

***Macedonians and the
NOT so Civil War in
Greece***

The terrible decade 1939-1949



By
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Published by:

Risto Stefov Publications
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Toronto, Canada

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e-book edition

September 6, 2019

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Preface

What happened to the Macedonian people during the terrible decade 1939 to 1949 was nothing new. They were involved in many conflicts long before that but one thing that remained a constant over the years was their desire to live free and independent. They fought several uprisings against the Ottoman Empire without success. They even lost their chances to assert themselves as a Macedonian nation during the 19th century when new nations were being created in the Balkans. But what happened to them was not entirely their fault.

The aim of including a preface in this book is to give the reader a general high level historic overview of events that took place which explain what happened to the Macedonian people and who was responsible for it.

The Macedonian nation failed to assert itself during the 19th century mainly because the 19th century European monarchies and the European Great Powers did not want a Macedonian state with Macedonian people to exist in the Balkans. This was as much a reality then as it is today. I don't know for sure why this was but it became obvious after the Russian-Ottoman war ended in 1878 and after Greece, Serbia and parts of Bulgaria were granted their freedom while Macedonia and the Macedonian people were given back to the Ottoman Empire. The decision to free Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria and give Macedonia back to the Ottomans was made by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress in July 1878. Ever since then the future of Macedonia and the Macedonian people was in question.

After Macedonia was given back to the Ottoman Empire without any guarantees for the safety of the Macedonian people, the Ottomans began to crack down, harder than before, not only because the Macedonians fought on the side of the Russians during the Russian-Ottoman war, but also because the Ottomans did not want to lose more lands to insurrections. As a result the Ottomans placed a tighter grip on Macedonia making the lives of the Macedonian people a lot harder. Not being able to count on the Great Powers for help, the Macedonian people had no other option but to struggle and hope that one day they would free themselves on their own.

To make matters worse, the European monarchies and Great Powers promised to give parts of Macedonia to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. But since they did not know how Macedonia was going to be divided, it was decided that it would be divided along “Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian national lines”. At that time however no such nationalities existed in Macedonia. So the Great Powers forced the Ottomans to allow Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria to establish churches and schools in Macedonia through which each state could promote its propaganda in an effort to make Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians out of the Macedonian population. In time their presence created fierce competition between the three states each fighting for the souls of the Macedonian people. The situation got to a point where the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians began to bribe, frighten and even torture and kill Macedonians through armed gangs in order to force them to come to their side. So now the Macedonians had not only the Ottomans to contend with but also the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarian behind who stood their patrons the European Great Powers.

Once the Macedonian people made up their minds to revolt, two trains of thought began to develop. The wisest, which included Gotse Delchev, supreme commander of the Macedonian Liberation Movement, thought that the best way to free Macedonia and keep it intact and outside of the hands of the Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians was to agitate the Ottoman Empire for Macedonia to become an autonomous Ottoman province... and, of course, over time, independent.

The second train of thought was for Macedonia to seek outside help and fight to gain its own independence. Even though they suspected that the Great Powers had different ideas for Macedonia, some of the Macedonian leaders still believed that there was hope that the Great Powers would come to their rescue if they started a rebellion. One of the Macedonian revolutionary leaders even went to Russia and asked the Russian monarch for assistance but was refused.

Once the Great Powers and their proxies discovered that some Macedonians wanted to seek autonomy and remain inside the Ottoman Empire, they began new preparations to prevent that. They

began to interfere in Macedonian internal affairs through Bulgaria. A second Macedonian revolutionary organization, an external or Supremacist organization, was formed which pretended to work for Macedonian interests but in fact was supporting Bulgarian and Great Power interests.

The idea behind the Supremacist revolutionary organization was to start a massive conflict between the Macedonians and the Ottomans so that both would weaken and become “easy prey” for Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. The Supremacists had to make sure that the Macedonians did not win. A win could be avoided if an uprising was started early before the Macedonian people were fully prepared and before an agreement with the Ottomans was reached for Macedonia to become an autonomous Ottoman province.

The Supremacists accomplished both tasks by making sure the Macedonian people were stripped of their true leaders, except for Delchev, while preparations were made to start the 1903 Ilinden Uprising, an early uprising before the Macedonian people were fully prepared. When Delchev found out about this he called a meeting to call off the uprising but was assassinated on his way there.

The uprising was a catastrophic failure, which not only weakened the Macedonian people and broke their spirits but also stripped them of their true leaders and left them in the hands of the avenging Ottomans. Ten years later, in 1912/1913, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed Macedonia and its people and began to turn them into Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians on mass by force.

Some of the Macedonian leaders suspected that Macedonian territories might be annexed by Macedonia’s neighbours but the “total denationalization and assimilation” of the Macedonian nation into three and later four different parts was not only unexpected but unprecedented. Not even Gotse Delchev predicted that. This, unfortunately, was done to destroy the Macedonian nation and erase it from history.

This, unfortunately, did not end when Macedonian territories and the Macedonian people were annexed but, with Great Power help,

continued into the future reaching the level of genocide several times after that. The reader must remember that nothing could happen in the Balkans without Great Power approval and these genocides were no exception.

Even though similar events took place in Serbian and Bulgarian occupied Macedonia our focus in this book will be mainly on the events that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia.

When the Greeks consolidated their power in Macedonia they told the Macedonian people that this is Greece now and that they were now Greeks, and if they didn't agree they could pick up what they could carry and leave immediately. Many did just that; they picked up their things and left.

The Macedonian Muslims were all kicked out and so were the Macedonians who insisted on being Macedonian and not Greeks, Serbians, or Bulgarians. Those who insisted too much found themselves with a noose around their necks hanging from a tree.

Sometime later Greece exchanged populations with Bulgaria and got rid of more Macedonians and imported all kinds of non-Greek people from Bulgaria and from the Caucasus's who claimed to be Greeks.

Before 1913 and before the Greco-Turkish war, the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia were a majority with minorities such as Albanians, Vlachs, Christian Turks and others. After Greece occupied Macedonian territories it cleansed itself of non-Greeks; it assimilated everyone it could, evicted those who did not agree with its principles, and jailed and murdered all those who caused trouble.

But those who were assimilated were still Macedonians and still a majority in Greek occupied Macedonia, that is until Greece deposited 600,000 Turkish Christian settlers and colonists it acquired during the population exchange with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne. After that Greece published demographic statistics claiming that the population in Greece was 98% pure Greek and 2% Muslim Greek. Ever since then Greece has been covering up the fact

that Macedonians existed in Greece and has been misleading its patrons, particularly the English, about its ethnic composition.

After Greece occupied Macedonian territories it closed all Macedonian language schools and churches and expelled the priests. The Macedonian language and names were forbidden, and the Macedonians were referred to as Bulgarians, Serbians or natives. By law all place names were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers, lakes and mountains were discarded and Greek names put in their place. At the same time the Macedonians were forced to change their first and last names; every Macedonian surname had to end in 'os', 'es', 'ou', or 'poulos'.

In the years following World War I, the Macedonian people underwent extensive measures of systematic denationalization.

One of the worst Greeks the Macedonian people had to face was Metaxas. Metaxas and his Fascist supporters were extremely anti-Macedonian and wanted everything that was Macedonian erased, including the Macedonian language.

All this was happening under the watchful eyes of the Western Great Powers and nothing was done to stop it. Without a doubt, Hellenization in Greece was taking place with Western Great Power consent.

Greek policemen often stood outside people's windows just to hear what language they were speaking and fined the entire family if they were caught speaking Macedonian.

After people realized that they would be fined and even physically punished and force-fed castor oil for repeat offences, fear and suspicion began to set in, forcing people to keep silent.

This assimilation-ist policy however was not new. And, as I said earlier, it was started a long time ago and became evident around 1878 when it became clear that Macedonia would not be allowed to become a nation state and would be divided among the other Balkan nations. Ever since then, the practice of denationalizing the Macedonian population has continued all throughout the years and is

continuing to this day with the forceful name change imposed on the Macedonian people in the Republic of Macedonia. Let me be clear on this, the name change imposed on the Republic of Macedonia, aided by the western foreign embassies in Skopje is nothing new, it is a continuation of a Western Great Power policy that was drafted sometime before 1878 to exterminate the Macedonian nation and everything that is Macedonian.

During World War II, when the Western Great Powers thought no Macedonians existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, English spies and military personnel dispatched to Greek occupied Macedonia to monitor the war situation discovered that Greece had been lying to them. Contrary to Greek claims that no Macedonians existed in Greece, a sizable Macedonian population, speaking the Macedonian language and aware of its Macedonian consciousness, was living in its territory. When the British found this out they again resumed their policy of extermination. Some people say the English must have panicked because of fear of Russian influence and the possibility of these people wanting to carve out “Greek territory”, but the truth is England never wanted a Greek Macedonia with Macedonians in it. So the English, as they had done in the past, decided that the Macedonian people had to go by any means possible. This information was later discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches in which the English wanted to expel 120,000 Macedonians en masse from their homes in Greek occupied Macedonia (see chronology for details).

In doing this the English requested the assistance of the fascist Yugoslav government before the communists came to power and received a positive response. The fascists agreed to take the Macedonians and resettle them on Yugoslav territory but Yugoslavia fell to the communists before this could happen.

Now let us go back and have a look at the general situation on the ground during the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation of Greek occupied Macedonia.

In terms of their cultural rights, the Macedonian people found more freedom under the German, Italian and Bulgarian triple occupation than they did under Greek rule. As long as they did not cause trouble

for the occupiers, the Macedonian people were not prohibited from freely speaking their Macedonian language or from calling themselves Macedonians. The biggest trouble they faced came from the Greek fascists, Metaxas's former supporters who now worked for the occupiers. These people were thugs and criminals and were the first to offer their services to the occupiers as long as they were allowed to rob and torment the civilian populations, especially the Macedonians. After they formed their gangs these fascists began to terrorize the population. They particularly disliked the Macedonian people, especially those who openly spoke their Macedonian language and asserted themselves as Macedonians. The Macedonian people complained to the occupiers but that did not seem to help, except for the Italians, who also disliked the fascist Greeks and allowed most of the Kostur Region villagers to arm themselves and fight back.

After the Bulgarians fascists occupied parts of Macedonia they too attempted to organize and arm Macedonian people under the organization "Ohrana" but for different reasons; to fight for the Bulgarian cause. But all the Bulgarians could attract was the criminal element which was willing to do harm to its own people for any cause as long as it personally benefited.

In the German and Bulgarian occupied parts of Greek occupied Macedonia, having no other option, the tormented Macedonians fled to the mountains to save themselves from the Greek terror. There they organized into groups, armed themselves and fought back for their survival. These small groups often combined together into larger groups to repel Greek fascist attacks on their friends, families and villages.

Not long after the triple occupation of Greek occupied Macedonia, in addition to the foreign occupiers there were Greek fascist criminal gangs working for the Germans and Italians, Macedonian fascist criminal gangs working for the Bulgarians, Macedonian armed groups protecting the Kostur Region villages from all Greeks in general, and Macedonian armed groups in the mountains protecting themselves and their villages from the fascist Greeks.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) began to organize a resistance movement in an attempt to expel the occupiers but was not popular with the Greek people so it created and led a national liberation movement (EAM) that included all the left leaning parties in Greece which were closer to the Greek working class.

There are several reasons why the CPG took the initiative to organize a resistance movement. First, as part of a greater plan it would be able to expand the communist ideology so that communism could take root in Greece. Most people, especially the Macedonians, had had enough of the fascists and wanted change. Second, because it represented the working class multitudes it would be able to harness their power and spill their blood in future revolts, instead of the blood of the bourgeois and their supporters who saw no profit in dying for a cause. Third, because the CPG was the only party to recognize the existence of the Macedonian people in Greece, it would be able to harness their power not only to fight against the occupiers but to also keep them from being swayed by occupier propaganda, especially Bulgarian propaganda which offered autonomy and independence for Macedonia.

But no sooner had the CPG established itself as the leader of the resistance movement in Greece, than England began to worry about losing Greece to the Soviet Union, especially when the Soviets turned the tide on the war with the Germans and began to drive south.

To make sure Greece remained in the English sphere of influence, England began to infiltrate the CPG with its own spies and people. It even managed to infiltrate the top CPG leadership with Siantos, one of its agents, who was appointed temporary Secretary General in charge of the CPG. This way England would be able to control the situation in Greece in the future and make sure things went its way.

After the CPG formed its resistance army called ELAS, it began to disband the Macedonian armed groups in the mountains and made every effort to incorporate them into ELAS. Those who refused were attacked and disbanded by force. When it amassed enough of a fighting force ELAS began to attack the fascist gangs and the

Macedonian bands in Kostur Region but without success. They were simply too powerful. The CPG needed a better plan, especially against the Macedonian bands in Kostur Region, so with Yugoslav help, it came up with the idea of forming a Macedonian organization called Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front (SNOF) and its military wing Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army (SNOV). The idea behind SNOF was to have the Macedonians fight it out – Macedonians fighting Macedonians - and get the Kostur Region bands to surrender. The plan worked. All the Macedonian bands in the villages, one by one, surrendered their arms and joined SNOF. SNOF's peaceful tactics of persuasion and its agitation through the Macedonian language press contributed a great deal to not only the surrender of arms but also in convincing members of these bands to join SNOF and even ELAS. After that SNOF was abruptly dissolved and SNOV was disbanded and its fighters were absorbed by ELAS. In other words, SNOF, regardless of what the Macedonian people were told or thought of it, was nothing more than a communist weapon concocted by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and by the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) to destroy the Kostur Region Macedonian bands.

At the time, on the surface, the CPG looked like and officially acted like any other Balkan communist party, so the general impression was that the CPG would eventually bring socialism to Greece, rights to the Macedonian people, and would look north to Moscow in the future. But deep down the CPG was not like the other Balkan communist parties, at least not at the top level. While the CPG preached a communist ideology it harboured nationalist ideas and made Greece's sovereignty, with Greek occupied Macedonia in it, its highest priority, something Moscow would not support. Moscow was looking at a communist Balkan federation with Greece in it but without Greek occupied Macedonia. No Greek of any political affiliation was prepared to give up Greek occupied Macedonia for socialism.

As it turned out the West, particularly England, was offering Greece exactly what it wanted and was prepared in time to deliver it. But for the time being the CPG had to act like a communist party in order to prevent the Soviet Red Army from "liberating" Greece and to maintain a lid on the local communists and the Macedonians. In

other words, the CPG's objectives were to keep the Slav armies from invading Greece, to use the real communists and Macedonians to drive out the occupiers, and to make sure the communists or the Macedonians did not win or take power. This became evident when the CPG started looking to the West.

It began with the signing of the Lebanon Agreement to form a coalition government with other Greek civilian parties, including the political right parties it was fighting against. The Agreement also called for disarming the Macedonian people as a means of destroying the Macedonian national liberation movement which had been building since the start of the triple occupation.

It then signed the Caserta Agreement, requiring all resistance forces in Greece to be placed under English command. After this ELAS was placed under the command of the English supported Greek government in exile which brought into the forefront the question of what to do with the Macedonian forces. The political right, being in direct command of ELAS, did not want Macedonian forces to exist because that would provide undeniable proof that a Macedonian population existed in Greece. Also, the Macedonians posed a danger to Greece's sovereignty.

Then, after Stalin and Churchill divided the Balkans at Yalta, and Stalin accepted the idea that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece, the so-called "December events" began. Violent acts were staged in Athens in order to vilify ELAS and have it disbanded and give the English reason to enter Greece legally.

After that the Varkiza Agreement was signed which called for EAM to disband ELAS and hold a referendum on the return of the monarchy in Greece. By signing the Varkiza Agreement the CPG basically surrendered power to the political right and the English.

This should give you an idea of how events were developing in Greece during World War Two and the direction the CPG was taking.

But as WW II was winding down communists still existed in Greece, who at the time were a majority, and so were Macedonians

who were promised self-determination by the Atlantic Charter and other concessions by the CPG.

When WW II ended the communists were still there and so were the Macedonians looking for the promised concessions they earned by fighting on the side of the Allies. These unfortunately for the Greek government and for England were unresolved matters which had to be resolved. So once again the CPG's help was needed. But before anything could be resolved the Greek government in Athens had to be legitimized and take root.

After England installed its agent Zahariadis as general secretary of the CPG, the English turned to the CPG to help them elect the liberal party which, in turn, opened the door for the political right to take power. All Zahariadis had to do was encourage the democratic forces to support the liberals. He told the people to support the liberals in order to keep the "Monarcho-Fascists" from taking power. But then when the liberals took office they opened the door for the "Monarcho-Fascists" to take over.

After the "Monarcho-Fascists" took control of the security forces in Greece they began to torment the democratic forces and terrorize the Macedonian population. They demanded that the Macedonians leave Greece. Unfortunately their tactics did not work because the Macedonians were not going anywhere. So a new plan had to be put in place. If they were not going to leave under duress they would be removed by other means. For example if the Macedonians were to pick up guns and begin to fight against the Greek government, say to carve out Greek territory, then the Greek government would have no choice but to fight back. Its actions would also be supported by its allies England and the United States because their intervention would be deemed of "legal" character because they were there to help the "legally elected government" and the "lawful regime in Greece" against "subversive elements".

Here again the English and their Western partners turned to the CPY and CPG for help. While the rightists in Greece were tormenting the democratic forces and terrorizing the Macedonian population, the CPY was creating a new people's liberation movement for Greek occupied Macedonia (NOF). Zahariadis in the meantime was

preparing the democratic forces inside Greece for a new armed struggle. Both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union agreed to support the CPG in this.

NOF arrived in Greek occupied Macedonia before the new armed struggle, later termed the Greek Civil War, began and started preparations to arm the Macedonian people. But by then WW II had ended and the Macedonian people did not want to fight and refused to join NOF. To make them fight the political right (“Monarcho-Fascists”) began to escalate its terror activities against the Macedonians to unprecedented levels, forcing many Macedonians to run to the mountains and join NOF in order to save themselves.

After NOF established itself on the ground and was ready, the CPY subordinated NOF to the CPG and the CPG used it as an instrument to rally the Macedonian people and initiated the armed struggle.

At first the Macedonian people were told they were fighting to save themselves from the Greek terror, later they were told they were fighting for equality and human rights in Greece, after that they were told they were fighting for a united Macedonia and for independence from Greece. Eventually, as the war became very hot, they were told they were fighting for their survival.

In the meantime, while the English were telling the world a civil war was being fought in Greece - communist Greeks fighting against capitalist Greeks, the Greek population was told that the Greek government was fighting against Slav bandits who, with help from the Greek communists, were trying to steal their Macedonia from them.

There are patterns that show that when the Greek government needed to “do something” against the communists or against the Macedonians in Greece the CPG was there to help. When the Greek government needed to pass an anti-Macedonian law or rally the Greek people to fight in the war against the Macedonian people, the CPG was there to make it happen. In order to upset the Greek people the CPG often offered the Macedonian people concessions like recognition, rights, independence and so on. It was then up to the Greek press to declare these concessions treacherous. These CPG

tactics had a dual effect; they rallied both the Greek and Macedonian people to fight against one another. On the one hand they rallied the Greek people behind their government to fight against the Slavic bandits who wanted to steal their Macedonia from them. On the other hand they rallied the Macedonian people behind the democratic forces which promised rights and self-determination. All the Macedonians had to do was fight and win the war and these concessions would be theirs. All the Greeks had to do was fight and win the war and Macedonia would remain Greek.

On the surface it seemed like the CPG was doing “goods things” for the Macedonian people like allowing them to speak Macedonian, opening Macedonian schools, offering them equal rights, offering them the right to self-determination, etc. But if we dig deeper we will find that all these things were done for ulterior and sinister motives. As history has shown all these concessions were temporary and later withdrawn. In other words, the CPG made these concessions not for the benefit of the Macedonian people but for the benefit of Greece and its patrons England and the United States.

What is interesting here is that the CPG made sure all these offers were made to a phantom people the “Slavo-Macedonians”, who were defined as Slavic speaking Greeks who lived in Greek occupied Macedonia and who had nothing to do with Macedonians in Tito’s Yugoslavia.

But that was not all the CPG did to help the Greek government and its patrons England and the US win the war. Before Zahariadis started the armed uprising in Greece, later termed the Greek Civil War, he did a few things to make sure the Greek government won. First, he agreed to England coming to Greece, in fact he insisted on it. Second, he agreed to form a coalition “unity” government with the rightists, the CPG’s enemy. Third, he refused to expand DAG and turn it into a powerful army when he could have, when the Greek government was weak and when the CPG could have taken power. Fourth, he refused to take part in the March 31, 1946 elections, allowing a rightist government to win and take hold of power. Fifth, he refused to allow independent Macedonian organizations and military formations to exist, which could have helped him win the war. Sixth, he and his top people hand-picked

the battles DAG fought making sure the opponent was prepared to fight and win, like in Konitsa. Seventh, he turned DAG from a successful hit and run mobile army into an unsuccessful stationary army fighting at fronts giving its opponent the ability to target it with its heavy artillery and aviation. Eight, he brought the war north into Greek occupied Macedonia where he had set up free zones and liberated territories. As a result the war brought death and destruction forcing the Macedonian people to leave their homes en masse and head north across the border to save themselves. Nine, he made sure every capable Macedonian was involved in the war effort and as a result became an enemy of the Greek government. Ten, he gave the Greek military enough time to prepare before he ordered the attack on Lerin. Eleven, when the war was escalating and coming to a conclusion he made sure that every Macedonian village was emptied of its people and they were sent over the border into Albania. Twelve, he made no attempt to sign a surrender agreement with the Greek government and safeguard the return of the fighters and refugees. In fact he made sure the refugees were out of Greece, enabling the Greek government to close its borders and permanently exile them with no hope of ever returning.

The Greek Civil War was rigged from the start and was designed to destroy the communists in Greece and get rid of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. This is what England and later the United States wanted and this is why they supported the Greek government and the top CPG leadership. The Greek government made it no secret that it wanted the communists destroyed and the entire Macedonian population expelled from Greece. It made that very clear through its newspapers, the Greek media, and by condoning and secretly supporting terrorist activities against the Macedonians and against the democratic people in general. Control of how this was going to be done was left up to the CPG top leaders. For all this to be legal the Greek government had to take a defensive position and only react, that is, fight back to protect Greece's sovereignty. The CPG had to do the rest. So, to make sure the Greek government met its objectives, the CPG set the conditions as stated above and appointed the "right people" to lead the war. The top CPG leadership made sure these leaders had the most to lose if the communists or the Macedonians won. The English made sure the CPG top leadership was infiltrated by loyal Greeks the likes of

Zahariadis and Vafiadis who had most to lose. Zahariadis and Vafiadis were both Christian Turkish colonists from Asia Minor deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920's and given Macedonian lands and homes for free. These people were told that if the Macedonians won the war they and all the colonists and settlers the Greek government deposited in Macedonia would be thrown out. At the same time, even though the majority of the fighting force in this war was Macedonian, no Macedonians were allowed to lead independently. If the CPG truly wanted to help the Macedonian people it would have allowed the Macedonians to independently create and lead their own organizations and military.

After receiving reports of how badly the communists and Macedonians were treated in Greece with English support, the Soviet Union saw an opportunity to intervene by asking the United Nations to remove the English military from Greece. The UN declined. Like it is today, the United Nations at that time was dominated by Western influence which tended to support England's interests more than care for the Macedonians or the communists in Greece.

As a counter to this, Greece then sent its own delegation to the United Nations claiming that the war inside Greece was brought from the outside, particularly by the communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania and supported by the Soviet Union. Greece and its patrons England and the United States, needed to make this war look like it was brought into Greece by outsiders otherwise it would have been difficult to explain why Slav-speaking Greeks would want to carve out Greek territory and give it to Yugoslavia. Also, it would later make it easier to explain why Greece exiled all the DAG fighters and would not accept them back. This also explains why the CPG did not negotiate DAG's surrender and the return of the fighters to their homes in Greece. If the war could be blamed on outsiders then there would be no reason to explain anything.

The United Nations did send an investigative team which conducted an internal and external investigation but its findings were inconclusive. Greece made sure the "right" people were interviewed who gave the investigators false information. Unfortunately the fact

that NOF, AFZH and NOMS were created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greece to start a war did not help the situation. Eventually the United Nations voted in favour of Greece and ordered Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania not to recognize the communists in Greece or to support the war effort. Nothing was done about the Macedonian condition.

Sometime later, realizing that things could get a lot worse in the Balkans, the Soviet Union ordered Yugoslavia to stop supporting the war effort in Greece. Stalin began to worry when there was word that the Greek government was asking the United States to think about using atomic weapons against DAG in the Macedonian mountains. “Look what they did in Japan, thousands of kilometers away... Imagine what they would do here if we continue to interfere in their affairs...” said Stalin to Tito. Unfortunately Tito refused to comply which started the Stalin-Tito feud turning the entire communist block, including the CPG, against the CPY. This was very bad for the Macedonian people who were caught in the middle. The feud left no middle ground; the Macedonian people were forced to decide if they were “for Tito” or “for Stalin”. And if they were for the one that meant that they were against the other. The Macedonian people were split in two and began their own feud calling each other traitors. In fact Stalin was so upset, after attempting to assassinate Tito several times and failing, that he threatened to dismantle Yugoslavia. He told Tito he was going to assemble an army from the Macedonian fighters and send it to carve out the Yugoslav part of Macedonia and create an independent Macedonian state. And that is the reason why the Soviet Union took all the exiled DAG fighters to Tashkent, USSR after the Greek Civil War ended.

Years later, when the fighters began to return to their homeland, not being welcome in Greece, they landed in the Republic of Macedonia. Upon their entry they were sent to a prison for interrogation and asked if they were for Tito or Stalin... and God help those who said they were for Stalin. The Macedonian fighters who fled the Greek Civil War and went to the Republic of Macedonia before the war was over succumbed to CPY propaganda and began to accuse the Macedonians still fighting in the war of being traitors; fighting for the Greek cause. The Macedonian fighters who fought in the Greek Civil War to the end and were sent

to Tashkent succumbed to CPG propaganda and began to accuse the fighters who left during the war of being traitors, deserters and of abandoning their families and homeland.

There were no Macedonian heroes in this war on either side, only villains, blaming each other for losing the war. History took the side of the architects who started this war and placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Macedonian people. They started a feud, Macedonian accusing Macedonian of wrong-doing, which is still ongoing to this day, to cover up the truth. Yugoslavia was very much a part of the conspiracy to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece as much as Greece, England and the United States were.

Details of what was said in this preface can be found in the main body, in the chronology of this book as well as in the books mentioned in the bibliography.

Introduction

The Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia became involved in two conflicts during the “terrible decade” from 1939 to 1949. They first became entangled in World War II and later in the Greek Civil War hoping to gain their independence from the Greek yoke or at least gain their human rights as Macedonians inside Greece. In the end they gained nothing and lost everything.

Very little to nothing has been written in the international forum about the Macedonians in Greece and their involvement in these conflicts. Macedonians who lived and still live inside and outside of Greece, to this day, are afraid to speak of the terrible ordeals they went through during the “terrible decade” for fear of repercussions from the Greek authorities, for fear of being humiliated or just because it is too painful for them to remember. To this day it is taboo in Greece to speak of the dreaded so-called Greek Civil War.

The Macedonian people in Greece it seems have been ignored by all sides. Yugoslavia has ignored them because, we are told, it did not want to ruin its good relations with Greece and with the West. Greece on the other hand, to this day claims that Macedonians simply don't exist and wants to erase them from history. Bulgaria, even though it has a large Macedonian immigrant population from Greece, has yet to admit that the Macedonian people are a distinct ethnic group. Bulgaria to this day still insists that the Macedonians are Bulgarians. Even outside of the Balkan territory, people have said nothing and are content with saying nothing about the Macedonians living in Greece. So in reality no one really cares about the Macedonians in Greece and as a result very little to nothing is known about them, especially in the international scene. “Indeed, the Macedonians in Greece are hardly ever mentioned in scholarly literature and have been virtually forgotten as a people and as a national minority.” (Andrew Rossos)

This is most unfortunate not only because of the Macedonian contribution to the struggle against Fascism and Nazism, but also because as distinct people with their own language and culture, the Macedonians living in Greece deserve to be recognized.

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

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

During these conflicts Greeks on the political right as well as on the political left have accused the Macedonian people of being autonomists, separatists, communists and even of being foreign agents. But as we will see, none of these accusations are true; the only things Macedonians were guilty of was that they struggled for equality and human rights and for the right to create their own independent Macedonian state as promised by the Atlantic Charter and by other international conventions.

But despite all promises, both during World War II and during the Greek Civil War, that the Macedonians would get what they earned by fighting against the fascists... they got nothing. And as we will show, they lost everything... just because the Greeks and England wanted them out of Greek occupied Macedonia.

All through the war years the Greek leadership was divided into two camps; the Democrats leaning towards the political left and the Royalists and Republicans leaning towards the political right. Unfortunately both sides had the same idea for the Macedonians; get rid of them at any cost.

This book will analyze the ways and means by which this was done with assistance from the English and the Americans.

After Greece was occupied by Germany, Italy and Bulgaria, the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) was the first organization to organize a resistance movement against the occupiers. The Macedonian people joined this movement because historically the CPG, at least in theory, supported the idea of equality and human rights for the Macedonian people. But as it turned out, this support was only a ploy to get the Macedonians involved in the struggle on their side.

“It (CPG) was the only political party in Greece to recognize the Macedonian national identity and to have a public policy on the Macedonian national question. Against considerable opposition, the Third Extraordinary Congress of the KKE (CPG), meeting from November 26 to December 3, 1924, endorsed the Comintern line: support for a united Macedonian state in a future Balkan communist federation. This position was in basic accord with the demands of Macedonian activists and patriots, but it was extremely unpopular among the Greeks. The inauguration of the Popular Front line by the Comintern gave the Greek Communist Party the opportunity to replace it. Its Sixth Congress, in December 1935, adopted a new policy supporting equality for all national minorities in Greece, including the Macedonian; this remained its official stand until early 1949.” (Andrew Rossos)

Between 1912 when Macedonia was invaded, occupied, partitioned and annexed by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, and 1939, when World War Two started, the Macedonian people had been separated by artificially imposed borders, exiled from their ancestral homes, robbed, humiliated, tortured, murdered, jailed, had their lands and properties confiscated, names changed, toponyms renamed, prohibited from speaking their language and made to feel like outsiders in their own ancestral homes.

In addition to exiling tens of thousands of Macedonians, including Muslim Macedonians, the Greek State, during the 1920's imported over a million Christian Turkish colonists and settlers from Asia

Minor and other parts of Turkey, and settled over six-hundred thousand on Macedonian lands.

There are some people, especially the Greeks, who to this day believe that the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia were communists and fought either for communist ideology or for other foreign interests attempting to break up Greek territories and hand them over to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or even the Soviet Union. None of this however is true. The Macedonians were not the architects of any of the conflicts that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia between 1912 and 1949. The only reason the Macedonians even paid attention to the communists, as we said earlier, was because the communists were the only group of people to offer them what they wanted the most, freedom, human rights, the right to call themselves Macedonian, the right to speak their Macedonian language and the right to unite their Macedonia.

The Macedonian people began to look towards the communists when the Communist International (Comintern) offered them concessions. After part of Macedonia was annexed by Greece the Comintern felt that it was obliged to consider concessions like offering the Macedonian people in Greece autonomy and the right to self-determination or at least recognize the Macedonian nation with full rights and privileges. The Comintern saw the Macedonian people as a potentially strong ally that could be persuaded to rally for the communist cause. This was opposite to earlier considerations made by the monarchist families in Europe and the Western Great Powers whose aims were to “partition” Macedonia and “assimilate” the Macedonian people into the nations which annexed Macedonian territories.

It is important to understand that the Macedonian territories and people were “divided” with the blessing of the European monarchies and the Great Powers. The annexation of territories was expected but the “total assimilation” of the Macedonian nation into three and later four different parts was not only unexpected but unprecedented. Not even Gotse Delchev predicted that. This was done to destroy the Macedonian nation and erase it from history. The Comintern, on the other hand, offered an alternative and the

Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia took it. Unfortunately the Greek communists had different ideas for them.

Also, under Comintern pressure the Greek communists admitted that Macedonians lived in Greek occupied Macedonia and agreed to give them rights. Unfortunately those rights never materialized because the Greek communists, as we shall see, had other plans for the Macedonians. Their aim was to get rid of them once and for all because they posed a threat to their country. We must remember that Macedonia rightfully belongs to the Macedonian people and not to the Greek people. Greece acquired Greek occupied Macedonia by act of war and against the wishes of the Macedonian people. Deep down every Greek, be it fascist, royalist, republican, capitalist or communist, knows that. As a result every Greek faction since Greece acquired Macedonian territories has made every effort to ensure that the Macedonia Greece stole is not taken back by the Macedonian people. The Greeks will do anything in the name of protecting Greek and western interests, even commit genocide. What is even more bizarre about this Greek obsession is that they found England to be a willing partner in this.

As history has shown, the vast majority of Greeks, including many Greek communists, have done nothing for the Macedonian people that did not fit with their own interests. Only when the Greeks needed Macedonian help did they offer the Macedonians “special consideration”. Then, when they no longer needed them the special considerations were taken away. When the anti-Macedonian Greek political right, royalists and republicans needed the Greek people to rally behind them against the Macedonians, the Greek communists made it possible by offering the Macedonian people anti-Greek concessions. They offered the Macedonian people education in the Macedonian language or the right to break away from Greece, which angered many Greeks thus prompting them to act against the Macedonians. In other words, even the good things the Greek communists did for the Macedonian people were done to hurt them. The Macedonian people were simply pawns in a long Greek game.

So the most important question to ask at this point is were the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia sacrificed for the sake of a “revolution” or because of some “perpetrated fraud”? Was

the so-called Greek Civil War a “spontaneous” or a “planned” war to eradicate the communists and to get rid of the Macedonians? Because, as we will show, the top Communist Party of Greece leadership made every effort to control this war so that the Macedonians could not win and so that the communists would lose. To make sure the Macedonians did not win, the CPG made sure no Macedonians entered top political or military positions. In fact the top CPG political and military positions were occupied by the likes of Nikos Zahariadis and Markos Vafiadis, both Turkish colonists from Asia Minor who had the most to lose if the Macedonians won. Also, every time the Macedonians tried to build and strengthen their own political or military forces, the CPG stepped in and stopped them. The only time the Macedonians were allowed to lift up their heads was when the Greek communists needed them to make more sacrifices.

There are many other questions that we will ask and attempt to answer. For example: Why were Macedonian organizations created in Yugoslavia and sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to prepare for war, at a point in time when all wars had ended and the world was divided into spheres of influence? Why were Macedonians told to go to Greek occupied Macedonia and fight to re-unite Macedonia at a time when the iron curtain was down and ran through Macedonia dividing Greek occupied Macedonia from the other parts of Macedonia?

The architects of the “Greek Civil War” were well-aware that re-uniting Macedonia at this point in time was impossible and very dangerous. The United States of America and England were against re-uniting Macedonia and such an attempt was suicidal. The United States of America and England were prepared to start World War III to keep Greece intact and under their influence. Both Tito, the leader of communist Yugoslavia, and Stalin, the leader of the communist Soviet Union, knew that! So why then did they push the Macedonian people into a suicidal war? Both Tito and Stalin knew that Stalin had given Greece to England at Yalta, so why push the Macedonian people into a war that they knew would destroy them?

To answer these questions we need to look at the outcome of this so-called Greek Civil War. England, the United States, the Western

world in general and the Greek political right wanted to destroy the communists in Greece while England and every Greek of every faction wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece. The Macedonian people were standing in the way of Greek and Western interests in Greece so a situation needed to be created to remove them. In other words the Macedonian people were put in a situation where they had to fight and die or permanently leave their homeland. This is exactly what happened in the end and this falls exactly in line with England's and Greece's long-term objectives. Both England and Greece wanted to get rid of the Macedonians from Greece and have a Macedonia without Macedonians! In the end, the Greek communists made that possible.

Another hard question to ask is did the Macedonian leaders and people in general in Greek occupied Macedonia know what was happening to them during the terrible decade? Did they know that they were being played in order to serve foreign interests? Did they know that they were headed for genocide?

This basically was the situation that the Macedonian people found themselves in during WW II and the Greek Civil War.

The Macedonian people in World War Two

On March 23, 1939, Italian troops landed in Albania occupying its territory and initiating World War Two. Then, on October 28, 1940, soon after consolidating control in Albania, Italy declared war on Greece.

By the end of April, 1941, after Germany, Italy and Bulgaria occupied Greece, Greek occupied Macedonia was divided into three occupied zones: Eastern Macedonia east from the river Struma along with Thrace was occupied by Fascist Bulgaria, the southern part of Kostur Region, Kozheni Region and part of Lerin Region was occupied by Fascist Italy and central Macedonia to Solun was occupied by Fascist Germany.

The Germans and Italians did not care one way or another about Macedonian affairs as long as there was no trouble for them so the Macedonian people were not prohibited from expressing their Macedonian sentiments and from speaking their Macedonian language, like they were under Greek control. As a result, the Macedonian people felt culturally free.

The biggest trouble the Macedonian people faced during the occupation came from armed Greeks and Greek quislings who allied themselves with the new occupiers. The Greeks on all sides had an inherent hatred for Macedonians and abused them at every opportunity, even under foreign occupation. The occupiers allowed them because they served their purpose. That was until the Macedonian people had had enough and began to rebel, not against the occupiers but against the mistreatment they were receiving from the Greek armed gangs serving the occupiers. And since the Germans did not care to help them, many Macedonians began to flee to the mountains and became outlaws. This was not the case with the Italian occupiers however who understood the Macedonian problem with the Greeks, especially in areas where Macedonians were a majority and still abused, so the Italians decided to allow them (more on this later) to arm themselves.

After Fascist Italy capitulated on September 8, 1943, the Macedonian armed bands remained behind and most of them stood

guard protecting the Macedonian people. The Bulgarian Fascists tried to infiltrate them but with little success. The biggest problem they faced was the Greek propaganda which labeled them “autonomists” and “fascists” working for the Bulgarian cause.

There were, however, other armed bands such as the “Ohrana” which had succumbed to Bulgarian influence and turned against their own people but most bands consisted of patriotic Macedonians who fought for Macedonian interests. In this story and in my books I call these bands “counter-bands”.

The Macedonians who began to flee to the mountains in 1941 eventually formed their own Macedonian organizations. In this story and in my books I call them “partisans” or “resistance forces”. As their numbers increased they also began to form armed groups and defend themselves and their villages from the Greek armed bands serving the occupiers.

I should mention that these Macedonian armed groups rarely attacked the occupiers, especially the Germans because the Germans had strict rules about being engaged in armed conflicts and in ambushes. One of those rules was that if the partisans killed even a common German soldier the Germans would publicly execute more than a dozen, randomly selected innocent civilians from the local population. As a result the partisans stayed away from the Germans until much later, after the Greek liberation movement began to organize in February 1942.

After fascist Germany, Italy and Bulgaria consolidated their control in Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greek communists were the first to rebel. They formed a national liberation front (EAM) on September 27, 1941 in response to the new regimes taking power and called for the entire Greek population, including the Macedonians, to resist fascism.

After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the communists in Greece went on alert and began to accelerate their revolutionary activities.

I should mention at this point that it was by no accident that communists began to organize in Greece first during the triple occupation; not for ideological reasons, but to protect Greece from being “liberated” by the Slav communists from the north. Because the communists took charge of Greece during and after the occupation, the Comintern naturally assumed that Greece would join the communist block of countries and there would be no need for the Red Army to invade and liberate it. Also, because communists were in charge of Greece it was assumed that the Balkan communist countries would work together for their common interest. But when the Greek communists were invited to join the other Balkan communists and form a common communist Balkan liberation movement and headquarters, the Greek communists opted out.

Then, when the top Greek communist leaders were expected to look north to Moscow and to Stalin for their salvation, they abruptly turned west towards England, which at the time was viewed as their mortal enemy. Naturally one would want to know why?

Why would the Greek communists want England, a capitalist country, to be their “friend” instead of a communist superpower such as the USSR?

The answer is simple; England promised to give the Greeks what they wanted most and that was to keep Greece intact and out of Slavic hands, whereas the USSR offered them a Balkan federation without Greek Macedonia. Also, let us not forget that England created Greece and the Greek elite were loyal to it. England, as we know, created Greece in order to keep Russia out of Mediterranean waters. Therefore England was willing to do everything in its power to keep Greece intact and out of communist hands. That is why Churchill, Britain’s Prime Minister, insisted that Greece remain under British influence in his meeting with Stalin in Yalta in October 1944, at the time when Churchill and Stalin were deciding how to divide the Balkans.

England even took further steps to ensure Greece remained intact and under its influence by entrusting it to people it could count on. England entrusted Greece to the CPG because it could count on its top leaders to safeguard it and keep it out of communist hands.

England made sure its own agents, Siantos and Zahariadis led the CPG at critical times. For more information on these two individuals see the section entitled “Personalities” in this book. Another benefit of having the CPG liberate Greece was because it had the power to rally the Macedonians and the Greek working class. And, as we know, the Macedonian people and the Greek working class did spill their blood and did liberate Greece but not for themselves. The Greek communists made sure Greece was handed back to the bourgeoisie.

I should also mention at this point that it was by no accident that the communists in Greece gave the Macedonian people a new name; “Slavo-Macedonians”. The Greeks from the entire political spectrum, including the communists, did not want to publicly admit that Macedonians existed in Greece so, after Greece acquired Macedonian territories, the Greeks began to refer to Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia as “endopii” (locals or indigenous). Then, when the Greek communists needed Macedonian assistance they, out of the blue, ambiguously began to refer to them as “Slavo-Macedonians” meaning “Slavic speaking Greeks who lived in Macedonia”.

The word “Macedonians” in the reference “Slavo-Macedonians” was strategically placed to fool the Macedonian people into believing that the communists had recognized them as “Macedonians”. For the rest of the world the word “Slav” was purposely placed there to make the Macedonian people look like they were from a Slavic stock not indigenous to Macedonia and not related to the Ancient Macedonians. This became obvious when the Republic of Macedonia became independent in 1991, during which time Greece made it clear to the world that the Slavic speaking Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia had nothing to do with the Ancient Macedonians from 2,300 years ago. In fact, Greece went as far as calling the Turkish Christian colonists and settlers it deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia in the 1920’s “the real Macedonians and descendants of the Ancient Macedonians” while maintaining that the Slavic speaking Macedonians were a creation of Tito and were not Macedonians at all.

