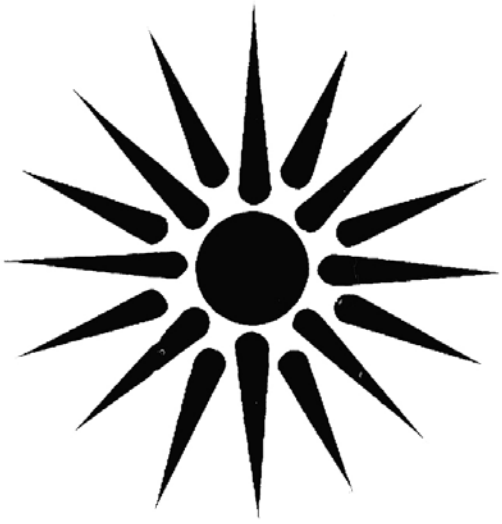
The Other Face of History



By

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

The Other Face of History

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Introduction

This book is an attempt to analyze the politics behind the Macedonian involvement in the Greek Civil War by asking critical questions such as: Who got the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia involved in this war and why? Why was this war started right after World War II ended, when everything was already decided by the Great Powers? What was the common Macedonian fighter led to believe that he or she was fighting for and what was the real motive behind getting them to fight? And most importantly, why did the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, yet again, allow foreigners and strangers to lead them in a brutal ideological war; the same foreigners who had brutally partitioned Macedonia in 1913?

This book focuses on the Macedonian people's longing desire to free themselves after generations of persecution and how that desire and patriotism was exploited to work against them, eventually driving them out of what they had fought for and loved the most; their homeland Macedonia and their centuries old native hearth! So surely every Macedonian who has been driven out of Greek occupied Macedonia and who today finds him or her self separated from their home and from their native land must want to know the answer to these questions?!

There is no shame in asking such questions, there is no shame in looking at ones own past, but why did it have to take 60 years after that dreaded Greek Civil War for these questions to finally surface? And why have our historians, up to this day, ignored them?

Thanks to modern research techniques, modern search systems and our ability to collect, store and search through large amounts of data, we finally have the ability to not only ask but also search for the answers to these questions.

My inspiration, or should I say, my "provocation" for doing research for this book came from having read Historian Risto Kiriazovski's book entitled "Pette sudbonosni godini vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) (Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945 - 1949)). I will be analyzing the specifics of this book looking at all the details, searching for facts and solid evidence that may even suggest that there was a cover-up, a conspiracy and that the reality of this war might be quite different from what we were led to believe. I will specifically be looking for:

1. Tito's involvement in the Aegean part of Macedonia.

2. Tito's surrender of the Aegean Macedonian people to Zahariadis.

What were Tito's (CPY/CPM, undoubtedly the most powerful force in Yugoslavia) political and ideological notions which motivated him to establish the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS on April 23, 1945 in Skopje? And why were these organizations required to seek maximum mass mobilization of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia during a time when the War (WWII) had already ended and when Greece was facing political hell?!

- Did the war (WWII) not end for us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia on May 9, 1945 when it had for everyone else?!

- Why were we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, led to war on April 23, 1945 when the war was ending for everyone else?!

- Why did Tito deliver us, Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, like slaves to the Communist Party of Greece and put us in the hands of that butcher Zahariadis?!

- Why did we, Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, enter into this war without our own Macedonian strategy?!

These are legitimate questions to which every Macedonian should scream and demand answers, given the outcome of that dreaded Greek Civil War!

The Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were lured by the CPY/CPM and by the CPG with promises that they needed to fight "together" with their "traditional enemies" in order to fix historical wrongs. But in the end, no historical wrongs were ever fixed and in addition to losing many lives and their centuries old native hearth, they also experienced genocide in massive proportions. Why did they, and why do some of us still, believe that the very same people who brutally occupied and partitioned our Macedonia in 1913 and those who were subsequently brought there to colonize our lands in the 1920's would "somehow" now save us?!

- Why were we so brutal with our own people, pushing them to get involved in a strange alien "ideological" war while all along telling them that it was a "revolution" and that we were fighting for our freedom and liberation?!

And even though the Greek Civil War had ended, for us, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, the war still goes on. Thousands of us

were persecuted and after they had pushed us out of our homes, after they had exiled us, they prohibited us by law from ever going back; from returning to our own native lands where we were born and had lived for countless generations because somehow we were “not Greeks by genus”! Why do they fear us so much? Why do we fear our own past? Why are we so naïve?

Will our nation ever look at these facts? Facts in which our national tragedy is buried? Will we forever carry the guilt and blame ourselves for wiping ourselves out from Greek occupied Macedonia? Are we going to blame ourselves even if the facts point in a different direction? Thus far we have blamed ourselves but the final verdict has not yet been carried! History as of yet has not fully spoken! The time has come for history to show its other face, it is time for the silence to end!

If World War II was a war of extermination, what then do we call the Greek Civil War after what it did to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia?!

***

After the Second World War (1945) ended there was constant misery and perpetual abuse of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. People were put in a position where they either had to fight and free themselves of the terror imposed upon them by the Greek government, or die at the hands of their abusers. Many chose to fight and courageously fought in the ranks of DAG (1946-1949). They fought with zeal, unafraid of unleashing the next hand grenade or turning their rifle barrel on their enemies. Why was it like that for these Macedonians?! Why were they put in this position where they had to “raise arms” in order to defend themselves?! Why did the Greek government terrorize them instead of protecting them? Did the Greek government not know that, pushed hard enough, they would eventually rebel against it? Or was that their aim all along! Who was behind instigating this rebellion?

Do we still believe they raised arms for ideological reasons? Did they raise arms to defend themselves or was it for something else?! Most importantly why did it take 60 years for these questions to surface?!

Now, 60 years later, we are finally looking back and questioning everything. It is about time that we collectively put our Macedonian minds together and carefully examine our past, if not for us then for our future generations and for the world. It is time that we open all questions and expose the “false” history we have been served. Let us put our minds

together and expose the lies that over the years have divided and "crippled our people".

Do we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia know the truth about ourselves? Do we really know our truth? Have we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia accepted the fate dealt to us by the Greek Civil War?! Don't we all want to know who started the Greek Civil War and why? Don't we all want to know whether the initiators were Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia or outsiders? If outsiders then who were they and why did they want us to fight?! Was their intention to destroy us? Was our tragic outcome pre-planned? By whom?!

Do we want to know if foreign countries were involved with intent to do us harm (genocide) or do we want this to remain a secret for another century?

Ask yourselves this: Has the Macedonian people's historiography, for the last 60 years, served the Macedonian people's national interests by omitting to show the world that we the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia experienced genocide?! Why is the "Aegean Macedonian theme" still in quarantine, kept away from the world?

We know that during World War II, the hundred-thousand strong Macedonian Army in Vardar Macedonia fought for a "United Macedonia" and we know that Tito was always against a "United Macedonia".

How much do we know about the "political tragedy of NOF and AFZH"? How much do we know about the Macedonians who passed through the black scenario of DAG's history and the national and political implications of their bondage to NOF, AFZH, CPY/CPM and the CPG? Don't you want to know who lied to and lured the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia into this war?! Don't you want to know about Tito's (CPY/CPM) political and ideological involvement in all this? Or do you believe that the organizers and strategists that led the Greek Civil War (1) for their own interests are telling us the truth?

What we do know for sure is that the "Party loyal soldiers" belonging to the ranks of the CPY and to the CPG are responsible for writing this "false history" about the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

The oppressed Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have been left to wonder for six decades about what really happened to them; about their violent uprooting, about the ideological indoctrination that pushed them to self-destruct during the Greek Civil War from 1945 to

1949. We the Macedonians, living in Greek occupied Macedonia, have endured a century of struggles; from the Ilinden Uprising, World War I, the Greek-Turkish War, World War II and more recently the Greek Civil War; conflicts during which we were used by strangers and manipulated by ideological parties such as the CPY and the CPG to work against our interests. We have been lied to and manipulated too many times and if we don't get to the truth this time and learn from our mistakes, we will no doubt be again manipulated by strangers and outsiders.

Research into this subject has been difficult and painstaking but our desire to learn the truth should be of vital importance and must supersede our fear, pain and discomfort. My desire to learn the truth has given me the courage to look deeper and further and ask the "uncomfortable" questions, questions that so far have been ignored. It is time that we "cast out" the false history that has been written for us and write our own history based on facts and on "our own" experience. There is no longer a need to conceal the truth because of fear or because of some other factor. It is to our national interest for the truth to come out; for the world to know and for our future generations to learn what really happened to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia; the genocide perpetrated against them which not only destroyed many lives but also turned many Macedonians into permanent refugees and world wanderers. We owe ourselves that much!

We need to ask ourselves (particularly about our involvement in the Greek Civil War): "Did we shed all this Macedonian blood for century old Macedonian ideals or were we manipulated into sacrificing ourselves for nothing?! This is a question I want to firmly resolve for our future generations and explain to them why their recent ancestors have been firmly and forever uprooted from their homeland and exiled and why they are cast out as permanent refugees all over the world. We also have an obligation to inform our Macedonian brothers and sisters who remained in Greece and who still bear deep family roots and who have lived in our homeland for centuries (like our "VINIZHITO" brothers for example) and have not shared our fate and did not have to live like strangers in foreign lands or as "ideological subjects". We need to inform them of what truly happened to us and to interpret for them the hardships we had to endure in this unwanted journey. The overriding question that comes to mind in this historical and military analysis is: "Did the 'Road to Freedom' chosen for us by our ideological activists lead us to the loss of our ancestral homes? Did it lead us to the destruction of our nation? Did it lead us to 'persecution and permanent mass eviction?'!"

Our historical and military analysis shows that the truth has always been there for the last 60 years; only lies had to be invented to cover it up. So the question is who covered it up and why? Our research of what happened to the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia in a span of a century and especially during the Greek Civil War years (1945-1949) has revealed that the Macedonians were always lied to. Macedonian patriotism was destroyed by the Communists before it even had a chance to come to the fore. Through their ideological activism the Communists led the Macedonian people to believe that they were fighting for freedom and for a united Macedonia and their patriotism was only used to make sacrifices of them. The so-called "Road to Freedom" for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia was chosen for them after World War II ended, after the Balkans were divided into spheres of influence by the Great Power and after it was decided that all of Greece would fall under the British sphere of influence. So why then did the CPY/CPM, under Yugoslav directives, form NOF and AFZH and initiate the "Road to Freedom" campaign in Aegean Macedonia? Was this one of (CPY/CPM) Tito's political and ideological creations aspiring to demonstrate his greatness to the Macedonian people? Or was this, as the outcome has shown, a Western Power ploy to permanently rid Greece of the Macedonians?

After being created and led by the CPY/CPM, the Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH were then, by Tito's orders, surrendered to the Communist Party of Greece. This was not only unexpected, it was downright treasonous! It was the worst thing that could have happened to the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia; to be led into a senseless ideological war by the very same people responsible for Macedonia's occupation, partition (1913) and Macedonia's colonization (1920s's). So instead of taking the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia on the "Road to Freedom", as promised by Tito and his cronies, Tito surrendered them to Zahariadis and to his cronies who in turn then took them on the "Road to persecution" and turned them into permanent "wanderers". Now, generations later, they are still asking themselves: "Who are we? What are we doing here? What happened to us? Where are we going?..."

It is a fair question to ask: Why did Tito write our Macedonian history in this way? And why did Zahariadis turn us into "timeless hostages" for over half a century?

Greek occupied Macedonia is full of secrets. These secrets are tied to the many tragedies that occurred there which have largely determined our fate. Since its brutal occupation and violent partition in 1913 (2), that part of Macedonia has been plagued with conspiracies, murders, assassinations, spying and all sorts of affairs that would fill volumes of history books.

Now, a century later and 60 years after the Greek Civil War, the ideological walls are starting to crack and crumble and the truth is beginning to reveal itself. Historian Risto Kiriazovski in his book: "Pette sudbonosti vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) (Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)), on page 40 has revealed that: "Tito handed over the Aegean Macedonians to Zahariadis", which in essence means that Tito delivered the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia directly into the hands of their new masters, the CPG, to be used and abused by Zahariadis and his masters as nothing more than a weapon, a Kalashnikov, the deadliest Russian weapon ever made.

It is no secret, as our research is slowly uncovering, that we have surrendered our fate to strangers on many occasions in our recent historic past. We have allowed foreign powers to not only put us in precarious positions (for example Greece's name dispute with Macedonia) but to take advantage of us (Ilinden Uprising) and to lead us to do their bidding (Greek Civil War). And why have they done this to us? To serve their own interests, of course! They want to destroy us because we remind them of what they have done to us; brutally invading and occupying our homeland; partitioning our country and destroying our spiritual and cultural unification! They want our iconic past to be forgotten, erased! They want us to permanently disappear from the face of this earth!

We need to know all these things; we need to know what truly happened to us in order to avoid repeating our mistakes; in order to heal and re-unite as Macedonians spiritually and culturally no matter where we live; that should be our permanent goal. We need to know once and for all "how" our predecessors were influenced, divided and misled by foreigners and outsiders and pass that knowledge on to future generations so that our past mistakes are not repeated. We must learn not to bow before every "ideological bully" that comes along or give in to any scheme, like a Balkan Federation, unification etc., presented to us. And most importantly we must remember to not allow anyone to manipulate us and use our patriotism against us.

Every Macedonian must know and respect that our choice to be Macedonians, or our self-determination, was made for us many centuries ago by our ancestors. Our Macedonian state's name was chosen and our Macedonian statehood was forged a long time ago; they were a "fait accompli" for us, something that we should all be proud of! Our ancestors, like many other peoples, knew who they were and because of that today we have a natural right to be Macedonians. Today our self-determination is guaranteed by international law. It would be a great injustice to deny ourselves our historical name that belonged to our people for many

centuries. It would be an even greater injustice to allow those who occupied and colonized our lands to rob us of that privilege and take our name away from us.

We have discovered much about ourselves but there is still more to discover: Whose victims are we? Who pushed us to sacrifice ourselves? Who pushed us to eradicate our deep and venerable roots?

Given that the Greeks, since our occupation in 1912, 1913, have been bent on destroying us and replacing us with colonists and settlers from Asia Minor, we need to ask ourselves: Why have we allowed the very same Greeks and their colonists to lead us during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and make us believe that they were helping us fight for our rights and for our "self-determination"?!

Another question that we should be asking ourselves, in view of the previous question and knowing that the Greeks were bent on destroying us, is why did Tito support the Greek injustices against Macedonia and the Macedonian people during and after the Greek Civil War?! Why didn't he expose the genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people?

In my view I can confirm, with much certainty, that: Many exiled Macedonians (and their descendants) from Greek occupied Macedonia, who today find themselves spread worldwide, have kept the memories of their homeland and their Macedonian identity alive!

Historians, one day, will have to answer the following questions: 1. Why were the Macedonians from the People's Republic of Macedonia sent to fight in Goli Ostok when they actually wanted to fight for a "United Macedonia"?! 2. Why were the Macedonians, from Greek occupied Macedonia, sent to fight in the Greek Civil War and led to believe that they were fighting for a United Macedonia?!

"In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act"! George Orwell.

"In war, the aim is not to die for your country but to make the enemy die for his." Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945).

"The price that good men pay for not participating in public events is that they allow corrupt people to rule." Plato.

I – The Other Face of History

1.0 For years the Macedonian people have been unwitting accomplices and victims of fatal ideological foreign strategies

The following is a review of events and of the general course of political developments in Aegean Macedonia (Party Chronicle from 1940 until the end of the Second World War).

The book "Pette sudbonosni godini vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) ("Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)"), which I intend to analyze in this write up, is written by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski (3). It is an intimate confession of a political historian, loyal to the establishment – whom I consider a sinner. A sinner because in the past he had supported the establishment on issues which I consider contrary to the interests of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia.

In this book, however, Dr. Kiriazovski has uncovered and revealed something quite different from what he had officially published in his previous books, which were published by the Institute of Natural History in the six decades of Yugoslav dominance. But in this book, which he wrote after the Republic of Macedonia became independent, he chose to write in a different way as if wanting to deny what he had written before and bury it deep in a political tomb. In other words, by writing this book he demonstrated that he wanted to tell the truth, which to this day has been hidden from view by all those invented lies written before.

CONFRONTING REALITY AWAKENS A FEELING OF UNEASINESS

Maybe it is time to learn the truth, and as the Russian novelist, reformer, pacifist and moral thinker Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1828-1910) said: "The symbol of truth is simplicity and clarity. The lie, on the other hand, is always cruel, decorated and eloquent."

Dr. Kiriazovski's latest book was published after his death by "The Association of Refugee Children from Aegean Macedonia" and was launched on September 23, 2009 by Misho Kitanovski who, while promoting the book, among other things said: "The book gets to the truth of the matter and should be regarded as a historical textbook and a source of information. It should also be regarded as inspiration for further research."

The promoter however failed to explain how the "Axis of evil across the great ideological system" was created, i.e. by the CPY/CPM and the CPG.

But when we dig a little deeper into this book, it becomes clear why historian Kiriazovski could not see eye to eye with the publishers at the Institute of Natural History, resulting in him losing confidence in them and rejecting them altogether.

Why have "the lost battles" in the "history of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia" been defended and covered up by this fake history and why are they only now being revealed by this historian; the same historian who defended them and covered them up for over half a century?

It is a fact that our "real" history has been hidden from us for a long period of time; it has been covered up with decades of silence. It has been covered up by historians like Kiriazovski, historical institutions like the Institute of Natural History, as well as many other government authorities.

Is it time for the most competent institution i.e. the Institute of National History and Macedonian historians to answer the question; Why has the truth has been hidden from us? But will they answer those questions? No one knows!

Isn't it about time that the question, "Why did Macedonians enter this deadly Greek Civil War?" be answered?

"No truth should ever be afraid of another truth. But lies and deception are always afraid of the truth." (Schopenhauer).

The whole act of this book, issued outside of the Institute for National History exactly 60 years after the Greek Civil War, shows that obviously there are still many unanswered questions and that deeper and more fundamental problems still exist. It shows that, in the 60 years that have passed since the Greek Civil War, a huge historical period, nothing was talked about, nothing was revealed of the genocide committed against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. The continued silence has caused division among the Macedonian people, damaging their spiritual continuity. This division has politically isolated the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, wherever they live, from those living inside Macedonia. And this has immensely helped and is still helping Greece and the Greek authorities.

It is a fact that historian Kiriazovski was responsible for contributing to the "false" history about the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia.

This is because he was caught in the pro-Yugoslav net and in the pro-Yugoslav daily politics in regards to the "Macedonian Question".

It will be no secret if I tell you that in Macedonia there was no national interest in writing the truth about what happened to the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War, especially during the years 1945-1946 and 1947-1948.

This situation is nothing new when it comes to the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. My aim for writing this book was to widen my research and reconstruct a more complete picture of what happened then and explain a number of key manipulations used by the CPY/CPM and by the CPG against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. Despite the obvious truth, however, people in the past six decades have been told something completely different. So if the past reality is something that happened in the past, then it is a complex reality with many variations. And we should not only be looking at World War II, the Greek Civil War and the political changes that took place there, we should also be looking at all the elements of ordinary daily life; the imposed ideological propaganda, religion, culture and at our age-old desire to survive in our ancestral homes.

In place of playing an important role in the development and understanding of the Macedonian nation and its history, the Institute of National History, as confirmed by the publication of Kiriazovski's latest book, was, for the last 60 years, abused by pro-Yugoslav politics to cover up the manipulation, sacrifices and extermination of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. The Institute was used to create many misconceptions and today we have generations of misinformed Macedonians. These Macedonians do not know their own history; the genocide that was perpetrated against their compatriots in Greek occupied Macedonia; a great tragedy that occurred in the 20th century.

Reality is sad and cruel: How and why did we lose our homeland? What happened to us and for what did we (self) sacrifice ourselves?

The most dangerous and biggest error we Macedonians made was that we had no grasp of our obligations towards the fate of Greek occupied Macedonia and we did not refine our struggle to help us survive and protect our deep family roots which are a confirmation of our identity.

Exactly for these and many other reasons (intentionally premeditated by shady authors in the ranks of the Greek Civil War and by official

Macedonian historiography) the Greek Civil War remains a mystery and a delicate phenomenon to explain.

Six decades of searching for the truth, of interpreting military and political issues and of sifting through problematic Greek history regarding the Macedonians has made me very bitter. I don't hate anyone, I don't hate any nation but I will not allow others, especially foreigners, to walk over the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. It is a great injustice. We Macedonians in our long period of struggling; the Ilinden Uprising, World War I, the Greek-Turkish War, World War II and the Greek Civil War, were exploited to the max by foreigners. I especially want to emphasize what I personally witnessed; the ruthlessness, the insolence and the ideological manipulation of our people by the Greek government and by the left of both the CPY and the CPG.

My aim here is not to insult and offend the authors who wrote about that "conflict", referring to it as "a revolution" and to the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia as "a political and military factor" in that revolution. (The same authors now shyly call that same "conflict" the "Greek Civil War", emphasizing that it was not a "Macedonian War", as did Academic Ivan Katardziev in the newspaper "Nezaborav" published in March 2010.)

As I have done in my previous books, my aim here is to try and conduct a serious analysis of our history. I want to uncover the flaws in the arguments presented to us in the last six decades when we were discouraged from talking about our history, our memories, our emotions and about the tragedy and genocide our people experienced.

My survey of the military and political historical analysis conducted for this book is divided into two phases:

- The first phase covers 1944 to 1945 and the Greek Civil War up to 1949. It also looks at the most extensive and hidden Yugoslav interests particularly of the CPY and Tito's activities and policies.

- The second phase covers the six decades after the Greek Civil War and the time after the Republic of Macedonia became independent.

After doing my research I decided to write what I felt was the "real" situation by which I think I am going to disappoint many of my comrades who saw these events as beautiful and revolutionary.

I never got tired of remembering the events from the years 1944, 1945, 1947, 1948 and 1949 which take a man's breath away and about which many people are asking: why in the 60 years of writing the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia was this history so coloured by Yugoslavia and Tito's politics?!

As a student of the Greek Civil war, in which I was driven to risk my own life by the ideological activists, I maintain my own common sense to not become someone else's subject. I never gave up my own free thought, that is: to speak the truth, the bitter truth, no matter how difficult and dangerous it might be. Maybe I am more courageous than my comrades but for me it has always been whether I would be deprived of my goals or advance further.

My literary engagement and sometimes biased approach often invited criticism such as those published in "Nova Makedonija" and other newspapers; especially from historian Risto Kiriazovski author of the book "The five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)" about which a comprehensive military and political analysis has been written: "The road of Freedom and persecution by ideological activism (1945-1949)" especially for the years 1944-1946 when the Macedonians were under the influence of the CPY/CPM leadership.

Stalin's message: Nelezgj zabluzhdatsgj!

After the Second World War, the Greek Civil War was a new test for us Macedonians. The war had a dual purpose; one, expel the population, and for that reason the war was located inside Greek occupied Macedonia; two, liquidate the Communists who obviously were grossly misinformed and wanted to create socialism inside Greece.

Russia's (Stalin's) position in all this was very odd: Stalin wanted to interfere in capitalist affairs even though it had been decided and he had agreed with the Western Powers that: Greece in its entirety was going under the English and American spheres of influence. This was done under the Yalta (4) Agreement which guaranteed that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece. This Agreement negated and made the need for the Greek Civil War unnecessary. So, if the War was not about "installing" socialism in Greece, then there was only one other option left: internationalize the problem and legally ethnically cleanse the ethnic Macedonian population and then replace it with the new Asia Minor colonists and settlers, commonly known as "Prosfigi".

We the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia should have realized that we were living inside Greek borders and that our roots were inside Greece. We should have also realized that if we did not respect that, we would be officially treated as outsiders. By defending ourselves with arms and accepting support from Yugoslavia we gave our enemies a reason to eradicate us.

That was a terrible time then, when the Balkans were full of paradoxes, controversies and a mixture of old anachronistic and new undefined illusions and delusions. We desperately wanted to right the past wrongs and waited for many years for the right time. Unfortunately our union with strangers and with our enemies, who divided our country and our people in the first place, put us in peril. We were sold on a theory of blood and soil, which brought havoc to our people and ultimately made us disappear from our ancestral homes. In the end we paid the bill with misery exactly in accordance with the conspiracy perpetrated against us.

The Macedonian peasant was caught between the powerful CPY/CPM - Tito and Koloshevski, the CPG - Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis and their subjects NOF and AFZH.

It is interesting to note that I was mindlessly criticized and harassed by many historians for writing my books and questioning historical inaccuracies. Included in the list of critics was Risto Kiriazovski, who now decided to answer some unanswered questions which makes me wonder why the change of heart? Why, in the first place, defend the actions of those who wanted to do us harm all these years and then criticize me for wanting to do the right thing? What kind of logic did he find in supporting those who shared in the partition of our Macedonia in 1913? Who and what persuaded him to support those who made false promises to us that they would help us re-unite our Macedonia? Did he or any of the others expect that we would somehow be “liberated” by those who actually enslaved us in the first place? Or did they think the Greek, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian government was stupid enough to arm NOF or any other Macedonian organization and help the Macedonian people rebel against it?

So, in my estimation a “false” history about the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia was written and supported for the last 60 years in order to defend the views of organizations like NOF; responsible for selling illusions to a small nation and getting the Macedonian people involved in that insane war. All those people came up with limited national options, holding the Macedonian people in delusion. Historian Risto Kiriazovski with his pro-Yugoslav inclinations was also part of that delusion aimed at collectively silencing the conscience of the people. This

false, written history contained all the dirty politics aimed at showing that: the Greek Civil War was a Macedonian revolution; that the Macedonian people themselves had formed their own institutions; that the Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH were political and military factors in the war! This obviously is a political lie and a way of concealing the terrible things done to the Macedonian people. It is an undeniable fact that Macedonians did not hold any high positions in either the CPG Central Committee or in DAG's military headquarters! In essence they were "subjects"; some of the CPY/CPM and others of the CPG. If any NOF or AFZH member had the nerve to criticize the CPY (Tito) or the CPG's (Zahariadis) dictatorial policies they would have been labeled anti-communist, anti-brotherhood, anti-Soviet, anti-Tito and Greeko-philes.

How can we call the Greek Civil War a "Revolution"? No politically astute person would believe the Greek Civil War was a Revolution. Let us look at some facts: If the number of fighters participating in DAG was around 25,000, then this figure would have constituted no more than 3% of the total population (ten million people) in Greece. And of those 25,000 fighters about 50-60% were Macedonians. How can a 3% population involvement constitute a "Revolution"? No wonder the Greek government, up until 1985, referred to this as a "Bandit War". Συμμοριτηκός αγόναs.

There is only one thing that is irrefutable about this war, also recognized by the Greeks, and that is that the ordinary Macedonian fighters were the best and bravest fighters in DAG.

So then what was the role of the "subjects" in this war? It seems that they were intoxicated by the false power bestowed upon them by their patrons. It is realistic to say that they lost touch with reality and that the war turned them upside down a thousand different times. They carried out the dirty politics in accordance with the orders given to them by those in power; those who wanted to bring hell to earth; those who wanted the Macedonian people to be displaced and Macedonia turned into a barren landscape; those who wanted to persecute the children, persecute the families and exile them without the right of ever returning.

All this happened under their watch. They were the ones leading the people astray! No wonder they wanted all this hidden over the years. But that does not mean that we all need to keep silent! We, the ordinary Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, who suffered immensely under their watch have the right to challenge these powerful figures and their "subjects" and ask them: "Why did you lie to us and bring us so much misfortune? Why did you lead us into a senseless war? Why did you make us fight and lose our homeland? Why did you force us to fight

knowing that we would all be exiled if we lost the war, with no hope of ever returning?! Why did you lie to us telling us that we were winning even when we were losing?"

The Greek Civil War is one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated against us. Gramos is one of the largest tombs where thousands of forcibly mobilized Macedonians lie dead. This period was one of the most tragic events in the history of the Macedonian nation. This was NOT a Macedonian revolution as false history would have us believe, this was a tragic event in our nation's history which has turned us into permanent wanderers.

Our exile from Greek occupied Macedonia had been planned by Greece and by Yugoslavia a long, long time ago.

Reactions in Greece:

1. On April 17, 1946 the Solun based Right Wing newspaper, "Nea Alithia" (New Truth), published an article about the Macedonians entitled "Our Judgment" in which it judged the Macedonians with the words: "... in the interest of peace and security in Greece, they should be liquidated..."

2. The newspaper "Ethnikos Kirikas" wrote: "Greece should soon expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians". The following was said in an article in the weekly Republican newspaper "Eleftheros Typos" on January 28, 1946: "Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia - let them go wherever they want to go."

Have we Macedonians forgotten that all these plans to exile us were based on the Lausanne Declaration of July 24, 1923 signed by Greece and Turkey, as well as several other countries in the capacity as guarantors? Have we forgotten that the signed Lausanne declaration allowed for a legal exchange of populations? Originally the document called for Christians from Turkey, mainly from Asia Minor, to be moved to Greece and replace the Macedonian Muslims who were exiled to Turkey. This was the first step marking the beginning of the mass exodus of the Macedonian population from Greek occupied Macedonia. The massive pressure for mass exodus on the Macedonian population unfortunately did not end in the 1920's. The push to eradicate us continued during WW II and especially during the Greek Civil War. This was not done by accident; it was part of the long term plan to force us north and out of our homeland.

The saddest part about this plan was that prior to and during the Greek Civil War we were sold out by the CPY/CPM. It was the CPY/CPM who

surrendered us to the CPG. It was the CPY/CPM who allowed those who came from Asia Minor to replace us, to lead us in a disastrous mindless war.

Reaction in the new federal Yugoslavia:

Ivan Shubasich, then minister of federal Yugoslavia (Prime Minister of Yugoslavia in early 1945), had plans of his own to help the Greeks forcibly evict the entire Macedonian population from Greek occupied Macedonia, which he estimated numbered around 100,000. This, he figured, would solve the "Macedonian Question" (5), which was a major obstacle for the development of good neighbourly relations between Greece and Yugoslavia. With this approach, Ivan Shubasich estimated that the Macedonians would disappear forever. He defended his thesis by claiming that: "There is no National Question in Yugoslavia!" He claimed that "only Serbs, Croats and Slovenes lived in Yugoslavia and those claiming to be Macedonians were actually Serbs..."

When Shubasich was Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, during a diplomatic reception, he revealed his Yugoslav plan for the Macedonians to an American political adviser named Alexander C. Kirk, who at the time was stationed in the Allied Military Command in Europe. In a telegram dated February 26, 1945 Kirk sent this information to the then U.S. Secretary of State. Among other things he wrote: "Shubasich said that he was of the opinion that there will not be any expected problems with Macedonia... Shubasich said no one is challenging the desire to free Macedonia in Federal Yugoslavia. He also explained that Bulgaria will not oppose this plan, and argued that the issue with Greek Macedonia does not have to be a big problem. He said that a population of about 100,000 Macedonians lives in Greek Macedonia, which could be moved to Yugoslav Macedonia, thus resolving the problem with Greece." (American diplomatic history archives, University of Wisconsin).

British and American reactions:

British Ambassador to Athens, Mr. R.A. Leeper, back in November 1944 toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote "… and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians

north of the Greek frontiers of 1941." (5a) (See: FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R 20431/1009/67).

Yes. During the war and during the half century after the war we never asked: "Why did Britain and the United States support the Greek injustices perpetrated against Macedonia and the Macedonian people?"

The ominous collision between ELAS (6) and SNOF who fought together against the German occupation.

The National Liberation Front (EAM) was formed on September 27, 1941 by the Communist Party of Greece, the Agricultural, Socialist and People's Democratic Party, the General Workers Federation, the General Federation of state officials and by the organization of national solidarity and political representatives of the scientific and cultural life in Greece. EAM was later joined by the advanced section of the Liberal Party. From this we can see that no Macedonian organizations were included in EAM because until then the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia had no political ambitions. In other words until then we had not fought for any political participation in Greece. We were simply voluntarily members, simple citizens of Greece without any Macedonian markings.

EAM's program consisted of the following:

A) 1. Expel the German-Italian and Bulgarian occupiers from Greece;

2. Re-establish Greece's integrity;

3. Establish self-determination in Cyprus, the Dodecanese and in northern Epirus. (Where is the self-determination for Macedonia, EAM's faithful ally?) And;

4. Strategic regulation of Greece's northern borders (meaning our so-called "partners" wanted a little more of our Macedonian lands). See the remarks in the ELAS authority newspaper "Mahitis" published on February 10, 1944. It says: EAM is the answer to the national question, yet to this day the EAM program contains absolutely nothing about us!

B) The People's Liberation Army of Greece (ELAS) was formed on May 15, 1942 in Rummely and was organized in Partisan Detachments. ELAS's goals were decided at a joint meeting between the CPG Central Committee and EAM. Its proclamation was aimed at the citizens of Greece and at the former officers of the Greek Army, known for belonging to the bourgeois class. At the time we, the Macedonians, were not ELAS's allies or fighting

partners, we were simple “Slavo-phones”, ordinary soldiers to be used as they saw fit, just like our fathers and grandfathers were used in previous wars. At that time the only thing we did was loudly sing and yell the slogan “Embros ELAS gia tin Elada” (Forward ELAS for Greece)… and nothing more. But there is still another undeniable fact about ELAS and the people (the Elasiti) who fought in ELAS that we should not forget. That is the oath to which we all swore. The oath reads: “I will fight for the liberation of our motherland Greece…” and I will protect the integrity of the Greek nation... Where is Macedonia and the Macedonian Nation in this oath?

How and why was there a clash between ELAS and SNOF?

The ranks of SNOF (7) and those of its military wing SNOB were filled exclusively with Macedonians who were also members of the CPG. The first time SNOF came into conflict with ELAS was when SNOF staff members made a human rights request asking the CPG to fulfill a number of basic human rights principles governing nations such as historical, cultural, territorial, national, ethnic, linguistic and economic rights. Until then the Macedonians, as members of the CPG, had given up on the territorial and state sovereignty principles.

Attitude of ELAS and the CPG (8)

Instead of attacking the remaining German units leaving the south of Greece, ELAS Commanders Evripidis Bakirdzhis and Markos Vafiadis, on October 16, 1944, issued orders to ELAS units to attack and destroy the “Slavo-Macedonian” Battalions crossing over the Yugoslav border. That was the attitude of the CPG, which shows that during that period Markos was not a “Titoist” and did not sympathize with the idea of a “United Macedonia” as part of a United Balkan Federation. (See “Studies in the history of the Greek Civil War, 1945–1949”, edited by L. Baerentzen, J.O. Smith, “Museum of Tusculanum Press”, Copenhagen 1987)

Every person who has been persecuted should ask themselves this question:

Why did ELAS want to destroy the Macedonian battalions as if they were German battalions? And now in 1946 when NOF and AFZH had entered the “joint struggle” with the Greeks, why did they expect that General Markos, the same General who personally signed the orders to destroy our Macedonian battalions in 1944, would guarantee their support and safety this time?

On July 16, 1943 ELAS Commander Sarafis and head of the English Military Mission, Colonel Eddie Myers, signed a joint declaration recognizing ELAS as an allied army and placed it under Middle East Command.

Now let us examine events that followed:

October 31, 1944 a larger group of English soldiers with armoured vehicles entered Solun before ELAS. Why? Why did the English have to enter Solun first when our own forces were right there? Three days later the BBC broke the news that British troops had liberated Solun.

In Varkiza, a resort near Athens, on February 12, 1945 an agreement was signed between the heads of the CPG and EAM, on the one hand, and the Plastiras government and the British General Scobey on the other. By signing this agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the powerless right. This was the beginning of the end for mighty ELAS which until then had control of almost all of Greece.

Now let us see the assessment given on November 11, 1948 by the CPG Central Committee. Here is what it said: "Markos Vafiadis, as Commissar of a group of ELAS divisions in Macedonia, followed a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonian fighters." (See "Neos Cosmos" August 1950, "Ten years of struggle", p. 470)
But why did they say this so late in the game when Markos had already been removed from command and when they needed Macedonian soldiers to fight in the Greek Civil War? Obviously they wanted to put all the blame on Markos. They lied to the Macedonian people in order to draw them into the Greek Civil War!

People were lied to and led astray by strangers. They were made to believe that they would receive their national freedom while the Macedonian leadership was bogged down with many fruitless debates on the "Macedonian Question" with the local Greek leaders in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, appointed by the CPG and EAM.

To this day no one from the NOF or from the AFZH leadership (except for Rakovski) has given an explanation as to who "interfered" the most with the destiny of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

To this day no one has explained what Tempo's purpose was when he invited the Kostur-Lerin and Voden Region battalions to Yugoslavia.

ATHENS'S HYSTERIA WITH A CLEAR STRATEGY AGAINST THE MACEDONIANS

Did the Papandreou government in Cairo receive all the assurances it demanded from the CPG and from ELAS, especially from CPG Secretary Siantos? In part, here is what Papandreou requested from Siantos:

"Liquidate all non-Greek political organizations and military formations in Northern Greece. It would be a historical error for Greeks and for the Greek State if the 'Slavo-phone' formations participated in the liberation of the cities: Kostur, Lerin, Voden and other places now occupied by the Germans and Italians!"

The most authentic information about these events comes from Naum Peiov-Chakalarov's (9) brochure entitled "The Kostur Battalion - the first Macedonian Liberation Brigade", December 1985, Skopje.

Peiov wrote: "... The Yugoslav NOB and POJ units began their march towards Aegean Macedonia from Karadzhova to Karaorman on Easter Day in April in the spring of 1944. One of the units, following Partisan Headquarters, established itself in the villages Bapchor and Turie in Kostur Region. In Bapchor the fighters organized a meeting during which Headquarters representative Giore Velkovski spoke. In his speech, among other things, he said that given the reluctance of the Macedonian peasants of this region to enter the ranks of ELAS, they could come and join the NOB and POJ units in Vardar Macedonia. This conclusion may have been reached after assessing that the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia had a deep mistrust of the Greeks and the Greek movement and they did not want to enter into the Greek ranks. This created a genuine desire for Yugoslavia to attract these fighters into the ranks of NOB and POJ. After announcing their intentions, several villagers from the village Trsie, Lerin Region immediately voluntarily joined these units.

I (Naum Peiov) was present at that meeting in Bapchor. I was invited to attend by a letter from Anesti Panovski. At the time I was SNOF secretary in Kostur. The meeting was also attended by ELAS representatives from the Vicho detachment. Anesti Panovski served as translator. When the Greeks found out what Giore Velkovski was trying to do they became very upset and urgently sought to prevent it.

After the meeting I (Naum Peiov) met with the broader leadership from the Headquarters and with Kiro Georgievski-Deian. I wanted to know from Georgievski why NOB and POJ wanted to recruit Macedonian fighters from Greece. I especially wanted to ask if those Macedonians who were

now in the ranks of ELAS could also join NOB and POJ. Georgievski's response to my question was: '... this primarily applies to fighters who want to participate in the anti-fascist struggle but who, until now, have refused to join ELAS because ELAS was entrusted to the Greek movement. These fighters did not approve of the Greek position on the Macedonian Question. Our aim is to use the anti-fascist spirit of this nation in order to perform a general mobilization of volunteer fighters. If members from the ranks of EAM and ELAS wish to cross into our ranks, we will gladly take them.'

The next day, "writes Paiov", I left for SNOF Headquarters located in the village Krchishta where I met with some Macedonian fighters from the "Lazo Trpovski" Units. The fighters I met with were Nikola Shalbarinov, Dimitar Shishkovski and Sotir Andonovski with whom I discussed Giore Velkovki's plan to recruit our people in NOB and POJ. I also met with and said the same thing to Lazo Damovski-Oshenski, Lazo Pop Lazarov and Paskal Mitrevski. But they expressed some hesitation regarding this plan and wanted to know more so they agreed to send me and some other people to the Macedonian Headquarters in the village Sulin in Prespa. The people they selected to send with me were Nikola Shishkovski, Spiro Lazovski, Risto Jankulovski, Blagoi Daskalov and Kicha Baleva (Vera).

After arriving at Sulin, which I believe was on May 4 or 5, 1944, the group held talks with Kiro Georgievski-Deian and then left. Kicha Baleva (now Evdokia Foteva-Vera) was left behind. It was estimated that if the group stayed it would have been placed in a precarious situation.

About the situation, Vicho Commissar Haralambos Haralambidis-Athanatos wrote a report detailing the meeting and what was proposed. The report was sent to ELAS General Headquarters. The report was entitled: "The politics of the Serbo-Macedonian partisans of NOB and POJ of Yugoslavia in April in the Greek territory: from Karadzhova-Prespa." See "Collection Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944/1945", vol 1 p. 135-239."

Peiov further explains: "... After leaving the NOB and POJ Headquarters, the group arrived in Kostur Region in order to inform the Macedonians who wanted to leave the ELAS units and join the NOB and POJ units. But early in the morning on May 8th we were arrested and disarmed by ELAS units at a place called "Kiprievi orevi" near the village Gabresh. Among those arrested were myself (Naum Peiov), Spiro Lazarovski and Nikola Shalvarinov. We were then taken to the village D'mbeni where we were told that we would be tried for desertion and treason. The group was

transferred under guard to SNOF Headquarters in the village Krchishta on May 9th.

In Krchishta we were received by the CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region, Antonis Andonakis-Periklis, and by representatives of ELAS. We were also accompanied by a large number of villagers and SNOF members who sought to liberate us. After a lengthy discussion we were conditionally released and placed under the watch of CPG activists and ELAS units.

The situation became more and more volatile, especially with the Macedonians who served in the ranks of ELAS. There were volatile reactions from the Macedonians in the ranks of ELAS.

Under dramatic circumstances of mistrust," writes Peiov, "we decided to leave. At dusk, on the eve of May 15, 16, 1944, around 30 fighters from the "Vicho" units got together at the village Pozdivishta and left for Mount Mali-madi towards Prespa. As we continued on our way to the Macedonian General Headquarters located in the village Sulin, we ran into more fighters who also wanted to leave. By the time we got there we were numbering about 80. There, we were received by the Political Commissar of the brigade Naum Naumovski-Borche. A plan was out together and we were dispatched to Karaorman where we were enlisted in the first Macedonian-Kosovo Brigade."

There were strong reactions from the CPG and from ELAS headquarters. They declared an emergency and gave chase to the deserters. The reactions were not only directed at the Macedonian Headquarters but at Yugoslavia, at the Yugoslav Communist Party headquarters and at Josip Broz Tito himself.

With the fighters from Kostur Region in Karaorman switching from the ranks of ELAS to the ranks of the new NOB units in Vardar Macedonia, there was a clash in tactics between the two Communist Parties. The CPG demanded that the CPY return the "deserters" so that they could be "punished".

The CPY, on the other hand, considered the group's switch of allegiance a personal choice. The only way these fighters would return to the ranks of ELAS was if the CPG would allow them to form separate Macedonian ELAS units in Voden, Kostur and Lerin Regions. See: "Macedonians under Greece, the struggle against fascism 1940-1944", p. 168.

NOB and POJ delegates Dobrivoie Radosavlevich-Orce, Petre Bogdanovaki-Kocho and others from the Yugoslav Supreme Headquarters were in attendance when ELAS and the CPG agreed to establish these Macedonian units. This took place in the village Rodivo in Voden Region on July 7, 1944 and in the village Pozdivishta in Kostur Region on Ilinden day in 1944. The aim here was to further strengthen the links of cooperation and solidarity between the partisan units in Yugoslavia and Greece.

By order of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, the CPG Bureau for Macedonia ordered the ELAS commanders to form, within their compositions, separate Macedonian units in Voden, and Lerin-Kostur Regions. By order of Siantos, CPG leader, the Voden Macedonian Battalion was formed on July 16, 1944 in the village Rodivo and the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian Battalion was formed on August 2, 1944 in the village Pozdivishta, Kostur Region.

The defectors were awaiting transfer from Karaorman to Koreshtata, Kostur Region.

Here is what Naum Peiov wrote: "... The Kostur Battalion decided (or perhaps was ordered?) to leave Karaorman and go to Kostur Region during the last days of July 1944. The Battalion was to go directly to the village Pozdivishta-Koreshtata (the author too returned with this Battalion). But instead of going directly to Pozdivishta, the Battalion decided to pass through the villages in Prespa and after that visited the villages V'mbel, Kosinec and D'mbeni where it held rallies calling on the people to join the fighting against the fascist occupiers.

Waiting for the Battalion's arrival in the village Pozdivishta were Petre Bogdanovski-Kocho, representative of NOV and POJ-Yugoslavia Headquarters and Renos Mihaleas, ELAS representative of IX Division. The reorganization was discussed in detail and agreements were reached with the Greek representatives about the formation a new Lerin-Kostur battalion. The announcement was made on August 2, 1944 (Ilinden) in the village Pozdivishta followed by a big rally. In the spirit of the agreement between the CPY, the CPG, POJ and ELAS, the Macedonian people were invited to join the ranks of this all Macedonian battalion.

Even though the ranks of this new battalion were Macedonian and even though there were plenty of qualified Macedonian and loyal communists in the Karaorman unit to lead this new battalion, its leadership was entrusted to Kozmas Amindas, a Hellenized Arvanitis (Albanian). Aminda's

command was shared with Ilia Dimovski - Gotse. The rest of the leading Macedonians were demoted."

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Immediately after their creation, the Macedonian battalions received orders to seek and destroy all armed bands, armed by the enemy. On August 21, 1944 the Kostur Battalion attacked several armed village bands and managed to disarm them without much effort. When these bands found out that the Battalions were Macedonian many surrendered without a fight and some band members requested to join the Battalions. By the end of August about 300 band members from Kostur Region alone had joined the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian battalion and considered themselves fighters of the Macedonian army. After this many band members voluntarily surrendered their arms and joined the Battalions in unprecedented numbers. The more extreme Greeks in ELAS, unfortunately, did not like the band members joining because during the occupation some "presumably" fought for a United Macedonia to be annexed by Bulgaria.

During and after these campaigns, some of these former Macedonian band members were accused of working with the enemy and were constantly threatened by extreme Greeks with threats like: "We will destroy you; we will kill you, you filthy Bulgarians, Ilinden dogs, because you want Kostur and its villages to join Bulgaria."

The former band members had accusations of their own which went something like this: "You are nothing more than thieves, you filthy Greek dogs. You come from our people but you destroyed everything of ours, our church, our language, our names, our place names, our dances, our songs… You took all these things from us and made them Greek. The people will curse you and God will punish you... We are who we are and we will remain the guardians of our centuries old heritage."

The moderate Macedonian communists in ELAS belonging to the CPG had some advice of their own for the band members: "Although we are all communists not all of the Greeks here are killers and hangmen like those of the old days. Come with us, join us. We are a Macedonian army and we fight with the Greeks for a better common future for the sake of both the Macedonian and Greek people.

Our fate should be tied to this native, centuries old Macedonian hearth because this is where our share of Macedonia is, this is how Macedonia was divided in 1913. Here and now we are together with the Greeks and

we should solve our problems together because we Macedonians have spilled a lot of blood for the interests of the Greek state; we fought together during the Greco-Turkish War, we fought together at the Albanian front, we fought together against fascism during World War II etc. Greece is bound to respect us Macedonians because our brothers and fathers gave their lives as soldiers of the Greek army."

And the people said: "He who does not love and respect what is his will be used by others and by strangers many times and for as long as he is useful!"

Even though the Macedonian battalions did very well in performing their tasks, the CPG Central Committee and EAM, on August 2 and 3, 1944, made a request to the Soviet government, through the Soviet military mission in Greece, to accept the Lebanon Agreement and the cabinet ministries offered by the National Unity government led by Papandreou. With this move, the Greek Party leadership renounced their pretensions to gain power by force. After that the Macedonian battalions became an obstacle to the implementation of this policy, as the civil parties that created the government did not recognize the Macedonian Nation and movement in Greece. ELAS Headquarters and the CPG then decided to disband the Macedonian battalions and deploy its fighters in the deep south of Greece as part of the ELAS units stationed there. And as such no Macedonian Military formations and no political Macedonian organizations would exist. This news upset the Macedonians and created panic. There were various rumours floating around that by doing this the "Greeks wanted to liquidate the Macedonians".

In short, the Macedonians were lied to and used to disarm and destroy the village bands. And the promised cooperation turned out to be a ruse.

The most ominous collision between ELAS and SNOF - the bitterest conflict between Macedonians and Greeks

The CPG was very upset by the Yugoslavs flirting with the question of a united Macedonia which for the Greek communists was a very delicate question. In June 1944 the Headquarters of the Macedonian Partisans gave new instructions to their agitators and to the CPY military units in Greek occupied Macedonia. They gave them advanced warning that the question of Macedonia must not spoil their "brotherly relations" with ELAS. They were also reminded that the achievement of national freedom and equality by the Macedonians in Yugoslavia was the ideal for all the Macedonian people.

Relations between the Greek communists and Gotse came to a climax in October. When Gotse found himself face to face with ELAS units deployed in front of his SNOF units, Gotse, along with 800 of his fighters, crossed over the Yugoslav border and arrived in Bitola. On December 9, 1944 McLean, head of the British mission, complained to Tito about the formation of the First Aegean Brigade. At that point Tito assured McLean that the Brigade was not going to cross the Greek-Yugoslav border and enter Greece and that Yugoslavia had no claims on Greek occupied Macedonia.

Tito's people treated Gotse and his fighters with the same suspicion as any other pro-autonomist group of Macedonians. Over the next several months Gotse's group was placed in half internment and it was not until the next year that the CPY began to rely on Gotse's fighters for operations in Greek occupied Macedonia. In fact, the people selected to run the Organizations NOF and AFZH, created on April 23, 1945 in Skopje, came from the ranks of Gotse's fighters. The people comprising NOF and AFZH were in fact the same people who led the conflict in Greece. These people knew about the CPG and Greek government plans. They knew the entire history of SNOF and under what circumstances they had left Greece and voluntarily entered the ranks of Tito's army. They knew that the conflict was still unresolved.

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Over the course of several months the press, which was then under the control of the Communist Party of Greece, with the exception of one attack against the Papandreou government in November 1944 because of the "terror waged against the Macedonians" and one bitter "political" editorial at the end of December, did not take any initiatives to deal with what was boiling in the Greek cauldron.

As time passed it appeared that the thinking was that the CPY began to lose interest in Greek occupied Macedonia. Several factors stood behind this CPY shift. Tito, in early 1945, who at the time was in close contact with Moscow, may have concluded that it was more important for the Greek Communists to come to power in Greece than for him to gain control of Greek occupied Macedonia. Also, all the Macedonian combat units in Greek occupied Macedonia were strongly inclined towards autonomy and Tito was somewhat confined by the existence of Shubashoch's rival government which at the time was still enjoying Western Power support. It was necessary to be cautious. But when circumstances began to change, the CPY reawakened its concerns for Greek occupied Macedonia.

Did we Macedonians, in that period, have a Macedonian revolutionary platform?

A CPM Regional Committee (Note: most Regional Committee members were members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia up until 1940) was organized and formed in April 1940. The CPM held its first Provisional Conference on September 8, 1940 when it adopted an optimal but Macedonian Revolutionary program. Here in part is what the proclamation said: "Ilinden is the day of the Macedonian Revolution. It is a day of our light. It is a pure Macedonian flag..." The resolution in part read: "The National Policy of pressured assimilation, wild terror, destruction of everything that is Macedonian, including Macedonian culture, language, songs etc., is conducted under the severest cruelty. The tortured, abused and enslaved Macedonian population is finding itself before new and great battles…"

Secretary Metodia Shatorov-Sharlo was elected during that Conference. Shatorov was a Macedonian and a man of high consciousness who understood the Macedonian problem. Beside him stood Kuzman Josifovski, a highly valued man by the Regional Committee membership. It was often said that Kuzman Josifovski was a second Delchev because he carried Delchev's attitude and ideals regarding Macedonia. Shatorov and Josifovski were calling for unity of the entire Macedonian nation and to fight against a common enemy be it against violence, national oppression, confiscation of property, assimilation, exile etc., whenever dealing with the regimes that occupied Macedonia and kept the Macedonian people under Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek slavery. Shatorov viewed the liberation of Macedonia as the liberation of all of Macedonia, not just parts of it, unlike the Regional Committee membership which was inclined to advocate for a partial solution within the existing borders. On August 20, 1940 Shatorov published an article entitled "Liberating Macedonia from under the yoke of Greater-Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek imperialism". In part the article said: "... If the Macedonians don't have their own state; they are not at fault, at fault are the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek imperialists who as allies invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed Macedonia for themselves."

The CPM Regional Committee under Shatorov's leadership supported a common Balkan struggle for the liberation of all of Macedonia with political ties to other Balkan nations; it wanted an Independent Macedonian National Political Party for Macedonia, as opposed to what the Central Committee of Yugoslavia wanted; a CPM to be only a political party and an entity tied to the CPY. Based on historical traditions of

struggle, the Macedonian people should have been organized under one sovereign Macedonian Republic and not as a Yugoslav sovereign state; the Regional Committee was against the CPY in this regard and wanted liberation and national sovereignty. The CPY unfortunately wanted the section of Macedonia to remain within Yugoslavia and thus harshly opposed the Regional Committee.

Time of the Communist International

It was a time of truth when the CPY, CPB and CPG were members of the same force, of the same authoritarian organization, like a single superior authority - the Communist International. Its decisions were binding. In such a constellation no Party could function independently of the others without a decision from this high authority.

On May 26, 1941 Shatorov was invited for talks with the CPB Central Committee in Sofia. There he met with the Bulgarian party leadership and was offered a solution for connecting the Regional Committee in Macedonia with Bulgaria's Communist Party. He was told that this solution was offered by the Communist International and personally by Georgi Dimitrov. For Shatorov this was an order from the highest party organ, which he, as an experienced party member, knew what it meant. Having little choice Shatorov accepted the decision which was not a mistake, but it was a mistake not to inform the Central Committee of the CPY immediately afterwards. He was hoping that "those above would understand".

Under Yugoslav Party Control

In the meantime a CPY instructor arrived in Macedonia and, on July 24, 1941, brought a decision signed by Tito criticizing Shatorov's behaviour and poor performance. Shatorov was dismissed as Secretary and kicked out of the Party. With Shatorov out of the picture the Macedonian Regional Committee, on August 17, 1941, convened a Party meeting during which Petre Bogdanov, a member of CPY Central Committee, was delegated to clarify the status and situation with Shatorov and convince those present that the solution for connecting the Macedonian party organization with the Bulgarian Party was truly a Comintern solution. Petre Bogdanov also relayed this same information to Dragan Pavlovich, a delegate of the CPY Central Committee, who in turn informed his Central Committee.

Approximately ten days later a telegram from the Comintern arrived through the Bulgarian Central Committee addressed to the Macedonian

Regional Committee. The telegram carried orders which in part said: "Macedonia must remain in Yugoslavia for practical and meaningful reasons because today we are leading a struggle against the German and Italian occupiers and their agents. Given past military situations in Macedonia, it is necessary to create close cooperation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria particular on the ground."

The orders given here clearly show that the authority was with the top institutions and not with Shatorov. Shatorov was dismissed to remove any action other than that prescribed by the leading authorities, which in effect put an end to the uncertainty and questions about the realization of the Macedonian revolutionary program. Shatorov, being kicked out of the party in accordance with Tito's decision, found himself in severe isolation.

The Greek Communist Party's Political Platform

On July 18, 1943 General Sarafis, Commander of ELAS Headquarters, and Colonel Eddie Myers, head of the English mission, signed an Agreement adding ELAS to the Allied Armies under Middle East command. Henceforth any operations carried out by ELAS would be under the orders of Middle East command (p. 120, "ELAS" by Stefanos Sarafis).

According to this Agreement ELAS became influenced by British command with regards to its developments, operations, formations and relations with EKKA (National and Social Renaissance of Greece). Even though EKKA was an insignificant force, it imposed itself on ELAS as if it was a full partner and, under the direction of the British representatives, signed two agreements: the Plaka Agreement and the Kazerta Agreement. These Agreements completely limited ELAS's freedom to function as an independent force, particularly at the most critical time when the communists were (supposedly) preparing to take power.

Here is what Vasilis Barzotas, Commissar of DAG General Headquarters and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, had to say (Neos Kosmos no. 2/1957):

"…A massive people's revolutionary struggle was taking place in all of Greece sometime in the middle of 1943. At the same time the CPG and EAM leadership placed ELAS, the National Liberation Army, under British command. British officers were given command of the General Staff and all other Headquarters. The British officers received their orders from the British Middle East General Headquarters. Large divisions, divisions, group divisions etc. were all in the hands of the Intelligence Service."

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Svetozar Vukmanovich – Tempo, as representative of the CPY Central Committee, spent about ten days in Greece in the summer of 1943. Here is what he had to say:

"The Communist Party of Greece together with EAM and ELAS mainly led a policy of support for the British. This, of course, does not mean that the CPG does not support the Soviet Union and the Red Army, it means that today its overall national liberation movement strategy is primarily tied to Britain."

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Here is what Christopher Montague Bunthouse (Chris), representative of Greece's Intelligence Service, deputy head and then head of the British Military Mission, had to say:

"…If the British officers had been absent from the resistance movement in Greece, not only Greece but all European history would have gone in a totally different direction… The presence of the British Military Mission in Greece prevented the Communists from taking absolute control of Greece in 1943-1944. If the Communists had taken power in September 1944, when the Germans were retreating, it would have been very difficult to take that power away from them especially in the eyes of the world public!"

On April 23, 1949 the 1940 general course of events was further explained.

Macedonians under the watchful eye of the British mission, the Greek Communist Party, ELAS and EAM:

SNOF (10) (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front) and its armed Partisan wing SNOV (Slavo-Macedonian National Army) were created in the fall of 1943. These organizations were created because of the horrible situation in which the Macedonian people found themselves, under Greek control. There was also fear that once the Greeks came back they would liquidate the Kostur bands and all other fighters.

The SNOF founding Conference for Kostur was held on December 24, 1943 and for Lerin on December 27, 1943.

At the founding conferences SNOF had to comply with Tempo's instructions which basically called for building a platform for a joint struggle between the Macedonian and Greek people. The platform's basic principles were:

1. Form a unified struggle between the Macedonian and Greek people in Aegean Macedonia as a condition for a victorious struggle against the fascist occupation;

2. Mobilize Macedonians en masse in ELAS units and prepare for an armed struggle to rout out the occupiers;

3. Fight a political and armed struggle against Kamchev's bands and against Mihailov and the Gestapo, who with their autonomist propaganda want to turn the Macedonian people against the Greeks and vice versa;

4. The Macedonian people will struggle together with the Greek people, within EAM against the occupiers. The Greek people will help the Macedonian people realize their national aspirations and right to self-determination on the basis of the Atlantic Charter Principles and on other major ally resolutions.

With that said the SNOF District Committee, for the first time in front of the Communist Party of Greece, officially set the Macedonian National Question in motion.

At the time, still in its infancy, the CPG leadership had limited initiatives and most of them were directed against the Macedonian bands armed by the occupiers. This is why when it defined its own, EAM and PEEA's principles and when it signed agreements with the Greek government in exile and with the British mission, the CPG did not recognize the rights of the Macedonians. So what changed? Nothing changed. Initially the CPG was against the formation of Macedonian Partisan units with Macedonians seeking their national rights. But then when it realized that these same Macedonians were capable of forming their own independent forces, they changed their mind. So the CPG's aim was not to help the Macedonians gain their rights but to stop them from organizing independently.

It is a historic fact that the CPG and EAM leadership, up until April 1944, used SNOF for its own political and military aims, primarily in dealing with the armed bands. Then in the beginning of May 1944 the CPG disbanded SNOF and SNOV because they had become an obstacle in the CPG's negotiations with the Greek government in exile and with the other coalition government parties scheduled to meet in mid-May 1944.

Negotiations to divide the Balkans into spheres of influence began on May 5, 1944. Britain gained supremacy over Greece and the Soviet Union over Romania. On May 20, 1944 the CPG, EAM and ELAS, under British pressure in Lebanon, signed an agreement with the Royal Government after which the coalition government was dissolved.

During a conference held on July 25, 1944, the communists in Macedonia unanimously agreed to pull out from the Lebanon Agreement as well as for the People's Liberation Movement to apply revolutionary tactics and to rely on its own forces and on the Yugoslav people's Liberation Army. The CPG leadership was divided on the issue, one group wanted to accept the Agreement and another wanted to reject it.

The group that advocated for the acceptance of the Agreement prevailed. The Soviet military mission headed by Colonel Grigor Popov, which had arrived in the free territory on July 28, 1944, contributed to the acceptance of the Agreement. Popov was well aware of how Stalin had operated in changing the Russian system into a one-party dictatorship and removing any competition by liquidation, not just in Russia but everywhere in the world. Stalin wanted Moscow to lead all Parties and branches of the Comintern in the world and anyone opposed to that was liquidated. Stalin wanted Moscow to be the absolute centralization of management of all communist parties.

Here is what Soviet citizen Grigor Popov, high representative in the Soviet government with full powers, later, had to say: "Here is the directive… this is what Comrade Stalin ordered!"

The Agreement was accepted by the CPG Central Committee on August 17, 1944 and a decision was made to take part in the coalition government headed by George Papandreou.

Here is what Stringos, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, had to say during the acceptance meeting: "The Central Committee, not once but many times, had warned Gotse and Peiov that their attitude and behaviour would bring them no good! We, again and again, told the Slavo-Macedonian communists to subordinate themselves to the Party and their lives would be spared. But did they want to? Well if they didn't want to, then in that case let them leave, let them get lost, let them go to hell!" This was followed by applause.

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Following is a radiograph from Hristos Moshos to the group of ELAS divisions from Macedonia notifying them of the Voden Macedonian battalion's desertion from ELAS and its crossing over into Vardar Macedonia:

"No. EP 162 Paiak, very urgent.

To: The group of ELAS divisions from Macedonia.

On October 14, 1944, the Slavo-Macedonian Partisan Voden Battalion stationed at Kajmakchalan has fled to Serbia (Vardar Macedonia) without our knowledge. We have dispatched a delegate to Serbian Macedonia to negotiate its return. We believe it was convinced to leave by the staff of the Macedonian partisans.

October 17, 1944.
Petros (Hristos Moshos)."

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In accordance with the decisions made at the First ASNOM Session, the Vardar Macedonian political and military leadership, around mid-September 1944, took serious measures to liberate and unify Macedonia. On September 23, 1944 NOV and POM Headquarters sent the following directives to the Lerin, Kostur and Voden commanders:

"You are to carry out extensive recruitment of fighters from the ranks of the Macedonian people. You will receive arms, ammunition and other military material from the NOV and POM General Headquarters. You are to prepare for operations against the Germans in the Aegean part of Macedonia and in Greece in which NOV and POM units will participate with you."

Several days later the Lerin-Kostur battalion numbered 1500 fighters and officers and the Voden Macedonian battalion numbered 575. When the CPG and ELAS found out about the recruitment, fearing that the Macedonians would attack Solun, they tried to disband the Macedonian battalions. Because of this, relations between the CPG and the CPY became strained and on October 4, 1944, Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo notified General Headquarters and POJ that the Macedonian units within the ELAS had been advised not to agree to be disbanded but to cross over into Vardar Macedonia. During the night of October 4 and 5, 1944 the battalions crossed over into Vardar Macedonia.

Note: We planted our future and uprooted our past (our centuries old hearth).

In the context of what took place, everything that happened with the leaving of the two Macedonian battalions left us with eternal longing for our own piece of land. Going to Yugoslavia and joining Tito's army was not a small mistake. In retrospect, as experience has shown us, leaving our fatherland and our hearth defenseless was a big mistake. This was the first step in the long plot of what turned out to be a Macedonian tragedy. In retrospect, our people were used for the benefit of foreign interests during the Greek Civil War, when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Tito) and the Communist Party of Greece (Zahariadis) with their "pseudo concerns" for the Macedonian Question led the Macedonian people to their own destruction.

More tragic than that was the "false history" perpetuated, which, instead of calling what happened a "tragedy", "genocide" and the Macedonian people "victims of foreign interests", it called it a "triumph" and for the last 60 years, referred to it as a "revolution".

2.0 TRUTHS AND CONTROVERSIES ABOUT THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949)

Great manipulations of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia after World War II: From one lie to another!

Now in his book "Pette sudbonosni godini vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) ("Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)") Kiriazovski has confirmed that: NOF, the National Liberation Front for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, was formed in Skopje on April 23, 1945 under the initiative and leadership of the CPY/CPM. AFZH, the women's organization, and NOMS, the youth organization, were also formed at the same time.

With the establishment of NOF, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, for half a decade (1945-1949), found themselves caught up in binary politics which started with longing for a "United Macedonia" and ended with extreme persecution and exile from their native homes.

Was there a NOF vision of where we were going?!

The "false history" written about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia has not explained why there was a unique need for a "special" women's organization (AFZH) with objectives to massively mobilize women. What was the political message behind that? What were the real objectives behind the massive collection of children? But given the outcome of events one thing is very clear; the strategic goal was to turn the old traditional Macedonian family into a political family. That way it would be easier to manipulate it and make it do whatever they wanted it to do.

The "false history" has not explained why the Macedonian people were put in a position to fight in an alien war, to become its casualty and to lose their indigenous homes. Specifically it does not explain;

1. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed to fight on what front?

2. Who was on the other side of that front?

3. What was the purpose of this struggle?

Was all this done as per Tsvetko Uzunovski - Abas's directives as ordered by Tito and Kolishevski?

In other words, up to now we have only experienced conflict and now, with the formation of NOF and the other organizations, by pushing foreign propaganda that stirs our naked patriotism, we were on the "Road to Freedom"?

In retrospect, from our research it has become very clear that our patriotism was abused by those who wanted to gain our allegiance and control us. We the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia had become pawns of vengeance in the CPG and CPY's ideological games. We became political subjects both in Greece and Yugoslavia.

As early as 1944-1945, a small group of elite intellectuals (which later developed into NOF), instead of planning a better future for us, allowed themselves to be manipulated by Yugoslavia, delivering us to the Greeks and putting our fate in Greek hands, which as we well know resulted in us experiencing genocide and eternal banishment from our centuries-old hearths. This was an unforgivable mistake and in retrospect those who did this proved themselves to be immature in this historical moment. So, were all these Yugoslav and Greek representatives too powerful for us Macedonians to handle, we could not compete with them on an intellectual level so instead we resigned to serve them and their interests? Is that how it was? Is that what happened?

The Macedonian story from April 1945 to October 1946 became a shadow.

By early 1945 NOF and AFZH, in a short time, had done a fantastic job of making themselves known to the Macedonian people. In the meantime the Greek government undertook unheard of measures to terrorize the Macedonian people, including murder and persecution of ordinary villagers who had Macedonian National feelings. The peasants, particularly those who had no profession, began to join NOF and AFZH en masse and they in turn became the activists of these organizations. Soon politics had become their profession and most became "fishermen of human souls".

It was all these "ideological activists" who coaxed the Macedonian people into looking into empty space, not only during the war, but also after the war, in peace time, when thousands of Macedonians were forgotten and left out there to wander the world, leaving their homes and hearth for strangers to populate. The great indigenous spirits which were deeply tied to the country (language, culture, statehood, church etc.) were suppressed by the "revolutionary" forces of NOF and AFZH.

Did we the Macedonian people at exactly this period of time, under the leadership of the CPY/CPM, unknowingly give the Greek government the right (not to be prosecuted according to international law) to take terrible measures against us, which led to genocide?

Under instructions and leadership from the CPY/CPM what did NOF and AFZH hope to accomplish in 1945 and 1946 by their actions in Greek occupied Macedonia? Did they unknowingly open the door to persecution and genocide? Did they unknowingly lead the people to sacrifice themselves by joining the ranks of DAG and fight in a senseless ideological alien war? Did they unknowingly bring doom and destruction, the break up of families and eventually the permanent eviction of all Macedonians who left their hearth; including the children?

Now 60 years later, we get to hear from Kiriazovski, an official historian who carried a different tune on the subject all these years. And what is he telling us now? He is telling us that: "The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia were organized and pushed into the mountains by the CPY/CPM!" Unfortunately he does not answer the questions: "What was the purpose for all this? Why did the CPY/CPM, led by Tito and the Macedonian leadership, form these organizations and dispatch them in Aegean Macedonia to convince people to take up arms and go into the mountains way before the Greek Civil War had officially started?"

In retrospect allow me to say that with the establishment of NOF and AFZH in Skopje by the CPY/CPM, we the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia gained two bitter rivals who turned us into their victims. The CPG and the Greek government had no intention of abandoning Greek occupied Macedonia and steadfastly defended the sovereignty of Greece.

Verbalism - Instead of historical analysis

Kiriazovski's book "Pette sudbonosni godini vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) ("Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)") contains information that has been neglected in the past which merits reexamining, reinterpreting and resorting. This neglected information shows that the current written history about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia has left out a great deal of information and lacks honesty, the love for truth, righteousness, justice and fairness. The book poses new questions but many are poorly answered, particularly the ones that deal with the military and the political analysis of why the CPY/CPM and Tito created false hope for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

NOF was forced to propagate a great illusion on a small nation.

It is a historic fact that NOF did propagate a great illusion. But the important question is who instigated it and why? Why were the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia pushed to enter this deadly embrace which brought them genocide? The fact that they experienced genocide has been confirmed by historian Kiriazovski. This fact, hidden from us for the last 60 years has prevented us from looking into the secrets of the genocide and the real motives behind it. It has hidden the CPY/CPM's real motives for creating NOF and AFZH in Skopje on April 23, 1945 under Tito and Kolishevski's leadership. Here is what Tsvetko Uzunovski-Abas (11), CPM Central Committee Organizing Secretary and Interior Minister of the People's Republic of Macedonia, had to say to the NOF and AFZH leadership: "… Yugoslavia has become the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans. The Macedonian question has now become a Yugoslav question on account that the CPY formed the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Aegean Macedonia and placed you in charge to lead them. These organizations have been tasked to give the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia a Yugoslav orientation. The Macedonian people and the Macedonian movements are now led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia will get their full recognition and acceptance within a Federal Yugoslavia and Aegean Macedonia will join Yugoslavia." (AM. Macedonian Archives. F-20/276, F-20/196).

What kind of political and national depravity was this for the top CPM leadership to cover up crimes committed against many of their comrades (See documentary Chento to Vlahov, 25-29.07.2011) accused of being autonomists and separatists; people who were in fact real fighters and patriots and willing to solve the Macedonian Question? Why, on one hand, jail and mistreat people who were truly interested in a "United Macedonia" and on the other hand instigate interests in Greek occupied Macedonia to "Fight for a United Macedonia"? This is what the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's leadership did to the Macedonian people and to the Macedonian movement under them. The Yugoslav leadership, specifically the CPY, told the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia to "Fight for a United Macedonia" and that "The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia would get their full recognition and acceptance within a Federal Yugoslavia and Aegean Macedonia would join Yugoslavia!"

Was it not a sin to push one's own Macedonian nation into a war in which the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia experienced genocide and lost their native hearth forever? Yes, it was a sin, a sin of

historical proportions! It was a sin for the CPY (Tito) and for the CPM (Kolishevski and Uzunovski) to form NOF, AFZH and NOMS and push the entire Macedonian population en masse to fight in a war which led to the annihilation of the Macedonian family and hearth. It was especially a sin to engage Macedonian women, mothers, into AFZH and ask them to give up their children for the sake of a senseless ideological war that had no real meaning for the Macedonian people! It was a sin to break up the traditional Macedonian family in that part of Macedonia. (This, as it turned out, was a strategic demonstration of a planned conspiracy.)

The NOF and AFZH leadership believed what it was told! Should it have had reasons not to believe what it was told? It should have had but unfortunately it had a primordial desire to unite the Macedonian people and could not resist the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's offer to help (and that of the leadership of the People's Republic of Macedonia).

Perhaps the NOF and AFZH leadership did not know what it was getting into. This however does not excuse what Tito and Kolishevski did! There is something wrong and illogical about Tito's and Kolishevski's attempts to impose themselves (through NOF and AFZH) on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. How could Tito and Kolishevski dare send back the very same people who were in conflict with Greece (ELAS and CPG) in the first place, the same people who fled with the Lerin-Kostur and Voden Battalions, the same people from whom the Aegean Brigade was formed in Yugoslavia and installed in Tito's army?

In the beginning these acts (NOF and AFZH showing up and wanting to recruit people and start a war) confused the villagers in Greek occupied Macedonia; a confusion which persisted throughout the course of the entire Greek Civil War. To begin with NOF and AFZH, for the Greeks, were not indigenous organizations. Communism was not well understood and not accepted by the people. It was imposed on the Macedonian peasant as an "ideal", as an "eternal perspective". The people became bewildered and completely confused by the CPY/CPM's unprincipled acts after 1948, precisely when the Greek Civil War was raging at its worst.

The old people used to say: "In confusing times clarity and freedom must be our eternal vigilance. If we lack these two things we will be uprooted from our ancestral hearths. Many of us Macedonians know that those who plan our demise, plan it behind our backs."

And it happened just as our old people predicted: "The less people understood what was happening to them the easier it was to fool and manipulate them."

Their expectations were futile and the outcome proved to be disastrous which leads us to ask some serious questions: "Why have Macedonians, especially in Greek occupied Macedonia, for centuries chosen self-sacrifice over assimilation? Why did they not choose to become Greeks and live more comfortable lives and have a better future?"

The answer is simple: "Because we are Macedonians and nothing more! We have our own language, customs, culture and history."

Strategists were well aware of this! They knew very well that successive Greek governments and Greek authorities had tried everything, including using harsh measures against the Macedonians to assimilate, denationalize and eradicate their national identity but without success. So what do you do with a people that have an identity you want to get rid of but can't by conventional methods? You get rid of the people, of course!

This is why Tsvetko Uzunovski's suggestions wreak of suspicion and need to be further analyzed in order to determine if there was a conspiracy? A conspiracy perpetrated by whom and what was its purpose?

The notion of "conspiracies against the people" existed in all communist nations so it should be of no surprise that it also existed in our country. Right from the start NOF and AFZH were secretly planning a mass mobilization of Macedonians (men, women and youth). They wanted to mobilize the entire population - to breathe together, to think together and to act together in accordance with the orders given to it by the ideological activists. The aim was to plan together in secret, especially for premeditated illegal acts.

For the Greek authorities and the Western powers an organized network such as NOF and AFZH operating inside Greece had the designs of a Civil War. It was well understood that secret preparations for war were made from April 23, 1945 when NOF and AFZH were formed by the CPY/CPM in Skopje, up to March 31, 1946 when the Greek Civil War officially began.

But after the Greek Civil War started, NOF and AFZH's role changed. The organizations were now led by the CPG, by Zahariadis, and not by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or Tito, their creator.

Sixty years of ideological injustice and concealment of an ominous alien concept.

So we now can confirm that this was the starting point (for a secret strategy) for politically mass organizing the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. We now know that the task for organizing the people was initiated by the CPY/CPM with Tito's blessings!

Meaning, NOF and the other Macedonian organizations formed on April 23, 1945 were tasked with organizing the Macedonian people for a struggle to unify Greek occupied Macedonia with the People's Republic of Macedonia in Federal Yugoslavia.

Logically this opens a lot of questions for every Macedonian that to this day have not been opened by any of our historians including Kiriazovski. For example:

1. Was the Macedonian CPM Central Committee leadership convinced that NOF and AFZH (with such a fateful concept) would be able to unite Aegean Macedonia just after World War II? Or did they act blindly on Tito's orders?!

2. Were the selected (appointed) members of NOF and AFZH true leaders of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia or just puppets in the hands of Tito's personally selected, mysterious people with great power?

3. Does it mean that by seducing the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia (who naïvely believed in panacea democracy) they could re-arrange Greek occupied Macedonia to their liking?!

4. Why haven't Macedonian national historians explored this subject and come up with answers? Why have they allowed (and still allow) a cover-up to take place and possible conspiracies and theories to find fertile soil in Greek occupied Macedonia? Why have they not reported the national crimes committed against their own people who suffered genocide?!

All these questions need to be answered! We need to uncover all internal and external political, military and state interference in order to get to the truth. We need to know why this terrible thing happened to the Macedonian people, why they lost their native hearth. Why were they driven into an open conflict against the Greek government after the war (WW II) ended and the Great Powers had already divided the world into spheres of influence? Why were our people led to sacrifice themselves for nothing and be forever exiled from their native ancestral homes?

Right after releasing his book, Kiriazovski opened a lot of questions which will lead to a long and arduous journey looking for answers. Every educated researcher and historiographer already knows or has sensed the truth about the Macedonian involvement in the Greek Civil War. They all know that the Greek Civil War was not a revolution nor a continuation of the Ilinden struggle because the Macedonians never led a struggle guided by the two basic pillars; political and military. This is a fact!

The NOF and AFZH leaders (as party subjects and soldiers of the CPY/CPM), however, have insisted that the Macedonian people were a political and military factor in the Greek Civil War! How?!

It is truly dishonest and malicious to keep us in the dark regarding development in the various stages of NOF and AFZH run by the CPY and the CPG.

In retrospect we know that a violent mass mobilization took place in Greek occupied Macedonia involving many Macedonians joining the various DAG military units. In fact between 16 and 17 thousand Macedonians were recruited, which represented more than 60% of the total number of active combatants in the Democratic Army of Greece. What the reader probably does not know and should know is that about 12 to 14 thousand more Macedonians served outside the ethnic part of Macedonia, i.e. throughout Greece, who were not part of the NOF and AFZH organizations. These fighters, particularly those serving in southern Greece, had absolutely no rights as Macedonians: they were not allowed to speak Macedonian, sing Macedonian songs, or to organize or join Macedonian Associations.

This is exactly how the Macedonian people lost their identity. They were beaten down to believe in ideological concepts. They were required to sacrifice themselves for internationalism in the name of Macedonian patriotism! We Macedonians were forced to turn a blind eye, to ignore reality; a typical Macedonian syndrome.

If that was not true then how does one explain the mysterious ways of the black politics, the evil, the mass pushing of Macedonians in that hell, especially the Macedonian women who fought in the Greek Civil War, which brought eradication to the Macedonian people!

And now every Macedonian who suffered because of this War should be asking the question: “Why did this author (as well as the many others) not speak up and say, ‘This war was not a revolution; it was a scam!’ What ‘Macedonian Question’ were they talking about after World War II ended

and after everything had been settled? Whose 'policies' were NOF and AFZH implementing? Were they really Macedonian policies?! Or were they the policies of strangers who were enforcing their strict commitments to the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest working against the Macedonian people and against the Macedonian Question; leading our people to genocide?!"

My attempt to answer questions such as these, which to this day remain unanswered, or are intentionally shaded by some authors, is the primary reason why I opted for this investigation.

We have waited for more than half a century for this moment when the truth can finally reveal itself, a truth trapped in eternal mystery, a truth that will finally show that the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia experienced evil, evil that did not fall from the sky. For 60 years now we have been warned to be careful when asking such delicate questions and to be respectful of the people who pushed us into the Greek Civil War because, we are told, those very same people created the People's Republic of Macedonia. If we blame and criticize those people then we would be blaming and criticizing the Macedonian state! Does this not resemble a historical setback?

But no matter how painful the truth may be, it should be told for the sake of future generations who should not be burdened with the heavy ideological burdens of the past.

I want to open every question in my research, even those questions which have no hope of being answered.

As far as the eye can see, we know why we suffered defeat and that knowledge can be a very important and powerful lesson for us for the future.

My aim in doing this, i.e. studying this military historical and political subject (12), is to bring awareness of what truly happened and examine its results, i.e. the fatal consequences of this phenomenon.

I will not defend anyone because I am neither a lawyer nor a judge. I do not criticize; I seek to find the root of the problem by asking questions. I want to be realistic in my approach and I want to know the truth. I want to extensively research the root of this evil, i.e. I want to restore the credibility in our National History - especially the part about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. I want to know who lured the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia to the ideological gallows?! If

I don't do this it will disappear and another voice will be lost and so will the truth and our hope for the future.

I must tell you this: I don't agree with people who write history and include the truth only when it suits the Party or the Government and ignore, omit, hide and fight against it when it doesn't! For me those people are not historians! We the people from Greek occupied Macedonia have lived through a terrible, tragic time and we need to know who did this to us and why! Unfortunately none of the Macedonian politicians are prepared to give us answers; they don't want to tell us "who brought the evil in Greek occupied Macedonia?" "Specifically, why was this evil delivered from Yugoslavia?" "Why were we lied to and why was our Macedonian patriotism exploited for cosmopolitanism?" Was this part of the communist ideology? I need to know, we all need to know: Did the Macedonian NOF and AFZH leadership, which led us in this hellish Greek Civil War, have a political strategy that went beyond day to day activities of where it was taking the Macedonian people? Or did it succumb to outside pressures and surrender to the storm which carried it along into oblivion while it blindly recruited innocent and naïve people from the villages, using meaningless ideological slogans and put them behind the "barbed wire".

There is no doubt that the Macedonians were psychologically pushed en masse by those regimes whose motto was: "It is forbidden for Macedonians (in the villages in Greek occupied Macedonia under the control of NOF and AFZH) to work outside NOF and AFZH policies. Those who do are considered dishonest and unpatriotic." In such a narrow space, maneuverability was very difficult and the consequences for some Macedonians were disastrous.

Separating men from women and their children was also disastrous. This resulted in ruining the Macedonian family. Men were pushed to join NOF, women to join AFZH and the youth to join NOMS. Thus families were deprived of fatherhood and motherhood. People were used to the max for a future created by NOF and AFZH first under CPY directives and later under CPG directives.

In our analysis we will carefully follow the evidence. Following Tito, Tempo and Kolishevski's directives, we took Zahariadis and Markos's lead like sycophants and acting like witty servants we forgot who we were. We were lied to and lured towards a promised "future" which made us forget the present. One thing is certain though: we have left an extensive dossier - a "tormented history".

For years and decades we lived in the outside world as immigrants; living in fear, being afraid that if we said anything or asked questions we might offend those who inflicted evil upon us. We generously and honestly accepted what they did to us without question. We thought it was our fate. We also accepted without question the slogan, "We will fight to the death and win against Anglo-American fascism," which became a "cancer" for us during the Greek Civil War.

And who knows how many more years we will remain scattered in exile and listen to promises made by people who have no intention of delivering? But there is one thing we Macedonians must realize, once and for all, and that is: We had (and remains in us to have again) an invisible leader who showed us the way to human misery. And to this day some of us still live under the slogan: "Forward to the recent past! For the 'Great Vassalage' and 'Success' in the Greek Civil War?!!"

This once was the psychology of everyday life. We lived in a chaos of individual and collective paranoia. Our tragic discord led us far away from reality. Our embrace with authority was the embrace of self-destruction. Our obedience was an ultimate political act against ourselves.

The bitter question remains to be answered: "Did Tito's crude gesture of kindness towards the Macedonian people cause this Macedonian tragedy?"

Was this "white lie" the bait that brought the Macedonian people unprecedented suffering? Now, 60 years later, the shocking truth is beginning to trickle out forcing the reader to ask again and again: "Why did Tito (CPY) and Koloshevski (CPM) do this?

Why?! Every exiled person who has been driven out of his or her native hearth deserves to know... But in order for us to know we must find the truth about what exactly happened... "When the truth starts to come out nothing can stop it." Emile Zola (1840-1902).

How could the CPG and members of the Macedonian Central Committee lie to and lure the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to fight for a "United Macedonia" when Tito's position regarding that question and regarding the Macedonian Question were well-known all along, especially since "Josip Broz Tito, during WW II, persistently advocated for the retention of the pre-war borders in order to preserve the Yugoslavia of Versailles?"

The decision of a large group of Macedonian fighters and activists from Kostur and Lerin Regions in May 1944 to secede from ELAS and join

Tito's army qualifies as an extreme and harmful act and so does the return of these same fighters back to Greece. Tito was well aware that these people had started the conflict in Greece and then fled to Yugoslavia and the conflict remained unresolved.

There is no doubt that patriotism and commitment to the Macedonian cause was expressed at the highest level by these Macedonians, but they made political and strategic mistakes. But then, when they successively repeated the same mistakes, one must question their leadership abilities and their abilities to get along. All confrontations, discussions, taking-giving, pigheadedness, arguments etc., between Macedonians and Greeks always ended in favour of Greece. Why? Because that is precisely what the Western Powers wanted and that's what Tito gave them.

What was Tito's (CPY/CPM) diplomatic game regarding the future of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia right after World War II and at the beginning of 1945? There was no diplomatic game! The Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia became one of the biggest casualties (20,000) of communism and of the Yugoslav myth! They served the CPY/CPM and Tito's ambitions for controlling the Balkans and when things did not work out Tito surrendered them to Zahariadis and to the CPG to turn them into casualties!

During the war, Josip Broz Tito believed that the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia would realize their aspirations within the Greek state, but after the February 12, 1945 Varkiza Agreement, he noticed a radical change in the world.

The situation in the People's Republic of Macedonia and the CPY's position at the time regarding the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia is well described in the slogan: "Why to Srem and not to Solun?" (More about this later).

Here is how it happened: A rebellion began at Skopje Fortress and in Shtip: It was Sunday morning, January 7, 1945 - Christmas Day (by the old calendar). The National Youth of Macedonia's Second Congress was hosted at the 'Officer's House' in Skopje Square. Hundreds of armed soldiers came down from the fortress and crossed over the Stone Bridge to get to the 'Officer's House'. Many were carrying banners and shouting slogans, "We don't want to go to Srem, we want to go to Solun!", "We don't want to go to Berlin we want to go to Solun!" OZNA jumped into action and began to arrest and round up the soldiers. (See Focus, p. 24, May 2009).

By analyzing this problem and knowing the situation in Greece, I have concluded that the slogan: "We don't want to go to Berlin, we want to go to Solun!" meant a final showdown with fascism and with the occupier was going to take place in Solun. But something terrible and frightening was present in Solun. There was a large British military force based in Solun which would have been disastrous for the Macedonians if they collided with it. Going to Solun would have meant going to war against the British troops already stationed there. ELAS forces did go to Solun much later and Churchill probably did this intentionally for the greater security of Greece. (More details on this in later chapters.)

Thus this was not only a manipulation of the sacred Macedonian feelings of wanting a "United Macedonia", it was an end to creating a single Macedonian state. This was the signal that Greek occupied Macedonia now again belonged to Greece and British troops were there to make sure of that! The problem now was: "Knowing all this, why did Tito (13) (CPY/CPM) form the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and in less than two months dispatch them to Greece with aims of uniting Greek occupied Macedonia with Yugoslavia?"

By now we have enough facts to give us a glimpse of our true past. If facts are a sacred thing then, right from the start, let us confess that there were no Macedonian National coats of arms, crest, flag, or any other kind of symbol used in the five year war period (Greek Civil War). So what exactly makes this war a "Macedonian Revolution" as we are led to believe by historian Kiriazovski in his many books? And now in the epilogue of his latest book he wrote:

"… an attempt has been made to give tribute to the magnificent struggle of the Macedonian peoples from the Aegean part of Macedonia, a struggle which had a deep national and progressive character…!" Further down he wrote: "…The armed struggle of the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia in the period from 1945 to 1949 represents a continuation of earlier struggles for survival and for political and national equality and freedom." (215, 216)

Did the Greek Civil War have elements that identified it as a "Macedonian Revolution" or have we been fooled for the last 60 years? As far as I know (myself being a participant in that war), in all those cruel battles that we fought, I never saw a single Macedonian symbol that represented the Macedonian people or the fighters who fought and left behind 20,000 victims.

Given the above, I would like at this point to discuss the importance of just one National Symbol – a nation's flag. We Macedonians had NO flag of our own and it is well understood in this world that: "A State or Nation's flag embodies the spirit of society. Attacks are carried out under the flag because the flag represents the embodiment of the homeland: soldiers swear allegiance to the flag and its loss is a disgrace to any army. Besides that, the flag is a connection between the people, the land and its rulers. During war time in the old days, top military leaders stood under the flag in the battlefield from where they conducted maneuvers. And in peace time the flag stood by the throne where it was well guarded until the next war.

I am reminded of the 1945 "Victory Parade" in Moscow, in Red Square where the Germans, carrying their German flags sloping and to the beat of the snare drums, were throwing them under the walls of the Kremlin.

In 1950, sometime after DAG's defeat and disbanding (when the Greek government was still referring to us as bandits and was a long way from recognizing the Greek Civil War) and after we had fled our homeland and were taken to the USSR, I began to realize that there was something not right about what had happened to us Macedonians. It was then that I began to see us more as victims than as revolutionaries. My suspicions of being "victims" were confirmed when, with great joy, I returned to the People's Republic of Macedonia only to be put in jail in "Idrizovo" Prison and tried by UBDA, the Yugoslav State Security. Every single DAG fighter wishing to return to his or her beloved Macedonia was put through this! After that we were placed in shelters. In contrast, all NOF and AFZH officials returning to the People's Republic of Macedonia were met with state honours and placed in comfortable apartments and given state functions.

So, it was by no "accident" that the history of the "Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia" was written in this manner and as such we should not believe the illusions presented to us without hard, objective and analytical historical facts to back them. The people from Greek occupied Macedonia experienced a traumatic tragedy and deserve to know why they were lied to and who brought the evil that destroyed their lives and uprooted them from their native home forever.

Any historian who has written about the Macedonian disaster and has told us that we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, created our own tragedy is out of his or her mind. As once Socrates said: Even though stupidity is eternal, it is still immoral and we have to realize that it is part of human existence. That, however, does not mean that we must allow it to exist unopposed!

