George Pirinsky

The Voice of Macedonian Progressives in America

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Macedonians of America Series

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For the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia who are still struggling to achieve recognition and equality.

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I. Who Was George Pirinsky?

The life of George Pirinsky was eventful and complicated and defined by boundless energy and uneasy tension. As a devout Macedonian, he aspired for a free and united Macedonia and supported the creation of a Macedonian republic within a Balkan federation. He relentlessly advocated for progressive ideals, a fact evidenced by his unquestionable loyalty to the labor movement. He was also a unifying voice for Slavic-Americans at a time when this large mass of American immigrants was disorganized and distant, both from other Slavic-Americans and from mainstream American life. He was a tireless activist who organized people and spoke at rallies in the daytime, and who wrote articles, pamphlets and books into the late hours of night.

However, Pirinsky's support for Russian and communist ideologies and policies, as well as his immigrant status, rendered him an inevitable target of the United States government's witch-hunt of 'Un-Americans.' Throughout his life, he was distraught by the ascent and perseverance of fascism and capitalism, and he feared tremendously that both the Balkans and America were constantly on the verge of succumbing to Hitleresque ideologies and policies. Those fears would eventually catch up to him.

This unyielding energy and activism was a significant factor in Pirinsky's downfall. He insisted on being critically involved in every organization and movement that aligned with his beliefs. For better or worse, he was a talented communicator that desired to control every aspect of every project into which he injected himself. Moreover, his continual dedication to his homeland arose suspicions among those in his adoptive country, and his immersion into American politics distracted him from effectively organizing the entire Macedonian population in the United States. However, it is likely that his "hand in every jar" approach satisfied his communist overseers in Moscow, as Pirinsky was able enough to attract and maintain a variety of people and coalitions across a wide spectrum of beliefs and backgrounds.

Among the Macedonian community, he was known as the editor of Macedonian newspapers in Michigan and for spearheading and leading the Macedonian-American People's League, or simply the Macedonian People's League (MPL). Within the Slavic-American community, he was described as the face of the American Slav Congress (ASC) and a champion for labor and socialist causes. In Washington, D.C., he was branded as a Communist enemy who had allied with Moscow to circumvent capitalism in the United States. Amongst the leadership of the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO), he was labeled as a traitor to the right-wing Macedonian cause.

But this story of Pirinsky's involvement in the MPL and ASC is not just about Pirinsky. Rather, it's also about the strengthening of the Macedonian identity and the recognition of the Macedonian nation; it's about the incessant battles between separate factions of Macedonians endeavoring for ideological, political and cultural domination. It's about uniting Slavic-speaking peoples in their adoptive country at a time when immigrants were not viewed favorably or even as Americans; and it's about the Communist and progressive witch-hunt that engulfed the nation during and shortly after

the Second World War. The story of Pirinsky in America, thus, is really a symbol for the many different struggles and movements smothering the assumed natural order in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s.

Pirinsky was born George Nikolov Zajkov. He didn't assume the Pirinsky surname (or alias) until he came to America. He adopted the name Pirinsky in honor of the mountain and region of Macedonia from which he hailed. He was born in Bansko, Macedonia (today southwest Bulgaria, or Pirin Macedonia) on August 15, 1901, when the Ottoman Sultan was still lord of Macedonia.¹

There was no lack of motives for him to adopt the 'Pirinsky' surname. On one hand, it was easier for him to conceal his identity. More importantly, however, its symbolism was striking. Mount Pirin is the largest mountain in Macedonia, and Pirinsky strived to be not only a large figure in Macedonian activism, but in American politics and communist circles as well. Moreover, Pirin Macedonia is a region in Macedonia for which there is much to be proud. It was the scene of many isolated rebellions in the 1870s and 1880s; it produced some of the most notorious figures during the Macedonian liberation movement at the turn of the 20th century, such as Yane Sandanski and Boris Sarafov; and after Macedonia was divided by her neighbors, the Pirin region became the central base of military and political strife in the Balkans, which had the benefit of keeping the Macedonian movement alive. Additionally, most Macedonian immigrants living in the United States were from western and southern Macedonia, far away from the eastern limits of Pirin Macedonia from which he originated, which made Pirin a unique and distinguishing identifier.

Perhaps these reasons drove Pirinsky to use that penname and alias; perhaps not. But we do know why he chose to use a penname. He had begun to write poetry upon arriving in America, he said, and he believed that the customary thing for

poets to do at the time was to choose a penname. Moreover, in testimony to the U.S. Congress in 1949, he stated the following:

When I came to this country, I started to write in the newspapers under the name of Pirinsky in order to save my younger brother and other members of the family who are living in Fascist Bulgaria and who were being prosecuted because I was opposing the Fascist government.²

So, it wouldn't be until his American days that he used that name. Growing up in Bansko, everybody was a 'Pirinsky' and there was no need or use for that name. He was known as George Zajkov and his middle name, Nikolov, came from his father, who was named Nikola. Pirinsky's mother was Maria and he had two brothers and three sisters. Except for an older brother who immigrated to America around 1912, his family remained in Bansko. Pirinsky attended elementary school in Bansko but left his family to attend high school in Kyustendil, a town that straddles Pirin Macedonia and Bulgaria proper.

When the Ilinden Uprising swept through Ottoman Macedonia in 1903, while Pirinsky was just a toddler, his family played no role in the revolution. Pirinsky did not remember this crucial and symbolic Macedonian event; but as he grew older and learned about the significance of the rebellion, he would never forgive his father for not actively participating in the revolution. His father, on the other hand, simply wanted

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i His three sisters were Donka, Kina and Lena, while one of his brother's name was Dimitre. The other brother was listed as C.A. Nicoloff in the FBI files. Searching through 1920 US Census records revealed two possible matches: one Constantine Nicoloff, born in Macedonia in 1895 and residing in Hibbing, Minnesota at the time of the census; the other was Costa Nickoloff, born in 1888 and residing in Nicollet, Minnesota. Constantine listed that he was born in Macedonia and spoke Bulgarian; Costa listed that he was born in Macedonia and spoke Macedonian. Given that George Pirinsky moved to Hibbing when he came to the US, and given the closer age proximity he was to Constantine, and given the fact that Pirinsky occasionally said that he spoke Bulgarian, it is most likely that Constantine was his brother.

Pirinsky to have the best life possible and to not be burdened by these ideological struggles. So, he sent his son to school in Kyustendil.⁵

Pirinsky, however, was a rebellious youth. He scorned his family's bourgeois lifestyle and became infatuated with Marxism at the age of sixteen. He entrenched himself so deeply into the study of Marxism that it distracted him from his school work. After the First World War ended and Macedonia remained subdued under three occupiers, Pirinsky became an organizer of socialist and democrat groups in the Pirin region. However, many reasons led to his eventual emigration from his homeland. On one hand, he was unable to find work in Pirin Macedonia.⁶ On the other hand, a successful coup was staged in Bulgaria with fascists leading the reins, including right-wing Macedonians such as Todor Aleksandrov and Ivan Mihajlov. Pirinsky rejected the terrorism perpetuated by this violent right-wing branch of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) and sought to escape their reign. Leaders of MPO claimed he left Macedonia because his family had a "bad-reputation" in Pirin Macedonia.

Perhaps a combination of these reasons likely caused Pirinsky to leave; but regardless, he left with little regrets. He entered the United States at the age of 22 on August 1, 1923 on a valid immigration visa. He arrived in New York City on the French Steamer *Rochambeau*, where he declared himself "Macedonian by race and Yugoslav by nationality." From New York, he immediately went to Hibbing, Minnesota and joined his brother Constantine. Constantine quickly found him work and Pirinsky's first job was as a laborer for a general contractor named John S. Sieverts.9

In 1924 Pirinsky began working for the Orwell Iron Mining Company at the Dunwoody Mine in Hibbing. During the following two years, he also worked odd jobs for the Village of Hibbing and as a member of a section gang in the Great Northern Railroad Company. 10 Moreover, for a few months in

1924, he lived in Madison, Illinois (where there was a thriving Macedonian and immigrant colony) and worked at the American Car and Foundry Company. By 1926 he had resettled in Pontiac, Michigan where he worked for the City's Water Department and in automobile factories for about four years before permanently settling in Detroit for the next fifteen years.¹¹

His personal life – if it can be said that he had a life outside of his work life, which was essentially one and the same – was also complicated and bumpy. In the late 1920s, Pirinsky took a trip to Paris where he was to meet his Macedonian fiancé and marry her. But being that both of them were subjects of Bulgaria and not residents of France, they could not marry. Their life together was not to be.

His first wife, however, was a Russian-born, left-wing radical named Mary Prihodoff.¹³ Mary, who was born in Siberia on January 7, 1915,¹⁴ received her citizenship after her father, Nikon, became naturalized in Cleveland in 1929.¹⁵

The two met through their progressive work but not until Pirinsky had been in America for nearly two decades. Mary eventually moved from Cleveland to Detroit in the late summer of 1942 and was employed with the Red Cross. ¹⁶ A few months later in September, the two married in Detroit. ¹⁷

Not even five years later, however, Mary filed for divorce. Pirinsky's work took him away from the home for weeks or longer and he fell into the trap of temptation. He had an affair with an American-born woman of Czechoslovakian descent: Pauline Klopacka. Pauline was born in New York City, to where Pirinsky and Mary had resettled in the mid-1940s, and worked as an editor for a local newspaper. Pirinsky's work brought him close to her and the circles he associated with caught on to this fling quickly. As the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported, the affair "was affecting the work of the American-Slav Congress" and "was a matter of gossip in various cities." Thus, upon Mary discovering Pirinsky's

trespass, she filed for divorce and was granted one on June 4, 1947. She moved back to Cleveland; not even a month later, Pirinsky married Pauline. 18

But the man with a visible half-inch scar on his right cheek and a mole under his left eye, the man who was clean-shaven and looked nearly a decade younger than his actual age, would not last much longer in America.¹⁹ By 1951, after a grueling investigation and – for all intents and purposes – a witch-hunt, he was evicted from the country. He was shipped back to Bulgaria where he joined the communists after he was forced to declare himself a Bulgarian in order to do so.²⁰

Pirinsky's nearly three decades in America have proven be an unwinnable chase concerning the discovery of valid and accurate information on all of his activities and writings. Pirinsky himself admitted to using George Zaikoff, George Nicholoff, George Pirinsky and George Bratloff as aliases.²¹ However, because Pirinsky used several other pennames and aliases, and because newspapers, journalists and others often found it difficult to correctly spell Pirinsky's aliases upon hearing them, many other variants were attributed to Pirinsky. Some of them included: George Nicholoff Pirinsky, George Pirinski, George Parinsky, George Perinski, George Nicholoff Zaicoff, George Nicholoff Zykoff, George Nickoloff, Georges Nicoloff, George Nickov, and George Peicheff.²² No one really knows how many more names he used that are unattributed to him.

Still, the information available about Pirinsky is extensive. In the 1930s and 1940s, the FBI and the House UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC) pursued an extensive investigation into Pirinsky, and many of those documents have been made public. From these documents, as well as from newspapers, articles and books, we learn about Pirinsky from his own words and from the perspectives of others; from those who were his close associates as well as from those who were opposed to his activities, both Macedonian and American.

What appears in the following pages, I hope, is a holistic (even though incomplete) and fair rendition of Pirinsky's role in the MPL and the ASC, as well as a more extensive record on those two organizations than has previously been examined or disclosed.

II. The Macedonian People's League

While working on the automobile assembly line in Pontiac, some German-American communists discovered Pirinsky's gift for oration. Being that he was well-versed in progressive and communist ideals, these German-Americans encouraged Pirinsky to organize Macedonian workers and to convince them to join the labor movement.²³ He had been in America for barely three years when his quest to organize and mobilize the left-wing Macedonians began.

To be sure, there were many left-wing Macedonians in America. These Macedonians – as with many Macedonians – were in America primarily to earn some money for their families who remained in the old country. Most of these immigrants were men with no intentions of remaining in the United States. Still, many did indeed remain and even brought their families to America; however, there weren't massive organizations of Macedonians. Village associations popped up throughout the country and churches provided a gathering place for many, and occasional movements to support Macedonians in the wars of the 1910s sprouted. However, it wasn't until the early 1920s that Macedonians and small Macedonian groups in the States were organized, from the direct orders of right-wing IMRO leadership in Macedonia. This Macedonian organization, the MPO, was to serve as a

source of funds and advocacy for the right-wing Macedonian faction. Albeit, most Macedonians in the MPO or who attended their functions had no idea about the allegiances and associations of the MPO founders and leadership, especially its Bulgarian connections and leanings. Many of those Macedonians who knew, stayed away.

Pirinsky understood this, which is why he became one of Macedonian-Americans' strongest advocates against the MPO leadership's Bulgarian nationalism and right-wing fanaticism.²⁴ To Pirinsky, Macedonia was a divided country and Bulgaria was one of the occupiers, as evidenced in his testimony to the U.S. Congress:

I was born in Macedonia at the time that was under Turkey. In 1912, the Balkan War broke out; and, after that, the Second Balkan War, and Macedonia was divided between the three Balkan countries that fought Turkey. My part of Macedonia was given to Bulgaria; so at that time I became a citizen of Bulgaria, because of that division of the country. That was under King Boris. I have not renewed my citizenship in Bulgaria; so, actually, I am a citizen of the world.²⁵

Thus, Pirinsky found an opportunity to assemble those Macedonians who would not join forces with the right-wing MPO. His first attempt to form such a group was in 1927 in Toledo, Ohio, 80 miles south of his home in Pontiac. This group was truly an informal gathering of Macedonians, with Pirinsky initiating meetings and preaching about labor and progressive ideas, as well as Macedonian politics. Still, it was the spark for the creation of the MPL and other left-wing Macedonian groups.²⁶

By the next year, Pirinsky had enough Macedonian support to begin circulating a newspaper called *The Macedonian Bulletin*. It was in this publication, in 1928, where Pirinsky first "organized a committee of Macedonians to coordinate messages, and distribute a socialist newspaper, the *Macedonian*

Bulletin, which criticized the MPO for its conservative politics and for opposing the establishment of a sovereign Macedonia."²⁷ Pirinsky envisioned an independent Macedonia, or at least a Macedonian republic within a Balkan federation. The MPO's views on the issue was confused and scattered at best, sometimes arguing for the same, and other times arguing for a Macedonian federation with Bulgaria.

The formation of the MPL as it was known throughout the 1930s and 1940s came during the following year, in 1929. Pirinsky and a Macedonian by the name of Cross Mischeff were the initiators and organizers. After some deliberations, the two recruited Smile Voydanoff to be the chairman of the MPL. FBI Special Agent Charles Solomon noted that they probably chose Voydanoff to be the chairman "because he was a rather wellto-do elderly man who had an intense interest in gaining the ultimate freedom of Macedonia and the Balkan states."28 He had led a guerilla band during "the Balkan war for independence from Greece"29 and had no greater desire than to see a free Macedonia. An FBI informant claimed that he had once warned Voydanoff that he was being misled into acting as a front for a Communist organization.³⁰ Voydanoff either didn't believe the informant or didn't care because he himself was aligned with Pirinsky's goals to establish an independent Macedonian nation and was opposed to MPO's agenda.

Regardless, Voydanoff was a smart pick to be a central figure of the MPL. With Voydanoff as a top figure in MPL, it would be easier for many Macedonians who respected him (whether or not they were with the MPO) to flock to the MPL. Meanwhile, Pirinsky was the driving force of the organization and was elected its secretary,³¹ and Mischeff became editor of their newspaper, called *Soznanie* (Consciousness).³² Before Mischeff became the editor of *Soznanie*, however, it was edited by the former editor of the Socialist Labor Party newspaper in Granite City, Illinois. However, this individual was expelled from the Communist Party in 1932 and returned to the

Balkans.³³ Thus, these three men formed the first central committee of the organization.³⁴

The purpose of the MPL, as stated in Article 1 of the organization, was the following:

The MPL aims to help, with all its efforts, the liberation and unification of Macedonia in an independent people's republic and its joining as an equal member of the future Balkan federation of the free Balkan nations.³⁵

Pirinsky stressed this purpose many years later at a U.S. Congressional investigation into his alleged communist ties, when senators were accusing him of taking orders from Tito. Pirinsky insisted that MPL's fight for Macedonia's freedom originated long before they knew of Tito's existence or involvement in Macedonia.³⁶

According to the MPL's Articles of Incorporation, however, the MPL's purpose was "to educate the Macedonian-Americans in the spirit of American democracy." This tune was echoed often, especially in front of American audiences, such as when advertising their annual convention in 1940, claiming that the organization was founded for the purpose of educating Macedonian immigrants in the spirit of true American democracy and to give moral and material support in the struggle of the Macedonian people for national liberation. ³⁸

Pirinsky, though, acknowledged that the underling purpose of the group was "to get moral support in the United States with the program of obtaining an independent Balkan Federation"³⁹ with Macedonia as an equal republic. Pirinsky stressed that the MPL "did not believe in a forceful formation of Macedonia but would give financial aid to a 'political policy' for Macedonian independence." ⁴⁰ This was likely not just fodder to please and appease an unsuspecting public: Pirinsky and the Macedonian progressives were, in general, disheartened and disgusted by the terroristic activities of the

right-wing Macedonians (in Macedonia) that killed and targeted other Macedonians who ideologically disagreed with them.

