

# *Guilty Without Guilt*

**Short Version**



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# **Guilty Without Guilt**

## **Short Version**

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## ARGUMENTS (1945-1949)

WHO ORGANIZED THE PEDOMAZOMA (CHILD COLLECTION PROGRAM) AND COMPILED ITS HISTORY?

NATIONAL HISTORY OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA

An explanation is needed as to why 28,000 children were taken from Greek occupied Macedonia, under the guise of “saving them” during the Greek Civil War, and not allowed to return to their homes unless they declared themselves Greeks by genus?

Who planned the genocide against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in the period from 1945 to 1949?

This book will deal with the historiography of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

I (Stoian Kochov) dedicate this book to the fallen partisans who were forcefully and violently mobilized into the DAG military units.

The child collection program, under the guise of saving the children, took away 28,000 children from their mothers and homes with no intention of ever bringing them back. They were given a one-way ticket out, and for the Macedonian children, the ultimate goal of genocide... This was a politically motivated degradation of human dignity, murderously wounding the Macedonian nation.

The parents of the children who, on September 12, 1948, were fighting in a battle in Malimadi, located between the villages Dambeni and Sliveni, were deprived of the opportunity of seeing their children one last time before leaving their bones in the battlefields of Gramos and Vicho. Before dying they all fought and struggled hard with the hope that one day they would see their children again.

The children, those who were brought back from the Eastern European countries to fight at the front and were all killed, fought

hard hoping that one day they would see their parents again. Sadly they too were deprived.

One of those 28,000 children taken and brought back to fight in the battlefields for DAG was my cousin Mitre Novachkov. A few months after he was sent to an Eastern European country, to be saved from the Greek bombs, he was brought back and turned into a child soldier. His qualifications: he was tall enough to carry a rifle. Sadly he too was killed... during the last battles in the Greek Civil War... in a war which DAG was destined to lose.

Here are some facts:

This is what Ipsilantis, a DAG general, in a sincere confession, told Risto Kizov (son of hero Tanas Kizov) while Risto was searching for his father's grave:

“Elite Macedonian units of Macedonian fighters from (Greek occupied) Macedonia were sent to Grevena to occupy the city and put it under partisan (DAG) control. The commanders who were sent were Giorgi Kalko from the village Visheni, Tanas Kizov from the village Nered and Pando Shiperkov from the village Smrdesh. Sadly, even though they fought heroically, they were all killed. These great and heroic Macedonians paid with their lives in this fateful battle. But that was not all for the Macedonian people; they were exiled from their homes and ancestral lands...”

This shows the courage and heroism demonstrated by the thousands of Macedonian fighters and heroes sent to Vicho and led by GIORGI KALKO, ATANAS GIZA (Tanas Kizov), PANDO SHIPERKOV...

These are facts and evidence of our Macedonian existence and our participation in the Greek Civil War. This, without a doubt, shows that we fought as DAG fighters together and shared our fate with the communist Greeks in the bunkers and trenches in Vicho, Gramos...

I was one of those fighters. And that is one reason why I have dedicated my entire life to earnestly document all possible events that took place during the Greek Civil War and tell our side of the

story and the genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Another reason for my deep involvement in the history of the Greek Civil War is to expose the tragedy the Macedonian people endured, to a point of genocide, in silence for over seventy years with no one to speak for them...

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Had we gone back in time and followed the historical footsteps of our national defeat, despite the painful truth, we would have unequivocally placed the Macedonian people on the right path. Unfortunately we did not do that and have not done it for over seventy years. Not doing that proved to be very harmful to our people as was confirmed after World War II, with the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia who, after Macedonia's partition in 1913, found it difficult to survive spiritually united as one people.

Our history has yet to properly record the Greek Civil War. Our people do not know, and have yet to learn about the greatest evil perpetrated against them: the seizure of 28,000 children; the tearing apart of the Macedonian home; the reshaping of the Macedonian family; and finally their genocide and eradication which brought catastrophic changes to the entire nation. The most unfortunate thing about this is that for over half a century Macedonian history did not want to know the truth; did not want to recognize what truly had happened to us. Our history, especially that of the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia, was pushed to the side and marginalized. But the truth is slowly starting to come out, especially the truth about the Greek Civil War (1945-1949), a period of uncertain political tactics orchestrated by the CPM / CPY, in first forming NOF with a political and military identity and then easily abandoning it to the CPG after the so-called "brotherhood and unity in 1946". In doing so, the CPG not only dominated NOF but also placed the Macedonian people in DAG uniforms and sacrificed them while pursuing its own interests. And those who it did not manage to liquidate it gave a one-way ticket out of their homeland and sent them to roam the world. It did the same with their children in 1948.

In other words, we the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were subjected to a foreign force which did not oppress us, but as a result of its dominion we lost our own power. We were never free to hear our voice of reason. We were never able to hear the voices of truth because we relied on the voices of power above us to tell us what to do. We listened to the CPM/CPY and to the CPG to guide us.



So, how should we interpret this two-dimensional reality?!

The material in this book is mostly dedicated to seeking answers to the essential questions about the brutal act known as “Pedomazoma” which represents a huge and terrible collective human tragedy.

NOTE: The Greek word “Pedomazoma” refers to the child collection program implemented in 1948 in Greek occupied Macedonia that involved about 28,000 children ages 2 to 14. These children, under the guise of “being saved”, were taken from their homes and families in Greek occupied Macedonia and sent to various Eastern European countries and were never allowed to return.

I must admit however, that the process of researching these political processes has been complex and sometimes dependent on philosophical references but, nonetheless, it is possible to find answers outside of the ideological systems.

My aim in this book is to:

Seek facts and not opinions and come face to face with reality which, so far in our history, has been pushed aside in favour of daily politics. In other words, we want to achieve a realistic assessment of events, confirmed by facts and arguments, and stick to the historical past without causing too much turmoil. So, how do we do that?

The Greek Civil War was fought with the Greek government in Athens and its armies on one side and the CPG, the Provisional Democratic government in Greece and DAG on the other. In all this, the most devastating act for the Macedonian people in the 20th century was the loss of the Macedonian children. This was an unheard of and unprecedented act in human history. This is a reality which the Macedonian people have to live with, which has placed a dark mark on their psyche.

Considering that childhood is the most beautiful part of a person’s life, and if pain and sadness is experienced instead of happiness and good times, then it deeply stigmatizes the person’s psyche and

leaves a lasting mark. This is what Greece did when it instigated the “ungodly” migration process to remove the Macedonian people from their ancestral Macedonian lands. And this is exactly what the Pedomazoma was about.

By doing this, was it possible to re-educate and transplant a Macedonian person?! YES it was! Half a century later it shows that it was possible...

Taken away from their parents, friends and home environment, the Macedonian children, trapped in orphanages in foreign countries, not being allowed to return home, were left to experience absence of parental love and family support... craving and dreaming about it forever.

The younger children, uprooted from their parental bosom, too young to remember their parents, were left to wonder: “who am I?”, “Where do I come from?”, “Do I have parents, brothers, sisters, and relatives?”, “What happened to them?”, “What is going to happen to me?”, “Who brought me here?”, “Where am I going from here...?”

The answers to these questions were many and varying... But, worse than that was that the children, engulfed in their daily routine, were under the watchful eye of the Party and bombarded with propaganda in the Party spirit...

And in that spirit, before each occasion or when they were lined up or attending a ceremony, they were loudly asked:

“Whose is General Markos?!” And they loudly replied:

“Ours!”

They were then asked: “And whose are we?” And they loudly replied:

“We are General Markos’s!”

And again a young child would wonder: “Who am I? Where do I come from? Do I have...?”

The parents of these children were also under a special regime. They were mobilized by DAG and sent to the fronts to fight. The CPG

had placed them under unprecedented pressure and demanded from them that they fight hard: “To destroy the Anglo-American occupier” if they wanted to see their children again...

This was confirmed by the mothers at the front, who were left wondering “when would they see their children again?” And were told that they would see them when: “they defeated the Anglo-American fascists!” And to defeat them sooner they would all have to struggle their hardest... The women who built bunkers and trenches on a daily basis had to work even harder because this was their struggle.

They were told: “Tonight you must build three more bunkers than usual so that you can get your children back home faster and so that your fathers, mothers, husbands, brothers and sisters can go home sooner...”

Religion has taught us that a person is responsible for their actions and is judged based on those actions. Communist ideology has taught us that a person must fulfill the tasks of the Party – and that is exactly what the CPG demanded from NOF, AFZH and NOMS! Ideological activists, despite their personal assessments, had no right to contradict Party policy. In other words, an ordinary person had to refrain from individual thought and become completely subordinate to the wishes of the Party because only the Party had the power and magic to know what was best... This is a fact. The Party was responsible for everything, relieving individuals of any accountability and allowing them to be proud of themselves for doing the right thing in allowing the Party to make decisions for them.

This brings us to NOF, AFZH and NOMS! What was their responsibility?

Time and time again the CPG promised the Macedonian people many things but time and time again failed to deliver them. In military terms the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders were deceived, manipulated, threatened and made to feel hopeless.

What about the Macedonian women? What did they experience? “Is it possible for a relative’s heart to go against nature?” NO!

Many of the women who had a chance to leave with their children during the Pedomazoma decided to stay and fight at the front. They felt it was wrong to leave their brothers and sisters to fight alone. Once removed from the war zone, they knew the children would be safe. They had full confidence in the women who went with the children and felt they could contribute more to the struggle if they stayed and fought side by side with their kin.

These women and all the fighters who sacrificed themselves during the conflict firmly believed in what they were doing because the CPG had reassured them, while at the same time demanded their full dedication and nothing less from them. This was total subordination of will on the part of the Macedonians! And, given the way events unfolded, the CPG took no responsibility for its actions. More than that, in the end the CPG blamed the Macedonians for losing the war. This was an unprecedented abuse of power.

The fact that the CPG demanded full dedication from the Macedonian people was evident in its aggressive propaganda campaign through which it strongly insisted that every living Macedonian join the struggle through its slogans:

“No Macedonian must be found outside the NOF anti-fascist organization”

“Only organized will we be able to destroy fascism and gain our rights and the right to self-determination”

“All Macedonian women must join the Antifascist Women’s Front (AFZH) for the complete destruction of fascism, for our freedom, for our rights”

The cruel Greek Civil War left a painful wound on the Macedonian people not only on those who fought in it but also on those who were evacuated, as was the case with the refugee children who then lived in the boarding homes all over Eastern Europe. Despite all attempts on the part of the CPG to turn the children into drones and

child soldiers, some of the older children still remembered who they were and constantly felt homesick and desperately wanted to go home and be with their parents, family and friends. This went on for years...

Many of the adults regretted leaving their homeland and constantly questioned their actions and decisions. Remembering their past they often asked each other: “Who made us leave?” “Who did we serve?” “Whose interests did we protect?” “Why are we bound to suffer?” “Are we alone to be blamed for what happened?” “What about the orders given to us...?”

In other words, there is a need for a national pardon!?

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A question that comes to mind is why haven't the CPG, CPY, CPM, NOF, AFZH and all other “ideological activists” apologized, even over half a century later, to the children, mothers and fathers for permanently separating them and for exiling them from their homeland. Why do they still insist that they “saved them from the claws of the Monarcho-Fascists”? This is truly a painful hypocrisy! Where should we be looking for answers? Should we be blaming the ignorant and naïve for longing to be Macedonian and for wanting their rights and freedoms promised to them...?

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Another question that comes to mind is did we Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia have a strategy for our spiritual and physical survival in our ancestral homeland?

Obviously we did not. If we did we would not have sacrificed our people for “someone else's” interests. NOF was not exactly what our modern history professes it to be because in its historic existence it came into conflict with Macedonian interests many times. First, it had an ideology that had no human context which related to the Macedonian villager in Greek occupied Macedonia. Instead of protecting the naïve people from the fraud perpetrated against them

by foreign interests, it deluded them into believing that the impossible was possible!

We know that NOF alone was not responsible for what happened to the Macedonian people. We know that NOF was only an instrument of someone else's creation but the question is who stood behind it? In other words, who wanted the peaceful Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to become involved in Balkan socialism and why? Why did we Macedonians become involved in the Balkan socialism model after World War Two ended and when that model was already exhausted and pointless? By then Europe and the Balkans were divided into spheres of influence and the question of borders and political systems was already settled.

So, what exactly was our strategy for getting involved in a struggle that was not only detrimental to our cause but in the end brought us catastrophic losses? Unbeknownst to us, was this someone else's plan to fulfill a long Western Power wish to have a Macedonia without Macedonians?

No matter how we approach the problem in the end we will conclude that it was not our aim to become involved in the Greek Civil War. The reality is that, foreigners, through ideological activism, convincingly forced the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to not only accept their demise but also keep quiet about it for over half a century. It was someone else's idea for us to become involved in this conflict with the ultimate goal of driving us out of our homeland. And once that process was started apparently nothing could stop it. What took place during the Greek Civil War was not at all our doing, and unlike the Ilinden Uprising which was organized and led by Macedonians, this conflict was organized and led by outsiders so we can dismiss the idea that the Greek Civil War was a continuation of Ilinden as some of our historians insist!

Here's why: NOF was not a grass roots organization born out of the Macedonian people's desire to fight for independence. NOF was not independently led by Macedonians. NOF was created by foreigners and subordinated to foreigners. In other words, the actions NOF

took during its existence worked against Macedonian interests, leading to grave consequences for both the people and the country.

## 1. MACEDONIA OCCUPIED BY FOUR STATES WITH DIFFERENT POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The gravest consequence for the Macedonian people was the Comintern's thesis that each country had to have one and only one communist party – "One State - One Party".

There was also the famous agreement on the "east" and "west" division of spheres of influence reached between the great powers after the end of World War II where the Macedonian people found themselves in the following position:

Macedonians living in the Republic of Macedonia: 50% east, 50% west.

Macedonians living in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia: 90% east, 10% west.

Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia: 100% west.

Macedonians living in Albanian occupied Macedonia: 90% east and 10% west.

With the passage of time, especially after the 1919 Treaty of Versailles was signed, the Comintern thesis took hold and shifted into practice working against Macedonian interests and against the Macedonian people's liberation struggle. Things went from bad to worse when, in May 1943, Stalin dissolved the Communist International (Comintern) allowing each communist party to plot its own course.

## 2. THE THESIS: ONE STATE, ONE PARTY

While the Comintern existed, with its power and global influence in the Balkans, it was able to:

- Recognize Macedonia's division.
- Recognize the non-alignment in Macedonia, legalize the Macedonian struggle and realize the Macedonian revolutionary movement.

- But at the same time a legal opportunity was created for the annexation of Macedonian territory and the appropriation of the revolutionary struggle in general. In other words, the single Macedonian Liberation Organization that once existed was permanently disrupted.

Given that Macedonia was annexed by four different states with different systems which were not willing to allow the Macedonian people to operate outside of their interests, it became very difficult and nearly impossible for Macedonians to organize a common front in their struggle for their rights. In fact those who called for such a struggle were mistreated and condemned as secessionists, treacherous elements, destructive elements and even factional elements. In other words all Macedonian national aspirations in general were opposed. As a result the Macedonian national movement assumed a separatist character as did NOF in 1945. This was true with all communist parties of the states that occupied Macedonian territories. It is under these conditions that we need to examine and summarize the problems and the issues that confronted the Macedonian people so that we can clarify them and avoid misunderstandings.

Here's how Dr. Stoian Kiselinovski explained the basic Communist movement thesis in his article entitled: "The Nation and the State in the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement (1893-1944)", published in the weekly review Pulse, March 17, 1995.

"The Communist movement, because of its long historical Leninist discontinuity, does not treat the national question on a principled basis, i.e. always working towards the interests of the enslaved nation, but uses a tactical approach which corresponds to the so-called class interests which always correspond with the state interests of the dominant nation, thus essentially denying people their right to self-determination."

In our case during the Greek Civil War, the Macedonian people were torn between their national consciousness and the binding political directions offered to them by the communist parties in the states that occupied Macedonian territories.



The program proclaimed by the Comintern was endorsed by the CPG in principle and offered the Macedonian people: “Full minority equality” the same as that of the other citizens within the Greek state which was valid from 1935 to 1949 year. This can be confirmed by the CPG, CPY and CPB instructors who graduated from the Party high school in Moscow in the years before World War II ended. These instructors were from all parts of occupied Macedonia and adhered to and supported the Comintern resolution adopted at the 7th Congress in 1935, only because they were under strong Comintern influence. Even though it originated from the communist movement, the thesis “One State - One Party” was a fundamental obstacle to the realization of any Macedonian unification program at the outset of World War II. Then, after the ethnic changes took place in Greek occupied Macedonia with the settling of the Turkish Christian colonists, the communists tried to convince us that it was all legal as a result of a lawful “exchange of populations”. But their ultimate goal was to eliminate us...

But no matter what the outside desire has been and how hard the Greeks and others have tried to eliminate us, our aspirations have remained a constant, adhering to them with obvious intentions and believing that we could exist in some genuine partnership with someone as we did with the Greek communists during the Greek Civil War. But in the end we lost everything – our country, our people, especially an entire generation of young people. Sadly our problems have not diminished with the passing of time and today we are faced with more problems – we are about to lose our name (unfortunately we lost that too). One thing that has remained constant in all this is that the more these outsiders want to get rid of us and insist that there are no Macedonians, the more we desire to remain Macedonian...

But just to be clear here, were we genuine partners with the Greek communists? Did the Greek communists fight for our rights? Let us extend that question and ask: “Did the Macedonian communists and members of the CPG fight for an independent Macedonia?” And if we say they did then how could they?

If the basic principles on which a nation / state is based, i.e. territory, government, historical past, cultural past, ethnicity, language and

economic principles, then, as members of the CPG, the Macedonian communists had to accept the CPG programs which abandoned the principles territory and state. By CPG directive all its members were ordered to exclusively struggle for Greece's sovereignty and territorial integrity which automatically rejected everything that was Macedonian – ethnicity, language, culture, history. Which is to say that the Macedonian people sacrificed themselves for close to nothing; for a tiny program the CPG offered them specifically after May 15, 1943 when Stalin dissolved the Communist International, which formally recognized the right of individual communist parties to self-determination? (See: History of the Macedonian People, Skopje, 1988, page 345.)

### 3. THE ENGLISH POSITION

Here is what the United Kingdom Secretary of Foreign Affairs said on August 16, 1944 in a document entitled “Macedonia – Memorandum”: “We are ready to give consent to the formation of a Macedonian state within the federal Yugoslav state. At the same time, we must insist that this state must not annex or seek other territories, regardless of whether those territories belong to Bulgaria or to Greece.”

In the same document the Secretary reiterated the fact that the British had an interest sharing agreement in which Greece was under 100% British-influence, with the right, if necessary, to intervene at any time and by any means possible.

This was confirmed by the fact that in the summer of 1944 Tito demanded that the NOV Macedonian units secure the southern border with Greece in order to secure and preserve the sovereign borders of these states.

At the same time the United States emphasized the need to preserve the status quo territorial integrity of the pre-war Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Greek borders. Even though it recognized the Macedonian territory in Greece, the United States was categorically against any border revision.

For more information on this see the article entitled “Why Not to Solun” by Vlado Ivanovski, published in “Nova Makedonija” on October 11-12, 1997. Number. 3.

Note: There is a broader explanation of the English position on the Macedonian question at the end of World War II. The English were concerned that the existence of a Macedonian state would endanger British interests in Greece and the Balkans in general. The English position on the Macedonian question was spelled out in a Memorandum on Macedonia, prepared by the Foreign Office Political-Research Department on August 20, 1944. According to the Memorandum the idea of an independent Macedonia was not accepted but various variants of a federation were offered:

One of those variants was the establishment of a Balkan federation that would include Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. In that variant Macedonia would be autonomous. However, no consent was offered by the other Great Powers for this variant.

Another variant was a federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, with the Bulgarian part of occupied Macedonia joining the Republic of Macedonia. This variant would have received support from the USSR and would not have jeopardized Greek, Turkish or British interests in the Balkans.

But, given that the situation might change in the future, the English could accept the formation of an independent Macedonian state. The English demanded that if such a federation was to be created then it required guarantees from the Macedonians and the Yugoslav leadership that Bulgarian and Greek occupied Macedonia would not be annexed because this would endanger British interests in Greece and Turkey. This Memorandum was sent to the United States and the USSR and they agreed with it. Afterwards, it was submitted to the governments of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece.

See: “British Documents on Macedonia” KN. 1, 15, 22 and 64.

#### 4. THE USSR POSITION

Where did the USSR stand regarding the question of creating a Macedonian state in March 1949?

Chernishov, a Soviet representative in Greece, telephoned Moscow on March 8, 1949 and reported that the Greek reactionaries were using unprecedented aggressive propaganda against the Communist Party of Greece and against the partisan movement (DAG). They were particularly angry and disturbed by the decisions the CPG Central Committee made during its 5th Plenum and during the National Liberation Front's 2nd Congress regarding the "Macedonian question". The strongest actions and propaganda were directed against the CPG and DAG; the reactionaries claimed that allegedly the CPG and DAG were attempting to usurp the sovereignty of Greece, that is, the entire territory of the state. Discussions about the unification of Macedonia continue even now, added Chernishov,

With this propaganda the government in Athens used the opportunity to recruit more government troops to pursue the partisans in the DAG controlled territories. The vast majority of Greek people were particularly sensitive when it came to the question of Greece's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This was also true of the communist and partisan sympathizers who lived in the cities. So, before the Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF) was about to convene its Congress on March 10 in the DAG controlled territories, the Anglo-American state press, with provocative intentions, declared that the Congress was going to opt for the incorporation of Greek occupied Macedonia into a common state that was to include Bulgarian occupied Macedonia and the Republic of Macedonia, and by supporting this the Communist Party of Greece was "betraying Greek occupied Macedonia".

According to information Chernishov received from Moscow, i.e. the USSR's position, the Congress organizers were told that it was unwise for the Congress to discuss, even for the future of the Macedonian people, some kind of Balkan Federation and urged the Congress delegates to turn their attention to orienting the population in Greek occupied Macedonia, "to focus its energy in the fight against the Monarcho-Fascists in Greece and to struggle for the creation of a free and democratic Greece".

## 5. THE ELAS AND CPG POSITION

Orders signed on October 16, 1944, by ELAS commanders Evripidis, Bakirgis and Vafiadis, were sent to ELAS army units in Greek occupied Macedonia, which at the time were concentrating their attention on destroying German army units, instructing them to leave their positions and relocate south into Greece. Those orders also included instructions to destroy the so-called “Slavo-Macedonian” battalions that fled to Yugoslavia. This was the CPG’s position at the time which shows that Markos Vafiadis was not a “Titoist” during that period and did not sympathize with the idea of creating a United Macedonia within a Balkan Federation. (See: Elisabeth Barker).

Given the above facts we need to ask:

Why would ELAS want to liquidate the Macedonian battalions in the same way it wanted to liquidate the German army units? Also, knowing that General Markos Vafiadis personally signed an order to destroy Macedonian units then why did NOF and AFZH enter the joint struggle in the following years (1946-1949)?

On July 16, 1943, ELAS Commander Sarafis and English Army Chief of Staff Colonel Eddie Mayers signed a joint Agreement recognizing ELAS as an allied army and placing it under Middle East command. After that, on October 31, 1944, a larger group of English troops with armoured vehicles entered Solun before ELAS. Since ELAS was now an allied army why not allow ELAS to enter Solun first? Three days later, the London-based BBC radio reported to the world that British troops had liberated Solun. On February 12, 1945, the Varkiza Agreement was signed between the leaders of the CPG and EAM on the one hand, and Plastiras’s Greek government and English General Scobie on the other -. With that agreement, EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the political right which resulted in the destruction of ELAS as an army of the people.

Those were the facts. Now let us have a look at what the CPG Central Committee said about that on November 15, 1948. In an assessment of events the CPG declared that: “As an ELAS

commissar of the group of ELAS divisions in Macedonia, Markos Vafiadis conducted a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonian fighters...” (See: “Neos Cosmos”, August 1950, “Ten Years of Struggling” p. 470.)

The question is why did the CPG confess to this so late in the game after Markos Vafiadis was already removed from his position? Was it because the CPG wanted to spill more Macedonian blood in this so-called Greek Civil War?

## FALSE MEMORY SYNDROME

Questions that come to mind: Given the position the Great Powers had taken with regards to “spheres of influence” in the Balkans, why did the political leadership in Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia not abandon the idea of a Macedonian unification? It was well-known that the iron curtain ran right through Macedonia, dividing Greek occupied Macedonia from the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgarian occupied Macedonia. Given this, then why were the Macedonian people told that the Republic of Macedonia would be joined to Bulgarian occupied Macedonia through a Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation and, more importantly, why were they convinced that Greek occupied Macedonia would join the federation if the so-called Greek Civil War was won? Why were the Macedonian people involved on such a massive scale when the CPY, CPM and CPG leaderships were well-aware that what the Macedonians were fighting for was impossible to achieve? Not without Great Power consent and by then the Great Powers had already decided on the division of spheres of influence! If the Macedonian people were not fighting to achieve their (false) objectives then what were they fighting for?

It would appear that the architects who created this scenario were in line with the 1913 objectives regarding Macedonia; invade, occupy, partition and annex it and eliminate the Macedonian people by any means possible! Unable to fulfill their objectives during World War II, these architects concocted the so-called Greek Civil War in order to lure the Macedonian people into bringing about their own destruction. And what better way than to offer them the impossible; a “United Macedonia” after World War II! What a triumph this must have been?!

But, at the same time, was there no one on the Macedonian side to figure this out? Did they truly believe that the CPY, CPB and CPG, especially the CPG, were committed to giving up the Macedonian territories they had annexed in 1913, for the good of the Macedonian people? Were they deaf and blind as to how the CPG was treating them all along?

Was there ever a solid national Macedonian strategy that called for a “United Macedonia” that all the communist parties agreed to? And what happened to the “One state One Party” principle?

In other words, we wanted to be with the CPG and the CPY and accepted their rules to the extent that we became submissive and fell under their control. And where did this lead us? To our national defeat and to genocide! Then, in 1945 to 1949, because of our slave-like obedience, we made our situation even more complicated; and later, even with our name in Europe itself.

After World War II when people believed that bloodshed would no longer be allowed we, the Macedonians, experienced genocide... We blindly risked everything and paid for it dearly... and what did we achieve? How could we achieve anything when we were under CPY and CPG control? We fought to defend a communist ideology and we lost everything including our identity which our ancestors had fought for centuries to preserve. We now have only our memories that remain ingrained in the consciousness of the Macedonian people as a permanent testimony and a reminder of our ethnic cleansing, which, soon after DAG’s liquidation, turned into another unprecedented tragedy which we, ourselves, witnessed.

More questions that come to mind: Why did the architects and political strategists of that time come up with the idea of creating a united Macedonia? Was it to destroy any Macedonian unity that was left and take the Macedonian people off the map? In other words was it done to achieve exactly the opposite? What led them to do this? Was it the absurd behaviour in the Balkans? The great historical fanaticism accumulated over the years? The various deadly ideologies that surfaced at that time? The fact that the Balkans was the most conflicted region in Europe? Surprisingly, at the time, some of the same strategists and politicians were engaged in building new “civilizations” in Siberia and Goli Otok. [Here the author is referring to the Macedonian fighters who were sent to the Soviet Union and used to create new settlements in order to meld them into the local ethnic composition.] But, did we Macedonians appreciate that? Did we view their actions as good or evil? Why have we not spoken about that in the last fifty years or so? Why did we all keep quiet like dummies? Did we find salvation in our silence



especially after the February 1953 Balkan Treaty, a military agreement between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, signed to place a wall of silence? [The author here is referring to the 1953 Balkan Pact 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.]

Given the situation the Macedonian people found themselves in at the time, should they have looked back at the outcome of the war, when they knew that there was barely one primordial desire in the common Macedonian and that was to remain Macedonian, no matter how much he or she suffered, in order to preserve his or her country, language and people... as well as his or her own children?

It was precisely this physical separation that these architects were counting on to bring total spiritual separation between the Macedonian people which, in the long term, would have devastating and disastrous consequences. This genocide against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia was also a test for the world; a problem to which no one reacted... That was then and today, the same world, is questioning the name of the entire Macedonian ethnicity.

Sadly, this spiritual separation does not end with outsiders but is ingrained in some of the Macedonian people in power who, to this day, have made no effort to break the silence about the genocides committed against us.

At this point it is important to inform the reader that this book and the arguments presented here are not in line with the written, mainstream history of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. This book takes a more critical approach to examining historical actions and events and tries to present them as they happened regardless of their political correctness.

Our destiny is ours alone and we need to take it into our own hands. It is sad to willingly allow others to rule over us and shape our destiny like we have allowed them to do for the past half century. Too many years have passed during which we have allowed

foreigners to drag us by our noses! Also, it is time that historical actions and events are allowed to speak for themselves and reveal what really happened to us Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia.

## A LETTER FROM RISTO BURNAZOV

Dear Stoian,

I decided to print your article entitled “One-way Ticket” because I found it easier to read. I found your story about this part of our history (history of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia) precise and clear. What you presented here, at least for me, are very important historical events which you support with facts and documents. The article is comprehensive and makes good reading. It provides a good understanding of the events that took place. You have done wonders in capturing the events and actions in your history article entitled “Struggles of the Macedonian generations under Greece through foreign ideologies”, where you present the contributions, opinions and views of certain important historical and political figures, who pervaded the narrative opus of our historical knowledge, as you yourself have done. I find them especially interesting and important because rarely has any historian, so accurately and in detail, presented clearly and documented events in continuity and informed us about our ordeals and suffering. It is clear to me that your knowledge and determination to unearth historical facts, above all, is due to your personal participation in ELAS and DAG as a fighter and participant in those events. Your work is of particular importance to all of us and, beyond, to the demystification of certain superficial ideologies with which we have become entrenched in some blurry truth with a vague connection to historical authenticity.

You earned your praise for revealing the historical truth which I very much appreciate and consider it to be the work of a committed and persistent patriot. And now I will add my own remarks:

I found the 24 page article entitled “One-way Ticket” to be stylistically constructed and clear in its content and sentences. It is easy to read. The editorially refined sentences allowed me as a reader to summarize my thoughts, attitudes and clarifications expressed.

However, the editorial comments in the article “Struggles of the Macedonian generations under Greece through foreign ideologies”

lacks editorial control and the text contains errors. Sometimes the text comes out vague and confusing.

But to be sure, for me, it is still important that the true history of the struggle of the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia be put on paper. The technical flaws are not as significant and noticeable as compared to the worth of exposing the manipulations, betrayals, mysteries and inconsistencies that led all fronts to a United or partially United Macedonia, and to the detriment of the Macedonian people.

The Macedonian people in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, that is the Macedonian people under Greece, participated in all wars and battles since a part of Macedonia was annexed by Greece. In fact all Macedonian people in all parts of Macedonia participated in the armies of the neighbouring countries. During the wars they fought in the front lines for the countries that had occupied them. This means that they fought for foreign interests and they knew that, which, in itself, was an injustice to their own people. As a result they felt completely betrayed and humiliated, especially when their sacrifices were not only not recognized but completely ignored and they themselves were abused and made to suffer. This has been our fate!

And now, in 2018, we are experiencing a dark, unprecedented and incomprehensible madness brought upon us by these same foreigners through unscrupulous, corrupt politicians and traitors who want to erase the Macedonian state, the Macedonian people and everything that is Macedonian:

- Our nationality,
- Our identity,
- Our history,
- Our culture,
- Our independence.

How do we endure this treasury brought upon us by Zoran Zaev, Nikola Dimitrov, Sekerinska and their vassals - supporters of this great outrageous act - plotters of the shameful agreements with Greece and Bulgaria - for the destruction of MACEDONISM?

This reminds me of the proverb: “He who does not love and respect himself will be used many times over by strangers!”

Best regards,  
Risto Burnazov  
Boston, August 2 (Ilinden) 2018

While important research is conducted on migration issues worldwide, our migrations over the years have been ignored and our people have been compelled to remain silent... because it was and apparently still is politically correct. While papers of new studies are emerging in the world today, revealing the cruelest and most complex elements of projected persecution, ours sadly remain hidden. It seems the science of this subject for us has remained deaf for over half a century. No one seems to care, as if nothing happened to the 28,000 children exiled from Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War. No one seems to care that these children have been deprived of their parents, their homes and their rights and who, to this day, still have no right to return home. The exiling of our children during the Greek Civil War, for us Macedonians, was one of the most tragic and serious problems in Macedonian history. Why? Because this has not happened even in the cruelest Balkan wars – to have innocent children ripped out of their families and homes and sent to oblivion for the sake of politics... It is unimaginable! While these deprived Macedonian children were given a one-way ticket out of their native hearths, and left to roam the world and never return, the Greek children were allowed to return. How fair is that? Sadly this cruel act was extended to their Macedonian fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, grandparents... And yet with unprecedented brutality, even today in this so-called modern civilization, these people are still prevented from returning to their native land, to their ancestral historic roots. It would not have been so ironic if both Macedonians and Greeks were allowed to return.

The main purpose for tackling the Macedonian child refugee issue is to present as realistic a view as possible of the historical truth and political thought of the so-called “ΠΕΔΟΜΑΖΟΜΑ” (the collection of children) or simply the “kidnapping” of children carried out by

the two warring parties: the Greek regime in Athens, on one hand, and the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece (CPG and DAG) on the other, who fought each other in the 1945 to 1949 so-called Greek Civil War.

The conflicts between these warring parties were purely class struggle and ideology (but not very clear, precisely in light of the views held by the CPG (Vafiadis and Zahariadis) and the CPM/CPY). In other words, while the Communists allegedly fought for socialism, that is, for the global project and for the socialization of the Balkans, the Greek government fought for the status quo.

In all this we also need to examine the role of NOF and AFZH, the Macedonian organizations, which faithfully served the Communist Party of Greece as was recommended by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The CPG, through NOF and AFZH's dedication and commendable attachment to the communist party, made full use of these Macedonian organizations in organizing and mobilizing the Macedonian people in the war effort during the Greek Civil War. Then, after DAG was defeated, NOF and AFZH along with their comrade-in-arms had to leave their native homes in Greek occupied Macedonia and go to the socialist republics and the USSR. Thousands of Macedonian DAG fighters and many Macedonians, members of the CPG, were given a one-way ticket out and sent to roam the world. At the same time, Greeks who committed the same sins: struggled to bring socialism to Greece, even the biggest Greek Communists, were allowed to return to their homes. This is a fact, everything else is speculation...

The question that needs to be asked here is: What consequences did the formation of NOF and AFZH have on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia? We know for a fact that the creation of a Macedonian state as part of the Yugoslav federation had greatly influenced the Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia. We also know that the CPY/CPM leaderships opposed the CPG's attitude and practice towards the Macedonian question. So, in essence, the Macedonian people were offered two options; one, the right to self-determination, and two, continue to follow the Greek Communists position on the Macedonian question, recognize the Macedonian people as a minority with rights within the Greek state.

Thus, the Macedonian people were divided into two camps: one with the CPG and the other with the CPM / CPY. These were not options born out of the Macedonian people, they were options offered by outsiders and had ultimate strategic goals: to get the Macedonian people committed and then to recruit and deploy them as they pleased.

NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed under a CPM/CPY initiative outside and independent of the CPG. When they were formed, NOF, AFZH and NOMS contradicted the CPG position on the Macedonian question and the kind of struggle taking place. This caused division in the Macedonian national liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia with irreconcilable and tragic consequences. Disagreements, clashes, suspicions, and prejudices were so sharp that they continued even after the so-called CPG-NOF unification in November 1946. But, contrary to what our historiography calls it, this was not a voluntary unification of two partners. The truth is: The CPG ordered the unification through its Bureau of Macedonia. It was an unconditional unification between the CPG and all military units formed by NOF without any concessions in favour of NOF. Markos Vafiadis, then Commander of General Staff, took advantage of this situation in the second half of September 1946 and forced the following conditions on NOF:

1 - Unconditionally disband all Macedonian units and have the NOF fighters join the CPG units.

2 - The CPG reserves the right to choose its own “commanders” in its military headquarters in whom it has full confidence.

This is how NOF came to be under CPG leadership. The conditions imposed on it were never eliminated, that is, they were employed all throughout the Greek Civil War and beyond... to this day. NOF was never independent. It was never a political or military factor the way our mainstream history has portrayed it. This is a fact.

This, of course, was deliberately done by the CPM/CPY and as a result, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia paid for it dearly. They contracted the “Macedonian syndrome” which, a

long time ago, Bishop Caravangelis had described as the “suicide syndrome”.

We need to ask the question: Did NOF, AFZH and NOMS call on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to join these organizations and struggle to achieve their aspirations which were contrary to Greek national interests, which the CPG, EAM and ELAS were protecting? Yes they did! Then why did NOF, AFZH and NOMS become obedient and servile to the CPG after 1946 to 1949? What concessions did the CPG make to put these organizations under its control? And, what national goals did these organizations have when they surrendered to the CPG? (See: Assessments made by CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis after DAG’s liquidation.)

The most tragic thing about this is that NOF, AFZH and NOMS took no responsibility for leading the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia from April 1945, when these organizations were formed by the CPM/CPY, to the fall of 1946 when they were surrendered to the CPG.

Should we Macedonians forget our real history and accept the blame for supposedly having lost the revolution like we have been taught by our Macedonian mainstream history for over half a century? Should those who needed to speak in the last half century still remain silent and those who were supposed to be silent still speak? Should we conform to what we have been taught and allow the truth to slowly die? It is well-known that the past never dies completely. More than half a century has passed and yet those who were expected to speak are still silent and those who were expected to remain silent are still speaking!

It would appear that fueling historical calamities benefits only those who still want to create “small” and “big” Macedonians.

In other words, we will continue to commit great historical injustice against the Macedonian people for as long as we remain silent and not cry out and tell the world that we have been victimized and that malicious and genocidal acts have been committed against us by strangers. People have seen and know exactly what happened but



those acts will be ignored for as long as we Macedonians remain silent.

It is a painful fact that during the time when NOF and AFZH were totally obedient to the communist parties, to a point of slavery, we placed things on trust “in search of lost time”. But, after careful consideration, many things have been revealed including the disappearance of a large branch of the great Macedonian tree not to mention that we lost more than 50% of our ethnic Macedonia. So, if we are to look internally at the Macedonian nation we will find one great historical catastrophe.

Even half a century later, we still find lies claiming that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were never manipulated nor sacrificed during the Greek Civil War. We find that everything that was done by foreigners was in good faith. Sadly this puts us in a position of eternal confrontation with constant flashbacks from the past in all spheres of our lives, even within our own Macedonian people.

## DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PROCESSES AND EVENTS AFTER WORLD WAR II

The events that took place in 1945, which contributed to the outbreak of the Greek Civil War (1946 - 1949), were seen by Greek historians as the start of the civil war. According to official history, the Greek Civil War began on March 31, 1946, when the town Lithohori was attacked by armed CPG sympathizers and ELAS members who disagreed with the Varkiza Agreement. So, research done to expose the historical cause for the civil war revealed that it was ideology that started the war from the first attack on the police station in Lithohori on the night of March 30, 1946 at 22.30 o'clock.