I don't know why we are so timid and don't have the courage to come out and tell the whole truth about our Macedonian tragedy and admit that it was a conspiracy; since all facts point in that direction.

In my entire experience, with all my memories of the war years and its aftermath and knowing the mistakes we made and the successes we achieved, never once did I think that I would be writing history. I felt that that would be the job of future generations and future historians. So why am I doing it? Because if I don't the truth will be lost in the pile of lies that have been piled upon us for the last 60 years. With my generation gone there will be no more voices left to speak and future historians will have no other perspective, "no other face of history" to rely on and will never understand the true tragedy of our people and the genocide the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia experienced; they will never know exactly what happened from1945 to 1949 and who was responsible for it. And as such, the forces that want this subject to remain a secret would win and that "Secret of the Century" would die with us.

From what I am discovering through my research, it seems to me, even though we have gone through the Greek Civil War and have been exiled from our ancestral homes, we still have not learned or can't even comprehend the hundred-year-old Greek fascist struggle with genocidal aims which the Greeks led against us in history.

In this destructive war; hatred, greed, ambition and wounded feelings were a driving force in an unprecedented (brother against brother) cleansing of Macedonians - fighters and communists. This ideological war was a means of destroying the Macedonian family, and as Giovanni Mazzini once said: "Family is the fatherland of the heart."

Thousands of families were destroyed. The entire ancient Macedonian culture and language were devastated in some regions. What was once a thriving culture was wiped out and all that remained were the memories in the minds of the exiles along with blood, tears and mourning! It was a time of universal deceit...

My great interest in the Greek Civil War compelled me to continue my research, so that my readers would be offered unknown facts which, up to now, had been hidden from the public in favour of CPY/CPM policies dictated by Tito.

And as the English journalist and writer George Orwell once said: "In our time there is no such thing as 'avoiding politics'. Every theme is of

political nature and politics itself is a set of lies, evasion, absurdity, hatred and schizophrenia."

So, it was a time of universal deceit!

Sixty years later, hidden facts are finally coming out. These relevant facts were intentionally hidden from Macedonian politicians, historians and authors who had written about the Greek Civil War. People were told that the genocide the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia experienced was actually "a glorious revolution" that now belongs to our glorious past.

The root of this evil and the dark secrets of those who perpetrated it have been hidden for six decades. The masters, who through ideological activism deceived our people and set a deadly trap for them, knew it would lead to the spilling of blood, genocide and eviction of the Macedonian people (from Greek occupied Macedonia) from their homes.

The information revealed in this study, in this book, is original testimony that comes directly from documents found in the secret archives of several countries, which authentically point to horrific processes perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, which eventually led to genocide. My study, which includes military, historic and political events that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia, has its roots based on the theme: The one hundred Year Struggle of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia under Greek fascist ideological policies. Viewed from today's perspective what "ringleader" would want to exclude the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia from its history? The Greeks themselves of course; none other than the Greeks who ruled Greece and caused misery for the Macedonians! The very same people who, for years had been planning the extinction of the Macedonian people and who set these genocidal goals in motion in the first place. My arrival at this conclusion is not based on speculation; it is based on facts and arguments found in various sources. These "facts and arguments" reveal a plot: How and who (after WWII) directed this strategy of genocide over the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia!

The Greek Civil War ended with 20,000 casualties, mass persecution, which continues to this day, and an undecided Macedonian question in Greece. We literally became hostages of our past.

After the Greek Civil War was over, we the participants of DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) were treated like a "confused" generation (especially after we "returned home" to the People's Republic of

Macedonia and every ordinary fighter had to pass through an OZNA sieve while the NOF and AFZH leadership were welcomed home with honours). We, the fighters of DAG, were so "confused", we were left in limbo; to slowly, slowly complete our life cycle. It seems that we represented a "frightened" generation, with no credibility, unable to talk about or explain the historical events it had experienced. As ordinary fighters, it seems that we were somehow guilty of failure, of failing to win the Greek Civil War.

But in order to follow events that took place during the Greek Civil War, a massive and violent undertaking that pushed the Macedonian people into oblivion, one would have to know the Macedonian people's "real" history, up to now hidden for six decades. The controversial question that remains to be answered is: Why and for what purpose were the Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH formed in 1945 in Skopje by the CPY/CPM and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to enlist and encourage Macedonians to fight in the Greek Civil War (1945-1949)? It was well-known by then that Greece, including Greek occupied Macedonia, fell under the British sphere of influence and no "United Macedonia" was possible under those circumstances. It was also well-known that no "Soviet-ization" of the Balkans was possible and neither was a "socialist" Greece. So why start a war that would mark a milestone in the history of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, which would spill blood, bring tragedy and genocide and cause expulsion and the permanent loss of native hearths?

Facts definitely show that NOF and AFZH were created in 1945 and were functioning before the Greek Civil War officially started on March 31, 1946. Facts show that the presence of NOF and AFZH in Greek occupied Macedonia heightened the threat of terror and created the conditions under which the Macedonian people began to arm themselves. Facts also show that there was a massive propaganda campaign aimed at the Macedonian people to prepare for a massive fight. Facts show that the Greek terror campaign was understood to be an aim at "massively ethnically cleansing" the Macedonian people. Facts show that in the eyes of some Greeks this "recruitment and arming of Macedonians" was seen as the ultimate evil that threatened the integrity of Greece. Having said all this, then, one of the more fundamental questions that come to mind is: "Why did NOF and AFZH do this; and why under CPY/CPM directives?"

Another unexplained, and to this day, unclear act to consider in retrospect is the true purpose of the "child evacuation" program!

And with that in mind, as Hannah Arndt once said: "Lies are always more acceptable and more appealing than the truth as long as they are a

challenge for those who have tested the knowledge of what the audience is expecting to hear." For us Macedonians, from Greek occupied Macedonia, the words: "He who does not remember his past is bound to repeat it!" spoken by English scientist Adam Hart Davies, ring true.

And now with his latest book, historian Kiriazovski has pulled the rug from under the many "moldy" secrets and relevant national issues and has officially given us a reason to do extensive research and discover the real intentions behind the Macedonian tragedy and genocide.

In his book: "Narodnooslobоditelniot Front I drugite organizatsii na Makedontsite od Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949)" (The National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)), published by "Kultura" in Skopje in 1985, on page 93, Kiriazovski wrote:

"In order to understand what made our nation arm itself and go back to the mountains and resist the unbridled Greek bestial attack, we must first understand what happened to the Macedonian people after the restoration of pre-war Greek reactionary power in February 1945. Here you will find the explanation for the position in which the Macedonian people were put, which coincides with the appearance and activities of NOF in Aegean Macedonia."

Was the program accomplished by the CPY/CPM? No! Was it terrible for the Macedonians! Yes!

As I said before, by now we have enough facts to give us a glimpse of our true past. If facts are a sacred thing then, right from the start, let us confess that there were no Macedonian National coats of arms, crests, flags or any other kind of symbol used in the five year war period (Greek Civil War). So what exactly makes this war a "Macedonian Revolution" as we are led to believe by historian Kiriazovski in his many books? And now in the epilogue of his latest book he wrote:

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Again, as I said before, it was by no "accident" that the history of the "Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia" was written in this manner and as such we should not believe the illusions presented to us without hard, objective and analytical historical facts to back them. The people from Greek occupied Macedonia experienced a traumatic tragedy and deserve to know why they were lied to and who brought the evil that destroyed their lives and uprooted them from their native home forever.

The Greek Civil War turned us into a mass of faceless people, and in fact this was the goal of those who designed the war.

I say again; I don't know why we are so timid and don't have the courage to come out and tell the whole truth about our Macedonian tragedy and admit that it was a conspiracy; since all facts point to that.

The first "external" reason for the alleged "Macedonian Revolution", we are told, was to "Unite Macedonia".

Here's why this was not possible: Let us first examine how the Balkans were divided after WW II!

A historic meeting took place from October 10 to 20, 1944, (14) in Moscow where Stalin and Churchill discussed the fate of the Balkan peoples and how the Balkans were going to be divided between Russia and England.

It was during this October 10th, 1944 famous meeting that an agreement was reached where Greece was to go under the British sphere of influence while the rest of the Balkan countries were to remain under the influence of the Soviet Union." By extension: <ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ>, ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, 1975.

So, was this decision and agreement not clear enough for us Macedonians? Were the decisions of two super powers not enough of a deterrent for us Macedonians?

This of course, logically leads us to the next question: Do you really think that after the Balkans were divided into spheres of influence, we Macedonians had a chance of "Uniting" Macedonia? Or was the Greek Civil War a Balkan sized conspiracy to destroy us?! Which is more believable?

After the world was split into two irreconcilable camps, East and West, one side aimed to exterminate its class of enemies by filling the Siberian

camps with political prisoners. The other side, meanwhile, persecuted the communists at an unprecedented level, us Macedonians along with them; by ethnic cleansing us from our own homeland and by perpetrating genocide against us with the ultimate goal of driving us all out of our ancestral hearths forever.

These acts perpetrated against us are neither offered nor explained in Kiriazovski's book, which leads us to wonder:

"Did the evil that befell the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia fall from the sky?! Or did someone intentionally bring it there? Perhaps not willingly but, nonetheless, the Macedonian people did suffer and need to know:

"Who activated the "Macedonian syndrome" of (self) sacrifice in the years 1945 to 1949 and why?!"

"Why did the CPY/CPM do this (1945-1946) before the Greek Civil War started? Why did they organize the Macedonian people and push them to fight against the Greek Monarcho-Fascist human flesh grinding machine, when they very well knew that the borders between Yugoslavia and Greece would not change and would remain "status quo"? Was it not Tito himself who spoke so many times in speeches and in diplomatic circles against a "United Macedonia"? So why push the people to fight for a "United Macedonia"?

After living with them for nearly 40 years, from 1900 to 1940, did we Macedonians not know what the Greeks were capable of? And now that 100 years have passed let us ask ourselves: "How have the Greeks changed?" They have not changed at all! After annexing Macedonian territories, the Greeks have been persistent; have never stopped, in their pursuit of the Macedonian heritage. They have never subsided in their quest to wage a fascist ideological war against us with aims of exterminating us and everything that we stand for. It has been a historic mission for them to trample on us, on our culture, our history, our traditions, our language and to deny us our identity since they first laid hand on our Macedonian territories.

There was massive fraud committed against us in the years 1940 to 1950. The communist Greeks, because they were communists, seemed to show some more understanding for us Macedonians but when it came to our National interest (human rights) they were no different than their Fascist counterparts. When it came to recognizing the rights of the Macedonian

people, both the Left and the Right proved to be the same. This is an irrefutable confirmed fact which holds true to this day!

Historian Kiriazovski, who had been silent on this subject for years, now claims that both Yugoslavia and Greece interfered in the Greek Civil War.

Who actually were our allies in the Greek Civil War? The answer is: No one! Not even the CPM because it was completely subordinated to the CPY.

First axiom: The Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, from October 1944 to October 14, 1946 were led by the CPY/CPM during which time the Macedonian Organizations NOF and AFZH were formed with their own programs, goals and objectives. And as such, NOF took its instructions from the CPM Central Committee.

The first instructor to instruct NOF was a Slovenian named Miha Marinko. After him came Nikola Minchev and Dimitar Dimitrievski - Pekar. Who could have even imagined that at that time those people were preparing the Macedonian nation for war? Imagine, this little group of instructors playing "god" with the lives of the Macedonian people.

The hidden evil had a face and a name but eluded Macedonian history for the last 60 years.

Second axiom: How and why did the "Macedonian story" remain in the shadows from October 1946, when "Tito surrendered the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, like slaves, to Zahariadis (15)", until August 27, 1949 when the Greek Civil War, under the leadership of the CPG, ended.

Also let us not forget another, a second "internal strategic obstacle" that stood in the way of a "United Macedonia" and that was the "new ethnic composition" of the population in Greek occupied Macedonia which had recently changed with the colonization of the Macedonian territory with 660,000 newcomer colonists delivered to Macedonia after its 1913 division. (16) This particular group of colonists came from Asia Minor and although they were Christian by religion, they were a multi-ethnic group consisting mainly of Turks, Armenians etc., who in Greece were considered to be Greeks. These people, combined, made up a large chunk of the total population in Greek occupied Macedonia and would have opposed and resisted the Macedonian territory being separated from Greece. General Markos Vafiadis, who led DAG during the early part of the Greek Civil War, belonged to this group of colonists brought to Greece

from Asia Minor. Do we seriously believe that he would have led a "Macedonian Revolution" and would have acted against his own personal and his people's interests?

And how can we forget the circumstances that brought those Asia Minor colonists to Macedonia in the first place? How could we forget the 1913 genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people to make colonization possible in Macedonia? The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia have experienced continuous waves of ethnic cleansing and genocide from 1913 to 1940 (17). It is well known that Greece, through a number of diplomatic maneuvers and population exchanges has managed to exile countless Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Legal, by signed conventions, or by any other means they are judged by history as evicting people from their own native homes, and that in my book makes them illegal and immoral. Just because they were done by "signed conventions" does not make them less painful for those involved!

Even though Greece was charged with the responsibility of "caring" for the people living on Macedonian soil when it was awarded its share of Macedonian territory by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, Greece it seems, was more interested in "grabbing" the territory than caring for the people or respecting their rights as Macedonians. In fact, by repeatedly ethnically cleansing Macedonian territory of its Macedonian population, Greece has demonstrated continuous and uninterrupted genocide! It did this under the conventions:

a) The Neuilly Convention signed on November 27, 1919 between Greece and Bulgaria. By virtue of this convention alone, Greek authorities forced 86,517 Macedonians out of their native homes and expelled them to Bulgaria.

b) Then came the Treaty of Lausanne signed in July, 1923 after the Greko-Turkish war ended. This Treaty called for the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. The Greko-Turkish War (1919-1922) was Greece's last historic, small but ambitious, attempt to expand the Greek kingdom, to realize the "Megali Idea" of a Greater Hellas. Through the Treaty of Lausanne, Greece forcibly exiled 354,000 ethnic Macedonians because they were Muslim by religion.

The consequences of these so-called "legal" acts are indescribable and have caused unprecedented genocide against the Macedonian population not only because 354,000 ethic Macedonians were evicted from Macedonian territory but also because 660,000 Asia Minor colonists were deposited in Macedonia, who in fact changed the Macedonian

demographic for the first time in Macedonia's history. The colonists or "Prosfigi" or "Madzhiri" as the Macedonians called them, or "Ponti" as they called themselves, spoke their own languages which were not Greek, and during the wars of 1940 to 1949 the Macedonian people wholeheartedly accepted them for who they were. Now it seems, official Greek policy is to call them "autochthonous Macedonians" while they deny the real Macedonians their rights and identity. Greek propaganda now claims that a population of 2.5 million pure Macedonians lives in "Greek Macedonia"; this includes their Prime Minister Karamanlis who is an Asia Minor colonist.

If identity is inherited from our ancestors then how can these Asia Minor colonists call themselves "indigenous Macedonians" and legal heirs to the indigenous, centuries old Macedonian heritage?! Since the idea of annexing Macedonian territories got inside the Greek heads, Greeks on both sides of the ideological fence (left and right) have been busy creating various identities for us and for those replacing us. While the Greeks were busy finding new names for us and calling us "Bulgars", "Bulgarophone Greeks", "Slavophone Greeks", "Slavs", Skopjans, Gypsies etc., they never hesitated for an instant to call the newcomer Asia Minor colonists and settlers "Macedonians". Even the colonists and settlers themselves are shamelessly encouraged to tell the world that they are Macedonians, descendents of the ancient Macedonians (and therefore Greeks)!

Yesterday's colonists and settlers from Asia Minor today are today's modern Greeks, descendents of the ancient Greeks, Spartans, Athenians, Thracians, Byzantines, Epirotes, Macedonians and what not! The real Macedonians, on the other hand, have no right to their own identity. But, from old demographic maps and census statistics, we very well know what kind of people used to live in that part of Macedonia. According to these old stats, Macedonians, Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Vlachs and others used to live in that part of Macedonia. With the exception of the colonists and settlers, a Christian Turkish population, brought there in the 1920's, the same people (Macedonians, Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Vlachs and others) still live there. So we don't need Greek lies and Greek myths to tell us who we are and who else lives amongst us!

With the stroke of a pen, in 1919 at the Treaty of Versailles (Paris), England and France sealed Macedonia's fate by ratifying the principles of the Bucharest Treaty and officially endorsing the partitioning of Macedonia. This gave Greece the go ahead it needed to pursue forced expulsion and denationalization of Macedonians and to begin a mass colonization by transplanting "potential Greeks" into its annexed territories of Macedonia.

By the past acts that they had committed against the Macedonian people, it became clear that the Greeks had already introduced "means" to exclude the Macedonian people from the Macedonian territory and introduced new definitions and created a new "science" as to who "lives" in this territory. The Treaty of Versailles was the last step that Greece needed in order to pursue its long-established views towards Macedonia and towards the Macedonian people. Backed by the Treaty of Versailles, the Greeks went ahead with their plans not only to ethnically cleanse the Macedonian population from Greek occupied Macedonia but also to deposit new people, colonists and settlers, loyal to Greece who eventually would "dilute" the remaining Macedonians and who would then begin to lose their healthy patriotic feelings towards Macedonia.

From the lessons learned about the Macedonian people before Macedonia's 1913 partition, the Greeks knew and were deeply convinced that the Macedonian core, as a separate ethnic group, would never be loyal to the Greek state and would always see itself as occupied. Thus the Greek state employed the harshest measures possible to solve its problems - genocide. This included:

a) Importing and transplanting settlers and colonists onto the Macedonian territories who were dependent on the Greek state for their survival and therefore has no choice but to be loyal to Greece.

b) Erasing everything that pointed to a Macedonian existence. This was done by enacting laws and renaming the first and last names of people; renaming toponyms and place names, etc. ("Efimeris tis Kiverniseos" no. 332 of 21 November 1926). It is well known in the civilized world that no one has the right to forcibly impose names on other people and nations. This includes the name of a territory, a people, objects, language and every other term used by the native people for centuries. And this unfortunately was done in Europe by Greece and without objections from anyone!

Here we are talking about changes made to on ancient topography which has been the soul of the Macedonian people for centuries. Even still, did the Greeks truly think that by changing the topography of the land the Macedonian people would forget their own identity? Or was this a ploy to show the world that Macedonia was Greek because it (now) had Greek topography? No matter what the true motive, the occupier's goal, from the outset, was to change the gravitational core of the century old Macedonian character and replace it with a Greek one. In retrospect, it has become clear that the Greek aim was to erase the entire Macedonian civilization, that took centuries to shape, and replace it with an instant fake Greek one.

We the Macedonian people have always used topography to identify ourselves no matter what part of the world we lived in. By erasing our topography, our occupiers had high hopes that they would erase our identity!

c) Prohibiting the use of the Macedonian language. The harshest measures taken against the Macedonian language were during the Metaxas dictatorship years. The Metaxas dictatorship came to power in Greece on August 4, 1936. During that time the Greek regime strongly opposed the use of the Macedonian language and cracked down on those speaking it. During this time many Macedonians, including those who spoke no other language, were fined, harshly punished and jailed for speaking their own language in public or in private. The Greek regime showed its true cruelty towards the Macedonian people when it sent many Macedonians to prison in the Greek island prison camps for simply speaking their native mother tongue; the only language they knew.

Things were no better when Left forces took control of certain segments of Greek occupied Macedonia. They too objected to the use of the Macedonian language. Most surprising were the objections coming from the Leftists belonging to the newly deposited Asia Minor colonists and settlers who lived amongst the Macedonians.

So, when the region was faced with one of its greatest internal conflicts in its experience in the years 1944 and 1945, the largest resistance came from the colonists. They filled the highest positions in the CPG, in the CPG Central Committee, in the Politburo and in everything else that carried authority. The colonists were literally leading both the political and military pillars of the rebellion, with Nikos Zahariadis as head of the political pillar and General Markos Vafiadis as head of the military pillar. Both Zahariadis and Vafiadis were Asia Minor colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920's. Now, do you still believe the Greek Civil War was a "Macedonian Revolution"?

Then, by irony of fate, NOF and AFZH entered the scene and instead of leading the Macedonian people to freedom they made them servile to colonist desires to organize a Macedonian movement and involve it in a devastating alien war with false promises! In the early part of this fiasco many Macedonians truly believed that NOF and AFZH's destiny was to resume and continue the Ilinden Uprising and free the Macedonians from Greek occupation, but unfortunately they were wrong and that error cost them 20,000 casualties, permanent eviction for tens of thousands from their native hearth and the implementation of the largest ethnic cleansing campaign ever known to that region.

Knowing that the colonists in Greek occupied Macedonia were in control of the highest political and military positions in the communist camp and knowing who they were and what they stood for, why did Tito create and dispatch NOF and AFZH to Greek occupied Macedonia with instructions to "liberate Macedonia" (which is precisely what this action was called in 1945)? Did Tito not know that it was not in the colonist interest to "liberate" Macedonia from Greece and join it to Yugoslavia? Did Tito not know that if that were to happen, the Macedonian people would become a target, not only of the Right because by then Greece was under the British sphere of influence, but also of the Left because the colonists would not allow it; it would make their own future uncertain? There is no other way to explain this other than to say that Tito committed an immoral act when he ordered the creation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS on October 14, 1946 and organized these Organizations under the CPM Central Committee leadership to mobilize more than 80% of the population and set it on a course to sacrifice itself for a cause that only served the interests of its enemies.

When it became very clear to many Macedonians that, under the current circumstances it was not possible to "liberate" Macedonia, the so-called "struggle", with much propaganda, did an about face and slowly became an "ideological struggle" for socialism in Greece and the struggle for liberation became a struggle for minority rights inside Greece. The struggle for self-determination became only a dream. And as such the programs, goals and objectives laid out for NOF by Tsvetko Uzunov-Abas no longer applied.

After Tito surrendered the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia to Zahariadis, he instructed Kolishevski to give them their new mission.

Right after the CPY and CPG agreed on what to do regarding the continuation of the war in Greek Occupied Macedonia, Lazar Kolishevski, Secretary of the CPM Central Committee, invited the NOF Board, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, for a briefing during which Kolishevski said the following: "Now you go down there (in Greek occupied Macedonia). The CPG is now responsible for you. You must have faith in the CPG. Its policy on the Macedonian question is clear. Any questions that may surface will now be decided by the leadership of the CPG Party. Be careful not to splinter or stray from the Party. You are to work under its directives. You are to struggle and fight to strengthen your unity with the Greek people and fight hard with all your strength against chauvinism, separatism and localized tendencies."

Sobered by Kolishevski's briefing, with eyes looking down before the CPG and before Zahariadis, their new master, NOF and AFZH went in a different direction and followed the lost road to democratic centralism and totalitarianism, typical of the time. It is amazing that, in spite of what had just happened, the Macedonian leadership, without question, continued to lead the Macedonian people into oblivion. Despite the strategic direction reversal, the Macedonian leadership was still committed to follow the direction of those who made promises and, before their eyes, failed to deliver them!

What does this tell you about the Macedonian leadership, members of NOF, AFZH and NOMS who, while leading the people in an alien war, claimed to be "Defenders of the Macedonian Nation"? What nation were they defending, transforming ordinary Macedonians into a military machine for DAG to fight for "socialism" in Greece?

And, in retrospect, what happened? Why did they not deliver on their promises? Why did they not defend the Macedonian nation? Why did they leave more than 20 thousand Macedonians dead? Who is to blame for that? Who is to blame for the people's hopes being falsely raised? What was our interest as Macedonians fighting in the Greek Civil War?! Who is responsible for putting this dark page in our history?

After the Macedonian organizations were surrendered to Zahariadis, General Markos began to mass mobilize fighters from the "liberated territory", most of which was on Macedonian soil with some in Epirus. All the mobilized fighters came from these territories. Units of 10 even up to 20 fighters were mobilized from the same village, with sometimes several people belonging to the same family. Many of these fighters perished in battle and their loss brought devastation to their families and villages. Did General Markos, their master, ever concern himself about that?

A new illusion, delivered through ideological activism, draws my generation into new battles.

After Tito surrendered the Macedonian organizations to Zahariadis, the NOF and AFZH leadership was installed in the various DAG Regional Headquarters responsible for recruiting Macedonian fighters into DAG. Having Macedonians doing the recruiting (planting big illusions) had doubled the effect. It not only insured that a large number of Macedonians would be drawn to join DAG but it also acted as a deterrent to colonists because they were already brainwashed by the Greeks not to trust the Macedonians.

As a result, NOF and AFZH became the biggest recruiters for DAG and General Markos's personal servants. There were no such successful organizations anywhere in all of Greece. The consequences of these mobilizations led to a deplorable situation which led many people to wonder: "How was it possible that so many people from the same village were being killed? Why were so many family members dying in this war?" Ironically, Macedonians were not only dying but were now dying for "democratic values" offered to them by their "new masters" (Zahariadis and the CPG), Greeks who themselves had never experienced democratic values: Greeks who for generations despised the Macedonian peasant and the entire Macedonian civilian population and who in the past had behaved brutally against them. Macedonians were recruited en masse (older men and women, children taken away from their families) and many died for democratic values which their descendents would never see and for socialist Greece which, at the time was well known, would never happen (Greece was under the British sphere of influence)!

What is the truth? What happened to the Macedonians who were lured by NOF and AFZH to fight for a "United Macedonia"? Was there any agreement, verbal, signed or otherwise where the CPG committed itself to recognizing the Macedonian identity, the Macedonian nation, the Macedonian people as Macedonians with democratic rights and privileges? Was there any agreement at all made for the rights of the Macedonians with those who we allowed, until yesterday, to manipulate us and turn us into their servants? So, beyond their successful ability to recruit Macedonians to fight in the Greek Civil War (God knows for what), what have NOF and AFZH done for the "brotherhood and for the unity" of the people when clearly, in the hands of the CPG, these organizations lacked political identity? What have they done?

These organizations, being pulled first by the CPY and then by the CPG in contradictory directions, seriously and chronically suffered from lack of credibility! Because of the change in direction and being guided by conflicting interests, they lacked authority. Credibility and being truthful are necessary principles, fundamental to establishing a foundation for building a system. Lack of credibility and their behaviour towards their own people made them seriously unreliable. Could they not sense what was happening? If they, as a political party (which raised the people in a rebellion), deviated from their basic principles (basic values) on which their political ideology was based and, as a result, sacrificed so many people for say, their daily needs and personal interests, shouldn't they have to answer to at least those whose lives they ruined? Should they not be accountable to the Macedonian people who lost their lives or became homeless?

When Tito decided to surrender these organizations and the Macedonian people to Zahariadis, the first thing the Macedonian leadership should have insisted on was an agreement that no harm would come to the Macedonian people. The first item on the joint program should have read: "NOF and AFZH will fight in alliance with the Greek people to protect the Macedonian people from physical harm." But there is no mention of such an agreement anywhere!

The ideological offensive with its cosmopolitanism (working against the Macedonian national consciousness) cut the native Macedonian national stem down to its roots.

The situation was even worse than it seemed, because the leadership leading the rebellion belonged to the highest levels in the CPG, NOF and AFZH political ladder. Politicians, even during the Greek Civil War, harboured dangerous anachronisms about our national existence as Macedonians, attacking political opponents – even the fighters and other Macedonians who did not see any benefit from such a war. Was the leadership of NOF and AFZH not aware of how it pushed and hurt its own people, especially the younger Macedonian generations (the children of fighters and the children of partisans and communists)? Were they not aware of how much influence they had on their young souls and on their national consciousness?

The oath (Ο ΟΡΚΟΣ του Μαχητου ΔΣΕ) to which fighters in the DAG ranks swore to, reads: "I, son of the Greek people and fighter of the Democratic Army of Greece, will fight to defend the integrity and security of the state borders of our fatherland - Greece ... etc.)". Where are Macedonia and the Macedonians mentioned in this oath? What does it say about the "brotherhood and unity" between Macedonians and Greeks who were supposedly fighting together for their "common" interests?

This was a new (one way) road to freedom to be achieved through a great ideological system called "Brotherhood and Unity". If this is not "false hope", what is?

Paradoxically, many Macedonians found themselves on DAG's list because of this "Brotherhood and Unity" benign slogan introduced in October 1946. Because of this simple little slogan many Macedonians became Tito and Zahariadis's pawns and fought on their behalf as ordered. But it was not long after that that "human rights" for the Macedonians, once again, no longer mattered and "the slogan" along with human rights for the Macedonians disappeared forever. Instead of granting them human

rights, they destroyed Macedonian families and the Macedonian people were dragged through a hellish war which eventually pushed them into permanent exile and the loss of their native hearth. This was the price we Macedonians had to pay for being foolish, trusting and loyal to Greeks and to the others who brutally invaded, occupied and partitioned our country and since then have been bent on destroying us and making us extinct!

It was only human for Macedonians to desire freedom and want to live in peace on their ancestral lands as they had for centuries. Unfortunately what we desired and what those who led us desired were two different things. We must now admit that we made many mistakes in our judgment of others who had no other desire other than to turn us into their slaves and who nearly destroyed us. Now I hope we can understand why it is important to learn from our past mistakes so that our future generations don't repeat them!

In retrospect we know that neither Tito nor Zahariadis wanted us to win, particularly Zahariadis, and they both very well knew that the war they started would never be won. So why start a war in the first place?

The NOF and AFZH leadership must have realized at some point that nothing was going to materialize from what Tsvetko Uzunovski – Abas, CPM Central Committee Organizing Secretary and Minister of Internal Affairs of the People's Republic of Macedonia, had told them in Skopje when he said: "Yugoslavia has become the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans and that the Macedonian question has become a Yugoslav question, and that is why the CPY ordered the formations of NOF, AFZH and NOMS which are now headed by you..." This "change of plans" when Tito surrendered the Macedonian organizations to Zahariadis, must have also frightened the NOF and AFZH leadership because they now had to tell the people that they would no longer be fighting for a "united Macedonia" and that now they would be fighting for a different cause and bowing to a different master. Surely the NOF and AFZH leadership, at this point, must have felt that things were not quite right and that someone might be doing something "not right", behind their backs?

Surely they must have asked themselves: "In spite of what happened, should we continue on the same path? Or should we explain to our people that we may have been lied to…?"

As ordinary fighters, a vast majority of us being ordinary Macedonian peasants, did not know about any of this. We trusted and relied on our leadership to look after our personal and national interests. It is only fair to admit that we worked well together and followed their orders without

question. We never saw ourselves as victims or questioned the politics led by our leadership.

After the introduction of "brotherhood and unity", i.e. Macedonians and Greeks fighting together for a common cause, the NOF and AFZH leadership must have realized (it must have been more than clear to them) that the battle for a "United Macedonia" was lost, so why did these organizations still call on the Macedonian people to follow them? Switching from fighting for a "United Macedonia" to fighting for a common cause under Greek rule was a total defeat for NOF and AFZH right from the start; yet no one saw it that way and no one put the brakes on this war!

This is how historical facts highlight the situation: Based on the October 14, 1946 agreement made between Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG), Karaivanov, representing the CPY and Ioannidis, representing the CPG, later made the following announcement: "The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leadership will now fall entirely under the responsibility of the CPG. All armed Macedonian units now operating in the DAG divisions will now fall under the leadership of General Markos."

In addition to that, all these agreements between Tito and Zahariadis were made at state level, i.e. between Yugoslavia and Greece (CPY and CPG). If these agreements were made at "state level" then they had to adhere to all International Treaties and Agreements. This means that they had to strictly adhere to the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest responsible for the division of Macedonia. So these agreements were not only another blow to the Macedonian people but they put a question on the formation of the organization VMRO (United). (18)

All this reminds me of the time during the short period between 1919 and 1923 when the CPY and CPG, under the Communist International, were deciding on a policy to solve the Macedonian question. Their policy was based on the thesis that various nationalities belonging to Macedonia's neighbours were living in Macedonia but none of these nationalities constituted an absolute majority and therefore the Macedonian question was treated as a geographic issue and not as a national or ethnic one.

The Communist International however, did recognize the Macedonian people as an ethnic nation when it had extensive discussions with VMRO in Vienna in 1923. As a result an Agreement was reached and signed in December 1923 between IMRO and the Soviet Russian Republic.

It is also important to note that VMRO, in its Central Committee Declaration, dated November 29, 1924, obliged itself to fight for the liberation and unification of Macedonia as an independent state in its natural, ethnic and geographic boundaries.

The following was stated in the Communist International (Moscow, 1924) Fifth Congress Resolution: "The Macedonian question is a national question" and Macedonians will struggle for a "United and Independent Macedonia."

The CPG Central Committee manifesto was adopted during its Third Extraordinary Congress in 1924, immediately after the declaration for a "United and Independent Macedonia" was announced.

And what can we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia say about the lies we were fed during the Greek Civil War, which were especially designed by the CPY and the CPG to exterminate us and uproot us from our many centuries-old homes!?

Was this the last insolent great lie perpetrated by the Left?

I am becoming more and more convinced that the post Greek Civil War top Macedonian leadership was without a sense of national consciousness about the fate of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and did not want to know exactly what had happened to the Macedonians during the Greek Civil War. It is unclear what the CPY/CPM objectives were during the war, so each person, more or less, had his or her own perception as to what had happened.

Even though research on the subject has been conducted for more than half a century now (and there are reasons for that), it is done in order to learn from our historical experience, i.e. not to forget what happened and not to repeat it.

During that period of time (Greek Civil War) the following was demanded of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia: That they be "soft", "cotton soft". That they "obey" everything the CPG asked of them. And everything the CPG asked of them had to be accepted with "desire", a kind of desire that caressed their ears, touched their souls, and brought tears to their eyes. And if they did all this, they were told, it would lead them to a brighter future.

Our research has shown exactly who hung the communist ideological chain around our neck as well as who tightened it. It is precisely this chain

(created by the CPY and placed around our necks by Kolishevski) that made the Greek Civil War cruel, bloody and Godless. This "chain of slavery" has not, to this day, been explained. As a result we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia have been reduced to numbers, even among ourselves. Our common denominator became: "To whom do you belong and who are you?" [Translator's note: When Macedonian fighters from the Greek Civil War were returning to the People's Republic of Macedonia, the Yugoslav authorities, most of them Macedonians themselves, sent these fighters directly to jail to be debriefed instead of welcoming them back with open arms as they had expected. There they were asked political and impersonal questions because, according to those who experienced this, the Yugoslav authorities cared more about the fighters' allegiance; whether it was to Tito or to Stalin, than they cared for the well-being of the individuals themselves.] So those who fought with Kolishevki's chain around their necks had to now fight for a new life and for a new place to live. On top of that, "servitude" was demanded of them.

But in order to understand Tito's reasons and motives for his involvement in Greek affairs, after World War II when all conflicts were over, we are required to do some thorough research.

The explanation given to us by the Yugoslav leaders that "they did what they had to do because of internationalist impulses" is not very convincing. Why? Because these problems started to crop up around the fall of 1948 when Yugoslavia was starting to warm up to the Western powers.

After being sold out by Tito, NOF and AFZH were now burdened with the task of having to struggle together with their enemy. Up to now they were directed by the CPY to fight to "liberate themselves" from the Greek yoke by creating a "United Macedonia" separate from Greece. Now they were condemned to fight for "Unity and Brotherhood" with the Greeks, the same Greeks they were preparing to overthrow! This so-called "Unity and Brotherhood" was now the new foundation on which their future would be built. And as such, the time for de-Macedonia-nizing Macedonia was coming closer. After attempting to "break away" from the Greeks, this new "Macedonian allegiance" to the Greeks not only created confusion, particularly with those Macedonians who had already fled to Yugoslavia, such as the Aegean Brigade, but it also created confrontation and mistrust between the Macedonians themselves. In the eyes of some Macedonians, yesterday's NOF and AFZ "liberators" of Macedonia, overnight became "Greek-o-phil traitors".

Before we continue, we need to explain something here: Given the "Greek doctrine" and long term Greek strategy (since 1913) in establishing and

defining the Macedonian question, realistically the Macedonians had no chance of making any progress in their pursuit of their rights. The Macedonian people had no chance of changing the Greek attitude towards them, even with threats of war. It has been proven, over and over again, that regardless of its relationship with Tito's Yugoslavia and its relationship with the Republic of Macedonia today, Greece has been unwilling to open the Greek Civil War Pandora's box and respond objectively, responsibly and analytically to the many outstanding issues related to this subject. Greece is not ready or willing to admit to its part in the genocide, ethnic cleansing and depopulation of Macedonia; of its native Macedonian people. To this day Greece is unwilling to even admit that Macedonians exist! But the Greeks are not the only ones guilty here; we too must take some of the blame for keeping quiet, for being silent for the last 60 years and allowing Tito as well as the Greeks to hide the truth about us from the world and from our younger generations!

Did we keep silent because we were afraid or because we were socially and nationally irresponsible?

The aim of my investigation here is to seek clarification as to why this fraud was perpetrated against us, which eventually led us to more persecution and to permanently losing our homes? I want to know the truth as to why the CPY/CPM put the noose around our necks (in the first two vital years) and then handed us over to the CPG to hang us by our necks. It was well-known that the top CPG leadership was made up of the very same colonists and settlers from Asia Minor who were brought to our native lands from Asia Minor in 1924 to tame and dilute us and eventually replace us. Why did we agree to be handed back to them? More importantly why did we agree to follow their lead to commit suicide? Had we forgotten why the colonists were brought to our Macedonia in the first place? Did we forget that they were brought there to; a) to put a barrier between the so-called "Slav" world and the Greeks and b) to dominate Greek occupied Macedonia?

Here is what CPG Secretary Nikos Zahariadis said about the options open to the Greek leadership as quoted in ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΑΙΟΣ's book "ΝΙΚΟΣ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΔΗΣ", ΘΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΜΑ, page 414.):

"After Zahariadis and a group of cadres had completed their studies in the KOUTV Party School in Moscow, they left the Soviet Union and returned to Greece where they held, in 1924, the 3rd Extraordinary Congress of the Socialist Party of Greece during which time they renamed their Party to the 'Communist Party of Greece' (CPG). In addition to clearing some internal issues during the Congress they also accepted some external

recommendations made by various communist Groups, including some from the Congress of the 3rd Communist International, as well as those recommended by the Balkan Communist Conferences, particularly the 7th Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation concerning the so-called 'Macedonians'. And this is how it all began and how the CPG placed the first loop of the noose around its own neck; all this on behalf of the international proletariat." This basically sums up how Nikos Zahariadis, leader of the Political Pillar of the CPG, felt about the "Macedonian Question".

And what did Zahariadis think of Markos Vafiadis? Markos Vafiadis was born in 1906 in the village Tosie, Asia Minor. Even though he only had a grade four education, at the peak of his career Markos was made supreme leader of the military and president of the state. How is that even possible? Well it was all done by Zahariadis, not because Vafiadis was "that" capable but because Zahariadis needed a patsy! During the Greek Civil War (1945-1950) Zahariadis chose Markos and made him General and supreme commander of the army and then appointed him President of the interim government (in the mountains). And why did he do that? He did that so he could blame him for all his own problems! Even though there was very little wrong with Vafiadis, in 1948 Zahariadis declared him sick, suspended him from his duties and sent him to exile to the city Penza in the USSR. Vafiadis's duties were then taken over by the CPG Central Committee and by the Politburo.

So, while Zahariadis and his cronies were building a "new world" with a lot of help from the Macedonians, they were also "trampling on the dignity of the Macedonian people" by lying to them and playing with their "national feelings" and by persistently denying their national identity. And at the end they told them that they were not welcome; not even on their own ancestral lands...

Then when they thought that it was all over and behind them, the Macedonians were again confronted with years of dirty slogans; swept by the red storm; filled with dark thoughts and robbed of their destiny. And not that there was any truth to it, but they were also called "intruders".

It all began after the Ioanidis – Karaivanov arrangement and after Kolishevski's directives, when NOF completely and almost unconditionally deviated from the CPG and allowed General Markos to become the sole authority of the Macedonian fate. In other words, we allowed General Markos, the colonist from Asia Minor, to take control of our destiny and lead us to where? Our liberation?

This is General Markos's first order after taking control of our destiny: Order no. EP 13 of 27.12.1946, issued by General Markos: "As of today, all partisan units belonging to NOF will be placed in the DAG composition."

So, from this day on forward, NOF was stripped of its military and political responsibilities and as far as the "Brotherhood and Unity" was concerned, NOF was no longer considered a factor. After this there was a delicate balance between NOF and the CPG. Soon afterwards the CPG began to backstab NOF at every opportunity. Having become a CPG target and being falsely encouraged by the top CPM political leadership is what undoubtedly turned NOF into a victim of political games. It was not long after that, that NOF and the Macedonian people found themselves gripped by the authoritarian hand of the CPG.

For centuries the Macedonian people were the only people in the world who did not approve of slavery and now they themselves literally became slaves to the Greeks.

Did anyone ever stop to think that these people now running NOF were the same people, the former ELAS fighters who fled to Yugoslavia and for whom Greek hatred was never forgotten? And were NOF and AFZH ever recognized by any International Institutions as legitimate entities?

Here is a document, translated from Greek that may shed some light: "… A year had not passed, when in the evening of October 24, 1947 several Politburo members including Ioannidis, Stringos, Markos and Evripidis Georgios - Petros invited Mitrevski, Keramitchiev and Vera for a 'special conversation.'

Markos coughed in his hand and looked at Mitrevski but nobody could guess what thoughts were passing through his head. Markos felt that he needed to reprimand the NOF and AFZH leaders once and for all. He made a stern face and loudly and sarcastically laughed and began to speak:

'You need to be reminded that you are members of the CPG and this I want to emphasize, not once, but three times. There is only the CPG and no one else. I do not understand why you think that one day the Macedonians will noisily rise and leave the Democratic Army of Greece. NOF and AFZH are not just yours; I say that to you as your superior. You are well aware that you have been placed under the CPG umbrella with the blessing of Marshal Tito and our leader Zahariadis. First you need to be communists and then patriots. That's how you should be looking at the Slavo-Macedonian Question and not thinking about some sort of "United

Macedonia". If you desire a "United Macedonia" then what will happen to us, the Prosfigi, as you call us, where will we go? Return back to Asia Minor?!

Oh, my Slavo-Macedonians. You should, once and for all, understand that this country - Macedonia now belongs to the majority of the people living here and that is us the Prosfigi! You have nothing to do with Macedonia in Greece any more.

This has been said many times; even Lenin said it many times: Minorities must obey the majority. You are fighting for other people's interests and against mother Greece. But in the end you will lose. Nobody is going to help you; neither Tito nor Stalin. Whatever happens to you will be your own fault because you alone are responsible for bringing suspicion to yourselves in the eyes of the Party...

We know every detail about each one of you,' said Markos, while showing them a piece of paper with the words 'strictly confidential' written on it: 'We have been informed by Periklis Kolodakis, head of the Security Service in the Democratic Army of Greece. So stop your trickery, you are wasting your time and losing opportunities to advance in political life.

What do you want? Do you want the Party to make generals out of you?! You have read the "manifesto addressed to the Liberation Army of the Chinese people". It says: "All officers and soldiers need to be educated as bravely as they fight to bring military victory."

You have failed to free yourselves from the grips of chauvinism and have isolated yourselves from the Slavo-Macedonian people, especially from those 6,000 fighters in the Democratic Army of Greece who bravely fight and sacrifice themselves for the high ideals of the socialist revolution in Greece.

We very well know everything about you; we know every one of you, your political activities and the responsibilities that you have undertaken for the Yugoslav information services.

Information from our intelligence services has revealed that: 'The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in order to have insight and influence on events in Greece and on the Macedonian Liberation Movement, secretly committed a large number of fighters and NOF activists (who returned from Yugoslavia) through organized channels to inform them about everything that was happening in the Aegean part of

Macedonia and in Greece. The NOF leadership was forced to receive and execute directives from both the CPY and the CPG leaderships.'

Are you aware that by doing this for the CPY you are actually doing a lot of damage to yourselves which will have severe consequences for you and for your people? Your attitudes are not in line with the views of the Party. But I believe by the time you wake up and realize that, it will be too late. The Party does not tolerate fraction-ism. By now our intelligence services have identified dozens of Macedonians who will be prosecuted as Yugoslav agents'. And so will the numerous deserters."

The division of spheres of influence was a major strategic obstacle for a "United Macedonia". This division put Greek occupied Macedonia along with Greece under the influence of the Western block. Internal conditions inside Greek occupied Macedonia were no less of an obstacle especially with the introduction of the 640,000 non-Macedonian, non-indigenous colonists.

We Macedonians have to understand that after Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned in 1912, 1913 and particularly after the Asia Minor colonists and settlers were brought to Macedonia in 1924, the ethnic composition of Greek occupied Macedonia was drastically changed.

Most convincing about that was when the Greek daily "Ta Nea" and "Epikera", published in Athens, wrote an article about how General Markos hugged, with a heartfelt embrace, his enemy General Tsakalotos from the Greek government forces during the Greek Civil War when the two men met. At their meeting Tsakalotos said to Markos: "If we had done this before the Civil War started we could have saved many lives." To this General Markos replied: "It is true that many people died because of me but you must never forget that I did this for the future of Greece. The true meaning of this war was to drive the Slavo-Macedonian out of northern Greece so that Macedonia could remain Greek. See: "Nova Makedonija", 25.02.1992.

In other words, according to General Markos, the Macedonians fought in the Greek Civil War to lose their homeland permanently!!?? So, as a representative of the Communist Party of Greece, Markos openly lied to the Macedonian people about their involvement in the Greek Civil War!? Ironically as it turned out, General Tsakalotos, the Macedonian people's supposed enemy, was more humane towards the Macedonians than was Markos, whom Macedonians saw as their saviour. In other words, when Macedonians were sacrificing their lives to honour General Markos, he intentionally led them to their extinction.

Why was it so important to have the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, who lived through genocide, left out of the overall Macedonian history for the last sixty years?

It is a fact that for sixty years, from 1945 until today, the Macedonian people's (from Greek occupied Macedonia) history has been distorted in order to hide the deeds of those who caused them the heaviest casualties, exodus and the loss of right to return to their homes.

According to Kiriazovski's most current accounts, it is a fact that Tito's actions in Greek occupied Macedonia from October 1944 to October 14, 1946, while the Macedonian people found themselves in the arms of the CPY/CPM and after Tito had surrendered them to Zahariadis, General Secretary of the CPG, who until the end of the Greek Civil War stood over them like a hawk over chickens, were a betrayal which must not be hidden or forgotten.

It was a betrayal for Tito to have totally surrendered Macedonian fighters and the entire Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia to the CPG. It was a betrayal for Tito to have created NOF and AFZH and surrender them to Zahariadis where they did nothing more than run through the labyrinths which the CPG created for them.

Worse than that was Kolishevski's insistence for "brotherhood and unity" between the CPG and NOF and the AFZH, which packed a "Fist full of hate" for the Macedonians.

What this "brotherhood and unity" really meant was that the Macedonians had to now bow before the Greeks and kiss their hands. And all these very loud and clear messages were coming from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Tito.

The Macedonians now had to follow Roosevelt's advice to: "Speak softly, but carry a big stick."

Someone may ask: "Was that how the Communists were? Was that the character of the people who led you to a brighter future?"

Yes, we were pushed into this and regardless of who pushed us and how we truly served them, they left us Macedonians without any alternative. And so, being without alternatives we ended the war before the great red gallows. We did this to survive.

Why? Because after the ideological transfer at the end of 1944, the Greek Communist revenge for the ELAS battalions fleeing to Tito's army (19) was taken out on us. We all became the scapegoats for those who fled to Yugoslavia.

By sending most of us back to Greece and then abandoning us to Zahariadis, Tito shoved us all into hell.

What kind of secret did Tito want to hide? What was Tito's opinion and attitude towards the Greek Civil War when he met with McLean? "Μελετε για τον εμφυλιο πολεμο (1945−1949)" Analysis of the Civil War (1945-1949) pages 336/337 article by Joze Pirievich, "Η ρηξη Τιτο- Σταλιν και το τελο του εμφυλιου στην Ελλαδα". This secret about the Macedonians and Yugoslav-Greek relations was exposed in British documents found in the Republic of Macedonia's State Archives and published by historians Dr. Liljana Panovska and Dr. Todor Chepreganov. In part here is what it said:

"…Tito does not deny that in the past he offered assistance to the rebels in Greece. …But he promised that in the future he would not allow the rebels to return to Greece to continue to fight, nor would they be given any other assistance..." Other things that were discussed included the shutting down of Markos's radio station located inside Yugoslav territory; removal of all Greek recruits currently training inside Yugoslavian territory; closing the Greek-Yugoslav border to rebels etc.
From the British documents we can see that: "The Yugoslav government, even Tito himself, had no pretensions towards Greece and no interest in interfering in Greece's internal affairs."

By what Tito said, he left no doubt in the British that the "Macedonian issue would soon be placed in the freezer, perhaps forever".

So, what was the real reason for the CPY/CPM leadership, Tito and Kolishevski, to have NOF, AFZH and NOMS formed in Skopje on April 23, 1945? And why did Tsvetko Uzunovski – Abas, CPM Central Committee organizational secretary and Minister of Internal Affairs of the People's Republic of Macedonia, say to them that: "The Macedonian question has now become a Yugoslav question on account that the CPY has formed NOF, AFZH and NOMS, Aegean Political and Party Organizations, and placed you in charge of them!"? Why were these organizations charged with the task of "giving the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia a Yugoslav orientation?" Why were they told that the Macedonian people and the Macedonian movement were now under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? Why were

they told that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia would find their full establishment only within a Federal Yugoslavia when Greek occupied Macedonia joined Yugoslavia? (AM. Archive of Macedonia. F - 20/276 F-20/196.)

Shouldn't these people be liable for their lies, sins of historical dimension and the evil they inflicted on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia?! Were NOF, AFZH, and NOMS not intentionally formed by the CPY (Tito) and the CPM (Kolishevski) and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to organize massive recruitment in the Macedonian population. What was this recruitment for? Why were the recruits prepared for an armed struggle? Was that not a CONSPIRACY?!

It is time for Macedonian historians to start speaking up and refrain from hiding the historic evil perpetrated against the Macedonian people by the self-appointed strategists, politicians and various naïve ideological people who had no sense of respect for the thousands of Greek Civil War victims who not only lost their lives in the battlefields but lost their homes and became permanent refugees. It is time that Tito and Zahariadis are recognized for who they truly were and for what they did to our people. The communists promised us a "United Macedonia" and look where we ended up! Exterminated and permanently exiled from our homeland! This is the reality! This is the truth!

New zone of confrontation

From what was done to us Macedonians, there should be no illusion in anyone's mind of what the Greeks are capable of, be they communists, royalists, nationalists, or democrats. They never wanted or now want negotiations with people who have Macedonian patriotism...

Especially after the fictitious "Brotherhood and Unity" period which extended to the end of the Greek Civil War. Nothing changed for the better – the Macedonians quarreled and remained divided and after the war ended they continued to quarrel.

The Macedonian people found themselves exiled, divided and mistreated no matter which way you look at their situation. Historically these people lived and still live stuck between different eras, divided between "Marxists, supporters of the CPG and Zahariadis" and "Revisionists, supporters of the CPY and Tito."

From an ideological point of view, most vividly, these people were split into "patriots" and "traitors" depending on which camp you were in. But

was there any truth to be found in Zahariadis (CPG) and Tito's (CPY/CPM) program goals and objectives instilled in NOF and AFZH that attributed to the Macedonian National strategy for the spiritual and physical survival of our centuries-old homes and for a united Macedonia? No!

These kind of false illusions spread among the Macedonians not only "lost" our people but violated their basic Christian values which they had shared for centuries. Those who believed in God were shunned and anathematized. The Christian Churches which served their spiritual needs for generations became "ideological gathering places" and the priests were persecuted and killed. People were pushed to lose the desire for "ethnic patriotism" and forced to accept ideological activism and false internationalism.

After doing all this, the architects of this debacle felt justified to create a climate of fear and ethnic conflict among the Macedonian people, which lasted throughout the whole course of the war. The Macedonian people, it seems, had lost their way.

The Macedonian people found themselves seized and arranged in rows in the ranks of the Greek communists, with their families ruined and replaced with political families. They were left with nothing except to sacrifice themselves in the white snow of Gramos, and not for Macedonia or for themselves but for other people's interests.

Is this the kind of war the Greek Civil War was? Well, this is how Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), U.S. President and former General defines war: "War is a period during which people who do not know one another, kill each other at the command of those who do know each other, but would not kill one other."

And what did the NOF and AFZH leaderships do during the course of the Greek Civil War? They acted like internationalists until the last days of the war, when the Greek Communist convicted them and sent them to jail in Siberia.

It is a fact that there were no strategic options given to NOF and AFZH regarding the safety of the Macedonian people. This option was taken out of their hands. In retrospect, arguments show that even though NOF and AFZH were Macedonian organizations formed in Skopje by the CPY/CPM and were engaged in the Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949, knowing or unwittingly, they misled the Macedonian people and delivered them to their national tragedy!

It is a fact that everything that happened to the Macedonian people was not by chance. It was a plot as described in the newspaper "Ethnikos Kirikas" published on May 21, 1946. Here is what the newspaper wrote: "Greece soon needs to expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians." The same was published in "Eleftheros Tipos", the weekly republican newspaper published, on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled "Let the Slavo-Macedonian go - let them go wherever they want to go."

It is a fact that if anything in the spirit of an independent and sovereign Macedonian state was suggested during Tito's time in Yugoslavia, it was fiercely opposed. For his entire life Tito fought to create one imaginary fictional super national "Yugoslav nation" and later strived to maintain the illusion of cohesion on which the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia rested.

In retrospect, we can see that from the expensive politics played with the Macedonian people's lives during the Greek Civil War of 1945-1949, a model was created for the organization and expulsion of the Macedonian population out of Greece, which in the end worked out according to plan for its designers.

Unfortunately, to this day our history has failed to answer the following questions: "What happened to us? What was the reason for developing a strategy of 'massive retaliation'? What were the real reasons for forcing the Macedonian people to form a political family? Why did so many Macedonian people have to die for an ideological reason that they did not understand or believe in? Why was there such a large engagement of Macedonian women in this war? Why were so many women forcibly mobilized, finding themselves on the frontline? Why was this not done in Greece!? What was the real reason for evacuating the Macedonian children? Why were so many Macedonian homes abandoned? Why has Greece not allowed the Macedonian people to return to their birthplace?!" These are all unanswered questions that scream for answers!

It is a fact that the Macedonian people were pushed into the Greek Civil War by outsiders. First by the creation and dispatch of NOF and AFZH from the Yugoslav side, long before the war had started. Then by the application of "white terror" instigated and propagated by the Greek right.

During the Cold War when the "iron curtain" was drawn between Greece and Yugoslavia, the Macedonians under the CPY/CPM went on a nonsensical campaign. But before too long they recognized that the dream created for them by the CPY/CPM through NOF and AFZH proved to be a total fraud, a deception, an empty dream, a lost hope. There never was

going to be a "united Macedonia" no matter how hard they fought and how many more lives they lost. All that war was meant to do was displace them from their homes and turn them into eternal wanderers – straight genocide. Just like it happened!

This is how we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, first became accomplices and then victims. Or to say the least: we became accomplices in the implementation of politics with a predicted plot – our right as Macedonians to be exiled without the right to return. We became accomplices in the politics that turned us into "lost people" searching for our "spirits" throughout the European continent.

History remembers all, words and silence. The truth is in history! It is possible through truth to build something real and lasting. Unfortunately, to this day, even 60 years later, we have not confronted the truth. There are many things in Macedonian history that are unclear.

For more than half a century now, we the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have been making ourselves naïve and blind, turning our other cheek to every new situation not because we are guilty of something, not because we do not feel pain, but because of lack of information which kept us hostage to our inability to take stock of what really happened to us and how we lost our native land forever. There is no dilemma in a hidden history, so we all, for the last 60 years, have become complacent and accomplices in the lack of our true history.

That was a time of pure political propaganda and brainwashing.

Silence was required of us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia in the past half century or so. It was an "active" silence in which we were expected to participate in covering up our own ethno-genocide. And it was not just the Macedonians from that side (Greek occupied Macedonia) but also the Macedonians who supported Tito and his policies to "bury the Macedonian Question!" Definitely, with his latest book, Kiriazovski is demystified and has recognized that he had a duty to act against the crippled structures put in place and supported by the Yugoslav ideological power, which brought great harm to our national consciousness. Everything was turned upside down in the last 60 years. Facts were changed by politics and arguments were created to fit the current anti-Macedonian political agenda. It is a fact that this "false" history created "spiritual invalids" of many young generations who have suffered and are still suffering from this incurable Yugoslav syndrome where they believe in the thesis that the Greek Civil War was a Macedonian Revolution! Some young historians have even made careers out of this!

Everything until now that has been written and promoted by historian Kiriazovski and transformed into a mosaic in the ideology of false consciousness was paraded as an element of Macedonian national consciousness. For decades the Macedonian people have been pushed to accept this history and having no chance of being able to reject it in the last 60 years, they remained confused. On the other hand, every independent thought they might have had, which may have had historical importance, was publicly downplayed and disqualified. This was similar to the way the Greeks had been treating us since Macedonia's brutal invasion, occupation and partition in 1912, 1913.

Their first line of defense was obvious. They used nihilism, marginalization, alienation, etc. The Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia were treated as if they were fighting for foreign political goals or for foreign interests. They were treated as if they were fighting for glory or for some Macedonian historical nonsense in which their blood was spilled to create history. That was not the case, but it did not stop historians from excluding these people from Macedonian history, leaving their Macedonian national identity unprotected, thus contributing to their emigration all throughout the world, where more and more became lost with each passing generation. In addition to Tito closing Yugoslavia's borders to the Macedonian refugee flood from Greek occupied Macedonia in 1949, Yugoslavia shunned those same people for generations later.

So, it was by no accident that the "Macedonian factor" was missing from Macedonia's history. But what is really curious is how the Institute of National History treated historian Kiriazovski. Until recently he was an excellent contributor to Macedonia's history, that is, until his latest book which the Institute not only refused to publish but distanced itself from this author.

Every well-intentioned DAG fighter and participant, for a long time, must have wondered: "Was the Greek Civil War a 'Revolution' or just a 'Fraud' perpetrated to 'sacrifice' the Macedonian people?"

A reasonable person who understands the Macedonian people would describe them as "rational, logical and honest people who follow moral conduct".

And then there were those, influenced by the likes of Kiriazovski, who propagated the ideology of false consciousness. These people stubbornly and with unprecedented tenacity continue to defy historical reality, which

they did not want known or recognized. They rejected ethics and accepted violence, malice and hostility.

Historian Kiriazovski is recognized by the Macedonian public mostly for his famous book: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (“National Liberation Front (NOF) and other Aegean Macedonian Organizations (1945-1949)”).

Here is what he said about his own book: “The most important point is oriented around NOF as the central leader of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement, which I insist is documented in my work authentically and brings out the most complex events and arguments”.

In the same book on page 338, there is a quote taken from “Nova Makedonka", April 1, 1948 which says: “Today NOF and AFZH have historical importance and urge the Macedonian people to join the ranks of DAG en masse, because their freedom and life can only be guaranteed by an armed struggle!”

But here is a question: “How could NOF and AFZH, when they were inviting the Macedonian people to join the armed struggle, be a “factor” of anything when it was well known that at that time they had neither political nor military power!?”

Kiriazovski was also known for his strong defense of his books. He vigorously defended his own books from authors who thought differently. He disqualified all those who questioned him and sought to discredit them by equating them to Yugoslavia’s enemies. He vigorously argued that: “Macedonian history is the height of its own task” (Here is an excerpt of such an attack: “Denes” Magazine, January 14, 1999).

According to a “Nova Makedonija” article, Dr. Risto Kiriazovski’s work: “Народноослободителниот фронт (НОФ) и другите организации на Македонците од Егејска Македонија (1945-1949)” (National Liberation Front (NOF) and other organizations of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)” was promoted on October 22, 1985 at 12 o’clock in the Institute for National History in Skopje. The title of the article was: “In the traditions of the previous National-revolutionary struggles”.

In the article, Kiriazovski expressed his “stellar” moments of false ideology when he said: “The existence of specific organisms in the Macedonian issue could not have been explained without NOF’s ability to organize the struggle of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia…” In

his book Kiriazovski speaks about NOF's overall activity, but in his comparative review he only dwells on NOF's development and political objectives in which he identifies two periods of development:

The first period ranged from April 23rd, 1945 to November 21st, 1946 when NOF acted independently of the CPG. He said nothing about the CPY/CPM's involvement.

The second period ranged from November 21st, 1946 when NOF was under the leadership of the CPG until April 2nd, 1952 when it was formally disbanded by the CPG.

About the first period he said: "According to incomplete data, in early 1946, NOF, in addition to having its main leadership, it also had 5 county, 10 district, 3 city and 32 regional leaderships with 120 professional staff belonging to NOF, NOMS and AFZH. On the territory of Aegean Macedonia 220 villages were organized (half of these were destroyed during the Greek Civil War - m.z.), working under the leadership of more than 170 village and town organizations. Its membership consisted of 4784 Macedonian and Vlach members of NOF, 4823 young men and women members of NOMS and 2201 Macedonian and Vlach women members of AFZH." (See page 129).

About the armed situation during that period he said: "In August there were about 100 armed fighters in Vicho and about 500 NOF partisans in central and western Aegean Macedonia, 200 of whom were deployed in Kajmakchalan, 85 in Paiko, 130 in Vicho and 85 in Gramos. The Macedonian partisans were organized into groups of 10-15 and in squads of 40-50 fighters. The larger military formation was in Pella Prefecture consisting of a battalion." (See page 143).

According to the emergency measures act of July 6, 1947 there were 200 thousand democratic citizens accused of crimes against the state, of whom 80 thousand were Macedonians.

A Macedonian hereditary situation?

There are always these twisted traps set for Macedonians through which they have to tread carefully. If you belonged to an armed village band in 1944, protecting your family and village and you were against the CPG, you were labeled "autonomist". If you were politically neutral and did not want to get involved in NOF and AFZH politics after they were formed in Skopje in 1945, you were labeled a Grkoman (Grekophile) who worked

against the Unification of Macedonia and did not trust Tito. If you were against the Organization “Ilinden”, formed in 1950 outside of Macedonia, you were labeled “Tito’s agent”.

When we returned to the Republic of Macedonia from the USSR and other Eastern European countries the NOF and AFZH leadership was welcomed back with music and marching bands. With the exception of some leaders like P. Rakovski, who did not even receive a grave, most NOF and AFZH leaders were given apartments to live in and jobs in the public sector. But all this was forgotten when we, the ordinary DAG fighters, returned to the Republic of Macedonia. The first place they sent us upon our return was to “Idrizovo” Prison (20). The UDBA sieve caught us and sent us to prison. After enduring a horrific war, being exiled from our homes and being shuffled in foreign lands, we were so happy to have returned home to Macedonia, to where we felt like we belonged only to find out that there too we were not wanted!

The most tragic part about our return to the Republic of Macedonia was to find a lot of those NOF and DAG fighters and personnel, who had deserted the combat units in Greek occupied Macedonia en masse and fled for Yugoslavia after 1948, working with the State Securities UDBA and KOS. Our destiny was now left in their hands to decide our fate; were we heroes or traitors? Being installed in public sector jobs and working for the State Security Services they were responsible for surveillance activities conducted on those returning from Eastern European countries, among whom historian Kiriazovski, very easily, found traitors. He learned quickly to stick such labels on them.

After my return to the Republic of Macedonia in 1957, to what I considered to be my homeland, I had my first collision with destiny.

As Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, we “were” Macedonians but when we returned to what we considered to be our homeland we suddenly found out that we were “Aegeans”! The institutions in the Republic of Macedonia in the “national” column had “labeled” us “Aegeans”?! What the “hell” was that?! What the hell was an “Aegean”?! Never in my life had I ever heard this term until I arrived in what I considered to be my “homeland”!

The next day I went to visit the “social centre” and lined up with many of my comrades in front of a counter which bore a sign that read: “Desk for Aegeans.”

What the "hell" are "Aegeans"? Since when did we become "Aegeans"?! This is the first time in my life that I heard this word "Aegeans" with a capital "A". For centuries we have been Macedonians and now we have become "Aegeans" and in what we consider to be our very own homeland no less! Was this another way of robbing us of our identity? Are they doing to us as they did to the Muslim Macedonians calling them "Torbeshi" and "Pomaks" for the sole purpose of removing them from the Macedonian core?

I read the sign a second time and said to myself: "Do you see how much evil fate has brought us…? Just by this sign alone…?!"

I then got my answer: "This is to confirm receipt of the application from Kochov Atanas Stoian, nationality "Aegean", repatriated from the USSR, number 152/29., dated, October 17, 1957."

Then in 1962 I received an answer numbered 6368, dated May 16, 1962, which advised me that I would receive a one-bedroom apartment. The advisement was sent to me from the department of housing allocation, signed by Risto Jankulovski.

As I recall, I don't remember my parents at home, or anyone during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949), or during my time in the USSR ever calling me, calling us "Aegeans".

For whatever reason, that "word" made me very angry, it made me feel "guilty" of something but I don't know what. It alienated me and robbed me of my identity and history. But it was not just me, every Macedonian labeled "Aegean" was made to wonder: "Who am I?" It was scary!

But still I cannot explain what it was that made me want to reconstruct the whole truth about our Macedonian drama and prove that we are all "Aegeans" inside and that no one should be deprived of feeling joy, fear, pain, love, anger, hurt and abandonment. Inside we were all the same. But we inside the shelter, we thought that we were better because of the images instilled in our heads which told us that we were now living in a "communist world", which should be heading towards a "perfect" communist society.

But later, as reality began to sink in, I began to understand that what we had experienced in the past was not real but pure communist propaganda. In fact by calling us "Aegeans" we were portrayed as the "evil" of Macedonia. The CPY's UDBA had been working hard since 1948 to vilify us. And as Aleksandar Rusjakov said in his article entitled: "The End of

the World: Holy War" published in "Nova Makedonija" on November 18, 2010, "... The CPY's UDBA even today rules within the ranks of the two main Macedonian and Albanian Parties!"

After finding this out, in spite of personal risk, I had no intention of keeping quiet. I was among the first people to speak up through various settings, including writing articles and through the book "Sacrifices of the Macedonians under Greece". I was among the first people to react and publicly protest against what was being done to us. As a result I was deprived of my privileges as a fighter, which I took to mean that I was accused of being anti-Macedonian and of working against our Macedonian interests.

The greatest and most passionate criticisms came from historian Kiriazovski who, in an attempt to silence me, gave me even more reason to delve deeper to seek the truth about our past. This was my life that he challenged and the life of my comrades who were now looked down upon by the very people who deserted the Ranks of DAG not too long ago. I fought back for my rights, for our rights and for the honour of those who left their lives behind.

It is well-known that "informing" on people is an important function in a totalitarian society. Those informed on lost their jobs, their reputation became tarnished and they were dishonoured. This was also typical of the Macedonian DAG fighters who fought in the Greek Civil War, some of whom stayed and fought to the end of the war and others who, at the expense of those who stayed, deserted to Yugoslavia.

Ideological flirtations - Fighters of NOF who deserted DAG

Out of Hell and on the red scaffold, to save their necks.

Sadly, many of these people had unrealistic expectations - they wanted to talk about our history but without accepting any fault. Unfortunately, consequences of war show the opposite. It is unreasonable to write and talk about Macedonian strategy and to say that it was determined by us the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia when it was not true. But one thing is undeniable: the past never completely dies!

After our return to the Republic of Macedonia from the Eastern European countries, many of us veterans from the Greek Civil War were characterized as "unsupportive" of Tito's political line and were to be investigated by those who had earlier deserted DAG and fled to Yugoslavia to save their own necks. The deserters gained their loyalty with

the Yugoslav authorities by vilifying us in our years of absence. This created a great divide between us and them, which lasted until the Republic of Macedonia became independent.

We have allowed outsiders to manipulate us and divide us resulting in our submissiveness and years of silence, especially after what we had endured…

*

According to facts revealed in his latest book, historian Kiriazovski is now using the same facts and arguments his critics used as counter arguments to his work while searching for the truth. In other words, Kiriazovski is now in agreement with his critics. I was among those authors who was harshly criticized by Kiriazovski for writing my books entitled "Sacrifices of the Macedonians under Greece", 1994, and "Ideological Activism over the Macedonians under Greece", 2000, and others. One reason why I became involved in researching and writing history about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia was to right the wrongs written by Kiriazovski in his book "Five vital years (1945-1949)".

But when I read his latest book I was flabbergasted, I felt like a "born again Christian" and began to cross myself in wonderment (even though I am an atheist!)!

Did he forget the lies he had told and the people he had bullied over the years? Did he finally realize that we were right and he was wrong? Did he suddenly become conscious of reality? Did he finally realize that you answer criticism with counter-criticism and not with opening a file on those criticizing your work? Or was it the change in times? With the old Yugoslav guard now gone there was no one to protect?

I suppose the days when a "historian" could tell you to "Shut your mouth! Stop talking! And be grateful for the bread that we are giving you!" are gone! I suppose opening a communication line with his critics was his way of defending himself in this "new world".

One of the most brutal examples of how Kiriazovski and others like him destroyed the fate of many prominent Macedonian fighters, for purely political reasons, was given back in 1976. Then, I read a confidential review which I believe was written by Dr. Kiriazovski, because it was written in his style of writing and with his intentions and political views. In the review, marked "Sk.4 686 inv.br.1419/76 archive of INI", he wrote: "Pavle Rakovski's effort is of no benefit to us because the text he wrote

contains provocative claims against the Yugoslav leadership; I recommend that his work not be published or given wider readership. (November 15, 1976).” Curious indeed!

Many of Rakovski’s articles, which had important historical significance, along with his personal destiny, found themselves in oblivion…

Pavle Rakovski was an author and a top scholar but was faced with many “judgments” in life after he returned to the Republic of Macedonia from the Siberian prison camps. Instead of receiving a warm welcome, he received nothing, not even a grave after he died. He devoted his life to the Macedonian cause and to the defense of Macedonia. He was a member of the top NOF leadership. He wrote the first Macedonian alphabet for his Region, consisting of 24 letters, with which the “proclamation of the Macedonian people in Pella Prefecture” was written. He also wrote many songs and even a march for the Voden battalion. But after his return he was anathematized and rehabilitated for 30 years, right up to his death.

Pavle Rakovski (along with many others) suffered terrible treatment in the “internal prison”. And what is “internal prison”? Internal prison is when the government and other authorities create an atmosphere of permanent fear in a person. A person is then afraid of expressing themselves, afraid of making a mistake, afraid of being humiliated, even afraid of their own shadow! It is a condition of the soul, a state of mind and of feelings.

When a person finds no meaning in life, he or she starts looking for death. Being imprisoned in an “internal prison” is much more than just lying in a dark, damp, moldy cell.

*

Now about my book: “Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece” 1994. My attempts to “think differently”, to think outside of the usual totalitarian prescribed methodology, were not interpreted by Dr. Kiriazovski as a way of contributing to the promotion of freedom of intellectual thought, as I had intended. He and his kind saw my book as an attack against their totalitarian ideology that has always played the role of “master of the truth”! So, to counter my attempts, he wrote a 41 page report (with premeditated attempts to vilify me) and instead of publishing it, he distributed it among the “guards” of Aegean Macedonian history and instructed them to rewrite the entire passage and send it to the newspaper “Nova Makedonija” for publishing in the column under “letters to the editor”. This was Kiriazovski’s traditional method of responding to the “free thinkers” of our society. Some accepted blame. Some did not! As

time has shown, not all people who can read and write are necessarily literate. They are just not illiterate. Real literacy needs a lot more work and effort!

The material written by Kiriazovski was archived on April 8, 1994 under the title "Memoirs" no. SK. 1118, in the INI Department of Documentation.

In the "Macedonian Sun" FORUM magazine dated December 14, 2001, Kiriazovski himself wrote the following about my book "Ideological activism over the Macedonians under Greece" (2000):

"According to S. Kochov, the current Macedonian historiography is servile, biased and submissive to Belgrade's line of daily politics... Who motivated Kochov to want to answer the question of who is to blame for the Greek Civil War and who is guilty of the severe consequences that befell the Macedonian people?

...Mr. S. Kochov argues that the Greek Civil War was neither a revolution nor a continuation of the famous Ilinden Uprising, and that the Organization NOF enslaved the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia and surrendered them to the CPG and the CPY, where they served the CPG and CPY's alien anti-Macedonian interests.

…If the organization NOF played a role as described by Mr. Kochov, then the leadership of NOF is a direct accomplice and responsible for the tragic consequences of the Macedonian people, therefore, according to him, it can not be amnestied or forgiven…

…Kochov accuses Macedonian historiography of not being an integrated study of the history of the Macedonian people and that it is an example unique to us (Macedonian phenomenon), which is not quite true."

This is what historian Kiriazovski has accused me of having said in my book, which now he himself has recognized to be true and about which he has written in his last book. But I, even today, have a wide range of issues. One of the most dominant questions that dogs my mind is: "Do we have an integral Macedonian history?"

Why do I ask this question? Because, whether we like it on not, we the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia had only one homeland and we lost it. So, how unfair would it be to admit to the truth and reveal the secret as to why we lost it? How is it in "our national interest" not to know the truth of what happened to the Macedonian people

in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially when our Macedonian organizations were led by the CPY/CPM all throughout the Greek Civil War?

Who and what gave Kiriazovski the right to "politicize" and deprive "us" of our rights and privileges? By "us" I mean all those fighters who did not desert DAG and did not return to Yugoslavia until later.

I and many others stayed and fought until the war was over. After that, almost the entire military formation left Greece and was sent to the USSR. While we were in the USSR I went to school and had a great time learning. It was a happy period of my life which helped me to understand, to learn and to appreciate the people and things around me a lot more than I had before. The peace and tranquility gave me a chance to review what had happened to us and sort out all the evils that befell the Macedonian people and the Macedonian family. I was able to sort out all those "historic problems" that we Macedonians lived through. By then I was very happy to be returning to my homeland, the Republic of Macedonia. But, having to go to prison upon my return was incomprehensible?!... Now, I believe that it should be clear to everyone that we Macedonians suffered immensely because "Stalin and Tito were annoyed with each other!" If you can believe that!

And as the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky once said: "He who lies to himself can easily be offended."

Any intelligent person could have figured out what Kiriazovski's motives were and what he was trying to do. As a historian with an academic title he asked that my book "Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece" be evaluated under academic standards and declared academically "unfit" because it was written by a layman. To do that he organized a group of so-called "scientists", people who, for half a century after our national defeat, still pretended to be Marxists and "revolutionaries". But I knew that these people, along with Kiriazovski, were nothing more than "deserters" from DAG who had fled to Yugoslavia to save their own necks. Kiriazovski wanted to discredit my book in order to defend his own books, particularly his books about the Macedonians under Greece.

But in the end how did all this help him? This reminded me of what the philosopher Socrates (469 p. n. e. 399 p. n. e.) said when he was asked: "What animal bites worst?" He replied: "From the wild kind the one that is annoyed the most and from the domestic kind the one which is a bootlicker."

At every occasion, be it a "class hassle" or a pointless "ideological act", these people as guardians of the "open mass grave", threw every self-conscious Macedonian into it. Everything was reduced to a dangerous division of the Macedonian national body.

It is a fact that "foreign ideologies" created and have always created parallel worlds and parallel historical events inside Macedonia and among us Macedonians.

We the participants of DAG, who have a historic memory of a long series of national defeats, now know this very well. But too bad we did not know it before the Greek Civil War and before DAG's defeat. Had we known it, so many lives that were lost in vain could have been saved. We would have known the "tricks" used on NOF and AFZH who in turn, wittingly or unwittingly, tricked the "Macedonian people" to (self) sacrifice themselves for nothing and on top of that, to lose their homes, their lands and have their identity questioned by being called "Aegeans".

I am thankful to the then political activists who opened my eyes; because of their activities it became clear to me that they were systematically working to destroy our national pride.

The most amusing part about the people in one of those groups was the way they spoke and referred to Macedonians like themselves calling them "Greeks" and "Yugoslavs". Remember, these people were officials, part of the elite mainstream society. So, the question is, "Were they completely incompetent and totally uninformed? Or were they implanted with computer chips and programmed to support 'Greek' and 'Yugoslav' interests inside Macedonia?" A large number of these people were on Gogol's list of "Dead Souls" and this reminded me of what Bielinski wrote after reading the "Dead Souls" by Gogol: "Lord, why is our truth so depressing, miserable and sad"?! It is understandable that all these articles were promoted as "a well-known model" of our past, with predetermined and premeditated thinking and with a narrow intellectual horizon. "What did they actually protect?" When asked, one said: "Our well-written history; the history of the Aegeans…"

After all the "ideological barking" I had received from them, I felt completely degraded, ruined and full of rage because I still could not find an answer, even in my own homeland; "Why was I and thousands of Macedonians like me sacrificed? Regardless of whether the Greek Civil War was "a revolution" or "fraud" – instigated by the CPY/CPM for some

sort of plot, “did we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia have to be sacrificed? Did we have to experience genocide?” Why?

I was convinced that history, as a social science, must be a function of society and of free thought. And someday when that happens we will know what we are seeking to know, - the truth. There has always been fear of history... History is true only when it is full of authentic facts and only authentic facts can remove the veil of darkness. We will know the truth when all those historical events that we experienced, pave the way into the future – with giant steps backwards.

But the question is: “Are we Macedonians simply incapable of self-criticism?”

This is not the first “horrible oblivion” that has engulfed Macedonia and swept the Macedonian people away. But please God, let it be the last! No more illusions and lies. But to achieve that, we need a radical Macedonian mentality change. Those who think they have a need to mislead and deceive – have a problem with themselves. Kiriazovski was one such person, who by his own actions proved it, when he issued his latest book outside of the INI national institution. What he said “before” and what he said “after” were two different and contradictory things! By changing his mind, he proved that he was a deceiver!

The kind of historiography, written about us, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, in the last 60 years, has shown itself to be most susceptible to politicization. And when it is “politically manipulated”, even with the most minute of deviations from reality, it produces unforeseeable consequences for the Macedonian people.

Our research has uncovered many of the “hidden” facts that other authors who have written history about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, have intentionally or unintentionally omitted. The “roots of evil” and “dark secrets” hidden for the last sixty years by the actors and perpetrators who set the “deadly trap” through ideological activism that led to the greatest deception of the century, are now slowly coming out. We will finally know why we experienced “genocide” and the largest migrations of Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia in Macedonia’s history!

Those who do not recognize or feel the acts of genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, between 1945 and 1949, were a Macedonian tragedy will never be able to

understand Greece's fascist genocidal policy against the Macedonian people.

For that reason it is illusory to run away from fate, no matter how tragic or unfortunate it may be for us Macedonians.

History remembers both words and silence. The truth is in history. And with the truth on our side it is possible to build something real and lasting.

And why haven't we built something "real and lasting" this far? Well, for that we have ourselves to blame. The time when we could blame "someone else" has passed. But now, since the Republic of Macedonia became an independent state we have no one to blame but ourselves for all of our mistakes. Being "masters of our own destiny" unfortunately has not taught us much; it has not stopped us from making mistakes, big mistakes that will have great consequences for years. The reasons that we still make mistakes lies in our history, about which we have learned very little. Why? Because we allowed others, outsiders, to manipulate us, to tell us what to do, who we are and how we should feel!

We, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, have to admit that, for a long time, we have been under not only the physical but also the psychological "Greek thumb". They have been filling our heads with lies and nonsense and we believed them; many still believe them; even some of those who now no longer live in Greece, still believe them. By doing this we are creating, we are writing our own tragic history!

What is our truth like?

Research has shown that we, the surviving Macedonians from the Greek Civil War and the survivors from all turbulent times in our history, have not been able to "shake off" our expectations and dependency on others, on outsiders, on strangers, on the CPY, on the CPG, etc., who don't see us the way we see them. While they have proven to us that they want no part of and have attempted to "destroy us" at every opportunity, without self respect we continue to play their games by their rules, sacrificing ourselves and dying for them. Why such false hopes? Why do we choose to live illusions? And for these reasons we allow our history to also be an illusion!

So why is this happening to the Macedonians? Why do we put our feet in their traps and our heads in their noose? Time and events have shown that the programs put in place by the CPY/CPM through NOF and AFZH to encourage a Macedonian mass participation in an "ideological and alien

war" have destroyed the Macedonian nation and culture in Greek occupied Macedonia and have left the survivors stranded in alien lands with a half century old "blank stare".

I hope you now appreciate why we need to understand what happened to us and why we need to know the "historic truth", which has been hidden from us for more than a half century.

The following was the Left's position after the Greek Civil War:

In September 1988, almost one year after the May 1987 Congress, CPG Secretary General Harilaos Florakis, held a press conference in Solun with Greek and foreign journalists to openly explain the position he took at the Congress. In his answer to a journalist working for "Mesimvrini", among other things, Florakis said: "On this occasion I would like to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!" (Vecher, November 5, 1988, page 9)

I remember this like it was said yesterday. During the 1950's when I was in Tashkent, one of my fellow fighters, a brave fellow, nephew of an Ilinden fighter and son of a fighter from Kostur who was ruthlessly liquidated, said something. He said: "It is true that the Kostur fighters (21) before us failed to create a Paradise in our Aegean Macedonia and because of that did NOF and AFZH have to create a hell there?"

Many secrets of the genocide committed against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia are hidden in the CPY/CPM archives and will remain there undiscovered along with the motives for creating NOF and AFZH in Skopje on April 23, 1945, by the CPY/CPM leadership (Tito, Kolishevski and Mitrevski), the people responsible for putting the noose around our necks.

We all know that Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 into three pieces. We all know that two of the three pieces failed to liberate themselves. We also all know that one part survived and did liberate itself, first as a Republic within a federal state, and then as an Independent State. Therefore, we should also be aware that all Greek attempts and efforts to "entirely destroy" Macedonia have failed - the Republic of Macedonia is alive and well.

This however, is also a good place to mention that even though Greece has failed to destroy Macedonia, it does not mean that it has given up; hence the so-called fabricated "name dispute"! Greece has not stopped and will not stop doing what it started in 1913. Greece, over the last 60 years, has

tried very hard, by any means possible, to suppress the Macedonian name, identity and language not only inside Greece but also outside, even in the Republic of Macedonia. The Interim Agreement Greece signed with Macedonia for alleged Macedonian security threats is only a front for hiding what it has done and is still doing to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. All these "constitutional changes", "flag changes", "temporary name", etc. are just stumbling blocks and curtains to veil the Macedonian "problem" inside Greece; the land confiscations, the terror, the murders, the depravation of rights, the exiling of hundreds of thousands of Macedonian people and the "genocide" perpetrated against the Macedonian culture and nation!

I could stop here and leave the reader to ask their own questions and seek their own answers as to what happened to us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. But instead of doing that I prefer to present you with more evidence: facts and arguments that will lead you to understand why the Macedonian people experienced persecution, loss of their homes and lands, permanent exile and genocide during and after the Greek Civil War. Why did this happen to a peace-loving population?

Conclusion: Instead of a scream, there is silence about the genocide.

It is an undeniable fact that: It was after Greece fell under the Western Power sphere of influence, i.e. Great Britain, the United States of America and NATO, that the CPY/CPM undertook action to establish the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Skopje on April 23, 1945. It was during this time that the CPY/CPM decided to call on the unarmed Macedonian peasant to arm himself and start a rebellion against the Greek Government. This was not only "stupidity" but as it turned out, a major "tragedy".

It is an undeniable fact that: The CPY/CPM promised the Macedonian people that: "Yugoslavia was then the Centre of the Revolution in the Balkans and that the Macedonian question became a Yugoslav question." This was not only a lie but a definitive death sentence for us, the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. There is no doubt that this was the formula for the "Final Solution of the Macedonian question."

In other words the plan was: "To kill and expel the entire Macedonian population from Greece because the British did not want to see any more Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia."

3.0 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1946 - 1949)

Who were the "ideological" leaders of the Greek Civil War and did we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, take part in "shaping" the policies of the Communist Party of Greece?

First: WHO MADE UP THE "POLITICAL PILLAR"?

The CPG program read: "Positions were defined by the CPG (Communist Party of Greece) in accordance with Marxist and Leninist principles and according to proletarian internationalism". That was their "compass" and the basis of their principles. This is what it said in their program and this is how they responded when approached on certain issues. But that does not mean that the CPG could not change its position regarding certain other issues, i.e. to take into account the reality of a situation without the Party..."

The 7th CPG Congress held on October 1, 1945 was attended by 223 delegates, the majority of whom belonged to the workers' parties and to the agricultural peasants' party.

Both the Central Committee Party leadership and the Political Bureau consisted of a young generation of personnel who were in their 30s. Zahariadis, the CPG Secretary-General, on the other hand was 42 years old. The composition of the Central Committee consisted of the following thirty permanent members:

Anastasiadis Stergios, Arambadzis Nikos, Vasiadis Aristos, Vutusianos Michos, Vafiadis Marcos, Vlandas Dimitris, Grozos Apostolos, Eritriadis Giorgis, Zagurdzhis Nikos, Zaharatos Miltiadis, Zahariadis Nikos, Zevgos Gianis, Zografos Zisis, Ioanidis Gianis, Katsavras Vassilis, Markezinis Vassilis, Mavromatis Panagiotis, Muzenidis Adam, Bardzhiotas Vassilis, Blanas Ahileas, Parcalidis Michos ,Plumbidis Nikos, Porfirogenis Miltiadis, Rusos Petros, Siantos Giorgis, Sukaras Sotiris, Stringos Leonidas, Titilos Giorgis, Hadzhivasiliou Hrisa, Hadzhis Thanassis.

The following fifteen people were candidates for permanent membership:

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

The composition of the Central Control Commission consisted of the following five people:

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

On November 7, 1945, after the 7th Congress had taken place, the First Plenum was convened during which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece Political Bureau was appointed. The people appointed were:

Seven permanent members:

Siantos Giorgis, Zahariadis Nikos, Ioanidis Gianis, Hadzhivasiliou Hrisa, Partsalidis Michos, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Petridis Tassos (Anastasiadis Stergios).

Three candidates for permanent membership:

Stringos Leonidas, Zevgos Gianis, Rousos Petros.

During the decade of the 1940's, the CPG was represented by a large number of fairly young people.

The age groups that attended the 7th Congress were as follows:

20-30 years old - 73 delegates
31-40 years old - 100 delegates
41-50 years old - 46 delegates

The other 14 delegates were over the age of 50.

Note: Since no Macedonians were included in the above high ranking "policy making" positions, we can safely assume that the Macedonians were not a factor; neither in military matters nor in policy making. (See: "Ι ΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ 1946 −1949" volume 1. ΓΙΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙ ΤΗΣ, 2001, page 136).

Second: WHO COMPRISED THE STATE COLUMN?

FORMATION OF A TEMPORARY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN GREECE

Jatrides, “Civil war 1945 - 1949: National and International Aspects”, Greece in the 1940’s, A Nation in Crisis, University Press, New England.

The following was translated from Greek by the author (Stoian Kochov):

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was officially formed on December 23, 1947. It was based on a decision made by the CPG Political Bureau a few weeks earlier. It was decided that the Provisional Government of Greece would be exclusively composed of members from the CPG. Markos Vafiadis (22) was appointed President and Minister of Defense in charge of the army. Gianis Ioanidis was appointed Vice President and Minister of the Interior. Petros Kokalis was appointed Minister of Health and Social Welfare. Vassilis Bardzhiotas was appointed Minister of Finance. Dimitrios Vlandas was appointed Minister of Agriculture. Leonidas Stringos was appointed Minister of National Economy and Temporary Supplies. Nikos Zahariadis did not assume any ministerial position.

For the publication “Free Greece” and for the creation of the “Government of the Andartes” (Partisans) see: “'Civil war 1945 – 1949, National and International Aspects”, στο : Jatrides (επι μ.), Greece in the 1940’s, A Nation in Crisis, University Press, New England.

Note: Again, we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were neither creators of a state nor were we involved in politics or military strategies in Greece.

According to a secret document, things unfolded as follows: The Provisional Government of Greece was created on December 23, 1947 in accordance with the decisions made by the CPG’s Central Committee Political Bureau. Then on October 15, 1949 the same Provisional Government of Greece resigned by its own accord.

Based on decisions made by the CPG’s Central Committee during the Third Plenum, which took place between September 12 to 15, and by the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau, which took place on December 2, 1947, the Provisional Government of Greece was formed on December 23, 1947. The seat of the provisional government was established in Prespa, in Asamati, located in the Peoples’ Republic of Macedonia. The seat of the government was supposed to be established in Konitsa (as claimed by Secretary-General Zahariadis when he said “… If we take Konitsa our government will probably be recognized…”). But unfortunately, it did not happen! DAG units fought tough battles and sustained heavy losses in their attempt to take Konitsa, but to no avail.

The arrival of members of the Provisional Greek Government in Prespa was accommodated by UDBA's Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Krstich, a Yugoslav National Army officer. More information about this can be found at the end of the book: stories, his interview in the magazine Duga – "Igra oko makedonskog zhivlia" and more.

Originally the provisional Greek government consisted of eight members: President Markos Vafiadis, Yannis Ioannidis, Petros Rousos, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, Petros Kokalis, Vassilis Bardzhiotas, Dimitrios Leonidas and Vlandas Stringos. Then, by decree, 25 people were promoted to the rank of DAG colonels. But neither in the government nor among these officers, who represented the military and political factor of DAG, was there a single Macedonian!

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was a one-party government exclusively composed of Greek communists. Despite the fact that 50% to 60%, or more, of the DAG fighters were Macedonians, not a single Macedonian was in charge! But according to the "false" history of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, NOF was a military and political factor. How was that even possible?

