle and the like.

21.11.1946 Based on the decision made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioanidis, reached the following agreement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leaderships were to be placed under full CPG control. All NOF armed units were to be transferred to DAG and placed under General Markos’s command.” Sometime after the CPY-CPG agreement was made, the NOF main board membership, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, was received by Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, who said to them: “You are now to go down there (to Greek occupied Macedonia). The CPG will now be the leader of your struggle. The CPG line is the correct line. Have confidence in it. Fight with all the forces available against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies...”

27.12.1946 Order no. EP 13 issued by General Markos read: “From today on forward all partisan units are to be included in DAG.”

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1947

In February 1947, the CPG leadership reached a decision to change DAG's strategic goal from pressuring the Athens regime to agree to a peaceful resolution to the internal Greek problem, to fighting to overthrow the regime and seize power. The Athens government reacted very strongly and even passed a series of laws through the Greek parliament. At the same time it announced the return of the Greek king.

On February 24, 1947, the Greek king and the Greek government publicly called on the DAG fighters to surrender by March 15, 1947. They promised to pardon all acts committed against the state and the people if the DAG fighters abided by the deadline and returned to their homes.

On February 14, 1947, US Secretary of State, G. Marshall, stated that the US government was pleased with the change of government in Greece and that it was in the interest of the United States and all the United Nations for Greece to receive assistance to preserve its independence and territorial sovereignty. (See: State Department, Bulletin, 23.2.1947, 341). Mr. Marshall's statement initiated the process by which Greece was to receive US assistance.

The United States and England were determined to stop a communist takeover in Greece at all costs. This resulted in the US intervention in Greece carried out by the famous Truman Doctrine on March 12, 1947. The "Truman Doctrine" clearly warned Stalin not to hope for any success in Greece. The unrestricted assistance that Greece received through the "Truman Doctrine" and later through the "Marshall Plan" enabled it to create a large and modern army capable of defeating DAG.

On February 17, 1948, US President Truman informed the US Congress in his monthly report which in part said: "If there is a need, we are ready to give Greece even greater and more comprehensive assistance..."

Given that two Great Powers, the USA and England were prepared to assist the Greek government to "wipe out" the communist threat

in Greece, what chance did the Macedonians and allies of the communists have in wining this war? To engage the entire Macedonian population in this totally meaningless war was not only unwise but catastrophic.

Involving the Macedonian people in this senseless ideological war was disastrous. It created conditions for them to be banished from their own ancestral homeland.

The following is a MEMORANDUM that Markos Vafiadis, then supreme leader of DAG, wrote to address the UN Inquiry Commission:

DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE
MAIN COMMAND
Headquarters - grade II a
March 14, 1947.

MEMORANDUM

To the United Nations Inquiry Commission

I

Re: Causes of the Greek Civil War and our thoughts on how to end it.

NOTE: Since there is a lot of material, here we will only look at a small portion of it. Here we will only look at the material that is relevant to the Macedonians and their sacrifices as well as whether or not the Greek Civil War was really a Macedonian people's liberation movement and a continuation of the Macedonian Ilinden tradition as our mainstream Macedonian historiography would have us believe.

In brief, an agreed upon meeting was held on March 21, 1947, between General Markos Vafiadis, Supreme Commander of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG), and the Inquiry Commission for Greece Security Council representatives from the Soviet Union and Poland as well as representatives from Yugoslavia, Albania and

Bulgaria. The meeting was held at the Democratic Army's headquarters in the village Hrisomilia in the Kalambaka suburb, where General Markos Vafiadis handed over to the Inquiry Commission a memorandum of wide-ranging topics consisting of four chapters.

Among other things, the memorandum outlined details of the Monarcho-Fascist gangs operating in Thessaly, pointing out the location of their headquarters and names of all the officers. Almost all the officers on the list had been sentenced to death by the people's courts because they cooperated with the German occupier and for the many crimes they often personally committed. These people were known criminals. Their names were: Kalabalitis, Surlas, Zervas, Tselios, Karakisos, Bizdas, Kundouris and others. The memorandum also provided details of the large numbers of ELAS officers who had been arrested, killed and exiled for no reason. The memorandums included official Greek government documents which proved that these monarcho-fascist gangs existed and were armed by the English before the leftist partisans began to arm themselves and flee to the mountains. The goal of the Monarcho-Fascist gangs was to exterminate the democratic movement and the people. The gangs believed that all democrats were great villains who were bent on harming Greece. The orders found in the gendarmerie station archives, seized by the Democratic Army, dealt with only one issue: how to destroy the people's movement and the communist party.

It is also worth mentioning that the terror attacks carried out and damage done in 1945 was done by English and Greek military units.

IV

The Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) has not missed a single opportunity to date to peacefully, and in the spirit of calm, offer normal democratic solutions to our internal problems which hang over the Greek people. DAG has always proposed measures that could open the way for a democratic solution to these problems and its position fully coincides with the desire of the democratic people's movement. As for the reasons that caused the Civil War in

our country and how to end it, we reiterate and we remain confident that without resolving the following issues, there will be no peace:

1. - Withdrawal of English forces from Greece;
2. - Allow EAM to participate in the government;
3. - Declare general amnesty;
4. - Clean up the state apparatus of war criminals and members of the “security battalions”;
5. - Establish democracy and freedom in the military and public security formations; and
6. - Conduct free elections.

The people of our country cannot be calmed down without restoring normal conditions and without ensuring their freedom. The democratic army and the democratic people will continue their struggle until their rights and ideals are finally realized and until we are convinced that all democratic nations will support us in our work.

The Democratic Army believes that the United Nations Inquiry Commission is represented by democratic and liberal nations which have fought fascism at great expense and will find the right path in its objective examination of the situation in our country and the reasons that triggered the Civil War. The Commission will help our people achieve their freedom and aspirations enjoyed by all democratic nations in the world.

Markos, S.R.
DAG General Headquarters, Greece

Soon afterwards, on May 20, 1947, the first NOF conference was held during which time the new line and organizational tasks were confirmed. Following along the CPY and CPG positions, the Macedonian National Liberation Movement was to involve the Macedonian people en masse in the struggle led by DAG in order to bring a people’s democracy to Greece. Everything else was subordinate to that goal. (See: Kiriazovski 1998 / 232-233.)

In other words, the Macedonian people were led from euphoria to disappointment…

This is what the CPY and CPG had in mind for us...!

The strangers prepared us for a dangerous strategy with cunning tactics to lead us on a one-way trip to oblivion!

An important question to ask at this point would be: "Was NOF aware of what the CPG and Zahariadis were preparing for us Macedonians?" (See: Vasilis Bardzhiotas, 1987/91.)

Ever since the CPG Central Committee 2nd Plenum took place in 1946, Nikos Zahariadis kept pushing for a peaceful resolution to the Greek problem and for a political way to usurp power in Greece.

This idea was not abandoned even after the CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum took place in September 1947, during which it was decided to devote the Party's responsibility to the struggle. Zahariadis supported the idea of usurping power by political means until 1948-1949, that is for as long at the Soviet Union, through talks at the UN, supported a peaceful resolution to the Greek question..."

Now let us have a look at how the slogan: "Destruction of the Anglo-American occupiers", repeatedly used by NOF, AFZH and NOMS to agitate the Macedonian people, was adhered to.

On February 14, 1947, US Secretary of State, G. Marshall, stated that the US Government was pleased with the change of government in Greece and that it was in the interests of the United States and all of the United Nations for Greece to receive assistance to preserve its independence and territorial sovereignty. (See: State Department, Bulletin, 2.2.1947, 341.)

In the spring of 1947 Marshal's statement encouraged the Greek authorities in Greek occupied Macedonia to not only continue their terror activities but to further strengthen and generalize their persecution against the Macedonian people. In order to legalize their terror activities they adopted more laws and regulations as follows:

- LAW CP 511/47, "On the organization of concentration camps",

- “Law on forced evacuation of people to city centres”,
- Decree L-3 “On deprivation of Greek citizenship of persons who acted against the Greek state”,
- LAW CP 509/47 “On state security measures, constitutional order and citizen protection”.

But, despite these draconian measures, the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaderships still faithfully adhered to the CPY and CPG position fulfilling their tasks...

DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE (DAG)
ORDER
General Headquarters
Headquarters Bureau 1
Protocol number 722

In regard to reference to No. 132 / 25.8.1947 and AP. 307 / 25.9.1947, the following order is issued:

All men and women are invited to serve in the ranks of the Democratic Army (DAG)... All mobilized, wherever they are, must find a way to report to the nearest Democratic Army unit camp. Those mobilized who do not respond to this order will be marked undeclared. The regional headquarters are to issue appropriate orders. Measures must be taken to notify all those who were called in a timely manner.

General Headquarters,
September 30, 1947.
General Markos.

Second order, 23.11.1947.

DAG General Headquarters issued another order, but only for Vicho Region, to mobilize all men and women between the ages 17 and 35. This included the men who were left behind to build fortifications and those who were ill. Virtually every Macedonian from the Kostur and Lerin Regions was mobilized with this order.

***

The young Macedonians confidently obeyed Markos's order and reported en masse to the mobilization centres. But then the unexpected happened: Thousands of these young Macedonians, by Markos's orders, found themselves sent south to the depths of Greece, where their fate became a special story – where they disappeared in the proverbial quicksand. I, Stojan Kochov, was one of those young boys. We were all 17-18 year-olds when, from October 5 to October 10, 1947, about 350 of us were recruited from the villages Turie, Bapchor, Visheni, Kolomnati, etc., and taken from Macedonia and sent to the headquarters in Epirus and Antihashia. There after the battle for Konitsa only one third of us were still left alive. But let us see how our endeavour was evaluated by our Macedonian mainstream history:

"The Macedonian military formations, now DAG units, were sent deep inside Greece in order to expand the partisan movement there. This truly immensely contributed to the development of the struggle in those areas…" (See: Kiriazovski 1985/166.)

***

Sadly this did not happen. The truth is we were sent there to be target practice for the Greek army but that was not all. When we came into contact with the local population the people there thought we were a foreign army. They thought we were there to slaughter them. So, instead of joining the struggle they ran away from it and into the arms of our enemy, the Greek army. They wanted to fight against us and not with us. This is because the CPG never informed the local population that we were Macedonians from inside Greece. In fact the local population was led to believe that only Greeks lived in Greece. So, it was natural for them to assume we were enemy soldiers. The only thing that we can conclude from this is that not only did we lose two-thirds of our young people fighting a foreign war, but in doing so we helped the Greek government enlarge and strengthen its forces. To add insult to injury, our historiography is now making attempts to cover this up.

We made great sacrifices for the Greek communists; we blindly trusted them and confidently obeyed their orders but after the war ended they claimed that we do not exist.

The CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum was held from September 15 to 17, 1947, during which time military issues were discussed. This was when the slogan: "All to arms and everything for victory!" was coined. A decision was also made to create a "free territory" at the Kozheni Region highlands which are surrounded by the plateau of Mounts Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

On September 27, 1947, DAG Headquarters with Markos in charge (the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was not yet proclaimed and was still illegal) issued an order to mobilize men between the ages of 17 and 35. But even after this mobilization, since it was carried out only in the Macedonian villages, the number of mobilized barely reached 15,000 to 17,000. Just for comparison: in the spring of 1946, when the Greek Civil War began, the Greek government had the following armed forces:

a. - Around 27,000 militiamen, of whom 14,000 were stationed in Northern Greece (Greek occupied Macedonia);
b. - Around 5,000 paramilitary organizations;
c. - Around 17,000 national military units consisting of about 40 battalions; and
d. - A regular army of about 75,000 troops (7 armies and 2 free brigades). (See: "DAG - Strategic Issues and Tactics of Governance", by G. Maltezos - Szhumerzkiotis p. 60.)

Further on Maltezos wrote: "It is well-known that in 1947 DAG not only did not solve the problem of military supplies, but did not solve the issue of ammunition and armaments with ordinary machine guns, an issue which remains to be explained." Why on one hand did Zahariadis order Markos to increase the DAG forces to 60,000 fighters, and Ioanidis to provide Markos arms for only 4,500 fighters. On top of that, by the end of 1947, why did Markos turn back thousands of volunteer fighters and supporters who wanted to join DAG?" (p. 354.) The next question that comes to mind is: Why did General Markos illegally mobilize every available person, young

and old, but only in Macedonia? Was it because he wanted to destroy the Macedonian nation?

A problem for Greek analysts was the decision made during the 3rd CPG Central Committee Plenum held in Belgrade in September 1947, and as Gusias wrote (p. 251), only six members of the CPG Central Committee and a few military personnel were present, but not a single Macedonian.

The plenum made a decision obliging DAG Headquarters to mobilize all throughout the country but only until March 1948 and was expecting DAG to grow to 60,000 fighters. At the same as the Plenum it was decided to change the central focus of fighting from self-defense to offense in a struggle to take power by armed force. To achieve this, the military operational plan "S", more commonly known as "Lake", was developed. The slogan "All to arms and everything for freedom!" was coined. It was also decided to create a free territory on the Kozheni Plateau, surrounded by Mounts Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho, and to liberate the cities Lerin, Voden, Negush, Sobotsko, Konitsa, etc. This would be the first stage of liberating Greece.

All this confirms and is another undeniable fact that the Greek Civil War was intended to be located in Greek occupied Macedonia, and that this was decided in Belgrade at that Plenum, without regard to the Macedonian people and their fate. This was decided without a single Macedonian politician or military leader from Greek occupied Macedonia or from the People's Republic of Macedonia. Not even a single cadre who actively participated in the national liberation struggle (NOB). And all this was done in the interests of foreign political goals.

Mobilizing outside the borders of Greece: from the pool of people who fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves from the Greek terror.

On September 27, 1947, DAG Headquarters issued an order to mobilize all men between the ages of 17 and 35 from the pool of Macedonian refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. The mobilization effort, which lasted over half a year, took place in

Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola. All those mobilized were sent to DAG units in the field. (See: F.M. at INI, SK.4 - 271/60, pp.73-76.)

In accordance with the CPG Central Committee's decision made on December 23, 1947, the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was formed. It was disbanded on October 15, 1949.

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was formed on the basis of a decision made during the CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum held between September 12 and 15, 1947 and was established in Prespa, in the village Asamati, Republic of Macedonia, in the building of the pre-war seaport. The seat of government was to be moved to the Greek city Konitsa after Konitsa was captured by the partisans. This is what Secretary-General Zahariadis said: "...we will take over Konitsa, we will form the government and they will probably recognize us…"

Not much later Konitsa was attacked by DAG units which fought fierce battles and acquired great losses but to no avail. They were unable to take Konitsa and thus could not move the provisional government there. So they went ahead with moving the government to Prespa, which was aided by Yugoslav Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Krstich from UDBA, an officer of the Yugoslav army. Yet again no Macedonians participated in the move (See end of book: his interview by the magazine "Duga"). The provisional government was originally composed of eight members:

Markos Vafiadis was appointed President, the rest were members Ianis Ioanidis, Petros Rousos, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, Petros Kokalis, Vasilis Bardzhiotas, Dimitrios Vlandas and Leonidas Stringos.

Along with the political appointment there were also military appointments. By decree 25 DAG officers were promoted to colonels. Still not a single Macedonian was appointed; not in the government and not in the military.

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was a one-party and one-nationality organization composed exclusively of Greek Communists. Although more than 50% of the DAG force was made up of Macedonians, there was not a single Macedonian appointed in

the high ranks of the government or in the military. And yet we have our Macedonian mainstream history which claims that NOF was a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War.

Reactions to the appearance of the provisional government:

1. The Greek Government asked the United States and Great Britain to warn the Soviet Union and other European countries of the consequences of their recognition of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece.

Aware of the consequences the US government reacted immediately. On December 30, 1947, it informed all Eastern European countries not to recognize this government, warning that doing so they would face serious consequences. The UN Balkan Commission also urged UN member states not to recognize the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece.

2. "...The Markos government has none of the basic features a government needs to have to qualify as a government, not even the most basic requirements that are necessary which are defined by international law. It is not represented or vested in military rights or norms and all its actions are illegitimate. More than that, it has nothing that can lead to recognition as a political entity and as a legitimate government.

The Partisans, commanded by Markos, have adopted nothing concrete, and thus, legitimately have no rights on what constitute Greek state space. The headquarters of their Main Command is not at all certain, but they keep it a secret, and they are in constant displacement. Their so-called centres are located in areas that only sometimes fall under their control, and are located in the mountains and in wild, inaccessible hilly areas. They do not have any essential government communications. They are generally organized in groups and are in constant motion, and when pressured by military chase, retreat to the most impassable mountainous areas and sometimes even withdraw to foreign border territories. This has been confirmed by the United Nations Commission."

CADRES OF THE DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE

Order issued by the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece for the appointment of DAG officers.

Following the establishment of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece on December 23, 1947, on the basis of the Procedure under Provision No. 11 of the General Command and Law No. 1, the Provisional Democratic Government issued the following:

We are pleased to appoint the following officers in the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece:

A. Generals: Markos Vafiadis

B. Lieutenant Generals: Protopapas Sarandis-Kikitsas

C. Major Generals: Vontisios Giorgios – Gusias, Gkenios Thanasis – Lasanis, Gkanatsios Vasilis – Himaros, Theoharopoulos Nikos, Kanakaridis Nikos and Blanas Giorgios.

D. Colonels:

1. Infantry: Venizanopoulos Vasilis. Kalianesis Giorgios, Kapatanios Evripides, Katemis Giorgios, Maltezos Gerasimos and Samaridis Giorgos.
2. Artillery: Kilismanis Giannis and Papagiasis Stefanos.
3. Cavalry: Scandalis Iraklis.
4. Aviation: Makridis Savas and Manias Giannis.
5. Political Commissars: Voutousianos Mitsos, Evripidis Georgios, Zografos Zisis, Coligianis Kostas, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Stringos Leonidas and Hadzhis Thanasis.

E. Lieutenant Colonels:

1. Infantry: Alexandrou Giannis-Diamandis, Georgiadis Georgios, Giakoglou Nikos, Gianoulis Georgios, Zigouras Dimitris, Iliadis Sofianos, Koukoulidis Georgios, Kalinos Theodoros, Kanelopoulos

Kostas, Kariofilis Gianis, Kanelopoulos Georgios, Kontaxis Anastasios, Kirandzopoulos Dimitris, Papadimitriou Ilias, Papastergiou Levteris, Prekezes Giorgios, Raftis Kostas, Rosios Alekos-Ipsilantis, Spanos Tomas, Stathakis Manolis, Sfakianos Georgios, Terzoglou Nikos, Tselifis Tomas, Tombulidis Pavlos, Triandafilou Nikos, and Florakis Harilaos.
2. Artillery: Iosifidis Kostas.
3. Aviation: Gerogakopoulos Georgios and Ndrenas Leonidas.
4. Political Commissars: Vasvanas Vangelis, Vetas Fokion, Giouzelis Stefanos, Mandilas Nokos, Rogakos Vangelis and Tiroumidis Kiriakos.
5. Sanitation: Sakelariou Epaminontas.

F. Majors:

1. Infantry: Asuras Georgios, Vais Hronis, Kardasis Thanasis, Belogianis Nikos, Papadopoulos Vangelis and Florou Arhimidis.
2. Artillery: Margas Kostas.
3. Cavalry: Stylianopoulos Vasilis.
4. Saboteur: Ageloulis Antonis – Vratsanos.
5. Political Commissars: Akritidis Nikos, Grigonas Kostas, Koutsomarkos Georgios and Pektadis Mihalis.
6. Sanitary: Skoufis Takis.

G. First Class Captains:

1. Infantry: Georgiadis Stelios, Exarhos Leonidas, Iliadis Kostas, Papadimitriou Tomas, Zgouromalis Manolis and Stefanos Stavros.
2. Saboteurs: Samarakis Agisilaos, Solias Mihalis and Sioulas Vasilis.

H. Captains:

1. Infantry: Adamas Alekos, Getsos Pandelis, Zahariadis Avram, Zokas Zisis, Kavredzis Kostas, Kaminaris Vasilis, Kondoros Dimitrios, Korologos Gianis, Kohliadis Gianis, Lambrakis Poanos, Matsis Georgios, Batsis Odiseas, Milonas Georgios, Nikolakopoulos Spiros and Forfolios Vangelis.
2. Saboteurs: Vitoukas Nikos.

I. Lieutenants:

1. Infantry: Vitos Hristos, Vlahou Dimitrios, Galatsos Kostas, Kalinou Gergia, Kanakis Dimitris, Karagianis Pantelis, Karastatis Thanasis, Katsounis Dimitris, Koukoumlilakos Kleantis, Kostopoulos Hristos, Porliaras Savas, Portokilidis Gianis, Tastanidis Ahileas, and Terzopoulos Theodoros.
2. Department of Radio Communications: Karalas Vasilis and Poniros Stelios.
3. Sanitary: Ktena Lefteria.
4. Political Commissars: Mihopoulos Nikos.

Provisional Democratic Government Base,
December 28, 1947
DAG President and Minister of the Military
General Markos

Note: Among the entire DAG military leadership and DAG officers named above only one Macedonian was promoted to lieutenant, which again confirms that we Macedonians were not a military or political factor in the Greek Civil war, as our mainstream historiography claims.

So the question here is: How and why did we Macedonians contribute more than 60% of DAG's military resources without demanding to have their own leadership and their own headquarters?

Overview: CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1947

Date	Description of events or documents
2.1947	The United Kingdom (England) informed the US Government that for economic reasons it would cease to support Greece as of March 31, 1947. The US government estimated that if it did not inherit the UK role, Greece would inevitably fall under Russia's influence.

20.02.1947	An Agreement between the US and Greek governments was signed in Athens to assist Greece. The United States began to assert its dominance pushing England out of Greece.
Up to 01.01.1948	Yugoslavia provided DAG with military equipment and assistance. (See: Complete list of equipment in the book "Macedonians and Relations between the CPY and the CPG, 1945-1949", by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, on p. 263), "Overview of Military Equipment and Other DAG Material Assistance."
24.02.1947	The Greek Government and Greek king publicly call on DAG fighters to surrender by March 15, 1947. All acts committed against the state and the people will be pardoned if they abide by the deadline and return to their homes.
01.03.1947	US President Harry Truman announced the "Truman Doctrine" for US engagement in Greece. Greece was granted credit and modern military equipment to equip its government military. At the same time Van Fleet, an American general and specialist in guerrilla warfare, was made available to the Greek government. DAG was liquidated and thrown out of Greece by using Van Fleet's strategy and tactics especially during the last battles at the Vicho and Gramos fronts.
15.09.1947	The CPG Central Committee held its 3rd Plenum between September 15 and 17, 1947, during which time military issues

	were discussed. The slogan: “All to arms and everything for victory!” was coined during this Plenum. It was also decided to create a free territory on the Kozhani Plateau, surrounded by Mounts Karakamen, Pind, Pieria, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.
27.09.1947	DAG Headquarters issued an order to mobilize all men between the ages of 17 and 35 from the pool of Macedonian refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. The mobilization effort, which lasted over half a year, took place in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola. All those mobilized were sent to the DAG units in the field. (See: F.M. at INI, SK.4 - 271/60, pp.73-76.)

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1948

Up until January 1, 1948, Yugoslavia provided DAG with military equipment and assistance. (See: Complete list of equipment in the book "Macedonians and Relations between the CPY and the CPG, 1945-1949", by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, on p. 263.) "Overview of Military Equipment and Other DAG Material Assistance."

NOF and the "historical" solutions adopted at NOF's First Congress

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

Yes, may you live long General! Long live Markos and the CPG wise leadership which, with slogans and propaganda, convinced NOF to subordinate the Macedonian people to sacrifice themselves for foreign interests!

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These foreigners with their wise strategies knew precisely what to say and do and, aided with NOF's slogans, subconsciously managed to awaken the Macedonian syndrome and "emotionally charge" and subordinate the Macedonian people and, unbeknownst to them, use them to fight for foreign interests on Macedonian soil.

In the end, when the Macedonian people paid the ultimate price, these same wise strategists and those who aided their cause moved to the other side and quickly changed their colours like chameleons.

When the bombs and shells began to fall sounding menacing like wild beasts, tearing down walls and caving in roofs where generations had been born and lived, the people ran away with clenched teeth, faces wet with tears and clothes soaked in blood. They were desperate and were forced to give up their Macedonian birthplace… Just like they were convinced with lies to fight in the war, now they again were convinced with lies to run and abandon their ancestral homes...

Did any of the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders, who led this conflict, remember anything about what happened in those days? If they did why then did they allow the truth to be buried? Why did they follow the CPM/CPY and CPG line and argued and still argue that all problems were caused, not by those who led the conflict but by the Macedonian people themselves who failed to win the war?!

But, after many years of research, we now know more and more and are finding out that we can't trust anyone, except for one truth: "The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were forced to fight in order to lose Greek occupied Macedonia". General Markos confirmed this with his own words after returning from the USSR to Athens.

To falsely lead an army to its destruction is degradation of human dignity. This is exactly what Markos did when he gave the Macedonian people false hope and destroyed thousands of them. Markos knew that these Macedonians were fighting a war they could not possibly win, and he did not want them to win, yet with help from the CPM and NOF, he recruited them and led them to their destruction.

MOTIVES FOR THE CHILD COLLECTION PROGRAM

HOW SAFEGUARING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND THE CHILDREN BECOME PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE PARTISANS?

1. The Athens government motives and program for the relocation of children

The Greek Queen's ladies, as they were called in those days, consisting of 72 women from Athens, who left their families and the safety of their homes to rescue the children in the northern territories of Greece. They traveled for hours riding mules and ignoring the dangers of the battlefields looking for children in the countryside so that they could take them away before the Communists did. It was a frustrating and frightening struggle traveling on paths and sometimes becoming lost, but despite their fears they won the battle." (Greek Queen Frederica, "Mechanisms for Reasoning," p. 137.)