That was official history but there are people, however, who question official history, especially some of the resistance leaders and DAG participants who know that the armed resistance began on April 23, 1946, when NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed and dispatched to Greek occupied Macedonia to prepare the people for war. These people have posed the question:

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

From a political standpoint, all Greek assessments - historical, Greek government army general staff, DAG general staff assessments, etc. to this day have deemed the Greek Civil War (1946 - 1949) a great historical mistake because it took place after World War II had ended and after all issues were settled. That is after the major powers agreed at the Yalta conference on how to divide the Balkans by spheres of influence and had decided to allow state borders to remain "status quo".

By then a Greek government was already established in Athens and the iron curtain was in place dividing Greek occupied Macedonia from the Republic of Macedonia and Bulgarian occupied Macedonia. In other words, with very minor changes, the 1913 border between Greece and Yugoslavia was to remain "status quo".

After World War II ended many things took place in Greece, especially after the Varkiza Agreement was signed opening the door

for the Greek political right to take power. As a result the door was opened for the English to take a foothold in Greece and for organized terror aimed at the CPG, ELAS, EAM... to begin.

Results of organized terror, in the period from February 12 to March 31, 1946, were summarized in a report prepared by the EAM Central Committee and submitted by Mihalis Kirkos at one of the UN Special Commission Oversight sessions. Following is a summary of the report:

Killed	1,284
Wounded	6,681
Interned	31,632
Arrested	34,931
Missing	151
Raped	165

And about 500 more were mistreated in various other ways.

For the sake of historic accuracy let us also mention that the EAM report was written by a Frenchman named Octav Meliee, director of the French Institute in Athens in 1945. (See: Tasos Vournas, 1981/32, Athens.)

## GREEK MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS UP TO 1946

At the beginning of July 1946, the Greek government military was composed of four mountain divisions:

The 7th Division located in Kavala,  
The 8th Division located in Ioannina,  
The 10th Division in Solun, and  
The 15th Division in Kozhani.

By July 1946, the Greek government forces numbered 104,000, of which 45,000 were in the infantry. They were organized into 80 infantry battalions.

## AMERICAN IMPACT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT FORCES

Many important events took place as a result of Western Power influence in Greece in 1946 and 1947, but the most important event took place during the Tehran Conference, when Greece agreed to be placed under English and American influence.

1. In February 1947, the United Kingdom informed the United States that for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947, England would cease to support Greece. The US government estimated that if it did not inherit its new role, Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence.

2. An agreement between the US Government and the Greek Government in Athens was signed bringing US dominance in Greece and pushing England out.

3. US President Harry Truman on March 1, 1947, proclaimed the "Truman Doctrine" allowing the United States to be engaged in Greece. Greece was given credit and modern military equipment to equip its government forces. At the same time, US General Van Fleet, an anti-guerrilla specialist, was made available to the Greek government. Van Fleet was commander of the American military advisory group which was also made available to the Greek government in early 1947.

Van Fleet's strategy and tactics were used all throughout the Greek Civil War especially during the Vicho and Gramos battles on August 28-30, 1949, when DAG was defeated and driven out of the bunkers in Greece to Albania.

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Sadly the global assessment of DAG's history which highlights some of the basic problems experienced during the Greek Civil War mentions nothing about the Macedonian contribution. It does not mention the Macedonian people at all even though they contributed more than 50% of DAG's military resources. Therefore, it is time that we ourselves recognize our Macedonian contribution, the

problems we faced and mistakes we made. It is time to dump our mainstream political, national and historical nonsense and find the answer to the question: Did Greek propaganda on both sides of the conflict influenced us to voluntarily give up our children?!

A historical agreed upon solution was concocted to solve the so-called “DAG problem” for analysts and historians. During the CPG Central Committee Second Plenum it was declared that the Armed Uprising began on March 31, 1946, exactly one year after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945. It began after EAM and the CPG left forces handed over power to the right forces. And this was a historical mistake.

Were we Macedonians a factor in any of these agreements? The answer is NO! Why not? Because we were never a political entity – we never fought to become one – we simply blindly followed the lead of others – outsiders and strangers.

There is a lot written about this and some things are explained much better than the official CPG documents and various works of historians and writers. So, let us continue with the chronicles

## CHRONICLES (FROM OUR HISTORIOGRAPHY)

### THE TIME FOR WAITING AND WISHING IS STRONGER THAN CIRCUMSTANCES

In the second decade of October 1944 the Lerin - Kostur battalion separated from ELAS and crossed over into Yugoslavia (Republic of Macedonia), where it was organized into a brigade and placed in the Yugoslav army under the auspices of the Republic of Macedonia's NOV and PO.

This is what the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were told about that:

The Macedonian Communists who left the CPG, EAM and ELAS were strongly condemned by the CPG but welcomed and accepted by the CPM/CPY. In Bitola, under CPM/CPY guidance and assistance the POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF AEGEAN (Greek occupied) MACEDONIA was constituted, which consisted of Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia but was chaired by a representative from the Republic of Macedonia's CPM Central Committee. The Aegean Brigade was created in Free Bitola on November 18, 1944, and consisted of fighters from the Macedonian battalions and from newly arrived refugees who fled Greek occupied Macedonia.

What does all this tell us? It tells us that once again we were divided and controlled by entities that had little to no vested interests in our cause.

Also, among other things, it reminds us of old hatreds and disagreements. Unfortunately every history of every people has its own doctrine except for ours which seems to repeat with tragedies; challenges on the roadmap of our future.

The Republic of Macedonia's position on: "WHY NOT TO SOLUN?"

"...The Republic of Macedonia's political and military leadership had already realistically assessed, maintained and controlled the

situation during the January events, not allowing the emotions of common sense to prevail, and thus prohibiting the newly formed and fragile Republic of Macedonia from becoming entangled in a new war against the allies who fought in the anti-Hitler coalition during World War II.”

## DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE

On December 9, 1944, MacLean, head of the British Mission in Belgrade, visited Josip Broz Tito and voiced England’s concerns regarding the Aegean Brigade. He told Tito that forming the Aegean Brigade constituted territorial claims on Greek and Bulgarian territories and warned him not to interfere in Greek affairs, that is, in the clashes between ELAS and British forces in Athens, which began on December 3, 1944.

Tito reassured MacLean that Yugoslavia had no pretensions on Greek (occupied) Macedonia and that the Aegean Brigade would not be sent to Greece. On December 22, 1944, Tito ordered the Aegean Brigade not to go to Greek occupied Macedonia and join ELAS and for Yugoslavia not to provide the promised aid. He said he was doing this because of Stalin’s directive to the CPG leadership to cease the armed struggle and work out a peaceful solution to the conflict with England.

Then, by a strictly confidential special order No. 236 issued by Marshal Tito, the “Aegean Brigade” was disbanded on April 2, 1945.

But this is not what our historians have told us. Our mainstream history claims that: “Not a month after the formation of the Aegean Brigade in Bitola, the CPG and ELAS demanded that it be disbanded and its fighters join the ELAS units. There is no mention of any other events or agreements taking place or Tito’s involvement in this. (See; Dr. Risto Kiriazovski’s article “Chronicles of the struggle in Aegean Macedonia: Ilia Dimovski-Gotse).

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1945 AND THE CREATION OF NOF

On April 23, 1945, the day NOF was created, the Macedonian people were once again thrown into chaotic uncertainty, a big breakthrough in the unknown. April 23, 1945, was the dawn of a new and painful destiny for the Macedonian people. Ironically no one asked the people what they wanted...

A very important question needs to be asked at this point:

Did we alone bring this fateful fate onto the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia by the very act of forming NOF, AFZH and NOMS after World War II ended? Did we not know that the well-known contradictory communist party (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece) policies and practices in pursuit of the Macedonian national question would ideologically engage us in this so-called "Greek Civil War" with the intent of activating the "Macedonian syndrome" and leading us to fight one another: Macedonian versus Macedonian? Why did we follow this ideological path put before us to lead us to confusion and disorganization?

Why did we do this knowing that there was:

- a) A Macedonian movement with a Bulgarian ethnic-historical tendency;
- b) A Macedonian national movement with a Macedonian national ethnic-historical tendency, and now, after World War II ended, there was
- c) A Macedonian movement with a pro Yugoslav historical tendency.

The great political oversight that took place before our eyes in 1945 - 1949, was in fact, the most tragic even in our history. It was a time in which not only world history but also our own Macedonian history would hardly notice our misery and misfortune.

I have been looking at this whole issue, the creation of NOF and all the suffering that came from it, for many years and wondered why



could we not foresee the outcome of what we were doing? I kept asking myself:

First, how did we portray our problems to the world, specifically to the Great Powers? How did we present our Macedonian options, role and vision in the Greek Civil War?

Second, how did we Macedonians look at our problems ourselves, and how well were we convinced that we were doing the right thing all throughout the Greek Civil War?

Did we know and perhaps respect the Leninist thesis that the Communist movement views the national question as tactically and fundamentally in the interests that always correspond to the state interests of the dominant nation, in our case the Greek state? The question then arises: In either case, why did we allow NOF, AFZH and NOMS to lead us by the nose and sell us on the idea that we were struggling for something completely different... and eventually to our national defeat?

Third, given that our struggle and the heavy price we paid was a very important event in our history, why was it not treated as part of our integral Macedonian history? Why was it treated separately as “Aegean history”, and as such could not be allowed to be part of our Macedonian national history?

Up until 1945, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia had a strong spiritual and national unity. They, particularly the older generation, shared the same spirit and nurtured their Macedonian national identity. As a survival strategy they had embraced their Macedonian culture, identity and community. This is how NOF was able to find fertile ground and become the dominant master over the masses in propagating the policy dictated to them by the CPM/CPY.

NOF was under CPM/CPY control from April 23, 1945, when NOF was created, until November 21, 1946 when the so-called “Brotherhood and Unity” idea came into existence, that is, when the CPM/CPY surrendered NOF to the CPG. After that NOF remained under CPG control until the end of the Greek Civil War and beyond.

So, the question that comes to mind is: “Who were our allies during the course of the Greek Civil War?” And the answer is “NO ONE!” Not even the CPM since it too was subordinate to the CPY. In other words, the Macedonian people were used and suffered immensely and spilled rivers of blood for someone else’s interests.

Now let us examine some of the facts:

It would appear that no Macedonian national strategy was created in Skopje on April 23, 1945 when NOF, the National Liberation Front for Greek occupied Macedonia, was created, that was outside and independent of the CPG or any other political entity in Greece that was acting for or led by the CPM/CPY. NOF’s program for over a year was to fight for national rights and for the right to self-determination. In order to achieve that strategic goal NOF was required to begin an armed struggle. On April 28, 1945, NOF began to form Macedonian partisan units. (See: Kiriazovski, 1995/202). In other words, NOF was sent to Greece by the Yugoslav government to start a war...

So the question that comes to mind is: “How was NOF expected to accomplish this?” It is more than clear that most of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia at the time did not have the same expectations or goals and demands as NOF. This was quickly confirmed by the fact that the people were not willing to start a new war. In other words, NOF failed in its initial attempts because it failed to properly assess the people’s strength, much less their strategic interests and plans. Unfortunately none of this was made clear by the NOF, CPM and CPY strategists.

But a more important question is: “Would NOF have been able to achieve self-determination in Greek occupied Macedonia given that over 600,000 colonists and settlers had been deposited there since 1924 who did not agree with NOF’s goals and objectives and given that the Macedonian population at the time was a minority? The answer is NO!

Let us have a look at the demographic numbers:

Greeks	711,428	50.36%
Macedonians	240,000	17%
Karamanli	210,000	14.87%
Armenians	80,000	5.66%
Hebrews	68,206	4.83%
Vlachs	44,414	3.14%
Roma	25,302	1.79%
Others	33,127	2.35%
Total	1.412.477	100%

The diverse refugee population from the Caucasus is also included within the Greek population. The Greek population by origin and language is actually less than 50% of the total population living in Greek occupied Macedonia. (See Stoian Kiselinovski 2000 / 48.)

The question is:

a). Given that the population living in Greek occupied time was a lot more than 50% non-Macedonian, shouldn't NOF have at least made inquiries if these people wanted an independent Macedonia? The least NOF could have done was ask these colonists and settlers if they wanted to live in some kind of Balkan federation. Did we make enemies of them by not consulting with them or, given how the Greek government was treating the democratic people, did the Macedonian communist leaders assume they were actually doing them a humanitarian favour?

b) Did NOF not know that those colonists were already at the forefront of the Left forces in Greece including in EAM and the CPG? These people were assumed to be Greeks and were not included in the EAM and CPG programs as minorities. Did NOF not know that Zahariadis, Partzalidis, Iozinidis, Vafiadis and others were colonists and would not support self-determination for the Macedonians? How could they? They were occupying Macedonian homes and lands which the Greek government gave them for free. What would have happened to them if Macedonia became

independent or in a Slavic federation? NOF never made that clear to anyone.

c). It is obvious that NOF was only a pawn in this game first manipulated by the CPY and later by the CPG. It was never an important political entity or factor in the anti-fascist struggle or in the direction the Greek Civil War took. Sadly our Macedonian mainstream history disagrees and insists that NOF was indeed a factor. If that was so then why was NOF never allowed to command its own forces? Why was NOF persecuted every time it demanded national rights for the Macedonian people? Why were the NOF leaders slandered and anathemized as traitors, autonomists, separatists, etc?

Now let us expose the biggest manipulation of all perpetrated by the CPY and CPG leaderships:

During a meeting that took place on April 2, 1946, in Belgrade, Tito and Zahariadis, without the presence of any Macedonian, decided the following:

1. Place NOF under CPG control. In other words Tito and Zahariadis, without consulting with any Macedonian decided to place the Macedonian People's Liberation Movement for Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF under Greek communist control. NOF, which to that day was led by the CPY-CPM, was to be placed under CPG leadership and NOF was to change its program goals to: "NOF will fight in alliance with the Greek people to save the Macedonian people from physical extermination..." And how was NOF expected to do that under CPG control!? This was what the NOF leadership was told!

This is the truth. These actions were part of the foreign strategy to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. By manipulating NOF, the foreign strategists and architects of the Greek Civil War accomplished their goal. And because NOF was involved the Greek state had no choice but to take legal measures to protect itself. The measures included unprecedented terror and persecution, military operations, jailing, torture, exile in the Greek islands, etc. The Macedonian people were forced to flee their homes

and seek shelter in Yugoslavia in order to save themselves from the terror the Greek government security forces had unleashed on them.

2. The CPY and CPG had an agreement which allowed the CPG to recruit from the pool of Macedonian refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia. Because their families were still living in Greek occupied Macedonia these refugees were coerced into joining DAG as fighters. The people who had managed to escape the terror were brought back and mobilized to face more terror.

3. The agreement that the CPY and CPG made to place the Macedonian people under CPG control had fatal consequences – we went from slavery to disaster. What is strange and interesting about this is that NOF became miraculously louder with its slogans calling for total mobilization of Macedonians. It called on the Macedonian people and proclaimed the CPG was the only saviour and benevolent entity capable of resolving the Macedonian question in Greece and this was the advice given to it by the CPM/CPY. (See: Lazar Kolishevski's Directives and Recommendations in Dr. Risto Kiriazovski's book 1995/29.)

When NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created on April 23, 1945, on the premises of the CPM Central Committee, and given life by Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia who had earlier fled their homes, the plan the foreign architects had in mind for the Macedonian people was put into action – to pursue foreign interests. Certainly this was unknown to the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders. The only thing they knew was that they had the support and protection of the CPM/CPY.

Was this a miscalculation, a misunderstanding or pure manipulation? Today we know that it was pure manipulation which caused the Macedonian people to bring disaster on themselves. They blindly followed a maze created for them by the CPY and CPG which cost the Macedonian people dearly. And now, today, there are people who still blindly defend NOF's actions. It is understandable that it was difficult to get out of the maze because the manipulations and strategies were so well crafted by the CPG and the CPY that even those who were labeled "hard nationalists" could not see them. They too had succumbed to the daily aggressive propaganda.

But based on the outcome of events for NOF this was a struggle in chaos! And in chaos whoever is powerful is righteous. So justice is not in righteousness but in power. This has been the case with NOF!

In other words what really happened is that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia gave up their freedom because they were seduced by NOF's offer to liberate them and for that we had to put our trust in foreigners to lead us, but only for a certain period of time. (See: "DOCUMENTS - On the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and the formation of a Nation-State" Volume II.)

## DIRECTIVES FROM NOF CENTRAL TO THE NOF DISTRICTS

September 1945

You are directed to spread the National Liberation Front wherever there are Macedonians in every village, every town, district, house, farm. Not a single Macedonian, man, woman or child must be left outside of NOF, AFZH and NOMS organizations and their influences. (pp. 721-722-723)

NOF, AFZH and NOMS slogans directed at the Macedonian people

One year before the Greek Civil War was declared, that is as early as November 22, 1945, the forces of NOF, AFZH and NOMS had begun their aggressive propaganda activities that included slogans such as:

“No Macedonian must be found outside the NOF anti-fascist organization. Only in this way will we be able to destroy fascism and gain our rights and the right to full self-determination.” - Anti-fascist organization - NOF

“All Macedonian women forward in the Anti-fascist Women’s Front (AFZH) for the complete destruction of fascism, for our freedom, for our rights.” - Antifascist organization - AFZH.

It is important at this point to remind the reader that as of May 9, 1945, the entire world was made aware that there was a total victory over fascism. So, why was NOF still waving banners and brandishing anti-fascist slogans? Were the NOF leaders not aware that the war against fascism had been won?

Personally I am not against the people of NOF and respect them because they worked very hard to make things happen. And because they were hard working the Macedonian people in the Lerin, Kostur, Voden, and other region villages trusted and loved them. The villagers were euphorically happy. Sadly what NOF, AFZH and NOMS, unbeknownst to them, were offering were delusions, beautiful delusions. They were offering the people beautiful

delusions and the people loved them. They trusted their offers because they came from Macedonians.

Closed in by a history of Greek abuse on one side and by the current white terror on the other, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, even those who did not wish to fight, found themselves with limited options – flee their homeland or fight back. It was easier to join NOF, AFZH and NOMS when people saw that the people leading these organizations were the same people who had fled to the Republic of Macedonia to save themselves. They were now back and ready to take matters into their own hands - calling for mass participation. This is how this “new revolution” was started or as the NOF, AFZH and NOMS activists called it “the continuation of Ilinden”.

There is an old saying that goes something like this: “In order for others to believe me I have to say something that I believe in myself...” So, the question here is what convinced NOF, AFZH and NOMS to believe and put their trust in strangers? Why did they believe they could win a war when there was overwhelming evidence to the contrary? Why did they have such high expectations for the Macedonian people with such a vague purpose? On the other hand, why did the Macedonian people trust NOF, AFZH and NOMS and not the CPG? The answer to this question is simple. The CPG was seen as a Greek organization and the Macedonian people did not trust the Greeks no matter to which party they belonged. On the other hand they trusted NOF, AFZH and NOMS because their leaderships were Macedonian. I remember people saying we need to trust them because they are “our people”. When NOF, AFZH and NOMS began to call for massive participation the people figured it was finally possible to achieve their centuries old aspirations of becoming free from a foreign yoke. They had no idea that this was a foreign trap from which there was no escape except by death or exile.

And as the Greek government and CPG would later openly say: “Tito had aims at annexing Greek (occupied) Macedonia” (ibid p. 205) “with help from NOF, AFZH and NOMS” (ibid p. 271).



This “Greek” belief may have been due to a statement Tito made to the New York Times in Moscow on April 26, 1945, when he said: “If the Macedonian people in the Greek regions express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes.”

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Interview: “with a pure heart and clear conscience”

Following is an interview entitled “With a pure heart and clear conscience” given by Lazar Kolishevski to Iovan Pavlovski of the weekly magazine “Start” (year 2, no. 62, p.21).

Start: About Rankovich whose name is closely linked to the help Yugoslavia provided to the Greek partisans in 1945, after the end of World War II. It is well known that among those partisans were many Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. What do you say to that?

KOLISHEVSKI: There is little known about that from authentic sources. For the first time I want to say that it was about the survival of the Aegean Macedonians who were threatened with eviction, and we advocated there, in Aegean Macedonia, to form party organizations and partisan units. We were leading that action with several generals together with Rankovich with ultimate discretion. Yes, we formed a Provincial Committee and armed formations to defend villages in Aegean Macedonia. We supplied the partisans with weapons and treated their wounded. We fed them, dressed them, armed them, and transported them by truck to this side of the border when they were cornered. Objectively, they were fighting a war under very favorable conditions in 1946. We gave them everything that we as partisans lacked during the war. I’ll tell you a little story I haven’t told anyone before. The second year after we won the war Kidrich concerned himself mainly with Yugoslavia’s economy and, in that context, was able to feed the people of our country. He was a great mathematician and could not help but notice that I was constantly asking for more food for Macedonia, more than what was allocated to us. The surplus we gave to the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Kidrich was angry by my

constant demands for more food. In his anger he used to say: “Well, Lazo, how many Macedonians are there in Macedonia? You keep asking for more and more food!” He made me uncomfortable, so I told Rankovich that we had to reveal our secret to Kidrich.

Rankovich agreed. When we told him what we were doing with the extra food he accepted our explanation with a smile and had no problem with me asking for more food and other supplies. The group for supplying weapons to the Macedonian and Greek partisans was led by General Iovo Kapichich. (Later Kapichich was promoted to director and was made responsible for the Goli Otok prison.)

From Kolishevski’s statement above, it is clear that even the top generals involved in the Greek Civil War from the Yugoslav side were not Macedonians thus confirming that NOF, AFZH and NOMS were seduced by foreign goals and interests that served the Yugoslav national army’s militant general staff and CPY policies.

Now let us have another look at Kolisevski:

The question of Macedonia’s reunification was raised again in the months immediately before adopting the constitution for the Republic of Macedonia and before the Paris Peace Conference. According to a Foreign Office report, dated August 13, 1946, Lazar Kolishevski was present at the Macedonian people’s front First Congress held from August 2 to 4, 1946. The report highlighted that at the Congress Kolishevski was introduced as President of the People’s Republic of Macedonia and Secretary of the Macedonian people’s front territorial board. M. Neshkovich was introduced as President of the Serbian Government and Frane Frol as Minister of Justice of the Federal Government. Also present were a delegation from Macedonia under Bulgaria headed by Krsto Stoichev, a delegate of the Bulgarian Parliament, and delegates from Greece or “Aegean Macedonia”. Also present was Eugene Laurenti from Trieste. The Congress strongly emphasized the Macedonian people’s desire to be free in a Republic of Macedonia within the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. This however could only be achieved through strengthening cultural ties with the Pirin Region of Macedonia. National awareness of the people in that part of Macedonia would create conditions for uniting these areas with the Republic of Macedonia. Regarding the idea of unification, it was

emphasized that there was little to no publicity in the press in Yugoslavia until a Manifesto appeared. The attitude towards Greek Macedonia was vague and no more than platonic sympathy. But it was as it was and the idea began to float in the air.

In Bitola in one of his speeches Kulishevski opposed the idea of a united and independent Macedonia outside of Yugoslavia or as a protectorate of the great powers. According to Kulishevski, this would “destroy the current Macedonian federal unit”. (See: T. Chepreganov, 1997/152.)

So then what was the real motive for creating NOF and sending it to Greek occupied Macedonia? Let us have a look at what actually happened.

NOF’s appearance in Greek occupied Macedonia was interpreted as an attack on Greece’s territorial integrity which prompted the Greek element to fight back in order to “save” Macedonia.

In other words, NOF’s emergence in the region created an atmosphere of fear and conflict between the Macedonian people and the so-called Greek population. It created a grey zone, a dangerous place to live, and a field for military and strategic competition between ideologies for foreign purposes.

The Macedonian people at that time should not have been placed in harms way by anyone let alone by the CPM/CPY, the champions of revolutions and friends of the Macedonian people. This was completely illogical and contrary to Macedonian interests.

For the Macedonian people the Greek Civil War was illogical, especially sending NOF to mass mobilize the Macedonian people and involve them in a war they could not possibly win! But this was actually done so the question is why? How were they expected to succeed?

Every Macedonian who has suffered from this war, even today, is asking the question why? Why was this done to the Macedonian people? Why were NOF, AFZH and NOMS formally organized by

the CPM/CPY and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to start a war which they could not possibly win?

Let us recap:

NOF was under CPM/CPY control from April 23, 1945, when NOF was created to November 21, 1946 when the so-called “Brotherhood and Unity” idea came into existence, that is, when the CPM/CPY surrendered NOF to the CPG. After that NOF remained under CPG control until the end of the Greek Civil War and beyond.

NOF’s program goals were to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia so that they could struggle for national rights and the right to self-determination. (See: Risto Kiriazovski, 1966/181 and Pavle Rakovski, 1990/199.)

There was also Gerard Raul Duval’s report which was ignored by historian Lazar Lazarov (1998/62). Gerard Raul Duval was the French Consul General in Solun. On September 26, 1945 Duval sent a report to the French government, which among other things, said: “...NOF’s headquarters is located in Skopje, on Yugoslav territory ... It seems to me that NOF propaganda of the Slavophones is a realization of the idea of an autonomous Macedonia, and the Yugoslav government controls this organization and sees Greek Macedonia as its own part of the Yugoslav territory...” (p. 62)

Here is what military historian Vanche Stoichev said in an article entitled “Forces that prevented the unification of Macedonia”, September 8, 2001: “...The founding bureau of the National Liberation Front (NOF) for Aegean Macedonia was constituted in Skopje on April 23, 1945, at the initiative of the CPM. This bureau was headed by the CPM Central Committee. The main task for this Macedonian organization was to take the lead and lead the struggle of the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia. All members of NOF, NOMS and AFZH were transferred to the Aegean part of Macedonia. In addition to the Monarcho-Fascist and British forces, NOF’s presence was rejected by the CPG and EAM’s Central Committee, which declared it a threat to Greece’s territorial integrity. The CPY and CPM were also unable to provide meaningful assistance to the Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia,

while the CPG protected Greek interests. Tito's statement to The New York Times '...If the Macedonians from Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes...' was encouragement for the Macedonian people and for the CPM Central Committee, as well as for the opposing forces which used criminal measures against NOF and the Macedonian people in Greece."

This tells us that the Macedonian people were placed in an awkward position not of their own making. In other words they were turned into victims of someone else's making. They were misled and made to believe that international principles were applied particularly in Yugoslav - Greek relations. Sadly what appeared as "principles" for the Macedonian people was nothing more than naked politics designed to blur the eyes of the world public and the victims. We Macedonians were unable to see that the stronger were always guided by the rules of their strategic state interests without taking into account the interests of the weaker - in this case we Macedonians. After joining them we could only rely on God's help.

This was the time when NOF, NOMS and AFZH operated outside and independent of the CPG and was exclusively led by the CPM/CPY. (See: Kiriazovski 1995/10.)

There is no doubt that the CPM/CPY's ultimate goal, through NOF, NOMS and AFZH, was to completely encompass the entire Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia and involve it in the people's national front for the realization of its program goals (national rights and the right of self-determination). But the question is: If such a strategic goal was a concern for the CPM/CPY, then, just less than three months ago, these same top Yugoslav bodies were against the slogan: "Turning our weapons to Solun!?" "To Solun and not to the Srem front!" In other words, if the CPM/CPY were so concerned about the Macedonian people's national rights and the right of self-determination in Greek occupied Macedonia, then why did they not make the effort to liberate Greek occupied Macedonia when the time was right?

After their strategic goals were given to them by the CPM/CPY, NOF, AFZH and NOMS were organized into 5 districts and 10

regions. There were 3 town and 32 district leaderships consisting of 120 professional NOF, AFZH and NOMS activists. There were 220 villages in which 170 village and city organizations functioned. Military formations were also created and functioned up to the period of the battalions. (See: Kiriazovski 1985/143.)

From a historical point of view fascism was defeated with the end of World War II but it was not true for the Macedonian people. The Greek government continued to pass special laws exclusively applicable against Macedonians. The fascist violence that was prevalent before WW II was continued against the Macedonians after the war. Then, as NOF, AFZH and NOMS made their presence in Greece the Greek government responded with unprecedented terror. This was done before the Greek Civil War began, that is before it was officially proclaimed on March 31, 1946, by a decision that took place during the CPG Second Plenary Session, held on February 12, 1946.

The ratio between Left and Right forces at the time the decision was made to start the armed struggle was as follows:

Government Forces: - 44 Battalions; National Guard with a total of 30,000 people; and 8,800 mountain army officers and soldiers. The gendarmerie was reorganized in the spring of 1946 and was the first Greek government state military force. At that time the gendarmerie consisted of 27,000 people, of whom 14,000 were stationed in Northern Greece (Greek occupied Macedonia: Kostur, Lerin, Voden, etc.) In addition to the regular units there were also paramilitary formations such as MAI (units for the protection of the interior) and MAD (persecution units) consisting of about 35,000 people. They were all commanded by experienced Greek army officers. At the same time, around 166 armed terrorist gangs were operating all throughout Greece. These were organized and run by the most extreme rightists.

The Western Great Power position was clear, but the Russian position – was strange: “Let them meddle in capitalism...” and support them in words only. Yugoslavia on the other hand had a two-faced approach to politics – open, with which it respected

Greece's integrity, and secret, with which it pushed the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia into an armed struggle.

In other words, in short, the unjust world order imposed in Yalta was followed by cruel disorder, no doubt even bloodier for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia and for all the Macedonian people who were still divided and living in four different states. The idea of world communism was empty in meaning right from the start and it was strange that it was spreading under these conditions, but after World War II foreign ideological propaganda was very successful in convincing us Macedonians to trust strangers and their strategies.

CPG and Greek government reaction to the appearance of NOF

NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Yugoslavia, in Skopje to be exact, and were welcomed by the Left forces in Greece. Here NOF made it its mission to indoctrinate every single Macedonian including Macedonian children, to trust and be loyal to the communists. About two months after NOF, AFZH and NOMS were founded, during the CPG Central Committee 12th Plenum, the Greek communists proclaimed:

“We are resolutely opposed to any territorial claim by any party against Greece. The preservation of the territorial integrity of the state is the first task of every Greek patriot.” (TO KKE AP TO 1931-1952, p. 110.)

Who were the ideological leaders in the Greek Civil War 1945 - 1949 and did the Macedonian people participate in the creation of CPG policies?

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

The Party leadership, the central committee and the Politburo were dominated by a “generation of 30-year-olds”. Among them was Zahariadis, secretary general of the Communist Party, who was forty-two years old.

The composition of the Central Committee consisted of the following people:

#### Permanent Members (30)

Anastasiadis Stergios, Arambadzis Nikos, Vasiliadis Aristos, Vutusianos Mitchos, Vafiadis Markos, Vlandas Dimitris, Grozos Apostolos, Eritriadis Giorgis, Zagurdzhis Nikos, Zaharatos Miltiadis, Zahariadis Nikos, Zevgos Gianis, Zografos Zisis, Ioanidis Gianis, Katsavras Vasilis, Markezinis Vasilis, Mavromatis Panagiotis, Musenidis Adam, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Blanas Achileas, Partzalidis Michos, Plumbidis Nikos, Porfirogenidis Miltiadis, Rusos Petros, Siantos Giorgios, Sukaras Sotiris, Stringos Leonidas, Titilos Giorgios, Zadzivasiliou Hrisa, and Hadzhi Thanasis.

#### Candidates for Permanent Membership (15)

Vazvanas Vangelis, Vetas Vikos, Vontisios Giorgios, Giftodimos Kostas, Dimitriou Giorgios, Theos Kostas, Kapeta Alegra, Katu Rodi, Koligianis Kostas, Lules Kostas, Makridis Theodoros, Maharaopoulos Hristos, Partsalidi Avra, Rumeliotis Nikos, and Tsianis Mihilis.

#### Composition of the Central Control Commission (5)

Danialidis Polidoros, Karagkitsis Pantelis, Paparigas Michos, Sinakos Mihalīs, and Pharmakis Kostas.

On November 7, 1945, the day after the CPG Central Committee and Political Bureau 7th Congress took place, the first plenary meeting was convened during which the following CPG members were appointed:

#### Permanent Members (7)

Siantos Giorgios, Zahariadis Nikos, Ioanidis Gianis, Hadzivasiliou Hrisa, Partzalidis Michos, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, and Petridis Tasos, (Anastasiadis Stergios).



Candidates for permanent membership (3)

Stringos Leonidas, Zevgos Gianis, and Rusos Petros.

In the ten-year period in 1940, the CPG was represented by a number of young people.

The following ages were appointed during the 7th Congress:

20-30 year-olds 73 representatives

31-40 year-olds 100 representatives

41-50 year-olds 46 representatives

Note: No Macedonians were appointed so we were neither a political nor a military factor.

## CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1945

February 12, 1945 – The Varkiza Agreement was signed at a resort near Athens, between the leadership of the CPG and EAM resistance movement on the one side and by the Plastiras Greek government and British General Scobie on the other. By this Agreement Greek command, on February 12, 1945, was placed under English Middle East control. By signing this Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the political right.

April 23, 1945 – NOF, AFZH and NOMS, the Macedonian liberation organization for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were established in Skopje on the CPM Central Committee premises. These organizations remained under CPM/CPY control from the day they were established to the day the so-called “brotherhood and unity” between NOF and the CPG came to exist. After that they were placed under CPG control until their dissolution.

April 26, 1945 - Marshal Tito made a statement for the New York Times in Moscow in which he said: “If the Macedonians in the Greek areas express a desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their wishes.”

June 20, 1945 – NOF for Voden Region held a conference near the city Voden on June 20, 1945. The conference was attended by 125 delegates from the city and from the surrounding villages. Among the items presented were a report on the ideological content of the struggle and its forms. This item was presented by Pavle Rakovski from the NOF main leadership. A financial report was presented by Vangel Aianovski - Oche NOF District Board Secretary. Among other things, the delegates demanded that the civil guards who terrorized the villages be liquidated. (NM / 94)

June 28, 1945 – The CPG Central Committee held its XII Plenum during which it stated that: “NOF, with its rapid growth and military formations, is endangering the Greek character of Macedonia; the Greek positions and interests as well as the territorial integrity of the Greek state.”

June 29, 1945 – By proclamation the CPG District Committee for Voden Region as well as all CPG members in Voden Region condemned NOF.

1945 - The Greek legislature enacted laws against NOF, AFZH and NOMS. LAW 543/45: “Against NOF and those acting in favour of Greek territory secession.”

July 07, 1945 - The Greek legislature enacted laws no. 453 and no. 45 “For Order, Peace and Justice” and “For Ensuring Public Security.”

July 18, 1945 - The Greek legislature enacted law no. CC 43: “Against Autonomist Activities” by which NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared autonomist and illegal. All NOF, AFZH and NOMS members were declared criminals and were being tried for treason.

July 20, 1945. - The Greek legislature enacted law no (CC) 4124: “For the prosecution of suspected persons”. DECREE “G and Other Laws: PA 433/45” “Illegal Possession of Weapons”, PA 753/45 “Illegal Possession and Use of Weapons”. “Extraordinary Measures and Public Safety”.

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1946

Development of partisan forces and General Markos's ingenious tactics to disarm them

In early 1946, the CPG, EAM and the political left in general continued to develop and carry out events without mass mobilizing the general population in the armed resistance movement. In fact the CPG allowed thousands of soldiers and officers sympathetic to the Left, who were fiercely persecuted by the new Athens government, to leave their positions.

In the meantime the CPM/CPY created NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their concept in 1945 and began to immediately mass mobilize the Macedonian population. Obviously this shows that the future for the Macedonian people was being carefully planned through the strategy and tactics of strangers.

It also shows that those Left forces which were earlier prevented all throughout Greece from participating in the immediate mass mobilization, were reoriented and allegedly later became inaccessible to DAG's recruitment programs forcing DAG to mobilize from the Macedonian population. So, it should not be a surprise that out of the 25,000 DAG fighters 50% were Macedonians. At the same time the Greek population numbered 8,000,000 while the Macedonian population in Greece numbered 300,000.

According to research conducted by General Zafiropoulos, the partisan forces during 1946 were growing month by month as follows:

Month	Number of fighters
Up to April	950
May	1,300
June	2,700
July	3,500
August	3,600
September	4,490

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

Which meant that the ratio of government forces to DAG fighters was 10:1, and their military armaments were unmatched?

So, let us examine the facts:

Markos Vafiadis said: "...When I arrived in Belgrade, I immediately met with Comrade Ioanidis in an office where I was greeted by two CPY leaders; Tempo (Svetozar Vukmanovic) and Rankovich. They asked me what they should do to help DAG. I told them I needed arms and ammunition for 18,000 fighters. The moment Ioanidis heard me asking for arms for 18,000 fighters, he got up and said: "Markos are you sure? What will you do with weapons for 18,000 fighters? All you need is enough for 4-5,000 and not a single more..." (Kisavos p. 94.)

I then asked Markos: "Why did you change the Party line after you returned from Belgrade to Greece?" At the time Doctor Sakelariou was also present. Markos said: "Ioanidis changed the Party line when I was in Belgrade..."

It is most certain that the line was changed by the Yugoslavs and since then Ioanidis and Markos had gained particular sympathy from the Yugoslavs and from Tito himself, sympathies that are still visible to this day.

Kisavos, in his book, confirmed that after returning from Belgrade to his headquarters, Markos decided to send home all those who had come to voluntarily join DAG. For example around 1,500 - 2,000 volunteers were returned to their homes. On their return most were captured by enemy forces and ruthlessly killed. Kisavos also cited other examples, such as Kostas Aridas, political commission secretary of the City Trikala who, along with a large group of cadres, decided to go up the mountain and fight but was returned, arrested and shot to death. (p. 88)

Kisavos also wrote about another tragic and outrageous case: “A group of about 250 young armed volunteers from the Kalambaka-Kastra-ku district refused to return to their homes and when they were forced to go they independently organized themselves into 2-3 units and decided to fight the enemy government forces on their own. At the time this was the largest military operation the government had undertaken on the ground.

Led by Spiros Tsaras from the village Kastraki-Kalambaka, they proved to be good fighters and fought in fierce battles without having to sacrifice themselves. But, instead of congratulating them for their courage, the Markos’s leadership at headquarters was disdainful and, for a long time, was suspicious of Spiros Tsaras.”

CPM/CPY policies and the development of NOF, AFZH and NOMS for optimal popularity in the Macedonian population

So, if Markos’s political strategy and tactics were not to fuel the armed resistance with experienced ELAS fighters, then what was his logic? (See NOF Leadership Report, February 9, 1946, on NOF’s Organizational Structure in Aegean Macedonia: Am. Collection Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1945-1949, AE: 86 and 87. Published in “Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1946”, T. SH. docs 42 and 43, pp. 97, 100, 103-106.)