The main feature of the Interim Democratic Government of Greece, the CPG's political platform and that of DAG were outlined in their proclamation to the Greek people:

"First and foremost, the main objective of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece is to mobilize all national forces for the rapid liberation of the country from foreign external imperialists and from domestic traitors ensuring the national sovereignty of our country and the integrity of our boundaries, thus protecting them from imperialistic and alien conspiracies and for the victory of democracy."

Reactions:

1. The Greek government asked the United States and Britain to warn the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries and make them aware of the consequences if they recognized the Interim Democratic Government of Greece.

Aware itself of the consequences of the Interim Democratic Government of Greece being recognized, the U.S. government reacted immediately. On December 30, 1947 it intervened by asking Eastern European countries not to recognize this government, warning them that if they did there would be

serious consequences. The United Nations Balkan Commission also asked its Member States not to recognize this government.

2. The following was translated from Greek by the author (Stoian Kochov):

"…Markos's government has nothing... It has none of the basic features of a government marked by at least something of a typical referral, which is a necessary requirement that is defined by international law. It is not represented or empowered, according to military standards and rights, and all its actions are illegitimate. And even more than that, it has nothing that it can offer to be recognized as a political entity and a legitimate government.

The Partisans, who were commanded by Markos, have accomplished nothing concrete and thus have no legitimate right to what would be a Greek state. It is unclear where their main command headquarters is located as they still keep it a secret and they are constantly moving. Their centres are located in areas that are only sometimes under their control, located in mountainous regions and in wild hilly inaccessible areas. They have no essential governmental communications. They are mainly organized in groups and are in constant motion, and when under pressure from a military chase, they flee to the most inaccessible mountainous regions. This is confirmed by the United Nations Commission. They sometimes flee out of their territory past foreign borders."

Third: WHO COMPRISED THE MILITARY COMMAND COLUMN?

Creation of the General Headquarters, the appointment of Leadership Cadres in the Democratic Army of Greece and the Provisional Democratic Government's orders for appointing the officers of DAG.

After the creation of the provisional government on December 23, 1947, based on procedure provision no.11 and Law No.1, the Provisional Democratic Government ordered the adoption of the following resolution:

The change of officers in the Democratic Army of Greece with ranks as follows:

A) Generals:

1. Vafiadis Markos

B) Colonel-Generals:

1. Protopapas Sarandis-Kikitsas

C) Major Generals:

1. Vontisios Giorgios-Gusias
2. Gkenios Thanassis-Lasanis.
3 Gkanacios Vassilis-himaros
4. Teoharopoulos Nikos
5. Kanakaridis Nikos
6. Blanas Giorgios.

D) Colonels:

Infantry:

1. Venetsanopoulos Vassilis
2. Kalianesis Giorgios,
3. Kapetanios Evripidis
4. Katemis Giorgios
5. Maltezos Gerasimos
6. Samaridis Giorgos

Artillery:

1. Kilismanis Gianis
2. Papagiasnis Stefanos

Cavalry:

1. Skandalis Iraklis

Aviation:

1. Makridis Savas,
2. Manias Gianis

Policies commissioners:

1. Voutousianos Mitsos
2. Evripidis Georgios
3. Zografos Zisis
4. Koligianis Kostas
5. Bardzhiotas Vassilis

6. Stringos Leonidas
7. Hadzhis Thanassis

E) Colonels:

Infantry:

1. Alexandrou Gianis Diamandis
2. Georgiadis Georgios
3. Giakoglou Nikos
4. Gianulis Georgios
5. Ziguras Dimitris
6. Iliadis Sofianos
7. Koukoulidis Georgios
8. Kalinos Theodoros
9. Kanelopoulos Kostas
10. Kariofilis Gianis
11. Konitalonis Georgios
12. Kontaksis Anastasios
13. Kirandzopoulos Dimitris
14. Papadimitriou Ilias
15. Papastergiou Levteris
16. Prekezes Giorgios
17. Raftis Kostas
18. Rosios Alekos Ipsilantis
19. SpanosTomas
20. Statakis Manolis
21. Sfakianos Georgios
22. Terzoglou Nikos
23. Tcelifis Tomas
24. Tomboulidis Pavlos
25. Triandafilou Nikos
26. Folrakis Harilaos

Artillery:

1. Iosifidis Kostas

Aviation:

1. Gerogakopoulos Georgios
2. Ndrenas Leonidas

Polit-commissioners:

1. Vasvanas Vangelis
2. Vetas Fokion
3. Giuzelis Stefanos
4. Mandilas Nokos
5. Rogakos Vangelis
6. Tiroumidis Kiriakos

Medical:

1. Sakelariou Epaminontas

F) Majors:

Infantry:

1. Asouras Gergios
2. Vais Hronis
3. Kardasis Thanassis
4. Belogianis Nikos
5. Papadopoulos Vangelis
6. Flora Arhimidis

Artillery:

1. Margas Kostas

Cavalry:

1. Stilanopoulos Vasilis

Saboteurs:

1. Ageloulis Antonis-Vratsanos

Policies Commissioners:

1. Akritidis Nikos
2. Gridzonas Costas
3. Koutsomarkos Georgios
4. Pektadis Mihalis

Medical:

1. Skufis Takis

G) Captain:

Infantry:

1. Adamis Alekos
2. Getsos Pandelis
3. Zahariadis Avram
4. Zokas Zisis
5. kavredzis Kostas
6. Kaminaris Vassilis
7. Kondoros Dimitrios
8. Korologos Gianis
9. Kohliadis Gianis
10. Lambrakis Panos
11. Matsis Georgios
12 Batsis Odiseas
13. Milonas, Georgios
14. Nikolakopoulos Spiros
15. Forfolios Vangelis

Saboteurs:

1. Vitoulkas Nikos

Captain First Class:

Infantry:

1. Georgiadis Stelios
2. Eksarhos Leonidas
3. Iliadis Kostas
4. Papadimitriou Tomas
5. Zgouromalis Manolis
6. Stefanou Stavros

Saboteurs:

1. Samarakis Agisilaos
2. Solias Mihalis
3. Sioulas Vasilis

H) Lieutenants:

Infantry:

1. Vitos Hristos
2. Vlahou Dimitrios
3. Galatsos Kostas
4. Kalinou Gergia
5. Kanakis Dimitris
6. Karagianis Pantelis
7. Karastatis Thanassis
8. Katsunis Dimitris
9. Koukoumpliakos Kleantis
10. Kostopuulos Hristos
11. Porliaras Savas
12. Portokilidis Gianis
13. Tastanidis Ahileas
14. Terzopoulos Theodoros

Department for Radio Communications:

1. Karatzas Vassilis
2. Poniros Stelios

Medical:

1. Ktena Lefteria

Policies Commissioners:

1. Mihopoulos Nikos

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

See: Ι ΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ 1946 −1949 τομος Ι ΓΙΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΗΣ, 2001.

Note: In the list of military leaders and in the list of DAG officers named above, there was only one Macedonian promoted to lieutenant. This once again confirms that we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, were never a military or a political factor in the Greek Civil War as is claimed by our “false” historiography.

So, the question is: “Even though more than 60% of the DAG military resources were provided by the Macedonians, why were there no Macedonians appointed to leadership positions?”

Fourth: HOW IS THE DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE DEFINED?

The following was translated from Greek by the author (Stoian Kochov)

“The Democratic Army of Greece is a revolutionary communist army”. Essentially all of its functions and activities are under the control of the CPG’s higher party organs; which means that it is under the control of Nikos Zahariadis - General Secretary of the Party and the Political Bureau.

See: Δημητρης Βλανδας, ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙ Ο 1947 −1949. Αθηνα 2007, page 36 and 41.

I would like to mention at this point that, even though Zahariadis was “seen” as a Democrat, even by some Macedonian people who sacrificed their lives for him, in fact he was no different than Stalin and Tito; the greatest dictators the world had seen in that part of the world. They all only recognized their own Party and their own Party’s court and nothing else.

Basic characteristics of DAG

The total number of veterans who served in DAG and who fought throughout the Greek Civil War period was about 100,000 men and women. During the summer of 1948, peak period, there were about 26,000 active fighters. The number of women participants in 1949 had reached about 30% of the total DAG fighting force.

The age of the majority of DAG fighters was between 13 and 17 years. According to A D. Katsis, there were only 11 fighters older than 24 years of age in the DAG sabotage military unit numbering 150 fighters. Seventy percent (70%) of them were aged 16 to 19.

See: Δημητρης Βλανδας, ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΟ 1947 -1949. Αθηνα 2007, Vol. B, page 158.

Note: I can personally confirm what Katsis has written in his books because for most of my years in the war, from 1947 to 1949, I served in the same unit with these fearless fighters like Dimitrios Katsis, Antonis Vratsanos and many others.

Only 20% of the DAG fighters were actually members of the Communist Party of Greece.

See: "Το αρχειο του εμφυλιου"

Evdokia Foteva–Vera, author of the book "To Hell and Back", published by "Az-Buki" in Skopje in 2005, called NOF's second phase of development "recognition by the CPG".

But that was not the case. Nonetheless there were people among us Macedonians, from Greek occupied Macedonia (particularly among those who were leaders of NOF and AFZH), who like to tell our story differently. Some don't want to face up to what happened to us and clearly like to hide behind different reasons. The key word here is "to hide"!

What is the truth? Was there "recognition by the CPG"? And do the Macedonians agree with that statement? Do they agree with NOF and AFZH that there was recognition by the CPG!? Or do they think we were manipulated by the CPG and became its servants?

Well, let us look at some facts! "Based on a decision made between Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG) on October 14, 1946, Karaivanov of the CPY and Ioannidis of the CPG jointly declared the following:

"The Macedonian Organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS, along with their entire leadership and staff, will now fall under the control of the CPG. All armed Macedonian units will now be merged with DAG and will fall under the leadership of General Markos".

This was an agreement made between the highest organs at state level on both sides: Yugoslavia and Greece. This meant strict adherence to all treaties between the two states, including the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest by which Macedonian was partitioned and by which one part was given to Greece, one part to Serbia (later Yugoslavia) and another part to Bulgaria.

This also means that there were no visible objections from the top Macedonian state leadership or from the top NOF leadership. So we can assume that Kolishevski and the NOF leadership agreed to have the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia subordinated to the CPG and to the Greeks. Therefore we are left with no choice but to assume that there was no sense of national consciousness on the part of the top Macedonian leadership about the fate of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia! Particularly since the top Macedonian leadership knew that the CPG and DAG top leadership was exclusively Greek and

was well aware of how the Greeks felt about the Macedonians and how they had treated them in the past. So, was this an error of judgment, an oversight, or a "great deception"?

So that there is no mistake that the top Macedonian leadership knew about this and was in agreement with it, we would like to add that: After the above mentioned announcement was made jointly by the CPY and the CPG, the NOF leadership, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, was received by Lazar Kolisevski, then CPM Central Committee secretary, who, among other things, instructed the NOF leadership as follows: "Now you go down there (to Aegean Macedonia) and remember that the CPG is in charge of you. Have faith in the CPG because its policy on the Macedonian question is very clear. Any question that may arise, you should address directly to the CPG leadership and to the Party. Be careful to not stray or split from the Party, but remain under its direction. Struggle to strengthen your unity with the Greek people and all of you fight, with all your strength against chauvinism, separatism and localized tendencies." We don't think there was any doubt as to what Kolishevski meant when he said the above to the NOF leadership.

People can call this what they like but this was the "noose" that was placed on the Macedonian people's neck. By surrendering the Macedonian people to the Greeks, Kolishevski in fact put the noose on their heads. Again, was this an error of judgment, an oversight, or a "great deception" that caused a disaster and great pain for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, which is felt to this day?

But, to recognize Tito's reasons and motivations for Yugoslavia's involvement in Greek affairs after World War II requires more thorough research and deeper thinking. The old and worn out explanation given by the old Yugoslav guard that Yugoslavia's involvement in Greek affairs was a result of "internationalist impulses" is no longer convincing. Why? Because Tito's interest in Greek occupied Macedonia began around the fall of 1948, at the same time as Yugoslavia started to warm up to the Western Powers.

After this the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leadership, instead of facing their enemy, went back to them, to the CPG, and offered it "friendship" advocating that "with this we lay the foundation for a new unity". And so it was not too long after that that we allowed the Greeks to de-Macedonia-nize Greek occupied Macedonia, our homeland. By doing this, the NOF and AFZH leadership also defied the people, especially the Macedonians who were CPG members and who had not fled to Yugoslavia with the Aegean Brigade and on whom the Party had greater trust. Those same

people, until yesterday, called the leaders and advocates of NOF and AFZ, Grkomani (Greekophiles) or as Evdokia Foteva – Vera calls them: "Peoples' scum".

Today, when a person thinks about what some thinkers in history had said, this comes to mind: "People who do not comprehend their own past will find it difficult to plan their future"! So, let us ask: What have we NOT learned from our history? We have not learned or accepted that we ARE the authentic Macedonians who have existed in our ancestral lands from time immemorial! In view of what the Greeks have done and are doing to us, we find it difficult to comprehend that Macedonia IS our ancestral home and yes we are the authentic Macedonians. And as a result, we have acted as if Macedonia belongs to someone else! Yes it's true, especially for us, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, who are not even trying to understand our past and figure out who we are. By doing this we have abandoned our future! By doing this how are we doing justice to our future generations? Are we doing them justice by allowing our enemies to rob them of their future as they have robbed us of ours? We must never forget the most fundamental thing about us and that is, above all, we, our people here (in Greek occupied Macedonia) have lived in Macedonia for many centuries and we have lived on these lands with dignity! If we keep ignoring our past, sooner or later we will forget it and that would be irresponsible. We need to celebrate our past, our true past and not the one carved out for us by our enemies. We are Macedonians and NOT "something else" by any stretch of the imagination and to think otherwise we would only be fooling ourselves and playing into the hands of our enemies and occupiers!

They have proven, again and again, that they want no part of us. They have proven that they want to destroy us, to wipe us out, to make us extinct. This is a fact and they know it! But do we know it? They know everything there is to know about us and even how to manipulate us, sometimes even without our knowledge. At the same time we know nothing about them, nor do we make any effort to learn about them! All we know how to do is hide their actions. Never have we publicly mentioned or confronted them about what they have done to us from the occupation and partition of our homeland in 1912, 1913 to their denial of the Republic of Macedonia's name. How does one explain our behaviour? Why do we excuse ourselves of our responsibility?

Well, if you get a sense of how we behave today, then you should not be surprised by how we behaved yesterday during that dreadful Greek Civil War which had no other purpose than to exterminate us from our homeland!

You should not be surprised that in reality we were "vassals" to our masters, no matter how some have tried to sugar coat it by calling it "a struggle for independence" or as Evdokia Foteva - Vera – has called it, a "RECOGNITION OF CPG"!

Let's face it, until we wake up and see it for what it was, we will remain blind and deaf vassals, subordinates, dependents and servants of our new masters to whom we will continue to make "unprecedented" concessions as we have done in the past!

Here are some of those concessions:

When they prohibited us from speaking our Macedonian language (not only the fascists but also the communists) we offered them "Brotherhood and Unity"! In other words in 1946 we (NOF and AFZH) counter offered them our blood to fight in a war without definition as "Brothers of Unity" in exchange for us "giving up" our language and our Macedonian names, which are part of our Macedonian national identity.

All the Macedonians recruited in DAG posted in the depths of Greece were not allowed to speak Macedonian! What kind of brotherhood was this?

All the Macedonians sent to the depths of Greece were not allowed to use their Macedonian names and were forced to use their "slave names", imposed on them by Greek governments! What kind of "fair" unity was this?

We knew very well who the Greeks were, what they were capable of and what they had done to us in the past! Yet we decided to ignore all that and offered them our hand of friendship, our blood and our lives to do with whatever they wished! What were we hoping for? Were we hoping that the colonists who were brought to Macedonia to replace us were now going to help us? Help us do what? Get our lands back, the same lands that the Greek government gave them? And now, after the fact, we have the nerve to blame the CPY/CPM and CPG for what happened to us - that we were "cast in the ideological waste basket"! How are we going to heal our pain, our constant and ongoing pain? How are we going to get our homes back or even visit our dear dead friends and relatives who left their bones on the battlefields of Vicho and Gramos during the Greek Civil War?

How can we heal?

When Zahariadis went to Belgrade on April 2, 1946 to discuss with Tito his decision to start an armed struggle against the Greek Right, Tito gave him his full support and promised to help him both morally and materially as well as allow him unrestricted entry into Yugoslavia and free use of Yugoslav roads. The following decisions were made during that meeting:

1. The Macedonian National Liberation Movement in Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF, which since April 1945 was under the direction of the CPY/CPM, was to be transferred to the CPG leadership and the participation of the Macedonians was to be a condition for the victory of such a revolution.

2. Part of the composition of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ioannis Ioannidis, was to be transferred to Belgrade and charged with the task of managing the armed struggle, representing the struggle abroad and taking care of supplying the Partisans with weapons, ammunition, food, clothes and other materials.

3. Freedom to recruit fighters from the Macedonian and Greek political emigrants in Yugoslavia. Organize hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG combatants inside Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was to take on the role of organizing and coordinating the distribution of aid and donations for DAG from other countries.

On August 24, 1946 one part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis Ioannis, and the necessary apparatus, was illegally moved from Athens to Belgrade. Markos Vafiadis, who in June 1946 was appointed to General in charge of organizing and leading the Partisan groups by Zahariadis, illegally left Greece and moved to Belgrade where he received specific directives and instructions from the CPG Central Committee Politburo. In September Vafiadis returned to Greek occupied Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he established the DAG Partisan Headquarters.

We were told that the leadership of NOF and AFZH had accidentally found out about this plan but did not dare question or resist Marshal Tito's decision or the decisions of the other gods. Not too long after that, one autumn day, when they were summoned to see General Marcos, he told them: "Today you are soldiers of the Democratic Army of Greece and from now on your commanders will be the more educated and more trustworthy members of the CPG".

When they heard what Markos said, they turned pale, were covered in cold sweat and chills ran down their spines. Terribly confused (like sold

slaves), they submissively gave up authority over the Macedonians and allowed the fighters and themselves to enter the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece. One of them said: "We will awaken the dead if we have to, let them come and join this holy revolution, so that we all will charge together, living and dead!"

Let us remind you of what Rakovski said: "... During our meeting with Kolishevski when we were preparing to return to Aegean Macedonia in order to lay the foundations of the revolution, Kolishevski, in his first class cynical speech, said to us: ... 'That we Macedonians were a talented people, with appallingly visible international and revolutionary orientation, with a sense of tact and strategy' and that Tito told him: 'Now is your moment!'…"

Maybe one day everything will be clear… What kind of forces hid behind our people who served foreign gods?

On November 10, 1946 Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin to stop the expansion of the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because of an alleged "international situation". The CPG was also told that, in the interim, it should give precedence to the political struggle over the military one. This was done when the ranks of DAG were being filled with Macedonians, both young and old. But in this case it was not the "foreigners" (CPY/CPG) who were calling for "mass recruitment" of fighters, it was our own leadership! It was the NOF and AFZH leaders and activists who were pushing the Macedonian people, by use of politicized propaganda, to join DAG en masse to fight in the Greek Civil War. But to fight for what?

The aim of strangers or foreigners is to turn the villains who work for them into heroes with whom the entire population can identify, and at the same time reduce the real heroes to villains. (23)

Confuse the people, or…?!

The political messages coming out of NOF and AFZH were not very clear. Even though these organizations were very effective in "recruiting" fighters and workers for the war, which was basically what they were told to do, they were not sure of the overall plan and how it was going to unfold. So they did what they were told and put the entire Macedonian population at risk. And in retrospect, as we all know, the Greek Civil War turned into a massive struggle of life and death which resulted in disaster for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

This tangle of misunderstanding, confusion and comforting illusions shows us that darkness ruled the Macedonian leadership. After 1946 this kind of "successful awakening of the Macedonian consciousness", in fact, was not needed at all, not for the CPY and not for the CPG. It had no significant value when all the Macedonians, along with the NOF and AFZH leadership found themselves trapped in the CPG vice.

One of the great manipulations perpetrated by the CPY and CPG against the Macedonian people was done on April 2, 1946 when Tito met with Zahariadis in Belgrade to discuss the "struggle" that led to the Greek Civil War i.e. to discuss the Macedonian people's fate without the presence of a single Macedonian. Here, yet again, was a shining example of "foreigners" deciding the fate of the Macedonian people!

Tito and Zahariadis, without a single Macedonian present, decided that: The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, now led by NOF under the direction of the CPY/CPM, will be placed under the leadership of the CPG!

Again, without a single Macedonian present, they further decided that: NOF and AFZH will now strive to create an alliance with the Greek people in order to save the Macedonian people from physical extermination.

The ideological offensive with its cosmopolitanism working against the Macedonian national consciousness shook the Macedonian people down to their native roots.

What made the situation even worse, was the fact that this "ideological offensive" came down from high up in the NOF, AFZH and CPG leadership. Politicians among the leadership, even before the start of the Greek Civil War, nursed dangerous anachronisms about our national existence and life, attacking political opponents, Partisans and every single Macedonian who did not see any benefit to the Greek Civil War. NOF and AFZH, it would appear, were either unaware of this or decided to ignore it, thinking that "communists can be trusted" and "communists can do no wrong" and so dedicated themselves to follow the CPG's lead. If not this, then how else can one explain NOF and AFZH's actions in recruiting young and old Macedonians, men and women, en masse to fight for DAG and give their lives to "a cause" that was neither "defined" nor "understood"? If the cause was "defined or understood" then "what was it that the Macedonians were fighting for?" To "liberate" their country? To gain human and national rights? Were NOF and AFZH even aware that by

engaging Macedonians in this war they would be endangering the entire Macedonian population?

If Macedonians were fighting to "liberate" Macedonia, then why were the Macedonian fighters, when entering the ranks of DAG, asked to make the following pledge: "I, son of the Greek people and fighter of DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) pledge to fight to defend the integrity and security of the state borders of our motherland Greece ... etc." How were the Macedonians going to liberate Macedonia when they, as sons of Greece, pledged to fight to defend the integrity of Greece, their "supposed" motherland? Since when was Greece their motherland? Where was Macedonia, the homeland of the Macedonians in this pledge if they were truly fighting to "liberate" Macedonia?

If the Macedonians were led to believe that they were fighting for "human and national rights" then why were they called "Slavo-Macedonians (and what does that even mean?)? Why were the Macedonian fighters, in missions south of Olympus, prohibited from using their Macedonian names and from speaking their Macedonian language? If the Macedonians had no "national rights" when they were fighting "side by side" with the Greeks, what made anyone think that they would be freely granted these rights after the fact? Was it because NOF and AFZH truly believed that because this "particular bunch Greeks were communists, they would keep their promises?"

Here is the entire oath taken by the fighters of the Democratic Army of Greece:

"I, son of the people of Greece and fighter of the Democratic Army of Greece, swear that I will fight with a rifle in hand, will shed my blood and will give my life, to expel the last foreign occupier from my motherland Greece. I will fight and liquidate all presence of fascism. I will fight to acquire and to establish national freedom and to defend the territorial integrity of our motherland Greece. I will fight for democracy and for the good of the people.

I swear that I will be a good, distinguished and disciplined soldier, and will carry out all my orders and canons and will never reveal any of DAG's secrets.

I swear that I will be a good example and I will have the best attitude towards people with a view to lasting reconciliation and I will avoid all attempts to discredit or humiliate myself as a person and as a fighter. My primary interests will be: to fight for Greece's freedom and permanent

democracy. With rifle in my hand, I am ready to lay my life for all these interests of the people of Greece."

At this point it is important to say something about DAG and the Government National Army's military strengths.

In May 1949 the National Army General Staff began preparation for a military strike against DAG. The operation was code named "Pirsos".

The National Army military structures and numbers at that time were as follows:

150,000 regular soldiers,
50,000 national defense forces,
25,000 gendarmerie forces,
7,500 police,
50,000 special units,
14,300 navy,
7,500 aviation.

Thus, the sum of the armed forces possessed by the Athens regime was more than 300,000. The military forces possessed by DAG numbered no more than 25,000 soldiers.

These are confirmed by the following sources:

1. Tassos Vurnas, p. 159-160; During the fall of 1948 the DAG military force numbered about 18,000 fighters;

2. Vassilis Bardzhiotas, as a second person of importance in DAG, wrote that by the end of 1949, the DAG force had grown to 30,000 fighters;

3. The newspaper "Neos kozmos", 1950, p. 624, 637; wrote that the total number of DAG fighters during 1948-1949 was about 25,000;

The Athenian Regime's large and well equipped military formation was too much for the DAG partisans to resist during the August 28-30 offensive, so they fled to Albania.

On September 30th, Ioanidis Ioannis officially asked Stalin to provide DAG and the CPG two bases, one in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not provide one in Albania.

For more information see the book: "ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ (1945−1949)";

Here are some comments made by General Markos:

"Before 1947, 90% of the DAG fighters were forcibly mobilized, the rest were volunteers. After that, right up to the end of the Greek Civil War, there was no confirmation of any fighters volunteering."

The question is: Under the circumstances stated above, how can we Macedonians realistically call this Civil War, a "revolution" or an extension of the famous Macedonian "Ilinden Uprising"? What part of it qualifies to be called a "Macedonian revolution"?

At the end, after we examine all the assembled facts and arguments, it should become clear to us that the final outcome of what the Macedonian warrior experienced in the history of DAG can only be described as "genocide".

Perhaps all of this, all of what has happened to us Macedonians, can be explained by the old Latin saying that: "At certain times, there are situations where a great deal of the national resources are spent, from which the nation has very little to gain!"

FIFTH: TRUTHS AND CONTROVERSIES ABOUT THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945 - 1949)

Some Greek historians believe that the Partisans lost the Greek Civil War because of "basic errors". According to Thanassis Hadzhis, EAM Central Committee secretary, as stated in the introduction of his book entitled "Victorious Revolution", the Greek Civil War was lost primarily because of the mistakes made by the leadership of the National Liberation Movement and by the CPG Political Bureau...

GREAT POWER POLICIES TOWARDS THE GREEK CIVIL WAR - THE UK (24) AND THE U.S.

Based on what happened, both the U.S. and the U.K. led their own policies in Greece.

Western Great Power consensus regarding Greece falling under Soviet control was; if that were to happen, both the Middle East and Western Europe, especially France and Italy and part of Northern Africa would be in trouble. According to U.S. President Truman, if Greece were to fall

under Soviet influence, it would put the safety of Turkey, the Middle East and Western Europe into jeopardy.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PROCESSES AND EVENTS AFTER WORLD WAR II (THE VARKIZA PERIOD - 1945) (25)

Events in 1945 contributed to the outbreak of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and to Greece's history, but the actual Greek Civil War officially did not start until March 31st, 1946. The Greek Civil War began in the village "Lithohori" when armed CPG supporters and ELAS fighters, who disagreed with the signing of the Varkiza agreement, attacked the village police station. Because of what happened here all investigations of the historical aspects of the Greek Civil War, were reduced, without a doubt, to the ideological motives for this police station attack which took place during the night of March 30, 1946 from 10:30 to 11:30 pm.

But the more serious historian, especially the leaders and participants of DAG will have noticed that we, the Macedonians, had entered that war before it started. In fact we were preparing for war since the formation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS on April 23, 1945, almost a year earlier. So, we should be asking the question:

"Why did the CPG call for the armed resistance, exactly one year after the Varkiza agreement? Why not call it immediately after February 12, 1945 when the agreement was signed?

According to political assessments made by Greek historians and according to the assessments made by the General Headquarters of both the Greek Government Army and DAG, the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) was "a great historical mistake" because it took place "after" the Second World War, when everything was already settled and agreed upon between the Great Powers in the Yalta (26) Conference, which carried out the division of spheres of influence. The Greek Civil War took place "after" it was decided and after everyone was advised that the borders in the Balkans between states would remain "status quo".

In other words, a recognized government was already established in Greece and the Iron Curtain was already closed over Greece's northern border when the Greek Civil War was started. It was already decided by the Great Powers that the State borders between Greece and Yugoslavia were to remain "status quo"!

But, there are also those who say that after the Second World War ended, 1945 was characterized by a lot of things that happened in Greece,

especially after the signing of the Varkiza agreement and the acquisition of power by the Greek right. The year 1945 is considered to be a pivotal year by Greek historians, especially the winter and spring months when persecution of the Left (CPG, ELAS, EAM and others) was at its peak, which is believed to have been organized and coordinated by the British (26a) through the newly formed Greek government.

Results of the organized terror, which took place in the period from February 12 to March 31, 1946, were published in a report prepared by the EAM Central Committee and submitted to the UN Commission of special overseers by Mihalis Kirkos. The following were registered in the report:

Shot……..1,284
Wounded ….6,681
Interned…....3,632
Arrested..…34,931
Missing……151
Raped……..165

500 more citizens were abused on various other grounds.

For the sake of history, let us also mention the 1945 EAM report written in French by Oktav Merlie, head of the French Institute in Athens. (See: Tassos Vurnas 1981/32, Athens).

Third: A conceived project which intends to eliminate the minorities who have lived in their ancestral homes for centuries.

The nation (tendency towards a pure Greek nation).

How can Greece, a member of the EU, in its legislation today have such racist laws as law 106.841/5-1-83 based on a decision made by the Interior Ministry to allow the repatriation of only “Greeks by genus”?

This law was signed on December 29, 1982 by the Minister of the Interior, Giorgos Genimatas and Minister of Public Order, Gianis Skoularikis.

In other words, this law does not apply to Greeks but to those who live in Greece and who are not Greeks. And who are they? They we the Macedonians who participated in the Greek Civil War, including those who were forcibly mobilized into DAG by the Greek Communists and led by General Markos. Those who were “Greeks by genus” were allowed to return to Greece, to their homes and were cared for and integrated into Greek society. Those who were Macedonians were accused of starting the

Greek Civil War and of fighting with aims to create a Republic of Macedonia over Solun and to stretch it down to the Aegean.

II - Chronicles (27) from the hell of war – Review of military-political Balkan historical chronicles (1940-1950)

4.0 - Yugoslav Balkan strategy

How and why; Yugoslav strategic option! Tito (CPY) continues to show interest in the Macedonians and yet negates the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Many things happened to us Macedonians, some without our knowledge, without the knowledge of ordinary people kept in the dark for over sixty years. For mysterious reasons, good and bad things, historic things, often happened to us because we had not learned our lessons from history. We viewed incident after incident as coincidences even though these incidents were not unique and had taken place previously in our history.

We are failing to rely on the wisdom of our ancestors; instead we rely on outsiders, we allow strangers and ideological activists to influence and take advantage of us, of our desires, of our patriotism, of our good nature and of our morals and use them against us. We are easily swayed by mere words and we tend to believe those who tell us lies and what we want to hear.

Now, sixty years later, six decades of living under an ideological web, we are finally waking up and looking for answers. We are finally developing a desire to understand our hidden story, a story cloaked in secrets. A story shrouded in foreign politics which sent many of our Macedonian heroes to their graves during the Greek Civil War (1945-1949). Among those stories is the story told by Historian Kiriazovski in his book “The five vital years in Aegean Macedonia” where he says: “Tito (CPY/CPM) handed the Aegean Macedonians to Zahariadis” but does not explain why he did that!

First: Let us examine Josip Broz Tito’s official position towards the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia.

CPY policies adopted towards the Macedonians during World War II were intended to gain control over the Serbian occupied territory of Macedonia and hold onto it under the new communist Yugoslavia. CPY recognition of the Macedonians as a separate national identity was done strictly for domestic purposes to show that Macedonians were Macedonians and not Serbians or Bulgarians. Since the people living in Macedonia were Macedonians then Bulgaria had no claims on them. As a unique nation, Macedonians earned the right to be Macedonians and join their fraternal

Slavic peoples (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins…) in the Yugoslav federation.

But on the question regarding the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, Tito and the CPY's policies were very clear; Josip Broz Tito, during World War II, persistently advocated to keep the pre-war borders in the post war Balkans in order to preserve the Yugoslavia of Versailles. And in the spirit of this policy Tito never approved the unification of Greek occupied and Serbian occupied (Aegean and Vardar) Macedonia.

The question here then is very simple: "Why did CPG Secretary General Siantos not negotiate with the Macedonians, but instead asked to negotiate with a senior Yugoslav representative of the CPY?" Because he must have known that there was no plan to unite the two parts of Macedonia. And how did the Macedonian communists react to Siantos's request? They didn't! Because they were influenced by Tempo's plans, who on one hand wanted to create a new "Macedonian movement with pro-Yugoslav historical tendencies" and on the other he himself was a "guardian of the border of Royal Yugoslavia and nothing more". In other words, Tempo told the Macedonians that he wanted them united and told the Greeks that there was no Yugoslav plan to unite the two parts of Macedonia. The Greeks, now believed Tempo and that everything from the CPY side was confirmed by the removal of CPM General Secretary Metodi Shatarov – Sharlo (28). With Sharlo out of the way "there was no longer the possibility of the realization of Sharlo's ideas of a spiritual unification of the Macedonians from the overall ethnic composition of Macedonia".

After this, when the entire plan was revealed, it became very clear to us Macedonians (especially to those from Greek occupied Macedonia) that any action we were to take in attempting to "unite Macedonia" would be met with a knife point from both the CPG and the CPY.

In other words, Greece and Yugoslavia now did everything at the political-party and state level. The same was extended to Albania after it signed the Protocol of "close military and political cooperation" on June 20th, 1943 at the World War II Headquarters. Among the signatories at the signing were, Svetozar Bukmanovich Tempo representing Yugoslavia (CPY), Enver Hoxha representing Albania (CPA) and Ververis representing Greece (CPG).

It was precisely at this level of talks that the Papandreou government in Cairo insisted on. Greece knew that Yugoslavia had accepted and resolved the Sharlo, the CPM party leadership and the new platform issue at this level. Taking advantage of this, the Papandreou government demanded of

the CPG and ELAS that they do not make any compromises with the Macedonians from either side of the border because the Papandreou government knew there would be historic consequences for Greece and for its sovereignty if the Macedonians were made a factor during this struggle. I do not know what more was needed to convince the Macedonian Communist in Greek occupied Macedonia for them to realize that they were not considered "a factor" by the CPG and by ELAS. Their expectations were only an illusion put in their heads by Tempo.

Once again we need to emphasize here that all decisions made and all agreements signed between representatives of the CPG and the CPY at that high level had to comply with the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest.

For us Macedonians, who fought to defend the ideals of communism, this meant that we lost our identity and our centuries old hearth, for nothing. Our destiny was ours and we could have placed it in our hands but we made a mistake when we chose to place it in their hands and they in turn subjected us to unfathomable cruelty.

And so it began – Brother fighting against Brother.

Another CPY aim with its policy towards Macedonia was to extend the Yugoslav communist hegemony over the Macedonian people. Tito's post-war goals were not modest. He demanded from Italy, even by military occupation if necessary, to be given Juliska Kraina, including Trieste. He also demanded that he be given almost half of Carinthia. He demanded that Albania, Greek and Bulgarian occupied Macedonia also be included in the Yugoslav federation.

Macedonia's new politics gave the Yugoslav Communists (CPY) an ideal weapon for achieving their goals. Playing with the Macedonian cultural diversity card was certainly an attractive incentive for the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia who were exposed to Hellenization.

The campaign for Macedonia's unification was started by Yugoslav Partisan leaders during the Second World War, even before they had control of Vardar Macedonia. The chaotic and fluid conditions that prevailed in the Balkans, after the withdrawal of the Axis powers, incited this movement.

In the months during which the CPY consolidated its power over Vardar Macedonia, Tito tried to use his influence to influence all Macedonians but was wary of intervening in Greek affairs. At the same time relations between the Greek communists and the Yugoslav communists became

strained. In May 1944 all that was left of the Macedonian fighters (whom ELAS threatened to liquidate, and a majority of whom were brutally liquidated) joined Gotse's SNOF units.

There was a quarrel between ELAS headquarters and Gotse on how to proceed with the weapons seized from the village bands. Meanwhile, CPY agents and small units were sent to Northern Greece to encourage Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia to join Tito's army. After that a mass crossing of Macedonians from the ranks of ELAS began to go into Yugoslavia and join Tito's army.

When a large group of Macedonians, members of the CPG, left ELAS and joined the ranks of Tito's army, ELAS headquarters labeled them "deserters".

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The confusion as to what was going on began after the group of fighters left Greek occupied Macedonia and joined Tito's army. The group began to be influenced by the politics of the CPY. The group of fighters who remained in Greek occupied Macedonia began to be influenced by the CPG which in turn labeled its compatriots "deserters" and therefore "traitors". This "split" created a paradox among the Macedonian people which has lasted to this day. Interestingly, both groups saw themselves as "patriots" and the others as "traitors". Those who left for Yugoslavia were seen as traitors because they "fled like cowards" and left the people at home "unprotected". Those who remained home were seen as "Greko-phils" and "traitors" by those who left because they fought on the side of the enemy, the Greeks. The best at analyzing this phenomenon were those who fled to Yugoslavia and, while they saw themselves as "patriots", they saw everyone else as traitors, including the organizations SNOF, NOF, AFZH, NOMS, KOEM and Ilinden and the overall Macedonian movement in Greek occupied Macedonia. These people saw themselves as patriots by profession, who wanted to be rewarded for every cheer they uttered. Anyone who did not cheer for them was a traitor.

This proved that the people who allowed "ideology" to divide them, were prone to open themselves to quarreling and fighting. These double standards within a single Macedonians nation ultimately led to different visions, different desires and different situations. This ultimately led people to question "who is right and who is wrong", a situation that further divided the Macedonian people and was easily exploitable by those who wanted to harm the Macedonian cause and the Macedonian nation.

ORDERS FROM FOREIGN GODS

(Looking through military archives. See: “Aegean Macedonia in NOB September 1944 - February 1945. Volume 4 Book 3, 1996, p. 173 and 174)

Summary of Events:

October 4, 1944

A Radiograph from Svetozar Vukmanovich Tempo (also called “the most beloved brother” by the Macedonians) to Supreme Headquarters of NOB and POJ regarding the Greek resistance leadership’s inappropriate attitude towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 35.

The Greeks are again seeking to crush the Macedonians in Greece. They are prohibiting them, by use of arms, from mobilizing new fighters into the Macedonian units. They are removing Macedonians from leadership positions and replacing them with Greeks. They are arresting officers, killing innocent people, prohibiting Macedonians from singing Macedonian songs and even songs about Tito.

We are advising the Macedonians to leave Greece and come to us (Yugoslavia) to avoid being intimidated, harassed and arrested. We should also receive some of the leadership comrades, authoritative Macedonians and we will form a delegation with evidence for the General Headquarters of Macedonia.

Tempo.

October 5, 1944.

A Radiograph from Alexander Rankovic to Svetozar - Tempo with which he orders not to send NOV and POJ Yugoslav units to Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 3.

For now, do not send units to Greece. Send us concrete evidence so that we can launch a protest to the Greek representative (ELAS, General Headquarters, and PEEA. Andreas Dzhimas was at the Supreme Headquarters of NOV in Yugoslavia.)

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October 6, 1944.

A Radiograph from Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo to Supreme Headquarters of NOV and POJ, with which he reports on ELAS's oppression of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Radiograph no. 43.

Due to the re-launching of a Greek Partisan massive terror attack against the Macedonian units in Greece, we have considered sending our units to Greece in order to fight against the Germans and in order to protect our population.

Tempo.

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One morning, radio London broadcast a report given by Captain Evans Hutchison Patrick. The program was devoted to the Macedonian liberation movement in Lerin and Kostur Regions, and the following was said:

"As captain and commander of the Second ELAS Battalion or Regiment 28, Goche (Ilia Dimovski), in October 1944 was ordered by ELAS command to depart for Mount Vermion (Durla). His response to that order was a flat 'no'. He said 'we are Macedonians and our place is in Macedonia'. I believe that Vermion was less Slavic than Vitsi, the area where Goche's battalion was then stationed and where Goche was born. He then stood up and left for Prespa and after that he went to Monastir (Bitola) and took his battalion with him.

This battalion was joined by Chakalaro (Nahum Peiov), commander of the "Lazo Trpovski" Unit which had armed itself with captured German weapons and was fighting against the Greek bands (Andartes). He declared that his aim was to fight for a free and independent Macedonia and that he was not fighting for a Greater Bulgaria. Being Macedonian, speaking Macedonian and fighting for a free Macedonia gained him a lot of respect with the villages around Gabresh, his village of origin. His unit was attacked by ELAS and dispersed during the middle of the summer.

Even though Peiov was a communist before the war, he was disappointed with the CPG and with ELAS's attitude towards the Macedonian Question. In May he left for Prespa with a group of his comrades and went to NOV

General Headquarters located in Shulin to ask if all the Macedonians from ELAS could come and join Tito's Army. Deian received him there and gave him shelter, but soon Peiov was reprimanded by Tito. Some say Peiov was personally removed from Tito's army by orders from Tito himself. Peiov was sent back to ELAS under the amnesty of Goche's battalion. When Goche got upset and left in October, Peiov kept him company all the way to Monastir (Bitola) and supported him in all his actions.

October 17, 1944."

When Captain Markos, with his old hatred for Macedonians, found out about the fleeing battalion, he frowned and summoned all the Headquarters to immediately dispatch elite units to chase after them and destroy them.

He said: "Now... I would pursue them as I would pursue the Germans. This is a very serious issue. They might revolt in our ranks and we will suffer huge losses..."

In the book "History of the Macedonian people", Volume 5, page 483, it says: "The Fourth ELAS Division decided to use military force to liquidate the battalion, in which it engaged ELAS Regiments 27, 28 and 53 as well as local reserves. To circumvent a collision with ELAS and to avoid bloodshed, on October 12, 1944 the Macedonian battalion left the territory of Aegean Macedonia and moved to Vardar Macedonia. The same day and for the same reasons the Voden Macedonian battalion did the same. The total number of Macedonian fighters who severed themselves from ELAS and crossed over the Yugoslav border, numbered about 2,250".

On October 10, 1944, when news surfaced of what was happening in Kostur and Lerin, Tempo's emissary Rochko, from Vatasha, arrived in Sarakinovo. He asked that the battalion be placed under the command of NOV and POJ Headquarters in Yugoslavia. See: Pavle Rakovski's Autobiography – "My Suffering", published by AEA, Skopje, 1995.

According to CPG sources, more that 25,000 Macedonian fighters took an active role in the ranks of ELAS and ELAS reserves. See: Risto Kiriazovski "CPG and the Macedonian National Question", p. 347.

The split and all the Macedonian paradoxes

During that period of time there was a terrible split between the Macedonian communists in Greek occupied Macedonia, a split reflected

even during the Greek Civil War. The communists who remained in the ranks of the CPG continued to support the Party Line which guaranteed: "equal rights for the Macedonians within Greece". According to our "history", these people were considered "scum" and Greekophiles (as Evdokia Foteva – Vera calls them in her book: "To Hell and Back", Skopje, 2005), while those who fled with the battalions to Tito's army were labeled "deserters" and in the latter part of the Greek Civil War were called "Tito's agents" and condemned by the CPG. This is how it was for the Macedonians of that time, a split that caused paradoxes; a split that affected the Macedonian consciousness down to the core.

After that split, during war and peace, we were a spiritually divided people and we had different visions and different desires.

In the meantime, the Greek partisans responded with reprisals against the Macedonian people… Even more so against the Macedonian fighters; now they isolated and closed in on all the Macedonian fighters in the ranks of the Greek Partisans and "interned" them in the southern part of Greece. All Macedonian propaganda and promotional material was also declared illegal.

What was Tito's (CPY/CPM) diplomatic game with the Macedonian people's future in Greek occupied Macedonia, just after World War II, at the beginning of 1945?

During the War, Tito took the Macedonian side in Greek occupied Macedonia with aims to help the Macedonians realize their aspirations within the Greek state, but after the Varkiza agreement of February 12, 1945, there was a radical change in his attitude.

The People's Republic of Macedonia and the attitude of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

Why Srem and not Solun? (29)

People who are not entirely familiar with the situation surrounding World War II often raise the question "why did the Macedonian units have to go to the Srem front and not to Solun to liberate and unite Macedonia?" There was also the Artillery Brigade rebellion at Skopje Kale (Fort) on January 7, 1945, when officers and soldiers began to yell "to Solun, to Solun, to Solun!!!" Those rebelling were immediately turned back and some were charged with disobedience, convicted and sent to prison. Historians, who have researched this period, say the decision to send the Macedonians to Srem was not decided by one person, but by the ASNOM presidium, the

highest body of the newly formed Macedonian government, after it received a direct order from Supreme Commander Josip Broz Tito.

There were several reasons why the army could not be sent to Solun. At that time there was a British presence in Greece. Stationed in Greece were around 200,000 British troops, 400 British planes and 3,000 British tanks. Besides the British there were about 100,000 Greek troops belonging to the Greek coalition and Solun was also protected by 10,000 Royal Yugoslav troops. All of them were under British command led by General Scobey. If the Macedonian army took the road to Solun, it would have had to fight against the British and their anti-fascist allies, too great a force to defeat. A collision such as this would have also jeopardized Macedonia's chances of becoming a Yugoslav Republic and no Macedonian state would exist today. But because they avoided such a collision, the allied missions and their representatives attended the first ASNOM session.

Much has been written about this subject (See: Vlado Ivanovski: "Nova Makedonija" from October 11-12, 1997. no. 3: "Why not to Solun". Transferred from Macedonian Times, especially number 3: "Why not to Solun" which provides an overview of events, especially in the sub-headings: "Desires stronger than circumstances" and "Attitudes of the Great Powers"), that deserve special attention. Other authors too have tackled this subject and all of them have handled it with great ease. But no one has tackled it better or more in-depth than historian Vlado Ivanovski, who also reveals all the actions taken by the CPM/CPY.

Very competently and with irrefutable facts! Here is what Ivanovski says:

1. Conduct of the three great powers of the anti-fascist coalition: the USSR, the U.S. and the UK;

2. It is an undeniable fact that the "unification of Macedonia" was a problem for the CPY during the time of NOV and PC;

3. We cite the document from August 16, 1944, entitled "Macedonia – Memorandum", by the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, which said: "We are ready to give consent to the formation of a Macedonian state within federal Yugoslavia. But we have to insist that this country must not attempt to annex, or seek any other territories, regardless of whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or Greece."

4. There was mention of State Agreements on the division of interest, and that Greece was 100% under British influence, with the right, if necessary, at any time be able to intervene with all possible means;

5. That Tito, in the summer of 1944, requested of NOV units in Macedonia to secure the southern border with Greece. That meant to protect the sovereignty of the borders of these states;

6. That, at that time the United States emphasized the necessity to preserve the territorial integrity of "status quo" to prewar borders for Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece and that the United States was categorically opposed to any border revision, even though it recognized the Macedonian territory in Greece.

And at the end he concludes:

"…The political and military leadership of Macedonia realistically estimated, held and controlled the situation during the January events, not allowing emotions to prevail above reason and logic, preventing the newly formed and fragile federal Republic of Macedonia from being drawn into a war. The consequences of which would have been catastrophic."

"Should we have gone to the Srem Front?" asks General Atanasov in the daily newspaper "Utrisnki Vesnik" in the September 14, 2009 issue. After giving the question some serious thought the General concluded:

"I was a participant in that campaign, then called 'Operation for the liberation of Yugoslavia' so I say here's why we had to go to Srem:

In my estimation it was a wise decision for the newly created Macedonian state to continue to struggle against the occupiers in the anti-fascist war until complete victory was achieved. If we had not gone to the Srem front, I don't believe we would have had the success we have with our country.

The Varkiza Agreement between the Royal Greek government and EAM, the Anti-Fascist Front in Greece, had already been signed before we were sent to the Srem front. The Varkiza Agreement was followed by the disarming of the ELAS fighters which was then followed by the white terror instigated by the Monarcho-Fascists against the anti-fascist fighters. At this point the Macedonian fighters found themselves in the Monarcho-Fascist machine for grinding human flesh. More qualified than me who can speak about this are the fighters from Aegean Macedonia who are still alive and the historians.

ASNOM and we, its fighters (NOV and POM), could not ignore the experience called 'Varkiza'. We saw what happened when the Royal Greek government returned. It would have been a similar experience for us

here if the Royal Serbian government were to come back from London! We couldn't let that happen.

The outcome of the War in a global sense was certain, however the outcome of the war in Yugoslavia was not quite so certain. At that moment, Macedonia, for the Macedonian people, for the Macedonian state and for the benefits of the four-year struggle, had to struggle. Because the real live question was; what was going to happen to us if a 'Varkiza' type agreement was to be put in place here? And what could we do to avoid it? The Macedonian exodus from Aegean Macedonia after 'Varkiza' was not the work of the German fascists, but the work of the Monarcho-Fascist terrorists sponsored by the anti-fascist allied forces. Not only did we have to go to the Srem front but we also had to be ready to do more to avoid the return of the Serbian kingdom to Yugoslavia.

By the way, if someone out there believes it was not important for the Macedonian forces to cross the Austrian border in the eyes of the world, then that "someone" does not know history and its problems. These Macedonian forces were not some wild army. Behind them stood their own state, ASNOM Macedonia, a de facto allied state within the Anti-Fascist coalition. Not only now, but according to J.A.'s opinion (debating with Jovce Angeleski, current head of the NOV Museum and expert on the antifascist struggle), even then there was no alternative but to go to the Srem front. Yes, all the way to Berlin but not to Solun. And who might want us to go to Solun? The Third Reich perhaps? Or perhaps fascist Bulgaria, which skillfully manipulated Macedonian feelings? What Macedonian did not want to go to Solun? Let us pose the question differently: what would have happened if we had not gone to the Srem front and opted for going to Solun? Here is the answer:

If we did not go anywhere, not even to Solun, we would have remained in an erased space where a 'Balkan Dogma' would have taken place and our lands from this part of Macedonia would have been redistributed.

If we had opted for going to Solun, as a country we would have gone to the side of the fascist axis. We would have gone to the losing side. We would have excluded ourselves from the anti-fascist coalition and from the front. We would have committed an act of war against the Allies - especially at an extremely negative time. We would have found ourselves at a dead end with our national freedom and with our new state. With such odds, we would not have been able to take Solun and the Republic of Macedonia would have had its own 'Vardar Varkiza' imposed on it. Macedonia would have been allowed to be ravaged."

I read and re-read General Todor Atanasov's columns. I was happy to read what he had written and that he understood the situation well. He is an intellectual and his writing reflects that. His was an act of historical and moral responsibility done in the service of Macedonian society. His writing has shown that he is a man of integrity who would not allow himself to be pushed into some kind of dark political tunnel.

After reading Dr. Vlado Ivanovski's articles and analysis, my own conclusion was that: Dr. Vlado Ivanosvki gave us an excellent analysis of the military and political situation of the time. He explained the facts well and came to a conclusion that:

"…The political and military leadership of Macedonia realistically estimated, held and controlled the situation during the January events, not allowing emotions to prevail above reason and logic, preventing the newly formed and fragile federal Republic of Macedonia from being drawn into a war. The consequences of which would have been catastrophic."

My family and, I as a participant in DAG and as a man who nearly suffered genocide in Greek hands, had found ourselves outside of our home; my father in Australia, my mother in Poland, my brother in prison in Greece, and I in the USSR. A fate that has befallen thousands of Macedonian families from Greek occupied Macedonia. Given all this, I had to ask myself: why had the general distanced himself from the integral perception of Macedonian history?!

Let us follow the strength of the arguments before argument of strength:

"Did our prominent and respected General know (he must have known what brought the evil in Greek occupied Macedonia, and more about who carried out the genocide over the Macedonian people) that from October 1944 to October 14, 1946 the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were in the arms of the CPY/CPM. Did he know that a few months after the Kale rebellion the Organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed on April 23, 1945, in Skopje by the CPY/CPM leadership? Facts which now, more than 60 years later have been confirmed by historian Risto Kiriazovski? (See: The chapter entitled "Tito's action in the Aegean part of Macedonia" in Dr. Risto Kiriazovski's book "Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945 - 1949)" p. 13, 14, 15 and 16)

The history of Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia is nothing more than a scam, a list of betrayals, crimes and misfortunes, but the question is why is it not told as part of the Macedonian people's integral history? The Macedonian people's integral history must openly

tell the Macedonian story the way it happened; i.e. who activated "the Macedonian syndrome" for the (self) sacrifice of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in the years 1945 to 1949. Who was responsible for dragging the Macedonian people into the Greek Civil War which killed so many and permanently exiled so many more.

If in history we need to look to the future, I am interested to know and, as a participant in the Greek Civil War, it is my duty to investigate the roots of this evil, for which we were pushed to participate in the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) right after World War II ended. I am interested to know who is to blame and shares the guilt of emptying Greek occupied Macedonia of its Macedonian people? I am interested to know "did we have a Macedonian strategy when we entered this war and how did we ended up losing it and our centuries old hearth along with it? I am interested to know who among us decided to partner with the Greeks after living like slaves under them for more than three decades…?

How was it with the Macedonians in Yugoslavia? In that period of time (and until the disintegration of Yugoslavia), it is a fact that Macedonians in former Yugoslavia, in the Yugoslav Federation, had little to no clout. They had absolutely no clout regarding foreign affairs. Foreign policy was in the hands of Belgrade, with some impact from Zagreb and Ljubljana. Let's say that they would not allow Macedonians in the mix. This meant that all injustices done against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia had to be handled from Belgrade. And why would Belgrade (Serbia, Greece's traditional ally and 1913 co-conspirator) care about the Macedonians from Greece?

I don't want to talk only about how others are to blame for what happened to us Macedonians. There is much hidden in our historiography which, for half a century, has not been told. For example, how and why did the CPM allow Yugoslavia to have a two-fold policy; public and private, which encouraged the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia to enter the Greek armed struggle? Was that not against the will of the Macedonian people? With that, did the Macedonian people allow others, outsiders to control their fate? Why has Macedonian integral historiography not explained the CPM/CPY's involvement in this?

The problem looks complicated, but that's the way it is at first glance. The truth can be simple if we look at it honestly and impartially with a sense of historical objectivity. So the question is: Were we the Macedonians (about 3% to 5% of the total population in Greece, after all the ethnic changes that took place) in Greek occupied Macedonia, politically and militarily capable, under the leadership of NOF and AFZH, as intimated by these

organizations, to preserve the territorial integrity and compactness of the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia after World War II, after the borders between Greece and Yugoslavia became international military borders between the two camps of the cold war?!

SOUND OF WAR: Policy changing events - steps taken leading to the hellish Greek Civil War

Here are some facts and arguments which prove evil doesn't fall from the sky but is part of our story in these conflicting Balkan states.

1. By order No. 236 issued directly by Tito on April 2, 1945, the First Aegean Brigade was disbanded;

2. This may have been as a result of Tito's following statement made in Moscow on April 26, 1945, when he gave an interview for the "New York Times" during which he said: "If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations". See: Yugoslav-Soviet treaty of friendship signed April 11, 1945 in Moscow, and FO 371/48388/7762.

3. According to official historiography: There is no doubt that the establishment of NOF, AFZH and NOMS had political aims as confirmed by historian Risto Kiriazovski's works (1966/181) in an attempt to reveal the "truth" by leaving us clues. But on the other hand Kiriazovski pushed the thesis that we led a Revolution and not a fraud perpetrated through the creation of NOF and AFZH. And finally in his latest book, Kiriazovski gives us yet another clue by saying that NOF and AFZH were led by the CPY/CPM during the period from April 24, 1945 to October 16, 1946.

Anyone who has read our history and those who want to know what happened will easily discover how we Macedonians made mistakes and how we put ourselves in perilous situations.

It is time that Macedonian history debunks the games played by "the great leaders, by the statements and by those who led this horror show perpetrated against the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. It is time for the Macedonian people to know: "Who activated the "Macedonian syndrome" of (self) sacrifices in the years 1945 to 1949 during the Greek Civil War!?"

Why is that important? Because the Greek Civil War was the most tragic event that the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have

experienced, which not only killed many but uprooted even more from their centuries old hearths and left them with a deep sense of alienation.

It would have been authoritative, as a living witness, if Evdokia Foteva – Vera, one of the AFZH leaders responsible for the agitation and mobilization of Macedonian women into the struggle, had spoken about this matter and answered the questions put forth in this write-up. Unfortunately she too passed on and by-passed these relevant historical issues, leaving us engulfed in fog. Why did NOF and AFZH choose war over all other options? More importantly why did NOF and AFZH allow exclusive foreign (Greek) leadership over the Macedonians? Up to now nothing has been said about this from the leadership. What were the aims behind forming a "National Liberation Front" platform, part of which were NOF and AFZH? Was the bloody story in Greek occupied Macedonia a result of what NOF and AFZH had done!? What happened at the formation of NOF and AFZH in Skopje, under the leadership of the CPM/CPY, and what were they specifically instructed to do? Perhaps NOF and AFZH were, unconsciously, ordered by outsiders to import the "revolution" to Greek occupied Macedonia, pressured under the motto "If you're not with us, you're against us!" Is there anyone who can tell us anything about who made the decisions to take these actions?

Many questions – no answers; seeming like the whole story is shrouded in a half century old secret! …But there are other ways we can get our answers…

For example, what was Federal Yugoslavia's position on the Macedonian issue? Given that Tito stood at the top of the Federal Yugoslav leadership and given what his statement to the "New York Times" in Moscow on April 26, 1945 was "If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations" then there would be no reason for us not to believe that Tito was fully committed to support whatever the Macedonian people strived for? Right?

Several days before that, on April 23, 1945, NOF was created in Skopje under the initiative of the CPY/CPM leadership and staffed with Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia.

Now let us see how NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created according to Pavle Rakovski, one of its founders. In his autobiography "My Suffering", published by AEA, 2000 on page 341 Rakovski wrote:

"In the middle of April 1945, I received a message from Dzhodzho Urdov asking me to immediately leave for Skopje. I did. The political committee by then had already been dismissed. In its place, at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia in Skopje on April 23, the National Liberation Front-NOF belonging to the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (its members were selected without a conference and without elections, but by cooption) was constituted or formed. Pascal Mitretvski (30) was given a free hand to choose four more people and reassemble the central governing body – a five-member Bureau. He called me and told me this then he asked me for my opinion about which other four people, besides him, did I think should lead this bureau? I suggested the following: Georgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Ilo Dimakov-Goche, Naum Peiov, and Mahail Keramidzhiev. He thanked me and left. He then constituted the Bureau as follows: Paskal Mitrevski, Georgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Mihail Keramidzhiev, Tanas Koroveshov and Pavle Rakovski.

I have already mentioned that I respected Mitrevski because he was trusted by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Party state leadership. I appreciated and respected the man simply and openly. And it seems to me that is why he decided to choose me and include me in the NOF highest governing body.

Formed at the same time as NOF were the women's organization AFZH and the youth organization NOMS. In fact, work was done to expand the activities of the same-named organizations from the Vardar to the Aegean part of Macedonia. Members from the top leadership, members from the NOF activists, members from other Macedonian political organizations and members from the military formations that were demobilized, including fighters and officers from the First Aegean Macedonian Brigade, and from the ranks of the Aegean Macedonian political refugees that had fled to Yugoslavia, were recruited to assist with the development of these organizations.

At that meeting I was assigned to coordinate field activities in Aegean Macedonia, with the people from P. R. Macedonia who led NOF. Among them were instructors from the CPM Central Committee. The first instructor was the Slovenian Miha Marinko, followed by Nikola Minchev and by Dimitar Dimitrievski - Peko.

After the first sitting, the five of us went to the field to lay NOF's foundations. This was at Kostur, Lerin, Voden, Enidzhe-Vardar and Seres Regions…"

Did Tito (CPY/CPM) in the program goals and tasks communicated to him by Tsvetko Uzunovski – Abas, CPM Central Committee organizational secretary and Interior Minister of P. R. Macedonia of the NOF Aegean Macedonian leadership, allow for a Macedonian national strategy to secure the spiritual and physical survival of the people and for them to remain in their homeland, or was this not in favour of Yugoslav politics? In other words, what safeguards, if any, did Tito allow to be put in place in order to safeguard the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to be protected from harm and from losing their lives and homes?

During the meeting, attended by the NOF leadership which included Mitrevski, Rakovski and Urdov, Tsvetko Uzunovski said: Today Yugoslavia became the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans. The Macedonian question became a Yugoslav question because the CPY formed the Party and the political organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS, which you will lead. The task of these organizations is to turn the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia towards a Yugoslav orientation. Now, the Macedonian people and the Macedonian movement are under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia will now find their full establishment only within Federal Yugoslavia, which is for Aegean Macedonia to join Yugoslavia. (AM. Archive of Macedonia. F -20/276 F-20/196).

The Greek leadership option is described by CPG Secretary Nikos Zahariadis, in the book by ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΑΙΟΣ, "ΝΙΚΟΣ ΖΑΗΑΡΙΑΔΗΣ − ΘΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΜΑ" page 414.

Here is what Petros wrote:

"The 3rd Extraordinary Congress of the Socialist Party of Greece was held in the year during which Zahariadis, with a group of party cadres who had completed their studies at the KOUTV party school in Moscow, returned from the Soviet Union to Greece (1924). During that same Congress the Party name was changed from Socialist Party of Greece to Communist Party of Greece (KKE). Some internal issues were cleared up and a number of resolutions were adopted including those of the 3rd Communist International Congress, those of the Balkan Communist conferences, specifically the 7th Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation, which dealt with the so-called "Macedonian" issue. And by adopting this resolution we in effect put the first loop of the noose around the KKE's neck. All this was done on behalf of the international proletariat."

This is how Zahariadis felt about us Macedonians all along; that "we were a noose around his Party's neck"! And how did we Macedonians,

especially those who were in leadership positions, feel about Zahariadis? They treated him like a god and swore by him! Many gave their lives for him. This was not only humiliating but pathetic and sick! He pointed us in the direction of extermination while calling it a path to victory and we blindly followed him. We even sang songs about him, when we were happy and when we were angry, and called him "our greatest son!" How pathetic was that?! Ah, I can't even describe how much this hurts today - our civilized hypocrisy!?

According to author Antheos, Zahariadis said: "Unlike the Bulgarian (31) delegation, the Yugoslav and Greek delegates voted for the position that would allow Macedonia and Thrace autonomy, believing that we met our international duty and complicated the Bulgarian chauvinistic views regarding this issue."

What was the Comintern policy regarding this issue? Did Zahariadis adhere to this policy and how did he deal with the noose which was imposed on him by the Comintern?

Zahariadis was the leader of the Greek communist movement and secretary general of the CPG (KKE) from 1936 to 1956. He persistently preached confidence to the ranks of the CPG and treated it like a cult. He also believed that the KPSS and Stalin were infallible. Then why did he support the Party Line of the Greek leadership from 1924 to 1936 and in contradiction to that, say to his predecessors and the CPG that the "Macedonian Question" was a noose?! By saying that, does he not also contradict his own beliefs about the KPSS and Stalin?

If Zahariadis said this back in 1924, it meant that he had systematically supported the official Party Line of Janis Kordatos and the immediate Socialist Workers Party of Greece leadership, which during the Party's Third Extraordinary Congress (and since its formation in 1918) adopted a resolution which was against the policy of the Comintern regarding a "united and independent Macedonia", because such a policy was not in favour of the Greek historical reality. So, what exactly was the historical reality of the Greek communists?

The objective historical reality for these communists was: defense of the colonists! That reality came into effect after Greek occupied Macedonia was colonized by more than 630,000 settlers from Asia Minor. This was done with agreements: The Neuilly Convention between Greece and Bulgaria and the Treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey.

For the Greek communists, since the population exchanges and since the ethnic demographic changes in Greek occupied Macedonia took place, there was no place for the Comintern position to support a "united and independent Macedonia". This means that the CPG did everything it could to not upset the Greek bourgeoisie and to not create conditions where an authoritarian regime would be imposed in Greece. The introduction of the Mataxas dictatorship and measures taken against the Macedonians, they felt, was not their concern.

So we lived among communists who led us to believe that: "The national question was only the interest of the bourgeois" and that the working class struggle had no place in "National Questions".

At that time we did not realize what was happening and we believed everything that Zahariadis told us because he represented the communists at the highest level and the communists were in support of the working class. We believed Zahariadis because we believed in Leninist and Marxist principles. And because we believed Zahariadis, we followed him and he led us to our genocide and to our expulsion from our ancestral homes.

From our experience with the Greek communists and what we know about their conduct, we can conclude that, after the ethnic composition change in Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greeks were never in favour of equitably solving the "Macedonian Question". Our research has also shown, and so have many military and political analysts (Greeks, Russians, Croats and Americans), that there are reservations as to what Zahariadis was really doing during this struggle: Was he really fighting a socialist revolution in Greece for equal rights and equality for all people; rights to self-determination for the Macedonians and others during the Greek Civil War, or was he there to fulfill some other Western Power objective?

It is a fact that the CPG privately did not support the Comintern views on the Macedonian national question which means that it had no intention of granting the Macedonian any rights or independence. It is a fact that the CPG publicly supported "equal rights for the Macedonians" meaning that it wanted to use the Macedonians for some other purpose. And in retrospect the CPG "used" the Macedonians in furthering its development of the Greek liberation movement under its control. Even during the days of SNOF the Greeks insisted that the Macedonian population remain under EAM and under the CPG and fight under their strategic objectives.

Secretary General Zahariadis's own personal manipulations regarding the depth of the Macedonian tragedy in the Greek Civil War (1945-1950) is well known. Even though Zahariadis called for the total mobilization of

the entire Macedonian population through NOF during the Greek Civil War, he knew that all this contribution and action against the Greek government would be ineffective and pointless. He admitted this himself. In fact, such action, he believed would be suicidal! The irony is that he led this conflict and he caused this tragedy! No matter what Zahariadis said, the noose he was referring to being placed over the CPG and on the neck of the Greek people, as it turned out, was actually being prepared to be placed over the neck of the Macedonian people. And that's exactly what happened!

We the Macedonians, all through the Greek Civil War years, were prevented from manifesting our will for unity, but served as slaves to the "Party" and to the "Leader", who "used" us and then "threw" us into the ideological waste basket.

It was normal for the Greek communists to divide and enslave us. Once they changed the ethnic composition of our lands, they made the colonists from Asia Minor our masters and we became their slaves…

After the war it became very clear to every Macedonian that we fought for our own demise. In other words, our involvement in the Greek Civil War was exactly as it turned out! They fooled us into picking up guns, we did and they "justifiably" killed us. The Greek communists lied to us and dragged us into a deep ideological and political crisis. We took the bait and we were exterminated. That is exactly what happened and that is the "raw" unfathomable, unbelievable truth! What Greek authorities "dreamed" of doing for many years, the communists accomplished in just half a decade!

It is well known that the Papandreou government in Cairo, even then demanded of the CPG and ELAS, specifically from CPG Secretary Siantos, that:

"They 'liquidate' all Greek (Slavo-phone) political organizations and military formations in northern Greece. It would be a historical mistake for the Greeks and for the Greek state if the Slavo-phone formations SNOF and SOB are part of the liberation of the cities: Kostur, Lerin, Voden and other territories now occupied by the Germans and the Italians."

Reactions and other events in Greece

1. On April 17, 1946 the Solun right wing newspaper "Nea Alithia" (New Truth) published an article entitled "Our Sudetenland", speaking about the Macedonians and how they qualified to be Sudetenland-ers and as such,

the newspaper wrote: "... in the interest of peace and security in Greece, these people should be liquidated…"

2. The newspaper "Ethnikos Kirikas" wrote: "…Greece should soon expel 80, 000 Slavo-Macedonians…"

The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper "Eleftheros Typos" on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: "Let the Slavo-Macedonian leave our Macedonia - let them go where they want to go…"

***

The Western power position towards the left in Greece was very clear. Unfortunately we can't say the same about Russia's position which was not only unclear but strange. Stalin's message to Yugoslavia was: "Let them mess with capitalism but don't let them win." And as far as supporting them, just give them verbal support. And thus was born Yugoslavia's two pronged policy; a public one where official Yugoslavia respected Greece's integrity and a private one which encouraged the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to join the armed struggle.

The Great Allied Powers, in general, were not against the creation of a Macedonian state. Unfortunately they could not agree among themselves what the future Macedonian state would look like. The USSR wanted the Macedonian territories to be annexed by federal Yugoslavia. The U.S. and Britain did not want the amalgamation of Macedonian territories because it was not beneficial to Greece. So the main role in preventing any plans of uniting the Macedonian territories in the future was placed in the hands of the UK.

As a matter of fact, the United Kingdom asked the United States to become involved in Macedonian affairs. This can be verified by the telegram addressed to the U.S. State Department sent by Barnes, an American diplomat in Sofia, on January 26, 1945. The contents of this telegram were revealed to the Bulgarian government: Among other things, the telegram said: "His Majesty's Government is not of the opinion to approve the formation of an exclusive federation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. But we are willing to agree with the federation of all Balkan countries composed of current allies and their enemies, with the possibility of Turkey's involvement as well. Similarly, His Majesty also strongly opposes the creation of a Greater Macedonia, in which the territory of

Greece would be included, but we are ready to approve a future Macedonian state within Yugoslavia...

His Majesty makes it clear that any annexation of territory from Bulgaria with the Yugoslav Federal State Macedonia, without UN consent, would be considered, in his Majesty's opinion, something that the Bulgarian government has no right to do."

This British threat against the union of the Macedonian territories occupied by Greece and Bulgaria, the America State Department accepted as a "fait accompli" even though the United States had been arguing that the desire of the local population should be respected. In a telegram dated February 24, 1945, addressed to the British Embassy in Washington, the U.S. State Department replied as follows: "…the U.S. position is that the pre-war borders of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece in the Macedonian territory should be respected as lawful and any revision should only be performed with respect to the desire of the population and with international support, after the war is over and during peacetime."

As can be seen here, the United States respected the desire of the local population only in principle because it succumbed to British Government pressure. So in order to allow the British to tailor make a Balkan policy, the U.S. stepped over its own principles with regards to respecting the wishes of the people. "The U.S. government agrees," it said in the same telegram, "with the British government's view that there is no legitimate basis for supporting Macedonia, be it an independent state, as part of Yugoslavia, or part of a large Slavic Union, and to relinquish Greek territory on the grounds that the territory is Macedonian."

In this way the UK won over American support to protect its pet, Greece. British pressure on its allies, as well as on Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, strongly shook Yugoslav - Bulgarian plans to unite Macedonia in federal Yugoslavia. In conclusion: British political influence over the future of Macedonia and over the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, unfortunately, managed to legitimize Macedonia's division.

And what was the attitude of the British ambassador in Athens?

In November 1944, Mr. P.A. Leeper brought up the idea of displacing 120,000 "Slavo-Macedonians" from their indigenous homeland in Greece and driving them north and out of the Greek border. Leeper suggested this to UK Foreign Minister Anthony Eden in a letter dated November 24, 1944. Here is an extract from that letter:

"The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available but it appears that, from events during the occupation, that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty's Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece, it would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941." (FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R. 20431/1009/67)

3. History has also shown that in 1945 and after World War II had ended, that 35,000 ethnic Albanians – Muslim Chamuriots who were placed under Italian command, were driven out of Greece because they had allegedly collaborated with the occupying German authorities. Greece declared that this chapter of its history and in Albanian-Greek relations was closed with the excuse that: "They collaborated with the German and Italian occupiers during World War II and, as war criminals, were punished under Greek law."

Hundreds of billions of dollars for Tito

After many years of vegetating in Yugoslavia, in the spring of 1954, after signing military agreements with two NATO members, Tito visited Turkey first and then Greece. With the pact signed in June 1954, the armies of the three countries received orders from the U.S. to defend the Mediterranean Sea from the Soviet Union.

Tito signs pact in festive white uniform while wearing Stalin's decoration for victory on his chest.

While Tito, as President of Yugoslavia, was being welcomed at Piraeus Harbour, a number of young Greek communists circulated leaflets that read: “Down with Tito the traitor,” “Tito get out of Greece.”

Three years earlier, in July 1951, while Yugoslavia’s accession into the U.S. assistance program for the common defense was still being negotiated, General Dwight Eisenhower met Konstantin Popovich in Paris and asked him: “Will the Yugoslav army, which is based on the communist system, fight against the Soviet Union, alongside the capitalist system, in which General Eisenhower deeply believes?”

The answer he got was: “… The Yugoslav Army will have no problem fighting alongside Western European troops.”

Dollar figures of how much the U.S.A. and other leading Western countries had invested in maintaining the Tito regime started to filter out during the 1990’s. According to some sources it was almost one hundred billion dollars. Others were quoted as saying 102 billion dollars, in U.S. currency valued at 1988 U.S. dollars.

See: Pero Simich’s book “Tito - Secret of the Century”, Macedonian edition, TOPER Skopje, 2009, p. 274-275.

4.1 Great Britain's Position (The British always controlled the Balkans)

In early 1945 it was clear that Germany's capitulation was imminent. The end of the bloodiest clash of civilizations was nearing. World War II was coming to an end and humanity with its many sacrifices and great heroism wished to close the book on this conflict. The world impatiently stared out of the darkness that was imposed on it by the dark forces of Berlin, Tokyo and Rome. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met in Yalta (32) and agreed on who was going to influence whom in the new world. The Allied troops from the West and the Red Army from the East were on their way to Berlin, the heart of the Third Reich. Hitler could not take the humiliation and committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Berlin fell on May 2, 1945 and Germany finally surrendered on May 9, 1945.

Unfortunately, as it has always been in human history, the great powers remained the main actors in international life. They continued to increase their power and spread their influence beyond their borders in an attempt to model the world in accordance with their own interests. Thus, when the political and military alliance that defeated fascism fell apart in 1945, a "security dilemma" developed and began to erode relations between America and the Soviet Union.

Just at that moment in time, the Macedonian people found themselves divided four ways by four different countries with the iron curtain running through the middle of their state. At the same time those four different states were under the influence of opposing powers with various globalization policies and secular ideologies.

The fact that Macedonia was divided four ways opened a lot of questions which Macedonian historians should have asked when it came to the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. Questions like why was there such a large foreign investment made and so much attention paid to the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War? Was this some sort of test or tentative model to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, which in retrospect turned out to be the eventual outcome?

Why ask these questions? Macedonian leaders should have known about this. It was mentioned in a document circulated by the British State Secretary for Foreign Affairs entitled "Macedonia – Memorandum" dated August 16, 1944 in which it said: "We [Great Britain] are ready to give consent to the formation of a Macedonian state within the federal Yugoslav state. The applicant however has to insist that this country

should not annex, or seek any other territories, regardless of whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or Greece."

After that Great Britain emphasized the Agreement on divisions of interest and that Greece was 100% under British influence, with the right for Britain, if necessary, at any time to be able to intervene with all possible means;

Tito, during the summer of 1944, ordered NOV Macedonian units to secure the southern Yugoslav border with Greece. Securing the borders meant guaranteeing the sovereignty of these two states;

Let us not forget that the United States at that time insisted on the necessity to preserve the territorial integrity or "status quo" of the prewar Yugoslavian, Bulgarian and Greek borders and that the United States was firmly opposed to any territorial revisions even though it recognizes the Macedonian territory inside Greece. (See: Vlado Ivanovski: "Nova Makedonija" from October 11 and 12, 1997 number 3, "Why not Solun" (taken from Macedonia Times), which provides an overview of events, especially under the subheadings: "Desires stronger than circumstances" and "Attitudes of the Great Powers," that deserve special attention.) This issue was also chosen and tackled by other authors under the heading: "We want to go to Solun and not the Srem front..." and all did a great job with their analysis. Historian Kiriazovski also tackled this key issue but not as well as historian Vlado Ivanovski who revealed many actions taken by the CPM/CPY. Although Kiriazovski reveals the truth by leaving us clues, he also pushes the thesis that the Greek Civil War was a revolution and not a scam perpetrated by our enemies: Kiriazovski Risto (1966/181) especially about the creation of NOF and AFZH and their leadership in the time period 1945 to 1946. Anyone who is interested in learning our history will discover the mistakes made by the Macedonians when they decided to enter the Greek Civil War.

The problem looks complicated when the truth is muddied. The problem is simple when the truth is clear, honest and impartial. So the question is: Were we Macedonians strategically, intellectually, militarily and politically capable of uniting and preserving Macedonia's territorial integrity and maintaining a compact Macedonian population after World War II ended, after the Great Powers had decided on the border between Greece and Yugoslavia and after the two opposing camps had drawn the "iron curtain" inside Macedonia? If not, then what exactly was the point of Macedonian participation in the Greek Civil War? What was the point of fighting in a war we knew we could not win? Was there no one with

wisdom to have predicted what would happen to us had we raised arms against Greece in a war we could not win?

After being kept in the dark for over half a century, don't you think it is time for some of these questions to be answered? Don't you think it is time for the CPM to confess why it allowed the Macedonian people to be put in the hands of the CPY and the CPG and sacrifice them in a war that could have not been won? Isn't it time to demand from the CPM answers as to why it allowed NOF to be formed and directed first by the CPY and then by the CPG and to drag our people in a catastrophic war? Was there no one able to perceive what the "ideological activism" promoted by strangers and spread like a malignancy of the soul was doing to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in the years 1944 to 1950? And finally, what effort did we make in our struggle against the Monarcho-Fascists in order to safeguard our people and preserve our lands and our homes? And if we didn't then why not?

4.2 Attitude of the USSR

What was the attitude of the Soviet Union on the question of the creation of the Macedonian state on March 1949?

On March 8, 1949, Chernishov, the Soviet plenipotentiary in Greece, telephoned Moscow to let the Soviets know that the Greek reactionaries had been using very aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party of Greece, against DAG and the Partisan Movement and against the "Macedonian Question" about which there were talks in regards to decisions made during the 5th Plenum of the CPG Central Committee and during the 2nd NOF (Macedonian National Liberation Front) Congress. The brunt of the propaganda was aimed at the work of the CPG and at DAG, which according to the propaganda had apparent aims at breaking down the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Greece. "At issue this time is the unification of Macedonia," continues Chernishov "… This kind of propaganda gives the Athens government reason to recruit more troops and put its military on high alert at those places where DAG is in control. The Greek people are especially sensitive towards the issue of Greek sovereignty including those who live in the cities and who are communist and DAG sympathizers. In particular is the expected NOF Congress which is set to take place on March 10, 1949 in the free territories that are under DAG's control. On this occasion, the Greek state publication has declared to the Anglo-American League that this is a provocative intent of the Congress which is aiming to opt for the annexation of Greek Macedonia and to add it to a common Macedonian state together with the Bulgarian and Yugoslavian part of Macedonia and that the Communist Party of Greece "is treasonous to Greek Macedonia".

According to information Chernishov (the USSR position (33)) received back from Moscow, the Congress organizers were suggesting that to mention such intent would be irresponsible of the Congress, even for the future of the Macedonian people within a Balkan Federation. However, it was recommended that the delegates focus on orienting the population of Greek Macedonia in the direction to combat the Monarcho-Fascists in Greek society and to fight for the creation of a free and democratic Greece."

Stalin's position:

A special meeting was held between Stalin and Zahariadis to discuss the development of the Greek Civil War and what methods to employ. According to Zahariadis, Stalin ordered the following warfare tactics: "You start gradually from the villages and work your way towards the

cities to avoid unnecessary British military intervention and with a view at finding a compromise." Also let us look at the other facts that show Stalin's views towards Greece and towards the CPG, from Stalin and the USSR's political interests. (See: "MELETES GIA TON EMFILIO POLEMO 1945-1949," p. 288/289.) Also of great interest is historian Roy Medvedev's position as stated in his book: "Let History Judge" by R. Medvedev, Spokesman Books, 1976/473."

Stalin's position towards Greece and the CPG during the war period was unclear and even suspicious. Available documentation shows that Stalin's attitude towards Greece was negative at best. Stalin viewed Greece as a small country with a micro-strategic position and uninteresting for the Soviet Union's political interests. (...).

From April to October 1944 not once did Stalin complain about the Greek government's behaviour during his meetings with the Anglo-Americans. When Churchill and Eden visited Moscow in October, Molotov sat with Eden and negotiated the percentages of influence in Greece. This was the basic agreement which Churchill and Stalin reached on October 19, 1944. But when it came to interests in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary it was quite different. As for Greece, neither Stalin nor Molotov thought that changing their 10% influence would have any major impact on Greece.

(...) Roy Medvedev, in his book: "Let history Judge" about the first round of the Greek Civil War in 1944, wrote: "In the clash that continued, the Greek communists did not get any real help from the Soviet Union. (...). The Soviet Union even gave up on providing moral support to the Greek antifascists. EAM-ELAS forces were struggling without any military help or hope of gaining power. After this a government was formed without the participation of EAM. This government's policies, after a while, contributed to the creation of the conditions that started the Greek Civil War. Here is more proof that once again the Greek communists did not receive any material or moral support which they demanded from Stalin and from the USSR..." (...)

Here is another interesting fact provided by Spyridon Blagoev (see: "NM – felton from May 17, 1997 under the heading: "Third and final meeting Tito-Stalin, May 1946," (...)

Stalin: "Has Greece raised demands on Yugoslavia?"
Tito: "In relation to us we have had provocation, but not lately."
Stalin: "The British have an army there with aims at boosting reactions and for other purposes."

Tito: “(smiling): Because we want something from them; Aegean Macedonia and Solun.”
Molotov: “Yes, Solun, an Old Slavic city. Important for entry into the Aegean Sea.” (...)

Tassos Vurnas, a prominent Greek historian, in his book “History of modern Greece - Civil War”, on p. 176, wrote what Stalin said to the Yugoslav delegation in Moscow on February 10, 1948. According to Vurnas, Stalin said: “I do not agree with our Yugoslav comrades that the revolution in Greece needs to continue. That struggle has no hope of success. What do you think, the UK and the USA, the strongest countries in the world, will allow you to tear up a line of communication to the Mediterranean Sea? Nonsense! And what about the fact that we have almost nothing in terms of marine forces! No! You need to stop the revolution in Greece as soon as possible. This was also confirmed by Vladimir Dedier in his book ‘Tito’ (1953). The same was also said by Milovan Djilas in his book ‘Conversations with Stalin’ (1962). This is what Stalin recommended to the Yugoslavs, which most likely was based on what was agreed between Stalin and Churchill in Yalta and in Moscow from October 5 to 20, 1944 after victory was achieved in the Balkans by the major powers. Another one of Stalin’s recommendations, which is clear and irrefutable proof that the USSR was against Zahariadis’s slogan adopted during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum which called for an ‘Independent and united Macedonian state within a Balkan federation’, can be found in the communications between Athens and Moscow. Evidence of this can be found in the correspondence between Chernishov, Soviet ambassador in Athens and the USSR/CPG leadership confirming that Stalin was against such a decision.”

What was the USSR’s attitude towards the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia? See: the book:-Νικος ΖΑΞΑΡΙΑΔΗΣ - ΘΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΜΑ page 462.

The Soviet Union’s position on the issue of creating a Macedonian state in March 1949:
“On March 8, 1949 Chernishov, the Soviet plenipotentiary in Greece, telephoned Moscow to let the Soviets know that the Greek reactionaries had been using very aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party of Greece, against DAG and the Partisan Movement and against the “Macedonian Question” about which there were talks in regards to decisions made during the 5th Plenum of the CPG Central Committee and during the 2nd NOF (Macedonian National Liberation Front) Congress. The brunt of the propaganda was aimed at the work of the CPG and at DAG, which according to the propaganda, had apparent

aims at breaking down the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Greece. "At issue this time is the unification of Macedonia," continues Chernishov "… This kind of propaganda gives the Athens government reason to recruit more troops and put its military on high alert at those places where DAG is in control. The Greek people are especially sensitive towards the issue of Greek sovereignty, including those who live in the cities and who are communist and DAG sympathizers. In particular is the expected NOF Congress which is set to take place on March 10, 1949 in the free territories that are under DAG's control. On this occasion, the Greek state publication has declared to the Anglo-American League that this is a provocative intent of the Congress which is aiming to opt for the annexation of Greek Macedonia and to add it to a common Macedonian state together with the Bulgarian and Yugoslavian part of Macedonia and that the Communist Party of Greece "is treasonous to Greek Macedonia".

According to information Chernishov received back from Moscow, the Congress organizers were suggesting that to mention such intent would be irresponsible of the Congress, even for the future of the Macedonian people within a Balkan Federation. However, it was recommended that the delegates focus on orienting the population of Greek Macedonia in the direction to combat the Monarcho-Fascists in Greek society and to fight for the creation of a free and democratic Greece."

So, what does this mean? It means that, after World War II, when people believed that the worst was over and tragedies would no longer be allowed to take place, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia experienced further bloodshed and genocide.

4.3 CPG reactions regarding the establishment of Macedonian organizations

As mentioned many times before, the Organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Yugoslavia, in Skopje and were welcomed by the Left forces in Greece; especially since NOF was very successful at recruiting Macedonian fighters into the conflict.

During the 12th CPG Central Committee Plenum, which took place two months after the founding of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, it was proclaimed that: “Any territorial claims against Greece by any party are firmly opposed! Preserving the territorial integrity of the Greek State is the first task of every Greek patriot!” (KKE DO AP TO1931-1952, p. 110).

5.0 First fateful year 1945 under the leadership of the CPY/CPM

Noteworthy events in 1945

February 12, 1945 - The Varkiza Agreement was signed in a resort called Varkiza near Athens. The Agreement was signed by the Resistance Movement leadership (CPG and EAM) on one side and by the Plastiras Greek government and British General Scobey on the other. This Agreement placed Greece under British command in the Middle East. By this Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power over to the right.

After ELAS was demobilized on February 26, 1945 and until May of the same year, Greek occupied Macedonia was left unprotected during which time lawlessness existed everywhere. Acts perpetrated against the Macedonian people included mass terror, property looting, theft of livestock, murder, mass rape, destruction of Macedonian homes and expulsion of Macedonian people across the border.

April 23, 1945 – The Organization NOF (National Liberation Front for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia) was formed in Skopje on the premises of the CPM Central Committee. Together with NOF, AFZH and NOMS were also formed. From April 23, 1945 until the formation of the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" between NOF and the CPG, NOF acted on CPM/CPY directives. After "Brotherhood and Unity" was announced, NOF was put under CPG command until its dissolution.

April 26, 1945 – While visiting Moscow, Marshal Tito gave an interview to the "New York Times" during which he said: "If the Macedonians from Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes."

June 20, 1945 – A NOF Voden District Conference was held near Voden in Greek occupied Macedonia. The Conference was attended by 125 city and village delegates. Pavle Rakovski, member of the top NOF leadership, reported on the ideological content of the struggle and the forms it was expected to take. Vangel Aianovski – Oche, NOF Secretary of the District Trustee Committee, reported on NOF's financial situation. Among other things, the delegates called for the liquidation of the village rural guards (Poljaks). (N.M/94).

First condemnation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS from the Left

1. According to the left, it had been a mistake to form the Organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS by "external factors", i.e. the CPY and to impose on them the goals to struggle for a "United Macedonia" within Federal Yugoslavia.

2. On June 20, 1949 the KOEM (Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia) leadership, under Zahariadis's direction, accepted and signed a resolution which confirmed allegations leveled against Yugoslavia and the NOF and AFZH Organizations. Included among the allegations leveled were the following:

"NOF and AFZH are organizations harbouring agents who in Aegean Macedonia acted together with and had connections to 'OZNA', 'the JNA Intelligence Service in the Yugoslav General Headquarters' and 'Kolishevski'. They were all working towards the same goals: 'to undermine and break up the CPG', especially NOF which worked from the inside to subordinate CPG policies to the CPY, whose main goal was the acquisition of Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia."

There were many accusations leveled against almost all NOF and AFZH members including personal attacks and personal insults of moral nature. These were attacks made against their identity and allegiance. However, every single member of NOF and AFZH who was a successful enforcer of our collective allegiance and awareness stood for three important things:

1.) Ideologically stood behind the CPY or the CPG,
2.) Was guaranteed a leadership position and
3.) Enjoyed State Party privileges.

Unfortunately, we cannot say the same about the thousands of fighters in the ranks of DAG who gave their lives during the Greek Civil War and in the end lost their families and their homes. The CPY, CPG and Greece made them wanderers of the world. All those fighters lost their true history and have never been able to find happiness.

June 28, 1945 – The 12th CPG Central Committee Plenum was held, during which the following conclusion was reached: "NOF with its rapid popularization and military formations was dangerously threatening the Greek character of Macedonia, the Greek position and interests, and Greece's territorial integrity".

June 29, 1945 – The CPG Voden District Committee and members of the Pella Prefecture initiated a Decree to denounce NOF.

By the most severe condemnations of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, the Athens government, through parliament, passed the following laws in 1945 which initiated the most terrible and ruthless terror against the Macedonian population:

LAW 543/45: "Against NOF and against persons acting on seceding territories from the Greek state."

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

July 18, 1945 - Special law CC 43: "Against autonomist activities" was enacted by the Greek government. A law with which the Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared to be autonomist and with which these organizations were placed outside of the law and their members were declared to be bandits and tried for high treason.

July 20, 1945 – Law (KZ) 4124/45 was enacted to be applied only against the Macedonians.

"Prosecution of suspected persons"

July 20, 1945 – Decree "G" and laws: PZ 433/45 "Around the illegal possession of weapons" and PZ 753/45 "Around the illegal possession and use of weapons."

"Extraordinary Measures and Public Security"

December 16, 1945 – Trials began in Kostur against 106 Macedonians from the town Rupishcha, Kostur Region. These people were accused of collaboration with the occupiers, even though they were ELAS fighters. Some were sentenced to life imprisonment and others were given lengthy sentences.