This should give you an idea of how far Greece is willing to go to keep the existence of Macedonians in Greece or anywhere in the world, a secret. The term “Slavophone” came into public use during the CPG Central Committee 8th Plenum, held in January 1942, when the CPG decided to treat the Macedonian people as a “Slavophone minority” so as not to let them fall under Bulgarian influence. The CPG did this to stop the minorities in Greece, especially the so-called “Slavophone” Macedonians, from being seduced by the current occupiers because of the oppression they suffered in the past under Greek rule. However, the name “Slavo-Macedonians” was introduced on an ethnic map of Macedonia in 1918 by Sotiriadis, a Greek by origin. Greek scientists at the time were charged with finding a new name for the Macedonian people living in Greek occupied Macedonia.

More Macedonians began to join the liberation movement in Greece after the Atlantic Charter was made public in August 1941. The Atlantic Charter gave the Macedonian people new hope and a chance to become independent of Greece; that is if they fought on the side of the allies, which they did. Even more Macedonians joined the partisans in Greek occupied Macedonia when they found out that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia were rebelling against the occupiers and preparing to create their own independent Republic of Macedonia within a Yugoslav federation.

The first anti-fascist war for national liberation in the Republic of Macedonia began on October 11, 1941. Today October 11 is the “Second Ilinden” for all Macedonians everywhere in the world.

In February 1942, EAM (Greek national liberation movement) and the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) decided to create a new Greek army, appropriately named ELAS. The first ELAS unit in Greek occupied Macedonia was created in Kostur Region on December 7, 1942 and consisted of 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs.

After the CPG created ELAS it began to ban Macedonian armed groups and forcibly disband them. The Macedonian partisans were then inducted into ELAS units.

ELAS began its campaign against the occupiers in earnest on December 3, 1942 with its first attack on a Greek gendarme post guarding a bridge in Boemidzhki, Gumendzhe Region. ELAS units successfully destroyed the Greek gendarme killing all the German guards and capturing the gendarmes. ELAS bombed and destroyed the bridge along with a German train traveling over it. The train engineer and a German officer (a major) on the train were killed. One hundred and twenty regular partisans and two hundred and fifty volunteers from the neighbouring Gumendzhe villages took part in this operation.

On the night of December 7, 1942, the same ELAS units attacked the Mavrodendro mine near the village Fanos, and took large amounts of dynamite and other items.

On December 7, 1942, the first partisan ELAS unit was formed in Kostur Region which consisted mostly of Macedonian men and women. Of the total number of partisans in this unit 70% were Macedonian.

As punishment for destroying the German train, bombing the bridge and attacking the watch tower, the Germans, killed 25 innocent people in Solun. And this is how the uprising against the occupiers began in Greece.

After that ELAS units began to concentrate their actions against Greek gendarmes and armed groups.

The next turning point for ELAS, for the Macedonian partisan armed groups and for the counter-band groups, was the Red Army's victory in the battle for Stalingrad which lasted from January 10 to February 2, 1943. After the Red Army gained strategic advantage it forced the Germans to retreat toward the Dnieper River. At the same time joint British and American forces took over Sicily and began preparations to land troops in Normandy and Italy.

In the meantime on February 18, 1943, the Italians and Bulgarians in Kostur Region decided to recruit and arm more Macedonian counter-bands and have them fight against the partisans and against the people's liberation movement in general. While this was going

on, on February 24, 1943, another partisan unit was formed from the existing Macedonian armed groups in Kostur Region. The first Lerin Region Macedonian partisan unit called “Vicho” was formed in the village Lagen on February 28, 1943. Among the first fighters to join this unit was Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, who later became a key player in the resistance movement. A few days later more Macedonians enlisted bringing the number to thirty five. A little later the Germans began to create and dispatch more Greek armed quisling terror gangs and unleash them on the civilian population. One such armed gang was formed in Kailiari Region from the Turkish Christian settlers and colonists from Asia Minor who were deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia during the 1920s. Later the Germans created more such gangs including the one in Enidzhe-Vardar Region consisting of five hundred armed criminals, thugs and assassins. This gang was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Poullos, a Greek who collaborated with the Germans. These terror gangs were granted freedom of action and to act together with the quisling Greek police and gendarmerie. They were allowed to carry out blockades in the Macedonian villages and other populated areas and terrorize the people, especially those who were associated with and supported the partisans and the people’s liberation movement. These gangs were allowed to place curfews and control the people’s movements. Movement in and out of the controlled settlements was not possible without their special approval. In time, by acting independently, these German sponsored Greek armed gangs together with the Italian and Bulgarian sponsored counter-bands intensified their terror campaign against the Macedonian civilian population and against the partisans.

These same gangs were later deployed by the occupiers to provide security support for their bases and movements as well as to inform the occupiers of imminent partisan attacks. They were also deployed on the entire road network from the Yugoslav-Greek to the Greek-Albanian border in order to protect the bridges, telephone and telegraph lines, and to participate in arrest operations in clearing the ground of partisans. They were also required to join the occupying forces in combat operations against the partisan units in the liberated settlements.

When the Macedonian people in Kostur Region had had enough of these Greek belligerent bands they formed the “Macedonian Committee” for Kostur Region which appeared on March 5, 1943. A group of forty-eight villagers, representatives of the various villages in Kostur Region convened and decided to form the “Macedonian Committee” for Kostur Region whose aim was to defend the sixty villages in that region. The Italians, as I mentioned earlier, allowed them to arm themselves in order to protect themselves from the Greeks. The first Macedonian armed counter-band was formed in Kostur and consisted of 9,850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek nationalist gangs. But, the moment the “Macedonian Committee” was formed the Greek communists began a fierce propaganda campaign against it, labeling it “fascist”, “autonomist”, “Bulgarian”, etc., in order to discourage Macedonians from joining it and to make sure it looked like it was anti-liberation and anti-partisan.

As the liberation movement began to intensify the quislings also intensified their terror activities against the civilian population, prompting more Macedonians to join the Macedonian armed groups which, in spite of being prohibited by the Greek communists, continued to exist and grow resulting in the unit “Gotse Delchev” to be formed on May 22, 1943 in the village Prekopana, Lerin Region. This unit was formed by combining fighters from the “Dame Gruev” unit of the Republic of Macedonia and from newly recruited local fighters. By this time Macedonian armed partisan units from the Republic of Macedonia were crossing over the Greek-Yugoslav border and making contact not only with local Macedonian armed partisan units but also with the Macedonian population. My father told me a story one time which went something like this: One morning the entire village (Oshchima) was alarmed at the site of armed men in uniforms descending down the mountain from Besfina. The people thought they were Greeks coming down to destroy the village but were quickly reassured by the local partisans that they were Macedonians from the Republic of Macedonia. According to my father this was the first time the people of Oshchima learned about what was going on across the border, about liberation plans and about forming an independent Republic of Macedonia. The Greeks did their best to keep the Macedonian people in the dark.

But, as much as the Greek communists did not want the Macedonian partisans to exist, at the time they had no power to stop them. Unfortunately it did not take long before the CPG began to exploit them. Towards the end of May 1943, the CPG decided to form a special Macedonian unit in Lerin Region composed exclusively of Macedonian fighters and appointed Paskal Mitrevski, who later became a key figure in the resistance movement, as its commander. In addition to performing combat duties, this unit was also responsible for spreading propaganda aimed against the “Macedonian Committee” in Kostur Region to convince the Macedonian counter-bandits not to support it. But despite its successes, the CPG disbanded the unit for “unknown reasons”.

As I mentioned earlier, representatives from the Greek, Yugoslav and Albanian communist parties met on June 20, 1943, and agreed to establish mutual co-operation between the national liberation forces in all the Balkan countries in order to liberate the Balkans. They agreed in principle that it was necessary to establish mutual cooperation and, above all, unity of action involving all the communist national liberation forces in the Balkans by creating a single command under one chief general staff. They were all aware that by forming a single Balkan general headquarters, they would be able to draw more support and amplify the people’s liberation struggle. Having one general staff would also make it possible to stamp out “chauvinistic tendencies”, contribute to strengthening the unity of the Balkan people and provide new forces in the struggle for a final and universal victory for democracy in the Balkans. They agreed that this would also eliminate or at least minimize all difficulties and, after the fascist occupiers were expelled, pave the way for creating a Balkan federation. But, even though the Greek representatives agreed and signed the agreement the top CPG leadership outright rejected it. On top of that the CPG initiated a new program to form a youth organization it called EPON (All Greek National Youth Organization) and charged it with implementing a cultural and artistic theatre as well as choral programs and activities. These Greek cultural events, Greek staged dramas, Greek revolutionary songs, Greek national poetry and Greek folk dances, were to be about the struggles of the Greek

people, and were to be aimed at the Macedonian settlements in Greek occupied Macedonia.

The Macedonian “Dame Gruev” unit from Bitola which participated with the “Vicho” and “Gotse Delchev” units in Greek occupied Macedonia in disarming counter-bands in the Kostur Region villages, on July 1, 1943, pulled out and left for Bitola. In the meantime during the four months after its formation the “Vicho” unit had grown to more than eighty fighters. On July 20, 1943 this unit was split into four smaller units. The “Vicho” unit, the “Kaimakchalan” unit commanded by Ilia Dimovski - Gotse, the “Bigla” unit commanded by Mito Tupurkovski – Titan and the “Dauli” unit. They were each named after the mountains where they operated. In September 1943, the “Lazo Trpovski” unit was formed in Kostur Region. This unit was appropriately named after Lazo Trpovski, a well-deserved fighter and political leader from this region, killed by a band of Greek collaborators.

On the international stage in the meantime, after Stalin dissolved the Comintern on May 15, 1943, under pressure from the USA and Great Britain to allow each communist party to decide on national matters on its own, the CPG on July 2, 1943, declared that: “While waiting for the ultimate goal - socialism, the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Greece - is today fighting for national liberation, and then, after the war is over, it will fight for a people’s democracy...” In other words the CPG decided to split its struggle in two parts, giving Greece’s liberation first priority and socialism second. At the same time, on July 5, 1943, the CPG drafted an agreement to put ELAS under the command of the British Military Mission at Allied Headquarters for the Middle East and to work with the forces of the National and Social Renaissance (EKKA) and the National Democratic Greek Alliance (EDES), that is, its former opponents. The CPG did this to unite all political forces in Greece and to create a coalition government. As I said before, instead of looking north to ally itself with the Balkan communist parties, the Communist Party of Greece turned west to ally itself with capitalist England. The agreement was signed on July 16, 1943, by ELAS Commander Sarafis and English Mission Military Chief Colonel Edie Mayers. By this agreement ELAS was recognized as an army and was subordinated to Middle East Command.

This was done without Macedonian consent even though out of the 70,000 ELAS fighters, 40,000 were Macedonians. Based on this Agreement, the EDES quisling forces, led by Colonel Napoleon Zervas, and those of EKKA, led by Colonel Psaros, were to also be placed under English command. EDES and EKKA were organized by the Greek bourgeoisie and the English to fight against EAM and ELAS. As a result English officers, mainly Intelligence Service agents, began to occupy posts in ELAS supreme headquarters as well as in all larger ELAS unit headquarters. The English, of course, lost no time in creating their own extended networks consisting of well paid domestic spies. They successfully did this with ease and with little to no resistance. According to information provided by Vasilis Bardzhotas, member of the CPG politburo: “All large units, divisions and groups of divisions were actually placed in the hands of the Intelligence Service...”

Around July 18 and 19, 1943, after a twenty day campaign in the Lerin and Kostur Regions, the “Gotse Delchev” unit broke away and crossed over into the Republic of Macedonia. Then, on July 20, 1943, Macedonian partisans active on Vicho and western Kaimakchalan met in the village Belkamen, Lerin Region, and decided to re-organize the Macedonian forces into three units. The first was to be led by Aetos and operate in Vicho. The second was to be led by Ilia Dimovski – Gotse and operate in Bigla – Koreshtata and the third was ordered to go to western Kaimakchalan. But because the majority of the leaders and fighters in these units were Macedonian it did not bode well with the Communist Party of Greece, which objected bitterly but the Macedonians continued to conduct business as usual and recruit more Macedonian fighters from an overwhelming pool of volunteers.

There was also the matter of the “Macedonian Committee” and other counter-bands and their armed units still active in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions. These bands mistrusted all Greeks including the CPG, EAM and ELAS. Being “concerned” about their existence but unable to do something about it, the communist leadership sought outside help. The help came in the form of a suggestion, not from a Greek but from a Yugoslav, more precisely from a Montenegrin code named Tempo. Svetozar Vukmanovich-

Tempo was a CPY Central Committee delegate in Macedonia, who during a meeting with Siantos, CPG General Secretary, in August 1943, suggested that Siantos create a special Macedonian military unit in Greek occupied Macedonia for the purpose of leading, agitating and spreading propaganda in the Macedonian language.

In September 1943, the CPG leadership opened Greek elementary schools in the areas under ELAS control in the western part of Greek occupied Macedonia so that Macedonian children would be taught Greek which, of course, bitterly upset the Macedonian people, including the Macedonian fighters who were fighting in the liberation struggle.

On September 8, 1943, Fascist Italy capitulated leaving the counter-bands in Kostur Region on their own which prompted many Macedonian counter-bandits to join the partisans. During the same month, by orders from the 28th regiment of the National Liberation Army of Greece, Ilia Dimovski – Gotse's unit was transferred to Gramos where it remained until December of the same year when it was again ordered to return to Vicho to help put down enemy activities in that region.

On October 3, 1943, about 250 counter-bandits joined up with a German unit of about 300 soldiers and attacked the partisan positions in the areas near the villages Nestram, Radigozha and Chuka, all populated by Macedonians. During the three days of fighting many houses were destroyed by fire and a large number of crimes were committed.

On October 10, 1943, as I mentioned earlier, the popular "Lazo Trpovski" unit was created by the CPG Regional Committee for Kostur Region which attracted a massive number of recruits from the Macedonian population. The CPG District Committee's decision was made at ELAS XXVIII Regiment Headquarters and the unit was formed at the foot of Mount Malimadi near the village D'mbeni, Kostur Region. When it was formed the unit had 28 fighters. It was created from a local partisan group of fighters, mostly from the village Smrdesh, Kostur Region, who earlier acted in that area under ELAS, and from a group of Macedonians who had just returned from Bulgaria. The unit was part of the ELAS XXVIII

Regiment and acted under ELAS command. The “Lazo Trpovski” unit lasted only two months before it was disbanded in December 1943 and its fighters were absorbed into the ELAS XXVIII regiment units which acted in the area of Mount Vicho.

October 20, 1943, during a meeting in the village D’mbeni, Kostur Region, a separate Macedonian organization called SNOF (Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front) was created. SNOF was allowed to recruit fighters under its military wing called the Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Army (SNOV). We must remember however, that the people who created SNOF were Greeks who belonged to the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia. SNOF was created for the purpose of disbanding the “Macedonian Committee” and its counter-bands. After the first month it was created SNOF membership rose to about 6,000 of whom 1,834 were women.

At the same time the English were working very hard to maintain Greece’s integrity. According to a British classified telegram, sent on January 2, 1944, the British Prime Minister said that the English were doing their utmost to preserve the Greek territory and to prevent any threat to Greek Macedonia from developing. “The news that we are taking such a strong line on Greece’s behalf”, said the telegram, “should please the Archbishop and other Greek politicians and might promote unity among them. On the other hand, we must realize that if this information is given to the Archbishop and if he is allowed to pass it on, it will immediately become public property. I am very doubtful that this would be advisable at least until we know whether the United States and Soviet Governments are in agreement with us. There have been innumerable reports about propaganda which is being conducted in favour of an independent Macedonia and of incursions by Yugoslav and Bulgarian partisans into Greek territory. Almost all reports state that EAM are in close touch with these Slav forces, and there is enough evidence that Bulgarian units are taking part on the attack on the Zervas (Greek political right). If EAM are in fact assisting or even supporting these pro-Macedonian activities, they will lose a great deal of support even amongst their own members. For the moment people in Athens and most other areas of Greece have so much to think about that they cannot pay attention to events in the north, but once they have time for

reflection the Slav danger to Greece should work strongly against EAM and in favour of Greek unity” concluded the telegram. Also in January 1943, The CPG leadership, through its Central Committee 10th Plenum, made a request from the Allies (English) to support Greece’s “strategic security” on its northern borders. Then on February 24, 1944, the CPG signed the Plaka Agreement (see the section entitled “agreements” in this book) to end hostilities between ELAS and EDES.

On March 13, 1944, London Radio officially recognized that “The Greek Communists, in their eternal honour, were the first to cast themselves in the patriotic struggle against the occupiers in Greece.”

The CPG’s refusal to accept the existence of a “Macedonian Question” was made very clear by Leonidas Stringos, CPG Regional Committee Secretary for Greek occupied Macedonia and Thrace, during the District Plenary meeting held in May 1944, in the village Zhupan. Among other things Stringos said: “There is no Macedonian National Question for the CPG.” He proved his point by making reference to the demographic changes in Greek occupied Macedonia which now, he said, hold true that 90% of the population living in Greek occupied Macedonia is Greek. This of course resulted in the dissolution of SNOF and SNOV in the beginning of May 1944. The CPG disbanded SNOF and SNOV because, according to the CPG “these organizations had become an obstacle in the CPG’s negotiations with the Greek government in exile and with the other coalition government parties scheduled to meet in mid-May 1944”. The Greek communists suddenly and unexpectedly denounced the Macedonian organizations calling them redundant and useless and demanded that they be dismantled and the fighters be merged with the Greek Liberation Front (EAM). They argued that “duplicate organizations with the same aims were not needed” and that “national unity could not possibly be achieved by having redundant organizations”. In the beginning of May 1944, during a CPG conference held in the village Mogila, Kostur Region, a final decision was made to break up the Macedonian organizations. A similar decision was also made during a conference held in the village Lagen, Lerin Region, and another one in the Macedonian ward in Voden. Naturally and justifiably the Macedonian people found it hard to accept this, especially since Macedonians had built

these organizations through struggle and personal sacrifice. The fact that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia were having their own organizations, their own army, their own general headquarters and their recognized right to separate as an ethnic Macedonian identity, made the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia feel like they were taking steps backwards. Besides being stripped of their right to be recognized as an ethnic Macedonian identity in Greece, these Macedonians began to lose everything they had worked for, even the rights they had achieved thus far. This was not only unacceptable, it was incomprehensible. In addition to breaking up the Macedonian National Liberation Front's (SNOF's) political body, the CPG leadership also disbanded its fighters (SNOV) and forced them to join ELAS. This was not what Macedonians wanted and naturally created negative feelings towards the communist Greeks, which did not go unnoticed by the Fascists and directly fueled the autonomist propaganda which began to work hard to attract these disgruntled Macedonians who found themselves robbed not only of their rights but also of their dignity. The kind of politics the CPG was conducting was neither new nor unknown to the Macedonian leadership. As early as January 1944 Lazo Damovski, the secretary of the regional council of the Macedonian National Liberation Front for Kostur Region, addressed the CPG council for Macedonia and warned of this. On January 24, 1944 Damovski wrote: "The conditions created by World War II for the liberation movements in all of occupied Europe including the Balkans have opened new roads for the self-determination of all people. Macedonians are no exception. Macedonians have spilled blood in the 1903 Ilinden Uprising and are now fighting, spilling blood and making sacrifices to gain their freedom from the Fascists. Our friends in Vardar (Republic) Macedonia are going in the right direction..." "The Macedonians in Lerin and Kostur Regions represent the majority of the population (70%) and are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people. When they become liberated, will they, according to the Atlantic Charter, have the rights to self declare? Will they be granted the promised rights?" "The CPG promised the Macedonian people equal rights within the framework of a Peoples Republic of Greece, the same way it promised the people of the Dodekanis and Cyprus. If the CPG is serious about delivering on those promises when will it then allow the Macedonian people to freely express their ethnic culture? When

will it let the Macedonians fight for their own ideals and for composing something unique to show that they are truly Macedonians? Is the CPG really afraid of being criticized by the chauvinist elements? If so, how then does it propose to form ‘national unity’ and not receive any criticism? Does the CPG truly understand the Macedonian question? Because if it doesn’t it better learn it fast and start facing reality and make the right decision...” One by one the CPG ordered all regional Macedonian National Liberation Front (SNOF) wards to close down and all fighters to disband and join the ranks of ELAS. This however was not what the Macedonians wanted and some began to show dissatisfaction.

In its short life, which lasted only six months, SNOF in Kostur Region emerged as a strong leader for the Macedonian people from the early days of its formation to the last day when it was disbanded. Almost the entire population from the Koreshtata villages and other parts of Kostur Region was organized in SNOF. All the “Macedonian Committee” counter-bands in the villages that were armed by the occupying forces, one by one, surrendered their arms and joined SNOF. SNOF’s peaceful tactics of persuasion and its agitation through the Macedonian language press contributed a great deal to not only the surrender of arms but also in convincing members of the counter-bands to join the ranks of SNOF and ELAS. During one such call, for example, the SNOF District Board, addressing the armed counter-bandits, said: “Fascism is finding itself in its final minutes. The Red Army is already in Romania and Czechoslovakia and soon will begin a new offensive to liberate the Balkans. This is why we are giving you your last chance; Now is the time, as was said by ELAS Division Nine, for you to hand over your weapons to the ELAS political organizations or to the ELAS military units. The Organization SNOF will guarantee the safety of your life and property. SNOF gives you its word that no one of those of you who surrender your weapons, or joins the Organization, is going to be harmed. Be warned, however, that later, when ELAS starts cleaning up the region, if you have not surrendered we will not be able to help you because by then you shall be deemed an enemy of the people. We are your brothers and we care about you, and for the sake of our Slavo-Macedonian people who need to finish the Ilinden work, do not forsake our glorious history. Join us and help us write new glorious pages. Do not listen to those who want to

prevent you from embarking on the right path...” Unfortunately after SNOF promised all these things it was disbanded and all these promises turned out to be lies. No sooner had the Macedonian patriotic counter-bandits joined ELAS than, one by one, they began to disappear. Most of them left their bones in the fields and mountains believing they were fighting to free and preserve their homeland. Many were abducted, executed and buried in a mass grave in Strashilovo, located between the villages Turie and Bapchor. Many were thrown into the D’mbeni cavern after they were cornered, trapped and executed by the Greek communists. A great number were buried in the large cemetery in the village Aposkep. And even more left their skeletons scattered in the Mountains in Epirus, Vicho and Gramos.

The Macedonian partisans who were dispatched to pacify the Macedonian counter-bandits must have known that Macedonians were fighting against Macedonians, a conflict designed by the Greek communists to target the Macedonian national consciousness, to rip out the Macedonian people’s indigenous roots in order to save Greece which, according to its Greek strategy, wanted to remain a conventional state: “One Greek king, one Greek nation, one Greek church, one Greek language, one Greek state” in which there was no room for Macedonians or non Greek minorities! Even today there are people who don’t believe and don’t want to believe that there was a “Macedonian civil war”, that there were Macedonian partisans serving in the ranks of ELAS who participated in perpetrating “fratricide”, brother killing brother, in the destruction of the Macedonian freedom fighting counter-bandits in Kostur and other regions! The Macedonian freedom fighting bandits were a compact whole with more than 9,800 armed fighters, organized in 64 Kostur Region villages. They were all Macedonians and the majority fought honourably against Hellenism in order to preserve the Macedonian national identity. They bravely stood up to the Greeks and were unwilling to accept Hellenism, but instead of being valorized as national resistance heroes in our history, they have been vilified and called everything else except what they truly were – protectors of the Macedonian people, villages and homes – protectors of our national identity. What is bizarre about all this is that during the Greek Civil War, from 1945 to 1949, many Macedonians were massively enlisted by the CPG, some even by force, including

remnants of the surviving counter-bandits, and placed to serve under almost the same commanders the likes of Markos, Himaros, Arianos and others, who in fact were responsible for the destruction of the Macedonian counter-bands! The CPG violently destroyed the Macedonian counter-band movement and then forced the surviving counter-bandits, and later their sons, to fight for communism, for an anti-Macedonian ideological struggle. The appearance of the Macedonian freedom fighting counter-bandits was not only unique but an amazing moment in the Macedonian people's history. They were a uniquely Macedonian grass roots movement sparked inside Macedonia by the Macedonian people exactly at the right moment when the Macedonian people were in danger and needed help to survive. The counter-bandits followed the Ilinden traditions and showed respect and dignity for the Macedonian people and culture, and appropriately dealt with those who were there to harm them. The counter-bandits loathed being called "Slavs" and were against the mutation "Slavo-Macedonians" being forced upon the Macedonian people by the Greek state and by the CPG Greek communists. The counter-bandits were truly a child born of necessity which fought for the safety, dignity and preservation of everything that was Macedonian, and thus it had to die... at the hands of its own people. SNOF was created by our enemies, for exactly that purpose; to destroy the Macedonian counter-bands, by deception and at the hands of Macedonians... to commit "fratricide"! SNOF lasted only a short time, until it had served its secret purpose.

The Macedonian partisans who fought to pacify the counter-bands and the counter-bandits who survived the Greek communist onslaught were not happy with the way they were treated by the Greek communists so, in May 1944, many left ELAS and crossed over into the Republic of Macedonia. A large group of Macedonian fighters and activists led by Naum Peiov separated themselves from ELAS in a symbolic protest against the dismantling of SNOF and fled Greek occupied Macedonia. Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, whom I mentioned earlier, was suspended from duty because he was in support of this separation. Similar events also took place in Lerin Region where a group of Macedonian fighters led by Giorgi Turundzhov fled ELAS. Another group from Voden Region also fled but their leader who insisted on forming Macedonian units, was

caught, put in jail and taken away to Mount Paiak. Pursued by ELAS Greek communist forces most of these Macedonian renegade groups crossed over the Yugoslav border and fled into the Republic of Macedonia. These acts of protest demonstrated by the Macedonian partisans were neither forgiven nor forgotten by the CPG-ELAS leaderships. The Greek communists immediately issued orders to hunt down, capture and punish these renegades. Many were captured, accused of subversion and of creating “division” among the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia by allegedly spreading “autonomous ideas” to the population, and killed. In other words the CPG lied its way out by accusing the Macedonians of wanting to split away from Greece instead of admitting that their discontentment was caused by the CPG dismantling SNOF. After the fleeing partisans crossed over into the Republic of Macedonia they joined the resistance movement there. The CPG however was not at all pleased and demanded that they be immediately sent back to Greece. While the partisans explained their reasons for leaving, the CPG insisted that they were “deserters” and needed to be sent back so that “an example” could be made of them. Without bothering to explain the underlying reasons why these fighters fled Greece, the CPG took its case to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and adamantly insisted that they immediately be returned. The CPY however did not give in and used this opportunity to put pressure on the CPG to deliver on its promises to the Macedonian people. Further, the CPY recommended that if the CPG wanted its fighters back then it would have to allow them to form their own Macedonian military units in Voden, Lerin and Kostur Regions. And, from events that followed, the CPG, it appears, took that advice... but for other more sinister reasons.

On May 20, 1944, the CPG and EAM leaderships signed an agreement in Lebanon to form a coalition government with other Greek civilian parties, an act unwelcome by the Macedonians. The Macedonian people viewed the agreement with suspicion because much of its content was insulting and demeaning to them. The agreement called for disarming the Macedonian people and was interpreted as a means to destroy SNOF and the Macedonian national liberation movement in general. The Lebanon Agreement was the end result of the so-called “national unity” with other Greek parties which the CPG so desperately desired to create. The Lebanon

Agreement for forming a “National Unity Government” was signed by the CPG and EAM on one side and by the Georgios Papandreou’s Greek government in exile on the other.

In a complete turnaround, on June 16, 1944, the CPG instigated the formation of the Voden Macedonian ELAS battalion in Kaimakchalan. The announcement was welcome news to the Macedonian youth who began to arrive in massive numbers to join as volunteers. The battalion was camped above the village Gorno Rodivo in Kaimakchalan and every day more than a dozen youths came from the local villages with a single desire, to be soldiers in the Macedonian army. And then there was another surprise, on July 20, 1944, the CPG also instigated the formation of the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian ELAS Battalion. This was done during a meeting held in the village Pozdivishta, Kostur Region. It was formed by combining existing Macedonian armed partisans from the “Trpovski”, “Karaorman” and fighters from SNOV groups.

After these Macedonian battalions were formed, it seems at the suggestion of the CPY, and growing by leaps and bounds with each passing day, the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia held their first session of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of the Republic of Macedonia (ASNOM) on August 2, 1944, at the monastery Sveti Prohor Pchinski. An ASNOM presidium was formed and Metodia Andonov Chento was appointed its first President. A decision was reached to constitute a modern Macedonian Republic that would become part of the new Federal Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, on August 15, 1944, EAM decided to participate in the Georgios Papandreou government as a result of having signed the “Lebanon Agreement” (see the section entitled “agreements” in this book).

On August 21, 1944, the Lerin-Kostur battalion attacked several armed counter-band villages and managed to disarm a number of counter-bandits. At the end of August about 300 counter-bandits from Kostur Region joined the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian battalion which, at the time, belonged to ELAS under the command of Captain Markos Vafiadis. But Captain Markos Vafiadis did not want the Macedonian battalions in Macedonia and demanded that they be transferred to Epirus with new orders. The Greek communists also

showed their discontentment towards the Macedonians on September 3, 1944 when a Macedonian unit entered the city Kostur just as the German military units were withdrawing. After that other ELAS units belonging to the ELAS XXVIII Regiment entered and assumed control of the city. In other words, ELAS refused to allow the Macedonian unit to take over the city, even though it was there first. In fact the Macedonian unit was sharply criticized by Headquarters for taking action without prior authorization and therefore was ordered to withdraw from the city. But that was not all. After Bulgaria capitulated on September 9, 1944, it withdrew its army units. Also with the withdrawal of German forces from Greece, a new situation was created in Greek occupied Macedonia. At this point the CPG saw to it to make it a priority, in the interests of Greece, to restore Greece to its prewar Versailles borders. The Party leadership took action to make sure no separate Macedonian units existed in ELAS. Instead of recognizing the Macedonian contribution, the CPG and EAM did a complete reversal and dropped its recognition of the Macedonian nation in Greek occupied Macedonia, and consequently the Macedonian national liberation movement.

Afraid that the Macedonians would develop their own military capabilities, and perhaps slip out of Greek control, the CPG leadership, on September 10, 1944, made a decision to stop the renewed Macedonian movement (after SNOF) from expanding. The CPG began by first demoting the Macedonian battalion commanders and replacing them with Greeks. For example Ilia Dimovski – Gotse was reduced to captain while Kozmas Spatos – Amintas, a Greek of Albanian descent, was appointed commander of the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian battalion. The CPG then ordered the recruitment to slow down but old communist tricks no longer worked so recruitment continued prompting Stringos, secretary of the CPG Macedonian bureau, to question Renos's rationale for allowing the formation of a battalion when he was ordered to only create one unit in Kostur Region. Renos replied with a question: "And what would have been the damage if divisions were to be created?" To which Stringos replied: "You are so naïve. If the Macedonians had divisions, then we Greeks would not be in Macedonia..." Two days later, on September 12, 1944, the CPG sent orders to put an end to Macedonians recruiting new fighters. In a communiqué to the

Central committee of the Macedonian Bureau, the Communist Party of Greece, among other things, said: “Let it be noted that our side reckons it’s time to stop recruiting fighters from the ranks of the Slavo-Macedonians.” Then it was left up to Markos Vafiadis, then Commissar of the Greek division of the National Liberation Army of Greece for Macedonia, to stop the recruitments. But those orders too were ignored by the Macedonian leadership. The Macedonian battalions continued to accept volunteer Macedonian recruits prompting Markos Vafiadis to send further orders by telegraph to cease the recruitment.

About twelve days later, on September 26, 1944, the Caserta Agreement was signed (see the section entitled “agreements” in this book) Under the Caserta agreement all the resistance forces in Greece were placed under the command of the British. The Caserta Agreement was signed by General Wilson, Commander of Allied Middle East Command, Georgios Papandreou, President of the Greek government, General S. Sarafis, representative of ELAS (the political left) and General N. Zervas, representative of EDES (the political right). ELAS was then immediately placed under the command of Georgios Papandreou’s government. This brought into the forefront the question as to what to do with the Macedonian battalions. The political right, being in direct command of ELAS, did not want to allow the Macedonian battalions to exist because that would provide undeniable proof that a Macedonian population existed in Greece. Also, they posed a danger to Greece’s integrity.

At about the same time, from October 5 to 20, 1944 on the international scene Stalin and Churchill were discussing the Balkan division of spheres of influence in Yalta. The Yalta Agreement that resulted guaranteed that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece. Here is what Churchill wrote in his memoirs about the Balkans: “We arrived in Moscow in the late hours of October 9, 1944. We had our first significant meeting and counseling in the Kremlin the next day. Attending the meeting were Stalin, Molotov, Eden and myself. The Majors Boris and Popov performed the translations...” An agreement was reached on the division of spheres of influence. Under this Agreement, Greece was to fall under the English sphere of influence with rights, if necessary, at any time for England to intervene with all possible means. The

degree of influence agreed to was England 90% Russia 10%. Stalin's attitude towards Greece and the CPG during the war was unclear, even suspicious. From the available evidence we have there is a general indication that Stalin's attitude towards Greece was negative. Stalin thought Greece was a small country and perhaps not a good place for conducting micro-strategic practices for the political interests of the Soviet Union. In the period from April to October 1944, while attending meetings with the British and Americans, Stalin did not bring up any substantial objections to British plans on how Greece was going to be governed.

In the meantime, by October 10, 1944, the Lerin-Kostur Macedonian battalion surpassed 1500 fighters. Immediately after the Macedonian battalions were formed massive numbers of Macedonians began to join their ranks. With these kinds of numbers, it was possible to not only form battalions but brigades and even divisions. When the Lerin-Kostur battalion was formed it had 400 fighters. About a month later, on September 16, 1944, it numbered 650 and by October 10, 1944 the number jumped to 1,500. This was unprecedented for the resistance movement in Greek occupied Macedonia especially since the CPG had entered into the unfavorable Lebanon agreement with its enemy the "political right". This unprecedented growth created panic in the top Greek communist leadership which, on October 10, 1944, prompted ELAS 28th Regiment Headquarters to issue a special proclamation to the fighters of the Lerin-Kostur battalion spelling out their orders to immediately relocate to a new location. It also warned that those who refused would be charged with treason. This ELAS 28th Regiment order literally suggested that individual Macedonian fighters abandon the Lerin-Kostur battalion, weapons and all, move to a new location or be prepared to be declared deserters and traitors to the struggle. Among other things the proclamation said: "...We urge all fighters of the former battalion (Lerin-Kostur) to immediately obey this order and take your arms and ammunition and go to places from where you will be picked up and delivered to the new regiment that is forming in the village Negovan... This is your last warning. Anyone who does not comply with this order will be declared a traitor..." Naturally, Lerin-Kostur Battalion Headquarters energetically rejected the ELAS 28th Regiment order calling it unacceptable and making it clear to the ELAS 28th

Regiment that it reserved the right, in future, to refuse its orders and those of higher ELAS command.

Knowing that it would eventually be attacked on Macedonian soil, in order to avoid bloodshed the Macedonian Lerin-Kostur battalion, on October 13, 1944, crossed over the Greek-Yugoslav border in Prespa and entered the Republic of Macedonia where it was put to good use fighting against the Germans who had entered Bitola-Prilep from Lerin. The Lerin-Kostur Macedonian Battalion managed to survive in the field barely two months, from July 20, 1944 when Renos created it until October 13, 1944. To no one's surprise, the Voden Macedonian battalion did the same on October 16, 1944. Facing prospects of being disarmed and destroyed the Voden Macedonian battalion left Kozhuf Mountain and crossed over the Greek-Yugoslav border in Kavadarsti Region where it entered the Republic of Macedonia. The Voden Macedonian Battalion lasted from June 16, 1944 to October 16, 1944. At about the same time, mid-October 1944, the CPG and ELAS leaderships sent a delegation to visit with the CPM leadership in the Republic of Macedonia in order to discuss options for eliminating the crisis that had occurred in bilateral relations and other issues regarding the Macedonian National Question.

On October 18, 1944, a couple of days after the Macedonian battalions left Greek occupied Macedonia, Georgios Papandreou's government in exile arrived in Athens from Cairo. A couple of weeks later, on October 31, 1944, a large group of English soldiers in armoured vehicles entered Solun supposedly beating ELAS to the punch. Three days later the BBC in London announced that British troops had liberated Solun. In less than a month later, on November 14, 1944, a damning British diplomatic report sent from Leeper to Eden, dated Athens November, 14, 1944, surfaced. Among other things the report revealed secret plans to get rid of the Macedonian population from Greek occupied Macedonia. British Ambassador to Athens Mr. R.A. Leeper, in November 1944, toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote "...and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and

their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.” For more information on British diplomatic reports of this sort and for what happened to the Lerin-Kostur and Voden Macedonian battalions in the Republic of Macedonia see the chronology in this book from “1944 – November 4” to “1944 – November 29”.

In Greece in the meantime, after two reorganizations, that took place on October 24 and November 2, 1944, Papandreou’s government fell apart. Yet, EAM which joined the Papandreou coalition government in August 1944, had difficulties convincing the government to implement the full Lebanon Agreement which required all armed groups to be disarmed. So, on November 29, 1944, in order to avoid a conflict the EAM government coalition Ministers made every effort to submit a proposal for the full implementation of the Lebanon Agreement, but unfortunately Papandreou refused to accept it. At the same time EAM was a hugely massive organization and ELAS was a many times larger armed force than the other groups combined, numbering around 70,000 fighters, yet EAM still was unable to convince the other parties that it should lead the “government of national unity”. As a result and to avoid an armed conflict in Athens, EAM agreed to capitulate and disarm the resistance movement after which, on December 1, 1944, British Commander Scobey issued an order demanding that all members of ELAS surrender their weapons. At the same time Papandreou declared that: “He could not accept the proposal put forth by EAM Ministers for the simultaneous disarmament of all volunteer units and for the formation of a unique grouping.” That same evening on December 1, 1944, late at night, all EAM ministers resigned which then opened the doors for further conflict. And as I mentioned earlier, the Papandreou government fell apart on December 2, 1944, just one month after its last re-organization.

The new government, headed by Nikolaos Plastiras, lasted less than two months before it too fell apart.

In the meantime, on December 3, 1944, the English began a military intervention against ELAS in Athens. Given the situation the fighters and officers of the Macedonian brigade in the Republic of Macedonia, formed from the Lerin-Kostur and Voden battalions, could not remain indifferent about what was happening in Greece, being aware that defeat of the democratic forces in Greece would worsen the situation for the Macedonian people. The Macedonian leaders were all in agreement that there was a need to explore all means to help ELAS, which meant first-hand involvement in the conflict. This meant that the Macedonian brigade created in the Republic of Macedonia from the battalions that fled earlier, needed to cross the border and re-enter Greece. At this point the Macedonian leadership contemplated this question searching for conditions under which to become involved. One suggestion was: "Leave immediately for down there (Greek occupied Macedonia). Get agreement from the Greek Communist Party and fight like democrats under its leadership without pretensions..." Another suggestion was: "You need not wait to be pacified by the parties. Take your own initiative and go down there without asking for anything from the Communist Party of Greece. As long as you stay here you tolerate liability. Down there (Greece) it is not only Greece's and Macedonia's fate that is decided, but that of all the Balkan nations..." Four or five days later a joint meeting was held between the brigade's headquarters and the political committee. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss circumstances under which it would be appropriate for the brigade and all the Macedonian fighters from Greek occupied Macedonia who were presently in Yugoslavia to return to Greece. There was also the question of how to engage in the struggle on the side of ELAS and how to communicate their circumstances to the Communist Party of Greece. Some of the leaders insisted on going to Greece as a distinct people; they insisted that the brigade should have its own headquarters, its own flag with the five ray star and be recognized as a Macedonian army. Contrary to that, others suggested that such conditions were not necessary. Yet others suggested that Macedonians should have a political committee situated inside the city Lerin.

In the meantime EAM organized a countrywide rally on the same day, December 3, 1944, during which the Greek police shot at demonstrators, killing several people and wounding many others.

What followed after that was thirty-three days of bloodshed in Athens dubbed the “1944 December events”. The demonstrators in Athens began to march towards Constitutional Square where they were shot at by the police. Fighting at the time was isolated to Athens and continued until January 1945 when both sides agreed to talk. Meetings were held at Varkiza, a seaside resort near Athens, and a treaty was signed on February 12, 1945 by the Right, Left and the British. Among other things, the Varkiza Treaty called for (a) EAM to disband ELAS, (b) legalize the CPG and (c) hold a referendum on the return of the monarchy. ELAS troops were to be given political amnesty for the return of their weapons, people were to be guaranteed free speech, martial law was to be lifted and people were to be given amnesty for all political crimes.

A few days later, on December 14, 1944, CPG and ELAS representatives in Yugoslavia went to Bitola and asked for the brigade to be disbanded and for its fighters to enlist in ELAS units, or at least surrender their arms to ELAS. The brigade’s leadership did not agree and both parties went to Skopje to discuss the situation with the Republic of Macedonia’s leadership. In the meantime orders came from Tito prohibiting the brigade from going to Greece because the brigade now was part of the Yugoslav army.

At the same time the December events in Greece were rekindled with the arrival of Churchill in Athens, accompanied by British Foreign Minister Eden, Commander of the Middle East forces Alexander and by Minister for the Middle East McMillan. Under the protection of British tanks the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on December 26 and 27, 1944, held a conference attended by representatives of the various political parties, the president of the Greek government Georgios Papandreou, the regent candidate Archbishop of Athens Damaskinos and Nikolaos Plastiras (candidate for President of the Greek government). Attending from the CPG and EAM side were EAM Secretary and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo Dimitrios Partsalidis. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the two allied Great Powers: US ambassador to Athens McCabe and representative of the Soviet Union Colonel Popov.