NOF, AFZH and NOMS organizational structure:

Villages / Members of the CPG / NOF / NOMS / SKOJ / AFZH

Kostur District

1. Prespa Locality

A. German Region	16 villages
B. Africa Region	7 villages

2. Koreshtata Locality

A. D’mbeni Region	9 villages
B. Drenoveni Region	14 villages
C. Tiolishta Region	14 villages

### 3. Poletu Locality

A. Zhupanshta	12 villages
B. Rupishta Region	10 villages
C. Kastinariata Region	18 villages
D. Kalevishta Subregion	5 villages

### Lerin District

#### 1. Lerin Locality

A. Buf Region	13 villages
B. Kotoriski Region	15 villages
C. Banichki Region	6 villages
D. Ofchareni Region	9 villages
E. Turie Region	6 villages

#### 2. Sovichko-Kailari Locality

A. Exshi-Su Region	5 villages
B. Aitos Region	8 villages
C. Mokreni Region	16 villages

### Voden District

#### 1. Meglen Locality

A. Kronchelevo Region	13 villages
B. Sobotsko Region	11 villages

#### 2. Ostrovo Locality

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

According to a report, meetings were held on a regular basis in January. Most villages accepted the NOF line and fought under NOF leadership. The report also outlined exactly how many people belonged to each of these organizations, and the figures were staggering. One gets the impression that the entire Macedonian population was very much influenced by these organizations. There are other details.

For Organizational Leadership

Secretary, S. R.  
(Moscow - Belgrade - CPG)



## DEVELOPMENT OF NOF, AFZH AND NOMS FORCES

(The following facts are key moments in NOF's history)

On April 2, 1946, CPG secretary general Zahariadis on his return from Moscow went to Belgrade to meet with Marshal Tito during which time he discussed his decision to launch an armed struggle against the political right in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised him moral and material help. The following items were agreed upon at this meeting:

1. Transfer NOF, AFZH and NOMS, the Macedonian national liberation movement organizations in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia from CPM/CPY to CPG control.
2. Move part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Janis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of leading the armed struggle from abroad, taking care of the supply of weapons, clothing, food and other materials for the partisans.
3. Allow free recruitment from the pool of Macedonian immigrants who fled to Yugoslavia from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. Organize hospitals for wounded and sick DAG fighters inside Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia to assume the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance for DAG from other countries.

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On August 24, 1946, after the Tito – Zahariadis Agreement was made, part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ioanis Ioanidis, along with all necessary equipment, illegally moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who Zahariadis appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups in June 1946, illegally left Greece and moved to Belgrade where he received specific directives and promises from the CPG Central Committee Politburo. In September 1946, Markos moved back to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia where on October 18, 1946, he established DAG headquarters. Then, on November 10, 1946, Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin ordering him to end the

armed struggle in Greece in the winter of 1946 - 1947, because it allegedly was creating an international situation. The CPG was advised to continue the struggle in Greece but with a political agenda.

On November 21, 1946, based on the Tito - Zahariadis agreement, the CPY represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG represented by Ioanidis, reached the following agreement: “NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their entire leaderships were to be placed under CPG control. All NOF armed units were to be placed under DAG control and under the leadership of General Markos.” Can we Macedonians deny that this political maneuver was not set up by foreigners (CPY-CPG) to bring destruction to the Macedonian people?!

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

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

Now we authorized General Markos to shape our destiny

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

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

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

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

1. If NOF was truly a Macedonian political entity it should have defined what kind of concessions it could make for the CPG, while not inflicting lasting and inviolable harm on the Macedonian people. But the opposite happened. The CPM/CPY, not the Macedonian people, created NOF and therefore the CPM/CPY, handed it over to the CPG. Since NOF was not created by the Macedonian people its true political goals were never defined. In other words only the CPM/CPY knew NOF's true aims!

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

## CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1946

February 12, 1946 – The CPG Central Committee 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum was held in Athens during which it was decided to abstain from the parliamentary elections in Greece, which led to the armed struggle.

March 31, 1946 – The partisans attack government forces in the village Lithohori killing 23. As one of DAG's major actions this incident was credited with the start of the Greek Civil War.

April 2, 1946 – On his return from Moscow, CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis stopped off in Belgrade to meet with Marshal Tito to discuss his decision to launch an armed struggle against the political right in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised him moral and material help. The following were agreed to at this meeting:

1. Place the Macedonian People's Liberation Movement for Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF, AFZH and NOMS under full CPG control. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in April 1945 and since then were under CPM/CPY control.
2. Move part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of leading the armed struggle in Greece from abroad and providing weapons, food, clothing and other supplies for the partisans.
3. Allow the CPG to recruit fighters from the people who fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. In other words, allow the Greek communists to recruit fighters from the ranks of the Macedonian political refugees who fled Greek occupied Macedonia to save themselves. Yugoslavia was also required to assist in organizing hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG fighters as well as assume the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance provided for DAG by other countries.

April 13, 1946 – The CPG newspaper "Rizospastis" came out in defense of the "Slavo-Macedonian" people by pointing out the terrible and unbelievable abuse they endured at the hands of the Greek terrorists. The newspaper went on to say that: "The

persecution perpetrated against the Macedonians was unprecedented in modern Greek history...”

April 17, 1946 – The Solun based daily nationalist newspaper the “Nea Alithia” publishes an article entitled “Our Sudetenland”, speaking of the Macedonians and qualifying them as Sudetenlanders that should be liquidated in the interest of peace and security in Greece.

May 4, 1946 - The first partisan detachment was formed on the Trsie-Turie Mountain in Lerin Region and headed by Petre Markov from the village Neret, Lerin Region.

May 21, 1946 - The nationalist newspaper “Ethnikos Kirikas” wrote: “80,000 Slavo-Macedonians should be expelled from Greece as soon as possible”. The same was said in the weekly Republican newspaper “Eleftheros Tipos” on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: “...Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia – let them go wherever they want to go...”

July 27, 1946 - A Greek military court sentenced Mirka Ginova to death. Mirka was a teacher from the village Rosilovo, Voden Region. She was also secretary of AFZH for Voden District.

August 24, 1946 - Under the Tito-Zahariadis agreement, a part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, headed by Ioanis Ioanidis, as well as all necessary apparatus, was illegally moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who Zahariadis appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups in June 1946, left Greece illegally and moved to Belgrade where he received specific directives and promises from the CPG Central Committee Politburo. In September he moved back to Greek occupied Macedonia where, on October 28, 1946, he formed DAG Headquarters. On November 10, 1946, Stalin instructed Zahariadis to end the armed struggle during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly creating an international situation, and instructed the CPG to give primacy to a political struggle and the like.

November 21, 1946 – Based on the decision made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, the CPY, represented by

Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioanidis, reached the following agreement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leaderships were to be placed under full CPG control. All NOF armed units were to be transferred to DAG and placed under General Markos’s command.”

Sometime after the CPY-CPG agreement was made, the NOF main board membership, headed by Paskal Mitrevski, was received by Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Secretary, who said to them: “You are now to go down there (to Greek occupied Macedonia). The CPG will now be the leader of your struggle. The CPG line is the correct line. Have confidence in it. Fight with all the forces available against chauvinism, separatism and local tendencies...”

December 27, 1946 - Order no. EP 13 issued by General Markos read: “From today on forward all partisan units are to be included in DAG.”

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1947

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

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

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

Mr. Marshall's statement initiated the process by which Greece was to receive US assistance.

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

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

Given that two Great Powers, the USA and England were prepared to assist the Greek government to “wipe out” the communist threat in Greece, what chance did the Macedonians and allies of the communists have in winning this war? To engage the entire Macedonian population in this totally meaningless war was not only unwise but catastrophic.

This is a very short version of what Markos Vafiadis, then supreme leader of DAG, wrote in a Memorandum addressed to the UN Inquiry Commission:

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

MEMORANDUM

To the United Nations Inquiry Commission

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

NOTE: Since there is a lot of material, here we will only look at a small portion of it. The complete text can be found in chapter 4 of the memorandum. Here we will only look at the material that is relevant to the Macedonians and their sacrifices as well as whether or not the Greek Civil War was really a Macedonian people’s liberation movement and a continuation of the Macedonian Ilinden tradition as our mainstream Macedonian historiography would have us believe.

In brief, an agreed upon meeting was held on March 21, 1947, between General Markos Vafiadis, Supreme Commander of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG), and the Inquiry Commission for Greece Security Council representatives from the Soviet Union and Poland as well as representatives from Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. The meeting was held at the Democratic Army’s headquarters in the village Hrisomilia in the Kalambaka suburb, where General Markos Vafiadis handed over to the Inquiry



Commission a memorandum of wide-ranging topics consisting of four chapters.

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

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

The Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) has not missed a single opportunity to date to peacefully, and in the spirit of calm, offer normal democratic solutions to our internal problems which hang over the Greek people. DAG has always proposed measures that could open the way for a democratic solution to these problems and its position fully coincides with the desire of the democratic people's movement. As for the reasons that caused the Civil War in our country and how to end it, we reiterate and we remain confident that without resolving the following issues, there will be no peace:

- Withdrawal of English forces from Greece;
- Allow EAM to participate in the government;
- Declare general amnesty;

- Clean up the state apparatus of war criminals and members of the “security battalions”;
- Establish democracy and freedom in the military and public security formations; and
- Conduct free elections.

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

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

Markos, S.R.  
DAG General Headquarters, Greece

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- LAW CP 511/47, “On the organization of concentration camps”,
- “Law on forced evacuation of people to city centres”,
- Decree L-3 “On deprivation of Greek citizenship of persons who acted against the Greek state”,
- LAW CP 509/47 “On state security measures, constitutional order and citizen protection”.

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

## DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE (DAG)

### ORDER

General Headquarters  
Headquarters Bureau 1  
Protocol number 722

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

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

General Headquarters,  
September 30, 1947.  
General Markos.

Second order, 23.11.1947.

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

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The young Macedonians confidently obeyed Markos's order and reported en masse to the mobilization centres. But then the unexpected happened: Thousands of these young Macedonians, by Markos's orders, found themselves sent south to the depths of Greece, where their fate became a special story – where they

disappeared in the proverbial quicksand. I, Stoian Kochov, was one of those young boys. We were all 17-18 year-olds when, from October 5 to October 10, 1947, about 350 of us were recruited from the villages Turie, Bapchor, Visheni, Kolomnati, etc., and taken from Macedonia and sent to the headquarters in Epirus and Antihashia. There after the battle for Konitsa only one third of us were still left alive. But let us see how our endeavour was evaluated by our Macedonian mainstream history:

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

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

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

The CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum was held from September 15 to 17, 1947, during which time military issues were discussed. This was when the slogan: “All to arms and everything for victory!” was coined. A decision was also made to create a “free territory” at

the Kozheni Region highlands which are surrounded by the plateau of Mounts Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On September 27, 1947, DAG Headquarters issued an order to mobilize all men between the ages of 17 and 35 from the pool of Macedonian refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. The mobilization effort, which lasted over half a year, took place in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola. All those mobilized were sent to DAG units in the field. (See: F.M. at INI, SK.4 - 271/60, pp.73-76.)

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

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was formed on the basis of a decision made during the CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum held between September 12 and 15, 1947 and was

established in Prespa, in the village Asamati, Republic of Macedonia, in the building of the pre-war seaport. The seat of government was to be moved to the Greek city Konitsa after Konitsa was captured by the partisans. This is what Secretary-General Zahariadis said: "...we will take over Konitsa, we will form the government and they will probably recognize us..."

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

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

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

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was a one-party and one-nationality organization composed exclusively of Greek Communists. Although more than 50% of the DAG force was made up of Macedonians, there was not a single Macedonian appointed in the high ranks of the government or in the military. And yet we have our Macedonian mainstream history which claims that NOF was a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War.

Reactions to the appearance of the provisional government:

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



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

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

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

# CADRES OF THE DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE

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

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

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

A. Generals: Markos Vafiadis

B. Lieutenant Generals: Protopapas Sarandis-Kikitsas

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

D. Colonels:

1. Infantry: Venizanopoulos Vasilis. Kalianesis Giorgios, Kapatanios Evripides, Katemis Giorgios, Maltezos Gerasimos and Samaridis Giorgos.

2. Artillery: Kilismanis Giannis and Papagiasis Stefanos.

3. Cavalry: Scandalis Iraklis.

4. Aviation: Makridis Savas and Manias Giannis.

5. Political Commissars: Voutousianos Mitsos, Evripidis Georgios, Zografos Zisis, Coligianis Kostas, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Stringos Leonidas and Hadzhis Thanasis.

E. Lieutenant Colonels:

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

Anastasios, Kirandzopoulos Dimitris, Papadimitriou Ilias, Papastergiou Levteris, Prekezes Giorgios, Raftis Kostas, Rosios Alekos-Ipsilantis, Spanos Tomas, Stathakis Manolis, Sfakianos Georgios, Terzoglou Nikos, Tselifis Tomas, Tombulidis Pavlos, Triandafilou Nikos, and Florakis Harilaos.

2. Artillery: Iosifidis Kostas.

3. Aviation: Gerogakopoulos Georgios and Ndrenas Leonidas.

4. Political Commissars: Vasvanas Vangelis, Vetas Fokion, Giouzelis Stefanos, Mandilas Nokos, Rogakos Vangelis and Tiroumidis Kiriakos.

5. Sanitation: Sakelariou Epaminontas.

#### F. Majors:

1. Infantry: Asuras Georgios, Vais Hronis, Kardasis Thanasis, Belogianis Nikos, Papadopoulos Vangelis and Florou Arhimidis.

2. Artillery: Margas Kostas.

3. Cavalry: Stylianopoulos Vasilis.

4. Saboteur: Ageloulis Antonis – Vratsanos.

5. Political Commissars: Akritidis Nikos, Grigonas Kostas, Koutsomarkos Georgios and Pektadis Mihalís.

6. Sanitary: Skoufis Takis.

#### G. First Class Captains:

1. Infantry: Georgiadis Stelios, Exarhos Leonidas, Iliadis Kostas, Papadimitriou Tomas, Zgouromalis Manolis and Stefanos Stavros.

2. Saboteurs: Samarakis Agisilaos, Solias Mihalís and Sioulas Vasilis.

#### H. Captains:

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

2. Saboteurs: Vitoukas Nikos.

#### I. Lieutenants:

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

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

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

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

## CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1947

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

February 20, 1947 – An Agreement between the US and Greek governments was signed in Athens to assist Greece. The United States began to assert its dominance pushing England out of Greece.

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

February 24, 1947 - The Greek Government and Greek king publicly call on DAG fighters to surrender by March 15, 1947. All acts committed against the state and the people will be pardoned if they abide by the deadline and return to their homes.

March 1, 1947 - US President Harry Truman announced the “Truman Doctrine” for US engagement in Greece. Greece was granted credit and modern military equipment to equip its government military. At the same time Van Fleet, an American general and specialist in guerrilla warfare, was made available to the Greek government. DAG was liquidated and thrown out of Greece by using Van Fleet's strategy and tactics especially during the last battles at the Vicho and Gramos fronts.

August 15, 1947 – The CPG Central Committee held its 3rd Plenum between September 15 and 17, 1947, during which time military issues were discussed. The slogan: “All to arms and everything for victory!” was coined during this Plenum. It was also decided to create a free territory on the Kozhani Plateau, surrounded by Mounts Karakamen, Pind, Pieria, Kaimakchalan and Vicho.

August 27, 1947 - DAG Headquarters issued an order to mobilize all men between the ages of 17 and 35 from the pool of Macedonian refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia from Greece. The mobilization effort, which lasted over half a year, took place in Skopje, Veles, Shtip and Bitola. All those mobilized were sent to the DAG units in the field. (See: F.M. at INI, SK.4 - 271/60, pp.73-76.)

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1948

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

NOF and the “historical” solutions adopted at NOF’s First Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## MOTIVES FOR THE CHILD COLLECTION PROGRAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the government side, as was stated in Queen Frederica's memoirs, she made it very clear that the 'battle' for 'taking children away before they were taken by the Communists' began shortly after the creation of the 'Royal Society for the Care of Children' in June 1947 year. But, based on letters of complaint, the government was forced into the special program for the displacement of children later, roughly in line with the time the government began its propaganda campaign accusing the Communists of the 'pedomazoma'. It appears that the Queen may have confused the general displacement of villages from the war zone with the pedomazoma. This was in early 1947 when the government army was 'expected' to accept thousands of children and frail people."

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

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

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

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

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

“District administrators, the military and the Navy had agreed to work together on Queen Frederica’s plan to relocate children. Their goal was to collect and relocate 10,000 to 12,000 children. By March 31, 1948, the Queen had displaced 6,240 children. (This was confirmed by the Foreign Relief Program “Hellenic Mission”, January - March 1948, p. 14)

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

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

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

One of the headlines in the newspaper “Kathimerini” read: “Today the first group of children arrived in Athens” Further on it read: “1,000 children from the areas ruled by the bandits (DAG partisans) were transferred by ship from Solun to the village Kastri in Kifisia. A second group is due to arrive ‘this morning’, on April 2, in Piraeus, and a third group will arrive ‘in a few days’. These children will be transferred to Patra and Siro.” In the same issue of Kathimerini, there was information about two meetings that took

place the day before. Among other things the article said: “The Queen received the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Chaldaris and Mr. Glisgult at 11 o’clock yesterday and held a lengthy conversation with them. During the talks, the Queen informed Chaldaris and Glisgult of the successes and cooperation she had achieved to date in the action of collecting, moving, and caring for children who were cut off from the northern bandit districts (referring to Voden, Lerin, Kostur etc.)”

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

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

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

Finally, the article concluded with discussing two options for caring for these children. One was to place groups of children in charities “where they would have full schooling and care”, the other was to accommodate certain families which had already announced that they were ready to receive large numbers of children and provide them hospitality. With either of these actions, the state budget would not be overburdened by the programs, as the money would come from Queen Frederica’s coffers: A sum of money has already been set aside for the childcare to cover the full costs for about six months. (See newspaper: “Kathimerini” 1. 4. 1948.)

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

According to partisan, DAG and CPG press releases:

Soon after the Greek government made its first appeals, the CPG and DAG leaderships acknowledged that there was indeed a Greek government campaign to collect children in order to isolate them from the partisans. On March 3, 1948, the “Free Greece” radio program confirmed the following:

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

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

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

On March 15, 1948, the DAG newspaper “Exormisi”, located on Mount Gramos published a report dated March 7, 1948 issued by the

Provisional Democratic Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among other things the article said:

“Grateful are the people's and other child care organizations in ‘Free Greece’, as well as the many thousands of parents and guardians who recently appealed to humanitarian organizations in the democratic countries for the assistance they offered to take care of their Greek children and all the Greek youth which is within grasp of Monarcho-Fascist barbarism...”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The newspaper also provided some statistics:

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

The same article also said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Did we Macedonians not have any faith in our own revolutionary experience and now wanted to open a new era in the development of Macedonian revolutionary traditions? Or was it something else altogether that happened?

Still the question is: “Were NOF and AFZH aware of the limits to what was possible for the Macedonian people to achieve from the



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

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

War against evil?

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

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

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

So, the question is:

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

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

March 25, 1948

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

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

Did the Macedonian people need to take such a “big step” to save their children? Why did the Macedonian people take such an ambitious step and allow their children to be “exiled” without any guarantees of them ever coming back? They trusted NOF and AFZH and not the CPG, yet NOF relegated all responsibilities to the CPG which, in the end, did NOT serve Macedonian people’s interests but the interests of their enemies, the Greek government. Ultimately it was NOF and AFZH who convinced the Macedonian villagers to abandon their children trusting that NOF and AFZH had their interests at heart. As a result the children were turned into victims in the longest-running betrayal which will probably forever remain an unpleasant memory in Macedonian history.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Further on we read:

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

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

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

Tragic and catastrophic consequences for the Macedonian nation.

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

## REVIEW OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1948

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

February 24, 1948 - The American military - advisory group led by General Van Fleet arrived in Greece.

March 15, 1948 - The DAG newspaper "Exormisi", located on Mount Gramos, published a report dated March 7, 1948 issued by the Provisional Democratic Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among other things the article said: "Grateful are the people's and other child care organizations in 'Free Greece', as well as the many thousands of parents and guardians who recently appealed to humanitarian organizations in the democratic countries for the assistance they offered to take care of their Greek children and all the Greek youth which is within grasp of Monarcho-Fascist barbarism..."

"From mid-February to March 5, the parents of 59 villages in the free territory delivered 4,784 children". On March 20, 1948, the interim government decided to evacuate all the children under the age of 14 and send them to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. According to published statistics about 28,000 children were evacuated and sent over the border.

April 29, 1948 – The 1st AFZH Congress was held in the free territory in Vicho.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attachment - Order (August 27, 1948)

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

1. Dismiss and reorganize the Headquarters and establish divisions.
2. The divisions shall be designated as follows;

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

August 27, 1948

Provisional Democratic Government Headquarters

General Markos

DAG President and Minister of Armed Forces

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

November 23, 1948 - DAG General Headquarters issued an order, but only for Vicho Region, to mobilize all men and women between the ages 17 and 35. This included the men who were left behind to build fortifications and those who were ill. Virtually every Macedonian from the Kostur and Lerin Regions was mobilized with this order.

## IDENTITY UNDER WHICH THE MACEDONIAN CHILDREN WERE TAKEN AND EXILED

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

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

Here is what Clars Barentzen had to say:

“...I admired and respected those people, perhaps because they have a subtle kindness; an aristocratic nobility. And how can I not admire those people who, at the most difficult moments in the children’s homes, listened to their voices in the crowded “dining rooms”, in the children’s lounges and gave us unmatched moments of joy and vitality. In perfect silence and discipline, I remember in 1949, we entered a row, in the children’s lounges: Toulgesh, Sinaia, Oradea, Roman and Cluz of the Republic of Romania, and listened insatiably to the chronographs of Apostolis Spiliou, who was transcribing a



brave voice from all my friends. At the end of each broadcast we burst out with a strange devotion and shouted:

“Long live DAG!”

“Long live Markos!”

“The enemy will not set foot on Gramos and Vicho!”

“Who’s is Markos?!” someone would shout, and we responded in one voice:

“Markos is ours!”

“Who do we belong to?!”

“To Markos!” we all replied in unison.

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

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

“...Everything was changed... even the name of the radio program was changed... From now on you will hear clear and plain but not the ‘Voice of Free Greece’, that is gone, now you will hear the ‘Voice of Liberty’...”

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

In March 1949, UNSCOB launched numerous petitions against the CPG and DAG leaderships for coaxing the children to become child soldiers for DAG. In 1948 when the children were taken it was assumed that the war would continue for many years and so many of

the children who left would have to return to fight in Greece. Was this true? Perhaps the people of the top leaderships might have the answer.

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

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

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

When I told them I was the political commissar they calmed down a bit, but still we could not convince them to leave. As a result we organized them in a small company near our headquarters and began to train them to operate our communication equipment. Unfortunately several of these girls left their training voluntarily and joined our combat units. They were certainly not allowed to fight so

we saved them all. When I mention this story to other people - the hungry, barefoot and poorly dressed girls who trembled in the cold – I find it difficult to hold back my tears. These heroic girls wanted to join DAG and fight so that they could avenge the death of their parents! This is why our struggle was justified and this is why DAG fought for the people, for democracy against Fascism. When we talk about the partisan heroes, we have to look back at the DAG youth participation, which was very interesting. At that time 70-80% of the fighters were young men and women, who were distinguished by their bravery and fighting skills and fought the most difficult battles DAG encountered.

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

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

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

Vasilis Bardzhiotas,  
DAG Political Commissar

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

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

"Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Timios gathered the children in the home and violently and inappropriately shouted at them: "Go back and fight. If you don't

want to go tell me and I will tattoo a cross on your forehead so that everyone will know what kind of bastards you are.” He was saying this to children aged 12 to 15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In our opinion you need to become involved and investigate these cases yourself, particularly the one about Timios and have him

removed as soon as possible so as not to cause further damage. We also suggest all underage children brought back be immediately returned.

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

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

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

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

June 14, 1949

With a friendly greeting,

Paskal

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

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

According to available information: "The recruitment of children was carried out with widespread propaganda and pressure. Appropriate directives, orders, and special envoys were issued for that purpose. Child recruitment was performed not by age but by height, and thus children were recruited at 12 - 13 years of age. Several hundred children were recruited from Romania and Czechoslovakia. Training centres for children were also organized

and after several days of training the children were sent to the front line, where most were killed.”

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

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

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

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

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

Lerin will fall into our hands, Kostur, Voden and other cities will follow. It is certain that 1949 will be the year of our victory.'

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

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

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

Seven days later, on Sunday April 24, 1949 at 6 pm, the director again called us 'volunteers' to assemble and informed us that we will be departing tomorrow, Monday, April 25, at three o'clock in the early morning, and that we will be going to Bratislava by train



with our instructor Irina. We will also be provided with dry food for one day and must leave before activities begin in the village. At Bratislava we will meet more 'volunteers' and from there we will all go to 'Free Greece'.

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

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

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

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

After we had our dinner in the military canteen, those in charge made lists of all the children present. There were 250 of us in total of whom 200 were Macedonian, and the rest were Vlach and

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provisional Democratic Government to appeal to the UN General Assembly for a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Also, at the same time the future for DAG was looking gloomy.”

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

Merchants of human fate

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their ultimate goal:

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

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

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

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

Creation of UNSCOB and its role in the research of the “Pedomazoma” problem

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

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

On December 19 1946, the Security Council proposed establishing a commission of inquiry and charging it with producing a report by May 23, 1947 at the latest. But when the Council began to back Greece’s views, representatives from the Soviet Union and Poland rejected their opinions. After much debate the Security Council on both sides vetoed the idea of establishing a commission and again the Greek issue became hopeless.

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

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

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

These states not only refused to cooperate but they also did not allow UNSCOB observers to enter their territory. On December 1, 1947, UNSCOB established its headquarters in Solun. (UNSCOB Report A / 575 -1948 pp. 1-3.) The Commission decided to create 6

groups each represented by four observers and one auxiliary person. Six zones, one for each group, were designated in northern Greece and by the end of February 1948 the groups arrived at their designated zone. (UNSCOB Report, A / 574-1948, p. 3.)

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

1. There was indeed a census of children taken in some of the partisan controlled areas of northern Greece and there was evidence that this census was started a long time ago.
2. A large number of children were taken from northern Greece and sent to Yugoslavia.
3. Some of the parents did give their consent but only after they had enrolled their children and there were indeed many children who were forcibly taken under protest from their parents...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American reaction to the Greek government's complaints about the "Pedomazoma"

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The other reason, according to Jones’s statement, was that “Washington was trying to avoid any strain on relations with Yugoslavia which, according to the Greek government, was the main culprit...”

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

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

#### Role of the United Nations and the International Red Cross

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The resolution was adopted and approved in this form with 45 votes for and none against. Copies of the resolution were sent to all concerned and asked to take the necessary measures to achieve the resolution’s objectives. The Secretary-General was also “instructed” to send requests to all States and Parties concerned so that they could pass on the information to those responsible for implementing it. Those needing help could seek assistance from the International

Red Cross. (Yearbook of the United Nations), 1948-1949, p. 239-244.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Total 13,500 children

The Macedonian concern

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

During my entire research in the preparation for this book I was eager to find documents written in Macedonian, any kind of documents, sent from any source to the top CPG leaders or to DAG military headquarters. I was hoping to find documents written in

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

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

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

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

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

It is true that the Macedonian people were allowed to speak Macedonian in the so-called “free zones” around Kostur Region, part of Lerin Region and Gramos but with whom were they

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

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

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

The fact that we Macedonians cooperated in the “Pedomazoma” shows that we cooperated in the exiling of our own children. If what Dr. Kiriazovski claims is historically true, then it becomes clear that we Macedonians cooperated in the migration process. What remains unclear and needs to be explored is NOF and AFZH’s ideological obligations to their predecessors and to their own people...



Kiriazovski wrote: "...The authorities of the people were engaged in the successful execution of this action. The people's militia, political organizations and other institutions... The Macedonian organizations NOF and AFZH played a special role in the success of the action in the area of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, which mobilized their full human potential.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## MORE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1948

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attachment - Order (August 27, 1948)

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

1. Dismiss and reorganize the Headquarters and establish divisions.
2. The divisions shall be designated as follows;

Division	Location
I	Thessaly

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

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

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

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

the minimum knowledge in handling weapons. As a result they were all butchered in vicious battles against a superior opponent.

## DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN 1949

Mobilizing Macedonians outside the Greek borders: February 9, 1949

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

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

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

## HOW EMPTY PROMISES BECAME PART OF THE WAR

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

### BROKEN PROMISES

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

Zahariadis’s second optimistic scenario: “Create a communist party for the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.”

### (MANIPULATING THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WITH THEIR OWN HISTORY)

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

Now let us have a look at what our mainstream historiography has to say about this event: “The creation of KOEM was a tactic with the ultimate goal of making the Macedonian national question an integral part of the anti-Yugoslav Informburo campaign, causing all spiritual and political ties between the Macedonians from Vardar and Aegean Macedonia to be severed. This was a deliberate act by the CPG to disorientate the national liberation movement of the

Aegean Macedonians and to include the Macedonian factor in the alleged reasons for DAG's defeat." (See: Vechev Newspaper - "Historical Truth is Not Daily Politics". July 2, 1989, by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.)

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

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

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

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

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

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



## SOVIET UNION ORDERS THE CPG TO END THE WAR

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

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

During a CPG Central Committee Politburo session the CPG decided to draw up a plan to withdraw DAG. On Zahariadis's recommendation, on April 20, 1949, the Provisional Democratic Government held an extraordinary session during which it decided to appeal to the UN General Assembly, the World Congress of Peace and Supporters and Democrats worldwide, for help. In its appeal, the Provisional Democratic Government urged these international institutions to mediate an honest democratic reconciliation in the country and assured them that it was ready to end the war once peace was secured.

At the same session Zahariadis proposed that an audit be done to determine how much food and military supplies were in reserve and

whether these supplies would last until May 1, 1949, when the Albanian and Bulgarian borders would be closed.

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

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

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

## HOW THE GUILTY ARE DETERMINED

(NOF WAS PROCLAIMED AN ORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN AGENTS)

On July 20, 1949, the leadership of the Aegean Macedonian Communist Organization (KOEM) was summoned at the initiative of CPG Central Committee Secretary Nikos Zahariadis. A meeting was held in the cave between the villages Vineni and Orovo in Prespa Region.

The KOEM meeting was attended by Nikos Zahariadis, Michos Partsalidis and other CPG officials as well as 45 members and candidate members of the NOF Main Board and DAG political and military personnel serving in the Vicho area.

Nikos Zahariadis made the following statement at that meeting: "NOF is an organization of foreign agents that have obstructed the CPG line and disrupted and harmed the democratic movement in this country. There are three agencies which are still active and have

roots in Aegean Macedonia, OZNA, JA and Kolishevski who controls the first two agencies. All agents of the Yugoslav agencies committed themselves in writing that they would execute their obligations...” Addressing the Macedonians Zahariadis said: “The CPG wants to help and save you. End all relations with the CPY and cleanse yourselves from its ideology... There was a time when Macedonians acted as a faction in the CPG at a time when Tito wanted to rob Macedonia of Solun. Which of you were sent to Greece by the CPY to serve that interest, to clear the matter and pay the bills? If Tito joins Macedonia to Yugoslavia, it means incorporating it into imperialism. You need to be clear on that. Tito has been sending OZNA and JA agents organized in troika since 1945.

At the time when Yugoslavia was in the popular republic’s camp, the CPG tolerated Tito’s agents, in the prospect of regulating the issue differently. But the open betrayal has forced us to clear up that question...”

After Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee member Michos Partsalidis spoke in the same spirit. Among other things he said: “...I was struck by the unity between the Macedonian and Greek people of Vicho. Why? How did that work? With the struggle waged by the Party, the Greeks and the Macedonians were Communists. Exactly because the Party fought to help the Macedonian people in their struggle.

It does not take much trouble to thwart attempts from that reactionary gang. Tito’s betrayal is very advanced. Now that the betrayal is being cleansed in our country, chances were created to speak again. No comrade will be found who will have a dilemma whether to speak out for the Soviet Union or for Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, NOF’s leadership has not made that clear. It has a low ideological level...”

Zahariadis then asked the audience to take a position for or against the revolution. That is, for Stalin or for Tito. Those who voted for the revolution (Stalin) were good communists, revolutionaries and internationalists, and those who did not were counter-revolutionaries!

This is how the Macedonian question was resolved during the Greek Civil War; by self-sacrifices for Stalin, Tito and Zahariadis and for the interests of foreigners.

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Last catastrophic scenario: After the collapse of the front line in “Vicho”, the crippled fighters who entered Albania were sent to fight a last bloody and catastrophic battle in Gramos.

Fierce battles were fought on Mount Vicho from August 10 to 14, 1949, between DAG on one side and the Greek government army on the other. The Greek government army was led by General Van Fleet and consisted of 60,000 troops organized in 6 divisions, 200 tanks and armoured cars and about 100 aircraft of all types. DAG was led by Michos Vlandas and consisted of 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated during the night of August 13 and 14, 1949, with massive losses of 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured. The government army bore only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. DAG units withdrew from the Vicho battlefield and during August 15 and 16, 1949, fled over the border into Albania. The DAG fighters regrouped there and in the following days 6,000 were sent to continue the fighting in Gramos. It was during this time that the CPG coined the slogan “Gramos will become the tomb for the Monarcho-Fascists - the Greek government army.”

From August 24 to 29, 1949, fierce fighting ensued as the Government army launched a new offensive during the night of August 29 to 30, 1949, for the final conquest of Gramos and the final liquidation of DAG. Again led by General Van Fleet, this time the Greek government army was three times larger than when it attacked Vicho. During the fighting in Gramos DAG was led by General Georgios Vontisios-Gousias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and 30, 1949, after which all DAG units withdrew to Albania. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured and 650 wounded. About 400 to 450 DAG fighters surrendered voluntarily to the enemy. The Greek government army bore only 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.

During the fiercest fighting on Gramos on August 30, 1949, DAG Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw because “they had completed their task”. So this opens the question: “What kind of task were they completing?” At this point the battle had ended with DAG losing the war and with all remaining DAG fighters fleeing to Albania.

## THROUGH SIBERIA TO - CATARZA

(This was demanded by the Communists of Greece, implemented by the Communists of the USSR, and made the Athens government extremely happy.)

This is why history should not be silenced, for it will then know how to avenge us.

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While the DAG fighters were resting in the Bureli camp in Albania from October 2 to 7, 1949, the CPG made a public announcement condemning 11 of the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders. The CPG publicly accused these people of being foreign spies and traitors to the revolution. As a result, without being charged, they were all sent to detention camps in Siberia. Why? The rest of the DAG fighters, including myself (Stoian Kochov), were left floundering as exiles for a few more years, some forever, adhering to the CPG slogan: “Me to oplo parapoda!” (Forward with rifle in hand.)

## CPG MANIPULATING THE MACEDONIANS IN EXILE

The CPG not only manipulated the Macedonian civilian adults and DAG fighters, but also manipulated the exiled Macedonian children. The CPG did this for one ideological purpose - to turn the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia against the Macedonian people from the Republic of Macedonia. (See: September 12, 1951, minutes from the Slavo-Macedonian CPG membership Conference whose conclusions were approved by the CPG Central Committee Politburo.)

Note: A few months earlier a Conference was held during which 72 Slavo-Macedonians and members of the CPG discussed: “The movement of the Slavo-Macedonians after their departure from Vicho and Gramos and their tasks beyond that” and came to some conclusions. These conclusions were approved by the CPG Central Committee Politburo.

The Conference selected a temporary body to do the work for the Slavo-Macedonians, which consisted of 21 regular and 9 candidate members. This body decided that the conclusions reached during the Conference would remain in force. The same body undertook the compilation and elaboration of the status and program for the “ILINDEN” organization.

Conclusion 1: “...guarantee the fighting unity of Greeks and Slavo-Macedonians for the liberation of Greece from the American and English occupation. Form a general front against the Tito fascist gang in Belgrade, which politically, economically, and socially oppresses the Macedonian people in Vardar Macedonia...” (There was no end to the CPG cruelty here. While it calls the Macedonian people from the Republic of Macedonia “Macedonian” it calls the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia “Slavo-Macedonian”, even though ethically and nationally they are the same people.)

Conclusion 2: “...NOF was founded in April 1945 under Tito’s initiative and largely failed to fulfill the Slavo-Macedonian people’s desires. NOF was founded by Tito and Kolishevski from Tito’s

adventurous elements hostile to Greece's democratic movement. The founding and governing core of NOF was made up of Tito's agents Mitrevski, Keramitdzhiev, Goche and Rakovski, with the sole purpose of serving the interests of the Tito clique in Aegean Macedonia. Their aim was to split and break our national liberation movement from within. They exploited the Slavo-Macedonians in the interest of Belgrade's gang which had nationalist aspirations to annex Aegean Macedonia for Tito. It should be noted here that the English, before December 1944, preferred to have Tito take Solun instead of ELAS..."

Conclusion 8: "...The children's education regarding the struggle should be based on politics, as outlined in our party's letter from Comrade Zahariadis to the children at the 'Paparigas' boarding house..." The Slavo-Macedonian children will continue their education together with the Greek children in the ranks of EPON. The Slavo-Macedonian women will struggle side by side with the Greek women. The Conference also proposed the liquidation of KOEM and the Slavo-Macedonian communists become members of the CPG...

Were the children ever free from this hellish ideological propaganda? NO! Here is what was said on page 12 of the monthly magazine "Makedonche" no. 8, in August 1952:

TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE ILINDEN ORGANIZATION

Our dear comrades,

With sincere pioneer greetings, we the united pioneers welcome you Greek and Macedonian children from the "Beloianis" children's home in the People's Republic of Hungary.

We are delighted to welcome the Congress of our newborn "ILINDEN" organization. In the spirit of honesty we will do our best to fulfill the tasks assigned to us by our national organization. Brotherhood and unity will stay forever with us. United with our brethren the Greek children, we will invest our energies in educating

ourselves and become capable of liberating our homeland and building tomorrow's People's Republic of Greece.

With the end of the school year and with help from our teachers, we have begun to fulfill the slogan "No student shall remain in the same grade". We promised to do our best to move to a higher grade with high marks.

For the pioneering committee of the boarding house 'Belogiannis;  
May 20, 1952,  
Tanas Biolichkin, Kosta Ristoski, Ristosia Nashulovska, Ioto  
Georgovski

This sad finale shows us how the NOF and AFZH political tragedy ended and how the communists took their revenge on us. Unfortunately, more than half a century later, it is difficult to ask the question who owns this responsibility and is it still possible to remain silent. Someone led our people to the slaughter house and managed to live peacefully and without a conscience ever since and, worst of all, they were applauded and rewarded by the CPG and CPM/CPY. That is the real problem here. And here is why. With the formation of NOF by the CPY and later controlled by the CPG, it was yet another great confirmation that foreigners were the real leaders of the Macedonian national movements. People recruited from the bosoms of propaganda proved to serve their own personal interests instead of those of the people and often and unconsciously they themselves became victims of serving the interests of foreigners.

This was a classic historic example with us Macedonians who were seduced by foreign propaganda and politics to die for foreign interests in the name of Macedon-ism. Our primordial passion was flamed and we turned a blind eye and deaf ear to everything...