In mid April 1945, after the Political Commission (34) in Bitola was disbanded, the CPM Central Committee in Skopje, on April 23, 1945 constituted or formed the National Liberation Front - NOF (simultaneously with AFZH and NOMS) for the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and the first message given to our people was:

“Brother Macedonians! Stand firm and watch the salvation NOF and AFZH will bring!”

When NOF was created and organized by the CPY/CPM it should have been clear to us that the stage was being set for a future war; a war that would prove to be disastrous for the Macedonian people, a war that was organized by foreigners and that would serve foreign interests.

Now let us examine Tito’s (CPY/CPM) diplomatic game on the future of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, just after the Second World War, at the beginning of 1945.

During the war (WW II) Tito held the position that the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia would realize their aspirations within the Greek State. But after the Varkiza agreement of February 12, 1945 there was a radical change in Tito’s attitude.

The position held by the top leadership in Federal Yugoslavia was made clear by Marshal Tito when he gave an interview for the “New York Times” in Moscow on April 26, 1945 when he said: “If the Macedonians from Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes.”

Several days earlier, on April 23, 1945, on the initiative of the CPY/CPM leadership in Skopje, NOF (National Liberation Front) for Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia was formed. See: Rakovski Pavle’s autobiography “My suffering”, AEA Publishers, 2000 / p. 341: Chapter 4.0 “Yugoslav Balkan strategy”.

According to Rakovski, on April 23, 1945 in Skopje, the CPM Central Committee constituted or formed the National Liberation Front-NOF for the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (without a conference and without elections). Pascal Mitretvski (35), after spending four months in Belgrade, received carte blanche to choose four other people and re-assemble the central governing body and come up with the NOF five-member Bureau.

At that meeting, Pavle Rakovski was assigned to coordinate field activities in Aegean Macedonia with the people from P. R. Macedonia who led NOF. Among them were instructors from the CPM Central Committee. The first instructor was the Slovenian Miha Marinko, followed by Nikola Minchev and Dimitar Dimitrievski - Peko.

During the meeting, attended by the NOF leadership, which included Mitrevski, Rakovski and Urdov, Tsvetko Uzunovski said: Today Yugoslavia became the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans. The Macedonian question became a Yugoslav question because the CPY formed the Party and the political organizations NOF, (36) AFZH and NOMS, which you will lead. The task of these organizations is to turn the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia towards a Yugoslav orientation. Now the Macedonian people and the Macedonian movement are under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia will now find their full establishment only within Federal Yugoslavia, which is for Aegean Macedonia to join Yugoslavia. (AM. Archive of Macedonia. F -20/276 F-20/196)

After the first sitting, the five went to the field to lay NOF's foundations. This was in Kostur, Lerin, Voden, Enidzhe-Vardar and Seres Regions…"

We also have historian Lazar Lazarov (1998/62) making reference to reports sent to the French government on September 26, 1945 by Gérard Raoul Duval, French Consulate General in Solun, who said: "… NOF headquarters is located in Skopje, Yugoslavian territory… it seems like NOF and the Slavo-phone propaganda for the realization of an autonomous Macedonia is controlled by the Yugoslav government which also controls this organization and sees Greek Macedonia as part of Yugoslav territory..." (p. 62).

The primary research question is:

If the (CPY/CPM) program goals and tasks given to the NOF leadership by Tsvetko Uzunovski – Abas, CPM Central Committee organizational secretary and Interior Minister of P. R. Macedonia of the NOF Aegean Macedonian leadership, allowed for a Macedonian national strategy to secure the spiritual and physical survival of the people and for them to remain in their homeland, was this not in favour of Yugoslav politics? In other words, what safeguards, if any, did Abas allow to be put in place in order to safeguard the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to be protected from harm and from losing their lives and homes?

And what did historian R. Kiriazovski confirm?: "This was a period when these organizations acted outside of and independently from the CPG and were exclusively led by the CPM/CPY". (See: Kiriazovski 1995/10)

There is no doubt that the optimal aim of the CPM/CPY through NOF was to completely enlist all Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia and send them to the front for a successful implementation of their program

goals. But the question is: If this strategic objective was the brainchild of the CPM/CPY, why then, only three months earlier, were the highest political bodies in Yugoslavia against the slogan: “Let us turn our weapons towards Solun”, i.e. “To Solun and not to the Srem front?!”

Because of the strategic objective set out by the CPM/CPY in early 1946, NOF, in addition to having its main leadership, also had 5 county, 10 district, 3 city and 32 regional leaderships with 120 professional staff belonging to NOF, NOMS and AFZH. In the territory of Aegean Macedonia, 220 villages were organized (half of these villages were destroyed during the Greek Civil War - m.z.), working under the leadership of more than 170 village and town organizations. At that time military formations were created as large as battalions. (See Kiriazovski 1985/143)

From a historical point of view, it seems that the need for NOF and AFZH was outdated because their slogans and what they stood for, i.e. fighting to defeat “Fascism” were also outdated. Fascism had already been defeated but it seems for the Macedonians that did not matter. But it did matter for the Greek government because it sanctioned and passed special laws that applied and were valid only for us Macedonians. These laws opened the door for violence against NOF, AFZH and the Macedonian people in general. Violence and unprecedented terror were sanctioned by the Greek government. This was done even before the Greek Civil War was active. The Greek Civil War did not officially begin until March 31, 1946 by a decision of the CPG Second Plenum held on February 12, 1946.

Why did Yugoslavia have a double-sided policy - a public policy which called for respecting the integrity of Greece and a secret policy - that encouraged Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia to join the armed struggle?!

6.0 The second fateful year 1946 – "Brotherhood and Unity" under CPG leadership

Notable events in 1946

January 13, 1946 – The newspaper "Rizospastis", in defense of the Macedonians who were terribly persecuted, harassed and mistreated, said: "…this is the greatest and most dreadful persecution ever heard of in modern Greek history..."

February 12, 1946 – The 2nd CPG Central Committee Plenum was held in Athens and a decision was made to not participate in parliamentary elections and to opt for initiating an armed struggle (Greek Civil War) against the Greek government.

March 31, 1946 – The armed struggle against the Greek government began with a Partisan attack on Lithohori during which 23 government soldiers were killed. Because of the ferocity and size of the attack, Greek historians consider this to be the start of the Greek Civil War.

April 2, 1946 - Zahariadis, CPG General Secretary, returned from Moscow to Belgrade and met with Marshal Tito and informed him of his decision to initiate the armed struggle against the right in Greece. Zahariadis received full support from Tito which included promises of moral and material assistance. The following items were agreed to at this meeting:

1. The Macedonian National Liberation Movement in Greek occupied Macedonia, led by NOF, which since April 1945 was under the direction of the CPY/CPM, was placed under CPG leadership.

2. Part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Yannis Ioannidis, was transferred to Belgrade and charged with leading the armed struggle, representing the struggle abroad and supplying the Partisans with weapons, clothes, food and other materials.

3. The Greek communists would be allowed to freely recruit fighters from the Macedonian and Greek political immigrant pool in Yugoslavia. The Greek communists would be allowed to organize hospitals for wounded and sick DAG combatants and Yugoslavia would be given the role to organize and coordinate aid for DAG from other countries.

April 4, 1946 – The Solun right wing newspaper "Nea Alithia" (New Truth) published an article entitled "Our Sudetenland, speaking about the Macedonians who qualify as Sudetenland-ers and as such" writes the

newspaper “in the interest of peace and security in Greece, they should be liquidated…”

April 12-14, 1946 - The newspaper “Laiki Foni”, organ of the CPG Regional Committee for the Aegean part of Macedonia, wrote a long series of articles entitled “Mass persecution of Macedonians”.

May 4, 1946 – The First Macedonian Detachment was formed at the “Trsie-Turie” mountains in Lerin Region. The detachment was led by Petre Markov from the village Neret, Lerin Region.

May 18, 1945 - Based on an agreement between the CPY and the CPG, around 5 to 6 thousand ELAS fighters, officers and political activists were sent to Bulkesh, Vojvodina where a Greek community was established and where they were gradually recruited into the ranks of DAG.

May 21, 1946 – The newspaper “Ethnikos Kirikas” wrote: “Greece should soon expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians”. The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper “Eleftheros Typos” on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: “Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia - let them go wherever they want to go”.

July 27, 1946 - A military court sentenced to death and executed Mirka (Irina) Ginova, a school teacher from the village Rosilovo, Voden Region. She was secretary of AFZH for Voden District.

August 24, 1946 - Based on prior agreements between Tito and Zahariadis, one part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis, was moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who was appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups, in June 1946 by Zahariadis, left Greece and moved to Belgrade. Here he received specific directives and promises of support from the CPG Politburo. In September 1946 Vafiadis returned to Greek occupied Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he established DAG Partisan Headquarters. On November 10, 1946 Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin to NOT expand the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly causing an international situation and that the CPG should focus more or less on its political struggle.

Dictate again, obedience and a bent spine.

November 21, 1946 - Based on decisions made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioannidis, soon after announced the following joint

agreement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leaderships will now fall under CPG leadership and the Macedonian armed units will join DAG and fall under the leadership of General Markos.”

A short time after this CPY and CPG agreement, members of the NOF Board, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, were received by Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, who told them: “You now go down (to Aegean Macedonia) there. Your leader of the struggle will be the CPG. The CPG Line is clear. Have confidence in the CPG. Struggle with all your might against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies…”

Terrible betrayal

Kolishevski and the CPM who, not too long ago, had told the Macedonian people to rise up and fight for their independence and to unite Macedonia were now telling them to surrender to the Greeks and fight alongside them under their leadership. To fight for what? How “clear” was the “CPG Line” when the CPG was against a united Macedonia and against relinquishing Greek occupied Macedonia? Nothing was clear regarding this struggle, especially the Macedonian people’s involvement in it! Surrendering the Macedonian people to the Greeks was a terrible betrayal on the part of Kolishevski!

For those who find this hard to believe, then ask yourselves this question: “Did Kolishevski and the CPM Central Committee not know about Tito and Zahariadis’s agreement to involve the entire Macedonian population in the armed struggle through the mass recruitment activities carried out by NOF, AFZH and NOMS? Were they not aware of the Greek reactions to such a struggle? Did they not know how the Greek government was going to respond to such a move and what ‘a Macedonian uprising’ might motivate it to do against the Macedonian people?” All one had to do was read the newspapers which spared no words to describe the Greek sentiment. It was made abundantly clear that neither the Great Powers nor Greece was in support of such action, especially the dismemberment of Greece! So, tell me, where was this struggle going? And if it was not the responsibility of Kolishevski to guide the struggle, then why advise the Macedonian people to get involved in it in the first place?

We can’t help ourselves but to ask “What has happened to us?” “Why were we kept in the dark for 60 years as to what truly happened to us?” “What was the real reason for involving the entire Macedonian population, men, women and children, in such a massive retaliation and who was the architect of this strategy?”

We the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia have our own homeland. Our roots are in Greek occupied Macedonia and no one had the right to uproot us. But it seems that the architects who got us involved in this struggle had no respect for our rights to live in our own homeland because they made absolutely no plans and expended no effort to keep us there. In fact, according to their plans, they were more interested in turning us into "permanent refugees" than in safeguarding our homes and lands. So, even our most basic rights, the right to live in our own homes, it seems, were violated by this struggle. So again, what did we fight for?

In conclusion: Lasting revolutionary values are always current. But did we, the Macedonians, by leaving our country create historical precedence!?

December 27, 1946 – An order, order number EP 13, from General Markos read: "As of today, all NOF Partisan Units are to be placed in the composition of DAG."

Sixty years later historian Kiriazovski announced that: "Tito handed the Aegean Macedonians to Zahariadis!" A fact that had been hidden from us for more than half a century has now been confirmed by historian Kiriazovski in his book: "The five vital years 1945-1949", page 40.

How and why were we handed from the arms of the CPY/CPM into the arms of the CPG?

Based on decisions made by Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG) on October 14, 1946, Karaivanov (37) of the CPY and Ioannidis of the CPG announced the following: The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH, NOMS and their leaders will now fall under CPG leadership while NOF armed forces, a number of small Macedonian units, will be placed under the command of DAG and under the leadership of General Markos (38).

Macedonian road to slavery after "brotherhood and unity"

Like NOF, AFZH and NOMS too became smugglers of Macedonian lives!

The program goals of NOF and AFZH under the leadership of the CPY/CPM from October 1944 to October 14, 1946 were "to give the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia Yugoslav orientation and to propagate the idea that they will find their full establishment only within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. This meant that Greek occupied Macedonia had to join Yugoslavia". See: F-20/276, F-20/196.

But after the “Brotherhood and unity” deal imposed on them by Tito and Zahariadis, the Macedonian people had no choice but to become slaves to an alien cause with motives unclear to this day.

Worst of all, this transition from being led by the CPY to being led by the CPG brought an end to the struggle and to hopes for a “United Macedonia”. So what were the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia fighting for now? According to CPG slogans: “We Macedonians must participate en masse in this war, because in victory and in the liberation of Greece, we Macedonians will earn the right to receive all our National rights...” YEAH RIGHT!!!

After subordinating NOF, AFZH and NOMS, the CPG put the squeeze on the Macedonian people, particularly on the leadership and spared no expense to disgrace, criticize and accuse them of everything in the book at every opportunity. The NOF and AFZH leaders were later branded “traitors” and “unfaithful” even though they had done everything that was asked of them and gave their full loyalty to the Greeks. This should be a historic lesson for future generations or those who think of the Greeks as our “Christian brothers” and who feel that we can live (on our lands in Greek occupied Macedonia) with them “as brothers”!

The pressure put on the Macedonian people and the shift from the CPY to the CPG further divided the Macedonian people and widened the existing chasm between them. A negative image was imprinted in their minds and they began to mistrust one another. A certain uncertainty grew amongst them followed by fear. Our ethnic unity was shattered and the Macedonian people became “we and they”. The CPG no doubt knew how to turn us into “us and them” and certainly knew how to exploit “our division” and turn our perceived differences into bitter hatred. At this point the Greeks felt very comfortable being our friends and enemies at the same time. We became easy subjects to order and push around!

The CPG became the “mysterious factor that divided the Macedonian people, especially during the Greek Civil War. The Greeks were very crafty at dividing the Macedonian people between those who remained in Greece and those who fled to Yugoslavia after World War II and later returned.

After we were “sold out” to the Greeks by Tito and Kolishevski, through this rotten “brotherhood and unity” deal, the CPG demanded “obedience” of us. It demanded that we live and fight for the “Party” and do as the “Party” ordered. And the “Party” ordered that every single Macedonian

participate in the so-called “struggle” without question and without feelings. The Greeks in their zeal to put us through the meat grinder became very biased and intolerant, particularly against NOF and AFZH which were stripped of all authority and freedom. The hostility, bias, criticisms and intolerance for the Macedonian people, particularly by Zahariadis, became increasingly intolerable.

(Moscow – Belgrade - the CPG)

(The following facts reveal key moments in NOF’s history - from the military archives: USSR, Yugoslavia and the CPG)

March 20, 1946 - Zahariadis left Athens and went to Prague. He used this trip as an opportunity to discuss his armed struggle in Greece with the communist party leaders and to seek assistance from them. But as it turned out, he received silence or advice that it was a bad idea to start a war at this point in time and that such a move would be foolish. The most notable leaders including Torez of France and Toliati of Italy told him that it was “dangerous to resort to arms” at this point in time. Georgi Dimitrov asserted that “the international situation does not allow an outbreak of a new armed conflict, especially one that would directly interfere in the affairs of the Western allies in the Balkans”.

All those leaders knew very well that Zahariadis had returned to Athens in May 1945, after being imprisoned in the Dachau Camp in Germany for nine years, which had left a strong impression on him and gave him a new attitude towards the world. He returned to Greece on a British plane and, immediately after returning, took up his former duties as CPG Secretary General and began to work.

Zahariadis laid out his Party’s aspiration for the newspaper “Rizospastis” by saying that the CPG “never attempted to seize power against the wishes of the people and he had never had to pursue a course of action against the Trotskyites, anarchists and idiots”.

At the same time the communist party leaders knew that “Aris Viluhiotis” was the “symbol of Greek guerrilla” whom Zahariadis publicly reprimanded by referring to him as an “adventurer” who with his “reckless behavior” prompted the Right to attack the Left. Subsequently, followed this, he was expelled from the Party and shortly afterwards was killed by the Right.

But during his meetings in Prague, Zahariadis did receive much information about Marshal Josip Broz Tito who “after his successful

guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia, had aims at expanding the revolution all over the Balkans".

Disappointed by the reception he received in Prague, Zahariadis, on his way back, decided to pay Tito a visit in Belgrade.

Zahariadis was well received by Tito who communicated with him in Russian and, after toasting him, Tito asked Zahariadis: "What do you think about the future of the Balkans?" To which Zahariadis replied: "Marshall, that's why I come to you, being urged by many leaders who have much respect for you and for your success with the guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia." Zahariadis then went into a detailed explanation in regards to the political situation in Greece, emphasizing that the people were ready to fight and to take power away from the Anglo-American imperialists.

Unable to hide his excitement, Tito, feeling comfortable being surrounded by his subordinates, Rankovich, Kardelli, Dzhilas, Tempo, Kolishevski and others, said: "Life does not go back, it moves forward. Revolutions bring progress in society and develop productive forces. On behalf of the Communist Party and the people, I promise you extensive assistance and whatever is needed to organize an Army. You know that, after World War II, we immediately thought of starting a revolution but even today in Aegean Macedonia the same revolutionary power exists in the citizens of Greece, the Macedonians. They are led by our experienced centres and have a long revolutionary tradition. We are willing to put under your command those forces and the forces available in the Bulkesh Camp."

Tito then turned to Kolishevski and said: "Lazo, take notes and do everything to bring those forces together under the motto "brotherhood and unity" and put them under the authority of the CPG which it can use in its revolution."

Here are the notes dictated for Kolishevski by Tito:

a/ NOF and AFZH are to break away from you (CPM) and be attached to the CPG. Do not get involved and do not give mixed orders on how to fight. Do not tell them to fight for a united Macedonia. And of course change their program goals and lead them to accept the CPG program goals;

b/ NOF is to form a central authority that will answer and report to a CPG Regional Committee;

c/ Put the armed Macedonian units in Aegean Macedonia under the command of military officers who are under the command of the CPG.

"But all this Comrade Nikos," said Tito, "will have to be approved by the old man, Generalissimo Stalin before we can act on such a revolution." But Tito already knew that Stalin was in the mood to cause trouble for the capitalists and was sure he would accept Zahariadis's proposal.

Zahariadis excitedly then said: "I m ready to take this to the Generalissimo and get his approval".

"Here's to the future of the revolution!" said Tito, continuing, "Be determined, not afraid, don't be afraid of casualties and overcome all difficulties, so you will succeed in your intentions. That's what a revolution calls for! Grab everything firmly in your hands and, with great certainty, you can count on us!"

*

After his stay in Yugoslavia, at the end of March 1946, Zahariadis left for Moscow to have talks with the Soviet leadership.

His plans which he presented to the Soviets on behalf of the CPG, during his meeting with Stalin, Molotov and Andrei Zhdanov, were approved. Zahariadis also had a second, secret meeting with Stalin during which Stalin told Zahariadis to "begin a low key armed struggle, by gradually starting in the countryside and then moving into the cities, in order to prevent premature British military intervention, and then work to find compromise."

While filling his pipe with tobacco, Stalin looked into Zahariadis's eyes and asked: "Did you consult with Marshal Tito, because it looks like he will lead a future Balkan Federation?"

Looking confused and wishing to avoid the question, Zahariadis said: The Marshal is a great strategist and internationalist. He promised to give me 20,000 people who were "hunted down by the Monarcho-Fascist army" and are ready to bear arms.

Stalin then said: "According to my sources, Marshal Tito is already in Aegean Macedonia in Greece and has been there for a year. He has established Macedonian organizations and they have had great success in organizing the Macedonian people in their heroic struggle. NOF - the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Front and AFZH – the Macedonian Women's

Anti-Fascist Front are being led and managed directly by the CPM/CPY. After World War II, all of these fighters were persecuted by Markos. All those who formed the "Aegean National Brigade" are now in Greece and are struggling for a United Macedonia. What are you going to do with these Macedonian military and political formations? The old sense of a United Macedonia persists within them and they will struggle until a new sense prevails "a Socialist Revolution in Greece" and for them that too will be good. Socialism is the same everywhere…"

Zahariadis then took out a sheet of paper on which was written: "Agreement between the CPG and representatives of the Macedonian people"

By this agreement: "The Slavo-Macedonians from Greek Macedonia, on the one hand, will give their support to the CPG during the elections because they want the CPG to seize power. Only the CPG can fulfill their hopes with a favourable resolution to the Macedonian question. On the other hand they will defend the CPG with armed assistance in case of incidents occurring between the left and right during the elections."

To that Stalin said: "Nu harasho! That is good. Macedonians are good fighters. They have shown themselves to be brave people!"

Zahariadis confirmed that "yes the Macedonians are good fighters and brave people" and added that "they can also be easily manipulated as history has shown!" After that Zahariadis informed Stalin of all existing military formations and political organizations which were to be transferred to his and the CPG's control after Tito's "brotherhood and unity" proposal was put into effect.

To this Stalin replied: "Yes of course, Marshal Tito has certainly shown his international views towards the Anglo-American imperialists." After that Stalin added, "It's all good. Proceed as you see fit and prepare a draft plan of your decisions for the CPG Central Committee. Be good, unobtrusive and generous and love the revolutionary thoughts of other socialist leaders."

After the meeting Zahariadis said: "The CPG has now been transformed and in place of seeking a peaceful solution to the Greek problem it will seize power by force of arms through an armed struggle!"

Stalin knew that Tito and Zahariadis had an agreement because "Tito's main concern was the protection of his new federation". Knowing that Yugoslavia was 50% under the influence of the West, Tito firmly

endeavored to keep the Yugoslav federation safe, something that he emphasized many times to the Security Service of the Yugoslav National Army General Staff: "…it is best to have a war outside the Yugoslav borders and to help it wholeheartedly than to have a war inside Yugoslavia." Such an attitude was also good for Stalin because he wanted to preserve as much of the socialist camp as possible without getting involved in another war.

But by far neither Stalin nor Tito, at least according to the developments that followed, was willing to risk their own position in order to assure a communist victory in Greece or to aid the Unification of Macedonia.

Judging from what he told Zahariadis, Stalin did not envision "strong military action" in Greece in the near future. During their meetings, Stalin did not promise Zahariadis anything; no military, no material and no moral support… he only gave Zahariadis advice, including to respect Tito's advice when it came to leading a revolution.

The next day Zahariadis traveled back to Belgrade where he informed Tito of all that had transpired and the two leaders reconciled the details of organizing assistance and cooperation for the struggle. Tito also advised Zahariadis of the do's and don'ts regarding leading the revolution and helped him define the nature and prospects of the Democratic Army and the measures it would be undertaking in the future war.

Moscow judged Zahariadis as a bold revolutionary leader; at least that's the impression he got from the Soviet leadership.

Stalin smiled as he sat in his woven armchair in the great hall and puffed on his tobacco pipe while Molotov, Zhdanov, Malenkov, Mikoyan, Kaganovich, Suslov, Baria, Bulganin and the other Politburo members drank "pertsovka" vodka. The waiters were busy providing first-class service.

Stalin was in a good mood while he wished Zahariadis "revolutionary success".

Before departing, Zahariadis stood quietly and submissively before Generalissimo Stalin and managed to say a few mixed words in Russian: "Glubokouvazhaemi Tovarish Iosif Visarionovich, boljshoe spasibo. Zhelaju Vam krepkoe zdorovie I ushte mnogie leta da ne vodite vo socijalismot kon pobedata na komunizmot".

Your advice will be our signpost and we will strive hard in our struggle against the Anglo-American imperialists until we achieve final victory for the working class in the world.

*

Zahariadis returned to Belgrade on April 8, 1946 and was received by Tito. Standing before Zahariadis Tito said: "Since we are revolutionaries and internationalists it is our duty to pay our debt to help 'revolutions' and I don't see any reason why we shouldn't be helping the revolution in Greece, which we began to realize. I can only give you my blessings Comrade Nikos. Gather everyone who can carry a rifle. This is normal in all revolutions and the public demands it."

Tito then lit a cigar and continued walking through the spacious room bypassing the desk and asked: "What is the situation with the youth?"

"Excellent!" said Zahariadis.

Written on page 117, in the book entitled "Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question", by Steve E. Palmer and Robert R. King, Archon Books, 1971, was the following:

"The CPY's interest in Greek Macedonia gradually faded away, with two exceptions. The first was an attack on the Papandreou government in November 1944 for allowing the 'terror against the Macedonian people' to take place. And the second was a bitter editorial attack in "Politika" at the end of December, because for over several months no initiatives were taken to see 'what was boiling in the Greek pot' (at that time NOF and AFZH were active under the leadership of the CPM/CPY). Several factors stood behind this CPY policy shift. Tito, who at the time was in close contact with Moscow, may have concluded that it was more important for the Greek Communists to come to power in Greece than for him to win over Aegean Macedonia. Also, all Macedonian combat units in Greek Macedonia were strongly inclined towards autonomy and Tito was somewhat limited by the existence of the Subasich rival government which still enjoyed support from the Western powers and was still necessary to be cautious. The CPY's desires to reactivate its concerns for Greek Macedonia materialized only after these circumstances changed."

And thus the triangle between Stalin, Tito and Zahariadis was closed. From a political game to a military disaster!

But why have we Macedonians from 1945 to this day, not been able to free ourselves from this terrible communist Triangle?

They led their own world politics, interfered in foreign affairs, constantly planned revolutions and strikes, but we, after following their lead, became victims of genocide and world wanderers.

After the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were handed over, surrendered to the CPG, Yugoslavia stopped supporting NOF and AFZH and put its full support behind the CPG.

Zahariadis, during his stay in Belgrade, was awe-struck by the meeting he had with Marshal Tito, particularly by Tito's determination to set up a central task force to help the Democratic Army of Greece. The task force, headed by Aleksandar Rankovich, consisted of General Iovo Kapichich, Deputy Federal Minister of Domestic Affairs, Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Ucha Krstich, Lieutenant Colonel Mile Vrbitsa, Giuza Radovich, Marshal Milutinovich, Major Drago Miovich, Major Obradovich Trninich, Captain Giuro Giurits, Lieutenant Iovan Popovich, Lieutenant Rade Kosmanovich, Krste Pengovski, Shime Benchich and soldiers Lazar Seferovich and Boshko Jovanovich. There was also a special team comprised of medical staff. Included in this team were Lieutenant Colonel Velimir - Bratsa Maistorovich and Dr. Iovan Bielich. Their task was to organize a hospital to treat the wounded and a means of transporting wounded from the battlefields to the hospital. The task to acquire and supply weapons for the Democratic Army fighters fell to Major Vladimir Dekich, Major Sveta Stefanovich, Lieutenant Iovan Popovich and Lieutenant Petar Luchich. An impressive number of weapons and materials were acquired including cannons, machine guns, rifles, Panzers - Fausta, pistols, hand grenades, radio stations, overcoats, horses and lots of food worth upwards of five million dinars.

Zahariadis paid a visit to the Greek camp in Bulkes, Vojvodina where he observed the military training of the 5,000 fighters already inducted.

In his speech Zahariadis ordered all political refugees to use "an iron fist" against the Anglo-American imperialist and Monarcho-Fascist regime in Athens. He told them: "You are obligated to carry out the CPG solution. Arm yourselves with the weapons provided for you by Marshal Tito and return to Greece to fight against the Monarcho-Fascists because their regime aims to destroy the democratic forces and to install a fascist regime in Greece." See: Dragan Kljakich, "Sovetizatsia Balkanske zone" – Confessions of Lazar Kolisevski, Belgrade, 1992, publisher "Radnichka Press".

When Zahariadis returned to Greece on April 9, 1946 he went to Solun where he gave a speech to his followers in which he warned the Greek government that the people would not stand for the abuse they were getting and that they would be forced to defend themselves by resorting to arms. The attack on the village Lithohori in Katerini Region during the night of March 30/31, 1946, on the eve of the elections, was just one example of what the future might bring.

In order to win over the Macedonians, on April 14, 1946, in Solun, Zahariadis said: "The government has directed its terror against the Slavo-Macedonians... Why are the Monarcho-Fascists carrying out such terror acts against the Slavo-Macedonians? Their first aim is to break their beliefs (the thoughts of NOF and AFZH), the Democratic People's beliefs and second, they want to sow discord between the Greeks and the Slavo-Macedonians…"

*

In early June 1946, Zahariadis, without consulting anyone, appointed Markos Vafiadis to the Politburo, made him a member of the CPG Central Committee and put the former ELAS Captain in charge of the future Democratic Army of Greece (DAG). He then ordered Markos to leave for the mountains and take over leadership of the "partisan groups that were already active".

British Ambassador Norton: "According to the envisaged plan, on August 25, 1946, Ioannidis and Rossos crossed over to Belgrade where, on September 1, 1946, they met with Markos Vafiadis who was there to consult with them on specific military and political issues. After going to Belgrade, Vafiadis returned to the Aegean part of Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he formed the Headquarters for the guerrilla forces. At the same time he appointed regional commanders who began to organize their fighters into armed units. In December 1946 these combined units were officially consolidated into the "Democratic Army of Greece" (DAG). Vafiadis was appointed Chief of the Democratic Army and was given the pseudonym General Markos."

What is the truth? Was the "CPG recognition" agreed to by the Macedonians? Did the Organizations NOF and AFZH agree to the CPG being recognized!? Was the CPG recognized by those who, until yesterday, had manipulated us and turned us into their servants?

Historical facts show that: “Based on the decision made between Tito (CPY) and Zahariadis (CPG) on October 14, 1946, Karaivanov of the CPY and Ioannidis of the CPG later made the following declaration: “The Macedonian organizations NOF (AFZH NOMS) and its leadership are to be fully subordinated to the CPG and the small armed Macedonian military units are to be incorporated into DAG under the leadership of General Markos”.

In other words, all this was “arranged” at State Level between Yugoslavia and Greece, which means that it was done with strict adherence to all “State Level” Treaties including the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest; the Treaty by which Macedonia was partitioned.

But to truly understand Tito’s reasons and motivation for getting involved in Greek affairs after World War II one would have to do some more digging. According to explanations given by Yugoslav leaders, “it was done for internationalist impulses only”, which today are not very convincing explanations. Why? Because, this “problem” did not rear its ugly head until around the autumn of 1948 when Yugoslavia began to warm up to the Western powers.

After this, the leaders of NOF and AFZH found themselves burdened by a new faith that carried an old disease. Instead of being the enemies of the Greeks, the Macedonian leadership was squeezed to accept the Greeks as partners in a fatal game. Instead of delivering the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia from the Greek evil, as promised with offers of a united Macedonia, these messengers of doom from the CPY now delivered them to the evil itself and asked them to partner with it in a “brotherhood and unity” partnership. And so the time when Macedonia was to be de-Macedon-ized was not far behind. This naturally caused confrontation between those pushing for the partnership and those who wanted nothing to do with the CPG and the Greeks. And this bickering created a gaping fracture in relations between those people who had fled to Yugoslavia with the Aegean Brigade and those who had placed their trust in the “Party”. And so yesterday’s NOF and AFZH supporters became the Greekophiles, and those who fled to Yugoslavia became the “traitors” who, by leaving to save their own hides, left their people back home unprotected and at the mercy of their enemies.

When people today think about these things and try to rationalize why this happened to us Macedonians, they can’t help themselves but think of the old saying that: “People who don’t understand their past, will find it difficult to plan their future”. That being said, then let us ask the question: “What have we learned from our history? In the last half century after the

Greek Civil War, what have we learned about our own experience in it? Do we know why we got involved in that war? Do we know who got us involved in that war? Do we know why we lost that war? Do we even know how and why we lost our ancestral homes?"

If we don't know then isn't it about time that we find out for the sake of those who lost relatives and for the sake of those who found themselves wandering the world as permanent refugees? Isn't it time that we demand answers from those who put us in this situation (CPY/CPG) and apologies for what they did? How about we do this for our future generations, just to relieve them of the burden of having to look for answers themselves and to help them avoid making the same mistakes we made?

Let us not forget or abandon the fact that our origin is Greek occupied Macedonia, we have roots there, those lands belonged to our ancestors and not to the Greeks! We can't dismiss what happened to us as a "random thing" or as a "coincidence". What happened to us was neither random nor coincidence; it was planned and executed for a purpose!

It is a well known fact that the Greeks and some other Europeans wanted us destroyed, extinct, to exist no more, since the European Powers set foot in the Balkans. Why? We don't know for sure, we can only speculate. Why did the Romans "divide" Macedonia? Macedonia was occupied by every empire that set foot in the Balkans, that is, until the 19th century, when its turn came to be liberated. But instead of being liberated, Macedonia was again occupied and partitioned! Is this because we bear some sort of curse that we are not even aware of, or are we like Zahariadis said to Stalin "a people easily manipulated?"

But besides what "outsiders" did to us, did not some of us volunteer to become part of this new "brotherhood and unity" partnership? Did those people not know who the Greeks were and what they had done to us over the years since we fell into their hands? What was that all about? What causes people to voluntarily wish to help their enemies? Is that not called "Vassalage?" Is it not true that our organizations became servants to our old evil master? Is this what Evdokia Foteva - Vera meant when she said "the CPG has recognized us"?

There is no other way of looking at it other than to admit that "yes our organizations became vassals, subordinates and servants to our old-new masters when their program goals were instantly switched from 'struggling for a United Macedonia' to 'struggling for brotherhood and unity' side by side with the Greeks; the same Greeks who were brought to our lands as colonists from Asia Minor and who turned us into their slaves in our own

ancestral lands". Did it not occur to our organization that "struggling for brotherhood and unity" side by side with these Greeks would lead to us lose our national identity?

Did it not occur to people that "there was no brotherhood and unity" between Macedonians and Greeks! If that is hard to believe then ask yourselves, "why would the Greeks not allow the Macedonian DAG fighters posted in the depths of Greece to speak Macedonian and use their Macedonian names?" Why was it "demanded" of them to speak Greek and use their Greek slave names?

We can spend days, weeks, months and years blaming others, foreigners, the CPY, the CPM, the CPG etc., for our misfortunes and for losing our lives, lands and homes but how do we rationalize the behaviour of our people in these circumstances? Knowing the truth also means knowing what we had done and the wrongs we committed against ourselves!

Over and over we have proven to be a capable people and have a tradition by which to back our bravery and abilities to fight, except when it comes to rationalizing why we are fighting and what we are fighting for! Was there NO ONE in NOF and AFZH who could foresee where we were headed when they accepted responsibility from Marshal Tito and the other gods of war to accept the idea of fighting for "brotherhood and unity" with the Greeks? Were these same brave people, who were risking their lives in the battlefields, afraid of Tito and of standing up to these gods of war and refusing such a fateful partnership? Why didn't anyone say a single word to Markos when he told them: "As of today you are soldiers of the Democratic Army of Greece and will fall under the command of more capable leaders and people who are more faithful and loyal to the CPG!"

Instead of standing up to Markos, the Macedonian leadership buckled under pressure and felt cold chills when Markos stripped them of their authority. They became terribly confused (like sold slaves) and submissively gave themselves to the Party as mere pawns, accepting their fate to be downgraded to mere fighters in the ranks of DAG. Where was their spirit and responsibility to their people? One of them was even quoted as saying: "We will fight alright, we will even awaken the dead and they too will fight for this holy revolution, we will fight together, living and dead!" I wonder if this person knew what he or she was fighting for? Our own extinction?!

Be mindful of what you tell Rakovski:

"…During our meeting with Kolishevski, while preparing to return to Aegean Macedonia to lay the foundations of the revolution, Kolishevski, in his cynical speech told us that: '…we the Macedonians are a talented people, with an appallingly visible international and revolutionary orientation, with a sense of tact and strategy!' Tito had told Kolishevski that: 'Now was the right moment'…"

Perhaps some day we will learn and understand what forces motivated some of our people to behave this way and to serve these gods of war in the way that they did at the cost of so much and of so many Macedonian lives.

On November 10, 1946 Zahariadis received orders from Stalin to slow down the fighter recruitment process during the winter of 1946-1947. Stalin rationalized this by saying that it was allegedly causing an international situation. Stalin also advised Zahariadis to focus more on the CPG's political struggle and such. Unfortunately nobody bothered to tell the Macedonian organization because at that very time all Macedonians, young and old, were being recruited en masse into the ranks of DAG. Why did this happen? Were the Macedonian organizations completely oblivious of what was happening? Historically, have we always relied on strangers (CPY/CPG) to dictate policy and lay foundations for us?

After what has been said above, it should become obvious to the reader that the Macedonian organizations were following the directives of foreigners, outside organizations that simply and massively pushed the Macedonian people into a precarious war which ended in a disaster for them and for us all.

Strangers seem to do strange things by making villains into heroes and turning real heroes into villains. They want their character to identify with the people and will do what it takes to achieve that. And this is what happened to some members of NOF (32), some were turned into heroes and others into villains even though they basically carried out their functions as ordered.

CONFUSE THE PEOPLE, OR ...?!

After they were switched from the CPY to the CPG, the political messages coming from NOF and AFZH started to become unclear, even though they were still interpreted by some Macedonians as "national messages". Immediately after Kolishevski made his recommendations we lost our sense of purpose. At this point NOF and AFZH should have stopped what they were doing. But instead they followed the given recommendation and

continued with their recruitment policies and intensified the mobilization, leading more Macedonians into oblivion.

This tangled understanding of comforting illusions shows how darkness ruled the Macedonian leadership. Its success in "awakening the Macedonian consciousness" in 1946 was in fact too late and unnecessary for the CPY or for the CPG because it could add no significant value to the struggle. The only thing it did was trap the Macedonian people in the CPG vice from which there was no escape except by death and exile.

But, now let us go back to the place and time when the CPY and CPG started their manipulation of the Macedonian people. That would be Belgrade, April 2, 1946 when Tito of the CPY and Zahariadis of the CPG, in the absence of any Macedonian representation, decided that: The Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, led by NOF and managed by the CPY/CPM, were to be placed under the control of the CPG and that NOF's program orders were to be modified to read: "NOF and AFZH will jointly struggle with the Greek people to save the Macedonian people from physical extermination".

This was an ideological offensive, with its own cosmopolitanism (against the Macedonian national consciousness); a scary idea that would shake the Macedonian people down to their native roots.

Now the Macedonians were required to pay double the price and (self) sacrifice themselves for some vague goals.

The situation was made even worse because many of the leaders and high ranking politicians, including many from the CPG, were in effect anti-Macedonian. Politicians, even in the Civil War, nursed dangerous anachronisms towards our national existence, openly attacking political opponents who supported the Macedonians and those who saw no benefit from such a war.

It is true, by doing what we did we caused ourselves a lot of grief and we dealt a blow to our identity. That is the truth and it may be part of a foreign strategy where people who, through manipulating NOF and AFZH, wished to cause us harm. The actions undertaken by NOF and AFZH in the early years may have prompted the Greek government to first commit unprecedented terror and persecution against the Macedonian people, and later to take military action to physically exterminate them. The situation was so bad, people were forced to leave their homes and flee to Yugoslavia, end up in prison on the dry islands or die at the hands of those causing the terror.

Historically our weakness has been our "national question" which was used to manipulate us and turn us into victims. In 1903 the Bulgarians used our national sentiments to start an uprising against the Ottomans unprepared and thus we not only paid the price in human losses and suffering but we lost our chance to liberate ourselves and fell prey to our neighbours, who only 10 years later, invaded, occupied and portioned our Macedonia. It would appear that less than a half a century later, we were again manipulated and dragged into a confusing war during which we lost more lives, our homes and native lands. So, how did this happen? This time our national sentiment, through ideological manipulation, got us into trouble.

When NOF, AFZH and NOMS showed up in Greek occupied Macedonia, as instructed by the CPY, they began a campaign to Unite Macedonia. Looking at this from a Greek point of view, these Macedonian Organizations were there to "carve out" part of Greece and give it to Yugoslavia. This was seen as an attack on the integrity of Greece and the Greeks have always been protective of the integrity of their country to a point of convulsion. So, the natural thing for the Greeks to do was literally "destroy" the threat and us along with it.

So, the emergence of NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Greek occupied Macedonia turned the region into hell. Their presence created a gray area, a dangerous place to live and it became a breeding ground for military and strategic competition between ideologies with different aims.

If we step back and analyze the situation from a national interest point of view, we will conclude that it was not wise, particularly at that point in time, for the Macedonian people to pick up weapons in their hands. By doing so, they not only sanctioned their own demise, but they gave Greece an opportunity to destroy the Macedonian identity while claiming self-defense. Yes, Macedonians did pick up weapons and yes there were plans to sever Greek occupied Macedonia from Greece and that was enough reason for Greece to turn its weapons on its citizens, destroy them and get away with murder because it was done in self-defense. The architects of these schemes must have known exactly how to play the game and, in retrospect, they got exactly what they wanted, a de-Macedonian-ized Macedonia! For the Macedonian people this was an illogical war because it was started at the wrong time and for the wrong reasons. It couldn't have been a war to "Unite Macedonia", or as some call it "the continuation of Ilinden", because by the time it was started the Great Powers had already decided on borders and on spheres of influence! It also couldn't have been

a war against “Fascism” because fascism by then was already defeated and the fascists had surrendered!

But there is still that burning question “Why was the Greek Civil War started?”

Was it started to destroy communism in Greece? Was it started to fulfill the British wish to get rid of the Macedonian presence in Greece? Was it Greece’s way of dealing with the “Macedonian Question” once and for all? Or was it a combination of some or of all of the above?

One thing that we can conclude from this experience is that in spite of what has historically happened to the Macedonian people, the Macedonian Spirit proved to be alive and well during the Greek Civil War because, in spite of all their faults, NOF and AFZH had managed to awaken it, even if it was led to genocide.

Unfortunately awakening the Macedonian spirit at the wrong time proved to be a disaster. Over half a century has passed and Macedonians who participated in the war are still wanderers of the world, not being allowed to return to their homes.

Someone let the evil out in Greece; it did not fall from the sky; but who?

Developing Partisan forces and General Markos’s cunning recruitment tactics

The political climate and political processes in early 1946 created the need for the Left (CPG and EAM) to begin to again arm itself. Severe persecution of the Left and the Macedonian people by the new Athens government was a catalyst for an attitudes change, including that of thousands of soldiers and officers, all supporters and members of the CPG and ELAS, where they felt they needed to pick up guns in order to defend themselves against the hostile and aggressive Athens government.

But what is astonishing is that NOF, under the direction of the CPM/CPY, as early as 1945 had already started a mass mobilization program of mobilizing the Macedonian population into the ranks of NOF and AFZH. This obviously is proof that something was being carefully planned for the future of the Macedonian people.

There is also proof that measures were taken right across Greece to prevent the Left from legitimately participating in the country’s political process. Feeling quizzed out, the Left forces began to re-orientate themselves and

started to massively mobilize into DAG reserves. And it would be no exaggeration to say that of the 25, 000 fighters mobilized into the ranks of DAG, 50% were Macedonians, most of whom were forcibly mobilized. Looking at this in proportion, it means that half of the fighters came from the Greek population of 6 million and the other half came from the Macedonian population of no more than 300 thousand people. So in terms of percentages the Greek population contributed 0.21% of its total population while the Macedonian population contributed 4.17 %, that ratio being 20 to 1. In the long term, throughout the entire Greek Civil War, the total Greek contribution amounted to 18-20 thousand fighters while the Macedonian contribution amounted to 15-20 thousand fighters.

According to General Zafiropulos's findings, the Partisan force during 1946 grew as follows:

To April 1946---------- 950
May---------- 1,300
June---------- 2,700
July---------- 3,500
August---------- 3,600
September---------- 4,490
October---------- 5,930
November---------- 7,450
December---------- 9, 285

This means that the ratio between the number of government troops and those of the partisan force were 10 to 1. But in terms of military armaments they were unparalleled.

For more information see: Κισαβος, "Ο εμφυλιος πολεμος 1946−1949".

"... When I arrived in Belgrade," said Markos, "I immediately met with Comrade Ioannidis in an office where I saw the two leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; Tempo (Vukmanovich) and Rankovich. They asked me what was required of DAG so that they could help. I told them that we needed to arm 18,000 fighters. When Ioannidis heard me say that he stood up and said to me: 'Markos, are you out of touch? What are you going to do with the arms for 18,000 fighters? You only need enough arms to arm 4-5 thousand and no more'…." (Kivasos, p. 94. Further on Kivasos wrote:

"I then asked Markos: 'Why Comrade Markos, after returning from Belgrade to Greece, did you change the Party Line?' Also present there

was Doctor Sakelariou. Markos then replied: 'Not I, it was Ioannidis who changed the Party Line when I was in Belgrade, Comrade Georgi'…"

Thus, it is safe to say that the "Party Line" was changed by Ioannidis and the Yugoslavs which gained Markos particular personal sympathy from Tito and the Yugoslavs a sympathy which exists to this day.

In his book, Kisavos confirms that after returning from Belgrade to Greece, Markos, at his headquarters, decided to send home all the extra volunteers who came to join the ranks of DAG. Around 2,000 volunteers were sent home. Unfortunately, after returning to their homes these men were ruthlessly hunted down and destroyed by government forces. Kisavos also cites another example, such as the one about Costas Aridas, Trikala Political Commission Secretary, who together with a larger group of cadres from Thessaly had decided to join the struggle and were turned back. Upon their return home these people were all arrested and executed. (P. 88).

Kisavos also wrote about another incident, a more tragic and shameful case:

"A group of around 250 young armed volunteers from the Kalambaka District refused to leave when they were told to go home. Instead of going home, these volunteers organized themselves into three units on their own initiative and decided to fight on their own against the entire hostile government army. This was during the time when the Greek army was organizing a large scale military operation and its troops were present everywhere. Spiros Yarras, from the village Kastraki, Kalambaka District, was in charge of the volunteer group. These men proved to be excellent fighters and fought fiercely in a bitter battle without any losses. But instead of being commended for their bravery and success, Markos and his Headquarter staff disciplined them for disobedience and placed Spiros Yarras in the list of people under suspicion.

Contrary to what the Greeks were doing, it was NOF and AFZH policy, as set out by the CPM/CPY, to popularize the struggle and recruit the entire Macedonian nation.

So, if Markos's political strategy and tactics were to de-popularize the armed struggle (as per Stalin's attitude) and turn back experienced ELAS fighters, then where do we look for answers to explain the logic of what NOF was doing? Why did NOF carry out an unprecedented recruitment campaign in the Macedonian villages? (This certainly must have been Tito and Zahariadis's policy...) (See Report generated by the top NOF

leadership, dated February 9, 1946, “Organizational Structure of NOF in Aegean Macedonia”: Am. Collection “Aegean Macedonia in the Second World War 1945-1949,” AE: 86 and 87. published in the edition entitled: “Aegean Macedonia in the Second World War in 1946,” T.SH..., Doc 42 and 43. Pg. 97, 100, 103 - 106.)

Here is part of that report:

Villages / CPG member / member of NOF / NOMS / SKOJ / AFZH

Kostur Constituency

1. Prespa Region
A. German District ..... 16 villages
B. Africa District ..... 7 villages

2. Koreshtata Region
A. D’mbeni District …..... 9 villages
B. Drenoveni District …..... 14 villages
C. Tiolishta District …..... 14 villages

3. Poleto Region
A. Zhupanshta District ..... 12 villages
B. Rupishta District ..... 10 villages
C. Kastenariata District …..... 18 villages
D. Kalevishta Sub District ..... 5 villages

Lerin Constituency

1. Lerin Region
A. Buf District ……..... 13 villages
B. Kotor District ……..... 15 villages
C. Banski District ……..... 6 villages
D Ovchareni District …..... 9 villages
E. Turie District ……..... 6 villages

2. Sovichko Kailarsko Region
A. Ekshi-su District ……..... 5 villages
B. Aitos District ……..... 8 villages
C. Mokreni District ……..... 16 villages

Voden Constituency

1. Meglen Region

A. Krontselevo District ……..... 13 villages
B. Sobotsko District ……..... 11 villages

2. Ostrovo Region
A. Ostrovo District ……..... 7 villages
B. Mesimer District ……..... 11 villages
C. Tsrno Marinovo District …..... 8 villages

According to the report, the meetings with the villagers were held in January. Most villages accepted the NOF Line and were fighting under NOF leadership. The report also cited exactly how many people belonged to each of these organizations. The figures were striking and gave an accurate picture of how many Macedonians had fallen under the influence of these organizations. There are also other details.

For the organizational leadership,

Secretary, S.R.

Unfortunately such a report has yet to be written in the annals of our history!

1. If NOF was politically a Macedonian organization, it should have asked itself: "What concessions can be made to the CPG in order to avoid doing damage to the Macedonian people and to the Macedonian National plan? There is also this other thing: "If NOF was created by the CPM/CPY, and we know it was, and then the CPM/CPY gave (sold out) NOF to the CPG, then what were its political objectives?!!! Unfortunately only they, the CPY and the CPG, the organizations that pulled NOF's strings knew for sure!

But the CPY and the CPG found themselves an elite, pliable and obedient entity in NOF which they could easily manipulate and which was capable of mobilizing the Macedonian people without making them aware that they were being bated! I don't think and I don't want to believe that NOF and AFZH deliberately did this to the Macedonian people.

And so we placed our hopes in the CPG's hands and we found ourselves wearing DAG uniforms. And in the end we earned what? Our children running around the world all alone, our families broken and our ancestral properties left behind and lost forever…? In other words, we earned our "genocide".

7.0 The third fateful year 1947 – Total mobilization under CPG leadership

Notable events in 1947

February 12, 1947 – The UK government informed the U.S. government that, for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947 it would stop helping Greece. The U.S. government agreed that it must inherit Great Britain's role in Greece because otherwise Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence.

February 20, 1947 – The U.S. and Greek governments signed an agreement in Athens. The U.S. government pledged to help Greece and as a result began to exercise American dominance over Greece, pushing the UK to the side.

February 24, 1947 – The King of Greece and the Greek government publicly called on DAG fighters to surrender. They were given a deadline up to March 15, 1947. If they were to surrender before the March 15th deadline their offenses committed against the State and against the people would be absolved and they could return to their homes.

March 1, 1947 - U.S. President Harry Truman announced the decision to proclaim the "Truman Doctrine" (40) for engaging the U.S. in Greece. Greece was granted credit and advanced military equipment to equip its government army. At the same time Van Fleet, an American General anti-guerrilla specialist, was made available to the Greek government.

With Van Fleet's strategy and tactics applied in the last battles fought in the Vicho and Gramos battlefields, DAG was defeated and ejected outside of Greece.

May 16, 1947 - The radio station "Free Greece" was installed in Belgrade and began broadcasting.

September 15, 1947 - From September 15 to 17, 1947, the CPG 3rd Plenum was held during which military issues were discussed. The slogan: "All to arms and everything for victory!" was coined during this Plenum. It was also decided to create a free territory in Kozheni plateau, which was surrounded by the mountain Massifs of Pindus, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

September 27, 1947 – DAG Headquarters ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 17 to 35. With much intensity, over the course of

4 to 9 months, the Macedonian political refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia and were living in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola were also mobilized into DAG and shipped from Yugoslavia to the front in Greece in trucks covered with tarps during the night. (See: F.M INI SK.4-271/60 p.73-76).

Up to January 1, 1948 – Yugoslavia provided military equipment and assistance to DAG (See: List of equipment in the book "The Macedonians and CPY-CPG relations, 1945-1949", p. 263 by Dr. Risto Kirazovski), "Review of military equipment and other material assistance provided for DAG".

New strategic CPG goals

February 1947 - The CPG leadership decided to change DAG's strategic goals from struggling against the Athenian regime for a peaceful solution to the Greek internal issues, to struggling to overthrow the government regime and take its place. The Athens government reacted promptly and with severity, passing a series of laws in the Greek Parliament including some to return the king.

February 14, 1947 - G. Marshal from the U.S. Department of External Affairs said that the U.S. government was satisfied with the changes that the Greek government had made and it was in the interest of the U.S. and of all the United Nations, for Greece to receive aid to maintain its independence and territorial sovereignty. (See: Department of State Bulletin, 23. 2. 1947, 341). With his statement, G. Marshall initiated the process for Greece to receive American aid.

February 17, 1948 - U.S. President Truman, in his monthly report to Congress, warned that: "Should the need arise, we are ready to provide even more comprehensive assistance to Greece."

February 24, 1947 – The Greek King and the Greek government publicly called on DAG fighters to surrender. They were given a deadline up to March 15, 1947 to surrender without any penalties. If they surrendered before this deadline they would be allowed to return home.

March 12, 1947 - Both the United States and the United Kingdom were determined, at all costs, to prevent the Greek communists from taking power in Greece, which resulted in American intervention in Greece as per the famous "Truman Doctrine" of March 12, 1947. Truman's doctrine clearly warned Stalin not to hope for success in Greece. Greece in the meantime, was receiving unrestricted aid, first through the Truman

doctrine and later through the Marshal plan, which allowed it to create a large and modern army, trained to fight and defeat DAG.

Given U.S. involvement and its level of commitment in Greece, how much could the Macedonians have achieved in this pointless ideological struggle? Besides pushing themselves down a relentlessly slippery and dangerous slope, as they did, how much could the Macedonians have done against such odds? Perhaps we can learn something from NOF's latest position and from a DAG Supreme Headquarters memorandum to the United Nations Inquiry Committee, which reads:

MEMORANDUM

From: The Democratic Army of Greece – Central Command Headquarters - II Division

To: The Select Committee of the United Nations

Re: Reasons for the start of the Civil War and our thoughts on ending it.

March 14, 1947.

The following is a short explanation. Because the material is extensive, we will convey only a short interpretation here and provide the complete memorandum in chapter four of this write-up. This will give us an idea of how far we Macedonians were willing to go to (self) sacrifice ourselves as participants in DAG and whether the Greek Civil War was really a "Macedonian Liberation Movement", an extension of the "Macedonian Ilinden tradition", or something else.

Brief: (At the agreed upon meeting, agreed to by General Markos, DAG Supreme Commander, with the Soviet and Polish representatives of the Security Council Inquiry Committee for Greece and the representatives of Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, on March 21, 1947, at the General Democratic Army Headquarters located in the village Hrisomilia (Kalambaka District), General Marcos delivered a comprehensive memorandum to the Inquiry Commission. The memorandum consisted of four chapters.

The memorandum provided accurate data regarding the Monarcho-Fascist bands roaming Thessaly, their whereabouts, their numbers and the names of their officers. Nearly all the officers on the list were collaborators who, during the occupation, had collaborated with the occupiers and had personally committed many crimes against the people for which the

people's courts had sentenced them to death. Here are their names: Kalabalitis, Surlas, Zervas, Tselios, Karakisos, Bizdas, Kunduris and others. The memorandum also listed facts about the ELAS officers who were arrested, exiled to the islands, or executed without having committed any crimes. The memorandum also produced documents originating from representatives of the Greek government who had admitted that the Monarcho-Fascist bands existed and were armed by the British much earlier than when the left began to arm its partisans who had fled into the forest. The aim of the Monarcho-Fascist bands was to destroy the will of the democratic citizens. Anyone in Greece who spoke about democratic rights was labeled an enemy of the Greek State. In the archives of the gendarmerie stations and in other government agencies, which DAG had seized, there was not a single directive that dealt with anything other than the destruction of the people's movement and the Communist Party of Greece.

It was also characterized that in 1945 the largest blockades and attacks were said to have been carried out by British and Greek military units.)

The Democratic Army, endowed with the spirit of peace and with a normal democratic approach to solving our internal problems, which hang over the Greek people, has not missed a single occasion to advocate measures that will pave the way for democratically solving this problem. The attitude of the Democratic Army aptly matches the desire of the people's democratic leadership leading the movement which represents the will of our democratic nation. Now, what are the reasons that caused the Civil War in our country and how can it be ended? We offer and maintain that without resolving the following problems there can be no peace: withdrawal of British troops from our country; EAM to participate in the government; general amnesty to all fighters; cleansing the state apparatus and security battalions of its fascist members;

Establishing democracy and freedom in the military, public safety and conducting free elections are prerequisites for our country to calm down. Without these factors there can be no normal life and freedom for the people. The Democratic Army and the people will continue to struggle until these factors are realized. We are confident that the people of all democratic nations will support us as long as we struggle for our rights and ideals.

The Democratic Army believes that the United Nations Inquiry Committee that represents all Democratic and Liberal nations who have made incredible sacrifices in their fight against Fascism will fulfill its objectives in its examination of the situation that exists in our country. We are

confident that it will find the real reasons that caused the Civil War to flare up and that it will also help the people to achieve their aspirations and their freedom, which are enjoyed by all the democratic nations in the world.

Marcos, S. R. - DAG Central Command

May 20, 1947- The 1st NOF (41) Conference was held during which the new line of Organizational Objectives for the Macedonian National Liberation Movement were outlined, which were derived from the CPY and CPG directives to: "Fully incorporate the Macedonian people into the struggle led by DAG to establish a people's democracy in Greece". Everything else was geared towards that goal. (See: Kiriazovski 1998/232-233)

Over the course of this war the Macedonian people went from experiencing euphoria to disappointment and to awe of having lived through the winds of war. This is what our involvement brought us as a result of that small "paragraph" decided by the CPY and the CPG. And was this not a dangerous strategy and a cunning tactic of foreigners who were not even sure if they could march in that direction??!!

An interesting question to ask is: "Was NOF even aware of Zaharadis's position in all this?" (See: Vassilis Bardzhiotas 1987/91) "…Nikos Zahariadis, since the 2nd Central Committee Plenum, in 1946 wanted a military struggle. But in the beginning when he had the military might to seize power by force he was pushing for a peaceful solution and for democratic developments. Zahariadis did not give up on his idea even after September 1947 when the 3rd Central Committee Plenum was held, during which the responsibility of the Party was devoted to the struggle. Yes, of course Zahariadis supported this idea (position) until 1948-1949, when concrete talks were taking place at the UN, with the proposal and support of the Soviet Union, for a peaceful solution to the Greek question..."

U.S. Foreign Minister G. Marshal, on February 14, 1947, stated that the U.S. government was satisfied with the Greek government's changes and in the interest of the U.S. and all the United Nations, recommended that Greece receive aid in order to maintain its independence and territorial sovereignty (See: State Department Newsletter, 2. 2. 1947, 341.)

American predictions made regarding developments in the Greek occupied part of Macedonia in the spring of 1947 were taken advantage of by Greek authorities to further strengthen their hold on the region and expand their persecution against the Macedonian people. To give legal basis to committing acts of terror, the Greek government enacted a number of legal

acts. Among other things the government adopted the following laws and regulations: PZ 511/47, “Organizing concentration camps” and “Forcing evacuation of the population from urban centres”. Decree L-3 “People accused of committing anti-state acts to be stripped of their Greek citizenship”. PZ 509/47 “State security measures, constitutional orders and protecting the citizens”.

In the face of these draconian measures, we were pushed further into the hands of the CPY and the CPG and were later obliged to do their bidding…

Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) - Orders
Headquarters - Headquarters Office 1
Protocol Number 722 - Regarding number 132/25.8.1947 and A.P.307/25.9.1947 order:

We call on all men and women to join the Democratic Army and serve in its armed ranks...

The above recruited, wherever they may be, will have to find their own way to report to the closest Democratic Army recruitment station. Those who were mobilized and who do not report to their designated units in the ranks of DAG will be considered unreported.

Regional Headquarters are to issue appropriate orders. Measures need to be taken to quickly inform everyone that was mobilized.

Headquarters, 9/30/1947, General Markos.

Second order, 23.11. 1947.

DAG headquarters ordered, only for Vicho Region (Aegean Macedonia), to mobilize all men and women ages 17 to 35. This applied to all men including those who were left behind to construct fortifications and to those who were left behind due to illness. Practically the entire Macedonian population in the Kostur and Lerin Regions was recruited during this mobilization.

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Macedonians showed themselves to be trustworthy and such trust served as a mobilization success factor. But then came what was unexpected: thousands of our Macedonian young people being sent by Markos’s orders to the depths of Greece. And what was their fate? That’s a different story;

most of them disappeared as if walking through a pit of quicksand. I will mention this; I was among the 350 young men, aged 17 to 18, recruited from the Macedonian villages Turie, Bapchor, Visheny, Kolomnati etc. between October 5th and 10th, 1947 who were sent to the Headquarters in Epirus and Antihashia and who fought in Konitsa. I was among the few who survived when about two thirds of us left our lives on those battlefields. But let us see how our history assessed our sacrifice:

"The Macedonian military formations, now units of DAG, were sent south into Greece in order to strengthen the existing partisan movement there. And they truly furthered the armed struggle in that part of the country…" (See: Kiriazovski 1985/166).

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That is exactly why we Macedonians, during the Greek Civil War, were unable to impose our political or military will and shift the orientation of our struggle towards defending and saving our homeland and preventing the eradication of our homes.

And what happened to us after the war? For Greece we no longer existed! And for the communists who got us into this mess in the first place, we were nothing… For the last half century or so we were nobodies; after this war no one cared about how the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia coped or how they existed, roaming the world as permanent refugees…

The CPG 3rd Plenum was held from September 15 to 17, 1947 in order to discuss military matters. This was when the famous slogan: "All to arms and everything for victory!" was coined. This was when it was also decided to create a free territory in the Kozheni plateau, which was surrounded by the mountain Massifs of Pindus, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

September 27, 1947 – The General Headquarters of Markos's Partisan units, before the Democratic government was declared, which makes this act illegal, issued orders to mobilize fighters aged 17 to 35 years. But after this mobilization, because it was carried out only in the Macedonian villages, only 15,000 to 17,000 fighters were mobilized. Just for comparison: in the spring of 1946 when the Greek Civil War began, the Greek government possessed the following numbers: 27,000 policemen from whom 14,000 were from Northern Greece (i.e. Greek occupied Macedonia); paramilitaries about 5,000; national military units 17,000 (40 battalions); 75,000 regular soldiers (7 armies and two free brigades) (See:

"DAG-strategic issues and management tactics," G. Maltezos Dzhumerkiotis, p.60).

According to Dzhumerkiotis: "It is well known that in 1947 DAG had not resolved either the issue of military supplies or the issue of arming its fighters with ordinary battle machine guns and other battle assets, as well as ammunition. It also remains to be explained why on the one hand Zahariadis gave Markos orders to increase the number of fighters in DAG to 60,000 while Ioannidis gave Markos orders to acquire arms for only 4,500 thousand fighters. It is also well known that Markos, in 1947, ended up sending home thousands of fighters who wanted to voluntarily enter the ranks of DAG." (p. 354). The question is: "Why did General Marcos conduct an illegal mobilization only in Macedonia, mobilizing young and old and wreaking havoc on the Macedonians?"

The decisions made by the CPG Central Committee during the 3rd Plenum, held in Belgrade in September 1947, is also a problem for Greek analysts. According to Gusias (p.251) the Plenum was attended by only six CPG Central Committee members and several military personnel, but not a single Macedonian was present!

The Plenum decided to oblige DAG General Headquarters to start mobilizing recruits right across the country so that by March 1948, there would be 60,000 armed fighters in DAG. At the same Plenum it was decided to switch fighting tactics from self-defense to going on the offensive and take power by force. To achieve this goal plan "S" was put into effect, also known as operation "Lake". This plenum also coined the slogan: "All to arms and everything for victory!" At this Plenum it was decided to create a free territory on the Kozheni plateau, which was surrounded by the mountain Massifs of Pindus, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho. The plan was to liberate the towns Lerin, Voden, Negush, Sobotsko, Konitsa and others as a first stage to liberating all of Greece.

From what was said above, there is clear confirmation that all these decisions were made without Macedonian presence or consent and that the Greek Civil War was intended to be fought in Greek occupied Macedonia. All this was decided at the Belgrade Plenum in September 1947 with no Macedonian representation!

Mobilization beyond the borders of Greece to include all those people who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves from the Greek terror

September 27, 1947 – DAG Headquarters ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 17 to 35. With much intensity, over the course of 4 to 9 months, the Macedonian political refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia and were living in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola were also mobilized into DAG and shipped from Yugoslavia to the front in Greece, in trucks covered with tarps during the night. (See: F.M INI SK.4-271/60 p.73-76).

8.0 The fourth fateful year 1948 – Under CPG and Inform-Bureau control and the "Save the Children program"

Ominous 1948 – Sorrow, fear and eternal parting with our native lands

January 13, 1948 – NOF's 1st Congress was held in the V'mbel village church in Kostur Region during which it was concluded that more then 20,000 of the 25-28,000 DAG fighters in the entire country were Macedonians. This means that by 1948, 8,000 fighters, at most, were Greeks i.e. of non-Macedonian origin.

February 24, 1948 – The American Military Advisory and Programming Group led by General Van Fleet arrived in Greece.

It was announced as the "high visit" to Athens.

December 31, 1947 – The American Military Advisory and Programming Group "IUSMARG" was formed and headed by Van Fleet. Through this American military advisory group, the Americans regained control not only of Greek politics and economics, but also of the Greek armed forces.

War Diary:

February 7, 1948 – American Lieutenant General James A. Van Fleet (43) assumed command of IUSMARG, and a week later together with Major General Stewart Rollins, head of the British military mission, they were attached to the Greek National Defense Council. See: Foreign Office to Belgrade, March 4, 1949.

Everything was unwinding towards Truman's doctrine

Truman emphasized: "...If Greece falls under the control of an armed minority then confusion and anomalies can easily prevail in the entire Middle East. Furthermore, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a deep reflection on all European countries whose peoples are struggling ... If we don't help Greece in this critical moment, the consequences will be severe for the West and for the East. We are obliged to take immediate and decisive action." To this end, Congress was asked to provide 4,000,000 dollars in economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union condemned this as "Truman's doctrine".

In early March 1948, Zahariadis decided to test the NOF and AFZH leadership by asking them to show him their political and military

potential, which among the Macedonians showed very clearly that: people who do not respect themselves cannot respect others.

The Macedonian members of NOF and AFZH often impeded one another and Zahariadis used their minor disputes to inflame the principle of "divide and conquer". He allowed certain "pluralistic opinions" in his closest circle and used those opinions to create disputes and hostility among the Macedonians. This benefited him immensely because he was able to better define his control over them and his power with suggestions and ideas.

Zahariadis decided to also test the Macedonian intellectual and political capacity in Greek occupied Macedonia and to determine the leadership's trustworthiness after spending a long time under CPY/CPM (April 23, 1945 to October 14, 1946) influence when the Macedonian consciousness was under Yugoslav political influence.

Extract B: "...March 27, 1948 - Zahariadis took the next very significant step to change NOF from the inside. For secretary of the party's faction in NOF, he imposed the well-known anti NOF and exponent of CPG politics in the Macedonian national liberation movement, Stavros Kochopulos whom Evdokia Foteva - Vera in her book "To Hell and Back" calls "scum". NOF leadership was handed over to Kochopulos; a man who hated NOF!

March 1948 – DAG General Headquarters issued an immediate order to mobilize almost the entire NOF and AFZH membership and the memberships of all other Macedonian associations. The CPG leadership then asked the Macedonian leadership to submit a proposal on how the Macedonian activists could be engaged in the mobilization.

Among other things, here is what Mitrevski said in his report to the Greek leadership: "The issue of mobilization of personnel, according to your directive, after extensive discussions we eventually agreed as follows:

As per Keramitchiev's suggestions, Pavle Rakovski and Lazo Poplazarov were to be appointed Brigade political commissars. Vangel Aianovski (Oche) and Mihailo Malio were to be appointed Battalion political commissars. Lambro Cholakov was to be appointed Battalion quartermaster.

As per Vera's suggestions: Rakovski and Poplazarov - political commissars of the Brigade, Malio and Cholakov - political commissars of Battalions, and Oche - Brigade officer.

As per Stavros Kochopulos's suggestions: – Rakovski, Poplazarov and Malio to be moved to the command of the Battalion. Cholakov and Oche to the company."

... Pascal Mitrevski informed the Greek party leadership that at the top of NOF and among the Macedonians there were separatist tendencies, chauvinism, nationalism, fractionizm and antiparty tendencies. (Report submitted to the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau on April 12, 1948)

See: p. 233 "... Mihailo Keramitchiev, Vera Nikolovna, Pavle Rakovski, Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, with their letters addressed to the CPY Central Committee, begged the Yugoslav leadership to intervene and convince the CPG leadership to change its attitude and policy towards the Macedonian people".

It remains unclear how members of NOF and AFZH, of whom so many were viewed as the "sons and daughters of the Macedonian people" who would bring them freedom, could receive such low grades? It is even harder to understand how they assessed themselves and attained the positions as political commissars!

Zahariadis often wondered why the Macedonians "NOF and AFZH" had not chosen a leader to lead them and represent the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia in the future Balkan Federation they were aiming to create??!!

My question is: Why did the NOF and AFZH leadership lack the courage to suggest that Macedonians be placed in positions to lead the CPG political pillar and DAG military pillar given that the majority of DAG active participants, 50-60%, were Macedonians? Why did they simply accept being sent to Headquarters and appointed as being "responsible for the Macedonians"!?

It has never been made clear why NOF and AFZH activists were deployed as "Responsible for the Macedonian fighters in combat units"? Such appointments are not usual in the annals of warfare in regular armies.

Now, before every military operation and before every battle the "responsible for the Macedonians" came to give us advice that we needed to act boldly and heroically… This is what was expected of the Macedonian fighters from the Party and from the Leader, they would say.

In all of this, is there anything worthy done by these Macedonians? And what does our historiography say…? It says that they were "a Macedonian military and political factor" and that the war they were fighting was a "Revolution"...

Our research shows that:

The then so-called "Macedonian political figures" demonstrated below average leadership skills. There was lack of leadership among the NOF and AFZH membership. There was no one capable of seizing power or opportunity to command the companies, battalions and regiments the Macedonians had created. Zahariadis and his cronies knew that and manipulated the Macedonians at every opportunity. Even without a determined leader of their own choosing, the Macedonians continued to follow and die behind the slogan "independent and united Macedonian state within a Balkan federation", which Zahariadis conned them into believing; a slogan coined during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum.

March 15, 1948 - The newspaper "Eksormisi", issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Greek Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated March 7, 1948, entitled "Parents and children appeal to the government". Further down the article it said: "From mid-February to March, 5, 1948 parents from 59 villages from the free territory gave 4,784 children." The same newspaper carried an article on March 20, 1948 saying that the Interim Government decided to evacuate all the children up to age 14 to be sent to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland and, according to their data, the total count amounted to about 28,000 children.

April 28, 1948 – An AFZH Congress, led by Evdokia Foteva – Vera, was held in the free territory of Vicho.

June 1, 1948 – The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau made a decision to suspend Mihailo Keramitchiev, President of NOF, and Pascal Mitrevski, NOF Board Secretary, because they were alleged to have conducted an "unprincipled factionist struggle".

June 10, 1948 - Based on prior decisions made by the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, in 1947-1948, "free zones" were established in Greek occupied Macedonia where Macedonian schools were opened and courses in the Macedonian language were offered. In total 87 Macedonian schools were opened and courses were offered to around 10, 000 Macedonian students.

June 30, 1948 – An announcement was made in Yugoslavia regarding the Inform Bureau's Resolution passed during the second advisory meeting with the Political Bureau held in Bucharest from June 20 to 28, 1948. The resolution was not adopted overnight but was the result of several months of disagreements and sharp correspondence between the then CPY - ruling (and only) political force in the former Yugoslavia and the communist bloc (absolute ruling) party of the remaining communist world managed and controlled by the KPSS i.e. Joseph Visarionovich Dzhugashvili - Stalin. The company to which communist Yugoslavia (FNRY) "naturally" belonged.

The CPG, in the middle of 1948, requested from Albanian authorities to establish a military camp for DAG at the Greek-Albanian border in Kuk Region. This camp was to be used for the security of DAG. On March 5, 1949 by order of the Albanian Interior Minister Mehmet Shehu, this camp, where many Greek citizens were protected, was disbanded. The people, most of whom were Macedonians, were then sentenced to death.

July 7, 1948 – The CPG Central Committee two day long 4th Plenum began in Gramos during which, among other things, a resolution was passed commending the Macedonian involvement in the struggle as follows: "This Plenum highlights the great contribution of the hundreds of Slavo-Macedonians who gave it their all for freedom. The Slavo-Macedonian people's participation in the liberation struggle is popular and complete. With this struggle the Slavo-Macedonian nation has firmly earned its freedom and equality in life. It has strengthened and secured its place with the blood of its sons and daughters in this people's democratic future".

August 27, 1948 – Sitting of the CPG Central Committee with an agenda:

a/ The struggle in Gramos called: "Epic of the Northern Pindus, political and military questions and decrees."

b / Removal of Markos Vafiadis as General and Leader of DAG, due to illness and his departure for Moscow. (Note: Then, the system produced the term "ideologically crazy", which grouped very smart and healthy people with the lunatics).

c / The New Military Council was to consist of:

1. Nikos Zahariadis - President and Supreme Commander of DAG.
2. Georgios Vonditsios - Head of military battles.
3. Vasilis Bardzhiotas - Political Commissar of General Headquarters.

4. Michos Vlandas - Responsible for military resources.
5. Leonidas Stringos - State Administration.

d/ Reorganization of General Headquarters by region and creating military divisions. Promotion of officers in DAG high military ranks.

Attachment: Order (August 27, 1948) - Taking into account the newly created situation on December 23, 1947 and DAG's proposal.

Decisions:

1. Decision to reorganize the major district headquarters and to create divisions.
2. The divisions to be appointed as follows;

I - Division: Thessaly
II - Division: Rumely
III - Division: Peloponnesus
VIII - Division: Epirus
IX - Division: Macedonia
X - Division: Macedonia
XI - Division: Macedonia

During the sitting of the Headquarters of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, August 27, 1948.

President and Minister of DAG's armed forces,
General Markos.

September 24, 1948 - See also: "ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΒΛΑΝΔΑΣ −ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΟ 1947 − 1949". The then DAG Military Minister of Greece: (p. 237 - 238)

That evening comrade Zahariadis attended a meeting with about 54 of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres who were present.

The question regarding the so-called "Slavo-Macedonians" represents a taboo for the CPG and the DAG armed forces. Even though the Slavo-Macedonian fighters in DAG fought to the end of the Greek Civil War, and the majority of the DAG veterans were Macedonians, there is very little or next to nothing written about them. This is also characteristic of G. Margaritis who has devoted two volumes of his work to the Greek Civil War with no information about the Macedonian contribution and with insignificant information about DAG's involvement in that war.

November 15, 1948 – The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau decided to suspend General Markos as Chief of DAG and member of the CPG Central Committee.

November 23, 1948 – DAG headquarters ordered the mobilization of Macedonian men and women ages 17 to 35 only in the Vicho area. Practically all Macedonians in Kostur and Lerin Regions were mobilized.

Note: DAG received all its equipment and military assistance from Yugoslavia up to January 1, 1948. (See: List of complete equipment in the book "Macedonians and their relations with the CPY and the CPG, 1945-1949", p.263 by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski), "Review of military equipment and other material assistance to DAG".

This part of our study is about the "Save the children program" which exiled 28,000 Macedonian children from their families and from their homes.

Ominous 1948 - Facts and dirty deeds... CPG attempts to create "a political family" out of the living and vibrant Macedonian family by crumbling and robbing the Macedonian home of its children.

The CPG leadership's initiative to evacuate the children i.e. to introduce the "Save the children program" was motivated and explained by the need to "rescue the children from the horrors of war". But first it had to convince parents to release their children voluntarily and make it look like it was their idea.

So, what does this mean? It means that this CPG initiative together with the actions of NOF and AFZH were pure facts and dirty deeds.

To obtain a realistic and objective picture of the general Greek policy towards the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, one must understand and accept that, regardless of what system or party (monarchist republican, liberal-democratic, authoritarian, etc.) was in power in Greece, they all shared a common policy and that was to see to it that the Macedonian identity was permanently destroyed!

So, in order for the CPG to rid itself of its responsibility in this unlawful act of collecting children, it convinced the parents that it was necessary to do the evacuation but only with their blessing. In other words, the parents had to voluntarily release their children and accept responsibility for releasing them. To further distance itself from this genocidal act, the CPG

employed the services of NOF and AFZH to organize a campaign and convince Macedonian mothers to part with their children. But it did not take too long to figure out that this so-called humanitarian act to "Save the children" was not all humanitarian; it had other and more sinister motives. It was not too long after the children were evacuated that they were brought back and drafted into the ranks of DAG and sent to fight at the front. It was not enough that the CPG had drafted the parents to fight in the war; they soon began to bring back their children.

With the children evacuated and safely out of the country, the CPG leadership expected to engage their parents in combat as military resources. By 1948 the CPG, as the leader of the Greek Civil War, had failed to solve the problem of mobilizing new fighters across Greece.

Under what identity were the children taken and moved out of Macedonia?

One of the most significant issues that I became familiar with about the collection of the children by both the Left and Right, to which little attention has been given, was the different attitude taken towards the Slavo-phone as opposed to the Greko-phone villages in northern Greece.

Although the UNSCOB report talked about the disposition of villagers in the Slavo-phone areas willing to allow their children to leave, it never formally mentioned how many of the 25,000 to 28,000 (44) children belonged to this Slavo-phone group. There is nothing noted in the report to suggest that any of these children were Macedonian. Greek sources also deny that any such children existed. In fact the Greek government in Athens insisted that all these children were Greek. What is even more bizarre is that the Communist Party of Greece confidently and strongly stressed that the children were Greek, even after the Greek Civil War, and did everything in its power to give the children a Greek education in the Eastern European communist countries. The Red Cross too reported on the problems experienced by the children and their education but said nothing about any Slavo-phone group. It was made very clear that even though the children spoke a Slavic language, they were Greeks. This was in accordance with the legal records and with official thinking. But in my research I am more interested in finding out how many of these children were Slavo-phone?

Identity with the likeness of Markos

"At the Tulgiesh pavilions we moved like a swollen river, walking on the pavement of the big yard. We looked for one another, but the hardest thing was to find our 'mothers'. There were many children at the dormitory who

did not know their last names or their place of birth. They were simply collected as they were leaving and brought here over the border and as such, for years, like shadows, they looked for their loved ones and for their identity...

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

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

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

(For additional information: See Fani Butskova 1998/76) "... The metal plate to be worn around the neck, issued to the children in Romania, had General Markos's face imprinted on one side and a number on the other. The metal plates issued in other countries had only a number. The shape of the plate was round which could be worn around the neck or on the wrist. Some of those who wore these 'medallions' remember their numbers even today, more than fifty years later. Some even have photographs of them, testimony to their existence. For example, Ahil Petrovski was photographed in Czechoslovakia and had the number 288, which is clearly shown in the photograph from May 1948. Dimitra Karchitska was issued

the number 1048 and her brother Ilia was issued number 1053. Towards the end of 1948, when they went to Poland, their metal identification tags were taken. Surrogate 'mother' Tomia Tsutsulova was issued a tag in Hungary with the number 112 and her young baby daughter was issued the number 111. Olga Petkova in Poland was issued the number 555 and Slava Petkova was issued the number 425. The only thing that remains alive from these 'medallions' now are the memories, both good and bad."

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

Camp numbers instead of names

None of us had a name in the dormitories or to give to the government authorities in Romania. Each person, adult or child, carried a number and when someone called us, they called out our number. Tome was number 1,381, Ristana was number 1,441 and I was number 1,454. This was our first and last name. Only our surrogate mothers who personally knew us called us by our names. They reminded us to not forget the names we were baptized with and by which our mother's called us. When we (Ristana, Tome and I) arrived at Tulgesh, the children were separated by pavilion, by age and by sex but we remembered Dosta Endriova from the village Bapchor, Kostur Region.

"Chedosobirstvoo" – "Pedomazoma" (The ominous child collection program took place in 1948 but the children's exodus was permanent. This no doubt was part of the plan to de-Macedonia-nize Macedonia. But today, sixty years later, they are still calling it the "Save the children program" and the "saved children" they call "Refugee Children".)

Why "refugee children"? How can children ages one, two, three, four, five, or six years old be "refugees"? How were they able to flee on their own and across borders from one country to another to qualify being called refugees; i.e. seeking refuge?!?! Does this "title" imply that the children left on their own?! Or were international goals of genocide realized through this disguise? Why have we Macedonians not raised this issue like the Armenians did regarding their World War I (1915) genocide?

Why haven't we raised this issue like the Republicans in Spain did against Franco, when thousands of children belonging to Marxists and revolutionaries were collected in the thirties and re-educated?

Even though so many things have happened to us Macedonians, without the knowledge of ordinary mortals and for mysterious reasons, we keep quiet about it and don't dare rock the boat. Why is that? Are we a lazy people? Do we quickly forget? Do we not care? Or do we treat them as acts of God and coincidences?

Why are we not using the wisdom and knowledge passed on to us by our ancestors to guide us instead of following the lead of "ideological activists" and foreigners who use us for their own purposes and leave us worse off than when we started?

Ours has been a secret of the Century. We have a history without details. Our history is defended by the power of the syndrome. Our history has been fabricated for us and we have been masked from it. Foreign policy goals have driven our history. People have written great histories about themselves by shedding our blood. We have allowed strangers to manipulate us and darken our souls. We have allowed foreign and alien ideologies to rule us and divide us especially in the years 1944 to 1950...

It is time for us to uncover the genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949).

It is time that the secrets come out as to why the CPY and the CPG took the military option in Greece and started a new war at a time when most things were already settled and decided!

Now, half-a-century after the fact, half a century of lying and hiding under the ideological web, we are finally looking for "our story", we are looking through the secret files of foreign politics to find out exactly what happened to us; why we made a graveyard out of our heroes of the Greek Civil War (1945-1949); why did we fight for foreign policy goals; and why have we allowed strangers to write their great stories with our blood.

NOF and its "historical" decisions made during its 1st Congress

January 13, 1948 – The 1st NOF Congress was held in the church of the village V'mbel, Kostur Region where it was declared that: "The 1st NOF Congress was the brightest stage of Macedonian post Ilinden history.... NOF stands by its international position and, with sincere intentions, is ready to help in the development of the Greek movement. NOF is in agreement that three-quarters of the Macedonian partisan force in the ranks of DAG should be sent south of Olympus in all parts of Greece…" It was

also concluded that more that 20,000 Macedonians were mobilized in DAG units. According to DAG General Headquarters, the entire DAG force right across Greece consisted of 25 to 28 thousand fighters.

It is our belief that it was a deliberate strategy to get the Macedonian people riled up and emotionally charged and, through NOF and AFZH, get them involved in the war. NOF and AFZH were lied to about what this war was about; and they in turn unwittingly lied to the Macedonian people. Strangers, on many occasions, have used such strategies to get the Macedonian people to do their bidding. That is why it is very important to look at the big picture and always question "actions", particularly if they are readily supported by outsiders.

It is also our belief that after the war was started and during its course, the Macedonian people became indifferent to it and were unable to grasp the entire situation and where they were headed, so they relied on the Greek leadership to guide them. The people may have been aware that they were lied to by the Greek leadership but then, what were their choices? Everything had its price! They were damned if they did and they were damned if they didn't!

When bombs were falling and bullets flying, the people became like wild beasts and followed their instincts. The leadership told them to give up their children to save them, so they did. The leadership told them to fight at the front and so they did. After the war had started, there was no turning back; the people were left at the mercy of those leading them. And lead them they did, straight into genocide and to the loss of their lands and homes. This is what the CPY and CPG did to our people; but why? Who was behind all this and what did they have to gain?

Indeed after searching persistently for a long period of time, a person will run into many answers but which does he or she believe? There is one truth: the Macedonian people were forced to fight in this war and, as a result, they lost their homeland. This was also confirmed by General Markos after his return to Athens from the Soviet Union.

Of course General Markos knew about this, he led thousands of Macedonian fighters to their destiny making human sacrifices of them. A man such as our esteemed, confirmed communist, General Markos, about whom many Macedonians wrote and sang songs, certainly demonstrated his lack of human dignity when he led so many young Macedonian men and women to their deaths.

Did the motive to save the children and the civilian population become a propaganda tool against the partisans?

1. Athenian government motives and program carried out to evict the children.

"The Queen's ladies, as they were called (72 Athenian women), left their families and the safety of their homes to rescue children in the northern districts of Greece. They traveled for hours riding on mules, ignoring the dangers of the battlefield, in order to find the children in the villages and take them before the Communists did. This was a hazardous and terrifying struggle, having to walk on those roads and sometimes getting lost, but in spite of all the horrors they won the battle." Greek Queen Frederika, "A Measure of Understanding", p 137.

This is how Lars Barentzen explains the Athens government's program called "Pedomazoma": "Both sides in the Civil War were calling for the removal of children from the war zone as a necessity and both sides had the same reasons for removing the children, to save them from the other side."

But even after investigating the situation, it is difficult to figure out what the real motives were for starting this program and even more difficult is to say who started it first.

About the communist side, information collected by UNSCOB and other sources shows that the mass evictions were started in March 1948, even though several groups of children left in January. (See: Lars Barentzen "Το παιδομαζωμα και οι παιδουπλεις της Βασιλισσας", 1992/148: Report UNSCOB a/574, p. 30; "that emigration began in January, but actively continued in March".

On the government side, according to Queen Frederika's memoirs, the government began its side of the "pedomazoma" (collect the children program) before the communists did. The government started its program shortly after the creation of the "Royal child care organization" in June 1947. But according to available letters of complaints, the government program was started much later. It roughly coincided with the period of time when the government started a propaganda campaign blaming the Communists for having committed "Pedomazoma". The Queen's statement was probably referring to some general relocation program when villages from the war zone were relocated by the government army in 1947, which naturally collected thousands of children and disabled people.

Let us also mention the fact that the Foreign Ministry, on the communist side, on March 7, 1948 declared that they were doing exactly the same thing that the Queen Frederica was doing and that was "collecting the children into children's camps".

Maybe this declaration had something to do with a publication the Greek government in Athens had released the previous day, March 6, 1948, saying that 14,000 children were moved from the northern "bandit" held areas. (This agrees with British sources of information coming out of Solun. Correspondence archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs: 868. 00/3-1948)

This news, which came out eight days after the launch of the propaganda campaign against the communist "Pedomazoma", was the first official news released by the Athens government. This agrees with the news that the Athens newspapers began to publish in March about small groups of children being evicted or had to run away from the northern villages in Greece in order to save themselves from the violent abductions.

The communist press was also busy at the same time publishing similar stories about the Athens government "taking children from their mothers".

This agrees with a U.S. announcement that talks about the period from January to March 1948 which confirmed that:

"The district administrators, the military and the navy have agreed to cooperate with Queen Frederica's plans to collect the children. Her aim was to collect 10,000 - 12,000 children. Up to March 31 she had collected 6,240 children." (Confirmed by: External Aid Programme IPA Foreign Relief Program, Greek Mission, January-March 1948, p. 14)
According to the U.S. Assistance Mission to Greece (A.M.G), during the month of April 1948, "…the mission estimated that the number of children taken was around 10,000".

Even though UNSCOB did not officially deal with the caution taken by the Greek government, the Commission, on April 19, 1948, sent a single sheet questionnaire to the Greek representative trustee to collect information about the number of children taken from the northern regions of Greece which had been cared for by the Greek government. The Greek representative replied on April 23, 1948 and stated that there were 5,500 children aged 3-14 removed from various regions of Macedonia and that approximately 2,150 children were placed at various centres in Solun. Similarly, about 5,000 children were also collected from Serres and

Thrace. This work was done under orders from the Ministry of Social Services. (Report UNSCOB A/754 (1948), p. 19)

The Athenian press began to publish details of government actions to collect the children, starting on April 1, 1948.

In an article entitled “The first group of children arrives in Athens today”, the newspaper “Kathimerini” writes: “1,000 children from the regions held by bandits (DAG Partisans) were transferred from Solun by boat to the villages of Kastri in Kifissia. A second group will be arriving in the morning, meaning April 2, in Piraeus and a third group will be arriving in a few days. These children will be transferred to Patra and Syros.”

On the same page “Katemerini” reported and described two meetings that were held the day before: “Yesterday at 11 a.m. the Queen received Mr. Tsaldaris, Vice President of the Greek government and Mr. Gkrisgulnt with whom she had a long conversation. During their talks, the Queen informed Tsaldaris and Gkrisgulnt about the successes and cooperation that were achieved to date regarding her action of collecting, moving and taking care of the children who were collected from the northern areas held by the bandits (Voden, Lerin, Kostur and other Regions)”.

According to a news story, these kinds of meetings were necessary and needed to continue. Such consultations were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the chairmanship of Tsaldaris, during which many Greek ministers and American mission personnel took part, including General Van Fleet, head of the U.S. military mission.

According to another story entitled “More committees and subcommittees”, work to collect the children had begun “with the help of commandoes present in those regions”.

During these advisory meetings it was decided to start a new committee from the chairmanship of the Ministry of Services. This committee would have to have the “Unique task of developing a complete system to take care of the displaced children”.

At the end, the article concluded by pointing out the two options of care for these children. One was to accommodate groups of children in humanitarian organizations “where they would have a full education and care” and the other option was to accommodate the children with certain families, who had already committed to do this program and were willing to accept large numbers of children and provide for them. With these actions in place the state budget would not be burdened too much because

the money would be provided by Queen Frederica in the sum of a: "Determined amount of money for full coverage of child care costs for a period of about six months". (See newspaper "Kathimerini", April 4, 1948)

The Motives and the program were put together by the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, DAG and the CPG.