The IMRO's right-wing group in America, the MPO, communicated a different reason for MPL's existence. According to an FBI informant named Tsvetco Anastasoff, an elderly but strong supporter of the MPO, the MPL was directed from abroad by Georgi Dimitrov, a Macedonian exiled from Bulgaria and living in Russia and serving as secretary of the Third International there (Dimitrov would eventually become the Prime Minister of Bulgaria). Anastasoff claimed that Dimitrov ordered MPL members to "conduct an open campaign of hate" against the MPO. These orders appeared in the *Soznanie* newspaper, according to Anastasoff.⁴¹ Undoubtedly, MPL's goals were to counter the ideology of the MPO, and anti-MPO activity became a significant part of its agenda.

Mischeff and Pirinsky, however, often disputed over the structure and purpose of the organization. Mischeff insisted that the organization ought to be "out and out communist" while Pirinsky wanted it to be a "united front organization."⁴² The extent to which the *Soznanie* newspaper should be used for supporting communism, along with a brief shortage of funds, heightened their disagreements.⁴³ The U.S. Communist Party arbitrated this dispute after several years of disagreements by sending a communist official from New York City⁴⁴ to preside over their dispute; and in 1936 Mischeff was kicked out of both the Communist Party and the MPL.

Soznanie was then changed to Balkansko Zdruzhenine (United Balkans), which was not as openly communist as the preceding newspaper, but held similar views to the Daily Worker on issues regarding labor, Nazism, and Russia. George (or Nikola) Kovacheff then assumed most of the paper's editorial responsibilities so Pirinsky could travel and organize Macedonians across the nation. In the 1940s, this paper

became *Narodna Volya* (People's Will), and was published by MPL with a man named Peter Grigoroff as its editor.⁴⁷ Although not openly communist, *Narodna Volya* advocated social revolution by the working class⁴⁸ and many of its articles were written by Pirinsky himself.⁴⁹ As assistant editor of the paper, Pirinsky earned about \$30 per week, giving him about \$1,600 per year. He eventually went on to also edit the *Michigan Slav*.⁵⁰

Purpose and control aside, the group's activities accelerated quickly. In 1930, Pirinsky formed the Macedonian Progressive Group-Vardar,⁵¹ which operated in close cooperation with MPL. A MPL chapter then sprouted in Lackawanna, New York (near Buffalo),52 where there was a substantial population of Macedonians (many who traveled fluidly between Buffalo and Toronto, just on the other side of the border). Soon after, MPL chapters appeared in several cities in Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois. Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin Minnesota. The majority of MPL's paying members lived in Detroit, Akron (Ohio), and Madison and Granite City (Illinois).53

important battleground However, chapters elsewhere. For example, in 1935, Pirinsky traveled Pennsylvania to persuade these Macedonians into his cause. He primarily focused on Macedonians in Duquesne, McKeesport, and Homestead.⁵⁴ This area was critical because the MPO had made significant strides with Pennsylvania's Macedonians and the MPL wanted to win back those Macedonians. Also, the Racine, Wisconsin chapter formed in 1934. Like most chapters, the Racine group was fairly independent, but they paid annual dues to the national organization and would send delegates to the national convention.⁵⁵ But being that there were not many Macedonians in Wisconsin and that the MPL managed to open a chapter there gave MPL an advantage over the MPO in Wisconsin. These different chapters sometimes existed under different names, such as the Macedonian Society or the Macedonian American Society.⁵⁶

The MPL pursued their goals through three primary strategies. First, they held rallies, picnics and annual conventions to organize around objectives and to raise money. Second, the writing and disseminating of literature was critical to their success. For their Macedonian audiences, MPL would use its weekly newspapers; for American audiences, members would often write commentaries and letters-to-the-editor in their hometown newspapers. Finally, direct activism played no small role in MPL's strategy. Sometimes this activism would revolve around organizing strikes or meeting with politicians; other times it meant confronting the MPO.

Annual Convention, Events and Meetings

MPL's annual convention was the national conference meeting for all MPL chapters. These conventions served four purposes: to report on MPL's accomplishments; to draft and vote on resolutions regarding important issues; to outline the upcoming year's agenda; and to provide a venue for Macedonians from around the country to socialize. Each year the convention would rotate between cities that were home to MPL chapters. Some conventions saw upwards of 4,000 people in attendance.

The first convention was held in 1931, about a year after MPL came into existence on a national level. This first convention, along with the following three, were relatively small. MPL was still building a base and competing with the MPO for members. Because they did not have a strong following yet, MPL held its convention in the spring to not conflict with MPO's annual convention on Labor Day weekend. However, Pirinsky and his followers persevered in pursuing their agenda, and by the mid-1930s, the MPL convention became an enormous affair within the Macedonian-American community.

MPL's fifth annual convention in 1935 was held in Akron from May 30 to June 2. The president of the Akron chapter during this time, T. P. Markoff, led the planning and organization for the conference. About 150 delegates attended representing 36 MPL chapters and other progressive Macedonian organizations in the United States and Canada (mostly from greater Toronto and Windsor).⁵⁷ Each chapter sent only a handful of elected delegates to represent their views, with Lake County, Indiana sending one of the largest delegations (eight Macedonians led be William Evanoff)⁵⁸ while the Minneapolis chapter, consisting of about 60 members with George Naumoff as its president, sent one official delegate: George Stoncheff.⁵⁹ MPL's membership had soared to 1,200 people and the convention saw several hundred people cram the German American Hall on Grant Street.⁶⁰

The opening day of the convention was on a Thursday and it commenced with the central committee updating members and delegates with its annual report. Following this update, there was a banquet in honor of delegates and specially invited guests from the American progressive movement.61 A Macedonian band from Canton, Ohio furnished the music for the weekend, and there was a news broadcast of the event on Sunday afternoon.⁶² This broadcast coincided with a public demonstration at Perkins Square and Pleasant Park "against Macedonian by oppression of people governments."63 In particular, the Yugoslav, Greek and Bulgarian governments.

The convention's two main speakers were Emma Eloff of Gary and Nicola Kovacheff of Detroit.⁶⁴ Their speeches focused on devising ways to support the struggle of Macedonian people in order to "free their country for the toiling masses against the national and social oppression by the governments of Jugo-Slavia, Greece and Bulgaria."⁶⁵ Eloff, Kovacheff and other speakers repeatedly denounced the "executions of hundreds of anti-Fascists in Macedonia and Bulgaria."⁶⁶

The sixth MPL convention in 1936 was held in Detroit during the week of July 4th. Over 100 delegates from 26 different chapters filled the German Hall on Michigan Avenue and 26th Street to review their goals and agenda. Their primary topic of discussion regarded the liberation of Macedonian political prisoners in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece.⁶⁷ In divided Macedonia, many Macedonians who declared a separate Macedonian identity and actively sought for public or official recognition of such were either harassed, beaten, jailed or killed. The 1930s were especially hard for Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece.

By the late 1930s, MPL had grown significantly and made a political move to force people to choose between it and the MPO. They accomplished this by holding their eighth convention in 1938 on Labor Day weekend,⁶⁸ the same weekend of the MPO convention. The MPO met in Buffalo⁶⁹ while MPL's delegates met in Madison, Illinois.⁷⁰ This MPL Madison chapter was named the "P. Tchaulev" chapter (after a reputable left-wing Macedonian) and Paul Klyasheff was its chairman.⁷¹

This was a smart meeting-ground for MPL because the MPO had never established a base in Madison or Granite City in southern Illinois, which at one time had the largest Macedonian colony in America. The MPO never held a convention in Madison or Granite City in its entire history, with the closest one being in St. Louis – and there, only once and not until 1942.⁷² Therefore, even if the MPL could not get numerous Macedonians from Pennsylvania or New York to attend because of the MPO convention in Buffalo, the MPL convention would still have a large showing.

This was also an especially important location because, as mentioned, Madison was "one of the oldest Macedonian colonies in the United States" and "many of the old Macedonians in Madison took an active part in the national revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian people against the

oppression of the sultans" such as during the unsuccessful 1903 Ilinden Uprising.⁷³ These Macedonians were much less inclined to have been swayed by Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian propaganda and wanted nothing but an independent and united Macedonian republic. Thus, many familiar themes penetrated the speeches of this convention.

However, the issue that garnered the most attention was the accelerated uptick of Greek officials refusing to deliver letters written in Macedonian or English to Macedonian relatives in Greece sent by Macedonian-Americans. The MPL agreed to stage a significant protest movement and obtain signatures on petition lists, which they would hand-deliver as a protest to the Greek Ambassador in Washington, D.C.⁷⁴ The convention also highlighted a related and more pressing issue: how the General Metaxas government of Greece would not permit Macedonians under Greek occupation to speak and converse in their native tongue.⁷⁵

The new weekend for MPL's convention was successful and for the group's tenth convention they moved it to more contested territory: Lackawanna, New York. This location was important because of its proximity to Buffalo and Toronto, which contained one of the largest Macedonian communities in North America. So, on Labor Day weekend in 1940, the MPL held its 10th convention at the Dom Polski (the Polish House) in Lackawanna. Smile Voydanoff, who was still the national chairman of the MPL, kicked off the convention. And Pirinsky, who was still the secretary of the MPL and would remain so until it no longer existed, read the annual reports for the convention. Dr. George Popoff of Buffalo filmed the event in color for what was likely the first time that it was filmed in color.76 Other notable delegates included those from the Massillon, Ohio chapter, such as Tom Poskoff, who was a member of the MPL central committee; and Philip and Olga Nicoloff of the local MPL branch. Lewis Misheff also came as a representative of the International Workers Order (I.W.O.).77

Also in attendance was the leader of the Rochester, New York MPL branch, Mitode Carsetff, a well-respected and notable Macedonian in the area.⁷⁸

With war engulfing Europe and the Balkans, Macedonian matters did not dominate convention issues as they historically did. The Macedonians were certainly concerned with Macedonia's fate in the war, but they were also concerned about how America's involvement in the war would impact their lives in America. Thus, the MPL passed a resolution to "unite with the American people to keep the United States out of war with Europe." This resolution supported the national defense program as long as it didn't encourage fighting abroad. Voydanoff was reelected national chairman,⁷⁹ and the convention closed with a social excursion to the Niagara Falls.⁸⁰

By now, the MPL convention had established itself as a critically important annual event for Macedonian-Americans, both politically and socially. The 11th convention in 1941 was held in Gary, Indiana and included performances on accordion by Angeline Evanoff of Hammond and Lillian Gulaboff of Gary. Evanoff also played a xylophone solo accompanied by Irene Sikora.⁸¹ In attendance were 80 national officers and 2,000 delegates and guests.⁸²

Aside from entertainment, one of the main speakers at the convention was Peter Grigoroff. Grigoroff, who recently became editor of MPL's Narodna Volya, spoke about his recent brush with European politics and terror. Grigoroff recounted how, after the Nazi invasion, he was forced to flee Macedonia for having served as a counsel for defendants charged with setting a fire that destroyed the Reichstag (the German Parliament building) in Berlin, Germany. These three defendants were prominent Macedonian communists, including Georgi Dimitrov (with roots from Bansko, like Pirinsky) and Vasil Tanev from Gevgelija, Macedonia.⁸³ Pirinsky had fervently praised Dimitrov and the others for standing up against Nazism during their trial in Germany.⁸⁴

The 12th MPL convention in 1942 was held at Hotel Secor in Toledo. In charge of organizing the event were: Tom Christoff, Tom Pasheff, Blagoy Kirlanoff, Radko Georgieff, Mike Beleff, Stephanka Shtereff, Franka Krilanoff, Nick Jackson, Dimiter Kolchagoff, George Paunoff, and George Pirinsky. ⁸⁵ An FBI informant stated that there were between 3,000 and 4,000 people in attendance at this event, and that \$6,000 was collected for the Russian War Relief effort. The informant also noted that, for several months preceding the convention, Pirinsky would travel to Toledo every Friday to help arrange and prepare for the event. ⁸⁶ Pirinsky's involvement and dedication was welcomed, for this was one of MPL's largest conventions in its history.

The conventions' politics throughout most of the 1940s focused on World War II and then war relief efforts. But Pirinsky found ways to strike a balance between attacking antiprogressive Macedonians as well as supporting America's war efforts. For example, at MPL's 14th annual convention in Detroit in 1944, Pirinsky stressed that the "Macedonians have been resolute foes of Nazi leaders of the Macedonian Political Organization who regarded the Nazi subjugation of the Balkans as an act of liberation." George Naumoff, of MPL's Minnesota branch, echoed this dedication to opposing Nazism and praising Pirinsky's work:

This Macedonian Peoples League that we got, I'm telling you it was not an easy job. For instance, during the Second World War, it was needed that you get every Tom, Dick, and Harry behind the work to defeat Hitlerism. A fellow by the name of George Pirinsky he was the secretary of the Macedonian Peoples League, a very able man you know.⁸⁸

After World War II ended, the MPL conventions' focus shifted to the Civil War in Greece. But the MPL soon found themselves blacklisted as a subversive group and would be forced to shut down their operations, putting a temporary halt to progressive Macedonian action in America for several years in the 1950s.

While the annual convention was the most widely attended and appreciated MPL function, other events and meetings – both at the national and local levels – fostered avenues for advocating MPL's agenda. For example, on April 29, 1934, the MPL met at the Lithuanian Hall in Rochester, New York to listen to Mrs. Emma Eloff give a speech on 'Macedonian Unity'. The meeting was sponsored by the Balkan Unification of Rochester organization.⁸⁹

A larger event was held in early August of that year by the Macedonian Progressive Group "Ilinden" of Gary. They hosted a picnic at Macedonian Grove, located on 57th and Massachusetts Street, to commemorate 31 years since the Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia. They invited other Macedonian progressive groups in northern Indiana and Chicago. Around one thousand people showed up, and they were treated with an address by Nicola Kovacheff, one of the leading MPL leaders at the time.⁹⁰

There was another large Ilinden commemoration event in August of 1941 in Akron and sponsored by the Akron chapter of the MPL. Members from the Lorain, Cleveland, Massillon, Canton and Mansfield branches of the MPL were in attendance. At the celebration, Pirinsky addressed the crowd on the war in Europe: "Macedonian-Americans strongly condemn the present Nazi policy and will pledge moral support to their kinsmen in the Balkans in the fight against the German, Italian and Bulgarian oppressors." He also stated that the Macedonians would likely approve a resolution approving of President Roosevelt's policy of all-out aid to the countries fighting Hitlerism.⁹¹

These MPL social events were popular throughout the States. The MPL held a picnic in late August of 1935 in Mansfield at the Michael Nadason farm, where there was Macedonian music, games, contests and refreshments.⁹² On

February 4, 1940, the MPL Rochester branch held a dance at the Lithuanian Hall. ⁹³ In winter of 1942, Penka Lamar traveled from Seattle to Detroit to sing Macedonian songs at the Bohemian Hall. The MPL and the Macedonian-American Youth Club sponsored the event, with Nicholas Marcoff, Alex Shutkoff, and Norman Yurucoff in charge of the event. ⁹⁴

But many more of the MPL meetings and events revolved around organizing Macedonians to advocate for American progressive issues and Macedonian issues in the Balkans. The 1940s especially saw an explosion of MPL activity with regards to the war in Europe. In September of 1941, Macedonians and Bulgarians met at the Bohemian Hall in Detroit "to define their attitude with regard to their native land's military alignment with the Axis powers." There was also to be an appeal to get Macedonians and Bulgarians to support Roosevelt's foreign policy for Balkan liberation.