Every Macedonian person who was exiled from their homeland has asked the questions "How could this have happened to us?" "How could our own people lead us to this quagmire?", "Who was responsible for our genocide?", "Will the truth ever come out?", "Why do Macedonian institutions treat our history as the 'History of the Aegeans' and not as part of our national history?"...



And the question everyone wants to ask is “Was it really necessary to fight for so many years, lose so many people, destroy our homeland and exterminate our Macedonian nation?” What were our Macedonian leaders who led this conflict thinking?

More importantly, the question to ask is “Could we Macedonians have achieved better results had we not become involved in this war?”

## CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1949

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

February 9, 1949 - At the request of Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was admitted to Skopje and a meeting was held with NOF representatives during which the CPG delegation demanding that NOF recruit some 300 new DAG fighters from the refugees who had fled Greek occupied Macedonia and were now living in Yugoslavia. The demand was not granted.

March 7, 1949 - The CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying the CPG's decision on the Macedonian question decided during the 5th Plenum and during the NOF 3rd Plenary held on February 3, 1949.

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

June 16, 1949 - The Executive Board of the Macedonian Women Assembly of Aegean Macedonia (AFZH) adopted a resolution to activate Macedonian women to defend the Vicho front.

August 10-14, 1949 - Fierce battles were fought on Mount Vicho from August 10 to 14, 1949, between DAG on one side and the Greek government army on the other. The Greek government army was led by General Van Fleet and consisted of 60,000 troops organized in 6 divisions, 200 tanks and armoured cars and about 100 aircraft of all types. DAG was led by Michos Vlandas and consisted

of 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated during the night of August 13 and 14, 1949, with massive losses of 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured. The government army bore only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. DAG units withdrew from the Vicho battlefield and during August 15 and 16, 1949, fled over the border into Albania. The DAG fighters regrouped there and in the following days 6,000 were sent to continue the fighting in Gramos. It was during this time that the CPG coined the slogan “Gramos will become the tomb for the Monarcho-Fascists - the Greek government army.”

August 24-29, 1949 - From August 24 to 29, 1949, fierce fighting ensued as the Government army launched a new offensive during the night of August 29 to 30, 1949, for the final conquest of Gramos and for the final liquidation of DAG. Again led by General Van Fleet, this time the Greek government army was three times larger than when it had attacked Vicho. During the fighting in Gramos DAG was led by General Georgios Vontisios-Gousias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from Vicho). The last battles took place on August 29 and 30, 1949, after which all DAG units withdrew to Albania. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured and 650 wounded. About 400 to 450 DAG fighters surrendered voluntarily to the enemy. The Greek government army bore only 243 dead and 1,452 wounded.

August 30, 1949 - During the fiercest fighting on Gramos, DAG Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw because “they had completed their task”. So this opens the question: “What kind of task were they completing?” At this point the battle ended with DAG losing the war and with all remaining DAG fighters fleeing to Albania.

October 7, 1949 - While the DAG fighters were resting in the Bureli camp in Albania from October 2 to 7, 1949, the CPG made a public announcement condemning 11 of the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders. The CPG publicly accused these people of being foreign spies and traitors to the revolution. As a result, without being charged, they were all sent to detention camps in Siberia. Why? The rest of the DAG fighters, including myself (Stoian Kochov), were left floundering as exiles for a few more years, some forever,

adhering to the CPG slogan: “Me to oplo parapoda!” (Forward with rifle in hand.)

September 16, 1950 – Ioanis Sofianopoulos, then leader of the left-liberal party in Greece and former Greek foreign minister, in a debate in the Greek parliament, held in September 1950, (See: “Demokratikos Tifos”, 16/9/1950) admitted that “...There is a Macedonian minority in Greece, but that under international law that minority does not exist and cannot claim any protection because it has not been loyal to the state in which it lives...” (He was referring to the massive Macedonian participation in the Greek Civil War fighting against the Greek government.)

November 5, 1988 - CPG Secretary-General Harilaos Florakis told a journalist of the “Mesimvrini” newspaper in Solun that: “On this occasion, I would like to say that for us, for our Party, there is no ‘Macedonian minority’ in Greece nor is there a ‘Macedonian Question’, it does not exist!” (See: Georgi I. Mintzi 1991/141 and “Vecer”, November 5, 1988, p. 9.) These were the last words of our former comrades who returned to Greece because they were “Greeks by birth”.

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The question here is: “Can we Macedonians realistically call this so-called “Greek Civil War” a Macedonian revolution and a continuation of the glorious Ilinden Uprising?”

In the end, in place of an epilogue, we will compose facts and arguments which will clearly show the final outcome of events the Macedonian warrior faced through the history of DAG and how this warrior experienced genocide.

Perhaps all of this that we Macedonians have experienced can be summed up by the Latin saying: “At certain times, there are situations where a lot of national energy is wasted from which the nation benefited very little!”

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## KIND OF FORCES THE ATHENS GOVERNMENT NATIONAL ARMY AND DAG POSSESSED DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR IN 1949

In May 1949, General Headquarters of the Greek government army was preparing for a military strike against DAG under the code name “Pirsos”.

Military structure of forces in the national army at that time:

- 150,000 - Regular soldiers,
- 50,000 - National defense forces,
- 25,000 - Gendarmerie forces,
- 7,500 - Police,
- 50,000 - Special units,
- 14,300 - Navy Sailors,
- 7,500 - Aviation.

So, the sum total of the Athenian regime’s military forces numbered just over 300,000, while DAG’s military forces barely numbered 25,000.

Here is what the following sources confirm:

1. Tasos Vournas, on page 159-160 wrote that in the fall of 1948 there were about 18,000 fighters in the DAG military force;
2. Vasilis Bardzhotas, second man in DAG, wrote that by the end of 1948, DAG’s forces had reached about 30,000 fighters;
3. “Neos Cosmos”, in 1950, on page 624 and 637, wrote that the total number of forces DAG had in 1948-1949 was about 25,000 fighters;

It should be pointed out that there was another important source.

4. General Markos himself wrote: “By 1947, 90% of the DAG fighters had been mobilized by force and 10% volunteered but after that and during the course of the rest of Greek Civil War there were no confirmations that any more volunteered to join DAG.

How could a small, rag-tag army such as DAG resist a well-equipped and well-trained opponent ten times larger? That is why the DAG partisans fled to Albania on August 28-30, 1949.

On September 30, 1949, Ianis Ioanidis officially asked Stalin to provide two bases for the CPG or DAG. One base in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not agree to DAG having a base in Albania.

FACTS:

(DAG's eleven demands)

The following questions were asked by the DAG fighters, senior officers and DAG generals, who demanded a straightforward explanation from CPG Secretary General Nikos Zahariadis. These questions on their own show that there was a crisis in the CPG leadership from 1943 to 1954.

DAG fighters, senior officers and DAG generals demanded that:

1. Zahariadis explain to them and all members of the CPG, why he pardoned the CPG leadership and exempted it from any of its activities during the German occupation?
2. Why did Zahariadis politically liquidate, with intent to physically liquidate, Aris the leader and military commander of ELAS, who, if he was still alive, would have been a natural DAG leader?
3. Zahariadis explain why he gave instructions to Ioanidis and Rousos to punish fighters for criticizing the CPG for its mistakes? Ioanidis and Rousos were sent to Belgrade to represent the CPG and were close to Tito. They led the Organization in Bulkes harshly and punished the fighters who criticized the bad moves and mistakes the CPG made during the German occupation. And because of these criticisms several good and honest fighters were killed.
4. Zahariadis explain to all Communists why, in 1948, he sent assassins to Bulkes to murder Mihali Bektasidi with an axe, by

Stalinist methods similar to Trotsky's murder? Bektasidi was murdered because he "knew a lot of things" and Zahariadis did not want him to expose them, so he murdered him to shut his mouth permanently.

5. Zahariadis explain why he did not remove Gousias from the CPG Central Committee and from the Politburo a long time ago? Gousias was intellectually incompetent and all of DAG suffered and groaned because of him.

6. Zahariadis explain, why Gousias, then commander of the 670th army unit, order the killing of some of the best DAG officers as he did with Gianoulis and Georgiadis?

7. Zahariadis personally explain why he did not come out in 1946 with a team of military specialists and staff DAG General Headquarters with capable men able to lead that difficult war? And now he blames everything on General Markos?

8. Zahariadis explain what his responsibility was in the many mistakes made with starting the armed struggle too late?

9. Zahariadis assume responsibility for failing to provide DAG with military supplies, which was also a component of the armed struggle?

10. Zahariadis explain why he instructed all independent ELAS officers to go to prison rather than join DAG, as he did with Commander Sarafis?

11. Zahariadis explain why in 1949 he adopted the resolution "Independent Macedonia with rights to separate from Greece"?

The last question tells us that all our Greek comrades, from ordinary soldiers to the top communist, in their deep consciousness, have struggled against us making sure NOF, AFZH and NOMS accomplish nothing for us Macedonians.

As one can see, there were no questions about us Macedonians. Not a single concern, not even about being permanently exiled and never

allowed to return to our homeland. Our so-called “partners in the struggle” did not care if we lived or died. All they cared about was to have a Macedonia without Macedonians, and, all through the Greek Civil War, they made sure that that goal was realized!

Assessments by contemporary Greek historiographers and what they say about us Macedonians? Do they say that we were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War like our historiographers say?

Contemporary Greek historiography, that is, left-wing former CPG historians, lately are calling the Greek Civil War a mistake. Most of them talk about “errors made by DAG during the struggle”. Others talk about the mistakes the CPG made during the war, etc.

Here is what contemporary Greek historians talked about:

- Political position of Greece in the period (1945-1949),
- Military forces and resources at the disposal of the adversary - the Greek government,
- Political mood of the Greek people after the Athens conflict and the defeat of the Left in December 1944,
- Political mistakes made by not participating in the elections on March 31, 1946,
- The CPG leadership did not properly assess and disregarded Greece’s international standing and the “American imperialist” factor,
- For structuring DAG the CPG leadership relied solely on the villagers. The entire burden for supporting DAG was born by the villagers,
- The CPG leadership, the working class forces, the avant-garde forces - were all left in the hands of the opponent’s heinous terror. Many CPG members wanted to flee to the mountains and join DAG, but the communist organizations in the cities would not allow them despite the fact that they knew these people would be captured and



killed or sent to the island prisons. About 80,000 fighters were imprisoned and tortured, and many were subjected to severe torment so that they would renounce their CPG membership,

- The CPG leadership created DAG without resolving its military reserves,

- The CPG formed the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece in the mountains, but failed to have anyone recognize it, not even the socialist countries, let alone any Western countries,

- The mistakes made by the CPG when it was led by Zahariadis are unpardonable. Included among those mistakes is the appointment of incompetent people in senior military and political positions such as Markos, a tobacco worker, Gousias a village shoemaker, Vlandas a mediocre writer, Ioanidis a municipal clerk, Rousos... Even those serving in the CPG Politburo did not belong there...

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But, despite the small and big mistakes the DAG military leadership made, the villagers and all those who fought in the war fought well and even won a significant number of battles. As a result they helped write the pages in the history of the Greek people's struggles.

This is how Greek contemporary historiography comes to an end.

**PROBLEMS FACING THE MACEDONIAN WAR AND  
POLITICAL REFUGEES AFTER DAG LOST THE WAR – THEY  
WERE NOT ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES  
BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT “BORN GREEKS”**

**NOT ONLY WAS THERE NO RETURN TICKET FOR THEM  
BUT THE COMMUNISTS DID NOT SUPPORT THEIR  
RETURN.**

**SINCE THEN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MACEDONIANS  
HAVE BEEN STRANDED AROUND THE WORLD, EXILED  
FROM THEIR HOMES AND AWAY FROM THEIR  
MACEDONIAN TRADITIONS...**

In September 1950, Ioanis Sofianopoulos, then leader of the left-liberal party in Greece and former Greek foreign minister, in a debate in the Greek parliament, held in September 1950, (See: “Demokratikos Tifos”, 16/9/1950) admitted that “...There is a Macedonian a minority in Greece, but that under international law that minority does not exist and cannot claim any protection because it has not been loyal to the state in which it lives...” (He was referring to the massive Macedonian participation in the Greek Civil War fighting against the Greek government.)

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In January 1979, when Ilias Iliou, a veteran and prominent politician, raised the question in the Greek Parliament as to why the “Slavo-Macedonian” refugees were discriminated against in their repatriation, Stefanopoulos angrily replied: “I don’t agree that there are Slavo-Macedonians, I don’t believe there is a question about the composition of the population...” Immediately after that “Avgi”, a leftist newspaper reacted, and among other things wrote: “The perceptions of national discord and the exclusion of the whole population from one particular segment is something that represents both a barbaric insult and contempt for the constitutional proclamation of equality for all Greek citizens.” And that applies to the Slavo-Macedonian political immigrants about whom Stefanopoulos openly said: “We do not want those people and we will not allow them to return to Greece...” “By these words,” the newspaper continued, “we recognize that there is unacceptable and shameful persecution against part of the population, reminiscent of the darkest period in our history. Namely, when the Slavo-Macedonians were drafted into the army, when they were taxed, and in general when they fulfilled their obligations, which are derived from being Greek citizens, they were good, but when they seek repatriation, they are undesirable...” (August 30, 1992)

In March 1977, the Greek newspaper “Kathimerini” reporting on the European Parliament’s initiative to record minorities and their cultural rights in Europe, also mentioning the reports written by Fon Stoutenberg and Coopers, said that: “...five minorities exist in Greece, among which are the Macedonians, who in addition to

speaking the official Greek language also speak four other languages: Turkish, Albanian, Vlach and Macedonian. Of all the Greek MPs, only Filinis, an independent MP, had the courage to confirm that it was true that all the mentioned minorities really live in Greece...”

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CPG Secretary-General Harilaos Florakis told a journalist of the “Mesimvrini” newspaper in Solun that: “On this occasion, I would like to say that for us, for our Party, there is no ‘Macedonian minority’ in Greece nor is there a ‘Macedonian Question’, it does not exist!” (See: Georgi I. Mintzi 1991/141 and “Vecer”, November 5, 1988, p. 9.)

These were the last words of our former comrades who returned to Greece because they were “Greeks by birth”.

The Greek Civil War was indeed tragic for some but for us Macedonians it was genocide. Here is why:

- Following are cumulative losses in manpower, a situation the people faced during the war:

50,000 dead

40,000 political prisoners

60,000 political exiles (civilian refugees and DAG soldiers)

On top of that:

The situation of political exiles remains to be investigated. About 45,000 of these political refugees returned by the early 1990’s, but there are still political, psychological and social misunderstandings existing to this day from the Greek Civil War.

And this is precisely how our tragedy is hidden. If, as our Macedonian mainstream history claims, we Macedonians participated in DAG during the Greek Civil War and DAG’s composition was 50-60% Macedonian, then we must be part of those 60,000 who were exiled and of the 45,000 of those who have

returned. This leaves 15,000 unaccounted... Was that all of us...? Something must be wrong with the numbers here - we know we were/are not allowed to return - we Macedonians have been left out to roam around the world.

The figure of 20,000 to 28,000 should also be added to take into account the refugee children that have also been exiled.

Why are we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia doomed to eternal oppression?

The oppression for us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia has indeed been eternal and with no end. Not only have we said goodbye to our native homeland in Greek occupied Macedonia but we are slowly saying goodbye to the Republic of Macedonia which we foolishly believed was a guaranteed homeland for all Macedonians.

## DEALING WITH THE PAST

War distorts the emotions of every reasonable and normal person. It destroys people's lives, especially those of children. Children experience wars more painfully than adults. When people are forcefully moved, both children and adults feel unhappy even though the new environment may "provide them with everything they need". The new environment however does not give them what was left behind in their former surroundings, the intimate atmosphere of their home, the atmosphere and spirit of their birthplace and so on. As they enter the world of a new environment, the Children, quickly or slowly, realize that this is not their world, that they, in this new environment, are only aliens and refugees and deep down feel like they don't belong. In their new environment they may have what they need in terms of food and shelter but they feel like they lack the love, understanding and emotional compassion they received in their old world. Their memories of their past become more desirable compared to their new experiences in their present world. Sometimes this disturbs them. The truth or even idealized images of their former life seem to collide with their perception of their new reality which sometimes causes mild or severe emotional disorders: restlessness, anxiety, isolation, depression, etc. Some Children, especially those who experienced violence as was the case with various atrocities experienced during the dirty and dreadful Greek Civil War, are unable to adapt. They are constantly in search of themselves and others who had similar experiences and survived.

So, even after half a century later, there is this historical deceit that still lives in our people. In the past 50 years (now 70) they have witnessed a profound historical stagnation, frankly speaking, total oblivion and evil. But their long wandering and living under various systems, has not dulled their strong desire for different encounters such as the massive meeting they held in Sarai, Skopje in 1988 called the gathering of "Child refugees from Aegean Macedonia".

But first let us see, half a century later, under what attributes and notions did we legitimize ourselves as political or civic entities, how we raised our voices before the world, and why only we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia were sent around the

world with a one-way ticket in our pockets. Also let us see how and why we lost our native hearth?

1. EXODUS - is this the proper word to describe what happened to our children back then? Surely not! This is why not, because at the time they were only children, not mature adults who could make deliberate decisions to leave their fatherland on their own, which means they were taken. They were forcibly taken by the two warring sides: The Athens Greek government on one side and the Communist regime on the other. They were taken to shelters for political means. These children were not in any kind of conflict of their own and needed an EXODUS. Most importantly, they were not led by their parents or relatives, and therefore the much exploited word "EXODUS" cannot properly describe what happened to them. But we should know, once and for all, that during the Greek Civil War, especially the Macedonian villagers from Lerin, Kostur and Voden Regions had no intention of leaving their homeland and motivating the so-called EXODUS. This was deliberate ethnic cleansing, a long-term process initiated by the Greek state and now continued by the communists using treacherous methods, which had and still have far-reaching implications for the destruction of the Macedonian nation. The actions for grabbing and evicting our Macedonian children were part of the model implemented in 1913, to get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and populate Macedonia with Greeks. In other words, what was done to our children was part of the long-term Greek desire to have a Macedonia without Macedonians.

2. REFUGEES - this term has been invented and exploited considerably by our Macedonian mainstream historiography in order to minimize and obscure the deliberate intentions the foreigners and architects of our demise had towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. I believe that every participant in the Greek Civil War was quite familiar with the communist regime represented by the Provisional Democratic Government and DAG. For example, if someone did something the communists did not like that someone was captured, condemned and shot to death. Deserters were shot to death. The communist regime did despicable things like deliberately take children away from their mothers so that the mothers could be mobilized and work for the war effort making

fortifications and fighting at the frontline. Knowing that their children would not be returned if they left the war zone, what could possibly motivate them to become REFUGEES. What happened to them does not belong to the “REFUGEE” category. With the exception of a small number of people, only several families which deliberately fled the war zone and crossed into the Republic of Macedonia, there were no voluntary refugees. These mothers and the rest of the Macedonian civilian population were forced to leave. The communists used scare tactics telling the Macedonian civilians to flee in order to avoid being slaughtered by the Greek government army. As a result every Macedonian village was emptied; every person who could walk, young and old, fled and, in long columns bombed by the Greek government aviation and artillery, crossed over the Albanian border from where there was no return.

And so, what was discussed during the long anticipated so-called “Child Refugee” world gathering meetings half a century later?

The days the “Refugee Children”, now grandfathers and grandmothers, met were filled with memories of their past; of flaming dark feelings, grief, sadness, torment, suffering, unrest, whispers, disappointments, biting of nails, the release of an abundance of hidden emotions and perhaps some hope, characteristic of us Macedonians, that some day things would change for the better.

Half a century later a lot more was expected from these children, who now as adults live in foreign countries and foreign environments. Half a century later we have a decisive understanding that the “children” will never return to their ancestral homeland! Anything more is pure illusion.

## HISTORIOGRAPHIC VIEWS OF NOF AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

When someone writes something they do it for a specific reason: to send a message, or in general, to inform people. The messages and information sometimes appear in literary form - a parable.

To be fair, we must understand that in time we will learn many truths among which will be misconceptions and unreasonableness. But for now let us have a look at some of our accumulated historic information:

1. According to official Macedonian historian Dr. Risto Kiriazovski, "The National Liberation Front (NOF) and the other Macedonian organizations representing the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War from 1945 to 1949, were the chief leaders of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement..." Kiriazovski said that he made this point very clear and in his book he endeavoured to present the complex events that took place at that time in an authentic way with facts and arguments... (See: Risto Kiriazovski, "The National Liberation Front and the other Macedonian organizations of Aegean Macedonia 1945-1949", Kultura, Skopje, 1985.)

In the same book on page 338, Kiriazovski quoted the newspaper "Nova Makedonka" published on April 1, 1948 which said: "Today NOF and AFZH are organizations of historical importance because they are urging the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse and fight in the armed struggle. This is the only way the people could guarantee their own freedom!"

So the question is: Given that we know NOF and AFZH never had any political or military authority at that time and that they were not a factor at all in this struggle, then for whom were they calling the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse and fight? Who ordered them to urge the Macedonian people to join DAG and become victims? Did Kiriazovski not know that this struggle lacked the necessary internal and external conditions for a victorious outcome? One more thing: did Kiriazovski "forget" to mention that the arrival of NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Greek occupied Macedonia and their



activities prompted the political right in Greece to initiate a terror campaign as a means of dealing with us Macedonians? Is Kiriazovski not aware that, in addition to CPG and CPY/CPM actions, NOF, AFZH and NOMS, with their own action in Greek occupied Macedonia in April 1945, contributed to the developments in Greece which prompted the Athenian regime to adopt repressive policies which had disastrous consequences for us Macedonians? Does Kiriazovski not know that the Macedonian population, twenty times smaller than the Greek population of eight million, contributed to DAG more than the Greek population. Through their ideological propaganda NOF, AFZH and NOMS managed to mobilize almost every Macedonian aged 14 to 56 into DAG's ranks. All this was done under the slogan: "If you are not with us, you are against us!"

It took Kiriazovski a long time to admit it, but in the end, right before his death, he admitted that the Greek Civil War was not a Macedonian revolution and not a continuation of the Macedonian Ilinden traditions. The Greek Civil War was a senseless and fatal war during which the Macedonian nation suffered national defeat. The Greek Civil War was not only fatal for us Macedonians but also for the Greek people.

2. Tashko Mamurovski in his book "Paskal Mitrevski and His Time (1912-1978)" on page 57 wrote:

"...The news of the creation of NOF, and its aims and tasks, was received with great joy and optimism by the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia. The Macedonian people saw NOF as a continuation of the Ilinden traditions. An Organization which would fight for the Macedonian national salvation and survival..." (See: Tashko Mamurovski, "Paskal Mitrevski and His Time (1912-1978)", Skopje, 1992).

So the question is: Can we Macedonians realistically call the Greek Civil War a Macedonian revolution and a continuation of our glorious Ilinden Uprising?

Even more than a half century later, it seems that our top Macedonian historical institutions, such as INI, are still silent regarding the sins committed against our people! And what is most

frightening is that they continue to write “politically correct” history instead of the truth and expect us to swallow it wholesale! God, dear God!

After NOF, AFZH and NOMS were organized, the Macedonian people, at least some of them, had to have realized that Greek occupied Macedonia was not going to be like it was before. Others were living among us. This also applies to the entire ethnic Macedonian space. At least some Macedonians must have realized that we were not alone and no longer masters of our ancestral lands. Instead of looking at the situation realistically, we charged forward without considering what those living among us desired, even though in our minds they did not deserve our lands. And that is exactly why the Greeks succeeded in cleansing us.

How and why did this syndrome of false memories appear? In other words, why do we believe that the Greek Civil War was an extension of our Ilinden tradition? Only the desperate cannot see it for what it really was; a national disaster for all the Macedonian people everywhere.

NOF’s political and national role in the Greek Civil War was controlled by foreigners and they, through NOF, led the Macedonian people to disaster.

The problem is with us Macedonians who, without a sense of historical dimension, could not and cannot understand the injustices perpetrated against us. It turned out that we Macedonians did not struggle with “historical issues” or have our own long-term strategy for protecting our ancestral lands. To this day some of us still support the strategies of those who contributed to our genocide. To this day we cannot understand what their intentions were, what Greece’s and Yugoslavia’s intentions were, when it came to solving their minority problems.

Instead of getting trapped in Kirizovski’s “scientific” polemics and getting nowhere, why don’t we read a small part of what General Markos himself said on March 25, 1948:

“The Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) is a national army that continues the Greek revolution started in 1821 by Kolokotronis and Kareskakis, continued through the national resistance in 1940-1945 and is now continuing through DAG to establish the most original national gains from 1821 - freedom for our people. DAG is our people’s army and is fighting for a national and independent people’s democracy.” (See: the book, “Dimokratikos Stratos”, Vol. 1 (January-December) Risospastis, Athens 1996.)

The word revolution, especially during the Greek Civil War, was used up, but the so-called “experts” and “analytical” historiographers did not stop from occasionally showering us with the fiction that it was “true”, NOF, AFZH and their bosses at the CPM/CPY and CPG were right but all the others, the ordinary mortals “lost in space” were wrong! This kind of historiography is a mental virus which is still being spread by the infected, infecting ordinary people to the extent that it has become an epidemic and an unprecedented portrayal of our people. Our Macedonian mainstream history is refusing to accept the fact that during the Greek Civil War NOF and AFZH were caught up in a strong ideological whirlpool, and despite their desires to do otherwise, they only served their masters and did what they were told.

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Many things have changed since the Greek Civil War ended, many elements of our tragedy are being discovered, but we should not talk about the still living DAG participants who were praised by the Greeks for their heroic struggle. We have yet to hear from the military and political strategists saying that they have analyzed all the blemishes of the devastating political and military tactics and that our fate was sealed when they sent us to Tashkent and left us there. Not to mention the many mothers wearing black handkerchiefs and the thousands of children uprooted from their homes and sent across Europe without the sense of morality. Why have these military and political strategists said nothing about our desire to return to our ancestral homes? Why have they not said anything to the Greek state for not recognizing us, including our involvement in the Greek Civil War? What was done to us has never been done to anyone. This was done to us by Zahariadis and General

Markos, both Turkish Christian colonists deposited in Macedonia during the 1920's. On his return to Greece, Markos was met by a General from the Greek Armed Forces who fought against him during the Greek Civil War. When they met at the Athens airport they embraced each other wholeheartedly. Then, when a reporter from the weekly "Epikera" asked Markos "what was the point of his struggle" Markos said: "The point was that we expelled the Slavo-Macedonians from the northern parts of Greece so that Macedonia can remain Greek." (See: "Nova Makedonija", February 25, 1992.) This is why General Markos, a Turkish Christian colonist from Asia Minor, deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1927, fought for and this is how he proposed to solve the "Macedonian Question". And to think that the Macedonian people, including the exiled children, idolized him like he was our greatest hero.

So, based on what Markos said to the reporter, we Macedonians fought in the Greek Civil War so that we would lose our (Greek occupied) Macedonia!

Once again Markos has told us the truth. Many of us Macedonian DAG fighters including myself (Stoian Kochov) trusted Markos with our lives, our souls and with everything that was Macedonian. Markos revealed the truth for us more than half a century ago, now it's up us Macedonians to embrace it and stop gloating over how the CPG and the CPM/CPY helped us during the Greek Civil War... For over 50 years now, through our Macedonian mainstream history we have been lying to our children telling them that our genocide was actually an extension of our Ilinden tradition.

So, the question is: "Have we Macedonians, as many nations have done, 50 years after our genocide separated fact from fantasy?" No we have not!

"New scientific findings on the exodus of the children from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia"

(Roundtable discussions held on July 25, 26 and 27, 1993 at the Army Hall.

See: Report published in the newspaper "Nezaborav", May 14, 1994, p. 4.)

A / “SHATTERING THE SHACKLES”, by Evdokia Foteva-Vera  
(leader of AFZH)

“...What Organization agreed to take care of the children from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and further educate them?  
NOF.

NOF was a Macedonian national organization following Ilinden, which embraced the Macedonian people, along with the women of AFZH and the NOMS youth, who organized the Macedonian people on a national front, confident that this time the people would be nationally and socially liberated. But then, as in former uprisings, our destiny was tailor-made by others. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were your fathers and mothers, your older brothers and sisters who truly cared about your fate and your future...

It is well-known that child care for our children was organized en masse in every village and in the presence of all the people. The surrogate mothers and teachers selected to look after the children swore before their parents, before the local people of NOF, and before the entire NOF organization, that they would take care of the children ages 1 to fourteen, like they were their own, because they were entrusted with their fate.

Our mothers believed them and entrusted their children to the surrogate mothers who then took them away in the name of life, freedom and a just future. Just take a look at what the mothers said, as was published in the newspapers and magazines and you will be convinced that it was the right thing to do.”

But if we want the truth shouldn't we be asking the question:  
“Should we Macedonians need to continue to demand that someone else is to blame for the organized migration process in which we willingly cooperated?”

As a matter of fact the real Macedonian mother was degraded and replaced by a Party appointed “mother” who looked after about 20 children on average. And this so-called mother was called “Omadarhisa” (unit commander in Greek). Why wasn't this mother

called by her Macedonian name “maika” (mother)? What does all this mean? Does it mean that the Macedonian children were part of some military regime? Children ages 2 to 14?

Lacking complete apathy, we can now safely say that the successful ideological agitation carried out on the ground by NOF, AFZH and NOMS, infiltrated the collective consciousness of our people and became an irreversible image of general euphoria from which the average Macedonian villagers could not escape. It was wrong of them to think differently. Any other choice made was unthinkable. Therefore the best course for them to take was to follow the lead of others, even if it meant giving up their own children - like the collection of a terrible tax.

This means that everyone was convinced of the illusion that the politicians were actually working only for the happiness of their people. This false political and ideological optimism was in fact the foundation upon which illusions grew. And they were the worst variant of political reality. People, of course, could not completely escape these illusions...

Interestingly, those running the evacuation program to “rescue” the children could be construed as anti-civilization and anti-Macedonian, especially since they employed the slogan: “Those Macedonians who are not with NOF and with the CPG are fascists...”, meaning war without mercy must be declared against them. And if they fully succeeded in their mission then no Macedonian world would exist on the Macedonian ancestral lands.

But if we abandon the truth how can we preserve the memories and sacrifices made by the Macedonian fighters who fought in DAG and died convinced by NOF that they were dying for Macedonia. How can our history honour those heroes of the past, a half century later with many serious questions looming? One day we will have to write a different history for Macedonia and the Macedonian people...

Many questions have been raised as a result of our slavery... but for now let us continue with Dr. Kiriazovski’s next report.

B / “VIOLENT MOBILIZATION - A CRIMINAL MASTERMIND”, by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.

“...The 1st NOF Congress of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was held on January 13, 1948, by request of the CPG. Its main purpose was to implement the decisions made by the CPG during the CPG Central Committee’s 3rd Plenum regarding recruiting DAG fighters. Task no. 6, accepted by the Congress, called for: “All Macedonian people, men and women, must join DAG’s ranks. Everyone must help by all means possible to meet DAG’s needs.”

Immediately after the congress was held, 3,000 new Macedonian men and women, joined DAG at the behest of NOF and AFZH.

During the same Congress even congressional delegates were asked to join DAG and most did.

In early February 1948, DAG General Headquarters issued a general mobilization order for mobilizing men and women born between the years 1927 and 1932. As a result every single Macedonian in the free territory born during that period was recruited.

As the mobilization effort was at its maximum in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, the CPG Greek leadership took action to mobilize Macedonians in the People’s Republic of Macedonia, and in Yugoslavia in general, from the pool of Macedonians who had fled Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia as political refugees. To that end, Petros Rosos, Minister in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece and CPG Central Committee member, arrived in Belgrade on March 17, 1948, and held talks with Aleksandar Rankovich who agreed in principle to allow the mobilization.

After things were ironed out, the CPY granted the CPG access to recruit Macedonians from the Yugoslav territory. These Macedonians were recruited by the Yugoslav authorities who worked with the CPG representatives in Yugoslavia.

It should be noted that in early February 1948, the Yugoslav authorities moved about 12,000 Aegean Macedonian political refugees from the People's Republic of Macedonia to the villages Iakovo and Krusevlie in Voivodina." In other words, the Macedonian people who had fled Greek occupied Macedonia to save themselves, were first accepted by the Yugoslav authorities and "saved" and later the same people were handed back to the Greeks so that they again could be tormented. Such was the fate of the Macedonian people, including the 13,500 Macedonian children...

"...The step the CPG leadership took was to evacuate the children.

When all sources for recruiting new DAG fighters dried up, Zahariadis and the CPG leadership took an unprecedented, adventurous and criminal step; they began to recruit child soldiers from the pool of the evacuated Macedonian children. Namely, the CPG made a decision to mobilize DAG fighters from the pool of the evacuated children who were above the age of 15. In most cases the mobilization was carried out not by age but by height. The decision to mobilized hundreds of children and send them to the front lines to die was an extremely unpopular and inhumane act. This barbaric act provoked anger and protest from the mothers.

As a result of the protests Zahariadis took two more unpopular and adventurous steps to calm spirits. On the one hand he allowed a small number of children to return to the boarding houses in Eastern Europe from where they had come. The rest he sent to the battle zones as DAG fighters. Not being well-trained and inexperienced in the art of war, as can be expected, these children were all killed during the initial clashes with the enemy. On the other hand Zahariadis accused many experienced Macedonian fighters of inciting the mothers to protest and brought them before a military court.

Having mobilized and killed children from the Eastern European boarding houses, where they were sent to be saved, put a lot of doubt on the CPG's goals, values and claims that it was evacuating the children to save them from the horrors of the Greek Civil War.



The fact that the CPG abused the Macedonian children for its own selfish purposes shows that it was not sincere. Zahariadis used the opportunity to move the children to free up and mobilize their mothers and thus solve the problem of DAG reserves. That's what we predicted and that is exactly what happened."

C / Undeniable Facts:

According to a report delivered by Porfirogenis to the CPG Central Committee Politburo on February 16, 1949, "The Yugoslav government granted asylum to thousands of Macedonians of whom about 2,000 were returned to Greece and joined DAG. The CPY helped with that." (See: AM, K-20/17/30.), (Also see: article entitled "Post war policies for turning Macedonian children into Greeks", under the sub-title "The Greek children are crossing our borders", published in the newspaper "Nezaborav", July 1, 1995, p. 4.)

Two films in a "bunker": Shortly after Radivoje Lola Giukich made his first documentary film in 1948, entitled "The Greek Children", filmed in a "bunker", he also made the film "Mother Katina" by Nikola Popovich.

The following are statements made by the honourable lawyer Tomas Filota, as quoted in the above-mentioned article: "When Markos's revolution was reaching its end, mothers and fathers from Aegean Macedonia brought their children to Bitola. They were five to six month-old children barely separated from their mother's breasts. Some were up to six years old. Whether there were as many as Mr. Tsarouhidis says, I don't know. I know about the idea of settling them in Kosovo, but that didn't suit Tito. Not even Edward Kardeli" said Mr. Filota. "They did not want these children to be kept in Yugoslavia. They were sent to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and possibly the USSR. Some were even sent to the US and Australia ..."

There is no escape from the judgment of history.

Who is afraid of history? It would be good to free history. It would be nice to read pure facts and avoid the censorship committees

administering historical truth. Real history should not be written by orders... it should write itself.

The reader will notice a big difference when reading true history.

## EPILOGUE - RUDIMENTARY HISTORY

The true history of the Greek Civil War is now being exposed and is full of cruelty. And even though they contributed to Greece's well being, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia were treated with cruelty not only by the Greek government but also by the communists. The Macedonian people suffered immensely and in the end lost everything, even their ancestral homes, fighting in this tragic war designed and led by the then CPY and CPG.

After over half a century of silence and free of those heroic times, we are now looking at this distant Greek Civil War more objectively and analyzing it from a neutral standpoint with aims at getting to the truth. We are finding out that it was a complete tragedy and we are closing the circle from believing that it was a historic success for our people and now finding out that it was a great and lasting historic tragedy.

We are also finding out the purpose behind the creation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS, linked to the globalization of world ideology, which was not to benefit the Macedonian people as we believed, but to benefit foreign interests. NOF, AFZH and NOMS did not have their own solid goals. Their goals were fluid and altered from time to time to suit the needs of their masters the CPM/CPY and the CPG.

The results achieved by NOF, AFZH and NOMS were not at all successful for our people as we were led to believe, they were the opposite. In their hands our people suffered utter defeat and experienced genocide. We not only lost many people but we lost our Macedonian ancestral lands for all eternity. The "Pedomazoma" (taking away our children) was not implemented to save our children; it was a deliberate act to destroy our nation by robbing it of its youth. This is why only the Macedonian children were given a one way ticket out.

There was also the gruesome and bitter fate of our Macedonian children collected and sent to Frederica's camps and boarding houses. They too were isolated from their families who, on top of being isolated, were also taught to hate their real parents because the

Greek government accused them of being “traitors” and were brought up believing that they were Greek.

Some of the blame for losing our children must fall on us because we either allowed these foreigners to take our children or did not fight hard enough to stop them. Unfortunately we now must bear the entire burden for what happened, for the destruction of the Macedonian family and for the loss of our ancestral homes and lands in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Our reward for our (self) - sacrifices in the Greek Civil War was a one way ticket to oblivion.

This is how the ideological installation that relied on foreign winds ended. Lastly, let us summarize our findings in line with the foreign strategic model designed to exterminate us, i.e. our national defeat in Greek occupied Macedonia. Who can be blamed for what - is very difficult to pin down. It is not clear how much responsibility the individuals and ideological activists had in the everyday activities of the Party in Greek occupied Macedonia. For example, not only were the children taken but this act of “taking children” was illegal. The mobilization of Macedonian men and women to fight for DAG was illegal. Under whose recognized authority were these acts committed and who was responsible for them; NOF, AFZH, NOMS or those who gave the orders? Who is to blame?

There should have been no more wars starting after World War II ended. Everything was settled and guaranteed by the major powers. So, why was there a Greek Civil War, who started it and why? It is becoming clearer and clearer that the Greek Civil War was a brain child of the major powers. The communist regime, Zahariadis, Tito and Stalin on the one hand wanted to cause problems for the capitalists. The capitalist regime, England, the United States and the Greek government on the other, wanted to destroy communism in Greece and get rid of the Macedonian nation living in Greek occupied Macedonia.

It is a very interesting combination when demagogy and daily politics written as historiography come together. This combination creates a “double distorted” historical reality leading us to believe

that the Greek Civil War was a historically epic event for us Macedonians. But if we look closer at the facts: The preoccupation of NOF, AFZH and NOMS politically was to systematically mobilize the Macedonian people by falsely inciting them to fight and not ask questions. The Macedonian people were never asked if they wanted to fight or not. So, every Macedonian person exiled from his or her birthplace has at one time or another wondered: how could the Macedonian leaders have been so naive, so adventurous, and so irresponsible as to initiate this war... But so far no one has given an explanation. Was there ever, at any time during the war, a member of NOF, AFZH and NOMS who asked why a war?