Ominous 1948 - Facts and dirty deeds... CPG attempts to create "a political family" out of the living and vibrant Macedonian family by crumbling and robbing the Macedonian home of its children.

The CPG leadership's initiative to evacuate the children i.e. to introduce the "Save the children program" was motivated and explained by the need to "rescue the children from the horrors of war". But first it had to convince parents to release their children voluntarily and make it look like it was their idea.

So, what does this mean? It means that this CPG initiative, together with the actions of NOF and AFZH, were pure facts and dirty deeds.

To obtain a realistic and objective picture of the general Greek policy towards the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, one must understand and accept that, regardless of what system or party (monarchist republican, liberal-democratic, authoritarian, etc.) was in power in Greece, they all shared a common policy and that was to see to it that the Macedonian identity was permanently destroyed!

So, in order for the CPG to rid itself of its responsibility in this unlawful act of collecting children, it convinced the parents that it was necessary to do the evacuation but only with their blessing. In other words, the parents had to voluntarily release their children and accept responsibility for releasing them. To further distance itself from this genocidal act, the CPG employed the services of NOF and AFZH to organize a campaign and convince Macedonian mothers to part with their children. But it did not take too long to figure out that this so-called humanitarian act to "Save the children" was not all humanitarian; it had other and more sinister motives. It was not too long after the children were evacuated that they were brought back and drafted into the ranks of DAG and sent to fight at the front. It was not enough that the CPG had drafted the parents to fight in the war; they soon began to bring back their children.

According to a DAG and CPG Press Release:

Very soon after the Greek government began to complain, the CPG leadership and DAG confirmed that indeed there was a collection of children with aims of taking them outside of Greece. On March 3, 1948 the radio station "Free Greece" confirmed the following:

"The Partisan Radio station reported that, according to an 'agreement' made between cominform member countries, Greek children between the ages 3 and 14 will be sent to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. According to this announcement, applications have already been made and these countries are preparing to receive and take care of the children from 'Free Greece' (the regions controlled by the partisans) so that they don't become victims of the American occupier. The children will be well cared for and will be able to continue their education."

"March 3rd, 1948"

Reactions about DAG:

The true dignified and humane endeavour of DAG was characterized by the Athens government as... "Forcibly collecting the children"... "Child collection = janissariesm". Ironically and hypocritically, Athens was doing even worse; taking the children of the Partisans by force with aims at re-educating them and permanently isolating them from their parents. The government lied to the children and in many cases kidnapped them and terrorized them. Many Macedonian children who found themselves in the hands of the government ended up being locked up in Queen Frederica's so-called schools in Leros, where they were turned into janissaries, being told that their parents were traitors and that they should turn them in to law enforcement agencies!" Vassilis Bardzhiotas, CPG top leadership and political commissar of DAG. "Struggle - Democratic Army of Greece", p, 128.

March 15, 1948 - The newspaper "Eksormisi", issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Greek Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated March 7, 1948. In the beginning it explained the first pragmatic undertaking as follows:

("The People's and other organizations, concerned for caring for the children from 'Free Greece', as well as many thousands of parents and empowered people, some time ago made appeals to humanitarian organizations in the people's democratic countries and urged them to take care of the Greek children who were on the brink of being destroyed by the barbarism of the Monarcho-Fascists."

"… Humanitarian organizations, patrons of children's organizations and other various youth organizations in these countries accepted the pleas of these parents and expressed support for the Greek children with great joy and pleasure, even though they had to keep the children for an extended period of time.")

This meant that after receiving "guarantees" from these organizations, the CNG and the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece: "Decided to accept all offers from these organizations and countries and the pleas from parents and with their approval, collect the children and send them to these countries, for as long as the situation in their own country was not safe for them to return." (45)

There was no specific or concrete information given in the newspaper about the chronology, importance and specifics of this plan. But from what was said we can deduce the kind of situation that was created:

a/ A catastrophic policy was initiated by the Monarcho-Fascists.
b/ The problem was even bigger with having to feed the children.
c/ More than 150,000 children were wandering around the roads of towns and villages, of whom about ten died each day.
d/ "Queen Frederica's decree to her subordinates was to collect all the children, regardless of whether they lived in cities or elsewhere, and turn them into janissaries by force in her Nazi youth organizations."
e/ "Acted in the cruelest and most terrible way by bombarding unprotected women and children, killing more than 120 children."

On the same page, the newspaper "Eksormisi" published a news article written by an authorized "Eksormisi" employee who said: "I visited several areas of Free Greece". The article was entitled "Women and children thank the Provisional Democratic Government and DAG". In his article the writer explained that there were many parents from villages controlled by the government of Athens who came to the 'liberated territory' and signed petitions asking the 'People's Councils' to also receive their children and send them away. These parents were begging the authorities to also save their children."

According to the same newspaper "From the middle of February to March 5, 1948, authorities had parental consent to take 4,784 children from 59 villages". The paper even provided order numbers under which the children were enrolled and the names of their villages. Further on the article mentions that "hundreds" of telegrams had been received from

parents who expressed their gratitude to the Provisional Democratic Government (46).

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

"Numerous convoys of small children were traveling on foot, on ox carts, mules, horses and donkeys in various directions." There was a detailed description given about one such convoy which said: "Several children were walking. Some were riding on ox carts, mules, horses and donkeys and beside them walked their mothers. They were from the villages Zagorichani ('Βασιλειδα'), Kumanichevo ('Λιθια'), Bombaki ('Σταυροποταμο'), Tiolishta ('Τυχειο'), Kondorabi ('Κοντοραπι') etc.

The youngest were sleeping while riding their donkeys. When the children were separated from their mothers and taken away, the mothers remained there watching their children disappear into the distance. As they were cheering their children's departure they tried to hide their tears and pain and their indescribable hatred for the Anglo-American occupiers who had created these conditions for them!"

Following are some statistics:

"To date, five groups have been sent. Approximately 1,884 children have been moved along with about 100 women who will supervise them. In a few days 3 more groups totaling 1,150 children will be moved."

The same article claims that:

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

The government army and militia are conducting military expeditions in the villages and grabbing the little children from the arms of their mothers."

"From the 150 children that the Monarcho-Fascists grabbed from the village Bouf, Lerin Region ('Μπουφι της Φλωρηνας'), many mothers managed to secretly get 25 children back. This took place at the Lerin city centre. After that all the mothers went and complained and they all got their children back."

At the end, the article claimed that in Alexandroupolis Region, government agents threatened to harm a group of parents who did not want

to hand over their children to be collected and taken to Queen Frederica's camps.

The newspaper "Eksormisi", issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Greek Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated March 7, 1948, entitled "Parents and children appeal to the government". Further down the article it said: "From mid-February to March, 5, 1948 parents from 59 villages from the free territory gave 4,784 children." The same newspaper carried an article on March 20, 1948 saying that the Interim Government decided to evacuate all the children up to age 14 to be sent to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland and, according to their data, the total count amounted to about 28,000 children.

3. NOF and AFZH's motives and program organization.

Did we have faith in our Macedonian revolutionary tradition which led us to want to enter a new period of development, or was it something else?

First let us pose a question. "Did NOF and AFZH have any idea of what was possible for us Macedonians within the boundaries of the Greek Civil War, or did these organizations decide to blindly take this big step?" In retrospect, and after taking a look at what actually happened, we can say with some certainly that we took the plunge with our eyes closed. It would appear that NOF and AFZH not only allowed the Greeks to lead us but trusted them to look after our interests.

They followed the Greek call to urge everyone to action and they did exactly that; urged the entire Macedonian population to joint the front. They called on the Macedonian population to join the fight for Macedonia's liberation, a cry for the salvation of the Macedonian identity, the very thing that every Macedonian dreams about. This was done at the encouragement of outsiders, at the beacon call of the CPY and the CPM and without giving a second thought as to how it was going to work out. The Macedonians trusted the leadership of NOF and AFZH because they were Macedonians and as a result they were led astray. We can't fault the Macedonian people for doing what they were asked to do and for what their hearts desired, neither can we fault NOF and AFZH for what they desired to do, but we have to ask; why was there no one to question "how were they going to achieve their goals?" and why were they so trusting of the Greeks when they knew very well the kind of characters the Greeks were with regards to the Macedonians?

When Tsvetko Uzunovski said: “Today, Yugoslavia became the Centre of the revolution in the Balkans and the Macedonian question became a Yugoslav question” (AM. Archive of Macedonia. F -20/276 F-20/196) meaning that the CPY was going to look after the affairs of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. Why was there no one in NOF, AFZH, or NOMS to ask, internationally, how that was going to happen given that Yugoslavia was an entirely different country from Greece and Yugoslavia was the inheritor of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest? More importantly, why was there no one questioning the CPY’s motives for “abandoning” the Macedonian people or should I say “surrendering” the Macedonian people to the CPG? Even more importantly, why did NOF and AFZH not object to being surrendered to the CPG?

Unfortunately, after being “subjugated” by the CPG the Macedonian orientation made a full turn from “liberating Greek occupied Macedonia as part of Yugoslavia” to “fighting alongside the Greeks for human rights”! Fighting for our human rights unfortunately had a condition attached to it. We could achieve our human rights only if we destroyed the Anglo-American occupier! And how were we going to do that? Was there no one in NOF and AFZH with enough sense to first question the vast change in strategic direction from struggling to “create a united Macedonia” to struggling to achieve “human rights”, but only after we defeated the British and Americans? And how were we, a nation of no more that 200,000 Macedonians, going to defeat the British and Americans as well as their allies in order to achieve our human rights in Greece? Was there no Macedonian capable of assessing that situation?

Struggle with evil?

And so, without thinking, we were plunged into an insane war that today makes absolutely no sense and which leaves us to wonder; what were our predecessors thinking? After the children were gone, nothing made sense! We were fighting for what; for a future that may never materialize? In a moment of panic, thinking of the immediate danger, we never thought, not even for a moment, trusting that we were going to win, what if we did not win the war? What would happen to us and our children if, by a long shot, we did not defeat the British and the American occupiers and we did not win the war? Unfortunately, there are no answers to these questions because, it seems, the thinking was left to “someone else”; we only acted as we were told to act; obey the commands of strangers who had different ideals and plans for us!

We would now like to pose a different question. What would have happened to the 28,000 children if they had had an opportunity to return to

their homes? Did NOF pose such a question? Today we have thousands of examples where children were forcibly moved to foreign countries, coerced by CPG propaganda! Why?

Testimonies: Speech given by Nikos Zahariadis during the Second People's Liberation Front Congress.

March 25, 1948

"…thousands of children have been saved and secured in popular democratic countries. So, the Slavo-Macedonian nation is in peace from this vantage point…" (47).

How can we interpret this "comforting" gesture by the CPG leader (during the Greek Civil War) about the security of the Macedonian people…??!!

The Macedonian people need not worry because the leader took a "big step" to save their children. After all he was an ambitious leader who always took "big steps" to secure his plans, especially this latest plan to "save the Macedonian children" so that they could remain forever exiled.

In the spirit of this let us see what "Nova Makedonka", the AFZH journal of September 1948, had to say:

"... Today we were all in tears. We were moved like never before. We sat under the shade of a poplar tree. None of us had fallen asleep. It was getting dark and we were off to work. We worked during the night. And ... here was our comrade Tsveta from AFZH. We were happy to see her. When she was with us, I don't know why, but we were not afraid, not even from cannon fire.

This time she brought us letters from our children, who were now in the People's Republics. We read the letters with our hands shaking. Our hearts were beating strongly, even though our loved ones were far away. It would have been nice to have them close by so that we could hug and kiss them!

But there are airplanes that come here and along with the artillery, drop bombs on us and on our villages. It was very nice of our government to send our children away to be saved.

Now our eyes are filled with tears. Our children write to us to let us know that they are well and that they live well... They also tell us that they think of us all the time and of all our troubles in this war…

Our poor children, when will we see them again? We will see them when we free ourselves. How nice ... but for us to see our children again we need to defeat fascism. But to defeat it sooner we need to fight harder and we in the trenches are fighting and giving it our all.

Tonight we built over three (3) bunkers. We did it for our children so that they can return to us sooner, then we too will go home and be with our husbands..."

We read:

"…No, I am not leaving my friend, my sister and my brother to fight here alone while I go with the children. I know they will be safe; I have full confidence in the selected AFZH officials. I am staying here to help my people with our struggle."

Does this not mean total domination of the will of the individual by an external ideological force? Is this not unprecedented abuse of ideological power over the people?

And that is how people are consumed by mass euphoria, believing in the birth of a new day while being ignorant of the strings pulled all around them by opposing ideological forces from the West and from the East.

Such controlled aggressive behaviour was the result of the slogans that called upon the people to rise and fight, which for the Macedonian nation had tragic and catastrophic consequences.

History recognizes the tragedy of the collection and separation of children from their parents. Regardless of motives, the fate of a separated child always results in tragedy. The separation of a child from its parents is heartbreaking, an immeasurable tragedy for both the child and the parents. The separation of thousands of children from their parents is an immeasurable national tragedy. Hence the displacement of the Macedonian children from Greek occupied Macedonia was the most tragic event to have taken place in the recent history of the Macedonian people.

In what spirit were the children educated? (That's what remains in the memory of a child!) See ΡΑΠΤΗΣ ΜΙΧΑΛΗΣ, "Τυχερο μας στον Ατυχα", ΑΘΗΝΑ 1999, Page 242)

"... I have the greatest respect for those people, perhaps because they had a hidden quality and aristocratic nobility about them. And how could I not have respect for them, these people who, during the most difficult

moments in the children's lives, were there for us. We listened for their voices in the crowded dormitory "dining room" and in the children's lounges etc. giving us unforgettable moments of joy and liveliness. In 1949 we lined up in perfect silence and discipline, in front of the lounges and children's dormitories in Tulgesh, Sinaia, Oradea, Roman and Kluz in the Republic of Romania and listened intently to Apostoli Spiliu's chronicles, which were repeated with a crystalline voice by all of my comrades. At the end of each broadcast we would erupt and cry out:

'Long live DAG!'
'Long live Markos!'
'The enemy will never set foot on Gramos and Vicho!'
'Whose is Markos?!' someone would yell out and we would all answer in one voice.
'Markos is ours!'
'Who do we belong to?!' someone would call out.
'We belong to Markos!' we would all yell out in a single voice.

After Markos Vafiadis was removed as head of DAG General Headquarters, in his place out of our mouths came the words 'Nikos Zahariadis', CPG General Secretary. We called his name with the same fanaticism, excitement and liveliness as we did with Markos… it was our daily prayer. For us the children and for the ordinary members, the Party was an obsession. I remember that we did not differentiate the Party from the leadership. For us both carried immense power. For us the leadership was wise with its own mechanisms... All members of the Political Bureau were like gods to us with Nikos Zahariadis as the main god..."

After DAG's capitulation…

"... Everything went for the struggle of our people! (Meaning the Greek people)."

"... Things changed, the name of the radio station also changed... From now on you will be listening to clearer and cleaner stations but not to the 'Voice of Free Greece', that radio station is gone. You will now be listening to the 'Voice of Freedom'.

Were the children taken by the CPG viewed as human strength and military resources for DAG?

March 1949 - UNSCOB raised several petitions to the CPG and DAG leadership regarding bringing back children and sending them to DAG battlefield units. In 1948 when the children were collected, expectations

were that the war would continue for many years and many of the children taken away would have to be brought back to Greece to fight. Was this CPG's aim all along? Only those who made these plans can best answer this question.

1. Vassilis Bardzhiotas was CPG Political Bureau member, CPG Central Committee member, political commissar and second highest person in the senior leadership of DAG. Here is what he wrote:

"… In the winter of 1949 we were returning from an assignment in Gramos and from the distance we noticed a group of little girls who made a great impression on us. It was snowing and a cold wind was blowing. It was quite cold. We approached the group of little girls to find out what they were doing here. There were about 55 to 60 of them, 10 to 13 years of age, dressed in their folk dress and instead of wearing shoes they had their feet and legs wrapped in towels. Because they were shaking from the cold we took them to the closest DAG combat unit where the women fighters served them hot tea and dressed them in temporary clothing. I asked them 'why did you come to Gramos at such a bad time, what happened to you?' They told me they came here to fight. Then, with a tone of concern and a sense of pain in my soft voice, I told them that they were too young to serve in the ranks of DAG. Only people sixteen or over could be fighters I said. I then told them that we would have to send them to a school to learn to read and write and then, a few years later, we would give them guns to fight. The girls unfortunately did not like my answers and began to complain.

'And who are you?' one of them asked 'and why would you not allow us to fight?'

Another one said 'they killed my mother in front of me and I want to fight!' Another one spoke about her parents being murdered. Each one had a story to tell about one or both parents being murdered and demanded to be received by the DAG General Headquarters Political Commissar because they said only he could understand their pain.

When I told them that I was the Political Commissioner of DAG's General Headquarters, they calmed down a bit but we still could not convince them to go back. We then organized them into a small unit near our headquarters and we began to train them in communications. Several of these girls unfortunately left the school and voluntarily joined the DAG combat units but were not allowed to fight. Eventually we recovered them all. When I talk about this, I get a picture in my mind of the hungry, bare foot, poorly dressed little girls shaking from the cold and holding back their tears.

These were brave little girls wanting to join DAG and fight to avenge the murder of their parents! This is why DAG and its fight was national, democratic, anti-fascist and justified. When we talk about the heroic Partisans we will have to go back to the many young and interesting people who made up DAG. At that time 70-80% of the men and women fighters were young, who distinguished themselves by their courage and fighting abilities.

But besides having special military bands made up of young people, armed with machineguns, automatic guns and cannons, we also had the Democratic Youth Regiment under the command of young Shumadi who boldly threw himself into firefights at the most critical points of the battles.

DAG was made up mostly of young boys and girls. Those older than 25-30 years of age were very few and less than 15-20% of the total composition of DAG. We all took pride in the fact that DAG consisted of young boys and girls who went to battle full of confidence and certain of many victories. I will not write a separate chapter for the youth because I believe I have said everything I wanted to say right here."

Vassilis Bardzhiotas, Political Commissioner of DAG

I don't know if I need to make a comment about Bardzhiotas's comments but I do know that it is not normal to arm children in such a manner, place them in military formations and then send them to the front to get killed.

2. Pascal Mitrevski was first secretary of NOF. He wrote a letter regarding issues arising from the mobilization of minors and addressed it to the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau. See: AM collection: "Aegean Macedonia in the Second World War 1954-1949," AE: 47/b. The document was written in Greek in hand writing. Published in the edition: "Aegean Macedonia in NOB 949," T. 6 ... Doc. 100, p. 211-213. Here is what he wrote:

"Comrades,

We are seriously preoccupied by the issue of bringing children back from the People's Republics and mobilizing them into the ranks of DAG. Among these children (male and female) there are some who are aged 12 to 13 years old, who are now being recruited at the village Shtrkovo. There are a total of 35 children being recruited who are under the age of 16 years. Most of these children are from the village Zhelevo.

Their arrival was discovered by the villagers and has created a serious problem, especially for the children (male and female) ages 12 and 13. We checked out their ages and they are indeed what they say.

This question has preoccupied us before but in consultation with you I am sure we will find a solution.

Of course this case is not about the difficulties the question has created. I am sure our organization will overcome the problem. This case is about a principle, an ethical problem, which we are forced to take into consideration. This has created a moral-political situation with our people. People keep asking questions and forming negative moral impressions about this, which is hampering our bases and sources beyond the activation and development of forces for the movement. It is understandable that 10 to 15 children cannot solve the problem and meet our needs. It would appear that the people responsible for the Homes in the Socialist countries have misconstrued things. And what is worse, their attitude towards the children is not good.

Take the case of Timios, responsible for the children at the 'Tulgesh' home in Romania. His attitude can be characterized as 'not good at all'. He psychologically abuses the children and has created a tense atmosphere.

Here's what the children told comrade Malio, sent there by NOF's Central Committee to pay the children a visit:

Timios forcefully gathered the children in the home and shouted at them: 'Go down there and fight. To those of you who do not want to go, I will tattoo a cross on your forehead to brand you as the bastards that you are'. This is what he said to 12 to 15 year old children. He also threatened them with the words 'I will teach you a lesson! With what you are doing you are turning yourselves into Truman's sharks!' Etc.

On top of that he prohibited the children from writing letters in the Macedonian language. Any letters, including money and cheques that originated from America and other countries, sent to the children by their parents and relatives, he kept for himself and refused to give to the children. The children say that he spent their money on himself.

There is also the case of 12-year-old Alexander Stefov who, with tears in his eyes, said to Malio that because he did not sweep the courtyard, Timios stripped him naked and left him to stand outside in the terrible cold in December, for four hours wearing only his underwear. After that he was not allowed to eat and stayed hungry for 24 hours. The same child was

clubbed, forcefully pushed and repeatedly kicked. The child told Malio that Timios's hands were swollen from him beating the children.

Malio was told that Timios had stripped children and forced them to remain naked and hungry, many times.

We are aware that children can sometimes make up stories and do naïve childish things but there is a pattern of serious abuse towards our children here which needs to be addressed. We must stop allowing these negative acts to take place and start treating the children with some respect.

The worst thing about this is that when the children are brought back, they immediately tell their stories and the treatment they received and their stories are spread among the villagers. When we learned about this from the people, we sent Comrade Malio to verify it and he did, just as was reported, so something needs to be done to quiet the voices.

It is therefore necessary to have these incidents, such as that of Timios, examined and culprits of such acts removed as soon as possible before they do more damage. We also suggest that children aged 12-15 years old that were brought here be returned back to the homes.

In such cases, we need to inform the parents through a special message, orally or by some other way. Similarly we should also be informing parents if we are returning children younger than 15 years old back from the People's Republics. In regards to this, Comrade Koichev will also be talking to you, with whom we discussed this yesterday.

Please let us know what your thoughts are regarding this question or better still invite us for a face to face discussion. There are also other issues regarding the children's homes, to be discussed which can better be addressed by Slavic speaking cadres, who are better prepared to deal with Slovo-Macedonian issues. (48)

June 14, 1949. With comradely regards,
Pascal"

Here is what "AM Collection, Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1945-1949," AE: 476/49 and AM F-7/108, regarding the actions of the CPG and DAG leadership, had to say:

"Recruitment of children was carried out through extensive propaganda and application of pressure. Appropriate directives and orders were issued and special emissaries appointed specifically for this purpose. Recruitment

of children was carried out not by age, but by height, and thus children aged 12-13 were recruited. In fact, several hundred children were recruited from Romania and Czechoslovakia. Children were organized in training centres and after several days of training they were sent to the front line where most were killed."

This was confirmed by Tome Miovski, an evacuated child, in his memoirs "Mobilizing the Macedonian Children in Czechoslovakia". See: the newspaper "Nezaborav", p. 7, from July 1, 1995.

"Exactly one year after our departure from our villages, after the Provisional Democratic Government (PDV) collected us and sent us to the democratic states to be saved from certain death by enemy bombs, hunger and disease, there again the same government wanted to return us to the hell of war and to our certain death. It was like this: 'On April 17, 1949 at 8:30 am, our House Director informed us that the same day, after lunch, a delegation consisting of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) would be arriving to our Children's House.

At exactly 4:00 pm, a big black 'tatraplan' limousine appeared in front of the Home and before it had a chance to enter the main door, we all began to shout slogans and sing partisan marching songs. When the car stopped, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, CPG Central Committee and member of the Political Bureau, and the Judiciary Minister of the Interim Democratic government, stepped out.

After dinner, which ended on a happy note, there was absolute silence when our director announced that all boys and girls aged 15 and 16 were invited to go to a meeting at 8:00 pm, while the rest were ordered to go to bed at 7:30 pm.

At exactly 8:00 pm our guest entered the hall as we all gave him a standing ovation and greeted him with the slogans: 'Long live Markos, long live the CPG, long live free Greece...' We all sat down after he sat down but he still looked like a giant among us and with his low voice he began to tell us about DAG's combat successes against the Monarcho-Fascists. He said: 'DAG has in its hands 25% of the entire Greek territory. Every village has its own people's committees, people's courts, rural cooperatives, public hospitals, cultural and folk art companies and the people feel free. In a few days from now we will have our hands on Lerin, Kostur, Voden and other cities and 1949 will be the year of our victory'.

The moment we heard all that, we all stood up, interrupted his speech and joyfully started shouting: 'Long live free Greece! Victory for Markos!

Victory for Markos!' When we stopped shouting he continued to speak: 'Young men and women, sons and daughters of our heroic DAG fighters, I was sent here by the CPG Central Committee Politburo and by the Interim Democratic government to call on you, to ask you to go back to your homeland because our holy struggle needs young people, young fighters, worthy of their fathers and mothers who are fighting every day and are achieving combat successes against our enemy, the Monarcho-Fascists. At the same time you will have a chance to once again visit your beautiful and now free villages, your parents, relatives and friends. Therefore I urge you all to 'voluntary' return to Greece. Please come up here and sign the list.' He then held up the list with our names on it.

We all lined-up and one by one, signed the list against our names. In total we were 31 young men and 8 young women. When we were done our guest told us that the volunteers from Romania and Bulgaria had already returned to 'Free Greece' and that very soon they would be issued weapons and become regular fighters in celebrated DAG. Other children from other democratic countries were on their way to our homeland and in no time at all, we would be there too. He also warned us not to tell anyone about our repatriation, not the other children and especially not the locals. Anyone who did speak about this or write about it would be considered an enemy of our struggle, we were told.

The next day, Monday after lunch, our director gathered us 'volunteers' and told us: 'From today on, up to the day you leave, every night from 8 to 10 pm you will be attending night training at the training ground to learn how to fight in the dark. As of today you are to tell no one about this or about your return to Greece, not even to younger brothers and sisters. Anyone who dares to speak will be expelled from the House'.

Seven days later, on Sunday April 24, 1949, at 6 pm, the director gathered us 'volunteers' and told us: 'Tomorrow, Monday April 25 at 3:00 am you will be leaving for Bratislava by train with Irina, your school mistress. You will be issued food for one day and you will leave before activities begin in the village. In Bratislava you will meet more 'volunteers' and from there you will be dispatched to 'Free Greece' together'.

On Monday, April 25, 1949 they woke us at two o'clock in the morning and told us to quickly wash up, get dressed and pack our suitcases. At exactly 2:30 in the morning we were standing in a line accompanied by our director and our school mistress Irina. We were not allowed to see our younger brothers and sisters. From there they took us at a quick pace to the train station, which was about a mile away from the Home. At 3 am we got on the train and were off to Bratislava. We were in good spirits throughout

the entire trip, feeling joy at the prospect of returning home and singing revolutionary Partisan songs during the entire time.

Ten hours later we arrived at Bratislava railway station where an escort was waiting our arrival. After we said our goodbyes to our school mistress Irina, who had to turn back because she was not allowed to travel any further with us, we continued on our way. About an hour later, at 2 pm, we arrived at the entrance to the barracks where a guard stood. After examining the truck, he opened the door and allowed us to enter the great court where all the troops were gathering. The truck moved a little past the entrance and stopped for us to get off. There were children gathered all around us, who belonged to several groups who had arrived before us. We knew many of them from our early days in Czechoslovakia, when in December 1948 we were sent to the automotive institute "Tatras" - Koprivnitsa technical school, and now they too were mobilized.

We rested a while and at 8 o'clock when all the other groups had arrived, we gathered in the big yard where we met with the Bulkes Party organizers, sent there by the CPG authorities. Included among the Party organizers were Nikola Stoianovski, a native of the village German, Prespa Region, Nikos Zafiridis and Geogios Trendafilidis (settlers from Asia Minor) both from Kostur.

After we had our dinner in the military canteen, those responsible for us took attendance and put all 250 of our names onto a single list. Of the 250 children on the list, 200 were Macedonians and the rest were Vlachs and Asia Minor settlers. While taking attendance, the CPG representative ordered us to provide them with our 'Greek names'. At every opportunity they insisted that we use our 'Greek names', even when Macedonian schools were opened in the free villages, they keep saying to us: 'Tomorrow when you go to Greece to fight Fascism, the hostile Greek propaganda will say that you are not Greeks, you are Yugoslav and Bulgarian volunteers'.

We unanimously and explicitly protested against this 'Great Greek' theory and refused to give them our 'Greek' names. We insisted that we were registered by our Macedonian names and that orders be given to us in the Macedonian language. After they did that they separated the Greek children (the Vlachs and Asia Minor settlers) from us and they did everything in Greek with them.

The next day those responsible for us separated us into three companies, two Macedonian and one Greek..."

Further on in his book, Tome Miovski wrote that on June 4, 1949 they were visited by Petros Kokalis, CPG Minister of education and culture in the Interim Democratic government and Politburo member who said: "Comrades, friends, allow me to convey to you greetings from the DAG fighters who achieve combat successes on a daily basis... The struggle has no need of new fighters..."

Miovski then went on to say: "For a moment there we all went silent. We had come a long way to get here and we could not understand why now they did not need us. We had trained for 41 days and nights and were ready to fight. Then, the government decided it didn't want us? Was victory very near or what was going on? Even those responsible for us did not know what was going on. We were so upset we could not even eat; we wandered through the yard and wondered and wondered..."

If we didn't know then, we sure know now that exactly at that time Zahariadis was summoned to Moscow by the Soviet leadership and was instructed and ordered to stop the armed struggle and withdraw DAG from the battle zones. The Provisional Democratic government was advised to appeal to the United Nations General Assembly for a peaceful resolution to the conflicts. At the same time DAG was being liquidated.

But after reading this text from Miovski's memoirs about the then "evacuation of the children" a person cannot remain indifferent regarding the actions of these "merchants of human destiny."

What did they do "In the name of the people"? What didn't they do! These words were a mandatory part of the political vocabulary, motive and an alibi for "coating" many acts they committed, be they ideological, military, territorial conquests, or ethnic cleansing!

The Minister Porfirogenis acted more like a merchant of souls with regards to the children's fate, than he did like a minister in the Interim Democratic government. He showed no care for the children even though 60% of DAG's fighters were Macedonians, parents of those children. His agitation was full of insolence towards the children, promising them that they would see their parents, beautiful villages, friends, and feel free at their grandfather's hearth… when he had absolutely no intention of doing that!

At the same time he instructed them to say nothing about their return home, not a word, not to their siblings and certainly not to those who volunteered to take care of them. He instructed them not to write to their parents, relatives, or friends and anyone that did, would be labeled an enemy of the struggle?

The actions of just this one person should give the reader a good picture of the overall situation in which the Macedonian children found themselves under Greek rule inside and outside of Greece and on both sides of the ideological spectrum.

For those who led the war there were no ideals, there were no sacred things, there were no moral constraints. Anything and everything was possible in order to satisfy their own aims, their own careers and their own egos. After the war they proved themselves to be spiritually void, empty! They only held power because of the war. They held power through deception and dictatorial means and by repeating words such as: patriotism, loyalty, ideals, traditions and commitment to the revolution, words which meant nothing to them but were used to manipulate those for whom these words did have meaning.

Every person should be asking themselves: "Is this what we fought for??!!" Where were NOF and AFZH and why did they not protect us? Was it because they were powerless to do so? Given what we now know, yes they were!

Greek government concerns and complaints about the children taken by the CPG and DAG

On February 27, 1948 the Greek government sent an official letter to: The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) complaining that:

"Greek children have been abducted by force by the Andartes (DAG Partisans) and taken outside the Greek border to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and to other Eastern European countries, and are held there against their will."

Further on the letter said: "General Markos's agents had planned this a long time ago and have compiled lists with names of children from Northern Greece, ages 3 to 14. All this is presumably done to:

(A) Terrorize Greek families into helping the Andartes;
(B) Indoctrinate Greek children into the Communist ideology;
(C) Destroy the Greek national consciousness and distance the children from Greece;
(D) Reorganize the rural economy (agriculture) in order to force the peasants with their families to escape (emigrate) from the villages to the cities to protect their children" (49)

Did the Greek state really care about the children being taken or was this a ploy to ethnically cleanse the population?

It is well known that Greece has strived to create a "pure Greek nation". Greece has taken pride in its claims that its population is "pure Greek". And how has Greece done that, given that Greece is yet another Balkan country with a mix of all kinds of ethnicities? Well for one, Greece, over the years, has implemented policies and taken active action to eliminate all minorities who do not consider themselves Greek, including the large indigenous Macedonian population that has lived on those lands from time immemorial. Greece has exiled and assimilated people! Greece has changed people's names and toponyms! Greece has prohibited people from speaking their native non-Greek languages! Greece has exchanged massive numbers of people with Turkey and Bulgaria, just to maintain the illusion of purity! So what makes one think that Greece "cared" for the Macedonian children and wanted to "save" them and not "ethnically cleanse" them from its territory. Greece would be working against its very own policies if it tried to "help" people who openly claimed that they were not Greek! Therefore it is more believable that Greece cared less about "saving" the children and more about "exiling them" from its territory! How can I say that with such certainty? Let us examine the facts!

How can Greece, an EU member, pass legislation that discriminates against people who presumably do not exist in Greece? On one hand, Greece claims that there are no "minorities", i.e. no non-Greeks, living inside Greece and on the other hand enacts racist laws such as the repatriation law where only Greeks by birth can return to Greece.

On the basis of a decision made by the Ministry of the Interior 106.841/5-1-83 only "Greeks by genus" are allowed to be repatriated into Greece.

This law was enacted and signed on December 29, 1982 by Giorgos Genimatas, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Gianis Skularikis, Minister of Public Order.

Given that Greece claims it has no minorities living in Greece and everyone in Greece is Greek, then by passing this law Greece has created conditions to discriminate practically against anyone. Clearly this law was enacted to keep the Macedonian children out of Greece; the very same children Greece was pretending it wanted to save. Obviously this law was not enacted to prevent the Greek communists from returning because they eventually did return and were integrated into Greek society and their properties were given back. This law was directed against all the

Macedonians who participated in the Greek Civil War, including all the children who were exiled by the communists, who felt Macedonian and who had their names changed back to their original Macedonian names. Clearly a person with a Macedonian name cannot possible have been born in Greece because the Greek state and the Greek Church make sure that that does not happen inside Greece!

Were the Greek communists in on this? Obviously they were because it is well known and well demonstrated that regardless of who is in power in Greece, be it the extreme left or extreme right or everything in between, Greece has one policy towards the Macedonians; to wipe them off the face of the earth!

By use of this law, Greece has answered our question and confirmed that the "PEDOMAZOMA" (Save the children program) was part and parcel of a planned eviction of Macedonians from their homeland perpetrated by Greek authorities since Greece acquired Macedonian territories in 1913. This latest act is only part of Greece's strategic long term plan to de-Macedonia-nize Macedonia!

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

This "Greek issue" arrived at the United Nations Security Council for the third time over the course of 1946. The first two sessions, which were met with sharp complaints from the Soviet Union and the Ukraine, logically ended without any results. (50)

The third debate was held on December 3, 1946 after the issue was addressed by the Greek government. After extensive consultations with the United States, it was decided to ask the Council General Secretary to put the issue on the UN agenda as soon as possible. The issue was Greece's dispute with neighbouring countries. (Report UNSCOB A/574-1948, s. 1. According to the Commission report this issue was added to the agenda of the 174th Security Council meeting).

On December 19, 1946 the Security Council proposed creating a research committee (51) to research the issue and generate a report by May 23, 1947 at the latest. But when the names of the research team were chosen, it was obvious that the majority would support the Greek government side. Representatives of the Soviet Union (52) and of Poland (53) objected to this but since they were in the minority, their objections were taken to the Security Council where the Soviet Union vetoed the plan.

The issue was then taken to the General Assembly, where the Soviet Union could not veto it. A General Assembly vote was taken on October 21, 1947 (with 40 votes for, 6 votes against and 11 abstentions) and it was decided to establish The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB).

The UNSCOB team consisted of representatives from Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, England and the United States. It was decided to leave out the amendments made by the representatives from the Soviet Union and Poland, which resulted in those two abstaining from joining the team.

UNSCOB's mandate was to investigate all Greek government complaints. Included among these complaints were allegations that the Partisans in Greece were receiving aid from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

These countries refused to cooperate and would not allow the UNSCOB observers to enter their territory. On December 1, 1947 UNSCOB established its central offices in Solun. (Report is UNSCOB A/575 -1948 s. 1-3) It was decided to create around 6 groups, each consisting of four observers and one auxiliary person. They assigned themselves to six zones in Northern Greece and at the end of February 1948, groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 found themselves in these zones. (Report UNSCOB A/574-1948 s. 3)

Group 4, in its June 1948 report entitled "Movements and retention of Greek children" mentioned the following specific events:

1. A census of the children was taken in certain Partisan controlled regions of Northern Greece. There is evidence that this census was started a long time ago.

2. The greatest number of children taken from Northern Greece were sent to Yugoslavia.

3. Some parents did give consent, even after they had their children enrolled but many children were also forcibly taken with great opposition from their parents...

Regarding the various regions, it was discovered that the census of the children was taken in two main areas which were under the control of the Communists:

a) In the "Slavophone" regions of western Macedonia the census was taken in areas around Lake Prespa and in the Lerin and Kostur villages

where the people are Greek citizens but speak a Slavic language. (Report UNSCOB A/574 -1948 s. 29-section 2)

... One witness from Kostur Region said: “Many children from his village found sanctuary in Kostur in order to avoid being taken by the Partisans. According to this person’s opinion, only 10% of the parents agreed to give up their children voluntarily. But UNSCOB discovered actual evidence that many children, especially from the Slavic regions of western Macedonia, were taken with the consent of their parents.

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

In all the statements given there seemed to be great differences in figuring out whether or not the children were freely given between the Slavophone villages and Greek villages.

In Greek villages, it took a lot more convincing and the collection resembled a mobilization. There were also cases where the children were taken without asking their parents.

It was determined that the children of Partisans, and those of the people who supported the Partisans, were sent to the North-Eastern countries. (See: Report UNSCOB A/574-1948 s. 31)

American reactions to Greek government appeals to implement “Pedomazoma”.

The Greek government used strong and emphatic words to criticize the child collection program implemented by the CPG and DAG. Tsaldaris, Minister of Foreign Affairs, pointed out that what took place on March 27, 1948, when Greek children were taken from their homes, was not something simple but “an offense against human rights and a breach of agreements that constitute crimes against humanity”.

The government called this a National tragedy in its simplicity. (Report UNSCOB A/574 (1948 p. 18)

Of course, the government in Athens was confident and expected that the Americans would join in with the same intensity and ferocity in expressing themselves. Many prominent Americans in authority, however, including George Marshall, Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not believe that such strong propaganda and accusations were necessary.

The only thing this ferocious propaganda did was exert pressure on the United Nations to consider the "Pedomazoma" as a violent communist act.

In the beginning, some Americans in Athens thought that this issue could be of great benefit in terms of generating anti-communist propaganda. On March 10, 1948 Carl Rankin, from the U.S. Embassy, wrote a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which he said: "The embassy believes that the Greek children taken by General Markos... is a psychological blunder, which can be used in a propaganda campaign to put pressure on the United States and make this issue known worldwide." On March 3, 1948 Rankin thought that "the problem could be reversed by use of anti-communist propaganda", but some Americans began to wonder whether the United States would benefit from such propaganda and how it would be interpreted by the communist side.

AMAG leaders Dwight Gliswold, in a telegram sent to Washington, dated March 23, 1948, said that the recent news about the Communists taking children "proved to be unusual and deliberate psychological warfare against the government of Athens." (Lawrence Witner, -162)

Gliswold believed that the Queen too "opposed this excessive communist means" but knew very well that children, in the thousands, were also taken by the government from the Partisan districts. This, he had no doubt, would cast a shadow on the Greek government for its doing.

The United States General Consul in Solun, in regards to the children being displaced by the Partisans, thought that "it was a result of saving the innocent from the war" and that their aim was to show the world that the Greek army was incapable of guaranteeing safety to the people.

On April 24, 1948 George Marshall, during an announcement he made in Washington regarding the suspected problems and the Greek government's complaints, said that even though several young children were "illegally taken by force from their families, the majority of the children were taken from Partisan held territories with permission because taking care of them presented a problem, especially for the Slavic minority whose children belonged to communist parents".

Later, when the Greek Embassy in Washington requested U.S. assistance to support the United Nations during its next General Assembly sitting, the U.S. foreign ministry gave its answer. It said that it believed the reason for taking the children outside of the country was to convert them into armed fighters and use them against the Greek state.

On August 14, 1948 the U.S. Mission in Greece familiarized itself with the issue in more detail. This was expressed in a telegram by Marshall who wrote that there were many allegations made by witnesses which could not be verified, who were claiming that children were taken by force and then armed.

It does not matter what Marshal thought. It does not matter what the condemnations and protests were from the United Nations General Assembly, the Greek Partisans and only the Greek partisans were responsible for the collection and eviction of the Macedonian children from Greek occupied Macedonia!

For a more detailed report regarding the "pedomazoma", written by an American historian, see: Howard Jones, "The Diplomacy of Restraint: The United States' Efforts to Repatriate Greek Children Evacuated during the Civil War of 1946-1949", Journal of Modern Greek Studies.

Howard Jones confirmed that there were two basic assumptions made regarding the particular stance taken by the U.S. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and personally by Marshall: First, Marshal "swore that the Greek government showed concern for the exiled children" and that for this issue "there was no other way out except to request the return of only those children who were taken by force and that this ethical and moral act was to be done in the name of humanity".

The other assumption, according to Jones, was for "Washington to attempt to avoid strained relations with Yugoslavia, which, according to the Greek government, was the main culprit in all this".

It is most certain that the gap between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union widened because the U.S. was doing its best to maintain good relations with Yugoslavia and Marshall's solution for the "pedomazoma" was placed on the back burner. Unfortunately this is only speculation because there is no U.S. evidence to prove it.

Whatever the motive, the Americans had practical results. The actions of the United States, conceptually, generated desired results. According to Jones: "Marshal's Diplomatic experience worked during multiple impasses from which no one could have gained anything and left American and Yugoslav questions open which allowed the U.S. government to concentrate on Western Europe, very important for American security". See: Studies in the History of the Greek Civil War, 1945-1949, edited by L. Baerentzen, J. O. Smith, "Museum Tusculanum Press", Copenhagen, 1987.

In November 1948, during the third United Nations General Assembly, it was decided to treat the issue of Greek children separate from all other Greek issues.

After long Parliamentarian discussions regarding the problem in Greece and regarding claims made by the First Political and Security Committee, before the four powers: China, France, Great Britain and the U.S., a plan was proposed to resolve the alleged external assistance, which the Greek Partisans were receiving from neighbouring countries.

After this, the representative from Greece proposed adding a request to the resolution to return all Greek children taken (without separating the Macedonian children).

The Belgian representative and President of the Commission said that this request will have to be changed (modified and supplemented) to say: "… to be returned by request of the parents…"

After a long debate, on November 9, 1948, the Belgian representative and President of the Commission announced that, any effort to be made to reach an agreement on the question of repatriating the Greek children, and how to approach this issue from a purely humanitarian point of view, will have to be undertaken at a separate session, and outside of the scope of the four forces (China, France, Great Britain and the U.S.).

After many long discussions, the president was asked to set up a plan to resolve the situation during the next session. The request was accepted.

On November 11, 1948 the First Committee (in modified form) made their pitch with the Belgian proposal which began with the following paragraph: "The General Assembly has recommended (approved) the return of Greek children to Greece who are now located far away from their homes, under the approval of their father or mother-parents, but if they are absent, the same can be done by people who are close relatives or by those show desire and care for these children."

The Yugoslav representative made note of the words "... if parents are absent, then 'they', who care for the children…" and wanted to know who 'they' would be and who determines what kind of people 'they' are. And will 'they' have the same intentions for their children as their parents or will 'they' have 'different' intentions?

This impasse was finally resolved by the Australian proposal which the General Assembly approved by making the following statement: “We recommend (approve) the return of all Greek children (not distinguishing Macedonians from Greeks) to Greece, now located far away from their homes. These children will be returned by approval of their father and mother, but if they are absent, the same can be done by a living relative if such a person shows desire for it.”

The resolution was approved in its current form with 45 votes for and none against. This article was “distributed” and was insisted upon that all States undertake necessary measures to achieve the objectives of the resolution and “gives directions” to the Secretary-General to ask all States concerned to inform those responsible for this resolution and to also seek assistance from the International Red Cross. (Yearbook of the United Nations, 1948-1949, p. 239-244)

The plan was put in place before the voting procedure and on the General Assembly agenda for November 26 and 27, 1948. The item was unanimously accepted as: << (Resolution 193 (III) C >>. While the Soviet Union and its supporters, we were told, were against this decision, even after being presented with UNSCOB’s findings (United Nations General Assembly, Official Records, Plenary Meetings). Third Section, place 1, 1948 p. 661662)

The Greek Red Cross announced the news of the resolution immediately after the United Nations passed it and began its work for the receipt of applications for the repatriation of children. But in time, the issue of Greek (meaning generally taken kids, but here we need to say that up to this point it was assumed that the Macedonian or Slavophone children were given willingly) children who were taken forcibly and evicted became mainly the responsibility of the Red Cross.

On January 11, 1949 Trygve Lie, the United Nations Secretary General, officially requested from the International Committee of the Red Cross and Organizations and subsidiaries of the Red Cross in Geneva (in continuation of the Red Cross) “to establish necessary links directly with the Greek government and with the Greek Red Cross and principally with governments and Organizations of the other countries, i.e. in which Greek children existed and to examine the possibility of delivering on the unanimously approved resolution approved by the United Nations General Assembly on November 28, 1948 and recommend that it be implemented by those states and governments (and not to distinguish the children of the Greeks and Macedonians) for the repatriation of all children in Greece”. (54)

***

The first step the Red Cross took was to send a mission to Greece. Mr. R. W. Roth (representing the International Committee) and Mr. Gaile Galub (representing the Red Cross Organization) remained in Greece from February 10 to March 11, 1949 in order to study the repatriation problem.

During their visit, the Greek Red Cross received 3, 445 repatriation requests from people who wanted their children returned. The Delegates had several meetings with the Greek government, with UNSCOB and were also received by the King and Queen of Greece.

"… The Delegates studied the conditions the children would have to undergo in order to be repatriated and the readiness and preparedness of the Greek state to receive them."

The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave a formal written guarantee that it would not take any measures against children who were of other religions, who had parents of other ideological affiliations, or for any kind of other reason.

*

It was also stated that, as of April 1949, the Greek children who had gone through Yugoslavia to other Eastern European countries numbered 13, 500. (Red Cross, first detailed report, page 19). The report also contained information regarding the places where the children were sent in those other countries.

From April 1948 to March 1949:

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

Total: 13, 500 children.

(See book: ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ 1945−1949, p.153−158).

Macedonian concerns

(In our communication with the top CPG and DAG leadership we did not even secure our own native language).

I truly made an effort in my research to find documents, it did not matter what kind, written in the Macedonian language, sent to any high partisan body of the CPG or DAG military headquarters. I wanted to see and prove that NOF did have clout and was a military and political factor in this conflict. Even a single document, or a paragraph, in the Macedonian language would have been a historic discovery for me, but unfortunately I found none, not a trace, as all correspondence or communication was conducted in the Greek language. I also looked for documents that dealt with the "save the children program" but there too none were to be found. Why?!! It would appear that for NOF and AFZH, in my opinion, the Macedonian language was not a politically strategic issue?

If one of the primary national attributes was language, then how could the organizations NOF and AFZH in 1946 have entered the "Brotherhood and Unity" partnership without it? What kind of partnership was this? What kind of "brotherly" partnership would negate your mother tongue? What kind of "brotherly" partner would accept their mother tongue to be negated? Why did we accept such conditions from the CPM/CPY and from the CPG? And most importantly, why does our historiography say that all the "brotherhood and unity" conditions were agreed upon between NOF and the CPG? Why did we make such concessions to the communists?

If NOF and AFZH were a political and military factor in this war, why then after this "Unity" debacle did the CPG intelligence network put each and every one of them (former ELAS members who fled Greece to Yugoslavia and were labeled traitors by the CPG) through the finest ideological sieve? Was this done to determine their guilt for past sins and to find a suitable punishment for them? And what did they do to avoid the wrath of the CPG? They became flatterers of the CPG leadership in hopes that their guilt of past ELAS sins be forgotten; at least that is what I think!

Well, after this act we easily accepted "Greek assimilation" forgetting that we have a language and a culture of our own, and followed the then famous Communist thesis and did everything: "In the interest of the Party, the Greek state and the majority of the people (who were Greek)".

Meaning, we silently and without any resistance, included ourselves in the "Hellenization process" and allowed ourselves to be abused by the Greek authorities.

To be honest we also need to say that, in "Free Greece" (Kostur Region, part of Lerin Region and Gramos), the people could speak Macedonian as much they wished but there was no one in the villages, all the people were mobilized into the ranks of DAG. Now, if those same people who could speak Macedonian in their villages were deployed further south into Greece, they were prohibited from speaking Macedonian and from using their Macedonian names! What does that tell you? On top of that the Macedonian fighters were told that "if you speak Macedonian and use your Macedonian names here the people will think that you are Bulgarians or Yugoslavians!" So, my question is: "Why couldn't the CPG make the least bit of effort to explain to 'the people' that these fighters were here fighting for you and for the benefit of Greece and that they were Macedonians"? Here is another puzzling question: "Why were all Macedonians recruited into DAG, some under violent mobilization conditions (1947-1949), recorded by their Greek names and surnames and not by their Macedonian names. Why did NOF and AFZH not register these people under their Macedonian names?

Most likely, all these issues were left to be settled after DAG won the war. No doubt many other vital issues of interest to the Macedonians, who died in the name of the CPG, we also left to be sorted out later.

Now let us get back to the problem with the taken children. In my research I could not find who officially authorized this sinister plan and under whose account were the children taken (outside of NOF and AFZH who were involved in organizing the collection). But, as far as they were concerned, they were bound solely to carry out CPG orders. The CPG, on the other hand, lavished enormous power and was capable of subordinating NOF and AFZH to a point of giving up their people's children.

If this, as Dr. Kiriazovski claims, is historically true then it becomes very apparent that we the Macedonians were responsible for the migration processes, but it remains to be investigated under what ideological obligations did NOF and AFZH bend to the will of the CPG and sell out (perhaps unwittingly) their own people. Here is what Kiriazovski said: "... To successfully carry out this function, the organs of the people's authorities had to be engaged. This included the national militia, political organizations and other authoritative institutions. Of course NOF and AFZH played a special role and used their full potential by mobilizing their entire staff…

NOF and AFZH contributed to the success of the child evacuation program mainly in the areas of the Aegean part of Macedonia where the

fighting was the fiercest and bloodiest, and thus taking the children abroad from these areas was much easier, also because these areas were under DAG's control. But most important, the parents of these children were mostly Macedonians and the vast majority were on DAG's side and were easily convinced and agreed to have their children evacuated…" (See: Kiriazovski 1989/36-37).

From what was said and done (wittingly or unwittingly) this is how the elite of NOF and AFZH operated propagating their common illusions, thinking that they had the strength to hold onto power and in time, in their lifetime, things would change for the better and thus held the Macedonian people's fate in their hands. These "elite" must have been confident in their abilities and must have trusted their CPG Greek leaders without second guessing them and continued to function to the end without even second guessing themselves. Since I have no proof to think differently, I must assume that they were very focused in their task. Then, when ordinary peasants began to question their actions, even their motives, they were greeted with the words: "You are not one of us!" So, my interpretation of all this is that "if you don't do what we tell you, then you are not working with us and therefore you are working against us". And this, my friends, is how we managed to not only lead our people to oblivion but to also fill their souls with bitter feelings, feeling betrayed and all this "perfection" that they fought and bled for became their destiny and life without meaning. Blind faith did not only deliver us to hell, it created a wide unbridgeable divide in our trust of one another!

The sad part about such thinking and blind trust is that it turned us into wanderers, endlessly wandering the world. We marched ourselves out of our homes, out of the Balkans and more that six decades later, one by one, we are dying off without the slightest hope of ever returning to our place of birth.

With the loyalty and obedience we had for our Greek partners and leaders we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, became a nation of ideological soldiers. The moment we partnered with the Greeks, the moment we accepted the "brotherhood and unity" deal, our Macedonian patriotism, our sense of love and loyalty for our homeland was stripped away from us. How can I say this with certainty? In retrospect, knowing the outcome of all this, all I have to do is examine who was in charge when all this took place. Examine who the top leaders were when these fateful decisions about us Macedonians were made. Were these decisions made by NOF? No! Because NOF and all other Macedonian organizations were subordinated to the CPG, whose motives for starting the Greek Civil War are still unclear. The fact that we partnered with the Greeks in this

fateful “brotherhood and unity” deal, a deal negotiated by the CPM/CPY and the CPG in the absence of Macedonians, is enough evidence to show me that the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were never a “partner” with anyone. They were simply “used” to serve an unclear foreign designed ‘ideological function”!

But, what is more painful and tragic than being “used” is the fact that we kept silent, collectively, about this for more that half a century. How did this happen to us? How did we allow this to happen to us? How could we have allowed this to happen to us? How did we accept being turned into world wanderers without having the desire to find out who did this to us and why? Families were not only uprooted from their ancestral homes, they were broken up and separated and some still remain separated to this day. This in itself is a crime against humanity!

The world knows so little about the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and the tragedy they had to live through. What is even sadder about the largest part of this tragedy is that we the Macedonians know so little about our own experience… and that is the cruel reality…

Here is another sad fact to ponder! The Macedonian state and state institutions, as a representative of all the Macedonian people, did nothing for half a century, not even respond to the situation…

It is really hard to find the truth in this vortex of confrontation “historical justice and historical truth”. See: Archive of Macedonia (AM) collection: “Aegean Macedonia” in NOB 1945-1949, AE: Volume 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, all documents are translated from Greek.

With this I will finish NOF and AFZH’s historic testimony.

However it happened, it was a deliberate foreign strategy aided with slogans from NOF that riled up the Macedonian people into frenzy. They were told that they would be fighting for a free and independent Macedonia under Yugoslavia. A free and Independent Macedonia is exactly what the Macedonian people desired… Once riled up, they were told that this could be easily achieved through a communist agenda. They convinced NOF and AFZH of this and they in turn “emotionally charged” the people. But then the story began to change… conditions began to be added. First, the Macedonian people had to “give it their all”… and win this war… despite the fact that “no one” supported them and that the “entire western world” supported their opponents… Then they had to partner with the Greeks and still fight to win the war… But this time they would be fighting for their human rights and survival…

And thus the Macedonian people remained loyal to their commitments and witnessed bombs falling on their houses and on their heads, destroying them and their properties which their families had possessed for generations. Death and despair filled the air as they clinched their teeth and fled breathing heavily, faces and bodies soaking in sweat... blood dripping from their wounds. They became desperate and that's when they were asked to give up their children… to save them from the bombs… to save them from the horrors…

I also want to tell you, even though I spent a lot of my time researching this subject and personally lived through the war, I still find it difficult to believe what went on. And in spite of all this, I still don't know who to believe. All I can tell you is that the Macedonians were "forced" into this war and as a result lost many lives and their homes. And this was confirmed by General Markos when he returned to Athens from the Soviet Union.

9.0 The sixth fateful year – CPG leadership loses the Greek Civil War - August 27, 1949

“Do not believe those who constantly speak about their fairness.” Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

Important events - end of 1949

Deteriorating relations between the CPY and CPG impacted many sectors of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece. This created particular difficulties, such as impatience and intolerance, among the DAG fighters where Macedonians were present, which manifested on a daily basis. The change in relations between the CPY and CPG was also reflected in the CPG’s position towards the Macedonian who once again became the reason for the cold attitudes towards the Balkan states. On January 30-31, 1949 the 5th CPG Central Committee Plenum was held.

Here is what was written in the book: << ΕΦΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ - 60 ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΛΗΞΗ ΤΟΥ >>:

“During the 5th Plenum held in January 1949, the CPG rejected its old position which called for ‘equality of minorities’ and adopted the position of ‘self-determination’ of the Slavo-Macedonian people, without having defined what that meant.” See: CPG episima Kimena, t. 6, p. 337.

And here is what was written in the book: <Η ΤΡΙ ΧΡΟΝΙ ΕΠΟΠΟΙΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΥΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΥΟ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ 1946 - 1949, on the occasion of the CPG’s 80th year: During the fifth plenum, regarding the Macedonian Question, the following proclamation was made:

“The Slavo-Macedonian people in Northern Greece are giving it their all when it comes to fighting. They are fighting with enviable heroism and self-sacrifice which causes unprecedented excitement. There should be no doubt that after DAG achieves victory in the People’s Revolution, the Macedonian people will take (find) their place in this establishment, exactly the way the Macedonian people want it and deserve it and will achieve all this by their contributions and spilling of their blood. The Macedonian communists have always stood at the forefront of the People’s Struggle.” (55)

See: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΒΛΑΝΔΑΣ-ΥΠΥΟΡΓΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΟ 1947 -1949.

In January 1949, during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum, the most recent Provisional Democratic Government composition was decided. News of the new composition was released to the Provisional Democratic Government's newspapers on April 3, 1949. Included in the new government body, appointed by the CPG, was one Paskalis Mitsopoulos (Paskal Mitrevski), member of NOF (Liberation Front of the Slavo-Macedonians), appointed to Minister of.....) and the Agrarian Party of Greece - AKE with its ministries.

Michos Partsalidis was appointed President and Head of the government and D. Vlandas was appointed Minister of Defense.

See: Provisional Government Journal, April 3, 1949. The same was published in CPG official texts, Athens, contemporary epoch, 1989, vol. 6. p. 347.

See also: ΑΜΥΝΤΑ ΚΟΣΜΑ, ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΗ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ; αναμνεσεις ενος Καπετανιου, 240. (Aminta Kozma "national resistance - Civil War, memories of a captain. p. 240).

The CPG's stand towards the Macedonian Question was completely changed during the 5th Plenum from "fighting for equality" to "fighting for self-determination". Zahariadis, regarding his support in the change in position, in a brochure entitled "Ten years of struggle" on page 122, wrote: "And of course what (Partsalidis Michos) did not understand is that by making this change we were able to mobilize all the Slavo-Macedonian forces (fighters in DAG) to fight for us and destroy Tito's intentions…".

Zahariadis's recognition, denials and disclaimers regarding a Balkan Federation

February 3, 1949. After the decision to "fight for self-determination" was made during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum, the slogan "independent and united Macedonian state within a Balkan federation" was coined. Because of that, on February 3, 1949, the 2nd NOF Central Council Congress was convened during which NOF's new principles were proclaimed regarding the Macedonian people's future in Greek occupied Macedonia.

In my long and hard search in Macedonia's history I could find no reasonable answers for these manipulations perpetrated against our people by the Greek communists. So I must ask: "Was there no one among us Macedonians who was wise to what was happening?" Even an idiot or a

politically blind person should have been able to understand that we were being manipulated!

Here is what was said at NOF's 2nd Congress regarding this "famous" resolution:

"The 2nd Congress will be the Congress for proclaiming NOF's new programming principles, which our nation has pursued for many centuries. This congress will proclaim the unification of Macedonia as a single united and independent State, with equal rights as all other states within the Balkan Federation, a Federation which will only be realized through many bloody battles. NOF's 2nd Congress will be proclaimed as the Congress that united all the Macedonian people around NOF, which will triumphantly lead the Macedonian people in a common struggle with the heroic Greek people fighting the Monarcho-Fascists and the American imperialists. The 2nd Congress will be the Congress to free the enslaved Macedonian population from the cities Lerin, Kostur, Voden, Enidzhe Vardar, Gumendzhe, Seres and Drama. The 2nd Congress invites and will take the opportunity to strike against the Monarcho-Fascist American and English occupiers in order to free the Macedonian people, in their struggle for a People's Republic of Macedonia."

February 9, 1949. As requested by Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was sent to Skopje to meet with NOF representatives who had deserted DAG and demand from them to recruit at least 300 new fighters from the refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves. Those demands were not met.

March 7, 1949. The CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying any decisions being made during the 5th CPG Plenum regarding the Macedonian Question and regarding NOF's programming principles outlined at the 2nd NOF Congress on February 3, 1949.

Second optimistic scenario: Create a Macedonian Communist Party in Greece

(Subtle manipulation of the Macedonian people with their own history)

March 27, 1949. A founding meeting was convened during which 163 communists, delegates of the 2nd NOF congress, were invited to participate and who unanimously agreed to form their own Communist Party. In other words the Communist Party of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia - KOEM (56). This was to be a separate organization but part of the CPG. (This event was deemed as being the

"high point" of the CPG's care for the Macedonians, but we will leave it to history to determine how true that was...)

Now let us see how our historiography assess that event: "The creation of KOEM was a kind of tactic with aims at ultimately turning the Macedonian national question into an integral part of the Informburo's anti-Yugoslav campaign in order to interrupt spiritual and political ties between the Macedonians from Vardar and those from Aegean Macedonia. It had aims at disorienting the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia and lead them away from a common struggle for national and social freedom. It had aims at including the Macedonian factor so that the Macedonians could later be blamed for DAG's defeat." (See: Newspaper "Vecher" – "Historical truth is not a daily politic" published July 2, 1989, Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.)

Is it hard to comprehend that we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, suddenly became the subject of vengeance in the ideological views of the CPG and the CPY, also in Greek and Yugoslav politics.

Mobilization of Macedonians outside of Greece began as early as February 9, 1949.

Porfirogenis's request, mentioned earlier, was implemented as follows:

Zahariadis's first (intentionally) optimistic scenario: Offer the Macedonian people self-determination so that they can form a vision of an independent Macedonia!! No sooner than this took place, mass mobilization of Macedonians was carried out even beyond the Greek borders. Was this not an act contrary to international human rights?

So, history should have taught us that promises made in the time of war are not always kept.

Κ. Κ. Ε. – ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ

(The CPG Central Committee statement, which denies its call for a unified Macedonia, can be found in a Greek document located in the State Archives.)

What was Zahariadis trying to do? Did he want to evaluate what we wanted and our maturity regarding our "national question" after three years of struggling? For the period from April 23, 1945 to October 1946, while NOF and AFZH were under CPY control their activities were unclear to the CPG and the Greek Communists. A while later Zahariadis,

responding to criticism, confirmed that what he had done had a dual purpose:

1. To massively attract all Macedonians into the struggle.

2. To neutralize separatist activities smouldering in those NOF and AFZH Macedonian leaders who had earlier fled to Yugoslavia and who were calling on the Macedonian fighters to desert DAG and stop the Macedonian's from bleeding in this war.

How did Kolishevski and other CPM and CPY leaders react to this, since they were responsible for handing over and subordinating NOF to the CPG?

CPM's Central Committee 2nd Plenum was held in Skopje on April 19 and 20, 1949. See "Borba" published March 6, 1949. The CPM leadership strongly condemned the Greek communist call for a "United Macedonia" within a Balkan Federation because such a call, according to them, was "imperialistic", initiated by their "critics" who campaigned against Yugoslavia. They said that such a call "was initiated by the notorious Informburo in order to break up the unity of the Macedonian and other Yugoslav peoples, to separate the Republic of Macedonia from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to compromise socialist Yugoslavia".

Lazar Moisov, in his book "Bugarska Radnichka Partia (komunisti) i Makedosko pitanie", Belgrad, Borba, 1948, p. 288-290 wrote: "To raise the Macedonian unification question outside of Yugoslavia's borders was a provocation against the Macedonian people's independence and interests."

Meaning, all CPY/CPM doings that in 1945 pushed the Macedonian people into the Greek Civil War, in which Kolishevski, Tsvetko Uzunov, Miho Marinko and others were involved, were all simply forgotten…

But now that Zahariadis decided to play his game and got the Macedonian people's attention, all those responsible for organizing NOF and the other Macedonian organizations and for sending them to Greece a year before the Civil War was started were now in fact the strongest opposing voices. Now they were the ones complaining that such an issue would cause "ethnic cleansing, secession and other genocidal activities in all neighbouring Balkan countries". Lastly, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were the only ones who experienced genocide.

Meaning, Yugoslavia (CPM/CPY) like Greece (CPG) was against any revision of borders and strictly fought for the preservation of its own position in accordance with the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest. (57)

A CPG delegation led by Miltiadis Porfirogenis, CPG Central Committee Member and Minister of Justice in the Provisional Democratic government of Greece, was received in Belgrade by A. Rankovich. Regarding the formation of a Macedonian state within a Balkan federation, Rankovich said: "...such an act was directed against the integrity of Yugoslavia." See: "Borba" published April 27, 1949.

But the question is: What did the CPM/CPY intend to do with NOF and AFZH after they formed these organizations in Skopje on April 23, 1945 and dispatched them to Greek occupied Macedonia to organize the Macedonian people for an uprising!? Is there any information that would point to a deal made between Stalin and Tito? I.e. to do everything possible in order to maintain socialist systems in the Eastern European countries after World War II! After the Yalta agreement even Yugoslavia became unsure with 50% Western influence and 50 % Eastern.

There are analysts who speculated that there was a plan to Soviet-ize the Balkans and that is why Yugoslavia was encouraging the Macedonians to participate. But these speculations were denied by Stalin himself and later by Tito. But there was the possibility of having lit a fire in someone else's backyard. After all was it not Stalin who said "fight partisan style, not very violently, slowly but do interfere in capitalist affairs…" Tito initially supported the same position and that is why he wanted to lure the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia and maximized their involvement in a new conflict. And when this new conflict did start, "Tito handed over the Macedonians to the Greeks with absolutely no guarantees as to what was going to eventually happen to them under Greek control…"

In the clash between the CPY and CPG i.e. during the anti-Yugoslav campaign waged by the Informburo, the CPG leadership did attempt to include the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia into their conflict.

During the 2nd NOF Congress the Macedonian people returned to the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest

March 25 and 26, 1949. The 2nd NOF Congress was held in the village P'pli in Prespa Region, with over 700 delegates and guests attending. The greater number of delegates were members of DAG.

The Congress was opened by Evdokia Nikolovna – Vera, who among other things said: "Today we are holding NOF's Second Congress, during which we will proclaim the new programming principles of our organization. The Macedonian people, who have sustained hundreds of casualties, with their victory, tomorrow will alone be able to determine what they want. This Congress is held at the most crucial time because the Macedonian people are already involved in a struggle against the Monarcho-Fascists..."

Attending the Congress on behalf of the CPG Central Committee, Nikos Zahariadis said: "NOF's Second Congress is being held at a difficult but decisive moment. I heard Glizburg speak in Athens last night and he said that the situation in early 1949 was very critical, like never before... Because of that, all measures undertaken during this Congress must be such that they contribute to your people so that the struggle is even greater and that we together make every effort to win this year. From this aspect, your Congress is a military Congress and must convince your people to maximize their contribution. We need to mobilize all your forces in Macedonia, all your assets and use every opportunity to achieve victory. Your Congress is a Congress of unity of the Macedonian people.

... Now I will pass the question to those who nurture the need for unity among your people. He who deserts the struggle and spreads rumours that 'the Greeks will betray you' is betraying his own people."

Note: All this about which Zahariadis spoke in front of the Macedonian people was a never before seen manipulation and hypocrisy purposely perpetrated against the Macedonians, a small nation of people, against whom this great fraud was perpetrated, which pushed them deeper into this insane and disastrous war. At this point in time Zahariadis was well aware of the real situation and status of the war, yet he continued to push the Macedonian people into it and destroy them to the last one. And to think that NOF was part of this and totally oblivious of what was happening, simply boggles the mind! Was there no one in NOF that knew that Stalin had already instructed Zahariadis to stop the war and was due to go to Moscow for discussions on April 10, 1949? Why then did both the CPG and NOF keep pushing the Macedonian people to fight?

But in order to follow development with regards to NOF, we need to examine the Macedonian leadership's approach to solving the Macedonian question. In other words, what was NOF's role in this and how would NOF have solved the Macedonian question?

I have to be honest here and admit that NOF's leadership was completely clueless as to what was happening or, like Zahariadis, it did not care at all about the Macedonian people or both! As responsible leaders of the Macedonian people, should the NOF leadership bear responsibility for what happened to the people? Yes it should! For one, it obeyed Zahariadis's orders trustingly and without question. It involved the Macedonian people en masse in an alien and ideological war. NOF had no exit strategy to exit the war or safeguard strategy to save the people and safely return them to their homes! So who should we blame for this? Zahariadis and Markos, settlers from Asia Minor, for looking after their own interests? The Greek government for looking after its interests? Who should be blamed for this other than those who were directly responsible for us?

There is an old saying that goes something like this: "Don't bother attempting to divide the Macedonian people intentionally, just throw a controversy at them and they will nicely divide themselves."

The Informburo Resolution or conflict that arose between the Soviet (KPSS) and Yugoslav (CPY) Communist Parties in June 1948 was an excellent example of how to divide the Macedonian people. Although this conflict had nothing to do with the Macedonians, it had an extremely negative impact on the ranks of NOF and AFZH. All of a sudden there was new political stratification, new political rhetoric, new realignment problems, new opposition and new victims. Unfortunately no one bothered to tell the DAG fighters, who now found themselves outside beyond Macedonia's ethnic borders, about these games being played. So after NOF was dissolved, both the CPY and the CPG began to manipulate the fighters as they wished.

After being under the leadership of the CPY for nearly two years, then after being passed on to the CPG without completely severing its ties to the CPY, the NOF leadership became divided and began to take sides in two opposing camps. One camp was influenced by the formation of the Macedonian state within Yugoslavia and continued to maintain its connection to Yugoslavia, believing that Yugoslavia would bring salvation to the Macedonian people and solve the Macedonian question in Greek occupied Macedonia just as it had for the People's Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia. The leadership of NOF that joined the other camp was well aware of the CPY and CPG agreements. It was well aware of the Yugoslav directives which subordinated NOF to the CPG. For those reasons and for opportunistic reasons, this camp became loyal and obedient to the CPG. This is why this NOF camp also defended the notion of equality within a democratic Greek state. This part of NOF, even though it belonged to the

opposite camp, had not completely severed its ties with the CPY, which meant that despite the 1946 agreement between the CPY and CPG, the CPG did not have full control over NOF. Because Yugoslavia was a very important factor in DAG leading the struggle in Greece, the CPG did not take radical measures to completely cut off ties between NOF and Yugoslavia and repress all influence exerted by the People's Republic of Macedonia on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. After the KPSS and CPY collided, however, this course was completely changed. Shortly after the Inforbiroto (58) Resolution and the NOF Central Council 1st Plenum, held on August 8, 1948, Zahariadis suspended the main leadership of NOF and AFZH. And thus, this is how things were done in the eternal Balkans. Now the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia became preoccupied in a dramatic schism, while at the same time struggling to fight in an alien war for alien interests.

After that, NOF and AFZH become "fictitious" organizations completely depleted of responsibility and were only there to serve Zahariadis's interests and to be used as scapegoats for Zahariadis's ambitious blunders.

Second (intentionally) optimistic scenario: create a Communist Party for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

For the purpose of furthering his own ambitions, whatever they may have been, Zahariadis orchestrated the creation of a "Communist Party" for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. This party, even though completely dependent on the CPG, was named "KOEM" (Communist Party of the Aegean Macedonians).

One of KOEM's main goals was to prevent "relationships" from developing between the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and those in Greek occupied Macedonia. In addition to creating "KOEM" and suspending all relations between the Macedonians, to make sure such relationships never developed again, Zahariadis instilled hatred in the Macedonians in one camp for the Macedonians in the other camp. Zahariadis made sure that the Macedonian National Question became an integral part of the Informburo's anti-Yugoslav campaign in order to suspend and reverse all spiritual and political relations in existence between the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia and those in Greek occupied Macedonia. As a result, the Macedonian struggle for national and social freedom disoriented nationwide. Then Zahariadis eventually blamed NOF for DAG's defeat.

Is it difficult to comprehend how, we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia could become pawns in the ideological collision

course between the CPY and the CPG and in the politics of Yugoslavia and Greece with such lasting consequences.

April 4, 1949. An agreement was signed in Washington to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which would consist of the U.S., UK, France, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Iceland, Denmark and Norway.

April 12, 1949. A directive was sent from Stalin to Zahariadis ordering him to end the armed struggle in Greece. Stalin came to this conclusion because of serious U.S. involvement in Greece, the creation of NATO and because socialist Yugoslavia was excluded from the main socialist camp, even though DAG heavily relied on Yugoslav support. And for precisely these reasons, Zahariadis, when he visited Moscow, agreed to withdraw DAG from the armed struggle at the end of May 1949 as Stalin suggested.

April 22, 1949. Zahariadis instructed the CPG Central Committee Politburo to postpone the withdrawal of DAG and ordered DAG to be supplemented with 13 to 15 year old Macedonian children, to be recruited from the Homes in the Eastern European Countries where they had been sent the year before. Most of these children were from the Kostur and Lerin Region villages. I am a witness to this myself. I became aware of this when I met my cousin Mitre Novachkov who then was almost 14 years old and who had just arrived in Malimadi with a group of 13 to 14 year old children who were sent to Romania the year before. Almost all of these children were killed in the battles fought at the Malimadi front line in Rundzel Mountain. .

May 5, 1949. Fitzroy MacLean, British Military Mission Chief, met with Tito in Belgrade. McLean, directed by the British Government, asked Tito to stop helping DAG (ΔΣΕ) and in exchange Yugoslavia would receive western economic aid.

May 29, 1949. Aiming to prove that no Macedonians existed in Greece and to disorient and draw the Macedonians out of DAG, the Greek government in Athens issued the following confidential orders: “Be informed that, pursuant to an order issued by a competent authority, in future all inhabitants of Northern Greece whose mother tongue is the well-known idiom, will be called ‘Slavophones’. Calling them any other name, such as ‘Slavo-Macedonians’, ‘Bulgarians’, etc. is prohibited.”

Everyone was reminded to pay attention and stop treating the Slavo-phones as Slavs.

June 20, 1949. The KOEM (Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia) leadership under Zahariadis's direction accepted and signed a resolution, which confirmed the allegations against Yugoslavia and against the organizations NOF and AFZH. Among other things the resolution said:

"NOF and AFZH are organizations for agents. They functioned in Aegean Macedonia but had roots in three foreign agencies; in OZNA, in the JNA Intelligence service and in Kolishevski's circle. They were all working with the same goal in mind; to undermine and topple the CPG, especially NOF which was working from inside the Party to promote Yugoslav policies whose main objective was the acquisition of Aegean Macedonia for Yugoslavia."

Many charges were leveled against almost all members of NOF and AFZH on top of which personal and moral insults were hurled. But aside from all that, for each NOF or AFZH member who was successful in building on the collective consciousness, three things stood out for them:

1). Ideological background CPY or CPG,
2). A guaranteed leadership position, and
3). Enjoying Party status privileges.

But for the thousands of fighters who served in the ranks of DAG, who gave their lives fighting in the Greek Civil War and who lost or became separated from their families, there was nothing. They became the living wanderers of the world! They became the lost souls who lost their homes, their history and their happiness. Even today, their suffering is never mentioned and their services are not appreciated, not by the CPY/CPM in the Republic of Macedonia and not by the CPG in Greece. In fact, their contribution and services have been completely erased from history by the CPG, whose membership today claims that Macedonians never existed in Greece.

With the formation of NATO, Western European countries placed their forces under the framework and control of the Pentagon in the United States.

The governments of all signatory states, in parallel with the signed document that made them members of the alliance, also separately signed agreements with the U.S. military in order to receive U.S. assistance to arm their military formations.

Thus the creation of NATO realigned the western world Internationally, under the leadership of the United States not only militarily but also

economically and politically, which gave rise to the “Truman Doctrine” and the “Marshall Plan”.

The establishment of NATO strongly affected the overall Greek position in the Greek Civil War.

KPSS (Soviet) proposals to the CPG to stop the war

As mentioned earlier, on April 12, 1949 Stalin personally informed Zahariadis to end the war and gave him his reasons. Stalin also told Zahariadis that there was a good possibility that the Greek government army would attack Albania to stop DAG and that in turn would draw in NATO. Because of its ideological differences with Yugoslavia, the USSR would be unable to provide assistance.

But then on May 4, 1949, suddenly, the Soviet leadership notified Zahariadis that DAG’s withdrawal was temporarily suspended and that DAG should continue to fight.

With all these facts before us how can we even pretend that this war was a Macedonian revolution? How can we believe that the Macedonians were political and military factors in the Greek Civil War? How can we believe that the Macedonians were in command of DAG where there was not a single Macedonian high ranking officer among them? The only thing we can believe is that NOF was very successful in mobilizing more than 15,000 Macedonian fighters from the peasant population who proved themselves to be worthy of the name “fighters”, even though they were led astray!

On June 24, 1949 DAG’s Security Services requested approval from the CPG Central Committee Politburo to organize an isolation camp (59) in order to jail “proven” supporters and agents of the Athens regime and of Yugoslavia. This measure was designed to frustrate alleged agents and their hostile activities against the CPG and DAG.

Should we even waste our words to describe the manipulation of strangers and those amongst us who would even think that such activities existed in the very same people who were ready and willing to give their lives in this war? Did our NOF and AFZH spiritual leaders suddenly forget what they had brought us here to do and were now willing participants in this manipulation? If not they, then who should have worried about the fate of us Macedonians? Was Party affiliation to the CPY or to the CPG more important than the fate of the Macedonian nation which they condemned to fight in this war?

Summary of events that further explain the general situation in Greek occupied Macedonia

July 28-29, 1949. The Informburo Resolution adopted during the CPG Central Committee 4th Plenum was the topic of discussion. The Plenum decided to accept the Informburo Resolution and summarized it under a separate document entitled: "CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum Resolution regarding the Communist and Working Parties and the situation with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia." However, because of what was said in the resolution "specifically by the CPG and its position towards Yugoslavia" the Plenum decided to keep the Resolution "internal and not release it to the world".

The BCP and KPSS leaderships were not happy and did not endorse the CPG's secret policy towards the CPY and vowed not to allow "another Tito" to appear in the Balkans.

In response to this conference, the KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaderships, as well as the DAG fighters whose families were in Yugoslavia but still defended the CPG policy, issued a statement saying: "We Macedonians will defend the position and view of Comrade Zahariadis and the CPG leadership taken against Yugoslavia and its leadership, which is leading a treacherous policy and we will fight with the Greek Communists in the struggle led by the CPG and DAG until we free Greece from the Monarcho-Fascists".

Events in Skopje and the People's Republic of Macedonia – CPM/CPY manipulations

February 9, 1949. Porfirogenis (CPG and Politburo member) led a CPG delegation to Skopje where he held a meeting with NOF representatives and demanded that they recruit around 300 new fighters for DAG from the Macedonian refugees who had earlier fled to Yugoslavia from Greek occupied Macedonia. His plan, however, was not realized.

On July 20, 1949, Nikos Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee Secretary General, initiated the creation of the Communist Organization for Aegean Macedonia (KOEM). The meeting was held in a cave located between the villages Vineni and Orovo in Prespa Region.

Active participants in KOEM were Nikos Zahariadis, Michos Prtsalidis and other CPG functionaries as well as 45 members and candidate

members from the NOF General Board and from the Macedonian DAG political and military personnel serving in the area of Vicho.

During the meeting, Nikos Zahariadis expressed his views as follows: "... NOF is an agent organization which has hindered the realization of the CPG line and has caused discomfort and harm to the democratic movement in this country. Even though NOF works in Aegean Macedonia, it has agents with roots in three foreign agencies in Yugoslavia. It is associated with OZNA, JA and Kolishevski who controls the first two. All Yugoslav agents work for the Yugoslav Intelligence Services and submit written reports to their agencies... The CPG wants to help you and save you (addressing the Macedonians). Cut all your ties with the CPY and cleanse yourselves from its ideology... There was a time when the Macedonians wanted to split themselves from the CPG. That was the time when Tito wanted to steal Macedonia down to Solun. That was the time when some of you were sent to Greece by the CPY to work for its interests and to clarify questions and accounts for them. Tito wanting to join Macedonia to Yugoslavia was an act of imperialism which needs to be clarified. Since 1945, Tito has sent OZNA agents here who were organized by the 2nd Bureau of JA into three's.

During those days when Yugoslavia was in the camp of the People's Republics we tolerated Tito's agents and looked the other way. But given his open betrayal, we are forced to clarify these matters…"

After Zahariadis spoke he was followed by Michos Partsalidis, CPG Central Committee Politburo member who, among other things, said: "…The unity between the Macedonian and Greek people in Vicho made a remarkable impression on me. Why? How did that happen? It happened because of the kind of struggle the Party is leading, Greeks and Macedonians, communists struggling together. It happened precisely because the Party struggles to help the Macedonian people in their struggle.

It should not be too much trouble to terminate the efforts of such reactionary gangs. Tito's betrayal has reached advanced levels and now we have reasons to cleanse his agents. It has given us a second chance to review the situation. There should be no comrade among us who will find themselves in a dilemma as to who they will pledge their loyalty; to the Soviet Union or to Yugoslavia. Unfortunately the NOF leadership has not been clear on this. It has a low ideological level…"

In his conclusion Zahariadis asked the participants to make a decision; revolution or counterrevolution. Meaning, pledge their loyalty to Stalin or

to Tito. Those who vote for the resolution, he said, are good communists, revolutionaries and internationalists, and those who do not accept the resolution are counter-revolutionaries!

And this is how Macedonian issues were decided during the Greek Civil War; Macedonians sacrificing themselves for Stalin, Tito and Zahariadis in the interest of foreign ideologies and strangers.

MACEDONIAN CONDITIONS

(Paradigm of division - Stalin against Tito and Tito unmercifully ending ties with the Informburo while the Macedonians are caught in the middle of their game.)

On Zahariadis's orders, NOF and AFZH leaders were dismissed and sent to DAG General Headquarters. So, let us ask the question: Did the Macedonians, particularly the leadership, have the capacity to understand that their allegiance to one or the other of the ideological divisions was in fact creating divisions in the Macedonian people and in Macedonia?

August 1, 1949. The newspaper "Pros ti niki" (To Victory), organ of DAG General Headquarters, (no. 168, published on August 3, 1949) carried the KOEM, NOF, AFZH and NOMS leadership response to the July 29, 1949 Skopje Conference attended by representatives of some 30,000 refugees from Aegean Macedonia (whose children, brothers and sisters were mobilized in the ranks of DAG and died in the battlefields of Gramos, Vicho and throughout Greece and who were now defending CPY politics).

Among other things the response said: "Several former activists of NOF and AFZH – Tito's clique of traitors, who deserted from the ranks of DAG, are now treacherously calling on all Macedonians who are fighting in the ranks of DAG to desert. They are using slogans such as 'Brothers, Macedonians! Drop your weapons and flee to Yugoslavia. No longer shed the blood of Macedonia for foreign interests. The Greeks lied to us and want to sacrifice us in this war'!"

A resolution was passed during the Skopje conference which said: "The Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia will never forget the assistance provided by the Yugoslav people led by Marshal Tito and will always preserve their eternal love and gratitude." The conference strongly condemned the CPG's defamatory campaign and rejected its latest slanders.

Stalin against Tito and Tito against Stalin with the Macedonians at their mercy

During this ideological rivalry and political games played by Stalin and Tito in the period between 1948 and 1949, Stalin began to design a new concept, “The Vishinski Plan” to overthrow the Yugoslav leadership. This plan, among other things, envisioned a campaign to create an “independent Macedonian state”, which, under the auspices of the Infoburo, would encompass all Macedonians from “Pirin, Vardar and Aegean Macedonian”. The Inforburo slogan for creating a United Macedonian State called on all Macedonians from the Aegean and Vardar parts of Macedonia to work against Yugoslavia. For more information on this see: Milovan Djilas, “Razgovority so Stalin” (Talks with Stalin)," p. 175 - 178.

Milovan Djilas in his book “Vlast” wrote: “This harsh, violent and reckless conduct was a consequence of the view that Cominformizm must be uprooted from its roots.” “This view was not designed by any forum; it was designed by Tito himself who was the highest forum, if not unique, regarding these kinds of issues. By being witness to the Stalinist Soviet experience, which worked to fulfill personal desires and ambitions, Tito knew that after the Revolution Stalin could jeopardize him and the Yugoslav state by internal communist opposition. So, in the fall of 1948, Tito began to call for, and not only one time, sending people to jail and to the camps! And in this instance some served him well even if they had to work against their own people.” For more details see: “Utrinski Vesnik”, published July 3, 2006.

In the book “Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question” by Steve E. Palmer and Robert R. King, Archon Books, 1971, on p. 117, the following was written: “Beyond the differences expressed by the Yugoslav and Soviet party leaders, in February 1948, Stalin changed direction by attempting to create a Bulgarian - Yugoslav Federation in order to subdue the Communist Party of Yugoslavia but was having difficulties convincing the Yugoslavs to accept his direction. In this confused situation, the Macedonian Question was completely avoided during the first Bulgarian Congress held in January 1948. But during the Pirin Macedonian Party conference, held at the end of April in Blagoevgrad, a hostile attitude was taken towards the initiatives of the Macedonians from Yugoslavia. When the CPY was excluded from the Cominform on June 28, 1948, there was a big break in relations between Yugoslavia and Moscow.”

After the Cominform resolution, the Bulgarian Party began to furiously attack the Yugoslavs and took immediate steps to eliminate Yugoslav influence on the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia. During the CPB Central

Committee Sixteenth Plenum, held on July 12, 1948, it was stated that: "A Federation of Southern Slavs and the eventual annexation of Pirin to create a United Macedonia was only possible if Yugoslavia were to remain faithful to a common Socialist Front (i.e. the Cominform)."

December 1948. During the CPB 5th Congress Dimitrov announced: "Our party has always defended our standpoint and it will continue to defend the position that Macedonia belongs to the Macedonians." But then he added that national unity was possible "only within a federation of southern Slavs".

Reactions from the U.S. and from the government in Athens

A Memorandum addressed to the central informative service of the U.S. Department of Defense claimed that: "…aims of the Soviet Union and neighbouring socialist countries were to bring the Communists to power in Greece by creating an independent Macedonia which was to enter into the Yugoslav composition and for Greek Thrace to join Bulgaria. In such a situation the Soviet Union would have a way into the Aegean Sea and full control over the Balkans."

G. Marshal, U.S. Minister of Foreign Affairs, after arrived in Athens on February 14, said that the U.S. government is satisfied with the changes in Greece and, in the interests of the U.S. and the United Nations, Greece will receive help to preserve its independence and territorial integrity.

On December 27, 1947 the Greek government passed special legislation PR 509/47, "regarding state security measures and constitutional protection of its citizens", according to which the CPG and EAM were outlawed. Then with U.S. approval, 650 people were arrested in Athens from December 25 to 28, suspected of being communists.

In this "created" setting in which there was no "realistic" hope of DAG winning militarily, the CPG began to warm up to the Greek government. On January 27, 1949 the Provisional Democratic Government, during a radio broadcast, offered a new peace proposal, as follows:

1). Review all treaties and agreements relating to the freedom and independence of this country,
2). Opposing armies are to maintain their territories,
3) Current proclamation for political amnesty,
4). Re-establishment of all political liberties,

5). Start negotiations to form a government acceptable to both sides. This government will precisely define Articles of Agreement to be signed and terms under which to hold free elections in two months.

However, as was in previous cases, this peace proposal too was deemed suspicious and unacceptable.

On February 1, 1949 British ambassador Norton informed Tsaldaris, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, that "There was no change in British policy towards the bandits (DAG Partisans)".

On July 10, 1949 Tito closed the Yugoslav border to Greece and the CPG, under a KPSS directive, on July 23, 1949 broke ranks with the CPY. After that the Albanian government recommended to the CPG to begin "downgrading" the Macedonians…

NOF and AFZH cadres are ordered by Zahariadis to report to DAG General Headquarters

October 3, 1948. NOF cadres were asked to report to the village Rudari in Prespa, Lerin Region. There, Zahariadis informed them to go and join the ranks of DAG. Here is what Vera in her book "To Hell and Back" had to say: "Immediately I agreed. (This meeting was held in order to arrange which NOF cadre had to go where in DAG's ranks.) You will go," he said to me, "to the DAG 18th Brigade where you will serve as a political assistant commissar." (Vera then was an example of a good Macedonian and was under the leadership of political Commissar Tashko Gushevski - Maki and Commander Pando Vaina.)

At the end of her autobiography Vera gave the following statement: "With our arrest there was no more NOF but the Organization continued to linger on outside of Greece and in 1951 was renamed "Ilinden". As usual, the heads of "Ilinden" were hand picked by Nikos Zahariadis, which included Pando Vaina, Stavro Kochev etc. These "internal enemies" went to Bulgaria where they terminated NOF and "Ilinden's" activities.

Official history since 1995

For his latest official description of the Macedonian and the CPY and CPG attitudes towards them, see Risto Kiriazovski's book "Makedontiste i odnosite na KPJ i KPG (1945 -1949) – ofitsialni dokumenti so komentari", 1995, Chapter 8, p. 201. Kiriazovski is now supporting a new position which opposes and contradicts what he had said in his earlier books published before 1995.

"… It is time for the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, and beyond, to face the entire truth and for every stakeholder to take responsibility for what happened. It is time to name things by their true names. It is our obligation…"

Hunting down "Tito agents" and DAG combat unit deserters fleeing to Yugoslavia to seek protection from the CPM/CPY

Some of those deserters, until yesterday, were senior members of NOF and AFZH. They were now abandoning DAG to save their own skins. Did they forget that, for the last two years, they had been responsible for agitating the people, for creating a strong party apparatus and for maintaining high spirits in the Yugoslav party? All these members of NOF and AFZH were communists, loyal to the Parties, sent there by the CPY. This included Evdokia Foteva – Vera, leader of AFZH, who, on page 204 of her book "To Hell and Back", said:

"…They, down in Aegean Macedonia, in the CPG, NOF, AFZH, NOMS, always served with intrigue (she was thinking of all those in DAG who had deserted during the Greek Civil War and fled to Yugoslavia - R. Macedonia)... Mincho (later her husband) and I were by nature truth-loving, brought up to be honest... We remained true to NOF of Aegean Macedonia to the end."