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Here is how Clars Barentzen explained the Athens government's "Pedomazoma" program:

"The two warring parties in the Greek Civil War based themselves under the assumption that all migrations of children from the war zone arose out of necessity, and the reasons for the 'grab' were the same on both sides.

All research shows that it is difficult to find the exact motive for either side and determine who started first and why.

On the communist side, information compiled by UNSCOB and other sources indicates that mass evictions had begun in March 1948, although several groups of children were taken as early as January, 1948 (See: Clars Barentzen, UNSCOB Report a / 574). According to the reports evictions started in January but continued into March.

On the government side, as was stated in Queen Frederica's memoirs, she made it very clear that the 'battle' for 'taking children away before they were taken by the Communists' began shortly after the creation of the 'Royal Society for the Care of Children' in June 1947 year. But, based on letters of complaint, the government was forced into the special program for the displacement of children

later, roughly in line with the time the government began its propaganda campaign accusing the Communists of the 'pedomazoma'. It appears that the Queen may have confused the general displacement of villages from the war zone with the pedomazoma. This was in early 1947 when the government army was 'expected' to accept thousands of children and frail people."

Note: The Communist Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in its declaration, dated March 7, 1948, said: "On Frederica's last order" gather all children in the children's camps with one excuse: "Do this solely because the queen is doing the same thing…"

The government action may have had something to do with a report published by the Greek government in Athens, the day before, on March 6, 1948, which said that the children that the "bandits" (partisans) seized in the northern districts of Greece numbered about 14,000. (According to information obtained from the English in Solun and from the US State Department archives: 868. 00 / 3-1948.)

The news, which came out eight days later, after the start of a propaganda campaign against the Communist "Pedomazoma", appears to be the first official news of such work by the Athens government. This coincides with the news that newspapers in Athens began to publish in March regarding the small groups of children displaced or who had fled the northern Greek villages in order to escape the violent seizure.

At the same time, the Communist press published its first complaint of a possible government action in which "children were taken from their mothers' arms".

Information that came out of the USA regarding the period from January to March 1948, confirms that:

"District administrators, the military and the Navy had agreed to work together on Queen Frederica's plan to relocate children. Their goal was to collect and relocate 10,000 to 12,000 children. By March 31, 1948, the Queen had displaced 6,240 children. (This was

confirmed by the Foreign Relief Program “Hellenic Mission”, January - March 1948, p. 14)

The American Aid Mission in Greece, in its monthly mission report for April 1948, reported that the mission was pursuing a government-led expedition, and that “On recommendation of the same the Mission estimated that the number of children seized was about 10,000.”

Although UNSCOB did not officially deal with the same caution as the Greek government, on April 19, 1948, it sent a questionnaire to a Greek representative, a trustee, to collect information on the number of displaced children being cared for by the Greek government in the northern regions of Greece. The Greek representative replied on April 23, 1948, saying that there were 5,500 children aged 3-14 displaced from all regions of Macedonia, and that approximately 2,150 children were accommodated in various centres in Solun. Similarly, about 5,000 children were taken from Seres and Thrace. This work was carried out under the supervision of the Greek Ministry of Social Welfare. (UNSCOB Report A / 754 (1948), p. 19.)

On April 1, 1948, the Athens press began to publish details of the government’s child collection program.

One of the headlines in the newspaper “Kathimerini” read: “Today the first group of children arrived in Athens” Further on it read: “1,000 children from the areas ruled by the bandits (DAG partisans) were transferred by ship from Solun to the village Kastri in Kifisia. A second group is due to arrive ‘this morning’, on April 2, in Piraeus, and a third group will arrive ‘in a few days’. These children will be transferred to Patra and Siro.” In the same issue of Kathimerini, there was information about two meetings that took place the day before. Among other things the article said: “The Queen received the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Chaldaris and Mr. Glisgulnt at 11 o’clock yesterday and held a lengthy conversation with them. During the talks, the Queen informed Chaldaris and Glisgulnt of the successes and cooperation she had achieved to date in the action of collecting, moving, and caring for children who were

cut off from the northern bandit districts (referring to Voden, Lerin, Kostur etc.)"

The newspaper went on to say that such meetings were necessary and should continue, and this kind of counseling was also held at the foreign ministry, chaired by Chaldaris and attended by many Greek ministers and US missionaries led by General Van Fleet, the special commander-in-chief of the US military mission.

According to the same article "more committees and sub-committees" were named and had begun to work on the child collection program "with help from the military commanders on the ground in those areas."

During the consultation, it was decided to launch a new commission from the ministry of care. This commission would have the "extraordinary task of developing a complete system for the care of displaced children".

Finally, the article concluded with discussing two options for caring for these children. One was to place groups of children in charities "where they would have full schooling and care", the other was to accommodate certain families which had already announced that they were ready to receive large numbers of children and provide them hospitality. With either of these actions, the state budget would not be overburdened by the programs, as the money would come from Queen Frederica's coffers: A sum of money has already been set aside for the childcare to cover the full costs for about six months. (See newspaper: "Kathimerini" 1.4.1948.)

2. Motives and program put together by the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece and by DAG and the CPG for the relocation of children

According to partisan, DAG and CPG press releases:

Soon after the Greek government made its first appeals, the CPG and DAG leaderships acknowledged that there was indeed a Greek government campaign to collect children in order to isolate them

from the partisans. On March 3, 1948, the “Free Greece” radio program confirmed the following:

“The partisan radio program announced that under the ‘agreement’ between the countries that were members of the Cominform, Greek children aged 3 to 14 would be sent to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. According to this ‘Free Greece’ (meaning in the partisan-controlled areas) news release, there were demands from the People’s Boards in these areas with a plea to take care of the children, demanding that they organize programs to send the children to democratic countries, which have already agreed to receive and host them and where they can continue their education, because otherwise they would become victims of the American occupation.”

“March 3, 1948” - Reaction from the second top man in DAG command:

“DAG’s genuine, dignified and human endeavour has been described by the Athens government as ‘a forceful and violent abduction of children’… and an abduction of children like the Ottomans did with the ‘Janissary’. But the real culprit of such acts is the same Greek government in Athens which is making these accusations. Many of the children belonging to the families of DAG partisans, with unprecedented terror and deception, have been found in the government’s hands, being held locked up in various so-called schools of Queen Frederica’s in Leros, where they are raised as janissaries and taught that their parents are traitors, and that they should report them to the authorities and to the state security services!” (Vasilis Bardzhiotas, Senior CPG functionary and DAG political commissar, “Struggle of the Democratic Army of Greece”, p. 128.)

On March 15, 1948, the DAG newspaper “Exormisi”, located on Mount Gramos published a report dated March 7, 1948 issued by the Provisional Democratic Government’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among other things the article said:

“Grateful are the people’s and other child care organizations in ‘Free Greece’, as well as the many thousands of parents and guardians

who recently appealed to humanitarian organizations in the democratic countries for the assistance they offered to take care of their Greek children and all the Greek youth which is within grasp of Monarcho-Fascist barbarism…"

"...Humanitarian organizations and patrons of children's organizations, as well as other youth organizations in these countries, have accepted with great joy and satisfaction the pleas of the parents and have expressed their support for the Greek children, and they will keep them for as long as necessary…"

"So, following the 'guarantee' from all these organizations, the CPG and the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece decide to receive petitions from the people's boards and from parents who were in favour of sending their children to the Eastern European countries which are willing to accept them until it is safe for them to return." [30]

The newspaper did not provide any details or any specific information as to when these events were to take place but did explain in detail why the extraction of the children was necessary:

a. - To avoid the catastrophe created by Monarcho-Fascist policies,
b. - To avoid the growing problem of being able to feed the children,
c. - To take care of the more than 15,000 children wandering on the streets of towns and villages of which more than ten die daily,
d. - To stop the children from being taken by Queen Frederica who ordered her subordinates to take them from everywhere, turn them into janissaries and force them into Hitler's youth organization, and
e. - To save them from the worst and most brutal bombing carried out by the Greek government against innocent women and children, which to date has killed over 120.

Published in the same issue of "Exormisi" was an article written by a journalist who said that he has visited several regions of 'Free

[30] My observation: The CPG and the Democratic Provisional Government of Greece kept their promise to the world and fought to get the children back after the war, but only the Greek children, those the Greeks called "Greeks by birth". The Macedonian children have not been allowed to return, even half a century later. Why didn't the CPG fight to bring back the Macedonian Children?

Greece'. The title of the article was "Women and children thank the Provisional Democratic Government and DAG" in which he explains that there were many parents from the villages controlled by the Athens government who came to the "Free Territory" and signed petitions at the People's Councils asking them to take their children and send them to the Eastern European countries as part of the mass evictions that were taking place at that time. They simply begged board members to put the names of their children on those lists. So, according to the article: "From the middle of February to March 5, the parents from 59 villages had signed up 4,784 children…" The newspaper also provided the order of numbers under which the children were listed, their names and the village they came from. The article also mentioned that the boards had received "hundreds" of telegrams from parents expressing their gratitude to the provisional democratic government…" [31]

Two weeks later, on April 1, 1948, the newspaper "Exormisi" wrote:

"Children were loaded in carriages, on mules, horses and donkeys and a number of phalanxes began to move. Convoys of young children were also moving on foot in various directions…" One such convoy arrived in a village late at night. Its arrival was described in detail: "Some of the children were on foot, others were mounted on horses, mules, donkeys and their mothers walked beside them. They were from the villages Zagorichani, Kumanichevo, Bombaki, Tiolishta, Kondorabi… The youngest were asleep on the donkeys. When the children were taken away the mothers who accompanied them were left behind. They watched their children from afar as they moved further and further away. Mothers and children were waving at each other with tears in their eyes, pain in their hearts and with an indescribable hatred against the Anglo-American occupiers and Monarcho-Fascists, who were to blame for this separation…"

The newspaper also provided some statistics:

[31] The Parisian newspaper (DAG's newspaper) "Exormisi" was published every fifteen days. It was edited and printed on Mount Gramos.

“So far five groups were sent. About 1,884 children have moved out with about 100 women overseeing them. These days 3 more groups of 1,150 children are being prepared.

The same article also said:

“In captive Greece, the Monarcho-Fascist Athens government declared a wild war against the Greek children and their mothers.

The army and militia are operating and conducting military expeditions to the villages abducting young children from their mothers’ arms.”

“Of the 150 children who were kidnapped by the Monarcho-Fascists from the village Buf in Lerin Region, 25 were secretly rescued right from the Lerin centre. After that all the mothers went back and together complained and got all their children back.”

The article concluded with a story that claimed that Greek government agents in Alexandroupolis forced a group of parents to hand over their children so that they could take them to Queen Frederica’s camps.

On March 7, 1948, in an article entitled “Parents of Children Beg the Government…”, the DAG Gramos newspaper “Exormimi”, reported that the Foreign Ministry of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, said that: “From mid-February to March 5, the parents of 59 villages in free territory delivered 4,784 children”. On March 20, 1948, the interim government decided to evacuate all the children under the age of 14 and send them to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. According to published statistics about 28,000 children were evacuated and sent over the border.

3. Motives and program put together by NOF and AFZH for the relocation of children.

Did we Macedonians not have any faith in our own revolutionary experience and now wanted to open a new era in the development of

Macedonian revolutionary traditions? Or was it something else altogether that happened?

Still the question is: “Were NOF and AFZH aware of the limits to what was possible for the Macedonian people to achieve from the Greek Civil War, or did they unwittingly accept the nonsense offered to them in order to take a big step forward?” Were they not aware of the incorrect and unprofessional treatment they were receiving in the political spectrum and in how they were led as a nation? Were they not aware of all the outcomes as confirmed by events? As things developed, it would appear that for us Macedonians led by NOF one thing was for certain: we were told one thing and expected to do another.

To the vast majority of the Macedonian people the call to join the People’s Front meant the call to salvation; to save our Macedonian identity in Greece. It is a fact that during the 20th century the Macedonian people were searching for ways to save their Macedonian identity. It was this need “to save our Macedonian identity” that awakened our Macedonian syndrome and trapped us in this mess. This was started by NOF’s aggressive agitation which was instigated by foreigners who had different plans for us. They made us believe that by “Destroying the Anglo-American occupiers and their proxy the Greek government”, if that was even possible, our Macedonian identity would be saved. This aggressive agitation unfortunately opened a cancer wound in every ordinary Macedonian villager from which there was only one escape – death! But what did the Macedonian intellectual mind do? Wittingly or unwittingly it opened the way to persecution!

War against evil?

NOF, with its slave-like obedience, now, as it did in 1946, using our Macedonian euphoria, took the lead in a dark, organized campaign and led us to more suffering.

It is important at this point to openly say that when it came to collecting and exiling our Macedonian children, NOF was at the forefront of this campaign. The people trusted NOF and mistrusted the CPG so NOF convinced the parents to give up their children so

that NOF could put them at the disposal of the CPG so that it could take the place of their fathers and mothers.

I must also mention at this point that NOF did not take and could not take any action in favour of the Macedonian children. The children were left to the total disposal of the CPG and its leaders.

So, the question is:

Did NOF ever ask what would have happened if the 28,000 children had stayed in Greece? Did NOF make any guarantees on how and when these children would have the opportunity to return to their homes? Today we have thousands of children living in foreign lands because no such guarantees were ever made. Everything was left to the CPG! WHY?

Testimonies: Speech given by Nikos Zahariadis at the NOF Second Congress.

March 25, 1948

"...Thousands of children have been rescued and provided for in the peoples' democracies. And as such the Slavo-Macedonian people are now at peace…"

So, after the children were exiled forever, how are we expected to interpret this CPG conspiracy?! The CPG is telling us that it evacuated the children to save them yet it made absolutely no effort to guarantee their return… or the return of any Macedonian for that matter!

Did the Macedonian people need to take such a "big step" to save their children? Why did the Macedonian people take such an ambitious step and allow their children to be "exiled" without any guarantees of them ever coming back? They trusted NOF and AFZH and not the CPG, yet NOF relegated all responsibilities to the CPG which, in the end, did NOT serve Macedonian people's interests but the interests of their enemies, the Greek government. Ultimately it was NOF and AFZH who convinced the Macedonian villagers to abandon their children trusting that NOF and AFZH had their

interests at heart. As a result the children were turned into victims in the longest-running betrayal which will probably forever remain an unpleasant memory in Macedonian history.

In that spirit, let us have a look at AFZH's newspaper "Nova Makedonka" published in September 1948, which reads:

"...Today we all shed tears. We were moved like never before. We sat in the shadow of poplar tree. None of us was asleep. It was getting dark and we were going to work, we were working at night. And ... here came my friend Tsveta from AFZH. She had just got here. We were all happy to see her. When she is with us, I don't know why, but we are not afraid of the exploding cannon shells.

This time she brought us letters from our children, who are in the people's republics. Our hands shook but we managed to read them. Our hearts beat hard even though our loving children were far away. How nice it would be to kiss them a little!

Here are airplanes flying above dropping bombs on us and the artillery blasts our villages with its exploding shells. It is so nice that our government (Provisional Democratic government) sent our children away to be saved.

Now our eyes are filled with tears of happiness especially when they tell us that our children live well... Now they tell us they only have to worry about us, our troubles, and the war...

Our poor children, when will we see them again? We will see them when we are free, when we win the war. What a great thing... But to do that we need to defeat fascism. And to win the war sooner all we have to do is fight. And fight we must in the trenches.

Tonight we built three more bunkers than usual. We did this to get our children back home faster so that we and our husbands can go home..."

Further on we read:

"...No, I am not leaving my friend, my sister and my brother to fight here alone so that I can go with the children. I know they will be safe, I have full confidence in the elected women and I will be able to contribute more to the struggle by being here."

Does this not mean total subordination of one's will to some external ideological force? This is unprecedented abuse of ideological power.

We were so overwhelmed by the mass euphoria that we tended to believe in the birth of a new day. We completely ignored the reality that in fact we were fighting a larger un-winnable conflict between the capitalist empire of the west and the communist empire of the east. This was controlled, aggressive behaviour brought on by aggressive agitation and propaganda.

Tragic and catastrophic consequences for the Macedonian nation.

History recognizes the tragic cases of separation; separating children from their parents. Regardless of motive the child always bears the tragic mark of separation. The separation of one child from its parents is unfortunate, the separation of several children is an immeasurable tragedy for both the children and the parents, but the separation of thousands of children from their parents and their homeland is a tragedy for the entire nation. The displacement of Macedonian children from Greek occupied Macedonia qualifies to be called a tragedy of epic proportions for a nation and is part of the most recent history of the Macedonian people.

Overview: REVIEW OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1948

Date	Description of events or documents
13.01.1948	The 1st NOF Congress was held in the village V'mbel, Kostur Region. During the Congress it was proclaimed that: "The first NOF congress was the brightest period of Macedonia's post Ilinden history ... and stands on the international stage with

sincere intentions of assisting the development of the Greek movement. During this Congress NOF agreed that "three quarters of the Macedonian partisans would fight in the DAG ranks south of Olympus, that is, in all parts of Greece..." It was also said that more than 20,000 Macedonians were mobilized into DAG units. And, according to information provided by DAG General Staff, at that time there were no more than 25 - 28,000 DAG fighters in total in all of Greece.

24.02.1948 The American military - advisory group led by General Van Fleet arrived in Greece.

15.03.1948 The DAG newspaper "Exormisi", located on Mount Gramos, published a report dated March 7, 1948 issued by the Provisional Democratic Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among other things the article said: "Grateful are the people's and other child care organizations in 'Free Greece', as well as the many thousands of parents and guardians who recently appealed to humanitarian organizations in the democratic countries for the assistance they offered to take care of their Greek children and all the Greek youth which is within grasp of Monarcho-Fascist barbarism…"
"From mid-February to March 5, the parents of 59 villages in the free territory delivered 4,784 children". On March 20, 1948, the interim government decided to evacuate all the children under the age of 14 and send them to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. According to published statistics about

28,000 children were evacuated and sent over the border.

29.04.1948 The 1st AFZH Congress was held in the free territory in Vicho.

01.06.1948 The CPG Central Committee Politburo issued an order suspending NOF Main Board President Mihailo Keramitdzhiev and NOF Main Board Secretary Paskal Mitrevski for infighting and causing faction-ism in NOF.

27.08.1948 The CPG Central Committee Politburo has a session with the following agenda:
a / Discuss Political and Military Issues and Decrees regarding the Gramos Struggle termed “Epic of the North Pind”.
b / Introduce the new Military Council which will consist of:
1. Nikos Zahariadis - President and DAG Supreme Commander.
2. Georgios Vonditsios - Head of Military Battles.
3. Vasilis Bardzhiotas - Political Commissar of Headquarters.
4. Michos Vlandas - Responsible for Military Resources.
5. Leonidas Stringos – Responsible for State Administration.
c / Reorganize the Headquarters by districts and create military divisions.
Promote DAG Military Officers.
Attachment - Order (August 27, 1948)
Bearing in mind the newly created situation on December 23, 1947 and the proposal of the Democratic Army of Greece General Staff we resolve to:
1. Dismiss and reorganize the Headquarters and establish divisions.

2. The divisions shall be designated as follows;

Division	Location	Commander
I	Thessaly	Harilaos Florakis (Giotis)
II	Rumeli	Gianis Aleksandrou
III	Peloponnesus	Stefanos Giouzelis
IV	Epirus	Kalogianis
IX	Macedonia	Thanasis Genios (Lasonis)
X	Macedonia	Nikos Theoharopoulos
XI	Macedonia	Pando Vaina

August 27, 1948
Provisional Democratic Government
Headquarters
General Markos
DAG President and Minister of Armed Forces

15.11.1948 The CPG Central Committee Politburo decided to suspend and exclude General Markos from his position as DAG Commander-in-Chief and as member of the CPG Central Committee.

23.11.1948 DAG General Headquarters issued an order, but only for Vicho Region, to mobilize all men and women between the ages 17 and 35. This included the men who were left behind to build fortifications and those who were ill. Virtually every Macedonian from the Kostur and Lerin

Regions was mobilized with this order.

IDENTITY UNDER WHICH THE MACEDONIAN CHILDREN WERE TAKEN AND EXILED

One of the most important issues I have come across about the "kidnapping" of our children, which to this day has not been properly addressed, is the difference in attitude taken about the Slavophone and Greek-speaking villages in (Greek occupied Macedonia) Northern Greece.

According to a UNSCOB report the villagers in the Slavophone areas and districts were very willing to allow their children to leave, but it was never officially known how many of the 25,000 to 28,000 [32] children belonged to this Slavophone group. This information is nowhere to be found, and it is likely that this question seems to have been completely ignored by Greek sources. The Greek government in Athens emphasized the "Greek nationality" of all these children, though the issue is something less surprising. The Communist side too confidently and literally speaks of "Greek children", even after the end of the Greek Civil War. On top of that the Greek communists did everything in their power to educate these children in the Greek language in the communist countries where they were settled. In its reports the Red Cross too has provided an abundance of information on "identifying" the children but says nothing about any Slavophone group. It was very clear that all the children, even though they spoke a Slavic language, were presented as Greek by law, both on record and in official opinion. It would have been much

[32] The UNSCOB figure was more concrete and more acceptable. According to the August 1949 UNSCOB report (A/935, p. 16): "During that period of time in 1948, around 25,000 "Ελληνοπουλα" (Greek children) emigrated from Greece and were situated in the territories of Greece's northern neighbour and other countries". In January 1950, a representative of the Greek Red Cross submitted a report in which he said: "The aggregate number of Greek children who received asylum in the countries north of Greece had reached 28,296 in January 1950". At the same time, he gave a clear analysis of the aggregate number of children and to which countries they were sent to: "Albania 2,000, Bulgaria 2,600, Hungary 3,000, Poland 3,000, Romania 3801, Czechoslovakia 2,235 and Yugoslavia 11,600." (See UNSCOB report A/1307, 1950, p. 23) In his book about the children's education, Thanassis Mitsopulos said: "There were more than 25,000 children…" Vassilis Bardzhiotas said that they moved 25,000 children, but the government in Athens increased that number to 28,000.

more interesting to have found out how many of the children were actually Slavophones.

Identity with the likeness of Markos

“At the Tulgiesh pavilions we moved like a swollen river, walking on the pavement of the big yard. We looked for one another, but the hardest thing was to find our ‘mothers’. There were many children at the dormitory who did not know their last names or their place of birth. They were simply collected as they were leaving and brought here over the border and as such, for years, like shadows, they looked for their loved ones and for their identity...

But to make us all equal, or who knows why, they took away our names at Kalimaneshti. Our names were the last piece of information that identified us and our nationality. After that we wore a metal plate around our necks which was etched on one side with the image of General Markos, and on the other was stamped a unique number which identified each one of us. My name was replaced with the number 521 and when I lived in Romania I had to call out the words: ‘Chinch sute douzech shi uno’ (Five hundred and twenty one) instead of my name.

At the end of 1948 we were sent to Poland by train. At the border we were greeted by Polish authorities and medical staff. While traveling on the train each child was given a medical examination by the physicians and depending what was found the children were directed where to go for treatment. The Polish people were very kind to us and at the same time were astonished how the children of Partisans, who were still fighting in Vicho and Gramos, could not have names?

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When we arrived at the 'Barburka' dormitory we were given new robes to wear. We tossed our old clothes in a pile and left them there. Life was often full of cruelty and fierce playing. We called the Poles 'good uncles' but most of all we liked Pan Piotr Pshezhinski. He liked us too and called us 'descendants of a dead army'. He was an old, experienced Pole, a former businessman and philanthropist, who served in the camps for many years. He felt sorry for us and told us that we all had the same fate, because he too was issued a number when he served time in the camps, but his medal did not have the face of a leader. 'Your fate is more difficult,' he used to say, 'because you have to carry General Markos around your necks'…"

(For additional information: See Fani Butskova 1998/76) "... The metal plate to be worn around the neck, issued to the children in Romania, had General Markos's face imprinted on one side and a number on the other. The metal plates issued in other countries had only a number. The shape of the plate was round which could be worn around the neck or on the wrist. Some of those who wore these 'medallions' remember their numbers even today, more than fifty years later. Some even have photographs of them, testimony to their existence. For example, Ahil Petrovski was photographed in Czechoslovakia and had the number 288, which is clearly shown in the photograph from May 1948. Dimitra Karchitska was issued the number 1048 and her brother Ilia was issued number 1053. Towards the end of 1948, when they went to Poland, their metal identification tags were taken. Surrogate 'mother' Tomia Tsutsulova was issued a tag in Hungary with the number 112 and her young baby daughter was issued the number 111. Olga Petkova in Poland was issued the number 555 and Slava Petkova was issued the number 425. The only thing that remains alive from these 'medallions' now are the memories, both good and bad."

What a shame that Macedonian children in that day and age, found themselves numbered like slaves in the heart of Europe! (See: "Nezabarav" no. 15, p. 7 June 1998 Featuring "Authentic testimonials from the displaced Macedonian children from Aegean Macedonia" in "Vecher", May 20, 1986

Here is what Clars Barentzen had to say:

"...I admired and respected those people, perhaps because they have a subtle kindness; an aristocratic nobility. And how can I not admire those people who, at the most difficult moments in the children's homes, listened to their voices in the crowded "dining rooms", in the children's lounges and gave us unmatched moments of joy and vitality. In perfect silence and discipline, I remember in 1949, we entered a row, in the children's lounges: Toulgesh, Sinaia, Oradea, Roman and Cluz of the Republic of Romania, and listened insatiably to the chronographs of Apostolis Spiliou, who was transcribing a brave voice from all my friends. At the end of each broadcast we burst out with a strange devotion and shouted:

"Long live DAG!"
"Long live Markos!"
"The enemy will not set foot on Gramos and Vicho!"
"Who's is Markos?!" someone would shout, and we responded in one voice:
"Markos is ours!"
"Who do we belong to?!"
"To Markos!" we all replied in unison.