In the meantime, this was what the internationals were thinking about the situation in Greece around this time based on the following classified telegram issued on January 31, 1945, from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Secretary of State for External Affairs Canada. CIRCULAR D. 182. My telegram circular D. 159 of January 26th. Macedonia: In light of the information regarding Bulgarian Government readiness to cede Bulgarian Macedonia to Yugoslavia, contained in my telegram under reference, we instructed Brigadier MacLean to speak to Tito and convey to him our views on questions of Macedonia and Yugoslav-Bulgarian Federation as set out in my telegram Circular D. 1 of January 1st. At the same time, Brigadier MacLean was to inform Tito that we have noted with satisfaction the assurance he has already given (see my telegram Circular D. 1796 of December 12th, paragraph 3). That he has no aggressive intention against Macedonia and that any Yugoslav claims will be raised in an orderly fashion at the Peace Conference. Brigadier MacLean spoke to Tito as instructed on January 26th. Tito reported that he was convinced that this was not the time to try to establish a federation with Bulgaria or any other neighbours of Yugoslavia and that he had no intention of attempting to do so in present circumstances. He also indicated once again that he had no intention of trying to annex territory from Greece or Bulgaria before the Peace Conference when he would put forward any claim he might have in the proper way. Acting on instructions, British Political Representative at Sofia has also informed Bulgarian Government of our views as follows; while we should welcome a confederation between all Balkan States both Allied and enemy, and including possibly Turkey, we could not approve an exclusive union or federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Moreover, while we are prepared to agree to the creation of a Macedonian State in the future Federal Yugoslavia, we should be strongly opposed to the creation of a greater Macedonian State involving claims on Greek territory. We, therefore, look with disfavour on the activities of Macedonian propagandists in Bulgaria which the Bulgarian Government appear to have condoned and we do not recognize the rights of the Bulgarian Government to transfer, without the consent of the United Nations, any part of Bulgarian territory to the Yugoslav Federal State of Macedonia. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

After the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, requiring all bands in Greece to demobilize and surrender their weapons (see the section entitled “agreements” in this book), the British, once again, confirmed their allegiance to the Greek Government by giving Athens full political and military support, committing their willingness to fight to prevent a communist victory. The biggest losers of the Varkiza agreement were the Macedonians. As soon as the agreement was signed, all anti-Macedonian laws were back in force and the Macedonian people lost all that they had gained during the fascist occupation, including the right to form their own state as per the Atlantic Charter.

In other words, the Communist Party of Greece made absolutely no effort to safeguard the safety or the rights it had offered the Macedonian people when it signed the agreements with England. This was not only a betrayal, but left the Macedonian people vulnerable to persecution from the Greek fascists.

The Varkiza Agreement was signed by the resistance movement leadership, i.e. the CPG and EAM on one side and the Plastiras government and British General Scobey on the other. With that Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the political right. After the monarchist regime was established in Greece, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia found themselves in a worse situation than before the war. It was as if they were thrown back to the Metaxas dictatorship and systematically terrorized but this terror was tougher, more horrifying and more violent and was committed by the Greek paramilitary and by Greek armed terrorist gangs. These gangs were composed of fascist and destructive elements which, until yesterday, had cooperated with the occupiers. It was a truly evil campaign but a skillful maneuver on the part of the Greek bourgeoisie to create much hatred between the Greek and Macedonian people in order for the Greek element to take a foothold in Greek occupied Macedonia.

Here is some information that shows how the United States of America saw the situation in Greece during this time. According to a classified telegram dated February 27, 1945, from Washington to Foreign Office: The United States Government holds the view that the pre-war frontiers of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece in the

Macedonian area must be considered as the legal boundaries, and that revision of any of them should be permitted only if it conforms to the freely expressed will of the populations directly concerned and has international sanctions as a part of the general peace settlement. If in the reconstitution of Yugoslavia, the government and the people of that country desire to set up a regional and decentralized administration under which the area of South-eastern Yugoslavia would have a certain autonomous character there would of course be no grounds for objection on the part of the United States Government. This Government concurs however in the view of the British Government that there is no legitimate basis for any claim made on behalf of "Macedonia" whether as an independent State or as a part of Yugoslavia, or of a larger South Slav federation to territory within the boundaries of Greece on the ground that such territory is "Macedonian". With regard to the frontier between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the United States Government favour the retention of the present boundary but would not be inclined to object to any settlement calculated to contribute to the peace, stability and general welfare of the region if reached through free negotiations on the part of those two states at such time as it may become clear that their respective governments are in a position to represent the real desire of the people involved, including also those inhabitants of parts of Yugoslavia still under enemy occupation. It is in the view of this government that changes in territorial boundaries of Bulgaria should not be made during the period proceeding the general settlement with Bulgaria as an enemy state. The United States Government believe that union of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to constitute a single unit or a federation would under present circumstances be a disturbing rather than a stabilizing factor in south-eastern Europe since the neighbouring non-Slavic States, including Turkey, would consider it a threat to their security. In the opinion of the Government such a union in any case should not be permitted before the conclusion of peace between Bulgaria and the United Nations. This Government would be willing however to give consideration to a plan for regional understandings to include all States of southeastern Europe rather than an exclusively Slavic bloc, should all these States decide, with the concurrence of the principal Allied Governments that such a grouping represent a contribution to the welfare and progress of that area. Foreign office please pass to

Belgrade and Sofia as my telegrams Nos. 18 and 13 respectively. OTP.

Beginning in March 1945, in addition to supporting the former collaborators and placing them in control to terrorize the democratic people, the English began to escalate their own involvement in Greek occupied Macedonia. For example they took control of the Ber prison and conducted raids and personally committed torture in the Macedonian villages alongside armed Greeks.

In addition to the English and fascist Greeks abusing the Macedonian people, the Greek press also began to take shots at them. For example “Elinikos Voras” was so obsessed with the so-called “Macedonian autonomous movement” phantom and the so-called “Slav threat from the north” that it made it its most endearing theme to vilify the Macedonians by continuously publishing adventure stories and hypothetical scenarios of a non-existent enemy attempting to “grab” their Macedonia. In one of its columns on March 24, 1945 “Elinikos Voras” wrote: “We have information from a reliable source that Captain Amintas Avgerinos of the 28th ELAS brigade, in larger part composed of Slavo-Macedonians, does not recognize the Varkiza agreement, and has formed an armed group which now roams around the villages Pesoshintsa, Leskoves, Popozhani, Vrbenik, Kamenik and Voshtareni, where he is terrorizing the residents and forcing them to cross over to Bitola and to join the ranks of the Bulgarian units commanded by Ilia Dimovski - Gotse, who is fighting for Macedonia’s autonomy...” “Elinikos Voras” did not care to know or report the facts. All it cared was to propagate hatred against the Macedonian people by continuously publishing fantasies. Contrary to “Elinikos Voras’s” allegations, Amintas Avgerinos did not send Macedonian fighters to join Ilia Dimovski – Gotse’s Macedonian brigade in the Republic of Macedonia. In fact Amintas Avgerinos was a disciplined ELAS officer and trusted member of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) who obediently followed the party line when the CPG itself was taking a stand against the Macedonian Liberation Movement Organization, the same organization that fought side by side with the Greeks to liberate Greece from the Germans and Bulgarians. “Elinikos Voras” took it upon itself to label the Macedonian units as “having autonomous tendencies” knowing full well that the very

same Macedonian units fought bloody battles against the counter-bands in Kostur and Lerin Regions and against the Bulgarian sponsored “Ohrana” in Voden Region. For more information on the English political and military involvement in Greek occupied Macedonia see the chronology in this book from “1945 – March” to “1945 – April”.

As the terror, later dubbed “white terror”, against the civilian population in Greek occupied Macedonia escalated, armed Prosfigi (Asia Minor Turkish Christian settlers and colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia by the Greek government in the 1920s) joined the fray in robbing, pillaging and terrorizing the Macedonian people. No one knew exactly why this was happening at the time, especially at this late stage of the war when people were looking forward to peace. All that was happening, however, was happening for a reason, all one had to do was pay attention to what the terrorists and the media were saying. They were urging the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia to leave their homeland. And that could not have been by accident. But, despite the daily horrors they faced, most Macedonians refused to leave.

While all this was happening in Greek occupied Macedonia, the CPY and CPM in Yugoslavia had different ideas. On April 23, 1945, they formed a new Macedonian people’s liberation front (NOF) as well as a women’s anti-fascist front (AFZH) and a peoples’ liberation youth organization (NOMS). These organizations were created in Skopje from the ELAS fighters belonging to the Macedonian battalions which left in October 1944. Formed under the initiative of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPY/CPM), NOF, AFZH and NOMS were sent to Greek occupied Macedonia to organize the Macedonian people and prepare them for a new conflict. From the day they were formed to the day they were handed over to the CPG as part of the so-called “brotherhood and unity” initiative, NOF, AFZH and NOMS acted under CPM/CPY directives. After that they were placed under CPG command until they were disbanded. In other words, these supposedly “Macedonian” organizations were never allowed to act independently or for Macedonian interests. After NOF, AFZH and NOMS established themselves in Greek occupied Macedonia, English and American agents in Greece

initiated a strong propaganda campaign in support of creating an autonomist movement under the slogan “united and independent Macedonia”. At the same time the “white terror” perpetrated in Greek occupied Macedonia skyrocketed to new heights. Macedonian villages, especially in Kostur Region, were attacked all through April and May 1945, on a daily basis (see chronology for details).

Initially, when NOF, AFZH and NOMS arrived on the terrain in Greek occupied Macedonia and began their propaganda and recruitment, the Macedonian people did not want to join. They had had enough with being involved in the liberation war and were looking forward to peace. But, as the “white terror” reached unbearable heights they began to flee to the mountains and join these organizations. There they were trained, armed and told they needed to fight to protect themselves. At about the same time, on April 26, 1945, in a statement made in Moscow for the “New York Times”, Tito hinted that the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia wanted to unite with the people in the Republic of Macedonia and in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia. He said: “If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations...”

On May 8, 1945, Germany signed its surrender ending World War Two in Europe.

The Macedonian people between World War Two and the Greek Civil War

Between 1945 and early 1946 terror was the rule of law in Greek occupied Macedonia where rape, beatings, robberies, jailing and atrocities were committed daily against the Macedonian people and against the democratic citizens in general. And all this was done not only under the watchful eyes of the English but with their participation. English agents, officers and soldiers were personally involved in the atrocities. The jails, barns and stables everywhere were filled with Macedonians and people who supported the resistance movement. According to official statistics in 1945 there were 17,985 people jailed of whom 15,596 were jailed without a trial. Another 18,401 were accused of various crimes and 48,936 were accused of being members of EAM and ELAS. About 80,000 people in total were pursued by the Greek government in 1945. The terror, as a means to break the movement, took frightening measures with each passing day. This is how the situation was described on July 5, 1945: “After the December incidents terror became the rule of law with the arming and unprecedented growth of the extreme right. Every day life for most citizens became unbearable. This is a sad affair and the government cannot be without responsibility. The terrorist organizations of the far political right most of which were armed by the Germans and cooperated with them, now cooperate with the (Greek) government to extinguish the democratic spirit. It was the government that enlisted the skills and services of these terrorists and is allowing the atrocities to multiply daily. Therefore the government is responsible for the lockups, imprisonments, the raping of women, the hangings, the beatings and humiliations carried out against the free citizens. This has put a black spot on our civilization.” Here is how the Regional Governor of Kozheni Region described the situation in a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs: “From a standpoint of public order the district is finding itself in a savage situation. Disgusting things are happening; multiple hangings, known criminals are being freed from jails, etc. These acts are carried out by known collaborators of the Germans, under whose leadership they developed these blood thirsty skills.” Regarding the bloody Greek Monarcho-Fascist terror, perpetrated against the Macedonian people, the NOF organizational leadership at its first meeting, held on May 21, 1945, decided to take a stand and, along

with the other factors of the resistance movement, formed armed groups to confront the extreme Monarcho-Fascist gangs and traitors who were persecuting the Macedonian people to no end. The NOF armed groups were instructed to only attack the armed terrorist gangs if they attacked the Macedonian villages and to stop them from looting and terrorizing the Macedonian people. The NOF armed groups and their actions were managed by the NOF district and regional board secretaries. At that time there was no other way to protect the lives, honour and properties of the Macedonian people from these Greek terrorists. The evil needed to be prevented with organized countermeasures. Unfortunately, the CPG strongly condemned NOF's armed group activities even though in practice they confirmed that they played a positive role in preventing terrorist waves. Another benefit from this armed self-defense was that it encouraged more people to join the resistance movement and bolster its militant actions.

While all this was going on, Greek governments kept collapsing and being replaced by new ones. The Nikolaos Plastiras government was replaced by a newly formed "administrative government" headed by naval officer Petros Vulgaris. After it was reorganized on August 11, 1945, Petros Vulgaris, on October 17, 1945, was forced to resign. Authority over the government was then taken over by the regent Archbishop Damaskinos, but only for a couple of weeks, before it too fell apart. On November 1, 1945 a new government was formed, this one headed by Georgios Kanelopoulos. This government only lasted three weeks before it fell apart. There was an imperative need to legalize and strengthen the power of the political right in Greece but it had to be done by the people through "elections".

In the meantime Zahariadis found himself in London, England, a guest of the English intelligence service. After spending two or three weeks in England, on May 29, 1945 Zahariadis was flown from England to Greece on a special British military aircraft, wearing a British military uniform. The English delivered him to Athens. The Siantos CPG leadership welcomed him back and immediately gave him his old position - CPG Secretary General, the function he served before he was arrested and later surrendered to the Gestapo (see "Who was Zahariadis?" in the section entitled "Personalities").

The “white terror” unleashed on the Macedonian population continued to spread without end forcing more and more Macedonians to join NOF, AFZH and NOMS. The rapid growth of these organizations began to worry the CPG prompting it to act. On June 28, 1945, the CPG Central Committee, during its 10th Plenum, made the following comment: “NOF with its rapid promotion of its military formations is dangerously threatening the Greek character of Macedonia. It is threatening Greek interests and the territorial integrity of the Greek state.” Then out of the blue, ten days later, on July 8, 1945, the CPG went on to say that the Macedonian nation existed. An article entitled “The truth about the Slavo-Macedonians” was published in the newspaper “Rizospastis”, the CPG Central Committee’s organ, in which, among other things, it said: “that the Macedonian nation has its own customs, personality and history and its national awareness is quite developed.”

On the international scene meanwhile, the United States detonated two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945, respectively, with the consent of the United Kingdom, as required by the Quebec Agreement. The two bombings killed between 129,000 and 226,000 people, most of them civilians.

On August 8, 1945, the “Nea Alithia” a Greek nationalist newspaper fed the flames of hatred against this phantom “Slav threat from the north” when it wrote: “Greece fought, suffered, sacrificed and today is victorious but it cannot ignore threats from the north...”

The CPG in the meantime began to reorganize and held its 7th Congress in Athens in early October 1945, ten months after the bloody events in December 1944 and eight months after the signing of the Varkiza agreement. Then on November 7, 1945, the CPG held its 1st Plenum during which the new CPG Central Committee Political Bureau was appointed. Seven permanent members were appointed. They were Siantos Giorgios, Zahariadis Nikos, Ioanidis Gianis, Hadzhivasiliou Hrisa, Partsalidis Michos, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Petridis Tassos (Anastasiadis Stergios). Appointed were also three candidates for permanent membership. They were Stringos Leonidas, Zevgos Gianis and Rousos Petros. During the second half

of the 1940's, the CPG was represented by a large number of fairly young people. These were the people who led the disastrous Greek Civil War that brought devastation and genocide to the Macedonian people.

But no sooner had the so-called new communist leadership taken power of the CPG Central Committee and Politburo, when it unleashed a new bag of tricks starting with helping its opponent, the Greek government in Athens which had great difficulties holding onto power, to come to power. To this end, the English used their main and last trump card, the liberals headed by Themistoklis Sofoulis which came to power on November 22, 1945. During this crucial moment, the CPG came to the rescue. It came out in support of the Sofoulis government. In a press release dated November 25, 1945, the CPG Politburo told the entire democratic world, civilian citizens as well as the armed forces, to do their duty, by any means possible, to prevent the political right from taking power and follow the directives issued by Sofoulis! So, when the English sponsored liberal government needed support to legitimize itself in the eyes of the Greek people, the CPG and EAM gave it their support. And because of the general support it received "from all sides", (which was not the case with previous English created governments) it placed itself in a position to perform an "electoral coup" against the political right and led up to the March 31, 1946, falsified elections, about which we will talk later.

During the December 28, 1945 General Assembly of the Provincial Committee for Macedonia and Thrace **Error! Bookmark not defined.**, speaking about a flyer published by the Voden branch of NOF, Zahariadis, among other things hypocritically said: "Every Greek democratic citizen, I am sure, will agree with NOF's call from Voden Region, to fight together for our freedom, for political rights and social equality and for a general amnesty. We will struggle together for our bread, our freedom and for a new Greek democracy." It seems that the change in attitude on the part of the CPG towards NOF was owed mainly to the CPG's need to reorganize for a new armed struggle against the Greek political right. A new armed struggle at this point was not possible without involving the Macedonians. The call for a new struggle was made during the December 28, 1945 CPG General Assembly when the

slogan “We call on the people wherever they are, in the cities and in the villages, to carry out an armed struggle against the political right” was first introduced.

Then, after NOF was handed over to the CPG, in October 1945, the NOF leaders in January 1946 issued orders to its members and to the Macedonian people in general, to co-operate with the CPG. All NOF, NOMS and AFZH cells were ordered to establish links with the CPG, EAM, AKE and EPON organizations and to show them flexibility in resolving outstanding issues. Mutual accusations, attacks and conflict were to be avoided “at any cost” in order to achieve unity. To show appreciation the CPG newspaper “Rizospastis”, on January 13, 1946, came in defense of the Macedonian people when it wrote: “...this is the greatest and most dreadful persecution ever heard of in modern Greek history...” Then, on January 21, 1946, with intentions of helping the EAM coalition, which had been persecuted in the country since the beginning of 1946, a Soviet delegation at the UN raised the Greek question in the Security Council with a request to adopt a resolution to “withdraw the British occupation forces from Greece”. This resolution, however, was met with bitter resistance from the English as well as from the American, French and other Western Power delegations which, after lengthy discussions at the Security Council, ended on February 6, 1946 with a vague resolution that read as follows: “The Security Council took into consideration statements made and opinions expressed by the Soviet, British and Greek delegations regarding the presence of British troops in Greece. The statements were entered into the Council’s documents and thus the issue was considered closed.”

Unfortunately nothing was done to stop the terror perpetrated against the Macedonian civilian population in the cities and villages which by this time had reached unprecedented levels. The perpetrators demanded that “the Macedonian people leave Greece”. These brutal attacks were fuelled by the Greek media which propagated vicious anti-Macedonian propaganda in newspapers such as “Elefteria” and “Elenikos Kirix”. On January 28, 1946, “Elefteria” published an open letter demanding the expulsion of all Macedonians from their native homeland. In part it said: “The Slavo-Macedonians can leave our Macedonia. They can go

wherever they want. They need to disappear from here; they need to emigrate immediately and compulsorily. There is no place for them here.” In a similar tone the nationalist paper “Ethnikos Kirix” paved the way for conflict and for persecuting the Macedonians when it proposed that: “...there is a need to get rid of 180,000 Slavo-Macedonians as soon as possible...” Even stronger criticism against the Macedonians came from the newspapers “Foni tis Kastorias” and “Ethnos” when they published quotes from a former Nazi collaborator, insisting that: “...there is no place for Greeks and Macedonians in Greek-Macedonia...”

On February 12, 1946, the CPG held its 2nd CPG Central Committee Plenum in Athens during which, in his introductory speech, Zahariadis said: “...Today, just a year ago, the Varkiza Agreement was signed giving Greece a fair chance in taking the path of a peaceful and democratic evolution, which will allow us to freely express our will during the elections, so that our country could take the path to peace and reconstruction. That was our goal and our tendency. This was the right thing to do. Without a doubt today we can say that Varkiza was correct. It was the correct path to take because it absolutely served our democratic and national interests. The signing of the Varkiza agreement was the only correct step that could have been taken under those circumstances...” During this Plenum, Zahariadis also called for organizing an armed struggle but, according to him: “...only as a bluff, without having any serious intention of starting one...” What Zahariadis however failed to mention is that his party, the CPG, was in crisis and losing its support, not because those who supported the communists were changing their minds, but because the English and the Greek government were terrorizing and jailing everyone who was supporting the democratic side. While the British and the Greek press continued to speak of free elections in Greece, the nationalist and chauvinistic elements continued to rain terror on the civilian population arresting and imprisoning people uncontrollably. By the time the elections took place on March 31, 1946, almost all of the former resistance fighters were either missing or serving jail sentences under trumped up charges. Interestingly some of these election irregularities were confirmed by British, Colonel Shepard who was quoted by the newspaper “New Democracy” on December 8, 1947 as saying: “During the election a Greek officer was

watching a British officer and finally got enough nerve to speak to him. The Greek officer boasted to the British officer about how his regime was capable of creating conditions where 100% of the people would vote for the royalists. 'Even if not 100% then at least 95% and for those 5% who vote differently we will call them the enemies of the regime and invent reasons as needed to bring them in' explained the Greek officer." The March 31, 1946 elections in Greece were a total farce, not only because of the coercion by the political right forcing voters to vote for them but also because of the perpetrated election fraud. In most European countries like France, Italy and others the population had naturally shrunk because of the war but not in Greece. In spite of the half million deaths due to starvation and war, Greece, according to the number of people who voted in 1946, showed a massive population increase, much greater than those voting in 1936. For example, 1,753,000 voters participated in the 1936 elections and 2,200,000 voters participated in the 1946 elections (voting in Greece was mandatory). Above that another 250,000 voters, known democrats were intentionally left off the lists so that they could not vote. The March 31, 1946 elections sparked an uprising with an attack on the village Lithohori, in which 23 government soldiers were killed. This attack was accepted by some historians as the beginning of the Greek Civil War.

The Macedonian people in the Greek Civil War

The Greek Civil War officially began on March 31, 1946 by decision of the CPG 2nd Plenum held on February 12, 1946. It did not happen by accident, it was planned. But why did Zahariadis publicly announce that he was going to start an uprising and secretly tell his people that it was a bluff? There were all kinds of indications that the resistance movement was not preparing for an uprising. The period from March 31, 1946 to September 1947 was the most suitable time to bolster the armed uprising and even take power... It seemed like almost all throughout 1946, the CPG leadership showed apathy to the drama committed against ordinary CPG members, former ELAS fighters and the Macedonian people in general. Even during the first months in 1947, when CPG activists from field committees raised the issue of seizing power in the country, Zahariadis's position was: "We are not going to take power for now, we will see, perhaps in 1948..." During this time the CPG leadership insisted that the primary tasks of the Party were to solve economic problems and bring reconciliation. The CPG forbade ELAS fighters from joining the partisans, and those who insisted on doing so were labeled cowards, suspicious characters and provocateurs. It was during this period that all conditions were perfect for recruiting fighters into DAG and DAG could have easily grown into an army of over 60,000. According to Mavromatis when, in 1946, the Provincial Bureau informed Zahariadis that 20-25 thousand partisan fighters could be recruited in Macedonia within a month, the Bureau was ordered "to stop, because the armed struggle was conceived as only a bluff, as a fake tactical maneuver for political needs, that is, to achieve political goals..."

Then, on April 2, 1946, after returning from Moscow, Zahariadis went to Belgrade where he met with Marshal Tito and discussed his decision to initiate an armed struggle in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised to supply him with moral and material aid. This meeting was arranged to also accomplish the following:

1. Pass control of the Macedonian national liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia, led by NOF, to the CPG.
2. Transfer part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of

managing supplies for the armed struggle and representing the CPG abroad, i.e. to take care of supplying the partisans with weapons, clothing, food and other materials.

3. Organize recruitment of fighters from the Republic of Macedonia, more specifically from the so-called Greek political emigrants who fled to Yugoslavia to organize hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG fighters and for Yugoslavia to take on the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance for DAG from other countries.

While all this was going on, on May 4, 1946, the first Macedonian unit was formed at the “Trsie-Turie” mountains in Lerin Region. A couple of weeks later, on May 21, 1946, another right wing newspaper the “Ethnikos Kirikas” wrote: “Greece should soon expel 80,000 Slavo-Macedonians.” The same was said earlier in the weekly Republican newspaper “Eleftheros Typos” on January 28, 1946 in an article entitled: “Let the Slavo-Macedonians leave our Macedonia - let them go wherever they want to go.” All through the month of June 1946, everyone involved in the resistance movement, including former ELAS fighters faced extreme attacks from the Athens based Monarcho-Fascist regime. According to General Markos Vafiadis, by June 1946 some 80,000 Greeks and Macedonians, members and supporters of the CPG and EAM, as well as ELAS fighters were detained and imprisoned without a trial. About 8,000 ELAS fighters, officers and commissars were expelled from Greece and exiled in Yugoslavia. This violent crackdown perpetrated by the Greek government, with English blessings, was a turning point for the CPG prompting it to re-arm the resistance movement and fight back. Up until this point Zahariadis was wasting time looking for a political solution when he very well knew there wasn't one. All Zahariadis was doing was giving the Greek government and the English the time they needed to consolidate their power in Greece so that they could have an appropriate and deadly response. As a result new partisan units were created from the former ELAS fighters and their numbers were increased with time. By July 1946 there were Greek partisans in the mountainous regions of Thessaly, Epirus, Greek occupied Macedonia and other places. By CPG Central Committee Politburo decision, Markos Vafiadis was appointed supreme commander of the new forces. There were only a few Greek partisan units in Greek occupied Macedonia because, at that time, both the CPG and EAM were

unpopular with the Macedonian people. This, however, had to change because, we are told, that the Greek resistance movement could not take on the Monarcho-Fascists on its own, it needed Macedonian help. So, on June 16, 1946, the CPG Regional Committee for Greek occupied Macedonia and Thrace held its 3rd Session during which Secretary General Zahariadis announced NOF's recognition as a "democratic and progressive organization" representing the Macedonian minority in Greece. Zahariadis's speech, during which he recognized NOF, was published on June 19, 1946 in the CPG central newspapers "Rizospastis" and "Laiki Foni". The publishing of Zahariadis's speech informed the entire Greek public about NOF's recognition. This made many Greeks unhappy, including many Party leaders who quickly changed their attitude towards NOF and further deteriorated the internal political situation in Greece. And, as I said earlier, Zahariadis insisted that the recognition was done to secure Macedonian support in the struggle against the Monarcho-Fascist regime. Guided purely by self-interests, the Communist Party of Greece recognized the Macedonian national organization as a respectable political and potential military factor, as the sole legitimate representative of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. Soon after recognizing NOF, the CPG leadership decided to initiate an armed struggle against the Monarcho-Fascist regime in order to seize power in Greece. The Macedonian people and their organization began to emerge as a reliable ally in this fight. The Macedonian people, we are told, had no other alternative but to fight against the Monarcho-Fascist regime in solidarity with the CPG.

In response to the call to arms and after Zahariadis recognized NOF as an ally in the struggle against the Monarcho-Fascist regime, the Macedonians used great restraint when dealing with the Greek communists. They also used restraint because the CPM from the People's Republic of Macedonia insisted that NOF normalize its relations with the CPG.

Towards the end of June 1946 the NOF Main Board was summoned to see Lazar Kolishevski and Tsvetko-Uzunovski-Abas, CPG Central Committee Organizing Secretary, in Skopje to review the situation in Greek occupied Macedonia and NOF's position in relation to the CPG and EAM. Kolishevski and Uzunovski

expressed support for the normalization of relations and noted that “the unity of NOF with the CPG was of vital interest to the national liberation movement of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia.” In the meantime terrorist activities against the Macedonian population continued to escalate and peaked on July 7, 1946 when the Greek government voted to take “extraordinary measures” to further deprive the people of their rights by prohibiting political and professional organizational activities and by openly moving towards reinstating a military dictatorship. In view of the Macedonian national liberation front and its activities, these “extraordinary measures” were particularly brutal against the Macedonians. By treating the Macedonians even harsher and by accusing them of having “separatist tendencies” the regime was attempting to vilify them and bring division between the Macedonian people and the democratic Greek people. Here is a quote from part of the “extraordinary measures” act adopted on July 7, 1946: “Those who aim to partition a section of the national territory or create opportunities to conspire inside this country or take part in them will be sentenced to death...” Ironically these measures were only a pretext to attack the innocent Macedonians and not the real conspirators; the British consulate in Lerin, Vice-Consul Hill, Captain Evans and the Greek Colonel Bafas who, as I mentioned earlier, started a conspiracy to create an “autonomist” organization calling for Greek occupied Macedonia’s independence from Greece by separation. The “extraordinary measures” were immediately put into effect and the courts were transformed into death factories in which hundreds of real patriots, the ones who spilled blood to free Greece from the occupiers, were sentenced to death on a daily basis. All one had to do was accuse someone of “committing subversive activities against the state” and the military did the rest. “Article ten” of the “extraordinary measures” allowed for the searching of premises at all times. This part of the law was utilized to justify the brutal measures taken against innocent people in response to press allegations of conspiracies. Names of so-called “autonomists” were printed and people were pursued by state organs without the slightest proof of wrongdoing. While the Greek parliament was voting to pass the “extraordinary measures” the Greek newspaper “Makedhonia” published the following: “Our competent government officials have uncovered concrete information that proves that in the first 15 days of June disorder of a

revolutionary character was taking place, which spread throughout the entire region of Macedonia, both inside and outside of cities. According to government sources, bandits who entered the villages and are concentrating their forces have been advised to act on a moment's notice. We have information that these orders came directly from NOF whose long-term objectives are to free Macedonia from the Greek yoke and proclaim it a "People's Republic" and then join it with Tito's federation of Peoples' Republics." This well planted Greek propaganda, by the way, today serves as the "Greek side" of the story. With this well fabricated, well planned and well executed program along with the use of well paid "professional witnesses" the Greek government managed to send thousands of Macedonians, sometimes entire families, to the Greek concentration prison camps in the waterless and parched Greek islands, not to mention the many that Greece senselessly sentenced to death and executed.

Among the many executed were six high ranking Macedonian NOF cadres, one of them Mirka Ginova sentenced to death by the military court in Enidzhe-Vardar. The campaign against NOF was becoming fiercer by the day especially in the spring of 1946 after the appearance of a Macedonian military unit in Kaimakchalan. The unit's rapid growth was seen as a threat to the Republican and Royalist control of Greek occupied Macedonia and they took immediate action to liquidate it. Gendarmes from Western Meglen were dispatched in pursuit and one day in the middle of July 1946, when the detachment was taking a rest near the village Pochev, it unexpectedly came under attack from three sides. Over 500 gendarmes were involved and in view of such an overwhelming force the Macedonians decided it was wise to retreat. Unfortunately during the withdrawal a group of seven people, leaders of NOF, who that day were having a conference, were left behind and mistakenly took the wrong route to escape. During their retreat they ran into the enemy and were captured alive. Of the seven only Mirka Ginova was armed with a pistol. As the seven were rushed by enemy soldiers, Mirka fired all her rounds and in frustration threw the pistol at the soldiers. Among the seven was also a Greek. All seven were taken to the city Voden. Mirka Ginova's capture was touted as a big success for the Republicans and Royalists. To demoralize her and the Macedonian people, the gendarmes had her dressed in rags and

paraded through the streets as a scarecrow. But this fiery revolutionary walked with her head up and saluted onlookers calling on them not to cry for her. "Mothers don't cry the revolution will be victorious!" A local woman who lived near the gendarme station in Voden, afterwards reported that for three nights in a row a motorcycle was left running just outside the police station under Mirka's cell to mask Mirka's screaming. Mirka was severely tortured by the gendarmes using middle age inquisition methods. Several times she was led to the city cemetery and buried in an open grave up to her neck. She was then fired at with blank shells to frighten her to disclose information on activities and people in her organization's network. Even after all that torture Mirka told them nothing.

During 1946 a Commission made up of British Labour Representatives visited Greece and examined the political situation in some detail. Upon their return to their own country, on July 17, 1946 they announced that Greece was 90% Fascist, after which Laski, former British President of the Labour party, prophetically said: "The return of King George to Greece will convert this state into a second Spain..."

In the meantime the CPG was relocating part of its command and leadership to Yugoslavia. Based on prior agreements between Tito and Zahariadis, one part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis, on August 24, 1946, was moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who was appointed in June 1946 by Zahariadis to organize and lead the partisan groups, left Greece and moved to Belgrade. There, he received specific directives and promises of support from the CPG Politburo.

The following classified dispatch explains the situation in Greek occupied Macedonia at a diplomatic level and reveals what the English knew at the time. The dispatch was sent from Mr. Peake to Mr. Bevin. Here is what it said: WITH reference to Mr. Clutton's dispatch No. 310 of the 13th August, 1946, have the honour to report that the leading article in the issue of Borba for the 26th August was devoted to Greek, or, as the Yugoslav's call it Aegean Macedonia. At the head of the article was a map, a copy of which I attach,

showing the present national frontiers and also the ethnical frontier. As you will notice the latter embraces Salonica and almost all Greek Macedonia. The article opens by saying that the frightful terror which is being carried on by Monarcho-Fascist bands in Greek Macedonia is already known to the Yugoslav public. Thousands of Macedonians and democratic Greek refugees are living witnesses of the murder and incendiarism which these bands are committing on "our brothers." This terrorism has become much worse latterly, when the Monarcho-Fascist clique, which has not been able to find deep roots in the Greek people, began its attempt to purge Greek Macedonia of Macedonians and Greek democrats. Just now active purging of Greek Macedonia is going on- tens of villages are burning, women and children and powerless old men are being murdered, as in the most terrible period of the German occupation. The district, in which a particularly violent terrorism is being carried on, and which is known under the name of Greek (Aegean) Macedonia, is, in fact, ethnically a part of Macedonia. In the whole of the Balkans there is no district which has passed through in the course of recent history such a bitter terrorism as has been suffered by the Macedonian population from the Greek imperialists. The ethnical history of Macedonia is then traced from 1896-1914, during the whole of which time it is shown that the Macedonians remained in an absolute majority in Greek Macedonia. After 1914, however, the picture began to change. The Greek soldiers killed tens of thousands of Macedonians, they destroyed villages, they burnt down houses. In the place of their former inhabitants there came Greeks or philhellene "Aromuni." The greatest ethnical change was caused by the enforced exchange of populations between Greeks and Turks after the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 and the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. At that time the Greeks were forced by the Turks to take in all the Christian inhabitants, among whom "Karamanlija," Greeks, Kurds and other Caucasian people predominated. The great part of these people were settled in Greek Macedonia. The Greeks, for their part, sent into Turkey all the Mohammedans, such as Turks, Mohammedan Macedonians, "Arbanassi" and "Aromuni." Large numbers were also forced into Bulgaria from Macedonia. After this war, in which our Macedonian brothers fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the Greek patriots, the Monarcho-Fascists had chased into Yugoslavia and Bulgaria about 20,000 Macedonians from Macedonia. As the result of this persecution 150,000

Macedonians had been displaced or killed from 1914 up till now. In the course of the years 1941-42 our partisan representatives personally completed a list of Macedonian families in Greek Macedonia, and they reckoned that there were still about 250,000 Macedonians there. If one also takes into account the places in which the Macedonians do not represent the absolute but only the relative majority, then this figure of 250,000 should be considerably greater. What, the article goes on, can our brothers expect from the present regime in Greece? The latest terrorism which is being carried on in Greece only confirms that the Monarcho-Fascist bands are continuing the prodigious terrorism which was carried on by the reactionary cliques in the past, and that it is intended that this terrorism shall completely annihilate our brothers in Greek Macedonia. The Macedonians in Greece do not enjoy any kind of rights. It is forbidden for them to speak their national language even in their own homes. Absolutely no Macedonian schools exist. Even their local political organizations have been rendered powerless. Chauvinistic cliques try to sow hatred among the Greek and other nationals against Macedonians, and to destroy that fraternity which was created in the course of the war of liberation. But to-day, opposed to that reactionary Greek policy, there is not the old Yugoslavia in which the Macedonians were oppressed equally with other peoples, but the new democratic Yugoslavia where all peoples have equal rights. The Macedonian people who fought with Greek partisans for their liberation expected, with reason, that this war would bring them, in the spirit of the proclamations of the Great Allies, the right to advance and unite themselves with their other brothers. With justice they expected, that finally all the Macedonian people would be united and break away from foreign slavery. But it is only the Macedonians in Yugoslavia who have succeeded in bringing about their own complete liberation; and while in the People's Republic of Macedonia a new national life is awakening, on the other side of the frontier our brothers are suffering under the yoke of Monarcho-Fascist bands. Greek imperialists have no right at all to hold Macedonians any longer under their intolerable yoke; they can no longer answer that Belgrade and Sofia are persecuting their Macedonian populations and that such people as free Macedonians in their own countries do not exist. They have even less right because they are stifling with all their force the democratic movement and the democracy of their people, accepting foreign

support and giving over their country to the mercy, or otherwise of foreign exploitation. The people of Yugoslavia watched patiently what was happening to their brothers in Greek Macedonia. They believed, and today still believe, that the Greek people cannot oppose the fight of the Greek Macedonians for democracy and national independence. But the latest statements of responsible Greek circles, not only in Greece but also in the international arena, and also the frightful terrorism which is being carried on in Greek Macedonia, show that the Greek, reactionary circles have become the provokers of tumult in the Balkans and have decided to annihilate their Macedonian population. There is no hope at all that the reactionary Greek circles, who to-day with naked force and with the help of foreign troops keep themselves in power, will show the slightest wish for the solution of this problem in conformity with the demands and interests of the Macedonians in Greece. This problem has become part of the fight which is being carried on all over the world for peace, for democracy and for the self-determination of peoples. Therefore, the article concludes, our country cannot remain indifferent to the annihilation of our brothers in Greece, nor to their rights and their demands for self-determination and union with their brothers in Yugoslavia. The theme of this article again predominated in the Belgrade press of the 27th August, when all three papers carried leading articles, which in Borba and Politika were headed by another map. The tone of these articles was extremely violent. I am sending copies of this dispatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Athens, His Majesty's Political Representative at Sofia, His Majesty's Political Adviser at Caserta, and to His Majesty's Consul-General at Salonica. I have, &c, C. B. PEAKE.

A plebiscite, to bring the monarchy back to Greece, was held on September 1, 1946. It was conducted under extreme conditions of anarchy and terror. Now that the counter-revolutionaries (Republicans and Monarchists) were "legally" in power and their authority was given to them by the people in the March 31, 1946 elections, they threw themselves with even greater vigour against the democratic forces. They liquidated all provincial EAM and CPG organizations and shut down all democratic newspapers. After the parliamentary elections, as terror increased to unprecedented levels, open armed resistance began to take shape in the country. The democratic organizations and the political left in general did not

abstain from the plebiscite. But who could now doubt the success of the monarchy? If falsification could succeed in parliamentary elections, then why not in a plebiscite?

On October 14, 1946, Tito and Zahariadis decide to transfer control of NOF from the CPY/CPM to the CPG. Then, on October 18, 1946, Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Political Secretary and Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, ordered the NOF leaders to show absolute loyalty to the CPG. He told them: “It was of particular interest that they consistently enforce unity with the CPG, maintain and strengthen unity in the ranks of NOF, maintain and strengthen brotherhood and military solidarity with the Greek people, consistently and unreservedly fight when necessary, and any problems that arose during the fight were to be decided jointly with the CPG leadership and with DAG headquarters...” In other words the CPY/CPM put NOF under CPG control and broke all ties and contacts with it. The next day, October 19, 1946, the NOF leaders rushed back to Greek occupied Macedonia and, under this arrangement, agreed to combine forces with the CPG and jointly fight against the Monarcho-Fascists. In the meantime the Monarcho-Fascist regime further intensified its repression through its police and terrorist formations, in an attempt to expel the Macedonian population out of Greek occupied Macedonia. The right-wing press also became involved through its newspapers “Ellinikos Voras”, “Nea Alithia” and others, by calling for the expulsion of the “Sudetenland of Greece”. Because of the cruelty of the perpetrated daily terror, old people, men, women and children, naked and barefoot began to flee across the border into the Republic of Macedonia. According to reports maintained by the NOF Main Board, in the first 6 months of 1945 alone, more than 25,000 Macedonians were expelled from Greek occupied Macedonia. The Macedonian fighters in ELAS were constantly persecuted and arrested. The number of Macedonian patriots and ELAS fighters detained and persecuted had risen to several thousand. Even in a small town like Rupishcha around 300 Macedonians were arrested, three were killed heinously and about 100 were persecuted and expelled to the People’s Republic of Macedonia. Those arrested were sent to the infamous concentration camps such as “Makroniso”, “Iura” and “Pavlos Melas” and to the prisons

“Averof”, “Edikule” and others, in which many were killed by the Greek police using “medieval inquisitorial methods of torture”.

After returning from Belgrade to Greek occupied Macedonia Markos Vafiadis established DAG General Headquarters on October 28, 1946. DAG or Democratic Army of Greece was the new army that led the Greek Civil War on the resistance side. All DAG and NOF units in the Gramos area were gathered together in the village Drenovo, Kostur Region, on November 9 1946 were merged together. A little later Zahariadis received a directive from Stalin to stop expanding the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly causing an international situation and that the CPG should focus more or less on its political struggle.

At about the same time a Greek delegation was sent to the UN to inform the Security Council that the struggle being led in Greece was led with help from the outside, claiming that “the rebels in Greece are being helped by Greece’s northern neighbours who are in violation of international law and are endangering the peace and security in the Balkans”. Soon afterwards a decision was reached at the UN to form an Inquiry Commission which was to go to Greece and examine the situation on the ground. The Inquiry Commission consisted of 11 Security Council representatives which included delegates representing the interested parties of the four named Balkan countries - Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria on the one hand and Greece on the other.

Soon afterwards the NOF, NOMS and AFZH district leaderships were informed that a UN Inquiry Commission had arrived in Greece at its headquarters in Solun and that the Commission was there to examine the causes of the Greek Civil War amid allegations, made by the Greek Monarcho-Fascist government, that the governments of Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria were responsible for the war in Greece. NOF senior officials in the districts were requested “to take most urgent measures and form groups of delegates, approach the UN Inquiry Commission, and submit petitions, memoranda and other materials, with irrefutable evidence, that point to the Greek government as the sole culprit for the Greek Civil War and for the causes of the unprecedented terror unleashed against the anti-fascist movement participants, who for the most part were members of

EAM and ELAS, and who fought with gun in hand against the German-Italian fascist invaders. The NOF leaders were asked to also inform the Commission of the Greek genocidal attempts against the Macedonian population with aims at driving it out. This information was to be confirmed and accompanied by thousands of signatures signed by Macedonian fighters and supporters of the anti-fascist struggle and to testify that thousands more Macedonians were currently in Greek prisons and in Greek concentration camps being brutally tortured by the Greek government. The people being imprisoned, without trial and being killed by the Greek police, were the leaders and fighters who had earlier fought in the anti-fascist movement. The International officials needed to know that the majority of the chiefs of police in the Greek State apparatus and officers in the Greek army were officials of the quisling government and officers and associates of the fascist occupiers. The highest priority for the NOF leaders at that time was to inform the Commission that the Macedonian people were suffering in Greek occupied Macedonia and that “orgies and crimes were carried out against them by the Monarcho-Fascist government”. It was expected that when the world found out the truth, about what was going on in Greece, it would also find out that there were many Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia and that they had participated en masse in the great anti-fascist war and had made many sacrifices and sustained huge material damage. On top of that it was also important to inform the civilized world and the international democratic community about the genocide the Greek Monarcho-Fascists were committing against the Macedonian population. In other words, to inform the world, in the most comprehensive way, of the Macedonian National Question in Greek occupied Macedonia. The United Nations representatives were given over fifty memoranda and petitions. These were documents with evidence showing the tragic situation that existed among the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. The documents also contained requests for the United Nations “to condemn the terrorist policies of the Greek government and to demand of it to commit to providing a peaceful and democratic life for the people in Greece and to recognizing the Macedonian people as an equal nation to the Greeks”.