Stoyan Christowe, a renowned Macedonian-American author at the time and a Vermont politician in the 1970s, was the event's main speaker and he described the conditions he saw in Europe. Pirinsky echoed much of what Christowe spoke and added:

Many of our fellow Americans are inclined to believe that because the Sofia Government sided with Nazi Germany, most Bulgarians and Macedonians in America, too, are pro-Nazi. Nothing is more untrue. Americans of Bulgarian and Macedonian descent are resolute foes of Nazism as well as any type of dictatorship. As Americans we cannot but condemn ideologies of violence, hatred and prejudices.⁹⁵

However, the event did not completely succeed in bringing Macedonians and Bulgarians on the same side. While many of the progressive Bulgarians were anti-Nazism, they were not all accepting of an independent Macedonian nation or separate Macedonian identity and language. Thus, the MPL initiated another gathering of Macedonians and Bulgarians in Detroit at

Welcome Park on 15 ½ Mile Road. The stated purpose was to "rally Bulgarians and Macedonians here in support of the two-day All National Congress which will open here July 17." Speakers included George Pirinsky and Peter Grigoreff. This event also attempted to unite Macedonians and Bulgarians in support of America's war policies. 97

On January 31, 1944, there was a meeting of 250 Macedonians and some Bulgarians, representing a wide variety of groups, held at the Czechoslovakian Hall in Detroit. Principal speakers included Blagoy Popoff, an alleged communist from Gary, and Nicola Kovacheff and Pirinsky from the MPL. Pirinsky's speech, which was in favor of winning the war and a defeat of the German and Bulgarian armies, won wide praise from the audience. Some turmoil erupted, however, when Cross Mischeff attempted to speak at the meeting. But he was shut down and removed from the hall. The Macedonians calmed down and the speakers refocused their messages entirely on the effort to win the war. Popular Parketing and Parketin

In October of 1944, Pirinsky toured the Midwest as MPL's secretary, giving speeches and raising money from Macedonians in several cities. He visited the environs of Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, and Toledo, 102 where there were booming Macedonian populations. Around the same time, the MPL sent a telegram to Tito, signed by Voydanoff and Pirinsky, hailing the liberation of Skopje, "the main Macedonian town," from the Germans. They additionally acknowledged that the Macedonians were aided by the Yugoslav Army and certain regiments of the Bulgarian army who had turned against the Nazis and the Bulgarian regime. 103

With the new changes in Balkan politics (especially being that Macedonia was now considered an equal republic to the other republics in Yugoslavia), there was an uneasy atmosphere amongst Macedonians in the United States on how to proceed. Thus, on November 9, 1944, there was a gathering of many Macedonians at the Detroiter Hotel in Detroit. This

meeting included delegates from the two main adversarial Macedonian organizations, the MPL and the MPO, as well as the Macedono-Bulgarian church, the Tetovo Association, and several other smaller groups. Due to some miscommunication, the Bouf Association was invited but could not attend. The Macedonians proceeded to elect a provisional committee that would serve as a unifying organization of the different Macedonian groups. Elected to this provisional committee were: Penka, the chairman; Stanchev, the secretary; and members including the priest of the church; Alexander Dimitrov, representing the MPO; a local leader of the MPL chapter; Tasha Diney, representing the "Union"; Gligorov representing Narodna Volia; Mishev and Father Vishen of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Congress; Donka representing the Women's Aid Company; Dusan Mark representing the Tetovo Association; and Dusan Geroinov of the MPL. The goal was, however, for each organization to elect two representatives to form a permanent committee. On November 13, they held another meeting, this time with the Bouf Association in attendance, ¹⁰⁴ but the differences between MPO and MPL were too great to overcome.

Literature and Propaganda

The MPL and Pirinsky continually used literature and propaganda to achieve their goals. Pirinsky himself published several pamphlets – both in Macedonian and English – that were read by thousands of people. Other MPL members contributed articles to MPL's newspapers or to their local newspapers. Often times they found their thoughts attracting widespread attention. Their primary focus was on the independence of the Macedonian people, the uniqueness of the Macedonian identity, and the atrocities and dangers faced by Macedonians under Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian rule. Pirinsky himself described the purpose of MPL's newspaper as not having any attitude toward America or American politics,

but instead "to organize the Macedonians to give support to a movement in the Old Country." He acknowledged that the editors were of the opinion that Greece and Yugoslavia were especially oppressing the Macedonians during this time, but that it did not advocate for the overthrow of these governments by force.¹⁰⁵

Clearly, though, Macedonians were pushing for change in the Balkans. In 1934, the MPL published a document that Macedonians "neither Serbs. are insisted Bulgarians but a separate Macedonian nation which is fighting for its national liberation and separation into its own Macedonian state."106 In a pamphlet entitled Free Macedonia Will Strengthen Democracy in the Balkans, Memorandum on the Macedonian Question that Pirinsky and Voydanoff co-wrote, the MPL stated: "The basic errors of all previous attempts to solve the Macedonian problem lies in the fact that the desire and struggle of the Macedonian people for freedom and national independence was completely ignored, with dire consequences for the peace of the Balkans."107

The Communist Party in the Balkans and Russia were certainly following the writings and activities of Pirinsky and the MPL in the United States. On May 13, 1934, Georgi Dimitrov, who became head of the Bulgarian Communist Party, wrote a letter to Pirinsky, which was published in MPL's newspaper. It stated:

Only the united revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian people in close alliance with the workers and peasants of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece, can bring to victory the Macedonian revolution for liberation. Only the Soviet system as the experience of the great Soviet Union glaringly proved, can guarantee final national liberation and complete national unification.¹⁰⁸

And Pirinsky often found himself frustrated with the uneasy alliance between communists and fascists. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Pirinsky and the MPL came out strongly against

Hitler and his partnership with Bulgaria. Pirinsky in particular abhorred Stalin's cooperation with Hitler in the early years; and as Stalin and Hitler began to split, Pirinsky wrote more articles that openly and directly attacked Hitler. 109

Separate MPL branches also published their own statements. In February of 1939, Hammond's MPL Macedonians issued a statement in support of FDR's plan supporting an international conference to solve the world's problems. The chairman of the Hammond chapter, Nick Androff, released and read the statement:

In order that the Balkans and the world might not be faced with a new Sudeten or Ruthenian question, the Macedonian public appeals to the world to support the Macedonian people in their struggle for:

- 1. Edging the extremely unbearable oppressive policy in Macedonia.
- 2. Sanctifying the right of Macedonia to be treated as an independent national unit.
- 3. Guaranteeing the right to educate and cultivate themselves in the spirit and traditions of their half a century struggle.
- 4. Setting up the provincial self-determination of the separate parts of Macedonia.
- 5. Granting complete amnesty to all Macedonian prisoners.¹¹⁰

There was much suspicion, however, of Macedonia's connection with Bulgaria due to MPO's Bulgarian propaganda in the United States. MPL members tried to ward off this misinformation whenever they could. For example, on October 7, 1940, Korun Georgieff of the Racine branch of MPL

vehemently denied that Macedonians who were secretly meeting in Bulgaria to revive a movement to join Macedonia to Bulgaria represented the will of the Macedonian people. He wrote in a letter that:

[These Macedonians] do not represent the Macedonian people and do not express the desires of the Macedonians. The movement for reunion with Bulgaria has been discredited as a harmful attempt on the part of various Bulgarian governments to dominate the movement for Macedonian independence and use it for their own imperialistic designs. The Macedonian people never wished to and do not wish to be attached to any of the three Balkan states, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, whose fascist and semi-fascist governments have subjected Macedonians to horrible national oppression. The Macedonians fight for national independence and brotherly co-operation with the other Balkan people in a democratic federation of free people's republics.¹¹¹

After the Second World War, MPL focused nearly almost all of their writings on the situation that Macedonians faced in Greece. Given that about half of the Macedonians in America were from Aegean Macedonia (the section of Macedonia occupied by Greece in 1913), there was no lack of support amongst Macedonians in America to advocate for this cause. On August 4, 1945, Pirinsky published an article in the Daily Worker that pleaded for Macedonian unity and protested against Greek persecution of Macedonians. He recalled that Macedonian Independence day was on August 2, 1945, and they celebrated their temporary victory over their Turkish overlords in 1903. "He stated that the creation of a free Macedonia as a federal unit of the new Yugoslavia has inspired all freedom loving Macedonians with new hope of seeing their fatherland at last united and freed. He further stated that a large section of Macedonia [was] under Greek control and that in this area Greek Royalists [were] now persecuting thousands of Macedonians."112

Shortly after that article, Pirinsky published his 24-page pamphlet entitled For a Free Macedonia. His purpose in publishing the pamphlet was "to increase the knowledge of the American people on the real situation of the people of Macedonia" and to acquaint the American public with their past history and future aspirations. Pirinsky explained how the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians fought for their freedom throughout the 19th century and succeeded in ousting their emphasized, however, that Turkish masters. He Macedonians weren't sitting by idly. He explained the purpose and necessity of the Ilinden uprising in 1903 and how the Macedonians were joined by their Balkan neighbors to defeat the Turks. But Macedonia was divided between these neighbors and "one set of persecutors was only exchanged for another."113

He also explained that on November 29, 1943, Yugoslavia declared itself a federation of six states and that one of these new states was Macedonia. On August 2, 1944, Macedonian delegates met in Bitola to "set up a Macedonian government with free electoral franchises for all citizens over the age of eighteen." In the meantime, after the Bulgarian revolution of September of 1944, the Bulgarian government declared "they would no longer lay claim to Macedonian territory." The only uncertain aspect of the whole muddle was Greece's attitude, "which has thus far shown itself unfriendly toward Macedonian aspirations." With this explanation, Pirinsky and the MPL believed the Bulgarian aspirations on Macedonian land and nation were over and that the last remaining battle was with Greece.

In July of 1947, George Naumoff, president of the Minneapolis branch of MPL, wrote a lengthy letter to the editor. He criticized Greece and made a plea of autonomy for Macedonia. In his letter he stated that the "Macedonian nationality has been recorded in history since the Fourth century B.C. Philip II of Macedonia came to the throne at 359

B.C. Philip, in the battel of Chaeronea, 338 B.C., conquered and subdued the Greeks." His article explained the history of Macedonia from the fall of Alexander the Great to the Roman conquest of Macedonia. He talked about how Macedonia was the "cradle of Slavic culture" in the Middle Ages and how "Macedonia came under Turkish domination during the 15th century." He emphasized that at the end of the 19th century Gladstone suggested that Macedonians should be given self-rule.¹¹⁵

Naumoff then transitioned into talking about Macedonia's freedom fighters and the modern Macedonian dilemma: "The liberty loving Gotse Delchev in the district of Salonica and Dame Grouev in the district of Bitolia organized the IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization)." He explained how Macedonia's neighbors divided Macedonia after helping to free her. After World War I, he described that the "Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks took oppressive measures to obliterate the Macedonian name and denationalize its people." Then he arrived at the present day by explaining how Serbia and Macedonia were now equals in a Yugoslav republic. Naumoff emphasized that there was now an urgency to help the Macedonians defend themselves from Greek misrule:

The Macedonians under Greek rule want, together with the democratic Greeks, a people's representative government and rights for minorities. They want national freedom, the same as their brethren in Yugoslavia enjoy, and they want a self-ruled republic.¹¹⁶

Further, in 1947, the Macedonian People's League published a treatise entitled *Greek Terror in Aegean Macedonia*, where they "charged that the Greek royalist government of King George II and Prime Minister Constantine Tsaldaris had systematically persecuted, tortured, and killed thousands" of Macedonians during the civil war in Greece.¹¹⁷

And around the time that the MPL was blacklisted by the American government, Hristo Tseman of the Minneapolis MPL chapter wrote a letter to the editor in February of 1950 regarding the Macedonian situation in Greece. The letter stated:

The 28,000 children referred to are mostly of Macedonian Slav nationality; their homes are in so-called northern Greece, whose historical name is Macedonia. They were not abducted but were sent away to friendly neighboring countries for safety while their parents were fighting the Greek monarch for liberty and a republican form of government. Unfortunately, America sent military aid to the Greek king. On the very day President Truman was inaugurated, 22 Macedonian autonomists were condemned to death by the Greek king's military court. They were not Moscow agents, but fought on their own soil for national existence.

These children, many orphaned by American-made bullets, are not taught any subversive indoctrination. They are taught in their own language, which is Macedonian Slav, to love their nationality, to love their land which is Macedonia, and to strive for its liberation and unification.

Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 amongst Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, who had wrested it from the Turk and then, instead of liberating it as they promised, fought against one another for its dismemberment. Since that year there has been a constant struggle in the three parts of Macedonia for freedom. In Bulgaria, the Macedonians were subjected to the most cruel tyranny, their national movement was suppressed with much bloodshed. In Serbia, their nationality was denied, their language was forbidden and their loot of Macedonia was called Southern Serbia. Last week Tito's court condemned to death two Macedonian autonomists and six to life imprisonment. Factually, Macedonia's struggle for liberty has been going on for a hundred years.

The only way to bring peace in the Balkans is to set Macedonia free. It is time for the American people to campaign for this noble cause. 118

Pirinsky and the MPL even managed to persuade a U.S. Congressman by the name of George Sadowski, who Pirinsky had supported through the American Slav Congress (ASC), to testify in U.S. Congress on behalf of the Macedonians. This is what Sadowski read into the Congressional Record in May of 1947:

Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago I asked a question. Are the Macedonians Greeks? We have heard much about this Greek trouble, and it is always referred to as the trouble in Greek Macedonia, but why is it that no one comes down here and tells us the truth about this situation? The Macedonians are not Greeks. The Macedonians are a Slav race of people. They are southern Slavs.

Further, history will bear out the fact that these Macedonians have lived there since the time of Christ. The city of Salonika is their city, it is not a Greek city. These Macedonian people are a rugged race of people. They live in the mountains: they are a mountaineer people, a simple, hard-fighting people, good Christian people. They have withstood the onslaught of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Turks. The Turks did their best to make Mohammedans out of them. They had them under Turkish domination for many, many years. The Turks practiced every kind of brutality against these Christian people. They desecrated their churches. They burnt their farms and homes. But they remained Macedonians.

Then after the First World War, after these Macedonians had joined with us in our big fight in that war, and had shed their blood and given us of their best men in that struggle, what did we do, or rather, what did England do? England handed those people in bondage to Greece, instead of giving the Macedonians freedom. Freedom is what they wanted and that is what they fought for, and that is what they were entitled to have.

In this last war great fighting was done in that northern part of Greece, up in that hill country. A lot of credit was given to the Greeks, but who did this fighting? Macedonians, Greek

Macedonians, those mountaineer people. The Nazis and the Italians never did subdue them, they never did annihilate them. They have never been conquered.

Now the war is over. Again these people are asking for freedom. They want an Independent Macedonia. Are they entitled to It? In my opinion they are. I think they are. Half of Macedonia now is a free state within the Yugoslav federation. They have their own president, they have their own legislature, they have their own state set-up within this federation of Yugoslavia. The other part of Macedonia is still under Greek domination. Here is the problem. Those Macedonians that are still within Greece, under Greek authority, all want freedom. They are united 100 percent on the basis that they want freedom, but they are divided on this: Some of those Macedonians want to join with that part of Macedonia which is now in the Yugoslav federation. Some of them do not want to join but they want to have a separate Macedonian state, a free state so that they would not be under Tito. But all of these people want freedom.

All of these people have been on our side in this war and in the First World War. They fought heroically for our cause. Now it is proposed that we give bayonets and guns to the Royalists of Greece to kill these Macedonians. I am not mad at these Macedonians. I am not mad at those who want to go into the Yugoslav federation or those who want an Independent Macedonia and freedom from Greece. I do not want to see any of them killed.

President Truman and the State Department have remained silent about this struggle for freedom. Why? Surely the sentiment of the American people is with the Macedonians. Here is a piece from today's Washington Star: "Greeks condemned for aiding guerrillas in Athens"; a dispatch from northern Greece reports today from the military fort at Almanla they have condemned 10 persons. Including women, to death and sentenced 6 others to life imprisonment for aiding anti-government guerrilla forces.

Now, that has taken place after we have announced this program of aid to Greece. They are still killing Greeks in Macedonia, and

killing those Greeks who do not agree with the Royalist Government in Greece and killing Macedonians because all Macedonians want freedom.

Am I going to vote to give more bayonets and more guns to kill off more of these people? No. So far as I am concerned, this is not a question of communism. This is the age-old struggle, centuries old. of a fight for freedom—of the peoples' fight for freedom. The United States of America should be the first to say, "We stand back of you in this fight for freedom." We did say that in the Atlantic Charter, but now must these people who are struggling for freedom go to Uncle Joe Stalin to look for that freedom? Why should it not come from us—from the United States of America? That should be our program. That is what we should do.¹¹⁹

Literature and writings, however, could only go so far for achieving their goals. Thus, Pirinsky and the MPL sometimes resorted to more confrontational and direct means of getting their points across.