Looking at the situation today, more than fifty years after DAG was liquidated, given how the CPY and CPG behaved towards us during Greek Civil War, should we the ordinary Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia still be the ones apologizing for what happened?

Nowhere else in the world is there a people blamed for the sins of others as it is with us Macedonians. It is almost like we have been hardwired to believe and propagate foreign propaganda. This happened to us during the Greek Civil War and to this day, has become our trait...

As a result of researching precisely this topic I have written the following books:

1. (Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece in the Civil War (1945-1949) and,
2. Ideological activism of the Macedonians under Greece (1940-1950).

The problem with the exiling of the Macedonian children during the Greek Civil War, for us Macedonians, was one of the most serious problems in the Macedonian National Movement and I believe that with this book I have contributed to answering some of the basic questions that have arisen.

Those who led NOF, AFZH and NOMS and who are still alive should be obligated to speak up and tell the truth in order to expose the fallacy. The people already know who the guilty culprits were. It is time that Macedonian mainstream history is written that way... Besides emotions, there are also tragedies and human losses. One sometimes has to face up to them and tell the truth no matter how ugly and cruel it is.

Our Macedonian mainstream history contains artificially injected, biased Greek and other foreign views about us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. As a result the reader is brazenly subjected to misleading and falsified history about our reality. We were a small number of people in Greece and there was no way that Macedonians living in other countries could help us. Even if they did, their help would have been pointless because by then the major powers had already decided what the world was going to look like without us. There was no way that we could have taken on the entire world with weapons. Our strength should have been our mind and we should have focused on saving ourselves and preserving our most valued possession; our ancestral hearth. We had no intellectual quantum, but we had Macedonians who loved their country immensely. As a result foreign ideology through our ideological activists was able to penetrate our minds, to mislead us, and direct us to our (self) destruction.

## GOOD OR EVIL?

From what we have learned so far we can conclude the following:

During the time when they were active, NOF, AFZH and NOMS went through various phases. First they were “administered” by the CPM/CPY and then by the CPG. All these times they acted under orders from these two regimes. Known or unbeknownst to them, they committed great sins against their own people. All their conduct and actions eventually brought us to a catastrophic defeat – that is, to our self-destruction.

NOF, AFZH and NOMS, even the CPM, did not have a clear political philosophy regarding the vital interests of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. This was confirmed by the

fact that we Macedonians failed to assert ourselves as Macedonians but instead accepted the fictional label “Slavo-Macedonians” assigned to us by the CPG. We the Macedonians fighters did not succeed in retaining our identity as Macedonians with our Macedonian military markings and symbols. Some of us even fought in this war against our will. We accepted being illegally drafted and mobilized without question. All this left deep psychological wounds in our collective consciousness and in our souls.

But the most painful thing of all is that, to this day, those who led us (NOF, AFZH, NOMS, CPM, CPY and CPG) during the Greek Civil War and certain “scholarly” historians insist that the war was justified and fiercely defend their claims and actions. After the war ended, a lot of Macedonian people believed that justice no longer existed. If it did exist, it existed only for the powerful (CPY, CPG). In other words justice served the powerful and not necessarily the righteous. Those who were powerful were righteous... and the communists were powerful...

With time, it is becoming very clear that NOF, AFZH, NOMS and even the CPM had no clear notion or awareness that the Great Powers and our neighbours had an advanced pre-planned solution for us! The Greek Civil War went as planned. It was a success for the Great Powers and for Greece and Bulgaria but a disaster for us Macedonians. When the armed conflict ended all the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders left Greek occupied Macedonia leaving behind the remaining part of the Macedonian people to pick up the pieces and endure the wrath for their sins. The survivors endured trauma and the burden of it haunted them for years. No less traumatized were those who fled their homeland and lost their ancestral hearth forever or those who were separated from their children with no hope of ever seeing them again. The Greek Civil War broke the Macedonian family...

My aim, through this book is to shed some light on the terrible and gloomy grey shadows that have gloriously hovered over us for years making us feel humiliated while we wait and wait for our return ticket to be issued... For many decades now we have been living in

exile and in fear with the notion that care must be taken not to offend those who inflicted this evil on us.

In other words, we Macedonians through NOF, AFZH and NOMS did not create a future for ourselves; we are still waiting for our future to be created. Why? Because we were fatally disorganized, and as a result, became innocent victims of the CPG.

After the Greek Civil War ended, we allowed our past to be wiped out and our present to be deprived. And where there is no past and present there is no future. This is the real situation we are in at the moment as I see it over a half a century later with shadows of the Greek Civil War still hovering over us, with many questions unanswered and with many issues still open. I will never agree to the idea that our children were taken to be saved as I will never agree to the way our Macedonian mainstream has treated us... not as Macedonians but as "Aegeans"... a derogatory term used to belittle us.

Some of the blame for what has happened to us after the Greek Civil War ended must be placed on some of the so-called intellectuals, if we can call them that, who have not only participated in Macedonia's political life and in the sharing of political power, but have also acted as apologists who put their own intellectual dogma ahead of our interests. Some of them are so lost in the political waters of daily politics that they use their intellectual virtue only as a demagogic skill. There is also another group that works in accordance with the need of its clients and their own lucrative goals, and when needed, at one time or another, this group on one hand affirms and praises ideas and facts and on the other acts as a fierce critic. This group has been deadlocked in its unfulfilled ambitions to actively participate in the sharing of political power, but due to its own failure, it is constantly filled with anger, envy and nihilism.

So, through this book, we have followed the over half century-old political power which, in the absence of spiritual power, set out to take us away from our real life and intended destiny and keep us from finding out the truth about the genocide we experienced in Greek occupied Macedonia. We were also most unfortunate that "totalitarianism" existed all these years and that the governments



which possessed immense political power refused to help us. Through this book, at least I will be able to leave something about this for our future generations.

What does science say about this tragedy?

For more information refer to the journal “Sontse” Imperative preparation of ethnological maps of Macedonia (3), by Prof. Dr. Miodrag Kalendar Hadzhi Ristich, February 15, 2002:

“...and all this happened again after World War II and to this day. The lie that the so-called “Civil War in Greece” was actually a continuation of the operation to create a “Greater Greece”.

“This war became an ‘anti-Macedonian war’, when hundreds of thousands of children barely out of diapers, young people and adults, allegedly fled Greece and went to Tito’s Yugoslavia before the military operations began in Greece, from where “the clever servile Macedonian leadership” which in place of settling the population from the Mediterranean part of Aegean Macedonia to the vacant, abandoned settlements of the western territories of Macedonia, which were abandoned because of atrocities committed during the fascist Italian and fascist Albanian occupation when it was partially settled by Albanian settlers, sent the Macedonian people across the border to Yugoslavia.

The Macedonian population was expelled from Aegean Macedonia systematically, ‘with our blessing’ and sent to Eastern European countries belonging to the socialist bloc of Europe, all the way to Tashkent in the Asian part of the Soviet Union. Alleged attempts at partial return of some of these Macedonians to the People’s Republic of Macedonia were neither understood as a national nor as an imperatives plan to save what could be saved from the initiated and perverted ethnic invasion by the Albanians using ‘omnipresent opportunities’ - a supposedly common state, the seventh republic of Tito’s Yugoslavia, and especially after the INFORMBURO developments, when Macedonia became an open country...”

As we are finding out more information about this war we are uncovering the undeniable truth that the main protagonists and

planners of the Greek Civil War were the CPM/CPY and the CPG, which opened up space for ethnically cleansing the Macedonian people from their geographic and spiritual space after World War II. The lack of concern by these ideological caretakers was not only confirmed by science (Ristich), but also became more than clear to every single conscious Macedonian who suffered.

And yet, history goes on and will be the final judge.

## APPENDICES

### FACTS AND ARGUMENTS REGARDING THE CPG'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE BEFORE AND AFTER THE GREEK CIVIL WAR 1944 - 1945 AND 1945 - 1960

1.

Memorandum written by a group of Macedonian activists from Kostur Region describing the CPG Greek resistance leadership's policies and irregular attitude towards the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

CONFIDENTIAL

TO NOV AND PO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,  
MACEDONIA.

October 18, 1944, Village Gorno Vranovtsi,

“MISTAKES, EVIL DEEDS, ANTI-PEOPLE ACTS, ANTI-MACEDONIAN ACTS... PERPETRATED BY THE GREEK PEOPLE AGAINST OUR PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA DURING THE THREE YEAR ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE...”: (The memo went on for about 15 pages describing crimes committed against the Macedonian people.)

People's delegation from Greek occupied Macedonia.

1. Paskal Mitrevski, lawyer, leader of the Macedonian movement in Kostur Region.

2. Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, People's President in the Kostur Region Greek National Assembly.

3. Lambro Cholakov, worker, member of the delegation from Kostur Region.

(See: Document AM, photocopy ATSKSJ-K-1/40, from the book “Aegean Macedonia in NOV September 1944 to February 1945”. Volume 7, book 3. Translation, Editorial and Commentary by Dr. Risto Kiriazovski.)

The memorandum went on to describe many anti-Macedonian acts committed in the years 1944 and 1945. This time, as in other times, especially in the Macedonian territory occupied by Greece, Macedonians had not asked anyone for anything. It is amazing how they survived despite all the tragedies they had to endure. But one will have to wonder; if all the things mentioned in the report were happening before the Greek Civil War, then what did people expect would happen during the Greek Civil War? By the logic of things, they dove deeper into a totalitarian environment... unfortunately our analysts and mainstream historians disagree and insist that things went the other way.

The most tragic part about this is that the people who reported these atrocities to us were again victims in the Greek Civil War; because they worked flawlessly with unprecedented servitude to the CPG, and in the end they were the ones who carried out the most murderous endeavour; the permanent exiling of our children. They were the ones who, in the guise of saving them, carried out the very successful child evacuation program, an unprecedented act of cruelty against the Macedonian people.

After reading this long report I was stunned and inexplicably wondered “how could these people who wrote this report, again call on the Macedonian people to go and fight in the Greek Civil War for the CPG without any guarantees that they would not be harmed?” The people who signed the memorandum were the same people calling on the Macedonian people to fight in the Greek Civil War!

The following is part of a larger interview conducted by D. Golubovic for the magazine “Dura” in 1985. (See page 30.)

Interview:

“Thirty-three years later: WHY DID MARKOS NOT TELL ALL?”

One of our official officers (Slobodan Krstich - Ucho) remembers the events that excited the world.

How did the clash come about, what did Markos misrepresent? etc. But the most interesting question is: Were there any other reasons, besides the obvious ones, why the Greek people's liberation movement collapsed?

What was the game around the Macedonian people?

Initially the Greek rebel movement was concentrated in Aegean Macedonia because traditionally this was a troubled region. At the same time the Aegean Macedonians might have thought that by participating in this war they would accomplish their own goals – reunite Macedonia. But, instead of taking advantage of the positive momentum and extending the rebellion to all of Greece, the CPG leadership confined itself to Aegean Macedonia because of its proximity to the Yugoslav border. In addition to that, the CPG pursued a completely wrong policy towards advancing Macedonian personnel in the military and in the political ranks. The highest rank any Macedonian was allowed to advance in the military was commander of a detachment. The CPG justified this by claiming that these Macedonians had no military experience. Adding to that was the steady manipulation of top Macedonian officials causing friction between them and pitting them against one other.”

3.

Nikos Zahariadis and what he said:

3/1. During the XII CPG Central Committee Plenary session, held on June 25-27, 1945, in his political speech, Zahariadis said:

“...We are against any change in the 1939 boundaries by use of force no matter where that force comes from. The only democratic principle we recognize is the principle of self-determination of peoples. This principle applies to the Dodecanese, Cyprus and North Epirus. At the same time, we strive to implement another democratic principle for the national minorities, the principle of equality and respect. That principle should also apply to the Macedonian

minority, to regulate our relations with the northern Balkan republics in a friendly manner...” (See: “Rizospastis”, July 17, 1945.)

3/2. Speaking about DAG’s defeat at the 13th Conference in 1950, Nikos Zahariadis, Secretary General of the CPG Central Committee and President of the DAG Military Council, said: “If we had known Tito’s position before the armed conflict was started, we would have thought differently about taking up arms and fighting in the Greek Civil War.”

3/3 Zahariadis said: “NOF was created by Tito and Kolishevski... Its founding and managing core was made up of Tito’s agents the likes of Mitrevski Keramitdzhiev, Gotse, Rakovski and others, with the sole purpose of advancing the interests of Belgrade’s leaders in Aegean Macedonia... Yes, they used the Slavo-Macedonian question to realize their own nationalist plans - to incorporate Aegean Macedonia...” Zahariadis wrote this down and had it adopted by the CPG’s special consultation committee. This was also reviewed and accepted by the CPG Central Committee Politburo. This is how the Greek side looked at and understood things. (See: TO KKE 1918-1952, p. 271, and also quotes in Pavle Rakovski’s book 2000/347.)

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In other words if we understand Zahariadis correctly we should believe that Tito was to blame for Zahariadis’s blunders: “If I was informed then as I am informed today about Tito, this would not have happened to me.”

These were the parting words of a powerful revolutionary and mythical leader, the top strategist of the Greek revolution, in the aftermath of the Greek Civil War.

And with these words, lie after lie, Zahariadis gave us a one way ticket out of our ancestral lands and sent us to oblivion. These are the facts... this is the historical truth... this is the darkest curtain of our fate...

I believe that the exiled Macedonians uprooted from Greek occupied Macedonia, at some point or another, realized that all ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism were created by ambitious people who were thought to be concerned for the good of humanity. For example Lenin created a system which eventually destroyed him. Power in the hands of only one person is always a real source of danger. But no other country had a government like the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, in other words the CPG, which was so cruel to its people that it abandoned its own defenders, the DAG fighters, allowing the Greek government to exile them for over half a century and keeping silent about their fate...

4.

#### SIBERIA FOR “TITO’S AGENTS”

“Thirty-three years ago, a group of Macedonians, leaders of NOF for Aegean Macedonia, were blamed by the CPG Central Committee Stalinist politburo for being responsible for the defeat of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) in the Greek Civil War 1946-1949.

4.

Accused of being ‘Tito’s agents and international reactionaries’, ten of them were sentenced to death. At the request of CPG Secretary General Zahariadis and his group, which followed Informburo views ‘on the CPY situation’, the sentenced were deported from Port Durrës in Albania to the Soviet Union where their crimes were investigated. In Moscow their death sentences were replaced with life imprisonment to be served in exile in Siberia. After Stalin’s death and after the communist party of the Soviet Union held its Twentieth Congress, all prisoners wrongfully convicted were rehabilitated and allowed to leave. Eventually all of them went to Yugoslavia, Skopje, where most still live.” (See: Dragan Kliakich, “DUGA”, January 15, 1983.)

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In other words, instead of getting this historic information, about the evil done to our NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders, from our own Macedonian mainstream history, we are getting it from foreign sources. Of course, now we also have Pavle Rakovski's Autobiography "My Sufferings...", Published by "AEA Publishers" in Skopje in 2000, which provides many details of his experience in the Siberian camps, how he got there and how he was eventually released. Rakovski was one of the NOF leaders who was sentenced to death by Zahariadis.

What bothers me the most about all this is that I found no official protests made about the Soviet involvement! In other words no one said: "HEY YOU THERE! WHO GAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO PROSECUTE OUR REVOLUTIONARIES AND SEND THEM TO SIBERIA? WHAT KIND OF CRIMES DID THEY COMMIT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION!?" And this voice of protest should have come from us Macedonians.

I can only imagine the trauma our people, the so-called NOF, AFZH and NOMS "revolutionaries", underwent in Zahariadis's hands. With his power over their lives, Zahariadis held them tight in his hands. It is obvious that they suffered terrible human rights abuses, psychological trauma and physical violations through his powerful ideological mechanisms. His ideological propaganda had a fiercely destructive effect on the human psyche.

So, in that global chaos, in that messy and brutal war, the question that comes to mind is: "How should we Macedonians interpret and understand all this?"

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## ON THE PATH OF HUMANITY

What is the basis for "I" in the individual consciousness of each person? Looking for the human "I", for an individual self-consciousness is an inexplicable phenomenon, but it is precisely by this search that we will find the particular characteristics of our (NOF, AFZH and NOMS) leaders.



Let us follow what they went through: (See: the novel “Nebeska Timianovavna” by Petre Andreevski, 1989 / p. 297.)

“...We yelled out Comrade Khrushchev, comrade Khrushchev while jumping up and down and falling on the floor to be noticed. The sound in the dome of the theatre echoed. Khrushchev paused, took a step towards the front of the carved stone, turned, and looked at two women scuffling with a number of policemen.

‘Let them go, let the women go!’ Khrushchev yelled.

The policemen turned around, I got free and I hit the one holding me. I hit him right in the stomach. I gave him a donkey kick in the stomach and maybe lower. The man screamed and took his hands off me.

We ran over to Khrushchev, but we could not catch our breath. We stood in front of him shaking trying to speak. We did not know what he looked like, except from his pictures. We both started talking at the same time. Our words were getting mixed up.

Comrade Khrushchev we said, we are communists from Yugoslavia, we are revolutionaries and fighters from 1941, from Greek Macedonia. We were arrested and rehabilitated, we said, and we have visas from Yugoslavia, but we do not have visas from you yet. We can’t go back, we said, and shrugged our shoulders. Our legs were shaking and our veins were pulsing. I felt like I was losing consciousness.

‘Relax, relax,’ said Khrushchev as I kept looking at his shiny egg-shaped bald head covered in sweat. I said thank you and handed him a letter.”

And this is how the revolutionary activities of our people sent to Siberia (Katarza) ended.

The question now is: “Did these politicians of ours, now proclaimed as “Yugoslav Communists” who yesterday deceived our people,

young and old, to sacrifice themselves for the revolution, truly work for our national interests?

Did they really do this for our salvation or did they do this to pursue the CPM/CPY political platform? Because in their propaganda they were calling on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to rise up and fight in a revolution and continue the Ilinden tradition.

There is nothing wrong with admitting guilt to being victims of foreign manipulation and apologizing to the Macedonian people. At the same time they cannot continue to make claims that they were a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War and not take responsibility for what they did. They were at the forefront urging the Macedonian people to join DAG en masse. They were at the forefront of the child collection program that ended in disaster. They were the ones who called on the Macedonian people to become involved in a war that not only turned them into casualties but caused them to lose their ancestral hearths forever.

## 5. - HOW DID WORLD WAR II END FOR US MACEDONIANS FROM GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA

After the German occupying forces withdrew from all of Greece, including from Greek occupied Macedonia, and after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, the CPG, ELAS, and EAM were disarmed and found themselves in an inferior position. Almost the very next day after ELAS surrendered, organized terror began in Greece.

Chronology of events that left a historical mark on the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia

5/1 - March 5, 1943 - A 48-member Assembly was convened in Kostur, with representatives from the various Kostur Region villages. The Assembly decided to form a self-defense organization called the "MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE" for Kostur Region which was to protect about 60 villages. The "Macedonian Committee", with permission from the Italian occupiers, was

allowed to arm itself in order to protect itself and the Macedonian people from Greek terrorists.

5/2 March 28, 1943 – A partisan detachment was formed in the village Lagen, Lerin Region, which consisted of Macedonian and Greek fighters, known as the ELAS “Vicho” detachment.

5/3 - August 1943 - After lengthy negotiations between ELAS and EDES and English General Staff for the Middle East, a CPG and EAM delegation arrived in Cairo to negotiate “political unity” and the formation of a “joint headquarters” with the Greek government in exile and with a number of civil parties. The joint headquarters, headed by Andy Meyers, was created on June 18, 1943, which recognized the ELAS resistance forces as an allied army. With this Agreement the People’s Liberation Movement in Greece was subordinate to the English General Staff for the Middle East. And for the same purpose, on June 5, 1943, a military cooperation agreement was signed in Lebanon.

5/4 - September 1, 1943 - The ELAS Macedonian partisan detachment “Lazo Trpovski” was formed in Beriki, Kostur Region.

5/5 - October 20, 1943 – The Macedonian organization SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian People’s Liberation Front) was created, but only for Kostur Region. SNOF for Lerin and Voden Regions was created later.

The CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships, concerned with the situation created in Greek occupied Macedonia with the formation of the “Macedonian Committee” in Kostur Region and other Macedonian organizations in Lerin and Voden Regions, found themselves in need of forming SNOF, a Macedonian organization. SNOF was created by Greeks from the CPG Regional Committee in Western Macedonia, including Hristos Kalfas (Andreas), CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region, Andonis Andonopoulos (Pericles) and Thanasis Kartsounis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozheni Region.

5/6 - In the six months of its existence SNOF in Kostur Region managed to win over the “Macedonian Committee” and recruit

4,770 new members. This meant that the Macedonian people believed that “SNOF was the only national liberation organization capable of meeting the Macedonian people’s national and social demands in Greek occupied Macedonia”. (See: “Slavo-Macedonian Voice” number. 3, April 1944.)

Some people even claimed that: “SNOF was the new Macedonian VMRO which would bring Ilinden to its conclusion...”

After SNOF pacified the “Macedonian Committee”, the CPG decided to dismantle it which, once again, proves that the CPG was manipulating the Macedonian people. But it was more than that: the CPG wanted the Macedonians to fight one another, to physically liquidate and eliminate each other from this world and from the political scene in Greece. With this, the CPG practically achieved what the Greek government could not for many years. Once SNOF achieved its objectives the Greek resistance leaders decided SNOF was no longer needed and had to go. The CPG wanted to achieve “national unity” with the Greek reactionaries, the Greek bourgeois parties and the Greek government in exile at all costs and could not do it with SNOF in its way. So with SNOF out of the picture, on May 20, 1944, the CPG signed the famous capitulation agreement that sealed the fate of the national liberation struggle.

September 26, 1944 – The Caserta Agreement was signed between the CPG, EAM, and ELAS on one hand, and the Greek government in exile headed by Georgios Papandreou and the British Headquarters for the Middle East, on the other. With this Agreement ELAS and all resistance forces were put under the command of the Greek government in exile. However, the Greek government in exile transferred control of its forces to English General Scobie. Of course, this agreement was yet another concession the Greek resistance leadership made in favour of the Greek government in exile.

February 12, 1945 – The Varkiza Agreement was signed between representatives of the Greek government and representatives of the CPG and EAM to end the clashes in Athens between ELAS units on the one hand and Greek government forces, Greek police and English interventionist forces, on the other, which began on

December 4, 1944. (See: “Aegean Macedonia in NOB 1944-1945”, doc. 200, p. 298-301.)

The consequences of this Agreement were felt worst by the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, against whom the Greek political right and reactionaries carried out unprecedented terror in order to oust them completely from the Greek state, and this was also true for both the people of SNOF (former ELAS) and for the people of the “Macedonian Committees”.

#### 5/7 WHO WERE OUR ALLIES?

A) - EAM (National Liberation Front) was established on September 27, 1941 and consisted of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG), the Agricultural party, the Socialist and People’s Democratic Party, the General Workers Federation, the General Federation of State Bureaucrats, the Organization of National Solidarity, and Representatives of the Political, Scientific and Cultural Life in Greece, The EAM was later joined by the front end of the Liberal Party. From all this, once again, we can see that we Macedonians were not allies of the EAM, because until then we had not been a political entity in Greece, we were simply voluntarily members, citizens of Greece with no symbols of Macedonian affiliation. The following goals and objectives were part of the EAM program:

1. Expel the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers from Greece;
2. Maintain Greece’s integrity;
3. Strive to gain self-determination for Cyprus, the Dodecanese, and Northern Epirus as well as any other places where EAM is present, and
4. Strategically regulate the northern Greek borders (meaning acquire more Macedonian territory from the allies). (See: “Mahitis”, organ of ELAS, February 10, 1944.) The commentary reads: EAM on the national question. Do we still not know that there is absolutely nothing for us Macedonians in the EAM program?

B) ELAS (the Greek People's Liberation Army) was formed on May 15, 1942, in Rumeli as a partisan detachment with the same goals and objectives as EAM. This was decided during a joint CPG-EAM Central Committee meeting. The proclamation was addressed to the citizens of Greece and to the former officers of the Greek army who served the bourgeois. There was nothing in the proclamation about us Macedonians... we were not allies but simply "Slavophone" soldiers to be used as cannon fodder just like our fathers were in previous wars. We may have sung "Embros ELAS Gia Tin Ellada" (forward ELAS for Greece) but nobody seemed to notice or care... There is another undeniable fact for us Macedonians: everyone who was inducted into ELAS, including us Macedonians, had to take the following oath:

"I swear I will fight to the last drop of my blood for the complete liberation, stability and independence of Greece. I will fight to preserve the integrity of Greece and to restore order and basic human rights to the Greek people. I will respect PEEAS's actions and decisions and follow its orders which I will execute conscientiously and with discipline. I will obey all orders and instructions from my superiors, and will avoid any act that would make me untrustworthy as a person and as a fighter for the Greek people...

On July 16, 1943, Sarafis, Commander of ELAS, and Colonel Eddie Mayers, Chief of the English Military Mission in Greece, signed a joint agreement recognizing ELAS as an allied army and placed it under Middle East command. But let us see how things developed after that. On October 31, 1944, a larger group of English soldiers with armored vehicles entered Solun ahead of ELAS. WHY? Three days later, London-based BBC radio reported that British troops had liberated Solun. On February 12, 1945, the Varkiza Agreement was signed between the leaders of the CPG and EAM on the one hand, and the Plaistiras Greek government and British General Scobie on the other. With this Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed over power to the political right. And that was the end of ELAS.

6.

## THE POLITICAL REFUGEES AFTER THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

On August 29-30, 1949, after the Greek Civil War ended, DAG General Headquarters transferred all military personnel to Albania where they were disarmed and sent to the Bureli and Elbasan military camps. Some fled to Bulgaria where, after crossing the Berkovitsa border, they were disarmed.

The CPG Central Committee held its 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum in Bureli where, in addition to evaluating its military achievements, it decided what to do with its DAG fighters, where to send them and in what numbers:

Country	Number of people	to arrive later
Czechoslovakia	13,500	6,000 from Bulkesh
Poland	9,000	3,000
Romania	5,600	1,000
Bulgaria	8,800	
Hungary	4,000	2,000
East Germany	2,200.	1,500 young children
USSR (Tashkent)	16,500	5,500

It should be noted that 56 to 60% of these numbers, as verified by Greek sources, were Macedonians.

There were no reliable sources for the exact number of refugees in Yugoslavia, but according to some sources there were about 60,000 people, exclusively Macedonians.

7.

## FACTS FROM GREEK OFFICIAL HISTORY ON THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1944-1949)

# FACTS AND ARGUMENTS ON THE GREAT FRAUD AND GENOCIDE COMMITTED AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREECE

Historical Studies of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia during the Greek Civil War 1944-1949

## 8. The CPG 5<sup>th</sup> Plenary

Decisions made during the CPG Central committee's 5th plenum in January became apparent after February 8th. They clarified, interpreted, and confirmed in detail General Markos's isolation and removal from duty as well as the removal of Hrisa Vasiliou who agreed with Markos's views, and the removal of Ioanidis from the PDK.

1. "DAG is firmly and safely in control of the entire region of Mount Pind. We took the top of Mount Gramos once again. The national (Greek government) army soldiers showed fatigue and despair.

2. The enemy's military forces (national army, police, National Guard, Maids, MEA and so on) number over 300 thousand. They forced over 700 thousand people out of their homes with aims at isolating DAG.

3. General Headquarters and the Divisions will provide all necessary military supplies to all the units in this region at all times. Any delays in this will cause problems, similar to the ones we had in 1948. (The kind that made us lose Vicho.)

4. As their task, Thessaly and Rumeli are obliged to launch combat operations and begin offensive attacks with aims at pinning down the enemy and preventing him from expanding his capabilities in 1949.

5. The 6th and 7th Division (Eastern Macedonia and Thrace) are tasked with gradually increasing pressure and launching strikes against the enemy and against Solun.



Other observations made and problems uncovered during the 5th Plenum are showing that the leadership (the CPG leadership) is currently far from its targets.

6. DAG is showing to be stronger than in 1948. It has widened the national liberation movement all the way down to the Peloponnese.

The Peloponnese should be torn apart by our military campaigns and all ordinary villagers should join DAG's ranks.

All of the above suggestions and conclusions may represent little in terms of tangible items but are good news for the left-leaning public. As for the Macedonians, the 5th Plenum said the following about them:

In northern Greece, the Macedonian (Slavo-Macedonian) people are giving their all for the struggle and are fighting for the ultimate goal with heroism that provokes a heroic self-sacrifice that is a feat of great admiration. There should be no doubt that after DAG comes out victorious in the people's struggle, the Macedonian people, who spill their blood today, will find their full national freedom as they wish. The Macedonian Communists are always at the forefront and responsible in the struggle. At the same time, the Macedonian communists should also pay attention to the Macedonian communists who carry out agitation for foreign intelligence services. The CPG is loyal to the EAM which is in close cooperation with all the people's organizations and first and foremost with AKE and NOF.

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9.

Investigative Commission Report to the Security Council regarding incidents at Greek border

“Before making our suggestions, the Commission feels it would be useful, in short, to recap the situation along the northern Greek border, and our suggestions aimed at alleviating and correcting the problem.

First, the Greek government has made accusations that its three northern neighbours are aiding the guerrilla war in Greece.

Second, there is a disrupted situation today in Greece that is a legacy of the past. Its causes can be found in the tragic Greek experience during the Italian, German and Bulgarian occupation when a guerrilla war was led in political turmoil and economic hardship was caused by the war.

The next thing to identify is the refusal of most mentioned countries accepting their borders as final, in the way they are defined today. Some of their demands were legitimately raised before the United Nations or at other relevant international bodies, but their introduction undoubtedly exacerbated the already dangerous situation.

Furthermore, in the case of the Macedonian question, the demands are not raised in front of the United Nations, but in the speeches of individual governments or in the press controlled by governments. Using the Macedonian question in this way, in the Commission's view, poses a threat to peace in the Balkans and can only further contribute to existing tensions and doubts.

There is another thing that needs to be mentioned which is present in Greece, on the one hand, and in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, on the other: The political refugees from different territories, who have participated in many political parties and struggles and who have fought in their countries during and after the war. Some of these refugees are located near the borders of the country from which they fled. Some, during their exile, have engaged in political and military activities, and many of them live in the hope that a violent upheaval will allow them to return to their homes under the conditions they choose. Other refugees are victims of the spreading panic and if given a free choice would gladly return to their homes. However, the constant presence of all of them under the conditions under which they currently live, quite clearly, is a serious factor contributing to the ongoing situation.

Finally, the violence and level of propaganda used by some of the protagonists in their mutual relations could not be avoided by the Commission during its stay in the four countries. This kind of propaganda has served to inflame passions, which are already pretty inflamed... The Commission suggests that the Security Council let the Greek government know that it is ready, if that government so requires it, to make its services available in order to find possible means to solve its problems.

The Commission offered its own proposal:

A. The Commission recommended to the Security Council that it propose to the Greek government, on the one hand, and to Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, on the other, that they do everything in their power to establish normal neighbourly relations and to abstain from all direct or indirect action... The Commission believed that armed gangs operating in the territory of one State crossing into the territory of another should not be supported. Governments should take all possible measures in their territories to deprive these gangs of all assistance and protection. The Security Council should treat these gangs as a threat to peace within the meaning of the United Nations Charter.

B. To ensure that efficient mechanisms are implemented for regulating and controlling their common borders, the Commission recommended that the Security Council propose to the governments concerned that they conclude new talks following the example of the Greco-Bulgarian Convention of 1931, taking into account the needs of the current situation. (Greek-Bulgarian Convention on Population Exchanges.) In other words the commission suggested that MINORITIES be exchanged.

C. In order to restore normal conditions along the borders between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, on the other, and thereby help to establish good neighbourly relations, the Commission recommended the establishment of a separate border commission.

A delegation from the Soviet Union objected to the proposals:

1. The above proposals are not in any way derived from facts and documents collected by the Commission during its investigation of the situation in Northern Greece and its northern borders, but are based only on some unfounded assumptions made by the Greek Government concerning guerrilla assistance by Greece's northern neighbours.
2. The Commission has no grounds for making proposals which will recognize border incidents or acts of aggression that may or may not occur in the future between Greece on the one hand and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania on the other.
3. The proposals foresee measures not only for Greece but as well as for Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, although from the documents available to the Commission, it is quite clear that Greece has a tense situation. The turmoil there is not only happening in the north, but across the country and this situation in Greece is a consequence of internal causes.
4. The establishment of a standing Border Commission or body representing the Security Council, as provided for in the proposal, as well as the conclusion of conventions and agreements between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, is a major constraint for those states and their sovereign rights in resolving their mutual relations.”

The Polish delegation made the following objections to the Commission's proposals on the Greek situation:

1. The measures as a whole are ineffective because they only take into account the symptoms, not the causes of the problems that exist in northern Greece and along the northern border. The fact that the proposed measures are ineffective can easily endanger the prestige of the United Nations.
2. Some of the measures proposed do not seem to take into account the fact that there are no diplomatic relations between Greece on the one hand and Bulgaria and Albania on the other.

3. In relation to the proposal made under B, which suggests the establishment of a permanent control body, this measure appears inappropriate for the following reasons:

A. Such a watchdog would threaten Greece's sovereign rights, as well as those of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

B. It will be a measure of coercion in relation to Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. This measure can in no way be justified by the results of the Commission's investigation. Therefore, instead of leading to an improvement in the existing difficulties, it could lead to quite the opposite.

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

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10.

#### SPIRIT OF MACEDONIAN-ISM IN TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

The fact is that during Tito's Yugoslavia, any manifestation of the spirit of independence, especially the independence of the Macedonian state, was fiercely opposed for the sole purpose of creating an imaginary supranational "Yugoslav nation" within Yugoslavia for which Tito fought during his entire life to maintain. Tito tried in vain to create an illusion, a cohesion of glass legs, on which to rest the SFRY.

THIS IS WHAT WAS REALIZED:

THE HIGH PRICE PAID FOR THE MASSIVE POLITICS APPLIED TO THE MACEDONIANS IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945 - 1949), A SUCCESSFUL MODEL FOR ITS FOREIGN ORGANIZERS.

To this day, our Macedonian mainstream history has yet to answer the following:

- WHAT HAPPENED TO US?
- WHY AND BY WHOM WAS THIS MASS VENTURE STRATEGY DEVELOPED?
- WITH THIS IDEOLOGICAL CALL THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE WERE FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR TRADITIONAL FAMILY AND FORM A POLITICAL FAMILY.
- High Engagement of the Macedonian Woman was demanded.
- WOMEN INDUCTED BY FORCE FOUND THEMSELVES IN THE FRONT LINES. THE MACEDONIAN HOME WAS ABANDONED...
- WHY DIDN'T THE GREEKS DO THE SAME?

It is a fact that the Macedonian people were pushed into a war by the CPM/CPY even before the Greek Civil War had started. After WW II ended the Cold War started. The “iron curtain” was drawn between Greece and Yugoslavia, dividing the Republic of Macedonia from Greek occupied Macedonia. It was during this time that the CPM/CPY sent NOF, AFZH and NOMS on a senseless campaign to start a war in Greek occupied Macedonia. A dream was created full of lies and deceit... a fantasy about the prospect of reuniting Macedonia... but through war and blood, which in the end brought disaster and genocide on the Macedonian people.

And this is how we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia lost so many lives, our ancestral lands and became aimless wanderers.

We are told the truth will eventually surface, history will see to it, and perhaps it will, but for us MACEDONIANS unfortunately, to this day, even 70 years later... we still have a lot of unresolved issues in our Macedonian history.

We have been making ourselves naive and blind for over half a century now, and turning every situation to a new situation. We felt no pain because, in the absence of reliable information, we felt we

committed no wrong. We were held hostage to our own powerlessness unable to realistically look at what happened to us and how we lost our ancestral birthplace for eternity. There is no question that we have all become complicit in the loss of our true history in these last 70 years.

It was a time of pure political propaganda and brainwashing.

We have been required to remain silent for the last half century. In doing so we have “actively” participated in the genocide of our own population in our homeland in Greek occupied Macedonia. I am not only thinking of the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia but also of their supporters led by Tito and his policy of wanting “the Macedonian question to be buried!”

11.

## THE MACEDONIAN POLITICAL EMIGRATION FILE

All this reminds me of the twisted obstacles the various authorities used to put before us: If you are not with the CPG then you are automatically an autonomist and protect the counter-bands (Macedonian rebels - 1944). If you are not with NOF, AFZH or NOMS, formed in Skopje (1945), then you are against Macedonia’s unification... you are a Grkoman (Macedonian working for the Greek cause) and you do not trust Tito. If you are not with the Ilinden organization formed outside of Greece (1950), then you are automatically Tito’s agent. Finally when we, the Greek Civil War refugees, arrived in the Republic of Macedonia from the USSR and from other Eastern European countries, the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders, except for Pavle Rakovski, were welcomed with marching bands and given state housing and government jobs. Rakovski was shunned, isolated and in the end, not even given a grave to be buried in. But the most memorable event of all was the welcoming of us ordinary DAG fighters who had to go through Idrizovo Prison to be interrogated and screened by UDBA like we were some sort of criminals. And the most tragic and comical encounter of all was when those NOF activists and DAG fighters who deserted their posts and units in the struggle in Greek occupied Macedonia and fled en masse to Yugoslavia after 1948, became our overseers.

Recruited by UDBA and KOS, they were installed in state institutions and given authority to oversee the returnees from the Eastern European countries. These were the people, the traitors, who historian Risto Kiriazovski depended on to give him information for his books and for the Macedonian history archives.

After my (Stoian Kochov) return to the Republic of Macedonia in 1957, and after my first fateful encounter with these criminals, I was sent to a shelter in “Chair”, Skopje.

How could the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia remain Macedonian after their return from the Eastern Europe countries to the Republic of Macedonia when Macedonian officials and institutions, under the column nationality, labeled them NOT Macedonians but “Aegeans”!

In the days that followed after my return I stood with many of my comrades in line in front of a counter which had a sign on it that read: “Counter for the Aegeans”. I don’t remember when I heard the word “Aegean” for the first time in my life and why we were treated not as Macedonians but as “Aegeans”, when for many centuries, we were always called Macedonians. So, not just for me but for all of us it was absolutely inappropriate to be separated from the Macedonian nation in such a demeaning way. It was as if someone wanted us to lose our identity. But, of course, it was all manipulation for the sole purpose of destroying the Macedonian core, like it is today with the “Macedonians of the Islamic faith”, the Torbeshi, the Pomaks and so on.

I looked at the sign again and again and thought to myself, “This counter is yet one more evil that has landed on us!”

In the confirmation of my application for residence that I received I was referred to as Kochov Atanas Stoian, nationality “Aegean” repatriated from the USSR under No. 152/29, October 17, 1957. Then in 1962, I received a reply (no. 6368, May 16, 1962, Department of Housing, Risto Iankulovski) confirming that I qualified for a one bedroom apartment.



I don't remember ever having heard that word "Aegean" from either of my parents or relatives at home or during the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949), not even in the USSR.