Then, on December 23, 1946, the rightist Greek newspaper “Ethniki Floga”, an organ of Napoleon Zervas, a former occupier collaborator now under British influence, waved another “Slav threat” flag giving Greek nationalists the signal to start terrorizing the anti-Fascist democratic citizens of Greece by printing the following: “The danger is patient and is always there. As long as Soviet Russia is not contained within its own borders the danger will lurk and make us uneasy threatening our lives and our country. As long as Russian watchtowers are closer than 30 km from the Aegean Sea they will continue to attack. With burning heat provided by their branches Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania the communists will burn our state because it is in their nature. There is only one way to escape this –full destruction of this banditry which breaks the law of justice and makes this treachery possible. The lozenge is war without hesitation or mercy. War until the enemy is transformed into food for vultures and wild beasts or it is in chains in the prisons from which there is no escape.”

The United Nations Inquiry Commission began its work as soon as it arrived in Athens. The Commission remained in Athens from January 29 to February 15, 1946, after which time it moved to Solun with individual teams visiting one side and then the other side of Greece’s northern border. On March 24, 1946 the Commission left for Sofia and Belgrade with one team heading for Skopje, where it held meetings until April 2, 1947, conducting interviews of witnesses. The Commission also received CPG and EAM delegations, one team even made contact with General Markos Vafiadis, Army Commander of DAG General Headquarters. The Inquiry Commission then retreated to Geneva where it remained from April 17 to May 23, 1947 preparing the report of its findings.

On February 12, 1947, the English government informed the United States government that, for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947 it would stop helping Greece. The U.S. government agreed that it must inherit England’s role in Greece because otherwise Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence. Then, on February 20, 1947, the U.S. and the Greek governments signed an agreement in Athens during which the U.S. government pledged to help Greece. As a result the U.S. began to exercise American dominance over Greece, pushing the UK to the side. At about the same time, on

February 24, 1947, the Greek king and Greek government publicly called on DAG fighters to surrender. They were given a deadline up to March 15, 1947. If they were to surrender before the March 15 deadline their offenses committed against the State and against the people would be absolved and they could return to their homes.

Then, on March 1, 1947, US President Harry Truman openly said that he was determined to “help Greece secure its independence”. Truman announced this to the US Congress and his statement became known as the “Truman Doctrine”, which basically was a plan to rescue the Greek bourgeoisie. Based on this the US government began to openly intervene in the Greek Civil War. In 1947 alone the US sent 300 million dollars of military aid and this practice continued throughout the entire duration of the civil war and beyond. On top of material assistance in military equipment, the US also sent military experts to train the Greek army. In the fall of 1947 a joint military staff was formed and placed under the command of US General Van Fleet and all major operational units were staffed with US officers. This intervention was deemed of “legal” character because it was there to help the “legally elected government” and the “lawful regime in Greece” against “subversive elements”. U.S. aid came at a time when the Greek bourgeoisie had fallen into a difficult situation. Before the U.S. had awarded this aid, part of the Greek bourgeoisie was unsure of Prime Minister Konstantine Tsaldaris’s Populist Party and the success of its dynamic policies. Themistoklis Sofoulis, head of the Liberals with his MP’s in opposition, had criticized the government and the resistance movement of being too extreme and advocated “for agreements”, “peace”, etc. But the arrival of US aid in September 1947 had such an effect on the entire liberal bourgeoisie that it entered into coalition with the government and led the war against DAG with even greater dexterity. At about the same time the collaborator Napoleon Zervas took charge of the Ministry of Public Security, police and gendarmes and escalated the terror and violence to unprecedented heights.

As part of US General Van Fleet’s strategy to starve the resistance movement, a short time later the Greek government issued a secret order to all its units to withdraw from open spaces and concentrate in major administrative and communication centres. The

Government forces found better security there and at the same time isolated these urban centres from access to the resistance movement. The government army's retreat was soon followed by a forceful civilian evacuation of many villages which gave the Greek government greater economic control. These measures were accompanied by efforts made to organize a defense strategy around urban centres and communication facilities. The cities in the regions where resistance movements existed were surrounded by barbed wire (left over from the occupation), minefields, bunkers, machine gun and cannon nests, etc. At the same time, according to the military plan "Terminus", revealed on April 9, 1947, the Greek government initiated military operations to destroy DAG. DAG forces were to be encircled, destroyed or thrown out of Greek territory. To starve the resistance movement from its recruits, the Greek government, on April 17, 1947, initiated a program to forcibly take all men of military age from the Macedonian villages and send them to the Greek island prison camps. All this was Lieutenant General James A. Van Fleet's plan. Van Fleet was familiar with the concept of how to starve a guerrilla army. In order to do that he had to rob the guerrilla army of the ability to feed itself and recruit new fighters. To stop the partisans from recruiting new fighters, the Greek government arrested basically every man, capable of carrying a gun, who was not loyal to the government or was affiliated with the resistance movement. All these people were sent to the Greek island prison camps.

On April 21, 1947, Nikos Zahariadis went to Belgrade to discuss with Tito the help the CPY had promised him. He then went to Moscow and, in May 1947, met Stalin and Zhdanov. In June 1947, after returning from Moscow he again went to Belgrade to speak with CPY representatives who agreed to create a corridor for transporting weapons from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. In the meantime operation 'Terminus' was finished, but the government forces did not achieve their objective. DAG forces breached the encirclement and escaped but with severe losses.

In late April 1947, after spending two fruitless months in Greece, the UN Inquiry Commission was dispatched to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to interview more witnesses at the request of the Greek government. The Greeks were making accusations against Yugoslavia for

allegedly harbouring a NOF organizational network in Skopje and Bitola, which allegedly managed the partisan groups in Greek occupied Macedonia. The witnesses offered by the Greek government were Patatoukas, Mensourakis and Bopchis who, in their testimony, created a lot of confusion about what NOF's role was and about the refugees from Greek occupied Macedonia found in Yugoslavia, which caused many Commission members to declare the statements made by these witnesses were deprived of any value. In other words, their testimony was useless.

On May 20, 1947, Siantos had a heart attack and died. Zahariadis, however, claimed that the intelligence service liquidated him because he was one of their agents and they feared that he was going to be discovered. They killed him to stop him from talking.

Failing to achieve its goal through "Terminus" the Greek government in Athens was facing a crisis. During this time DAG General Headquarters issued a communiqué with which it declared that Greece was an "independent republic". Further in the communiqué it reported that DAG General Headquarters was in charge of the supreme legislative and executive powers up to the formation of a democratic government. Then, on September 15, 1947, the CPG, during its 3rd Plenum, held from September 15 to 17, coined the slogan: "All to arms and everything for victory!" and announced the creation of a free territory in the Kozheni Plateau surrounded by the mountains Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho, which it was prepared to defend at all costs until the spring of 1948, at which time DAG was going to be expanded to 65,000 fighters. This unfortunately proved to be completely unrealistic. According to General Markos: "That was wishful thinking on our part and did not necessarily reflect the reality of the day..."

On September 27, 1947, DAG General Headquarters issued mobilization orders to mobilize all men ages 17 to 35. A mobilization which took from 4 to 9 months was conducted, which included mobilizing people from the Macedonian refugees who had fled Greece and had gone to Yugoslavia. Places of mobilization outside of the Greek borders included Skopje, Veles, Shtip, Bitola and various other places in the Republic of Macedonia. All these

people were shipped out of Yugoslavia and sent to join DAG. Considering all the above factors, one would arrive at a logical conclusion that NOF was nothing more than a mobilizing Machine for the CPG.

In the meantime things were so bad in Greece that even the Brits stationed there began to complain. On November 22, 1947, a British officer, who at the time was stationed in Greece made the following remarks for the newspaper "New Statesmen and Nation". In short he described the situation in Greece like this: "One week after the signing of the Varkiza agreement I witnessed the most horrific and antisocial behaviour committed by the newly formed National Guard made up from personnel from the former collaborators of the occupiers. Everyone who placed their faith in the word of the agreement (which the English had guaranteed) and did not leave in good time, were put in prison and mistreated. In an underground enclosure in the larger part of a kitchen in a small flat I saw 16 men, women and children. Two of the men were lying on the floor unconscious swimming in a pool of their own blood. Every prisoner had the right to go to the toilet only once in three hours and only for three minutes. An old man, because he was selling EAM newspapers, was tied and beaten for an entire hour. None of the prisoners were informed as to why they were imprisoned. None of the prisoners were taken to court, sued and found guilty but were kept in prison for nine months. This was not an isolated situation during the time when not a single group of communists existed and not even a single leftist activity was taking place." The newspaper "Daily Mirror" published another article written by a British soldier who personally had witnessed atrocities committed by the Greek Rightist forces. The article was illustrated with photographs showing people being tortured and beaten. There were photographs of mass slaughters and decapitations. There was even a photograph of a decapitated 16 year old girl. People's decapitated heads were shown to be carried as trophies hung on the saddles of horses or propped up on spikes. The people who had suffered and died at the hands of these blood thirsty Greeks were Macedonians who had done nothing wrong except to have being born Macedonian.

Connie Ziliakus (sp?) wrote that the official Greek government and the military which was organized by General Charles Uiakam, (sp?)

a well-known enemy of the communist ideology, well-known from the time he was chief of the British military interventionist forces in the Soviet Union, were no better than the police and the gendarmes. “Four fifths of the forces in the official administration, in the courts and in the police are in the hands of these extremists. Surlas’s bands ruled the province and had established their own administration. They are well armed and did what they feel like.”

Quoting British Colonel Shepard, the newspaper “New Democracy” on December 12, 1947, wrote: “The backbone of the Royal Gendarme, making up Greece’s Security battalions today, consists mainly of German collaborators”.

Richard Mayer from the American Overseas Information Agency reported from Athens that: “a large part of the former gendarme which a while ago served the Germans is now using the lists left by the Germans to oppress doubtful personalities...”

Based on the two reports the Balkan Commission prepared regarding “Greece’s neighbours helping the rebel war”, the Greek government requested that this “Greek issue” remain on the Security Council agenda, which it did for the entire summer of 1947. But because the Soviet Union kept placing vetos on it whenever it was brought up, the US, on August 20, 1947, sent a request to the UN Secretary General to move the “Greek issue” to the UN General Assembly’s agenda. When the General Assembly convened on December 17, 1947 in New York, the item was present on the agenda under the theme “Endangerment of the national independence and territorial integrity of Greece”. Its initiation by the US delegation had great significance for the Greek government. As a result the crisis that the Greek government was facing in August 1947, eventually ended. The UN reached consent and the leadership in Athens was given a mandate to put together a new government headed by Themistoklis Sofoulis. This was also a win for the Americans and international factor. The “Greek issue” was again raised in the UN General Assembly in October 1947 during which time a decision was made to task the Balkan Commission with assisting the Greek government to suppress the resistance movement. The Commission, composed of representatives from the US, Britain, France, Australia, Brazil, Mexico, Pakistan, China and

the Netherlands, arrived in Greece in November 1947 and, after remaining in Athens for a few days, moved to Solun where it was subdivided into teams and dispatched to various points along the Greek border. The Commission remained in Greece until May 1948, after which it moved to Geneva. The Balkan Commission became a good protector of the Greek bourgeoisie by strongly insisting that material assistance to the democratic movement by the democratic countries must be prohibited. It constantly and morally acted in favour of the bourgeois government both domestically and on the international scene. When on December 24, 1947 it was announced that a democratic government had been established in the “free territories” in Greece, with General Markos Vafiadis as the President, the Commission was first to warn the Balkan countries that “any recognition of the Provisional Democratic Government is in opposition of UN decisions”, and so on. In other words, the “international intervention” to investigate the “Greek issue” and punish the Athens government for what it was doing, eventually began to work in favour of the Athens government.

The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was created on December 23, 1947, in accordance with the decisions made by the CPG’s Central Committee Political Bureau. The seat of the provisional government was established in Prespa, in Asamati, located in the People’s Republic of Macedonia. The seat of the government was supposed to be established in Konitsa (as claimed by Zahariadis when he said: “...If we take Konitsa our government will probably be recognized...”). But unfortunately, it did not happen! DAG units fought tough battles and sustained heavy losses in their attempt to take Konitsa, but to no avail. The arrival of members of the Provisional Democratic Government in Prespa was accommodated by UDBA’s Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Krstich, a Yugoslav National Army officer. Originally the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece consisted of eight members: President Markos Vafiadis, Yannis Ioannidis, Petros Rousos, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, Petros Kokalis, Vassilis Bardzhiotas, Dimitrios Leonidas and Vlandas Stringos. Then, by decree, twenty-five people were promoted to colonel in the ranks of DAG. But neither in the government nor among these officers, who represented the military and political factor of DAG, was there a single Macedonian! The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece

was a one-party government exclusively composed of Greek communists. Despite the fact that 50% to 60%, or more, of the DAG fighters were Macedonians, not a single Macedonian was in charge! The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece led by Markos Vafiadis was not recognized by any country, which means it was operating illegally and conducting illegal mobilizations, especially in the Republic of Macedonia.

Meanwhile on the international scene, on February 10, 1948, Stalin demanded that Yugoslavia stop supporting the resistance movement in Greece. Stalin told the Yugoslav delegation visiting Moscow that: "I do not agree with you, my Yugoslav comrades that the revolution in Greece should continue. That struggle has no hope of success. What do you think; the UK and the USA, the strongest countries in the world, will allow it to bring down a line of communication with the Mediterranean Sea? Nonsense! And there's almost nothing of naval forces! No! The revolution in Greece should stop, as quickly as possible." This recommendation was most likely based on what was decided between Stalin and Churchill in Yalta and in Moscow from October 5th to the 20th 1944, during the division of spheres of influence of the Balkans between the Great Powers. Another of Stalin's clear and undeniable positions was that the USSR was against Zahariadis's decision to announce the creation of a "United and Independent Macedonian state within a Balkan Federation", a decision passed during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum. Stalin's dislike of this was made very clear in the correspondence files between the USSR leadership and Chernishov, the Soviet Ambassador to Athens.

A wide call for evacuating the Macedonian and other children from the war zone which was predominantly located in Greek occupied Macedonia was made in March 1948. The newspaper "Eksormisi", issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Democratic Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated March 7, 1948 entitled "Parents and children appeal to the government". Further down the article it said: "From mid-February to March 5, 1948 parents from 59 villages from the free territory gave 4,784 children." The same newspaper carried an article on March 20, 1948 saying that the Interim Democratic Government has decided to evacuate all the children up to age 14. A

mass evacuation of children took place right after the recruitment and training of the special teachers called “mothers”. The actual evacuations were carried out en masse starting on March 25 through to March 30, 1948 until all the designated villages were evacuated. Most children were transported through Yugoslavia and were sent to Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Some were evacuated through Albania and Bulgaria. As the numbers of the evacuated rose, children were also sent to East Germany and the USSR. It is estimated that about 28,000 children in all were evacuated, most of them from North-Western Greek occupied Macedonia. Although smaller in number some orphans, children of partisans and children of families who were in trouble with the Greek Government were also evacuated. In the first half of 1948 columns of small children (ages 2 to 14) began to move from Greek occupied Macedonia into the People’s Republic of Macedonia, and from there to the Yugoslav republics and to the other democratic countries. The children were accompanied by the specially trained women called “mothers” who dedicated themselves to lead the children to safety and to deliver them to the free countries where the children were placed in homes and boarding schools. The paths taken during the long trek led the children through gullies and mountains to the territory of the People’s Republic of Macedonia, and hence to Bitola, Brailovo and beyond to Skopje, Belgrade, Gakovo, Bela Tsrkva, Tsrkvenitsa, Stara Gora and other places. The majority of the younger Macedonian refugee children, after they were given medical assistance, food and clothing, were sent to Belgrade and from there were deployed in Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia and the Autonomous Province of Voivodina. This is where the majority of the centres were set up to accommodate the Macedonian refugee children, whose numbers, although negligible to the total number of children uprooted and displaced, was still rather significant. Several researchers have pointed out that the figure of displaced children was 28,600, 90% of whom were Macedonians and the others were from the other national and ethnic groups living in Greece. A Greek settlement was established in Bulkes, Autonomous Province of Voivodina, from 1945 to 1949 to accommodate Greek party leaders, fighters and other staff as well as Greek refugees. The entire overall policy regarding the Greek refugees, including the refugee children, regardless of the fact that the vast majority were Macedonians, was led from Bulkes. The

“Committee for helping the children” was formed here. Their job was to place the refugee children in homes (boarding schools) in Yugoslavia and to make sure they received a proper education. Here they printed newspapers and brochures and created all the political means to deal with the refugee children. After the Informburo Resolution was adopted in mid 1948, which publicly proclaimed that there was a conflict between the then Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, two things came out: first, the Greek leadership in Bulkes adopted the Informburo Resolution and began to brutally and mercilessly attack the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This was done regardless of the fact that Bulkes was right in the middle of Yugoslavia. Secondly, the Greeks in Bulkes attempted to exploit the refugee children for their own propaganda purposes. Besides printing leaflets attacking the social and political system in Yugoslavia, they insidiously began to organize riots in the refugee shelters and in children’s homes. They informed the foreign media, especially the media in Eastern European countries, to publish fabrications and rumours that the children in orphanages in Yugoslavia lived under extremely difficult conditions because they were exploited. They were forced to work hard in physical labour camps instead of being educated in schools. Naturally, these were lies perpetrated by the Greeks which the Yugoslav and Macedonian authorities had to fight against with the strength of argument and the truth. They organized visits for several foreign journalists to visit the homes that sheltered the refugee children, and to show the world that the children were indeed being well looked after as well as being educated. This, the journalists had to see for themselves and verify how the children lived. In the end their articles were published in several prominent newspapers. The articles were impartial and showed the actual conditions under which the refugee children lived and were educated in Yugoslavia. This was a slap in the face for Greek and Eastern European propagandists. It showed the world that the situation in Yugoslavia was completely different and positive and that there should be no concern for the wellbeing of the refugee children living there.

With the departure of the Macedonian children from Greek occupied Macedonia, the CPG had no problem convincing the Macedonian women to join DAG and fight in the mountains, if they wanted to see their children again.

On the international scene, according to secret CIA documents from June, 1948, the conflict between Stalin and Tito was about Tito not adhering to the idea that the Soviet leader did not want problems with the allies, America and England, because of the Yalta agreement. Stalin was upset with Tito because he continued to supply the communist rebels in Greece with weapons, equipment and officer corps. Stalin sent a letter to Tito criticizing him for opening the “Greek line” and for helping the Greek communists who started a war that had no chance of success because Athens was supported by America, “the most powerful country in the world”. CIA documents have also revealed that immediately after Yugoslavia was discharged by the Informburo, Tito suspended aid to the communist resistance in Greece, even closed the borders which was meant to end the struggle in Greece. From what Stalin said it should have been obvious to everyone that not only did the Macedonians have no chance of uniting Macedonia because the West would not allow Greece to be broken up, but the communists in Greece had no chance of winning either! So why did Yugoslavia, against Stalin’s advice, continue to support this campaign? Again, it is important to understand that events such as this war do not happen by chance, there is always a purpose to them and to understand that purpose we need to take a look at the final outcome: the Macedonian people not only lost the right to acquire human rights in Greece but were ousted from their natural ancestral homeland. There is no doubt that the Macedonian people were lied to in order to get them involved in this war and eventually led, not to the victories they were promised but to their demise!

In the meantime the CPG used the Informburo resolution, which called for isolating the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as an excuse to remove more NOF leaders from the organization and replace them with its own cronies. This was done during the period from June 14 to August 21, 1948, which coincided with the Greek government’s major offensive against DAG in western and central Greek occupied Macedonia.

When the CPG needed more Macedonian involvement it tended to praise the Macedonian people. During its 4th Plenum held on July 28 and 29, 1948, it said: “The CPG Central Committee Plenum

underlines the extraordinary contribution of the ‘Slavo-Macedonian’ people for their struggle in our common cause for freedom.” In other words the CPG admitted that Macedonian people were helpful in Greece’s liberation. The CPG then went on to say: “With the blood of their sons and daughters, the Slavo-Macedonian nation in this struggle has earned its solid freedom and equality in Greece, which will be guaranteed in the future by the people’s liberation movement...” What the CPG failed to say is that the Macedonian people had fought massively in the armed struggle from the beginning and had earned their rights. It failed to say that the Macedonian people had lived through the fiercest terror and persecution campaigns exacted on them by the Monarcho-Fascist regime and its police, army, special units and air force.

Because of Van Fleet’s campaign to “starve” the resistance movement many Macedonian families were displaced from their homes and villages. Their sons and daughters over the age of fifteen were sent to concentration camps. In their absence their homes were looted and their properties destroyed. In this way the Monarcho-Fascist army, led by US officers headed by the notorious General Van Fleet, forcibly evicted around 50 villages in the Lerin and Kostur Regions and gathered them in the cities in ghettos under very difficult conditions. Many of the villagers who protested at being moved were accused of collaborating with DAG and were sent to prison in the Aegean islands. The Monarcho-Fascist aviation, flown by US and English pilots, bombed and destroyed the free zones on a daily basis. Flying the British military aircraft “Spitfire” and the American aircraft “Dakota” they bombed everything including flocks of cattle and sheep. They also bombed the crop fields with flammable liquids. The Monarcho-Fascist army led a totally destructive war not only against DAG but also against the entire population. The lives of the people were turned into real tragedies. Their physical existence was threatened by these bombardments by disease and hunger. The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece called on the governments of the people’s republics to start taking refugees from this part of the population.

Soon after the CPG adopted the Informburo resolution, we are told, there was an apparent dispute between two NOF leaders, Paskal Mitrevski and Mihailo Keramitzhiev. These two NOF leaders were

apparently causing problems in NOF so on October 3, 1948, a NOF Conference was held in the village Rudari, Prespa Region to resolve these problems. The Conference was personally attended by Nikos Zahariadis, who insisted that both Mitrevski and Keramitzhiev be immediately removed from their duties. During the Conference Zahariadis also asked Mitrevski what he wanted to do, i.e. where he wanted to work while being suspended from the NOF leadership. Mitrevski said: "I am a communist and a fighter... I will go wherever the Party sends me..." To that Zahariadis replied: "Then go and join the ranks of DAG and fight like an exemplary fighter..." And that's exactly what he did. On October 5, 1948 Paskal Mitrevski was sent to the ranks of DAG's 107th Brigade to serve as an ordinary fighter. The order for this came directly from Nikos Zahariadis. Unfortunately there was little to no mention of what the dispute between Mitrevski and Keramitzhiev was about but whatever it was, it gave Zahariadis reason to remove both of them from NOF and replace them with people who were loyal to him. Then, I found this in a classified report written by Col, R.F Rothschild, who on item 10 of the report said: "The feud between Tito and the Cominform resulted in a split in the NOF organization. As a result, two opposing groups were formed within NOF, each following its own line of policy. One group under Gotseff (Ilia Dimovski-Gotse) and Keramidjieff (Keramitzhiev) had declared itself as the followers of Tito. Its aim was still the incorporation of Greek Macedonia into the People's Republic of Macedonia which constituted one of the six republics of the Federated Peoples Republics of Yugoslavia. This group was now in Yugoslavia and came under the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The second group was lead by Mitrofski (Mitrevski) (Metropoulos – member of the Communist Provisional Democratic Government as Minister of Food) and Kotchef (Kotsopoulos – also member of the Provisional Democratic Government as Director of Minorities)...

On November 15, 1948, the CPG Central Committee Political Bureau decided to suspend General Markos Vafiadis as Chief of DAG and member of the CPG Central Committee. Vafiadis was suspended because he wanted DAG to remain a hit and run partisan army, while Zahariadis wanted to turn DAG into a stationary army so that it would fight in a front. On November 23, 1948, DAG Headquarters ordered the mobilization of Macedonian men and

women ages 17 to 35 but only in the Vicho area. By this act practically every Macedonian man and woman in Kostur and Lerin Regions was mobilized. In the meantime, Zahariadis continued to speak of DAG as an invincible force that would defeat the Greek government's regular army, destroy the Republicans and Royalists, take over the government and bring victory to the Democratic people. He threw around slogans like "1949 will be the year of victory" and "Death to Monarcho-Fascism and American-Imperialism". He then called on the Macedonian people from the "free territories" to continue their struggle and sacrifices and in place of promising them "equal rights with the Greeks as a minority" as has been done before, he now promised them "self-determination as Macedonians" but only when the CPG came to power. He was saying all this when even the most lay of people knew that DAG was facing an unavoidable defeat. Was this an act of an incompetent commander or an act of a treacherous and deceitful traitor? Among other things Zahariadis also said that the Macedonians in Northern Greece have given their all in the struggle with outstanding heroism and self-sacrifice which calls much admiration. There should be absolutely no doubt in anyone's mind that as a result of their effort and spilling of blood the Macedonian people have earned their full national restitution in the way they themselves would want it. Then, during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum, held on January 30-31, 1949, the slogan: "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation" was coined. This unfortunately was an unpardonable cruel manipulation. To recognize the Macedonian people's right to self-determination just a few months before DAG was liquidated was a cruel act, a ploy to "intensify" the war on both sides! And as it turned out, this "offer" lasted only until DAG was liquidated! After that it was business as usual for the CPG. Accordingly, this "recognition" was made quite independently and outside of the Balkan reality and, of course, it was absurd and not true. Zahariadis was simply playing on emotions and on centuries-old Macedonian aspirations with a specific goal in mind; intensify the war. This announcement was published in DAG's newspaper "Pros ti niki", on March 27, 1949 and more spectacularly it was announced through the radio program "Free Greece". Given the current situation in the Balkans, the announcement caused vivid public interest and a sharp reaction from the Athens government. Because of this, or perhaps because of

someone else's complaint, Zahariadis denied that he ever made such an announcement and called it an enemy fabrication. This is what in part Zahariadis said: "There are rumours that the 2nd NOF Congress is expected to declare the creation of a single Macedonian state, and that this state will then join Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, or the Balkan Communist or Democratic Federation. Our enemies always choose to say what they think is better for them. The truth, however, is different. The 2nd NOF Congress is a military congress, a congress for further strengthening and not breaking our unity. This is a congress that will organize our victory in expelling the foreigners, destroy the Monarcho-fascist killers and ensure a free and independent life for our people's democracy."

In the meantime Zahariadis was preparing plans to attack Lerin, the city, in early February 1949, which turned out to be one of the bloodiest battles in the so-called Greek Civil War. This battle was unnecessary because the resistance forces were already losing but Zahariadis insisted on capturing Lerin because, as he put it, if the partisans won this battle and captured a city then they would be taken seriously by the outside world. DAG units attacked in an attempt to enter the city but their actions failed because of the poor coordination. In the end, DAG endured a catastrophic defeat. Around one thousand DAG soldiers died and were wounded. The enemy was well-aware of this attack and of all the details. DAG's attacks were anticipated and wherever the partisans came from they were welcomed with well-prepared counter-attacks and ambushes. The enemy commanders knew everything, all the details about the attack. This is what a Vlach officer who fought on the opposite side in Lerin said: "Exactly that evening of that February night in 1949, our unit was informed that the partisans would be attacking from there, from there and from there... Many partisans were killed. We recognized many of the women fighters from the Prespa villages..." At the time the Vlach was mobilized in the enemy reserves as a non-commissioned officer.

On March 7, 1949, the CPG Central Committee denied coining the slogan "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation". The CPG also denied accepting NOF's new program principles drafted during NOF's 2nd Congress on February 3, 1949.

On March 8, 1949, Chernishov, the Soviet Ambassador to Greece, telephoned Moscow to report that the Greek government was using unprecedented aggressive and active propaganda against the CPG and against the resistance movement. This was in reaction to the CPG announcement in regards to the “Macedonian Question” about which a decision was made during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum and during the Macedonian National Liberation Front 2nd Congress. The main thrust of this propaganda was aimed at the CPG and DAG, which allegedly wanted to break the sovereignty of Greece. The reason for this was the “unification of Macedonia”... This propaganda gave Athens reasons and opportunity to conduct recruitments, transfer government troops and place the military on high alert in the areas controlled by the resistance. The Greek people have a special sensitivity to the issue of Greece’s sovereignty and integrity. The same concern was shown by people living in the cities who were supporters of the Communists and DAG. The Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF) is expected to convene a Congress, scheduled to take place on March 10, 1949, in the free territories held by DAG. Regarding this, the government press of the Anglo-American League has declared, with provocative measures, that the aim of the Congress is to split Greek Macedonia and create a common state with Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia and, as such the Communist Party of Greece “has committed treachery against Greek Macedonia.” According to the information Chernishov received from Moscow, the Congress organizers were told that such intent was imprudent and that the Congress should not focus on this question, and not even on the future of the Macedonian people within a Balkan Federation. It was recommended that the delegates turn their attention to the population in Greek Macedonia and orient it in the direction of combating the Monarcho-Fascist society in Greece and fight to create a free and democratic Greece. What this boiled down to was that after World War II, when people believed that the war was over and that the bloodshed had ended, the Macedonian people paid a high price for fighting to support a communist ideology which was not willing to support the Macedonian cause. In other words, the Macedonian people fought defending an ideology which worked against their interests...

Then on March 20, 1949, when more Macedonian sacrifices were needed, the Greeks began to again compliment the Macedonian

contribution to the struggle. In a speech regarding the Macedonian fighter contribution in DAG's ranks, delivered to DAG Political Commissars, Vasilis Bardzhotas then DAG General Staff Political Commissar, among other things, said: "...The Slavo-Macedonian fighters and officers are considered the best that DAG has to offer. They fought and still fight bravely. These heroic people give their best. They sacrificed their children, their property, their houses... Every house has a wounded or dead person. The DAG Vicho Mountain unit fighters are 20 to 50% Slavo-Macedonians..." Five days later, on March 25, 1949, during the 2nd NOF Congress held in the village Nivitsi, a resolution was adopted to invite the Macedonian people to join the struggle (Greek Civil War) en masse. The Greek Communists told and retold the Macedonian people that they would allow them to create their own Macedonian state but they needed to fight and win the war. For that to happen however, every able bodied man and woman had to join the struggle. In other words, like Zahariadis said: "All to arms and everything for victory." Zahariadis also said: "You Macedonians have a right to secession, within a Balkan federation..." There were many slogans written especially in honour of Zahariadis, the so-called "greatest", wisest and most respected son of Macedonia and then, a little later, no one wanted to believe that he was a traitor. Unfortunately the NOF leaders and all those who served under him believed and trusted him. But, despite their trust the NOF leadership refused to accept Zahariadis's claims that Yugoslavia was their enemy.

On March 27, 1949, Zahariadis created the "Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia" (KOEM) to further divide the Macedonian people. After his failure to win over NOF and turn it into an anti-Yugoslav weapon to satisfy his own purposes, Zahariadis invented another so-called Macedonian organization and imposed it on the Macedonian people. Obviously Zahariadis did all this to show sincerity and to remove all suspicions from the anti-Macedonian acts he and his Central Committee had committed. He wanted the Macedonian people to remain in DAG's ranks, the small rebel army which he himself insisted on remaining small, and become cannon fodder for the opponent's mighty war machine. Even though DAG was already bleeding profusely, instead of negotiating peace, Zahariadis preferred to have his small rebel army fight in the May 1949, government offensive code named "Pirsos" as

a stationary army, a target for the Greek heavy artillery and aviation. During this offensive the Greek army had 150,000 regular soldiers, 50,000 national defense forces, 25,000 gendarmerie forces, 7,500 policemen, 50,000 special forces, 14,300 sailors and some 7,500 aviators, a sum of more than 300,000 men. DAG's military force, on the other hand, consisted of no more than 25,000 regular fighters.

On May 5, 1949, after Tito's break with Stalin, a meeting took place between Fitzroy McLean and Marshal Tito during which many issues were discussed concerning Yugoslavia and its relationship with the West. Some of these issues applied to Greece about which Tito did not hide the fact that he helped DAG in past years. But now that the situation had changed, he said, Yugoslavia could not by itself refuse the right of asylum to political refugees. But those refugees would be kept deep inside the country and beyond the borders. It was understood that Tito could promise that in future he would not allow these people to return to Greece to resume fighting. And he would no longer provide any help to DAG. He also said that this information must be kept secret because it would create a very complex situation and damage his reputation.

On July 3, 1949, the Greek government military began its offensive against DAG 24th Brigade in Mount Kaimakchalan. After four hard and bloody days of fighting, the Brigade was overpowered and forced to withdraw into Yugoslav territory. In order to justify the tragic losses in Kaimakchalan and put the blame elsewhere, CPG and DAG leaders insisted that a secret agreement had been reached between Yugoslav and Greek government officers in Kaimakchalan so that Yugoslavian authorities would allow Greek government troops to attack DAG units from behind. It was alleged that, according to this agreement, made on July 5, 1949, Greek government units were allowed to use Yugoslav space in order to attack the brigade from behind. And thus the fictional "attack from behind" was invented. After the disastrous defeat at Kaimakchalan, fighters from the DAG 24th Brigade moved to Yugoslavia and in the statements made they denied claims about being attacked from behind. It was also uncovered that the alleged attack from behind was an invented lie to justify the brigade's defeat.

In response to the “Pirsos” strategic plan developed and implemented by US General Van Fleet’s staff in preparation for the liquidation of the resistance forces in Greece, the AFZH Executive Board passed a resolution on July 16, 1949, to activate the Macedonian women, mobilize them and shove them in the trenches to defend the frontline at the Vicho front. Their patriotism, love for their homeland, for their fathers, husbands and brothers, drew them into this terrible war and in the end they too faced the same humiliation... being labeled “traitors” and “wrongdoers” and worse they too were driven out of their homes and homeland and torn away from their families.

On August 10, 1949, the Greek government military launched a major offensive against DAG and its units in the free territory in Greek occupied Macedonia. On the first day of the offensive the government forces breached the DAG defensive line and achieved great success. Within six days DAG lost about 800 fighters and another 600 went missing. By August 17, 1949 it poked a hole in DAG’s positions, evicted two DAG divisions and several smaller units and occupied Mount Vicho and Prespa. The Macedonian civilian population in that region was pounded by government artillery and aviation. With fanatical hatred, DAG divisions stationed at the Greek-Yugoslav border prevented refugees from fleeing into the territory of the People’s Republic of Macedonia and coerced them to withdraw to the territory of Albania. Any Macedonian who attempted to cross the Yugoslav border was shot. There were many such incidents. Government forces carried out violent and hellish attacks against DAG from August 10 to 14 with unprecedented air support supplied by the United States.

The poet Atso Shopov was right when he wrote the poem “Gramos” telling us that “no bird can fly in Vicho from the hail of bombs and grenades”. This struggle has been objectively presented in two volumes by Greek historian Giorgos Margaritis, a professor at the University of Crete. Margaritis has relied on the memoirs of prominent anti-Fascists for his source material and describes why DAG fighters aborted Vicho and pulled out of Gramos, leaving the population unprotected and running for its life.

One hundred and thirty bombing runs were made on August 10, 1949 by the American and English supplied air support using “Dakota” and “Spitfire” military aircraft to bomb units of DAG and columns of fleeing refugees. The next few days the military aircraft did the same, at the same pace, providing air support for the government artillery and infantry. There was not a square foot of space that had not been bombed on Mount Vicho, on Lisets, on Mount Malimadi and in Prespa along the Albanian and Yugoslav border. The entire area had been bombed with aerial bombs, grenades, napalm bombs and rockets and was garnished with machine gun fire by the dive-bombing aircraft. This clearly describes the conditions under which DAG was placed and the kind of pot its fighters were put in to boil. There was an insurmountable amount of pressure and worry placed on the fighters not only for saving their own lives but also for caring for the wounded and for saving the huge columns of fleeing refugees. DAG was again attacked in Gramos with the same vigour. It was under these circumstances, created mainly by foreign intervention, that the “freedom-loving democrats” of Gramos dropped the “last flag”.

The Greek government offensive initiated against DAG had a force of 60,000 Greek government troops, commanded by General Van Fleet of the U.S.A and organized in 6 divisions from all branches of the military, with 200 tanks and armoured cars and with about 100 aircraft of all types. All this was unleashed on Mount Vicho. Opposing this force was commander Michos Vlandas with 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG suffered huge losses with 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured fighters. The Government side sustained only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded. During the night of August 15-16 DAG units began to retreat to Albania with the last units retreating on August 17, but in the following days about 6,000 fighters were sent to reinforce the fighting on Mount Gramos. Then, on August 20, 1949, the CPG Central Committee Politburo held a meeting and promised its fighters that “Gramos has all the means necessary to deliver the enemy a death blow” and coined the slogan “Gramos will be the tomb of the government troops”. That, however, never happened, all Zahariadis wanted to do was extend the war. Then, during the night of August 29-30, government troops began a new campaign against Gramos. Under the command of U.S. General Van Fleet, this force was larger by three battalions than that

of Vicho. Opposing Van Fleet in Gramos was General Georgios Vontisios-Gusias with about 12,500 resistance fighters. During this campaign the government artillery and aviation alternately bombed DAG positions continuously. It was a hellish situation for DAG and its units. The last battles took place on August 29 and the retreat for Albania began on August 30. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured, 650 wounded and about 400-450 voluntarily surrendered. Losses on the government side amounted to 243 dead and 1,452 wounded. DAG's 6th and 7th Divisions withdrew to Bulgaria during September and October 1949. The last DAG remnants, located in the southern parts of Greece, withdrew in early 1950. Officially the Greek Civil War ended on August 30, 1949.

For the longest part, after removing General Markos Vafiadis from his command and after abandoning the proven military strategies of the so-called "Supreme War Council Law", Zahariadis worked personally with his Politburo, which had absolutely no relevant experience in implementing military strategists so naturally one would find Nikos Zahariadis and his Politburo responsible for DAG's defeat. But that's not who they found guilty. Instead of laying blame where it squarely belonged, Zahariadis and his clique pointed their fingers at the Macedonians, specifically at the NOF and AFZH leadership and at the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece. Zahariadis staged a fake political trial in Bureli, a town in Albania, similar to those staged by Informburo countries, and had the last word.

While the last battles in Gramos were still raging on, DAG General Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw claiming that their intended task was now completed. What intended tasks were they completing? With this DAG was declared liquidated and its units were ordered to go to Albania. The great government offensive began on August 10, 1949 but the war did not end until August 30, 1949. Following is a list of battles that took place during the Greek Civil War. These were frightful battles where the opponent had forces as high as ten times larger and much better equipped:

1. Battle at North Pindos, (June 26 to July 22, 1947);
2. Battle for the city Konitsa (December 24, 1947 to January 4, 1948);

3. Battle in Kailiari, (October 18, 1948);
4. Battle in Bukovik (November 10 to 14, 1948);
5. Battle for the reception of the heroic unarmed phalanx from Rumeli to Mount Pieria, (March 16, 1948);
6. Battles in Agrafa: Villages Karoplesi, Smokovo, Kerasovo and Mount Niala (April 8 to 22, 1947);
7. Battle at Ilia, Furka, Taburi-Greko, (July 31, 1948);
8. Battle at Golio-Kamenik, (June 21, 1948);
9. Battle at Klevti (June 28 to August 1, 1948);
10. Battle at Taliaro-Likokremasma and Eastern Smolika, (July 31, 1948);
11. Battle at Alevitsa, (June 14, 1948);
12. Battles to conquer the cities Voden, Sobotsko and Negush, (December 22, 1948 to January 14, 1949);
13. Battle for the conquest of Lerin, (February 12, 1949);
14. Battles in Kaimakchalan, (June 4, 1949);
15. Major battles for the re-taking of Gramos (April 1 & 2, 1949);
16. Battles at the heights of Bulgara, Kotelsko-Gramos, (April 4, 1949);
17. Battles at Patoma-Gramos, (June 2, 1949);
18. Battles for Vicho. The fiercest battles were fought at Lisets and at Iamata, (August 10 to 14, 1949);
19. Dramatic battle fought at Kulata - Prespa between the two lakes, (August 14, 1949);
20. Battles at Black-Gramos, (August 24 1949);
21. The last battles of Gramos, (August 24 to 29, 1949);
22. Battles at Kiafa (elevation 2322) in Gramos, (August 30, 1949, just less than 10 hours before DAG's defeat).

Then on September 9, 1949, General Michos Vlandas, Minister of War in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, held a meeting with his military and political staff in the Albanian camp where about 3,000 fighters and DAG officers, including Macedonians. In their presence he announced the war's conclusion and explained why DAG was defeated. He blamed Yugoslavia and NOF as being the main culprits for losing the war. Vlandas said: "When our Party opted for an armed struggle it relied on Yugoslavia for its unwavering support promised to us. We relied on Yugoslavia because of its radiant glory in its victory in the People's Liberation

War and Revolution. But here we are, at the most critical and decisive moment of our struggle, Tito turned his back on us... he sold us out... he surrendered us and, through his agents (alluding to NOF), he undermined our national-movement and DAG". After that, all NOF leaders were systematically watched around the clock by DAG Security Services and their activities recorded in pre-existing files. Since 1945, the CPG had open files and followed the life and activities of all the NOF leaders. CPG representatives in the People's Republic of Macedonia have been monitoring NOF activities since NOF was created in the spring of 1945. The CPG had been spying on both NOF and the People's Republic of Macedonia. It would appear that the Greek communists were preparing "a court case" against the Macedonian leaders well in advance of losing the war.

At about the same time, the CPG officially asked Stalin to provide DAG and the CPG two bases, one in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not provide one in Albania. After that the CPG adopted a decision to arrest the NOF, NOMS and AFZH leaders. Over 100 Macedonians, DAG fighters and NOF activists, 30 of them women, were arrested and handed over to the Albanian police. Nothing is known of their fate. They were detained without being tried and carried off to the concentration camps. Then, with agreement from Mehmet Shehu, Albania's President, and in the presence of Petrov, a representative from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, ten of the top executives from NOF, NOMS and AFZH were arrested. They were Paskal Mitrevski, NOF Central Council President, Evdokia Baleva-Vera, NOF Central Council Vice-President and AFZH Central Committee Secretary, Mihail Maliov, KOEM Secretary and NOF Central Council Secretary, Mincho Fotev, member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee and NOMS Main Board President, Urania Iurukova, member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee, Lazar Poplazarov, member of the NOF Central Council, Risto Kolentsev, member of the NOF Central Council and President of the Lerin District Board of the People's government, Tashko Hadzhiianev, member of the NOF Central Council, Lambro Cholakov, President of the NOF District Board for Kostur District and candidate member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee, and Pavle Rakovski, former member of NOF Central

Council Presidency. These people were later imprisoned in the “Bureli” prison. Their arrest was publicly announced at a gathering of DAG officers and soldiers in the camp where they were all stationed. The gathering was attended by all members of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, members of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece with its president, Petrov the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, and representatives of the Albanian Labour Party. Some of the arrested NOF leaders were paraded in front of those attending the meeting. The CPG then held its 6th CPG Central Committee Plenum during which Vasilis Bardzhotas, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, submitted a paper which presented the Party’s position on the Macedonian Question.