Activism

The MPL focused their radical activism – which included strikes, protests, and other confrontational methods – on two main issues: promoting labor issues and combating the MPO. The labor movement was something that most MPL members cared for deeply, as many of them were industrial workers or unskilled laborers getting paid very little for very hard work. Similarly, most MPL members were very much opposed to the right-wing and pro-fascist tendencies of the MPO, who viewed the MPL, and Pirinsky in particular, as agents of the Comintern, or the international communist organization.¹²⁰

For example, in April of 1934, the Macedonian People's League joined a coalition of other progressive groups (such as International Labor Defense, Carpenters' Union, Mansfield Liederkranz, German Beneficial Union, Workers' Protective Union, Workers' School Communist Party, and the Young

Communists' League), in asking for the "right to parade and use of Central Park and the bandstand for speaking purposes" in Mansfield, Ohio for May Day celebrations (an annual event honoring workers and workers' rights). But the Service-Safety Directory in Mansfield, James F. Carrigan, banned the group form gathering. "I'll tell you right now," said Carrigan, "that there will be no parade. As for the use of the park, I want to see what city ordinances say on granting permits. If I have the right to deny it, that's what I'll do." Throughout the country, especially amongst people in positions of power, there was strong apathy toward the labor movement.

The organizers thus canceled the demonstration and held a meeting at 7:30 pm on May Day (May 1st) at the German Hall on Fourth and Main Streets. There they discussed and made a pledge to push for a five-day workweek, with six-hour days and increased pay. They also protested the increased cost of living, opposed war relief cuts, favored the unemployment insurance bill, opposed home and farm foreclosures, opposed fascism and war, and urged the government to pay rent, fuel and electricity for the unemployed.¹²²

The Wisconsin MPL chapter participated in a conflict between progressive radical groups they were associated with and anti-radicals (like the American Legion) in Racine. The opposing factions had submitted proposed ordinances and resolutions that led to a fist-fight between them at the city council chamber. The MPL and associates proposed a bill to make it an offense for an officer to use gas in quelling riots, which was defeated. The MPL also joined the League Against War and Fascism and the Russian Mutual Aid Society in submitting resolutions that charged police collusion in the wave of anti-communist vandalism. Particularly, the resolution deplored "the wrecking of the communist headquarters, brick throwing and the assault on Sam Herman, communist leader." The American Legion then presented a resolution declaring that veterans were ready to use "physical"

force, if necessary" to battle communists and their sympathizers. ¹²⁵ The police chief arrested Sam Herman, a communist organizer from Chicago, for criminal libel. Herman accused, in return, Chief Grover Lutter of provoking attacks on communist meetings and headquarters. ¹²⁶

George Naumoff, president of the Minneapolis chapter, organized his MPL members into American politics as well. He said that "we urged our members to join the Farmer-Labor Clubs at that time and usually had a delegation in conferences and things like that." Naumoff would then go on to represent the MPL in the Local 665 (Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union), and the Minneapolis branch of MPL actually provided most of the brainwork and manpower in the early organizing days of Local 665. 127

MPL's members were dedicated to progressive radicalism and the labor movement. Some of their activism, of course, focused on defeating Nazism. In late May of 1934, the MPL joined several other groups in St. Louis, such as the Croatian Progress Union, the Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, and Food Workers' Industrial Union, in protesting the visit to St. Louis by the German Ambassador, Dr. Hans Luther. These groups held an "emergency conference" to consider St. Louis Mayor Dickmann's decision to "extend invitation and arrange an official reception to the Ambassador of the notorious Hitler Nazi Government." The progressive organizations declared:

We unanimously condemn your action and protest against the official reception of an ambassador who represents nothing but the vilest crimes any ruling class clique has ever committed in history. Official welcome to the representative of the Nazi Government is nothing short of abusing the position bestowed on you by the people of St. Louis, and an insult to the principles of democracy and civic decency.

We consider your act an invitation to employers and other capitalist government agencies to follow the outrageous example

of the Nazi Fascist Government. It is a love feast with the Fascist murderers." 128

But of course, most of MPL's time was consumed by promoting the Macedonian agenda and combating Bulgarian and MPO propaganda. These confrontations started early on and persisted through MPL's existence. For example, in 1932, Pirinsky attended a meeting of "radicals" in Akron to help organize progressive Macedonians there. ¹²⁹ In a later meeting in Akron, Pirinsky and his progressive followers fought with MPO members and sympathizers, who dominated the area; and Pirinsky and his followers were evicted from several other meetings there. Apparently, at one meeting, Pirinsky brought in Macedonians and African-Americans, which upset many of the MPO members. One MPO member spat in Pirinsky's face, which caused the fight to break out. ¹³⁰

In a 1933 meeting of Macedonians at a café in Hammond, Indiana, Pirinsky and several MPL members, along with other progressive Macedonians, got into a massive brawl with MPO members. The fight escalated into a shoot-out, as the MPO was irritated by Pirinsky and the MPL for trying to organize Macedonians into the progressive movement and steal Macedonians from their organization. Pirinsky and several others were arrested.¹³¹

At the MPO convention in Fort Wayne on September 2, 1934, four MPL members were arrested and charged with communistic activities during the opening session. They were officially charged with violating a city ordinance prohibiting the passing of handbills without license fees. The handbills criticized Mayor William Hosey for giving welcoming addresses to the convention, and they stated that "city officials did not know the type of persons they were greeting," referring to the fascist connections of the MPO. The handbills were signed by MPL officials and detectives stated MPL was a communistic group. The four arrested all lived in Fort Wayne.¹³²

The next year, at the MPO convention in Akron over Labor Day weekend in 1935, the MPL circulated a statement issued by the MPL central committee, and signed by Pirinsky, that claimed the MPO convention in progress did not represent the suffering and heroic struggle of the Macedonian people for national liberty. It particular, it read:

Those Macedonians who are members of the Macedonian Political Organization are being misled; their leaders are Macedonian fascist agents of Bulgarian imperialism and two of its leaders, Peter Atseff, general secretary, and L. Dimitroff, editor of the Macedonian Tribune, were imported from fascist Bulgaria.

The statement then appealed to members of the MPO to "throw out of your ranks the fascist leaders and murderers of your brothers, friends and sisters and unite with us in a joint struggle against the tyrants of Macedonia." ¹³³

The MPL also found themselves in trouble with the Yugoslavian government in 1936. The Royal Yugoslav legislation sent information to the FBI regarding certain activities of the MPL and Macedonian progressives in America. The Yugoslav government accused the MPL and other progressive groups in Cleveland of preparing and supporting a Macedonian by the name of Ilija Zlatkoff (or Zlatko Ilijef) to carry out an assassination of Yugoslav Prince Paul, who was the regent of Yugoslavia at the time. Zlatkoff was to travel to England to await the arrival of the Yugoslavian prince, where he then would commit the act.¹³⁴ Not even two years prior, a right-wing Macedonian of the faction assassinated the King of Yugoslavia in France. Thus, the FBI took the claim seriously.

Zlatkoff had a deeply entrenched history of Macedonian and communist activities in the United States. He was a member of the left-wing faction of IMRO; attended the Macedonian Congress in Detroit in July of 1936; and had several jobs, such as working as an assistant baker in to Novkoff in Duquesne,

Pennsylavnia, then at the Steelton Baking Company in Yougnstown, Ohio, and at a bakery shop in Clifton, Ohio. A man by the name of Novkovich in Duquesne helped support him financially in his activities, as did the Macedonian brothers who owned the Youngstown bakery, Milan and Basil Christoff. He was arrested in the early 1930s in Homestead, Pennsylvania after making a "communist" speech at the Romanian Hall. At this speech, Kovacheff of the central committee of the MPL preceded him on stage. The two were cousins and worked closely together on many Macedonian issues.¹³⁵

The attempted assassination, however, never occurred. Some intelligence claimed that Zlatkoff was really known as Dimitri Vlahoff and operated in Toronto and Midwest America in the early 1930s. 136 Other informants even suggested that Zlatkoff was just an alias for Pirinsky. But not much more was discovered about any of his activities or potential plots.

For the MPL, it was back to confronting the MPO and Bulgarian-oriented Macedonians. In 1937, Pirinsky and a fellow Macedonian (who was likely his cousin) infiltrated meetings of the Bulgarian Cultural Society, which had the purpose of educating Bulgarians in American principles. Pirinsky went there in order to raise money to pay communist debts and other un-Bulgarian related activities. However, the Bulgarians were extremely suspicious of Pirinsky's antics and true ambitions, and Pirinsky made little progress with them.

Narodna Volya also served as a spark that caused many battles and severe divisions between Macedonians. The paper was especially used to attack Ivan Mihajlov's right-wing IMRO in Macedonia and its MPO face in America. It referred to them as "terrorists" and "Bulgarian nationalists and fascists." For example, the MPL chapter in Toronto attacked the Toronto MPO chapter claiming that the MPL and its supporters were "the only true voice of the sentiments and desires of the Macedonian immigration in the USA and Canada." In return,

the MPO and Bulgarian Orthodox Church declared that these statements by MPL discredited the Bulgarian community; and then in June 1932, they stated that only MPO and Sts. Cyril and Methodius Macedono-Bulgarian Orthodox Church represented Macedono-Bulgarian immigration to Toronto, and that Canadian authorities should only deal with them and their institutions. The MPO further claimed that Pirinsky was not a progressive idealist but a paid communist agent working with left-wing immigrants to confuse the Slavic speaking populations. MPO then revealed Pirinsky's contacts with Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Soviet communist party members. 138

Pirinsky was adamantly against the MPO's ties with IMRO, fascism and Bulgarian nationalism, and this message remained consistent and powerful throughout his life in America. He told a Congressional Panel in the late 1940s:

The main objective of that organization – it was founded in reaction against a situation that existed among Macedonian Americans here. Some Fascist leaders, Macedonians who were living in Bulgaria, came to this country and founded the Macedonian Political Organization, with headquarters in Indianapolis. These people were telling our Americans of Macedonian descent that Hitler will be the one to liberate Macedonia...

[Fascist leaders] were carrying on assassinations of Macedonian progressive leaders. So our organization came into being as a reaction on the part of Macedonian Americans... We formed the Macedonian People's League to fight against this policy of fascism that was being injected in the minds of our people...

Generally, we also support the fight of the Macedonian people for freedom. After the two Balkan wars, Macedonia remained oppressed. It was divided between the three Balkans countries and we felt that whatever moral support can be given here to encourage this people to continue to work for their national independence should be done by us.¹³⁹

When Macedonia became an equal republic in Yugoslavia after the Second World War and the new Bulgarian government recognized the Macedonian people, the MPL directed their activism against Greek oppression. On July 17, 1945, the MPL delivered a letter of protest against the persecution of Macedonians in Greece, but the Greek Embassy refused to receive it. George Pirinsky, along with Alexander Rizov and Anatole Philipoff of New York, represented the MPL. The Greek First Secretary, Alexis S. Liatis, received them. He listened to the first paragraph and then said he would neither listen further nor would he accept a copy of the letter, insisting that it was based on Yugoslavian mistruths. Pirinsky left the letter on his desk and walked out. 140

In part, the letter stated:

The Macedonian American People's League has always stood for friendship and close co-operation among the Balkan peoples. Greeks and Macedonians, fighting shoulder to shoulder with Yugoslav, Albanian, and Bulgarian Partisans against Nazi oppressors and Bulgarian occupationists, cemented Balkan democratic unity. The policy and actions of the present Greek Government, however, greatly compromise the chances for harmonious collaboration in the Balkans.

The MPL then issued a statement to the press:

The tragic civil war in Greece last December ended in the complete victory of reaction and fascism. The very same elements which had collaborated with the Germans, reinforced by discredited foreign agents, are today subjecting the whole Greek population to the most outrageous terror. According to neutral UNRRA sources, some 33,000 Democrats are languishing in prison. General Ares, one of the outstanding heroes of the Greek liberation struggle, and hundreds of his followers have been brutally murdered. The fascist regime of Metaxas has reappeared under a new name. Without foreign interference, these tragic developments would never have occurred.¹⁴¹

Further, on March 31, 1947, Pirinsky gave testimony on behalf of the MPL at the House Foreign Affairs Committee regarding its debate on whether, and how, to aid Greece and Turkey. Pirinsky stated: "It is preposterous to maintain that the peace and security of these great United States depend upon the existence and stability of a decadent Greek monarchy and the remnants of the old Ottoman Empire." 142

MPL's activism was widespread and impactful. Pirinsky and his associates achieved the creation of a strong progressive Macedonian movement that advocated for the recognition of an independent Macedonian nation, identity and language. By the 1950s, however, the MPL no longer existed. The American witch-hunt of communists, socialists and progressives intensified after World War II and the MPL was banned. Most of its members, however, would continue to be involved in the Macedonian Cause by creating or joining cultural and social groups, as well as by creating the first independent Macedonian Orthodox churches in America.

III. The American Slav Congress

Pirinsky's first commitment was to the Macedonian Cause Macedonian People's League. many Macedonians, his dream was to see a free and united Macedonia and the recognition of the Macedonian nation and language. But Pirinsky was also very much concerned about general progressive causes and the brotherhood of the Slavicspeaking peoples. He felt an urge to be an active leader in this American Slavic movement after the Second World War started, as many Slavic countries were facing doom and destruction by German, Italian and Axis forces, as well as by pro-fascist and right-wing nationals in Slavic countries. Pirinsky's path would result in him leading the American Slav Congress (ASC) throughout the 1940s.

Before the ASC became a unified and powerful force representing progressive Slavic-Americans in the 1940s, there were earlier attempts to create such an organization. For example, the American Slav Society, formed in March of 1920, combined with other Slavic groups and summoned the First American Slav congress to unify and align the different Slavic peoples in America. The congress resulted in the overarching goals:

First: To bring about, through the establishment of a Slav economic union, the permanent economic stabilization and the political pacification of the Slav states in Europe and Asia.

Second: To foster the traditional cultural, political and economic friendship between the United States of America and these Slav countries; and to promote, with American co-operation, their reconstruction and up-building.

Third: To take the first concrete measures toward the establishment of public and private institutions designed to be instrumental in the realization of the above aims.

However, this movement did not gain much steam, and it wasn't until the late 1930s and the threat of Nazism when a workable Slav Congress was set in motion. The idea for the modern ASC was initiated by Slavic-Americans from Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia at a Tri-State conference held in Pittsburgh on December 3, 1938. In attendance were 400 representatives of Slavic organizations. There, they explored the possibilities for "convening a nation-wide congress which would mobilize Slavic Americas against the growing threat of Nazi-fascism and its domestic agency of appeasers and isolationists." While it would be a few more years before this conference evolved into a national gathering, it was the spark needed by the Slavic community in America.

American officials had a different explanation for the origin of the ASC. The U.S. House UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC) (formed in 1938) reported that the ASC began in Detroit after Moscow agents reached out to American communists and wanted to use the ASC to serve as an outgrowth of Russia's All-Slav Congress. The HUAC acknowledged, however, that preliminary discussions for the ASC took place in Pittsburgh. Still, the HUAC emphasized that the ASC was communist-oriented and directed, and thus more likely to support the Russian point of view over the official American point-of-view. HUAC's members emphasized that

the ASC was "subject to the direction and manipulation of a foreign totalitarian power." ¹⁴⁴

Pirinsky was central to organizing ASC activities and events, as well as boosting its membership. On September 28, 1941, Pirinsky joined 1,500 liked-minded Slavic-Americans on Belle Isle (an island in Detroit) for an anti-Nazi rally. Most of the people in attendance were people of nationalities whose homelands had been overrun by Axis forces. Sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Fight Hitlerism, which encompassed 100 organizations, they passed a resolution to pledge the "fullest and most active support of President Roosevelt's foreign policy of all-out aide to England, the Soviet Union, China, Poland, and all those fighting Hitler." Michigan senators Stanley Nowak and Charles Diggs attended this event. 145

There, Pirinsky spoke on behalf of the Macedonians. "The people of the Balkans are rising already," he shouted. "In this country, our people are ready at the first call to march against the Nazis in the great battle of the peoples of the world." He then called the *Detroit Times* a pro-Nazi newspaper for its glorification of Mencha Karnicheva, wife of right-wing IMRO leader Ivan Mihajlov, for crediting her with the Nazi overthrow of Yugoslavia. In his speech, Pirinsky also called on the different Balkan peoples to unite in their struggle against Nazism and fascism.