"Dimitar Trpovski, a friend of mine from my village, on April 11 – 12, took me to the Greek 'Iafka' (telegraph office) in Skopje so that I could visit with a group of NOF leaders who had deserted DAG and fled to Yugoslavia in 1948. Included among them were Mihail Keramitchiev, leader of the group, Vangel Aianovski - Oche, Steriana Vangelova - Slavianka, Lena Stoikova - Mirka and others, who immediately attacked me and told me that we had surrendered to the Greeks. I got angry and told them that they were despondent and deserters who had left their people in disarray and ran off to hide, to save their own skin and their own families, while we, who were loyal to the Party and to our people, remained there and were prepared to fight and die…" For more information see p. 85.

So, given that Vera has offered us her honest opinion about these people being "deserters" the question that comes to mind is: Were these people ever in favour of a United Macedonia in a Balkan federation or were they defending the Party (CPY) thesis that the Party would give the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia a Yugoslav solution? So, why did they leave Aegean Macedonia for the second time? The first time was when they left with the Aegean Brigade. Why did they leave

after convincing and pushing so many Macedonian fighters to join DAG and fight in the battlefields all across Greece? Why did they leave the Macedonian fighters in the hands of the Greeks? Why did they not fight for what they preached, for a Macedonian solution?

This most striking condition outlines their commitment to the CPG and the reaction towards their own comrades whom they called deserters. Their focus and commitment should have been to Macedonia and they should have sought a solution that benefited the Macedonian people and not ask people "are you with Tito or with Zahariadis"? Unfortunately instead of promoting what was good for Macedonia and for the Macedonian people they allowed divisions to foster and alienated the people by asking them: "Are you with us and if you are not, then, you are not with everyone!" These kinds of statements were premeditated and had a devastating effect on Macedonian unity. I am more afraid of distortions of the truth than I am of having to mention this fact:

Liljana Panova in her book "End of an Illusion, the Greek Civil War and the Macedonians 1946-1949", on page 159, wrote: "... Nikolova (Vera) confided in Aianovski – Oche and told him that the 'CPG began to again implement its policy of creating divisions among NOF cadres', and that 'today there are three factions in NOF, one with Paskal Mitrovski, one with Pavle Rakovski and the third with Koichev' and that the 'CPG was again preparing something against NOF'."

There was an explanation in a footnote that went something like this: "A meeting took place during the night of April 12 and 13. Attending the meeting were Rakovski, Nikolova, Tane Naumov, NOF Board Secretary of Lerin District, Keramitchiev, Dimovski - Gotse and Vangelova – Slavianka."

So, from what Vera has told us, there was something going on with the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Whatever it was it took place between 1940 and 1949, especially among our Macedonian leaders: "Propagandize, organize, lead the Macedonian people to war and then leave…" That is precisely what happened! It is a fact that our leadership in the organizations: CPG, KOEM, SNOF, SNOB, NOF, AFZH and NOMS led the people to war and then fled leaving them in the hands of our enemies to be slaughtered like lambs and to be exiled from their homeland forever!

Continuing to follow Vera, who so far has given us insight into her position and that, even though she was a leader and organizer in the struggle, she does not feel responsible for what happened because she feels

she acted diligently and did everything that was required of her from the Communist Party.

But it also shows us that after so many people lost their homes, so many people became wanderers of the world and so many more people became victims of their doing, Vera, as a leader of AFZH who fought for a united Macedonia and then firmly accepted the CPG attitude that the Macedonian would be guaranteed "equality rights" the same as the Greeks and status quo with respect of the borders and nothing more, felt like a victim herself who was manipulated by the Greeks just like every Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia.

What about the "deserters" who defended the thesis that Yugoslavia had all the answers for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia?

It is more than obvious that those who were against the CPY's position were not "for" a "United Macedonia in a Balkan Federation", as was later stated by the CPG. No, they were not for a United Macedonia as were not all Macedonians who took part in the 2nd NOF Congress. They were now "courting" the CPY and the Yugoslav authorities and claiming that they were a "pro-Yugoslav Macedonian movement" and were happy with the status quo regarding the borders!

All those leaders of ours now referred to as "deserters" have written their own historiographies, biographies and books of personal encounters after they came to Skopje. They even wrote about how the CPG attempted to convince them to return to Greece and establish their own Macedonian units. In other words, the Greeks were now hunting the very souls who had earlier left the battlefields to save themselves. They now wanted them to return to Greece and fight in the battles in Gramos.

But they were not interested in going back to Greece; they were more interested in "making history on behalf of Yugoslav interests", and as a result they left no details about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

So what does this all mean? There is an old saying: "If you don't know why you suffered a setback, you are no smarter than you were before." Even half a century later, surely someone must want to know how and why we got mixed up in this Greek Civil War.

We were sold on many illusions. We did whatever we could without realizing that we were harming ourselves. Our national goals were blurred

at best and our leaders were efficiently manipulated by our enemies no less. We were naïve and we were sold on a lot of goods that were unrealistic and unattainable. We had big dreams and big aspirations and foreigners and strangers took advantage of us and turned our dreams against us. And that very well, I believe, sums it up.

Nineteen forty nine was a year of vicious fighting and burning emotions. Only the misguided and ordinary mobilized peasants remained in the DAG units. Most of our NOF leaders fled without even saying good bye to us... The liquidation of DAG entered a dramatic stage and the deadly trap for the Macedonians was set… It was then a matter of time before the Macedonians were made homeless and wanderers of the world.

It is true that all politics are dirty, but then there are dirtier politics, vicious and horrible politics. Those were the politics of those people who called upon the Macedonian people to rise and fight in a revolution that had no turning back. I do not know if history has even seen a similar example made of a nation.

Unwanted, painful truths - Communist camp of future mortals

Not everyone sat silent, but for them death camps were invented. And as we approached the end of the war and the end of the Democratic Army of Greece, more Albanians were forced to take account of their involvement in Greek events. This naturally compromised them and exposed them to various hazardous attacks especially from NATO. And because of that, on May 5, 1949 Mehmet Shehu, Albanian Minister of the Interior, ordered the camps organized near the Greek-Albanian border to be disbanded. These camps were erected to hold Greek citizens, sentenced to death by the Democratic Army courts.

Most of the prisoners held in these camps were Macedonians accused of being agents of Yugoslavia and working for the Yugoslav intelligence Services: OZNA, KOS and judgments were carried out on the spot.

Similar camps also existed in Prespa. The prisoners here were almost entirely old people who publicly condemned NOF, AFZH and DAG for what they had done to their children. They were all mothers, fathers and wives of soldiers who currently served in DAG or who had already perished. They were the parents of two or three children mobilized into DAG. They were supporters of DAG and the war effort and now they sat in jail while their properties and crops were neglected, unattended and rotting in the fields.

So what happened and what killed the spirit of these people to defect en masse?!

Official historiography has been written about reprisals against Macedonian fighters in DAG units and about the affairs of Macedonian fighters in Gramos and Vicho, about whom it said: The Security Services and DAG's Court Service worked hard at eliminating all Macedonians who agitate in favour of Yugoslavia. Many Macedonians were arrested on July 5, 1949 and judgments were passed by DAG's Court. After that it was the "Buf" and "African" affair, the "isolation camps for Macedonians in Vicho Region", "the Kajmakchalan Squad" and many others. People were convicted of "deserting" and according to their testimonies they deserted because "they had no faith in the CPG's decision making process and mistrusted the CPG Central Committee's actions towards the Macedonian fighters..."

The CPG and DAG General Headquarters, on the other hand, were accusing Macedonians of being directed by various intelligence services and by three diversionary centres. The first was operated by the CPM and personally guided by Kolishevski. The second was controlled by OZNA and the third was controlled by group II of the Yugoslav General Headquarters.

Convinced of this, the CPG and DAG General Headquarters decided to send a high-level delegation to Skopje. The delegation arrived in Skopje on February 8, 1949 and had its first meeting at 11 am the same day. Lazo Kolishevski and Tsvetko Uzunovski attended on behalf of the CPM and Miltiadis Porfirogenos and Nikos Georgiadis attended on behalf of the CPG, while Pascal Mitretvski served as translator.

The following points were made on behalf of the CPG Central Committee:

1. Hostility is developing in the ranks of the Macedonian element, which is working against the joint struggle between the Greek and the Macedonian people...

2. Along with the Macedonians, there are also Greek refugees now located in Yugoslavia. This is creating an unfriendly situation…

3. At the centre of this propaganda against our movement is a group of Macedonians, cadres, who left Greece under NOF's direction and are now working against CPG and DAG interests, urging Macedonian fighters to desert the fighting units etc.

After returning to Greece from Belgrade on April 7, 1949, P. Rosos went to DAG General Headquarters and conveyed to the leaders what he had learned from the so-called Macedonian NOF and AFZH "deserters" who were now living in Skopje; who had earlier fled to Yugoslavia to avoid persecution from the Greek authorities. Among other things Rosos said that they had told him to tell the Macedonian fighters "to not be fools and fight and die for DAG's benefit…" For more information see Kiriazovski 1995.

The sense that somehow the Macedonians were a political factor is lost

Was there an exit from the chaos?

There was mention among the Macedonians: objectivity and obligation towards one's own nation.

All this, once again, confirms the fact that we lost our chance. It escaped us. We ran away from it. Instead of gaining our freedom, we gained sorrow, distress, pain and anguish which caused us to divide and turn on each other. We divided and ruined our people. We disoriented ourselves and took on new burdens that would haunt our future.

On top of all that, we left our homeland behind; we abandoned it as our return to it became uncertain. Our future too became uncertain, undefined, because it depended on our past. And what exactly was our past? Well that entirely depends on who you talk to! More precisely, that depends on whose history books you read! Since there were no victors amongst us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, and we hardly had support from anyone, we left that part of our history to be written by others, most likely by those who perpetrated this scheme against us. So, what kind of history do we expect to be reading? Well, there are some things that are certain. We know, or should know, that what happened to us and the crimes committed against us, including the crime of our permanent exile from our ancestral homes, were a fact, a horrible event that actually took place. But what we don't know for sure is if these crimes were intentional or accidental and who perpetrated them against us? For this we will have to blame those who wrote our integral history and who purposely hid the truth from us, included among them are the CPM, CPY and the CPG. We know the CPG lost the war and tried to blame the Macedonians for it. We also know about the Greek attitude towards the Macedonians. What we don't know for certain is the CPY's attitude towards the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and its involvement in the Macedonian organizations? Why did the CPY create NOF and AFZH on April 23, 1945? Why did they send these organizations to Greece to start a

war and what was their role from April 23, 1945 to mid- October 1946 when they were led by the CPM/CPY?

What was done was wrong with grave consequences for the Macedonian people, surely the architects of this ill game must have known that! Claiming that NOF was sent there to protect the people and act against the Monarcho-Fascist terror, does not explain anything and is a poor attempt to justify the CPM/CPY's action because a decision to disarm ELAS, the existing protector of the people, had already been made so there was no need to "protect the people" at that time. Also NOF and AFZH were created before the Athens regime organized and was able to apply mass terror against the people.

So at this point, allow me to pose a fundamental question: "How long are we expected to sit here with our eyes shut as evidence about this is piling before us?!

We can clearly see from the Macedonian absence in high level military and political positions that we, the Macedonians, were either incapable or not allowed to lead anything larger that a military unit. Given this fact, then why does our integral history say that the "Macedonians were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War?" If it is true that the Macedonians were NOT a political and military factor, which is a more plausible scenario than the other way around, then what was the purpose of involving the Macedonian people in the war en masse?! Did we simply put our entire trust in Zahariadis and do what we were told without thinking? How does that then make us a political and military factor in the war?

One thing is clear: From my long and extensive research I have discovered that the NOF and AFZH leadership, even with its split loyalties, some loyal to the CPY and others loyal to the CPG, was honoured and well looked after by the Party. The ordinary Macedonian fighters, those who bled and died for this war, on the other hand, were left out to dry! They were not only abandoned, they were also persecuted for "ideological principles" which most did not even understand. In the end it was they who lost everything, including their ancestral homes, and became permanent refugees roaming the world. They were the ones who experienced genocide!

Is there another truth? Is there even a single person, a NOF or AFZH leader perhaps, who can attest to the truth as to why these things happened to us? And if there is can we believe and trust such a person? Unfortunately, to this day, no one from NOF or AFZH has admitted that they did anything wrong themselves or have apologized to the Macedonian

people for what happened to them. And that for me has been a great sore point.

After DAG's 50th anniversary, a group of researchers from "Rizospastis", organ of the CPG Central Committee, decided to publish an article entitled "50 years after DAG". The article was a sequel published in 90 parts during 1996 and 1997.

The article was a revision of what took place and the approaches taken during the 6th Plenum (1956), the 7th Plenum (1957) and during the 8th CPG Congress (1961). The overview covered the CPG's politics when the party was led by Nikos Zahariadis, particularly during the period from 1945 to 1949 and evaluated the mistakes made and the harm some of those "mistakes" had on the development of events and the decisive role in the war.

Here are some facts: … Regarding the December battle which lasted 33 days resulting in ELAS's defeat and the February 12, 1945 Varkiza agreement being signed, the authors of the article "50 years after DAG" accepted Stalin's position with regards to the conflict between the English and ELAS in Athens. As a result of this, KPSS, CPG and APT delegations met in January 1950 in Moscow, during which Stalin said that the Varkiza agreement should not have taken place and that ELAS should continue the fighting outside of Athens. According to Zahariadis's notes, Georgi Dimitrov sent him a telegram on January 15, 1945 recommending that the CPG leadership endeavour to deal with the English to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. To this, the note said, Stalin reacted sharply by saying, "Dimitrov is not the Central Committee of KPSS."

Why was Stalin recommending this? Was it because he wanted an agreement with Tito? No, it was because he wanted to safeguard the socialist system in Yugoslavia and in the other Eastern European countries by drawing the fire away from them. His idea was not to over-power but to interfere in Greek affairs and used the Macedonians to do it… Who better than the Macedonians who, for many years, longed for their independence and for a united Macedonia.

But one thing still remains unclear, even over 60 years later: "Whose sacrifices are we?" "Who pushed us into sacrificing ourselves to a point of extinction?"

9. 1 WHY DID THE WAR NOT END WITH US AS IT DID WITH EVERYONE ELSE ON MAY 9, 1945?!

Getting to the truth regarding the Macedonian tragedy in Greece!

While going through the archival documents of the various countries in the world that were involved in the Greek Civil War, I looked through the military and political archives of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. I was specifically looking for information on the Yugoslav involvement in the Greek Civil War. One of the main reasons listed for this was:

"... The communist movements in Yugoslavia and Greece did not recognize the 1943 division of zones of influence between Stalin and Churchill. Yugoslavia was influenced 50:50 and Greece 90:10 in favour of Britain and the United States. In addition, a common feature of these movements was that the Communists in both countries fought against the return of monarchy and for the expulsion of fascists."

Was it true that Greece and Yugoslavia did not respect the agreement between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt?

Stalin's first intervention - Against the CPY Yugoslav leadership and Tito:

"… Stalin insisted that everyone adhere to his agreements with Britain and the United States. He even forced Tito to respect his wishes. Consequently, after the war, Tito created a 'compromised' provisional government in which he included former Monarcho-Fascist Ivan Subasich, as Minister of External Affairs."

The CPG Greek leadership

"... Stalin, over the Soviet military mission, in fact, ordered the CPG leadership to accept the Lebanon Agreement. Acting on Stalin's directive the CPG Central Committee, on August 2 and 3, 1944, made a decision to accept the Lebanon Agreement and later the final Varkiza agreement signed on February 12, 1945 in Varkiza, a resort located near Athens. The Varkiza Agreement was signed by the resistance movement, CPG and EAM on one side and the Plastiras Greek government and British General Scobey on the other. With this agreement the Greek military was placed under English Middle East Command." (12 February 1945). With this agreement, EAM and ELAS were practically handed over to the right.

KOS and UDBA documents:

"... As per Stalin and Churchill's 1943 agreement, Yugoslavia was placed under the USSR zone of influence. Tito, on the other hand, came out of World War II as an anti-Fascist movement leader and a close associate of Stalin but after 1943 Tito also created links with Britain and later with the U.S.A."

"... After Stalin's decision in 1948 to eject Tito from the 'communist community', Tito reactivated his ties with Britain and the United States, which he built by withdrawing from Trieste and abandoning the city after the war."

In 1948, when Yugoslavia's internal peace and order was being threatened by Stalin, Tito fought by any means possible, even by illegal means, to defend himself from the Inforburo, from his communist neighbours and from Stalin. He did this with help from the U.S. and managed to maintain Yugoslavia's independence with moderate changes to communism, which, compared to other Communist countries, was a democratic setting decades ahead.

And what did Stalin, the greatest god of them all, do?

Stalin organized a new "evil" to blatantly manipulate the Macedonian people by devising a strategy to abuse the Macedonian Question: See the book: "Jugoslavija u Hladmot patu: Odnosi s velikim silama 1949-1955" by Darko Belickj, Zagreb: Globus, 1988, 31. 51.

"Between 1948 and 1949, Stalin began to implement a new concept called the 'Vishinski Plan' designed to overthrow the Yugoslav leadership. With this plan, among other things, he envisaged a campaign of creating an 'Independent Macedonian State', which, under the auspices of Inforburo, would encompass the 'Pirin, Vardar and Aegean Macedonians'. The idea behind this was that in order to create this Macedonian state, the Macedonian people would have to break away from the Yugoslav people by starting an internal conflict inside Yugoslavia. In other words, all the Macedonian people from Pirin, Vardar and Aegean Macedonia would have to fight against Yugoslavia."

Well, this is how the "red gods" manipulated and played us Macedonians and we, 60 years later, with our so-called "history of the Aegeans" are "preaching" that the Greek Civil War was a "Revolution" and that we were a military and political factor in it!?

I think that these "red gods" were deeply involved in the conspiracy against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and knew very well that Greece would destroy the Macedonians down to the last one if given a chance. This is why they started the conflict in Greece. In retrospect, facts speak for themselves. It was a completely predictable scenario and it played out exactly as planned. The left instigated the problem by sending NOF and AFZH to start a war and the right finished us off by death and by exile. We, on the other hand, have learned nothing from our history and from our past mistakes. So, it is no wonder that we lost our native hearth forever…

Conflict of a similar nature

(See: Pero Simich's book "Mystery of the Century", p. 235)

"The official cause for the sudden disagreement between Tito and Stalin in the beginning of 1948 can be found in the privileged positions of the hundreds of Soviet soldiers and civilian instructors in the Yugoslav army and other communist institutions in Yugoslavia.

… It is difficult to understand what could have made the red king of Moscow go off like that with regards to Tito. Was it Tito's air of independence? Did it have something to do with Albania? Were Tito's ambitions too great? Or was it the song that the Yugoslav people composed about him?

Comrade Tito is worthy of
Making the entire Balkans his
And a part of Europe too…

All of the above probably angered Stalin.

Was the Macedonian tragedy part of this song: "Making the entire Balkans his?" Was this before or after he reactivated his connections with Britain and the U.S.?

(Events described are based on the book "Balkans from 1804 to 1999" by Misha Glenny, British writer and journalist)

"... From 1946 to 1948 Tito (KOS) sent Svetozar Vukmanovik – Tempo to Greece. Tempo had gained experience in organizing the partisan movement in the Republic of Macedonia and in that respect was qualified to organize the Partisan movement in Greece. According to KOS documents, besides Tempo, Lazar Kolishevski was also in contact with

DAG's General Markos Vafiadis and so were Dimitrie Aleksovski, General Mihailo Apostolski...

While Aleksandar Rankovich maintained official contact with DAG, Josip Giorgia, Tito's diplomat at the United Nations, demanded self-determination rights for the Macedonians in Greece. Oscar Davicho and Mihailo Lalich wrote stories about DAG's struggle against the Monarcho-Fascists and a documentary film was made based on their recorded accounts. At one point KOS notified Tito and Rankovic that the Monarcho-Fascists in Athens were afraid that the Macedonians from the Republic of Macedonia might want to join DAG and fight alongside with their Macedonian compatriots in Greece.

Besides training, logistics and command collaboration, Tito and KOS also helped DAG in other ways. The Serbian wing of KOS was given responsibility for providing DAG with medical and intelligence services using DAG and partisans from Aegean Macedonia. Dr. Velimir Majstorovic, a military surgeon and chief of a special hospital for the wounded, was put in charge of the medical services. He was to provide medical assistance to the people from Aegean Macedonia in a hospital located in Katlanovo, near Skopje. Other personnel assigned to provide assistance included Colonel Slobodan Krstich - Ucha, Tito's legendary associate, General Jovo Kapichich, as well as Major Jovan Popovich, artillery instructor in the Yugoslav Army."

Ivan Karaivanov, Soviet NKVD agent and Comintern instructor was also Tito's special intelligence service agent.

Immediate associates and instructors working with General Markos Vafiadis were: Giuza Radovich, Obrad Trninich, MiloVrbitsa, Velimir Dotsnich, Svetislav Stojanovich and Petar Lutsich; all Serbian KOS.

As aid, in the first year alone the Yugoslav army delivered 3,134 anti-infantry mines, 6,550 anti-tank mines and 9,177 pounds of special explosives, rifles and MG-15 machine guns. Sloboan Markovich was given responsibility to safeguard Vafiadis's safety while escorting him to and from Belgrade.

Just remember who this Vafiadis character was: He was a Christian Turkish colonist brought to Macedonia from Asia Minor to replace Macedonians exiled by the Greek State. He was now General Markos Vafiadis! This is what Vafiadis told General Chakalottos after his return to Athens.

On many occasions Mr. Mitsotakis has stated that the Greek Civil War was a painful time for Greece, made very painful by the communists. The Greeks however, have managed by design to provide their experience to the most prominent historians in the West. We the Macedonians on the other hand, for the last 60 years, have relied on others to write our history, a silent history serving the interests of Yugoslavia and Tito.

The so-called "General" Markos Vafiadis was born in the village Tosie in 1906 in Asia Minor. He graduated from fourth grade in public school before he was exiled by the Turkish authorities and brought to Macedonia as a colonist by the Greek authorities.

Appointed by the CPG, Vafiadis was given the role to lead the war effort on his return to Greece. His appointment was announced by the Greek newspapers "Ta Nea" and "Epikera" printed in Athens. The newspapers also carried a story about his meeting with General Tsakalotos in Athens during the Greek Civil War. Tsakalotos then was his opponent in charge of the government army. (Quoted in previous chapters) See: "Nova Makedonija", February 25, 1992.

In the last book: "ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ − 60− ΗΡΟΝΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΛΗΞΗ ΤΟΥ". (GRAGIANSKATA VOJNA – 60 GODINI OD ZAVRSHETOKOT - NEJZINIOT KRAJ.

See: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ− ΔΟΜΝΑΣ ΚΟΦΦΑ (p. 97)

(Why did Bulgaria or Albania not do what Yugoslavia did?!)

"... The Yugoslav state existed on our northern Greek border. Yugoslavia was key in the development of the Greek Civil War in our country. This border, a common point between our two states, was both a promising and disappointing line necessary for delivering supplies to the Democratic Army of Greece. But it was not just its geographical location that had significance, there were other factors. In 1945 Yugoslavia was a strong, important and influential factor in the Balkans and Greece was its neighbour. Yugoslavia undeniably carried serious authority. The government in Belgrade was seen as very strong and a leader in the resistance movement against the Axis which had gained growing respect from the major allies, regardless to which party they belonged. The communists had proven that they were a political force in those years and could work with the multi-ethnic population present in Yugoslavia and at the same time were able to heal the open wounds of the multi-nation state."

West of Yugoslavia was poverty-stricken Albania, where achievements were sought through the courts as a way of strengthening the country in the postwar period. East of Yugoslavia was Bulgaria, an Axis partner, who had to wait for the signing of the Peace Treaty and the conditions imposed on it. This took until February 1947 before all positions were defined and the politics of diplomacy settled.

I want to emphasize here that there was one specific "point" which bound Yugoslavia to Greece. Since the formation of "Democratic Macedonia" in 1945 in Federal Yugoslavia, its capital Skopje became an important place with some autonomy where local level issues were handled.

*

"… Politics in Belgrade very quickly proved to be a mixture of many elements of contradiction. Mixed fear and respect developing on one side, and promises, revolutions and Balkan perspectives developing on the other side." p. 102

Nikos Zahariadis's position on Tito and Yugoslavia

Now let us have a look at Nikos Zahariadis's assessments regarding Yugoslavia. Zahariadis at the time was CPG Central Committee General Secretary and President of the DAG Military Council. After the Greek Civil War ended, during the CPG Central Committee 6th Plenum, in October 1949, Zahariadis said:

"… Here we need to tell the truth openly, that, if the groveling role of the provocateur Tito was known in 1946, the CPG would not have decided to again take up arms. The CPG would have taken a different path, a more persistent, harder, longer path because now it is obvious that we could not have started on this path without having secured our backs, and exactly at the moment when the Monarcho-Fascists were receiving versatile assistance from the Anglo-Americans…"

During the CPG Central Committee Plenum in 1950, while speaking about problems experienced and about DAG's defeat, Zahariadis said:

"If I had known earlier what Tito was going to do, I would have reconsidered whether to take up arms and fight in the Greek Civil War." p. 422 For more details see: "Το ΚΚΕ. Επισημα Κε μενα .τομ. 7οϕ , σελ.15.

What secrets and sins did Tito hide?

It is also interesting to know what Tito thought when he spoke with Fitzroy McLean (60) during a meeting. See: "Μελετες για τον εμφυλιο πολεμο (1945−1949)" (Analysis of the Civil War (1945-1949) p. 336/337, article by Joze Pirjevichch. FO371/78716/R 4691.

With the Tito-Stalin break and after the loss of the Greek Civil War.

"... The meeting that took place with Tito on May 5, 1949 was a prerequisite to McLean's mission. It was a dinner meeting during which many issues and layers of issues were discussed concerning Yugoslavia and its position, i.e. relationship with the West. Some of these issues applied to Greece. Tito did not hide the fact that he was of great help to the Andartes (DAG) in past years. But now the situation had changed and he said that Yugoslavia could not by itself refuse the right of asylum to political refugees. But those refugees were now kept deep inside the country and beyond the borders. It was understood that Tito could promise that in future he would not allow these people to return to Greece to resume fighting. And he would no longer provide any help to the Andartes (DAG). He also said that this information must not be revealed to the public because it would result in a very complex situation…" FO371/78716/R4691.

Tito's promise about this was kept top secret. No one was allowed to know about it because it would have damaged the Yugoslav Marshal's reputation.

Putting our faith in false gods

The Greek Civil War experience taught us to conform to the Party's ideological orientation and that the "attitudes of the stronger are always better for us!"

But not just during the war, 60 years after the war in the sectarian "History of the Aegeans" they assured us that the communists (Tito and Zahariadis) did recognize our self-determination? Let's not go crazy, shall we?

Obviously it doesn't take much to see that we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, were misled by the false gods we believed in and died for and they used our blood to rearrange our identity and history, to uproot us from our homeland and to separate us from our Macedonian family. We were outright lied to in order to gain advantage of us and use us to perpetrate acts that eventually led us to our demise. We became pawns in a political game especially after Tito and Stalin had their tiff.

Tito and Stalin's problem became a Macedonian problem especially for those who were massively mobilized in DAG's combat units and had very little choice regarding their options; particularly when asked, "are you with Tito or with Zahariadis!?"

But the most tragic thing about all this is that we served these gods to achieve their goals, and even 60 years later we are still silent about it and suffer as a result of it.

We all know that our participation in the war was instigated by NOF and AFZH. They called on us nationwide to rise-up en masse to fight for our freedom, for an independent Macedonia; a national virtue! Unfortunately it proved to be a national fraud, a big fat lie. If NOF and AFZH decided to call on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to join a nationwide people's front in order to implement our own strategic objectives, then the question that needs to be asked is: "If NOF and AFZH believed (had guarantees) that what they were doing was legitimate before the world then why didn't they pose the Macedonian Question to either the Security Council or the United Nations? Why did they count on Greece and Yugoslavia to do that? Did they not know that they were firmly and strictly controlled by the Balkan communist Parties? And how were they expecting to realize our historical wishes through the very same people who divided Macedonia by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, in the first place?"

Unfortunately, and as it turned out in the end, it seems that for some of us, our participation in the wars (1940-1950) was never about any "national strategy", or "unity", or "dignity", it was more about personal gains and individual benefits for members of the Communist Party be it the CPG or the CPY.

Meaning: If we wanted to be accepted by the CPG or by the CPY we had to play by their rules. We needed to show them our loyalty and allegiance, in other words, sell them not only our souls but also the souls of our people, even if it led to our defeat and national genocide.

Eventually (1945-1949) we became blind with obedience (it didn't matter to whom) to anyone who dared tangle with our destiny…

Which means, after the Second World War, when people began to believe that death, destruction and bloodshed were a thing of the past, we Macedonians suffered genocide. We suddenly began to play with fire without evaluating our options, without realizing that we were firmly grasped and controlled by the communist Parties. We Macedonians went

wild without a plan, without a defense of our national interests and with no regard for what had already been decided by the rest of the world. We went wild in the defense of an unproven ideology, first thinking that we were fighting to free ourselves and later to gain our human rights. And in the end we lost everything, especially our identity and our grandfather's homes forever.

I don't know if we have fully realized what happened to us as a nation, but it was traumatic and should remain in the Macedonian consciousness forever as permanent testimony; - a frightening experience of legendary proportion which resulted in tragedy, ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Unfortunately it was not over, even after the war ended. Unable to return to our homes we, the fighters along with the civilian refuges, found ourselves abandoned, in ghettos, in camps, in alien worlds, away from our national traditional homes. As individuals, for us there was no salvation, no place we could call our own; there was only pain and sorrow from missing our loved ones and our homes. Our exodus and exile was not our choice but we had to live with it, some of us to the end of our lives!

It is absolutely bizarre to even think about it. What kind of people were these political strategists who planned all this, especially in the Balkans where historical fanaticism and various accumulated deadly ideologies existed? The Balkans were and have remained to be the region of conflict in Europe, especially the Western Balkans which have always been simmering potential trouble spots. What is even more bizarre is the fact that while these same strategists and politicians were engaged in building new "civilizations" in Siberia and in the Goli Otok, we, the Macedonians, in those same 55 years could not even assess if these people did more good or more evil to us? No! We all kept silent like dummies! There was safety in silence, especially after the 1953 Balkan (61) Agreement. There was a wall of silence after that for certain!

In every ordinary person exiled, there was only a small primordial desire: to remain Macedonian no matter how much suffering it took, just so that one day they could return to their own country and speak their own language and see their own family.

Unfortunately, those who physically divided Macedonia and the Macedonian people also wanted them spiritually divided and made sure that these people would never return and never have their desires fulfilled. This, unfortunately to this day, has been a problem for the Macedonian people not only in Greek occupied Macedonia but also outside. Macedonia's enemies, particularly Greece and Bulgaria, over the last

century, have vilified the Macedonian people and are making sure "no one" is sympathetic to them! In fact the spiritual division of the Macedonian people is also an attempt at eliminating the Macedonian people's integrated desires and vision of a single Macedonia.

A great number of arguments investigated in this write up are not part of the "official" history written about the "Aegeans". Greece has completely omitted the Macedonian contribution on both sides of the war. In addition to Macedonians being mobilized in the resistance movement, the Greek government also drew on the Macedonian population by drafting Macedonians into its armed Greek government forces. That too was not mentioned in history. In fact all sides in the Greek Civil War today deny that Macedonians even existed! Macedonians on one side were deceived into joining a struggle which promised them freedom and self-determination; Macedonians on the other side were then forced into a draft to fight against the struggle; brother fighting against brother; husband fighting against wife; sister fighting against brother. When will all this come out? When will we wake up to the reality of what truly happened to us? This is what happens when you allow strangers to control your destiny and use and abuse you! All the things stated in this write up "did" happen to us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia because we allowed ourselves to be placed in the hands of those who wanted to control our fate. We placed our trust in them, we placed our fate in their hands and they did what they wanted to do; destroy us! This is exactly what happened! Deeds speak for themselves!

The conflict between the two warring sides was supposedly a class struggle which had little meaning for the ordinary Macedonian who was living a self-sufficient life in the village, working for himself. So, how was this global project called socialism going to improve his life? Would the ordinary villager have been better off surrendering his grandfather's fields to the state and working for the state? And what villager, if he had known this, would have willingly agreed to give up his meager ancestral possessions to a strange Greek or Yugoslav institution? So, you can see how the Macedonian people were lied to and duped into joining the struggle during the Greek Civil War. The ordinary Macedonian was told and believed that they were fighting for freedom and justice. He believed he was fighting to free himself from the injustices of the Greeks and the Greek state. Greek injustices pushed the Macedonian people into this war which began even before Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned during the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Attempts by Greek authorities to extinguish everything Macedonian and the prejudices of Greek society against the Macedonians pushed the Macedonian people into this war because they were looking for a way out! They had had

enough of Greece and the Greeks and took their chance to unshackle themselves from the Greek yoke, being totally unaware that all this was a ruse and that they were being set up for a big fall! If you don't believe me then take a look at who was at the top leading this struggle and ask yourself, if not to get rid of the Macedonians then what were Markos and Zahariadis, both colonists from Asia Minor, fighting for? Were they fighting to help the Macedonians achieve their rights? What was their interest in that and how would they have benefited "helping" the Macedonians gain control of their territory, especially after they had colonized their lands? Or, to ask the question another way, what would have been more beneficial for the colonists, to drive the Macedonians out or to allow them to regain their lands which they lost to the very same colonists in the first place? I think the answer is obvious! Even Markos, on several occasions, had told the Macedonians not to be such dreamers!

Sovietization of the Balkans

The role of NOF and AFZH during this period of time was of paramount importance. The organizations NOF and AFZH at that time were faithfully serving the Communist Party of Greece (as advised by the CPY). The CPG on the other hand, used this opportunity and its "communist card" to get NOF and AFZH to organize and mobilize a large number of Macedonians into the Greek Civil War. NOF and AFZH were very successful in mobilizing the Macedonian people who were totally blind to the outcome of the game they were asked to play. In retrospect we can see for ourselves what happened; we fought for socialism in Greece and the socialists gave us a one way ticket out of our homeland.

It is important that every sensible person ask themselves these questions: "What exactly was the purpose for forming NOF (62) and AFZH to lead the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia? Why were these organization placed under Yugoslav influence (CPM/CPY)? And why were they later surrendered outright to the CPY? Why were the Macedonian people told that they would be fighting for a United Macedonia under a Yugoslav federation and later reversed direction and told that they would remain under Greece but would be fighting for their rights? Who made all these decisions for the Macedonian people and what was gained by it all? And how does our history answer these questions? These are serious questions and should be answered by our history.

Unfortunately our history has not been very kind with regards to the story of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and its chapters are full of "not answers" but "politicized terms". For example: "The Macedonian Bureau of the CPG", which was an office for the

Macedonians in Greek Macedonia, has used the following "favourite" attributes to describe our story: "Aegeans", "The bloody epic of the Aegeans", "Belomortsi" (Mediterranean people), "Chetniks", etc. Why is that? As far as I am concerned, we are "Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia" which perfectly defines us and describes our current situation. By calling us by any other name, you are helping our enemies break us down. It makes their effort easier to break down our collective consciousness. I can understand why this needs to be pointed out to outsiders who are not familiar with our history and current situation. It is a darn shame however, to have to point this out to Macedonians and to official historians no less!

It is not just the terminology; some authors have problems with asking the right questions and getting the right answers. There are too many stories, too many points of view, too many contradictions. This however should not be the case; facts should speak for themselves and, in retrospect, what the facts say does not paint a pretty picture. Some say we fought for our freedom and to secure our homeland. Okay then, how did we do that? What evidence do we have that supports this? Some say we fought for "ideology". There is some credibility in that statement but then for whose ideology did we fight? The ideology we fought for turned out to be a curse that nearly obliterated us. So, what did we fight for? What did our almighty historiographer Kiriazovski say we fought for? Illusions? Why did he wish to remain silent regarding important issues? Why did he become a guard of state secrets and only supported the facts that were favourable by current politics?

As I have, I am certain that every single Macedonian refugee and casualty of the Greek Civil War has raised the question: "Why has our real story not been told? Why must our dramatic and tragic experience be twisted to fit the current political climate? Even though we lost over 20,000 lives doing what we were asked to do, what was expected of us to do, today historiographers make up stories about us. Some say we never existed; some say we were a creation of Tito; some say we fought in a revolution to create a Macedonian state; some say we fought for our human rights! Did we fight for some or all of those things? Or are we still clueless as to what we fought for? Someone must know? If so then, how long are they going to remain silent to protect the interests of the CPG and the CPY? Until all refugees and fighters are dead and gone?

Let me go back to the question: Was the Greek Civil War a Macedonian revolution, an extension of the traditional Ilinden Uprising? Could we have United Macedonia as many official historiographers have speculated? For

more information see Risto Kiriazovski's book "Macedonians and their relations with the CPY and the CPG (1945-1949)", 1995.

Well here is what our official history, written for us, has to say: "On April 23, 1945, before the Second World War was over, the Right, with help from Great Britain, imposed its authority in Greece by introducing harsh repressive measures against the resistance movement, especially in Greek occupied Macedonia. The Right did this outside and independently of the CPG. To counter the Right's policies, strategy, and tactics the Organizations CPM, SKOJ and NOF (NOMS and AFZH) appeared. Simultaneously with NOF, armed units were organized, poised to start guerrilla warfare. The CPM was the organizer of all these activities. By this act, the Macedonian National Liberation Movement in Greek occupied Macedonia was institutionalized. As the leader of the Macedonian Liberation Movement, NOF's aims were to use all forms of struggle, to fight for self-determination and unification of the Macedonian people." P. 10

Also see the book "Great Legal Discrimination - Greek politics in Aegean Macedonia after World War II", Skopje, 1996. According to this book: "NOF and the other organizations were led by the CPY-CPM since their inception in November 1946". P. 181

Also see the book: "National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations of Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)", published by "Kultura", Skopje 1985. The authors of this book wrote: "NOF's first Congress of NOF (January 13, 1948) was the brightest event in Macedonia's post Ilinden history."

Here are some more facts for you! In spite of our bitter experience as Macedonians living under Greek rule; in spite of our experience with the CPG being insincere and opportunistic and in spite of the general Greek attitude towards the Macedonians; the NOF leadership agreed to send 75% of the Macedonian fighters in DAG to go and fight south of Olympus or in all areas in Greece! To save Greece! Sending Macedonian units to the depths of Greece was apparently done to prevent them from slipping out to Yugoslavia. In other words, to prevent a repeat performance of what took place in 1944 when the Macedonian battalions separated themselves from ELAS and crossed over the border into Yugoslavia.

Further on in the same book the author wrote: "The National Liberation Front (NOF) has emerged as the all-national, anti-fascist internal Macedonian people's movement. It intervenes under all conditions against the Anglo-American imperialists…" And so, this is what we are being told

by this author… Yes, to a casual observer, like watching a scene from a film, NOF performed admirably. In fact, it is to NOF's credit that, given the circumstances, so many Macedonians joined that war. The Macedonian people's participation was unprecedented. But the question still remains; was it a Macedonian revolution or a scam?

Calling on all Macedonian women (only) to sacrifice themselves at the frontline

By this call Gramos became the largest tomb of forcibly mobilized Macedonians.

Captivated by AFZH politics, instead of guarding the family and Macedonian home, these obedient women became the new pawns to be drawn into the war effort to fight at the fronts in this political game played by the Party.

We don't need much sophistry to explain this phenomenon for women to be included in the forefront of a war. It was not done so much for patriotism as it was done from fear of again falling into the hands of the enemy. Believing the lies they were told, the women felt their effort would provide the last push needed to liberate themselves from the conditions they were faced with under Greek control since 1913. They were clueless as to how they were played and trusting as they were of their Macedonian leaders, to a point where they were prepared to give their lives; they actively joined the war effort. This was the scene as viewed from the inside. As viewed by the simple peasant women who just wanted to be left alone in peace to look after their children and pursue their work in their homes without fear of being reported to the police for saying good morning to their neighbours in their Macedonian language. They wanted so little, yet it seems that too was too much to ask for and they too needed to be sacrificed to honour the Red gods of war.

June 16, 1949. The AFZH women's Executive Board led by Evdokia Foteva - Vera, passed a resolution to induct Macedonian women en masse into the fighting force in defense of the Vicho frontline. The call appeared in "Nova Makedonka", AFZH's own publication. This call was the last mass mobilizations of Macedonian women and the beginning of the end of the Macedonian home for so many Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia...

August 10 – 14, 1949. A Greek government offensive was initiated against DAG. A force of 60,000 Greek government troops commanded by General Van Fleet of the U.S.A., organized in 6 divisions from all branches of the

military, with 200 tanks and armoured cars and with about 100 aircraft of all types, was unleashed on Mount Vicho. Opposing this force was commander Michos Vlandas of the resistance with 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated in the period during August 13 and 14 with 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured fighters. The Government side sustained only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded.

August 15-16, 1949. DAG units retreated into Albania, but in the following days about 6,000 were transferred to reinforce the fighting in Mount Gramos.

August 20, 1949. The CPG Central Committee Politburo held a meeting and promised its fighters that "Gramos has all the means necessary to deliver the enemy a death blow" and coined the slogan "Gramos will become the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists Government troops".

August 22, 1949. A meeting between Zahariadis, on one side, and APT's Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu and Kapo on the other side was held in Korcha.

Among the current issues discussed at the meeting was the transfer of about 6,000 DAG fighters to the battlefields of Gramos. These were the fighters who retreated to Albania after they were defeated in Vicho and Zahariadis wanted them transferred to Gramos. But in order to do the transfer Zahariadis required Albanian government approval and engagement.

Enver Hoxha: "What will you do if the Athens government attacks with all its forces?"

Zahariadis: "We will fight to the last one. Or, maybe we will retreat into Albania."

To that Enver Hoxha expressed fear that something serious might happen that would expose and complicate Albania's international position.

Mehmet Shehu, knowing about the Soviet Union suggestion that Zahariadis should quickly dissolve DAG, about which Zahariadis persistently kept silent, said: "It's time to admit defeat and it would not be inappropriate or unreasonable to do so because the enemy forces will cause you a lot of damage and turn Gramos into a tomb for many of your fighters".

August 24-29, 1949. During the night of August 29-30, government troops began a new campaign against Gramos. Again, commanded by U.S. General Van Fleet, this force was larger by three battalions than that of Vicho. Placed in charge of the resistance side in Gramos and of Gramos DAG General headquarters, was General Georgios Vontisios-Gusias, with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from the battlefields of Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and the retreat for Albania began on August 30. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured, 650 wounded and about 400-450 voluntarily surrendered. Losses on the government side amounted to 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.

Who were the guilty culprits in this tragedy?

(NOF and AFZH were labeled "agent" organizations)

(Stalin took a hard stand against Tito and Tito slammed the door on the informburo countries with the Macedonians caught in the middle)

Zahariadis ordered the NOF and AFZH leadership to join DAG's combat ranks. With all this going on around them, did the Macedonian leaders and general population have any idea what was happening?

In her book "To Hell and Back", Evdokia Foteva - Vera wrote:

"... On October 3, 1948 Zahariadis called a meeting inviting all NOF military and political Cadres to attend. The meeting was held in the village Rudari, in Prespa, Lerin Region… Zahariadis ordered me to go to the ranks of DAG. I immediately agreed. The meeting was held to assign the NOF leadership to the various combat locations. He ordered me to go to DAG's 18th Brigade to serve as an Assistant Commissar to the Political Commissar of the 18th Brigade. The Brigade then was considered Macedonian and was led by Political Commissar Tashko Gushevski - Maki, and commander of the Brigade was Pando Vaina."

At the end of her autobiographic notes Vera concluded the following: "With our arrests, NOF was practically extinguished. The organization continued to live in emigration but in 1951 was renamed to "Ilinden". The new heads of "Ilinden", appointed by Zahariadis, were Pando Vaina, Stavro Kochev, etc. These internal enemies fled to Bulgaria and practically extinguished all NOF or "Ilinden" activities.

Position of our official history after 1995

See what official historiographer Risto Kiriazovski has to say about the Macedonians, the CPG and the CPY in his latest book entitled "Macedonians and their relations with the CPY and the CPG (1945 - 1949) - official documents with comments" published in 1995. Pay particular attention to Chapter 8, p. 201. In this book Kiriazovski had taken a totally new approach and changed his position with regards to what he wrote in his older books.

Excerpt A: "... It is time for the Macedonian people from the Aegean part of Macedonia, and beyond, to learn the entire truth and for every stakeholder to take responsibility for what happened. It is time to call things by their real names. It is our obligation."

Hunting down "Tito's agents" and DAG's deserters fleeing to Yugoslavia under the protection of the CPM/CPY

Some of the deserters fleeing to Yugoslavia were yesterday's senior members of NOF and AFZH. They abandoned their posts, DAG and the people they had recruited and sent to this war. They were considered loyal and patriotic whose agitation created a strong party apparatus, brought up in the spirit of the CPY. They were all loyal communists supported by the CPY. Here is what AFZH leader Evdokia Foteva – Vera had to say about them later:

"…They always, even down in Aegean Macedonia, in the CPG, NOF, AFZH, NOMS served with intrigue (she is referring to all the DAG deserters who fled to Yugoslavia during the Greek Civil War)... Mincho and I, by nature, were truth-loving, brought up to be honest… I stayed true to NOF, the Macedonian organization of Aegean Macedonia…" "To Hell and Back", P. 204

"Dimitar Trpovski, a friend of mine from my village, on April 11 – 12, took me to the Greek 'Iafka' (telegraph office) in Skopje so that I could visit with a group of NOF leaders who had deserted DAG and fled to Yugoslavia in 1948. Included among them were Mihail Keramitchiev, leader of the group, Vangel Aianovski - Oche, Steriana Vangelova - Slavianka, Lena Stoikova - Mirka and others who immediately attacked me and told me that we had surrendered to the Greeks. I got angry and told them that they were despondent and deserters who had left their people in disarray and ran off to hide, to save their own skin and their own families, while we, who were loyal to the Party and to our people, remained there and were prepared to fight and die…" For more information see p. 85.

So, given that Vera has offered us her honest opinion about these people being "deserters" the question that comes to mind is: Were these people ever in favour of a United Macedonia in a Balkan federation or were they defending the Party (CPY) thesis that the Party would give the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia a Yugoslav solution? So, why did they leave Aegean Macedonia for the second time? The first time was when they left with the Aegean Brigade. Why did they leave after convincing and pushing so many Macedonian fighters to join DAG and fight in the battlefields all across Greece? Why did they leave the Macedonian fighters in the hands of the Greeks? Why did they not fight for what they preached, for a Macedonian solution?

This most striking condition outlines their commitment to the CPG and the reaction towards their own comrades whom they called deserters. Their focus and commitment should have been to Macedonia and they should have sought a solution that benefited the Macedonian people and not ask people "are you with Tito or with Zahariadis"? Unfortunately instead of promoting what was good for Macedonia and for the Macedonian people, they allowed divisions to foster and alienated the people by asking them: "Are you with us and if you are not, then, you are not with everyone!" These kinds of statements were premeditated and had a devastating effect on Macedonian unity. I am more afraid of distortions of the truth than I am of having to mention this fact:

Liljana Panova in her book "End of an Illusion, the Greek Civil War and the Macedonians 1946-1949", on page 159, wrote: "... Nikolova (Vera) confided in Aianovski – Oche and told him that the 'CPG began to again implement its policy of creating divisions among NOF cadres', and that 'today there are three factions in NOF, one with Paskal Mitrovski, one with Pavle Rakovski and the third with Koichev' and that the 'CPG was again preparing something against NOF'."

There was an explanation in a footnote that went something like this: "A meeting took place during the night of April 12 and 13. Attending the meeting were Rakovski, Nikolova, Tane Naumov, NOF Board Secretary of Lerin District, Keramitchiev, Dimovski - Gotse and Vangelova – Slavianka."

So, from what Vera has told us, there was something going on with the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. Whatever it was it took place between 1940 and 1949, especially among our Macedonian leaders: "Propagandize, organize, lead the Macedonian people to war and then leave…" That is precisely what happened! It is a fact that our leadership in the organizations: CPG, KOEM, SNOF, SNOB, NOF, AFZH and NOMS

led the people to war and then fled, leaving them in the hands of our enemies to be slaughtered like lambs and to be exiled from their homeland forever!

After the NOF and AFZH leaders pushed the Macedonian people into the clutches of war, they began quarreling among each other as to who "loved" Macedonia more, who was "better" at "uniting Macedonia" and with whom should the "Macedonian Question" be resolved.

Then, as things became clearer and they began to realize their predicament, being tightly grasped in the clutches of the "Parties", they understood that "any one of them could be a candidate for the firing squad"!

Unfortunately there was no unity among the Macedonian NOF and AFZH leadership and almost every leader had his or her own view and expectation regarding the outcome of this struggle. Leaving the outcome in ambiguity and Macedonia's future undefined, these people concentrated their entire effort recruiting fighters for the war without a clear idea as to what was eventually going to happen to them.

What does that tell us?

It tells us that our political leaders (regardless of their ties to the CPY or the CPG) did not understand how wars were fought. Their understanding was that wars were fought with full distinctiveness and had a clear beginning and clear end. But we the Macedonians, during the Greek Civil War, had nothing to distinguish us. We did not plan the beginning or the end of the war. We were simply manipulated and used to the maximum and then left out in the cold to become eternal wanderers of the world.

In essence, the Macedonian leadership was basically told what to do either by the CPY or the CPG or both and never did develop a plan of its own. It was driven from the outside by these different forces with differing objectives which caused conflicts and "disunity" among the leaders. Each Macedonian leader was influenced differently by this tag of war which caused them to form unique visions about which direction to take. Thus there were underlying weaknesses in the internal overall plan and lack of consensus on key Macedonian national issues. In other words, the Macedonian leadership never did develop a unique, shared Macedonian national feeling.

Continuing to follow Vera, who so far has given us insight into her position and that, even though she was a leader and organizer in the

struggle, she does not feel responsible for what happened because she feels she acted diligently and did everything that was required of her by the Communist Party.

But it also shows us that after so many people lost their homes, so many people became wanderers of the world and so many more people became victims of their doing, Vera, as a leader of AFZH who fought for a united Macedonia and then firmly accepted the CPG attitude that the Macedonian would be guaranteed "equality rights" the same as the Greeks and status quo with respect of the borders and nothing more, felt like a victim herself who was manipulated by the Greeks just like every Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia.

What about the "deserters" who defended the thesis that Yugoslavia had all the answers for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia?

It is more than obvious that those who were against the CPY's position were not "for" a "United Macedonia in a Balkan Federation", as was later stated by the CPG. No, they were not for a United Macedonia as not all Macedonians were who took part in the 2nd NOF Congress. They were now "courting" the CPY and the Yugoslav authorities and claiming that they were a "pro-Yugoslav Macedonian movement" and were happy with the status quo regarding the borders!

All those leaders of ours now referred to as "deserters" have written their own historiographies, biographies and books of personal encounters after they came to Skopje. They even wrote about how the CPG attempted to convince them to return to Greece and establish their own Macedonian units. In other words, the Greeks were now hunting the very souls who had earlier left the battlefields to save themselves. They now wanted them to return to Greece and fight in the battles in Gramos.

But they were not interested in going back to Greece; they were more interested in "making history on behalf of Yugoslav interests" and, as a result, they left no details about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

So what does this all mean? There is an old saying: "If you don't know why you suffered a setback, you are no smarter than you were before." Even half a century later, surely someone must want to know how and why we got mixed up in this Greek Civil War.

We were sold on many illusions. We did whatever we could without realizing that we were harming ourselves. Our national goals were blurred at best and our leaders were efficiently manipulated by our enemies no less. We were naïve and we were sold on a lot of goods that were unrealistic and unattainable. We had big dreams and big aspirations and foreigners and strangers took advantage of us and turned our dreams against us. And that very well, I believe, sums it up.

Situation of the Macedonian fighters at the end of the war

Nineteen forty nine was a year of vicious fighting and burning emotions. Only the misguided and ordinary mobilized peasants remained in the DAG units. Most of our NOF leaders fled without even saying good bye to us... The liquidation of DAG entered a dramatic stage and the deadly trap for the Macedonians was set… It was then a matter of time before the Macedonians were made homeless and wanderers of the world.

It is true that all politics are dirty, but then there are dirtier politics, vicious and horrible politics. Those were the politics of those people who called upon the Macedonian people to rise and fight in a revolution that had no turning back. I do not know if history has even seen a similar example made of a nation.

I have personally witnessed such dirty politics. I was sent to Prespa with a group of saboteurs to blow up the bridge over the waterway that connected the two Prespa lakes. This was after the catastrophic fall of the front line on Vicho Mountain. Even though I saw this with my own eyes, I could not believe how the CPG, NOF, or AFZH leadership could have agreed to order the return of crippled fighters who had already left for Albania, to go back to the frontline to die. These fighters were all crippled, most were without legs and had no option but to die fighting. These battles took place at the end of the war and we all were in the Elbasan camps in Albania.

September 29-30, 1949. A Party Conference was held at the camp in Burreli in Albania where all the Macedonians were gathered. Present among the Conference participants were the CPG senior executive which adopted a resolution to seek out and find the guilty culprits responsible for DAG's defeat. It did not take long before fingers began to point at the CPY/CPM and at NOF. The CPG executive decided to prosecute the Macedonian NOF leadership. Based purely on speculation and innuendo the entire leadership was found guilty and on October 7, 1949, 11 members and one other activist, were arrested and later sent to the prison camps in Siberia.

This is what we read in a newsletter dated October 17, 1949, circulated in the military camp:

"We have paused but we are not defeated"

"At dawn on October 17, 1949 the already exiled Partisan 'Provisional Democratic Government' put an end to hostile activities with a proclamation issued by the radio station in Bucharest. Among other things, the following were stated in the proclamation: 'DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) will not lay down its arms and will maintain in readiness. DAG only withdrew from battle because it was betrayed by outside invaders aided and supported by Tito who attempted to break its back from behind. But DAG did not fall down and has not been destroyed. It remains complete and powerful in its entirety'..."

Political refugees after the Greek Civil War

After the Greek Civil War was lost, all DAG military formations, by order of General Headquarters, were sent to Albania where they were disarmed and sent to the military camps in Bureli and Elbasan. Some crossed the Berkovitsa border into Bulgaria where they were also disarmed.

While at Bureli, the CPG held its 6th Plenum during which it reviewed its political and military strategies and prepared a schedule of how many fighters were to be sent to which countries. Here is part of that schedule:

Czechoslovakia – 13,500 people (later 6,000 more from Yugoslavia).
Poland – 9,000 people (later 3,000 more).
Romania – around 5,600 people (later 1,000 more).
Bulgaria – 8,800 people.
Hungary – around 4,000 people (later 2,000 more).
East Germany – around 2,200 people (1,500 were young children).
USSR - Tashkent - around 16,500 people (later 5,500 more.)

It should be noted that from these numbers, which were verified from Greek sources, around 56-60% of the people were Macedonians.

There are no sources that list the exact number of people that fled for Yugoslavia. Some sources, however, put the number at 60,000, almost all of them Macedonians.

It would be appropriate at this point to provide a chronological review of DAG's military strength throughout the course of the Greek Civil War. Here is a list of numbers and their sources:

1. Tassos Vurnas, p. 159-160; in the fall of 1948 DAG had about 18,000 fighters;

2. Vasilis Bardzhiotas, second most important person in DAG, wrote that by the end of 1949, the number of DAG fighters had reached 30,000;

3. "Neos Kozmos" in 1950, p. 624, 637, wrote that the total number of DAG fighters in 1948-1949 reached 25,000;

We should also note at this point that there exists another significant source, the book, "ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ (1946-1949)". According to statements made by General Markos: "Up to 1947, 90% of DAG's fighters were forcibly mobilized. After that and throughout the entire Greek Civil War there is no confirmation that any of them were volunteers.

So, given what Markos said, can we really entertain the idea that the Greek Civil War was any kind of "Macedonian Revolution" and the continuation of the famous Ilinden Uprising?

Finally, in place of an epilogue, the heaps of facts and arguments spell out the final and horrific outcome of events, which the Macedonian warrior in DAG had to outlive; frightful events that reek of genocide.

Perhaps all this for us Macedonians is a lesson for which the Latins have an old saying that goes something like this: "There are times and there are situations that call for large spending of national energy from which the nation benefits very little!"

Following is a list of battles that took place during the Greek Civil War. These were frightful battles where the opponents had forces as high as ten times larger and much better equipped.

1. Battle at North Pindos, (June 26 to July 22, 1947);
2. Battle for the city Konitsa (December 24, 1947 to January 4, 1948);
3. Battle in Kailari, (October 18, 1948);
4. Battle in Bukovic (November 10 to 14, 1948);
5. Battle for the reception of the heroic unarmed phalanx from Rumeli to Mount Pieria, (March 16, 1948);
6. Battles in Agrafa: Villages Karoplesi, Smokovo, Kerasovo and Mount Niala (April 8 to 22, 1947);
7. Battle at Ilia, Furka, Taburi-Greco, (July 31, 1948);
8. Battle at Golio-Kamenik, (June 21, 1948);

9. Battle at Klevti (June 28 to August 1, 1948);
10. Battle at Taliaro-Likokremasma and Eastern Smolika, (July 31, 1948);
11. Battle at Alevitsa, (June 14, 1948);
12. Battles to conquer the cities Edessa, Sobotsko and Negush, (December 22, 1948 to January 14, 1949);
13. Battle for the conquest of Lerin, (February 12, 1949);
14. Battles in Kajmakchalan, (June 4, 1949);
15. Major battles for the re-taking of Gramos (April 1 & 2, 1949);
16. Battles at the heights of Bulgara, Kotelsko-Gramos, (April 4, 1949);
17. Battles at Patoma-Gramos, (June 2, 1949);
18. Battles for Vicho. The fiercest battles were fought at Lisets and at Iamata, (August 10 to 14, 1949);
19. Dramatic battle fought at Kulata - Prespa between the two lakes, (August 14, 1949);
20. Battles at Black-Gramos, (August 24 1949);
21. The last battles of Gramos, (August 24 to 29, 1949);
22. Battles at Kiafa (elevation 2322) in Gramos, (August 30, 1949, just less than 10 hours before DAG's defeat).

On this day, history will witness a terrible event; the heroic death of Petso Romev, commander of the 426 battalion within brigade 118. He was born in the village Gornichevo, Lerin Region, in 1919.

So many fierce battles, so many senseless deaths and so much suffering! We have shown you, dear readers, how these false gods, with their empty slogans, lied to the Macedonian people. We have shown you the many promises they made and delivered none. We have also shown you how the Macedonian people were manipulated, divided and turned against one another in spite of doing everything that was asked of them. In the end, we lost everything including our homes and native hearth. And who do we have to blame for all this? Instead of screaming and yelling, for the past 60 years or so, we kept silent! For this we have no one but ourselves to blame! I hope this time history has taught us something, because if it didn't we will continue to be manipulated, used and abused and history will repeat itself again and again!

10.0 AFTER THE WAR ENDED

(It started on March 31st, 1946 and ended on August 30th, 1949)

A) End of war - Solve the Aegean problem with transfer of minorities!

The Greek Civil War was a national disaster for Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. It left thousands dead, thousands more maimed and disabled and countless broken families. The vast majority of those who fled lost their ancestral homes and lands and became permanent refugees.

The unpleasantness of the Greek Civil War and the war years in general from 1940 to 1949 has taught me to never ignore politics because they often attract dangerous human beings whose actions contribute to lasting and intolerable consequences.

Once and for all it should be understood that the people from our villages in Lerin, Kostur, Voden and other regions of Greek occupied Macedonia, had no intention of leaving their homes at the end of the Greek Civil War. So, one would have to ask: "Why then did they leave?" What and who encouraged the people from the villages to leave their homes and properties and head for Albania? Was there some sort of a plan to get rid of every Macedonian from Greek occupied Macedonia? Was there a plan to "ethnically cleanse" Macedonia of its Macedonians? Is that why Markos and Zahariadis, both colonists from Asia Minor, were put in charge of "managing" the war?

It should also be understood that NOF and AFZH had no political or military power and had no influence on the war so why did they call on the Macedonian people to rise and fight and for what?

October 9, 1949. The CPG Central Committee held its 6th Plenum in Bureli, Albania. The Plenum rejected its previous position which called for the "Independence and full national self-determination of the Macedonians under Greece", adopted during the 5th Plenary Session on January of the same year and returned to the notion of "Equality for the Macedonian minority within the Greek state". The plenum also decided to disband NOF and AFZH.

During a delegation meeting led by Stalin between the KPSS, CPG and APT leaderships, held in Moscow in January 1950, a few issues were discussed. One was the conflict between the CPG and the APT, another was a letter addressed to the KPSS Central Committee written by General

Markos Vafiadis accusing Zahariadis of being an Intelligence Service agent. And a third was a discussion regarding CPG politics aimed against Macedonian national issues.

It was also found that it was wrong of Zahariadis to have established KOEM, the Communist Party for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Acting on Stalin's directives, the CPG leadership held its 7th Plenum on May 14 to 18, 1950, during which the following issues were discussed:

1. KPSS suggestions, and
2. The internal political situation in Greece and CPG objectives.

During the Plenum Zahariadis took the position that "Tito's betrayal, with help from his NOF agents inside Greece, played a decisive role in DAG's defeat."

We can see from the overall analysis, that the Macedonian National Question was always present in the daily politics of the Greek Civil War. It was held there in the foreground to remind everyone of it but there was never any real intent to solving it. It was only there to serve the purposes of those who instigated the war and to fulfill their objectives. The Macedonian Question was used to spur the Macedonian people into action, to frighten the Greek right to take measures and to justify UK and US intervention in Greece in favour of the Athens regime. In the beginning the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia used it to create new socialist states but later used it to deflect the war away from Yugoslavia.

Unfortunately the consequences of these policies had devastating effects on the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and subjected them to great cruelties including genocide.

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In the end everything was on the table:

There are transcripts that exist in the UN of Russian and American dialogue with regards to the Macedonians of Greek occupied Macedonia, which deemed the Macedonian issue "a threat to the peace in the Balkans" and that discussions should take place about "population exchanges". Meaning a transfer of minorities was proposed…

So what did all this mean for us Macedonians? It meant that the "powers" wanted us out of our ancestral homes and away, far away, from Greek occupied Macedonia. And isn't that exactly what happened?

Up to this point we have faced the roots of evil and our dark secrets. It is time now for us to learn our own history and acknowledge our political immaturity. Leaving our ancestral hearths is proof of our "National defeat". Worse than that, is that we kept silent for more than six decades, while being imprisoned and quarantined in foreign lands. Have we become complete robots controlled by foreigners? We need to show some respect for ourselves and start looking at our "black spots" in Macedonian history.

Are you convinced by any of this or do you still believe we experienced a "Revolution" as told by our "sectarian history"!?

It is now time for us to realize that we have been punished and exiled for over 60 years without being guilty of anything except of being duped and victimized by foreign politics.

We kept quiet at home while being punished on a daily basis by the Greeks for being Macedonian and for speaking our Macedonian language and we continued to keep quiet outside of home while roaming the world for the past 60 years! Will it kill us if we speak up? Will we explode if we tell the truth? Will we vanish if we declare that we have had enough of the Greeks and that we want our independence and to return to our homes and places of birth? No, we will not! So what is with our silence?

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There were no demands ever made to the United Nations regarding the Macedonian Question and whatever was said by individual governments or authorities in the press, it was controlled by these same governments.

The Moscow Document:

When Stalin and Zahariadis finished their talks on September 16, 1949, a summary document was prepared and signed by Stalin. The document defined the reasons for DAG's defeat which the CPG needed to grasp as a basis and roadmap for its new political line and the form of struggle it had to apply. This is what was said:

"1. After DAG's defeat in Vicho and Gramos the situation in Greece changed, forcing the CPG to change its political line.

DAG's defeat was attributed to:

a) The CPG being unable to solve its problem with reserves for DAG and supplying DAG units located in central and southern Greece.

b) The aid provided to the Monarcho-Fascists in Athens by the Americans and the British turned the tide in the war.

c) Tito and his clique's betrayal." … 6 additional points were also given.

This document provides us with sufficient information to prove that we Macedonians, during the Greek Civil War, did not make any demands and were in no position to make any demands regarding the Macedonian Question. It also proves that the continuation or ending of the war had nothing to do with us...

But just today (February 25/26 2006), as I am writing this text, the newspaper "Makedonija Denes" (Macedonia Today) published an article entitled "Does Macedonia have the ability to unite?" It was an excerpt from Risto Kiriazovski's book "Makedonsko Nacionalno Prashanje I Gragianskata Vojna" (Macedonian national question and the Civil War).

What was his aim? What did he want to accomplish by that, especially today when we are desperately looking for someone to answer for the victims of communism?! Perhaps his goal was to keep the question open and from time to time endeavour to shade the CPM/CPY's treatment (through NOF) of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. And at an elementary level, to prove to us that the Macedonian leadership did everything it could for our people, but it was the great powers that prevented everything.

In October 1949 the NOF and AFZH leadership was arrested, jailed and placed under investigation.

Based on decisions made during the CPG Central Committee 6th Plenum on October 9, 1949 and during the Party Conference on October 7, 1947 in Bureli, Albania, DAG General Headquarters, the CPG Central Committee Politburo and DAG's Security Services, after receiving prior approval from the competent Albanian authorities and personally from Mehmet Shehu, Albanian President, the NOF and AFZH leaderships were sequestered. Included among those sequestered were Paskal Mitrevski, Pavle Rakovski, Mincho Fotev, Evdokia Nikolova - Vera, Urania Pirovska, Mihali Maliov, Tasho Hadzhianov, Lambro Cholakov, Hristo Kolentsev - Kokkinos and Lazo Pop Lazarov. All these people, after being

arrested and jailed, were sent to prison camps in Siberia because they were suspected of being "Tito's agents".

All throughout October and November 1949, all the DAG fighters and civilians located inside Albania, instead of being returned to their homes or sent to the Republic of Macedonia, were transferred to various Eastern European countries.

Based on the October 1949 Moscow agreement, the fighters and refugees were picked up from Albania by Russian ships and transferred to the following countries: Romania 9,100; Czechoslovakia 11,941; Poland 11,475; Hungary 7,253; Bulgaria 3,071 and the Soviet Union 11,997 DAG fighters.

Many changes took place from October 1950 to May 1955 with people relocating in order to reunite with their families. As a result of that, for example, the number of refugees in 1955 in the Soviet Union's Uzbekistan rose to 16,000.

Tashkent in Uzbekistan was reorganized into "towns" where the immigrants lived under a regime organized by the CPG with its own party organizations representing more than 8,000 Greeks and Macedonians.

Stalin died on March 3, 1953, at the end of an era. May history be his judge! The situation in the Soviet Union began to change after Stalin's death and on February 23, 1956 the KPSS held its XX Congress, introducing fundamental changes inside the USSR as well as in the Balkan communist parties.

The CPG splits into two factions

Two factions of the CPG were created among the political refugees in Tashkent. Zahariadis's faction was supported by Niazov, Central Committee Party of Uzbekistan First Secretary. The anti-Zahariadis faction was supported by Melnikov, Central Committee Party of Uzbekistan Second Secretary.

Our return to the People's Republic of Macedonia

One of the best explanations of the return to the People's Republic of Macedonia was given by Evdokia Foteva – Vera which deals exclusively with her own personal experience and the welcome she received upon her arrival. Vera said many positive things about her experience after her return, particularly how she was taken care of by the state. In her book she

also mentioned how the state also took care of the "deserters" who had fled the Greek Civil War to save their own skins. She was being very open and honest when on page 204, she said: "… Those who deserted DAG, NOF, who fled the war, not only left our people at the mercy of the enemy, but in our absence, here, they spread unbelievable lies… Even when they were down there in Aegean Macedonia, in the CPG, NOF, AFZH and NOMS, they served with intrigue. These people took the truth about DAG and NOF and turned it 180 degrees. They did this because they thought that we, who were sent to the Siberian prison camps would never return alive."

Let's talk about the return of the refugees and fighters!

The return of the refugees and fighters was nothing like the return of the NOF and AFZH leadership. While the NOF and AFZH leaders, upon their return, were welcomed with open arms, we the fighters who spilled our blood, died and were maimed for life in this war, had to prove our allegiance before we were allowed in. We "the brave fighters" as historian Kiriazovski has often referred to us had to prove our loyalty by serving time in jail. Our welcome was from the airport, from the train station, from the bus station… directly to jail so that our national identity could be confirmed and so that later we could be ranked into "eligible" or "ineligible" for entry and for benefits provided we were not convicted of being "Russian spies". The fighters were then placed in different "ghettos" in Avtokomanda, Chair, Kisela Voda, etc., most probably for some unknown purpose. But as young people eager to get on with our lives, many of us managed to crawl out of the ghettoes and mix with other Macedonian people, and not just with the "Aegeans". Those left in the ghettoes, for whatever reason, for the last 60 years felt like second-class citizens. These once proud people had to live with a sickly painful feeling of being pushed into this segment of life while endlessly waiting to go home…

Time for desire and lost illusions - hungry for our native land

After the Greek Civil War ended the Macedonian people who left Greek occupied Macedonia were left with nothing except their desires. But as it turned out, life soon taught them that even that was too much to ask. No wonder they became so unhappy.

Many Macedonians have pondered: "I fought to the end of the war but without knowing why. Nobody recognized my contributions, not my history and not the Greek history which the communists wrote…"

The burden is heavy and hard to bear but we carry this burden and we bear it every day.

News: The newspapers “Politika” - Belgrade and “Nova Makedonija” – Skopje

(August 23, 1992)

Tito put a “freeze” on the Aegean Macedonians.

In order to have a secret and lasting union with Greece, 42 years ago Tito ordered Yugoslavia not to raise any questions regarding the fate of the Aegean Macedonians in northern Greece; a practice which lasted many decades.

Explanation: “In the summer of 1950, Tito decided to solve his problem with Greece and benefit Yugoslavia immensely. This was done through an agreement with his old military contact Fitzroy McLean. McLean arrived in Brioni in June 1950 as an unofficial representative of the British government, prepared and empowered to make Tito an offer if the results of his talks with him were favourable. The talks went better than expected and an agreement was reached but was kept secret. The British promised Yugoslavia 30 million pounds worth of aid and a loan of 11 million pounds…”

From the Macedonian Archives

In February 1953 talks took place in Ankara between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey with aims at forming a tripartite Balkan Pact of Friendship.

In August 1954 the tripartite pact was amended, signed in Bled, Yugoslavia and put into effect as a military alliance between the three signatories.

The 1953 Balkan Pact was put in place in support of Yugoslavia because of threats directed against it by communist countries. The pact did not last long. In 1961 the three countries agreed that the Balkan pact was dead in the water.

Unfortunately the signing of the Balkan pact had undesirable consequences for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia because, in order to placate Greece, Yugoslavia dissolved the “Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia” and shut down the newspaper “Voice of the Aegeans”.

News: “Utrinski” newspaper – Skopje

CIA Facsimile of a document disclosed: CONTINUING SATELLITE AID TO THE GREEK GUERRILAS. CIA HISTORICAL REWIEW PROGRAM RELEASE IN FULL - central intelligence agency:

Secret CIA documents about Tito, Yugoslavia and the Greek Civil War

Title: - Clash between Tito and Stalin left the Macedonians in Greece in a lurch.

What were CIA impressions about Macedonia and about Belgrade-Sofia relations?

Title: - Independent Macedonia major threat to Tito during Inforburo days.

Deportation: According to a 1949 CIA report about Macedonia, if Tito was faced with a serious threat in 1949 by the establishment of an independent Macedonian state, Tito was prepared to organize mass deportations of Macedonians to other parts of Yugoslavia…

“… There are CIA documents relating to the Greek Civil War, dating from 1946 to 1949 that give new meaning to events from that period. U.S. intelligence information clearly shows that the then Yugoslavia and Macedonia, as part of the federation, actively participated in and aided the rebel movements in northern Greece. The subsequent withdrawal of Yugoslav support and the defeat of the communist guerrillas, the CIA attributes largely to the conflict between Tito and Stalin.”

(August 8 and 9, 2005)

Who should answer for the history of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, a country of unhappy people with a dark fate? We are people, victims without a history; no history in the Republic of Macedonia and no history in Greece. We also seem to have a long amnesia among ourselves because we continued to keep silent for more than half a century allowing strangers to manipulate us and take over our lives! The world changed many times over the past 60 years and yet to this day we remain silent…

For more than half a century now I have asked myself the following questions: Why did the Communist Party of Macedonia allow both the CPY and the CPG to sacrifice the Macedonian people from Greek

occupied Macedonia? Why have we allowed official history to claim that we do not exist! How is that even possible? Why have we allowed our enemies to drag us through the mud without reacting! Are we that incapable? Are we, the brave warriors who threw ourselves into the fire and fought like lions, actually afraid to speak up when it comes to our identity?

Why did the CPM allow NOF to fall into the CPY and CPG's vice grip and find itself in a position of having to walk along the razor's edge?

Did the CPM not know what NOF was doing for the CPY and later for the CPG? Because the more we look at this the more we realize that the "meaningless chaos" in Greek occupied Macedonia was planned well in advance and that in order to do what the planners wanted, they needed NOF and AFZH to fulfill their strategic interests and objectives. That is why NOF and AFZH were created on April 23, 1945 and their objectives were dictated by outsiders until October 16, 1946!

In other words, we do not need great wisdom and analytical skills to arrive at the conclusion that the "conditions for legal persecution and expulsion of the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia" were created and organized through NOF and AFZH. This crime cannot be hidden and is very difficult to forget.

We cannot believe that the CPM, standing between the CPY and the CPG, was totally unaware of what was being done to the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia and neither can we dismiss the idea that that CPM was not party to it!

Was the CPM leadership blind and deaf to the ideological activism of strangers, spreading propaganda like a malignant disease of the soul, in the years 1944-1950 or was it simply stupid...?

Why did we discard the alternative of having not to fight at all? It would have been "less glorious" but at least we would have preserved ourselves and our homes. Today our villages would have been full of Macedonian people. It seems that every time we are pushed by outsiders to "do something" we end up losing more and more of ourselves and of our home! Today we are being pushed to change our country's name! What disasters will await us tomorrow if we do that? So the pushing from the outside by outsiders, as it turns out, is not done only in war times, it is done all the time. That is why it is "very important" for us to learn from our history and from our own experience "not to trust outsiders and do things suggested by them" before thinking of all the consequences. We

need to learn to think for ourselves and do only what is right for us and do only things that we are capable of tackling on our own…

In the end, I know that "we" were responsible for our own defeat because we did not resist against those who we truly needed to resist. To trust maybe a noble thing but it can often get you into trouble because those you trust may not be trustworthy, even if they are your own kind! There will always be scammers and extremely unscrupulous people out there who look for ways to gain advantage over us and, as history has shown, they will gain advantage over us if we allow them to. So you see the victim too has a role in this and the victim's role is to "not" allow themselves to become a victim and for that, one has to be wise and far seeing. When will we wise-up as to what has been happening to us over the years? Well, I would have to say that that depends entirely on us! I can tell you one thing; there will always be scammers "buyers for our souls"… We need to learn to recognize them before they get us into trouble… The answer is in our history… We just have to start paying attention…

Comrades, friends and enemies

In the chapter "DAG's defeat" on page 21 of her book, Evdokia Foteva – Vera said: "... Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee General Secretary, after Vicho fell to the enemy said: 'Gramos will be the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists'. But that did not turn out to be the case. DAG suffered numerous casualties but had it not backed down and fled to Albania, the opposite would have been true. Gramos would have been the tomb for DAG. For the longest part, after removing General Markos Vafiadis from his command and abandoning the proven military strategies of the so-called 'Supreme War Council Law', Zahariadis worked personally with his Politburo installing new 'military strategists' who had absolutely no relevant experience."

So, was Markos a general or a criminal? A story was written in an issue of the Greek newspapers, "Ta Nea" and "Epikera" printed in Athens, about a meeting that took place in Athens between General Markos with General Tsakalotos, his opponent. Tsakalotos at that time was in command of the Greek government forces and this meeting took place during a time when the Greek Civil War was still ongoing. (See: "Nova Makedonija", February 25, 1992.)

Most convincing about this, the article said, is how General Markos hugged, with a heartfelt embrace, his enemy General Tsakalotos from the Greek government forces during the Greek Civil War when the two men met. At their meeting Tsakalotos said to Markos: "If we had done this

before the Civil War started we could have saved many lives." To this General Markos replied: "It is true that many people died because of me but you must never forget that I did this for the future of Greece. The true meaning of this war was to drive the Slavo-Macedonian out of northern Greece so that Macedonia could remain Greek.

In other words, according to General Markos, the Macedonians fought in the Greek Civil War to lose their homeland permanently!!?? So, as a representative of the Communist Party of Greece, Markos openly lied to the Macedonian people about their involvement in the Greek Civil War!? Ironically as it turned out, General Tsakalotos, the Macedonian people's supposed enemy, was more humane towards the Macedonians than was Markos, whom Macedonians saw as their saviour. In other words, when Macedonians were sacrificing their lives to honour General Markos, he intentionally led them to their extinction. So you tell me, was he a saviour or a criminal?!

So here we have the two top leaders on the resistance side of the Greek Civil War, Nikos Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis, both colonists and settlers from Asia Minor and both leading the Macedonian people in an alien war, lured by CPM/CPY lies and coaxed by the activism of NOF and AFZH, with big promises of freedom and a new and much better way of life!!!

In the name of building a "New World" they brutally trampled on the dignity of the Macedonian people, besmirched their national sentiments and persistently denied them their Macedonian national identity. And in the end they said good bye to us as we were driven out of our ancestral homes... And whose interests did we think Zahariadis and Markos had at heart? Ours or their own? …What were we thinking?

In September 1988, almost one year after the May 1987 Congress, CPG Secretary General Harilaos Florakis held a press conference in Solun with Greek and foreign journalists to openly explain the position he took at the Congress. In his answer to a journalist working for "Mesimvrini", among other things, Florakis said: "On this occasion I would like to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!" (Vecher, November 5, 1988, page 9)

In August 1948, Zahariadis relieved General Markos Vafiadis as DAG's Commander and Chief. Vafiadis was known for his Partisan style strategy and tactics with a small but effective force. Vafiadis did not believe in frontal warfare. Unfamiliar with the conduct of warfare, Zahariadis wanted

DAG to be seen as a real army capable of defending its territory, even on large fronts.

After dismissing Vafiadis, Zahariadis himself took command of DAG and forced it to fight frontal combat against the Greek National Army which was 10 times larger, better equipped and supported by the United States of America.

Because of this, in August 1949, DAG fought on two fronts, one in Vicho and another in Gramos and was almost destroyed. It would have been completely destroyed had its fighters not fled to Albania. By changing strategy, Zahariadis made a big mistake and placed the entire movement in jeopardy. But what does Zahariadis say about it? "It was not a defeat, it was a small setback; the fighters needed a little rest and to catch their breath before returning to their guns on the front line: To oplo parapoda."

Voice of the Rebel Radio

On November 4, 1949 the Greek rebel radio transmitted the CPG Central Committee's official statement regarding the causes of DAG's defeat. Among other things, the broadcast announced that: "From the day the communist and worker party informburo exposed Tito's treason, slave imperialist gangs began to openly undermine the heavy and uneven struggle of the Greek people. The gang of traitors and deserters were established in Skopje and Belgrade and this clique organized and led defections from the Democratic Army. Tito then deprived it of the necessary supplies. Finally, he not only allowed the Monarcho-Fascist Army to use Yugoslav territory to attack the Democratic Army at Kajmakchalan, but also allowed his forces to attack our back during the battle in Vicho…"

Vukmanovich – Tempo in his book "How and why the national liberation struggle in Greece was defeated", on page 77 wrote: "Yugoslavia's involvement in the Greek Civil War was so great that the CPY felt obliged to present its own analysis of the rebellion's failure. The general conclusion was that the CPG failed because it did not explicitly recognize the Macedonian nation and that it was not cautious in its military actions, especially after General Markos was deposed 'under false pretenses'."

Tempo continued: "NOF was created by Tito and Kolishevski... Its founding and managing core was composed of Tito's agents from the likes of Mitrevski, Keramidzhiev, Gotse, Rakovski, Vera and others who worked for the sole purpose of advancing Belgrade's interests in Aegean Macedonia... To use the Slavo-Macedonian Question to achieve their

nationalistic plans - a merger of Aegean Macedonia...” This was written by Zahariadis, and was later adopted by the CPG special counsel to the Macedonian Cadres, and reviewed and accepted by the CPG Central Committee Politburo. The Greek side paid attention and understood things. See HP KKE 1918-1952, p. 271, and quoted by Pavle Rakovski in his book 2000/347.

Zahariadis continued to manipulate the Macedonian people until his last days as General Secretary of the CPG. He even created the organization “Ilinden” to replace NOF.

“Under orders from Zahariadis, the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, on June 4th, 1956, created the Organization “Ilinden” and placed Pando Vaina in charge. Pando then, regarding the persecution of Macedonian people by the CPG, among other things said: ‘While DAG was active and after its defeat, Zahariadis had implemented a policy to vilify and persecute the Macedonian leadership and the Macedonian fighters. His accusations were completely unfounded but he found ways to easily label Macedonians as ‘enemy agent of the people’ and ‘Tito’s agents’, etc.”

But in 1955, in Tashkent, there were strong reactions against what Zahariadis said during the 6th Plenum. There were even stronger reactions in March 1956, after the Soviets intervened and removed Zahariadis from the CPG.

So, Zahariadis did say: “If I had known in those days what I now know today this would not have happened to me”.

After this, Zahariadis was sent to a Siberian jail in Sorgur where, in 1973, he died a tragic death.

Should we feel sorry for him? Lie after lie, Zahariadis used and abused us and in the end gave us a one way ticket and sent us on our way to oblivion. Because of him we suffered immensely and lost so many lives, and in the end we were driven out of our homes!

Over the last half century or so, I often wondered why there were some topics that we couldn’t openly discuss in Macedonia. These topics are a key to national issues, important to our national interests, yet amazingly we cannot discuss them because they may create “political problems” which some people do not want to come out. Simply, no one wants to discuss this taboo subject. Even Vera, leader of AFZH did not and has not addressed these secrets in her book. For God’s sake, more than half a century has passed, why are people still afraid to speak up about the Greek

Civil War and what it has done to us Macedonians? And most importantly, why did Yugoslavia put a lid on talks in favour of Greece...?

I believe that we, the damned, uprooted from our homeland, are realizing that all of these ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism are created to serve the ambitions of their creators but are advertised as "concerns" for the welfare of mankind. For example, Lenin created a system which eventually destroyed itself. Power in the hands of one man can be a real source of danger. But there is no country or government in the world to this day which has shown so much cruelty towards its fighters than the CPG; driving its supporters out of their homes and leaving them to roam the world as permanent refugees...

The CPG it seems has forgotten that thousands of Macedonians gave their lives for the sovereignty of Greece. It seems it has forgotten that thousands of people became victims during the resistance against the Germans. The CPG, it seems, has forgotten that thousands of Macedonians served in the ranks of DAG and died in the battlefields throughout Greece. The CPG seems to have forgotten that Greeks were allowed to return to their homes and make a life for themselves while the Macedonians were left out to wander the world after being given a one-way ticket out! Is there any sense of humanity left in the CPG, a party in which we put our entire trust?

At the end of our extensive military and political analysis we can conclude one thing; that the CPY and the CPG, during the Greek Civil War, wanted to resolve all their problems inherited from partitioning ethnic Macedonia in 1913 and to prove to the Macedonian people that they would "never" support a "United Macedonia".

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were definitely victims of the CPY/CPM and the CPG, who fueled the war and then blamed the Greek government for instigating the white terror, for destroying Macedonian properties and for exiling so many Macedonians.

The burden we have been carrying for the last six decades or so is heavy and many things are still unclear, which begs asking some fundamental questions. For example, who started the war in Greece? Was it started out of necessity in an attempt to save the Macedonian people and went horribly wrong? Or was there a plan perhaps by the CPG or the CPY, or by both, to rid the Macedonians from Greece?

Surely by now it has come to light that all of the organizations SNOF, SNOB (created by the CPG) followed by the Greek Civil War with the organizations NOF, AFZH, NOMS (created by the CPY) and KOEM and

"Ilinden" (created by the CPG) and their propagandas did create a centre of a massive cult of personalities. But one thing they forgot is that they needed to love their country and their people, not just their party interests and seizing power.

There are many questions about our Macedonian leaders, yet no one has showed courage to provide answers and to admit that they were indeed involved in tragic and deeply misguided politics, especially during the Greek Civil War when the entire Macedonian nation was driven to a national disaster.

Did the NOF and AFZH leadership behave responsibly throughout all this? Well, one thing we can say is that they were deeply divided abroad and often gathered around a party leader who was in opposition to another party leader. One faction of Macedonians supported the CPY and fought against another faction of Macedonians who supported the CPG! And where was their concern for Macedonia in all this? Nowhere to be found! This should show you how politically mature we were in those days!

Let us rephrase our question. Did our Macedonian leadership have difficulties functioning outside of the CPY and CPG? Were they capable of making major political and strategic decisions on their own, particularly during the war? Were they capable of preventing the loss of our homes and us from being exiled outright? If they were then why did they not act? Why did they put the Macedonian people's destiny into the hands of strangers?

Our burden is already heavy and difficult to bear but what choice do we have? I simply cannot remember how many thousands of my comrades I left behind, with their bones scattered on the battlefields of Gramos, Vicho and everywhere we fought… None of them properly buried and all of them forgotten by history… Have we not been punished enough for crimes we did not commit? What have we done? We were simple soldiers and told what to do…! What are we guilty of to deserve such punishment...? When will it all end…? Someone please explain…!

The time has come for the truth to come out. Nothing in politics happens by accident. This study can be upsetting but it is designed to seek the truth which is the only thing that can set things right. The truth will also serve and guide the new generations to avoid the mistakes of past generations. A lesson learned is a lesson remembered…

10.1 The source of the so-called "name dispute" can be found in the Greek Civil War led by the Slavo-Communists

Let us have a look at Professor Trepst and at former Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis's positions regarding the Macedonians:

"The real reason for the hysteria that swept through Greek society regarding Macedonia can not be simply explained because of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia becoming independent. The Greek problem has deeper roots that stem from an unresolved trauma which the Greeks refer to as Slavo-Communism," said Professor Stefan Trebst, head of the "Greece and the Macedonian Question" research project at the University of Leipzig, during an interview with Radio Deutsche Welle.

According to Trebst, the so-called "name dispute" between Macedonia and Greece may take a century to solve because Greece will completely lose its reputation if the name "Republic of Macedonia" is officially accepted.

Actually, what is Greece really disputing? Our country's name is Macedonia. No one can dispute that and no one can dispute our right to exist as a nation, as Macedonians. Our name Macedonia does not come from the future, it comes from the past. If we change our name then who will we be in the future? How will that future connect with our past? If we become "something else" in the future, how will we defend our past, our Macedonia? If we change our name everything about us and our past will disappear and we will become an "unknown" entity. So Greece is actually advising us to "negotiate" with Greece so that we can lose our identity and become "nothing". This is what the dispute is about!

Greece does not specifically care about the name "Macedonia". What Greece cares about is stopping the Macedonian people from learning their history and from finding out that the Macedonians are indeed the true inheritors of the Macedonian heritage. Greece tried to bury the name Macedonia since it invaded, occupied and annexed Macedonian territories in 1912, 1913. The only time Greece showed any interest in the name was when it became clear that the Republic of Macedonia was about to become independent. Greece knows very well that it has committed fraud regarding ancient history and it does not want that coming out. Greece also knows that the Macedonians are the only people in the world who are willing and capable of challenging Greece's claims regarding Macedonia. Most important about this so-called "name dispute" is to remember that Greece is using it as a distraction to sidestep important issues about the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia against whom

Greece has committed many crimes over the years and genocide during the Greek Civil War.

Greece and Bulgaria, its partner in crime, want us to give up everything, our name, our identity, our language, our past, our history, our heritage… so that they can claim ownership of what has been ours for so many millenniums… Not only do they want us to part with all these things, they want us to "voluntarily" do it… It was not enough for them that they took our Macedonia from us by force, they now want us to "voluntarily" commit suicide! And why should we do that?

Now let us have a look at an interview of Constantine Mitsotakis ("Nova Makedonija", June 28, 1992) conducted by "Shpiegel" of Hamburg:

SHPIEGEL: Can you reconcile with the existence of this country (Macedonia)?

Mitsotakis: It is good for us for this state to exist. If it did not become independent it would have been divided between Albania, Bulgaria and Serbia. Greece did not want to interfere because we do not want people in Greece who are not Greeks.

SHPIEGEL: Then why is Greece so stubbornly refusing to call this Republic "Macedonia" and continues to call it "Skopje", like you are doing today? This is very strange that no one in Western Europe can understand.

Mitsotakis: There is nothing strange about it. Greece has been through a lot and none of our friends should forget that. After World War II, when the communists fueled the Civil War in our country, the Republic of Macedonia attempted to stretch its way to the Aegean Sea through Salonica (Solun). Ever since then, without interruption, Skopje has led expansionist propaganda.