After Markos Vafiadis was removed from his position as commander in chief of DAG General Staff and replaced by CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis, we continued our calling with the same excitement and vivacity for Zahariadis as we did for Markos... that is in our daily prayer. The Party, for us children and for ordinary party members became a fetish, giving us magical and supernatural powers. I remember that we did not differentiate the Party from the leadership. For us they had unbelievable power and wisdom... for us the Party was the Politburo leadership with Nikos Zahariadis as their chief god..."

After the above-mentioned changes were made and after DAG was liquidated everything became about "the struggle of our people" (meaning the Greek people)!

"...Everything was changed… even the name of the radio program was changed... From now on you will hear clear and plain but not the 'Voice of Free Greece', that is gone, now your will hear the 'Voice of Liberty'…"

DID THE CPG TAKE THE CHILDREN TO TURN THEM INTO CHILD SOLDIERS? WERE THE CHILDREN THE NEW HUMAN RESOURCES FOR DAG?

In March 1949, UNSCOB launched numerous petitions against the CPG and DAG leaderships for coaxing the children to become child soldiers for DAG. In 1948 when the children were taken it was assumed that the war would continue for many years and so many of the children who left would have to return to fight in Greece. Was this true? Perhaps the people of the top leaderships might have the answer.

Here is what the second most senior man, Vasilis Bardzhiotas, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo and DAG political commissar, had to say:

"...In the winter of 1949, while we were returning from an assignment in Gramos, we noticed a group of little girls from afar that made a great impression on us. It was snowing and we were entering a snowstorm and a blizzard. It was quite cold. We approached those girls to see what was happening to them. There were about 55 - 60 girls between the ages of 10 and 13, dressed in old overalls and their feet were wrapped in towels. They had no shoes. They were shaking from the cold so we took them to the nearest DAG camp and the women fighters offered them hot tea and dressed them in casual clothes. One of the women asked what they were doing here in Gramos barefoot at this time of year. What had happened to them? One of the girls said we came to join the partisans and fight. When I spoke to them in a soft voice and with a sense of pain in my face and told them they were too young to join DAG and serve as fighters, they protested. I told them that they had to be over 16 to be fighters and offered to send them to some school to study, to learn for now, and a few years later we would give them guns to fight. Again they protested and questioned my authority. One of them asked loudly, who are you to tell us that we can't fight?

One of them said my mother was killed in front of me. Another one spoke about both of her parents being murdered. Each and every one of them had one or both parents killed and demanded to be registered and see the DAG Headquarters Political Commissar, because only he could understand their pain.

When I told them I was the political commissar they calmed down a bit, but still we could not convince them to leave. As a result we organized them in a small company near our headquarters and began to train them to operate our communication equipment. Unfortunately several of these girls left their training voluntarily and joined our combat units. They were certainly not allowed to fight so we saved them all. When I mention this story to other people - the hungry, barefoot and poorly dressed girls who trembled in the cold – I find it difficult to hold back my tears. These heroic girls wanted to join DAG and fight so that they could avenge the death of their parents! This is why our struggle was justified and this is why DAG fought for the people, for democracy against Fascism. When we talk about the partisan heroes, we have to look back at the DAG youth participation, which was very interesting. At that time 70-80% of the fighters were young men and women, who were distinguished by their bravery and fighting skills and fought the most difficult battles DAG encountered.

Besides having separate military units consisting of young men armed with machine guns, automatic rifles and cannons, there was also the Democratic Youth Regiment under the command of young Shumadi, who boldly raced into battle at the most critical times during the struggle.

DAG consisted mainly of young men and women. Those older than 25 - 30 were very few and less than 15 - 20% of the entire DAG force. Most of those men were older fighters...

DAG consisted mostly of young men and women and they had such vitality that we were all proud of them and eager to go forward and fight with pleasure and we were confident that we would come out victorious. That is why I am not going to write a separate chapter

about the young. Everything I have written, it seems to me, is about the young…"

Vasilis Bardzhiotas,
DAG Political Commissar

I don't know of any country in the world which drafted children, armed them and sent them to the front line to fight and die.

Here is what Paskal Mitrevski, first NOF secretary, said in a letter addressed to the CPG Central Committee Politburo regarding the questions of mobilizing underage children:

"Comrades,

We are seriously preoccupied with the issue of you bringing children back from the people's republics and mobilizing them. We understand that you have brought back 12 and 13 year old male and female children, as well as other children under the age of 12, who are now in the recruitment centre in the village Shtrkovo. We understand that you brought back a total of 35 children, most of whom are from the village Zhelevo.

Their arrival in the countryside has created a serious ethical problem, especially since the children, both male and female, are only 12 to 13 years old. We checked their ages and they truly are of that age.

We have been preoccupied with this question before but in consultation with you we found a solution.

Of course, this is not about the difficulties the Question has created for us. With the great work our organization is doing we will surely overcome all problems. But there is that ethical question, that we are forced to look into. It has created a morally-political situation for the people, and has raised the question of negative moral impressions which have made it difficult for us to widen the activation and development of our movement. Understandably, 10 to 15 children cannot solve the problem and meet our needs.

Also, there is the mistreatment of children by those in charge at the boarding homes where these children came from. And worse, their attitude towards children is not good.

Specifically there is the case of Timios who is in charge of the Tulges home in Romania. His attitude cannot be characterized as good. He exerts inappropriate psychological and physical pressure on the children, creating a difficult atmosphere.

Here is what some children told Comrade Malios sent there by NOF to visit them:

Timios gathered the children in the home and violently and inappropriately shouted at them: “Go back and fight. If you don’t want to go tell me and I will tattoo a cross on your forehead so that everyone will know what kind of bastards you are.” He was saying this to children aged 12 to 15.

He also threatened the children with the words: “I will teach you. What you are doing makes you look like Truman’s sharks...” etc.

He is totally against children writing letters to their parents in Macedonian and would not allow them. On top of that he withheld the money and cheques sent to the children by their parents and relatives from America and other countries. The children say that he spent their money on himself.

There was also the case of 12-year-old Leko Stefov, who, with tears in his eyes, told Malios that one day, because he had not cleaned the yard, Timios stripped him and left him standing outside for 4 hours naked, wearing only his underpants, in the terrible cold in December. He also left him hungry for 24 hours. The same child told Malios that Timios beat him and kicked him with all his strength. The child mentioned that Timios’s hands were swollen from beating the children.

One time Timios undressed a number of children and forced them to walk around naked. He also left them hungry.

Children can sometimes make up stories but it seems there is a pattern associated with Timios which has created a negative atmosphere for the upbringing of children.

Worst of all is that when these children return they tell their parents about their negative experience and that in turn is discussed among the villagers.

As soon as we received this complaint from our people here we immediately dispatched Comrade Malios to investigate and, on the basis of his findings, take action in order to limit these negative experiences.

In our opinion you need to become involved and investigate these cases yourself, particularly the one about Timios and have him removed as soon as possible so as not to cause further damage. We also suggest all underage children brought back be immediately returned.

In all such cases we consider it necessary to notify parents by special notice, orally or otherwise.

We also believe that in the future no children less than 15 years old should be brought back from the People's Republics.

Comrade Koichev, with whom we spoke yesterday, will certainly update you on that issue.

Please look into this as soon as possible, or if necessary we are prepared to further discuss it so that we can all better deal with it and with other issues related to the boarding homes, including the placement of Slavo-Macedonian staff which, in practical terms, will take care of any Slavo-Macedonian issues. [33]

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[33] Was it by accident that the communists in Greece gave the Macedonian people a new name; "Slavo-Macedonians"? No! The Greeks from the entire political spectrum, including the communists, did not want to publicly admit that Macedonians existed in Greece so, after Greece acquired Macedonian territories, the Greeks began to refer to Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia as "endopii" (locals or indigenous). Then, when the Greek communists needed Macedonian assistance they, out of the blue, ambiguously began to refer to them

June 14, 1949
With a friendly greeting,
Paskal

(See: AM, collection: “Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1954-1949”, AE: 47 / b. The manuscript is available in the Greek language, Published in the edition: “Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1949”, T. 6 ..., doc. 100, p. 211-213.)

(Information regarding the recruitment process provided by the CPG and DAG leaderships can be found in the: “AM, Collection” Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1945-1949 “, AE: 476/49 and AM, C-7/108.)

According to available information: “The recruitment of children was carried out with widespread propaganda and pressure. Appropriate directives, orders, and special envoys were issued for that purpose. Child recruitment was performed not by age but by height, and thus children were recruited at 12 - 13 years of age. Several hundred children were recruited from Romania and Czechoslovakia. Training centres for children were also organized and after several days of training the children were sent to the front line, where most were killed.”

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as “Slavo-Macedonians” meaning “Slavic speaking Greeks who lived in Macedonia”.
The word “Macedonians” in the reference “Slavo-Macedonians” was strategically placed to fool the Macedonian people into believing that the communists had recognized them as “Macedonians”. For the rest of the world the word “Slav” was purposely place there to make the Macedonian people look like they were from a Slavic stock not indigenous to Macedonia and not related to the Ancient Macedonians. This became obvious when the Republic of Macedonia became independent in 1991, during which time Greece made it clear to the world that the Slavic speaking Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia had nothing to do with the Ancient Macedonians from 2,300 years ago. In fact, Greece went as far as calling the Turkish Christian colonists and settlers it deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920’s “the real Macedonians and descendents of the Ancient Macedonians” while maintaining that the Slavic speaking Macedonians were a creation of Tito and were not Macedonians at all. But the question is why did the Macedonians in NOF (Paskal Mitrevski) accept to call his people “Slavo-Macedonians” during the Greek Civil War when the communists were promising those same Macedonians human rights?

The above-quoted information was also confirmed by Tome Miovski, an exiled child, in his memoirs entitled: “Mobilizing Macedonian children from Czechoslovakia”. (See: Newspaper “Nezaborav”, p. 7, July 1, 1995.)

“Exactly one year after our departure from our native villages, the same Provisional Democratic Government which rallied to send us to democratic states to save us from certain death, from enemy bombs and from hunger and disease, now wants to bring us back in the hell of war, in the hell of death. This is how it was on April 17, 1949, at 8:30 am, when the director of the boarding house informed us that today, after lunch, a delegation from the CPG Politburo will arrive at our children’s boarding house.

Just before 4pm a large black limousine appeared in front of our boarding house. Just as the limousine began to enter the main door in the yard, we started shouting slogans and singing the partisan march. As soon as the car stopped, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo and Justice Minister in the Provisional Democratic Government, came out.

After we had a festive dinner in absolute joy and absolute silence, the director told us that all girls and boys aged 15 and 16 were invited to a meeting with the guest at 8 pm in the same hall. All others should go to bed at 7:30 pm.

Our guest entered the hall at 8:15 pm and we all stood up and applauded with the slogans: ‘Long live Markos, long live the CPG, long live Free Greece...’ We sat down and followed him with our eyes. He stood upright like a giant in front of the children and, in a low voice, began to tell us about the combat successes that DAG was achieving against the Monarcho-Fascists. He said: ‘DAG has 25% of all Greek territory in its hands. In every village there is a people’s authority – people’s boards, people’s courts, village associations, people’s hospitals are established, cultural and artistic and folklore societies, the people feel free. A few days from now Lerin will fall into our hands, Kostur, Voden and other cities will follow. It is certain that 1949 will be the year of our victory.’

We were overjoyed and started shouting, ‘Long live Free Greece, long live Markos, Markos’s victory, Markos’s victory!’ Our guest signaled us to calm down and continued: ‘Young men and women, sons and daughters of our heroic Democratic Army fighters, I was sent here by the CPG Central Committee Politburo and by our Provisional Democratic Government to urge you to go back to your homeland, because our sacred struggle needs young men and women, young fighters, worthy of their fathers and mothers who daily achieve combat successes against our enemy - the Monarcho-Fascists. You will get a chance to visit your beautiful but now vacant villages, your parents, relatives and homes. That is why I urge you all to ‘voluntarily’ return to Free Greece, by putting your signature beside your name on this list.’ He held the list with all our names in his hand while he spoke to us.

One by one 31 boys and 8 girls signed the list. After that our guest told us: ‘Know that volunteers from Romania and Bulgaria have already returned to Free Greece and in the very short time have excelled. They were armed and are now regular fighters fighting in glorious DAG. Other children from other democratic countries are on their way. You will be notified as soon as possible about your departure. But you do not speak a single word about your return to anyone, neither here nor at home, because if you do you become an enemy of our struggle.”

The next day, it was a Monday, after lunch, the director called us ‘volunteers’ to assemble and told us that: ‘From today on forward every night from 8 to 10 pm until your departure, you will have nightly training in the field to learn how to fight in the night. As of today, you are to tell no one about your return to Greece, no word to anyone, not even to your younger brothers and sisters. Whoever dares to say anything will be kicked out of the boarding house.’

Seven days later, on Sunday April 24, 1949 at 6 pm, the director again called us ‘volunteers’ to assemble and informed us that we will be departing tomorrow, Monday, April 25, at three o’clock in the early morning, and that we will be going to Bratislava by train with our instructor Irina. We will also be provided with dry food for one day and must leave before activities begin in the village. At

Bratislava we will meet more ‘volunteers’ and from there we will all go to ‘Free Greece’.

On Monday, April 25, 1949, we woke up and at 2 o’clock in the morning washed quickly, got dressed, picked up our suitcases, and at exactly 2:30 am formed a line at our usual place. We were accompanied by our principal and instructor Irina. We did this without alerting our younger brothers and sisters. We made a quick march to the train station, which was about one kilometre from the boarding house, and at 3 am boarded the train headed for Bratislava. We were cheerful all throughout the trip and sang many partisan and revolutionary songs.

After our ten-hour journey, which was very fast, we arrived in Bratislava at the train station around 1 pm and met up with our escort. We said goodbye to Irina who was expected to go back because she was not allowed to travel with us any further.

Around 2 pm we arrived at the entrance of the barracks where there was a guard. After inspecting the truck, he opened the doors and allowed us to enter the large courtyard where troops were moving. The truck stopped a little further inside the courtyard and allowed us to get off. There were several groups of children all around us who had arrived before us. We knew many of them from the early days in Czechoslovakia when, in December 1948, they were sent to the ‘Tatra’ Automobile Institute at the technical school in Koprivnica. Now they too were mobilized.

We rested a bit until the others arrived at 8 pm. We then gathered in the courtyard and met with the leaders sent by the CPG and by the Party organization in Bulkes. The leaders were Nikola Stoianovski, born in the village German, Prespa Region, Nikos Zafiridis and Georgios Trendafilidis, both Madziri (Turkish Christian colonists) from Kostur Region.

After we had our dinner in the military canteen, those in charge made lists of all the children present. There were 250 of us in total of whom 200 were Macedonian, and the rest were Vlach and Madziri. The CPG had ordered those making the lists to make sure all names were entered as Greek names, including those of the

Macedonian children. All of us Macedonians however had long ago dropped our Greek names and surnames. But, even though we had buried our Greek names long before schools were set up in the free villages, they insisted that we give them our Greek names. They kept telling us that: “Tomorrow when you go to Greece to fight fascism, hostile propaganda will say that Yugoslav and Bulgarian volunteers have come to Greece, not Greeks.

We, however, unanimously and harshly protested against this Greek theory, refusing to abide and we all wrote down our Macedonian names and surnames. We also demanded that our orders be given in Macedonian. We suggested that Greeks be placed in separate companies.

The next day the officers in charge separated us into three detachments, two Macedonian and one Greek...”

Tome Miovski further explained that on June 4, 1949, the children were visited by a member of the CPG Politburo. His name was Petros Kokalis, Minister of Education and Culture in the Provisional Democratic Government. Kokalis said to the children: “Comrades, I bring you greetings from the DAG fighters, who bring success to our struggle every day… Our struggle is in no need of new fighters...”

Miovski went on to say: “We, as we were all lined up, were stunned for a moment because this announcement was a surprise to us. We couldn’t understand why they didn’t send us to fight. We were already trained and prepared for combat. We spent 41 days training and now the government is telling us we can’t go? Is our liberation coming to an end or is it something else? Those in charge of us did not know what was happening. We were so disappointed, we didn’t eat that day. We just wandered around the yard asking ourselves and each other all kinds of questions...

We did not know then but later we found out that Zahariadis was summoned to Moscow where he was ordered by the Soviet leadership to cease and desist (end the armed conflict), and for the Provisional Democratic Government to appeal to the UN General

Assembly for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Also, at the same time the future for DAG was looking gloomy."

So, can we still remain indifferent after reading the above information on the plight of the 28,000 refugee children?

Merchants of human fate

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

Minister Porfirogenis acted more like a merchant of fate trading children's souls, than he did as a minister of justice in charge of DAG. Especially since about 60% of DAG's military resources were Macedonian peasants about whom he cared very little to none. Porfirogenis promised these children "that they will see their parents, their beautiful villages, their friends, and their great-grandfather's land liberated..." but these promises were plain and impudent lies. These children were told that after they returned to their homeland they were to speak to no one about the purpose of their return, not a single word. They were told to speak to no one at the boarding houses and tell no one back home why they returned because if they did they would become enemies of the struggle. This pretty well paints a vivid picture of the overall situation in which the Macedonian children and the Macedonian fighters found themselves under the engineered communist ideology.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that those who led the war had no ideals, no sacred things, and no moral constraints. They did everything for personal gain and self-interest. They worked to groom their own careers. After the war ended they proved themselves to be void of spirituality. They were powerful during the war because they led in a strange dictatorial way and by unconsciously repeated words like: patriotism, loyalty, ideal, tradition and devotion to the revolution.

Is this what the common Macedonian fought for during that war?! Where were NOF, AFZH and NOMS to guide and protect the common Macedonian?! Did NOF, AFZH and NOMS even have the power to do so?! The answer is NO!

GREEK GOVERNMENT COMPLAINTS AND CONCERNS FOR THE CHILDREN TAKEN BY THE CPG AND DAG

On February 27, 1948, the Greek Government sent an official letter to the UNITED NATIONS Special Commission on the Balkans (UNSCOB) which outlined the following:

"The Greek children are being forcibly moved by DAG partisans beyond the Greek border, to Albania, Bulgaria, and other Eastern European countries and are being kept in those countries."

"'General' Markos's agents began a census a long time ago with aims at collecting children ages 3 to 14 in Northern Greece.

Their ultimate goal:

a. - To terrorize Greek families so that they will help the partisans;
b. - To educate the Greek children in the communist ideology;
c. - To destroy the Greek national consciousness and alienate the children;
d. - To disorganize the agricultural economy. They are forcing villagers and their families to flee to the cities so that their children can be protected." [34]

WAS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT CONCERN FOR THE TAKEN CHILDREN REAL OR AN ULTIMATE ACT OF WHITE ETHNIC CLEANSING?

If it was real then why did the Greek government enact the edict 106.841 / 5-1-83, to repatriate only Greeks by birth?

[34] United Nations Special Commission Report on the Balkans. General Assembly. Official Records: Third Session attachment no. 8(A/574) dated June 30, 1948, p. 18 and 29.

Doesn't this law confirm that the "PEDOMAZOMA" (child collection) was also part of the planned migration movement and part of the strategic solution that the Greek state enacted after 1913 for the forceful and violent exile of Macedonians?

Creation of UNSCOB and its role in the research of the "Pedomazoma" problem

The "Greek issue" was again put in the United Nations Security Council agenda for the third time during 1946. The first two sessions, which were met with sharp appeals from the Soviet Union and Ukraine, ended without results.

The third debate, held on December 3, 1946, continued after the Greek government had extensive consultations with the United States. The Secretary-General was then asked to put the Greek question about its conflict with the neighbouring countries on the agenda as soon as possible. (UNSCOB Report A / 574-1948, p.1. The Commission's report was placed on the agenda of the 174th Security Council meeting.)

On December 19 1946, the Security Council proposed establishing a commission [35] of inquiry and charging it with producing a report by

[35] Commission Inquiry Report to the Security Council regarding incidents on the Greek border: "Before making our proposals, the Commission feels it would be useful to briefly recapitulate the situation along the northern Greek border, and our proposals are aimed at mitigating and correcting this kind of situation. First, accusations were made by the Greek government that its three northern neighbours were aiding the guerrilla war in Greece. Secondly, there is a disturbed situation in Greece today which is a legacy of the past, the causes of which can be found in the Greek tragic experience during the war, in its occupation by the Italians, Germans and Bulgarians, in the guerilla war that was fought for during the occupation, in the political heat and economic hardship caused by the war. The next thing to mention is the refusal of most of the mentioned countries to accept as final their borders, as they are defined today. Some of such demands were raised in a completely legitimate way before the United Nations forum or other competent international bodies, but their increase undoubtedly worsens the already dangerous situation.
Furthermore, in the case of the Macedonian question, the demands are not highlighted before the United Nations, but in the speeches of the individual governments or in the press organs controlled by the governments. Using the

Macedonian issue in this way, in the opinion of the Commission, represents a positive threat to peace in the Balkans and can only further contribute to existing tensions and suspicions and increase national passions, which were due to war experiences, not only are they not diminished at all, but they are even sharpened by their identification in a number of cases with political ideas.
Also, as something that should be mentioned, is the presence in Greece, on the one hand, of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, on the other hand, of political refugees from different territories, who participated in large numbers in the political struggles that were fought in their land during and after the war. Some of those refugees are located near the borders of the country from which they fled. Some have, during their exile, engaged in political and military activities, and too many of them live in the hope that some violent turn of events will enable them to return to their homes, under conditions of their choosing. Other refugees are victims of the spreading panic and if given a free choice, they would gladly return to their homes. However, the continued presence of all of them under the conditions under which they currently live is, quite clearly, a serious contributing factor to the ongoing situation.
Finally, the violence and the level of propaganda used by some of the protagonists in their mutual relations could not fail to be noted by the commission during its stay in the four countries. This kind of propaganda always serves to inflame passions, which are already rather inflamed. The commission suggests that the Security Council let the Greek government know that it is ready, if that government so requests, to make available its good services in order to find all possible means for the realization of that measure.
The commission also made its own proposals:
A. The Commission proposes to the Security Council that it propose to the governments of Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, that they do everything in their power to establish normal good-neighbourly relations, to refrain from all direct or indirect actions... The Commission believes that in the sphere of its investigation, further cases of support to armed gangs formed in the territory of one State, which pass into the territory of another State or the refusal of the Government despite the request of the State concerned, to take all possible measures in its territory to deprive such gangs of any kind of assistance or protection, the Security Council should treat it as a threat to the peace within the meaning of the United Nations Charter.
B. In order to ensure efficient machinery for the regulation and control of their common borders, the Commission proposes that the Security Council propose to the governments concerned that they conclude new conventions on the example of the Greco-Bulgarian Convention of 1931, taking into account the needs of the existing situation. (The so-called Greek-Bulgarian Convention on Population Exchange). So the TRANSFER OF MINORITIES was proposed.
C. In order to restore normal conditions along the borders between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the other, and thereby help in establishing good neighborly relations, the Commission recommends the establishment of a special body...
4. The establishment of a permanent border commission or a body that would represent the Security Council, in the way that is envisaged by the proposals, as

May 23, 1947 at the latest. But when the Council began to back Greece's views, representatives from the Soviet Union [36] and Poland [37]rejected their opinions. After much debate the Security Council on

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well as the conclusion of conventions and agreements between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, is to a large extent a limitation of the sovereign rights of those states in the settlement of their mutual relations."

[36] The Soviet Union delegation objected to the presented proposals - on the Greek issue:
"1. The above proposals in no way derive from the facts and documents gathered by the Commission during the investigation of the situation in Northern Greece and its northern borders, but they are based only on some unfounded assumptions of the Greek government regarding the provision of aid to guerrilla warfare by Greece's northern neighbors.
2. The proposals accept the possibility of the existence of border incidents, conflicts and even acts of aggression, in the future in the relations between Greece, on the one hand, and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania on the other hand, despite the fact that the Commission has no grounds for making a proposal of this nature.
3. The proposals envisage measures not only concerning Greece, but Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania as well, although from the documents available to the Commission, it is quite obvious that a tense situation exists in Greece and that the riots there are not happening only in the northern part, but in the whole country, and thus the tense situation and disturbances in Greece are the result of internal causes.
4. The establishment of a permanent border commission or a body that would represent the Security Council, in the manner envisaged by the proposals, as well as the conclusion of conventions and agreements between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, to a large extent represents a limitation of the sovereign rights of those states in the settlement of their mutual relations."

[37] The Polish delegation raised the following objections to the proposals presented by the Commission on the Greek Question:
"1. The measures as a whole seem ineffective, as they only take into account the symptoms and not the causes of the difficulties that exist in northern Greece and along its northern borders. The fact that the proposed measures are ineffective could easily jeopardize the prestige of the United Nations.
2. Some of the proposed measures do not seem to take into account the fact that there are no diplomatic relations between Greece on the one hand and Bulgaria and Albania on the other.
3. In relation to the proposal presented under B, which suggests the establishment of a permanent control body, this measure seems inappropriate for the following reasons:
(a) such a control body would threaten the sovereign rights of Greece, as well as Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
(b) it would constitute a measure of coercion in relation to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. This measure will in no way be justified by the results of the

both sides vetoed the idea of establishing a commission and again the Greek issue became hopeless.

The Greek issue was then taken to the General Assembly where there could be no Soviet veto, so on October 21, 1947, the General Assembly, with 40 votes in favour, 6 against, and 11 abstentions, voted for the creation of the United Nations Special Commission for the Balkans (UNSCOB).