The CPG, it appears changed its position again by abandoning the slogan “self-determination for the Slavo-Macedonian nation” and returning back to its previous position of “national equality”. It did this, it said, because the overall situation had changed. It was no longer possible for the People’s Republic of Macedonia to be “the centre of national unification”, and because of that there was a need to introduce the “Slavo-Macedonian nation” and because of that the CPG Central Committee Politburo had to decide what to do with the organizations NOF and KOEM and clean up those who were “traitors to the Party” and “Tito’s agents”. Bardzhotas said: “The Party’s 5th Plenum introduced the slogan ‘self-determination’ over establishing a ‘Slavo-Macedonian nation’. That slogan was chosen during an unsuitable moment. We chose the slogan ‘self-determination’ so that we could oppose the actions of Tito’s agents and attract the Slavo-Macedonian people into the armed struggle. Today the situation has changed and we needed to re-examine the slogan. Stalin has taught us that a national question must be subordinated to the general interests of the revolution and then changed again to serve the general interests of the Party. This too needs to happen today in our country. We need to embrace the slogan of ‘national equality’, which we chose during the CPG Sixth Congress...” Full equality was extended for the “Slavo-Macedonians” in October 1949. This was the period when people started returning to their homes. But in reality nearly all Greek officers, who had returned after the Greek Civil War, were promoted by the Greek government to three ranks higher than those who

suffered during World War II. There were no Macedonian officers but those Macedonians who did try to return were told that “only Greeks by birth can return” and that “there is no place in Greece for the likes of you...” At the same time the CPG disbanded all Macedonian organizations: NOF, AFZH, NOMS and KOEM and on February 19, 1951 proposed to form a new organization called “Ilinden”. The reason given for dissolving NOF, AFZH and NOMS was because these organizations were managed by Tito’s agents and by traitors. The new “Ilinden” organization was created in order to combat “Tito’s agents”.

On November 27, 1949, refugees from Greek occupied Macedonia gathered at the Freedom Square in Skopje where they held a protest in which they vigorously protested against the wild terror perpetrated by the Greek government against the Macedonian people with aims at cleansing the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. They also protested against the terror and arrests carried out by the traitor Zahariadis who arrested the Macedonian leaders and Democratic Army of Greece fighters, in order to hide his own and his Party’s role and responsibility in the DAG disaster.

After that on December 14, 1949 the arrested Macedonian NOF leaders were loaded onto the Soviet freighter “Michurin” at the port of Durres in Albania, and transported to the USSR. They arrived at the port of Odessa on December 25, 1949 and were handed over to the Soviet Security Services who then locked them up in a prison in Odessa. On January 1, 1950 the detainees were loaded onto a train with special prison wagons called “Stopilinskie” and transported to Moscow where they were handed over to the USSR Ministry of State Security, which then imprisoned them in the “Liublianka” prison in Moscow. A little later they were transferred to other prisons in Moscow including Lefortovo, Butirskaia and Suhanovka. The interrogations of the NOF leaders in Moscow lasted from January 1950 until May 1952. During this time the detainees were locked up in solitary confinement or in individual cells. The interrogations were conducted around the clock from 1200 to 1700 hours and from 2300 to 0500 hours (12 noon to 5pm and from 11pm to 5am) by a group of Soviet officers, led by Colonel Rubliov, head of the Second Department of the USSR Ministry of State Security.

Included among the interrogators were Major Pandelev, Colonel Viktor Petrov Firtsov, Colonel Evgeni Kostandinovich Nikitin, and Lieutenant Colonel Andrei Pogrebniak. The interrogations were done in the Greek language because the Soviet service did not have Macedonian speaking translators. The translators were Soviet officers of Greek origin. Included among the translators were Captain Hristos Dzhumiadis, Captain Ioanidis, and Lieutenant Aristotelis Papounidis.

After all the DAG fighters and civilian refugees fled from Greece the Greek government closed its borders and refused to allow them to return. Anyone who left Greece without the Greek government's permission, man, woman or child, was not allowed to return. While the civilian refugees were sent into the various Eastern European countries such as Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, etc., the fighters were sent to the USSR with no hope of ever returning to their homeland, Greek occupied Macedonia.

Laws enacted by the Greek government against the Macedonian people

1917 - LAW 1051. Greece inaugurated new administrative jurisdictions for governing newly acquired lands in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1926 – November 21. A legal Act was issued on the change of Macedonian geographic names into the Greek version. The news was published in the government daily *Efimeris tis Kivemiseos* No. 322 of November 21, 1926. The same newspaper in its No. 346 edition published the new, official, Greek names. These Acts are still officially binding to this day. All place names (toponymia) were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers, lakes, mountains, etc., were discarded and Greek names put in their place. Macedonians were ordered under duress to abandon all Macedonian names and to adopt Greek names assigned to them by the Greek state. They were forced to change both first and last name; every surname had to end in ‘os’, ‘es’, ‘ou’ or ‘poulos’. The news of these acts and the new, official Greek names were published in the Greek government daily “*Efimeris tis Kiverniseos*” no. 322 and 324 on November 21 and 23, 1926.

1927 – The Cyrillic inscriptions (Macedonian alphabet) in churches, tombstones and icons were rewritten or destroyed. Church services in the Macedonian language were outlawed.

1928 - In the period from 1928 to 1934, when there seemed to be a movement for better relations between the Balkan countries, successive Greek governments of the time appeared a little more elastic in their attitudes towards the Macedonian language. Some even made serious statements in favour of the Macedonians. But in order to see the differences between what Greek politicians said and did regarding the Macedonian Question, we need to emphasize the fact that back in 1926 a law was passed by the Greek Government, as published in the Greek Official Gazette no. 332 of 21. XI. 1926, which entailed the erasure of the Macedonian toponymy and replacing it with a Greek one. In other words the Greek government passed a law to change the names of all villages, towns, rivers, lakes and mountains in Greek occupied Macedonia from Macedonian to

Greek. At about the same time in 1926 the Greek government allowed various different Greek nationalist organizations, such as the “Elino - Makedoniki pigmi” (Greco - Macedonian fist) and “EEE” (National Organization of youth), to appear which were openly raising the issue of banning the Macedonian language.

1928 - 1, 497 Macedonian place names changed in Greek occupied Macedonia turned into Greek (since 1926) by LAW 4096, a directive on renaming Macedonian place names prompting English Journalist V. Hild to reveal that “The Greeks do not only persecute living Macedonians but they even persecute dead ones. They do not leave them in peace even in the graves. They erase the Macedonian inscriptions on the headstones, remove the bones and burn them.”

1929 - Legal act issued on protection of public order. During Eleftherios Venizelos’s rule a legal Act was issued “On the protection of public order”. In line with this Act each demand for nationality rights is regarded as high treason. This law is still in force.

1936 - Macedonians suffer state terrorism and pogroms. Thousands of Macedonians jailed, sent to internal exile (EXORIA) on arid, inhospitable Greek islands, where many perish. Their crime? Being ethnic Macedonian by birth. LAW 6429 reinforces Law 4096 on turning Macedonian place names to Greek place names. DECREE 87 accelerates denationalization of Macedonians. Greek Ministry of Education sends “Specially trained” instructors to accelerate conversion to Greek language.

1938 – September 7. Legal Act No. 2366 was issued which banned the use of the Macedonian language. All Macedonian localities were flooded with posters: “Speak Greek”. Evening schools were opened in which adult Macedonians were taught Greek. Not a single Macedonian school functioned at that time. Macedonians were fined, beaten or jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children were further humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian. LAW 1418 reinforces previous laws on renaming.

1945 - LAW 697 enacted more regulations on renaming toponyms in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1945 - Law 543/45 is passed by Greek legislature against the organization NOF, AFZH and NOMS. I.e. “Against NOF and all persons working for the secession of Greek territories.”

1945 - July 7, Law 453 and Law TOD:/45 enacted in Greece. “For order, peace and justice” to ensure public safety and to stop “autonomist activities” of which the Macedonian political organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were accused. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were found to be autonomist, separatist and anti-Greek and were placed outside of the law and their members were to be judged for possessing and using weapons.

1945 - July 18. Law CC 43 passed. Law “against autonomist activities” was passed in Greece with which the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared autonomist, placed outside of the law and their members were declared criminals to be caught and tried for high treason.

1945 - July 20, Law (CC) 4124 passed. Law on “Prosecution of suspected persons” was passed. Law (CC) 4124/45 was enacted to be applied only against the Macedonians.

1945 - July 20, Laws PZ 433/45 and PZ 753/45, Decree “G” and other laws were passed: PZ 433/45 “For illegal possession of weapons”, PZ 753/45 “For illegal possession and use of arms”, “For extraordinary measures for public safety”.

1946 – September. The Greek government enacted a law designed to punish the families of army deserters. Imprisonment for political crimes was on the increase and as regular prisons became dangerously overcrowded, new systems of detention were being invented including detention centres, islands of deportation, concentration camps, etc. Incarcerating large numbers of democrats, male and female of all ages, dated back to before the Metaxas dictatorship, which involved the punishment of people not for their deeds but for their ideas, but the sheer number of those incarcerated during this period was far larger than at any time in the past, and

easily dwarfed even the thousands jailed or detained under Metaxas. There was a far greater number of women and even children detained during this period than ever before, necessitating the need for special women's camps. In 1934, for example, there were approximately 130 women jailed in the Averof Women's Prison in Athens. By 1945 the number of prisoners had grown tenfold. "The strains upon the primitive infrastructure required to support such an expansion of the system of incarceration can be judged in the remarkable collection of photos taken by women inmates and recently published under the heading "Gynaikes exoristes sta stratopeda tou emfyliou."

1947 - Legal Act L-2 is issued during the Greek Civil War, on the strength of which all who left Greece without the consent of the Greek government were stripped of their Greek citizenship and banned from returning to Greece. This included Greeks and Macedonians. In its modernized version the Act is still binding for Macedonians.

1947 - December 7. Greece enacted Decree "Z" which stated that: "All persons abroad who express anti-national sentiments are to be stripped of their Greek citizenship."

1948 - January 20. Legal Act M is issued, on the strength of which the property of those who were stripped of their citizenship was confiscated. The law was updated in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians.

1953 - August 23. Legal Act No. 2536 was issued, on the strength of which all those who left Greece and who did not return within three years time could be deprived of their property. A decision on the resettlement of Macedonians was taken. A wide-flung campaign was launched in the mass media to induce the Macedonians to leave their native areas voluntarily and to settle in the south of the country and on the islands. The Greek authorities intended to create a 60 kilometre-wide belt along the border with Yugoslavia where "the faithful sons of the Greek nation" were to be settled. In the first point of this Act it is stated that the resettlement was necessary owing to the humanitarian aspect of the matter as the living standard of the Macedonians would improve. The actual intention was to

separate Macedonians living in Greece from the Republic of Macedonia. Due to a firm reaction from Yugoslavia the realization of that shameful plan was cancelled.

1959 - Legal Act No. 3958 was issued, on the strength of which the land of those who left Greece and did not return within five years time was confiscated. The law was amended in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians. Acts from the years 1948, 1953 and 1959 concerning property confiscation are a consequence of the 1947 ban on returning. Several villages in Greek occupied Macedonia were forced to swear “Language Oaths” to speak only Greek and renounce their Macedonian mother tongue.

1962 - Legal Act No. 4234 was issued, on the strength of which persons who were stripped of their Greek citizenship were banned from returning to Greece. The ban on crossing the Greek border also extends to spouses and children. It is still in force for Macedonians, even those who left Greece as children.

1969 - Legal Act was issued on the strength of which the settlement of the unoccupied Macedonian farms by Greeks by origin was permitted. After that a plan was put together to locate over one hundred thousand immigrants of so-called Greek origin from the ex-Soviet Union on this territory. In the future this will be a source of new national tensions. Council of Europe declares Greece “undemocratic, illiberal, authoritarian, and oppressive”. Greece forced to resign from Council of Europe under threat of expulsion. Military Junta continues the policy of colonizing the confiscated lands in Greek occupied Macedonia. Land handed over to persons with “proven patriotism” to Greece. European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms signed by Greece states: ARTICLE 10(1) “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers”.

1976 - DECREE 233 suspends about 150 past decrees, government decisions and laws since 1913. Regulations for the confiscation of properties belonging to Macedonian political exiles not affected.

1979 - 135 places renamed since 1940. The Greek vigil regarding names is an indicator of the Macedonian ethnic identity in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1982 - New attempts made to erase the Macedonian language. The Greek internal security police urged an intensive campaign to wipe out any remaining Macedonian language and consciousness in Greek occupied Macedonia. LAW 106841 political exiles who fled during the Civil War and were stripped of their citizenship are allowed to return providing they are “Greek by ethnic origin”. The same rights are denied to Macedonian political exiles born in Greek occupied Macedonia. U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARTICLE 17, “No one can be deprived of their own property against their will”.

1982 – December 29. While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister legal Act No. 106341 was issued. On the strength of that Act only Greeks by origin have the right to Greek citizenship and their right to return to Greece. Macedonians born in Greece and their families have been excluded. They were and are doomed to live in exile. Heads of various rungs of the state administration received the right to make free use of the property left by Macedonian refugees. The Greek authorities refer to that hostile Act whenever they reject Macedonian demands for the recovery of Greek citizenship taken away by default. They refer to that “law” even in their explanations to the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva! Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XIII, Point 2: “Everyone has the right to leave every country, including one’s own, and to return to his own country.” Art. XV, Point 1: “Each person has the right to have a citizenship.” Art. XV, Point 2: “No one can be freely dispossessed of his or her citizenship.”

1985 – While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister hostile Act, No. 1540, was issued. This amended the previously issued Acts regulating property relations so as to make it absolutely impossible for Macedonians to return. This Act permits the recovery of illegally seized property to “Greeks by origin only”. The Macedonian refugees from Greece are excluded. Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XVII, Point 2: “No one can be deprived of his or her property freely.”

1989 - August 30. Legal Act rehabilitating the participants from the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949 was issued. These participants had hitherto been recognized as bandits. The Act granted damages and disability pensions to fighters in the civil war who now have Greek citizenship. By the same token, the Macedonian fighters living in exile – who earlier had been stripped of their citizenship - were not included.

AGREEMENTS

The Plaka Protocol

To comprehensively and solely lead a national struggle against the occupiers and their organs, to contribute to the success of the Allied struggle, to liberate Greece and ensure freedom for the people and ultimately to create lighter conditions in an effort to unify the Greek insurgent army, as has been decided by the below signatories and Greek unity negotiators:

1. Accepted is the EAM-ELAS proposal to stop hostilities between ELAS and EDES forces.
2. EAM-ELAS and EDES units are to hold onto the positions now held.
3. EAM-ELAS and EDES organizations are to deploy all their forces in their respective regions to act against the occupiers and their collaborators or act together in common regions.
4. In order to better counter the occupier, command of the forces in Epirus and the two organizations (EAM and EDES) will soon propose a joint plan of offensive or defensive action, which will determine the manner of possible maneuver of units for each organization in order to put pressure on the enemy in the region, as required by military means.
5. If the units of an organization withdraw from certain positions, because of German or German associate penetration, they will return to their former positions after the enemy is ousted or has withdrawn.
6. A mixed military commission consisting of representatives from ELAS, EDES and EKKA will ensure that everyone complies with this Agreement and resolve any eventual disputes. The Commission can work with both of its members until an EKKA representative arrives.

7. The allied military mission is appealing to Middle East Command to supply Greece and its largest organizations with the means to participate in the operations against the Germans.

8. Since the German penetration and since these Organizations were formed, the victims of this conflict have expressed desire for immediate assistance from all organizations. They are especially appealing to Allied Command to immediately come and help them.

9. With the signing of this Agreement, all those people held as prisoners or hostages on both sides, regardless of their political differences, will be released and allowed to go where they choose. This excludes those charged with national offenses like treason and those who have committed grave crimes. These people should be pointed out to the appropriate organizations and judged by existing military courts in the presence of a representative of the organization concerned. Desire has been expressed to proceed with the adjudication as soon as possible. The hostages and prisoners should be released within fifteen days.

10. This goes into effect immediately.

Somewhere in Greece 29. II. 1944.

EAM-ELAS Delegation: Stef. Sarafis General,
EDES Delegation: Kom. Piromaglu, P. Nikolopoulos (col),
EKKA Delegation: Mr. Kartalis
Allied Military Mission: Chris p. colonel Englishman
United States of America Delegation: Vainc, major.

(Source: "Historical Archives - National Resistance", Volume A, April 1958 - March 1960 – Athens.)

The Lebanon Agreement

PART ONE

Reorganization and compliance of the Greek armed forces in the Middle East under a Greek flag

Everyone is in agreement that the rebellion in the Middle East was a crime against the homeland. Everyone is in agreement that the investigation should continue and that the instigators of the rebellion should be punished according to their responsibility. Their excuse that this was triggered by the National Unity Government cannot exempt them from their responsibility, because if in wartime the mass voices around the government legalize the rebellion then the Albanian epic would not exist.

In what spirit should the reorganization be carried out? We have unanimously concluded that there is no need to apply political criteria. Only national and military criteria will be applied, under which the reorganization of the armed forces will take place.

Similarly, we have agreed that the slogan calling for military discipline should be absolute and should make it impossible for political views to exist in the military, because the army does not need to think. This slogan will be made public on the same day that the government of national unity is formed. The military must carry out government orders.

PART TWO

All partisan formations in free Greece, as well as all combat forces, will be united and will obey the commandments of the unity government in the fight against the occupiers.

I believe that after this problem is solved opinions will be completely eliminated because we accept that it is impossible in the future for partisan bands to be permanent and they should soon enter the national army and be free of any political party or organizational influence. They will all belong only to the homeland and will take orders only from the government. But we all accept, especially after

receiving a letter from Allied Command for the Middle East stressing that change must not lead to the weakening of the resistance and that the immediate purpose of the resistance should match the needs of the struggle. One side agrees that the partisan bands cannot be a permanent state. The other side believes that it is impossible for them to immediately meet that goal.

PART THREE

Stopping the terror in the Greek province and strengthening the personal safety and political freedom of the people will take place when and how the occupier is driven out.

The category “terror” is confirmed by one side and challenged by the other. It is not necessary to clean it up. The general conclusion is that the province will ensure order, personal and political freedom. We will also endeavour to eliminate terrorist phenomena in the cities.

Ministers of the unity government will find their way to free Greece who will be charged with managing the military forces and the liberated Greek population.

Full compliance has finally concluded that the Government’s mission is to be in contact and lead the Greek people.

None of us wants to be immigrants. We all want to be comrades and leaders of our people. That is where we belong. The only question is timing. We all agreed that, when the time comes and when a real chance is created that will allow our presence in Greece, we will take that chance and we will go home.

The fact that the political factors favoured negation rather than presence – absence, was a mistake.

The spirit of the new government will not be a denial but confirmation, not absence but presence.

PART FOUR

There is constant concern for food products and pharmaceuticals in occupied Greece and in the mountainous regions.

PART FIVE

Providing security, along with the liberation of the homeland delivered by the allied forces, will bring order and freedom to the Greek people so that they, free of material and psychological pressures, can decide on the regime, social system and government that suits them.

First proposal. Given that there is a government of national unity, provisions for security, order and freedom for the Greek people during the liberation of their motherland will be provided by the Greek people themselves with assistance from the allied forces. And this will certainly be guaranteed to the good people of Greece.

Second proposal. It then asks the question when will the people decide on the regime and government?

We are all in agreement that this should be decided in the shortest time possible, but also in the cleanest manner and in conditions of complete freedom.

The people of Greece have stated that Greece had no government respected by all the people and no defined regime.

Third proposal. Concerning the supreme rule in Greece. It seems that the entire political world in our country has an opinion which, of course, remains despite the existence of the national unity government. Therefore this declaration is one of the goals of the national government.

But I also want to add that while I attach great importance to the above statement, I provide very little new of what is required.

PART SIX

There is need to impose harsh penalties against the traitors of our fatherland and against the exploiters of the suffering of our people.

We all agree on this issue. Part six, however, leads to the examination of another subject because it is the part “after the liberation”, the question is whether it is possible for a national government to function under these circumstances.

This fact assures us that it is unnecessary to clarify it because the national unity government will last only until the liberation. Because in such a case it would not be able to fulfill its promises for bringing order and freedom during the critical transition from occupation to liberation, with all the fervour that it expected from the Greek people.

There are, of course, other aspects to be taken into account. Therefore we believe that the best course to take would be to build confidence, national conscience and political assessment in the new government.

PART SEVEN

We need to focus on providing material goods for the Greek people as soon as possible after the liberation. We need to prepare a plan for post-war economic recovery. We are in full compliance with this. This highlights the need to raise morale in the force for introducing the Allies in order to secure priority in rebuilding. We are in full compliance with this. It needs to be noted that we will need funds for the reconstruction to be donated and not as a loan.

Greece, with its heroism in Albania, either assured success in this war or shortened it by one year. Rebuilding its ruins will be a small recognition for their part.

It is noted that the rebuilding should be done with favourable treatment of our precious products. It is further noted that the nation’s economic recovery should be carried out by Greeks not leaving for distant countries, where the second generation loses its feelings, but in neighbouring countries that are known for centuries and where their presence turns them into a reservoir of the same nation, from which they draw forces for the state. We are in full compliance with that.

PART EIGHT

Full national rights. Great merit and great sacrifices, the sacrifices that country made cannot have less of recognition than creating a new and great, free Greece.

I think the second sentence in this part clarifies the first. It will therefore be possible by all of us to specifically consider formulating our national requirements. Full national implementation and complete security of our borders is our new Panhellenic request.

Gentlemen,

I have the impression that we have come to full concurrence on our views on the national issue related to the imminent formation of a national unity government.

If that is so, I suggest the text of the national program as explained here be regarded as a national convention to be signed by all representatives.

May 20, 1944

(Signatures of the 25 representatives)

(Source: “Struggle Chronicles, Weapon Chronicles. Historical Archives - National Resistance”, p. 195-200 publishing house Gianakos.)

(Prime Minister G. Papandreou, after reading this Agreement, gave a copy to each member of his party.)

The Caserta Agreement

Minutes of the decisions made at the meeting held at AFHG on September 26, 1944.

The meeting was chaired by the AFHG Mediterranean Front Allied Command Commander and attended by the Greek Prime Minister, Greek government members and General Sarafis and General Servas, leaders of the Greek guerillas.

“1. All guerilla groups operating in Greece are to be placed under the orders of the Greek national unity government.

2. The Greek government is to place all these forces under the command of General Scobie, who is appointed by the Allied supreme commander as the general who will command the forces in Greece.

3. According to the proclamation issued by the Greek government, the leaders of the Greek guerillas are to prohibit units under their command from attempting to take matters into their own hands. Such acts would be considered a crime and those committing them will accordingly be punished.

4. As for Athens, it will take no action except under the direct orders of General Scobie, commander of the forces in Greece.

5. The security battalions are to be regarded as organs of the enemy. They are to be considered as enemy formations, unless they surrender pursuant to orders given by the general who commands the forces in Greece.

6. In order to put an end to the discords of the past, all Greek guerilla forces are committed to creating national unity in order to coordinate their activities in the greater interest of the common struggle.

7. After being received by the Supreme Allied Commander, as authorized by the Greek government, General Scobie is to issue orders for the operations.

Following are short orders for the operations issued by the general who commanded the forces in Greece:

1. The general who commands the forces in Greece has stated that his objective is to free the country and be able to bring the Greek government home. And at the same time to provide the people with material support.

2. The military organization related to the forces acting in Greece will be as follows:

a) General Zervas will continue to act within the territory governed by the Plaka Protocol and will cooperate with General Sarafis to prevent German withdrawal in the area that lies between the northern limits defined by the Plaka Protocol and Albania.

b) General Sarafis will continue to act in the rest of Greece, except:

I. The area in Athens. General Spiliopoulos will command all the armies in the Athens area and will act in close cooperation with the Athens government, supported by a liaison officer who will be appointed by General Sarafis. He will be under the orders of the 140th force.

II. In the Peloponnesus. The armies in this area will be commanded by an officer nominated by General Sarafis with the approval of the Greek government and will be assisted by an English mission liaison. They will be under the orders of the 140th force.

III. Later, Thrace (encompassing the city Solun) will be put under the command of an officer nominated by the Greek government.

3. Objectives:

a) All commanders are to hinder German withdrawal and neutralize German garrisons.

b) During the liberation of the territory all commanders will personally report to the commander of the 140th force:

I. Maintenance of law and order in the territories within their acting powers.

II. Avoid civil war and the killing of Greeks by Greeks.

III. For the avoidance of any kind of penalties and unjustified arrests.

IV. For their help in establishing legal political power and granting aid.

4. A map marking the boundaries of the operations is given to all commanders.”

“Communiqué.

A meeting was recently held in AFHG. It was chaired by the Supreme Allied Commander and attended by General Scobie commander of forces in Greece, the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou along with other members of the Greek government and by two guerilla commanders Generals Sarafis and Zervas.

The two generals, commanders of the Greek guerilla forces, confirmed that they will absolutely accept orders from the Greek government and from the allied supreme commander, under whose orders the Greek government has placed all Greek forces operating in Greece.

All are in agreement with the decisions made regarding the coordination of the struggle and the possibility of freeing Greece as soon as possible.”

(Source: “Struggle Chronicles, Weapon Chronicles. Historical Archives - National Resistance”, p. 205-208 publishing house Gianakos.)

(The Caserta Agreement was signed by General Wilson, Commander of Allied Middle East Command, Mr. Papandreou, President of the Greek government, General S. Sarafis,

representative of ELAS and General N. Zervas, representative of EDES).

The Varkiza Agreement

The signatories below, on one side I. Sofianopoulos, N. Ralis and I. Makropoulos from the Greek government delegation and on the other side G. Siantos, CPG Central Committee Secretary, D. Partsalidis, EAM Central Committee Secretary, and I. Tsirimokos, ELD General Secretary forming the EAM Central Committee delegation. The two groups met in Varkiza and together explored the means and manner by which to terminate the civil war and bring reconciliation to the Greek people. The following agreements were reached:

The government delegation expressed strong will to end the sorrowful internal crisis without further bloodshed and restore unity, internal peace and political order. Only then would the Greek people undertake a creative effort to rebuild the country from the ruins caused by the heavy fighting with external enemies and from the fratricidal war.

In order for the Agreement to receive impartial and moral character, expressing the words of the Greek people's political conscience, the government delegation recommended that the Agreement be proclaimed as the resolute will of the Greek people for the development of free and normal political life, whose main feature will be respect of political opinion for the citizens, peaceful campaigning, the spread of political ideas, respect for freedom and respect for the Atlantic Charter Proclamation and the Tehran Decision in good conscience for the peoples who have fought for it.

The meeting concluded with full consent of these views and principles by the EAM delegation.

Article 1

Agreement

The government, in accordance with the Constitution and ruling Democratic principles, will ensure that every party has the right to freely express its political beliefs. The government will abolish former laws that prohibit freedoms and will ensure personal

freedoms such as freedom of gatherings, association and of the press are not inhibited. The government will establish full freedom for trade unions.

Article 2

Abolition of military law

Military law will be lifted immediately after signing this Agreement. With the abolition of military law, a constitutional protocol similar to KD will come into effect, thus permitting the abolition of article KD included in the Constitution.

The validity of Articles 5, 10, 12, 20 and 95 of the Constitution will be immediately postponed with decrees. The postponement will continue until administrative, judicial and military authorities in the country are fully established. Whatever is considered more special up to Article 5 must be postponed in Athens and Piraeus together with their suburbs and neighbourhoods. Especially again, for those arrested to date, it is determined that Article 5 of the Constitution does not apply. They will be released as soon as possible by sending the necessary orders to the competent authorities.

EAM supporters arrested and held by other organizations will soon be released.

Article 3

Amnesty

All political offenses committed from December 3, 1944 to the signing of this Agreement will be amnestied. Excluded are ordinary offenses committed against life and property that were not necessary for the successful execution of political offenses. The applicable laws will be published after the signing of this Agreement. Excluded from the amnesty are those members of ELAS, EP and ELAN who are obliged to surrender their arms and who do not surrender them by March 15, 1945. This last provision, after confirming that ELAS has surrendered all its weapons, will no longer be justified and will be abolished.

Guarantees and details for the amnesty will be provided for in the present bill now being drafted.

Article 4

Hostages

All citizens arrested by ELAS or EP will be immediately released.

Article 5

The national army, except for the professional officers and NCOs, will consist of citizens of draft age. Reserve officers, NCOs and soldiers of existing formations who are especially trained on new weapons will remain in service. Ieros Lohos will remain as it is while it is under the direct command of the Allied Headquarters and then will be merged with the national army in accordance with the basis set out above. Effort will be made to expand regular recruitment throughout Greece in accordance with the technical opportunities and emerging needs. After demobilizing ELAS, those fighters who would be invited annually in accordance with the attached plan, will enter existing units. The rest will be released from duty. All active staff of the national army will be evaluated by the Commission under Article 7 of the Constitutional protocol. Political and social beliefs of the mobilized citizens will be respected.

Article 6

Demobilization

Armed resistance forces, specifically ELAS, regulars and reserves, EAM (probably refers to ELAN) and the National Militia are to be demobilized when this Agreement comes into effect. Demobilization and decommissioning of weapons will be carried out according to a specifically planned protocol planned by a technical committee.

The state will regulate requisitions made by ELAS. Requisitioned items by ELAS, including livestock, automobiles, etc., will be handed out by the state according to the modalities laid out in the shaped protocol and, as of now, will be regarded as requisitions made by the Greek state.

Article 7

Purging officials

A government appointed commission or board shall commence the purge of civil servants, NPDD officials, city and municipal officials, etc. The criteria for purging will be - qualification, character and morality, cooperation with the enemy and the use of official authority as an organ of a dictatorship. Officials who belonged in the above categories during the occupation and who joined the resistance will be returned to their former place and evaluated the same way as other employees. The same board will also evaluate officials who participated or cooperated in the December 3, 1944 events, after the signing of this document. There will be opportunities for promotions to be determined by the government that emerges from the elections.

Article 8

Security unit purges

Purging of security units, gendarme and police units will be done by a special board as soon as possible in the same manner and using similar criteria for civil servants. All officers and fighters of the aforementioned units that fall under the provisions of the amnesty law, which entered the ranks of ELAS, ELAN or EP during the occupation, will return to their posts and will undergo assessment by the purging board the same as their colleagues. All officers and fighters mentioned, from the formations until the signing of this Agreement, will be placed on standby and their final position will be determined by the board which will be formed by the future government resulting from the elections.

Article 9

Plebiscites and elections

In full freedom and purity, a plebiscite will be held as soon as possible, certainly in the course of this year, which would finally put an end to the problems for the regime, subjecting all of the decision of the people. Soon after that, elections for the Constituent Assembly will follow in order to draft a Constitution for this country. Both delegations agree in terms of the purity of the decisions of the people's will to call the major allied powers to send observers.

This agreement was duplicated with two identical copies. One was given to the government delegation and the other to the EAM delegation.

Athens Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 12. II. 1945.

Government delegates:

1. I. Sofianopoulos
2. P. Ralis
3. I. Makropoulos

EAM delegates:

1. D. Siantos
2. D. Partsalidis
3. I. Tsirimokos"

(Source: "History of the Civil War years 1945-1949" (Second guerilla movement), Volume II by Fivos Neok. Grigoriadis.)

The Atlantic Charter

The Atlantic Charter was a statement issued on August 14, 1941 that set out American and British goals for the period following the end of the Second World War.

The joint statement, later dubbed the “Atlantic Charter”, outlined US and UK aims for the world as follows: no territorial aggrandizement; no territorial changes made against the wishes of the people (self-determination); restoration of self-government to those deprived of it; reduction of trade restrictions; global cooperation to secure better economic and social conditions for all; freedom from fear and want; freedom of the seas; and abandonment of the use of force, as well as disarmament of aggressor nations. Adherents to the Atlantic Charter signed the Declaration by United Nations on January 1, 1942, which was the basis for the modern United Nations.

The Atlantic Charter inspired several other international agreements and events that followed the end of the war: the dismantling of the British Empire, the formation of NATO, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) all derive from the Atlantic Charter.

US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, discussed what would become the Atlantic Charter in 1941 during the Atlantic Conference in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland aboard HMS Prince of Wales. They made their joint declaration on August 14, 1941 from the US naval base in the bay, Naval Base Argentia, that had recently been leased from Britain as part of a deal that saw the US give 50 surplus destroyers to the UK for use against German U-boats (the US did not enter the war as a combatant until the attack on Pearl Harbour, four months later). The policy was issued as a statement; as such there was no formal, legal document with the title “The Atlantic Charter”. It detailed the goals and aims of the Allied powers concerning the war and the post-war world.

Many of the ideas of the charter came from an ideology of Anglo-American internationalism that sought British and American cooperation for the cause of international security. Roosevelt’s attempts to tie Britain to concrete war aims and Churchill’s

desperation to bind the US to the war effort helped provide motivations for the meeting which produced the Atlantic Charter. It was assumed at the time that Britain and America would have an equal role to play in any post-war international organization that would be based on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Churchill and Roosevelt began communicating in 1939; this was the first of their 11 wartime meetings. Both men traveled in secret; Roosevelt was on a ten-day fishing trip. On August 9, 1941, the British battleship HMS Prince of Wales steamed into Placentia Bay, with Churchill on board, and met the American heavy cruiser USS Augusta, where Roosevelt and members of his staff were waiting. On first meeting, Churchill and Roosevelt were silent for a moment until Churchill said “At long last, Mr. President”, to which Roosevelt replied “Glad to have you aboard, Mr. Churchill”. Churchill then delivered to the president a letter from King George VI and made an official statement which, despite two attempts, the movie sound crew present failed to record.

The Atlantic Charter made clear that the United States was supporting the United Kingdom in the war. Both the US and UK wanted to present their unity, regarding their mutual principles and hopes for a peaceful post-war world and the policies they agreed to follow once the Nazis had been defeated. A fundamental aim was to focus on the peace that would follow, and not on specific American involvement and war strategy, although American involvement appeared increasingly likely.

The eight principal points of the Charter were:

1. No territorial gains were to be sought by the United States or the United Kingdom;
2. Territorial adjustments must be in accord with the wishes of the peoples concerned;
3. All people had a right to self-determination;
4. Trade barriers were to be lowered;
5. There was to be global economic cooperation and advancement of social welfare;
6. The participants would work for a world free of want and fear;
7. The participants would work for freedom of the seas;

8. There was to be disarmament of aggressor nations and a common disarmament after the war.

Although Clause Three clearly states that all peoples have the right to decide their form of government, it fails to say what changes are necessary in both social and economic terms, so as to achieve freedom and peace.

Clause Four, with respect to international trade, consciously emphasized that both “victor [and] vanquished” would be given market access “on equal terms.” This was a repudiation of the punitive trade relations that were established within Europe after World War I, as exemplified by the Paris Economy Pact.

Only two clauses expressly discuss national, social, and economic conditions necessary after the war, despite this significance.

When it was released to the public, the Charter was titled “Joint Declaration by the President and the Prime Minister” and was generally known as the “Joint Declaration”. The Labour Party newspaper Daily Herald coined the name Atlantic Charter, but Churchill used it in Parliament on August 24, 1941, and it has since been generally adopted.

No signed version ever existed. The document was threshed out through several drafts and the final agreed text was telegraphed to London and Washington. President Roosevelt gave Congress the Charter’s content on August 21, 1941. He said later, “There isn’t any copy of the Atlantic Charter, so far as I know. I haven’t got one. The British haven’t got one. The nearest thing you will get is the [message of the] radio operator on Augusta and Prince of Wales. That’s the nearest thing you will come to it ... There was no formal document.”

The British War Cabinet replied with its approval and a similar acceptance was telegraphed from Washington. During this process, an error crept into the London text, but this was subsequently corrected. The account in Churchill’s *The Second World War* concludes “A number of verbal alterations were agreed, and the document was then in its final shape”, and makes no mention of any

signing or ceremony. In Churchill's account of the Yalta Conference he quotes Roosevelt saying of the unwritten British constitution that "it was like the Atlantic Charter – the document did not exist, yet all the world knew about it. Among his papers he had found one copy signed by himself and me, but strange to say both signatures were in his own handwriting."

The Allied nations and leading organizations quickly and widely endorsed the Charter. At the subsequent meeting of the Inter-Allied Council in London on September 24, 1941, the governments in exile of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia, as well as the Soviet Union, and representatives of the Free French Forces, unanimously adopted adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in the Atlantic Charter. On January 1, 1942, a larger group of nations, who adhered to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, issued a joint Declaration by United Nations stressing their solidarity in the defense against Hitlerism.

The Axis powers interpreted these diplomatic agreements as a potential alliance against them. In Tokyo, the Atlantic Charter rallied support for the militarists in the Japanese government, who pushed for a more aggressive approach against the US and Britain.

The British dropped millions of flysheets over Germany to allay fears of a punitive peace that would destroy the German state. The text cited the Charter as the authoritative statement of the joint commitment of Great Britain and the US "not to admit any economical discrimination of those defeated" and promised that "Germany and the other states can again achieve enduring peace and prosperity."

The most striking feature of the discussion was that an agreement had been made between a range of countries that held diverse opinions, who were accepting that internal policies were relevant to the international problem. The agreement proved to be one of the first steps towards the formation of the United Nations.

The problems came not from Germany and Japan, but from those of the allies that had empires and which resisted self-determination—

especially the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the Netherlands. Initially it appears that Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed that the third point of the Charter was not going to apply to Africa and Asia. However Roosevelt's speechwriter Robert E. Sherwood noted that "it was not long before the people of India, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia were beginning to ask if the Atlantic Charter extended also to the Pacific and to Asia in general." With a war that could only be won with the help of these allies, Roosevelt's solution was to put some pressure on Britain but to postpone until after the war the issue of self-determination of the colonies.

Public opinion in Britain and the Commonwealth was delighted with the principles of the meetings but disappointed that the US was not entering the war. Churchill admitted that he had hoped the US would decide to commit itself.

The acknowledgement that all people had a right to self-determination gave hope to independence leaders in British colonies.

The Americans were insistent that the charter was to acknowledge that the war was being fought to ensure self-determination. The British were forced to agree to these aims but in a September 1941 speech, Churchill stated that the Charter was only meant to apply to states under German occupation, and certainly not to the countries who formed part of the British Empire.

Churchill rejected its universal applicability when it came to the self-determination of subject nations such as British India. Mahatma Gandhi in 1942 wrote to President Roosevelt: "I venture to think that the Allied declaration that the Allies are fighting to make the world safe for the freedom of the individual and for democracy sounds hollow so long as India and for that matter Africa are exploited by Great Britain..." While self-determination was Roosevelt's guiding principle, he was reluctant to place pressure on the British in regard to India and other colonial possessions as they were fighting for their lives in a war in which the United States was not officially a participant. Gandhi refused to help either the British or the American war effort against Germany and Japan in any way, and Roosevelt chose to back Churchill. India was already contributing significantly to the war effort, sending over 2.5 million

men (the largest volunteer force in the world at the time) to fight for the Allies, mostly in West Asia and North Africa.

Churchill was unhappy with the inclusion of references to peoples' right to "self-determination" and stated that he considered the Charter an "interim and partial statement of war aims designed to reassure all countries of our righteous purpose and not the complete structure which we should build after the victory." An office of the Polish Government in Exile wrote to warn Władysław Sikorski that if the Charter was implemented with regard to national self-determination, it would make the desired Polish annexation of Danzig, East Prussia and parts of German Silesia impossible, which led the Poles to approach Britain asking for a flexible interpretation of the Charter.

During the war Churchill argued for an interpretation of the charter in order to allow the Soviet Union to continue to control the Baltic states, an interpretation rejected by the US until March 1944. Lord Beaverbrook warned that the Atlantic Charter "would be a menace to our [Britain's] own safety as well as to that of the Soviet Union." The US refused to recognize the Soviet takeover of the Baltic states, but did not press the issue against Stalin when he was fighting the Germans. Roosevelt planned to raise the Baltic issue after the war, but he died in April 1945, before fighting had ended in Europe.

PERSONALITIES

The fascist occupation of Greece (1941-1944) followed by the so-called Greek Civil War (1945-1949) were the most decisive revolutionary and critical periods in the history of the newly expanded Greek state. The first people who found themselves leading the people's revolution at this critical juncture were Georgios Siantos and Nikos Zahariadis. CPG Secretary General Siantos led the war against the occupiers with ELAS and CPG Secretary General Zahariadis led the Greek Civil War with DAG. The people's revolution was broken both times and its armed forces ELAS and DAG were destroyed.

Analyzing the war against the occupiers, the 3rd CPG Conference, held in 1950, concluded that: "...Georgios Siantos was responsible for betraying the revolution..." By then Siantos was already dead but was posthumously tried anyway, found to be a traitor and convicted.

Analyzing the so-called Greek Civil War, the CPG Central Committee 6th Extended Plenum, held in March 1956, during a general party conference, concluded that:

Zahariadis, with his so-called "Greek Axis" policy, justified the English presence in Greece, considering it necessary in order to "safeguard the Greek position and the Greek borders in the north..." By doing this Zahariadis weakened the resistance movement and undermined DAG's victory, which led to its defeat and, in general, caused the revolution to fail.

Zahariadis was publicly condemned and removed from the CPG leadership. Later, during a CPG Central Committee Conference, held in February 1953, he was removed from the books.

Of course, when we take all this into account, and all these people who in some way or another climbed to the top Party leadership, it is easier to understand the true essence of their policies, conducted through the CPG and in the name of the CPG.

Who was Siantos?

Georgios Siantos was born in Karditsa, Thessaly in 1890. His parents were farmers. After graduating from primary school Siantos took on a job as a tobacco worker. He later served in the Greek infantry as a sergeant both during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and in World War I. In 1916 he joined Eleftherios Venizelos's liberal party. Siantos also became involved in the labour movement and, soon after his demobilization in 1920, was elected president of the tobacco workers trade union in Karditsa. In 1922, Siantos was elected Secretary General of the Greek Confederacy of Tobacco Workers, while, during the same period, he took membership with the Socialist Labour Party of Greece, forerunner to the CPG. In 1927 Siantos became a member of the Party politburo central committee. During the Party's internal ideological struggle of 1929-1931, as a leading member of the "left faction" Siantos was called to Moscow, where he accepted the Comintern's caution for unity in the CPG. After his return to Greece, Siantos participated in the administration of General Confederation of Greek Workers, and in 1934 he was re-elected in the Party central committee and politburo.