It made me angry and resentful, that word made me feel lonely. It made me feel guilty, without being guilty. It alienated me, pushed me and every other so-called "Aegean" Macedonian out of our Macedonian history. Even though I knew exactly who we were and what nation we belonged to, it made me often wonder "WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE ARE WE?"

To this day I still cannot explain what made me search for the truth about our Macedonian drama and prove that we are all "Aegeans" and there is no one who has not felt joy, fear, pain, love, anger, injury and abandonment. We are all the same inside. But we living in the shelter still rely on the image that is installed in our heads: "how to move towards a perfect communist society!"

I later realized that all this was propaganda. The "Aegean" people were not evil for Macedonia. This propaganda was well-worked out by the CPY's UDBA since 1948, and as Alexander Rusiakov said in his article: "The End of the World: Holy War", published by "Nova Makedonija" on September 18, 2010, "... these CPY UDBA agents still rule to this day within the ranks of the two largest Macedonian and Albanian parties."

I had no intention of keeping quiet. I was among the first to speak my mind in various articles I wrote, but also in my book "(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece". And because I was one of the first to publicly protest I suffered personal damage. I was deprived of my veteran privileges, but then I realized that only evil people could accuse me of being anti-Macedonian, or of defending wrong-doing when in fact I was telling the truth. How can one be doing wrong by telling the truth? Historian Risto Kiriazovski's criticisms were particularly vitriolic but I continued my struggle like it was a pure political battle. I did not ignore his blows but fought right back with facts and arguments and with the truth on my side. I wanted justice for my living comrades and for those who died in battle. I fought against those who had deserted DAG."

It is well-known that “informing on your friends” is one of the constitutive features of any totalitarian society. Those who were informed on lost their jobs, reputation and honour. This was also true for us Macedonian DAG fighters, some who during the Greek Civil War fought until the end of the war and others deserted to Yugoslavia. Those who deserted, of course, left the entire burden of the war to those who remained. Unfortunately for us who remained to the end, those who deserted hell to save their heads, became our worst impediments in life.

Unfortunately, many of those who deserted had very unrealistic desires - they wanted to write a fictional history in which we did things right. I could not agree with that because events in the war showed the opposite. I could not agree to a history that portrayed us Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia as having our own Macedonian strategy and of being a factor in the Greek Civil War. But because they had the upper hand in such matters, things tended to go their way. One thing is for sure however, the past never dies completely!

After our repatriation from the Eastern European countries to the Republic of Macedonia, many of us fighters were characterized as NOT supporters of Tito’s line and were long under investigation by those who deserted DAG. They slandered us endlessly. It’s a matter of fact both sides slandered one another through their ideological affiliations. This division lasted until the Republic of Macedonia became independent in 1991.

This however is nothing new for us Macedonians. These kinds of manipulations have been around for a long time. We also have been treated like criminals for many centuries and have lived in anger and silence ever since... We need to accept this and begin to understand it.

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12.

RISTO KIRIAZOVSKI’S WRITINGS AND MY POLEMICS  
WITH HIM

According to the information presented in his latest book, historian Risto Kiriazovski spared no punches in his criticisms of those seeking the truth. One of those who he attacked was me. He attacked me for writing the books “(Self) Sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece, 1994”, “Ideological activism against Macedonians under Greece”, and others I wrote more than 20 - 30 years ago. I was motivated to write these books because of Kiriazovski’s outrageous claims made in his book “Five Fateful Years (1945 - 1949)”. I wanted to confront him with irrefutable facts, which by the way, he did accept before he died. Facts which he refused to accept for many years.

I read part of his book and was shocked. I felt like crossing myself, even though I am an atheist!

I could not help myself but respond to his claims, but not via a memo or an article. He wrote all his claims in a book so I decided to respond to them with my own book.

These however, were times when a historian of Kiriazovski’s caliber had the right and could simply tell you to “shut up” and “get lost”. Be grateful for the bread we give you. But, instead of doing that, in his defense, he opened a forum for attacking his critics.

The most striking examples of how the lives of many prominent Macedonian fighters were destroyed by political motives, took place in 1976. At that time I read a private memorandum written by Dr. Kiriazovski who said that, among others, Pavle Rakovski’s manuscript cannot be published and cannot be used because it contained provocative claims against the Yugoslav leadership. He wrote “I propose this paper not be given wider readership...” (Sk. 4-686 INV. 1419/76, November 15, 1976.)

Pavle Rakovski suffered many indignities at the hands of bureaucrats until he was broken.

When Pavle Rakovski, member of the NOF top leadership, an intellectual and author, came from Siberia to the Republic of Macedonia, he was not welcome even though he had devoted his

entire life working for the Macedonian cause. (See: Rakovski Pavle, Autobiography - My Sufferings, Publisher, "AEA Publishers", Skopje, 2000.) After thirty years of being anathematized, shortly before his death he was eventually rehabilitated.

Pavle Rakovski, and many others like him, lived through frightening experiences in an "internal" prison. And what was this "internal" prison? An "internal" prison is a prison of the mind when one is made to live in fear, to feel frightened by the thought of making a mistake, to feel dirty, deceitful, isolated, uneducated, uncultured and so on. It is a state of mind and feelings that affects the soul.

When a person finds no meaning in life, he or she begins to seek death in the nothingness, which means that the inner prison is much more than a dark cell.

And these are things that we did to ourselves....

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Now about my book "(Self) sacrifice of the Macedonians under Greece" 1994. Dr. Kiriazovski may not have recognized my book as a contribution to the affirmation of the freedom of intellectual thought, but rather used totalitarian methods, which have always been positioned as the pillars of truth, and wrote 41 pages of intentional satanism and did not publish them himself but gave them to a number of individuals who saw themselves as protectors of "Aegean Macedonian history", and who then re-wrote them and had them published in "Nova Makedonija". These were people who ordinarily worked for Kiriazovski, just like the music box which rolled and played the same song. Some realized what they did was wrong, others did not. But please understand, as time has shown, not everyone was literate and knew how to read and write. True literacy requires much, much more effort...!

The material written by Kiriazovski was deposited on February 8, 1994 in "Memoir" file no. SK, 1118 in the INI Documentation Unit.

In the FORUM section of the "Macedonian Sun" magazine, published December 14, 2001, about my book "Ideological

Activism over the Macedonians under Greece” (2000), Kiriazovski himself wrote:

“According to Stoian Kochov, Macedonian historiography is servile, that is, subordinate to the Belgrade line and daily political biases... The basic question that Kochov poses, and tries to answer, is the question of who is to blame for the Greek Civil War and the grave consequences for the Macedonians.

Mr. Kochov argues that the Greek Civil War was neither a revolution nor a continuation of the glorious Ilinden tradition, and that NOF was serving the CPY and the CPG respectively as well as serving other anti-Macedonian interests.

If NOF played the role as described by Mr. Kochov, then NOF’s leadership is a direct accomplice and responsible for the tragic consequences the Macedonian people experienced which cannot be amnestied and glorified.

Kochov blames Macedonian historiography for not integrally studying the history of the Macedonian people, a Macedonian phenomenon, which is not entirely true.”

Kiriazovski blamed me for a lot of things which he claimed not to be true. But later, in his latest book, he admits that I was right about many things. But my question still is: Do we in fact have an integral Macedonian history?

Why am I asking this question? Whether we like it or not, we Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia have only one homeland and I will not reveal a secret if I say that there was no national interest in the Republic of Macedonia to write the truth about everything that happened to the Macedonians in the Greek Civil War, especially in the years 1946 - 1949, when the Macedonian organizations were led by the CPM/CPY.

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Who gave Kiriazovski the right to vilify the DAG fighters who did not desert and who went to the Republic of Macedonia from Eastern

European countries, labeling them disloyal to the Yugoslav regime and depriving them of the earned privileges their comrades who deserted enjoyed.

After the Greek Civil War ended I, as part of a large military formation, was sent to the USSR. I was educated there and was living a modest but happy life which helped me understand and learn to appreciate the people and things around me far more than I ever could before. I had the opportunity to discover and understand the evils perpetrated against the Macedonian family and against the Macedonian people in general. I had the opportunity to think about the problems and hardships we Macedonians lived through. When I found out that I was welcome to go to the Republic of Macedonia and live there I was thrilled. Macedonia is my homeland, all of Macedonia regardless of the artificial borders dividing it. I had absolutely no idea that when I entered its borders (the Republic of Macedonia) that I would be passing through Idrizovo Prison. It was incomprehensible to me... to all of us! But in time I came to believe that evil was everywhere. I also came to believe that, on top of everything else, we Macedonians are also victims of Stalin and Tito's quarrels.

And as Russian writer Fiodor Dostoyevsky said: "One who deceives himself is easily offended..."

It does not take much thinking to figure out what motivated Kiriazovski to do what he did. He was a historian who supported the establishment and its daily politics and the establishment supported him. His job, as a top academic in the field of history, was to promote historical information that supported the current regime and rejected everything else, especially information that cast shadows on those in power. He was surrounded by "yes men" who would do what they were told and who isolated him and did his bidding. I knew some of these "yes men" from the war. Most of them were DAG deserters who learned how to play the political game early. Now they call themselves Marxists and revolutionaries.

There is no end to people like that, which reminds me of what philosopher Socrates (469 - 399 BC) said when asked: "Which animal has the worst bite?" 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”.

As it turned out these political activists have been put in place and have been working systematically to destroy our national pride since then.

What is funny is that I found written statements made by people who were not only incompetent but totally uninformed who called themselves friends and allies - Greeks and Yugoslavs, forgetting who they were and that they had their own national and geopolitical interests.

A large part of them were from Gogol’s list of “dead souls” and that reminded me of what Bielinski wrote after reading Gogol’s “Dead Souls”: “God, why is the truth so unfortunate, miserable and sad for us?” Of course, all of these articles were marketed over the idea of the famous model of our past, with a certain premonition, with a narrower intellectual horizon, and reduced to:

What did they actually defend? They said, “Our history of the Aegeans is well-written...”!

After listening to this ideological barking, I felt utterly degraded, shattered, and full of rage, because I could not find answers, not even in my own homeland. Why did I and thousands of Macedonians like me, sacrifice ourselves, i.e.: was that war a revolution or a scam? Did the CPM/CPY push us into a war in which Aegean Macedonia was supposed to experience genocide?

I was convinced that history, as a social science, needed to function properly in society. The thought process needed to be allowed to be free. After that I came to know the cruel reality of life... People have always feared history... When credible facts speak, then and only then will history reveal the truth. Then and only then the veil of darkness will fall and we will see the truth shown to us by historical events. The way to our future will be paved for us by taking big steps backwards.

The question is why has this not happened already? Are we Macedonians simply not capable of self-criticism?

This is not the first time the Macedonian people suffered from horrible amnesia, from illusions and lies. That is why it is important to make radical changes in the subconscious Macedonian mentality to reject conjecture and seek facts. Anyone who thinks he or she can mislead and lie has a problem, more accurately they have a problem with themselves. This was well demonstrated by Kiriazovski who in his entire career had a problem with the Macedonian DAG fighters to which he later admitted in his book, which he published outside the INI national institution.

The historiography about us Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the last 60 years has proven to be very susceptible to politicization and marginalization from a political standpoint. And when used to manipulate people it distorts things with unintended consequences.

My research has revealed many mysterious and hidden facts written by Macedonian authors in the “sectoral history of the Aegeans”. The



roots of evil and the dark secrets of the architects of the war, who set the deadly trap through ideological activism, which led to the great deception of the century - genocide and the largest resettlement of Macedonians from Greece, have been hidden for over six decades. Those who do not believe that genocide was perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1945 - 1949, and that this was a Macedonian tragedy, will never be able to understand the Greek fascist and genocidal policy towards the Macedonian people. This is why it is an illusion to think that one can escape fate.

History remembers everything that was said and not said. The truth lies in history. Real and lasting things are built on the truth.

We need to realize that we too need to accept blame for our actions. The time has passed when we needed to cast blame on someone else. We can't always blame someone else for what we do. We Macedonians have to admit that we have been under Greek surveillance for a long time, and for a long time the Greeks have said: "Let the enemy sleep." Studies have shown that the architects of war have been long aware of the Macedonian passions and how easy it is to over boil it. It is in our blood and we all have felt it, at least one time in our lives. This is what drove us to act without thinking, especially those who fought in the war, and led us to face tragic consequences.

13.

## OUR TRUTH

Research has shown that we Macedonians, especially during the Greek Civil War, as a people, have not broken free from our expectations that we need to depend on others to help us, i.e. on foreigners, communist parties, the Americans, etc., especially on those who do not agree with our values. We have not yet learned to depend on ourselves, to harness our own power, and to go forward on our own two feet. As a result we continue to fall into traps and to (self) sacrifice and die with a faint hope in illusions.

So why is this happening to us Macedonians? Why do they walk into traps that lead us to the noose? Events that took place, even before the Greek Civil War had started, have shown that the activist propaganda for Macedonian mass participation in a conflict, encouraged by the CPY/CPM, through NOF and AFZH, destroyed us and forced those who survived out of our homeland.

This is the truth and this is how history needs to be written.

After the war, the political left's position was:

In May 1987, during a Congress, it was decided to hold a press conference to deny the existence of Macedonians living within today's Greek borders. The press conference was held in Solun in September 1988 during which Greek and foreign journalists were invited and during which CPG General Secretary Harilaos Florakis openly said: "On this occasion I want to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!" He said this to a question asked by journalist, Florakis from "Mesimvini". (See: "Vecher", November 5, 1988, p. 9.)

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I can still remember, like it was yesterday, when a comrade in arms and son of a Macedonian Kostur counter-band fighter who had been ruthlessly liquidated, said to me: "The truth is the 'Kostur Committee' failed to create paradise in our (Greek occupied) Macedonia but why did NOF and AFZH have to create hell?"

There are many hidden secrets regarding the genocide in Greek occupied Macedonia in the CPM/CPY. For example what were the CPY, Tito, Kulishevski and Mitrevski's true motives for creating NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Skopje on April 23, 1945? That was the time when the noose was placed around our necks.

We all know that Macedonia was divided in 1913 with Great Power consent. We know that two parts are still occupied and that one part recovered first as a federal republic and later was an independent state. Unfortunately for us Greece and its patrons the Great Powers

do not want any part of Macedonia to survive and therefore are doing everything to destroy it.

And this is why the Greek Civil War ended with genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people.

In other words, nothing has changed since 1913 with regards to the Greek attitude towards the Macedonian people. So, what happened during the Greek Civil War and what is happening today, i.e. Macedonia's name, identity and language, is part of the Greek long-term policy to get rid of everything Macedonian. Greece may pretend that its main motive for concluding the Interim Accord with Macedonia was for alleged security threats, but it is not. Greece's real motive is to get rid of the Macedonian question by getting rid of the Macedonian people once and for all. What is most unfortunate about all this is that the Republic of Macedonia accepted Greece's bogus reasons as relevant and made changes to its constitution to give up its care for the Macedonian people living in Greece; it also changed its flag, agreed to a new provisional name, and in return demanded that Greece not interfere with its international membership. And what did these concessions do for Macedonia? Nothing! They were not even recognized by Greece or accepted by the Greek parliament. Why? Because Greece is not interested in concessions, its main goal is to get rid of us Macedonians and everything that is Macedonian.

I could stop here and leave the reader to find their own explanation as to why this is happening to us. But I will not. I will give the reader more evidence: facts and arguments which will shed light on why we lost our ancestral lands, why we were left to roam the world as permanent refugees, why we have to fight for our own identity, and why we have been fed a bogus history.

14.

## CONCLUSION

THE FACT IS: Since Greece was created in 1828, it has been under Western Power influence: mainly England and later America and NATO. The action taken to create NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Skopje on April 23, 1945 by the CPM/CPY and the decision to mobilize the Macedonian villager to rise up in a false revolution and be wiped out by the modern Greek government army, was not a simple tragedy, it is more than that, it was perpetrated through the worst kind of deception. In the beginning people were convinced by false propaganda that “Communist Yugoslavia was the centre of all revolutions in the Balkans” and that “the Macedonian Question was a Yugoslav Question”.

It was under these conditions that a definitive death sentence was passed on to us Macedonians formulated as “The Final Solution to the Macedonian Question.” In other words the architects of our demise wanted us gone: “Kill and expel the entire Macedonian nation! And those expelled would never be allowed to return to their centuries-old ancestral habitat.” At all times they would be under threat and under ideological surveillance. To keep them silent and on the defensive they would be confronted with issues such as:

- Are you a friend or an enemy?
- Are you for or against the Informburo?
- Are you for Stalin or for Tito?
- Are you for the EU or against Greece?
- Are you for the constitutional name or for the official language?

But we the Macedonians who live in Greece know very well and remember that we were not allowed to speak Macedonian at all in public. We only spoke Macedonian at home and in secret.

Future Macedonian generations must know this and should openly be told!

FACT NO. 1

On May 5, 1949, Maclean met with Tito in Belgrade. Maclean, at the behest of the British government, demanded from Tito

guarantees for a decisive Yugoslav turn (stop supporting) on DAG, in return for economic aid from Western countries. Tito assured Maclean that Yugoslavia had helped DAG in the past, but stressed that the situation had already changed. However, Tito could not refuse to grant asylum to the refugees from Greece, who were barred from returning to their formations. Tito vowed that in the future no Greek fugitive would be allowed to re-enter DAG and would not help the partisans. Tito asked Maclean not to disclose this information to anyone except to the Americans because this kind of thing would expose the British and their promise. (Maclean was head of the British Military Mission at NOV and POJ General Headquarters)

FACT. NO. 2

## OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION OF NOF AS A SPY RING AND WITH THAT A NOOSE WAS PLACED AROUND OUR NECK

At the initiative of CPG Central Committee Secretary Nikos Zahariadis, a meeting was held in the cave between the villages Vineni and Orovo in Prespa Region during which Zahariadis made the following statement: “NOF is an organization of foreign agents that have obstructed the CPG line and disrupted and harmed the democratic movement in this country. There are three agencies which are still active and have roots in Aegean Macedonia, OZNA, JA and Kolishevski who controls the first two agencies. All agents of the Yugoslav agencies committed themselves in writing that they would execute their obligations...” Addressing the Macedonians Zahariadis said: “The CPG wants to help and save you. End all relations with the CPY and cleanse yourselves of its ideology... There was a time when Macedonians acted as a faction in the CPG at a time when Tito wanted to rob Macedonia of Solun. Which of you was sent to Greece by the CPY to serve that interest, to clear the matter and pay the bills? If Tito joins Macedonia to Yugoslavia, it means incorporating it into imperialism. You need to be clear on that. Tito has been sending OZNA and JA agents organized in troika since 1945.

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## ADDRESS TO THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE: SPIRO MAVROVSKI'S OPINION AND COMMENTARY ON STOIAN KOCHOV'S BOOK

First of all let me say that my role in the preparation of this book was to provide proofreading, confirmation of certain data, translating material from Serbian sources to Macedonian and making sure the material is clear and readable to all audiences, young and old.

My views on the subject of the Greek Civil War are very close to those of Stoian Kochov's and that was the main reason why I became engaged in it. The material that Stoian has covered is familiar to me since I too am a product of the generation that was deeply involved in that war. My parents, who unfortunately are now both deceased, were directly involved in that conflict. My father Risto Skavrev Mavrovski from the village Zhelevo was a fighter and my mother Sofia Gumarova Rossi from the village Pozvishcha was a child refugee. As a DAG fighter my father was wounded three times. As an honoured people's hero and as a war veteran, on the third time he was wounded he was taken by boat from Albania to hospital 250 in Poland. My mother as a child refugee first landed in Kalimanesti, Romania and then was taken to Zgorzelec, Poland where she met my father, got married and I was born. I was born on April 9, 1957, in Zvidnitsa. Four months later my parents brought me to the Republic of Macedonia. We all passed through Idrizovo Prison, of course, and from there we were sent to Bitola. I have written a book about all this. It is dedicated to my father and was written based on the notes he left me and on my own research. The book is called "A story told about a person from Zhelevo - A book about Risto Mavrovski". So far I have been lucky to have read all of Stoian Kochov's books. I came to recognize Stoian as someone who tells our story very differently from what I have read from other authors and from our official history. In time as I read more and more of his books things became clearer and clearer. Unfortunately, what I found out is that things that are taking place in Macedonia today have already taken place before and we have paid for it with

many human lives, and now, with great sorrow, we are paying for it with the sale of our identity (name of our country, Macedonian identity, Macedonian language, etc.)... After many discussions with Stoian Kochov I came to the conclusion that he has taken the right path to reclaiming our past and I wholeheartedly agree with him that our true history must be freed. It would be most unfortunate to leave our history in the hands of forgers whose only aim is to protect those who did us harm. So, I see this as the beginning of a great collaboration and I hope it lasts a long time. I wish Stoian Kochov good health and a long life.

# ADDRESS TO THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE: SPIRO MAVROVSKI'S COMMENTARY ON THE 2016 ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Dear brothers and sisters, and all the other people who live among us in this affluent Macedonia.

I feel the need to speak out about what has been going on all around us here in the Republic of Macedonia.

I am disappointed with the intellectual capacity of the leaders in this madness that has gripped us for the last two years.

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To the Gentlemen of SDSM or whatever name you have been calling yourselves in the past, you have always been the same and based on things you said lately again confirms that you are still the same. I am not referring to what you did in the past as a party to the detriment of the Macedonian people; I am referring to your commitment and conviction to the statements you made implying that we were better off with Tito because "he gave us many things". You however declined to speak of the bad things that Tito did such as the coup, in the creation of Macedonia and the complete extermination of the Macedonian intelligentsia and all those who loved our Macedonia. But you say nothing about that. Our ancestors and more current predecessors fought for that Macedonia – in the Ilinden Uprising and in the second Ilinden Uprising. No Macedonian would have fought in the Greek Civil War had it not been for the names of the Macedonian partisan detachments such as Gotse Delchev, Dame Gruev, Jane Sandanski and others. Do you think that only the villages in Macedonia had the many Communists who waged the social struggle? Certainly not! It all began with the dismissal and persecution of CPM secretary Metodija Shatorov Sharlo as early as 1941. Shatorov was born in Prilep in 1897 and died in battle leading a partisan unit fighting the Bulgarian army near Pazardzhik, Bulgaria, just five days before fascist Bulgaria capitulated on September 4, 1944. He immigrated to Bulgaria right after World War I ended. He joined the Communist Party of Bulgaria (CPB) in 1920 and immigrated to the USSR in 1929 where



in the Comintern he attended political school. He declared his ethnicity in the USSR as Macedonian and his citizenship as Bulgarian. Sharlo was an active participant and one of the organizers of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War that took place from 1936 to 1939. From the spring of 1940 to September 1941 he was secretary of the CPY Political Committee for Macedonia. He advocated for the formation of a Macedonian state and the unification of Macedonia, emphasizing the Macedonian national individuality. He was removed from his position as secretary (at Tito's behest) after resolving the dispute between the CPY and the BRP - via the Comintern, for his Political Committee affiliation to Macedonia for Yugoslavia or for Bulgaria. After the war he was anathematized and condemned as a pro-Bulgarian not following the Yugoslav line. But no one in the CPM said what he fought for. Your understanding of democracy and Macedonianism continued to be applied immediately after ASNOM's First and Second Sessions when all the intelligence that Macedonia had, people who had completed higher education in Vienna, Prague at the Sorbonne in Paris, all who possessed love for Macedonia and the Macedonians, were eliminated from the political scene, and some unfortunately from their worldly life. These people had great merit and not only felt Macedonian but fought for Macedonia, the kind of Macedonia the Macedonian people wanted. We must not forget Metodija Andonov - Chento, Emanuel Mane Chuchkov, Lazar Sokolov, Dimitar Vlahov, Vladimir Polezhinovski, Panko Brashnarov, Petre Piruze - Maiski, Venko Markovski, Pavel Shatev Gemidzhiata, Kiril Petrushevski, Blagoi Hadzhi Panzov... And let us not forget personalities like Kosta Solev Ratsin, Chede Filipovski - Dame and many others who were liquidated because they strayed from the Party line. This is why the workers, students, housewives, clerks, took over the power offered to them by big brother, and as top officials, manage to reach the very high political and state positions that they themselves knew they did not deserve, but the consequences of everything they did were disastrous and we see them to this day.

However no one from your Party wants to talk about its past wrong doing! You go on talking about the fighters, the anti-fascist struggle, our great role in the liberation of Macedonia, the Srem Front, the liberation of Zagreb by a Macedonian Brigade, (which really

happened, but the Macedonians had to wait for the Lichka Brigade to march into Zagreb), etc. And with all that you claim that we participated in the liberation of all of Europe! For the sake of clarification Berlin capitulated on May 9, 1945, and Zagreb was liberated on May 15, 1945, so much for us liberating Zagreb. By the way you also claim that Tito liberated us. No, that is not true! Tito's partisans, together with our own armies liberated us. So much talk about our liberation by someone else. So, if you want to find out who participated in the final operations for the liberation of Macedonia you will need to read from those who fought in the battles, i.e. Traiche Gruevski, and with whose army they cooperated?

You never want to talk about how Vukmanovich Tempo defeated ASNOM in order to set up his own vassals. These vassals operated in a closed circle from which we can't even get out to this day. Each decision they made tightened the loop on the noose around our Macedonian neck. And with that we will continue to erase our future off the world map and become Albanians. In the past these same vassals turned us into the biggest Yugoslavs, and what did that get us? Freedom?! Certainly not! We have always fought for ourselves unfortunately everyone else fought against us - a dark part of our Macedonian history about which no one wants to talk. No one wants to talk about the fact that today's Republic of Macedonia was invaded, occupied, annexed and colonized by Serbia with aims at turning Macedonians into Serbians... with the help of these vassals, of course. No one wants to talk about the fact that everything that was Macedonian was turned into Serbian. Our names were changed, our language was polluted, our Macedonian worship services were replaced and brother was turned against brother. These were tragic things done to us... These were the merits of old Yugoslavia. And lest we forget, after the death of this artificial Yugoslav state we Macedonians have the "honour" (greatest shame) of bearing the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". After the war when the said vassals helped cleanse our Macedonian intelligentsia, the next big incursion to occur in the People's Socialist Republic of Macedonia, was the beheading of the Macedonian businesses and military. Almost all company directors by default were Serbs and the army commanders all throughout Macedonia were

Montenegrins. We again became the sand through which water passes... We were left “on our own” again.

When Civil War broke out in Greece, in Greek occupied Macedonia, Yugoslavia again interfered, allegedly to assist the Macedonian people, aiding the war, forming units on Yugoslav territory, and together with the CPG, transferring them back and forth between CPY and CPG so that in the end all these fighters can be labelled traitors by both sides on account of the Informbiro resolution. Most of these Macedonians ended up in camps in Russia, handed over to the Russians as Tito’s spies.

To clarify matters, from the very beginning of the Civil War in Greece Tito, under orders from his superior Generalissimo Stalin, began to organize this war and directly participates in it. The then CPG Armed Resistance leadership moved to Belgrade, which together with the Yugoslav military staff worked to organize aid for the war effort, open hospitals to look after the wounded and help them cross in and out of Yugoslav territory. Yugoslavia was also a major supplier of weapons, ammunition and other military equipment which eventually ended up on Macedonian territory in Greek occupied Macedonia, where the entire Civil War was basically fought. If you thought that there were Macedonian leaders leading the Civil War, even one, you are incorrect. Despite the fact that the Greek leadership, Markos, Ioanidis and other members of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, were located in Yugoslavia of which the Republic of Macedonia was an integral part, there was not a single Macedonian in charge. Military units which fought in the Greek Civil War were created in Yugoslavia from the Macedonian population that left Greek occupied Macedonia. These military units were sent back to Greece to fight in the Greek Civil War. Even NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Yugoslavia, in Skopje on April 23, 1945, and sent back to organize an uprising in Greek occupied Macedonia. Then, when the Greek Civil War was running red hot, the CPM/CPY abandoned the Macedonian organization they created and handed them over to the CPG to do with them as it liked. This was done under orders from Tito and Kolishevski. Tito and Kolishevski agreed with Zahariadis, CPG Secretary General, that as of April 2, 1946, NOF, AFZH and NOMS would be under CPG control and all Macedonian fighters would be

transferred to DAG. Some of the fighters were sent to the deep south of Greece where the Greek government, their enemy, had the upper hand and most of them were killed. Even the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was created in Yugoslavia, on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia in Prespa Region in a village called Asamati. The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was formed on December 23, 1947 but, unfortunately, no one in the world recognized it. In other words, the war strings in the Greek Civil War were pulled by Stalin from the USSR and by Tito from Yugoslavia. But this only lasted until the infamous Informburo resolution after which Yugoslavia abruptly stopped assisting the Greek Civil War.

After abruptly stopping its assistance to the Greek Civil War, Yugoslavia also abruptly closed the artificial border between Greek occupied Macedonia and the Republic of Macedonia causing an unprecedented massacre of DAG fighters and civilians trying to flee the war from Greek occupied Macedonia. Almost the entire refugee population fleeing to Yugoslavia was civilian. So against whom were the borders closed and why?

Beyond that, sometime in April 1949, Yugoslavia reached an agreement with Britain to no longer assist the DAG fighters with weapons and food in exchange for compensation from the West. As a result DAG was destroyed at the end of August 1949. All remaining DAG fighters moved to Albania along with a large number of civilians, who then ended up in distant Tashkent, USSR and other Eastern European socialist countries. The majority of refugee children, who crossed the Yugoslav border, did so in the spring of 1948. After that, in 1953, Tito's Yugoslavia entered into a military alliance with Greece and Turkey as the southern wing of NATO and as the southwest wing for the protection against the Warsaw Pact states. The only "benefit" (another blow) to the Macedonian people was that Tito, for a certain amount of millions of dollars, was obliged to close the Macedonian Question with Greece and no longer wanted to discuss our burning problem. As a result the Macedonian people who were scattered around the world as refugees were left in limbo. Consequently DAG fighters, at least most of those who survived the war, were accepted by the Republic of Macedonia and moved there to be closer to their hometowns, but

unfortunately they were never allowed to visit them. And those who died in the Republic of Macedonia died not as Macedonians but as “Aegeans”. Another unfortunate thing that had befallen them on Macedonian soil was that each one was forced to spend time in the Idrizovo prison. Upon entry into the Republic of Macedonia, while being interrogated at Idrizovo Prison, each was asked if they were “for Tito or for Stalin”. On top of that they were told that they were Yugoslavs now and that it was not politically correct to be Macedonian and to talk very little to none about their identity. Even we children of the DAG fighters as well as all the “Refugee Children” who were separated from their parents and grew up in boarding houses in the socialist states shared the fate of our parents. Some of us were born in the socialist bloc countries (Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, East Germany, Bulgaria...) but still we were not allowed to go to Greece. I was born in Poland and it took me thirty years to get my visa to travel to the birthplace of my parents, and that was only by mistake. I wanted to visit the villages where my mother and father were born and light a candle on the graves of my ancestors who laid down their lives for the freedom of Macedonia. Unfortunately, those who died fighting were either not buried at all or were hurriedly buried in unmarked graves and no one knows where they are. And this gentlemen, was the legacy you left behind from your engagements for the development of the Macedonian spirit in this region. Of what were we guilty? We, the next generation, grew up in the Republic of Macedonia and were educated there. Later we were drafted into the Yugoslav National Army where we took an oath to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia to the last drop of our blood. This oath was not much different from the oath the Macedonian fighters joining ELAS and DAG had to take, about which Stoian Kochov wrote: an oath that abliged them to defend the integrity and sovereignty of Greece... to their last drop of blood. We worked and paid taxes in Yugoslavia and had the same passports as all other Yugoslav citizens, but unlike them we could not cross the Greek border even though we, by law, had been erased from ever existing in Greece... Even with all that going on Yugoslavia never accepted us as regular and normal Yugoslav citizens and never dealt with our concerns. I am sad to say that there are Macedonians who were born in Greece, who to this day have not officially been allowed to enter

Greece. Not as Yugoslavs, not as citizens of FYROM and now not as citizens of Northern Macedonia. And that is the truth.

As the other Yugoslav Republics evolved, they gradually improved their lives and modernized their economies. We Macedonians, on the other hand, were content with our rural life as farmers with an added tractor here and there. But the time came when your or their determination led to the building of large industrial facilities in the cities, primarily in Skopje (Zelezarnitsa, Tsementarnitsa, OHIS, Alkaloid, Alumina, OKTA - Refinery), in the central city areas. Why there when everyone knew that the resources needed for manufacturing were far from Skopje? “Yugohrom” was built in Tetovo, “Topilnitsa” in Veles, “FENI” in Kavadarstsi, so that today your children and grandchildren can fiercely protest against the air pollution and the difficulties with their health from living there. It might be nice to know when and how these things were done, but unfortunately after the Republic of Macedonia gained its independence, YOU closed down most of the industry.

Then the time came when the other republics left Yugoslavia, when their leaders encouraged and urged their citizens to borrow foreign currency from the banks and at the last moment before their independence, transferred the money to the branches of the Ljubljanska Bank, JIK Bank, Komercijalna Bank and others. As the war in Yugoslavia fueled up, our Macedonian troops were again sent to the second “Srem Front” to participate in the liberation of this Yugoslavia. When everyone was running away as fast and as far as they could from the war, we, i.e. YOU were orchestrating the platform; yes the “Gligorov-Izetbegovic” platform, from whose constraints we cannot escape to this day. When the referendum was held to separate from Yugoslavia our SKM PDP comrades were again afraid to sing the Macedonian anthem without first singing “Hey You Slavs”. For you it was a normal thing to sit in a hall with no future with three portraits hanging on the walls, one of YOUR great leader Tito, and two little ones in the corridors, of our heroes and legends Gotse Delchev and Nikola Karev. So much for the ambience, feelings and desire for our homeland! Let us not forget that our respected Albanians did not join us during the anthem, and did not vote for any state-building documents including the Constitution, which they now so strongly call upon to change. For a

week YOU argued that there should be no referendum, no need for it. But then you added a question on that referendum asking ordinary people if we should “ally ourselves with the rest of the Yugoslav states”. Why didn’t you ask if we should ally ourselves with your current allies such as America, Germany, England and the rest to whom you cry now! You said you were “always” for Macedonia, like you were when VMRO DPMNE won the first election, even though your proud and proudly independent media predicted that your party was going to win by somewhere around 2.17%. But it didn’t because the Macedonian people still know who they are; they know their own ancestry and still owe their debt to them. They are still more Macedonian than Yugoslav, but unfortunately that was short-lived. Aided by the old but now foreign services (UDBA), you succeeded in taking power from the ones who won because they did not want to form a coalition with the “Albanian” parties in Macedonia, and you as great “constituents”, “statesmen” and dissidents will do everything it takes to take us to NATO, the European Union and who knows where else. And here is YOUR greatest betrayal: You went to white collar capitalists to seek recognition, but you knocked on the wrong doors, because those countries have been linked to royal families in Greece for centuries. What you have achieved has not brought you into the United Nations, even though Kiro Gligorov, President of Macedonia, promised: “Macedonia’s provisional reference will be temporary and will last no more than a few months!” Let us also not forget that it is possible for YOU comrades to be presidents of the Republic of Macedonia without a Macedonian ID or without a Macedonian citizenship. Gligorov never convinced us that he had assurances from the Great Powers that the “reference” was just a formality... And now we all know what really happened and the problems we having facing us to this day. Was it impossible for Kiro Gligorov to come out and say that the Great Powers had simply betrayed him or that he never received such a guarantee? YOU then went ahead and changed the name and the flag, which meant a lot to us, as the first flag set in the first independent state of Macedonia. You then adopted a new flag that looks like the former imperial Japanese army (navy) flag that was flown during the Second World War. We fought against that flag... but I guess you have forgotten that...

When we sent our Olympic athletes to compete at our first Olympic games we were forced to use the label “FYROM” on the Olympic flag, which YOU agreed to, and instead of feeling great joy, pride and dignity, we felt humiliated. Another thing YOU gave up, which was a betrayal to all Macedonians, our care and concern for the Macedonian people living in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and the world over. YOUR renunciation of our people who had lived on those lands for centuries, now occupied by those countries, was catastrophic. And now you dare speak, without even thinking, about the tyrannical platform adopted in a neighbouring country that directly interferes in the affairs of our Macedonia? What do you think will happen if Macedonian parties from the neighbouring countries adopted a platform in the Republic of Macedonia and with the same desire ran an election in their current countries? That would never happen. The party would be destroyed before it had such a chance.

Another shameful thing all YOU have done is buy your votes. Someone gave away 150,000 citizenships to outsiders, to people who at some point or another would be needed to elect a president (Kiro Gligorov). Unfortunately these people never were and never will be citizens of this country. Those are the “phantom voters” that you like to talk about non-stop. It was YOU who gave these people passports and citizenships who are now causing problems for all of us. You constantly demand to know who these people are and where they are... as if you did not know. Unfortunately you continue to commit these high profile betrayals. In 1994 when your then President Petar Goshev formed the Democratic Party he spoke about criminals and traitors in the ranks of the SKM PDP, from where he came out some time ago. Perhaps the biggest betrayal was when the opposition did not come out and vote in the elections but that did not bother you at all. And then when a large crowd took to the streets, demanding justice, you set up snipers at the Parliament building and the Department Store in Skopje, and you were ready for everything. Then when people collected 250,000 signatures to sway you, you did absolutely nothing to honour their demands; you crossed over and made huge amounts of money from breaking the embargo with Serbia. YOU sold, or more precisely, handed over Macedonia to several oligarchs, who to this day do what they feel like. You left 200,000 people out on the street without work and what



responsibility did you take for this? Unfortunately none! In these 4 years from 1994 to 1998, you did everything, without any opposition, by passing any laws you felt like and made crime legal and you were proud of it. You caused permanent damage to our country and as you like to say “It was all legal” and sustainable, but the consequences from it are permanent and exist to this day.

Once something is broken it is difficult to fix. You definitely need to think about what you do today because what you damage today may take generations to undo.

After you stole everything from Macedonia, VMRO DPMNE won the elections and, along with the Democratic Alternative, finally brought the long-awaited democracy to Macedonia. And today when people ask you when the best time for Macedonia was, you tell them 1998 to 2002, but unfortunately you destroyed that too. You started working against everything that was positive. You even worked against the rights of the Albanians, with a belligerent rhetoric, that you are the ones who defended and will defend Macedonia. You again deceived your way back into government but how much did your “victory” help this country? After the “capitulating” Ohrid Agreement was signed in which you, of course, wholeheartedly participated, you immediately left the Government, of which you were so eager to be a part. You did this so that someone would again bring you to power in 2002. And behold, YOU, who yesterday spoke against the rights of the Albanian people in Macedonia, suddenly formed a government with Albanians. And not just any Albanians but the then outlawed bandits later labeled “human rights fighters”, making them ministers, officials, directors of public enterprises and so on. You did this to receive their thanks and the thanks of Guru Ali Ahmeti, as he did thank you during the NLA and KLA partisan times. This was confirmed by Hari Kostov, who spoke up about it during his resignation. During YOUR time you also passed a law to allow the formation of the University of Tetovo, to federalize the state again in 2004, and to hand over Liube Boskovski to The Hague and cry crocodile tears for his fate. Now you need new victims. YOU have always played with the map and with the short memory of the people, but the consequences of all your doings are permanent and extremely negative for all the Macedonian people. Prime Minister Vlado Buckovski, during his visit to Struga,

almost paid with his life for the federalization of Macedonia. Those who had previously voted for him wanted to kill him. Today, 14 years later, we are still seeing the consequences of your decisions. In order to neutralize this and devalue the entire referendum decided by our citizens, we again received assistance from the international community, this time from the United States of America who recognized our country by its constitutional name and has done nothing ever since. They say Greece is a big problem for the USA, and even as a Great Power the USA cannot solve it. They say because of this problem with Greece the USA cannot deliver on any of the promises it made to us for which we thanked them prematurely. We received our answer for the changes we made to our name, flag, the 1998 privatization for which accountability was demanded as to why it was done the way it was done, and that answer was: “Do not dare to touch the private property and the way of its acquisition, because it is the greatest benefit ever made to Western civilization”, and we have accepted this... (One of Liupcho Georgievski’s biggest mistakes.)