UNSCOB consisted of representatives from Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, England and the United States. Everything was decided without representation from the Soviet Union or Poland.

The main task of UNSCOB was to investigate all complaints coming from the Greek government which alleged that the partisans in Greece were assisted by Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

These states not only refused to cooperate but they also did not allow UNSCOB observers to enter their territory. On December 1, 1947, UNSCOB established its headquarters in Solun. (UNSCOB Report A / 575 -1948 pp. 1-3.) The Commission decided to create 6 groups each represented by four observers and one auxiliary person. Six zones, one for each group, were designated in northern Greece and by the end of February 1948 the groups arrived at their designated zone. (UNSCOB Report, A / 574-1948, p. 3.)

In its June 1948 report entitled “Movement and Detention of Greek Children”, Group 4 confirmed a number of specific events:

1. There was indeed a census of children taken in some of the partisan controlled areas of northern Greece and there was evidence that this census was started a long time ago.

2. A large number of children were taken from northern Greece and sent to Yugoslavia.

Commission's investigation. That is why, instead of leading to the improvement of existing difficulties, it may very well lead to completely opposite results.

3. Some of the parents did give their consent but only after they had enrolled their children and there were indeed many children who were forcibly taken under protest from their parents...

Regarding the regions, it was said that the census of children was taken in two main areas under the control of the Communists:

a) In the Slavic-speaking areas of Western Macedonia around Lake Prespa and in the Lerin and Kostur villages where the people are Greek citizens but speak a Slavonic language. (See: UNSCOB Report A / 574 -1948 p. 29 - section 2.)

A witness from Kostur Region said that: “Many children from the village found a hideout in Kostur to avoid being taken by the partisans and that, in his opinion, only 10% of parents agreed to give up their children. UNSCOB also acknowledged that there was evidence that, many children, especially from the Slavic speaking areas of Western Macedonia, were taken with the consent of their parents.

Another witness from Prespa Region said that “many parents were grateful to see their children go to Yugoslavia”.

In short, all these statements show that there was a big difference between deciding whether or not to let the children go in Slavophone versus Greek villages.

In other words, there was greater protest in the Greek villages resembling a forced collection and it took more effort to persuade Greek parents. There were also cases where children were taken without parental permission.

There was mention in the report that children belonging to partisan families and to partisan sympathizers were also sent to Eastern European countries. (See: UNSCOB Report A / 574-1948, p. 31.)

American reaction to the Greek government’s complaints about the “Pedomazoma”

The Greek government used strong and decisive words when it criticized the CPG and DAG for seizing and evicting children. Regarding the March 27, 1948 incident, Foreign Minister Chaldaris pointed out that "the seizure of Greek children was not simply a violation of the obligations under the human rights act but a crime against humanity…" (UNSCOF Report A / 574 (1948 p. 18)).

The Athens government was convinced that the Americans would approach this problem with equal intensity and speak positively for the Greek government. Unfortunately for the Greeks most Americans in authority, including Foreign Minister George Marshall, did not fully believe the strong Greek government propaganda and accusations launched against the communist "Pedomazoma".

But, it would appear that these criticisms had more to do with putting pressure on the United Nations to deprive the communists of the "Pedomazoma" than care about the children. If the Greek government truly cared about these children, it would have allowed them to return to their homes at the first opportunity after the war ended. The fact that the Greek government slammed the door shut on them permanently showed that it did not care at all.

At first some Americans in Athens thought the issue could be of great benefit to generate propaganda against the communists. This is what Karl Rankin at the US Embassy in Greece wrote to the Foreign Office: "…on March 10, 1948, the embassy was convinced that the removal of Greek children by General Markos is a psychological gaffe which can be used in a propaganda campaign to inform the world public…On March 3, 1948, Rankin also thought that "the problem can be turned into anti-Communist propaganda," but some Americans began to wonder if the benefits of such propaganda can be seen as a variant to the communist side.

Dwight Gliswold, leader of AMAG, in a telegram sent to Washington on March 23, 1948, said that according to recent news about the child abduction coming from the Communists the issue is "turning out to be unusual and deliberate psychological warfare against the Athens government…" (Lawrence Witner – 162.)

Gliswold also believed that the queen had been “overblown”, but it was well-known that the eviction of children had also been carried out by the same Greek government that launched the complaints. The Greek government itself had been seizing “thousands of children from “Partisan areas”, sometimes by force and those actions could overshadow the Greek government’s complaints in front of the world public.

Regarding the partisan involvement in the “Pedomazoma”, the US Consul General in Solun said that it was “a result of a war of nerves”, which in his view was intended to demonstrate that the Greek army was incapable of guaranteeing security for the Greek people.

George Marshall in Washington also questioned the Greek problem and on April 24, 1948, wrote: …even though several youths and children were taken by force from their legal guardians, the majority of the children were taken from the partisan held areas where they posed a social care problem for General Markos which left little or no voluntary consent from the Slavic minority, or from communist parents…

Later, when the Greek Embassy in Washington asked the US to support it at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly, the US State Department said the children issue was a “weak link” and that while in immigration the children could be turned into armed fighters who will return and fight against the Greek state.

On August 14, 1948, the US mission in Greece became aware of the “Pedomazoma” issue in greater detail. This was evident by Marshall’s telegram which in part said that there were “incomplete assertions” claiming that many children were forcibly seized and armed.

If the Greek partisans, and only if the same Greek partisans, could be held responsible for the abduction and eviction of children… otherwise protesting and condemnation by the United Nations General Assembly “would not serve… and would have no purpose” in Marshall’s opinion.

In a recent and carefully thought out study, American historian Howard Jones analyzed the American attitude towards the "Pedomazoma" depravation and produced his own findings. (See: Howard Jones, "The Diplomacy of restraint: The United States' efforts to repatriate Greek children evacuated during the Civil War of 1946-1949". Journal of Modern Greek Studies.)

Howard Jones has affirmed that there were two basic assumptions about the particular position taken by the US Department of External Affairs and personally by Marshall. First, "realizing that the Greek government had shown concern for the removal of children" and because "there was no other solution to this problem except to seek the return of only those children who were taken by force", then the truth, backed by irrefutable facts, in the name of humanity, was basically ethics and morality.

The other reason, according to Jones's statement, was that "Washington was trying to avoid any strain on relations with Yugoslavia which, according to the Greek government, was the main culprit…"

It is certain that the widening gap between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was a result of the attitude taken by the United States in this now fundamental question, and perhaps because of Marshall's solution to the "Pedomazoma", the problem was presented as a second plan, but that was only an assumption for which there is no American evidence.

Whatever the motives were, it is assumed that the Americans had a practical outcome to the US action, as Jones very faithfully puts it: "Marshall's experience in diplomacy succeeded in an otherwise hopeless situation that no one could tackle, leaving open the question which allowed the Americans and Yugoslavs to open the door for Washington to concentrate on Western European issues that were important to American security interests." (Original title: "Studies of the Historiography of the Greek Civil War, 1945-1949", edited by L. Baerentzen, J.O Smith. "Museum of Tusculanum Press", Copenhagen 1987.)

Role of the United Nations and the International Red Cross

"During the Third United Nations General Assembly, held in November 1948, the issue of the Greek children was to be decided separately from all other Greek issues.

After lengthy preliminary discussions on the Greek problem, the First Political and Security Commission consisting of China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, was presented with a plan on how to solve the problem of the alleged foreign aid provided to the Greek partisans by the neighbouring countries.

Following this, the Greek envoy proposed an amendment to the resolution, adding the demand for the return of all seized Greek children back to Greece. (The Macedonian children were not mentioned.)

The Belgian envoy, who was president of the group at the time, said the Greek request would be accommodated only after "appeals for the children's return are submitted by their parents."

After some debating, on November 9, 1948, the Belgian President outlined what needed to be done in order to foster an agreement on the issue of repatriating the Greek children. Based on this, it was proposed that the question be approached from a "purely humanitarian point of view" during a separate Security Council session independent of politics.

After many and long discussions, the president was asked to create a draft resolution for one of the future sessions which was then accepted by motion.

On November 11, 1948, the First Commission in its changed form began its session with the Belgian proposal which read: "The General Assembly will approve the return of the Greek children to Greece, who are now away from their homes, when fathers and mothers ask for their return. In the absence of parents other people who show desire to care for these children can make such requests."

The Yugoslav official made a comment: "...if their parents are absent, then who will be taking care of these children", stressing that the Greek government would have to "find" the people who would provide such care and how can it be guaranteed that these people would not go against the wishes of the parents?

The impasse was resolved by a proposal made by the Australian delegate and the General Assembly resolved the issue by modifying the statement to read: "The General Assembly will approve the return of the Greek children to Greece, who are now away from their homes, when fathers and mothers ask for their return. In the absence of parents close relatives who show desire to care for these children can make such requests."

The resolution was adopted and approved in this form with 45 votes for and none against. Copies of the resolution were sent to all concerned and asked to take the necessary measures to achieve the resolution's objectives. The Secretary-General was also "instructed" to send requests to all States and Parties concerned so that they could pass on the information to those responsible for implementing it. Those needing help could seek assistance from the International Red Cross. (Yearbook of the United Nations), 1948-1949, p. 239-244.)

The plan to resolve the issue of repatriating the "Greek" children was put on the voting agenda during the General Assembly session held on November 26 and 27, 1948. The case was unanimously recorded as: "(Resolution 193 (III) C)". As usual the Soviet Union and its like-minded supporters opposed the plan, like they did in the UNSCOB findings. (Official Records, Plenary Meetings, Third Section, No. 1, 1948 pp. 661-662.)

The Greek Red Cross immediately spread the news and began to work on taking child repatriation applications. As time went on the question of the Greek children who were taken and forcibly evicted, became mainly a Red Cross concern. (There was nothing done for the Macedonian children because there was the general assumption that they were voluntarily given.)

On January 11, 1949, Trygve Lie, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, formally requested Red Cross International and Red Cross associations and subsidiaries in Geneva (hereinafter referred to as "the Red Cross"), to work directly with the Greek government and with the Greek Red Cross, as well as with governments and associations in other countries, i.e. in the countries where Greek children were located, and examine the possibilities of implementing the unanimously approved United Nations General Assembly resolution of November 28, 1948. The Red Cross was also charged with informing states and governments to begin the repatriation of all children from Greece [38] (again no mention was made about the Macedonian children).

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The first step the Red Cross took was to send a mission to Greece with P.W. Roth representing the International Commission and Gaile Galub representing the Red Cross. They remained in Greece from February 10 to March 11, 1949, to study the problem of repatriation.

During that time the Greek Red Cross received 3,445 requests for repatriation. The two officials had several meetings with both the Greek government and UNSCOB, and were received by the Greek king and queen.

The two also studied the conditions under which children would need repatriation, and found that those in charge were well prepared to get the children back to Greece.

The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided them with an officially written guarantee that no measures would be taken to raise children in religious or ideological institutions against their parent's wishes or for any other reason…

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[38] "Repatriation of Greek Children". (First Joint Report by the International Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies), Geneva, October 5, 1949, p. 2.

According to data compiled at the time, as of April 1949, the number of Greek children who had passed through Yugoslavia to other Eastern European countries was 13,500. (Red Cross. First Extensive Report, p. 19.)

The same report also contains an analysis of where and in which country the children were sent from April 1948 to March 1949:

Czechoslovakia	3,550
Hungary	3,050
Romania	6,400
Poland	500

Total 13,500 children

The Macedonian concern

(We did not speak Macedonian when communicating with the CPG and DAG senior leaderships)

During my entire research in the preparation for this book I was eager to find documents written in Macedonian, any kind of documents, sent from any source to the top CPG leaders or to DAG military headquarters. I was hoping to find documents written in Macedonian from NOF to prove that NOF was indeed a political and military factor, as our Macedonian mainstream history calls it, which stood up for the Macedonian cause and addressed the CPG and DAG top leaders in Macedonian. Unfortunately, in my entire research, I found no trace of Macedonian. All correspondence and communication was conducted in Greek. I also looked for documents in Macedonian that dealt with the “Pedomazoma” (child collection) but found none. Why? Was the Macedonian language not a strategic political issue for NOF and AFZH?

If one of the basic national attributes is language, then how could NOF and AFZH, after the “Brotherhood and Unity” Agreement was signed in 1946, “renounce” the Macedonian national ideology and accept imposed terms from the CPM/CPY and the CPG? According to our mainstream historiography all terms between NOF and the CPG were mutually agreed upon.

After the “Brotherhood and Unity” Agreement was signed the well-established CPG intelligence network began to investigate every single member of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, especially those who were members of ELAS. The purpose of that was to find dirt on each and create files on them so that the CPG at some future time could punish them for past sins like it did after DAG was liquidated. It was painful to watch Macedonians shamelessly flattering the CPG and DAG leaders, wishing that they would forgive their sins and erase their guilt for disobeying the CPG, ELAS and EAM.

Some of us Macedonians in the past easily accepted our assimilation into the Greek fold and now we are doing the same under the famous communist thesis “in the interest of the Party, the state and the majority of the people”.

By doing so we inevitably again became involved in the process of Hellenization, but this time without any resistance. Despite the fact that we fought in a Greek war for foreign interests and suffered immensely in the hands of Greek authorities.

It is true that the Macedonian people were allowed to speak Macedonian in the so-called “free zones” around Kostur Region, part of Lerin Region and Gramos but with whom were they speaking? There was no one left in those villages. All the people had been mobilized and were fighting in the war and where they were fighting they were not allowed to speak Macedonian. Could the Macedonians recruited into DAG units and sent to the depths of Greece speak Macedonian? No! They were warned: Every name and surname must be in Greek, and the language spoken must be Greek only, because the Greek fighters in DAG “will think you are Bulgarians or Yugoslavs…” And there followed the excuses that: “The CPG did not do enough explaining to the Greek people to let them know that you are Slavo-Macedonians...” One thing is for sure that every Macedonian recruited into DAG during the forceful mobilizations in the 1947 to 1949 period was registered under his or her Greek name and surname, and this was done in the birth registry introduced by the former Greek governments of Athens. It is worth mentioning at this point that NOF and AFZH were at the forefront of these mobilizations.

These vital issues of interest to the Macedonian people, especially to those who died on behalf of the CPG, were never tackled during the conflict but were left on trust to be revisited after the communists in Greece won the war…

Now let us go back to the "Pedomazoma" issue. I have not found who was officially authorized to carry out the "Pedomazoma". Who ordered the malicious collection of children? I found a lot of information from the NOF, AFZH and NOMS generated propaganda that they organized the "Pedomazoma". I also know from our Macedonian mainstream history that: "NOF and AFZH were military - political forces - "absolute rulers" of their own space…", but we also know that they were fully obliged to obey CPG orders. The CPG must have possessed enormous power, ideology and credibility to induce NOF, AFZH and NOMS to convince the Macedonian people to give up their children.

The fact that we Macedonians cooperated in the "Pedomazoma" shows that we cooperated in the exiling of our own children. If what Dr. Kiriazovski claims is historically true, then it becomes clear that we Macedonians cooperated in the migration process. What remains unclear and needs to be explored is NOF and AFZH's ideological obligations to their predecessors and to their own people… Kiriazovski wrote: "...The authorities of the people were engaged in the successful execution of this action. The people's militia, political organizations and other institutions... The Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH played a special role in the success of the action in the area of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, which mobilized their full human potential.

The success of the action was also due to the fact that the evacuated children came mainly from the Aegean part of Macedonia, where the fiercest and bloodiest battles were fought, and moving them abroad was much easier as those areas were under DAG control. And, most importantly, the parents of the children, mostly Macedonians, were completely on DAG's side and easily convinced and agreed to evacuate their children..." (See: Kiriazovski 1989 / 36-37.)

This is how the NOF and AFZH elite thought and propagated this, with their common illusions thinking that they held power and were on the right track in life, that they could decide everything even the fate of the Macedonian people. The elite were allowed to think only when it was meant to think differently. Then there were the major inconsistencies between the type of thinking and the reactions of the ordinary Macedonian peasant who was greeted with “you are not one of us!” and thus hatred filled his soul, and this ugliness became fate, and life became cruel.

Sadly we have been witnessing this kind of thinking marching across the Balkans and around the world for over half a century.

Under this kind of subjugation we became a nation of ideological soldiers with foreign patriotism. Macedonian patriotism, the feeling of love and allegiance to our homeland, has been deprived. This is confirmed by the following: There were no Macedonians present during all high-level meetings and during the decision making process. Why? Because NOF was always subordinate! The people in NOF were viewed as less valuable and dispensable. Even their transfer from the CPM/CPY to the CPG was done without their consent. “Brotherhood and Unity” with the Greeks was forced on them by the CPM/CPY.

And in all this tragedy we collectively remained silent for over half a century. In our collective silence of consciousness the most painful thing was that we ignored and overlooked the most obvious thing - that we have been uprooted from our place of birth, separated from our children and families and left to flounder in the wind.

The world, even some of us Macedonians, know little to nothing about the tragedy the Macedonian people experienced in Greek occupied Macedonia, and the little that is known are Greek lies and innuendo And that is the cruel truth...

Even the Republic of Macedonia, a sovereign state with its institutions, a centuries-old ideal of the Macedonian people, has yet to respond to our tragedy.

In this vortex of opposition to “Historical justice and historical truth” it is really difficult to find answers for the sake of the truth:

Macedonian archive (AM), collection: “Aegean Macedonia” in NOB 1945-1949, AE: volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, all documents were translated from Greek.

I will conclude this section of my book with some of historical NOF and AFZH testimony.

MORE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1948

On June 1, 1948, the CPG Central Committee Politburo issued an order suspending NOF Main Board President Mihailo Keramitdzhiev and NOF Main Board Secretary Paskal Mitrevski for infighting and causing faction-ism in NOF.

This was a typical CPG act: It used "the syndrome of informants" at its maximum to devastate the Macedonian people.

August 28, 1948 - The CPG Central Committee Politburo has a session with the following agenda:

a / Discuss Political and Military Issues and Decrees regarding the Gramos Struggle termed "Epic of the North Pind".

b / Introduce the new Military Council which will consist of:

1. Nikos Zahariadis - President and DAG Supreme Commander.
2. Georgios Vonditsios - Head of Military Battles.
3. Vasilis Bardzhiotas - Political Commissar of Headquarters.
4. Michos Vlandas - Responsible for Military Resources.
5. Leonidas Stringos – Responsible for State Administration.

c / Reorganize the Headquarters by districts and create military divisions. Promote DAG Military Officers.

Attachment - Order (August 27, 1948)

Bearing in mind the newly created situation on December 23, 1947 and the proposal of the Democratic Army of Greece General Staff we resolve to:

1. Dismiss and reorganize the Headquarters and establish divisions.

2. The divisions shall be designated as follows;

Division Location

I	Thessaly
II	Rumeli
III	Peloponnesus
IV	Epirus
IX	Macedonia
X	Macedonia
XI	Macedonia

August 27, 1948
Provisional Democratic Government Headquarters
General Markos
DAG President and Minister of Armed Forces

November 15, 1948 - The CPG Central Committee Politburo decided to suspend and exclude General Markos from his position as DAG Commander-in-Chief and as member of the CPG Central Committee.

November 23, 1948 - DAG General Headquarters issued an order, but only for Vicho Region, to mobilize all men and women between the ages of 17 and 35. This included the men who were left behind to build fortifications and those who were ill. Virtually every Macedonian from the Kostur and Lerin Regions was mobilized with this order. This mobilization also involved NOF's entire professional staff and thus left the Macedonian villages desolate. Following this DAG total mobilization of 50% of the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia, which numbered from 270,000 to 300,000 Macedonians, participated in DAG. According to Macedonian historiography around 15,000 to 17,000 Macedonian fighters were active participants in DAG, the rest were Greeks who came from a population of six million. In other words, only a small percentage of Greeks participated in DAG. According to Greek official data DAG consisted of 25-30,000 fighters, which means that there were no more than 20,000 Greek fighters in DAG. Sadly the mobilizations broke up Macedonian families and Macedonian fighters found themselves in various DAG units even in the depths of Greece. Again sadly the vast majority of Macedonians were newly mobilized, untrained and unable to fight because they not only lacked knowledge of complex military operations but fought against a well-equipped and trained army. The Macedonian fighters

were subjected to unbearable conditions, but most of all they lacked the minimum knowledge in handling weapons. As a result they were all butchered in vicious battles against a superior opponent.

DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1949

Mobilizing Macedonians outside the Greek borders: February 9, 1949

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

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

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

HOW EMPTY PROMISES BECAME PART OF THE WAR

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

BROKEN PROMISES

On March 7, 1949, the CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying the CPG's decision on the Macedonian question decided during the 5th Plenum and during the NOF 3rd Plenary held on February 3, 1949. In other words, history is telling us that promises made in times of war are not always meant to be kept.

Zahariadis's second optimistic scenario: "Create a communist party for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia."

(MANIPULATING THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WITH THEIR OWN HISTORY)

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

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

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

On April 4, 1949, an Agreement was signed in Washington for the formation of NATO by the governments of the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Iceland, Denmark and Norway.

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

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

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

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

SOVIET UNION ORDERS THE CPG TO END THE WAR

After NATO was created new arrangements emerged in the world which disturbed the Soviet Union, showing that dangerous things were developing that could harm the peace and disrupt the people's liberation movements in the capitalist world. This was no less dangerous for the people's democratic republics that were created in Europe after the end of World War II. The Soviet Union was particularly upset with the Balkan People's Democratic Countries, especially Albania and Bulgaria, in front of which stood a distinct cancer – Yugoslavia's exit from the socialist camp and the danger of a possible US military intervention… like it was happening with the Greek Civil War.

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

During a CPG Central Committee Politburo session the CPG decided to draw up a plan to withdraw DAG. [39] On Zahariadis's recommendation, on April 20, 1949, the Provisional Democratic

[39] Vasilis Bardziotas, i.e. second person in top DAG senior leadership.

Government held an extraordinary session during which it decided to appeal to the UN General Assembly, the World Congress of Peace and Supporters and Democrats worldwide, for help. In its appeal, the Provisional Democratic Government urged these international institutions to mediate an honest democratic reconciliation in the country and assured them that it was ready to end the war once peace was secured.

At the same session Zahariadis proposed that an audit be done to determine how much food and military supplies were in reserve and whether these supplies would last until May 1, 1949, when the Albanian and Bulgarian borders would be closed.

DAG's withdrawal however was delayed because the appeal was rejected. At that time the Soviet Union, through the UN General Assembly and within the conference on the German question, submitted a proposal for a peaceful resolution to the Greek question. The Soviet Union proposal recommended:

- General amnesty,
- Free parliamentary elections to be held with participation of representatives from the democratic circles leading the people's liberation movements and under the control of major powers,
- Establish a commission of major powers to control Greece's borders on the northern side.

The attempt to end the Greek Civil War diplomatically collapsed because the US, UK and Greek governments rejected the Soviet proposal and demanded DAG's unconditional surrender.

THIS IS HOW THE GUILTY WERE DETERMINED

(NOF WAS PROCLAIMED AN ORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN AGENTS)

On July 20, 1949, the leadership of the Aegean Macedonian Communist Organization (KOEM) was summoned at the initiative of CPG Central Committee Secretary Nikos Zahariadis. A meeting was held in the cave between the villages Vineni and Orovo in Prespa Region.

The KOEM meeting was attended by Nikos Zahariadis, Michos Partsalidis and other CPG officials as well as 45 members and candidate members of the NOF Main Board and DAG political and military personnel serving in the Vicho area.

Nikos Zahariadis made the following statement at that meeting: "NOF is an organization of foreign agents that have obstructed the CPG line and disrupted and harmed the democratic movement in this country. There are three agencies which are still active and have roots in Aegean Macedonia, OZNA, JA and Kolishevski who controls the first two agencies. All agents of the Yugoslav agencies committed themselves in writing that they would execute their obligations..." Addressing the Macedonians Zahariadis said: "The CPG wants to help and save you. End all relations with the CPY and cleanse yourselves from its ideology... There was a time when Macedonians acted as a faction in the CPG at a time when Tito wanted to rob Macedonia of Solun. Which of you were sent to Greece by the CPY to serve that interest, to clear the matter and pay the bills? If Tito joins Macedonia to Yugoslavia, it means incorporating it into imperialism. You need to be clear on that. Tito has been sending OZNA and JA agents organized in troika since 1945.

At the time when Yugoslavia was in the popular republic's camp, the CPG tolerated Tito's agents, in the prospect of regulating the issue differently. But the open betrayal has forced us to clear up that question..."

After Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee member Michos Partsalidis spoke in the same spirit. Among other things he said: "...I was struck by the unity between the Macedonian and Greek people of Vicho. Why? How did that work? With the struggle waged by the Party, the Greeks and the Macedonians were Communists. Exactly because the Party fought to help the Macedonian people in their struggle.

It does not take much trouble to thwart attempts from that reactionary gang. Tito's betrayal is very advanced. Now that the betrayal is being cleansed in our country, chances were created to

speak again. No comrade will be found who will have a dilemma whether to speak out for the Soviet Union or for Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, NOF's leadership has not made that clear. It has a low ideological level..."

Zahariadis then asked the audience to take a position for or against the revolution. That is, for Stalin or for Tito. Those who voted for the revolution (Stalin) were good communists, revolutionaries and internationalists, and those who did not were counter-revolutionaries!

This is how the Macedonian question was resolved during the Greek Civil War; by self-sacrifices for Stalin, Tito and Zahariadis and for the interests of foreigners.

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Last catastrophic scenario: After the collapse of the front line in "Vicho", the crippled fighters who entered Albania were sent to fight a last bloody and catastrophic battle in Gramos.