In 1936 Siantos was elected member of the Greek Parliament, but after the declaration of the 4th of August Regime he was arrested for Communist-related activities. He was imprisoned in Anafi, but he managed to escape. A year later, in 1939, he was re-arrested and served time in prison in Corfu, from where he again escaped in 1941. The same year CPG General Secretary Nikolaos Zahariadis was transferred by the Germans to the Dachau concentration camp, Siantos took over leadership of the Party as acting Secretary General. During the German occupation Siantos led the Communist-dominated Greek National Liberation Army (ELAS), and also played an important role in the establishment of the Political Committee of National Liberation in 1944. The same year representatives from all political parties and resistance groups came together at a conference in Lebanon, seeking an agreement about a government of national unity. According to another agreement signed in Caserta, Italy in September 1944, all resistance forces in Greece were placed under the command of a British officer, General Ronald Scobie.

On May 20, 1947, Siantos had a heart attack and died. Zahariadis, however, claimed that the intelligence service liquidated him because he was one of their agents and they feared that he was going to be discovered. They killed him to stop him from talking...

Three years later, during the Third CPG Conference, while analyzing Siantos's policies during the fascist occupation, it was decided and declared that: "Georgios Siantos was a traitor who betrayed the revolution..."

Later, on April 3, 1973, Dimitrios Vlantas, a DAG general and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, said: "Siantos was a traitor from a long time ago. He was a traitor at least since 1932 when I was secretary of the Communist Youth of Macedonia and a member of the CPG District Committee. One day, the secretary of the District Committee asked me to find a house to hold a secret meeting. For such things I used the house of a businessman in Solun. He was my trusted contact. I asked him if we could bring seven people to a meeting. 'Do you know them?' he asked. 'I know them,' I replied. We started to assemble and, at one point, I saw the businessman making hand gestures for me to go to the kitchen. He looked angry and then said: 'Comrade did you bring comrades or traitors here?' 'What traitors are you talking about?' I asked. 'That one there!' he said while pointing at Siantos who I did not know at the time. 'They call him Georgios Siantos,' he said. 'We served together in the same unit. Even then he was a spy – an informant,' he concluded."

This is also what Vlantas said: "Siantos was always a provocateur and, in my opinion, an intelligence service agent. This is how he managed to play his part - to suppress the national resistance movement during the occupation and then, during the December events..."

If Siantos was working for the "Asphalia" (Greek intelligence service) and was put in the ranks of the CPG (he was certainly neither the first nor the last), then it is important to note the following:

The CPG was damaged from the inside by the people the Metaxas fascist dictatorship managed to plant. The Metaxas dictatorship arrested many of the CPG leaders and activists and sent them to jail. It is well-known that many CPG activists were imprisoned by the Asphalia and held at various prisons and camps. Imprisoned among them were also several hundred plants who worked for the Asphalia. Then, when the Germans arrived, these activists were handed over to the Gestapo. In the meantime the Asphalia allowed a certain number to “escape”. The most significant among them was Siantos who was then put in charge of the CPG during the fascist occupation, that is, during the national liberation struggle.

During this decisively critical and revolutionary time, all these people, i.e. the Asphalia, its bosses, the ministers, and the prime minister of the Greek government in exile, were all appointed, maintained and their activities financed by the English government. And, of course, they all worked to serve English interests in Greece.

For as long as Siantos was an agent of the Asphalia he and those around him made sure that all CPG-EAM policies, more or less, directly or indirectly, served English interests in Greece.

Here are some characteristic moments that the reader may find interesting:

First, the CPG Central Committee, during its 6th Plenum, held in July 1941, called on all the Greek people, their parties and organizations, to rise up in a national front against the occupiers. The CPG then separately set the following task only for the Party and for each communist: “To organize the popular uprising forces for the national and social liberation of Greece...”

It was all normal, nicely formulated and well-suited for the historical moment. However, in the work done, the most important and revolutionary task of all was to organize the popular uprising for the national and social liberation of Greece... However this was not done. The actual uprising for the social liberation was not promoted but diluted as a secondary task and was carried out only systematically to undermine the occupier (strikes and demonstrations), but be harmless to English interests in Greece. In

other words the struggle for the social liberation of Greece was completely and publicly abandoned...

Second, the EAM Coalition, i.e. the political left headed by the CPG leadership, succeeded in achieving wide national unity among the Greek people, the kind that never existed before. Never in their long history have the Greek people been united like this. Of the approximately eight million Greeks, over 70% of the voters who participated in the elections voted for EAM candidates (CPG) and elected members of the National Council...

Given its popularity and strong position among the Greek people, why then did the CPG persistently and systematically propagate the need for “national unity” with its arch enemy the Greek government in exile which was formed, maintained and funded by the English? Why did the CPG persistently try to raise the English creation’s authority and popularity among the people...?

Third, by mid-1943, an all people’s partisan war was already in progress on the ground. The ELAS partisan units, led mainly by the communists, were growing more numerous by the day...

So, why was there a need to put ELAS under English control and not under the control of the neighbouring peoples’ revolutionary alliance? According to Sarafis: “ELAS was placed under ‘allied military command’ headed by the English General Staff for the Middle East. All operations undertaken by ELAS were under the orders of English General Staff...” All orders from Supreme Headquarters were given by English officers and delivered to each headquarters also by English officers. So ELAS units carried out their operations in accordance with orders given by English officers and English command. This is what Intelligence Service agent Christopher Montague Wunthouse (Chris), then deputy chief and head of the British military mission, competently and authoritatively said:

“If there were no British officers in the resistance movement in Greece, the history of not only Greece but also of Europe would have gone in a completely different direction... The presence of the British military mission in Greece prevented the Communists in

1943-1944 from placing Greece under their absolute control. If the communists had taken power when the Germans withdrew from Greece in September 1944, it would have been very difficult for us to seize it away from them in the eyes of the world...”

Siantos’s maneuver to place ELAS under English control was of historical significance because it prevented it from joining the national revolutionary alliance in the Balkans.

Fourth, with the Treaty of Lebanon in May 1944, the CPG, EAM and ELAS voluntarily and formally renounced any attempts to seize power in Greece. At the same time they recognized the English-created Greek government in exile as the “legitimate government of Greece” and as the “government of national unity”.

But there was more...

They also agreed that ELAS could not be the national army of Greece and that a national army would be required in the near future. This responsibility was left to the Greek government in exile and to the English General Staff for the Middle East... And so was the fate of ELAS. They decided to disband ELAS.

“The Treaty of Lebanon not only did not help and did not strengthen national unity, but helped the English imperialists and domestic capitalist oligarchy to re-establish the old fascist regime and prevent the people from deciding their own destiny...”

Fifth, the Treaty of Caserta, signed in September 1944, paved the way for an English military invasion of Athens and other Greek territories abandoned by the Germans. This was not done to chase the Germans out but simply to occupy Greek territory, especially Athens. According to an official German document found in the archives published in Greece, there was an agreement between Churchill and Hitler to allow German troops to freely withdraw from Greece. This is what was published in the Athens newspaper “Ta Nea”: “The British fox achieved two purposes: Strengthened the German forces against the Russians and occupied Greece unhindered.”

Naturally the English invaded Athens and other important strategic positions in Greece to prevent ELAS from taking them...

To further influence events in Greece, British General Skobi was proclaimed Supreme Commander of the Greek Armed Forces.

This meant that ELAS too was subordinated to him and to the English, and ELAS units had to act strictly under Skobi's orders. In other words the English now controlled every aspect of ELAS.

This is what was said in the celebrated and well-known thesis compiled for the CPG's 40th anniversary adopted during the CPG Central Committee 9th Plenum, held in August 1958: "The Treaty of Caserta placed the Greek Armed Forces under English command and in General Skobi's hands. The English decided to exclude ELAS from participating in the liberation of major cities, and important strategic regions such as Athens, Central and Eastern Macedonia, Epirus, etc. The most important strategic zones were given to the fascist organizations the likes of EDES, PAO, etc..."

Sixth, the provoked military clash in Athens in December 1944, was a well-staged ground for disarmament and disbanding, i.e. liquidating ELAS. Undoubtedly Siantos and Partsalidis had a lot to do with this. With their signatures on the Varkiza Agreement (February 12, 1945), all ELAS units, all throughout Greece, except for some reserve units stationed in Athens, were disarmed and liquidated. The ELAS reserve units in Athens were attacked and defeated by the combined English and domestic reactionary forces.

"Georgios Siantos and Mitsos Partsalidis, the CPG Central Committee Politburo representatives who signed the Varkiza Agreement violated the requirement for the general unconditional amnesty given to all ELAS fighters and democratic forces by the Politburo. (This amnesty was given in order to protect the ELAS fighters and democratic forces in general, from English and domestic reactionary persecution). The Varkiza Agreement only called for the surrender of weapons. It seems that Siantos and Partsalidis deviated and were arbitrary on the question of the general and unconditional amnesty. They agreed to 'unconditionally' disarm the resistance movement, i.e. unconditional capitulation with no

amnesty. On the one hand, this created opportunities for the English to restore the Monarcho-Fascists in power and to completely break down the people's democratic forces in Greece, and on the other hand, constituted a serious obstacle to a rapid political and organizational consolidation of the people's democratic forces..."

Seventh, when we take into consideration that with the numerous strikes and demonstrations in the larger cities and across Greece, of the millions of people mobilized, 90 percent were categorically hostile to the occupiers and were ready for an armed uprising. Clearly, under these conditions, there were plenty of opportunities to create a huge revolutionary army that would have inflicted heavy blows on the occupying forces like it was done in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam etc. With an army like this, given its economic exhaustion, England would not have dared do what it did especially in a prolonged and dangerous revolution.

But, what can we say? "The mountain bore... a mole". Thanks to Siantos's CPG leadership and to the EAM coalition's policies, only a small number of people, a few tens of thousands, out of the millions who were ready to join the revolution, were recruited into ELAS...

According to Sarafis: "ELAS forces at the time of the liberation numbered 48,940 soldiers, of whom 5,240 were officers..." These numbers do not include the ELAS forces in Athens or on the islands Samos, Mitilini and Crete. According to Hutas: "ELAS forces numbered 80,000 fighters". Similar information was also given by E. Fotiadis and K. Tsolakas...

ELAS was quickly brought under English control so that it could be destroyed... This was yet another atrocity committed by the CPG...

Who was Zahariadis?

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.

When the Germans occupied Greece the Asfalia surrendered Zahariadis to the Gestapo. But, even though he was imprisoned in the infamous Dachau prison, Zahariadis was well looked after. Namely, he did his time at the prison headquarters where it was clean, warm and cozy. He was also fed well. Here he “worked” as an interpreter. While Zahariadis, a very important communist, enjoyed his time in prison the Gestapo and the SS furiously looked for ordinary communists among the captured soldiers on the fronts and among the occupied and enslaved nations, and, as soon as they were found, they immediately shot them. They even shot communist sympathizers...

When the war was over, Zahariadis found himself in London, a guest of the English intelligence service. After spending two or three weeks in England, on May 29, 1945, Zahariadis was flown from England to Greece on a special British military aircraft, wearing a British military uniform. The English delivered him to Athens. The Siantos CPG leadership welcomed him back and immediately gave him his old position - CPG Secretary General, the function he served during the war...

All of these things, however, can’t mean that Zahariadis was not one of those capable agents of international anti-Communism, entrenched in the leadership of the Communist movement in various countries of the world.

History of diplomacy says: There are no eternal friends and enemies in politics, there are only interests.

It is precisely because of these modern Great Power interests that England has included Greece in its affairs. And that is why the English were in Greece and did what they wanted for their own benefit and no one bothered them. If Zahariadis was indeed an international anti-communist and in charge of the CPG, then the CPG, more or less, directly or indirectly, served English interests in Greece. This means that the CPG, more or less, directly or indirectly, undermined the democratic forces and robbed the people of their victory in the revolution in Greece.

As we now know, the CPG Central Committee, during its 6th Extended Plenum, a general party conference held in March 1956, looked at Zahariadis's policies and publicly condemned him and removed him from the CPG leadership for what he had done. After that he persistently, but without success, tried to return to Greece and land in the hands of the "enemy" - the junta, that is, the domestic reactionaries and their English and Americans patrons. He even went on a hunger strike, but died alone in 1973, in the USSR, completely abandoned and despised.

Let us now have a look at some of the more important and distinctive moments that resulted from Zahariadis's policies...

After the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, and after ELAS was disbanded, the government of "national unity", spending English money and relying on English tanks, began a cruel and open campaign against the democratic forces: To disorganize them and, ultimately, to break them. This was the main goal of the English in Greece.

Helping the local reactionaries to break up the liberation forces, along with exploiting the country and people was an old, well-known, English colonial policy.

A strange and incredible phenomenon, known as a "unilateral civil war", was unleashed to physically liquidate a large number of

people who fought in the people's revolution, including a large number of members and middle cadres belonging to ELAS, EAM, and the CPG.

With the dissolution of ELAS, the democratic forces were disarmed, but not disorganized and crushed. As a result the English were not in a hurry to enforce the Lebanon Agreement, i.e. to create a "non-partisan national army" with a partial or general mobilization. It was still too early for that. For the time being, it also meant that the political left CPG-EAM would be arming itself all over again. To defend against that the English used the various pro-fascist elements and political right-wingers who assisted the occupiers such as the Tagmata Asfalias, the Higes, the Paogides, and so on. The English used these relatively small groups to pacify the massive and well-organized democratic forces.

The English, through the Siantos and Zahariadis CPG-EAM leaderships, achieved miraculous and incredible success in Greece. Namely, on the one hand the CPG-EAM leaderships sent telegrams to the heads of the major powers - the Soviet Union, America and England, "protesting over the terrorist orgy in Greece", and on the other capitulated to England by allowing ELAS to be disarmed and liquidated. (One of the first protest telegrams sent by the EAM Central Committee, among other things, said: "In the four months since the signing of the Varkiza Agreement, 500 fighters from the national resistance were killed, and more than 30,000 were imprisoned. There are about 150 terrorist gangs and more than 20,000 unlawful armed terrorists killing and terrorizing the democratic population..." Further on, the telegram demanded that "the Yalta decision be applied in Greece with help from the Allied Commission..."

On top of capitulating to the English the EAM and CPG leaderships called on the people to endure and resist passively. Namely, they called on the people "to endure... in humility and discipline". Here we are simply forced to point out that:

With this, objectively and substantially, in fact, the CPG-EAM leaderships facilitated the English and the Greek government's

murderous attacks which helped the English strengthen their position and power in Greece...

Here we are going to quote some details from the information referring to Greece from March 8 to December 5, 1944, from the two volumes “1944 - κρίσιμη χρονιά”, by Gianis Andricopoulos, which make use of the texts from 300 unpublished documents from Winston Churchill’s personal archives (released with the approval of the British government).

On p. 94, of the second volume, Andricopoulos wrote about Georgios Papandreou’s preparations to return to Athens, right after the Germans left Greece. Georgios Papandreou at the time was Prime Minister of the Greek government in exile. Papandreou at the time was deeply concerned about the situation in Greece and constantly sent telegrams to the Greek king in London, seeking urgent assistance from the English. In one of these telegrams (borrowed from Papandreou’s memoirs), sent on September 14, 1944, Papandreou said:

“When our government arrives in Athens without its own forces or without allied military forces, I will become a prisoner of the EAM... Therefore I ask of you to find a few necessary allied soldiers, at any cost... I will consider this a national debt...”

On September 18, 1944, Georgios Papandreou telephoned London and, among other things, said: “London, you are my only hope!”

Just to be clear now, Papandreou, the English appointed Greek Prime Minister was concerned and afraid to return to Athens, among the Greek people, because he had absolutely no support at home and humbly begged foreigners to help him? Did he not know that Greece fell under English influence and that England had made sure that Papandreou would find an ally in the CPG-EAM leadership which would welcome him and hand over Athens to him...?

The Macedonian political organization “People’s Liberation Front” (NOF) was founded in April 1945 in the Republic of Macedonia. Also, heavily armed units formed from the Macedonian fighters who

fled Greece (former ELAS fighters) were acting on the mountain massifs of Vicho, Kaimakchalan and Paiak Mountains...

All these events were influenced by the founding of ASNOM and by the creation of the People's Republic of Macedonia, a nation state of the Macedonian people within democratic federal Yugoslavia. This was an inevitable echo and reflection of a joyful historical event...

The people from Zahariadis's CPG leadership reacted as follows:

Just two months after NOF was founded, the CPG Central Committee, during its Twelfth Plenum, vigorously declared that:

“The CPG is resolutely opposed to all territorial claims against Greece made by anyone. The preservation of the territorial integrity of the Greek state is the first task of every Greek patriot...”

The CPG Central Committee Politburo, during its September 12, 1951, meeting confirmed that the Party at the time allegedly feared that: Through NOF, i.e. with NOF's help, “Tito was going to join Aegean Macedonia to Yugoslavia...” Before that, during the CPG Central Committee 6th Plenum, held in October 1949, Zahariadis's CPG leadership openly spoke of Tito having some “military plans against Greek Macedonia...” on the basis of NOF, i.e. of the Macedonian people's democratic liberation movement.

This is how the famous “Greek territorial integrity”, an event of fundamental importance, came into being:

A scenario was created so that the Greeks would believe that the Greek territorial integrity at Greece's northern borders was weak and declared unreliable and would be threatened without English presence and support. Hence, England was declared a “great friend” of Greece in the CPG plenum resolution.

The document, in part, read as follows:

“The plenum proclaims that with England and Russia, two of our great friends being near us, and with their presence and support

Greece will have peaceful development, brotherly bargaining and democratic cooperation with its northern Balkan democracies...”

Here, as one can see, Russia comes after England. Even so, this was done for propaganda purposes only. Secretary General Zahariadis, in his plenary meeting opening address, specifically said that England’s presence in Greece was indispensable:

“In order to ensure our positions and our borders in the north...”

After that, to the end of the Greek Civil War the CPG was in “democratic co-operation and reconciliation” with the English on the inner plane, parallel with suppression of the Macedonian People’s liberation movement.

This basically was the general Party line followed by the CPG leadership, led by Nikos Zahariadis.

Regarding all this, viewed from a certain angle, and within the familiar political situation in Greece in the past, it can be said that: While a large and well-organized democratic force, headed by the CPG, existed in Greece, England, of course, had a great need for a well-executed propaganda offensive that:

- would diminish any consequences resulting from the open British military intervention against ELAS,
- would strengthen Greek desires to accept the English in their country,
- would provide a comfortable stay and work environment for the English in Greece with as little English military forces and costs as possible.

This was quite understandable and, of course, indisputable. When one considers all this, it is not difficult to see that:

This kind of huge scale and duration propaganda offensive was indeed implemented with great skill by the Zahariadis CPG leadership, and, unfortunately, had a huge effect on the struggle.

Waving the Greek bourgeois invented hatchet known as the “Slavic danger” for Greece, Zahariadis effectively:

- justified the presence of the English as a “national” requirement for Greece’s security,
- suppressed and weakened the people’s resistance, and
- undermined DAG’s victory, which led to the final defeat of the democratic forces... which was England’s goal in Greece all along.

Let us not forget the patriotic “Greek Axis” adopted in June 1945 by Zahariadis and the CPG Central Committee at its 12th Plenum, which called for Greece to turn towards the Mediterranean pole with England at its centre and called England Greece’s “great friend” whose presence in Greece was proclaimed indispensable “to ensure our borders and our positions in the north are secure...” Let us also not forget the actual CPG line adopted which stifled the revolutionary movement and systematically suppressed the popular uprising as well as DAG, and eventually brought about their destruction.

There is also the fact that no Athens bourgeois government ever managed to liquidate so many Macedonian people en masse and destroy so many Macedonian villages as Zahariadis and his comrades did in the defense of the “Greek character” of Macedonia. Naum Peiov identified all these villages by name and region and by the number of inhabitants who remained or disappeared. So, according to a population census from 1951, 46 Macedonian villages completely disappeared, the residents left without leaving a single soul behind. While in another 179 Macedonian villages the population was halved or significantly reduced. Soon after DAG was destroyed, obviously not by chance and not without reason and foundation, the slogan: “We lost the war but that is why we did not lose Macedonia!” was coined... From this slogan alone it should be clear that the real CPG and DAG leadership objective was to safeguard the integrity of Greece at any cost including suppressing and destroying the Macedonian liberation movement. In other words DAG had to “lose the war” so that Greece could keep Macedonia...

Chronology of events leading up, during, and past the terrible decade 1939 to 1949

Note to the reader: Some of the authors from whose books this material was sourced used the old calendar. The reader will also find some duplicate dates for a number of events. I included multiple (maximum two) dates in cases where I could not confirm the proper date.

1914 - First World War began. Bulgaria occupied Macedonia.

1917 - LAW 1051. Greece inaugurated new administrative jurisdictions for governing newly acquired lands in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1918 - End of WW I. The Macedonian territory that is now the Republic of Macedonia became part of Serbia again. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded, and is renamed to Yugoslavia in 1929.

1918 – November. The First Socialist Congress in Greece took place during which it was decided to create the Socialist Worker’s Party of Greece. In 1920 this Party became a member of the Third International United Communist Party known as the Comintern, which was formed in 1919. In 1923 the Socialist Worker’s Party of Greece became the Communist Party of Greece or CPG. In regards to the “Macedonian Question”, CPG policies went through several distinctive periods: 1 – Support of a United and Independent Macedonia (1924-1935); 2 – Macedonian equal rights with the Greeks within Greece (1935-1949); (This was the period of time when the Macedonian people were being prepared for their (self) sacrifice drama.) 3. Full equality was granted to the “Slavo-Macedonians” on June 20, 1949 just before DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) was liquidated. Final extermination of the Macedonian people; “Fight for your lives or die!” 4. Full equality was extended for the “Slavo-Macedonians” in October 1949. This was the period when people started returning to their homes.

1919 – November 27. The Treaty of Versailles (Paris) between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria, and the Protocol and Declaration were signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine. England and France ratified the principles of the August 10, 1913 Bucharest Treaty and endorsed Macedonia's partition. Greece continued to pursue forced expulsion and denationalization of Macedonians and began colonization by transferring so called "Greeks" into Greek occupied Macedonia. Article 51 of the Treaty of Versailles espouses equality of civil rights, education, language, and religion for all national minorities which Greece violated and ignored. The Neuilly Convention forced exchange of populations during which about 70,000 Macedonians were expelled from Greek occupied Macedonia and sent to Bulgaria and 25,000 so called Greeks were transferred from Bulgaria to Greek occupied Macedonia. The Greek Commission on Toponyms issued instructions for choosing Hellenized names for Macedonian places in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1919 - "IMRO" (Macedonian revolutionary organization) is restored under the leadership of the new Central Committee: Todor Aleksandrov, Aleksandar Protogerov and Petar Chaulev. The primary aim of the organization is to free Macedonia and create an autonomous and independent country within its geographical and ethnic borders.

1920 – The Greek Ministry of Internal Affairs published a booklet entitled "Advice on the change of the names of municipalities and villages" in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1923 – January 30. After the Greek army was defeated in Asia Minor by the Turks, the Lausanne Convention was signed between Turkey and Greece which resulted in 538,000 Christian Turkish colonists and settlers being settled in Greek occupied Macedonia. This was in addition to the 100,000 or so colonists and settlers Greece had deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia during and between the wars. This brought the total number of foreign settlers and colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia to 638,000.

1923 – July 24. Treaty of Lausanne signed by which the Greco-Turkish war came to an end. Greece and Turkey signed a population

exchange agreement through which Greece expelled Macedonian and other Muslims and accepted Christian Turks.

1924 - February. The CPG adopted a resolution in support of a united and independent Macedonia. During its extraordinary Congress, the CPG adopted a truly revolutionary Resolution with regards to the “Macedonian Question”. Among other things the CPG said: “The most recent imperialistic wars and post war conditions in the Balkans not only did not solve, but further complicated the Macedonian and Thracian National Questions. For many years the people in both Macedonia and Thrace have endured aggressive and violent attacks in the neighbouring countries where they have been exterminated in the many years of wars, and when they economically collapsed they were divided between Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece.” “However, Macedonia’s division between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria further strengthened the Macedonian people’s desire to unite their country, and to create a united and independent Macedonia. The Congress recognized the slogans raised during the 6th and 7th Balkan Communist Federation Conferences calling for ‘a united and independent Macedonia’ and for ‘a united and independent Thrace’ which are fully functional and revolutionary.” Unfortunately this recognition was only in theory to placate the Communist Federation and nothing from it materialized.

1924 - May 6. The “May Manifesto” was signed in Vienna by the members of the Central Committee and by all the fractions of VMRO (IMRO). Their aim was to unite the Macedonian revolutionary forces into a single Macedonian revolutionary front for freedom and unification of the partitioned territories of Macedonia making it an independent and single political unit within its natural geographical and ethnic borders. A few months later the Bulgaro-Vrhovists disassociated themselves from the “May Manifesto”.

1925 - 76 names of Macedonian villages were changed in Greek occupied Macedonia into Greek names, a process that was initiated in 1918 by Greek authorities. The League of Nations put pressures on Greece to extend rights to Macedonian minority.

1925 – The ABECEDAR Primer was printed in Athens for use by Macedonian school children in Greek occupied Macedonia. It was written in the Latin alphabet and reflected the Macedonian language spoken in the Bitola-Lerin district in Western Greek occupied Macedonia. Serbians and Bulgarians protested to the League of Nations (now United Nations). The Primer undermined their claim that Macedonians are Serbs and Bulgarians respectively. Greece countered with a last minute cable to the League declaring that: “the population.....knows neither the Serbian nor the Bulgarian language and speaks nothing but a Macedonian idiom.” Greece “retreated” so as to preserve Balkan alliances. The Primer was destroyed after the League of Nations delegates left Solun. Thereafter, Greece denied the existence of Macedonians. It referred to Macedonians as “Slavophone Greeks”, “Old Bulgarians” and many other appellations but not as Macedonians. The very fact that official Greece did not, either de jure or do facto, see the Macedonians as a Bulgarian minority, but rather as a separate Slav speaking minority, is of particular significance. The Primer, published in the Latin alphabet, was based on the Lerin - Bilola dialect in line with Gianelli’s Dictionary dating from the 16th Century, and the Daniloviot Cetirijazicnik dictionary written in the 19th century, which was yet another book written in the Macedonian vernacular. The Primer was mailed to some regions in Western Greek occupied Macedonia (Kostur, Lerin and Voden), where the school authorities were prepared to give Macedonian children, from the first to the fourth grade of elementary school, instruction in their own mother tongue.

1925 – February. The 6th IMRO Congress took place and a new IMRO Central Committee was formed with members Ivan Mihailov, Aleksandar Protogerov and Georgi Pop Hristov. The IMRO aims remained the same: struggle to unite partitioned Macedonia within its geographical and ethnic borders and to achieve political autonomy.

1925 – October. IMRO (United) is founded in Vienna under the leadership of Dimitar Vlahov, Pavel Satev, Georgi Zankov, Rizo Rizov, Vladimir Pop Timov and Hristo Iankov. Their main objective was to free Macedonia within its geographical and ethnic borders and

to create an independent political unit that would become an equal member of a future Balkan Federation.

1926 – January 27. A racist flyer was distributed in Lerin. On this day the organization “Elino-Makedoniki pigmi” (Greeko-Macedonian fist) distributed a flyer in Lerin with the following content: “From today forward we prohibit the use of the Bulgarian dialect spoken in social centers, trade relations, meetings, assemblies, festive gatherings, banquets, weddings, etc. We demand that only Greek be spoken in all the above mentioned instances. We recommend to all political and military authorities, to all public and private employees to not accommodate requests or give out information in a language other than Greek. Parents, teachers, priests, elders and minors, we invite you all to fulfill your patriotic debt; otherwise we will hold you and your subordinates responsible for the offenses you commit. Violators of the ordinance are considered traitors to the motherland and will fall under the terrible blows of our organization which was created to study the situation. The slogan “fatherland above all” means punishing anyone who will not fulfill our orders.

1926 – March. The Macedonian Young People’s Secret Revolutionary Organization (“Makedonska mladinska tajna revolucionerna organizacija” - MMTRO) was founded which had aims to help IMRO in its fight for freedom for the Macedonian people and for the unification of the three parts of Macedonia into one autonomous political unit.

1926 – November 21. A legal Act was issued on the change of Macedonian geographic names into the Greek version. The news was published in the government daily Efimeris tis Kivemiseos No. 322 of November 21, 1926. The same newspaper in its No. 346 published the new, official, Greek names. The names of the people were changed too. First names as well as family names were changed to Greek versions. These Acts are still officially binding to this day. All place names (toponymia) were Hellenized; that is the names of cities, villages, rivers and mountains were discarded and Greek names put in their place. At the same time the Macedonians were forced to change their first and surnames; every Macedonian surname had to end in ‘os’, ‘es’, ‘ou’ or ‘poulos’. The news of these

acts and the new, official Greek names were published in the Greek government daily “Efimeris tis Kiverniseos” no. 322 and 324 of November 21 and 23, 1926.

1927 - Cyrillic letters erased in churches and tombstones. Cyrillic inscriptions (Macedonian alphabet) in churches, tombstones and icons were rewritten or destroyed. Church services in the Macedonian language were outlawed. Macedonians were ordered under duress to abandon all Macedonian names and to adopt Greek names assigned to them by the Greek state.

1928 - Events in Greek occupied Macedonia - In the period from 1928 to 1934, when there seemed to be a movement for better relations between the Balkans countries successive Greek governments of the time appeared a little more elastic in their attitudes towards the Macedonian language. Some even made serious statements in favour of the Macedonians. But in order to see the differences between what Greek politicians said and did regarding the Macedonian Question, we need to emphasize the fact that back in 1926 a law was passed by the Greek Government, as published in the Greek Official Gazette no. 332 of 21. XI. 1926, which entailed the erasure of the Macedonian toponymy and replacing it with a Greek one. In other words, the Greek government passed a law to change the names of all villages, towns, rivers and mountains in Greek occupied Macedonia from Macedonian to Greek. At about the same time in 1926 the Greek government allowed various different Greek nationalist organizations, such as the “Elino - Makedoniki pigmi” (Greco - Macedonian fist) and “EEE” (National Organization of youth), to appear which were openly raising the issue of banning the Macedonian language.

1928 - 1, 497 Macedonian place names changed in Greek occupied Macedonia turned into Greek (since 1926) by LAW 4096, a directive on renaming Macedonian place names prompting English Journalist V. Hild to reveal that “The Greeks do not only persecute living Macedonians but they even persecute dead ones. They do not leave them in peace even in the graves. They erase the Macedonian inscriptions on the headstones, remove the bones and burn them.”

1929 - Legal act issued on protection of public order. During Eleftherios Venizelos's rule a legal Act was issued "On the protection of public order". In line with this Act each demand for nationality rights is regarded as high treason. This law is still in force.

1930 – January 27. A confidential letter sent from the Greek military Ninth Division, based in Kozhani, to the Ninth border sector in Lerin Region. The letter advised the Greek military in this sector and the Greek police authorities in Lerin Region to increase their vigilance against suspicious persons. Because of their "Macedonian sentiments" these people needed to be watched and their movements tracked from village to village to find out what they were doing. The letter also recommended that surprise searches be conducted in their apartments.

1931 – March 21. The persecution and mass terror against Macedonian and Greek communists in Greece, on account of their position supporting an independent Macedonia and Thrace, stirred into action the progressive Macedonian and Greek immigrants in America and Canada. A protest rally was organized on the initiative of the Macedonian progressive group "Vardar" in Toronto on March 21, 1931, during which speeches were delivered by L. Boshev, G. Shaldev, Spiro Vasilev (Spiro Basil Tupurkovski) and N. Kiriakopoulos, former CPG Greek MP from Lerin Region. During his speech, P. Ioannou said that Venizelos had sent Macedonians to the Ukraine as part of a Greek military expedition to fight against the young Soviet socialist state, and to Asia Minor to fight for the interests of the imperialists. Today Venizelos torments these same Macedonians and drives them out of their homes.

1931 – August 2. Seven protesters were killed in Solun and twenty were wounded. In Seres, on August 2, 1931, twelve Macedonian workers were tried and convicted to a total of 80 years in prison. Prosecutions and trials were also taking place in Kukush and Enidzhe-Vardar Regions. The chauvinist Solun newspaper "Makedonika nea" made open recommendations calling for a crusade against the "nationalists" and against "communist propaganda".

1932 - CPG adopts conditional support for the Macedonians. During the CPG Central Committee 4th Plenum the CPG modified the paragraph that said “united and independent Macedonia and Thrace”. “In the name of Bolshevik principles, the Communist Party of Greece took away the Macedonian and Thracian people’s right to self-determination and to completely breakaway from the Greek state. According to former Greek Party leader Stavridis, the CPG was prepared to support the right to self-determination up to secession and the right to form a united and independent Macedonia and Thrace, if there was an IMRO (United) coordinated armed struggle to take place in the three parts of Macedonia which would include the objectives of the Vlach minority (because the Vlachs like the Macedonians were disadvantaged), the Albanian Revolutionary Committee, and the Jews in Macedonia, who were now more than before willing to see an autonomous Macedonia. If these conditions were to be met then the CPG would be prepared to materially support such a movement.

1932 – June. Under the directive of the CPG Central Committee a Conference was held in Solun. The Conference was held under the name “Conference of Minorities” and was attended by 4 delegates from Lerin, 2 from Kostur, 1 from Solun, 1 from Lagadina, 1 from Negush, 1 from Drama Region and 1 from Voden Region, all Macedonians. Other minorities that attended included 1 Muslim from Western Thrace, 2 Jews from Solun and 1 Vlach from Ber.

1934 – April. An IMRO (United) official was invited to go to Athens, at the initiative of the CPG Central Committee, where he was put to work exclusively on collecting Macedonian folk songs and stories. He prepared a two volume book for publication. This gave the impression that the CPG, through folklore, was truly seeking to develop the Macedonian national culture and Macedonian national consciousness among young Macedonians on whom the official Greek regime was performing systematic denationalization. All these activities carried out in Greek occupied Macedonia by the Communist Party of Greece and by IMRO (United) were recognized by the Comintern during a decision made in April 1934, by which the uniqueness of the Macedonian nation and its right to self-determination were recognized. At that time IMRO (United) called for the Macedonian language to be freely spoken, to open

Macedonian schools and for the Macedonian people to be granted cultural autonomy and other rights. The Organization in Lerin, for example, managed to somehow make itself half-legal during the election campaign in 1935 and to publicly protest against the terror perpetrated by the Greek government against the Macedonian population.

1935 - The Macedonian student's association "Vardar" was founded in Zagreb, but soon the authorities banished their monthly journal "Naš vesnik" ("Our Journal").

1936 – April 25. The following comments were made by S. Sklavenas, head of the CPG parliamentary group in the Greek parliament, as a national equality requirement of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, on behalf of the Macedonian people: "One more question which the Greek government ignores with its declarations is the question of granting full equality to the local population and to the national minorities living in Greece. That mainly refers to the Macedonian nation. Anyone passing through Macedonia has felt the pressure perpetrated against the Macedonians. The right to have schools, to use the Macedonian language and to practice Macedonian customs is strictly forbidden. This kind of situation compels the Macedonian population to organize and fight for its rights which we are compelled to support. The winners of the Great War and the League of Nations have proclaimed that oppressed nations have the right to self-determination. This right we fully recognize for the Macedonian nation..."

1936 – August 4. Metaxas dictatorship seized power in Greece and halted all developments in Greek occupied Macedonia including those of the CPG and IMRO (United). The CPG was made illegal and the communist cadres were arrested and jailed. Arrested with them were also many IMRO (United) members including Hristo Galabov Andrea Chipov, Lazo Trpovski, Mihail Klianev, Trifun Hadzhianov, Tashko Traianov, Foti Ouroumov, Georgi Turundzhiev, Nedelko Popnedelkov, Andon Liomov, Kosta Dumov and Mihail Trpkov. To maintain control of his kingdom, King George II of Greece made his state a dictatorship. In 1936 after the Greek premier's death, General Metaxas, minister of war, was

appointed to take charge of Greek affairs. While there were some prospects for basic human rights for the Macedonian people in the Greek State in the early 1920's, those prospects died as Greece tightened her grip on Macedonia by implementing more racist assimilation policies.

1936 - Reign of terror by fascist dictator General Metaxas, (1936-40). Macedonians suffer state terrorism and pogroms. Thousands of Macedonians jailed, sent to internal exile (EXORIA) on arid, inhospitable Greek islands, where many perish. Their crime? Being ethnic Macedonian by birth. LAW 6429 reinforces Law 4096 on turning Macedonian place names to Greek place names. DECREE 87 accelerates denationalization of Macedonians. Greek Ministry of Education sends "Specially trained" instructors to accelerate conversion to Greek language. Another association of Macedonian students – "Vardar" was founded in Belgrade.

1936 - August 28. The organization MANAPO (Macedonian national movement) was founded in Ohrid.

1936 – December 18. Metaxas' dictatorial Greek government issued a legal act concerning, "Activities against State Security". By this act thousands of Macedonians were arrested, imprisoned and expelled from their homeland.

1938 - First collection of poems "Fire" ("Ogin") by Venko Markovski was published in Macedonian. He was a member (1945) of the Commission that worked on the codification of the Macedonian literary language, but in 1965 he moved to Bulgaria where, after declaring himself a Bulgarian was awarded with the most prestigious honours by the Bulgarian state.

1938 – September 7. Legal Act No. 2366 was issued which banned the use of the Macedonian language. All Macedonian localities were flooded with posters: "Speak Greek". Evening schools were opened in which adult Macedonians were taught Greek. Not a single Macedonian school functioned at that time. Macedonians were fined, beaten or jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children were further humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil

when caught speaking Macedonian. LAW 1418 reinforces previous laws on renaming.

1939 - The book “White Dawns” (“Beli Mugri”) is published. This book is a collection of Macedonian poems from the first modern Macedonian poet Kocho Ratsin.

1939 – March 23. Italian troops landed in Albania and occupied its territory

1939 - WW II begins, Germany invades Yugoslavia.

1940 - 39 Macedonian place-names changed turned to Greek since 1929.

1940 - Germany, Italy and Japan signed a cooperation agreement. This basically identified their intentions with respect to each others' spheres of influence, defining their political, economic and defense strategies as well as their obligations to each other. The agreement came to be known as the “tripartite pact”.

1940 – October 28. Soon after consolidating control in Albania, Italy declared war on Greece. Metodija Shatorov - Sarlo becomes Political Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in the Republic of Macedonia. This begins the realization of the Macedonian national platform: creating a Macedonian republic as part of Yugoslavia with rights to succession.

1941 - The “Macedono-Bulgarian Committee” organized and carried out the murder of the notorious Nikola Dailaki, known as Captain Laki.

1941 - A bid was made by the Bulgarian People's Communist Party to take over the Macedonian party organization in the Republic of Macedonia. The same bid was also made in Greek occupied Macedonia in 1941 when Hristo Kalaidzhiev arrived in Lerin and made contact with Ilia Dimovski – Gotse. Aware of the latest Bulgarian communist tactics Ilia Dimovski – Gotse intervened and strongly objected to the takeover rendering Kalaidzhiev's mission unsuccessful. Ilia Dimovski – Gotse had already made contact with

the Peoples' Liberation Organization in the Republic side of Macedonia and was already working with them. Early in 1941 Ilia Dimovski – Gotse illegally crossed the border to Bitola and established links with the Bitola Region Party Organization. Then in late 1941 early 1942 an illegal courier service was established between Bitola and Lerin.

1941 – March 1. After war broke out in Europe, Bulgaria allied itself with the axis powers and joined the German led pact.

1941 – March 25. To avoid German wrath the Yugoslav Regent, Prince Paul, joined the German led pact. Bulgarian and Italian military forces occupied the Republic of Macedonia then under Yugoslav control.

1941 - April 6. German army marches into Greece. By the end of April, 1941 Greek occupied Macedonia was divided into three occupied zones: Eastern Macedonia east from the river Struma along with Thrace was held by Fascist Bulgaria, the southern part of Kostur Region, Kozheni Region and part of Lerin Region was held by the Italians and central Macedonia to Solun was occupied by the Germans.

1941 – May. From May to September 1941 the communists worked hard to renew their Party organizations, particularly the communist youth organizations in the cities and most villages, through the creation of the first anti-fascist militant groups before forming EAM, the Liberation Front in Greece, in September 1941.

1941 - May 20, Greece divided into occupational zones. In accordance with Hitler's May 17, 1941 order, Greece was officially divided into occupation zones: German, Italian and Bulgarian.

1941 – June 1. The CPG Central Committee, at its 6th Plenum, decided to call on the Greek people and all its parties and organizations to join the national liberation front... “To organize a tireless struggle for the everyday needs of all the people and to start an armed resistance against the occupiers. The Party, i.e. each individual communist should, in time, be properly orientated and adapt to important events which change and will change every day

and fast, to organize the forces of the popular uprising for the national and social liberation of Greece...”

1941 - June 22. Hitler attacks the Soviet Union. The CPG in Greece and in Greek occupied Macedonia was placed on alert. All progressive organizations in major cities such as Solun, Voden, Negush, Kostur, Lerin, etc., were quickly re-established and rearmed with new arms. One of the strongest organizations, founded by the Macedonian Trifun Hadzhiianov in 1924, was reactivated in Voden on July 1, 1941.

1941 - June 28. Bulgarian propaganda reaches Macedonia. The second and more dramatic time Bulgarian propaganda reached the Macedonian people was during the Second World War when a group of 27 Macedonian and Greek communists were released from “Akronavplion” prison on June 28, 1941, with the help of Julia Schneider. Julia, who spoke German, informed the German authorities that the Macedonians in the prison were not jailed because they were communists but the Greeks had jailed them because they were “Bulgarians”. The Bulgarian authorities demanded that they be released under the condition that they agree to receive Bulgarian citizenship. Naturally this was used by the Greek nationalist press and by some Greek politicians to vilify the CPG, charging it with allegedly working for the services of the occupier and for wanting to surrender Macedonia to the Bulgarians.