SHPIEGEL: Surely this tiny, poor country cannot possibly pose a threat to Greece?

Mitsotakis: The Republic of Skopje is an unstable structure, a mosaic of two million inhabitants. It is not a threat to us, but it can cause dangerous instability inside our country. We are afraid that the propaganda it is currently leading will cause problems in the future. That is why Greece wants this country to change its name. Well, I think the gentlemen in Skopje have nothing to lose because they have neither national nor historical reasons to keep that name.

SHPIEGEL: If Macedonia, under an agreement, gives up territorial claims and recognizes the current borders, then what meaning does the name have?

Mitsotakis: The name is everything. It is its own propaganda; it is a symbol.

... No one has a copyright on the name Macedonia. Macedonia is a geographical feature. One part of Macedonia - 50 percent belongs to Greece today, another part to Bulgaria and a third part to Skopje. This is the reality today…

10.2 Since when and why did Greek politicians want to become Macedonia-nized

Discussions, analysis and commentaries regarding important Greek-Macedonian issues as viewed through a prism...

According to Jovan Donev, “Euro-Balkan” it is still possible, in the 21st century, for a person not be allowed to say what they think!

“I have personally declared publicly, six times, that Greece’s policy towards Macedonia and the Macedonian people is a ‘Holocaust’ (63)! And if anyone does not know what a ‘Holocaust’ policy is, please contact me. All among us, who support the behaviour of the Hellenic Republic, actually support the Holocaust and I was not told this by Gruevski or by Ivanov, it is my own belief!” (Jovan Donev).

A. FINALLY – THERE IS NO SILENCE BEFORE THE HORROR!

OCCASION: Evangelos Kofos (64), historian, political analyst and architect of the Greek policy regarding the "Macedonian question" from the Greek side. Kofos participated in the "ROS – ROT" seminar in Skopje and drew the red lines that should not be crossed for a possible solution to the so-called name dispute. Published in "Nova Makedonija" from October 22 to 24, 2010, in Skopje.

Dear Mr. Kofos, you claim to be a Greek historian, political analyst and architect of the current Greek policy regarding the "Macedonian Question", yet you failed to realize that there is only one Macedonia! You insisted that there were several Macedonia(s) over the ages:

First Macedonia – The ancient Macedonian kingdom, and this was historic Macedonia.

Second Macedonia – The Administrative Region of Royal Greece, but you failed to mention when and how this region became part of Greece? In other words, you don't know anything about that and have no evidence of the 1913 Carnegie Commission and its task to investigate crimes committed against the Macedonian people by Greek troops in Macedonia during the Balkan Wars? Do you not know anything about the obligations that Greece undertook when Macedonia was partitioned and annexed by Greece and when that Macedonian territory and its people became part of the - Administrative Region of Royal Greece? So, what exactly do you know and why have you kept silent on these issues? ... And now you are telling us that the People's Republic of Macedonia was created in 1944 as part of Federal Yugoslavia?

Third Macedonia – a territory is created in which citizens of FYR Macedonia live.

Fourth Macedonia - homeland of the ethnic Macedonians.

Mr. Kofos, while you were speaking at the "ROS-ROT" seminar you said that the problem between the two states is the name, not the identity. But then you said: The Greeks today are not looking for land outside of their boundaries and that Greeks today consider the legacy of antiquity as the basic ingredient of their heritage.

If that is true Mr. Kofos, why did you not seek to acquire this "heritage" in 1944 when the People's Republic of Macedonia was constituted in federal

Yugoslavia? Why did you not complain then about the name "Macedonia" being used inside Yugoslavia? Furthermore, if the name "Macedonia" carried such importance for you Greeks why did you try to "bury" it for so many years? Why did you prohibit everyone, even foreign scientists and archeologists from saying "Macedonia" inside Greece? Did you know that, for decades, people were afraid to say "Macedonia" inside Greece and used to say the "M" word is a dirty word in Greece?

Mr. Kofos how do you expect people to understand you when there is no logic and no consistency in what you say and do? At one moment in time you want the name "Macedonia" to disappear from the face of the earth! This means that you not only "don't care" about the name but you "hate" the name with a passion and you want it gone! Now, a few decades later, you are passionately against the Macedonian people from the Republic of Macedonia using it? Even though they live on Macedonian soil, they are not entitled to their own historical and cultural heritage? And your reasoning for that is that it belongs to your Greek Heritage? Yesterday you did not want it and wanted it dead, today you want it so badly that the Macedonian people can't have it! What kind of behaviour is this Mr. Kofos?

Mr. Kofos you also indicated that the land where the Republic of Macedonia if located today did not belong to ancient Macedonia and you DO NOT consider it to be part of ancient Macedonia. Yet, today there are countless (last count was 150) archeological sites with all kinds of artifacts from the ancient period found precisely in that part of Macedonia! How do you explain that Mr. Kofos? And then you call yourself a historian who specializes in Macedonian history. Sir, in spite of your illogical and irrational approach to all things Macedonian, I am confident that God will be able to understand you. And yes, it is true indeed, that Greeks like yourself, the descendents of the ancient Greeks, are the very people who gave us our civilization and everything associated with it today...!!??

Further on Mr. Kofos, you said: What Macedonians call "Macedonian identity" the Greeks call "territorial claims". In other words, according to you, the Macedonians want to call themselves Macedonians because they want to make territorial claims on the Macedonian territories that you once called "Newly occupied territories", "the Administrative Region of Royal Greece" and "Northern Greece", which we simply call "Aegean Macedonian" which in fact we should be calling "Greek occupied Macedonia"; a name which fits exactly and explains our Macedonian situation in Greece! Mr. Kofos, I am a Macedonian from Greece who was exiled only because I am Macedonian so please tell me why am I being accused of attempting to "lay claims" to my own home"? Your kind on the

other hand, Mr. Kofos, are Turkish Christian colonists and settlers deposited on my homeland by the Greeks and in my absence, you have been given my home, my property and my land. And now you dare accuse me of attempting to lay "territorial claims" on your lands? Those are not your lands! Your lands are somewhere in Turkey! This is indeed strange that a Turk from Asia Minor is now a "Macedonian" and a real Macedonian like myself, is "nothing"! Take a real good look at yourself Mr. Kofos, because this is you and your kind! Evangelos Kofos, you claim to be a historian, political analyst and the architect of Greek policy regarding the "Macedonian question" from the Greek side; but really what are you? Please take a good look at yourself!

Interesting is Kofos's "evolution", he has admitted that he studied at "Georgetown" University in the United States. In the beginning, either for a seminar or for an acceptance essay, he chose to tackle the "Macedonian Question" as a subject. His professors, however, decisively advised him to take another subject from the list. He was told that this particular subject was too complex and they did not recommend it. They advised him to change it and take something else. They told him that the only people who were advised to tackle this subject were the ones they intended to fail. But he did take it and survived. And at the end he said: I took the subject (the "Macedonian Question") and I have dealt with it my entire lifetime! Fifty years!

Unfortunately Mr. Kofos, you have forgotten a lot of things, especially the undeniable reality, the reality that most elitist Greeks do not care for the name "Macedonia" and for many years have attempted to bury it deep into the ground! But you Mr. Kofos, defied all logic when you said "the name is everything, the name is propaganda for everything! The name is a symbol!"

Mr. Kofos, allow me to take a few steps back and bring you up to date on the reality of the situation. Do you remember when the United Nations Organization was created? Did you know that Federal Yugoslavia was one of its founding members? Did you know that the creation of the UN Charter had to be internally ratified by its founding members? Did you know that the People's Republic of Macedonia, as one of Yugoslavia's republics, had to sign the ratification papers? Had Macedonia not signed those papers there would have been no UN Charter today. These ratification papers do exist, by the way, and can be found in Belgrade!

You and your Greek elite should have known this Mr. Kofos. You should have known that the first freed piece of Macedonian land, then known as "Macedonia", was a founder of the United Nations, an ally and victor in

the anti-fascist war. You should have also known that Greece had no problem with the name then! That name was supported by ASNOM, DFA and SRM. This is a historical fact! It is also a fact that Greece opened a Greek Consulate General in Skopje whose letters, patent, diplomatic and consular documentation stated quite clearly: "Consulate of Greece in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia: SRM!"

So, my question is: what prevented historian Evangelos Kofos from factually presenting the reality of the Macedonian situation the way it was listed in world archives, particularly in those of Great Britain?

Here is a reminder of the "facts" as seen by other people Mr. Kofos:

* "Memorandum – The Macedonian Question. Regarding the situation in Greek Macedonia; facts about the terror in Greek Macedonia. American press reports about the Greek terror in Greek Macedonia. The situation in Greek Macedonia from December 16, 1946. F0 371/58615 HP00201 R16924/298/67.

* "Greek memorandum regarding the Slav threat against Greek Macedonia, from October 20, 1946. F0 371/58615 HP00201 R156551/298/67.

* Loring M. Danforth's book "The Macedonian Conflict". Loring Danforth is an anthropologist and professor working in the United States who has analyzed the "Macedonian conflict" in this voluminous and comprehensive work, and has placed special pencil marks on the history of the conflict. He has also provided relevant evidence and clarification regarding the dark spots in the Macedonian national crisis. In his book he has exposed a number of topics, especially those relevant to events that took place in Greek (occupied) Macedonia after the war ended.

There are many other historical documents available that go as far back as the invasion, occupation, partition and annexation of Macedonia by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. There are also war diaries and biographies published in the Greek historiography by senior DAG officials who speak about the Macedonian identity.

Mr. Kofos, you did say that there were "all kinds" of Macedonia(s) over the years and you did say you worked diligently on the "Macedonian Question" for 50 years! So, please allow me to ask you this; How could you have missed all this "other" readily available information on the "Macedonian Question". Or, did you spent 50 years "spinning" a Macedonian history to fit the current ideological Greek politic?

Mr. Kofos, I believe you used the "name" instead of the "identity" as an issue to define the essence of Greek policy towards the Republic of Macedonia because it was too dangerous for you to go directly to the "identity" because if you did, you would have exposed your own "counterfeit" Greek identity! Yes, you heard me right! It is the modern Greek identity that has been fabricated to fit the past and not the Macedonian one. The real issue with Greece is the Macedonian identity. If Greece admits there is a Macedonian identity it will then have to admit that there is an Albanian, Vlach, Turkish, Roma, etc., identity. After all that is said and done, then who exactly are the Greeks? So, this leads me to believe that "the essence of the Greek - Macedonian dispute is the Macedonian identity". Your identity Mr. Kofos is at issue here, not mine! I know exactly who I am; do you know who you are? I am a Macedonian, like many other Macedonians, from Greek occupied Macedonia! And what I just said is precisely what you want to hide! You would rather "kill" the Macedonian identity outright than admit that it exists. You know it deep in your heart that once you admit a Macedonian identity exists in the Republic of Macedonia, the rest, as they say, is history and Greece will fold like a house of cards!

Mr. Kofos allow me to ask you another question. If a person's identity is inherited, particularly in a population static region like Macedonia, from the parents then please explain to me how the identity of indigenous people living in Macedonia cannot be Macedonian and yet the identity of people, settlers and colonists brought to Macedonia from Turkey, Russia and Armenia can be Macedonian? How can the indigenous Macedonian people who lived in Macedonia for centuries NOT be the inheritors of the Macedonian heritage and the colonists and settlers deposited there after the 1920's can?! This clearly defies logic, common sense and all systems practiced on this planet!

Mr. Kofos, in view of what you Greeks preach about us Macedonians and how we are "nothing" in our own indigenous lands in spite of us having lived there for centuries, allow me to tell you "how you practice"! Also, allow me to dispense with the formalities and cut to the chase! It is a fact that you, today's Greeks, were yesterday's Vlachs (Vlahi), Macedonians (endopii), Albanians (Arvanites), Turks (Ponti), Roma (Giftes), etc. Yet today you present yourselves not only as modern Greeks but as descendants of the ancient Greeks, of the Spartans, Thracians, Byzantines, Epiriotes, Macedonians and everything else that existed in ancient times, 2,500 years ago! And lo and behold, miraculously you have survived time and still exist! And at the same time you insist that we, the modern Macedonians, have no Macedonian identity?!?

Well, this is where you are wrong Mr. Kofos! According to statistics and according to folk knowledge, after all I am from there and I can personally attest to this, the people living in Greek occupied Macedonia were predominantly Macedonians with some Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Vlachs and others living amongst the Macedonians. This shows that Greek claims, that all people living inside the Greek borders today are Greeks, are not based on "ethnicity" but on some other factor. Based on demographic statistics published in the late 1920's claiming that there were 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks living in Greece, Greek statisticians must have used "religion", NOT ethnicity, as a basis for their demographics. That too makes no sense but I will leave it at that!

What is truly horrible about all this Mr. Kofos is how Macedonians, almost over night, became Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians after the Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913 when Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. Macedonian families in border areas had to contend with some of their members being called Greeks, other members being called Serbians and yet others being called Bulgarian, just to fit your political agenda; the kind of which you have been personally involved, Mr. Kofos, for the last 50 years! Oh, your "Patrida" must be so proud of you! I wonder what your ancestors would have said had they known what you have done! You know those ancestors whom you betrayed when you became a Greek!

According to Kofos: "Individually, every person has the right to self identify. The authorities cannot decide a person's identity. They are under pressure. Personally I think everyone has the right to an identity. I expect accounts will be led about my identity. This is how we will solve the problem with the name. I am Macedonian and we call ourselves 'Makedones'. We seek a solution on how to understand each other. That is why we call you Slavo-Macedonians. For people to know who we are when we go out in the world!?" So, Mr. Kofos, this is what you have been busy labouring over in the last 50 years?

At the end of the discussion a female Macedonian student asked Mr. Kofos: "Mr. Kofos, how do you identify yourself when you go abroad – as a Greek or as a Macedonian?" He said, "I identify myself as a Greek but I feel like a Macedonian!"

… Very clever Mr. Kofos. Your response was indeed πονηρι (crafty).

In a strange kind of way, Kofos continued to vigorously use history and politics, in a way that can be described as "the perpetrator prosecuting the

victim", to reprimand the Republic of Macedonia. He emphasized the drawing of a red line, now a fashionable term, and in his high intellectual and analytical manner, insisted that the red line be observed in the eventual solution of the name… (he was thinking of the name "Republic of Macedonia" but did not have the courage to say it). He insisted that first; none of the parties must have exclusivity on the term Macedonia. Second, the final result must be negotiated and not by a temporary solution. And third, the decision to include the term Macedonia must be accompanied by a clear identification of the region where the state is located. At the end he said these were the possible prospects for the resolution of the name dispute. And that he was not naïve to believe that these proposals would be adopted by politicians and that the public would support them soon. He added that he had drafted these proposals and made them available several years ago and that they have been criticized by both sides in the dispute. This is what Kofos said and analytically explained to us.

Mr. Kofos, can we today say that our two countries, Greece and Macedonia, have no other problems, outside of the name issue, which has poisoned our relations since Macedonia's independence? Regarding the name you said that you Greeks have taken a big step. Yet to this day you have failed to go into details and explain the geographical and historical reasons which entitle you to have this name and to dictate terms to us. Are we to assume that even the water we drink, the air we breathe and the fruits we eat in Macedonia are Greek!?!

Up to now we have heard from many Greek politicians, who repeat Kofos's theses, who usually say:

"… With only this (for the Republic of Macedonia to change its name) we (Greeks) will open a window into the European future for you (Macedonians) which you so badly need. We (Greeks) have demonstrated and confirmed our honesty and willingness to help you (Macedonians) regarding this. We (Greeks) have created a radical step with the signing of the Interim Accord... You remember how the Greek people did not want to hear about the name... But we (Greeks) swear to you and we guarantee you (Macedonians) that the name "Macedonia" is overburdened with Greek history and no one among our Greek voters and among our colleagues can allow another nation to have that name, whose people came here during the 6th and 7th century AD. It is impossible and unacceptable!"

Mr. Kofos, your recommendations carry no details and do not tell the truth. I just want to let you know that the Macedonians know their own history and do not need you to tell them who they are and where they come from. We have our own historians and analysts in our country and

there are historians around the world who say that: “The name ‘Macedonia’ was never Greek, not in ancient time and not in modern times. The ancient Macedonians were never Greek as attested by the ancient Greeks themselves. The sixteen ray sun was never Greek as attested by Greek scholars from classical times such as Efros, Dionisios Kalifondas, Dionisios Perigitis, Atineos and others, who argued that ‘the western borders of ancient Greece reached the Amvrakikos Bay in the northwest and the Pinios River to the east, while north of this line lived the Macedonian ethos’.”

By reading history (and you are a historian) we are convinced that no sharply defined boundaries existed in those days, so how is it then possible today to make sharp distinctions between ancient and modern Macedonians?

If the ancient Macedonians did not disappear, and there are no indications that they all have, then it should be clear to everyone that they continued to live on in Macedonia and became the progenitors of the modern Macedonians. But that does not mean we can put an equal sign between the ancient and modern Macedonians. No one can deny links between ancient and modern nations but not with equal signs between them.

The most important thing here is to stick to the facts: One of the most familiar scholars of Balkan history was the eminent historian Dr. Stoian Kiselinovski, who, along with Dr. Irena Stavova - Kavka, said the following: “After the 1821 to 1829 Greek Uprising, the Greek state was formed which constituted 47,516 square kilometres and a population of 753,400 inhabitants. In 1881, by the Istanbul Agreement, Greece received Thessaly and part of Epirus. But the largest territorial expansion Greece experienced was after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and after the First World War (1914-1918). After the Second Balkan War, the Greek state received Crete, the islands Samothrace, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ikaria and the non-Greek territory of Macedonia.

After the First World War (1919), Greece continued to annex non-Greek territories which included Western and Eastern Thrace. Thus, Greece’s territory grew from 63,211 km2 to 150,833 km2 and the population grew from 2,631,952 to 5,531,474 people.” See the London Protocol of 1830 and the book “Minorities in the Balkans” (XX century) – 2004.

And as such, according to Mr. Kofos, “the Second Macedonia” was born and named the “Administrative Region of Royal Greece”. (The First Macedonia being “ancient Macedonia”)

But what Mr. Kofos does not say is what happened to the Macedonian people after that so-called "Second Macedonia" was born?

Fortunately history has a lot to say about that, especially about Greek anti-Macedonian policies implemented even before the Balkan Wars started and are still ongoing to this day, policies such as acts of non-recognition, discrimination, assimilation, imprisonments, exiling, torture and death of Macedonians; not to mention the changing of all names both personal and place names, banning of the Macedonian language, destruction of cemeteries, relics, artifacts, bibles, icons and anything that was of Macedonian origin…

It is very surprising Mr. Kofos that, as a historian, you had nothing to say about all this even though exactly this kind of information exists in all kinds of Greek sources, including in the Greek state archives…

What about Greece's obligations to the Macedonian people? When the Macedonian territories were handed over to Greece, they came with an obligation regarding the people who lived on those lands:

1) What kind of international obligations were imposed on Greece concerning minorities after World War II?

Just to give you an example. There exists an official document which discloses that on November 1930, at a conference in Athens, Eleftheros Venizelos said: "The issue of the Macedonian minority in Greece will be resolved and I will be the first in Greece to engage in opening Macedonian schools, if the people want them…"

But then what happened? In 1936, when Metaxas's fascist dictatorship was established it banned the Macedonian language by law and signs were posted in every township warning people to speak Greek only – "Omilite tin Elinikin!" Instead of teaching the Macedonian children Macedonian, like Venizelos promised, children and adults were forced to speak Greek only. In fact evening schools were opened everywhere for parents and grandparents to learn Greek! This is, unfortunately, how you Greeks operate…

2) So, instead of fulfilling your international obligations towards the people you inherited with the lands that were awarded to you, a gift from the great powers, you decided to commit cultural genocide against them by forced assimilation…

3) That forced assimilation, which was stepped up in 1939, was continued after the Second World War.

Surely Mr. Kofos, you must have known that at the start of the Second World War, in October 1940, at the time when the Italians declared war on Greece, the Macedonian people in Greece were found in the grips of the Metaxas dictatorship. You must have known that the Macedonians were mobilized and sent to the front lines. It is no secret that the Macedonian people fought bravely for six months in the Albanian mountains against fascist Italy and were commended by Greek generals for being the best soldiers they had. Also, let us not forget the thousands of Macedonian men who died and left their skeletons on those mountains and the agony their families felt at their loss, as the Second World War continued.

And what did Greece do for the families of those Macedonians who died to protect Greece? It re-initiated the 1939 systemic fascist assimilatory policies and continued to work against the Macedonian people.

Taking a step back, now let us have a look at how Greece referred to its share of the annexed Macedonian territory in official documents after Macedonia was divided. These are the names and references used: "Acquired Territories", "Occupied Territories", "Greek Macedonia", "Northern Greece", etc. And in communication with Serbia and Bulgaria it used communiqués as follows:

Association Agreement between the Kingdom of Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia signed on May 19, 1913.

Article 2. The territory of European Turkey, after the present war is over, will be divided and given to the Balkan countries under a Peace Agreement reached with the Ottoman state...

Article 3. The two High Contracting Parties ... This boundary is based... starting from the highest point of the crown Kamna, upper Shkumba, will bypass Lake Ohrid, the western coast of Lake Prespa from the village Konsko, Dolno Dupeni, to Rahmanli, pass between the flow of the Tsrna Reka and Meglena and will come out at the Vardar River… etc. Greece also had a similar agreement with Bulgaria.

Article 7. His Majesty the King of Greece pledged that his government will provide all necessary facilities and will guarantee, for a period of 50 years, full freedom for Serbian export and import trade through the port of Solun, via the Solun railway line towards Skopje and Bitola... etc., up to Article 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Signatories: Zhan Alexandropoulos and Mate Boskovich (See S. Skoko, "Drugi Balkaniski Rat", p. 405-408.)

Now the question is: If Macedonia was always Greek, why did his Majesty the King of Greece, so generously allow Macedonian territories to be given to Serbia and Bulgaria?

Mr. Kofos, if Macedonia was always Greek and Greeks always lived in it, then tell us why did the Greeks call this region of Macedonia "The Administrative Region of Royal Greece" and why did the Greek army commit such unimaginable atrocities against a supposedly Greek civilian population?

We will follow the atrocities committed with facts and arguments:

The most authentic evidence of the crimes committed against the civilian population in Macedonia was provided by the Carnegie Commission, tasked to investigate war crimes committed in Macedonia during the 1912, 1913 Balkan Wars. Among the most authentic testimonies are also the testimonial letters Greek soldiers sent to their relatives during the Second Balkan War, which were seized by the Carnegie Commission (see Darko Ianevski's commentary in "Nova Makedonija", published October 4, 2010).

Ianevski in his commentary wrote: "When the most important thing for Athens and for Brussels is that Greece occupies the largest part of Macedonia, which they say belongs to the Greeks, and a much smaller part belongs to the Macedonians, and that this is a key argument that Greek Ministers, such as Drukas, bring before the UN, then there is only one thing that remains to be asked: 'How did Greece acquire this territory and how did the Greeks suddenly become owners of that large part of Macedonia…" Let us examine what they said when they acquired it. They said: "We occupied Macedonia."

A Greek sergeant, whose signature is illegible, on July 12, 1913, wrote the following to Dr. Panagi Leventi:

"We burned two villages, Dulti and Banitsa, birthplaces of fearless insurgents; we burned everything and killed everyone, sparing only the women, children, elders and the churches. We did this out of hatred and without pity, with cruel hearts and crueler condemnation."

On July 11, 1913, Sergeant Kletanis wrote a letter to his brother Yoani boasting:

"Dear brother Yoani. The arch-insurgents lived here. We massacred them all. And the places we passed through will forever remain in my memory."

As one can see, the Greek soldier in this letter was not talking about enemy soldiers but local people who lived there, in places through which the Greek army passed. This means that the Greek army committed crimes against civilians without care or conscience…

On July 15, 1913, Panagis Beglikis confessed to his brother Sotiris about things that took place and said that these kinds of things have not happened since the days of Jesus Christ. "It is impossible to describe what is happening," said Panagis.

On July 12, 1913, Sergeant Georgios wrote that wherever they went they were avoided even by the cats. What kind of "liberation" was this when even cats run away from the liberators? And how could this Macedonia have always been Greek?

Nikos Theofilatos is also quite particular about how Greece became a great part of Macedonia:

"I was given 16 prisoners to take to the division, but I arrived with just two. The others I killed in the darkness, I massacred them!"

On July 11, 1912, Sergeant Georgios Korkotsis wrote the following sentence which Drtsas certainly did not like: "We occupied the whole of Macedonia except for Thrace."

According to the Carnegie Commission's investigation, following the occupation, "the number of houses burned by the Greeks in the Second Balkan War could not have been less than 16,000". According to the standards then, some statisticians applied for the houses of Macedonian families, having an average of at least six people per home, it is estimated that the homes of about 100,000 people were burned.

"The Greek troops liberated the first Macedonian city, as they have other cities before it, that were formerly Turkish but have always been Greek, and the population which until yesterday was under Turkish slavery, can now freely breathe the air of freedom," wrote the Greek newspaper "Embros" in October 1912, following the Turkish surrender of Solun to the Greek army.

If this was indeed “liberation” from the Turks then why did 100,000 indigenous Macedonian people have to leave their homes? Why did the Greek army have need to burn so many homes and leave 100,000 people homeless?

People were like sheep

And truly, the houses were less of a problem. The crimes committed against the people living in Macedonia, “which was always Greek”, were something altogether different. For example, there was a young lady detained in Seres and later killed along with six others. “They took out their eyes while they were still alive,” wrote Kosta, a Greek soldier. The Carnegie Commission had made mention that the prisoners who survived the Seres massacre had deep wounds, the kind a butcher would inflict when attempting to slaughter a sheep.

Anastasia Pavlovna, a widow from Gevgelia, testified about the crimes committed against her.

And thus the tragic crimes against the people committed by the Greeks were piling up in the so-called 51% of Macedonia which was “always Greek” now under Greek occupation since 1913.

Mr. Kofos, you should be familiar with the following: If we look at the censuses of the ethnic composition living in the northern part of modern Greece from the beginning of the 20th century, i.e. from 1903, 1904 and 1905, and other times when censuses were taken by the Ottoman Empire, you will see that Macedonians were registered as having lived there. And yes such censuses do exist! So, what happened to those people? And if they were always Greek why did the Greek authorities have a need to exchange populations and expel Macedonians from their indigenous lands? In other words, the problem with the name is actually an identity issue which you personally have taken upon yourself to be the architect of its defacement.

Atrocities were committed during the war and atrocities continued to be committed during peace times. So it is better that we identify the historical stages during which the Macedonian people were systemically attacked by the Greeks in Greek occupied Macedonia. If we go back in time before the Balkan Wars and before Macedonia was occupied by Greece, we will arrive at the time of the “Andartes”, led by Pavlos Melas and Germanos Kravangelis. These were times when the Macedonian people were fighting against the Ottoman Empire to free themselves and to create an

independent Macedonian state. In those times the vast majority of the people in Macedonia were Macedonians and they called themselves Macedonian. But after Macedonia was invaded, occupied and partitioned, its ethnic composition changed literally overnight. People in Greek occupied Macedonia were told that "this is Greece now and only Greeks live in Greece and those of you who do not agree have 24 hours to pack up what you can carry on your backs and get out!" Then, a little while later, everything that was Macedonian was erased and replaced with Greek, including the names of people and the place names. After that the Macedonian language was banned and made illegal. And this, Mr. Kofos, is how Macedonia became Greek! Now, to make sure Macedonia stayed Greek, discriminatory laws were enacted to discriminate against the Macedonians and frustrate them in order to leave Greece permanently. Then, after the Second World War, agents sympathetic to Greece initiated the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) and gave Greece the chance it needed to literally "empty" Greek occupied Macedonia of its Macedonians. This is how I view the situation from my side Mr. Kofos and this is exactly how Macedonia became Greek!

After World War I was over and things settled in Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greek government initiated a program to change every Macedonian personal and family name and make them Greek sounding. Simultaneous with the name changes, Greek authorities also carried out a campaign to change the name of every village, town, city, river, lake, mountain, road, street and every other Macedonian place name from Macedonian to Greek. News of these changes and the laws to enact them, Mr. Kofos, appeared in the Greek newspaper "Tis Efimeris Kiverniseos" no. 332 on November 21, 1926, you can check for yourself.

No one in the civilized world, Mr. Kofos, forcibly imposed names on people; not personal, not family and certainly no country names! No one in the civilized world has the right, Mr. Kofos, to ban a nation's indigenous language and then fine the people and make them drink castor oil for speaking it; especially those who spoke no other language. The Greek authorities forced Macedonians, Mr. Kofos, to drink large doses of castor oil and held them captive until they soiled themselves in order to humiliate them; and for what? For speaking a language they learned from their mothers? Is this how civilized people behave Mr. Kofos?

The Great Powers, Mr. Kofos, put the Macedonian people under Greece's care when they awarded Greece 51% of Macedonia. As the custodian of Macedonian lands, Greece was also charged with looking after the Macedonian people! But instead of looking after them Greece used every opportunity to abuse them. Greek authorities, Mr. Kofos, gave innocent

Macedonian children castor oil to drink because they caught them speaking the language of their mothers! How civilized is that?

Is this why, Mr. Kofos, Europe awarded Greece Macedonian lands, so the Greeks could exterminate the Macedonian people; so that Greece could cleanse Macedonia of its indigenous population? So that it could erase the entire Macedonian civilization which existed for centuries? Or was Europe part of this cultural genocide when it failed to provide even the most basic protection of human rights for the population it had no right to hand over to Greece? What gave Europe the right in 1913 to snatch Macedonia from the Macedonian people, break it up and hand it over to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria? Did Europe not know that only a short decade earlier, in 1903, the Macedonian people had made an attempt to free themselves from the Ottoman Empire and create their own independent Macedonian state? Yes, Mr. Kofos, there were Macedonians living in Macedonia when it was occupied by the Ottoman Empire and that is precisely why Greece implemented all those programs to cleanse the Macedonian lands of the Macedonians when it was given custodial rights in 1913! But that is not all that Greece did!

Soon after it initiated the programs to change all the names in Macedonia, Greece implemented more policies to ethnically cleanse the Macedonian territory it occupied of its Macedonians. In 1923, by the Treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey, Greece expelled all the Macedonian Muslims and replaced them with 640,000 Christian Turkish colonists and settlers. Then in 1927, by the Mollov – Kafandaris Agreement, Greece expelled more Macedonians to Bulgaria, including many of those who participated in the 1903 Ilinden Macedonian Uprising against the Ottomans.

The Christian Turks that Greece settled in Macedonia, Mr. Kofos, call themselves “Ponti” but we call them “Prosfigi”. They call us “endopii” which in Greek means “natives”, “indigenous”. Ironically however, Mr. Kofos, these “Ponti” or “Prosfigi” in a turn of events, which I am sure you had a hand in, today have become the proud Macedonians and we the “endopii”, the real Macedonians, are persecuted and robbed of our lands and our identity!

So the question, Mr. Kofos, is how is it even possible to ethnically cleanse Macedonia, by throwing out so many people, if Macedonia was always Greek? How can Macedonia have been Greek when its entire population was not Greek?!

Now Mr. Kofos, allow me to remind you what happened after August 4, 1936 when the dictator General Ioannis Metaxas came to power in Greece. When this Fascist regime came to power it took strong measures against everything Macedonian. It first banned the Macedonian language and made it illegal to be spoken in public and in private. It then cracked down on those speaking it. Hefty fines were imposed on the old who could speak no other language. The younger generations received beatings, fines, castor oil and jail time on the Greek islands, when caught speaking Macedonian, even to their own parents or grandparents who could not speak Greek.

The Second World War, the Greek Civil War and the sins of the Macedonians

At one time or another every Macedonian, including myself (as a participant in the Greek Civil War), had thought of the following questions:

1. Why are Macedonia and the Macedonian people a problem for Greece?
2. Did Macedonia steal Greek history or is it the other way around?
3. Why do the Macedonian people tolerate the abuse they receive from the Greeks?
4. Why have we remained silent about the Greek genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in the years 1940 to 1950 by the Greek government?!
5. Why are there thousands and thousands of exiled Macedonians wandering the world who Greece will not allow to return to their homes!?

Mr. Kofos, as an intellectual you certainly must know that power by itself has no principles. A great Russian writer of fables once said: “The strong always win over the weak.” Your introduction and overall asymmetrical elaboration is certainly based on exactly that political game play.

The problem of course is not just with the name, but with the people who lived and still live in that part of Macedonia, since, as you put it, the 6th and 7th century AD. Even if these people arrived in that region during the 6th and 7th century AD, that’s 16 centuries of living on those lands! Don’t you think that your argument is naïve and shallow when you go before the European public and claim that Macedonia cannot possibly belong to the modern Macedonians because they came to this region 16 centuries ago? After living there for 16 centuries don’t you think they developed their own identity, language, culture, religion, social life and participated in uprisings and revolutions?!

Mr. Kofos, you have the nerve to portray the Turkish colonists and settlers that your Greek government deposited in Macedonia in the 1920's as "Macedonians" and yet at the same time you deny the right of the true Macedonians, a people, who by your own admission, arrived in Macedonia 16 long centuries ago? Just for the record, Mr. Kofos, I don't agree with your assessment that the modern Macedonians arrived from anywhere 16 centuries ago. My belief, according to our history and according to our Macedonian tradition, is that the Macedonians have been in Macedonia a lot longer than that. And you think, Mr. Kofos, because you say we have been in Macedonia for "only" 16 centuries, that you "self-made" Greeks have the right to abuse and torment us?

Why don't you read some of the books written by Greek authors and see for yourself what you Greeks have done to us because you preach that we have been in Macedonia for "only" 16 centuries! (see: ΤΟ ΛΑΜΒΡΟΝ ΕΠΟΣ - ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΓΩΝ - ΠΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΘΗ Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ, Ιωννου Καραβτη. Take a close look at what the Greek gangs did and the massacres they committed against the Macedonian people in Lerin and Kostur simply because someone told them they were not Macedonians but Slavs who came to this region 16 centuries ago! This is precisely what your propaganda does Mr. Kofos, when you make such outrageous claims!

Do you want to know how many more crimes were committed against the Macedonian people by your precious Greeks, Mr. Kofos, then continue reading;

a) Η ΣΒΑΓΗ ΣΤΗ ΖΑΓΟΡΙΤΣΑΝΗ (Massacre in the village Zagorichani on March 25, 1905.)

b) Η ΣΒΑΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΑΔΟΡΑΠ (Massacre in the village Kladorabi on August 5, 1905.)

c) Ο ΑΙΜΑΤΗΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΛΕΝΙΤΣ (Bloody wedding in the village Zelenich on November 13, 1904.)

No less gruesome was the handiwork of Bishop Karavangelis in Kostur who used the Greek Church to make Greeks out of Macedonians by the sharp tip of the Turkish bayonet and the muzzle of the Turkish rifle. Yes, Mr. Kofos, the Greeks and the Turks worked together, hand in hand, in those days to torment the Macedonian people.

What you are doing, Mr. Kofos, kind of reminds me of what Bishop Germanos Karavangelis did in Kostur in the name of Hellenism!

Karavangelis was the collector of Macedonian souls which he did in the name for Hellenism. In his memoirs Karavangelis proudly tells all about what he did. His memoirs were published in 1959 in a book entitled "Ο μακεδονικος αγων (Απομνιμονευματα) Αρχειον Μακεδονικον αγωνος Πινελοπι Δελτα, Θεσσαλονικη, 1959, ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΒΑΝΓΓΕΛΗΣ". Feeling satisfied about what Karavangelis did for his "patrida", the first "tell all" edition turned out to be a great embracement for the Greek people, not because Karavangelis confessed to the atrocities he committed, including the human sculls he displayed of people who he had murdered, like the trophies of animals, but for the pride he showed in doing it, especially from a religious person; a Bishop no less!

In a passage in his memoirs he wrote: "I told them you are all Greeks since the time of Alexander the Great, but then the Slavs came and turned you into Slavs. You look like Greeks and the soil you live on is Greek. After all, our church and dioceses were always at the forefront of freedom. The Bulgarians have proved themselves incapable of even liberating themselves; they depended on Russia to do that for them. Now you are waiting for Bulgaria to liberate Macedonia? And you live under the illusion that European diplomacy will say that Macedonia is Bulgarian? Lerin and Kostur are barely two days walk from the Greek border, while the Bulgarian border is a distance of at least seven days!

…Today I told him 'you will be with us and you will be the first man I will send down to meet the Greek kings and your children will attend school in Greece'. Kote accepted my offer and I blessed him as a 'soldier of Christ' and he became Captain Kote... I paid Kote a monthly salary of ten liras. His children (heroes), today they are officers in the Greek army…

… In early 1901 I went on a long tour and visited all the Slavophone villages of Koreshta Region as well as the villages Rula, Trnaa, Trsie, Drenoveni, Gabresh and Chernovishta and returned them all to Orthodoxy."

This is what Bishop Germanos Karavangelis confessed but our Kote went beyond that and reached new heights! On October 25, 1903, Kote delivered the head of our famous revolutionary and poet Lazar Pop Traikov, to Bishop Karavangelis for a handful of coins. And this is how Macedonians were bought…

Before that the Macedonian people did not succumb to oppression. For at least 16 centuries, Mr. Kofos, as you put it, the songs and dances never ceased. These were unique Macedonian songs and dances that resembled no other. For at least 16 centuries our path was guided by the rising and

setting of the Macedonian sun, guiding our way to the days of Ilinden when we rose up against tyranny in hopes of freedom and creating a Macedonian state. But the 20th century was not what we expected, especially from our Christian brothers, who for almost as many years, suffered along with us. Who would have ever thought that our Christian brothers, who knew our pain, would betray us and be the collectors of our souls, and would exile us to die in foreign lands and not be buried in the graves of our ancestors. This was done to us by no other than Greece, the so-called cradle of democracy, Mr. Kofos, respected by the entire world for its supposed contribution to the modern European civilization! What are we to make of that?

The entire world knows about the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, about whom the Americans said: "We have recognized Macedonia to prove that it is real", to show that it is an ancient culture with a unique identity different from the Greek identity but not so different from the culture that exists in Aegean Macedonia in the Lerin, Kostur, Voden, Kukus Regions, in other words on the ethnic Macedonian space divided in 1913.

Meaning, Mr. Kofos, the world knows that the formation of the Macedonian nation is not someone's project as you Greeks often maintain. Neither is Macedonia Greek, Serbian, or Bulgarian and it belongs to Tito even less. The process of how the Macedonian nation was built is the same process under which every Balkan nation and country has undergone and is based on continuity which cannot be argued. The Macedonian identity exists and that subject is already closed.

I, and many of my comrades who joined the ranks of DAG during the Greek Civil War, joined as Macedonians and we were respected as such by our Greek counterparts. Unfortunately, our fate was cruel and tragic, to be uprooted from our homes, to be uprooted and scattered around the world. This was done by no accident Mr. Kofos, it was well-perpetrated with aims of destroying our identity. What is happening to our people is nothing new; it is a continuation of Greek policy enacted even before Macedonia was partitioned in 1913.

Mr. Kofos, will you explain this to me: is it possible for my ancestors who, as you say, came to Macedonia 16 centuries ago, to have found people when they arrived here and could these people have formed any sort of symbiosis with my ancestors in those 16 centuries? Can you confirm that it was not your ancestors (Greeks) who gave my ancestors the name Macedonians? Did your ancestors, the Greeks, fight about the name with my ancestors during those 16 centuries that they lived together? Or is this

something new, concocted by you and your Balkan colleagues who intentionally hijacked history and perverted it to fit your present situation after you annexed Macedonian territories? Was Alexander the Great truly always Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Albanian as you all claim today, or is this more shameless propaganda? Please explain, Mr. Kofos, and be honest!

Dear Mr. Kofos, I have no intention of delving deep into history, yours or mine, and face your unpleasant endeavours towards my ancestors, there is enough unpleasantness in my time, in the 20th century, when Macedonia became the property of Greece, after ethnic Macedonia was divided in 1913.

But with regards to caring or not caring about the name of my country and nation and having nothing to lose by abandoning it, I will have to disagree with you on that. The name in essence and in perpetuity is essentially the most important element of a nation. To abandon our name as per your recommendation "because we have no attachment to it because we came to Macedonia only 16 centuries ago" is not only insane but suicidal. You have done harm to us when we insisted that we are Macedonians living in Macedonia on our ancestral lands; only God knows what you will do to us if we voluntarily accept that we are not Macedonian when in fact we are!

Mr. Kofos, surely by now I have mentioned the words "Greek occupied Macedonia" many times in this write up. Can you guess why? If you can't, then please read some more of the Carnegie Commission's testimony regarding the atrocities committed by Greek soldiers in my Macedonia and all other atrocities you Greeks have committed against my people after that!

Balkan chronicles and the Hellenization of Macedonia

After the Balkan Wars (1912 - 1913) and with the signing of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10, 1913, Macedonia and the Macedonian people were physically and politically divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Albania by awarding it the Lower Prespa and Golo Brdo territories. These are facts which are well known to Europe and the European Parliamentarians.

Macedonia's division and the problems the Macedonian people were experiencing from it were still very current when they were brought up to the Paris Conference on July 15, 1919, and addressed to the Commission for New Countries requesting that they find a solution. Under the then circumstances, the British were reluctant to do anything claiming that "if

they engage themselves in the issues created by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, they would be facing many problems from which it would be difficult for them to withdraw. And thus the Macedonian problem was not even looked at, at the Paris Conference.

Subsequent to that, the border problem was brought to the League of Nations, under Bulgarian pressure, many times between 1925 and 1930, but it seems no one could offer an acceptable solution. This way the Macedonian problem was always avoided and so was the issue of redrawing borders in the Balkans.

The idea of granting autonomous rights to the Macedonians in the Serbian occupied part of Macedonia and to grant cultural rights to the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia was supported by the Italians and the British. Unfortunately France and Serbia opposed it and the idea was rejected.

Ethnic cleansing in Greece – Round one:

Instead of respecting the rights of the Macedonian people, like it promised in all its agreements, Greece began to ethnically cleanse them. This was done through the following conventions;

A/ The Neuilly Convention (65), signed on November 27, 1919, called for "voluntary" exchanges of populations between Greece and Bulgaria. In 1920 Greece signed, before the League of Nations, a treaty obliging it to grant certain rights to the minorities of non-Greek origin in Greece. Four years later, in 1924, at the suggestion of the League of Nations, Greece and Bulgaria signed the well-known Kalfov-Politis Protocol under which Bulgaria was obliged to grant the Greek minority in Bulgaria their minority rights (language, schools and other rights), while Greece, recognizing the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia as a "Bulgarian" minority, was to grant them their minority rights. But instead of doing what they were expected to do and what they had signed, both Greece and Bulgaria went on expelling Macedonians from the Macedonian territories they had occupied in 1912, 1913.

B/ Then came the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923 which called for the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey

Right after World War I, Greece began to implement its expansionist policies and initiated a campaign of conquest in Asia Minor which later became known as the Turkish - Greek War (1919-1922). This turned out to be a disaster for Greece and the last time it attempted to implement its ambitious "Megale Idea" to create a Greater Greece.

After its expansionist ambitions were curbed by the crashing defeat it received from Turkey, Greece began to look inward in order to purify itself from the inside. Being built on a shaky foundation under the claim that everyone in Greece was Greek and Greece only occupied historically Greek lands, Greece did not want to harbour "nonconformists" on its territory and made sure they were gone one way or another. But it had to do it "legally" and thus we have the various Agreements mentioned earlier. Legal or illegal, however, it made no difference to those being targeted. For them these agreements proved to be catastrophic and caused unprecedented consequences bordering on genocide, especially for the Macedonian people. During its last fiasco with Turkey, Greece expelled some 70-80 thousand more Macedonians and in their place, just in Macedonia, it settled 660,000 Turkish Christian colonists from Asia Minor.

One of the ploys Greece used to convince the world that it was okay for it to exchange populations with other countries, was the claim that these people were not only non-Greeks but they also did not belong there because they "illegally invaded" historical Greek territories over time. And thus, the indigenous Macedonians who lived on those lands for millennia, over night became "Slavo-Macedonians". Greece, at the time, never made any claims that "other" Macedonians lived in Macedonia so the "Slavo" label was in fact a superfluous label which served to marginalize the Macedonians and label them as "outsiders" on their own lands! After tearing up a big portion of Macedonia for itself (1913-1919) and ethnically cleansing its population from 1920 to 1940, Greece had to ensure that things remained smooth inside and that if anything did happen, then it would have to have explicit rules and modalities for political intervention.

It is worthwhile at this point to mention that, much later, Greece did use the label "Slavo" to make a distinction between the indigenous (Endopii) Macedonians and the Turkish Christian colonists (Ponti, Prosfigi) it brought to Macedonia from Asia Minor. After many years of denying that Macedonians ever existed and after it became obvious to Greece that the

Republic of Macedonia was about to declare its independence from Yugoslavia, Greece did a reversal on the "Macedonian issue" and declared that "everyone" in its part of Macedonia was now Macedonian, except in the reverse order. While the real Macedonians remained "Slavo-Macedonians", the Turkish Christian colonists from Asia Minor became "Macedonians" without a label. They now were considered to be legitimate Macedonians who were exclusively entitled to the entire Macedonian heritage!

So, what does this mean? In this case Greece reacted as best as it could to the new circumstances of having to face up to the idea that a Macedonian identity was about to surface. And how did Greece react to that? Greece still maintained that a Macedonian identity did not exist because in its reality the "new" so called Macedonians, i.e. the Turkish Christian colonists, were "actually" Greeks who lived in Macedonia. And thus everything that was claimed to be Macedonian actually belonged to Greece! And because everything Macedonian belonged to Greece, the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia had no eights to it! In other words, nothing had changed since 1913 and Greece was on track with its original policies in dealing with the Macedonian people: destroy everything historic that tied the Macedonian people to Macedonia.

I have often been accused of throwing the words "genocide" and "destroy" when I talk about Greece's attitude towards the Macedonians but what else can I call Greece's acts against the Macedonians, such as those already mentioned involving population exchanges and uprooting people from their homes and ancestral lands, simply because Greece does not like their ethnicity or their ethnicity does not fit Greece's idea of what Greece should be! No one deserves that kind of treatment, especially the indigenous Macedonians who lived in Macedonia for millenniums. But Greece did not stop with just tossing people out, it continued its genocidal acts by erasing everything Macedonian, starting with changing peoples first and last names. It began by calling the Macedonian territory it annexed "Voria Elada" (Northern Greece). And since when has Macedonia been "Greece"? Macedonia has always been Macedonia. Well, it was called Northern Greece now, shortly after 1913, and that was by no accident! By calling Macedonia Northern Greece, the Greek authorities not only put claims on Macedonia but also sent the Macedonian people a clear message – "This is Greece now and this is not your country any more, so comply with our rules or else!" The Macedonian people were put on notice and left with two options; comply or rebel!

After it possessed the Macedonian territory, Greece treated it as its own with total disregard for its previous owners, the Macedonian people. On

November 21, 1926 the official Greek Gazette "tis Efimiris kiverniseos", number 332, introduced the Law on Toponyms enacted to change all the place names across Greece's annexed Macedonian territory. Later it did the same with people's personal names all across Macedonia.

It is interesting to note at this point that while the Greek government was obviously preoccupied with changing the names in its "most recent" annexed part of Macedonia, it forgot that Macedonians also lived across the river Belitsa (Aliakmonas) in Epirus where the place names remained unchanged since my so-called "Slav" ancestors came to live there. I discovered this during the Greek Civil War, when I served in DAG and when I was stationed there. I found Slavic place names that still existed in the 1940's unchanged for centuries. Names of mountains such as "Golio kamenik" (from Gol Kamen), "Orliakas" (from Orel), "Gramos" (from Gremost), etc. Cities and towns such as "Mechovo" (from mechka), "Konitsa" (from Kon), etc. Villages such as "Zagorie" (from zad gorie), "Vrbiani" (from vrbie), "Zlatino" (from zlato), "Prisoiviani" (from prisoo), all having roots in the Macedonian language.

As mentioned earlier, the Greek government's plan was to name the indigenous Macedonian population in its occupied Macedonian territory, "Slavo-Macedonians" in order to prove to the world that Macedonians did not exist and those calling themselves "Macedonians" were not Macedonians at all but "Slavs" who migrated to Macedonia during the 4th-6th century AD. And because they were "Slavs", they could not possibly have been Macedonians because only those who have ancient roots, connected to the ancient Macedonians, qualify to be called Macedonians. So, as you can see, Greece had "big plans" for the Macedonian population the day it invaded and occupied Macedonia. And in retrospect, there is no mistake what these plans were – to evict the Macedonian people from their homeland, by any means possible, in order to erase everything Macedonian – and if that is not genocide I don't know what is?

Let us be open about this: Why are the Greeks so fearful of our identity? Historically we all know precisely what happened. We all lived in open borders since Philip II's time, we all experienced the same invasions, famines, epidemics and we all traveled and moved around inside the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires looking for better opportunities to improve our lives. We all know how the Turks, Uruks, Jews, Vlachs, Albanians, etc., arrived on our lands, where they settled and the kinds of work they did. We all lived in difficult times and to some degree we tolerated each other, particularly our religions, customs, cultures and languages. Then, one day in our near past, nationalism came to our lands and overnight, some of us literally became a different people. But instead

of learning from our past mistakes and moving forward, some of us leaped back. Greece leaped so far back that it found itself in ancient times. It then not only adopted the positive things from its "new past", it also proudly adopted the negative things. Modern Greeks began to behave like the "Doric Hellenes" who had no tolerance for other races and their solution to people problems was enslavement and extermination. Even though today's Greeks had nothing in common with the Doric Hellenes, they not only usurped their name "Hellenes", they also usurped their behaviour towards others. So, what the Ottomans did not do to the Macedonian people in over 5 centuries of rule, the Greeks did in a matter of a few decades after 1913. They changed the entire character of Macedonia including banning the Macedonian language but they did not stop there. They also introduce laws and punishments to make sure that the Macedonian language was never again spoken.

Ethnic cleansing in Greece – Round two – Communist interference in Macedonian affairs:

A good way to avoid traps and of being used and manipulated in the present and in the future is by learning the truth about our past, about what happened to us in the past. The Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia up to the Second World War were a nameless people abused and oppressed by the Greek system and by the Greek people in general and lived under strict political neglect deprived of all human rights. Then, during the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1950) we became pawns of the communist agenda and were turned into victims first by the CPY and then by the CPG. While under the "care" of the CPY we were led to believe that we were fighting for an autonomous Macedonia to be joined to the Yugoslav Federation. Then, after we were made wards of the CPG we were led to believe that we were fighting for our human rights as citizens of Greece, during which time we were led by the very same people who we were fighting against. Our greatest oppressor in Greek occupied Macedonia was the Greek government and the Greek system. Our second greatest oppressors were the Christian Turkish colonists brought to Macedonia from Asia Minor by Greece to replace us and to make Greece pure again. How could we have been so blind not to have seen that our leaders during the Greek Civil War, who led us, were also the very same people who were trying to replace us? It is a fact that we were told that we were fighting for our human rights? It is a fact that those at the top of the CPG, the CPG Central Committee and the CPG Politburo who led us in this fight, were in fact the same kind of people who wanted us out of Macedonia so that they could have it for themselves. So, what exactly were we fighting for and what other outcome could we have expected? So, in addition to being a nameless people we became a homeless people,

driven out of our ancestral lands to roam the world endlessly. And the shame of it all is that we were manipulated in doing this to ourselves. In other words, we were manipulated to raise arms against the Greek state and gave the Greeks yet another reason to seek our demise.

Unfortunately the truth is complicated and does not always come out even if you ask the right questions. Greece never admitted that Macedonians lived on its occupied territories and in fact no one is going to accuse Greece of oppressing an ethnicity that does not exist. But the truth has other ways of coming out; not from what the Greeks say but from what they do. It is a fact that Greece, over the years, passed a number of laws which discriminated against a certain segment of its population. It even passed a law that allowed people who were exiled to return but under the condition that they were "Greeks by birth"! This begs the question: if all people born in Greece are Greeks and if all people who were exiled were born in Greece then all exiled people must be Greeks by birth. Right? Then why pass this law? Greek occupied Macedonia became Greek in 1913, so are they trying to tell us that people who came to Greek occupied Macedonia 16 centuries earlier are not "Greeks" but those who were brought there in the 1920's are?

Yes, Mr. Kofos, this is precisely the message you are sending out in a clever and subtle way!

Based on international law, citizens of a state are protected everywhere they go and have the right to return to their country of origin. But we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, have not only been deprived of our citizenship but we have also been robbed of our opportunity to return to our homes. Greece has made sure of that by enacting a number of discriminatory laws designed to apply only to Macedonians:

Law KZ 375/14 was enacted in December 1936 and by this law Macedonians who were characterized as being "disloyal citizens" were interned on the Greek islands. In practice this law was applied only against indigenous Macedonians, or against the descendents of those who were not Greeks by birth! Or more precisely, against those who had Macedonian leanings and sentiments.

The following laws were enacted and in practice used to prosecute Macedonians:

Law PZ 4124/45 “collaborating with the occupier”. This law was enacted exclusively to jail Macedonian fighters who belonged to armed bands in Kostur region.

Law KZ 453/45 and KZ 454/45 “participating in autonomous activities”. These laws were enacted to prosecute Macedonians organized in the political organizations NOF, NOMS and AFZH.

Draft – a law was drafted to forcibly expel Macedonians across the border in 1946.

Decree “Z” enacted on December 7, 1947, “deprivation of Greek citizenship for acting anti-nationally;

Law 516 enacted on January 8, 1948, “eligibility of citizens”;

Decree “H” enacted January 20, 1948, “property confiscation of Civil War participants”;

Law 2536/53 “displacement and resettlement in Greek border areas”;

Law 3958/1959 “dealing with properties of refugees”;

These were and still are the most racist laws in Europe.

Mr. Kofos, how can Greece, a democratic country and a member of the EU, still have such racist laws?

By decision 106.841/5-1-83, by the Ministry of the Interior, only “Greeks by genus” can be repatriated. Signed on December 29, 1982 by Giorgos Genimatas, Minister of the Interior, and Gianis Skularikis, Minister of Public Order.

Mr. Kofos, if everyone who is born in Greece is Greek then what is the purpose of this law?

Now let us be clear about this, Mr. Kofos. You know and I know that no one was Greek before the Greek state was created for the first time in 1828. Unlike the Macedonian identity which existed before a Macedonian state, the Greek identity was created after the creation of the Greek state in the 1820’s. In other words, the Greek identity came into existence after 1828. That means that, as per your design, everyone born in Greece after 1828 was Greek. That also means that on December 29, 1982 when the above decision was made, everyone in Greece and those who had left

Greece were Greek. So again I ask you Mr. Kofos what was the purpose of this law?

In reality Mr. Kofos, if you care to know, the reason this law was enacted was to manipulate it so that it would apply to anyone Greece did not want returning back to Greece, particularly Macedonians who changed their names back to their original names because they found out who they were, learned their history and about the atrocities committed against their fellow Macedonians. And that, Mr. Kofos, would have caused your state problems inside Greece, should they have been allowed to return and tell their story to Macedonians inside Greece. Anyone who showed up at your border with a non-Greek name, claiming to be born in Greece, your border guards were instructed to refuse them entry - without an explanation. What explanation could they have given them other than to say that there is no such name in our database, therefore you don't enter? If that person was "Greek by genus" he or she would have had a Greek name because Greece made sure that everyone in Greece had a Greek name; their names were either changed in the 1920's or if they were born after that, the Greek system (Church and State) made sure they were baptized with a Greek name. So, Mr. Kofos, a person without a Greek name according to your design, "cannot possibly" be a Greek by genus. This is why this law was enacted and this is how it was manipulated to refuse Macedonians entry back to their homeland where they were born and lived for centuries.

One more question, Mr. Kofos, was Markos Vafiadis a "Greek by genus"? Why was he allowed to return to Greece? If anyone has any doubt about what I said above then ask yourselves "how can a person, a Turkish Christian colonist, born in Turkey be allowed to return to Greece and not a Macedonian who was born inside Greece?" Now tell me how these laws are not racist and how they don't discriminate exclusively against Macedonians?!

The Greek acts described above are no secret and have been repeatedly applied against the Macedonian people for many decades. These acts are no secret to the European Union either, yet to this day the EU has made no demands on Greece to abolish them. The question is why? Is Europe party to all this? Logic would lead one to think in that direction. If that were true, and there is no reason for it not to be, then Europe itself (Western Europe) is no better than Greece!

How and why Macedonians were expelled from Greece by a one-way ticket

Mr. Kofos, these laws were enacted to punish the Macedonians who participated in the Greek Civil War, people ages 16 to 50 who were lied to and then forcibly mass mobilized. People of many ethnicities were mobilized then, during the communist chaos and we all served in the ranks of DAG together, by the thousands sharing our fate in the bunkers of Gramos. There and then I met many of them and they had no problem with me being Macedonian, but then when the time came for us to return home, back to Greece, you allowed them in and rejected me. The only difference between us is that I am Macedonian and they are not!

The Macedonian people suffered many casualties, more that 20,000 were direct victims of the Greek Civil War and for those who survived, the CPG leadership dug a different kind of grave for them. The CPG leadership reserved a black page in our history and along with the red card it gave us, it tossed us in the ideological waste basket. So the question to you, Mr. Kofos, is how can a "legitimate" government such as yours, member of the European Union, enact such laws and still have the power to deny some people their rights, and not the rights of others who allegedly participated in committing exactly the same crimes? How can your government enact laws to punish people who had absolutely nothing to do in the decision making in the war and yet free those like General Markos Vafiadis who were directly responsible for leading the war?

Was it not that by these laws that Greece also initiated the so-called "PEDOMAZOMA", a violent act of kidnapping Macedonian children ages 3 to 14? Was this not done under political intent, an act of degradation of human dignity, to perhaps fatally wound the Macedonian nation? This, Mr. Kofos, as you know, was done by both sides of the war but as time has shown, with a single intent; to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece by any means possible. You know, Mr. Kofos, that in March 1948, 28,000 children were collected under communist orders and given a one way ticket out of their homes. This one way ticket, as it turned out, was planned and meant only for the Macedonians, which was part of Greece's strategic plans since 1913, to violently evict the Macedonian people from their homeland!

Mr. Kofos, for years I have paid close attention to the various "actions" the Greek government has taken against the Macedonian state and against the Macedonian people. Every proposal made, no matter how innocent it may have looked to the casual observer, it was always made from a position of strength and with hidden political intent; to bring harm to the Macedonians.

I am amazed in this day and age at the audacity of the Greek government attempting to impose itself with such ferocity on an independent state which not only has nothing to do with Greece but is willing to stay out of Greece's way. I am amazed that in this day and age Greece can claim to be democratic country yet demand of the Republic of Macedonia change its flag and its name! I am even more amazed that Greece would care so much about "everything" Macedonian in the Republic of Macedonia yet care none for the Macedonian people who live inside Greece. If Greece cares so much about the flag used by the Republic of Macedonia and about the name "Macedonia", then why not allow the "real" Macedonians living inside Greek occupied Macedonia have and use them? Why is Greece, on one hand, so "concerned" about some aspects of "Macedonia" and, on the other, denying the "real" Macedonian people their history, culture, language, Macedonian names and other basic human rights?

If Macedonia and the Macedonian people continue to "bend" to Greece's will, Greece will continue to impose itself, as part of its long term plans to rid of the Macedonian identity, and will not only undermine all past Macedonian endeavours and struggles but the Macedonian people, even those in the Republic of Macedonia, will lose their basic human rights, free expression and eventually their Macedonian identity. And that will not only be a disaster for the Macedonian people but a great loss to the whole world, a world that has been lied to about who the Macedonians truly are and the many contributions they have made to world civilization in the last three millenniums or so of their existence.

Mr. Kofos, as you well know the Greek government made demands on the Macedonian people under extreme pressure. When the Republic of Macedonia found itself in a vulnerable position, because Greece imposed an economic embargo on it, Greece blackmailed it into changing its constitution in ways that were damaging to the Macedonian people living inside Greece or originating from Greece. This was a politically motivated act to take focus away from Greece, away from the Greek atrocities committed against the Macedonian people, the illegal Greek confiscation of Macedonian properties, the continual Hellenization of Macedonians and the Greek denial of human rights for the Macedonian people living in Greece. This act, I call an immoral use of political power applied in the absence of spiritual rule!

Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia – From the hell of war to the hell of oblivion

Mr. Kofos, as you said at the end of your lecture: "… I accepted it and then I spent my entire life dealing with it! Fifty years!" So, Mr. Kofos, you

preoccupied yourself for 50 years planning the demise of the Macedonian nation. You spent 50 years of your life planning to rob us of our heritage and toss us out of our homeland! How commendable of you!

At this point allow me to say, Mr. Kofos, that you are not the only Greek patriot and genocidal ideologist. You are one of many. Greece, in fact, since 1913 has used such strategic means to erode the Macedonian nation inside and outside of Greek occupied Macedonia. Greeks all around the world have been busy blocking, removing, deleting, rewriting and erasing Macedonian presence everywhere. Books, tapes, magazines, cultural items etc., have been removed from libraries and public institutions worldwide. Macedonian products have been denied, mislabeled and removed from store shelves all around the word due to Greek objections. These things are done even today. A Greek priest in Australia announced to the Macedonians that if they continue to speak Macedonian (in Australia) they will not receive Communion. ("The Macedonian conflict", p. 359.) But there are even crueler and inhumane Greek acts: The Greeks persecuted the parents whose sons fought in the Greek Army to preserve Greek sovereignty, who laid down their lives in the Turkish - Greek War, who fought in the Greek-Italian war, etc. These parents were first persecuted because they spoke Macedonian and later were thrown out with the rest of the refugees to die on the roads with a sense of guilt. Based on how they were treated, these elderly people saw the Greeks as worse than the Ottomans, saying, "The Ottomans did not have faith but had sympathy. Greeks have neither faith nor sympathy."

And this is how Greece works on a daily basis, systematically destroying the Macedonian national identity, not only inside Greek occupied Macedonia, but also outside all around the world while using any means possible to promote and build its own invented Greek identity. After promoting Turkish coffee, feta cheese and other Balkan products as "Greek" its latest manifestation is "Greek yogurt". Today there is no television station or program in Canada where "Greek yogurt" is not advertised at least once per hour! Are there any other "yogurts" prefixed with a country name like "Macedonian yogurt", "Bulgarian yogurt", "Albanian yogurt", or "Serbian yogurt"? NO! Only "Greek yogurt!"

But what is most surprising and, even crueler now, is that Greece, as a member of NATO and the EU, does not want to talk about the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10, 1913, for which it has accepted the following obligations regarding the Macedonian population:

Article 7: Section 1: “All Greek nationalities (communities living in Greece) will be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil rights regardless of race, religion or language”;

Paragraph 3: “People of different Greek communities with different religions, beliefs, faiths, etc., will not face prejudice when exercising their civic and political duties, require access to public works, employment, etc. Tolerance, respect and professionalism will be exercised towards all individuals”;

Paragraph 4: “No restrictions will be imposed on the use of any of the languages spoken by the Greek communities, in commerce, in religious proceedings, in the media, in publications and in any other way. This also applies to public gatherings, public meetings and to private discussions;

Article 8: “The smaller Greek national communities which belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and protection from the law as the larger Greek national communities. Basically, they will have equal rights to establish, manage and control expenditures in charitable and religious institutions, schools, other educational institutions and the right to use their own language and practice their own religion freely and without interference in these institutions”;

Article 9, paragraph 1: “In terms of public education in cities and regions where sizable minorities live who speak another language, other than Greek, the Greek state will provide adequate facilities for them and will ensure that primary schooling in their native language is available at the same level as is available to those who are taught Greek. In addition to this, the Greek government will also introduce compulsory Greek education in the same schools”;

Article 16: “Greece accepts these obligations and agrees to be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations as follows: each member of the League of Nations Council shall have the right to investigate any violation or threat of violation of any of these obligations and the Council will have the right to immediately take action and issue directives, make decisions in accordance with its jurisdiction and circumstances... The Greek government hereby agrees that if a dispute occurs, and if the other party deems it necessary, the said dispute could then be addressed to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same power and effect as a decision made under Article 13 of the Convention of the League of Nations.”

Signatories or guarantors of the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest (countries which drafted the said Articles and Paragraphs) were: Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India.

After a century of ethnic cleansing, fierce discrimination, assimilation and forced exile of Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greek state, now a member of the EU and NATO, is using the same idea and same cynicism to establish itself as an imperial power over the Republic of Macedonia in order to incinerate everything that is Macedonian and permanently claim the Macedonian heritage for itself.

What has happened to us and what is still happening to Macedonians today can't be good, not even for Greece. We have Greek politicians, the Greek government and you personally, Mr. Kofos, who have made your life's mission to see us disappear. Have you forgotten, Mr. Kofos, that in the defense of Greek sovereignty, thousands of Macedonians died and left their bones on the fields and mountains in today's Greece: The Turkish - Greek War of 1921, the war against the Italians in World War II and the most tragic of all wars for the Macedonians, the Greek Civil war, during which we experienced genocide.

After the Greek Civil War, only Macedonians lost everything:

a) Their human rights;
b) Their right to return to their homes,
c) Their properties were confiscated; and
d) The right to integrate themselves in the Greek state with personal, cultural and national rights as Macedonians and citizens of Greece.

The laws mentioned earlier were enacted against the Macedonian people, to prevent them from taking their rightful place in Greek society and they are a true testament of what Greece has done against us!

Let us now examine what Professor Trepst said and what sins have been prescribed for us Macedonians:

"The real reason for the hysteria that swept through Greek society in terms of Macedonia can not be explained only by the then disintegration of Yugoslavia and the independence of Macedonia. It has deeper roots in the Greek, yet to be revealed, trauma. It has to do with the Greek nationalist notion of glory called Communism!" Professor Stefan Trebst, head of the research project at the University of Leipzig on "Greece and the Macedonian Question", said this in an interview with Radio Deutsche Welle.

According to Professor Trebst, the dispute between Macedonia and Greece may take another 100 years because Greece will completely lose its reputation if the current official name "Republic of Macedonia" is accepted.

What is Greece complaining about? Our country's name is Macedonia! No one can dispute that it is our right to exist as a nation, as Macedonians! Our name "Macedonia" came from our past, we did not invent it! What kind of future will we have without a past? If not Macedonians, who will we be? What will happen to us if we just "give up" who we are? Is this the kind of advice Greece is giving us? Is this what Greece is planning for our future? And who and what gave Greece the right to do this to us?

Politics in Greece after the Greek Civil War ended

Mr. Kofos, as a principal architect of Greek politics you actively participated in shaping Greek government policies, seeking out special legal measures for ethnically cleansing your Macedonia and assimilating all remaining Macedonians after the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) ended.

After a decade of hostilities, the war ended in Greece in 1949. The number of Macedonians living there dramatically dropped, particularly in the Lerin and Kostur Region villages. By the time the war was over many Macedonians were either killed or had fled Greece, but approximately 100,000 Macedonians still remained inside Greece. After the war ended Greece sought its opportunity to re-examine its policies towards the "Macedonian Question" and awarded itself the opportunity to declare it "non-existent". Because of the reduction in the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia, Athens officially decided, once again, to declare Greece "pure" and that again only "pure Greeks now lived in Greece" thus forcing the remaining Macedonians to accept " a pure Greek national consciousness" in order to be part of the "Greek national core". And thus a new baseless and groundless strategy was introduced which has been followed to this day.

If what was claimed by Greece is true, then things are not what they seem. If the Macedonians who were living in Greece before the war, and who remained in Greece after the war, already had a "pure Greek" national consciousness, then why were measures taken, as evidence suggests, to assimilate them, on an ongoing basis, which is practiced to this day?! Be it as it may, the "idea that Macedonians do not exist" was put in practice in Greek political life inside and outside of Greece on an international level. Is it not a fact Mr. Kofos that in 1950, Ioanis Sofianopulos, Minister of

Foreign Affairs, addressed the Greek Parliament about this very same issue?

Then, in the fall of 1951, the Ministry of Northern Greece issued its staff officers attached to Macedonia, an additional task to ensure that every Macedonian behaved properly and was educated properly in order to "restore" and strengthen "Greek national feelings" in the Macedonian population in Central and Western Macedonia, who were left behind after the Greek Civil War. The letter emphasizes that the Macedonian population, in addition to accepting the "Greek consciousness", must also learn to speak the Greek language and abandon the "idiom" spoken inside the home.

In 1953 and 1956, radio stations, supported by the Royal National Institute, were opened in Kostur and Lerin. Opening these radio stations was justified as a "national need". Characteristic measures such as these, known as "Special programs", were also recommended and implemented by the Constantine Karamanlis government between 1958 and 1963. All these programs had a hidden agenda; they were all designed to assimilate the Macedonian population in Western Macedonia.

In order to implement these measures the Greek government was in need of assistance from many of its national institutions; schools, churches, military, militia and various other bodies and organizations. One of the measures implemented was the "oath". For example, in 1959 three villages, Krpeshina in Lerin Region, Trebinio in Kailari Region and Ludovo in Kostur Region, were asked to take the dreaded oath. The Macedonian people in these villages were forced to swear that they would never speak the "damned idiom" again and would always speak only Greek, the language of the bible, the language inherited from their ancient ancestors. This also took place in 1962, in the village Ostrovo in Pela Region in the presence of a senior government representative involving 600 residents. The same took place in the village Rusilovo in Pela Region and other villages.

School children were also sent on free trips (to get to know Greece), courtesy of Frederica's programs, as well as to attend paid classes to learn home economics and other practical household activities. Children were strictly forbidden from speaking Macedonian, singing Macedonian songs, or dancing Macedonian dances. These young children, especially the girls, became candidates for mixed marriages. They were encouraged to marry Greeks so that their children could be pure Greek.

All this, Mr. Kofos, the special programs, the people paid to carry out these tasks, came at a great cost and for what? To assimilate the "non-existent Macedonians"!

This, Mr. Kofos, has been Greece's policy towards the Macedonians since 1950 and it remains unchanged to this day.

According to international law, a citizen of a state is cared for regardless of where they are located. The Macedonians, according to international law, have the right to return to their country of birth and their country is responsible for their protection. But we, the Macedonian political refugees from Greece, have been deprived of these rights for over half a century.

And finally Mr. Kofos, let me say that no matter what Greece says and does and how it twists history to fit its agenda, it can never hide the truth. The truth is out there, hidden in archives, in diplomatic papers, in personal biographies, etc., and can easily be found.

- "Memorandum – The Macedonian Question. Regarding the situation in Greek Macedonia; facts about the terror in Greek Macedonia. American press reports about the Greek terror in Greek Macedonia. The situation in Greek Macedonia from December 16, 1946. F0 371/58615 HP00201 R16924/298/67.

- "Greek memorandum regarding the Slav threat against Greek Macedonia, from October 20, 1946. F0 371/58615 HP00201 R156551/298/67.

* Loring M. Danforth's book "The Macedonian Conflict". Loring Danforth is an anthropologist and professor working in the United States who has analyzed the "Macedonian conflict" in this voluminous and comprehensive work, and has placed special pencil marks on the history of the conflict. He has also provided relevant evidence and clarification regarding the dark spots in the Macedonian national crisis. In his book he has exposed a number of topics, especially those relevant to events that took place in Greek (occupied) Macedonia after the war ended.

There are many other historical documents available that go as far back as the invasion, occupation, partition and annexation of Macedonia by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. There are also war diaries and biographies published in the Greek historiography by senior DAG officials who speak about the Macedonian identity.

So, Mr. Kofos, you and the Greek state can deny us our identity and you can claim as much as you want that Macedonians don't exist, but the fact

of the matter is that we do exist and there is plenty of evidence to prove it… it is now a matter of time.

That is why Macedonians must no longer keep silent about this horror!

Mr. Kofos, why don't we look at this whole thing from a human point of view? Are we, who are living in the Balkans, forbidden to feel and speak to each other as we feel? Is our Macedonian existence that much of a taboo to you Greeks? Let me ask you, how would you feel if some strangers invaded your country, occupied your lands, forced you to speak an alien language, took away your home and permanently exiled you from your homeland? It is we who are victims here Mr. Kofos, and you are the perpetrators of criminal acts bordering on genocide; not the other way around! But then you act as if we have done you wrong and you can't seem to face us; you say we don't exist when in fact we do exist! So, why don't we sit down like human beings and talk about it, sort out our differences, face to face! Let us know what we have done to offend you and we will let you know what you have done to offend us; face to face, not as Macedonians and Greeks but as human beings!

Let me remind you: on August 10, 2003, after 55 years of being exiled, the Greek government finally did allow some of us to visit our place of birth under what was termed a "humanitarian passport" on which we were required to write only "Greece" as our place of birth. After 55 years of being exiled we ran into great difficulties attempting to locate our place of birth, the graves of our parents and grandparents, because we did not know the Greek names of our places and our people. When we did find them they were not what we had left behind. Instead of the homes and graves we were expecting to find, we found ruins and bulldozed fields and devastation… Each one of us felt like strangers in our own birthplace, on the lands of our ancestors… we were absolutely devastated at the neglect… We were horrified, Mr. Kofos, at what you Greeks had done to our homes and the graves of our ancestors… That too I had to live through…

Show some humanity Mr. Kofos and tell the truth about what you have done. Find the courage to inform the Greek people and tell them that Macedonians do exist and have existed since before ancient times. Do it before it's too late, do it before you have to do it under oath in the international court of justice!

Where did Droutsas and Karadzhaferis get their Macedonian blood?

(New ideological winds are blowing from the south: Droutsas with his own thesis against Karavangelis, the Bishop of Kostur).

I decided to reply to Mr. Dimitris Droutsas and wish him well for having the courage to address the Greek Legislature and the entire world and say that "the Macedonian identity is part of the identity of every Greek and every Greek is born and dies with a Macedonian identity…" Bravo Mr. Droutsas! Until yesterday you swore up and down and said that Macedonians did not exist and today you say every Greek is Macedonian and every Macedonian is Greek! So, Mr. Droutsas, where does that leave the "real" Macedonians? Is this not another twist to the century old distorted thesis?

Strange Alchemy?

I am not surprised, but I am amazed at Droutsas's audacity, of how he and others like him can so easily change their identity to suit their political agenda. Karavangelis made it his mission to "make" Greeks out of Macedonians by every means possible, even by threat of death and now we have Droutsas voluntarily making Macedonians out of Greeks. It is this kind of stupidity that makes the Balkans look like a lunatic asylum, a label which we all have to carry! No wonder the entire world is confused about us!

Why do these politicians want to be Macedonians?

So, this is Mr. Droutsas's cure for his nationalist disease. But you don't have to tell me, or any other Macedonian for that matter, we know that type of Greek very well; he will sell his own soul to the highest bidder if it serves his interest! But would a proud and dignified Greek accept Droutsas's alchemy?!

The propaganda to turn Macedonians into Greeks began to flourish a little over a century ago, when the Macedonian people lost their bid to free themselves from the Ottoman occupation in 1903. The concept of making Greeks out of Macedonians was managed through the Patriarchate church headed by Germanos Karavangelis, Bishop of Kostur. Karavangelis did not spare us any details regarding the tactics he used to "make" Greeks out of Macedonians, as recorded in his memoirs. Karavangelis used extreme force and terror to accomplish his objectives, which in the long run proved to be very effective. He was one of the first practitioners with instinct to kill the term "Macedonian". His model and experience proved useful to the Greek cause.

Mr. Droutsas, allow me to elaborate. I am a Macedonian from one of the Lerin Region villages and 60 years after the Greek Civil War, I, along with thousands of my compatriots from Lerin, Kostur, Voden, etc., Regions, have lived in exile around the world. We can't go home to our ancestral lands where we were born because of the laws enacted by politicians such as yourself. It is so easy for you to make decisions about my life and to proudly mock me by calling yourself a "proud Macedonian" when in fact you are not. While you can do this without any consequences to yourself, I have to live with the consequences of your actions every day. Yes, Mr. Droutsas, all those laws enacted were not a joke, they were specifically designed to extinguish my identity, rob me of my heritage, of my home, of my future… We could have turned our backs on you during the Greek-Turkish war, the Greek-Italian war, the Greek Civil War on both sides, and all other times you needed us but we didn't, we fought and died alongside of you… so why are we treated like this? Why these laws?

Now that we are on the subject of laws Mr. Droutsas, allow me to remind you about a law from earlier days, a very damaging law, enacted by the most senior parliamentarians of the Greek Parliament.

After World War I was over and things settled in Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greek government initiated a program to change every Macedonian personal and family name and make them Greek sounding. Simultaneous with the name changes, Greek authorities also carried out a campaign to change the name of every village, town, city, river, lake, mountain, road, street and every other Macedonian place name from Macedonian to Greek. News of these changes and the laws to enact them, Mr. Kofos, appeared in the Greek newspaper "Tis Efimeris Kiverniseos" no. 332 on November 21, 1926, you can check for yourself.

Now Mr. Droutsas, allow me to remind you what happened after August 4, 1936 when the dictator General Ioannis Metaxas came to power in Greece. When this Fascist regime came to power it took strong measures against everything Macedonian. It first banned the Macedonian language and made it illegal to be spoken in public and private. It then cracked down on those speaking it. Hefty fines were imposed on the old who could speak no other language. The younger generations received beatings, fines, castor oil and jail time on the Greek islands when caught speaking Macedonian, even to their own parents or grandparents who could not speak Greek.

Now that I have familiarized you with these "famous" laws Mr. Droutsas, that apply to Macedonians only, and now that you have proclaimed yourself a proud Macedonian, do they also apply to you?

Mr. Droutsas, you will do us all, and yourself (now that you claim to be Macedonian), great justice if you go before the Greek Parliament and demand that these racist and inhumane laws be repealed because they are not only dehumanizing to people, but they are an embracement for Greece and for the European Union!

Mr. Droutsas, you and many others like yourself, including Mr. Karadzhaferis, are saying that you have a Macedonian identity and that you are proud Macedonians. So please explain to me how you came by this Macedonian identity? Were you, Mr. Droutsas, not born in Cyprus and was Mr. Karadzhaferis not born in Asia Minor? Both of you are not even from Macedonia and yet you both claim to be Macedonians? Is this a joke or what?

Why not tell the truth Mr. Droutsas, there were no "Greeks" before the Greek state was created for the first time in 1829, only Turks, Albanians, Vlachs, Macedonians and a number of other minorities. The so-called "Greek identity" was created later and was based on something that had died thousands of years ago. That is the truth Mr. Droutsas, like it or not! Yet, today, ten million people declare themselves "Greeks" because they have a right to and no one is objecting; because it is their legal right to do so by international law. And yet, when a single Macedonian stands up and says "I am Macedonian" the whole of Greece, or a good part of it, jumps up and down in a fit of hysteria! That too is the truth Mr. Droutsas!

Europe disagrees with Europe

Brussels, in its latest report wrote, "Because there are no Macedonians we pulled out all references to the 'Macedonian language' in our documents". Was this done by a Greek prankster or does Europe support Greece and its racist Greek laws?

So, tell me how can we sit silently when things like this happen in modern institutions (outside of Greece) in countries that claim to be democratic and fair! This of course tramples on our human rights, our human dignity, history, culture, language and puts the Macedonian identity in a crisis situation.

Dear Europeans, after allowing Greece to enact the various laws to rob us of everything, ethnically cleanse us and turn us into permanent refugees, you now mock us on top of that by pretending to have amnesia and claiming that we don't exist? You have been witness to every single atrocity perpetrated against us from the day our country was portioned in

1913. In fact you were the architects of that partition. Now you dare say we don't exist and our language does not exist?

Lastly the Greek government in 1985 enacted Law no. 1540 making provision for the return of confiscated properties to political emigrants, read political refugees. The wording used in the legislation was again unjustly circumspect. It defines political emigrants for whom the law shall have application limited to those who are "Greeks by genus". The term 'Greek by genus' is a term used by Greek authorities for all those who identify themselves as being 'ethnic Greek' (even though such a thing does not exist). Hence ethnic Macedonians who are also political refugees and have had their Greek citizenship rescinded and/or properties confiscated are excluded from enjoying the rights granted under these laws, therefore severely questioning the very standing of the laws based on grounds of equity and fairness. Moreover, the construction of the wording as relating to these laws is not benign, it has the clear intent to discriminate against all those who belong to the category of people classified as political refugees and who are not "Greeks by genus". Given that ethnic Macedonians predominantly make up this category of people, it is indisputable that they have been the ones targeted by this exclusivist definition and the ones to have suffered the most.

I simply could not believe Mrs. Alexandra Kas Granie's words when she compassionately said: "Your heart knows which is 'your country', that is what is important for your identity…" Yes Mrs. Granie, we Macedonians know with certainty to which country we belong but at the same time, our feelings are hurt when people like you talk about us in that manner. What I don't understand is why Europeans "fear" and are unwilling to say "Macedonia" and "Macedonians", especially when they are guests in our beautiful Macedonia? Why do they refer to Macedonia as "your country" and not simply Macedonia? It is okay to offend Macedonians to their face in their own country but not okay to offend Greece even from far away! Or is there a more sinister motive in their innocent gestures?

Everyone will think we came from another planet

I am curious, Mrs. Granie, if you don't have the courage to call us Macedonians to our face inside Macedonia, how exactly do you refer to us when you speak about us to your European colleagues? Just curious…!

The thought that you may "bow" to Greece's racist ideals and care less for the injustices perpetrated against the Macedonian people, frankly scares me!

11.0 Attachments

Facts and arguments that will shed more light and explain the tragedy and genocide experienced by the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and the CPG's attitude towards them during and after the Greek Civil War.

On February 6, 2007 a television interview was conducted by Vasko Eftov on channel 5, which dealt with "Greek Civil War testimonies" given by Iovo Kalichich, Yugoslav UDBA (66) general and Yugoslav Deputy Federal Minister of Internal Affairs. Also present was Petre Nakovski.

V.E: General, according to my sources you have been to Macedonia several times as an UDBA representative and responsible for coordinating of the revolution taking place in Greece or in Aegean Macedonia.

General: Yes, I have. I was here on behalf of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the State, as an assistant to Alexander Rankovich, Minister of the Interior; this was his job. I ran the entire Yugoslav operation associated with Greece. And that included Macedonia. Some things I did from Macedonia and other things I did from outside Macedonia. This included sending weapons, food, clothing, medical care, a few experts (67), etc., to help the organization fight the war, create fighting units, organize hospitals in Katlanovo, etc. In addition to that we also drew out more than 10,000 children and sent them to Eastern European countries.

V.E: Did Tito, at some point in time, want to help the Macedonian people in Greece join Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia?

General: No, Tito did not think of joining Aegean Macedonia... Look... that struggle with the Greeks in Greece, it was the work of the Macedonians, it was your work, and you requested it to be done because you thought that it was a Macedonian minority. What does Serbia and Montenegro have to do with Solun?

V.E: Are you saying that it was Lazo Kolishevski who wanted it done?

General: Well, Lazo and others too, they thought it was possible, that the situation in Greece was favourable and you could make a breakthrough on Greek Macedonia.

V.E: Did Kolishevski want this from Josip B. Tito?

General: Wanting it or not wanting it in Yugoslavia, the government approved it, but Yugoslavia had no interest in going to Solun.

V.E: And Macedonia did?

General: Macedonia was interested. And there was a centre in Macedonia which politically dealt with that issue.

The entire East-European world was involved, considering that Greece was weak and figuring that the West had quite a lot to deal with. They thought that it was possible to put the communists in power in Greece but there never was a plan to separate that part down to Solun. The idea was to create a new Greece, similar to Yugoslavia.

V.E: Was it possible that it could have happened to Aegean Macedonia?

General: Not a chance.

V.E: Why?

General: Because we were not waging a military war.

V.E: Why did Yugoslavia not enter the war?

General: Because we were bordering Greece. If Greece came under attack we would have also been attacked. Yugoslavia had no other interests in Greece outside of Macedonia. Macedonia had interests, the Macedonians saw it as part of their national territory, they considered those people to be Macedonian people. That's how it was!

V.E: As an officer of UDBA, have you been down there in some covert operation?

General: I have not been inside the territory of Greece, but I was in Bitola, Skopje, Ohrid, and to some border points where we had to drop things and people off across the border. We did not wage war there, we just opened the border.

V.E: So, your role was to simply open the border for others to across.

General: We dropped off material and closed the border. They, on the other side took care of transporting it, waging war, etc.

V.E: Did the Macedonian UDBA enter and collide with the Greek army?

General: That I don't know. But if you are asking if our troops clashed with the Greeks? That never happened.

We had our own officers and instructors. We had several officers. But our military never intervened...

There was one time when a small military unit did cross the border and entered Greek territory but that's because it got lost. Not to attack Greece, one cannot attack Greece with a small military unit. And then, the Greeks captured it and killed all our troops. It happened.

V.E: Did anyone force Tito not to participate in Aegean Macedonia?

General: No. No one forced Tito to do anything, it was his own decision. It was an illegal act outside of the UN; it was not approved by the UN or by any other international forum. It was "working against the grain" like nothing was done. In fact Yugoslavia was an important factor in this conflict. Everything went through us and I was Yugoslavia's representative who led the entire operation with a number of people stationed in Skopje, and others stationed in Belgrade.

V.E: Who obligated you to do that?

General: Who obligated me? Aleksandar Rankovich (68).

V.E: Did he have a good relationship with Kolishevski?

General: Well, it was okay… Lazo was ... He was with Rankovich, etc. They worked together. Tsvetko Uzunov, you know, he also worked there. I know - it was my job on the Yugoslav side, not on the Macedonian side. Macedonians were separately organized.

That's how it was. It was an internationally illegal act. We invaded an independent state called Greece, for Macedonian reasons and at the desire of the then Macedonian leadership.

V.E: How much arms and ammunition did you send down to the fronts?

General: Train car loads. It was not a few rifles or machine guns; it was car loads of weapons. There were no planes, but there were cannons. No tanks because they were too heavy for their purposes, only light weapons. Many of these weapons were concentrated in Panchevo and redistributed from there by train to different directions in Greece. My job was to open the

border. Our soldiers made sure the border was safe and we dropped the weapons inside, which were then taken by the Greek partisans. Just like that.

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UDBA general Iovo Kapichich, on behalf of Yugoslavia, from 1945 to 1948, was responsible for organizing the supply lines for the Greek Civil War. Unfortunately he did not tell us what Yugoslavia's interests were in involving the Macedonian people in this war through the activities of NOF and AFZH, formed by the CPY and then passed on to the CNG.

Kapichich now, 60 years after the conclusion of that war, says that no changes were expected to be made in Greece to improve the Macedonian situation, so all that bloodshed was meaningless and for nothing!!

This is because everyone knew that the West would never abandon Greece. It was a silly and absolutely stupid idea. This issue was decided at the Conference in Tehran.

I repeat: It was decided at the Yalta Conference that Greece would remain in the Western block. It was never agreed for Greece to enter the Eastern Block!

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Balkan nationalism, we are all afflicted by it, we simply need to understand:

We all carry the same disease because we are all the same - we are all human. I believe when the general was ordered to fuel the Greek Civil War, he must have known why he did it and what interests Yugoslavia had in it. Even now the general knows that this was not "strictly a Macedonian wish" because the Macedonians had very little clout in front of Tito, Kardeli, (69) Rankovich and others and couldn't have influenced such a risky venture.

But why still keep silent? How long will this allegiance to strangers last?

The Communists (CPY and CPG) used us and then took us to the gallows. Six decades have past and we still keep silent about it. Why?

How and why the people from Kostur Region lost their homeland from 1940 to 1949 – our history has no clear answers.

The people of Kostur Region, descendents of the original Macedonians, fought many battles over the centuries and survived, that is until 1940 to 1949.

The most gruesome and most disgusting methods of Hellenizing Macedonians in Kostur Region arrived in Kostur in 1903 with the Greek Church headed by bishop Karavangelis. Karavangelis's ultimate goal was to "make" as many Greeks as possible out of the Macedonian population so that when the time came to partition Macedonia, Greece would have proof that Greeks existed in Macedonia and Greece would receive a larger share of Macedonia's territory. Argos Orestikon or Rupishta, as we Macedonians call it today, is located in Kostur and is the original home of the Ancient Macedonian Argive Dynasty, founded around 800 BC, so the people of Kostur had special significance for Greece, even though Greece denies that Argos Orestikon was a significant place in Macedonian history. The people of Kostur were the best Macedonian sons and daughters and contributed a great deal to Macedonia's history, so it was by no accident that Karavangelis was sent there to Hellenize them all by any means possible!

"Oh, my God! It is impossible to describe the horrors and atrocities committed against the people of Kostur without breaking down emotionally. Horrible men, monsters, armed from head to toe, were hired and paid to commit atrocities unheard of before in the history of mankind." These were the words of a Russian diplomat stationed in Bitola, attempting to describe what Karavangelis's goons had done in Zagorichani.

But in spite of what Karavangelis and the Greeks had done to the people of Kostur before Macedonia's 1913 partition, it was nothing in comparison to what the Greeks did in the terrible decade from 1940 to 1949 when Kostur experienced "total genocide".

Has our history given a clear answer to this?

Note: The books referenced in this brief review do provide some justification as to why genocide was perpetrated against the "non-existent" Macedonian factor in Greek occupied Macedonia, particularly in Kostur Region.

After nine tough decades, only our blood has remained witness to the genocide perpetrated against the people of Kostur. Kostur Region is the southernmost part of ethnic Macedonia. At the same time the Kostur Diocese was based in Kostur. And now, at the end of the century, many

people are asking the question: Why were so many people who were killed during the Greek Civil War from the Kostur Region villages? But that's precisely what happened and we should be looking for the cause of this evil.