Fierce battles were fought on Mount Vicho from August 10 to 14, 1949, between DAG on one side and the Greek government army on the other. The Greek government army was led by General Van Fleet and consisted of 60,000 troops organized in 6 divisions, 200 tanks and armoured cars and about 100 aircraft of all types. DAG was led by Michos Vlandas and consisted of 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated during the night of August 13 and 14, 1949, with massive losses of 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured. The government army bore only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. DAG units withdrew from the Vicho battlefield and during August 15 and 16, 1949, fled over the border into Albania. The DAG fighters regrouped there and in the following days 6,000 were sent to continue the fighting in Gramos. It was during this time that the CPG coined the slogan "Gramos will become the tomb for the Monarcho-Fascists - the Greek government army."
From August 24 to 29, 1949, fierce fighting ensued as the Government army launched a new offensive during the night of August 29 to 30, 1949, for the final conquest of Gramos and the final liquidation of DAG. Again led by General Van Fleet, this time

the Greek government army was three times larger than when it attacked Vicho. During the fighting in Gramos DAG was led by General Georgios Vontisios-Gousias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and 30, 1949, after which all DAG units withdrew to Albania. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured and 650 wounded. About 400 to 450 DAG fighters surrendered voluntarily to the enemy. The Greek government army bore only 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.

During the fiercest fighting on Gramos on August 30, 1949, DAG Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw because “they had completed their task”. So this opens the question: “What kind of task were they completing?” At this point the battle had ended with DAG losing the war and with all remaining DAG fighters fleeing to Albania.

THROUGH SIBERIA TO - CATARZA

(This was demanded by the Communists of Greece, implemented by the Communists of the USSR, and made the Athens government extremely happy.)

This is why history should not be silenced, for it will then know how to avenge us.

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While the DAG fighters were resting in the Bureli camp in Albania from October 2 to 7, 1949, the CPG made a public announcement condemning 11 of the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders. The CPG publicly accused these people of being foreign spies and traitors to the revolution. As a result, without being charged, they were all sent to detention camps in Siberia. Why? The rest of the DAG fighters, including myself (Stoian Kochov), were left floundering as exiles for a few more years, some forever, adhering to the CPG slogan: “Me to oplo parapoda!” (FORWARD WITH RIFLE IN HAND.)

CPG MANIPULATING THE MACEDONIANS IN EXILE

The CPG not only manipulated the Macedonian civilian adults and DAG fighters, but also manipulated the exiled Macedonian children. The CPG did this for one ideological purpose - to turn the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia against the Macedonian people from the Republic of Macedonia. (See: September 12, 1951, minutes from the Slavo-Macedonian CPG membership Conference whose conclusions were approved by the CPG Central Committee Politburo.)

Note: A few months earlier a Conference was held during which 72 Slavo-Macedonians and members of the CPG discussed: "The movement of the Slavo-Macedonians after their departure from Vicho and Gramos and their tasks beyond that" and came to some conclusions. These conclusions were approved by the CPG Central Committee Politburo.

The Conference selected a temporary body to do the work for the Slavo-Macedonians, which consisted of 21 regular and 9 candidate members. This body decided that the conclusions reached during the Conference would remain in force. The same body undertook the compilation and elaboration of the status and program for the "ILINDEN" organization.

Conclusion 1: "...guarantee the fighting unity of Greeks and Slavo-Macedonians for the liberation of Greece from the American and English occupation. Form a general front against the Tito fascist gang in Belgrade, which politically, economically, and socially oppresses the Macedonian people in Vardar Macedonia..." (There was no end to the CPG cruelty here. While it calls the Macedonian people from the Republic of Macedonia "Macedonian" it calls the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia "Slavo-Macedonian", even though ethically and nationally they are the same people.)

Conclusion 2: "...NOF was founded in April 1945 under Tito's initiative and largely failed to fulfill the Slavo-Macedonian people's desires. NOF was founded by Tito and Kolishevski from Tito's

adventurous elements hostile to Greece's democratic movement. The founding and governing core of NOF was made up of Tito's agents Mitrevski, Keramitdzhiev, Goche and Rakovski, with the sole purpose of serving the interests of the Tito clique in Aegean Macedonia. Their aim was to split and break our national liberation movement from within. They exploited the Slavo-Macedonians in the interest of Belgrade's gang which had nationalist aspirations to annex Aegean Macedonia for Tito. It should be noted here that the English, before December 1944, preferred to have Tito take Solun instead of ELAS..."

Conclusion 8: "...The children's education regarding the struggle should be based on politics, as outlined in our party's letter from Comrade Zahariadis to the children at the 'Paparigas' boarding house..." The Slavo-Macedonian children will continue their education together with the Greek children in the ranks of EPON. The Slavo-Macedonian women will struggle side by side with the Greek women. The Conference also proposed the liquidation of KOEM and the Slavo-Macedonian communists become members of the CPG...

Were the children ever free from this hellish ideological propaganda? NO! Here is what was said on page 12 of the monthly magazine "Makedonche" no. 8, in August 1952:

TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE ILINDEN ORGANIZATION

Our dear comrades,

With sincere pioneer greetings, we the united pioneers welcome you Greek and Macedonian children from the "Beloianis" children's home in the People's Republic of Hungary.

We are delighted to welcome the Congress of our newborn "ILINDEN" organization. In the spirit of honesty we will do our best to fulfill the tasks assigned to us by our national organization. Brotherhood and unity will stay forever with us. United with our brethren the Greek children, we will invest our energies in educating

ourselves and become capable of liberating our homeland and building tomorrow's People's Republic of Greece.

With the end of the school year and with help from our teachers, we have begun to fulfill the slogan "No student shall remain in the same grade". We promised to do our best to move to a higher grade with high marks.

For the pioneering committee of the boarding house 'Belogiannis; May 20, 1952,
Tanas Biolichkin, Kosta Ristoski, Ristosia Nashulovska, Ioto Georgovski

This sad finale shows us how the NOF and AFZH political tragedy ended and how the communists took their revenge on us. Unfortunately, more than half a century later, it is difficult to ask the question who owns this responsibility and is it still possible to remain silent. Someone led our people to the slaughter house and managed to live peacefully and without a conscience ever since and, worst of all, they were applauded and rewarded by the CPG and CPM/CPY. That is the real problem here. And here is why. With the formation of NOF by the CPY and later controlled by the CPG, it was yet another great confirmation that foreigners were the real leaders of the Macedonian national movements. People recruited from the bosoms of propaganda proved to serve their own personal interests instead of those of the people and often and unconsciously they themselves became victims of serving the interests of foreigners.

This was a classic historic example with us Macedonians who were seduced by foreign propaganda and politics to die for foreign interests in the name of Macedon-ism. Our primordial passion was flamed and we turned a blind eye and deaf ear to everything…

Every Macedonian person who was exiled from their homeland has asked the questions "How could this have happened to us?" "How could our own people lead us to this quagmire?", "Who was responsible for our genocide?", "Will the truth ever come out?", "Why do Macedonian institutions treat our history as the 'History of the Aegeans' and not as part of our national history?"…

And the question everyone wants to ask is “Was it really necessary to fight for so many years, lose so many people, destroy our homeland and exterminate our Macedonian nation?” What were our Macedonian leaders who led this conflict thinking?

More importantly, the question to ask is “Could we Macedonians have achieved better results had we not become involved in this war?”

Overview: CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1949

Date	Description of events or documents
30-31.01.1949	The CPG Central Committee held its 5th Plenum during which it dropped the slogan “Independent and united Macedonia within a Balkan Federation”. On February 3, 1949, the NOF Central Council plenary was convened and new NOF principles were proclaimed for the future of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.
09.02.1949	At the request of Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was admitted to Skopje and a meeting was held with NOF representatives during which the CPG delegation demanding that NOF recruit some 300 new DAG fighters from the refugees who had fled Greek occupied Macedonia and were now living in Yugoslavia. The demand was not granted.
07.03.1949	The CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying the CPG’s decision on the Macedonian question decided during the 5th Plenum and during the NOF 3rd Plenary held on February 3, 1949.

27.03.1949	A constituent meeting of 163 Communists, delegates of the NOF 4th Congress, was convened, where it was unanimously decided to form a Communist Party for the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia, which would be a separate organization and part of the CPG and would be called KOEM. It was said by some people that this event was the brightest point in the CPG's care for the Macedonian people. But we will let history tell how truly bright it was and has remained...
16.06.1949	The Executive Board of the Macedonian Women Assembly of Aegean Macedonia (AFZH) adopted a resolution to activate Macedonian women to defend the Vicho front.
10-14.08.1949	Fierce battles were fought on Mount Vicho from August 10 to 14, 1949, between DAG on one side and the Greek government army on the other. The Greek government army was led by General Van Fleet and consisted of 60,000 troops organized in 6 divisions, 200 tanks and armoured cars and about 100 aircraft of all types. DAG was led by Michos Vlandas and consisted of 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated during the night of August 13 and 14, 1949, with massive losses of 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured. The government army bore only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. DAG units withdrew from the Vicho battlefield and during August 15 and 16, 1949, fled over the border into Albania. The DAG fighters regrouped there and in the following days 6,000 were

	sent to continue the fighting in Gramos. It was during this time that the CPG coined the slogan “Gramos will become the tomb for the Monarcho-Fascists - the Greek government army.”
24-29.08.1949	From August 24 to 29, 1949, fierce fighting ensued as the Government army launched a new offensive during the night of August 29 to 30, 1949, for the final conquest of Gramos and for the final liquidation of DAG. Again led by General Van Fleet, this time the Greek government army was three times larger than when it had attacked Vicho. During the fighting in Gramos DAG was led by General Georgios Vontisios-Gousias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and 30, 1949, after which all DAG units withdrew to Albania. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured and 650 wounded. About 400 to 450 DAG fighters surrendered voluntarily to the enemy. The Greek government army bore only 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.
30.08.1949	During the fiercest fighting on Gramos, DAG Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw because “they had completed their task”. So this opens the question: “What kind of task were they completing?” At this point the battle ended with DAG losing the war and with all remaining DAG fighters fleeing to Albania.
07.10.1949	While the DAG fighters were resting in the Bureli camp in Albania from October 2 to 7, 1949, the CPG made a public announcement condemning 11 of the NOF,

AFZH and NOMS leaders. The CPG publicly accused these people of being foreign spies and traitors to the revolution. As a result, without being charged, they were all sent to detention camps in Siberia. Why? The rest of the DAG fighters, including myself (Stoian Kochov), were left floundering as exiles for a few more years, some forever, adhering to the CPG slogan: "Me to oplo parapoda!" (FORWARD WITH RIFLE IN HAND.)

16.09.1950 Ioanis Sofianopoulos, then leader of the left-liberal party in Greece and former Greek foreign minister, in a debate in the Greek parliament, held in September 1950, (See: "Demokratikos Tifos", 16/9/1950) admitted that "...There is a Macedonian minority in Greece, but that under international law that minority does not exist and cannot claim any protection because it has not been loyal to the state in which it lives…" (He was referring to the massive Macedonian participation in the Greek Civil War fighting against the Greek government.)

05.11.1988 CPG Secretary-General Harilaos Florakis told a journalist of the "Mesimvrini" newspaper in Solun that: "On this occasion, I would like to say that for us, for our Party, there is no 'Macedonian minority' in Greece nor is there a 'Macedonian Question', it does not exist!" (See: Georgi I. Mintzi 1991/141 and "Vecer", November 5, 1988, p. 9.) These were the last words of our former comrades who returned to Greece because they were "Greeks by birth".

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The question here is: “Can we Macedonians realistically call this so-called “Greek Civil War” a Macedonian revolution and a continuation of the glorious Ilinden Uprising?”

In the end, in place of an epilogue, we will compose facts and arguments which will clearly show the final outcome of events the Macedonian warrior faced through the history of DAG and how this warrior experienced genocide.

Perhaps all of this that we Macedonians have experienced can be summed up by the Latin saying: “At certain times, there are situations where a lot of national energy is wasted from which the nation benefited very little!”

KIND OF FORCES THE ATHENS GOVERNMENT NATIONAL ARMY AND DAG POSSESSED DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR IN 1949

In May 1949, General Headquarters of the Greek government army was preparing for a military strike against DAG under the code name “Pirsos”.

Military structure of forces in the national army at that time:

150,000 - Regular soldiers,
50,000 - National defense forces,
25,000 - Gendarmerie forces,
7,500 - Police,
50,000 - Special units,
14,300 - Navy Sailors,
7,500 - Aviation.

So, the sum total of the Athenian regime’s military forces numbered just over 300,000, while DAG’s military forces barely numbered 25,000.

Here is what the following sources confirm:

1. Tasos Vournas, on page 159-160 wrote that in the fall of 1948 there were about 18,000 fighters in the DAG military force;

2. Vasilis Bardzhotas, second man in DAG, wrote that by the end of 1948, DAG's forces had reached about 30,000 fighters;

3. "Neos Cosmos", in 1950, on page 624 and 637, wrote that the total number of forces DAG had in 1948-1949 was about 25,000 fighters;

It should be pointed out that there was another important source.

4. General Markos himself wrote: "By 1947, 90% of the DAG fighters had been mobilized by force and 10% volunteered but after that and during the course of the rest of Greek Civil War there were no confirmations that any more volunteered to join DAG.

How could a small, rag-tag army such as DAG resist a well-equipped and well-trained opponent ten times larger? That is why the DAG partisans fled to Albania on August 28-30, 1949.

On September 30, 1949, Ianis Ioanidis officially asked Stalin to provide two bases for the CPG or DAG. One base in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not agree to DAG having a base in Albania.

FACTS: After DAG was liquidated - problems with the return of the Macedonians and the kidnapped children

(DAG's eleven demands)

The following questions were asked by the DAG fighters, senior officers and DAG generals, who demanded a straightforward explanation from CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis. These questions on their own show that there was a crisis in the CPG leadership from 1943 to 1954.

DAG fighters, senior officers and DAG generals demanded that:

1. Zahariadis explain to them and all members of the CPG, why he pardoned the CPG leadership and exempted it from any of its activities during the German occupation?

2. Why did Zahariadis politically liquidate, with intent to physically liquidate, Aris the leader and military commander of ELAS, who, if he was still alive, would have been a natural DAG leader?

3. Zahariadis explain why he gave instructions to Ioanidis and Rousos to punish fighters for criticizing the CPG for its mistakes? Ioanidis and Rousos were sent to Belgrade to represent the CPG and were close to Tito. They led the Organization in Bulkes harshly and punished the fighters who criticized the bad moves and mistakes the CPG made during the German occupation. And because of these criticisms several good and honest fighters were killed.

4. Zahariadis explain to all Communists why, in 1948, he sent assassins to Bulkes to murder Mihali Bektasidi with an axe, by Stalinist methods similar to Trotsky's murder? Bektasidi was murdered because he "knew a lot of things" and Zahariadis did not want him to expose them, so he murdered him to shut his mouth permanently.

5. Zahariadis explain why he did not remove Gousias from the CPG Central Committee and from the Politburo a long time ago? Gousias was intellectually incompetent and all of DAG suffered and groaned because of him.

6. Zahariadis explain, why Gousias, then commander of the 670th army unit, order the killing of some of the best DAG officers as he did with Gianoulis and Georgiadis?

7. Zahariadis personally explain why he did not come out in 1946 with a team of military specialists and staff DAG General Headquarters with capable men able to lead that difficult war? And now he blames everything on General Markos?

8. Zahariadis explain what his responsibility was in the many mistakes made with starting the armed struggle too late?

9. Zahariadis assume responsibility for failing to provide DAG with military supplies, which was also a component of the armed struggle?

10. Zahariadis explain why he instructed all independent ELAS officers to go to prison rather than join DAG, as he did with Commander Sarafis?

11. Zahariadis explain why in 1949 he adopted the resolution "Independent Macedonia with rights to separate from Greece"?

The last question tells us that all our Greek comrades, from ordinary soldiers to the top communist, in their deep consciousness, have struggled against us making sure NOF, AFZH and NOMS accomplish nothing for us Macedonians.

As one can see, there were no questions about us Macedonians. Not a single concern, not even about being permanently exiled and never allowed to return to our homeland. Our so-called "partners in the struggle" did not care if we lived or died. All they cared about was to have a Macedonia without Macedonians, and, all through the Greek Civil War, they made sure that that goal was realized!

Assessments by contemporary Greek historiographers and what they say about us Macedonians? Do they say that we were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War like our historiographers say?

Contemporary Greek historiography, that is, left-wing former CPG historians, lately are calling the Greek Civil War a mistake. Most of them talk about "errors made by DAG during the struggle". Others talk about the mistakes the CPG made during the war, etc.

Here is what contemporary Greek historians talked about:

- Political position of Greece in the period (1945-1949),

- Military forces and resources at the disposal of the adversary - the Greek government,

- Political mood of the Greek people after the Athens conflict and the defeat of the Left in December 1944,

- Political mistakes made by not participating in the elections on March 31, 1946,

- The CPG leadership did not properly assess and disregarded Greece's international standing and the "American imperialist" factor,

- For structuring DAG the CPG leadership relied solely on the villagers. The entire burden for supporting DAG was born by the villagers,

- The CPG leadership, the working class forces, the avant-garde forces - were all left in the hands of the opponent's heinous terror. Many CPG members wanted to flee to the mountains and join DAG, but the communist organizations in the cities would not allow them despite the fact that they knew these people would be captured and killed or sent to the island prisons. About 80,000 fighters were imprisoned and tortured, and many were subjected to severe torment so that they would renounce their CPG membership,

- The CPG leadership created DAG without resolving its military reserves,

- The CPG formed the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece in the mountains, but failed to have anyone recognize it, not even the socialist countries, let alone any Western countries,

- The mistakes made by the CPG when it was led by Zahariadis are unpardonable. Included among those mistakes is the appointment of incompetent people in senior military and political positions such as Markos, a tobacco worker, Gousias a village shoemaker, Vlandas a mediocre writer, Ioanidis a municipal clerk, Rousos…Even those serving in the CPG Politburo did not belong there…

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But, despite the small and big mistakes the DAG military leadership made, the villagers and all those who fought in the war fought well and even won a significant number of battles. As a result they helped write the pages in the history of the Greek people's struggles.

This is how Greek contemporary historiography comes to an end.

PROBLEMS FACING THE MACEDONIAN WAR AND POLITICAL REFUGEES AFTER DAG LOST THE WAR – THEY WERE NOT ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT "BORN GREEKS"

NOT ONLY WAS THERE NO RETURN TICKET FOR THEM BUT THE COMMUNISTS DID NOT SUPPORT THEIR RETURN.

SINCE THEN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MACEDONIANS HAVE BEEN STRANDED AROUND THE WORLD, EXILED FROM THEIR HOMES AND AWAY FROM THEIR MACEDONIAN TRADITIONS...

In September 1950, Ioanis Sofianopoulos, then leader of the left-liberal party in Greece and former Greek foreign minister, in a debate in the Greek parliament, held in September 1950, (See: "Demokratikos Tifos", 16/9/1950) admitted that "...There is a Macedonian a minority in Greece, but that under international law that minority does not exist and cannot claim any protection because it has not been loyal to the state in which it lives…" (He was referring to the massive Macedonian participation in the Greek Civil War fighting against the Greek government.)

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In January 1979, when Ilias Iliou, a veteran and prominent politician, raised the question in the Greek Parliament as to why the "Slavo-Macedonian" refugees were discriminated against in their repatriation, Stefanopoulos angrily replied: "I don't agree that there are Slavo-Macedonians, I don't believe there is a question about the composition of the population..." Immediately after that "Avgi", a leftist newspaper reacted, and among other things wrote: "The

perceptions of national discord and the exclusion of the whole population from one particular segment is something that represents both a barbaric insult and contempt for the constitutional proclamation of equality for all Greek citizens." And that applies to the Slavo-Macedonian political immigrants about whom Stefanopoulos openly said: "We do not want those people and we will not allow them to return to Greece..." "By these words," the newspaper continued, "we recognize that there is unacceptable and shameful persecution against part of the population, reminiscent of the darkest period in our history. Namely, when the Slavo-Macedonians were drafted into the army, when they were taxed, and in general when they fulfilled their obligations, which are derived from being Greek citizens, they were good, but when they seek repatriation, they are undesirable..." (August 30, 1992)

In March 1977, the Greek newspaper "Kathimerini" reporting on the European Parliament's initiative to record minorities and their cultural rights in Europe, also mentioning the reports written by Fon Stoutenberg and Coopers, said that: "…five minorities exist in Greece, among which are the Macedonians, who in addition to speaking the official Greek language also speak four other languages: Turkish, Albanian, Vlach and Macedonian. Of all the Greek MPs, only Filinis, an independent MP, had the courage to confirm that it was true that all the mentioned minorities really live in Greece..."

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CPG Secretary-General Harilaos Florakis told a journalist of the "Mesimvrini" newspaper in Solun that: "On this occasion, I would like to say that for us, for our Party, there is no 'Macedonian minority' in Greece nor is there a 'Macedonian Question', it does not exist!" (See: Georgi I. Mintzi 1991/141 and "Vecer", November 5, 1988, p. 9.)

These were the last words of our former comrades who returned to Greece because they were "Greeks by birth".

The Greek Civil War was indeed tragic for some but for us Macedonians it was genocide. Here is why:

- Following are cumulative losses in manpower, a situation the people faced during the war:

50,000 dead
40,000 political prisoners
60,000 political exiles (civilian refugees and DAG soldiers)

On top of that:

The situation of political exiles remains to be investigated. About 45,000 of these political refugees returned by the early 1990's, but there are still political, psychological and social misunderstandings existing to this day from the Greek Civil War.

And this is precisely how our tragedy is hidden. If, as our Macedonian mainstream history claims, we Macedonians participated in DAG during the Greek Civil War and DAG's composition was 50-60% Macedonian, then we must be part of those 60,000 who were exiled and of the 45,000 of those who have returned. This leaves 15,000 unaccounted…Was that all of us…? Something must be wrong with the numbers here - we know we were/are not allowed to return - we Macedonians have been left out to roam around the world.

The figure of 20,000 to 28,000 should also be added to take into account the refugee children that have also been exiled.

Why are we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia doomed to eternal oppression?

The oppression for us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia has indeed been eternal and with no end. Not only have we said goodbye to our native homeland in Greek occupied Macedonia but we are slowly saying goodbye to the Republic of Macedonia which we foolishly believed was a guaranteed homeland for all Macedonians.

DEALING WITH THE PAST

War distorts the emotions of every reasonable and normal person. It destroys people's lives, especially those of children. Children experience wars more painfully than adults. When people are forcefully moved, both children and adults feel unhappy even though the new environment may "provide them with everything they need". The new environment however does not give them what was left behind in their former surroundings, the intimate atmosphere of their home, the atmosphere and spirit of their birthplace and so on. As they enter the world of a new environment, the Children, quickly or slowly, realize that this is not their world, that they, in this new environment, are only aliens and refugees and deep down feel like they don't belong. In their new environment they may have what they need in terms of food and shelter but they feel like they lack the love, understanding and emotional compassion they received in their old world. Their memories of their past become more desirable compared to their new experiences in their present world. Sometimes this disturbs them. The truth or even idealized images of their former life seem to collide with their perception of their new reality which sometimes causes mild or severe emotional disorders: restlessness, anxiety, isolation, depression, etc. Some Children, especially those who experienced violence as was the case with various atrocities experienced during the dirty and dreadful Greek Civil War, are unable to adapt. They are constantly in search of themselves and others who had similar experiences and survived.

So, even after half a century later, there is this historical deceit that still lives in our people. In the past 50 years (now over 70) they have witnessed a profound historical stagnation, frankly speaking, total oblivion and evil. But their long wandering and living under various systems, has not dulled their strong desire for different encounters such as the massive meeting they held in Sarai, Skopje in 1988 called the gathering of "Child refugees from Aegean Macedonia".

But first let us see, half a century later, under what attributes and notions did we legitimize ourselves as political or civic entities, how we raised our voices before the world, and why only we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were sent around the world with a one-way ticket in our pockets. Also let us see how and why we lost our native hearth?

1. EXODUS - is this the proper word to describe what happened to our children back then? Surely not! This is why not, because at the time they were only children, not mature adults who could make deliberate decisions to leave their fatherland on their own, which means they were taken. They were forcibly taken by the two warring sides: The Athens Greek government on one side and the Communist regime on the other. They were taken to shelters for political means. These children were not in any kind of conflict of their own and needed an EXODUS. Most importantly, they were not led by their parents or relatives, and therefore the much exploited word "EXODUS" cannot properly describe what happened to them. But we should know, once and for all, that during the Greek Civil War, especially the Macedonian villagers from Lerin, Kostur and Voden Regions had no intention of leaving their homeland and motivating the so-called EXODUS. This was deliberate ethnic cleansing, a long-term process initiated by the Greek state and now continued by the communists using treacherous methods, which had and still have far-reaching implications for the destruction of the Macedonian nation. The actions for grabbing and evicting our Macedonian children were part of the model implemented in 1913, to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and populate Macedonia with Greeks. In other words, what was done to our children was part of the long-term Greek desire to have a Macedonia without Macedonians.

2. REFUGEES - this term has been invented and exploited considerably by our Macedonian mainstream historiography in order to minimize and obscure the deliberate intentions the foreigners and architects of our demise had towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. I believe that every participant in the Greek Civil War was quite familiar with the communist regime represented by the Provisional Democratic Government and DAG. For example, if someone did something the communists did not like that someone was captured, condemned and shot to death. Deserters were shot to death. The communist regime did despicable things like deliberately take children away from their mothers so that the mothers could be mobilized and work for the war effort making fortifications and fighting at the frontline. Knowing that their children would not be returned if they left the war zone, what could

possible motivate them to become REFUGEES. What happed to them does not belong to the "REFUGEE" category. With the exception of a small number of people, only several families which deliberately fled the war zone and crossed into the Republic of Macedonia, there were no voluntary refugees. These mothers and the rest of the Macedonian civilian population were forced to leave. The communists used scare tactics telling the Macedonian civilians to flee in order to avoid being slaughtered by the Greek government army. As a result every Macedonian village was emptied; every person who could walk, young and old, fled and, in long columns bombed by the Greek government aviation and artillery, crossed over the Albanian border from where there was no return.