1941 – August 14. Atlantic Charter is drafted which expressed the post-World War II aims of the United States and Great Britain. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain adopted the declaration in August 1941 during a conference aboard a ship off the coast of the Canadian province of Newfoundland and decided among other things that all people who participated in the liberation of the world from Fascism and Nazism would have the right to choose the form of government under which they would live; and to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them. Germany’s attack against the Soviet Union and the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, especially its provisions on liberation of all nations, which would take part in the anti-fascist fight, the recognition of their right to self-determination and creation

of independent countries, motivated Macedonian people in the three parts of Macedonia strongly to join the wide anti-fascist movement and the resistance of the Balkan nations. However, due to the extremely complicated situation, the uprising in Macedonia in this war is a unique phenomenon. Macedonian people all over the ethnic territory rose in revolt with a single desire to liberate and unite Macedonia. They were led by three different centers, which were opposed and antagonistic to each other. The best conditions to create a single leadership and a single Macedonian front of the people's liberation and to unite all forces of ethnic Macedonia were in the now Republic of Macedonia. However, all communist centers who delegated their representatives to the Republic of Macedonia, controlling the Macedonian leadership, very often faced discrepancies. These three centers, especially the representatives of the Bulgarian Labor Party (communists) and the Greek Communist Party severely opposed the idea of unification of Macedonia; at the same time, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia opposed the creation of an independent Macedonian state out of Yugoslavia.

1941 - August 29. Macedonians executed. Among the people executed on August 29, 1941 in Lerin Region were Kon. Liakov, Stavros Stangulis and Mih. Tesijanov for allegedly possessing and concealing arms. On September 24, 1941 Stefanos Hristoforidis and Kostas Klasidis were executed in Solun, no reason was given. On October 5, 1941 Jeremias Stefanidis, Kiriakos Chotilis and Kostas were killed in the village Gostoliubi, Meglen Region for allegedly moving arms. On October 30, 1941 Panaiotis Ialamas was executed in Enidzhe-Vardar for allegedly taking part in the resistance. On November 4, 1941 Mihail Voiadzhopulos was hung in Nigrita for allegedly taking part in the resistance. On November 13, 1941 Macedonian students Ilia Kapeshev and Sokrat Diariros in Solun were executed, no reason given. On December 27, 1941 496 people were executed in the German zone (Solun Region, Kukush Region, Gumendzha Region, Voden Region and part of Lerin Region) for allegedly raising arms, alleged sabotage and alleged participation in acts against the occupier. More were killed in actions with the Nigrita Region detachment "Andrutsos" in the village Krmsko, Kailiari Region.

1941 – September. After organizing and strengthening the collaborationist movements, the commander of Italian command in Kostur formed a special battalion to act against partisan actions, persecute and liquidate the communists and seek and dismantle the anti-fascist groups and organizations in the region. The new battalion was composed of 800 members; Italian officers, investigators, military and police operatives, a group of Macedonian collaborators; translators and informers (spies).

1941 – September. The Macedonians occupied about 60% of the positions in the CPG Party organizations, the OKNE communist youth organizations and in the anti-fascist groups in Rupishcha and surrounding areas. Special groups within the Party organizations were responsible for collecting arms, ammunition and other war material for the partisan movement. In Kostur Region these groups collected massive amounts of arms, left behind by the Greek soldiers withdrawing from the Albanian front. A large amount of arms, ammunition and other war material was also collected in the Rupishcha city streets, left there by the fleeing Greek soldiers and officers when the German forces entered Greece. These war materials belonged to a complete infantry division and to specialized military units. Included in the arms, ammunition and other military materials collected in Rupishcha were 830 maliheri type rifles, 24 automatic rifles, 6 machine guns, 400,000 bullets, 1,500 hand grenades and large amounts of sanitary and other medical material.

1941 - September 27. EAM is formed in Greece without any Macedonian markings. Its aims were to expel the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers, establish the integrity of Greece, establish the self-determination of Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Northern Epirus but nothing was said anywhere about the Macedonians. The EAM Party coalition included the Communist Party of Greece, the Agricultural Party, the National Socialist - Democratic Party, the General Workers Federation, the General Federation of State Officials, the National Solidarity Organization and representatives of the political, scientific and cultural life in Greece.

1941 - October 11. Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia rebel against occupier with aims at creating an independent Macedonian state. The first anti-fascist war of national liberation began in the

Republic of Macedonia on October 11, 1941. October 11 is the “Second Ilinden” for the Macedonian people. Since 1941 they have celebrated it as “Macedonian Revolution Day”.

1941 – October 16. The village Krmsko was invaded by the German army which, before entering the village, got into a fight with a group of fighters from the same village. After a brief skirmish the Germans returned to Kozhani. Several days later, in the morning of October 23, 1941, the residents of Kremsko suddenly found themselves surrounded on all sides by the German army. The entire male population ages 15 to 60, 146 people in total, were taken and shot in the village meadows.

1942 – January. Upon British initiative, a meeting was held in London among the Yugoslav King Petar Karađorđević, the Greek King, George II, and the British Foreign Minister, Eden. They agreed on establishing monarchist regimes in Yugoslavia and Greece after the war and retaining the borders. By sending military missions in these countries, Great Britain supported the anti-Fascist resistance, but always strongly supported the anti-communist politics and the principle of not changing the borders. In that way, they disregarded the Atlantic Treaty, and disabled the unification of Macedonia. Great Britain increased its influence in Greece especially after the Stalingrad Battle, and after it had prevented the creation of the Balkan Headquarters, the goal of which was coordination of the national liberation movements of the Balkan countries.

1942 – January. In its January 1942 CPG Central Committee 8th Plenum, the Party decided to treat the Macedonian people as a “Slavophone minority” so as not to let them fall under the influence of Bulgarian demagogy. The attitude the CPG Central Committee took was to develop all its activities to teach the national minorities, especially the “Slavophone” Macedonians to avoid being seduced by hatred because of national oppression, Greek capitalist demagogy and the current occupiers, particularly the Bulgarian imperialists who were satellites of Hitler and Mussolini.

1942 - February 15. A new Greek Army, appropriately named ELAS, was created with the appearance of its first ELAS military

units. The first detachment of ELAS formed in Greek occupied Macedonia was in Kostur on December 7, 1942 and it consisted of 10 Macedonians, 7 Greeks and 2 Vlachs.

1942 - After the organization MAO and its organ the "Red Star" were banned by the CPG in a rough manner, the Macedonian people were forced to join EAM and other Greek anti-fascist organizations. MAO was formed in response to persistent demands and pressure from the Macedonian communists in Voden who felt there was a need to neutralize the intensified Bulgarian propaganda. As a result, in the summer of 1942, the CPG formed MAO (Macedonian Liberation Organization) in Voden and placed it under the direct leadership of the CPG District Committee in Voden. The following were decided during the MAO founding meeting: 1) The MAO leadership will consist of five members. 2) The MAO organ will be called "Red Star" and will be published in the Macedonian language, as will be a newsletter in the newspaper. 3) MAO will act in the city and in its district; and 4) MAO will receive its guidance and directives from the CPG District Committee. Thanks to MAO, Bulgarian and German propaganda in Voden failed to achieve its objectives of winning over the Macedonian people or arming a single Macedonian before 1943 and during the first half of 1944. This, however, was not true with the Greek population. Many Greek villagers, especially those from the flatlands, began to massively arm themselves on the side of the Germans. Unfortunately MAO's rapid growth and influence on the Macedonian people deterred the communist Greek leaders and in the summer of 1943 they dissolved MAO and abolished the "Red Star". The CPG, it appears, was not completely satisfied with just dissolving MAO and abolishing the "Red Star". It also went after Pando Dzhikata from the village Chegan, Voden Region. Pando was one of MAO's leaders and during MAO's existence, among other things, he had written an article published in the "Red Star" that had Macedonian national content about Ilinden and the road that the Macedonian people should follow. There was also another serious reason for his capture and that was because Pando maintained close ties and close contact with the Partisans from the Republic of Macedonia. And this had been going on for a long time. The CPG captured Pando in mid-October 1943, following an order from the CPG supreme leadership.

A special delegate was specifically dispatched to capture him on the spot and soon afterwards they had him executed.

1942 - December 3. ELAS conduct first campaign against the occupier in the Gumendzhe Region by successfully destroying the Greek gendarme post at Boemidzhki Bridge, killing all the German guards and capturing the gendarmes. The bridge was bombed and destroyed along with a German train. The train engineer and a German officer (a major) on board were both killed. One hundred and twenty regular partisans and 250 volunteers from the neighbouring Gumendzhe villages took part in this mission. The importance of this mission was captured by historiographer Chrysochoou who wrote: "During the night of December 3, 1942 an armed group of EAM resistance fighters attacked and destroyed the railway station in Gumendzhe capturing one officer and five gendarmes and killing the German train engineer. Similarly the group destroyed the German bridge watchtower, wounding a German soldier and five Czech workers. The same Partisan group on the night of December 7 attacked the Mavrodendro mine near the village Fanos, and took large amounts of dynamite and other items."

1942 – December 7. The first partisan detachment in Kostur Region was formed and consisted mostly of Macedonian men and women fighters, with a smaller number of Greeks. Of the total number of people in the detachment 70% were Macedonians.

1942 - December 12. As punishment for destroying a German train, bombing a bridge and attacking the watch tower, the Germans, killed 25 innocent people in Solun.

1942 – December 24. While clearing the terrain in the village Shak, Kostur Region, the first Kostur detachment captured seven Greek gendarmes. And because the gendarmes were cooperating with the occupier and for crimes committed against the population; terrorizing and pillaging, they were sentenced to death. They were tried in a partisan court chaired by Kosta Bezdeka from the village Loshnitsa.

1943 – January 10. By the great victory at Stalingrad from January 10 to February 2, 1943 the Red Army gained strategic advantage

and forced the German army to retreat toward the Dnieper River. In the same time joint British and American forces took over Sicily and were preparing to land troops in Normandy and Italy.

1943 – February 18. A meeting was held which was attended by the Bulgarian delegation and Commander Luigi and his staff officers Geovani Ravaneli, head of counter-intelligence services, Lieutenant Marietti and Dzhona, Chief of the Kabinieri in Kostur, on one side, and by the leading figures from the “Macedono-Bulgarian Committee” on the other, which included Risto Rukov, Pando Makriev, Vasil Manoilov, brothers Vasil and Paskal Ianakiev, Luka Damianov, Risto Naskovski, Iani Mino, Paskal Kalimanovski, Boris Shekrov, Apostol Gambrola, Kolio Shistevarov (Bai-Kolio), his brother Kuze Shistevarov and others. The decision reached during the meeting required the formation of armed counter-bands with instructions to fight against the people’s liberation movement.

1943 - February 24. A second Kostur detachment was formed from the existing partisan fighter groups in Kostur. More new partisan detachments were formed in Kostur Region in early 1943.

1943 - February 28. The first Lerin Region resistance detachment called “Vicho” is formed in the village Lagen. Among the first fighters to join this detachment were Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, Kocho Kalinov, Lambe Popovski, Miltiadi Popnikolov, Giorgi Kalinov, Giorgi Rusov, Jani Chochev, Hristo Sahidis-Pandelis Masiotis, Giogos Gavriilidis, Pashalis Papadopoulos – Spartakos, Atanas Furtunas and Stoian from Lerin. A few days later more men enlisted including Risto Kolentsev from Lerin bringing the number to 35.

1943 - Secret Greek terrorist gangs, created by PAO, appeared in Anaselichka Region in the spring. Armed gangs were formed in Kailiari Region by the Turkish Christian settlers and colonists who were deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia from Asia Minor during the 1920s. The German occupiers formed a Greek detachment of about 500 fighters in Enidzhe-Vardar Region, consisting mainly of criminals, thugs and assassins, and placed them under the command of the Greek and German collaborator Lieutenant Colonel Poullos. These terror gangs were granted freedom of action and to act together with the quisling Greek police

and gendarmerie. They were allowed to carry out blockades in the Macedonian villages and other populated areas to terrorize the people, especially those people who were associated with and supported the people's liberation movement. The gangs were allowed to place curfews, especially in the places where they were stationed, strictly controlling the people's movements. Movement in and out of the settlements was not possible without their special approval. Only those who worked outside the settlement or those who were very sick and needed to see a doctor were allowed to travel.

1943 – March. The armed counter-band unit from the village Starichani attacked the villages Zhuzheltsi, Ludovo, Gosnovo and Breshtani. It terrorized the local villagers and forced them to take weapons and fight against the partisans. Those who refused were severely beaten and many were beaten to death. The priest Risto, a priest serving in the village Gosnovo, was arrested, taken to Kostur and executed without a trial.

1943 – March 3. The first Kostur detachment, led by Iani Pachura, attacked and freed Nestram, a Macedonian village with about 2,800 residents, all Macedonians. After the village was freed 20 young men and 3 young women voluntarily joined the detachment.

1943 – March 4. Partisan detachments were formed in Lerin Region. The first detachment was formed on March 4, 1943.

1943 - March 5. The “Macedonian Committee” for Kostur Region was formed. Macedonian patriotism was put into action in Kostur Region when an Assembly of 48 members, representatives of the various villages, was convened and decided to form the “Macedonian Committee” for Kostur Region whose aim was to defend the 54 to 60 villages in that region. They were allowed to arm themselves (by the Italian occupiers) because they needed protection from the Greeks. The first armed military unit was formed in Kostur, consisting 9,850 armed men. They called themselves fighters, defenders against the armed Greek nationalist gangs. In western Macedonia, in 1943, these armed nationalist Greek gangs were responsible for intimidating the Macedonian

people by spreading anti-Macedonian propaganda in the form of leaflets and by other means.

1943 – March 8. Two partisan detachments, supported by seven local partisan groups, freed the town Rupishcha with 5,000 inhabitants, of whom 55% were Macedonians. Included among the other identities living in Rupishcha were 20% Vlachs, 20% Christian Turkish colonists and settlers from Asia Minor and 5% Roma and Albanians. After Rupishcha was freed a National Liberation Committee was formed. Rupishcha was the first large town in Greek occupied Macedonia to be freed by the partisans. After the town was liberated the neighbouring villages Dupiak, Maniak, Zhelino, Zhupanishta and others were also freed. New fighters began to join the partisan movement including 72 from Rupishcha and 40 others from the neighbouring villages Dupiak, Pesiak, Vitan, Gosno and others, all with their own weapons. Twenty-two collaborators, who collaborated with the occupiers and with the Greek quislings against the partisans, were arrested in the liberated settlements. They were tried in a revolutionary court presided by Lazo Trpovski. Of the 22 arrested 10 were sentenced to death and liquidated, the others were released. Included among those convicted were Iani Dialaki, Tode Mitruli-Karakapnia, Zisi Karatasho, Bilios the mayor of the village Dupiak and Stavrakis Pandazis a former Greek policeman.

1943 – March 13. Two hundred members of the pro-Bulgarian movement were involved in the Italian offensive against re-occupying the town Rupishcha. The Italian force consisted of a battalion of 600 soldiers with 12 guns and air support. Over 70 houses and other buildings were destroyed and heavily damaged during the attack on Rupishcha from the bombing alone.

1943 - The Communist Party of Macedonia was founded in Tetovo, Republic of Macedonia. The process of creating government authorities – National Councils for Liberation – begins. The Main headquarters of NOV (People's Liberation Army) issues a Manifesto expressing the aims of the liberation war.

1943 - The collaborationist armed movement was required to provide security support for the bases and movement of the

occupying forces as well as to inform the occupiers of imminent partisan attacks. The collaborationists were deployed on the entire road network from the Yugoslav-Greek to the Greek-Albanian border in order to protect the bridges, telephone and telegraph lines, and to participate in arrest operations in clearing the ground of Partisans. They were also required to join the occupying forces in combat operations against the partisan units in the liberated settlements.

1943 – March. The third Kostur partisan detachment was formed. Each detachment consisted of about 70 fighters of whom 70% were Macedonians. The rest were Greeks and Vlachs.

1943 – April 9. Armed members of PAO (Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization), in an ambush near the village Imeri, Kozhani Region, captured the partisan leaders Lazo Trpovski and Kerasidis Simos and liquidated them in a cruel manner. The same day ELAS partisans broke up the PAO band in Zabardeni and captured the deserters Kirtsidakis, Mandaropoulos and Efremidis, then tried them in a partisan court and sentenced them to death by firing squad.

1943 – May 15. Under the pressure of the USA and Great Britain the Communist International (Comintern) is dissolved. As per Stalin's initiative, a decision was made in Moscow to dissolve the Communist International (Comintern) and pass control over to parties and formally recognize the right of every Communist Party to resolve its own issues.

1943 - May 20. Partisans attack and destroyed a train on the Lerin-Voden rail line in order to free the political prisoners being transported. Among those freed was Haralambos Haralambidis – Atanatos. Four Germans were killed and Papatnasiou, a well known collaborator, was wounded. All the prisoners were freed and in the process many arms were acquired. On several occasions the Vicho detachment combined forces with the Dame Gruev detachment from Bitola to perform joint missions.

1943 - May 22. The “Gotse Delchev” detachment in the village Prekopana, Lerin Region, was formed by combining fighters from the “Dame Gruev” detachment from the Republic of Macedonia and

from newly recruited fighters from Greek occupied Macedonia. The formation of the “Gotse Delchev” detachment was welcomed by Naum Shupurkovski - Leon, the political commissar of the Lerin Region Partisan detachment “Vicho”. In his speech he emphasized the importance of the help offered by the Partisans from the Republic of Macedonia against the disarming of the counter-bands in Lerin and Kostur Regions.

1943 – May. Towards the end of May, by a decision made by the CPG District Committee for Lerin Region, a special detachment composed exclusively of Macedonian fighters was created and Paskal Mitrevski was appointed its commander. In addition to performing combat actions, this detachment was also responsible for spreading propaganda aimed against the “Macedonian Committee” in convincing the Macedonian counter-bandits not to support it. But despite this detachment’s successes, it was dismantled by the CPG leadership. The CPG leadership disbanded the all Macedonian detachment “for unknown reasons”.

1943 – June 20. Representatives from the communist parties of Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia met several times and signed a number of agreements. The agreement signed on June 20, 1943, among other things, said: “The representatives from these counties have unanimously pointed out the fact that, given the significant rise in the national liberation struggle in the Balkans, today’s conditions require the immediate establishment of mutual co-operation between the national liberation forces in all the Balkan countries in a patriotic struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Balkan peoples. The representatives agreed in principle that it is necessary not only to establish mutual cooperation but to also, above all, establish unity of action involving all the national liberation forces in the Balkan countries by creating a single command under one chief general staff. All the representatives are aware of the historical significance of forming a General Balkan Headquarters, which would amplify the struggle of the Balkan peoples who are fighting for their liberation. Forming one General Staff would make it possible to stamp out chauvinistic tendencies and will contribute to strengthening the convergence and twinning of the Balkan peoples. It will provide new forces in the struggle for a final and universal victory of true democracy in the Balkan countries. It will also

eliminate all the difficulties and, after the fascist occupiers are expelled from the Balkans, will pave the way for the creation of a Balkan federation...”

1943 - During the second half of 1943, by CPG directive, ELAS brigade and division Headquarters was instructed to form EPON (All Greek National Youth Organization) youth detachments responsible for implementing cultural and artistic theater and choral programs and activities. Cultural events and staged dramas about the struggles of the Greek people, along with Greek revolutionary songs, Greek national poetry and Greek folk dances, were organized to appear in as many settlements in Greek occupied Macedonia as possible. Nothing Macedonian was ever mentioned.

1943 - July 1. The detachment “Dame Gruev” broke away from the detachments “Vicho” and “Gotse Delchev” and crossed over the border into Prespa, Republic of Macedonia. The “Vicho” and “Gotse Delchev” detachments, commanded by Ilia Dimovski – Gotse, continued with their mission in disarming the counter-bands with much success. Without resistance the counter-bands surrendered their arms and joined on mass the Partisans and the peoples’ freedom movement.

1943 – July 2. The CPG Central Committee delivered the following proclamation after the dissolution of the Comintern: “While waiting for the ultimate goal - socialism, the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Greece - is today fighting for national liberation, and then, after the war is over, it will fight for a people’s democracy...”

1943 - July 5. British Military Mission signed a treaty with ELAS, which put it under the command of the Alliance Headquarters for Middle East. The forces of the National and Social Renaissance (EKKA) and the National Democratic Greek Alliance (EDES), that is, the former opponents found themselves under the same command. In order to unite all political forces of Greece and create a coalition government, the British Military Mission organized a meeting of representatives of the Greek Communist Party representing the National Front (EAM, EDES and EKKA) and the former government. It was held in Cairo on August 10, 1943. The

CPG requested a public statement from the King that he would not come back in the country before the plebiscite was finished. The government of Emanoil Tzuderis accepted it. However, King George asked help from Churchill and Roosevelt. The two presidents responded positively and expelled the CPG representatives from the meeting in Cairo. After the meeting, the Greek political forces split into a left wing and a right wing, and strained their relations.

1943 - July 16. ELAS and the English agree for ELAS to be placed under Middle East Command. ELAS Commander Sarafis and English Mission Military Chief Colonel Edie Mayers signed a joint declaration by which ELAS was recognized as an army and was subordinated to Middle East Command. Given that out of the 70,000 ELAS fighters, 40,000 were Macedonians. It was a huge army and, by rights, it should have had its own Macedonian military leadership and military General Headquarters. Unfortunately those in control of ELAS did not want Macedonians in leading positions! Based on this Agreement, the EDES quisling forces, led by Colonel Napoleon Zervas, and those of EKKA, led by Colonel Psaros, were to also be placed under English command. EDES and EKKA were organized by the bourgeoisie and the English to fight against EAM and ELAS. According to Sarafis: "On June 21, 1943, EDES units accompanied by English officers entered our territory around Gotista and Kalama-Filiates, and there, especially around Filiates, liquidated our organizations, arrested and abused EAM members and even committed murder... In my opinion, by doing this, Majors Chris and Miller, for political purposes, wanted to expand Zervas's territory to include the whole of Epirus and, once reinforced, be used against ELAS. This English tendency and Zervas's actions resulted in many ELAS - EDES clashes which ultimately led to their great collision in October 1943." Again, according to Sarafis: "These covert forces, which even cooperated with the occupiers against EAM and ELAS, were recognized by the English as forces that fought against the occupiers. And there was more to it than that. A joint headquarters was set up for all of them..." According to Sarafis: "ELAS even demanded that Colonel Eddie Myers create the joint headquarters with Sarafis, Aris, Samariniotis, Zervas, and Psaros.

1943 - July 18. Around July 18 and 19, 1943, after a twenty day mission in the Lerin and Kostur Regions, the “Gotse Delchev” detachment crossed over into the Republic of Macedonia. The military and material aid provided by the Macedonian Partisans and the common military actions taken between the Macedonian detachments on both sides, in spite of all Greek Communist Party obstacles, were of great importance in the awakening of the freedom movement in Greek occupied Macedonia. Here is what Andreas Dzimas, member of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party and commissar of the main headquarters of the Greek National Liberation Army of Greece, had to say: “Under great pressure from the mass movement in Aegean Macedonia the politburo and the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party agreed to suspend the Lebanon Agreement and immediately began to orientate themselves towards Yugoslavia’s People’s Liberation Army. ...one of the contributing factors that drew the Macedonians in the war against the occupiers, besides the connections they had with the Greek democratic movement, was the strong influence of the Macedonian Partisans of Yugoslav Macedonia. Their presence in Lerin, Kostur and Voden regions broke the last vestiges of the counter-bands and stirred the Macedonian peoples’ spirits into action against the occupiers...”

1943 - July 20. A conference was held in the village Belkamen, Lerin Region which was attended by the Partisans active on Vicho and Western Kaimakchalan. One of the resolutions reached was the re-organization of the Partisan forces into three detachments. The first lead by Aetos was assigned to operate in Vicho, the second lead by Ilia Dimovski – Gotse was assigned to Bigla – Koreshtata and the third was ordered to go to Western Kaimakchalan. In August 1943 Hristo Kolentsev was appointed detachment commissar for Vicho, replacing Commissar Naum Shupurkovski – Leon who left for a new assignment. The vast majority of leaders and fighters in these detachments were Macedonians and this did not bode well with the Communist Party of Greece but in spite of its objections Macedonians continued to conduct business as usual and recruit Macedonian fighters from an overwhelming pool of volunteers.

1943 – July 25. This is what Yugoslav representative Svetozar Vukmanovich-Tempo, a CPY Central Committee delegate in

Macedonia, wrote in a report dated July 25, 1943, to the CPM Central Committee: “This is to inform you that among the delegates of the Supreme Headquarters of Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia, an agreement has been reached to create a Balkan headquarters...” However, the agreement was soon cancelled by the Greek side. Siantos’s leadership unexpectedly, and for reasons that we can only speculate on, changed its mind and canceled the cooperation agreement, i.e. the already signed agreement was declared null and void. This is what Svetozar Vukmanovich - Tempo wrote: “...I met with the secretary of the Greek party and I discussed with him the overall situation regarding the conclusions we reached on June 25 (1943). They have annulled all the conclusions regarding the creation of a Balkan headquarters and regarding the cooperation between our parties, especially regarding Macedonia...” Instead of joining the communist Balkan revolutionary alliance, Siantos’s CPG leadership turned to the English. On July 5, 1943, Siantos’s CPG leadership signed an agreement with the British military mission, to place ELAS under the command of British General Staff for the Middle East. British officers, mainly Intelligence Service agents, occupied posts in ELAS supreme headquarters as well as in all larger ELAS unit headquarters. Of course, they lost no time in creating their own extended networks consisting of well paid domestic spies, and they successfully did this with ease and with little to no resistance. According to information provided by Vasilis Bardzhotas, member of the CPG politburo: “All large units, divisions and groups of divisions were actually placed in the hands of the Intelligence Service...”

1943 – August. During the Tempo – Siantos talks, Siantos accepted Tempo’s suggestion to create a special Macedonian military unit in Greek occupied Macedonia for the purpose of leading, agitating and spreading propaganda in the Macedonian language. This was the first step in setting the bait; have Macedonians snare the counter-bands by an all Macedonian organization and calling it Slavo-Macedonian Liberation Front (SNOF). Let us be clear, however, about something here; this organization was not created by Macedonians and ironically, no one asked why? It was CPY representative Tempo, a Montenegrin, who proposed to the Greeks to create SNOF, a Macedonian organization to snare the Macedonian freedom fighting counter-bands and destroy them. Why

“Slavo-Macedonian”? Did Tempo, from his experience with the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, not know that the people living in Macedonia were Macedonians and not “Slavo-Macedonians”? The name “Slavo-Macedonians” was introduced on an ethnic map of Macedonia in 1918 by Sotiriadis, a Greek by origin. Greek scientists were responsible for establishing the new name for the Macedonians. And here we have Tempo, without Macedonian consent, proposing to Siantos to create SNOF

1943 – September. The CPG leadership opened Greek elementary schools in the areas under ELAS control in the western part of Greek occupied Macedonia, so that Macedonian children would be taught Greek. The Macedonian people, including the Macedonian veterans of the liberation war, protested bitterly.

1943 – September. The “Lazo Trpovski” detachment was created. This new detachment was named “Lazo Trpovski” after the influential Macedonian fighter and political leader from D’mbeni who had been killed in the village Imera, Kozheni Region on April 11, 1943 by a band of collaborators belonging to the racist Panhellenic Liberation Organization. The Macedonian lead detachments were very popular with the Macedonian people and attracted massive numbers of recruits from the Macedonian population which unfortunately disturbed the Greeks. During the months of September and October 1943, the partisans were making headway in disarming the village counter-bands and managed to disarm the bands in the villages Kosinets, Lobanitsa, Aposkep and other villages. NOTE: The above however, is incorrect. According to Mincho Fotev, who was there at the time, this is how it was: “On October 6, 1943 the CPG Regional Committee for Kostur Region decided to form a detachment which was to bear the name ‘Lazo Trpovski’, named after the late, prominent Macedonian fighter and communist. The CPG District Committee’s decision was made at ELAS XXVIII Regiment Headquarters in which Mincho Fotev was serving as deputy chief of counter-intelligence services. The detachment was formed on October 10, 1943, and not in September, and it was done at the foot of Mount Malimadi near the village D’mbeni, Kostur Region. When it was formed the detachment had 28 fighters. It was created from a local partisan group of fighters, mostly of the villagers from the village Smrdesht, Kostur Region,

who earlier acted in that area under ELAS, and from a group of Macedonians who had just returned from Bulgaria. The detachment was part of the ELAS XXVIII Regiment and acted under ELAS command. The “Lazo Trpovski” unit lasted only two months before it was disbanded in December 1943 and its fighters were absorbed into the XXVIII regiment units which acted in the area of Mount Vicho. The detachment’s commander was Naum Peiov, who was replaced by Dimitar Tupurkovski- Titan only ten days after he was appointed. The claim that the fighters of the “Lazo Trpovski” unit wore the five pointed star on their hats is not true. They wore ELAS symbols just like the rest of the ELAS fighters in all other ELAS units.

1943 - September 8. After Fascist Italy capitulated the pro-Bulgarian movement found itself in a difficult situation. Partisan units of ELAS XXVIII Battalion took intrusive measures to crush it. The movement’s position became very critical. Its members individually and in groups began to leave the counter-band units to join the partisans. To maintain its integrity the “Macedono-Bulgarian Committee” turned to the Bulgarian government for help. In the second half of September 1943, the “Macedono-Bulgarian Committee” sent a four member delegation that included Paskal Kalimanovski, Risto Rukov, Dinko pop-Andonov, led by Andon Kalchev, to Sofia. The delegation traveled from Kostur via Lerin and Bitola to Sofia where it was received by the Bulgarian interior minister. The delegation, according to confirmed confidential information submitted by Giorgi Todorovski, informed the interior minister of the critical situation the “Macedono-Bulgarian Committee” movement was in and that it was in need of support from the Bulgarian state after Italy’s capitulation.

1943 - September. With orders from the 28 regiment of the National Liberation Army of Greece Ilija Dimovski – Gotse’s detachment was transferred to Gramos where it remained until December of the same year when it was again ordered to return to Vicho to help put down enemy activities in that region.

1943 – October 3. About 250 counter-bandits joined up with a German unit of about 300 soldiers and attacked the partisan positions in the areas near the villages Nestram, Radigozha and

Chuka, all populated by Macedonians. During the three days of fighting many houses were destroyed by fire and a large number of crimes were committed. Kosta Kirovski and his wife Kostandina, in the village Nestram, were burned alive inside their house.

1943 – October 10. The CPG Regional Committee for Kostur Region decided to form a detachment which was to bear the name “Lazo Trpovski”. The detachment was formed on October 10 not September as indicated earlier.

1943 - October 20. SNOF is created. The CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships, “concerned” about the counter-band situation that existed in Greek occupied Macedonia, especially in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions, decided to create a separate Macedonian organization; SNOF (Slavo-Macedonia National Liberation Front) to deal with it. SNOF, for Kostur and Lerin Regions, was created on October 20, 1943 in the village Snichani, Kostur Region, and for Voden Region a little later. The people who created SNOF were Greeks who belonged to the CPG District Committee for Western Macedonia; Hristos Kalfas (Andreas), Antonis Andonopulos (Periklis), CPG District Committee Secretary for Kostur Region and Thanassis Kartsunis, CPG District Committee Secretary for Kozhani Region. Less than 6 months after it was created SNOF was disbanded. Within the six months of its existence, SNOF in Kostur Region amassed in its ranks about 2,490 men and about 2,280 women. The number of people recruited by SNOF in Lerin Region amounted to more than 10,000. SNOF emerged as a true leader and organizer of the Macedonian people’s struggle in Kostur and Lerin Regions against the foreign occupiers and against the domestic traitors. Regarding SNOF’s activities in Kostur Region, an article came out on April 3, 1944 and published in the newspaper “Slavo-Macedonian voice”. Among other things the article said: “SNOF is the only people’s liberation organization which will meet the Macedonian people’s national and social demands. SNOF is the new VMRO for the Macedonians, which will lead them to the end of the work of Ilinden...” One of SNOF’s main tasks in Kostur and Lerin Regions was to declare war on supporters of the Bulgarian Court and on Vancho Mihailov whose propaganda endeavoured to turn the Macedonian population in the wrong direction. But the Macedonians involved in the anti-fascist struggle against the foreign invaders and

against the domestic traitors, seriously upset the CPG, EAM and ELAS leaderships. It seems that by the end of April 1944 the top CPG leadership made a decision to disband SNOF in Kostur and Lerin Regions. The justification given was that SNOF's influence was "harmful" to the popularization of the Greek masses in the ranks of EAM.

1943 - The CPG leadership established and maintained a complete informational blockade against the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, particularly against the Macedonian ELAS partisans, about events in the other parts of ethnic Macedonia. The local newspapers, newsletters and other media did not write or transmit information from other mediums regarding the course of events, especially about the victorious end of the people's liberation war in the Republic of Macedonia. The first time the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia heard about this was towards the end of 1943 and early 1944. This information was obtained directly from the Republic of Macedonia Macedonian army units traveling through the territory of Greek occupied Macedonia. The information blockade continued to be rigorously enforced. Party newspapers did not publish any information about the ASNOM meeting held on August 2, 1944, and about the drafting of the Macedonian national state constitution and about the Republic of Macedonia being an equal founding member of the Yugoslav federation.

1944 – January. The CPG allowed the formation of a so-called "Slavo-Macedonian" army called SNOV and placed it under the direct leadership of EAM and ELAS. Later it was from this "army" that the "Aegean Brigade" was formed and transferred to Tito's Army in Yugoslavia. Immediately after its creation, the so-called "Slavo-Macedonian" battalions received orders to prepare to liquidate the counter-band formations. Then, on August 21, 1944, the Kostur battalion attacked several armed counter-band villages and managed to disarm a number of counter-bandits.

1944 – January 2. British classified report. The telegram to Washington and Moscow, to which the Prime Minister refers, shows that we are doing our utmost to preserve Greek territory intact and to prevent any threat to Greek Macedonia from developing. The news

that we are taking such a strong line on Greece's behalf would certainly gratify the Archbishop and other Greek politicians and might promote unity among them. On the other hand, we must realize that if this information is given to the Archbishop and if he is allowed to pass it on, it will immediately become public property. I am very doubtful that this would be advisable at least until we know whether the United States and Soviet Governments are in agreement with us. There have been innumerable reports about propaganda which is being conducted in favour of independent Macedonia and of incursions by Yugoslav and Bulgarian partisans into Greek territory. Almost all reports state that EAM are in close touch with these Slav forces, and there is enough evidence that Bulgarian units are taking part on the attack on Zervas. If EAM are in fact assisting or even supporting these pro-Macedonian activities, they will lose a great deal of support even amongst their own members. For the moment people in Athens and most other areas of Greece have so much to think about that they cannot pay attention to events in the north, but once they have time for reflection the Slav danger to Greece should work strongly against EAM and in favour of Greek unity.

1944 - In early 1944 the counter-bandits strengthened their defensive positions against attacks from the partisans in the villages Dobrolishta, Chetirok, Tikveni, Izglebi and Gorentsi by arming the villagers in those villages.

1944 – January. The CPG leadership, through its Central Committee 10th Plenum, held in January 1944, made a request from the Allies to support Greece's "strategic security" on its northern borders. This means that Greece was preparing to expand, occupy and annex new foreign territories.

1944 - February 24. CPG signed Plaka Agreement to end hostilities between ELAS and EDES. And finally, as part of the agreement, the CPG dissolved SNOF.

1944 - March 13. London Radio officially recognizes that "The Communists, in their eternal honour, were the first to cast themselves in the patriotic struggle against the occupiers."

1944 - In the spring of 1944, PAO, EDES, the Vlach Legion armed gangs and the quisling Greek police systematically and brutally terrorized the population in western Greek occupied Macedonia. They undertook coordinated armed actions to terrorize the population and the partisan movement. Italian military command created an armed formation of Vlachs called the "Vlach Legion" in the Vlach populated area in the Italian occupied territory. The main aim for creating the Vlach Legion was to fight against the anti-fascist Greek and Macedonian armed people's liberation movement.

1944 – April 2. The SNOF 2nd Conference was held in the village D'mbeni, Kostur Region, during which Paskal Mitrevski was again elected Secretary. SNOF gave itself priority to expand its forces in all districts of Greek occupied Macedonia. As a national revolutionary organization it also took it upon itself to act as the sole legitimate representative of the Macedonian people and as an equal to EAM, the anti-fascist coalition. This was the only way the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia felt they could become equal to the Greek people. The Macedonian national organization in Greek occupied Macedonia requested that only the CPG should be allowed to act in Greek occupied Macedonia and that all other Greek anti-fascist organizations, in which Macedonians were members, be dissolved. SNOF requested that all Macedonians be united and organized under SNOF and that SNOF be recognized as a Macedonian national organization by EAM and ELAS. The CPG's response to the SNOF demands was the dissolution of SNOF in April 1944.

1944 – April 5. Partisans ambushed a motorized German unit near the village Klisura, in Dauli vicinity, killing 25 German soldiers. Upon the arrival of reinforcements from the village Sorovich, the same day, the Germans attacked the village Klisura. Klisura was then populated with Macedonians and Vlachs who were massively organized in the people's liberation movement. The Germans set the village on fire. Out of the 215 houses, they burned down to the ground 180 houses and slaughtered 285 inhabitants, men, women, children and old people.

1944 – April 12. On April 12 and May 4, 1944 the Kostur and Lerin Region German units, along with about 200 counter-bandits,

attacked the partisan positions around Mount Vicho. The attacks were repulsed both times. During the battles the Germans and counter-bandits experienced heavy losses with 6 killed and 25 wounded.

1944 – May. The CPG's refusal to accept the existence of a "Macedonian Question" was made very clear by Leonidas Stringos, CPG Regional Committee Secretary for Greek occupied Macedonia and Thrace, during the District Plenary meeting in May 1944, held in the village Zhupan. Stringos stated that: "There is no Macedonian National Question for the CPG." He proved his point by making reference to the demographic changes in Greek occupied Macedonia which now, he said, hold true that 90% of the population living in Greek occupied Macedonia is Greek.

1944 – May. The Macedonian national liberation front in Greece is disbanded. During the Macedonian National Liberation Front regional conference held on April 12, 1944 Greek representatives of the CPG and Greek National Liberation Front were very pleased with the Macedonian National Liberation Front's recent successes but a few days later the same Greeks suddenly and unexpectedly denounced the Macedonian organization calling it redundant and useless and demanding that it be dismantled and its fighters be merged with the Greek Liberation Front. They argued that "two organizations with the same aims were not needed" and "national unity could not possibly be achieved by having redundant organizations". In the beginning of May 1944, during a CPG conference held in the village Mogila, Kostur Region, a final decision was made to break up the Macedonian organization. A similar decision was also made during a conference held in the village Lagen, Lerin Region and another one in the Macedonian ward in Voden. Naturally and justifiably the Macedonian people found it hard to accept this especially since Macedonians created this organization through struggle and personal sacrifice. The fact that the Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia were having their own organizations, their own army, their own general headquarters and their recognized right to separate as an ethnic Macedonian identity made the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia feel like they were taking steps backwards. Besides being stripped of their right to be recognized as an ethnic

Macedonian identity in Greece, these Macedonians began to lose everything they had worked for, even the rights they had achieved thus far. This was not only unacceptable, it was incomprehensible. In addition to breaking up the Macedonian National Liberation Front's political body, the CPG leadership also disbanded its fighters and forced them to join ELAS. This was not what Macedonians wanted and naturally created negative feelings towards the Greeks which did not go unnoticed by the Fascists and directly fueled the autonomist propaganda which began to work hard to attract these disgruntled Macedonians who found themselves robbed not only of their rights but of also of their dignity. The kind of politics the CPG was conducting was neither new nor unknown to the Macedonian leadership. As early as January 1944 Lazo Damovski, the secretary of the regional council of the Macedonian National Liberation Front for Kostur Region, addressed the CPG council for Macedonia and warned of this. On January 24, 1944 Damovski wrote: "The conditions created by World War II for the liberation movements in all of occupied Europe including the Balkans have opened new roads for the self-determination of all people. Macedonians are no exception. Macedonians have spilled blood in the 1903 Ilinden Uprising and are now fighting, spilling blood and making sacrifices to gain their freedom from the Fascists. Our friends in Vardar (Republic) Macedonia are going in the right direction..." "The Macedonians in Lerin and Kostur Regions represent the majority of the population (70%) and are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people. When they become liberated, will they, according to the Atlantic Charter, have the rights to self declare? Will they be granted the promised rights?" "The CPG promised the Macedonian people equal rights within the framework of a Peoples Republic of Greece, the same way it promised the people of the Dodekanis and Cyprus. If the CPG is serious about delivering on those promises when will it then allow the Macedonian people to freely express their ethnic culture? When will it let the Macedonians fight for their own ideals and for composing something unique to show that they are truly Macedonians? Is the CPG really afraid of being criticized by the chauvinist elements? If so, how then does it propose to form "national unity" and not receive any criticism? Does the CPG truly understand the Macedonian question? Because if it doesn't it better learn it fast and start facing reality and make the right decision..."

One by one the CPG ordered all regional Macedonian National Liberation Front wards to close down and all fighters to disband and join the ranks of ELAS. This however was not what the Macedonians wanted and some began to show dissatisfaction.

1944 – May 14. The partisans attacked the counter-band detachment in the village Prekopana, Lerin Region. While the attack was taking place, German and counter-band reinforcements arrived from the neighbouring villages Chereshnitsa and Olisha. After a two-hour battle with superior enemy forces, the partisans retreated. Six partisans were killed and five wounded.

1944 – May 24. When the German units withdrew from Kostur and Rupishcha, the pro-Bulgarian counter-band movement, under the command of Luka Damianov, took over defense of the two towns and several surrounding villages. The same day the ELAS XXVIII Battalion attacked the counter-bands, many fled and many were captured by the partisans.

1944 – May. Macedonians fighters leave ELAS and cross into Yugoslavia. A large group of Macedonian fighters and activists lead by Naum Peiov separated themselves from ELAS in a symbolic protest against the dismantling of the Macedonian National Liberation Front. Ilija Dimovski – Gotse too was suspended from duty because he was in support of this separation. Similar events also took place in Lerin Region where a group of Macedonian fighters lead by Giorgi Turundzhov fled ELAS. Another group from Voden Region also fled but their leader who insisted on forming Macedonian detachments, was caught, put in jail and taken away to Mount Paiak. Pursued by Greek communist forces most of these renegade groups crossed over the Yugoslav border and fled into the Republic of Macedonia. These acts of protest demonstrated by the Macedonians were neither forgiven nor forgotten by the CPG-ELAS leaderships. The Greek communists immediately issued orders to hunt down, capture and punish these renegades. Captured and jailed were Lazo Damovski, Paskal Mitrevski and Lazo Poplazov from Kostur region. In a disgraceful manner killed at Kaimakchalan were Macedonian ward leaders Pando Dzhikov, Dimitar Leskov from Ostrovo Region, ten people from the village Chegan and three from the village Rusilovo. The CPG made no effort to explain why these

people were killed or to justify its action or to take responsibility for its part in the destruction of the Macedonian National Liberation Front which propagated these demonstrations in the first place. Instead it took the easy way out and accused these people of subversion and of creating “division” among the Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia by allegedly spreading “autonomous ideas” to the population. In other words the CPG lied its way out by accusing the Macedonians of wanting to split away from Greece. After the fleeing fighters crossed over to the Republic of Macedonia they joined the resistance movement there. The CPG however was not at all pleased with their action and demanded that they be immediately sent back to Greece. While the fighters explained their reasons for leaving, the CPG insisted that they were “deserters” and needed to be sent back so that “an example” could be made of them. Without bothering to explain the underlying reasons why these fighters fled Greece the CPG took their case to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and adamantly insisted that the fighters be immediately returned. The CPY however did not give in to the CPG’s demands and used this opportunity to put pressure on the CPG to deliver on its promises to the Macedonian people. Further, the CPY recommended that if the CPG wanted its fighters back it would have to allow them to form their own Macedonian military units in Voden, Lerin and Kostur regions.