It is frightening, however, to realize that this was purposely done to us, not because of the ideology we supported, not because of the political party we belonged to, but because of who we are, Macedonians, something we cannot escape, something we cannot change! We were meant to experience genocide; we were meant to die; we were meant to be exiled; because of who we are, "Macedonians"!!! It is frightening indeed!

In the book "Ilindenskata Epopeja, Razvojot na Makedonskoto Sloboditelno Dvizhenje" (Ilinden Epic, Advancement of the Macedonian Liberation Movement) by Angel Dinev, the author speaks with piety about the Ilinden Uprising, about the greatness of the Macedonian spirit, about the development and advancements of the Macedonian Liberation Movement from 1893 to 1903 and generally about the Macedonians' struggle to liberate themselves from Ottoman feudal slavery.

In the chapter about Kostur, he talks about the purity of the revolutionary spirit which the people of Kostur carried in the depths of their souls. He talks about the great revolutionary leaders Kostur produced, such as Vasil Chakalarov, Lazar Pop Traikov, Manot Rozov, Pando Kliashev, Misho Nikolev, Mitre Vlaot and many others. In Kostur Region alone there were 4,170 insurgents supporting the largest bands and greatest fighters the rebellion had to offer. This shows that Macedonians not only existed, but fought to liberate themselves and create a United and Independent Macedonian state that was to involve the entire ethnic Macedonian territory. And even though history ignores this fact today, the strategic towns Neveska and Klisura, created by the Romans millenniums ago to guard the Via Egnetia route, were liberated by these bands. The author also tells the story of how the first bomb factory was built in the village Smrdesh.

Macedonian Insurgents

The new insurgents (children and grandchildren of the Ilinden 1903 era insurgents who fought against Hellenism) were deeply convinced that the Macedonian National Liberation Movement had to remain purely national and independent, outside of Communist Party ideologies and foreign influences. Their main preoccupation was to create a common national liberation movement in all three parts of Macedonia. They had no other

ideologies and the oath they had taken was “Macedonia – for you we will struggle and for you we will die!”

The Illinden era insurgents were dedicated to liberating Macedonia from Ottoman rule whereas, forty years later, the new generation of insurgents was dedicated to fight against Greek slavery. They were all sons and grandsons of prominent Ilinden fighters who had fought against the Greek terror bands, the Andartes, led by Bishop Karavangelis who had committed unprecedented crimes in Ottoman Macedonia. A lot of the crimes they committed were chronicled by Karavangelis himself in his memoires.

So, why was there a new emergence of insurgents in Greek occupied Macedonia? The first insurgency unit was formed in Kostur Region on March 5, 1943. Greece was officially divided into three occupation zones: German, Italian and Bulgarian on May 20, 1941, in accordance with Hitler’s order of May 17, 1941.

Where was the Macedonian leadership and why did it not take action to defend its people? Why did the Macedonian leaders leave it up to the Greeks to decide what to do? Where were our national leaders, particularly those who were members of the CPG?

They were nowhere to be found. It seems that no one from the leadership cared what happened to the people, they were more interested in the ideologies of the class struggle than their own people. So one can clearly see why there was need for a new Macedonian grass roots insurgency. But there is more to it than that! One would assume that the insurgents fought strictly against the new occupiers. But they would be wrong if they assumed that! The insurgency was necessary in order to protect the Macedonian people from attacks from the fascist Greek element which cooperated with the new occupiers and colluded to do harm to the Macedonian people.

And how did the communists react to the insurgency situation? They created SNOF. SNOF, as the name implies, was a Macedonian organization called “Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front”. The insurgency units in Kostur region were an unpleasant reminder for the Greeks that Macedonians were alive and well and ready and willing to fight and die for their national cause. So they needed them destroyed and who better to destroy them than the Macedonians themselves! Why would a Greek shed his own blood when he could lie and deceive a Macedonian and get him to do it instead? The Greek communists, over time, labeled the

Kostur bands “Fascist”, “collaborating with the occupiers” and “seeking to carve out Macedonian territories to join them to Bulgaria”.

The Kostur bands refused to surrender to the CPG peacefully because they had become even more suspicious of the Greeks when, in 1943, the CPG began negotiating the transfer of ELAS to the British. They knew that if the British set foot in Greece, the status quo with regards to the Macedonian Question would be reestablished and it would be business as usual for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia. They couldn’t have imagined the eventual outcome after the Greek Civil War or if there was going to be a civil war.

Forming SNOF within ELAS - Concern or deception?

The CPG, EAM and ELAS leadership, “concerned” about the situation that existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, was forced to create a separate Macedonian organization; SNOF (Slavo-Macedonia National Liberation Front). SNOF, for Kostur and Lerin Regions, was created on October 20, 1943 and for Voden Region a little later. The people who created SNOF were Greeks who belonged to the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia; Hristos Kalfas (Andreas), Antonis Andonopulos (Periklis), CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region and Thanassis Kartsunis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozhani Region. (See the book: “Giorgi R. Peikov (1915-1991)” by Stoian Kochov, Skopje 1995.)

This is how and who gave birth to SNOF, but how does our history underscore this event? Let us see what historian Kiriazovski has to say:

“SNOF should be praised for what it did, because of its effort more than 500 Macedonians joined ELAS...” (It is unclear here why Macedonians were pushed to join ELAS?) “… Which prompted the development of a seamless national liberation movement in that part of the region…” (See: Dr. Risto Kriazovski’s book “Makedonski Natsionalni Institutii vo Egeiskiot del na Makedonia (1941-1961)” (Macedonian national institutions in the Aegean part of Macedonia (1941-1961)) p. 29)... Further on in his book on page 33 Kiriazovski wrote: “Just when SNOF achieved all this and had real prospects of achieving even greater results and an even greater involvement of Macedonians in battle, the CPG leadership, in April 1944, decided to dissolve SNOF and its military units. The CPG leadership did this as part of the deal it negotiated when it conceded to the right…”

So, less than 6 months after it was created by strangers and foreigners, SNOF was disbanded, again by strangers and foreigners, even after proving that it was a great asset to the CPG. And how do we view SNOF today? As a national institution that comes back to us like a boomerang. Clearly, the Greeks on both sides of the conflict had a problem with the Macedonian bands and, no doubt, so did some of the big powers, so the obvious solution was "why don't we get the Macedonians to solve our problem for us?"! This was yet another "unfortunate" Macedonian mistake in a string of historic mistakes we made. Macedonians "must" learn not to be so trusting! Macedonians must learn that they cannot depend on foreigners and strangers to lead them and tell them what to do! Macedonians must grasp the fact that the world was built on lies and deception! If what I am saying is not true then explain to me how an island (Britain) in the Atlantic the size of a speck could dominate, enslave and colonize more than half the world?

You should also know that in the absence of a strong Macedonian factor and in view of Bulgarian propaganda, two insurgencies took place in Kostur Region. The first took place in 1940 during the Greek-Italian war. Some Macedonians who fought in the Greek army against the Italians were captured and sent to Italy. While in Italy, the Bulgarian government made a request to the Italian government to send these Macedonians to Bulgaria under the pretext that these people were "really Bulgarians who had been enslaved by the Greek army". When the Greek authorities found out about this they immediately blacklisted the families of these soldiers and treated them as traitors and enemies of the motherland Hellas. So in order to protect themselves, members of these families created and joined various village bands of insurgents.

The second insurgency was even more drastic. It was a result of a group of 27 people being freed from "akronavplion" prison. These people were imprisoned because they were suspected of being communists but some were freed on June 28, 1941 with help from a woman called Julia Schneider. Speaking German, Schneider convinced the German authorities to free all the men who understood the Slavic idiom. She told the authorities that these people, who were surrendered to the Germans by the Greeks, and who were supposedly communists, were jailed because they were "Bulgarophones" and wanted to become Bulgarian citizens. The Greek national press and some Greek politicians later used this incident to denounce the CPG, for allegedly working with the occupier and "surrendering" Macedonia to Bulgaria. After being freed, if they wanted to live, these men had no other choice but to arm themselves and flee to the mountains.

Before we examine who the insurgents were, it is interesting and important to understand how the thesis "one state, one party" was applied to the newly created circumstances during the new Macedonian occupation in 1941. Here is what Dr. Vanche Stoichev had to say for "Nova Makedonija" on August 16, 1994:

"Bulgaria, at the time, had occupied most of Vardar Macedonia and a large part of Aegean Macedonia. This occupation motivated the Communist Party of Bulgaria, in accordance with the Comintern thesis, to renew its efforts to annex Macedonia through a communist movement. After its annexation the Macedonian Communist Party in Pirin Macedonia would attempt to annex the Communist Party in Vardar Macedonia."

So the question is, did the Communist Party of Bulgaria, through various forms, attempt to do the same in Aegean Macedonia, and is there any proof that it was not involved in the whole process of creating the insurgency?

According to Dr. Vanche Stoichev, relationships between the CPY, CPG and BPG, regarding the Macedonian question, varied from time to time in accordance with daily politics.

So, who were the insurgents in Greek occupied Macedonia? Here is what was written about them by a few historians: "... what pushed a small segment of the population to form and join the insurgency in 1943 was fear of the Greek nationalist armed gangs. Many anti-Macedonian leaflets, with various intimidating slogans, were circulated in Western Macedonia to frighten the Macedonian population. Many of those "frightened" people did not trust the communists or the CPG's promises of equal rights for the Macedonians, and preferred to take matters into their own hands. The EAM program, on the other hand, said nothing about individual or national rights for the Macedonians, even after the first units of ELAS emerged in Western Macedonia in March 1943, so many refused to join ELAS. Also, in the beginning, ELAS was dominated by strong nationalist elements who in just one day slaughtered 17 Macedonians in the village Zagorichani". (See: Hristo Andonovski, "Makedonija pod Grtsia vo borba protiv fashizmot (1940-1944)" (Macedonia under Greece in the anti-fascist struggle (1940-1944))", page.108.)

One of the many factors that gave rise to the insurgency, or counter-band movement, in Greek occupied Macedonia was the "quisling" movement (Greek collaborators and spies who cooperated with the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers) whose members began to join the ranks of ELAS and later DAG. In other words, the fascists and evildoers who once

cooperated with the Germans, Italians and Bulgarians were now joining the same ELAS units along with the celebrated fighters, commanders and commissars of partisan units. Many of these fighters gave their lives for the freedom of their people and now were disgusted to see that those who betrayed them were being allowed to join the same units as them! Could they be trusted? Would they again turn against the Macedonian people? Yes they would without giving it much thought!

Here's what Tashko Mamurovski had to say about this: "... frequent massacres, looting, fires, rape, orgies, violence, etc., have been perpetrated against the innocent Macedonian population by Greek nationalists, placed into the ranks of ELAS as agents and collaborators. A couple of these cutthroats were Kolaras and Baskakis. People like them forced the Macedonian population to arm itself and fight for its survival."

Many decent people were murdered by these cutthroats including Kosta (Dinev) Solev Sulio, a decent man and great Macedonian patriot.

11.1 Facts and arguments regarding the Macedonian insurgency in Kostur

The best fighters who fought for the liberation of Macedonia!

According to accounts written in rebel Vasil Ianakiev's diary (as reported by his son Dr. Risto Ivanovski in Skopje.): "A committee of five members was formed on April 18, 1942, consisting of: Vasil Ianakiev from the village Maniak, Kostur Region, member of the IMRO (United); Luka Dimanin from the village Drenoveni, Kostur Region; Bai Kolio Shestevarot member of the IMRO (United); Tanas Nizamov, translator and one more person. After forming the committee, the five requested an audience with Italian General Ravali, commander of the Italian troops in Kostur City. The five explained to the general the Macedonian situation, gave him a brief history of Macedonia's invasion, occupation and division in 1912, 1913 and the horrors the Macedonian people were subjected to. They explained to him how Greece, back in 1900, began its systematic destruction of the Macedonian identity with the arrival of Bishop Karavangelis (70) and the armed formations guided by Pavlos Melas in an effort to conquer Macedonia.

Then with the massive colonization of the Greek part of Macedonia, with colonists from Asia Minor, the Macedonian people were further abused and terrorized by the Greeks, especially by the organization PAO (71) which represented only the Greek nationalists. PAO was responsible for organized daily raids where its members stole cattle, grain, cheese, butter, lard and other items from the Macedonian people and on top of that abused and tortured the victims and reported them to the authorities, even to the Italian authorities of being guilty of harbouring communist ideals. Many Macedonians were taken before the Italian authorities and intentionally accused of being Communists, arrested and beaten to death. Greeks on the other hand, who were accused of being communists, were arrested, imprisoned and then acquitted.

The five then explained to the General how difficult it was to procure necessities such as salt, sugar, oil, kerosene, etc., items unavailable to the Macedonian population. The final request they made was for the General to allow the Macedonians direct communication access to the Italian authorities because they explained that the Greeks put in charge of mediating did not exactly represent their interests. They told the General that the Greeks often threatened the Macedonians with harm and they were afraid for their lives and that they needed protection. Ravali told them he would seek clarification from the Italian authorities and would reply to them soon.

Ravali gave them his answer on March 5, 1943 during a meeting he convened. Attending the meeting were 48 representative members of the various villages. It was decided to form a "self defense" organization called "Macedonian Committee" for Kostur Region, which was to serve about 60 villages. They were given permission to arm themselves because the Italian authorities felt they needed to protect themselves from the Greeks who meant to do them harm.

Voted at the Assembly were:

1. Pando Makriev, from the village Chetirok, Kostur Headquarters, Chief of Staff.

2. Pascal Kalimanov, from the village Dobrolishta, Commander of all armed village fighters.

3. Luka Dimanin, from the village Drenoveni, Assistant Commander of Headquarters.

4. Bai Kolio, main leader of Kostur.

5. Hristo Naskov, from the village Ezerets, Secretary and Assistant to the Commanders.

6. Vasil Ianakiev, from the village Maniak, Intelligence Officer.

7. Kuze Shestevarot, Regional Commander.

After the organization was formed, 9,742 insurgents joined and were armed, mostly with small arms. They were given special permission to bear arms by the Italian garrison commanded in Kostur. They were limited in what they could do but were allowed to defend themselves and their villages from Greek aggression.

A celebration took place on July 24, 1943 in Kostur during which various Macedonian patriotic slogans were chanted, such as "Dear people of Kostur, be brave it is part of your ancient tradition!", "Long live Ilinden our day of liberation!", "Long live the spirit of the people of Kostur!", "Long live all of Macedonia!" and others.

During the celebration the leaders of the organization gathered around a table covered with a red velvet tablecloth, symbolic of the Macedonian red colour, and in the centre of the table were a dagger and a handgun in the

form of a cross. Insurgents joining the organization were required to take the following oath:

"I swear to fight for a free Macedonia to the last drop of my blood. I will be faithful to the Macedonian Kostur Committee and will never betray it. If I become a traitor then I shall die by this dagger and this revolver which I am about to kiss! Freedom or death! Let there be eternal glory!"

Most of these brave Macedonian fighters from Kostur Region left their bones in the fields and mountains fighting to free and preserve their homeland. Many were buried in a mass grave in Strashilovo, located between the villages Turie and Bapchor. Many were thrown into the D'mbeni cavern. A great number were buried in the large cemetery in the village Aposkep. And even more left their skeletons scattered in the Mountains in Epirus, Vicho and Gramos.

11.2 Facts and arguments regarding Greek strategies in dealing with the Macedonians – as told by Greek history, the history of the victors!

The Greek strategy was to acquire a Macedonia without Macedonians. They came to Kostur and to Aegean Macedonia with one goal in mind; to persecute the Macedonians until they all disappeared!

1. Αθήνα, 2 Μάη 1906. Φάκελος Κ 59 Β, ΓΑΚ

Στην αναζήτηση ζωικού χώρου για το ελληνικό κράτος, αναγκαίο για την οικονομική και εθνική επιβίωση του, πρωταρχικός στόχος της εξουσίας στην Αθήνα, αποτελούσε η γη της Μακεδονίας, όχι όμως και ο πληθυσμός της. Στην κατεύθυνση εκείνη, ο εκπρόσωπος του ελληνικού «Μακεδονικού Κομιτέτου» της Αθήνας, το οποίο βρισκόταν πίσω από το «Μακεδονικό Αγώνα», στην αντιπροσωπεία που κατέφθασε το 1905 στην Αθήνα από τη Μακεδονία και παραπονέθηκε για τη φριχτή συμπεριφορά των ελληνικών αντάρτικων σωμάτων στην περιοχή της Μπίτολα και Λέριν, τους απάντησε: «Εμείς δεν έχουμε ανάγκη τους Μακεδόνες, αλλά έχουμε ανάγκη τη Μακεδονία» (Καραβίτης, 1994:937).

Translated by Stoian Kochov

1. Athens, May 2, 1906. File K 59 V, GAK

In investigating living space in the Greek state, necessary for economic and national survival, the first step of the Athens government was to look at the Macedonian territory, but not at its population. In this regard, a representative of the Greek "Macedonian Committee", who was supporting the "Macedonian conflict", arrived in Athens from Macedonia in 1905 with a delegation and complained (to the representatives of the Macedonian Committee in Athens) about the horrific and terrifying acts the Greek Andartes perpetrated in Bitola and Lerin Regions. The Committee's reply was: "We (Greeks) do not need the Macedonians (people) but we have a great need for Macedonia (its lands). (Karavitis, 1994, 937)

2 The Macedonian conflict 1904 to 1908. (A great deal of effort has been given to the study of this period because of its importance to Greek history).

The city of Kostur was the first place in the region where the liberation struggle for the conquest of Macedonia (1904-1908) began. The first

actions were against the Bulgarian bands and were organized in Kostur by Pavlos Melas.

11.3. “Thirty three years of silence”

“The Greek institutionalized movement was among the first to establish itself in Aegean Macedonia, in traditionally strong areas where Macedonians were inclined to fight. Knowing this, the Greek Communist Party used its opportunity to create a climate of discontent in these regions and then spread the conflict throughout Greece. The communists chose Aegean Macedonia because it bordered Yugoslavia. Unfortunately the way they led the Macedonian people was totally wrong. They had a lot of Macedonian fighters but not many Macedonian leaders and those who were in leadership roles were no higher than unit commanders. On top of that they manipulated the situation and constantly moved Macedonian personnel around. Some were forced to move against their will and were disgraced in the process....” (This is part of a larger interview that can be found in the magazine “Duga”, 1985, p. 30, by D. Golubovich.)

11.4. Zahariadis's most recent statements

During the CPG Central Committee's XII Plenum, held on June 25 to 27, 1945, Zahariadis said:

"... We were against border changes since 1939 no matter what kind of forces were used or where they came from. We accept the democratic principle that recognizes the principle of people's self-determination. This principle applies to the Dodecanese, to Cyprus, to Northern Epirus. At the same time we try to implement another democratic principle, the principle of national minorities and the principle of equality and respect. This principle should be implemented for the Macedonian minority, to regulate in a friendly manner, our relations with the northern Balkan republics..." (See: "Rizospastis", July 17, 1945.)

Nikos Zachariadis, in the capacity as CPG Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the DAG Military Council, while speaking at the 13th Conference in 1950, which dealt with why DAG had lost the war, said: "If I had known much earlier what Tito was going to do, I would have reconsidered whether to take up arms and fight in the Civil War."

"NOF was created by Tito and Kolishevski. Its founding membership and core leadership was composed of Tito's agents, the likes of Mitrevski, Keramidzhiev, Gotse, Rakovski and others who worked for the sole purpose of advancing Belgrade's interests in Aegean Macedonia... They used the Slavo-Macedonian National issue to achieve their nationalistic plans – the merger of Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia..." Zahariadis wrote this and it was adopted by the CPG Macedonian Special Council membership (72) then reviewed and accepted by the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau. So the Greeks were well aware of what was happening. See "To KKE 1918-1952", p. 271, which is also quoted in Pavle Rakovski's book 2000/347.

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So, if I understood Zahariadis correctly, he said: "If I had been as informed then as I am today, this would not have happened to me." And, in retrospect, this is how the very same strategist, who led the catastrophic Greek Civil War, described it. This is how he justified his political violence and blunder of historic proportions…

From one lie to another, lie after lie, Zahariadis gave us his assessment of the war. But what does that mean for us Macedonians who were given a one-way ticket out and were permanently exiled from our homeland?

If we, the exiled Macedonians, have learned one thing, we have learned that all these ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism are created by ambitions people who say they are concerned for the welfare of mankind but who in fact care only about their own personal ambitions. For example, Lenin implemented a system which eventually destroyed itself. Power in the hands of one man is always a real source of danger. But there was never a country or a government in the world to speak of, which was as cruel towards its own people as Greece, which abandoned them and left them to their own fate for more than half a century...

11.5 Siberia for "Tito's Agents"

"Thirty years ago a groups of Macedonians, leaders of the People's Liberation Front (NOF) from Aegean Macedonia, were accused by the pro-Stalinist Polititburo of the CPG Central Committee of having caused DAG's defeat during the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949. They were sentenced to death for being accused of being "agents of Tito and Yugoslavia". By order of Greek CPG General Secretary Zahariadis and his group, they were investigated, found guilty and deported to the Soviet Union. They were given death sentences in Moscow and sent to serve them in Siberia. Then, after Stalin's death, their case was re-examined and they were found that they were wrongly convicted and were allowed to return to Yugoslavia, to Skopje where they are living today". For more information on the above see Dragan Kliakich's "Duga", published January 15, 1983.

The first we heard of this evil done to Macedonians, specifically the leaders of NOF and AFZH was from a non Macedonian but later, people such as Pavle Rakovski and Vera Foteva, wrote about it in their own biographies. Pavle Rakovski's book is called "Moite stradania" published by AEA publishers, Skopje 2000. Vera Foteva's book is called "Do pekolot i nazad", published by "Az-Buki", Skopje, 2005. Vera's book has also been translated from Macedonian to English by Risto Stefov and is available in electronic format by request at rstefov@hotmail.com.

What tormented me most during my research was that I could find no official voice of protest from anywhere that said: "Hey, you, over there in Moscow! Who gave you the right to judge these Macedonian revolutionaries about what they did in their own country? What did they ever do to Russia to deserve a death sentence, a harsh punishment of slowly and painfully dieing in Siberia?!" But I found no voice of protest anywhere not even from a single Macedonian! Is this because we were/are totally ignorant of what happened to us or do we simply not care? In either case what does this tell us about us and about our history? How can we expect to know anything about our past when we make absolutely no effort to learn our true history? It is not too late to point these things out to Russia and seek an apology! Even if we don't expect to get one!

What Zahariadis did to our Macedonian revolutionaries and leaders of NOF and AFZH was indeed incredible but then we are we not surprised! Greeks have always treated Macedonians in this manner! Zahariadis used these people first to bolster his ideological struggle and then when he no longer needed them he not only cast them in the ideological waste basked but on top of that, he blamed them for his own mistakes and incompetence.

But the unbelievable surprise about this story was Russia's attitude towards them; especially since they had nothing to do with Russia! Scary, isn't it? Devastating to the human psyche of those who were recipients of this evil!

This, unfortunate as it may be, did happen to us! We, or should I say, strangers and foreigners found our weaknesses and got us involved in this global chaotic struggle and convinced us to fight in a confusing and brutal war, so the question is, how do we Macedonians understand and interpret all this?

Let us examine and attempt to understand what they experienced;

For more information see Petre Andreevski's novel "Nebeska Timianovavna", 1989, p. 297

"Tavarish Khrushchev! Tavarish Khrushchev! We kept yelling out. Our voices echoed from the dome in the back of the theater. Khrushchev turned, took a step forward over a carved stone and saw two women struggle with his security police. "Let the women go" he said. The police officers turned away, I recomposed myself and hit the officer who was holding me. I hit him in the stomach. He let go of me.

We went to Khrushchev, but we were out of breath and after taking a few long breaths we stopped in front of him like statues: our hair and faces were a mess. We attempted to catch our breath as we both spoke at the same time and made no sense."

How and why did the NOF and AFZH leaders abandon their centuries-old yearning for their homeland?

"Tavarish Khrushchev, I said to him, we are Communists from Yugoslavia, we are revolutionaries and fighters from 1941 from Greek Macedonia. We were arrested and rehabilitated, I said to him, we have visas from Yugoslavia but we don't have a visa from you. We said we can't go back as we continued to attempt to catch our breath. We were very nervous, I could feel my veins pulsing, I felt faint…

Uspokoites, uspkoites said Nikita Sergeyevich, as light glistened of his bold sweaty head. Vsio budet harasho. Olivera ... placed a letter in his hand!"

Thus ended the revolutionary activities of our people who were sent through Siberia to Katatrza.

The question is: Knowing very well that they were all Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, why did they tell Tavarish Khrushchev that they were "Yugoslav communists??!" Even after what happened to them and after they were found not guilty, why did they give up their national interests for which they fought so hard for? They were accused of being "Yugoslav spies" and "Tito's agents" when in fact they were later acquitted of those acts, yet they publicly proclaimed to the world that they were "Yugoslav communists"?! Something does not add-up here!

It is only fair to acknowledge that the NOF and AFZH leaderships bears some historical responsibility for their involvement and for convincing the Macedonian people to fight in the Greek Civil War. If they were guilty of anything, it was what they unwittingly did to their own people, which had nothing to do with Russia. They should have been the ones to realize that the Macedonian people were Manipulated and made into willing victims.

12.0 The road of battles across alien communist ideologies

The fatal path we Macedonians, from Greek occupied Macedonia, took was a result of being led by the Left forces, in whose hands we entrusted our lives from 1924 to 1950.

Είναι γνωστό ότι με βάση τις κομμουνιστικές αντιλήψεις, η αναγνώριση της ύπαρξης ενός συγκεκριμένου έθνους ισοδυναμεί στην πράξη με την αναγνώριση του δικαιώματος αυτοδιάθεσης του έθνους αυτού.

It is accepted that on the basis of communist knowledge and understanding, there is recognition of a particular nationality which exists in practice, and with that recognition in the first place there can be self-determination for this nationality. (Document from the CPG archives)

Στη βάση αυτή, το ΚΚΕ (3ο Έκτακτο Συνέδριο [26/11 - 3/12/1924]), υιοθέτησε τη σχετική απόφαση του 5ου Συνεδρίου της Κομμουνιστικής Διεθνούς (Μόσχα, 17/6 – 8/7/1924) και μιλούσε [το ΚΚΕ] για καταπιεζόμενες [από την Ελλάδα] εθνικές μειονότητες και για "ανεξάρτητη Μακεδονία και Θράκη" !!

On the basis of this, the CPG (3rd Extraordinary Congress (26/11- 3/12, 1924) adopted a resolution during the 5th Communist International Congress (Moscow, 17/6 - 8/7, 1925) and debated (CPG) about the acknowledgement (in Greece) of minorities and an "Independent Macedonia and Thrace"!!

Τον Δεκέμβριο του 1935 (6ο Συνέδριο), το ΚΚΕ επικύρωσε την απόφαση της ηγεσίας του [Απρίλιος 1935] για 'αντικατάσταση' (καιροσκοπική, ωστόσο, προσωρινού χαρακτήρα και μηδέποτε ουσιαστικώς εφαρμοσθείσα!…) του παραπάνω συνθήματος με το σύνθημα "πλέρια ισοτιμία στις μειονότητες"….

In December 1935 (6th Congress) the CPG top leadership confirmed the adopted resolution (April 1935) with a "change" (making it temporary and as such it was never actually realized!) to the above slogan: "Full equality for minorities…"

Σε συνέντευξή του στην Αγγλίδα δημοσιογράφο Elisabeth Barker το 1946, ο Ζαχαριάδης είχε δηλώσει: "… τα ζητήματα των συνόρων του Βορρά έπρεπε να διευθετηθούν με βάση την αυτοδιάθεση…"

In an interview he gave to the English journalist Elizabeth Barker in 1946, Zahariadis said: "… the questions about northern borders should be regulated based on the self-division of the population".

Είναι σχεδόν βέβαιο πλέον ότι χωρίς την αποφασιστική (καθοριστικής σημασίας) στήριξή του από τη Γιουγκοσλαβία, το ΚΚΕ δεν θα τολμούσε τότε να εξωθήσει τα πράγματα ως την εμφύλια ρήξη.

There is no doubt that without getting a definite decision and support from Yugoslavia, the CPG would not have dared ask the questions and started the civil conflict.

Εξίσου βέβαιο φαίνεται ότι ο Τίτο δεν θα είχε παράσχει την στήριξη αυτή, αν προηγουμένως ο Ζαχαριάδης δεν είχε δηλώσει ρητά στο Βελιγράδι ότι το ΚΚΕ είναι σαφώς υπέρ της αυτοδιάθεσης των Σλαβομακεδόνων, η οποία βεβαίως εξυπηρετούσε απολύτως τη μακροπρόθεσμη γιουγκοσλαβική πολιτική στο "Μακεδονικό", δηλαδή την απόσχιση της [ελληνικής] "Μακεδονίας του Αιγαίου" και τη συνένωσή της με τη γιουγκοσλαβική Μακεδονία…

It is also clear that Tito would not have had motive for support, if not for this motto, if Zahariadis had not stated clearly and categorically to Belgrade that the CPG was quite clear on its position regarding the self-determination of the Slavo-Macedonians and that statement undoubtedly served to further promote Yugoslav politics in terms of the "Macedonian Question", which meant (Greek) consent for the "Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia" to unite with Yugoslav Macedonia.

Κι αν επιπλέον ληφθεί υπόψιν ότι οι Σλαβομακεδόνες αποτελούσαν μέχρι και τα 3/5 [14.000 στις 25.000!!] του ΔΣΕ (αρχές 1949), είναι πολύ δύσκολο να μην οδηγηθεί κανείς στο συμπέρασμα ότι άξονας και καταλύτης του Εμφυλίου υπήρξε η αξιοποίηση (εκμετάλλευση;) από το ΚΚΕ του πόθου των Σλαβομακεδόνων για την 'εθνική αποκατάστασή' τους.

And if you take into consideration that the Slavo-Macedonians represented somewhere around 3/5 (14,000 to 25,000) of DAG (early 1949), it is very difficult for someone not to come to the conclusion that the motive was to destroy them, the CPG made profound use of them during the Civil War, but the wishes of the Slavo-Macedonians always remained constant; "Independent Macedonia and national establishment".

Μετά τη ρήξη Τίτο – Στάλιν και τη 'σύνταξη' του ΚΚΕ με τον δεύτερο, η 5η Ολομέλεια (Αλβανία, 30 – 31 Ιανουαρίου 1949) υποσχόταν, ως

γνωστόν, στους Σλαβομακεδόνες “πλήρη εθνική αποκατάσταση”· όχι, πλέον, στην αγκαλιά του Τίτο και της διευρυμένης “Μακεδονίας” του, αλλά αυτή τη φορά στα πλαίσια μιας [βουλγαρικής και πάλι εμπνεύσεως] ανεξάρτητης Μακεδονίας που θα συμπεριελάμβανε και τα 3 τμήματα (ελληνικό, γιουγκοσλαβικό, βουλγαρικό) της Μακεδονίας, μιας κατασκευής σαφώς αντι -Τιτικής.

After the Tito-Stalin collision, the CPG “reaction” to Stalin, and the 5th Plenum (Albania, January 30 to 31, 1949), the promise, as was known to the Slavo-Macedonians for “complete national establishment”, was no longer in the arms of Tito and neither was the “unification with the People’s Republic of Macedonia”, but this time it was for (Bulgaria with inspiration) a single Macedonia, which would contain the 3 parts (Greek, Yugoslav, Bulgarian) of Macedonia, a new and definitely anti-Tito construction.

AFTERWORD

Churchill once said: “A nation can recover from military and political defeat, can overcome crime and poverty, but once it consciously accepts humiliation, it will surrender or sell itself, then after that there is no recovery. Responsibility ends here. There is no further!”

All countries (nations that experienced wars in the XX century and before) that adhered to the old cultural survival strategy of retaining their centuries-old homes, are now content, and today enjoy their own culture and statehood. But what happened to us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia? How and why did we lose our homeland?

Many of our ancestors fought battles and wars, including our recent forefathers, and many died for their country and for their freedom but those who survived always managed to hold onto their homeland, that is until the terrible decade 1940 to 1949 when that generation lost its homeland.

Every person exiled during the terrible decade must be thinking: Why did the war not end here on May 9, 1945 as it did everywhere else?! Why did it have to continue until we were either killed or exiled? Most importantly how and why did we get embroiled in this ideologically insane Greek Civil War? Who lied to us to get us involved and what was their purpose for involving us?

Whatever decision was made, which resulted in our involvement in the conflict, must have been made during World War II and put into effect during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) resulting in our exile from our homeland.

If someone were to ask the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia why were NOF and AFZH created in Yugoslavia and what was their purpose in Greek occupied Macedonia, what do you think they would say? Honestly, unless these people were personally involved in seeking answers about our involvement they would probably have no answer. Most people are unaware of the details and can’t even explain how events transpired, never mind tell you why they transpired and who was behind them!

In retrospect, and now that we know “what” happened to us, in other words “they” promised us an “autonomous Macedonia to be joined to Yugoslavia” and later “human and equality rights” and none of these things materialized, then we have the right to ask “why did they lie to us”?

But who is “they”? To us “they” are the people who looked us in the eyes and made these promises. “They” are the NOF and AFZH activists. “They” were the frontline people and our only contacts.

So, now that they did not deliver what they promised we have the right to ask them why they lied to us. They can’t deny that they lied to us because they did not deliver what they promised, so the burden now lies with them to look beyond themselves at those who promised them these things and figure out who lied to them! But, with most of them now gone, it will be difficult to get to the truth!

For the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia memories of the Greek Civil War are murky at best and historical records are scant. Almost everything that has been written about us was written by the victors, our enemies, and is cloaked in lies, deception and politically correct propaganda. Some sources, especially western sources, go as far as saying that we do not exist so how could we possible have been involved in this conflict? The facts however speak differently, we do exist and our understanding of our own history is very much different than that written by the victors. Many crimes were committed against our people before, during and after the Greek Civil War, which are now cloaked in lies and deceit. Our lands in the fourth decade of the 20th century became a wasteland and we were given a one-way ticket out of our ancestral homeland. Those are the facts! So, who are we to blame for that? Again I must emphasize our primary and only contacts during this fiasco were our NOF and AFZH activists who got us involved in the war in the first place. Then we have the CPY/CPM principally led by Tito and the CPG led by Zahariadis, behind which stood Stalin. On the other side of the conflict we have the Greek government, behind which stood Britain and the United States of America, who made no secret of their hatred of us because we were involved in the insane ideological war.

The Greek Civil War proved that there were geo-strategic and geopolitical interests in that part of the world, by the fact that not only were the Great Powers interested in dividing the world into spheres of influence but they were also committed to defending, at all costs, the territories under their influence. Greece was placed under the British sphere of influence and regardless of what was happening inside and what the people wanted, it was going to remain under British influence and it was going to be molded the way Britain desired it! Britain did not want Russia to access the Mediterranean Sea so it did everything in its power to prevent it, including getting the United States to take its place in Greece.

Although Stalin did agree to the way the world was divided, he was not happy about it so he was not beyond causing trouble for Britain and the USA. This trouble came in the form of the Greek Civil War. The fact that NOF and AFZH were created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greece to stir up trouble after World War II ended and as things were winding down, and the fact that Stalin dispatched Zahariadis to stir things up Partisan style, are indications that Stalin was involved. So we can conclude with certainty that Stalin had a hand in stirring trouble up in Greece, but ever so slightly so that his involvement would be unnoticeable by his partners, the British and Americans.

A typical way to start trouble is by stirring up old sentiments and old feelings and who better to do it with than with the Macedonian people who always yearned for freedom and to be noticed for who they are, Macedonians. So the bait was set at the end of 1945 and the beginning of 1946 when NOF and AFZH were formed under CPY/CPM control in Yugoslavia and dispatched to Greece to "stir the Macedonian revolutionary spirit". But when the NOF and AFZH activists found it a little difficult to stir the Macedonian revolutionary spirit, they got some help from their Greek fascist and nationalist reactionary counterparts in the form of "white terror". Frightened and in fear for their lives, the Macedonian people finally found their revolutionary spirit and armed themselves to protect themselves from the escalated Greek aggression. To maintain the momentum and continue to build up the revolutionary force, Macedonians were told they were not only fighting for their own personal freedom but also for all of Macedonia, so they needed to continue to fight so that their part of Macedonia could be freed from Greece and joined to Yugoslavia in the same way the Republic of Macedonia was joined to Yugoslavia.

No sooner had Macedonians picked up arms and were ready to fight for their liberation, than Zahariadis arrived and took control of them. He now told the Macedonian people that they still needed to fight if they wanted to survive and take their place as equals in a Greek society. But they had to win in order to do that. He never did say what would happen to them if they lost! In fact, the subject of "losing the war" was taboo with Zahariadis who always projected the idea that they were winning, even when they were losing.

Zahariadis could not have been so stupid as to think that he was winning when he was actually losing? In fact Zahariadis could not have been so stupid as to ignore the advice of important leaders such as Torres of France and Toliati of Italy after they told him that it was dangerous to pick up weapons at that point in time. Georgi Dimitrov also warned him that "the

international situation does not allow for a new outbreak of an armed conflict, especially for one which would interfere in the affairs of our Western allies in the Balkans". But Zahariadis, in spite of the advice he received not to do it, started the Greek Civil War anyway! Why?

Sixty years later, we Macedonians still have not figured out why Zahariadis did what he did and why Yugoslavia wanted to start a conflict in Greece after the Second World War ended. Was this done to get rid of us Macedonians from our homeland or was this done by Stalin to stir up trouble for Britain and the USA in Greece and we were the instrument with which to do it, or both?

Unfortunately we must conclude with much regret that, in either or both cases, we the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia were never any key players in any global process, we were simply willing victims of political circumstances used by the CPY and the CPG, through NOF and AFZH to do their dirty deeds. Then, when they were done with us, the CPY surrendered us to the Greeks and the Greeks in turn did what they always wanted to do to us, get rid of us once and for all. We gave the Greeks a legal means to get rid of us when we picked up arms and turned them against them. The Greek Civil War was supposed to be an ideological war between communism and capitalism but in the end, it turned out to be a war against the Macedonian people. The fact that Greece does not want us back and will not allow us to return to our place of birth proves that!

The forces that occupied, divided and annexed our country in 1912, 1913, have always been against us. If we take into consideration that about 40 to 50% of the fighters and support staff that fought in the Greek Civil were Macedonians who came from a proportionally small Macedonian population compared to the Greeks, you would think that we were a major factor in leading this war and in the decision making process. But if you thought that you would be wrong! We were never given the opportunity or allowed to lead our forces or make decisions during the war! What does that tell you?

Let us examine what happened when the time came to "govern" the lands we liberated from the fascists and from the Right, then known as "Liberated Territories". When the so-called Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was established in the mountains, there was not a single Macedonian placed in a position of responsibility, even though this government was wholly supported by Macedonians. The justification given was that there were no Macedonians in high positions so as not to aggravate the government in Athens, its number one enemy!

Then, after pulling that stunt, General Markos had the nerve to begin a recruitment program, taking recruits from the "Liberated Territory" most of which were on Macedonian territory with some parts covering Epirus. Recruits were mass mobilized with 10 to 20 people recruited from each Macedonian village with a population of no more than 200 people. In many cases all the recruits from one village were placed in one unit and in many cases all were killed in battle together, devastating the village. Markos was master of NOF and AFZH and whatever Markos wanted, Markos got, regardless of the consequences to the villages and the Macedonian people. Many people began to wonder what was the point of this war if it were to consume and destroy the entire Macedonian population? But the recruitment process kept moving along with NOF and AFZH activists encouraging and pushing people to join the fighting!

How and why did we defend the battles we lost?!

In the interest of Yugoslavia, official history about the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, over the last half century or so, has strongly defended the lost battles in which we participated during the war. I often wondered about that and why it was taboo for us Macedonians to openly speak about them in the Republic of Macedonia?

One of the excuses for not wanting us to speak about the Greek Civil War was that "... it would stir up bad memories and anger the Greeks and ruin our good relations with them!"

The Greek Civil War was and still is a key national issue for us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, but somehow it has been dislocated from our national interests. It has become a secret political problem, which still exists but we can't talk about it. And whose interests are we serving by not being allowed to talk about it? The fact that we were not allowed to talk about it has been confirmed by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, consisting of legal experts who held a meeting on January 23, 2006 during which Vania Toshevski said: "…all practical steps in this direction have been blocked by Yugoslavia. And it was done in favour of Greece..." Are we not the victims in all this? Over 60 years have passed, it's time that we turn the page and begin discussions about what truly took place in Greece and get to the true purpose of the Greek Civil War in relation to the Macedonian Question.

Put simply, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were made into victims first by the CPY/CPM and later by the CPG, which

involved the Macedonian people in order to fuel the war against the Greek government. The Greek government then did what comes naturally and attacked those who raised arms against it. This not only gave the Greek government the long awaited chance to get rid of the Macedonians but also the opportunity to do it legally by claiming self defense. And today, 60 years later, we have tens of thousands of Macedonians roaming the world as permanent refugees.

The burden to bear for over 60 years is heavy and yet still many things remain unclear, which begs the question: were the Macedonian organizations created during the terrible decade 1940 to1949 a result of Macedonian national necessities or were they created by the Greeks and their allies to do us harm? Was this another Greek "political project" to create more space for the settlers from Asia Minor?

As we have seen in this write-up, SNOF, supposedly a Macedonian organization, was created by the CPG in Kostur to serve a Greek purpose, destroy the Macedonian armed bands. Then we have NOF, AFZH and NOMS created by the CPY in Yugoslavia by Tito's cronies and dispatched in Greece to start an uprising when one was not needed. Then after that we have the creation of KOEM and "Ilinden", both created by the CPG to serve Zahariadis's agenda. So you can see why it is necessary to ask these questions!

These and many other similar, questions have already been asked of our Macedonian leadership and yet, to this day, no one has stepped forward to answer them or take any responsibility for our tragic and deeply misguided policy, especially during the Greek Civil War, for the Macedonian national disaster.

In my research for this and my other books, I have discovered that we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, have been prey to both the left and the right and both sides have used us in their struggle against each other. But when it came to facing up to the Macedonian question, i.e. what to do with us, both sides maintained an almost identical policy, which has remained the same and in effect since 1913, "destroy everything Macedonian"!

It should not be a surprise to anyone that if Serbia and later Yugoslavia (and Bulgaria) maintained a more subtle yet similar policy towards the Macedonians because all of those countries were involved in our country's occupation in 1913, so one would assume they were all abiding by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest for which each had an obligation to the others! So you can see why Tito was more "in favour" of pleasing the Greeks than

caring for the Macedonians! He had no “international obligation” to the Macedonians; especially to those from Greece!

Not knowing any of this and being fooled by the lies and propaganda on all sides, we, the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, became willing victims in an ideological embroilment which cost us many lives and our homeland. It is that simple!

There is plenty to be learned from this lesson and from previous lessons, like the disastrous execution of the Ilinden Uprising, but first we need to know not only what happened, but how it happened and who was behind it in order to avoid it from happening again! For that we need to ask questions. Being silent is not the answer! And neither is following the lead of strangers and outsiders! Always remember this: “Words are cheap”! Anyone can tell you what you want to hear! Just because someone is cheering “long live Macedonia” does not make them a true patriot! Like I said: “Words are cheap”!

All those exiled Macedonian people, for more than half a century now, have been waiting for answers; they have been waiting to find out who was at fault for this Macedonian National disaster! It is time they get their answer… they deserve to know the truth!

NOTES

(1) The Athens supported right-wing Greek press termed the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) "Antisimritikos Agonas" (Anti-bandit War). In other words, the part of the War led by Greek Generals and government forces was not called a "Civil War" but an "Anti-bandit War". But in due time, after the Democratic Army of Greece was defeated, the "Anti-bandit War" slowly started to be referred to as the "Civil War" (Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος).

(2) According to the old calendar, a Peace Conference was held in Bucharest from July 17 to July 28, 1913 at the conclusion of the Second Balkan War during which time the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest was signed. Greece and Serbia as victors of this war received 89 percent of Macedonia's territory while defeated Bulgaria received 11 percent.

Behind Greece and Serbia, at the conference, stood France and the UK, while Bulgaria was hoping that Russia and Austria-Hungary would help. At least half of the negotiations were spent over whether the port of Kavala would be given to Bulgaria (which Russia favored) or to Greece (which France and the UK did everything in their power to prevent Russia from gaining access to the Aegean Sea through Bulgaria).

(3) The book "Pette sudbonosni godini vo Egejska Makedonija (1945-1949) ("Five vital years in Aegean Macedonia (1945-1949)") was written by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski and after his death, published by the "Association of Refugee Children from Aegean Macedonia". Risto Kiriazovski was born on January 6, 1927. He was enlisted in DAG and fought in the Greek Civil War. He defected to the People's Republic of Macedonia in 1949, before the war ended. In 1981 he earned his PhD in history, specializing in the affairs of NOF and other organizations in Greek occupied Macedonia from 1945 to 1949. In 1987 he retired. He died in 2002 in Skopje.

(4) The Yalta Conference lasted from February 4 to 11, 1945 and was attended by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, in the presence of their foreign ministers.

(5) Some Western diplomats have dated the Macedonian question to 1870, when Russia pressured the Ottoman Empire to allow the establishment of a separate Orthodox Church, later termed the Bulgarian Orthodox Church or the Exarchate Church, with authority over parts of the Ottoman province of Macedonia. Others hold the view that this issue dates back to 1878, when the Berlin Congress was convened to revise the Treaty of San Stefano, which Russia imposed on the Ottoman Empire after the Russo-Turkish War. Under the Treaty of San Stefano, Bulgaria was to expand its

boundaries and realize its Bulgarian national dreams when it received all of Vardar Macedonia as well as other parts of Macedonia including Vranie, Kostur, Lerin, Ostrovo and a small part of the Aegean Sea, west of Solun. At the Congress of Berlin however, Russia renounced the Treaty of San Stefano resulting in Macedonia being returned to the Ottoman Empire. (See documents: UK and Macedonia (1944-1945)).

(5a) Here is the relevant part of [R20451/1009/67]:

December 11, 1944, Mr. Leeper to Mr. Eden, Athens 24th November, 1944

The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available, but it appears from events during the occupation that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty's Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.

(6) The fighters of ELAS were often referred to as the ELASiti (members of ELAS) and the "Andartes". "Andartes" was the name given to the Greek bands that roamed the Macedonian landscape and terrorized the Macedonian people right after the failed 1903 Ilinden Uprising. The "Andartes" were the instrument used to terrorize Macedonians into becoming Greeks.

On April 6, 1941 Germany launched an attack against Yugoslavia and Greece. At the same time a new master with new fascist views appeared inside Greece. On September 27, 1941 the organization National

Liberation Front (EAM) was established and invited the entire Greek population to join the resistance against fascism. During a joint meeting between the CPG Central Committee and EAM a decision was made to establish a military wing, the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) which was then launched on February 15, 1942. The first unit of ELAS was formed in Kostur on December 7, 1942 and was joined by 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs. ELAS at its peak, throughout Greece, numbered about 70,000 fighters.

On July 16, 1943 the ELAS leadership and head of the English Military Mission, Colonel Eddie Myers signed an agreement putting ELAS under English control in the Middle East Command. On February 12, 1945 the Varkiza Agreement was signed in which the left practically handed over governing of Greece to the right.

(7) The Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front (SNOF) was formed in October 1943 in the village Osnichani, Kostur Region by the CPG Committee secretary for Western Macedonia, Hristos Kalfas-Andreas, the CPG Secretary for the District Committee of Kostur, Antonis Andonopoulos-Periklis and by the CPG Secretary for the District Committee of Kozheni Region, Thanassis Kartsounis. A so-called Macedonian organization was created for the sole purpose of attracting as many Macedonian fighters as possible. SNOF was allowed to recruit only for a short period of time, after that its fighters were subordinated to ELAS. On September 16, 1944 all military units belonging to the Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army (SNOB) were disbanded. Through the Kazerta (a small town in Italy) Agreement, signed by the CPG, EAM, ELAS and the Greek government, on September 26, 1944 Georgios Papandreou and the British headquarters for the Middle East were given the right to form a government in Greece.

With this agreement the fate of the Left and the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, who placed all their trust and hopes in the CPG, was definitely sealed!

(8) The Party newspaper "Laiki Foni" published Bukerdzis's famous interview in which he announced to the world that the Macedonians were "Bulgaro-phone Greeks". General Stefanos Sarafis, Supreme Commander of ELAS, in his famous book, "O ELAS" (1946, 331), refers to the Macedonians as "Slavo-phone Greeks". But if that were the case then why did Greece exchange populations with Bulgaria after the Balkan Wars as per the Neuilly Convention 14 from November 11, 1919 and with Turkey as per the 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty? The Macedonian people at that time had already lost their ethnic and territorial status.

In World War II Greece eliminated this issue when the commanders of ELAS, EAM and the CPG signed the Lebanon agreement on July 16, 1943, the Kazerta agreement on September 26, 1944 and the Varkiza agreement on February 12, 1945. The Macedonian issue was further eliminated when English Colonel Eddie Myers promised Greece that Britain would protect its territorial integrity and that the current borders would remain as they were. This further proves that the developments in the Balkans after World War II were unattainable, simply a shot in the dark at best. So why start the Greek Civil War? This was the work of the CPY and the CPG to create chaos, to push the Macedonian people into annihilation, to spill rivers of blood, to eliminate and exile the entire Macedonian nation from Greek occupied Macedonia. Given all this, then it makes sense that these demagogues who then pushed for a "United Macedonia" must have been aware of the lies they were spreading. They officially held the position that the Macedonian question was a threat to the peace in the Balkans and something had to be done so they, serving the interests of foreigners, pushed us into this senseless war in order to have us killed or have us permanently evicted from our homeland. They knew that given the option we would have preferred to stay home in our historic homeland, even if we had to live without an identity!

Here is how the CPG Central Committee's bi-weekly magazine, the "Komep" number 16 of August 1943, explains the Macedonian situation: "There is no national mix in Greek Macedonia... the Slavic and Turkish population was evicted under the various conventions and replaced with a Greek population collected from all the countries in the Balkans and Asia Minor... Macedonia has now become so Greek that it is same as any territory in old Greece!" (p 331.) And what do we Macedonians say, even to this day, we say that these Greeks were our most faithful allies and we would like to live with them like brothers! There is an old Macedonian folk saying which explains our behaviour perfectly: "Our suffering is our own doing!"

(9) Naum Peiov was born in 1919 in the village Gabresh, Kostur Region. He was a member of the pre-war CPG. In 1939 he was arrested by the Greek police. He joined NOV in 1941. He was Commander of the Macedonian Partisan Detachment "Lazo Trpovski". He was a member of the SNOF Kostur District Committee. He led a group of fighters who left the ranks of ELAS and fled to Vardar Macedonia in May 1944. He was Deputy Commander of the First Aegean Brigade. After the war he served in a variety of high political and social functions in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

(10) In essence two organizations were formed: SNOF for Kostur Region, established in October 1943, and SNOF for Lerin Region, established in November 1943 in the village Belkamen. The creation of SNOF for Lerin Region was premeditated by EAM in accordance with Tempo's proposal which called for SNOF to work together with ELAS in order to win over the Kostur fighters. The Lerin Organization was strictly controlled by the EAM and ELAS Greek leadership. SNOF was supposed to be one organization representing all the Macedonian people from the entire part of Aegean Macedonia. It was supposed to be an independent organization working outside of EAM but supported by the CPG. It is worth mentioning here that in January 1944, the CPG allowed the formation of a Slavo-Macedonian army called SNOV and placed it under the direct leadership of EAM and ELAS. Later it was from this "army" that the "Aegean Brigade" was formed and transferred to Tito's Army in Yugoslavia. It is also worth mentioning here that in Skopje, on April 23, 1945, the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation of a new conflict - the Greek Civil War.

(11) Tsvetko Uzunovski – Abas was responsible for OZNA. During a CPM Central Committee Plenum, held in the summer of 1945, Uzunovski proposed that a "frontal stance" be taken against a group of people who broke away from the Party. Included in this group were: Chento, Venko Markovski, Apostolski, Kiro Gligorov, Lazar Sokolov, Petre Piruze and Blagoi Hadzhi Panzov, all assisted by Dimitar Vlahov.

(12) My extensive research aims to discover: who helped (hindered) the peaceful Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia after Macedonia's partition (1913) to preserve (leave) their age-old traditional values, civilization and ethnic land, to come under attack and to experience genocide?

(13) In its March 21, 1945 Central Committee Politburo Session, the Yugoslav State Party leadership was all for the "construction of socialism" in Macedonia as recommended by Miha Marinko. The meeting was concluded by Tito remarking that Macedonia has not yet outlived "Mihailoism" which "lives in the bourgeois and in the peasants. The Party has popularized them, they should concretely renounce it and Macedonia should support itself. Chento needs to be scrubbed in the Party and Vlahov needs to be here. The 'Question' about these people should be carefully resolved... Macedonia has not yet given for this war. We must ask it to give more for the war and for the reconstruction of the country…" Soon

after that the CPM Central Committee Plenum was held. See: Tsvetko Uzunov-Abas's position.

(14) Here is what Churchill wrote in his memoirs about the Balkans: We arrived in Moscow in the late hours of October 9, 1944. We had our first significant meeting and counseling in the Kremlin the next day, October 10. Attending the meeting were Stalin, Molotov, Eden and myself. The Majors Boris and Popov performed the translations… An agreement was reached on the division of spheres of influence. Under this deal, Greece was entirely left to the British sphere of influence, with rights, if necessary at any time to be able to intervene with all possible means.

(15) Nikos Zahariadis was born on April 27, 1903 in Edirne, Eastern Thrace. His father was employed as a clerk at "Razim", a French commercial tobacco company based in Constantinople. From 1911 to 1912 Nikos Zahariadis lived and attended school in the "Ibin Paiko" settlement in Skopje, where his father worked as a representative of the "Razim" Company. In 1913 he moved to Solun. In 1922 and 1923 he worked as a sailor, a job which took him to the Soviet Union where he became a member of the Communist Party. In 1924, with the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, Zahariadis's family was moved to Greece. In 1924 he visited the famous Communist University of Eastern European nations KUTVE in Moscow. Nikos Zahariadis was leader of the Greek communist movement and secretary general of the CPG from 1936 to 1956. Zahariadis treated the CPG like a cult and had absolute confidence in Stalin and his Communist Party, which he believed to be infallible. He himself admitted to this.
Zahariadis committed suicide in 1973 while serving a prison sentence in Sorgun, Siberia.

(16) As a consequence of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest signed August 10, 1913, and sanctioned by the Neuilly Agreement, signed August 10, 1920, Macedonia was divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania. Albania later was awarded Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo. Greece received 34,356 km2 or 51% of the Macedonia's ethnic and historical territory; Serbia received 25,713 km2 or 39%; Bulgaria received 6798 km2 or 9.5% and Albania received 0.5%.

(17) See: a) Neuilly Convention and b) Treaty of Lausanne.

(18) During the communist movement in 1924, with support from left-wing political forces, an agreement was reached to recognize the VMRO (United) Organization which was to represent all parts of Macedonia and special interests of the Macedonian people. A Declaration and a Manifesto

were issued in April and May of 1924, defining the character and program of this Organization. According to its program objectives, among other things, "VMRO (United), in its capacity, was a real revolutionary force that fought for the freedom of the torn apart parts of Macedonia as a completely autonomous (independent) political unit in its natural ethnographic and geographic boundaries…"

During the March 1924, 6th Balkan Communist Conference, recognized by the Communist International, the Bulgarian proposal for the creation of a "United and Independent Macedonia" within a "Balkan Federation" was formally accepted. Then during the Communist International 5th World Congress held in May 1924 the same proposal was accepted by the CPY and CPG. CPG representatives, Pouliopoulos and Maksimos as well as representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who were in attendance at this Congress and did not want to be seen as rocking the "Communist International boat" were obliged to accept the resolution. And because this resolution was recommended by the Communist International, the CPY was obliged to accept it at its 3rd CPY Congress, held in Vienna in June 1926. The same resolution was confirmed during the 4th CPY Congress held in October 1928.

(19) The "First Aegean Brigade" was formed in free Bitola on November 18, 1944 from the fighters of the two battalions that fled Greek occupied Macedonia. This Brigade was deployed on December 28, 1944 in Western Macedonia, mainly in Kichevo, Tetovo and Gostivar, tasked with fighting Dzhemo Mefail's gang of balisti formed during the Italian-German occupation. The "First Aegean Brigade" was disbanded by special order number 236 (strictly confidential) issued by Marshal Tito on April 2, 1945.

(20) In the 20th century, after Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 and after the Second World War ended, little Macedonia's were created in Australia, in the United States of America and in Canada. During the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) more than 20 thousand Macedonians gave their lives for Macedonia, others ended up in the Greek prisons and many more found refuge in Eastern European countries such as the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania etc., thus creating even more little Macedonia's. But in their soul, all Macedonian immigrants longed to be in their homeland Macedonia, wishing every moment and wanting to return and gather together their families.

For some, their wish came true after relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia began to improve. Many stranded in the USSR and in other Eastern European countries were allowed to return to the Republic of Macedonia but only as political emigrants. Unfortunately, upon their

return, the first institution they were welcomed in was “Idrizovo” Prison. There, in the prison, the first thing their compatriots tried to do was determine if they were “Yugoslav oriented”, if they were loyal to Tito. In other words they would allow them to return to Macedonia not because they were Macedonians but because they were loyal to Tito! Here UDBA rules were more valid than feeling or being Macedonian or caring for Macedonia!

(21) Kostur fighters - On March 5, 1943 the first armed military unit was formed in Kostur, consisting of fighters from Greek occupied Macedonia. They quickly appeared in 54 villages and their numbers swelled to 9850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek nationalist gangs. In western Macedonia in 1943, these armed nationalist Greek gangs were responsible for intimidating the Macedonian people by spreading anti-Macedonian propaganda in the form of leaflets and by other means. On October 20, 1943 the CPG formed the organization SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front) in order to disarm and destroy these Kostur fighters. After the Kostur fighters were disarmed and disbanded, in April 1944, the CPG also disbanded SNOF, its military units and incorporated the Macedonians fighters into ELAS. At that point some Macedonians fighters refused to be incorporated into ELAS and fled across the Yugoslav border and joined the partisan units in Vardar Macedonia as part of Tito’s army.

(22) General Markos Vafiadis was a communist, a tobacco worker and a member of the CPG since 1928. He was a member of the CPG Central Committee since 1942. Second CPG Secretary of Domestic Affairs in Greek occupied Macedonia. Divisional Commissar of ELAS in Greek occupied Macedonia. Later he was military commander and head of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece during the Greek Civil War. In the CPG Political Bureau Resolution of September 15, 1948, it was said that “Markos Vafiadis, as Commissar of a Group of ELAS divisions in Macedonia, followed a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonian fighters. (“Neos Kosmos” August 1950. “Ten years of struggle”, p. 470).

(23) At the June 4, 1956 meeting of the Presidency of the “Ilinden” organization belonging to the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, created on Zahariadis’s initiative, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in delivering his paper about the persecution of Macedonians by the CPG, among other things, said: “… During the period when DAG was fighting and after its defeat, Zahariadis implemented a policy of vilifying and persecuting a good part of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters. Although the charges were completely

unfounded, it was very easy for Zahariadis to label the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and popular fighters “enemy agent” etc. Based on these false accusations in 1948-1949 and later, more Slavo-Macedonians were arrested and some were liquidated...” (Am F-21/1600).

(24) On February 21, 1947 the British government informed the U.S. government that, due to economic difficulties, as of March 31st, 1947 it would stop providing aid to Greece. The U.S. government considered its options and decided that if it did not assume Britain’s obligations towards the Greek Kingdom, it would face greater consequences in the future. To avoid that, U.S. President Truman announced his doctrine to award Greece 300 million dollars of aid in order to protect the Athenian regime.

(25) The so called “Varkiza Agreement” was signed on February 12, 1943 at Varkiza, a resort located near Athens. The Agreement was between the Resistance Movement leadership consisting of the CPG and EAM on one side and the Plastiras Government, and the British General Scobey on the other. Based on this Agreement EAM and ELAS (the number of ELAS fighters in Greece at the time was estimated to be around 70,000), as of July 16, 1943, were to be headed by Colonel Eddie Myers from the British Military Mission. By this Agreement, ELAS fell under the command of the British Middle East. By this Agreement the left practically handed power over to the right and it was literally over for ELAS.

(26) The Yalta Conference lasted from February 4th to the 11th, 1945. It was attended by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, in the presence of their foreign ministers.

(26a) The British government had engaged a number of forces: In Solun there was a concentration of about 80,000 personnel and a large number of motor vehicles, tanks and cannons. At the Seres Airport (about 12 km from Solun) it had about 200 British fighter aircraft and 60 bombers.

(27) Most of the information on events under the heading “the hell of war”, was obtained from the following official archives and books;

-ΤΟ ΚΚΕ, ΕΠΙΣΗΜΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ, (1945-1949), ΣΥΓΗΡΟΝΗ ΕΠΟΧΗ, ΑΘΗΝΑ, 1987;

-ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΕΚΔΟΣΗ, ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ, ΤΟΜΟΣ Α, Β, ΑΘΗΝΑ 1996;

-ΕΝΓΡΑΦΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΤΟ (ARHIV JOSIPA BROZA TITA KANCELARIJA PRETDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE (IZVORI: ΣΤΗ

ΣΚΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟΥ). And from the literature listed at the end of this book.

(28) Shatorov, Metodi - Sharlo (Prilep 1897 - Bulgaria, September 1944), immigrated to Bulgaria after World War I. Was a member of the BCP since 1920. In 1929 immigrated to the USSR. From spring 1940 to September 1941 was CPY PC Secretary for Macedonia. He advocated for the establishment of a Macedonian state and for the unification of all parts of Macedonia, with emphasis on Macedonian national individuality. As Secretary he was removed from office (by order from Tito and replaced with Kolishevski) after the resolution of the dispute between the CPY and the GRP - Comintern affiliation with PC.

(29) Riots at the Skopje Fortress and in Stip: Sunday morning, January 7, 1945 - Christmas Day. Macedonia's Second National Youth Congress was being held at the officer's home above Skopje Square. Hundreds of armed soldiers stormed out of the Fortress and crossed over the Stone Bridge and into the officer's home. They were carrying banners and shouting the slogans: "We don't want to go Srem, we want to go to Solun" and "Not Berlin but Solun". OZNA began to arrest them. (See: Focus, page 24, May 2009).

(30) Pascal Mitrevski, as acting Secretary of the Political Commission of the Macedonians under Greece, after a CPM Central Committee decision in the beginning of February 1945, was sent to Belgrade to attend the quarterly party political school organized by the CPY Central Committee. (See: "The time of Pascal Mitrevski - 1912 to 1978", 1992.)

(31) The great revolutionary Georgi Dimitrov led the Comintern and Bulgaria. Georgi Dimitrov, whose name can be found in every world encyclopedia, comes from a Macedonian family. He was the head of Communist International in Moscow and later became leader of the Bulgarian state.

(32) In December 1944, the British provoked an armed clash with ELAS units in Athens. On February 12, 1945 in a place called Varkiza, just outside of Athens, the Varkiza agreement was signed. On the strength of this agreement all ELAS units across Greece capitulated and with the exception of some units (mainly ELAS territorial reserves), which were defeated by the allied forces, all surrendered without a fight.

The Cold War: Many historians dealing with recent European and world history have concluded that the meeting of the "Big Three" held from July 17 to August 5, 1945 in the town of Potsdam near Berlin, in the

“Selienkof” court was basically when the so-called Cold War began. Since then the allies of the anti-Hitler coalition, consisting of the UK (Winston Churchill), the USA (Harry Truman) and the Soviet Union (Joseph Stalin Visarionovich) by combining their effort, managed to defeat German fascism then and there; ceased to “love each other” thus creating a new historic climate that would later be called the “Cold War”.

The Iron Curtain: The term “Iron Curtain” was coined by Winston Churchill in Potsdam, marking the division of Europe into spheres of influence.

(33) The Soviet Union’s attitude towards the Macedonian question was a function of global policy and strategy in general and specifically towards Greece. Stalin used the Macedonian question as a cover for his policies, enforced in countries that fell under his influence after World War II and in his relationship with the British, the Americans and the Greeks. During the course of WW II the communist parties, in the countries among which Macedonia was divided, firmly respected the declarative principles of the Great Powers regarding the preservation of pre-war borders. It should also be known that: It was Stalin’s initiative to dissolve the communist-international, which formally recognized the right of independence of each communist party and supported the thesis: One state one Party. That same Stalin, together with the other Great Powers, in October, 1944 in Moscow, when they decided to divide the world into spheres of influence, left the Balkan boundaries “status quo”. This was his answer to all of us who looked up to him and to the USSR for our salvation. This was the first blow and shows how we lost our united spiritual system. Our nation was left without a strategy for the spiritual survival of our ethnic space in the Balkans.

(34) The leading Macedonian activists convicted of treason by the CPG were accepted as innocent of any charges by the CPM/CPY. On October 1944, the Political Commission of Aegean Macedonia was constituted with public support from the CPM/CPY and so was the creation of the Macedonian Aegean Brigade in November 1944. And later, instead of creating widespread political organizations, the People’s Liberation Front – NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed, whose military and political activities soon became the main characteristic of the time in that part of Macedonia.

(35) Pascal Mitrevski, as acting Secretary of the Political Commission of the Macedonians under Greece, after a CPM Central Committee decision in the beginning of February 1945, was sent to Belgrade to attend the quarterly political party school organized by the CPY Central Committee.

(See: “The time of Pascal Mitrevski - 1912 to 1978”, By T. Mamurovski 1992.)

(36) On April 23, 1945, in Skopje, independent of the CPG, the organization NOF was formed which was a strategic national mistake because it was formed in Yugoslavia and not in Greek occupied Macedonia and was always suspected of working for foreign interests.

(37) Karaivanov was Tito’s special deputy and a spy, an agent of the Soviet NKVD and a Comintern instructor. Pero Simich, author of the book, “Tito - Secret of the Century” wrote an article for the TOPER Macedonian edition, Skopje 2009, p. 240, in which he said: “Elected during the CPY Central Committee Fifth Congress was Ivan Karaivanov Shpiner. Three years earlier, this Bulgarian extremist having not received the expected position in the Communist government in Sofia, was called on by Tito to achieve his ambitions in Yugoslavia. From the railway station in Belgrade he went directly into to Tito’s residence in Dedinie.

When asked by Walter if he had proven that our party was loyal to the revolution and to the Comintern, Karaivanov replied: “…more than is needed!”

Tito gave Karaivanov - Shpiner a villa in Dedinie, took him into his Central Committee and allowed him to become a member of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly. Tito declared him a “hero of socialist work”, to whom some CPY leaders often referred to as “a revolutionary whose home is the world”.

(38) Immediate associates and instructors for General Markos Vafiadis were Giuza Radovich, Obrad Trninich, Misho Vrbitsa, Velimir Dotsnich, Svetislav Stojanovich, and Petar Lutsich, all from Serbian KOS. (See KOS and UDBA – Acts and documents of the Secret Service).

(39) At the “Ilinden” Macedonian Organization for the Aegean Macedonians, Presidency meeting, an organization created under Zahariadis’s initiative, held on June 4, 1956, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in his speech about the persecution of the Macedonian people by the CPG, among other things, said: “…During the Greek Civil War and even after DAG was defeated, Zahariadis had implemented policies to vilify and persecute a large number of Macedonian cadres and popular fighters. Labeling Macedonians fighters and political figures “enemy agents” and other derogatory terms, was very easy for Zahariadis to do but these charges were completely unfounded… Many Macedonians

were arrested and some were executed during 1948, 1949 and later, strictly based on such false accusations." (Am F-21/1600).

(40) According to the CPG, the "Truman doctrine" was defined as the subordination of Greece to U.S. interests. The CPG believed that Greece, under the United States leadership, would serve as a bulwark against Soviet domination and against the Balkan People's Republics. On June 20, 1947 a Greek-American Agreement was signed for the realization of this doctrine. The agreement was to strengthen terror tactics, mass arrests, etc. as it did on June 9 and 10, 1947.

(41) In the spring of 1947, NOF scored major political and organizational successes during which time 16,347 Macedonians joined the ranks of NOF, AFZH and NOMS. By then more than 6,000 Macedonians had also joined the ranks of DAG. A free territory was created in Aegean Macedonia where young and old Macedonians worked together to support DAG and the struggle.

(42) Memorial service for 150 young people was held in Shtip. The 150 were forcibly taken from sovereign Yugoslavia and sent to Greece to fight in the Greek Civil War where they were all killed. The reason they were taken to Greece was because they were born in Greek occupied Macedonia. In the pages of "H. M." of May 29, 1994 the person who took these young people and made them pay their "national debt", showed them the way to their "freedom" and left their bones in Gramos was openly identified. That person was "sindrofos Michos" (who presented himself as a politician, revolutionary and mobilization officer). He said: "…I came to Skopje and in four months I recruited hundreds of fighters into the ranks of DAG!"

(43) There is a bust in the city Kostur of General James A. Van Fleet who then was head of the U.S. military mission. He did a lot for the Greek government army to end the Greek Civil War.

(44) The UNSCOB figure was more concrete and more acceptable. According to the August 1949 UNSCOB report (A/935, p. 16): "During that period of time in 1948, around 25,000 "Ελληνοπουλα" (Greek children) emigrated from Greece and were situated in the territories of Greece's northern neighbour and other countries". In January 1950, a representative of the Greek Red Cross submitted a report in which he said: "The aggregate number of Greek children who received asylum in the countries north of Greece had reached 28,296 in January 1950". At the same time, he gave a clear analysis of the aggregate number of children and to which countries they were sent to: "Albania 2,000, Bulgaria 2,600,

Hungary 3,000, Poland 3,000, Romania 3801, Czechoslovakia 2,235 and Yugoslavia 11,600." (See UNSCOB report A/1307, 1950, p. 23) In his book about the children's education, Thanassis Mitsopulos said: "There were more than 25,000 children…" Vassilis Bardzhiotas said that they moved 25,000 children, but the government in Athens increased that number to 28,000.

(45) (My note: The CPG and the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece truly retained their objectivity before the world as they scrambled to allow the return of the children; but only those children who were deemed to be "Greeks by genus". Since then and to this day, half a century later, while still alive, Macedonian parents continued to lament wondering "When will their children be allowed to return?" Why hasn't the CPG shown the same concern for the Macedonian children's return? Why has the CPG forgotten the thousands of Macedonian children whose parents left their bones in Vicho and Gramos, fighting for CPG interests??!!)

(46) The DAG Partisan newspaper "Eksormisi" was a bi-monthly newspaper published once every fifteen days. The newspaper was edited and printed in Gramos Mountain.

(47) On June 16, 1949 the AFZH Macedonian women's Executive Board from Greek occupied Macedonia adopted a resolution to induct Macedonian women into the defense of the Vicho front line.

(48) Slavo-Macedonians?! Did we Macedonians willfully name ourselves "Slavo-Macedonians" or was this done by the will of the CPG? How and why did we agree to have such a tribal identification attribute and whose interests did it serve? Was this intentionally done by the Greek communists and, for the most part, made part of the overall historical Greek Civil War (1945-1949) documentation? Why did we accept this without voicing concerns? And worse than that, why are we calling ourselves "Slavs" when we write our own Macedonian history?

Putting these questions another way: Was this first man of NOF, whose historiography says that NOF was "a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War", making this comment out of ignorance? How can that be? Is he not the same man who was head of the SNOF formation in Kostur on October 20, 1943? Was he not also the head of NOF in Skopje on April 23, 1945, when the "S", meaning "Slavo", was dropped out?

The Greek state, after Macedonia's (1913-1919) partition, made many ethnic changes in its occupied part of Macedonia from 1920 to 1940. It also created explicit rules and modalities for political intervention in order

to deal with the cultural diversity and plurality of the two identities that emerged from these ethnic changes. The two major groups that emerged were:

1. "The real Macedonian nation" with real Macedonians roots and

2. "The fake Macedonian nation" consisting of colonists and settlers from Asia Minor commonly referred to as "Madzhiri" or "Pondi".

The Greek government's position has always been and remains to this day: "To erase historic Macedonia and the Macedonian people". When Greece first occupied and acquired Macedonian territories it changed Macedonia's name to "occupied territories" and then to "Northern Greece". This confirms that Macedonia was and still is occupied by Greece and that Greece wanted the name Macedonia to be forgotten and its territory to become part of Greece permanently!

Greeks know very well that real and fake Macedonians live in Greek occupied Macedonia because, after all, Greece is the architect of this mix. But in order to "tip the scale" in the eyes of the world it would like to present the "fake" Macedonians as real Macedonians and the real Macedonians as "newcomer Slavs who came to Macedonia during the 6th century AD". Now, if the world were to accept the premise that the "Slavo-Macedonians" are newcomers to the region and have nothing to do with the Ancient Macedonians then it would "imply" that "the other" Macedonians (the fake ones) "must" be the descendents of the ancient Macedonians. Counting on ignorance and nonchalance, and backing it by powerful Greek propaganda, Greece hopes that the world will see things its way.

Until now the world did see things Greece's way because Greece, through its powerful lobbies and propaganda campaigns, was the voice for both Macedonians and Greeks. Up until now Greece was the architect of both Macedonian and Greek history and fabricated a fake history to suit its own interests. In other words, it changed the past to fit the present claiming Macedonians do not exist and that Macedonia is exclusively Greek, even though in 1913 Macedonia was illegally and arbitrarily portioned three ways between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.

(49) Official protocols. Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. General Assembly, Official Records: Third Sitting contribution no. 8 (A/574) Dated June 30, 1948), p. 18 and 29.

(50) Κουφουδικης, Οι Ηνωμενες Πολιτιες, τα Ενωμενα Εθνηκαι το ελληνικο ζιτημα, 1946-1952.

(51) Report given by the Investigation Commission to the Security Council regarding the Greek border incidents:

Before we give our suggestions, the Commission feels that it would be useful to briefly sum up the situation along the northern Greek border. Our proposals are aimed at mitigating and rectifying this situation. First, accusations by the Greek government have been leveled against its three northern neighbours accused of helping the guerrilla war in Greece. Second, today there is a disturbing situation in Greece, a legacy from its past, whose causes stem from the tragic Greek war experience, its occupation by the Italians, Germans and Bulgarians, by the guerrilla war fought during the occupation and by the political and economic difficulties caused by the war.

The next thing we want to mention is the refusal of most of the above mentioned countries to accept their borders as final, the way they are defined today. Some of these demands seem legitimate and a way has to be found to bring them up before a United Nations forum or another competent international body, before they deteriorate to a dangerous situation.

Furthermore, in the case of the Macedonian question, such demands are not outlined before the United Nations, but are present only in the talks between individual governments and in their press organs controlled by their governments. The use of the Macedonian question in this way, in the opinion of the Commission, is a positive threat to peace in the Balkans that can only further contribute to the existing tensions and suspicions and raise old national passions and military escalations.

Also, something that should be mentioned is the presence of a large number of political refugees from various territories in Greece, on the one hand, and in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania on the other hand, who have participated in the political struggles that took place in their regions during and after the war. Some of these refugees are located near the border regions from which they fled. Others, during their exile, were engaged in political and military activities and too many of them live with the hope that someone will force a change in the situation that will allow them to return to their homes, under the conditions of their choosing. Other refugees were victims of panic and if they are given a free choice they would gladly return to their homes. However, their continued presence

under the conditions in which they currently live, quite clearly, is a serious contributing factor to their permanent situation.

Finally, the violence and level of propaganda used by some of the protagonists in their mutual relations could not and was not documented by the commission during its stay in the four countries. Such propaganda has always served to fuel passions, which are now fueled... The Commission suggests that the Security Council make it clear to the Greek government that it is ready, if the government demands it, to make its services available to find, by all possible means, solutions to its problems.

Suggestions made by the Commission:

A. The Commission proposes to the Security Council so that it can propose to the Greek government on the one hand and to the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslavian governments on the other hand, that they do everything in their power to establish normal neighbourly relations and refrain from all direct and indirect actions... The Commission believes that in the sphere of its investigation, further cases of support for armed bands formed in the territory of one State, crossing the territory of another State or the government's refusal, despite the request of the State concerned, to take all possible measures in their own territories to deprive the bands of all kinds of aid and protection. The Security Council should be treated as a broker of peace working under the United Nations Charter.

B. To ensure effective machinery for the regulation and control of their common borders, the Commission proposes to the Security Council that it proposes to the governments concerned that they conclude new conventions following the example of the Greek-Bulgarian Convention of 1931, taking into account the needs of the current situation. (So-called Greek-Bulgarian population exchange convention) In other words the Commission proposes a TRANSFER OF MINORITIES between states.

C. To restore normal conditions along the borders between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the other hand, and to assist in the establishment of good neighbourly relations the Commission recommends the establishment of a separate body…

(52) Complaints and proposals initiated by the Delegation of the Soviet Union regarding the Greek complaints:

"1. The above mentioned suggestions have in no way risen from facts and documents collected by the Commission during its investigation of the situation in Northern Greece and its northern borders, but are grounded on

the assumptions of the Greek government regarding the provision of assistance to guerrillas by Greece's northern neighbours.

2. The proposals offered admit to the possibility of border incidents, conflicts and even acts of aggression in future relations between Greece on the one hand, and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania on the other hand, despite the fact that the Commission does not have any basis for making such claims.

3. The proposals made by the Commission provide for measures concerning not only Greece but also Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, even though the documents made available to the Commission quite clearly show that the tense situation exists inside Greece and that disturbances do not only occur north of its borders, but exist inside the whole country. There is rioting and a tense situation inside Greece which is due to internal reasons.

4. Establishing a permanent border commission or body that would constitute the Security Council, in a way that provides suggestions as well as the conclusion of conventions and agreements between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, in great measure constitutes an infringement on the sovereign rights of those countries in resolving their mutual problems and establishing mutual relations."

(53) Complaints and proposals initiated by the Polish Delegation regarding the Greek complaints:

"1. The proposed measures as a whole are ineffective because they take into account only the symptoms and not the reasons for the troubles which exist in Northern Greece and along its northern border. The fact that the proposed measures are ineffective can easily jeopardize the prestige of the United Nations.

2. Some of the proposed measures do not seem to take into account the fact that there are no diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece on the one hand and Albania on the other hand.

3. In connection to the proposal made under B, which suggests the formation of a permanent overseeing body, this measure seems inadequate for the following reasons:

(A) Such a controlling body will jeopardize the sovereign rights of Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

(B) This is a measure of coercion against Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. This measure cannot be justified in any way by the results obtained by the Commission's investigation. And for exactly those reasons, in place of improving the situation it may very well lead to quite opposite results.

(54) "Repatriation of Greek Children". (First Joint Report by the International Red Cross and the Red Cross Society), Geneva, October 5. 1949, p. 2.

(55) On January 30-31, 1949 the CPG Central Committee held its 5th Plenum during which the slogan "A United Macedonian State within a Balkan Federation" was coined. Then on March 7, 1949 the CPG Central Committee denied coining such a slogan. The CPG also denied accepting NOF's new program principles drafted during NOF's 2nd Congress on February 3, 1949. After DAG lost Mount Vicho on August 14, 1949, Vassilis Bardzhiotas, top political commissar, coined the slogan "Gramos will become the government army's grave", even though the government army numbered ten times more than DAG. On August 29, 1949, during the last battles at Gramos Mountain, DAG General Headquarters announced that "DAG units were pulling out to Albania as they heroically completed performing their duty…" when in fact DAG was defeated in Gramos. Then, on October 7, 1949 in the "Burrelli locality in Albania, the CPG ordered the arrest of eleven NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders suspected of being spies and traitors. After judgment was passed, they were all sent to the Siberian camps. The DAG fighters were sent to the Soviet Union under the CPG slogan "Με το οπλο παραποδα".

(56) On March 23, 1949 the CPG formed KOEM (Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia) and proclaimed it to be a historic "bright" moment for the Macedonians. KOEM declared that the CPY had abandoned the popular-democratic bloc and that the people of Yugoslavia, including the Macedonian people among them, were surrendered into the hands of imperialism… Our history on the other hand acknowledged this event as follows: "The resolution adopted by the KOEM leadership and by the leaderships of NOF, AFZH and DAG served as a means to implement a campaign of hysteria against Yugoslavia and its leadership". On June 16, 1949 the AFZH Executive Board called on all Macedonian women to enlist in the front battle lines and defend Vicho.

(57) As a consequence of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10, 1913, the Neuilly Peace Agreement (November 14/27, 1919) and the Sevres Peace Agreement

(August 10, 1920) were sanctioned. Macedonia was divided by the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Albania. Greece received 34,356 km2 or 51% of ethnic Macedonian territory; Serbia received 25,713 km2 or 39%; Bulgaria received 6,798 km2 or 9.5% and Albania received 0. 5% of Macedonia, which included Mala Prespa and Golo Brdo.

(58) The CPG Central Committee Politburo adopted the Informburo resolution on June 30, 1948. The CPG Central Committee held its own Fourth Plenary Session on July 28 and 29, 1948.

(59) I remember this incident as if it was yesterday. I am still reminded of it even though 64 years have passed and it still brings me bitterness. Our unit, assigned to mine certain sectors in Vicho and Bela Voda, was temporarily stationed in the village Bukoik. One day my attention was caught by a column of half-naked and hungry old people. These people, now in jail, accused of being traitors in the services of the Greek government and Yugoslavia, were the parents of the children who were forcibly mobilized into the DAG units. Some of their children by then had been killed and the rest were still fighting in the DAG units. Yet their parents were in jail and for what? The detention camp was located between the villages Besvina and Bukoik.

(60) According to Vladimir Dedijer, Tito's diplomat and intelligence agent, Brigadier General Fitzroy McLean was one of the top intelligence officials in Britain and in Europe at that time! McLean was a personal friend of Churchill and a great achiever. He was first to find out about the secret pact between Hitler and Stalin. He also discovered German General Pommel's plans and movements in North Africa.

McLean was determined to organize contacts and Allied support for Tito's partisans. He came to Yugoslavia in 1943. He landed by parachute together with radio telegraph operator Bill Dickinson in order to liaise with the partisans. McLean was also a diplomatic official in Moscow and had experience and knowledge of communist ideology and achievement. Tito especially appreciated McLean. After the war he considered him a friend and gave him a house as a gift at Korchula Island. Fitzroy MacLean frequently visited the house in Korchula almost until his death in March 1996.

(61) In February 1953, tripartite talks on forming a Balkan Pact of Friendship between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey were led in Ankara. In August 1954 the Pact was amended and put into effect after it was signed in Bled (Yugoslavia). The Pact was a military alliance between the

three signatories. Unfortunately the 1953 Balkan Pact was a spur of the moment thing in support of Yugoslavia against threats directed against it by the communist countries and that is why it did not last long. In 1961 the three countries agreed that the Balkan Pact was dead in the water.

But the Pact did have undesirable and lasting consequences for the Macedonian people. When Yugoslavia signed the Balkan Pact it made the following concessions to Greece: It dissolved the "Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia" and shut down the newspaper "Voice of the Aegeans".

(62) On April 23, 1945 the CPM Central Committee established NOF in Skopje. Soon afterwards it established AFZH and NOMS. Then, after the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" deal was formed, NOF fell under CPG control. Before that NOF had acted under CPM/CPY directives. After DAG was defeated and dissolved, the entire NOF leadership was sent to the internment camps in Siberia.

(63) Holocaust (Ολοκαλτωμα in Greek): The burning of victims in ritual flames or victims who suffer in a fire - (a term used to describe the suffering of Jews in the Fascist crematoriums.)

(64) Evangelos Kofos studied at Georgetown University in the United States and majored in the "Macedonian Question". Kofos was one of the architects of Greek policy in relation to the Republic of Macedonia and one of the inventors of the so-called "name dispute". During the key years when the Republic of Macedonia's fate was being decided in relation to its admission to the UN, at the end of 1995 or sometime later, Kofos was chief at the Headquarters of the Greek Foreign Ministry responsible for opening and managing the "name dispute". Included in the 50 years he worked on the Macedonian Question, was the period after 1991 when he attempted to close it once and for all.

Kofos has published several books through the Institute for Balkan Studies in Solun (Salonika). Included among these books is also the book "Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia (Solun: Institute For Balkan Studies, 1964). I believe this was his first book.

(65) The Neuilly Convention: Having been defeated in World War I, Bulgaria signed a peace deal during which it lost some of its territory. Dobrudia was given to Romania, Thrace was given to Greece and Strumitsa, Dimitrovgrad (then Tsaribrod) and Bosilegrad were given to Serbia. Bulgarian Army casualties numbered 8,750 dead soldiers and

officers, 152,000 wounded soldiers. Civilian casualties numbered 275,000 dead.

(66) OZNA and UDBA (Department for the Protection of People - Directorate for State Security), KOS (Counter-intelligence Sector of JAN), and SID (Information and Documentation Services of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

(67) Ivan Karaivanov was Tito's Special Intelligence Agent and Comintern instructor working for the Soviet NKVD. Other immediate associates and instructors working for General Markos Vafijadis were: Giuza Radovich, Obrad Trninich, Milo Vrbitsa, Velimir Dotsich, Svetislav Stoianovich and Petar Lutsich, all of the Serbian KOS. Slobodan Markovich was tasked with illegally safeguarding Vafiadis's travel to and from Belgrade. (See: KOS and UDBA – Actions and documents of the secret services).

(68) Alexander Rankovich, also known as Marko by the Partisans, was born on November 28, 1909 in Obrenovats Region, Serbia. He was creator of KOS and UDBA.

(69) "… The Second ASNOM Session, held in Skopje late in December 1944, was not attended by Tito. The Slovenian Edvard Kardeli – Bevets was sent to attend in his place. Enchanted by the enormity of his guest, the submissive Kolishevski paid careful attention to him and he, in turn, without being intimidated, outright told him some unpleasant things. The war is nearing its end, said Kardeli to Kolishevski, and with it the day when accounts need to be settled of who did what. On Macedonia's account there are five major minuses: it was last to begin the uprising, it casually strode through the occupation, it suffered the least destruction, it suffered the least casualties and, finally, it did not participate in the liberation of Yugoslavia.

A bit confused Lazo asked Kardeli what to do. To this Kardeli coolly responded: "The first three things you cannot correct. That is why OZNA must immediately begin arresting and executing people and you should send a large unit to the Srem Front". (To learn more about this see: Darko Ianevski "Focus": "Do we know everything about the January 1949 rebellion in Kale?"

(70) Germanos Karavangelis was born in 1866 in the village Stapsi, located on Lesbos Island. He successfully completed his education at Munich University, graduating as Professor of Theology. Then in 1900, at the request of the Greek government, he was appointed Metropolitan of the

Kostur Diocese. Soon after that Karavangelis created a network of priests, teachers and others who he could bribe with gold, all through the Kostur Region villages. Much of what he did along with Pavlos Malas, including the harshest methods he applied; he recorded in his own memoirs. Pavlos Melas was the chief organizer of the Greek armed terror bands that appeared in Macedonia in 1901.

(71) The PAO (Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization) membership consisted mainly of former police chiefs, police officers and Greek nationalist and anti-communist elements who belonged to the Greek Army before the occupation. During the occupation the PAO collaborated with the occupying military authorities and sought to join the ranks of ELAS in order to infiltrate its officers and agents and liquidate the communists among them. Included among those who infiltrated ELAS were Kirtsidakis, Zisis and Mandaropulos who were convicted and liquidated at the end of April 1943.

(72) At the Presidency Session of the "Ilinden" Organization, belonging to the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, created at Zahariadis's initiative, held on June 4, 1956, Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in a report about CPG persecutions of Macedonians, among other things, said: "… While fighting was going on and after the war had ended, Zahariadis had implemented a policy to vilify and persecute the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and fighters. Charges leveled against them were completely unfounded and it was very easy for him to find fault in them and stick them with the label "enemy agents of the people" and "Tito's agents".

About the Author

Stoian Kochov was born in 1930 in the village Turie, Lerin Region. During the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) he was an active participant in the DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) units. From 1950 to 1957 he lived and studied in the USSR until his return to the Republic of Macedonia in 1957. Stoian graduated from Belgrade University and after that moved to Skopje.

Stoian authored the following works:

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Acronyms

AFZH - Women's Anti-Fascist Front
ASNOM – Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia
BRP(k) – Communist Party of Bulgaria
CPG - Communist Party of Greece
CPM - Communist Party of Macedonia
CPY - Communist Party of Yugoslavia
CVG - Greek Civil War
DAG – Democratic Army of Greece
EAM – National Liberation Front
ELAS – National Liberation Army of Greece
EON – National Youth Organization
EPON – All Greek National Youth Organization
KOEM – Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia
KOS - Counter-intelligence Sector of JAN
NKVD – People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
NOBG - Peoples Liberation Struggle in Greece
NOBM - Peoples Liberation Struggle in Macedonia
NOF - Peoples' Liberation Front
NOMS - Peoples' Liberation Youth Organization
OKNE - Communist Youth Organization of Greece
ONOO – Local People's Liberation Council
OZNA – People's Defense Division
PAO - Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization
PDEG – Pan-Greek Democratic Union of Women
PDOG – International Federation of Democratic Women
POJ - Partisan Units of Yugoslavia
SID - Information Services of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs
SNOF - Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front
SKP(b) – Communist Party of the Soviet Union
UDBA - Directorate of State Security
USSR – United Soviet Socialist Republics

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