We surrendered our territory to NATO in order for their forces to pass through Macedonia. They were carrying materials from the port in Solun to Kosovo so that they could build facilities to house NATO equipment and troops. Their heavy vehicles damaged our roads but we were assured that our companies would build the facilities in Kosovo with our materials. But that did not happen. We allowed NATO to fly over our airspace while bombing Serbia, allowing them to dump their jet fuel in Lake Ohrid and depleted uranium bombs everywhere. No one thought to seriously analyze the effects of all this and foresee its consequences and the damage it would cause in Macedonia. Sadly, according to more recently acquired information, the then Prime Minister Liubcho Georgievski agreed to allow NATO ground troops to pass through Macedonia and attack Serbia. This, in fact, was a declaration of war against a neighbouring state. But unlike us, Bulgaria and Croatia, which were already NATO allies, would not allow ground troops to pass through their territory. The KLA aggression against Macedonia was carried out from Kosovo, a foreign country, but it was the Americans who took the NLA and UCK fighters out of Arachinovo and declared them “winners”. The Americans claim that by removing the so-called UCK fighters from Arachinovo they saved Skopje which was

in danger of being attacked. Attached by whom? By those in Arachinovo who were afraid to leave their houses and get on the buses escorted by NATO during the daytime? The reason for all this was to humiliate the Macedonian people and pressure the Macedonian politicians to sign the treacherous Ohrid Agreement. Worst of all, our greatest loss occurred at the time when the ceasefire was in effect, which the Americans said they would guarantee. Macedonian troops were attacked and killed in Veitse, Karpalak, Liubantsi and other places. What kind of guarantee was this? It was a guarantee that would force the Macedonian side to the negotiating table, to not only concede to every demand made but to also agree to amnesty all those involved in the war against Macedonia. They were all pardoned for the war crimes they committed for which there should not have been a pardon. So, what can we say about the 90 year old fascists who survived World War II and are now brought before the courts to receive their punishment? Well, justice serves only the mighty! In all former Yugoslav republics, except in Macedonia, all those convicted of war crimes were brought to justice. So, all this that took place here: was it aggression, was it a civil war, was it a conflict, was it a human rights struggle, or was it nothing at all? Liube Boskovski, then Minister of the Interior in the Republic of Macedonia, and General Iohan Tarchulovski, were the only two people from Macedonia who ended up in The Hague, who in my opinion did not deserve to be there. There were many others who committed far worse war crimes, genocide and many other abominations, who deserved to be sent to The Hague, but instead were pardoned. Why were these two men sent to The Hague? Was it because “someone” wanted to place the Republic of Macedonia on the pillar of shame? And by doing so Macedonia would be seen as an aggressor? All Macedonia did was what every other country would do, protect its citizens and preserve its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Were these the actions of an aggressor? If that is it then it is unheard of, a historical first. But despite these damning charges laid by the West against Macedonia and against our people, The Hague found us not guilty. Here I see the mistake of succumbing to such unprincipled pressures. On the other hand, for all that we did, they repeatedly said: “Resolve the name dispute and we will see what we can do for you”. In other words “for the 27 years of your existence we have been monitoring and controlling you... We have been writing reports and watching

your progress but there is nothing we can do about your inclusion in the World Club because Great Greece, to whom we owe so much for giving us democracy, does not want you to join the World Club...” And I say to that, “If this is what you call democracy”, then thank you very much; I don’t want any part of it! My feeling is that we will be better off without it. Unlike them, we the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia know what the true Great Greek “democracy” looks like. We lived in it. But have we said anything in protest to how we have been treated? NO! Perhaps this is why these Westerners are treating us like children. What have we asked to get in return for the concessions we made during all these negotiations? Nothing! All these negotiations have been about “giving up” things and never about “getting” things! And whose fault is that?

There were mistakes made. The first big mistake was to allow the artificial separation of the modern VMRO party into two factions VMRO-DPMNE and VMRO-Narodna. This artificial separation was unnecessary but at the right time fulfilled its purpose; VMRO-DPMNE came to power and is still functioning as the largest party in Macedonia. During the 2006 elections, when times were hard, it had the support of the Western world. In 2008 VMRO Narodna decided not to run in the elections and VMRO-DPMNE won the biggest and most convincing victory with 63 (out of 120) elected MPs. But unfortunately in order for Nikola Gruevski to be acknowledged as Prime Minister by the West, he had to accept a partnership with a party that should not have been accepted into the government at all. There was great pressure to partner with the Albanian party DUI, even though DUI and VMRO-DPMNE had differing policies. Gruevski had enough seats, a majority, to finally set up and implement real party policies, without the blackmail from his partners. But there was pressure again, with some agreements still unfortunately not fully confirmed. So the current victory of 63 MPs, at least, did not give him the right to govern with its own program, with its own platform that could succeed in accomplishing everything. How and where else in the world this was happening, I don’t know. Show me one instance and I will believe you. But I don’t know if such an instance even exists where say communist parties had to work in coalition with capitalist parties? It’s absurd...

There was a case in neighbouring Bulgaria with a Turkish party led by Ahmed Dogan, who entered every government because of minority rights, until Boiko Borisov's GERB party won an absolute majority and required no coalition support. As a result Borisov rejected the Turkish party because their policies differed. One would have expected great reactions from the EU and others, but that did not happen. What I can't understand is if a party has a landslide victory with a majority why would it need a coalition partner? All the minorities in Macedonia have rights, the highest rights of all of Macedonia's neighbours. No minority right can be touched by parliament unless there is a "Badinter majority", which means that in addition to the entire parliament at least one extra lawmaker must take part in the voting of a minority law. No one has such rules anywhere where Macedonians live, not even in the Republic of Macedonia itself where Macedonians are a majority. This also applies to the Macedonians in the municipalities where they are a minority. But unlike in the Macedonian Parliament where minority rights are fully respected, it is definitely not the case in the municipalities. It is left to the Republic of Macedonia to take care of that. In some municipalities the minority has the right to govern over the majority, and that is not right. It does not exist anywhere else, so why should it exist here? Why worry about this? Because if you are to go through Western Macedonia, you get the sense that you are not in Macedonia, especially when you see non-Macedonian flags, the two-headed Albanian eagle flying everywhere and no Macedonian flags anywhere. You encounter all kinds of signage all in the Albanian language, without the official Macedonian language and Cyrillic alphabet to accompany it. So when Westerners "force" us to include minority Albanian parties to govern as coalition partners in our government because of "minority concerns", about whom are we talking about?

Let us not forget that much writing and signage exists here in Bitola where hundreds of companies advertise in Greek and English, because their businesses are here. By the same token we have Macedonian businessmen working in Lerin, Kostur and Voden to mention a few cities in Greece, but there are no Macedonian articles and Macedonian signage anywhere. There is Serbian and even Russian writing and signage but not Macedonian. The questions that we posed during the establishment of the Tetovo University were:

“Who in Macedonia would employ students who did not want to study in the Macedonian language? How would they interact with the Macedonian speaking people? Will the local Albanian speaking economies be able to absorb all these graduates who don’t speak Macedonian? Could they get jobs in Albania or Kosovo or in the EU? And if they do get employed in Macedonia in companies like REK Bitola, how would they be able to communicate; make decisions, follow orders etc.?” What is happening here is an absurdity. We are a small society living in a small state with limited resources, and we will definitely have to be rational and pragmatic about how we use them. We gave our minorities everything they asked for, I just don’t know what more we have to give them. We are robbing the majority to accommodate the minority and as a result more and more Macedonians are leaving Macedonia. Has anyone thought about this? Or is there only a bitter struggle for power and nothing more. We are robbing our future generations of their basic right to be here, in their own state.

Above all that was mentioned earlier, the latest thing to surface were the bombs that Zaev unleashed with which he shook the political scene and brought everything to the brink of civil war. He made outrageous claims that he had heard recordings of damning conversations that had allegedly taken place among members of the opposition regarding their dealings, negotiations, etc., which may or may not have taken place. He said he had heard everything from everyone, conversations that had taken place between the people in government, the prime minister, the ministers, the directors and a whole slew of other officials. But Zaev would not say why these conversations were not made public or released to the media so that they could be further investigated. When asked why the “monster” was not released, Zaev wisely replied that sufficient material evidence has yet to be found to present to the public and if he did this it would have unintended consequences for both the Macedonian people and the Albanian minority. The fact that he first refused to disclose the actual wiretapped conversations, refused to disclose where he got them, and that he boldly announced that he had heard them, caused chaos and a coup in the country. So as far as I understood these talks took place in 2011, and as for those from 2014, there is nothing; so I don’t know what to think.

Gruevski's big mistake was his acceptance of the Prizno Agreement which only he knows why he accepted it. Gruevski was played several times; he appointed SDSM ministers in his government with no approval from the citizens. And all the time these ministers worked against the government, blocking the implementation of government policies and stifling the country. All this was done so that the government would call early parliamentary elections. Then Gruevski resigned as prime minister. And what did Zaev do? Seeing that he was not going to get the votes that would "guarantee" him a win he postponed the elections by using the Prizno Agreement, not once but twice until his guarantors were sure that he would get enough votes to win. And where did he get those "extra" votes? His guarantors know but they won't talk. It will be interesting to hear the conversations Zaev had with his guarantors and coalition partners. Hopefully someone else will talk and hand over the recordings so that the people can make a fair judgment of Zaev and his party and vote appropriately without pressure.

In regards to the two batches of wiretaps, the first has no justification for some of those conversations, the second I don't know what will happen if and when they are revealed, how many are white (benign) and how many are black (malignant). As someone said many years ago both parties regardless of being white or black, are either vermin or mice, which unfortunately causes harm to the state and the people. I think grey is the most prevalent colour in our politics, and that is the most dangerous colour. When the election was over YOU were mourning your loss again, but then you remembered that you had the Joker up your sleeve, the "guarantor" of the Prizno Agreement. And during the negotiations with DUI, a blackmail message was sent out several times warning everyone who had committed crimes in the past would now be accountable to the Special Prosecutor's Office (SPO), including Ali Ahmeti, about whom nothing has been said in the talks so far. The way to stop the Macedonians from forming a government this time was by rejecting the joint platform of all Albanian parties in Macedonia. This joint platform was negotiated in Tirana, which of course the Macedonian parties immediately rejected, without any talks or negotiations. But what happened next was very curious. Counting the votes by gathering them together like they would be cast by sheep and not by humans, Zaev figured he had 700,000 votes he could count on. He

was very proud of that and showed his pride by being the only Macedonian who cared more for his Albanian compatriots than for the Macedonians in his own party. But unlike his fellow Albanians and citizens of Macedonia who had two other homelands, Zaev, at any moment, was prepared to give up his own Macedonia and unite it with the other two Albanian states for the sake of winning in the elections. There was nothing that Zaev would not do to take control of the government of the Republic of Macedonia... But, in spite of all the negative things he had done against Macedonia, Zaev in public kept referring to the Republic of Macedonia as “Mother Macedonia” and “look at Mother”.

I spoke to him about that and suggested that he stop calling the Republic of Macedonia “Mother Macedonia”, because he was offending everyone including Macedonia’s best sons who fought and died for her. I told him, how dare you call the country you want to destroy and cut its roots “Mother”? Words are nothing, deeds speak for themselves. If you continue like this, Mr. Zaev, history will have a place for you in its darkest chapters and you will be referred to as the one who destroyed Macedonia from its foundations. From my own experience and from what I learned from our own (VMRO-Narodna) history and the history of other governments, six months, a year, two or five, or even ten from now, you will be nothing more than the greatest traitor in Macedonian history. There will be nothing for you in the future except for the legacy of shame which you will leave for your descendants to bear. As you often say, only you and your party are accountable for what you have done so why are you keeping the deals you made with Macedonia’s neighbours a secret. Why not reveal them in your next election platform and see how much support you will get from our voters. If you do get their support then we are working with the wrong national code, we are working on our self-destruction. But please do check this out and confirm it for yourself and for everyone in Macedonia. As you said you are now the favourite and you have the advantage, show me. If you are right, I will help you, I will set up the same platform for which you wholeheartedly fight. I will now conclude with a glimpse into Stoian Kochov’s writing about our Macedonian codes in post-WW II:



“The foreigners did not allow the Macedonian people to foster healthy nationalism, but they demanded from the Macedonians subconscious awareness, and without the consciousness of the nation it is impossible to know how to create a strategy for their own country. So, we accomplished the strategy of strangers flawlessly. And so the fact is that we Macedonians (in an integral sense), could not see ourselves...”

Unfortunately, this is what is happening to us today. So here is the platform that “someone” said he saw but did not read, so let us try and read it together, with a few comments of mine.

“We, the representatives of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia: “Democratic Union for Integration” (DUI), “Renaissance Coalition with BESA” and “Alliance of Albanians”;

Respecting the free and democratic will of the Albanian voters expressed at the early parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia on December 11;

In the spirit of the Ohrid Agreement, consensual democracy and the need to fulfill the normative obligations arising from constitutional changes;

Reaffirming the joint program and strategic commitments of the Albanians and all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia;

Committed to the prosperity and long-term stability of Macedonia;

Guided by a shared commitment to peace, stability, security, inter-ethnic coexistence, in a spirit of equality and dignity, in accordance with European and international conventions, religious harmony and cooperation in the country and region;

Committed, with no alternative, to NATO and EU integration;

We agree on mutual support for a common political agenda that provides for the achievement of the following objectives, in the future government mandate and / or in any further mandates;”

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Reading the introduction - I don't know what to say - I haven't read anything better than this. There is some kind of coexistence, European, world conventions, and while respecting the will of the Albanian voters, who absolutely did not see this platform, we come to the main issue. If Zaev read this and only this, then I can understand why he approved it.

“1. Achieving full equality in accordance with the Ohrid Agreement and the Constitution

\* Proper implementation of the principle of multi-ethnicity in the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, where Albanians are considered a nation-state, supporting any legal and constitutional initiative that strengthens national equality for the Albanian population.

\* Achieving full linguistic equality, the use of the Albanian language at all levels of government and the guarantee of its application as a fundamental and constitutional right. The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia should stipulate that “the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic alphabet and the Albanian language with its alphabet are official languages in the Republic of Macedonia”.

\* A comprehensive debate on the flag, anthem and national coat of arms of the Republic of Macedonia in order for state symbols to reflect social multi-ethnicity and ethnic equality.

\* Adoption of a Resolution in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia condemning the genocide against the Albanian people in Macedonia in the period 1912-1956.”

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Mr. Zaev, please read the above many times, maybe a hundred times, before continuing with the rest. Should we be going from a multi-ethnic to a bi-national state depriving the rights of the Macedonian people who, after all, are the majority? The Albanians

have Albania and Kosovo. We Macedonians have only one state, the Republic of Macedonia, and from what I gather you are prepared to give it up. You are prepared to allow our compatriots to obtain a third state at our expense so that they “can unite themselves with the other two states?” What about us? Or better yet, what about the rights of the other minorities who live in Macedonia? Are you prepared to deprive them of their rights? Bilingualism and the way it is demanded will take us away from our own roots, and at some point in time we will all need to learn Albanian or some other variant, like English perhaps, as an official language in which we will have to communicate among ourselves in our own state, the Republic of Macedonia. The debate over the name, flag and coat of arms does not end with a debate, but with a demand to change things. Comrades from SDSM and you Zoran Zaev, which genocide should we be condemning? The one committed by the Albanians (Bashibuzuks) against the Macedonian people during the Ilinden Uprising? The one committed by the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians, as well as by the Albanians who were allies of the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars? The one that Prlichev described as: “screams heard from Galichnik to Reka”? Who was screaming and from whom were they screaming Mr. Zaev? Should we condemn the genocide committed against the Macedonian people during the two world wars? How about when Albanian Balists were committing atrocities against the Macedonian people in Western Macedonia during the four years the region was ruled by the fascist occupiers, should we be condemning that? Why are we trying so hard to forget all this? So, Mr. Zaev, when you look at the Tirana platform try and look a little further and harder at Macedonia’s problems. Mr. Zaev don’t be so short-sighted, look back much further than one year and see who else we have disputes with in our neighbourhood and why.

1. To whom should we be admitting genocide, Mr. Zaev, when we were the biggest victims in the Balkans?
2. Economic equality and social well-being in particular can be achieved through balanced regional development.

\* A new mechanism, in the form of a State Commission for Financing Municipalities, needs to be created to make decisions with the right of government grants in favour of municipalities.

\* A Ministry needs to be established to take care of inter-community relations as the competent body which will respect the rights of the communities and foster economic and social development in underdeveloped areas.

\* Equitable representation must be achieved in security, military, intelligence and in justice authorities.

\* Equitable representation at all levels of the central government as well as in public services and publicly owned enterprises must be achieved.

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Once upon a time it was a shameful thing to be accepted anywhere just because you were Macedonian, Albanian, Serbian, or Bulgarian by nationality, now, with this platform, we raised all this shame to the Ministries, so that proper representation can be made, so that money can be controlled and forwarded to the undeveloped western regions. I think this is the opinion of many Albanian voters and residents living in Macedonia. Why? Many believe that anyone who meets these criteria, regardless of their qualifications and ability, will be given a job. Therefore Albanians who do not speak Macedonian will work in public sector companies and will have great responsibility, and will interact with people who do not speak the Albanian language. This is already happening in the public sector in the Republic of Macedonia. Let us also not forget that the Western Municipalities (that are predominantly managed by Albanians) do not forward taxes collected to the state budget as they are required by law. They only accept money from the state budget. In other words there is no mention of budgetary inflow from the Western regional municipalities to the state budget. Does anyone see that happening in the Eastern or any other regional municipalities populated by Macedonians? No! Now ask yourselves who has more rights to these resources, the Albanians or the Macedonians? Unfortunately that is not all. There is a big difference between the

municipalities in Western Macedonia which have large populations measured in the thousands and the rest of the municipalities which have small populations measured in the hundreds. In other words the burden of supporting the state budget falls on those who actually contribute to the state budget. Let us also not forget that the Albanians demand that they be equitably represented in the military, police, intelligence and other services... despite the fact of what transpired during the 2001 conflict, when those in the security structures (and of course the current “president” of parliament Xhaferi) deserted from the ranks of the Macedonian military (ARM). This was the second time Xhaferi had deserted. His first was from the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) in which he was a professional officer. I do however apologize to those who did not desert and remained in ARM’s ranks.

3. Strengthening the rule of law as a precondition for progress in the Euro-Atlantic integration process.

\* Implementing reforms in line with the Skopje Agreement, Priebe’s Recommendations, the European Commission’s urgent recommendations, as well as the High Level Accession Dialogue Recommendations with the EU.

\* Support for the impartial performance in the Special Prosecutor’s office, without ethnic or political prejudice.

\* Complete investigation and litigation for “Sopot”, “Brodets”, “Monstrum” and “Kumanovo” through a commission of inquiry or through an independent international body.

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This country, as a proper country, must also ask difficult questions as well as allow people to voice their concerns and make recommendations on platforms (Tirana Platform), refer to treaties which were forced upon us by external factors, etc. If foreigners tell us what to do and in return never deliver on their promises, not even on a single promise, like our membership to NATO and the European Union, for example, then what good are they and why should we listen to them? O

In a different context, what good is the Special Public Prosecutor's Office when all it does is perform anti-constitutional acts and destroy the credibility of our judicial system?! What good is a Special Public Prosecutor that does not treat everyone equally in accordance with the Republic of Macedonia's Constitution? When it comes to cases involving crimes committed by Albanians in Macedonia, the Special Public Prosecutor looks the other way but at the same time it heavily punishes Macedonians for the smallest infractions, even for bogus infractions. When internal systems begin to fail they attract outside interventionists which is never good for Macedonia because outsiders tend to work for their own interests. And as we have seen so far all the inquiry committees that have landed in this country so far have done nothing for us. Think about this for a while Mr. Zaev...

4. Create a spirit of trust in the function of good inter-ethnic relations as an essential element of political stability in the country.

\* Take affirmative action to secure funding for Albanian cultural institutions at the central and local level. (Why not for Macedonian, Turkish, Roma, Serbian and other cultural institutions? How much money do you think this country has?)

\* Establish a central institution for the promotion of community languages and provide training for translators, editors and lecturers.

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5. Resolve the name dispute in accordance with European values and principles of international law.

\* Adopt a joint and binding Resolution in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia obliging the Government of the Republic of Macedonia to be actively involved in this resolution.

\* Include Albanians in the Working Group on Direct Negotiations with Greece.

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Which European “values” and “principles” of international law will oblige us to engage actively in resolving the name dispute? Where are these “values” and “principles” that allow one country to force another country to change its name? Which country to date has changed its name because of these “values” and “principles”? So far the Albanians in Macedonia have been saying “let the Macedonians agree on the name themselves”. Why the change? Why are new “godfathers” being introduced? Don’t we have enough of them already?

## 6. Good neighbourly relations.

- \* Include Albanians in the working group for direct negotiations with Bulgaria.

- \* Cooperate with Kosovo and Albania on integrated border management.

- \* Open new border crossings.

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Why with only Bulgaria? Why not ask to join the negotiations with Greece and Serbia? Border crossings are needed on all the borders not just Kosovo and Albania.

## 7. Rapid integration into NATO and the European Union.

- \* Fulfilling the above points will unblock Macedonia’s path towards full NATO integration and open accession negotiations with the European Union.

Achievement of these goals will be monitored by a roundtable organization made up of Albanian parliamentary parties.

The round table of Albanian parliamentary parties will be held in line with the principle of rotation and will serve as a platform for harmonizing political action and transparent communication with Macedonia’s international partners, in particular seeking the support of the European Union and international institutions.

The roundtable will determine the deadlines for implementing the above goals, in accordance with the laws and Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia.

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And here, sadly Mr. Zaev, you have not been mentioned. They are planning a roundtable to resolve our country's fate without you. If this was not so unfortunate it would have been very funny. Hello there, where are you!? Do you understand that only your 20 MPs are set to decide the fate of the Republic of Macedonia!? Why then did the Macedonian people elect the rest of the MPs, the 100 remaining MPs into the Macedonian Parliament? Mr. Zaev what are you doing and what are you thinking? Stop cooperating with the idiot whose name I don't even want to mention, because he does not support yours and our best interests. Your interest in all this, unfortunately, is a very tiny part compared to everything that will be lost in this country. I know that before you signed anything he sent you a message. One of the coalition partners told you that they were the ones who helped us create the Macedonian nation and now, with their help, you are trying to tear it down. What are you thinking Mr. Zaev?

Bitola March 14, 2018

Continuing...

Over a year later I look back at what I wrote in March 2018 about our "great" statesman Zoran Zaev who was then flawlessly working on an agenda to destroy the Macedonian people and Macedonia. And I was not wrong because since then the greatest betrayal in the history of the Macedonian people and the history of the Republic of Macedonia has been committed against the Macedonian people.

The "great" statesman Zoran Zaev, meanwhile, managed to place our centuries-old name Macedonia for sale in the marketplace. And look, surprise, surprise, we have always been in the south and now we are in the north. From Macedonians he single handedly turned us into North Macedonians. He and a small number of his henchmen



did this for lucrative reasons, and he and these henchmen at the moment are the only ones justifying this move. There is no normal person in Macedonia who would do this or accept this. Zaev tried to ask the people through a referendum and the people clearly said NO! They did not want the name of their country changed. Zaev and his goons, however, completely ignored what the people said and by terrorizing MPs, trampling over the constitution and, with help from both the PPO and Zaev's appointed SPO, convicting innocent people, he forced a name change. But I don't believe he fully succeeded because I think there is a great struggle ahead. The Macedonian people will appeal this forced change to all international rights institutions and we will get our old name back, the only name that is rightfully ours, the only name that properly represents us and the only name the Macedonian people deserve to have... and that is Macedonia.

The way your government, led by you Zoran Zaev, has behaved speaks of laziness, of ignorance of things, of amateurism in politics and unlimited faith in the foreign architects, who so far have done nothing good for this country, and have fulfilled none of the promises they made to you. Now, Mr, Zaev you can see for yourself that those promises were "sweet apples wrapped in cellophane" which you can't access? Your reaction is exactly like that of a child who was given a wrapped lollipop. Crying and demanding that they remove the wrapper so that you can lick and bite it. But what is really underneath the cellophane? Do you know? We don't know! Is it a sweet apple or something bitter and poisonous. In other words, you have led our country to its destruction and you don't even know what you are getting for it! Do you even understand what you have done Mr. Zaev?

They told you a lot of things about which we the people are not aware! You told us a lot of things that are not true! Are you going to be one of those "former" prime ministers who lied to his people? They said nothing to us so we don't know who was doing the lying; they or you! All we know is what you told us and what you told us were lies! You are the first prime minister to fall for this "great deceit". If any of your predecessors, Liubco Georgievski or Nikola Gruevski behaved like this they would have been liquidated by your colourful mercenaries by now. There is no excuse for what you have

done and no apology can make things right, this is the beginning of the end. Do you even know why they took you to Nivitsi to sign the agreement? Did you know that Nivitsi was one of the places where thousands of Macedonians, many of them civilians, old people, women and children, died at the hands of the then Greek government? Even in those disastrous times no one signed our capitulation, until you did now. You actually signed our capitulation dating back to the Greek Civil War. You paid your respects to monuments that you had not seen before and had no idea what they signified. But that is normal for you because someone else told you to do this. Did you even notice that none of the others paid their respects to the monuments? Did you understand that none of them wanted to talk about what had happened there? They did none of those things because what happened there was their problem. But we somehow feel it was our common problem. They know that if they acknowledge any of it then they would be liable for it. Hundreds of new problems would have emerged, and all that might be a problem for entry into the EU, if that ever happens.

I don't know if the Tirana Platform was written in the Albanian language and that is why Zoran Zaev did not read it or understand it but now that it is explained to him I hope that he will realize that accepting it was a big mistake. This mistake appeared in the rule of the entire territory of the Republic. There are obstacles of a technical nature in Macedonia, but even greater than that are the political obstacles which will soon demand even more from this state, which no one like Zoran Zaev can refuse. How can there be coexistence between a variety of people when, with the passing of time, these people are surrounded in their own ghettos, with their young being deprived of learning the Macedonian language, the common language of the Macedonian state.

Signing mutual understanding agreements with our neighbours and forming commissions to review and redefine history will leave us naked, with nothing. What we have been agreeing with our neighbours has brought us to a situation in which we have to accept what they dictate to us as the "truth", which sadly does not coincide with "our truth" which unfortunately will be buried deep in the earth for no one to see or mention again. So, the question here is will we who have already studied our history in our schools be sent back to

school to learn our latest history or will we wait for our children and grandchildren to come home from school one day to teach us our invented history... and, of course, accuse us of knowing nothing. I don't know which of these is more frightening. I also don't know who will be given the right to revise what will be considered our history. Let us also not forget that history is a science to which we should always refer and to what kind of history will we be referring? Unfortunately, many of the traitors, people who have served foreign interests, will be our new heroes. People who have worked against their own people and who have committed great crimes, horror and great suffering against our nation will become the new heroes in our new history, there is no doubt about that!

As a Macedonian intellectual, former MP, and parent, I (Spiro Mavrovski) wrote the above message as an appeal to all our past presidents and prime ministers asking them to apologize to the Macedonian people for decisions, if any, they made under pressure from the international public. For the sake of openness and transparency they need to come clean as well as expose any deals they and others made in the past or at any time, by opening the archives to the general public. They need to show with a clear conscience that Macedonia is currently taking a big step, perhaps a crucial step to continue the existence of our country, which we so deeply love, and' unfortunately many others around us and beyond us do not. Therefore, it would be wise to make the right decisions to respect ourselves so that others can respect us too.

Spiro Mavrovski MSc, Author

## IT IS TIME FOR PHILANTHROPY AND NOT FOR THREATS

Dear President of Greece,

We cannot remain silent before the terrible racism all around us. Here is why: Based on decision 106.841 / 5-1-83 made by the Greek Ministry of the Interior, only Greeks by birth are allowed to return to Greece from all the political refugees that had left Greece in the past.

Mr. Prokopis Pavlopoulos, you are the President of Greece today and you and all the people in the world know that not all Greeks are Greek by birth!? The entire world also knows that Greek governments over the years have expelled more than two hundred thousand Macedonians from Greece. But the most painful thing of all is that we, the Macedonians, had more than 25,000 young people killed in the Greek Civil War, which is more than Greece lost during the Turkish-Greek and Italian-Greek wars combined, yet nothing is said or known about these Macedonians.

But you seem to be tormented by a more frightening inhumanity. You want to change our name and thereby break down the pillar on which the Macedonian state lies - the homeland of the Macedonian people, and do to them what past Greek governments did to the Macedonians in the Greek occupied part of Macedonia, which since 1913, to this day has been under Greek rule!

The whole world is watching you kissing the icons of saints and giving the impression that you are a child of God and, on the other hand, you are constantly threatening to never allow or want us together with you in Europe!? BUT!?

So, just for us, for the Macedonians you are not philanthropists, not even before God? So to destroy us, now you don't deploy napalm bombs and rockets, you simply isolate us by forcing a name change on us, while telling the world that we do not exist, and thus making yourselves the honorary citizen of our towns and cities from which you exiled us. But there is more. There is no question that you did expel and exile us Macedonians from our homeland and don't want

us back, right? So then under what conditions did you expropriate our homes and lands that belonged to our ancestors, which rightfully and legally belong to us now? It seems to me that you Greeks make the rules as you go along, rules that support only your interests regardless of logic or fairness.

This is an open question, Mr. Pavlopoulos, full of problems which depend on you to solve and not on the Greek people...

Let's talk about the humanity that suits us all. Let us not forget the most elementary thing: that we are first and foremost human beings with our own dignity! Over the years I have felt that people in the Balkans were forbidden from speaking about topics that were intriguingly politicized.

Allow me to remind you: On August 10, 2003, 55 years after the Greek government exiled our people from their homeland it decided to allow some to visit the places where they and their ancestors were born. To make this happen the Greek government issued so-called "HUMANITARIAN PASSPORTS", that did not require people to declare where they were born, but to only say they were born in Greece. So, many who made it inside Greece, especially those who were too young to remember things, began to ask: "Where is my birthplace? Where are the graves of my parents, my grandfather and grandmother, what names should I be looking for? Where are the images of my childhood, my home, my village, the river, the forest from which we used to collect wood, the birds that woke me up in the morning...?"

Those who did remember what things looked like were in shock. The beautiful places they remembered were gone. Their beautiful villages and homes were in ruins and desolate. It was very sad for them and devastating.

It was an unprecedented trampling on human dignity. They all felt like they were foreigners in their own country. After they wandered around the world for over half a century they came back to find everything in ruins. They walked through their idyllic villages looking for cemeteries, looking for the graves of their dead relatives but could find nothing... absolutely nothing. That was their horror,

Mr. Prokopis Pavlopoulos... The flowers they brought to place on the tombstones wilted in their hands... The candles they brought to light did not burn... This was our cruel experience!

Well, it has been over 70 years now since we were exiled and you are still calling for BARBARISM and BLOODSHED!

Isn't it about time, Mr. Pavlopoulos that you turn to compassion instead of pursuing barbarism!? Tell the Greek citizen the truth about what happened. Only then you will be completely free from your torment from this frightening inhumanity that your predecessors committed against us. If you don't tell them then you, my ex-compatriot Pavlopoulos, are no better than your predecessors. And please, refrain from saying that you feel like a Macedonian because you live in Macedonia. You are a Greek who lives in Greek occupied Macedonia, on my ancestral lands which you Greeks stole from us.

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- Allow me to quote Koča Popovich who said: "I am against any nationalism, because nationalism is the lowest form of social consciousness. This is scary! This is scary! It's scary to have such intellectuals among the people! You are already nationalists if such thoughts exist in your society. Such thoughts ruled and completely dominated Yugoslavia (SFRY). You are doomed; you are destined to be a lower form of being! Every so-called social consciousness that practices and inherits a certain ideology: nationalism, communism, etc., has its own pathology when it strays from the right path..." (The author is a writer)

## FOOTNOTES - (CLARIFICATIONS)

- According to Vladimir Dedier, Tito's diplomat and intelligence officer, Brigadier General Fitzroy Maclean was among the top intelligence officers in Britain and Europe at the time! Maclean was Churchill's personal friend, and his achievements were superb. He is believed to be the first to find out about the secret pact between Hitler and Stalin, as well as the discovery of General Rommel's plans and movements in North Africa. Maclean was committed to organizing contacts and allied support for Tito's partisans. He, along with his radiographer Bill Dickins, landed by parachute in Yugoslavia in 1943. Their mission was to make contact with the Partisans. Maclean was a diplomatic officer in Moscow and had experience and knowledge of Communist ideology and action. Tito especially appreciated Maclean during the war and considered him his friend after the war. Tito gave him a house on Korchula Island. Maclean came to stay at this house often until his death in March 1996.

- On April 23, 1945, NOF (National Liberation Front) for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia was established in the CPM Central Committee premises in Skopje. The organizations AFZH and NOMS were also created during the same meeting. From their formation until the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" between NOF and the CPG was established, NOF, AFZH and NOMS acted in accordance with CPM/CPY directives. After that the organizations were placed under CPG command. This lasted until DAG was liquidated and dissolved. After that the NOF, AFZH and NOMS leaders were interned in the Siberian camps.

- Definition of holocaust: The ritual burning of victims or victims who suffered due to being burned. This term was used to refer to the Jews who were burned in the fascist crematoriums.

- Evangelos Kofos studied at Georgetown University in the United States and graduated with a degree majoring on the "Macedonian Question". Kofos was the architect of the so-called "name dispute" and other anti-Macedonian Greek policies. During the key years when our destiny for state recognition was being resolved, from our accession to the UN until the end of 1995, and sometime later, he

was head of the Greek Immensity of Foreign Affairs, which opened and managed the dispute. All these years he has been working on the “Macedonian Question”. In the 50’s and the period after 1991, he was trying to close the issue, once and for all. In the scheme of things, he was the architect who defined the essence of Greek policies in the dispute. He has published several books through the Institute for Balkan Studies in Solun. One of those books is: “Kofos, Evangelos, Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia, Solun: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1964.”

- The Neuilly Agreement: As a losing country in World War I, Bulgaria signed a peace treaty that lost much of its territory. Dobrudzha was given to Romania, Thrace to Greece, Strumica, Dimitrovgrad (then known as Tsaribrod) and Bosilegrad to Serbia. On the side of the Bulgarian army there were 8,750 dead soldiers and officers and 152,000 wounded, while there were 275,000 civilian casualties on its territory.

- OZNA and UDBA (Department of Public Protection - State Security Directorate), KOS (JNA Counterintelligence Sector), and SID (Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information and Documentation).

- Ivan Karaivanov, a Soviet agent and a Comintern instructor, was also a special intelligence officer. Immediate collaborators and instructors of General Markos Vafiadis were: Giuza Radovich, Obrad Trninich, Milo Vrbiltsa, Velimir Dotsnich, Svetislav Stoianovich and Petar Lutsich, all from KOS Serbia. Slobodan Markovich was tasked with bringing General Vafiadis back to Greece from Belgrade when needed. (See: KOS and UDBA - Secret Service Actions and Documents).

- ELAS - Members of this army were called “Andartes”, by the Greeks who were associated with the infamous anti-Macedonian fighters who committed horrible crimes against the Macedonian people during Ottoman times in the post-Ilinden period (after 1903). These Greek “Andartes”, organized and armed in Greece, were sent to Macedonia to spread Greek influence by the knife.



- On April 6, 1941, at the same time Germany launched an attack against Yugoslavia and Greece, a new master emerged in Greece with new fascist views. The Greek organization EAM (People's Liberation Front) was formed on September 27, 1941. EAM called on the entire Greek population to resist fascism. At the same time EAM and the CPG demanded that a Greek National Liberation Army (ELAS) be created and organized. The first ELAS organized unit appeared on February 15, 1942. The first ELAS unit to appear in Macedonia was formed in Kostur Region on December 7, 1942. It consisted of 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs.

- ELAS consisted of about 70,000 fighters spread all throughout Greece. On July 16, 1943, the ELAS leadership and Colonel Eddie Meyers, head of the English military mission in Greece, signed an agreement subordinating ELAS to English command for the Middle East. On February 12, 1945 the Varkiza Agreement was signed by which the CPG practically handed power over to the Greek government in exile.

- The Macedonian organization SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front) was established in October 1943 in the village Osnichani, Kostur Region, by the secretaries of the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia Hristos Kalfas-Andreas and the secretary of the District Committee Periklis, as well as the secretary of the CPG District Committee for Kozheni Region Thanasis Kartsounis. All this was done with the intention of disrupting and attracting the "Macedonian Committees", with the conviction that Macedonian organizations had already been established. SNOF was allowed to recruit only a small number of Macedonians for a short period of time, but under ELAS command. Unfortunately SNOF and its SNOV (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army) military units were disbanded on September 26, 1944, with the signing of the Kaserta Agreement between the CPG, EAM, and ELAS on one side and the Greek government in exile headed by Georgios Papandreou and the British Headquarters for the Middle East, on the other. This agreement practically and definitely sealed the fate of the left forces in Greece and the fate of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.