Soon after, on the first weekend of November, 1941, representatives of ten Detroit Slavic groups voted to support Roosevelt's foreign policy of aid to nations resisting Nazi aggression. This ASC conference was held at Dom Polski. Pirinsky was an important voice at this meeting and was elected to the ASC's provisional Michigan Executive Committee.¹⁴⁸

He and others had also planned for a national Slavic congress – the first of its type – to be held in late November of 1941. It was scheduled and organized by leaders of Slavic fraternal, civic, cultural and trade-union organizations. However, it was temporarily postponed due to ill-preparation. Many of the problems they faced were due to "old feuds and animosities between various Slavic communities." There was much "suspicion, mutual distrust and prejudices" between the different Slavic ethnic groups.¹⁴⁹

Many people were disappointed with the meeting's postponement because of the effort they put into organizing it. For example, many met at St. John's auditorium in Hazleton, Pennsylvania to hear a discussion on the aims and purposes of the ASC, and they were eager to get started on a national level. Michigan's Slavic progressives even set up a Michigan State Committee that included Dr. W. T. Osowski as president; Marie J. Tomasin as secretary; Charlotte Muzar as secretary-treasurer; and Senator Stanley Nowak, Joseph Kocis, and Vasil Dicoff as vice presidents. 151

But Visarion Luken of the Ukrainian Farmers' Benefit Association of Vineland, New Jersey, announced that it had been postponed indefinitely. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* stated that postponement was due to leading Polish, Czecho-Slovak and Slovenian organizations "not participating in the present congress," indicating that there were festering disagreements between the Slavic peoples despite the majority being progressives and socialist. The ASC's Arrangements Committee indirectly confirmed this by stating postponement was necessary "to enable all Slav anti-Hitler forces in our country to find a common basis for assuring a genuinely representative Congress of all Slav Americans interested in supporting the struggle against Hitler." 153

But American Slavic activity did not screech to a halt. On December 7, 1941, the ASC held their first statewide Michigan dinner and "War Bond Rally" with 1,400 people in attendance.¹⁵⁴ The speakers echoed the words of Frank N. Isbey, Michigan state chairman of the U.S. Defense Savings Committee, who said that "after the bombers come the builders"

and it will take a greater army to preserve America than to defend it." This campaign selling defense bonds was the "fourth of Michigan campaigns to cover the country." 155

Pirinsky was introduced as the MPL's national secretary and was listed as such on the event's program. He talked about the need to unify the different Slavic peoples against the threat of fascism. Then, with an excited crowd eagerly awaiting more motivating speeches, Attorney General Francis Biddle alerted the audience that the Japanese had just attacked Pearl Harbor. There now was a deeper and more urgent need to unify Slavic Americans, as America would soon become fully committed to military efforts.

Pirinsky claimed that this meeting in Detroit was where the ASC's destiny was solidified. He noted that Biddle "appealed to our people gathered at the banquet to unite their forces and do everything possible to help speed the day of victory over the Axis aggressors." Pirinsky said that the massive "response to this call" was what truly enabled the ASC to be a success. 158

The ASC leaders now chose a new date for their first national gathering: April 25 and 26, 1942. Detroit was chosen to host the event because of the large number Slavic-American workers who were toiling in the plants that were manufacturing the weapons used in the war. Further, the Slavic community in Detroit had "already won the full backing of the trade union movement and of the city and state administrations." Finally, Detroit was a centrally located city, especially with regards to the Slavic populations, who were mainly concentrated in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. 160

A new National Arrangement Committee was formed two weeks prior in order to carve the agenda and ensure the event would be successful.¹⁶¹ Blair Gunther, chairman of the Executive Committee, stated their goal was to guarantee the purchase of 250 million dollars in defense bonds.¹⁶² Michael

Zeman encouraged people to attend by writing the following in the *Pittsburgh Press*:

Proud is the man and woman in whose veins flows Slavic blood. At this Slav Congress the attending delegates will be privileged to see, hear and meet the foremost well-known Americans of Slavic extraction, who although born here are proud of their ancestry. United these loyal citizens shall let the world know of their love for liberty and everything democracy represents and stands for.¹⁶³

The first national ASC conference kicked off as anticipated on that last weekend of April in 1942. It was held at the Michigan State Fairground with 2,000 delegates¹⁶⁴ and over 10,000 guests in attendance. 165 Lincoln Orlow, who led 60 delegates from Lake County in Indiana, noted that the congress was "made up of persons of Polish descent, Russians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Macedonians." He stressed that all these different peoples were "united in the common effort to win the war." 166 Additionally, many respected and prominent Americans were in attendance. These attendees included: Reverend V. Borkowicz and Reverend Ernest Zizka; labor leaders R. J. Thomas and George Addes; the president and secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers; David MacDonald, secretary-treasurer of the United Steel Workers; Frank Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor; Paul V. McNutt, Director of War Mobilization; Frank N. Isbey, Chairman of Michigan War Financing Committee; and Edward Carter of the Russian War Relief. 167

Leo Krzycki, who was the vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers organization and who would eventually become president of the ASC, was one of the first speakers. He said that everyone was "gathered here to take counsel how...most effectively to help grind into dust those powerful and ruthless foes of liberty and humanity – Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini." Dr. Osowski, who was chairman of

the Michigan Slav Committee, stated that they were all "bound in blood and in spirit to some of the greatest and noblest peoples of Europe." ¹⁶⁸ Pirinsky also spoke as the executive secretary of the Michigan Slav Committee. ¹⁶⁹

On behalf of President Franklin Roosevelt, Paul V. McNutt addressed the crowd. He said:

I have a feeling that in uniting here this afternoon you have created an occasion touched with destiny. The whole world will hear about this meeting of the first American Slav Congress. It will be as heartening to our Allies as the news of a victory. It will be as bitter to our enemies as the news of a defeat...

Millions of those engaged in making war materials are of Slavic birth or descent...You American Slavs helped to build America. Our great bridges and dams and steel cities are monuments to a million unknown Slav immigrants...Today you are helping defend what you have made...Following on your Slav traditions, I know that America can still rely on you to do again the impossible!¹⁷⁰

McNutt then read a message that President Roosevelt had prepared:

I am glad to greet this gathering of Americans of Slavic descent and of men of Slavic descent who have taken up their life in America as a part of the growing stream of American life. The American purpose has been to unify many great racial groups in a common effort for national freedom, international order, and that attainment, through strength and victory, of a world in which all people may live freely in thought and religion, free from want and free from fear.¹⁷¹

At the meeting, the delegates listened to motivating speeches and had lively discussions and debates. The ASC constitution was drafted, which iterated the organization's non-partisan basis and commitment to democracy in America. For example, Article 2 stated:

The American Slav Congress is a nonpartisan organization of freedom-loving Americans of Slav origin, dedicated to the strengthening of the democratic processes in the cultural, political, social, and economic advancement of our country and its friendship and cooperation with the Slav nations of Europe for the establishment and preservation of a just and durable peace for all democratic nations of the World.¹⁷²

And upon completion of the conference, the ASC outlined seven objectives:

To help win the war as quickly as possibly by maintaining and increasing production, promotion of sale of War Bonds, and all other activities necessary to speed complete destruction of Nazism and Fascism.

To support President Roosevelt in all policies necessary to assure a people's peace "to last for many generations."

To back up all measures to achieve security for all Americans, with full production and full employment after the war.

To aid and encourage their Slavic brothers and sisters in Europe in their struggle for liberations, and to promote understanding and friendship between America and the Slav countries.

To help guarantee punishment of all war criminals, big and small.

To strengthen understanding and cooperation among the Slavic groups in America, as well as to achieve greater recognition of them as a productive and constructive force.

To combat religious, racial and other discrimination in order to achieve dynamic and full democracy.

The ASC then resolved several ways to obtain these objectives, such as by holding national and local conferences; arranging mass meetings, lectures and public demonstrations; publishing pamphlets, bulletins and other literature; hosting

concerts and other cultural events; aiding in drives for war relief and blood donations; and participating in main-stream American life to elect public officials to realize these aims.¹⁷³ They also pledged to organize over one million Slavic-Americans employed in manufacturing and other heavy industries to act as "volunteer Federal agents who would report indications of sabotage or other subversive activity to the FBI."¹⁷⁴

The conference was an astounding success and its delegates eagerly and earnestly began working to fulfill their objectives. Pirinsky was especially active. On June 6, 1942, he delivered a letter to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Washington, D.C., which in part read: "I know that the Slav youth of Detroit will pledge full cooperation for speedy victory over Fascist hoards. Fraternal greetings."175 Two weeks later he helped plan and coordinate a Slavic rally in Detroit for war bond sales and Russian relief aid. He was part of a committee of five elected to direct preparations for the events. They requested all members of the ASC to invest 10% of their wages in War Bonds. Pirinsky emphasized: "In view of the crucial battles on the Eastern Front and in the Pacific, the American Slav Day rally will take on a special significance. It should be prepared to reflect the spirit and determination of the United Nations to win the war this year."176 Joining him on the preparations committee were A. Kozdroy, president of the Central Citizens Committee; Vincent Klein; Alois Simon of the Czech National Alliance; and Nicholas Balcoff, representing the Macedonian People's League. 177 Around 20,000 people attended this rally. 178

Of course, there were many other events in June. In Chicago, 35,000 people packed Soldiers' Field to commemorate the Battle of Grunwald, where Poles, Czechs, Russians and Lithuanians defeated the Germans in 1410. Many notable Polish and Russian leaders were there, as well as the Polish opera singer, Jan Kiepura. 179 President Roosevelt wrote a letter

to Ernest Zizka, who was chairman of the Midwest Division of the ASC, which he read to the audience:

Your meeting is a stirring symbol of the unity of a mighty nation; a nation composed of many people from many distant lands, marching forward as one man in the name of freedom.

You whose fathers' soil has been overrun, need not be reminded of the nature of the enemy, nor of his black purposes.

You who have helped to build these United States in factory and on farm, and have contributed so richly to the national culture, need not be told the meaning of America, nor of her blessing.

And you who send your sons into battle and forge the weapons of war that spell victory need not be cautioned to keep your courage high and your faith firm.¹⁸⁰

Meanwhile, in Cleveland, 15,000 Slavic-Americans marched down Euclid Avenue, led by Cleveland Mayor Frank Lausche, (who was a Slovene) and Mary Prihodoff (soon to be Mary Pirinsky), who was the executive secretary of the Cleveland Slav Committee. The attendees were mostly dressed in traditional and national costumes. In New York City, 5,000 Slavs gathered in Manhattan Center under the leadership of Zlatko Balokovic (a Croatian violinist), Steve Krall and William Reznicek; and there were also several Slavic gatherings on the West coast.¹⁸¹

On July 18 of that year, Pirinsky met with several Polish progressive and communist leaders in the Detroit area, which included Chester Kosdroj and George Sadowski, who were both Democratic candidates for congress. At the meeting, they decided that one of the candidates should withdraw from the race so they could have a good showing at the general elections. Pirinsky was chosen as one of three delegates to meet with union officials to determine who would make the best

showing. Pirinsky eventually confirmed he would support Sadowski in his attempt for congress.¹⁸²

A few days later, Pirinsky met with a man by the name of Jack Raskin, another progressive organizer and leader. Pirinsky revealed to Raskin that he would soon hold a picnic to raise some money for the ASC. Raskin agreed to help him raise money, while Pirinsky agreed to help Raskin promote the Civil Rights Federation.¹⁸³

On August 23, the ACS held a picnic in Detroit that Pirinsky had been planning and organizing. About 10,000 people attended this first All-Slav outing at Warsaw Park. They unanimously supported a resolution stating that "the mass raid on the Nazi-held French city of Dieppe has strengthened Michigan Slavs in their conviction that Europe can be successfully invaded and Hitlerism crushed if we all work harder and produce more implements of war." Among the primary speakers were Pirinsky and Nicholas Balcoff. 185

Pirinsky also helped arrange affairs for a board meeting of the Council on Soviet Relations held on September 16, 1942. He arranged this with Raskin, who was the executive secretary of the Civil Rights Federation. They were working to get Vincent Klein, leader of the United Auto Workers War Action Committee, involved in their events as a notable speaker. 186 In early December, Pirinsky attended the congress of American-Soviet Friendship in New York;187 and on December 6, the Michigan Slavs held a concert and War Bond rally at the Masonic Temple to honor the lives lost at Pearl Harbor. There were performances by Jan Kipeura, the famous Polish tenor, and Zlatko Balokovich. 188 Pirinsky was introduced by Senator Stanley Novak. 189 This introduction was well-deserved because Pirinsky poured most of his energy into the ASC throughout the entire year. His dedication to the cause would only intensify.

In the first edition of *Michigan Slav*, published by the Michigan Committee of the ASC and first appearing in early

1943, it was announced that, for the 12th year in a row, Pirinsky was elected secretary of the MPL. 190 Pirinsky found himself playing central roles in two organizations that both needed a lot of support and attention. Fortunately, both organizations had similar underlying aims.

Pirinsky kept up the work. But there were stumbling blocks in 1943. In March, the Ukrainians wanted to join with the ASC as their own nationality and under their own flag. The ASC Board of Directors agreed to all their conditions except that "they were unwilling to permit them to have a separate flag." Pirinsky met with Ukrainians and ASC leaders to resolve this dispute. The ASC promoted the line that those nationalities whose fatherland was under control of the government should not be allowed to have their own flags and that only those governments which were recognized by the United States government should be recognized. However, the Macedonians had their own flag and panel even though the Macedonian government was not recognized by the United States.¹⁹¹ Pirinsky found himself in a difficult position as he defended the ASC's ultimate position: the Ukrainians had to appear under the Soviet flag.

Also, in March, Pirinsky sent a letter on behalf of the ASC regarding the Russian war relief efforts and encouraging no easing of American aid to Russia. "Relaxing of our aid will endanger war effort of entire United Nations. Material to Russia helps them fight just as well as our own country." ¹⁹² The U.S. Congress was increasingly divided on support for Russia due to the differences in political systems and perceived Russian threats to America's European interests. Pirinsky even attended a March meeting of the Racial Committee of the ASC at Hotel Sherman in Chicago. He made efforts to inject radical labor resolutions into the committee's agenda, but he was not that successful. ¹⁹³ Needless to say, Pirinsky' ASC agenda faced an early bumpy ride in 1943.

But other events and meetings rejuvenated the spirit that Pirinsky was chasing after. In early April, he represented the Michigan Chapter of the ASC on a committee of three that planned and prepared the "I Am an American" celebration. The other two members of the committee were Harry C. Turrell, vice president of Americans-All, and Chester A. Kozdroj, president of the Central Citizens Committee. This patriotic display was partly in response to Hitler's comments that Detroit was a hotbed of intrigue and racial hatred. A spokesman for the event stated:

Let us show him [Hitler] through this huge demonstration that we are more united than ever in spite of our racial and religious differences! Let us tell the world that as loyal Americans we shall fight and produce until the last vestiges of Hitlerism are swept away! Let us all get together Sunday, May 16, to show the world that the American way is still the best!194

In early May, Pirinsky joined as a committee member for "Watches for Russia," which was a campaign for Russian war relief. German bombs had destroyed watch factories in Russia, which were needed by doctors for timing pulse beats, operations, anesthetic administration, intravenous injections, and blood transfusions.¹⁹⁵ Thus, Pirinsky and other ASC members initiated the campaign to provide used and old watches to doctors in Russia.

While much of Pirinsky's and the ASC's efforts were focused on the war in Europe, social issues in the United States also grabbed much of their attention. Throughout the early 1940s, fascist groups in the United States, and more popular groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Dies Committee on UnAmerican Activities, were trying to sow hatred and distrust between different American communities. For example, on June 21, 1943, there was a three-day riot in Detroit where blacks "were dragged out of street cars and beaten while police officers

looked on." The war plants had to be shut down for those days. 196

The ASC spoke out against these riots and specifically called out Slavic peoples that had been sucked into the fascist propaganda.¹⁹⁷ Pirinsky wrote:

The American Slav Congress combatted and exposed these dark schemes of our pro-fascists and their misguided followers. Through meetings, conferences and releases to the Slav press it carried on a steady educational work to counteract this poison and uncover its Nazi origins. This proved to be no easy task, as these fifth-columnists used the favorite fascist technique of masking their tone designs behind popular nationalist slogans.¹⁹⁸

Pirinsky also stated that the ASC "by its very nature is averse to racial bigotry and racial prejudice." ¹⁹⁹

A month later, the All-Slav Day event was held in Detroit. Many notable people spoke, including Sergei Kournakoff, a New York military commentator; Judge Blair Gunther of Pittsburgh; Joseph Martinek of the Czechoslovak National Council; and Hamtramck mayor S. S. Skrzycki. Pirinsky emphasized that the rally was dedicated to the United Nations war heroes. "Besides selling bonds, we hope to enlist a large number of blood donors, and thus more fighting lives," he told the media. Entertainment was provided by the United Ukrainian Artists Chorus and the Croatian Nightingale Chorus.²⁰⁰

This All-Slav Day rally was also used to condemn the antiblack riots and more than 5,000 Slavs heartily approved this condemnation. Several prominent people spoke on this issue, such as Harold Young, who was secretary to U.S. Vice President Henry Wallace, and Shelton Tappes, an African American leader and secretary of Ford Local Number 600 of the United Automobile Workers union. Tappes "described the Detroit riot as Hitler's last effective weapon and warned the American people not to be taken in by the domestic Nazi agents." The entire City Council of Hamtramck was present.²⁰¹

In preparations for this rally, however, Pirinsky came into disagreements with the President of the Central Citizens Committee of Detroit due to the president accusing Pirinsky of favoring the trade unionists and not doing enough for the Polish people.²⁰² The Polish people faced much hardship in the war and felt sidelined, especially compared to Russian interests. Pirinsky promised to enlist 1,000 blood donors at the rally to help the Red Cross campaign and dedicated the rally to the war heroes of the United Nations, among whom "were millions of Slav fighters in Europe who have been battling the Nazi hordes."²⁰³ His hope was that much of this blood and other assistance would be sent to those in need in Poland.