And so, what was discussed during the long anticipated so-called "Child Refugee" world gathering meetings half a century later?

The days the "Refugee Children", now grandfathers and grandmothers, met were filled with memories of their past; of flaming dark feelings, grief, sadness, torment, suffering, unrest, whispers, disappointments, biting of nails, the release of an abundance of hidden emotions and perhaps some hope, characteristic of us Macedonians, that some day things would change for the better.

Half a century later a lot more was expected from these children, who now as adults live in foreign countries and foreign environments. Half a century later we have a decisive understanding that the "children" will never return to their ancestral homeland! Anything more is pure illusion.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC VIEWS OF NOF AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

When someone writes something they do it for a specific reason: to send a message, or in general, to inform people. The messages and information sometimes appear in literary form - a parable.

To be fair, we must understand that in time we will learn many truths among which will be misconceptions and unreasonableness.

But for now let us have a look at some of our accumulated historic information:

1. According to official Macedonian historian Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, "The National Liberation Front (NOF) and the other Macedonian organizations representing the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949, were the chief leaders of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement..." Kiriazovski said that he made this point very clear and in his book he endeavoured to present the complex events that took place at that time in an authentic way with facts and arguments… (See: Risto Kiriazovski, "The National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations of Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949", Kultura, Skopje, 1985.)

In the same book on page 338, Kiriazovski quoted the newspaper "Nova Makedonka" published on April 1, 1948 which said: "Today NOF and AFZH are organizations of historical importance because they are urging the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse and fight in the armed struggle. This is the only way the people could guarantee their own freedom!"

So the question is: Given that we know NOF and AFZH never had any political or military authority at that time and that they were not a factor at all in this struggle, then for whom were they calling the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse and fight? Who ordered them to urge the Macedonian people to join DAG and become victims? Did Kiriazovski not know that this struggle lacked the necessary internal and external conditions for a victorious outcome? One more thing: did Kiriazovski "forget" to mention that the arrival of NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Greek occupied Macedonia and their activities prompted the political right in Greece to initiate a terror campaign as a means of dealing with us Macedonians? Is Kiriazovski not aware that, in addition to CPG and CPY/CPM actions, NOF, AFZH and NOMS, with their own action in Greek occupied Macedonia in April 1945, contributed to the developments in Greece which prompted the Athenian regime to adopt repressive policies which had disastrous consequences for us Macedonians? Does Kiriazovski not know that the Macedonian population, twenty times smaller than the Greek population of eight million, contributed

to DAG more than the Greek population. Through their ideological propaganda NOF, AFZH and NOMS managed to mobilize almost every Macedonian aged 14 to 56 into DAG's ranks. All this was done under the slogan: "If you are not with us, you are against us!"

It took Kiriazovski a long time to admit it, but in the end, right before his death, he admitted that the Greek Civil War was not a Macedonian revolution and not a continuation of the Macedonian Ilinden traditions. The Greek Civil War was a senseless and fatal war during which the Macedonian nation suffered national defeat. The Greek Civil War was not only fatal for us Macedonians but also for the Greek people.

2. Tashko Mamurovski in his book "Paskal Mitrevski and His Time (1912-1978)" on page 57 wrote:

"...The news of the creation of NOF, and its aims and tasks, was received with great joy and optimism by the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia. The Macedonian people saw NOF as a continuation of the Ilinden traditions. An Organization which would fight for the Macedonian national salvation and survival…" (See: Tashko Mamurovski, "Paskal Mitrevski and His Time (1912-1978)", Skopje, 1992).

So the question is: Can we Macedonians realistically call the Greek Civil War a Macedonian revolution and a continuation of our glorious Ilinden Uprising?

Even more than a half century later, it seems that our top Macedonian historical institutions, such as INI, are still silent regarding the sins committed against our people! And what is most frightening is that they continue to write "politically correct" history instead of the truth and expect us to swallow it wholesale! God, dear God!

After NOF, AFZH and NOMS were organized, the Macedonian people, at least some of them, had to have realized that Greek occupied Macedonia was not going to be like it was before. Others were living among us. This also applies to the entire ethnic Macedonian space. At least some Macedonians must have realized

that we were not alone and no longer masters of our ancestral lands. Instead of looking at the situation realistically, we charged forward without considering what those living among us desired, even though in our minds they did not deserve our lands. And that is exactly why the Greeks succeeded in cleansing us.

How and why did this syndrome of false memories appear? In other words, why do we believe that the Greek Civil War was an extension of our Ilinden tradition? Only the desperate cannot see it for what it really was; a national disaster for all the Macedonian people everywhere.

NOF's political and national role in the Greek Civil War was controlled by foreigners and they, through NOF, led the Macedonian people to disaster.

The problem is with us Macedonians who, without a sense of historical dimension, could not and cannot understand the injustices perpetrated against us. It turned out that we Macedonians did not struggle with "historical issues" or have our own long-term strategy for protecting our ancestral lands. To this day some of us still support the strategies of those who contributed to our genocide. To this day we cannot understand what their intentions were, what Greece's and Yugoslavia's intentions were, when it came to solving their minority problems.

Instead of getting trapped in Kirizovski's "scientific" polemics and getting nowhere, why don't we read a small part of what General Markos himself said on March 25, 1948:

"The Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) is a national army that continues the Greek revolution started in 1821 by Kolokotronis and Kareskakis, continued through the national resistance in 1940-1945 and is now continuing through DAG to establish the most original national gains from 1821 - freedom for our people. DAG is our people's army and is fighting for a national and independent people's democracy." (See: the book, "Dimokratikos Stratos", Vol. 1 (January-December) Risospastis, Athens 1996.)

The word revolution, especially during the Greek Civil War, was used up, but the so-called "experts" and "analytical" historiographers did not stop from occasionally showering us with the fiction that it was "true", NOF, AFZH and their bosses at the CPM/CPY and CPG were right but all the others, the ordinary mortals "lost in space" were wrong! This kind of historiography is a mental virus which is still being spread by the infected, infecting ordinary people to the extent that it has become an epidemic and an unprecedented portrayal of our people. Our Macedonian mainstream history is refusing to accept the fact that during the Greek Civil War NOF and AFZH were caught up in a strong ideological whirlpool, and despite their desires to do otherwise, they only served their masters and did what they were told.

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Many things have changed since the Greek Civil War ended, many elements of our tragedy are being discovered, but we should not talk about the still living DAG participants who were praised by the Greeks for their heroic struggle. We have yet to hear from the military and political strategists saying that they have analyzed all the blemishes of the devastating political and military tactics and that our fate was sealed when they sent us to Tashkent and left us there. Not to mention the many mothers wearing black handkerchiefs and the thousands of children uprooted from their homes and sent across Europe without the sense of morality. Why have these military and political strategists said nothing about our desire to return to our ancestral homes? Why have they not said anything to the Greek state for not recognizing us, including our involvement in the Greek Civil War? What was done to us has never been done to anyone. This was done to us by Zahariadis and General Markos, both Turkish Christian colonists deposited in Macedonia during the 1920's. On his return to Greece, Markos was met by a General from the Greek Armed Forces who fought against him during the Greek Civil War. When they met at the Athens airport they embraced each other wholeheartedly. Then, when a reporter from the weekly "Epikera" asked Markos "what was the point of his struggle" Markos said: "The point was that we expelled the Slavo-Macedonians from the northern parts of Greece so that Macedonia can remain Greek." (See: "Nova Makedonija", February 25, 1992.)

This is why General Markos, a Turkish Christian colonist from Asia Minor, deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1927, fought for and this is how he proposed to solve the "Macedonian Question". And to think that the Macedonian people, including the exiled children, idolized him like he was our greatest hero.

So, based on what Markos said to the reporter, we Macedonians fought in the Greek Civil War so that we would lose our (Greek occupied) Macedonia!

Once again Markos has told us the truth. Many of us Macedonian DAG fighters including myself (Stoian Kochov) trusted Markos with our lives, our souls and with everything that was Macedonian. Markos revealed the truth for us more than half a century ago, now it's up us Macedonians to embrace it and stop gloating over how the CPG and the CPM/CPY helped us during the Greek Civil War… For over 50 years now, through our Macedonian mainstream history we have been lying to our children telling them that our genocide was actually an extension of our Ilinden tradition.

So, the question is: "Have we Macedonians, as many nations have done, 50 years after our genocide separated fact from fantasy?" No we have not!

"New scientific findings on the exodus of the children from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia"

(Roundtable discussions held on July 25, 26 and 27, 1993 at the Army Hall.
See: Report published in the newspaper "Nezaborav", May 14, 1994, p. 4.)

A / "SHATTERING THE SHACKLES", by Evdokia Foteva-Vera (leader of AFZH)

"...What Organization agreed to take care of the children from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and further educate them? NOF.

NOF was a Macedonian national organization following Ilinden, which embraced the Macedonian people, along with the women of AFZH and the NOMS youth, who organized the Macedonian people on a national front, confident that this time the people would be nationally and socially liberated. But then, as in former uprisings, our destiny was tailor-made by others. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were your fathers and mothers, your older brothers and sisters who truly cared about your fate and your future...

It is well-known that child care for our children was organized en masse in every village and in the presence of all the people. The surrogate mothers and teachers selected to look after the children swore before their parents, before the local people of NOF, and before the entire NOF organization, that they would take care of the children ages 1 to fourteen, like they were their own, because they were entrusted with their fate.

Our mothers believed them and entrusted their children to the surrogate mothers who then took them away in the name of life, freedom and a just future. Just take a look at what the mothers said, as was published in the newspapers and magazines and you will be convinced that it was the right thing to do."

But if we want the truth shouldn't we be asking the question: "Should we Macedonians need to continue to demand that someone else is to blame for the organized migration process in which we willingly cooperated?"

As a matter of fact the real Macedonian mother was degraded and replaced by a Party appointed "mother" who looked after about 20 children on average. And this so-called mother was called "Omadarhisa" (unit commander in Greek). Why wasn't this mother called by her Macedonian name "maika" (mother)? What does all this mean? Does it mean that the Macedonian children were part of some military regime? Children ages 2 to 14?

Lacking complete apathy, we can now safely say that the successful ideological agitation carried out on the ground by NOF, AFZH and NOMS, infiltrated the collective consciousness of our people and became an irreversible image of general euphoria from which the

average Macedonian villagers could not escape. It was wrong of them to think differently. Any other choice made was unthinkable. Therefore the best course for them to take was to follow the lead of others, even if it meant giving up their own children - like the collection of a terrible tax.

This means that everyone was convinced of the illusion that the politicians were actually working only for the happiness of their people. This false political and ideological optimism was in fact the foundation upon which illusions grew. And they were the worst variant of political reality. People, of course, could not completely escape these illusions…

Interestingly, those running the evacuation program to "rescue" the children could be construed as anti-civilization and anti-Macedonian, especially since they employed the slogan: "Those Macedonians who are not with NOF and with the CPG are fascists...", meaning war without mercy must be declared against them. And if they fully succeeded in their mission then no Macedonian world would exist on the Macedonian ancestral lands.

But if we abandon the truth how can we preserve the memories and sacrifices made by the Macedonian fighters who fought in DAG and died convinced by NOF that they were dying for Macedonia. How can our history honour those heroes of the past, a half century later with many serious questions looming? One day we will have to write a different history for Macedonia and the Macedonian people...

Many questions have been raised as a result of our slavery… but for now let us continue with Dr. Kiriazovski's next report.

B / "VIOLENT MOBILIZATION - A CRIMINAL MASTERMIND", by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.

"...The 1st NOF Congress of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was held on January 13, 1948, by request of the CPG. Its main purpose was to implement the decisions made by the CPG during the CPG Central Committee's 3rd Plenum regarding recruiting DAG fighters. Task no. 6, accepted by the Congress,

called for: “All Macedonian people, men and women, must join DAG’s ranks. Everyone must help by all means possible to meet DAG’s needs.”

Immediately after the congress was held, 3,000 new Macedonian men and women, joined DAG at the behest of NOF and AFZH.

During the same Congress even congressional delegates were asked to join DAG and most did.

In early February 1948, DAG General Headquarters issued a general mobilization order for mobilizing men and women born between the years 1927 and 1932. As a result every single Macedonian in the free territory born during that period was recruited.

As the mobilization effort was at its maximum in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, the CPG Greek leadership took action to mobilize Macedonians in the People’s Republic of Macedonia, and in Yugoslavia in general, from the pool of Macedonians who had fled Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia as political refugees. To that end, Petros Rosos, Minister in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece and CPG Central Committee member, arrived in Belgrade on March 17, 1948, and held talks with Aleksandar Rankovich who agreed in principle to allow the mobilization.

After things were ironed out, the CPY granted the CPG access to recruit Macedonians from the Yugoslav territory. These Macedonians were recruited by the Yugoslav authorities who worked with the CPG representatives in Yugoslavia.

It should be noted that in early February 1948, the Yugoslav authorities moved about 12,000 Aegean Macedonian political refugees from the People’s Republic of Macedonia to the villages Iakovo and Krusevlie in Voivodina.” In other words, the Macedonian people who had fled Greek occupied Macedonia to save themselves, were first accepted by the Yugoslav authorities and “saved” and later the same people were handed back to the Greeks so that they again could be tormented. Such was the fate of the Macedonian people, including the 13,500 Macedonian children…

"...The step the CPG leadership took was to evacuate the children.

When all sources for recruiting new DAG fighters dried up, Zahariadis and the CPG leadership took an unprecedented, adventurous and criminal step; they began to recruit child soldiers from the pool of the evacuated Macedonian children. Namely, the CPG made a decision to mobilize DAG fighters from the pool of the evacuated children who were above the age of 15. In most cases the mobilization was carried out not by age but by height. The decision to mobilized hundreds of children and send them to the front lines to die was an extremely unpopular and inhumane act. This barbaric act provoked anger and protest from the mothers.

As a result of the protests Zahariadis took two more unpopular and adventurous steps to calm spirits. On the one hand he allowed a small number of children to return to the boarding houses in Eastern Europe from where they had come. The rest he sent to the battle zones as DAG fighters. Not being well-trained and inexperienced in the art of war, as can be expected, these children were all killed during the initial clashes with the enemy. On the other hand Zahariadis accused many experienced Macedonian fighters of inciting the mothers to protest and brought them before a military court.

Having mobilized and killed children from the Eastern European boarding houses, where they were sent to be saved, put a lot of doubt on the CPG's goals, values and claims that it was evacuating the children to save them from the horrors of the Greek Civil War.

The fact that the CPG abused the Macedonian children for its own selfish purposes shows that it was not sincere. Zahariadis used the opportunity to move the children to free up and mobilize their mothers and thus solve the problem of DAG reserves. That's what we predicted and that is exactly what happened."

C / Undeniable Facts:

According to a report delivered by Porfirogenis to the CPG Central Committee Politburo on February 16, 1949, "The Yugoslav

government granted asylum to thousands of Macedonians of whom about 2,000 were returned to Greece and joined DAG. The CPY helped with that." (See: AM, K-20/17/30.), (Also see: article entitled "Post war policies for turning Macedonian children into Greeks", under the sub-title "The Greek children are crossing our borders", published in the newspaper "Nezaborav", July 1, 1995, p. 4.)

Title: THE POST-WAR POLICY OF RULING THE MACEDONIANS

Subtitle: Greek children crossed our border.

Two films in a "bunker": Shortly after Radivoe Lola Giukich made his first documentary film in 1948, entitled "The Greek Children", filmed in a "bunker", he also made the film "Mother Katina" by Nikola Popovich.

The following are statements made by the honourable lawyer Tomas Filota, as quoted in the above-mentioned article: "When Markos's revolution was reaching its end, mothers and fathers from Aegean Macedonia brought their children to Bitola. They were five to six month-old children barely separated from their mother's breasts. Some were up to six years old. Whether there were as many as Mr. Tsarouhidis says, I don't know. I know about the idea of settling them in Kosovo, but that didn't suit Tito. Not even Edward Kardeli" said Mr. Filota. "They did not want these children to be kept in Yugoslavia. They were sent to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and possibly the USSR. Some were even sent to the US and Australia ..."

There is no escape from the judgment of history.

Who is afraid of history? It would be good to free history. It would be nice to read pure facts and avoid the censorship committees administering historical truth. Real history should not be written by orders… it should write itself.

The reader will notice a big difference when reading true history.

EPILOGUE - RUDIMENTARY HISTORY

The true history of the Greek Civil War is now being exposed and is full of cruelty. And even though they contributed to Greece's well being, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were treated with cruelty not only by the Greek government but also by the communists. The Macedonian people suffered immensely and in the end lost everything, even their ancestral homes, fighting in this tragic war designed and led by the then CPY and CPG.

After over half a century of silence and free of those heroic times, we are now looking at this distant Greek Civil War more objectively and analyzing it from a neutral standpoint with aims at getting to the truth. We are finding out that it was a complete tragedy and we are closing the circle from believing that it was a historic success for our people and now finding out that it was a great and lasting historic tragedy.

We are also finding out the purpose behind the creation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, linked to the globalization of world ideology, which was not to benefit the Macedonian people as we believed, but to benefit foreign interests. NOF, AFZH and NOMS did not have their own solid goals. Their goals were fluid and altered from time to time to suit the needs of their masters the CPM/CPY and the CPG.

The results achieved by NOF, AFZH and NOMS were not at all successful for our people as we were led to believe, they were the opposite. In their hands our people suffered utter defeat and experienced genocide. We not only lost many people but we lost our Macedonian ancestral lands for all eternity. The "Pedomazoma" (taking away our children) was not implemented to save our children; it was a deliberate act to destroy our nation by robbing it of its youth. This is why only the Macedonian children were given a one way ticket out.

There was also the gruesome and bitter fate of our Macedonian children collected and sent to Frederica's camps and boarding houses. They too were isolated from their families who, on top of being isolated, were also taught to hate their real parents because the

Greek government accused them of being “traitors” and were brought up believing that they were Greek.

Some of the blame for losing our children must fall on us because we either allowed these foreigners to take our children or did not fight hard enough to stop them. Unfortunately we now must bear the entire burden for what happened, for the destruction of the Macedonian family and for the loss of our ancestral homes and lands in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Our reward for our (self) - sacrifices in the Greek Civil War was a one way ticket to oblivion.

This is how the ideological installation that relied on foreign winds ended. Lastly, let us summarize our findings in line with the foreign strategic model designed to exterminate us, i.e. our national defeat in Greek occupied Macedonia. Who can be blamed for what - is very difficult to pin down. It is not clear how much responsibility the individuals and ideological activists had in the everyday activities of the Party in Greek occupied Macedonia. For example, not only were the children taken but this act of “taking children” was illegal. The mobilization of Macedonian men and women to fight for DAG was illegal. Under whose recognized authority were these acts committed and who was responsible for them; NOF, AFZH, NOMS or those who gave the orders? Who is to blame?

There should have been no more wars starting after World War II ended. Everything was settled and guaranteed by the major powers. So, why was there a Greek Civil War, who started it and why? It is becoming clearer and clearer that the Greek Civil War was a brain child of the major powers. The communist regime, Zahariadis, Tito and Stalin on the one hand wanted to cause problems for the capitalists. The capitalist regime, England, the United States and the Greek government on the other, wanted to destroy communism in Greece and get rid of the Macedonian nation living in Greek occupied Macedonia.

It is a very interesting combination when demagogy and daily politics written as historiography come together. This combination creates a “double distorted” historical reality leading us to believe

that the Greek Civil War was a historically epic event for us Macedonians. But if we look closer at the facts: The preoccupation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS politically was to systematically mobilize the Macedonian people by falsely inciting them to fight and not ask questions. The Macedonian people were never asked if they wanted to fight or not. So, every Macedonian person exiled from his or her birthplace has at one time or another wondered: how could the Macedonian leaders have been so naive, so adventurous, and so irresponsible as to initiate this war… But so far no one has given an explanation. Was there ever, at any time during the war, a member of NOF, AFZH and NOMS who asked why a war?

Looking at the situation today, more than fifty yeas after DAG was liquidated, given how the CPY and CPG behaved towards us during Greek Civil War, should we the ordinary Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia still be the ones apologizing for what happened?

Nowhere else in the world is there a people blamed for the sins of others as it is with us Macedonians. It is almost like we have been hardwired to believe and propagate foreign propaganda. This happened to us during the Greek Civil War and to this day, has become our trait…

As a result of researching precisely this topic I have written the following books:

1. (Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece in the Civil War (1945-1949) and,

2. Ideological activism of the Macedonians under Greece (1940-1950).

The problem with the exiling of the Macedonian children during the Greek Civil War, for us Macedonians, was one of the most serious problems in the Macedonian National Movement and I believe that with this book I have contributed to answering some of the basic questions that have arisen.

Those who led NOF, AFZH and NOMS and who are still alive should be obligated to speak up and tell the truth in order to expose the fallacy. The people already know who the guilty culprits were. It is time that Macedonian mainstream history is written that way... Besides emotions, there are also tragedies and human losses. One sometimes has to face up to them and tell the truth no matter how ugly and cruel it is.

Our Macedonian mainstream history contains artificially injected, biased Greek and other foreign views about us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. As a result the reader is brazenly subjected to misleading and falsified history about our reality. We were a small number of people in Greece and there was no way that Macedonians living in other countries could help us. Even if they did, their help would have been pointless because by then the major powers had already decided what the world was going to look like without us. There was no way that we could have taken on the entire world with weapons. Our strength should have been our mind and we should have focused on saving ourselves and preserving our most valued possession; our ancestral hearth. We had no intellectual quantum, but we had Macedonians who loved their country immensely. As a result foreign ideology through our ideological activists was able to penetrate our minds, to mislead us, and direct us to our (self) destruction.

GOOD OR EVIL?

From what we have learned so far we can conclude the following:

During the time when they were active, NOF, AFZH and NOMS went through various phases. First they were “administered” by the CPM/CPY and then by the CPG. All these times they acted under orders from these two regimes. Known or unbeknownst to them, they committed great sins against their own people. All their conduct and actions eventually brought us to a catastrophic defeat – that is, to our self-destruction.

NOF, AFZH and NOMS, even the CPM, did not have a clear political philosophy regarding the vital interests of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. This was confirmed by the

fact that we Macedonians failed to assert ourselves as Macedonians but instead accepted the fictional label "Slavo-Macedonians" assigned to us by the CPG. We the Macedonians fighters did not succeed in retaining our identity as Macedonians with our Macedonian military markings and symbols. Some of us even fought in this war against our will. We accepted being illegally drafted and mobilized without question. All this left deep psychological wounds in our collective consciousness and in our souls.

But the most painful thing of all is that, to this day, those who led us (NOF, AFZH, NOMS, CPM, CPY and CPG) during the Greek Civil War and certain "scholarly" historians insist that the war was justified and fiercely defend their claims and actions. After the war ended, a lot of Macedonian people believed that justice no longer existed. If it did exist, it existed only for the powerful (CPY, CPG). In other words justice served the powerful and not necessarily the righteous. Those who were powerful were righteous… and the communists were powerful…

With time, it is becoming very clear that NOF, AFZH, NOMS and even the CPM had no clear notion or awareness that the Great Powers and our neighbours had an advanced pre-planned solution for us! The Greek Civil War went as planned. It was a success for the Great Powers and for Greece and Bulgaria but a disaster for us Macedonians. When the armed conflict ended all the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders left Greek occupied Macedonia leaving behind the remaining part of the Macedonian people to pick up the pieces and endure the wrath for their sins. The survivours endured trauma and the burden of it haunted them for years. No less traumatized were those who fled their homeland and lost their ancestral hearth forever or those who were separated from their children with no hope of ever seeing them again. The Greek Civil War broke the Macedonian family…

My aim, through this book is to shed some light on the terrible and gloomy grey shadows that have gloriously hovered over us for years making us feel humiliated while we wait and wait for our return ticket to be issued… For many decades now we have been living in

exile and in fear with the notion that care must be taken not to offend those who inflicted this evil on us.

In other words, we Macedonians through NOF, AFZH and NOMS did not create a future for ourselves; we are still waiting for our future to be created. Why? Because we were fatally disorganized, and as a result, became innocent victims of the CPG.

After the Greek Civil War ended, we allowed our past to be wiped out and our present to be deprived. And where there is no past and present there is no future. This is the real situation we are in at the moment as I see it over a half a century later with shadows of the Greek Civil War still hovering over us, with many questions unanswered and with many issues still open. I will never agree to the idea that our children were taken to be saved as I will never agree to the way our Macedonian mainstream has treated us… not as Macedonians but as "Aegeans"… a derogatory term used to belittle us.

Some of the blame for what has happened to us after the Greek Civil War ended must be placed on some of the so-called intellectuals, if we can call them that, who have not only participated in Macedonia's political life and in the sharing of political power, but have also acted as apologists who put their own intellectual dogma ahead of our interests. Some of them are so lost in the political waters of daily politics that they use their intellectual virtue only as a demagogic skill. There is also another group that works in accordance with the need of its clients and their own lucrative goals, and when needed, at one time or another, this group on one hand affirms and praises ideas and facts and on the other acts as a fierce critic. This group has been deadlocked in its unfulfilled ambitions to actively participate in the sharing of political power, but due to its own failure, it is constantly filled with anger, envy and nihilism.