- When the Party newspaper “Laiki Foni” published Bakerdzis’s infamous interview it told the world that the work done was done for the “Bulgarophone Helenes”, referring to the Macedonians. Then, when ELAS Commander General Stefanos Sarafis wrote his famous book “O ELAS” (1946, 331), he referred to the Macedonians as “Slavophone Helenes”. There is one more thing to know: Greece, after the Balkan Wars, with its Neuilly Agreement of November 27, 1919, concluded with Bulgaria, and with its 1923 Lausanne Agreement concluded with Turkey, through the so-called mandatory population exchanges, deposited many Turkish Christian colonists and settlers on Macedonian soil. As a result the Macedonian people began to lose their ethnic-territorial status in Greek occupied Macedonia. The issue of the settlers and colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia however was never discussed during World War II, when the leaders of ELAS, EAM and the CPG signed an Agreement in Lebanon on July 16, 1943, the Kaserta Agreement on September 26, 1944, and the Varkiza Agreement on February 12, 1945 with English Colonel Eddie Meyers to secure and protect Greece’s territorial integrity with its pre-war borders. So, if the CPG and the CPY knew about this then why involve the Macedonian people in the impossible attempt to re-unite Macedonia? In other words the CPY and CPG knew ahead of time that they were committing yet another fraud against the Macedonian people. They knowingly threw us into chaos so that we could be driven out of our homeland. All these demagogues who coined the slogan “United Macedonia” were well aware that they were lying to us and using us. At the same time they told the world the Macedonian question had to be dealt with because it was a threat to peace in the Balkans. But to us Macedonians, they were saying that we had undisputed historic rights to our fatherland and that life made no sense without an identity, which is all true, but they lied to us to get involved so that we would sacrifice ourselves for foreign interests. According to the CPG bi-weekly newspaper “KOMER” No. 16, published in August 1943: “...there is no national interference in Greek Macedonia... The Slavic and Turkish speaking populations are displaced by convention, and the Greek population gathered from all the countries in the Balkans and Asia Minor were placed in Greek Macedonia... which has become as Greek as any area of Greece proper!” (p. 331)

- Naum Peiov was born in 1919 in the village Gabresh in Kostur Region. He was a member of the CPG before World War II. In 1939 he was arrested by the Greek police. He joined NOF in 1941. He was commander of the Macedonian partisan detachment “Lazo Trpovski”. He was a member of the SNOF District Committee for Kostur Region. He led the group of fighters who left the ELAS military ranks and moved to the Republic of Macedonia in May 1944. He was deputy commander of the First Aegean Brigade. After the war he occupied various senior political and state positions in the Republic of Macedonia.

- In essence two organizations were formed: SNOF for Kostur Region, formed in October 1943, and SNOF (formed by EAM as Tempo proposed) to fight together with ELAS and thus win over the Kostur Region “Macedonian Committee”. The organization was strictly controlled by EAM and ELAS (i.e. Greek leaders). Another SNOF was formed in Lerin Region, in November 1943, in the village Belkamen. The CPG however made sure that, on one hand SNOF would look like a Macedonian organization working for all the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, and on the other it made sure it did not operate outside of EAM. It should also be noted that in January 1944 the CPG allowed the formation of a military Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army (SNOV) under the direct leadership of EAM and ELAS. Later, it was precisely these units that formed the “Aegean Brigade”, which transferred from ELAS to Tito’s Army in Yugoslavia. It was from these people that, on April 23, 1945, the CPM/CPY formed NOF, AFZH and NOMS in Skopje.

- Tsvetko Uzunovski-Abas was responsible for OZNA. In the summer of 1945, during a CPM Central Committee Plenum a proposal was put forth for him to take a frontal view of a group of people who had strayed from the CPM’s correct path and were causing factionalism in the party. Included in the group were Metodija Andonov-Chento, Venko Markovski, Mihailo Apostolski, Kiro Gligorov, Lazar Sokolov, Petre Piruze and Blagoi Hadzi Panzov, all assisted by Dimitar Vlahov.

- My long-term aim here is to figure out who coaxed the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, after Macedonia

was partitioned in 1913, to abandon their many centuries-old traditional values in their ethnic space and fall under the stroke of total genocide.

- On March 21, 1945, following Miha Marinko's recommendation, the Yugoslav state party leadership at its CPY Central Committee Politburo Session voted for the construction of socialism in Macedonia. Tito concluded the meeting by saying that Mihailovism had not taken root in Macedonia. Mihailov lived with the bourgeoisie but also with the peasantry. He also said that the party needed to be popularized. Its work needed to be identified. Macedonia needed to maintain and persist with its own forces. Chento should be criticized by the party and Vlahov should be rooted out. The problem with those people needs to be carefully resolved... Macedonia has not yet given anything to this war and we will need to ask for more for rebuilding the country... Soon afterwards the CPM Central Committee Plenum was held. (See: Tsvetko Uzunov-Abas's stance.)

- On November 18, 1944, the First Aegean Brigade was formed in Bitola from the fighters of the two battalions that left Greek occupied Macedonia. On December 28, 1944, the brigade was deployed in Western Macedonia: Kichevo, Gostivar and Tetovo. The brigade was tasked with fighting Dzhemo and Nefail's Albanian Balist gangs which had been formed during the Italian-German occupation. By special order under No. 236 (strictly confidential), Marshal Tito, on April 2, 1945, disbanded the First Aegean Brigade.

- After Macedonia was partitioned in 1913 and up until World War II, as Macedonians began to immigrate to Australia, America, and Canada, new Macedonian communities began to spring up. In Greek occupied Macedonia in the meantime, especially during the Greek Civil War (1945 - 1949), more than 20,000 Macedonians pledged their lives to Macedonia. On top of that many were sent to prisons in the Greek island camps all throughout Greece, and many others found refuge in East European countries: USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and East Germany creating more immigrant Macedonian communities but never forgetting their homeland Macedonia, always wishing they could return and be with their families there. Macedonians began to return

to Macedonia after Yugoslav-Soviet relations began to improve. At this point these Macedonians, as political emigrants began to go to the Republic of Macedonia. The first institution they met there was the Idrizovo Prison. Namely, they were interrogated in the prison to determine whether the people returning to their homeland were Yugoslav-oriented, or USSR-oriented and to which Macedonian faction they belonged. But in the years that followed, that was not important... Like all others, I came back to Macedonia because I am Macedonian... but UDBA had its own rules.

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- The “Macedonian Committee” - On March 5, 1943 the first “Macedonian Committee” armed military unit was formed in Kostur Region, Greek occupied Macedonia. They quickly appeared in 54 villages and their number jumped to 9,850 fighters. The “Macedonian Committee” was formed to defend the Macedonian people from armed Greek nationalist gangs, who in 1943 dispersed leaflets with frightening slogans against the Macedonians. On October 20, 1943, the CPG formed SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian People’s Liberation Front) with the aim of destroying the “Macedonian Committee” and its armed rebels. After the “Macedonian Committees” was destroyed in April 1944, the CPG dissolved SNOF and its armed formations of SNOV and forced the Macedonian fighters to join ELAS. In protest and because of the harsh treatment they were getting from the Greeks, many separated from ELAS and joined the partisan units in Tito’s army in the Republic of Macedonia.

- Nikos Zahariadis was born on April 27, 1903 in Odrin (Adrianopolis), Eastern Thrace. His father was employed as an expert in the French-based Rezi Tobacco Trading Company based in Constantinople. Nikos Zahariadis lived in Skopje during 1911 and 1912, in the settlement “Ibni Pajko”, where his father worked in the office of the company Rezi. Zahariadis went to school in Skopje. In 1913 he moved to Solun. In 1922 and 1923, as a naval worker, he traveled to the Soviet Union where he joined the CPSU. In 1924, with the exchange of population between Turkey and Greece, the Zahariadis family moved to Greece. In 1924 he attended KUTVE, the famous Communist University of Eastern Europe in Moscow.

Nikos Zahariadis was the leader of the Greek Communist Movement and general secretary of the CPG from 1936 to 1956. Zahariadis persistently used the CPG as his own cult and trusted in the absolute correctness of the CPS and Stalin, a fact which he himself acknowledged. He ran the communist movement in Greece to the ground and caused the Macedonian people a lot of damage. He committed suicide in jail in 1973 in the town Sorgun in Siberia.

- As a consequence of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) the August 10, 1913, Treaty of Bucharest was signed. This Treaty ended the Balkan Wars and was later sanctioned by the Neuilly Peace Treaty signed on November 27, 1919 and by the Treaty of Sevres signed on August 10, 1920, thus making Macedonia's division between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and later Albania, which received Dolna Prespa and Golo Brdo, permanent. Greece received 34,356 sq. k or 51% of Macedonia's ethnic-historical territory; Serbia 25,713 sq. k. or 39%; Bulgaria 6.798 sq. k. or 9.5% and Albania 0.5% of the Macedonian - historical territory. (See under A / Neuilly Peace Agreement and under B / Lausanne Peace Agreement.)

- With support from the left political forces, primarily the communist movement, an agreement was reached in 1924 to create VMRO (United) for all parts of Macedonia. The Declaration and the Manifesto were issued in April and May 1924 respectively. The following was part of its program: "VMRO (United), as a true revolutionary force will fight for the liberation of all divided parts of Macedonia striving to create a fully autonomous (independent) political unit within Macedonia's natural ethnographic and geographical boundaries..." At the Balkan Communist Organization (BCO) 6<sup>th</sup> Conference, recognized by the COMINTERN in March 1924, the Bulgarian proposal for the creation of a "United and Independent Macedonia" was formally accepted within a "Balkan Federation". The Comintern accepted the BCO decision at its 5<sup>th</sup> World Congress in May 1924. (CPG representatives at these congresses, as well as CPY representatives were forced to accept this resolution, in order not to be accused of being disruptive to the international Communist movement.) During the CPY 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress, held in Vienna in June 1926, the COMINTERN decision to create an "Independent Macedonian State" was adopted and this position was confirmed by the CPY at its 4<sup>th</sup> Congress held in October 1928.

- Leading Macedonian activists, condemned by the CPG, were accepted by the CPM/CPY. With support from the CPM/CPY a Political Committee for Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was established in October, 1944. The first Macedonian Aegean Brigade was formed in November, 1944. After that NOF, AFZH and NOMS were formed in April 1945, whose military-political activities soon became a central feature of the time in that part of Macedonia.

- Ordered by the CPM Central Committee, Paskal Mitrevski, acting secretary of the Political Committee for the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia, left for Belgrade in early February 1945 to attend a three-month political party training organized by the CPY Central Committee.\*

- Karaivanov was Tito's special intelligence officer, an agent of the Soviet NKVD and an instructor of the Comintern. Pero Simich in his book "Tito - Secret of the Century" for the Macedonian edition TOPER, Skopje, 2009, on page 240, wrote: Ivan Karaivanov-Shpiner was elected by the CPY Central Committee at its Fifth Congress. Three years earlier, this Bulgarian extremist had not received the post he expected from the Communist government in Sofia, and Tito urged him to pursue his political ambitions in Yugoslavia.

"He left the train station in Belgrade and went straight to his residence in Dedinie:

- "Have you proved that our party is loyal to the revolution and the Comintern?" asked Walter.

- And more than it should! - replied Karaivanov."

- Tito gave Karaivanov a villa in Dedinie, elected him to the CPY Central Committee and helped him become an MP in the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia. He proclaimed him a "hero of socialist work", whom the CPY leaderships labeled "a revolutionary whose word is his bond".

- General Markos Vafiadis's most immediate collaborators and instructors were: Giuza Radovich, Obrad Trninich, Misho Vrbitsa, Velimir Dotsnich, Svetislav Stoianovich and Petar Lutsich, all from KOS Serbia \*.

- According to the CPG, the Truman doctrine was a means of subjugating Greece to American interests. The then CPG believed that the US involvement in Greece would serve as a bridgehead against interference from the Balkan people's republics and the Soviet Union. On June 20, 1947, a Greek-American doctrine agreement was signed. The agreement provided for the strengthening of terror through implementing a plan for mass arrests, such as those of June 9-10, 1947 and others.

- In the spring of 1947, NOF, AFZH and NOMS achieved major political and organizational successes with 16,349 members in their ranks. More than six thousand Macedonian men and women fought in DAG's ranks as regular soldiers. A free partisan territory was created in Greek occupied Macedonia and was turned into a workshop where the entire Macedonian population, young and old, worked voluntarily to meet DAG's needs.

- There was a farewell gathering held in Shtip for the 150 young people forcibly taken from Yugoslavia and sent to Greece to embrace their death in the Greek Civil War, just because they were born in Greek occupied Macedonia. According to an article published in "Nova Makedonija" on May 29, 1994, this abduction of Macedonians was done openly and without concern. And as Comrade Michos, the person responsible for this proudly put it: "...I came to Skopje and in four months I sent hundreds of DAG fighters...." Sent them where, on their way to their freedom, to paying the "national debt" or to leave their bones in Gramos?

- There is a bust of General James A. Van Fleet in the city Kostur. As head of the US military mission in Greece, he used the Greek government army successfully and managed to end the Greek Civil War. General Markos Vafiadis was a communist and a tobacco worker. He became member of the CPG in 1928. He became member of the CPG Central Committee in 1942 as well as Second Secretary of the CPG Bureau for Macedonia, and Commissar of the



ELAS Divisions Group in Greek occupied Macedonia. He was military commander and president of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece during the Greek Civil War. On September 15, 1948, the CPG Central Committee Politburo, in a resolution declared that Markos Vafiadis, as commissar of the ELAS Divisions Group in Macedonia, followed a chauvinistic policy towards the Slavo-Macedonian fighters... (“Neos Cosmos” August 1950. “Ten Years of Struggle” p. 470.)

- At a session of the Ilinden Presidency established on Zahariadis’s initiative, held on June 4, 1956, Colonel Pando Vaina, head of the organization, in his report on the persecution of Macedonians by CPG officials said: “...When DAG was active in combat and subsequent to its defeat, Zahariadis pursued a policy of defaming and persecuting a good portion of the Slavo-Macedonian cadres and other people. For no reason at all he was quick to label them “agents of the enemy”. In 1948 and 1949 and even later, many Slavo-Macedonians were arrested, and some liquidated based on false allegations... (Am, F-21/1600.)

- On February 21, 1947, the British Government informed the US Government that, as of March 31, 1947, due to economic difficulties, it could no longer assist Greece. The US government had estimated that if it failed to meet its UK obligations to Greece, it would face greater consequences in the future. To prevent that from happening, US President Truman announced his doctrine known as the Truman Doctrine. He granted Greece \$ 300 million to protect the Athens regime from the communists.

- On February 12, 1945, the Varkiza Agreement was signed between the leadership of the CPG and EAM resistance movement on the one hand and the Plastiras government and British General Scobie on the other. With this Agreement EAM and ELAS handed over 70,000 ELAS fighters to the English. As early as July 16, 1943, the ELAS leadership and English military Chief of Staff Colonel Eddie Meyers signed an agreement subordinating ELAS’s command to the English in the Middle East, virtually handing over power to the political right. That is how ELAS came to its end.

- The British government deployed a number of forces in Greece before and during the Greek Civil War. It deployed around 80,000 personnel and a large number of motor vehicles, tanks and cannons in Solun. At Seres Airport, about 12 km from Solun, it deployed about 200 British fighter planes and 60 bombers.

- For more information on the chronology of the Greek Civil War see the literature listed at the end of the book.

- Shatorov, Metodija - Sharlo (Prilep 1897 - Bulgaria, September 1944). He immigrated to Bulgaria at the end of World War I. He became member of CPB in 1920. In 1929 he immigrated to the USSR. From the spring of 1940 to September 1941 he was secretary of the CPY Political Committee for Macedonia. He advocated for the formation of an independent Macedonian state with the re-unification of all of Macedonia, emphasizing the Macedonian national individuality. Shatorov was removed from his post as secretary (at Tito's behest) after resolving the dispute between the CPY and the BRP - via the Comintern, for his Political Committee affiliation to Macedonia vs to Yugoslavia or Bulgaria.

- Rebellion in Skopje Fortress and in Shtip: On Sunday January 7, 1945, during the morning of Orthodox Christmas, after the National Youth of Macedonia held its Second Congress in the Officer's hall in Skopje Square, hundreds of armed soldiers left the fortress and crossed into Skopje via the Stone Bridge. Carrying banners they shouted: "We don't want Srem we want Solun" and "Not Berlin but Solun". OZNA was immediately dispatched and started arresting them. \*

- Giorgi Dimitrov, the great revolutionary to ever live, led the Comintern and Bulgaria. Giorgi Dimitrov, whose name is found in all the world encyclopedias, comes from a Macedonian family. He was head of the Communist International in Moscow, and in the post-war years became president and first person of the Bulgarian state.

- The figure is increasingly specific and acceptable, according to a UNSCOB report of August 1949 (A / 935, p. 16) confirming: "In the period of 1948, about 25,000 Greek children were displaced from

Greece and settled in the territories of Greece's Northern Neighbours and other socialist countries." In January 1950, a representative of the Greek Red Cross reported that: "...the total number of Greek children who received asylum in the countries north of Greece as of January 1950, was 28,296." At the same time, he also gave a summary analysis of the total number of children and to which countries they are sent: "Albania: 2,000, Bulgaria: 2,600, Hungary: 3,000, Poland: 3,000, Romania: 3,801, Czechoslovakia: 2,235, Yugoslavia: 11,600." (UNSCOB Report A / 1307, 1950, p. 23.)

- In his book on the exiling of children, Thanasis Mitsopoulos said: "There were more than 25,000 children. According to Vasilis Bardzhotas, 25,000 children were moved. According to the Athens government that number was 28,000."

- My note: indeed the CPG kept its promise to the world and fought back after the war, but only for the "Greek by birth" children. Since then, a half a century later, only the cry of Macedonian parents can be heard and the words of children asking: Why has the CPG failed to bring back the Macedonians? Why did they forget the thousands of them, their fathers and mothers who left their bones in Gramos fighting only for their (CPG) interests!?

- The DAG Partisan newspaper "Exormisi" came out every fifteen days. It was edited and printed on Gramos Mountain.

- Aleksandar Rankovich, nicknamed Marko, was born on November 28, 1909, in the area of Obrenovats, Serbia. He was the creator of KOS and UDBA and architect of their victims.

- Germanos Karavangelis was born in 1866 in the village Stipsi on the island Lesbos. He graduated from the University of Munich with great success and his desire was to devote himself to education as a professor of theology, but at the request of the Greek government in 1900 he was appointed Metropolitan of the Kostur Diocese. In a short time after that Karavangelis created a whole network of priests, teachers and others all throughout the Kostur villages. He used bribes, golden liras, to bribe his way and get what he wanted. In his memoirs, he described in detail his actions and cruel methods

he used working with Pavlos Melas in Helenizing the Macedonians. Pavlos Melas, chief and organizer of the Greek Andart detachments, appeared in Macedonia in 1901.

- SLAVO-MACEDONIANS?! Did we Macedonians by our own will or by the will of the CPG, agree to call ourselves “Slavo-Macedonians”? Why did we agree to this tribal attribute valid for identifying Slav Macedonians only? Did the Greek Communists do this intentionally to incorporate this identity into the historical documentation of the Greek Civil War and we simply accepted it? Who are these “Slavo-Macedonians” and why had we never heard of them before?

- On June 30, 1948, the CPG Central Committee Politburo adopted the Informburo Resolution and the CPG Central Committee adopted it during its Fourth Plenum, held on July 28 and 29, 1948.

- On June 16, 1949, the AFZH Executive Board of the Macedonian women from Greek occupied Macedonia adopted a resolution to activate Macedonian women in defense of the Vicho front line.

- So, the question is: Does this first person of NOF, about which historiography says that it was a military and political factor in the Greek Civil War, do this out of ignorance? That cannot be because he, Pavle Rakovski, was the first person to form the SNOF organization in Kostur Region (October 20, 1943), but was also the first NOF man in Skopje (April 23, 1945).

- The Yalta Conference lasted from February 4 to 11, 1945. It was attended by the leaders of Great Britain (Churchill), the USSR (Stalin) and the United States (Roosevelt), accompanied by their foreign ministers.

- According to some western diplomats the beginning of the Macedonian question dates back to 1870, when Russia forced the Ottoman Empire to allow the formation of a separate Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Exarchate, which placed control over parts of the Macedonian Ottoman province. Others argue that the issue dates back to 1878, when the Berlin Congress revised the San Stefano Treaty that Russia imposed on the Ottomans after the Russian-

Ottoman War. By the Treaty of San Stefano Bulgaria gained the borders that fulfilled the Bulgarian national dream – much of Macedonia including the Republic of Macedonia including Vranie, Kostur Region, Lerin Region, Ostrovo Region and a small part of the Aegean Sea west of Solun were given to Bulgaria. At the Congress of Berlin, Russia withdrew from the Treaty of San Stefano, thus returning Macedonia back to the Ottomans. (See “ELINIKOS VORAS”, August 3, 1978.)

- The Cold War: Many historians dealing with the recent history of Europe and with the world have concluded that the meeting of the “Big Three” held from July 17 to August 5, 1945 in the town Potsdam near Berlin, in Selienkof Palace, was basically useless except for one historically relevant consequence - the opening of the so-called Cold War. Since then the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, Britain (Winston Churchill), the United States (Harry Truman) and the Soviet Union (with the USSR’s self-proclaimed Jozif Visarionovich Stalin), who made the ultimate effort to defeat the German fascists, opened the stage for our more recent history that would later be called the Cold War.

- The Iron Curtain: It was at the Potsdam Conference during which Winston Churchill coined the term “Iron Curtain” which marked the division of Europe into areas of interest.

- The Soviet Union policy towards the Macedonian Question was in line with the USSR’s global policy and strategy in general, and Greece in particular. Stalin used the Macedonian Question, in response to the attitudes of the English, Americans, and Greeks and instigated the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to create problems in Greece as was done in other countries affected by World War II. During World War II, the Communist parties in the countries that divided Macedonia strongly adhered to the declarative principle of the Great Powers for unchanged borders. One should also know that: Stalin made the decision to dissolve the Comintern, which formally recognized the right of every Communist party to be autonomous. In other words Stalin was in support of the thesis: “One State, One Party”. When Stalin and the leaders of the other Great Powers met in Moscow in October 1944, and decided on the division of spheres of influence, Stalin was in favour of borders in

the Balkans remaining unchanged. This should be an answer to all of us who saw salvation in Russia. It was a great blow and shows how we lost our chance to be spiritually united. Our nation was left without a strategy for the spiritual survival in our ethnic space in the Balkans.

# YALTA

## PART II

### CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE USSR ARCHIVES ABOUT THE MACEDONIANS INVOLVED IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949)

### IMPORTANT HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON THE FRAUD AND MANIPULATIONS PERPETRATED AGAINST THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE IN GREEK OCCUPIED MACEDONIA, ESPECIALLY BY THE CPG, CPM/CPY AND NOF FROM 1945 TO 1949

Confidential documents from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). CPG leader Nikos Zahariadis in the hands of Soviet security authorities.

#### THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS REMAIN OPEN:

- 1) Whether NOF, AFZH and NOMS were originally a national liberation movement, founded in Skopje and had an indigenous task - a political conception of achieving some national goals or were they plunged into mass purification and forgot the Macedonian covenant that: “There is no greater virtue then defending the roots of their ancestors”!?
- 2) Do the leaders of NOF, AFZH and NOMS take responsibility for AFZH’s actions in removing the women from their homes and turning the Macedonian family into a political family? Why didn’t the Greeks do the same? The Greeks were also members of the CPG. AFZH recruited only Macedonian women. We Macedonians created a “Political Family”, and that was what the Greeks wanted us to do...
- 3) Decades later, General Markos Vafiadis, in separate interviews with the Athens-based daily “Ta Nea” and with the Solun-based “Elinikos Voras”, said: - “Zahariadis loved that disaster in 1949... he planned for it to happen... We were betrayed by the party leadership!”

\* Or when Markos officially said: - “I had not yet come to the conclusion that Zahariadis was a provocateur ... Zahariadis played the game for the English and the Americans. Markos was sent to the USSR by Zahariadis back in 1948.

But let us go back to the following:

## DRAMATIC EVENTS IN GREECE AND SOVIET POLICY - 1945-1949

1. The Russian position in this whole situation was clear: Stalin wanted to interfere in the interests of the capitalist world despite the mutual agreements reached with the Western powers, in which he himself participated and agreed that: Greece, together with Greek occupied Macedonia would remain under the influence of Great Britain and America. This was in line with the Yalta agreement which called for no socialist society to be established in Greece. This agreement denied the need for the so-called Greek Civil War. So, if the war had already been initiated in order to thwart a socialist political system in Greece, then there is only one option left: to internalize the problem, win, remove the communist forces from Greece, and implement a legal ethnic cleansing of the Macedonian population in Greece. The Macedonian part occupied by the Greek state would then be colonized by settlers and colonists from Asia Minor, or by the so-called “newcomers” or “Prosfigi”. But the question is: How could this be done without consequences? This could only be done legally if the Macedonian people inside Greece picked up weapons and started a war against Greece.

## NIKOS ZAHARIADIS’S DIRTY ROLE

2. Nikos Zahariadis, the person who started and led the Greek Civil War, was a German prisoner. He was liberated by the British and sent to Athens by plane to take over the CPG’s leadership. Now ask yourself this: What was the reason for the British releasing this former secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece to re-position him when Greece was still under that party’s control? Did that British move make any sense? Yes it did! It was done to weaken and destabilize the Communist Party! By appointing Zahariadis to



supreme leader of the Greek communist movement, the British aim was to control the whole entangled situation in Greece, which eventually happened.

## THE VARKIZA AGREEMENT

3. When the Communist Party of Greece was ready to take control of Greece, why did it sign the Varkiza Agreement and hand over power to its hated enemy, the Greek government in Athens, which was under British control? The Varkiza Agreement was concluded on February 12, 1945, requiring all partisans and other armed groups to demobilize and disarm. The British once again reaffirmed their friendship to the Greek government in Athens by giving them full political and military support, promising to be ready to go to war themselves to prevent a partisan victory. The biggest losers from the Varkiza Agreement were the Macedonians. Immediately after this Agreement was signed all anti-Macedonian laws were back in use. The Macedonian people lost everything they had gained during the German occupation and even more: “the right to form their own nation state, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.” The CPG did nothing to protect the Macedonian people’s rights in its talks with the British. It was not just a betrayal and a let down to the Macedonians who fought and died in its ranks, but the Macedonian people were left at the mercy of the increasingly aggressive Greek fascists.

## YUGOSLAVIA’S ROLE IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

4. NOF was created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to prepare for a new military conflict, immediately after the end of World War II. But then NOF was handed over to the CPG before the Greek Civil War began. Why?

The Macedonian ELAS fighters who left Greek occupied Macedonia and moved to Yugoslavia were placed under CPM/CPY command. On April 23, 1945, the People’s Liberation Front for Greek occupied Macedonia was formed and its people were sent to Greece to prepare for a new conflict: the Greek Civil War.

This means that the Greek Civil War was pre-planned before it began. It is assumed that Yugoslavia knew about it and that it was itself part of the whole process. Top Yugoslav leaders must have known about it. But how is that possible? Did they foresee the future? Certainly not! There is only one thing: Yugoslavia itself was involved in a common scenario against the Macedonian people and their ethnic cleansing from Greece. And what a surprise? The classified document I was talking about earlier, dated December 11, 1945, proved that on a diplomatic level, this plan was already active in 1945, when NOF was formed. This proves that the British were in no way able to exile the Macedonians from Greece without active assistance from Yugoslavia. The fact that Yugoslavia formed the People's Liberation Front (NOF) to start a new so-called Greek Civil War proves it.

### “WHITE TERROR” AND THE MACEDONIANS IN NOF, AFZH AND NOMS

5. After NOF's initial failure to motivate the Macedonian people to re-arm and return to the mountains, the Greek authorities stepped up the so-called “white terror” and launched crimes against the population to unimaginable proportions.

After World War II ended, why was it necessary to again abuse the people in Greece? Most of the population was eager to end the bloodshed, return to peace, restore their lives and repair the ruins around them. They were hungry for peace. The Macedonian people were also hungry for peace. They had been through many wars. For the most part, this was the reason why the Macedonians were not motivated to re-arm themselves and go to another war, with an unknown end. But after NOF failed to motivate them to rise up again and continue their struggle for freedom and for re-uniting their state, the Greek reactionary forces renewed and stepped up the terror tactics introduced by the Metaxas regime. People were left with two choices, either defend themselves or flee across the border, which was part of the plan.

“The idea was to provoke the Macedonian people so that they would raise arms against Greece, so that Greece would have no other choice but to defend itself against an aggressor who wanted to break

away some of its territory!” In order to maintain good relations with the West, Yugoslavia naturally prepared the groundwork by creating and indoctrinating NOF, AFZH and NOMS to launch an armed uprising in Greek occupied Macedonia. At first the Macedonian people refused to participate but as the “white terror” was ramped up by the Greek fascist political right, committing unspeakable atrocities against the Macedonian civilian population, many Macedonians fled to the nearby mountains such as Vicho, Gramos and others and began arming and training in order to defend themselves. That was the beginning of the war. It was a war that was devastating for the Macedonian people; it was an ideological war that was to include external factors such as Britain and America; a war in which Greece would be a victim defending its territory from an aggressor. That would make it a legal war and if the end result was genocide, it would make it a legal genocide because these “Slavs” were fighting to seize a piece of Greek territory! Initially the Macedonian people were told that they needed weapons to defend themselves, but as soon as the real battles began, they were told they were fighting for “the unification of their Macedonia” and in the end, as Yugoslavia renounced them, they were told that they were fighting for human rights, to be equal to the Greeks. And finally, when the war was raging, they were told that they were fighting for their lives: “Fight or die ...”

At that time, there was no Macedonian man or woman who did not publicly say that he or she was not fighting for the re-unification of Macedonia. Many Macedonians were convinced that this was possible! And why did they believe that? Because the architects of this war, through NOF, AFZH and NOMS gave them false information in order to lure them into the war!

Let me say it again: There was no reason for this so-called Greek Civil War because it had already been decided by the Great Powers that Greek occupied Macedonia would remain within Greece. The most probable reason for the war was, and it makes sense, to destroy the Communist Party, as an evil for Greece, and at the same time solve the Macedonian Question in Greek occupied Macedonia because it was a potential threat to Greece’s security.

During the Greek Civil War:

a) The Macedonian people were persuaded to fight for the re-unification of Macedonia and to gain human rights, despite the fact that they were denied those rights as offered by the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

b) The Greek people were convinced that the Partisans were in fact “Slavic bandits” and with the help of the “Communists” were trying to seize a piece of Greek territory and hand it over to Tito’s Yugoslavia.

c) The outside world was convinced that this was a Greek Civil War, Greeks fighting against Greeks.

## MACEDONIANS NOT MENTIONED IN WESTERN HISTORY

6. During the Greek Civil War: (a) the Macedonian people were led to believe that they were fighting to re-unite Macedonia and gain their human rights, even though they were robbed of their rights afforded to them by the Atlantic Charter, (b) the Greek people were led to believe that the Partisans were actually “Slav bandits” and, with the help of the “communists”, were attempting to carve out Greek territory and give it to Tito’s Yugoslavia, and (c) the outside world was led to believe that this was a Civil War - Greeks fighting against Greeks.

There is not a single word in Western history that “Macedonians” were actually involved and that they were fighting for their human rights. Why the three different narratives about one and the same war?

The British and the Americans were the “overseers” and “architects” of this war; couldn’t they tell who was involved and what the war was about? According to the classified documents of that time, and I have read hundreds of them, the British and Americans knew exactly what was going on and who was fighting against whom. Why then call it a Greek Civil War? To cover up the truth?!

Even though, proportionally, the Macedonian people were a larger factor in this war, they were never mentioned. Why? Was it done to cover up what was done to them? To cover up that they suffered genocide at the hands of the British and Americans?

What do the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia remember about the Greek Civil War and how do they interpret what they remember? Many I have spoken with remember what they had done and the events that took place around them. It was an intense moment in time. Human life did not matter much and hardly anyone cared to pay attention outside of trying to survive. A giant wave hit them and swept them away. In their struggle to survive they listened to the guiding voices coming from above and did what they were told! They remember these times as an era of brutal propaganda with destructive goals calling out on the people and wanting more of their blood... After the war ended it was followed by half a century of fear and silence... no matter where these people were... at home or exiled abroad. This fear and silence kept them from talking about what happened during the war... about the genocide they experienced... a forgotten genocide... an unreported genocide... an un-registered genocide with world institutions and with the international community... a guilt free genocide for those who had committed it!

## THE GREEK CIVIL WAR WAS A CONTROLLED WAR

7. The so-called Greek Civil War was a controlled war that was concentrated in Greek occupied Macedonia and in the rural areas where Macedonians were the majority. But apart from that, what qualified it to be called a “controlled war” was the fact that this war was guided strictly by Greek hands and their British and American handlers.

It would be no exaggeration to say that of the 25, 000 fighters mobilized into the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece (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. The sum of the armed forces possessed by the Athens regime, on the other hand, was more than 300,000 soldiers belonging to all branches and armed with the latest weapons.

Let us also not forget that on March 1, 1947 - U.S. President Harry Truman announced the decision to proclaim the “Truman Doctrine” 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. (See: Todor Chepreganov, 1997/178.)

“... Immediately after the ‘Truman Doctrine’ was proclaimed, information services were established in Greece by FBI and OSS agents. An American military mission was also sent to Greece. Invited by the Greek government, representatives of the United States began to arrive in Greece in order to assist in the preservation and sovereignty of Greece as a nation. They were there unarmed with aims at regulating material assistance and providing advisory functions. Upon its arrival in Greece however, the American mission took over the most important headquarter functions in the army, navy and aviation as well as the organization and management of military operations, which were established to fight against the rebels...”

Given the number of Macedonian fighters involved, the lack of Macedonian leadership both in DAG and the CPG, the organizational tactics, the number of governments involved, the location where the war took place, do you still think this was a grass roots “Civil War”?

Also, given the numbers and proportion of Macedonian fighters involved, don't you think the Macedonian fighters deserved their own leaders? Why were Macedonians not allowed to lead their own people in battle and in the political field? Why was every aspect of this conflict strictly controlled by Greeks on both sides, with the British and Americans pulling the strings on both sides? Why were the Macedonians not allowed to fight freely and for Macedonian interests? Why did they have to be tightly controlled by Greeks on all sides? The entire top DAG and CPG leaderships, the people who actually made all the decisions, were Greek. The Greek leadership determined what battles were going to be fought and where. The Greeks then led those battles. The Greek leadership determined and controlled the composition of fighters in the units and what units to deploy where. The Greek leadership determined how many Macedonians could be armed; who and how many could join DAG, and so on. In other words, the Greeks controlled this war by keeping a tight leash on the Macedonians. Why?

Because this was a “controlled war” especially designed so that the Macedonians would fail and be driven out of their homeland.

One more thing...

“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 fighters. It is also well-known that Markos, in 1947, ended up sending home thousands of Macedonian fighters who wanted to voluntarily enter the ranks of DAG.” (See: “DAG-strategic issues and management tactics,” G. Maltezos Dzhumerkiotis, p. 354.)

The question here is: “If this was not a controlled war, then why did General Markos conduct an illegal mobilization only in Macedonia, mobilizing young and old and wreaking havoc on the Macedonian population?”

## WHO WERE THE CPG AND DAG LEADERS DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

8. Speaking of the Greek leadership, let us examine who were the top leaders in Greece who led the Macedonian and Greek partisan forces. Who were the top leaders who led the Communist Party of Greece and the Democratic Army of Greece?

The two top leaders were Nikos Zahariadis and General Markos Vafiadis. They were the leaders of the political and military pillars of the rebellion or the one side of the Greek Civil War. Both Zahariadis and Vafiadis were Asia Minor colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920's.

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.

GENERAL MARKOS VAFIADIS was born in the village Tosi near Ankara, in Asia Minor, and was planted as a colonist in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1922, a man who we, again and again, meet throughout our history, who for some reason that escapes me, we see as some sort of "great legend", when it is well-known what he told the magazine "Epikera" about us Macedonians when he returned to Athens. Markos, at best, was an ordinary person; he was no General



let alone the great general who headed the army with more than 50% of the soldiers being Macedonians. He was also not a Greek... he was a pseudo-Greek at best, just like Zahariadis.

And to add insult to our injuries, when Markos returned to Greece, after the Greek Civil War had ended, he was welcomed with hugs by the Athens press in Athens' airport, as the Chief of Staff of the armed forces of Greece who fought in the Civil War. At that point a journalist from the weekly "Epikera" asked him a question alluding to the "struggle" and if it was worth it. Markos replied: "The sense was that the Slavo-Macedonians were driven out of the northern parts of Greece and that Macedonia remains Greek." (See "Nova Makedonija", February 25, 1992.)

This was said by Markos Vafiadis, the main culprit who led DAG during the so-called Greek Civil War and who contributed to this disaster in which so many lives were lost. He was a colonist from Asia Minor brought to Greek occupied Macedonia. His role in the war was to lead DAG as a General and, as he said "he fought to preserve Greece by driving the Macedonians out of their homeland"... This has been our fate so that the Christian Turkish colonists could have more of our lands and Greece could live in the glory of knowing that Greek occupied Macedonia was only populated by "pure Greeks and Greeks by genus"... even though none of them are Greeks... But that does not matter! What matters to the Greeks is that there are less Macedonians in Greece today!!

And this is how this colonist dog, General Markos, was prepared to solve the Macedonian National Question. And we, the Macedonian army, gave ourselves to him to lead us to our death.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

UNSCB	United Nations Special Committee On the Balkans
AFZH	Women's Anti-Fascist Front
Andartes	Greek mercenary fighters who fought during the Ottoman occupation to conquer Macedonia and join it with Greece. Most were from Greece proper and from Crete. They were operating in Macedonia (Kostur, Lerin, Bitola, Resen and Mariovo Regions). The name "Andartes" was used by the Greek government to describe the ELAS fighters during the Greek Civil War.
BURANDARS	Armed Greek government soldiers
GSH	General Headquarters
DAG	Democratic Army of Greece – active during the Greek Civil War 1946-1949, led by the Communist Party of Greece
EAM	(Greek) National Liberation Front
EDA	Greek Democratic Left
EDES	National Democratic Alliance of Greece - the Greek Army which cooperated with the Germans, as well as with the English
ELAS	National Liberation Army of Greece
EPON	Greek National Youth Organization (pro-communist)
IVE	Defenders of Northern Greece 1941-1942 cooperated with the Germans

PG	Agricultural Party of Greece
IB	Informburo
EPPE	Central Committee for Political Refugees from Greece
EMPEDA	Military Training Center
KZ	Criminal Law
KOEM	Communist organization of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek Occupied) Macedonia
CPG	Communist Party of Greece
CPY	Communist Party of Yugoslavia
CPM	Communist Party of Macedonia
LOK	Mountain hunting military unit - part of the Greek government army
NOV	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Army
NOD	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Movement
NOMS	(Macedonian) National Liberation Youth Union
NOF	(Macedonian) People's Liberation Front
MAI	Greek Self Defense Units on the ground (armed organized civilians who fought against DAG when needed)
UNO	United Nations Organization



PAO	Greek Liberation Organization 1942 - 1944, cooperated with occupier against the liberation movement in Greece
PB	Politburo
PDVG	Provisional Democratic Government of Greece established in 1947 at Gramos, (more precisely in Asamati on December 23, 1947)
PEEA	Political Liberation Committee
PZ	Compulsory Law
SNOF	Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front
UDBA	State Security Administration
CC	Central Committee
CS	Central Council

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TITLE, TYPE, PUBLISHER

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БЕСОТ НА ЈУЖНИТЕ ХРИСТЈАНИ, роман,

Stojan Kocov - (Author, collector, translator from Greek and  
Russian)

Spiro Mavrovski - (Material arrangement, language and  
proofreading, Serbian translation, reflection on the book).