But much more of Pirinsky's activities were spent focusing on the pressing issues that the Balkan Slavic peoples were facing. In the summer of 1943, Louis Adamic, a famous Slovenian author, presided over a United Committee of Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgarians and Macedonians in Cleveland to create greater unity of Slavs in the Balkans. About \$7,000 was raised to help finance relief work and Adamic said he would give it his complete attention. Pirinsky attended and helped promote this event as a representative of the Michigan Slav Congress.²⁰⁴

A major development in the summer of 1943 that impacted the Balkan Slav agenda was the death of King Boris of Bulgaria. After he was proclaimed dead on August 29, Pirinsky made a statement on behalf of the Michigan Slav Congress. "The overwhelming majority of Americans of Bulgarian and Macedonian descent have been bitter opponents of the treacherous pro-Nazi policy of the King." ²⁰⁵ Pirinsky, the MPL and the ASC viewed the king's death as a turning point in the Balkan war effort.

Still, Pirinsky had to balance catering to the needs and interests of the different peoples comprising the ASC. On

October 10, 1943, he spoke at the installation of the new Unity lodge of the International Workers Order at Dom Polski. Pirinsky emphasized "its importance in organizing Polish-American youth in connection with the war effort and anti-Fascist program."206 Also in October of 1943, Pirinsky attended a program committee meeting for the American-Soviet Friendship Rally. Pirinsky believed that the President of the Hamtramck Michigan City Council would be a better speaker for the occasion than Hamtramck's mayor. Others believed the mayor would be better because of his higher position in the Polish community. Pirinsky said he would contact the mayor to make sure he would speak at the rally. Pirinsky stated, though, that the rally should not enter politics and shouldn't endorse any candidate.207 Pirinsky, however, proposed a commemoration of American-Soviet relations. He said that both Reverend Francis B. Creamer of the Russian War Relief and Pat Quinn, president of the Wayne County C.I.O. Council, supported such a resolution. So, on behalf of ASC, Pirinsky donated \$25 to the American-Soviet Friendship Council.²⁰⁸

Moreover, in November, Pirinsky initiated a campaign to secure \$5 each from 20 people to help guarantee a loan of \$1,000 received from the Wayne County C.I.O. Council in relation to preparations for the American-Soviet Friendship Rally scheduled for November 14. Pirinsky had secured the endorsement from the President of the Michigan Committee of the ASC and pledges from Thomas Dombrowski, president of the Hamtramck Communist Club. At the time, Pirinsky revealed to friends that he had difficulty in finding an outstanding speaker and that ticket sales were slow in the American Federation of Labor.²⁰⁹ But the rally ended up coming together nicely.

The final weeks of 1943 were indeed busy, though. On November 20, the Slovak National Alliance held a bazar with many famous entertainers and speakers. Pirinsky was the primary speaker.²¹⁰ On December 16, Pirinsky attended the

Yugoslav Panel of the Michigan Slav Congress meeting, where alleged communists Milan Polovina and Dr. D. K. Yatich spoke. Pirinsky was in charge of the agenda and activities, and in his speech he endorsed the leader of Yugoslavia, Marshall Tito.²¹¹

Pirinsky eventually became the secretary of the United Committee of South-Slavic Americans, of which Zlatko Balokovic was acting president, and vice presidents included Zarko Buncik, Etbin Kristan, Peter Peef, and Smile Voydanoff. Other Macedonians members included David Nakoff, Peter Grigoroff, Nicola Kovacheff, George Popoff, and C. M. Stoycoff, and Blagoy Popoff. The group's purposes were:

To promote the dynamic unity of Americans of South-Slavic origin and background behind the United States' and the United Nations' war against the Axis, and behind the post-war plans and operations – the latter particularly as they pertain to the South-Slavic peoples.

To speak in the interest of the South-Slavic peoples who, under the Axis which they are fighting, cannot fully speak for themselves to the American people and the rest of the world.²¹²

As secretary of this group, Pirinsky attended and spoke at the rally of the United Committee of South Slav Americans in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on January 9, 1944. He was introduced as the secretary of the ASC and of the Bulgarian and Macedonian Victory League of Michigan. In his speech, he stated that peace in the Balkans largely depended on Russia's victory in the war and that Russia had no desire to take away the freedom and peace of the various Balkan peoples. He emphasized that Russia was not a conqueror but a liberator of the Slavic-speaking people. The crowd gave him an enthusiastic ovation.²¹³

He continued advocating this South Slavic unity and strength, such as when the ASC of Michigan held a rally concerning the "Three Years of Yugoslav Resistance Against Hitler." Pirinsky described the meaning of March 27 to the American people,²¹⁴ which was the date in 1941 when Hitler gave the order to invade Yugoslavia. Pirinsky also urged celebrated Slovenian author Louis Adamic to come to Detroit and speak with the editors of the Free World on the situation in the Balkans, which was an event taking place in early May at the Detroit Institute of Arts. In his letter, Pirinsky acknowledged that Adamic would likely not come because he was so busy, but he still tried to persuade him of the magnitude of the event, with thousands of people likely to attend. Adamic responded that he could not attend because he was ill, and then advised Pirinsky to come to the April 1944 United Committee of South Slavic Americans meeting.²¹⁵ And in March of 1944, the Michigan chapter of the ASC held a meeting (of mostly South Slavic Americans) and passed a resolution amongst the 300 attending delegates by unanimous vote, urging President Roosevelt to accept a fourth-term. At the meeting, Pirinsky was reelected executive-secretary²¹⁶ and delivered a "very patriotic speech." The theme of his speech was support for Yugoslavia's Marshall Tito, the American war effort, and praise for the Russian government and army.²¹⁷

Aside from South Slavic affairs, Pirinsky was doing his best to navigate and mediate the differences between Polish-Americans and Russian-Americans. On one hand, Russians were the largest and most powerful Slavic people and essentially controlled the communist party; however, the Polish population in Detroit, from which where Pirinsky, the MPL and much of the ASC membership was based, was the largest Slavic population in Michigan.

While part of the tensions were a result of ongoing struggles in the Polish and Russian homelands, another part was due to a telegram that Pirinsky and Henry Podolsky, a Polish American, sent to the Russian government in early April, without the sanction of the ASC's president. The letter, in part, stated the following:

We join with you in honoring 150th anniversary Kosciuszko Insurrection. We pay tribute to Kosciuszko division which was first to begin fight for people's Poland in glorious tradition Tadeusz Kosciuszko. We are confident in final victory of Polish army under General Berling and establishment of free democratic Poland.²¹⁸

The next month, Pirinsky and Podolsky held a conference regarding the Polish-Russian border dispute and Pirinsky conversed with an undisclosed U.S. official about it. The official was planning to make a statement along the lines that Russia had no right to take Polish territory. Pirinsky decided to hold an emergency ASC executive meeting so the official could be contacted before the release of the statement in order to lighten the criticism of Russia while recognizing Poland's right to territorial integrity.²¹⁹

After quelling some of the tensions between the Poles and Russian, Pirinsky spent the summer before the second ASC national conference traveling the country and rallying support for, and participation in, the conference. On June 18, 1944, Pirinsky organized and spoke at a Slav Congress rally in Detroit to a crowd of 5,000 people. At the event, Pirinsky stressed unity between the allied peoples, whether American or foreign born; unity and peace between white and black people; and denounced the increase of local fascists, red baiters, and Jew baiters. He also reinforced support for the allied war effort, Yugoslavia's Tito, and the Russian government and army.²²⁰

Pirinsky took over many of the responsibilities for preparing the second ASC conference. He noted that the preparations were slow in the mid-summer. For example, the Slav Congress meeting in Western Pennsylvania only mustered about twenty people. They wanted to establish several committees, such as Arrangement, Publicity, Speakers Bureau, Program, and Reception committees. However, with such few people, they couldn't establish a Reception Committee. They thus decided to call an emergency meeting of the Pittsburgh ASC leaders.²²¹ Another problem was that they faced a lot of resistance from Republicans in Pittsburgh, who tried "to prevent the congress from taking place by denying it halls and other accommodations."²²²

Pirinsky thus volunteered to do more recruitment and grunt work; and in August he traveled to Chicago to help promote the ASC rally, which had been announced to take place in Pittsburgh. He stressed that the ASC was in need of funds if the second conference was to be a success.²²³ In September, he met with other Slavic leaders at Hotel Baltimore in Pittsburgh where they expressed their support for the Political Action Committee and the ASC thus received reciprocal support.²²⁴

The second national ASC congregation was held on September 23 and 24 at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh. Pirinsky stated: "This congress offers a splendid historical opportunity to bring before the whole nation the contributions made by Americans of Slav descent toward winning the war.²²⁵... It will also become a means of mobilizing 15,000,000 Americans of Slav descent for the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House."226 With astounding support, Pirinsky was reelected executive secretary.²²⁷ This was a tremendous position and responsibility, and he essentially represented one of the largest organizations in the country. the ASC was "not an individual-membership organization" with members paying dues,228 there were delegates representing 1,481 fraternal organizations, 374 social and cultural clubs, 367 trade unions, 22 Slavic newspapers, 75 churches, and 95 Slavic political organizations. With Pirinsky directing and organizing much of the agenda, the ASC established a program to help reelect Roosevelt, which included voter registration in Slavic communities, canvassing

of homes for voters, efforts to get women and youth to vote, and rallies to organize active participation in the campaign.²²⁹

At the second day of the convention, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes spoke at Schenley Park, where 7,000 delegates and guests had gathered. He fervently criticized the attacks against certain leaders being Russian-born spies and Communists:

It is better to be a foreign-born American than an American-born foreigner like Bertie McCormick or Ham Fish or Stephen Day...Millions of Russian-born soldiers have shed Russian blood during the last four years in our common cause, thereby saving millions of American-born boys from the same heroic fate.²³⁰

Ickes also read greetings from President Roosevelt,²³¹ which generated much appreciation and praise from the attendees.

The ASC then made a pledge to Roosevelt, unanimously striving to preserve national unity throughout the end of the war and beyond:

Our Congress is non-partisan. The millions of Americans of Slavic extraction that we represent are composed of working people, businessmen, professionals. Among us are Republicans, Democrats and various other political affiliations and religious beliefs. But we are all united in the deep conviction that our country needs you to continue as our President. We are convinced that the majority of the American people want you for the same reasons.²³²

The conference was a success. Additionally, the war was dying down as an Allied victory approached. However, 1945 was indeed the busiest year for Pirinsky and the ASC. There was now a lot of work that needed to be done to preserve the peace, unity and cooperation. There was especially a growing divide between Russian and American interests and ideologies; there was an increased distrust of Americans with

progressive, socialist or communist ideologies; and there was a spike in radical right-wing organizations and attitudes.

Pirinsky started the year by focusing on Balkan issues. He joined ASC president, Leo Krzycki, and a prominent Bulgarian member of the ASC, Stella Blagreva, in writing a letter to the new Bulgarian government. In their message, they applauded Bulgaria's execution of 100 war criminals and "hailed the punishment of Fascist traitors who betrayed the Bulgarian people to Hitler." Less than a month later, Pirinsky attended a "Tribute to Yugoslavia Dinner" held at Hotel Baltimore in Pittsburgh. The meeting was sponsored by the American Committee for Yugoslavian Relief of the War Relief Fund of Americans of South Slavic descent.²³³ Pirinsky eventually met with the president of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, where they discussed holding a concert in New York City for Yugoslavian War Relief efforts.²³⁴ The South Slavic Americans remained committed, for now, to presenting a united front.

But in 1945, other crucial issues often took precedent. For example, in April, Pirinsky signed onto a letter with hundreds of other national leaders stating their support of the War Department's position that eligibility for the army should not depend on whether someone was a communist, which some members of Congress wanted. The War Department's position was that "the basic consideration is not the propriety of the individual's opinions; but his loyalty to the United States." ²³⁵

On April 29, the ASC held a meeting in Chicago urging unity of all Slavic groups in America to support permanent peace in the world. They adopted a resolution in support of the San Francisco peace conference. Pirinsky was the primary speaker, but Chicago mayor Edward Kelly also spoke as well. There were 400 delegates in attendance from Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and Indiana. They also held a memorial service for President Roosevelt who had recently died.²³⁶ Mayor Kelly of

Chicago spoke about Roosevelt and his relationship with the ASC:

Roosevelt always considered that you were his friends and thought as he did. He always asked me about the Slav Congress and what your organizations were doing whenever I saw him. You know, unofficially he was a sponsor of the American Slav Congress. He knew that he could count on your support and backing. He always held the American Slav Congress as an example of unity and the cooperation he wanted and needed from the American people.²³⁷

In May, 2,000 Slavic Americans gathered at Carnegie Hall in Pittsburgh for an event sponsored by ASC to salute the first United Nations gathering in San Francisco (which had just gotten underway) and to celebrate the destruction of Nazi Germany.²³⁸ There was still, however, a battle against fascism that needed to be fought. Pirinsky highlighted this fight:

We know that the historical meeting of the American and Red Armies in the heart of Nazi Germany a week ago is symbolic of the new friendship and close cooperation between our country and our Slavic brothers, between all democratic nations. Let this comradeship-in-arms continue and prosper as comradeship-in-peace. Let no one be allowed to destroy this fighting unity, forged in flames of the common fight against fascism and sealed with the blood of the best sons of all the Allies.²³⁹

As a matter of fact, in the late spring, Pirinsky attended this United Nations Conference in San Francisco, which lasted two months and resulted in the creation of the United Nations Charter, signed on June 26.²⁴⁰

The ASC understood, however, that the new American administration run by President Truman was deviating substantially from President Roosevelt's policy of uniting the U.S., Russia and Britain for world peace. The ASC believed that President Truman was instead substituting the peace policy for a policy of atomic power, threats and coercion. In a press

release eventually inserted into the Congressional Record, the ASC issued the following statement:

Millions of Slavic Americans throughout the country share this concern and call upon President Truman and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to exert every effort in helping to restore the previous harmonious relations between our country and the Soviet Union – the two nations upon whose friendship and cooperation so much depends in the building of the peace.