So, through this book, we have followed the over half century-old political power which, in the absence of spiritual power, set out to take us away from our real life and intended destiny and keep us from finding out the truth about the genocide we experienced in Greek occupied Macedonia. We were also most unfortunate that "totalitarianism" existed all these years and that the governments

which possessed immense political power refused to help us. Through this book, at least I will be able to leave something about this for our future generations.

What does science say about this tragedy?

For more information refer to the journal "Sontse" Imperative preparation of ethnological maps of Macedonia (3), by Prof. Dr. Miodrag Kalendar Hadzhi Ristich, February 15, 2002:

"...and all this happened again after World War II and to this day. The lie that the so-called "Civil War in Greece" was actually a continuation of the operation to create a "Greater Greece".

"This war became an 'anti-Macedonian war', when hundreds of thousands of children barely out of diapers, young people and adults, allegedly fled Greece and went to Tito's Yugoslavia before the military operations began in Greece, from where "the clever servile Macedonian leadership" which in place of settling the population from the Mediterranean part of Aegean Macedonia to the vacant, abandoned settlements of the western territories of Macedonia, which were abandoned because of atrocities committed during the fascist Italian and fascist Albanian occupation when it was partially settled by Albanian settlers, sent the Macedonian people across the border to Yugoslavia.

The Macedonian population was expelled from Aegean Macedonia systematically, 'with our blessing' and sent to Eastern European countries belonging to the socialist bloc of Europe, all the way to Tashkent in the Asian part of the Soviet Union. Alleged attempts at partial return of some of these Macedonians to the People's Republic of Macedonia were neither understood as a national nor as an imperatives plan to save what could be saved from the initiated and perverted ethnic invasion by the Albanians using 'omnipresent opportunities' - a supposedly common state, the seventh republic of Tito's Yugoslavia, and especially after the INFORMBURO developments, when Macedonia became an open country..."

As we are finding out more information about this war we are uncovering the undeniable truth that the main protagonists and

planners of the Greek Civil War were the CPM/CPY and the CPG, which opened up space for ethnically cleansing the Macedonian people from their geographic and spiritual space after World War II. The lack of concern by these ideological caretakers was not only confirmed by science (Ristich), but also became more than clear to every single conscious Macedonian who suffered.

And yet, history goes on and will be the final judge.

APPENDICES

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS REGARDING THE CPG'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER THE GREEK CIVIL WAR 1944 - 1945 AND 1945 - 1960

Memorandum written by a group of Macedonian activists from Kostur Region describing the CPG Greek resistance leadership's policies and irregular attitude towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

CONFIDENTIAL

TO NOV AND PO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, MACEDONIA.

October 18, 1944, Village Gorno Vranovtsi,

"MISTAKES, EVIL DEEDS, ANTI-PEOPLE ACTS, ANTI-MACEDONIAN ACTS… PERPETRATED BY THE GREEK PEOPLE AGAINST OUR PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA DURING THE THREE YEAR ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE…": (The memo went on for about 15 pages describing crimes committed against the Macedonian people.)

People's delegation from Greek occupied Macedonia.

1. Paskal Mitrevski, lawyer, leader of the Macedonian movement in Kostur Region.

2. Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, People's President in the Kostur Region Greek National Assembly.

3. Lambro Cholakov, worker, member of the delegation from Kostur Region.

(See: Document AM, photocopy ATSKSJ-K-1/40, from the book "Aegean Macedonia in NOV September 1944 to February 1945".

Volume 7, book 3. Translation, Editorial and Commentary by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.)

The memorandum went on to describe many anti-Macedonian acts committed in the years 1944 and 1945. This time, as in other times, especially in the Macedonian territory occupied by Greece, Macedonians had not asked anyone for anything. It is amazing how they survived despite all the tragedies they had to endure. But one will have to wonder; if all the things mentioned in the report were happening before the Greek Civil War, then what did people expect would happen during the Greek Civil War? By the logic of things, they dove deeper into a totalitarian environment… unfortunately our analysts and mainstream historians disagree and insist that things went the other way.

The most tragic part about this is that the people who reported these atrocities to us were again victims in the Greek Civil War; because they worked flawlessly with unprecedented servitude to the CPG, and in the end they were the ones who carried out the most murderous endeavour; the permanent exiling of our children. They were the ones who, in the guise of saving them, carried out the very successful child evacuation program, an unprecedented act of cruelty against the Macedonian people.

After reading this long report I was stunned and inexplicably wondered “how could these people who wrote this report, again call on the Macedonian people to go and fight in the Greek Civil War for the CPG without any guarantees that they would not be harmed?” The people who signed the memorandum were the same people calling on the Macedonian people to fight in the Greek Civil War!

The following is part of a larger interview conducted by D. Golubovic for the magazine “Dura” in 1985. (See page 30.)

Interview:

“Thirty-three years later: WHY DID MARKOS NOT TELL ALL?

One of our official officers (Slobodan Krstich - Ucho) remembers the events that excited the world.

How did the clash come about, what did Markos misrepresent? etc. But the most interesting question is: Were there any other reasons, besides the obvious ones, why the Greek people's liberation movement collapsed?

What was the game around the Macedonian people?

Initially the Greek rebel movement was concentrated in Aegean Macedonia because traditionally this was a troubled region. At the same time the Aegean Macedonians might have thought that by participating in this war they would accomplish their own goals – re-unite Macedonia. But, instead of taking advantage of the positive momentum and extending the rebellion to all of Greece, the CPG leadership confined itself to Aegean Macedonia because of its proximity to the Yugoslav border. In addition to that, the CPG pursued a completely wrong policy towards advancing Macedonian personnel in the military and in the political ranks. The highest rank any Macedonian was allowed to advance in the military was commander of a detachment. The CPG justified this by claiming that these Macedonians had no military experience. Adding to that was the steady manipulation of top Macedonian officials causing friction between them and pitting them against one other."

(Part of a larger interview for the magazine Duga 1985, p. 30 with D. Golubovich).

Nikos Zahariadis and what he said:

During the XII CPG Central Committee Plenary session, held on June 25-27, 1945, in his political speech, Zahariadis said:

"...We are against any change in the 1939 boundaries by use of force no matter where that force comes from. The only democratic principle we recognize is the principle of self-determination of peoples. This principle applies to the Dodecanese, Cyprus and North Epirus. At the same time, we strive to implement another democratic principle for the national minorities, the principle of equality and respect. That principle should also apply to the Macedonian minority, to regulate our relations with the northern Balkan

republics in a friendly manner...” (See: “Rizospastis”, July 17, 1945.)

Speaking about DAG’s defeat at the 13th Conference in 1950, Nikos Zahariadis, Secretary General of the CPG Central Committee and President of the DAG Military Council, said: “If we had known Tito’s position before the armed conflict was started, we would have thought differently about taking up arms and fighting in the Greek Civil War.”

Zahariadis said: “NOF was created by Tito and Kolishevski... Its founding and managing core was made up of Tito’s agents the likes of Mitrevski Keramitdzhiev, Gotse, Rakovski and others, with the sole purpose of advancing the interests of Belgrade’s leaders in Aegean Macedonia... Yes, they used the Slavo-Macedonian question to realize their own nationalist plans - to incorporate Aegean Macedonia...” Zahariadis wrote this down and had it adopted by the CPG’s special consultation committee. This was also reviewed and accepted by the CPG Central Committee Politburo. This is how the Greek side looked at and understood things. (See: TO KKE 1918-1952, p. 271, and also quotes in Pavle Rakovski’s book 2000/347.)

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In other words if we understand Zahariadis correctly we should believe that Tito was to blame for Zahariadis’s blunders: “If I was informed then as I am informed today about Tito, this would not have happened to me.”

These were the parting words of a powerful revolutionary and mythical leader, the top strategist of the Greek revolution, in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War.

And with these words, lie after lie, Zahariadis gave us a one way ticket out of our ancestral lands and sent us to oblivion. These are the facts… this is the historical truth… this is the darkest curtain of our fate…

I believe that the exiled Macedonians uprooted from Greek occupied Macedonia, at some point or another, realized that all ideologies

such as Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism were created by ambitious people who were thought to be concerned for the good of humanity. For example Lenin created a system which eventually destroyed him. Power in the hands of only one person is always a real source of danger. But no other country had a government like the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, in other words the CPG, which was so cruel to its people that it abandoned its own defenders, the DAG fighters, allowing the Greek government to exile them for over half a century and keeping silent about their fate…

SIBERIA FOR "TITO'S AGENTS"

"Thirty-three years ago, a group of Macedonians, leaders of NOF for Aegean Macedonia, were blamed by the CPG Central Committee Stalinist politburo for being responsible for the defeat of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) in the Greek Civil War 1946-1949.

Accused of being 'Tito's agents and international reactionaries', ten of them were sentenced to death. At the request of CPG Secretary General Zahariadis and his group, which followed Informburo views 'on the CPY situation', the sentenced were deported from Port Durres in Albania to the Soviet Union where their crimes were investigated. In Moscow their death sentences were replaced with life imprisonment to be served in exile in Siberia. After Stalin's death and after the communist party of the Soviet Union held its Twentieth Congress, all prisoners wrongfully convicted were rehabilitated and allowed to leave. Eventually all of them went to Yugoslavia, Skopje, where most still live." (See: Dragan Kliakich, "DUGA", January 15, 1983.)

In other words, instead of getting this historic information, about the evil done to our NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders, from our own Macedonian mainstream history, we are getting it from foreign sources. Of course, now we also have Pavle Rakovski's Autobiography "My Sufferings…", Published by "AEA Publishers" in Skopje in 2000, which provides many details of his experience in the Siberian camps, how he got there and how he was eventually

released. Rakovski was one of the NOF leaders who was sentenced to death by Zahariadis.

What bothers me the most about all this is that I found no official protests made about the Soviet involvement! In other words no one said: "HEY YOU THERE! WHO GAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO PROSECUTE OUR REVOLUTIONARIES AND SEND THEM TO SIBERIA? WHAT KIND OF CRIMES DID THEY COMMIT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION!? And this voice of protest should have come from us Macedonians.

I can only imagine the trauma our people, the so-called NOF, AFZH and NOMS "revolutionaries", underwent in Zahariadis's hands. With his power over their lives, Zahariadis held them tight in his hands. It is obvious that they suffered terrible human rights abuses, psychological trauma and physical violations through his powerful ideological mechanisms. His ideological propaganda had a fiercely destructive effect on the human psyche.

So, in that global chaos, in that messy and brutal war, the question that comes to mind is: "How should we Macedonians interpret and understand all this?"

ON THE PATH OF HUMANITY

What is the basis for "I" in the individual consciousness of each person? Looking for the human "I", for an individual self-consciousness is an inexplicable phenomenon, but it is precisely by this search that we will find the particular characteristics of our (NOF, AFZH and NOMS) leaders.

Let us follow what they went through: (See: the novel "Nebeska Timianovavna" by Petre Andreevski, 1989 / p. 297.)

"…We yelled out Comrade Khrushchev, comrade Khrushchev while jumping up and down and falling on the floor to be noticed. The sound in the dome of the theatre echoed. Khrushchev paused, took a step towards the front of the carved stone, turned, and looked at two women scuffling with a number of policemen.

‘Let them go, let the women go!’ Khrushchev yelled.

The policemen turned around, I got free and I hit the one holding me. I hit him right in the stomach. I gave him a donkey kick in the stomach and maybe lower. The man screamed and took his hands off me.

We ran over to Khrushchev, but we could not catch our breath. We stood in front of him shaking trying to speak. We did not know what he looked like, except from his pictures. We both started talking at the same time. Our words were getting mixed up.

Comrade Khrushchev we said, we are communists from Yugoslavia, we are revolutionaries and fighters from 1941, from Greek Macedonia. We were arrested and rehabilitated, we said, and we have visas from Yugoslavia, but we do not have visas from you yet. We can’t go back, we said, and shrugged our shoulders. Our legs were shaking and our veins were pulsing. I felt like I was losing consciousness.

‘Relax, relax,’ said Khrushchev as I kept looking at his shiny egg-shaped bald head covered in sweat. I said thank you and handed him a letter.”

And this is how the revolutionary activities of our people sent to Siberia (Katarza) ended.

The question now is: “Did these politicians of ours, now proclaimed as “Yugoslav Communists” who yesterday deceived our people, young and old, to sacrifice themselves for the revolution, truly work for our national interests?

Did they really do this for our salvation or did they do this to pursue the CPM/CPY political platform? Because in their propaganda they were calling on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to rise up and fight in a revolution and continue the Ilinden tradition.

There is nothing wrong with admitting guilt to being victims of foreign manipulation and apologizing to the Macedonian people. At

the same time they cannot continue to make claims that they were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War and not take responsibility for what they did. They were at the forefront urging the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse. They were at the forefront of the child collection program that ended in disaster. They were the ones who called on the Macedonian people to become involved in a war that not only turned them into casualties but caused them to lose their ancestral hearths forever.

HOW DID WORLD WAR II END FOR US MACEDONIANS FROM GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA

After the German occupying forces withdrew from all of Greece, including from Greek occupied Macedonia, and after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, the CPG, ELAS, and EAM were disarmed and found themselves in an inferior position. Almost the very next day after ELAS surrendered, organized terror began in Greece.

Chronology of events that left a historical mark on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia

March 5, 1943 - A 48-member Assembly was convened in Kostur, with representatives from the various Kostur Region villages. The Assembly decided to form a self-defense organization called the "MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE" for Kostur Region which was to protect about 60 villages. The "Macedonian Committee", with permission from the Italian occupiers, was allowed to arm itself in order to protect itself and the Macedonian people from Greek terrorists.

March 28, 1943 – A partisan detachment was formed in the village Lagen, Lerin Region, which consisted of Macedonian and Greek fighters, known as the ELAS "Vicho" detachment.

August 1943 - After lengthy negotiations between ELAS and EDES and English General Staff for the Middle East, a CPG and EAM delegation arrived in Cairo to negotiate "political unity" and the formation of a "joint headquarters" with the Greek government in

exile and with a number of civil parties. The joint headquarters, headed by Andy Meyers, was created on June 18, 1943, which recognized the ELAS resistance forces as an allied army. With this Agreement the People's Liberation Movement in Greece was subordinate to the English General Staff for the Middle East. And for the same purpose, on June 5, 1943, a military cooperation agreement was signed in Lebanon.

September 1, 1943 - The ELAS Macedonian partisan detachment "Lazo Trpovski" was formed in Beriki, Kostur Region.

October 20, 1943 – The Macedonian organization SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian People's Liberation Front) was created, but only for Kostur Region. SNOF for Lerin and Voden Regions was created later.

The CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships, concerned with the situation created in Greek occupied Macedonia with the formation of the "Macedonian Committee" in Kostur Region and other Macedonian organizations in Lerin and Voden Regions, found themselves in need of forming SNOF, a Macedonian organization. SNOF was created by Greeks from the CPG Regional Committee in Western Macedonia, including Hristos Kalfas (Andreas), CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region, Andonis Andonopoulos (Pericles) and Thanasis Kartsounis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozheni Region.

In the six months of its existence SNOF in Kostur Region managed to win over the "Macedonian Committee" and recruit 4,770 new members. This meant that the Macedonian people believed that "SNOF was the only national liberation organization capable of meeting the Macedonian people's national and social demands in Greek occupied Macedonia". (See: "Slavo-Macedonian Voice" number. 3, April 1944.)

Some people even claimed that: "SNOF was the new Macedonian VMRO which would bring Ilinden to its conclusion..."

After SNOF pacified the "Macedonian Committee", the CPG decided to dismantle it which, once again, proves that the CPG was

manipulating the Macedonian people. But it was more than that: the CPG wanted the Macedonians to fight one another, to physically liquidate and eliminate each other from this world and from the political scene in Greece. With this, the CPG practically achieved what the Greek government could not for many years. Once SNOF achieved its objectives the Greek resistance leaders decided SNOF was no longer needed and had to go. The CPG wanted to achieve "national unity" with the Greek reactionaries, the Greek bourgeois parties and the Greek government in exile at all costs and could not do it with SNOF in its way. So with SNOF out of the picture, on May 20, 1944, the CPG signed the famous capitulation agreement that sealed the fate of the national liberation struggle.

September 26, 1944 – The Caserta Agreement was signed between the CPG, EAM, and ELAS on one hand, and the Greek government in exile headed by Georgios Papandreou and the British Headquarters for the Middle East, on the other. With this Agreement ELAS and all resistance forces were put under the command of the Greek government in exile. However, the Greek government in exile transferred control of its forces to English General Scobie. Of course, this agreement was yet another concession the Greek resistance leadership made in favour of the Greek government in exile.

February 12, 1945 – The Varkiza Agreement was signed between representatives of the Greek government and representatives of the CPG and EAM to end the clashes in Athens between ELAS units on the one hand and Greek government forces, Greek police and English interventionist forces, on the other, which began on December 4, 1944. (See: "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944-1945", doc. 200, p. 298-301.)

The consequences of this Agreement were felt worst by the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, against whom the Greek political right and reactionaries carried out unprecedented terror in order to oust them completely from the Greek state, and this was also true for both the people of SNOF (former ELAS) and for the people of the "Macedonian Committees".

WHO WERE OUR ALLIES?

A) - EAM (National Liberation Front) was established on September 27, 1941 and consisted of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG), the Agricultural party, the Socialist and People's Democratic Party, the General Workers Federation, the General Federation of State Bureaucrats, the Organization of National Solidarity, and Representatives of the Political, Scientific and Cultural Life in Greece, The EAM was later joined by the front end of the Liberal Party. From all this, once again, we can see that we Macedonians were not allies of the EAM, because until then we had not been a political entity in Greece, we were simply voluntarily members, citizens of Greece with no symbols of Macedonian affiliation. The following goals and objectives were part of the EAM program:

1. Expel the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers from Greece;

2. Maintain Greece's integrity;

3. Strive to gain self-determination for Cyprus, the Dodecanese, and Northern Epirus as well as any other places where EAM is present, and

4. Strategically regulate the northern Greek borders (meaning acquire more Macedonian territory from the allies). (See: "Mahitis", organ of ELAS, February 10, 1944.) The commentary reads: EAM on the national question. Do we still not know that there is absolutely nothing for us Macedonians in the EAM program?

B) ELAS (the Greek People's Liberation Army) [40] was formed on May 15, 1942, in Rumeli as a partisan detachment with the same

[40] ELAS - Members of this Greek army were called "Andartes", by the Greeks who were associated with the infamous anti-Macedonian fighters who committed horrible crimes against the Macedonian people during Ottoman times in the post-Ilinden period (after 1903). These Greek "Andartes", organized and armed in Greece, were sent to Macedonia to spread Greek influence by the knife.
- On April 6, 1941, at the same time Germany launched an attack against Yugoslavia and Greece, a new master emerged in Greece with new fascist views. The Greek organization EAM (People's Liberation Front) was formed on September 27, 1941. EAM called on the entire Greek population to resist fascism. At the same time EAM and the CPG demanded that a Greek National Liberation Army (ELAS) be created and organized. The first ELAS organized unit appeared

goals and objectives as EAM. This was decided during a joint CPG-EAM Central Committee meeting. The proclamation was addressed to the citizens of Greece and to the former officers of the Greek army who served the bourgeois. There was nothing in the proclamation about us Macedonians… we were not allies but simply "Slavophone" soldiers to be used as cannon fodder just like our fathers were in previous wars. We may have sung "Embros ELAS Gia Tin Ellada" (forward ELAS for Greece) but nobody seemed to notice or care... There is another undeniable fact for us Macedonians: everyone who was inducted into ELAS, including us Macedonians, had to take the following oath:

"I swear I will fight to the last drop of my blood for the complete liberation, stability and independence of Greece. I will fight to preserve the integrity of Greece and to restore order and basic human rights to the Greek people. I will respect PEEAS's actions and decisions and follow its orders which I will execute conscientiously and with discipline. I will obey all orders and instructions from my superiors, and will avoid any act that would make me untrustworthy as a person and as a fighter for the Greek people...

On July 16, 1943, Sarafis, Commander of ELAS, and Colonel Eddie Mayers, Chief of the English Military Mission in Greece, signed a joint agreement recognizing ELAS as an allied army and placed it under Middle East command. But let us see how things developed after that. On October 31, 1944, a larger group of English soldiers with armored vehicles entered Solun ahead of ELAS. WHY? Three days later, London-based BBC radio reported that British troops had liberated Solun. On February 12, 1945, the Varkiza Agreement was signed between the leaders of the CPG and EAM on the one hand,

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on February 15, 1942. The first ELAS unit to appear in Macedonia was formed in Kostur Region on December 7, 1942. It consisted of 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs.

- ELAS consisted of about 70,000 fighters spread all throughout Greece. On July 16, 1943, the ELAS leadership and Colonel Eddie Meyers, head of the English military mission in Greece, signed an agreement subordinating ELAS to English command for the Middle East. On February 12, 1945 the Varkiza Agreement was signed by which the CPG practically handed power over to the Greek government in exile.

and the Plaistiras Greek government and British General Scobie on the other. With this Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the political right. And that was the end of ELAS.

THE POLITICAL REFUGEES AFTER THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

On August 29-30, 1949, after the Greek Civil War ended, DAG General Headquarters transferred all military personnel to Albania where they were disarmed and sent to the Bureli and Elbasan military camps. Some fled to Bulgaria where, after crossing the Berkovitsa border, they were disarmed.

The CPG Central Committee held its 6th Plenum in Bureli where, in addition to evaluating its military achievements, it decided what to do with its DAG fighters, where to send them and in what numbers:

Country	Number of people	to arrive later
Czechoslovakia	13,500	6,000 from Bulkesh
Poland	9,000	3,000
Romania	5,600	1,000
Bulgaria	8,800	
Hungary	4,000	2,000
East Germany	2,200.	1,500 young children
USSR (Tashkent)	16,500	5,500

It should be noted that 56 to 60% of these numbers, as verified by Greek sources, were Macedonians.

There were no reliable sources for the exact number of refugees in Yugoslavia, but according to some sources there were about 60,000 people, exclusively Macedonians.

FACTS FROM GREEK OFFICIAL HISTORY ON THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1944-1949)

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS ON THE GREAT FRAUD AND GENOCIDE COMMITTED AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREECE

Historical Studies of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War 1944-1949

The CPG 5th Plenary

Decisions made during the CPG Central committee's 5th plenum in January became apparent after February 8th. They clarified, interpreted, and confirmed in detail General Markos's isolation and removal from duty as well as the removal of Hrisa Vasiliou who agreed with Markos's views, and the removal of Ioanidis from the PDK.

1. "DAG is firmly and safely in control of the entire region of Mount Pind. We took the top of Mount Gramos once again. The national (Greek government) army soldiers showed fatigue and despair.

2. The enemy's military forces (national army, police, National Guard, Maids, MEA and so on) number over 300 thousand. They forced over 700 thousand people out of their homes with aims at isolating DAG.

3. General Headquarters and the Divisions will provide all necessary military supplies to all the units in this region at all times. Any delays in this will cause problems, similar to the ones we had in 1948. (The kind that made us lose Vicho.)

4. As their task, Thessaly and Rumeli are obliged to launch combat operations and begin offensive attacks with aims at pinning down the enemy and preventing him from expanding his capabilities in 1949.

5. The 6th and 7th Division (Eastern Macedonia and Thrace) are tasked with gradually increasing pressure and launching strikes against the enemy and against Solun.

Other observations made and problems uncovered during the 5th Plenum are showing that the leadership (the CPG leadership) is currently far from its targets.

6. DAG is showing to be stronger than in 1948. It has widened the national liberation movement all the way down to the Peloponnese.

The Peloponnese should be torn apart by our military campaigns and all ordinary villagers should join DAG's ranks.

All of the above suggestions and conclusions may represent little in terms of tangible items but are good news for the left-leaning public. As for the Macedonians, the 5th Plenum said the following about them:

In northern Greece, the Macedonian (Slavo-Macedonian) people are giving their all for the struggle and are fighting for the ultimate goal with heroism that provokes a heroic self-sacrifice that is a feat of great admiration. There should be no doubt that after DAG comes out victorious in the people's struggle, the Macedonian people, who spill their blood today, will find their full national freedom as they wish. The Macedonian Communists are always at the forefront and responsible in the struggle. At the same time, the Macedonian communists should also pay attention to the Macedonian communists who carry out agitation for foreign intelligence services. The CPG is loyal to the EAM which is in close cooperation with all the people's organizations and first and foremost with AKE and NOF.

APPENDIX A

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE WEEKLY SUMMARY

Special Report

The Macedonian Syndrome-The Chronic Crisis in Yugoslav-Bulgarian Relations
SECRET
Sanitized Copy
Approved for Release 2011/01/07: CIA-RDP85T00875R001500030001-8

During the past four years Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have exchanged a torrent of invective over a seemingly obscure historical issue—the ethnic and linguistic ancestry of the peoples of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Yugoslavs claim that all the clamor, when stripped of its academic pretensions, reveals a strident irredentism on the part of the Bulgarians.

For Sofia, the Macedonian question is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it is exploited for domestic Bulgarian consumption, affording the regime the only safe outlet for Bulgarian nationalism without fear of intervention by Moscow. Not even the Yugoslavs believe that Sofia, at the present time, intends to retake Yugoslav Macedonia by force. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the Bulgarian leadership will be alert to any opportunity to loosen Belgrade's hold over Macedonia in the post-Tito era, and it has already prepared the way with strong claims of inherent rights in Macedonia.