There is no doubt that if the present trend of strained relation continues, a grave rift might develop between the English-speaking and Slavic countries. Only enemies of world peace and security can profit from such a catastrophe.²⁴¹

And regarding developments in the Balkans and the growing American attitude of the socialist governments there, the ASC proclaimed:

The Balkan peoples like America. They want to see the United States as one of their staunchest friends. That is why they are bewildered, nay, indignant, when they see us taking the side of petty disrupters and former collaborationists. They may justly wonder whether America is trying to help them establish their life on a new democratic basis or stand in the way of achieving this objective.²⁴²

The ASC ended its document by highlighting the inconsistencies between the pressure put on Yugoslavia and Bulgaria compared to America's "silent approval of the monarcho-fascist terror now raging in Greece, where there is a real need for intervention." ²⁴³

This treatment of Yugoslavia and other socialist European countries that were not necessarily hostile to the Soviet Union irked Pirinsky. In late October, he presented an ASC petition to the House Appropriations Committee, which asked for immediate approval of \$550 million dollars for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to

help with aide, especially food and medicine, as millions in Europe faced starvation and misery.²⁴⁴ Later, he read an ASC statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which read:

Many of our members in the great industrial centers of the country at Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, and New York, have been receiving the heart-braking letters from their relatives and friends in the liberated countries... That they are in desperate need of immediate help is generally recognized. What is not recognized yet is the fact that every day of delay in appropriating UNRRA funds increases the death rate in the liberated countries. To withhold, to sabotage the appropriation of funds for UNRRA means to cause the death of thousands and millions of freedom-loving people in allied countries.²⁴⁵

General Eisenhower shared the ASC's and Pirinsky's reasoning and concern:

The ravished nations of the world are looking to UNRRA for their relief. If UNRRA were to fail them, they could not help but feel that not only had the United States failed them but that the hope of solution of world problems through United Nations action was an illusory one. The best way of developing the habit of cooperation is by building and supporting effective, operating international organizations such as UNRRA.²⁴⁶

Most Slavic Americans were bewildered and distraught by President Truman's departure from the previous administration's course. On November 11, 300 ASC delegates from the New York delegation held their 4th conference at the Roosevelt Hotel, with a barrage of speakers railing against Truman's big stick policy toward the Slavic nations. Similarly, on December 2, the Michigan Slav Congress hosted its 4th anniversary meeting in Detroit, where 4,000 Slavic Americans packed into the Masonic Temple. Speakers included Senator James Tunnell of Delaware, as well as Zlatko

Balokovic and Zinka Milanov, a Yugoslavian opera sensation.²⁴⁸ Their resolution stated: "While fighting for lasting peace we also are aware of our responsibilities as American citizens to support a domestic program which would guarantee a rising standard of living and a happier life for all the people of our great country." They particularly advocated for the enacting of the full employment bill, bills raising the minimum wage, and the unemployment compensation bill.²⁴⁹

Senator Tunnell also had some harsh words for the looming threat of fascism:

Fascism has received a mortal wound, but it is not yet dead. We have a job to do, and that is to see that its roots are eradicated everywhere...You people have always stood squarely against fascism and reaction, both in the foreign and domestic fields. You have always stood for progress at home and the closest kind of cooperation abroad.²⁵⁰

Up until now, the ASC had made a lot of strides. They unified many different (and often hostile) Slavic peoples and attracted prominent politicians and public officials to their cause. In March of 1946, Pirinsky wrote and published a booklet in support of the ASC, highlighting its accomplishments and future goals. The booklet claimed that the ASC had "become the voice expressing the aspirations of more than 10 million Slavic Americans." ²⁵¹ In that 61-page document, he stressed the following:

Inasmuch as the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have come in for a good deal of misrepresentation and even vilification in our press, the A.S. Congress can only hope to successfully combat this adverse propaganda by acquainting the American people with the true situation in the Slavic countries – through conferences and mass rallies, radio and press, as well as at Congressional hearing, the Congressional Record, etc.²⁵²

By now, the ASC and Pirinsky joined forces with, and strongly supported, Secretary Henry Wallace (who was a progressive, a former Vice President to President Roosevelt, and a soon-to-be presidential candidate who drew much ire and hate from right-wing Americans). Wallace and the ASC were aligned in their views on labor and international relations, and many in the ASC viewed him as the country's best hope.

Thus, it is no surprise that the 9,000 people in attendance at the 3rd national ASC conference in New York City cheered Wallace extensively; and Secretary Byrnes (a Truman supporter who found himself opposite to Wallace on many issues) was unanimously jeered. The crowd then gave Pirinsky a standing ovation as he read to them a message from Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union:

The 3rd American Slav congress meets at a time when before all mankind stands the problem of eradicating the remnants of fascism and the establishment of lasting peace in all the world. There can be no doubt that in the solving of this most crucial problem the Slavic people's will play an equally outstanding role as they did in defeating Hitlerite Germany. I wish the participants of your congress all success in your work.²⁵³

Pirinsky was dedicated to Stalin's words of establishing a lasting peace, even if he didn't think that Stalin believed his own words. He energetically continued his efforts to steer the United States onto a more desirable course. In the autumn of 1947, he delivered a report before the National Committee Meeting of the ASC in New York City. This report was entitled "Keep America Free! Help Prevent a New War." Pirinsky began by saying the following:

This meeting of our National Committee was called to take up some very serious problems which have come up in recent months and with which our American Slav Congress and all other progressive organizations and groups are being confronted today. I am speaking of the proclamation and the enactment of the socalled Truman doctrine, the passage of Taft-Hartley Labor Act, the President's Loyalty Order, the Marshall Plan, and the present inflationary rise in prices of the basic commodities. All these grave developments in our foreign and domestic policies took place after our Pittsburgh meeting in February. This is our first opportunity to consider them...and to decide on necessary steps for our future work.²⁵⁴

He also noted that the war hysteria and attacks on Americans' democratic rights and liberties had intensified and would "turn these United States into a country of blackest reaction and wreck the hop of humanity for a lasting peace...the tune in our foreign and domestic policy today is Hoover's tune. It is the tune of the Wall Street monopolists, the tune of economic royalists who hated and fought Roosevelt." Pirinsky mentioned how just a handful of people controlled 80% of America's wealth and the United States government.²⁵⁵

He was also critical of the Truman Doctrine that proclaimed the U.S. must "save the world from Russian aggression and communism." Truman had stated that Greece and Turkey were threatened by communist aggression. Thus, the U.S. wanted to grant Turkey and Greece \$400,000,000 in economic and military aid. Pirinsky pointed out that the aid wasn't really just to stop communism, but to protect the life of the British Empire and to support Anglo-American oil trusts.²⁵⁶

Regarding how this affected Macedonians, Pirinsky said it was damning them to nonexistence:

As one of Macedonian origin, I told the Senators that to us Macedonian Americans the military aid which our government is now rendering the royalist regime in Greece would mean strengthening the hand of the murderers of our Macedonian brothers and sisters in Aegean Macedonia and the Greek antifascists. This is exactly what the application of the Truman doctrine in Greece as meant to us. Only a month or so ago the newspapers announced that twelve American ships, loaded with

arms to the tune of 18,000,000 dollars were on the way to Greece to be used against the guerrillas. These American arms are already in Greece, and right at this moment Greek anti-fascists and Macedonian fighters for national rights and liberties are being killed with American weapons. This is outrageous, this is committing murder in Greece.²⁵⁷

He then compared the Macedonian situation in Greece to the American revolution in 1776.

It is a revolting paradox that the policy-makers of our country today take on the role of the British rules of 1776 and denounce the fighting people of Greece who have taken up arms against the abuses of a decadent monarchy.²⁵⁸...Those who are fighting today in the hills of Aegean Macedonia and Greece are not bandits...The Macedonian and Greek partisans are true people's fighters.²⁵⁹

Just as upsetting to Pirinsky was the Loyalty Order, which he said made "witch-hunting and red-baiting an official policy of the government." The first targets were government employees, whose heads were being examined to measure their loyalty to the nation based on a new concept of the meaning of the term: "uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of America as it is." And only a select few types of people would set the new standards of loyalty. Some questions employees were ordered to answer were whether they read liberal magazines or if they believed in Henry Wallace's politics. Answers to these questions would determine if they were engaged in "Un-American" activities.²⁶⁰

Shortly later, Pirinsky wrote a publication entitled "Slavic Americans Strike Back!" Here, he demonstrated how Slavic Americans in Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Cleveland flocked to Henry Wallace's meetings and composed generally half of the audience at those meetings. They viewed Wallace as the spokesman for progressive America and a defender of their rights and interests. This inspired the ASC's new Program of Action, which was a follows:

- 1. Use the *Slavic American* to showcase the rich cultural and industrial contributions that Slavic Americans have provided to America.
- 2. Develop broad support for Congressman George Sadowski's investigation into the U.S. policy of rebuilding the industrial might of Germany.
- 3. Get a constructive American policy of loans and food to war-time allies without political strings.
- 4. Help labor repeal the Taft-Hartley Law, which "destroyed labor's gains of the past fifty years."
- 5. Cooperate with all progressive groups to elect liberal politicians.
- 6. Build *Slavic American* and ASC as the "best means through which millions of forward-looking Americans of Slav descent can make as great a contribution to the preservation of American democracy and the winning of the peace, as they did to the winning of the war."²⁶¹

In addition to writing, Pirinsky assumed many other ASC responsibilities in the late 1940s. For example, he spoke at an ASC meeting in Pittsburgh in December of 1946 to plan a of permanent organization the ASC in Pennsylvania.²⁶² On January 7, 1947, he addressed the Slavic Council of Los Angeles.²⁶³ In October of 1947, he urged people to subscribe to the Slavic American, which was the ASC's newspaper. For this, he put out an advertisement that said: "The Slavic American Is Your Paper, It Speaks for You, Subscribe to It." In a fortnight the ASC managed to convince over a thousand people to subscribe." 264 At its height, the paper had approximately 8,000 subscribers.²⁶⁵

However, the late 1940s was also an especially grueling time for Pirinsky, who was continually being targeted, confronted, harassed and jailed by the American authorities. The persecution against him began in the 1930s, when authorities suspected him of entering the country illegally and collaborating with foreign communists. For the rest of his stay in America, Pirinsky was persecuted for his ideas, words and organizing power. Soon, he would be evicted from these United States.

IV. The Persecution of Pirinsky

Soon after the Second World War was over, some former members of the American Slav Congress began distancing themselves from the ASC agenda. For example, John Zahradnik and Michael Katchur of Pennsylvania both were listed as a sponsors of an upcoming ASC conference, and both were adamant they were not part of it any longer. "I was active in the organization," said Zahradnik, "when Judge Blair Gunther and other prominent citizens were interested. Our object was to support the government and the war effort. After the war, I resigned because I didn't consider it necessary to have an organization of that kind. Since then, I have attended none of their meetings, and my name was used without authorization." And Katchur, who was president of the Aliquippa Borough Council, stated: "I attended one meeting of the American Slav Congress during the war, at a time when that organization was devoting itself to support of the war effort. I was encouraged to participate by Judge Blair Gunther, then active in the movement. I withdrew from the organization when Judge Gunther resigned."266

People's ties with the ASC started to become strained once the American government began to publicly and forcefully pursue and portray progressives and communists as enemies of the state. Right-wing organizations piggybacked on this new official American attitude and attacked Pirinsky and the ASC. For example, in late December of 1947, the *American Srbobran*, a Serbian-language newspaper based in Pittsburgh that served as the official newspaper of the anti-Communist Serb National Federation, published an editorial blasting Pirinsky and the American Slav Congress for becoming "a tool of Soviet Russia." They also criticized Pirinsky's and Balokovic's letter to other Slavic Americans for accusing the Truman administration of "rebuilding Germany at the expense of Slav countries."²⁶⁷

In the January of 1948, Pirinsky also found himself in the middle of a controversy in Gary. The Midwest Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born was to hold a meeting at the Roosevelt High School auditorium there when multiple Indiana organizations protested to Newton P. Fowler, president of the Gary School board, for allowing taxpayer-supported school property to host a meeting which would promote "un-American ideals." Pirinsky was to be the principal speaker and Paul Robeson, an African American baritone singer who was suspected of being a communist, was to sing and speak as well.²⁶⁸ There was also going to be dances and entertainment by Russian, Yugoslavian and Hungarian cultural groups.²⁶⁹

On January 9, 1948, the superintendent of the schools, Charles D. Lutz, sent a letter "withdrawing permission for use of the Roosevelt school, which was signed by the school's principal, Theodore Tatum. The Midwest Committee then held a protest meeting at the St. Paul Baptist Church, which was offered to them by its pastor, L. R. Jackson. They protested against those who encouraged the school to withdraw permission, which included Harold E. Morris of the American Legion (Indiana Commander); Gary Deanery of the National Council of Catholic Women; local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the Dunes Federated Women's Clubs; and many others. Even Reverend Weddington of the Gary Ministerial Alliance, an organization of black clergymen, criticized the planned: "As far as a concert by Paul Robeson is

concerned, we think it is a very excellent thing as planned by the committee with Principal Tatum, but we object to all the others on the program whose Americanism can be questioned." Pirinsky finally stated he would not be attending the protest meeting due to the incomprehensible attack on freedom and liberty.²⁷⁰

The attacks on Pirinsky, however, only escalated. Louis Francis Budenz published a book entitled *Men Without Faces* and suggested that Pirinsky had been a Moscow Communist agent since arriving in America in 1923.²⁷¹ In late January of 1948, John Troan wrote a series of newspaper articles blasting Pirinsky and the American Slav Congress, accusing them of being aligned with Moscow and not the United States. Troan claimed:

For the Slav Congress has a direct link with an organization recently branded by the US Government as being disloyal to America. This organization is the Communist-front Macedonian American People's League. The national secretary of this League also is the national executive secretary of the Slav Congress. He is George Pirinsky. And he is the man who pipes the Communist-line tune which the Slav Congress is humming these days.

Pirinsky is a suave, glib-tongued lobbyist whose heavy baritone voice often is heard in Congressional hearing rooms....Recently he completed a five-week tour of 18 centers in the Midwest and on the Pacific Coast, where large groups of Americans of Slavic descent are living...The Macedonian American People's League, of which Pirinsky is the kingpin, is included in the list of organizations which 'after appropriate investigation and determination' have been designated by the US Attorney General as: 'Totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advancing or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.'

Pirinsky not only is the brains of this League. He is one of the seven top officials of the Slav Congress - and its No. 1 propagandist.²⁷²

Then, on September 23, 1948, Pirinsky was arrested in Chicago while preparing for the fourth ASC conference, under the charge of being "an alien...belonging to an organization advocating the forceful overthrow of the United States Government." The Justice Department stated that this action was not because of his affiliation with the ASC, but because of his "alleged membership in the Communist party." The Justice Department further stated that Pirinsky "affiliated with the Communist party after his entry into this country, in violation of the immigration statutes." They also stated that he was once the editor for a paper name Macedonia based out of Detroit, which they claimed was communistic. Pirinsky's attorney posted his bond for \$1,000.273 The Soviet Union immediately sent a telegram to the ASC and United States government protesting the arrest of Pirinsky and hailed him as "the fighter against fascism, and for peace and democracy."274

Soon after, on September 26, Pirinsky appeared on stage with Presidential candidate Wallace at the American Slav Congress' last convention day. While Wallace didn't speak about Pirinsky's arrest, he described Attorney General Tom Clark's remarks about the ASC, MPL and Pirinsky as slanderous, and insisted that he and Pirinsky were not communists. Clark was the one who had recently classified the MPL as a subversive organization.²⁷⁵

The Civil Rights Congress of Ohio also held a press conference for Pirinsky and Gerhart Eisler, who was an anti-Fascist German that was arrested along with Pirinsky and ten other suspected communists. The two men arrived and spoke on behalf of the twelve men who were scheduled for trial.²⁷⁶ In January of 1949, the ASC held a festival in Cleveland. Over 1,000 people showed up and listened to ASC president, Leo Krzycki, speak. "We owe it to those 12 in court in New York,"

said Krzycki, "and especially to George Pirinsky, national secretary of the American Slav Congress, to rally around and give our support so that no harm comes to him." Krzycki explained that Pirinsky was going to be deported to Macedonia and started a fund to raise \$10,000 for his defense.²⁷⁷

Throughout 1949, Pirinsky tried to advocate on behalf of his dearly held progressive causes. However, he was often blocked at every corner. On May 16, at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee's public hearing on the formation of NATO, Chairman Connally of Texas banned Pirinsky from talking. He announced: "The Committee is not going to hear you; you're a foreigner and apparently represent some foreign interest." Pirinsky afterward explained to the press that he had lived in America for over two decades and had been refused citizenship because of his labor activities. He then showed the press copies of White House letters he had received during President Roosevelt's term in office and how he had testified in Congress on a wide array of issues for several years.²⁷⁸

Shortly after, at a House and Senate investigation into Communist activities on June 9, 1949, Chairman Wood of Georgia noted that they were considering holding Pirinsky in contempt after he refused to answer the question "are you a communist?" Pirinsky refused to answer based on constitutional grounds, citing that the Constitution protects him from answering questions that might incriminate him.²⁷⁹ Senator Eastland of Mississippi then asked Pirinsky: "Is it a crime to be a member of the Communist party?" Pirinsky replied: "I don't think so."²⁸⁰

Things only escalated further and Pirinsky was finding himself under more scrutiny. Just two weeks later, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) stated that the ASC was a Russian weapon inseminating poisonous propaganda in America, along with other damning charges. Pirinsky stated that the charges stemmed from the testimony of Judge Blair Gunther, who quit the ASC after the ASC

decided to support Roosevelt for a fourth term, which irked Gunter, who was a Republican that supported Thomas Dewey for president. Gunther had testified that the ASC was subversive and that its goal was "to cripple our national defense apparatus." Pirinsky stated that was ridiculous. He cited ASC's record of "drives to sell defense bonds, and the encouragement of the thousands of Slavic American workers to increase their production in war plants." Pirinsky continued:

The Congress is purely an American organization. It will continue to work for friendship and cooperation in the spirit of President Roosevelt's policies between the US and Slavic and other freedom-loving countries...The [Un-American Activities] committee paralyzes the people politically and poisons their minds. The record of the American Slav Congress is so outstanding we don't care particularly what the committee says about us. But its charges are baseless and not founded on facts.²⁸¹

HUAC, however, did not relent. That summer, it listed MPL's newspaper, Narodna Volya, as Slavic propaganda in a special report. "Narodna Volya is the mouthpiece of George Pirinsky, who for two decades has agitated for a revolution in the Balkans to re-create a Macedonian state composed of parts of Greece, parts of Bulgaria and parts of Yugoslavia," wrote Hames Haswell. He further wrote: "Communist Russia has now taken over the free-Macedonia movement. American arms have been sent to Greece to put down guerillas in the Macedonian hills and Pirinsky faces deportation from this country as an undesirable alien." 282 In late September of 1949, Maurice Malkin, who was a Russian from Minsk that came to America in 1914 and worked for the U.S. Communist Party from 1919 until he left the party in 1937 due to Russia's influence in it, testified about Pirinsky's role with Narodna Volya. A senator asked him if Narodna Volya was a communist paper. Malkin replied:

The Narodna Volya is the original Russian name of the terrorist group that Lenin's brother was hanged for his participation in the assassination of Czar Alexander in 1880. Narodna Volya was also the name of their paper. That is Pirinsky's paper.²⁸³

Even though Pirinsky's paper had no connection to Russian history, Malkin's explanation confirmed the subversive nature of *Narodna Volya* for many of Pirinsky's adversaries.

On July 8, Pirinsky was arrested again by immigration officials and taken to Ellis Island to await his detention hearing.²⁸⁴ An immigration official stated: "The department doesn't want him at liberty any longer."²⁸⁵ The *New York Times* wrote: "The Government doesn't want alleged alien Communists who are awaiting deportation proceedings to follow Eisler. Eisler jumped bail and fled the country on the Polish liner Batory."²⁸⁶ The ASC protested Pirinsky's arrest with Joseph Rudiak, president of the Western Pennsylvania ASC branch, and Matthew Cvetic demanding that Attorney General Tom Clark immediately release him.²⁸⁷

Clark had increased Pirinsky's bond from \$1,000 (which he was earlier released on) to \$25,000, which he couldn't afford. Federal District Judge Alexander Holtzoff determined that \$25,000 was a reasonable bail. A Federal Appeals Court then heard an appeal by Pirinsky for a reduction of that \$25,000 bond in mid-September. On October 1, Pirinsky's lawyers demanded his release on a writ of habeas corpus, filed in the U.S. District Court of New Haven, Connecticut. They said that the increase in his bond after he paid the original bond, and the fact that charges against him had not been brought to trial, dictate that he should be immediately released. They stated that the only reason for any of this was because HUAC had encouraged Attorney General Clark to raise the bond, arguing Pirinsky's release would allow him to continue "his activity on full blast." Plant of the state of the state of the bond, arguing Pirinsky's release would allow him to continue "his activity on full blast."

On October 3, the federal appeals court ruled in Pirinsky's favor, stating that the bail of \$25,000 was excessive. In their

decision, they acknowledged that "bail in excess of \$5,000 would seem unreasonable." ²⁹² Two weeks before his release, Pirinsky wrote a letter, which described the Ellis Island detention center as "a concentration camp alongside the very Statute of Liberty...I and other progressive Americans of foreign origin ... have been deprived of liberty in violation of law as a result of the utter ignoring of the bill of rights." ²⁹³ They released Pirinsky, but the trials did not end to his benefit. By 1951, he was removed from the United States and found himself in the Balkans, a place he hadn't seen in three decades.

This persecution of Pirinsky, however, didn't begin in the late 1940s. Different agencies, organizations and congressional members were onto him nearly two decades before. The FBI, for example, had been compiling information on him for over a dozen years. The FBI's dossier on Pirinsky was over 1,000 pages long.²⁹⁴ J. Edgar Hoover, the first Director of the FBI, wrote to the CIA Director and U.S. Army Chief of Intelligence stated he personally represented "Pirinsky Macedonians in the United States who are in accord with European Macedonia, that is, those under Bulgarian and Yugoslav flags."295 Hoover also sent a letter to John S. Bugas of the FBI office in Detroit asking special agents to continue investigating Pirinsky "with a view toward establishing a basis for making this individual a subject for possible custodial detention." Hoover noted that Pirinsky was "regarded as one of the highest figures in the Communist Party" and was the "chief organizer" of Macedonians in the United States.²⁹⁶

Others were more upfront with their criticism of him. When Pirinsky testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, some senators began accusing him of being a Yugoslavian Communist agent. Here is a back-and-forth between Pirinsky and his critics:

Mr. Arens: What is the purpose or objective of that organization?

Mr. Pirinsky: . . . we support the fight of the Macedonian people for freedom.

Senator Eastland: That is the policy of the Tito government; is it not?

Mr. Pirinsky: That was a long time before we even knew of Tito.

Senator Eastland: Today it is to "liberate" Macedonians; is it not? Is that not the policy of the Russian Government and the policy of Tito?²⁹⁷

The fact that the Russians supported Macedonians' liberation movement in Greece put both Pirinsky and the Macedonians on the opposite side of the new prevailing attitude of the American government. Pirinsky wanted to stay away from the question of the Macedonian Struggle, because he believed that the senators would misinterpret and misunderstand him and the Macedonians. But they continued to press him:

Mr. Pirinsky. It is the policy—Macedonia, for instance, is divided between the three countries now. Some Macedonians are in Greece.

Senator Eastland. That is right.

Mr. Pirinsky. Some are in Bulgaria and some in Yugoslavia.

Senator Eastland. One of the aims in the civil war in Greece of those who have revolted against the Greek Government is to liberate Macedonia; is it not?

Mr. Pirinsky. I don't think that is the aim of the civil war. I think the civil war in Greece started in December 1944, when the British troops intervened in the internal life of Greece and imposed again the King back to the Greek people that they had rejected.

Senator Eastland. Is it not one of the aims of the revolutionary leaders of Greece to liberate Macedonia from Greece?

Mr. Pirinsky. Senator, the history of the Macedonian movement is a long one.

Senator Eastland. Answer my question, please. Is that or is that not one of the aims?

Mr. Pirinsky: I haven't read in the newspapers that that is the aim of the people that are fighting in Greece now, to liberate Macedonia. I think the Macedonians are participating in that fight, and these Macedonians want to see a democratic Greece and to live in peace with the people of Greece. That is, I view the events that are taking place that way.

Senator Eastland. Do you think they want to liberate Macedonia; that is, take Macedonia from Greece?

Mr. Pirinsky. Who? The Macedonians?

Senator Eastland, Yes.

Mr. Pirinsky. All Macedonians, I understand, want to unite into one Macedonia that will not be a part of any Balkan state, but will have independence like other nations.

Senator Eastland. That is right; they are fighting on the side of the guerrillas in Greece.

Mr. Pirinsky. I understand many Macedonians have joined.

Senator Eastland. That is the Macedonian liberation movement; is it not?

Mr. Pirinsky. No; it is not.

Senator Eastland. It is to free Macedonia; is it not?

Mr. Pirinsky. As far as I know, there is no Macedonian liberation movement now.

Senator Eastland. Did you not say that your organization favored an independent Macedonia?

Mr. Pirinsky. To free Macedonia, yes; we do.

Senator Eastland. That is one of the issues in the civil war.

Mr. Pirinsky. No; I think the main issue in the civil war is to abolish monarchy and establish their own democratic government there. In such a Greece, I understand that the Macedonians will be also given the right to speak their language and to live as free citizens. Macedonians were oppressed by the Greek King before and now. They resent this oppression like the American people here resented the British oppression in 1776. As a matter of fact, the slogan of the Macedonians, when I was there, was the same as the slogan of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty or give me death."

Senator Eastland. What is the slogan now? We are talking about the civil war in Greece at this time.

Mr. Pirinsky. I think the civil war in Greece was provoked by the British intervention.

Senator Eastland. There are no British soldiers now in Greece; are there?

Mr. Pirinsky. I think there are some still—quite a few there, helping in the training, and things like that.

Senator Eastland. That is the reason there is a civil war there now, because of the British soldiers there now; is that right? Is that what you say?

Mr. Pirinsky. Because the British intervened and tried to impose the king back to the Greek people. I think that was the main reason for the civil war.²⁹⁸

Moreover, in 1946, Pirinsky received strong criticism from Michigan politicians for speaking to the political school of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. encouraged them to defeat the reelection of House members who voted to deny UNRRA aid to countries that censored press accounts of its distribution. The amendment was "tacked onto" the UNRRA measure and passed 154 to 53. Pirinsky stated that the amendment was "nothing but a political club to try to influence events in eastern Europe." He called it a threat to peace and that the people in eastern Europe will not like being told "you can eat if you listen to what we tell you." 299 This led to accusations by Michigan Representative George Dondero claiming that Pirinsky's words were meaningless because he was a communist. He said Pirinsky was one of two communist faculty members of the PAC and called the school a "communist-dominated hoax."300

But FBI and immigration officials' investigation into Pirinsky was that catalyst for all of this. In a March 1937 interview conduction by immigration officials, the conversation with Pirinsky went as follows:

"Why were you arrested in Chicago?"

"I was speaking at a meeting."

"What meeting?"

"Macedonian People's Meeting in a coffee house."

"What were you speaking about inasmuch as you were arrested?"

"About the situation in Macedonia."301

In the early 1940s, Pirinsky admitted to FBI agents that he had been arrested a total of three times (up until that point): on January 28, 1930 in Pontiac, Michigan for demonstrating with the unemployed (case dismissed); on March 8, 1935 in South

Chicago for disturbing the peace (acquitted); and on January 8, 1937 in Detroit for illegal entry (case dismissed).³⁰² His 1937 arrest in Detroit by Immigration and Naturalization officials was due to a deportation warrant for his arrest, but that was cancelled after a hearing and he remained in America.³⁰³ The warrant was issued in May of 1936 based on information that he was in the U.S. illegally and for being in possession of an expired immigration visa. The complaint also stated that he was working as a Communist Party organizer, specifically organizing people at the Communist Hall on Ferry Avenue in Detroit.³⁰⁴

Officials discovered that the permit issued to him in August of 1928 had expired in August of 1929. Pirinsky said that he had left the States in the late summer of 1928 to visit his great-uncle in Paris. He returned to America in December of that year, and was then issued a re-entry permit in 1935 because he had planned to go to Europe as a correspondent but eventually decided not to go. The deportation hearing was eventually cancelled. But when he was arrested, the officials found many books and materials in his room related to previous assassinations in Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Officials also found a list of all the members in the Macedonian People's League. There was some suspicion that Pirinsky was planning on participating in a high-level assassination overseas, but none of that was ever confirmed.

Pirinsky admitted to being very active in organizing Macedonians in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana,³⁰⁸ but he insisted that his means were peaceful and legal. During his detention, the Chairman of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born wrote a letter to the Secretary of Labor "stating that all indications were that the deportation proceedings are a direct attack upon the freedom of the press on the part of Immigration officials in Detroit and an attempt to intimidate foreign-born workers in their efforts at trade union organizations in Detroit."³⁰⁹ The Central Committee of

the MPL also sent a letter. They were more firm in defending their leader:

Central Committee Macedonian Peoples League indignantly protests the arrest January 8 of its National Secretary George Pirinsky by Detroit Immigration Officials of your Department and nature of questioning on March 19. Although Pirinsky came to the United States August 1, 1923, and although at time of arrest he had re-entry permit he was held on thousand dollars bail. Last Saturday he was asked if he believed in overthrowing by force and violence of Bulgarian, Yugoslavian and Greek governments. This showed that charge of illegal entrée is a trumped one and that your officials in Detroit are defending despotic military fascist dictatorship in Balkans which are oppressing heroic Macedonian peoples. We ask you to interfere and condemn this policy of your Detroit officials.³¹⁰

The MPL even put out a press-release two years early in 1935 stating the continued persecution of Pirinsky "was a flagrant violation of the democratic rights of the people." Further, John Lesinki, a Michigan Congressman, wrote a letter stating that "if the subject were deported it would mean that he would face certain death in his own country." 312

The FBI, for their part, relied on many confidential informants – many of whom were members of the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO) – to create a lengthy profile of Pirinsky. One informant in 1944 gave the following description of Pirinsky:

He is essentially intellectual; is highly bureaucratic, a bit arrogantly nationalistic and Communistically fanatical. He is, however, like most communist leaders, more interested in power and position rather than doing any real service for the cause. He is suspicious of everything American, Communist or non-Communist. He thinks that the Macedonians assisted perhaps by the Bulgarians will make a revolution.³¹³

Tsvetco Anastasoff, a prominent member of the MPO in the 1930s, told the FBI that Pirinsky was a radical striving to organize Macedonians and wanted to encourage a revolt in Macedonia. Further, according to him, it was "common knowledge that Pirinsky openly attacked the capitalistic system." However, he told Special Agent Charles Solomon that he had never heard Pirinsky make such statements. 314

The Detroit Police and FBI also received information from a complainant in 1941 accusing Pirinsky and an individual named Belkovski of attempting to convert the members of the Bulgarian Ladies Society into communists. The Detroit police investigated and learned that, in the late 1930s, Pirinsky and his wife tried to get an organization to send \$20 to the Spanish Loyalist Government, but failed. The police did not uncover evidence in relation to Pirinsky's infiltration of the Bulgarian Ladies Society but did note that Pirinsky was actively promoting MPL meetings, and that he oversaw these meetings and advertised them on the radio.³¹⁵

And according to an FBI informant from Gary, in 1939 Pirinsky stated the following at a MPL convention: "We must destroy this form of government and install the Communist Party. That is the only way the working class can continue to exist." That same informant claimed that when Pirinsky came to Gary, he would sell communist literature written by Lenin or Marx at MPL meetings, and that he would meet with other communist Macedonians, such as John Yosioff, Dr. Christ Stoycoff, Nick Mencof, Blagoy Popoff, and Kosta Apostoloff. These men were some of Pirinsky's strongest financial backers in Indiana. Indiana.

On April 23, 1943, FBI agents interviewed Pirinsky about "Macedonian fascist organizations in the United States." Pirinsky revealed that he was secretary of the MPL, which was a different organization from the MPO, and that Nicola Kovacheff was an organizer in the MPL, as well as the national secretary of the Federation of Bulgarian and Macedonian

Clubs. "Pirinsky advised that the difference between the two [groups] was that Macedonians only were members of the League whereas both Macedonians and Bulgarians belonged to the Federation." 318

In 1944, the FBI intercepted two packages mailed to Pirinsky from the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, which included ten pamphlets of two separate documents written by L. S. Stavrianos entitled *Yugoslavia and Italy* and *Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement to Balkan Unity in Modern Times*. These interceptions happened more than once and fueled the FBI with theories on Pirinsky's ultimate goal in the United States.

What were Pirinsky's ultimate goals? Many progressives suggest that he ardently wished to radically change society so that people were given a priority over profit. Many right-wing Americans believed that he was in the United States only to execute the Russian Communist agenda. Moreover, many Macedonians acknowledged that he first and foremost cared about what would happen with Macedonia: he wanted a free and united Macedonia that was equal to all other Balkan countries.

Perhaps Pirinsky's goals combined elements from all of the above assertions. He certainly worked tirelessly to promote progressive ideals, and his fixation on the Macedonian Cause was a staple of his intellectual diet. Further, it's impossible to deny that he was connected to and associated with the most senior level of communist officials in Europe and the United States.

In the end, however, his persecution did both a disservice to his legacy in America and represented some of the darkest times in America's history of suppression of thought and speech. Pirinsky came to this country with much hope and enthusiasm, and he accomplished much while he was here; but he left the country defeated and confused. Yet, Macedonian-Americans will always recognize him for his critical work of organizing Macedonians in America. He helped unite Macedonians into demanding that the world recognize a separate Macedonian nation and identity, and his work here set the foundations from which both old and new Macedonian immigrants could practice their culture and defend their identity. That is the legacy of George Pirinsky in America.

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- ³¹⁰ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 11/1/43, File 100-22502, Internal Security B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 2,3.
- 311 FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 11/1/43, File 100-22502, Internal Security B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 3.

³¹² FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 11/1/43, File 100-22502, Internal Security – B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 3.

³¹³ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 8/15/44, File 100-252, Internal Security – C, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 7,8.

³¹⁴ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 10/9/43, File 100-252, Internal Security – B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 6.

³¹⁵ FBI Report, File No. 100-252, Maurice A. Goudge, 12/13/1941.

³¹⁶ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 12/20/43, File 62-78, Report by Mortimer C. Watson, Internal Security – B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 2.

³¹⁷ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 12/20/43, File 62-78, Report by Mortimer C. Watson, Internal Security – B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 2.

³¹⁸ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 10/9/43, File 100-252, Internal Security – B, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 24,25.

³¹⁹ FBI File, George Nicholoff Pirinsky, 11/1/44, File 100-18681, Internal Security – C, Alien Enemy Control, Pg. 2.