Yugoslavia looks on Bulgaria's refusal to recognize the existence of a separate Macedonian nationality as a potential threat to Yugoslav territorial integrity. The Yugoslavs have also recently become uneasy over what they consider the Kremlin's tacit approval of Sofia's claim that Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians. In Belgrade, for example, it has been noted that Bulgarian pressures in Macedonia have at times peaked when tensions have been unusually high between Belgrade and Moscow, as when Yugoslavia voiced its opposition to the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The intensity of the Yugoslav reaction to the argument over Macedonia must be viewed against a backdrop of serious internal economic problems and the pending major govern mental reorganization. There has been no attempt to hide the seriousness or magnitude of the problems that confront Yugoslavia, and Tito's age adds a note of urgency to the situation. In many respects, therefore, the Macedonian problem and Bulgaria's vague threat to regain the region are an intrinsic part of the succession problem. The Yugoslavs, most of whom wish to hold their federation together after Tito, are keeping an eye on the potential for political instability and disintegration that could come with Tito's passing, which Bulgaria might try to exploit.

To the Yugoslav leadership the dispute is not without its positive aspects. By over dramatizing the immediate threat, Belgrade apparently hopes to minimize internal dissension and rally support for the new federal system, as well as to keep world attention focused on Yugoslavia and on the "implied" Soviet threat.

Actually, the ebbs and flows of the Macedonian problem have not always reflected the status of Yugoslav-Soviet relations. Party and government boss Todor Zhivkov provoked the present crisis in late 1967 at a time when Belgrade and Moscow were on fairly good terms. Historically, the Macedonian question has always had something of a life of its own, reflecting traditional Balkan hostilities and Bulgarian and Yugoslav internal requirements, as well as the prevailing winds in the Eastern European political arena.

Through 1967 and early 1968, Bulgaria took the initiative in the dispute, promoting its claims to Macedonia. But in mid-1968, because of festering problems in the Kremlin's relations with Eastern Europe, the Soviets became active in the confrontation. Then, in late 1969, when both Moscow and Sofia desired a temporary abatement in the intensity of the dispute, the beleaguered Yugoslavs verbally threw down the gauntlet to their two antagonists and have been on the propaganda attack ever since. Thus the future direction of the Macedonian conflict depends now on the preferences of Belgrade.

Background

Bulgaria's campaign questions the Yugoslavs' right to sovereignty over Macedonia, one of the Yugoslav federation's six republics. Sofia claims that all Macedonians are really ethnic Bulgarians cut off from the motherland. This position pre dates the Communist era in Bulgaria. In 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano gave the modern Bulgarian state control of the lands of Macedonia for the first time. A few months later this territory was expropriated by the great powers and given to Serbia (now part of Yugoslavia). Most Bulgarian governments since then have continued to lay claim to this province, although since 1878, Sofia has held the land for a total of only four years.

Belgrade's commitment to a separate Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav state dates from the postwar establishment of the Communist regime. Tito's personal involvement in Macedonia goes back at least to January 1943. At that time he appealed to the Macedonians in Yugoslavia to fight for their independence and to seek national identity through self-determination, i.e., through the establishment of a Macedonian Republic in union with the Yugoslav peoples. Following World War II, Tito put his words into action and a separate Macedonian Republic was created in 1944 as an integral part of the Yugoslav federation. This republic did not include Pirin (Bulgarian Macedonia).

The Communists' seizure of power in both Bulgaria and Yugoslavia seemed to mark the end of the Macedonian issue as a point of contention between the two countries. Bulgarian party leaders condemned the actions of past Bulgarian governments in Macedonia and proclaimed the province an integral part of Yugoslavia. Belgrade and Sofia—stressing reconciliation—agreed in 1947 that, in the long run, a reunion of the Macedonian peoples might be possible.

The charismatic Yugoslav leader, however, had plans for a "greater" Macedonia. He pres3ed the concept of a larger Yugoslav-Bulgarian confederation headquartered in Belgrade. Sofia was receptive to the idea of forming a federation of "Southslavs" in the Balkans—the Dimitrov Plan— but balked at the suggestion that Pirin Macedonia

be initially joined to its Yugoslav counterpart as a separate republic. For a time, Macedonians from Yugoslavia were even allowed to open schools and bookshops in Pirin, and the Yugoslav Macedonian-language newspaper was freely sold in Bulgaria.

Even after Tito's break with Stalin in 1948, when Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations also took a turn for the worse, there was no resurrection of past claims to Macedonia. This, however, may have been due to the fact that in the period between the executions of the Bulgarian national Communists in the 1950s and the emergence of the Zhivkov clique in the early 1960s, any expression of nationalism was looked upon with great suspicion in Bulgaria and the USSR.

There was some minor fencing over Macedonia between Belgrade and Sofia in the late 1950s, when the Bulgarians again began to remonstrate over the loss of this province after San Stefano. This vocalizing was usually limited to academic circles in both countries. Scholarly articles on Macedonia were exchanged by social scientists, who debated the true cultural and historical heritage of the people. In the course of the Tito-Zhivkov talks in 1963 and 1965, as well as in Zhivkov's discussions with Yugoslav Macedonian chief Crvenkovski in 1967, it was agreed that "these differences" should not be used as an excuse for polemics; rather, "experts should discuss them and establish the historical truth about them."

The Macedonian issue was revived in a campaign, not very well thought out, that Zhivkov launched in early 1965. The idea was to develop an ethos of patriotism arid national spirit in the youth of the then emotionally stagnant country. The dispute over Macedonia became a key means of building national pride, which had been stifled by the Bulgarian Communist Party's subservience to the Soviet Union. Studies were launched "analyzing" the past relationship of the Macedonian people to Bulgaria. The party re-evaluated its past stand on the Macedonian issue and concluded that it had taken an incorrect and "non-Leninist position" by dropping Bulgarian claims to Macedonia. The party then reasoned that "in doing so, Bulgaria had accepted foreign rule for an area that had a predominantly Bulgarian population." The head of the Bulgarian Writers' Union went so far in the autumn of 1966 as to deny the existence of a separate Macedonian language, concluding that it

really was a variant of Bulgarian (a statement with which many Western linguists would agree). During the same year, a leading ethnographer publicly took exception to an article in a Soviet journal treating the Macedonians as a separate nation or people.

San Stefano Revived: By 1967 many Bulgarian academicians and politicos were engaged in turning out books and articles supporting the contention that Macedonia, belonged ethnically, historically, and spiritually to the Bulgarian nation. Long-dead irredentist authors and their works were "rediscovered" and republished.

In January 1967, Sofia celebrated the birthday of Gotse Delchev, a departed Macedonian patriot declared for the occasion to be a "Bulgarian patriot." In December, an article in the party newspaper by an eminent historian—commenting on the upcoming anniversary of the treaty of San Stefano—concluded that the pact was based on "generally recognized ethnographic frontiers of the Bulgarian people at that time." In Zhivkov's Theses on Youth, also published in December 1967, a whole chapter was devoted to the need for an expansion of patriotic education. Bulgarians, he said, do not make "sufficient use of our glorious historic past in order to educate the youth in a patriotic spirit." The Yugoslavs consider that the present Macedonian crisis dates from the winter of 1967, and accrued from these Bulgarian actions.

The dispute was raised to the level of official bilateral relations on 29 January 1968, when the Bulgarian ambassador in Belgrade was advised by the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry of the "harm" Sofia's pursuit of the Macedonian issue could have on relations between the two countries. Nevertheless, or, the 90th anniversary of San Stefano, in February 1968, the Bulgars held a massive ceremony in Sofia, during which the participants lamented Bulgaria's loss of Macedonia.

After the San Stefano celebrations, neither side showed an inclination to lot the issue drop; instead, outside events heated the quarrel to serious dimensions. The occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 increased Belgrade's suspicion of Soviet-Bulgarian 'collaboration on Macedonia. As Yugoslav support for the Dubcek regime continued throughout the spring and summer of 1968, the

Kremlin became increasingly unhappy with Belgrade. At the same time, the Bulgarian communications media mounted a loud assault on the policies and programs of the League of Yugoslav Communists, and the threat of Bulgarian irredentism became real to Belgrade. In mid-1968, the Bulgarian military newspaper, echoing the Brezhnev Doctrine, announced that it was the "duty of the Warsaw Pact to help every country where socialism" was "in danger," implying that what was true for Czechoslovakia could also be true for Yugoslavia. In August, after the Czechoslovak invasion, a Bulgarian deputy minister of defense (who had fought alongside Tito as a partisan) pointedly reiterated the threat, stating that Bulgaria was ready to go "anywhere else" to rescue socialism.

Tito's open criticism of the events of August 1968 apparently prompted Zhivkov—undoubtedly with Soviet endorsement—to adopt an even stronger propaganda and diplomatic campaign against Yugoslavia. The polemics were primarily based on the Macedonian issue but they also contained hostile references to Yugoslav political and economic practices, emphasizing the social and economic problems of 'the country. It was naively hoped that the Bulgarian campaign would put enough pressure on Belgrade to distract the Yugoslavs from events in Prague and moderate their response to the invasion.

In November 1968, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, under party direction, issued a pamphlet claiming that Macedonia had never existed ethnically, nationally, or linguistically as a nation apart from Bulgaria. The publication stated that all Macedonians, even those in Yugoslavia, actually were Bulgarians. It denounced Belgrade for forcing the integration of the Macedonian people with the Yugoslavs, who were accused of wishing also to lay claim to the "Macedonians" living in Bulgaria. It said that Bulgaria would continue to seek a "constructive solution" to the Macedonian problem that would let Macedonia "freely determine and express its nationality and its national feelings," implying, of course, that these "national feelings" were Bulgarian. This tract was widely distributed in Bulgaria, was broadcast to Yugoslavia, and was circulated in Eastern Europe. Belgrade later reported that several people were arrested in Yugoslav Macedonia for distributing this "irredentist pamphlet."

The following month, in a further sign of their antipathy, Bulgarian leaders boycotted Yugoslav national day celebrations in Sofia, and rumors began circulating in Moscow that Pact maneuvers would soon be held in Bulgaria near the Yugoslav border. These stories inspired increased tensions in Yugoslavia.

Polemics became vitriolic…. A contemporary dimension was added to the dispute by Bulgaria's claims that it had liberated Macedonia in 1944—a claim Belgrade categorically denied but viewed as an implied threat.

In September 1969, it appeared that some progress might be made in the Macedonian dispute. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko first visited Yugoslavia, and the President of the Yugoslav National Assembly's Chamber of Nationalities, Mika Spiljak, then went to Sofia. Whether there was any connection between the two journeys is not known, but with things in Czechoslovakia then quiet, the Soviets apparently desired an aura of tranquility in East Europe. If so, little was accomplished, and the Spiljak mission proved a failure. The Yugoslavs, as they had in the past, demanded an end to the Bulgarians' campaign, but Zhivkov declared that he would discuss outstanding problems only with Tito. Spiljak, originally hopeful of compromise after the Gromyko trip, left Sofia "disgusted with the platitudes and generalities" into which the meeting had degenerated.

Despite the fiasco, the Bulgarians showed a willingness to discuss the problem. A meeting between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian foreign ministers at the UN, however, led to a disastrous visit by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Bashev to Belgrade in December 1969. This incredibly undiplomatic trip revealed that neither side was ready to moderate its stand. The talks nearly ended before they started when Bashev let it be known that Bulgaria was willing to renounce all territorial claims on Yugoslavia if Belgrade would admit that the Macedonians were ethnically Bulgarians. The proposal, which was of course rejected, only confirmed Belgrade's suspicion of Bulgaria's sinister designs on Yugoslav Macedonia.

Bulgarian Twists and Turns: In general, the old-line Bulgarian apparatchiks, who had severed rather close ties to the Yugoslav

party in 1948, are still nervous about their independent neighbor and the residual common interests that might still prove attractive to some nationalistic Bulgarian party members. Sofia has never been comfortable about having Yugoslavia, an unorthodox yet successful Communist country, on its border, especially because of the sharp contrast it affords with Bulgaria's economic and political stagnation.

The Macedonian issue thus seems to have been contrived by the leadership partly to keep Yugoslavia and things Yugoslav at arm's length, and at the same time to rekindle a spirit of Bulgarian nationalism that could be useful to the regime. The nationalism campaign of 1966 fizzled out in two years, but the Macedonian issue has always had a character of its own, and has from time to time been exploited by Moscow. Certainly, Bulgaria's Macedonian policy was developed haphazardly and ha moved ahead in an erratic fashion. Some of this can be ascribed to fluctuations in Soviet policy, but some of it must also be related to Sofia's political vicissitudes and ineptitudes in the pursuit of traditional Bulgarian foreign policy goals.

The vehement diplomatic and public responses from Yugoslavia over the Macedonian dispute—particularly after the Czechoslovak crisis— caused Sofia to hesitate and re-evaluate the direction and force of its Macedonian policy. This was partly because by early 1969 the Soviets were interested in reducing tensions in Eastern Europe. In March an editorial in the Bulgarian party newspaper disclaimed any territorial desires in Yugoslavia. This was followed by a public statement by First Deputy Premier Zhivko Zhivkov that his country "did not have any interest in land expansion.

In April 1969, in a talk with Austrian journalists, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Bashev said Macedonia remained a "historical legacy" but concluded that it was not a "topical political matter." He accused unnamed "imperialist" circles for "fostering nationalist passions" in the Balkans.

For Belgrade, nevertheless, such platitudes were not reassuring, and Yugoslav propaganda continued to hammer away at the issue. In response, Bulgaria ended its moratorium on polemics in June 1969, though without making Macedonia the direct issue. Sofia's antipathy

toward Tito's regime again surfaced, but it was directed at "revisionism" in Yugoslavia rather than at Macedonia. On 28 June, for example, the Bulgarian army paper stressed the "anti-Soviet" nature of Tito's programs and policies. A week later Zhivkov delivered an anti-Yugoslav speech in a similar vein. In July Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations took a further turn for the worse when Sofia restricted the traditional free movement of people from Yugoslav and Bulgarian border villages across the frontier.

Yugoslav Reaction: On 12 February 1969, Belgrade sent its second diplomatic note of protest within one year peppering Bulgaria for "fomenting an atmosphere of disquiet and tension in the Balkans." That same day acting Yugoslav Foreign Minister Miso Povicevic gave a speech in the Federal Assembly in which he said Bulgarian policy could not be "understood any different than as the feeding of territorial pretensions toward integral parts of Yugoslavia." The Legue of Yugoslav Communists' newspaper expressed the fear that the Brezhnev Doctrine of "limited sovereignty" would be used as a justification for an invasion. In March 1969 over 2,000 people demonstrated in the Macedonian town of Ohrid, protesting against the Bulgarian "anti-Yugoslav campaign." By May, the Yugoslav deputy foreign minister spoke of a "Balkan confrontation," accusing the Bulgars of territorial aspirations, interfering in Yugoslav internal affairs, subversive propaganda, and planning to hold military maneuvers in border areas. The minister also reiterated the charge that a "third country" was influencing Bulgarian policy toward his country.

In the years since the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Yugoslavs have become convinced that Moscow has a role in the Macedonian controversy. This was graphically illustrated in an article of 25 November 1970 entitled "Ghosts of the Past," which appeared in both Belgrade's Borba and the Macedonian republic daily Nova Makedonija. The article accused Bulgaria of reviving bourgeois territorial claims to Macedonia (and parts of Serbia) as they existed under the treaty of San Stefano. Tsarist "Russia" is the real culprit, according to the two journals, because it "created the fiction of San Stefano Bulgaria."

For a brief period in the spring of 1970, the Bulgarian media gave Yugoslavia more positive treatment, and Soviet diplomats told Westerners that Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations were entering "a new phase." Indeed, something new did seem to be in the offing, and in late June the Bulgarian press talked of all-Balkan cooperation and of improving relations with its neighbors, including Yugoslavia.

For the Yugoslavs, however, there could be no improvement until Sofia officially changed its stance on Macedonia. While Sofia talked of detente, the Macedonian government announced it had uncovered "increased foreign activity" of a hostile nature in the republic. Contrary to Sofia's expectations, the Yugoslavs interpreted Bulgarian statements on Balkan cooperation as a maneuver to embarrass them and to give the appearance that Belgrade was dragging its feet.

Nonetheless, in early July, Belgrade provocatively tested Bulgaria's "new" good will. Three normally routine documents—a 1971-75 economic protocol, a radio-TV protocol, and a border traffic agreement—were presented in the Macedonian language for Sofia's signature. The red-faced Bulgarians refused to sign, whereupon the Yugoslav press jumped on the issue, labeling the refusal, "a revival of greater Bulgarian (claims) to sovereign Macedonian territory." In early August, the widely read Yugoslav weekly, NIN, accused Bulgaria of spreading Stalinist propaganda in Yugoslavia, as well as offering highly paid jobs to Bulgarians living in Serbia in an attempt to lure them across the border. The situation went from bad to worse; in September the Macedonian party central committee called home all Yugoslav-Macedonian students studying in Sofia because of hostile Bulgarian propaganda activity among them.

Three times during 1970 Bulgarian Premier Zhivkov requested a face-to-face meeting with President Tito to discuss major points of difference, but when representatives of the two countries finally met on 9 and 10 November in Sofia to lay the groundwork for such a meeting, the results were disastrous. As they had for the past year, the Bulgarians came to the meeting determined to achieve a facade of agreement by discussing non-controversial subjects. But the Yugoslavs declared Macedonia the only major issue and stipulated that it be the core of any negotiations. Party Secretary Velchev, the

chief of the Bulgarian delegation, then pulled a paper from his briefcase that had been prepared for such an eventuality. The Bulgarians were willing to concede that "a Macedonian state" had emerged after the second World War, but they rigidly insisted that the Macedonian people of this state were ethnically and culturally Bulgarian and that its territory was not conclusively defined. Velchev then declared that, although the present Bulgarian government now was ready to settle the Macedonian problem, he was not certain that the next generation of Bulgarians would be as willing. The chief of the Yugoslav delegation replied that this Bulgarian position negated a policy established by Bulgarian hero Georgi Dimitrov and the COMINTERN. Velchev's admission that this was so ended the discussions, and Yugoslav press polemics sharply increased. Furthermore, Yugoslav Macedonia—with government encouragement—began expressing their support for the "national aspirations" of their brothers in Bulgaria.

In spite of this dismal turn of events, there are indications that the two countries may yet come to terms.

Yugoslav press attacks on Bulgaria have subsided somewhat, although party meetings throughout the country continue their well-orchestrated denunciation of Bulgarian policy. Furthermore, Yugoslav party luminaries have, in the past month, spoken in a conciliatory manner about improving relations with their eastern neighbor.

On 23 December, when President Tito interrupted his vacation on Brioni to receive the Bulgarian ambassador, but the Yugoslavs now say nothing productive came from these talks.

Since October the Bulgars have virtually ignored any invective coming from Yugoslavia and have continued to play for a meeting with Tito to codify some agreement to disagree. Recent public statements of the Sofia leaders have been peppered with calls for a Balkan rapprochement. In a probably related development, the most vociferous of the Bulgarian newspapers on the Macedonian problem, Narodna Arrniya, published by the Defense Ministry, was ordered discontinued as a daily and converted to a weekly in late December. The paper, however, has continued to appear on a daily

basis, with no explanation of the sudden reversal in publication schedules. This could indicate some disagreement within the Sofia leadership over the present trends in Bulgarian policy on the Macedonian question.

Prospects for 1971 - Todor Zhivkov's present self-abasement shows an uncommon willingness to improve the atmosphere. The Bulgarians have made so many concessions that about the only card they have left to play is to agree to a settlement or quietly to let the issue die—if the Yugoslavs will allow It. This suggests that perhaps the Yugoslavs are partly correct in assuming that the Soviets now have taken a hand in the matter, if only to try to cool the situation. It is difficult, however, to foresee formal repudiation by Bulgaria of its past Macedonian stand. Rather, a settlement could provide for a tempering of the more provocative elements of Sofia's position and a change in the tone and emphasis of Bulgarian propaganda to stress points of agreement between Belgrade and Sofia.

Belgrade now insists that prior to any rapprochement, Sofia must specifically recognize the existence of an ethnic Macedonian nation within Yugoslavia, demonstrate a willingness to allow free expression of Macedonian national identity in Bulgarian Pirin, and publicly repudiate its position since 1967. If Zhivkov is serious about improving relations with Tito, he will have to accept the first of these terms. If Tito wishes to reciprocate, he probably will have to drop the last two demands.

Of course, such an arrangement would constitute no more than a return to the tacit arrangement that existed prior to 1967, and it would be quite embarrassing to Zhivkov at that. If such an agreement does take shape, it may be due more to a Soviet desire to avoid involvement in a Balkan territorial squabble than to a lessening of Sofia's nationalistic passions.

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ABBREVIATIONS

UNSCB	United Nations Special Committee On the Balkans
AFZH	Women's Anti-Fascist Front
Andartes	Greek mercenary fighters who fought during the Ottoman occupation to conquer Macedonia and join it with Greece. Most were from Greece proper and from Crete. They were operating in Macedonia (Kostur, Lerin, Bitola, Resen and Mariovo Regions). The name "Andartes" was used by the Greek government to describe the ELAS fighters during the Greek Civil War.
BURANDARS	Armed Greek government soldiers
GSH	General Headquarters
DAG	Democratic Army of Greece – active during the Greek Civil War 1946-1949, led by the Communist Party of Greece
EAM	(Greek) National Liberation Front
EDA	Greek Democratic Left
EDES	National Democratic Alliance of Greece - the Greek Army which cooperated with the Germans, as well as with the English
ELAS	National Liberation Army of Greece
EPON	Greek National Youth Organization (pro-communist)
IVE	Defenders of Northern Greece 1941-1942 cooperated with the Germans

PG	Agricultural Party of Greece
IB	Informburo
EPPE	Central Committee for Political Refugees from Greece
EMPEDA	Military Training Center
KZ	Criminal Law
KOEM	Communist organization of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek Occupied) Macedonia
CPG	Communist Party of Greece
CPY	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
CPM	Communist Party of Macedonia
LOK	Mountain hunting military unit - part of the Greek government army
NOV	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Army
NOD	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Movement
NOMS	(Macedonian) National Liberation Youth Union
NOF	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Front
MAI	Greek Self Defense Units on the ground (armed organized civilians who fought against DAG when needed)
UNO	United Nations Organization

PAO	Greek Liberation Organization 1942 - 1944, cooperated with occupier against the liberation movement in Greece
PB	Politburo
PDVG	Provisional Democratic Government of Greece established in 1947 at Gramos, (more precisely in Asamati on December 23, 1947)
PEEA	Political Liberation Committee
PZ	Compulsory Law
SNOF	Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front
UDBA	State Security Administration
CC	Central Committee
CS	Central Council

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Stoian Kochov was born in 1930 in the village Turie, Lerin Region. He now lives in Skopje.

Stoian has published the following books:

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ЈАМКА. Роман,

БЕСОТ НА ЈУЖНИТЕ ХРИСТЈАНИ, роман,

Stojan Kochov - (Author, collector, translator from Greek and Russian)

REVIEW 1

By Prof. Dr. Lazar Lazarov.

About the book: “A One-way Ticket” by the author Stojan KOCHOV.

The author of the book “A One-way Ticket” from several aspects successfully traces and reconstructs the situation and experience the Macedonian people living in Greece endured during the Second World War, the Greek Civil War and after them.

A special feature of this book is the author’s ability to penetrate into the heart of the problems and through in-depth analysis, search for and find relevant answers and conclusions. During his research and while preparing this book, Stojan Kochov faced many problems. How to interpret the motives and goals of those being exiled by the Greek monarcho-fascist regime. What aims did the Greek regime in uprooting the Macedonian people from their country with aims of exterminating them.

In addition to dealing with the internal factor, Stojan also dealt with the role of the international factor, primarily the Anglo-American one, which he dealt with in detail. A shortcoming, if it is considered a shortcoming at all, but rather a feat, with respect to author Stojan Kochov who is not a scientist by vocation, made up for it with his persistent research.

A significant feature of this book is that his findings are based on source materials, which I suggest he systematize and enter at the end of the book under the subtitle: “Used sources and materials”.

Since there is no perfection in any works, and all with the aim of quality improvement (and with which the author agrees), I suggest to him to pay attention to the following: the citation of the text should be placed in footnotes. In many places in the text, and if the author is right, I suggest to him to analyze the events as a neutral observer, thus rising to a higher level of objective analyst and

evaluator of the events and persons that are the subject of his study. I also suggest to the author, for a better overview of the book, to arrange it in separate parts and chapters, which represent a separate whole.

It is particularly significant in this book that thorough analyzes are made with relevant assessments from multiple aspects based on source and verified materials.

On the basis of the above, in brief, I am pleased to propose the publication of this book, which is significant, not only for science, but for the general public. The study represents original testimony from the recent past and fills significant gaps in the history of the Macedonian people.

May 2002, Sincerely Prof. Dr. Lazar LAZAROV

REVIEW 2

About the book: “A One-way Ticket” by the author Stojan KOCHOV.

The book “A One-way Ticket” is actually a synthesis about the historical fate of the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia.

The author, a good connoisseur of historical events, presents and analyzes the historical fate of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia in the period from the Paris Peace Agreements to the present day. The author presents the historical fate of the Macedonians within the framework of the appropriate historical determinism. He analyzes and correctly represents the influence of the Greek state and political ideology regardless of whether it is the Greek left or the Greek right.

The author does not ideologize, does not positivize, but analyzes, presents historical facts objectively. In one word, the author manages to objectify the historical processes connected with the fate of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia in the given historical period.

In preparing his book, the author has reviewed a huge amount historical material (primary and secondary) and presents it critically. The language is simple and convincing. Every word expressed is confirmed by logical arguments and relevant literature.

Given the above findings, we are happy to recommend Stojan Kochov's book "A One-way Ticket" for printing.

10. 06. 2002, Dr. Stojan Kiselinov