1944 - May 20. Lebanon Agreement is signed. The CPG and EAM leaderships signed an agreement in Lebanon to form a coalition government with other civilian parties from Greece which was unwelcome to the Macedonians. The agreement was viewed with suspicion because much of its content was insulting and demeaning to the Macedonian people. The agreement called for disarming the Macedonian people and was interpreted as a means to destroy the National Liberation Front. The Lebanon agreement was the end result of the so called “national unity” with other Greek parties which the CPG so desperately desired to create. The Lebanon Agreement for forming a “National Unity Government” was signed by the CPG and EAM on one side and by the Greek government in exile on the other.

1944 – May 28. German tanks attacked Kostur and Rupishsta, forcing the partisans to retreat. They arrested Luka Damianov, a

leading figure of the pro-Bulgarian movement in Kostur Region, and shot him near the village Gorentsi as the main culprit for Kostur falling into the hands of the partisans. After Luka Damianov was liquidated, the pro-Bulgarian movement became disorganized. After the Germans withdrew from the cities, the partisans continued with their attacks on enemy positions. On May 24 to 28, 1944, during the last battles in the region, the occupying forces, the pro-Bulgarian counter-bands and the quisling Greek gendarmerie acquired many casualties with 211 killed, 114 wounded and 320, mostly counter-bandits, captured or surrendered to the partisans. Soon after that ELAS took control of all of the western part of Greek occupied Macedonia and its major road traffic along the Solun-Lerin-Bitola, Kozhani-Lerin and Kailiari-Bitola roads, and the Solun-Lerin-Bitola train line which were vital escape routes for the withdrawal of the German units heading north.

1944 – June. An “Ohrana” unit from Voden Region arrived in Kostur Region to aid the local pro-Bulgarian counter-band movement. The “Ohrana” unit remained in Kostur Region for several days and then retreated back to Voden Region. During the “Ohrana” unit’s absence in Voden Region, local partisan units intensified their attacks on the counter-band bases in the villages Oshmeni, Gutovo, Iavoreni, Mesimeri and other villages in Voden Region.

1944 – June 12. A local 100 member pro-Bulgarian detachment, led by Mino Iani, a Bulgarian officer and domestic traitor, together with a company of German soldiers, attacked a partisan platoon in the village D’mbeni. A fierce battle ensued during which two Germans were killed and two were wounded. On the partisan side two were killed and nine were severely wounded. Include among the partisans killed were 19 year old Apostol Chapovski from the village Maniak and Mimi Tungaridi from Rupishcha. The wounded partisans were all captured. Two of them were hung in public and the other seven were tortured and killed. Their heads were smashed with stones.

1944 – June 16. The Macedonian Voden battalion is formed in Kaimakchalan. Its appointed leaders were Pavle Rakovski-Gotse and Giorgi Atanasov-Blaze. Gorgo Urdov-Dzhodzhov, organizing secretary of the Voden Region committee, was appointed later to

serve as commissar of the battalion. A Greek named Lefteris Fundulakis, a lieutenant of the Greek Army, was appointed battalion commander!" The announcement was welcome news for the Macedonian youth who began to arrive in massive numbers to join as volunteers. The battalion was camped above the village Gorno Rodivo in Kaimakchalan and every day more than a dozen youths came from the local villages with a single desire, to be soldiers in the Macedonian army.

1944 – July 3. The pro-Bulgarian counter-bands actively participated alongside the quisling Greek government gendarmes, the Albanian Balists and the PAO Greek armed gangs during the grand July offensive that lasted from July 3 to July 22. They joined the German forces that fought against the partisan movement and robbed and burned, mostly Macedonian villages, while terrorizing the population and carrying out mass killings. To establish control over the roads, German command initiated a major offensive which lasted 19 days involving an armed force of 12,000 and 3,000 quisling Greek government gendarmes, PAO units, Albanian Balists and whatever remained of the Pro-Bulgarian counter-bands. The July offensive was fierce with heavy casualties on both sides. The Germans and their quislings lost about 750, killed and wounded, and the partisans lost about 200 fighters. The offensive was halted on July 22, 1944 and the German forces and their quislings retreated back to their bases. During this whole time the partisans received mass support and comprehensive assistance from the population, which sacrificed a great deal for the success of its liberation. During their military activities and particularly during their withdrawal, the occupying forces committed many crimes and devastated many settlements, mostly Macedonian. According to data collected by XXVIII ELAS Regiment Headquarters, 4,449 houses were burned down, 5,483 barns and other facilities for housing sheep and cattle were destroyed, 53 primary schools and 25 churches were wrecked, 161 people were killed, 427 men and women were arrested, 840 sheep and cattle were killed and 3,497 cattle and 27,755 sheep and goats were stolen.

1944 – July 20. The Lerin Kostur Macedonian ELAS Battalion was formed during a meeting in the village Pozdivishta, Kostur Region. It was formed by combining existing Macedonian armed partisans

from the “Trpovski”, “Karaorman” (N. Peiov) and fighters from SNOV (M. Keramitzhiev) groups. Aminadas (an Albanian from the village Lehovo, Lerin Region) was appointed commander of the battalion, and Ilia Dimovski - Gotse, from Lerin (originally from Statitsa), was appointed battalion commissar.

1944 - August 2. The First session of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of the Republic of Macedonia, ASNOM is held at the monastery Sveti Prohor Pchinski. The ASNOM presidium is formed. Metodija Andonov Chento is appointed first President. A decision is reached to constitute a modern Macedonian Republic that will become part of the new Federal Yugoslavia.

1944 – August 15. During an EAM Central Committee session, it was decided that EAM was to participate in the George Papandreou government with only five departments: finance, transport, agriculture, national economics and labour. These were the obligations undertaken by EAM and PEEA representatives just before the signing of the “National Convention” dubbed the “Lebanon Agreement”.

1944 - August 21. The Kostur battalion attacked several armed counter-band villages and managed to disarm a number of counter bands. At the end of August about 300 counter-bandits from Kostur Region joined the Lerin - Kostur Macedonian partisan battalion which, at the time, belonged to ELAS under the command of Captain Markos. But Captain Markos did not want the Macedonian battalions in Macedonia and demanded that they be transferred to Epirus with new tasks.

1944 – September 3. The first partisan platoon of the 3rd unit, commanded by Mihail Apostolov-Graniti from the village Krchishta and by political commissar Traiche Tsafara from the village Smrdesh, led by detachment political commissar Mincho Fotev, entered the city Kostur just as the German military units were withdrawing. Following the 3rd unit, Commander Tashko Boinov's platoon entered and after that units of the ELAS XXVIII Regiment led by Iani Pachura who, as a high ranking officer, assumed responsibility for the city. The headquarters of the ELAS Regiment did not allow the Macedonian unit to take over the city. In fact the

Macedonian units were sharply criticized by Headquarters for taking action without prior authorization and therefore were ordered to withdraw from the city.

1944 – September 9. Bulgaria capitulated and with its capitulation it withdrew its army units. With the withdrawal of the German forces from Greece, a new situation was created in Greek occupied Macedonia. At this point the CPG saw to it to make it a priority, in the interests of Greece, to restore Greece to its prewar Versailles borders. The Party leadership took action to make sure no separate Macedonian units existed in ELAS. Instead of recognizing the Macedonian contribution, the CPG and EAM did a complete reversal and not only did not recognize the Macedonian contribution but refused to recognize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, and consequently the Macedonian national liberation movement.

1944 - September 10. Under orders from ELAS regiment 28, Kozmas Spatos – Amintas, a Greek of Albanian descent, was appointed commander of the battalion. Ilia Dimovski – Gotse was reduced to captain and Hristo Kolentsev was reduced to party secretary of the battalion. Afraid that the Macedonians would develop their own military capabilities, and perhaps slip out of its control, the CPG leadership made every effort to prevent the renewed Macedonian movement from expanding but for the time the Greek communist tricks did not work. Stringos, secretary of the CPG Macedonian bureau, questioned Renos's rationale for allowing the formation of a battalion when orders were given to only form one Cheta (unit) in Kostur Region and Karadzova. Renos replied with a question: "And what will have been the damages if divisions were to be formed?" To which Stringos replied: "You are naïve. If the Macedonians had divisions, then we (Greeks) would not be in Macedonia..."

1944 - September 12. CPG stops Macedonians from joining the partisans. In a communiqué to the Central committee of the Macedonian Bureau on September 12, 1944 the Greek Communist Party, among other things, said: "Let it be noted that our side reckons it's time to stop recruiting fighters from the ranks of the Slavo-Macedonians". The commissar of the Greek division of the

National Liberation Army of Greece for Macedonia, Markos Vafiadis prohibited the Macedonian battalions from inducting new recruits, with aims of ultimately disbanding them. Decisions made by the Greek party leadership to stop the recruitment of Macedonian fighters into the Macedonian battalions were ignored by the Macedonian leadership. The Macedonian battalions continued to induct volunteer Macedonian recruits into their ranks even though the commissar of the Greek division of the National Liberation Army of Greece for Macedonia, Markos Vafiadis sent them further orders by telegraph to cease the recruitment. Later ELAS was immediately placed under the command of Georgios Papandreou's government, in accordance with the September 26, 1944 Caserta agreement, brought into the forefront the question as to what to do with the Macedonian battalions. The rightist government as a direct commander of ELAS did not want to allow the continuation of the Macedonian units because their existence provided undeniable proof that a Macedonian population existed in Greece.

1944 - September 26. The Caserta Agreement is signed. Under the Caserta agreement all the resistance forces in Greece were placed under the command of the British. The Caserta Agreement was signed by General Wilson, Commander of Allied Middle East Command, Mr. Papandreou, President of the Greek government, General S. Sarafis, representative of ELAS and General N. Zervas, representative of EDES

1944 – October 5. Stalin and Churchill discuss Balkan division. On October 5 to 20 1944, Stalin and Churchill discussed Balkan division of spheres of influence in Yalta. The Yalta Agreement guaranteed that no socialist system would be implemented in Greece. Here is what Churchill wrote in his memoirs about the Balkans: We arrived in Moscow in the late hours of October 9, 1944. We had our first significant meeting and counseling in the Kremlin the next day, October 10. Attending the meeting were Stalin, Molotov, Eden and myself. The Majors Boris and Popov performed the translations... An agreement was reached on the division of spheres of influence. Under this deal, Greece was entirely left to the British sphere of influence with rights, if necessary, at any time to be able to intervene with all possible means. The degree of influence agreed to was as follows: Romania -

Russia 90% other 10%, Yugoslavia - Russia 50% other 50%.
Hungary - Russia 50% other 50%, Bulgaria - Russia 75% other 25%
and Greece - Russia 10% other 90%.

1944 – October 10. Macedonian battalion surpasses 1500 fighters. Immediately after the “Gotse” and the “Voden” battalions were formed a massive number of Macedonians began to join the ranks of the Partisans. With these kinds of numbers, it was possible to not only form brigades but divisions. When the Gotse battalion was formed it had 400 fighters. About a month later (September 16) it was numbering 650 and by October 10, 1944 the number jumped to 1,500. This was unprecedented for the resistance movement in Greek occupied Macedonia especially since the CPG had entered into the unfavorable Lebanon agreement with its enemy the “political right”.

1944 – October 10. ELAS 28th Regiment Headquarters issued a special proclamation to the veterans of the “Goche” battalion which spelled out the order and warned that those who refused to relocate to Siatisthta would be charged with treason. This ELAS 28th Regiment order literally suggested that individual Macedonian fighters abandon the “Goche” battalion, weapons and all, or otherwise they would be declared deserters and traitors to the struggle. Among other things the proclamation also stated the following: “...We urge all fighters of the former battalion (meaning the “Goche” battalion) to immediately obey this order and take your arms and ammunition and go to places from where you will be picked up and delivered to the new regiment that is forming in the village Negovan... This is your last warning. Anyone who does not comply with this order will be declared a traitor...” Naturally, “Goche” Battalion Headquarters energetically rejected the orders issued by the ELAS 28th Regiment calling them unacceptable and making it clear to ELAS 28th Regiment that it reserved the right, in future, to refuse its orders and those of higher ELAS command. A little later, about mid-October 1944, the Greek CPG and ELAS leaderships (Leonidas Stringos and Ioanis Ioanidis) sent a delegation to visit with the CPM leadership and with NOV and POM Headquarters in the Republic of Macedonia, in order to discuss options for eliminating the crisis that had occurred in bilateral relations and other issues regarding the Macedonian National

Question. The delegation consisted of Renos Mihaleas representative from the ELAS 9th Division, Mihail Keramitdzhiev representative from PEEA, Kostur Region, and Lambro Cholakov CPG Party Secretary of ELAS units acting in Gramos and Vicho Regions.

1944 – October 13. To avoid bloodshed the Macedonian Lerin-Kostur Battalion crossed over the Greek-Yugoslav border in Prespa and entered the Republic of Macedonia where it was put to good use fighting against the Germans who had entered Bitola-Prilep from Lerin. The Lerin-Kostur Macedonian Battalion managed to survive in the field barely two months, from August 2, 1944 when Renos created it until October 13, 1944.

1944 – October 16. The Voden Region Macedonian battalion facing prospects of being disarmed and destroyed left Kozhuf Mountain and crossed over the Greek-Yugoslav border in Kavadarsti Region and entered the Republic of Macedonia. The Voden Macedonian Battalion lasted from June 16, 1944 to October 16, 1944.

1944 – October 18. Georgios Papandreou's government in exile arrived in Athens from Cairo. After two reorganizations, that took place on October 24 and November 2, 1944, it fell apart. The new government, headed by Nikolaos Plastiras, lasted less than two months before it fell apart. It was replaced by a newly formed "administrative government" headed by naval officer Petros Vulfaris. After it was reorganized on August 11, 1945, Petros Vulfaris, on October 17, 1945, was forced to resign. Authority over the government was then taken over by the regent Archbishop Damaskinos, but only for a couple weeks, before it too fell apart. On November 1, 1945 a new government was formed, this one headed by Georgios Kanelopoulos. This government only lasted three weeks before it fell apart... There was imperative need to legalize and strengthen the power of the reactionaries in Greece but through "elections". To this end, the English used their main and last trump card, the liberals headed by Themistoklis Sofoulis (November 22, 1945). During this crucial moment, the CPG came to the rescue. It came out in support of the Sofoulis government. In a press release dated November 25, 1945, the CPG Politburo told the "entire democratic world, civilian citizens as well as the armed forces, to do

their duty, by any means possible, to prevent the political right from taking power and follow the directives issued by Sofoulis!” So, when the English sponsored liberal government needed support to legitimize itself in the eyes of the Greek people, the CPG and EAM gave it their support. And because of the general support it received “from all sides”, (which was not the case with previous English creations), it placed itself in a position to perform an “electoral coup” against the political right and lead up to the March 31, 1946, falsified elections. By not participating in the elections, the CPG and EAM, through especially characteristic maneuvers, stopped a large number of democratic people from voting and thus prevented an “undesirable” outcome for the English and the reactionaries and thus transferred the struggle from the streets to parliament. Understandably, “election victory” was granted to the Monarchists of the Populist Party and, thus, the “legalized” path for the restoration of the monarchy and counterrevolution power in Greece was strengthened - a precondition for breaking the political left...

1944 – October 19. Churchill and Eden visited Moscow during which time Molotov and Eden worked on the percentage of influence in their respective spheres which were decided by Churchill and Stalin. When it came to interests both Stalin and Molotov agreed that the Soviet influence in Greece should be 10%. Stalin’s attitude towards Greece and the CPG during the war was unclear, even suspicious. From the available evidence we have there is a general indication that Stalin’s attitude towards Greece was negative. Stalin thought Greece was a small country and perhaps not a good place for conducting micro-strategic practices for the political interests of the Soviet Union. In the period from April to October 1944, while attending meetings with the British and Americans, Stalin did not bring up any substantial objections to British claims of how Greece was going to be governed.

1944 – October 22. The Lerin-Kostur Macedonian brigade was born in the village Dragosh, Bitola Region, Republic of Macedonia. The Lerin-Kostur Battalion, in the presence of Dime Boianovski – Dize the General Headquarters representative of the People’s Liberation Army of the Republic of Macedonia, was reorganized into a brigade called the Lerin-Kostur Region Macedonian brigade (LKRMB). Ilija Dimovski – Gotse was given command of the brigade and Naum

Shupurkovski – Leon was appointed as its political commissar. After the brigade's formation, brigade command presented a document to the General Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army of the Republic of Macedonia outlining the Macedonian people's struggle in Greek occupied Macedonia, the Greek attitude and mistakes made towards the Macedonian People's national question, etc., which explained the overall situation in Greece and the battalion's decision and motives for leaving Greece. In the village Graeshintsa, where the seat of command was situated, the brigade conducted exercises to prepare for operations at the roads and highways connecting Lerin and Bitola to Solun. The commandant and commissar of LKRMB, Ilia Dimovski – Gotse and Naum Shupurkovski – Leon, through their new orders, which they received towards the end of October, 1944 from the political leadership of the Republic of Macedonia, wrote a letter addressed to the Communist Party of Greece in which they requested from the Greek Party leadership to allow the formation of a Macedonian army with its own Macedonian headquarters, in which there would also be a representative of ELAS, to allow the formation of a Macedonian organization – a Macedonian Aegean National Liberation Front with a representative from the Greek National Liberation Front as well as to allow a Macedonian representative in EAM. The Macedonian right to self-determination was to be propagated through the press and the right to unification to be propagated only by word of mouth. Unfortunately these requests were rejected by the Greek Communist Party, qualifying them as provocative, unfriendly and nationalistic demands.

1944 – October 31. A large group of English soldiers in armoured vehicles entered Solun before ELAS did. Three days later the BBC in London announced that British troops had liberated Solun.

1944 – November 4. The Lerin-Kostur Region Macedonian brigade takes part in the liberation of Bitola and on November 18, 1944 it added its first all Aegean shock brigade consisting of fighters from the Voden and Lerin-Kostur Region Macedonian battalions, which separated from ELAS in October 1944 and from the detachment of the "Gotse Delchev" brigade. The brigade's commanders at the time of its formation consisted of Ilia Dimovski – Gotse as its commandant, Naum Peiov as its second commandant, Mihailo

Keramitdzhiev as its commissar, Vangel Aianovski -Oche as its second commissar and Steve Georgiev - Dimov as its chief. During the initiation ceremonies Lazo Kalaidzhiski – Dobri, the commandant of the Bitola Region Military District, surrendered the flag for his brigade to Ilia Dimovski – Gotse and among other things said: “I surrender this flag to you from the Ilinden Uprising and trust that forever you will guard it until the ultimate liberation of all of Macedonia”. Upon receiving the flag Ilia Dimovski – Gotse replied: “We accept this flag and we will protect it to the last drop of our blood”. The first military assignment given to the first all Aegean Shock Brigade was to clean up the Albanian Balisti bands in the village Ostrets, Bitola Region, which it did in the first ten days of December 1944.

1944 – November 14. December 11, damning British diplomatic report surfaces. In a British diplomatic report sent from Leeper to Eden, dated Athens November, 14, 1944, referring to the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia, among other things Leeper said: “4. The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available, but it appears from events during the occupation that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty’s Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav

Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.” I would like to draw your attention to the sentence “It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941”. This information was discovered in declassified British diplomatic dispatches. British Ambassador to Athens Mr. R.A. Leeper, in November 1944, toyed with the idea of displacing 120,000 Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia and moving them north of the Greek border. Mr. Leeper suggested this to Mr. Eden, then UK Foreign Minister, in a letter dated November 24, 1944 in which, among other things, he wrote “...and since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.” (5a) (See: FO 371/43649 XP 00201 R 20431/1009/67.) In doing this the British requested the assistance of the former (fascist) Yugoslav government, before the communists came to power. The British received a positive response from Yugoslavia. The Fascist Yugoslav government in fact agreed to take these Macedonians out of Greece and resettle them on Yugoslav territory. The fascist Yugoslav government, however, fell to the communists before it had a chance to implement the plan. But after the war (WW II) it was difficult to move 120,000 people without causing world attention. So “someone” decided to force them out by other means... by legal means so that there would be no ramifications after the fact and with the CPY/CPM’s cooperation. Their idea was to have the Macedonian people raise arms against Greece so that Greece would have “no other choice but to defend itself against an aggressor who wants to carve out parts of its territory”! Yugoslavia, for the sake of having good relations with the West, naturally prepared the groundwork through the creation and indoctrination of NOF and AFZH with aims at starting an armed uprising in Greek occupied Macedonia. The Macedonian people, however, did not want to fight and initially refused to participate. To get them motivated the Greek right, the Fascists, pitched in and initiated what was later termed the “white terror”. Greeks indiscriminately began to kill people and burn properties and homes. Fearing for their lives many Macedonians fled to the mountains (Vicho and Gramos) where they

were armed and trained to protect themselves. And this is how the conflict was started. This was a war that would be fatal to the Macedonian people; it had to be an ideological war in order to involve the international factor (US and Britain); a war that Greece would have no choice but to fight in order to save its territory. This was going to be a legal genocide because these “Slavs” were prepared to carve out Greek territory! The Macedonians, on the other hand, were told they needed the guns to protect themselves but as soon as the shooting started they were told they were fighting to “re-unite their Macedonia” and after Yugoslavia abandoned them they were told they were fighting for their human rights to gain equality with the Greeks. Then, when the war became very hot, they were told to fight for their lives; “to fight or die!” There was no single Macedonian in those days that not only publicly proclaimed that he or she was fighting to re-unite Macedonia but many Macedonians were made to believe that it was possible to do that! And why do you suppose they believed that? Because the architects of this war, through NOF and AFZH, told them so..., naturally through lies and deception!

1944 – November 18. The “First Aegean Brigade” was formed in free Bitola from the fighters of the two battalions that fled Greek occupied Macedonia. This Brigade was deployed on December 28, 1944 in Western Macedonia, mainly in Kichevo, Tetovo and Gostivar, tasked with fighting Dzhemo Mefail’s gang of Balisti formed during the Italian-German occupation. The “First Aegean Brigade” was disbanded by special order number 236 (strictly confidential) issued by Marshal Tito on April 2, 1945. The Brigade’s command was comprised of Commander Ilia Dimovski-Goche, Deputy Commander Naum Peiov, Political Commissar Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, Deputy Political Commissar Vangel Aianovski-Oche and Brigade Chief of Staff Steve Georgiev Dimov. In the beginning Vangel Aianovski-Oche was appointed CPM Brigade Party Secretary but he left for a new position and was replaced by Vasil Makrievski. Mincho Fotev was appointed Brigade Youth (SKOJ) Secretary.

1944 – November 18. Classified report from Brigadier Maclean to Sir Orme Sargent: On the 18th November the Greek Macedonian Brigade held its foundation ceremony at Bitolj to cries of “Give us

the right to live within the framework of federal Yugoslavia.” Yugoslav partisan leaders appear to have attempted to moderate popular enthusiasm and Pasanko, representative of the Macedonian National Liberation Front, reminded his listeners that “this is a delicate diplomatic question in which the co-operation of our allies England, Russia, and America is essential. The Greek Macedonian Brigade appears to have been formed partly of refugees resident in Bulgaria and partly from former adherents of E.A.M. who disagreed with E.A.M.’s minority policy. Keremediciev, Political Commissar of the new brigade, accused E.A.M. of harbouring certain elements who refused to accord the Greek Macedonians their cultural rights and own military formations. E.A.M. he added, finally issued instructions for the Macedonians to be disarmed and it was to avoid this that they crossed the border to Yugoslavia. There they were probably joined by volunteers recruited from amongst Macedonian refugees previously living in Bulgaria. Yugoslav sources claim that there are some 700,000 of these refugees in Bulgaria, most of them having been transferred there as a result of agreements made after the last war for the exchange of population in the Balkans. The Yugoslav partisan newspaper Nova Makedonija for the 14th November, 1944, gave the following account of their present attitude: “These Macedonian refugees realize that the independence and liberation of the Greek part of Macedonia depends not a little on its direct participation in the operations against the German Fascists. Committees are therefore being formed in every village and town in Bulgaria where Macedonians are living. It is to be expected that the response to volunteering will assume very large proportions and will include all those able to bear arms, and that whole units will be formed from the refugees alone.” F. H. R. MACLEAN, Brigadier, British Military Mission. Belgrade, 21st, January, 1945.

1944 – November 24. Mr. Leeper to Mr. Eden Athens 24th November, 1944. Sir, I HAVE the honour to submit the following comments on Research Department paper of the 26th August, 1944, on the subject of Macedonia.

2. The two formidable Macedonian problems in which Greece is concerned are: (a) that of Greek relations with the Slav world as represented by Serbia and Bulgaria, both of whom must be expected in the immediate future to be under strong Russian influence and to

have Russian sympathy for their aspirations; and b) that of the surviving Bulgarophone minority in Western Macedonia.

3. The former problem turns chiefly on that of Serbian and Bulgarian access to the Aegean, the subject discussed in paragraphs 35-40 and 41-43 of the paper under reference. There is clearly no case (or handing over to Slav Powers any part of the North Aegean coast, which in 1940 had nowhere anything but an infinitesimal minority of Slav inhabitants. On the other hand, the strategic position of Greece here, even with Turkish backing, is very weak, vis-à-vis the Slav world, so that even in her own interests it behooves Greece to come to terms with her northern neighbours. The only possible solution-however difficult in practice under present conditions-seems to be that referred to in paragraph 51, namely, a return to, and preferably an extension of, the system of free zones. A Serbian free zone at Salonica is not difficult, but a Bulgarian zone at Kavala, or even at the outlying Alexandropolis, would probably be out of the question for a considerable period to come, in view of the passions aroused by the atrocious conduct of the Bulgarians in Northern Greece since 1941. It remains, nevertheless, a Greek no less than a Bulgarian interest that Bulgaria's desire for access to an Aegean port should be satisfied so far as possible; since otherwise Bulgaria's southward political aspiration, which are now largely artificial, will be kept alive by the real and continual irritation of an unsatisfied economic need. (How far this need might be met by the alternative of a free zone at Durazzo is a matter for separate study.) It may further be pointed out that the grant of free zones at her northern ports would, in fact, be of direct financial benefit to Greece herself through the revivifying influence of increased trade on the life of those ports in general and through the restoration of a natural degree of intercourse between these Greek ports and their Slav hinterland.

4. The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available, but it appears from events during the occupation that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked

facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty's Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.

5. I have sent copies of this dispatch to the Resident Minister at Caserta, to Mr. Houstoun-Boswall at Sofia and to Mr. Broad at Bari. I have, &c. R. A. Leeper.

1944 – November 29. In order to avoid a conflict the EAM government coalition Ministers made every effort to submit a proposal for the full implementation of the Lebanon Agreement, but unfortunately Papandreou refused to accept it.

1944 – December. After the expulsion of the occupiers in Greece in the fall of 1944, although EAM was a hugely massive organization and ELAS was a many times larger armed force than the others, numbering about 70,000 fighters, it was unable to convince the other parties that it should lead the “government of national unity”. Therefore the resistance movement, in December 1944, heading for an armed conflict in Athens, agreed to capitulate and disarm.

1944 – December 1. British Commander Scobey issued an order demanding that members of ELAS surrender their weapons. At the same time Papandreou declared that: “He could not accept the proposal put forth by EAM Ministers for the simultaneous disarmament of all volunteer units and for the formation of a unique grouping.” That same evening on December 1, 1944, late at night, all EAM ministers resigned which then opened the doors for further conflict.

1944 - December 2. The Papandreou government resigned. Just barely two months after the Germans left Greece, the Leftist ministers in the Papandreou government quit after being unable to agree on the composition of the new police force and who should control the armed forces.

1944 – December 3. Classified report from Brigadier Maclean to Sir Orme Sargent: On the 3rd December another meeting was held in Bitola to elect “a Political Commission to lead the fight of the Macedonian people in Greek Macedonia.” The commission appointed Filip Velkov as its representative to the Presidium of A.S.N.O.M. (i.e. the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia) and J.A.N.L., H.Q., for Macedonia. At the second session of A.S.N.O.M. held at the end of December Velkov stated: “We Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia have a grim struggle before us to realize the age-old ideal of our people, the liberation of our part of Macedonia which is still beneath a foreign yoke.” At the same session of A.S.N.O.M., Atanas Atanasovski spoke in the name of the Bulgarian Macedonians. “The entire population of Pirin Macedonia,” he asserted, “is waiting for the happy hour when we shall be included with our brothers in Macedonia in Tito’s democratic, federal Yugoslavia.” 6. These claims for union between the Macedonian population of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece had already been advanced some weeks previously by authoritative Yugoslav partisan leaders, such as General Dzilas, General Tempo and Dimitar Vlahov. Though some of the more categorical of these claims may have been made in a burst of momentary exuberance, it is worth while examining the career of the most experienced of these politicians, Vlahov, for indications as to the more permanent aims and principles determining their policy. Dimitar Vlahov was born in Kilkis in Greek Macedonia in 1878, and joined the original I.M.R.O. as early as 1903, collaborating closely with the famous Macedonian leader Goce Delcev. In 1908 he was elected to the Turkish Parliament as a deputy of the Popular Federal party, whose object was to work constitutionally for an autonomous Macedonia. In 1907, after Macedonia had been annexed by Bulgaria, Vlahov became Governor of the Pristina district and after the Great War, served as Bulgarian Consul-General first in Odessa and then in Vienna. In 1924 he signed the Aleksandrov-Protogerov manifesto which

attempted to patch up a truce between the rival I.M.R.O. leaders and he was repudiated by the Bulgarian Government. Disapproving of the terrorist methods of I.M.R.O. which was now falling increasingly under the domination of Ivan Mihajlov and degenerating into the tool of Bulgarian and Italian designs of disruption in the Balkans, Vlahov founded his own organization, the United (Obidinena) I.M.R.O., in 1925, and expounded his ideas in his well known book "Balkan Federation". Vlahov looked neither to Bulgaria nor to Yugoslavia (which was then pursuing a policy of rigid centralism) but to the Soviet Union, with whose support he hoped to achieve a union of the South Slav peoples in which Macedonia would form a separate, autonomous federal unit. Though Vlahov still continued to lay great stress on non-violent methods for the achievement of his aims, his organization was broken up by the Government of the Military League in Bulgarian in 1934, and its members sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on a charge of Communist conspiracy and planning of an armed revolt. Vlahov himself settled in Moscow in 1936 and appears to have remained there until returning to Yugoslavia at some point to join the partisans. Observant readers have been able to secure an interesting side light on his activity in Moscow from an article in a recent partisan newspaper which wrote that Vlahov had "liven in Moscow, where he worked tirelessly in the International Agrarian Institute" – the latter phrase being substituted for the blocked-out but still legible word "Comintern". Although the energy with which the authorities appear to have quelled the anxiety of certain of their troops to march on Salonica (see my telegram No.63 of the 16th January) bears out Tito's repented assurances that he intends to take no premature action over the Macedonia problem, there is every reason to suppose that it is his intention to unite in due course the Macedonian provinces of Greece and Bulgaria to Yugoslav Macedonia, and that this project has the approval of the Soviet Union. Dr. Smodlaka has stated that the Bulgarian Government (no doubt under pressure from Moscow) have already agreed to cede Bulgarian Macedonia (see my telegram No.88 of the 21st January). The Greek attitude towards this problem must be regarded as less assured and will doubtless depend on the eventual complexion of the Greek Government, although, as will be seen by my telegram No.2 of the 7th December, even E.A.M. do not appear to have proved quite as amenable on this question as Tito would have wished. It is

however, difficult to see how Greece, whatever her attitude, would be able successfully to resist the wishes in this matter of an overwhelmingly strong South Slav bloc under Soviet tutelage. F. H. R. MACLEAN, Brigadier, British Military Mission. Belgrade, 21st, January, 1945.

1944 – December 3. Britain began its military intervention against ELAS in Athens. Given the situation the fighters and officers of the Macedonian brigade in the Republic of Macedonia could not remain indifferent about what was happening in Greece, being aware that defeat of the democratic forces in Greece would worsen the situation of the Macedonian people. They were all in agreement that there was a need to explore all means to help ELAS, which meant first hand involvement of the brigade in the conflict. At this point the Aegean Macedonian leadership contemplated around this question searching for conditions under which to become involved. Naum Shupurkovski, a member of the Secretariat of the Macedonian Political Commission under Greece, in his report addressed to the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party commented that on December 3, 1944 on the day of the formation of the Political Commission, at a meeting attended by Mohailo Keramitdziev, Naum Peiov, Paskal Mitrevski, Dimitar Vlahov, Petse Traikov and himself, Lazar Kolishevski addressed the preoccupied Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, according to Naum Shupurkovski – Leon, as follows: “Leave immediately for down there (Greek occupied Macedonia). Get agreement from the Greek Communist Party and fight like democrats under its leadership without pretensions...” Several days later, Liliana Chalovska, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece in the accommodations of the Political Commission of the Macedonians under Greece, in Bitola, addressed Paskal Mitrevski, Naum Peiov, Mihailo Keramitdzhev and Naum Shupurkovski – Leon and among other things told them the following: “You need not wait to be pacified by the parties. Take your own initiative and go down there without asking for anything from the Communist Party of Greece. As long as you stay here you tolerate liability. Down there (Greece) it is not only Greece’s and Macedonia’s fate that is decided, but that of all the Balkan nations...” Four or five days later a joint meeting was held between the brigade’s headquarters and the political committee to discuss the circumstances under which it would be

appropriate for the brigade and all the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia who were presently in Yugoslavia to return to Greece and to engage in the struggle on the side of ELAS and how to communicate these circumstances to the Communist Party of Greece. Naum Peiov, Lazo Poplazarov, Paskal Mitrevski and Mihailo Keramitdzhev, keeping in mind what had happened in the past, insisted on going to Greece as a distinct people; they insisted that the brigade should have its own headquarters, its own flag with the five ray star and be recognized by Greece as a Macedonian army. Contrary to that, Naum Shupurkovski – Leon figured that such conditions were not necessary. Paskal Mitrevski intervened and insisted on having the political committee situated inside the city Lerin.

1944 – December 3. A countrywide rally was organized during which the police shot at demonstrators, killing several people and wounding many others. What followed after that was thirty-three days of bloodshed in Athens dubbed as the “1944 December events”. The EAM organized demonstration broke out in Athens and began to march towards Constitutional Square. The police opened fire and killed a number of demonstrators. Fighting at the time was isolated to Athens and continued until January 1945 when both sides agreed to talk. Meetings were held at Varkiza, a seaside resort near Athens, and a treaty was signed on February 12, 1945. Signed by the Right, Left and the British, among other things, the Varkiza Treaty called for (a) EAM to disband ELAS, (b) legalize the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) and (c) hold a referendum on the return of the monarchy. ELAS troops were to be given political amnesty for the return of their weapons, people were to be guaranteed free speech, martial law was to be lifted and people were to be given amnesty for all political crimes.

1944 – December 14. Andreas Dzhimas, representative of the Communist Party of Greece and ELAS in Yugoslavia, came to Bitola and asked for the brigade to be disbanded and its fighters to enlist in the ELAS units, or at least to surrender its arms to ELAS. The Aegean leadership did not agree with this recommendation. To solve the problem Andeas Dzhimas, Naum Peiov and Paskal Mitrevski went to Skopje to discuss the situation with the Vardar Macedonian leadership. In the meantime orders came from Tito

prohibiting the brigade from going to Greece because the brigade was part of the Yugoslav army.

1944 – December 26. The December events in Greece were rekindled with the arrival of Churchill in Athens, accompanied by British Foreign Minister Eden, Commander of the Middle East forces Alexander and by Minister for the Middle East McMillan. Under the protection of British tanks the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on December 26 and 27, 1944, held a conference attended by representatives of the various political parties, the president of the Greek government that was resigning, George Papandreou, the regent candidate Archbishop of Athens Damaskinos and Nikolaos Plastiras (candidate for President of the Greek government). Attending from the CPG and EAM side were EAM Secretary and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo Dimitrios Partsalidis. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the two allied Great Powers: US ambassador to Athens McCabe and representative of the Soviet Union Colonel Popov.

1945 - LAW 697 enacted more regulations on renaming toponyms in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1945 – January 2. The Aegean brigade received orders from General Headquarters of the Macedonian-Vardar National Liberation Front to go to Tetovo and eliminate the remnants of the Balisti bands that were active in the Gostivar and Tetovo Regions. After about two months of campaigning in the Gostivar and Tetovo Regions (January-February 1945) the brigade completed its assigned task. Then in the beginning of March 1945 the brigade was relocated to Skopje with orders from the General Headquarters to again relocate to Bitola and Gevgelia.

1945 – January 31. Classified Telegram 182 – London. From the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the Secretary of State for External Affairs Canada. CIRCULAR D. 182. My telegram circular D. 159 of January 26th. Macedonia: In light of the information regarding Bulgarian Government readiness to cede Bulgarian Macedonia to Yugoslavia, contained in my telegram under reference, we instructed Brigadier MacLean to speak to Tito and convey to him our views on questions of Macedonia and Yugoslav-

Bulgarian Federation as set out in my telegram Circular D. 1 of January 1st. At the same time, Brigadier MacLean was to inform Tito that we have noted with satisfaction the assurance he has already given (see my telegram Circular D. 1796 of December 12th, paragraph 3). That he has no aggressive intention against Macedonia and that any Yugoslav claims will be raised in an orderly fashion at the Peace Conference. Brigadier MacLean spoke to Tito as instructed on January 26th. Tito reported that he was convinced that this was not the time to try to establish a federation with Bulgaria or any other neighbours of Yugoslavia and that he had no intention of attempting to do so in present circumstances. He also indicated once again that he had no intention of trying to annex territory from Greece or Bulgaria before the Peace Conference when he would put forward any claim he might have in the proper way. Acting on instructions, British Political Representative at Sofia has also informed Bulgarian Government of our views as follows; while we should welcome a confederation between all Balkan States both Allied and enemy, and including possibly Turkey, we could not approve an exclusive union or federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Moreover, while we are prepared to agree to the creation of a Macedonian State in the future Federal Yugoslavia, we should be strongly opposed to the creation of a greater Macedonian State involving claims on Greek territory. We, therefore, look with disfavour on the activities of Macedonian propagandists in Bulgaria which the Bulgarian Government appear to have condoned and we do not recognize the rights of the Bulgarian Government to transfer, without the consent of the United Nations, any part of Bulgarian territory to the Yugoslav Federal State of Macedonia. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

1945 – February 12. Varkiza agreement is signed requiring all Partisan and other bands to demobilize and surrender their weapons. The British, once again, confirmed their allegiance to the Greek Government by giving Athens full political and military support, committing their willingness to fight to prevent a Partisan victory. The biggest losers of the Varkiza agreement were the Macedonians. As soon as the agreement was signed, all anti-Macedonian laws were back in force and the Macedonian people lost all that they had gained during the German occupation, including the right to form their own state as per the Atlantic Charter. The Greek Communist

Party made absolutely no effort to safeguard Macedonian rights in the agreements with Britain. This was not only a betrayal to the Macedonian people but it also left them vulnerable to persecution from the Greek Fascists. The Varkiza Agreement was signed in a resort located near Athens. The Agreement was signed by the leadership of the resistance movement, i.e. the CPG and EAM on one side and the Plastiras government and British General Scobey on the other. With that Agreement EAM and ELAS practically handed power to the political right. After the monarchist regime was established in Greece, to which the CPG leadership gave legitimacy by signing the Varkiza Agreement on February 12, 1945, the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia found themselves in a worse situation than before the war. It was as if they were thrown back to the Metaxas dictatorship and systematically terrorized by the Greek police and the gendarmerie, but this terror was tougher, more horrifying and more violent and was committed by the Greek paramilitary and by Greek armed terrorist gangs. These gangs were composed of fascist and destructive elements which, until yesterday, had cooperated with the occupiers. They were led by Frantsiskos Kolaras-Tsezos, a Turkish colonist from Asia Minor, who initially settled in the village Gorentsi and then in Rupishcha, Kostur Region. During the occupation he terrorized the Kostur population then, after the occupiers withdrew, he was arrested and imprisoned. At the beginning of 1945 after the Varkiza Agreement was signed, he was released, armed and, along with other leaders of paramilitary and armed gang members, sent to terrorize the Macedonian population in Greek occupied Macedonia. Others who collaborated with the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupiers such as the troops belonging to Kolaras, Papadopoulos, Anton Chaush and other well-known traitors who were more than willing to rob, terrorize and murder Macedonians, were also recruited. It was a truly evil campaign with which future historians will have to deal. It was also a skillful maneuver on the part of the Greek bourgeoisie to create much hatred between the Greek and Macedonian people in order for the Greek element to take a foothold in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1945 - February 12. 18 citizens from the city Gumendzhe were jailed in Solun. Included among those jailed were Giorgi Kostraki, Vangel Kostraki, Iovan Popnikov, Kostadin Korov, Traiko Kalinov,

Hristo Michiorov, Hristo Hadzhigioriov, Vangel Hr. Nichev, Dimitar Shaldev and Hristo Chiakov.

1945 – February 20. Greek armed bands attacked the Macedonian village Volak, in the Drama district, where they killed seven villagers, burned 40 houses, looted the village and drove 350 villagers across the frontier. The same day a similar armed band attacked the village of Tsutsuligovo, in the Seres district, where they arrested 15 villagers, plundered the village and drove 33 families across the frontier. From February 12 to April 12 the bands of Andon Chaush killed 29 Macedonian villagers, imprisoned 3,100 Macedonians, looted a dozen Macedonian villages and drove several hundred Macedonians across the frontier.

1945 – February 22. The Secret Macedonian Liberation Organization – TOMO was created. TOMO's existence confirmed in the consciousness of the Macedonian people that the transfer of the Voden battalion to the Republic of Macedonia was done to save it and not what they were hearing from the other side.

1945 – February 27. From Washington to Foreign Office: Earl of Halifax. No. 1527. IMPORTANT. Your telegram No. 10825. Following is text of substantive part of the State Department's reply to my aide memoir on your telegram under reference. The United States Government holds the view that the pre-war frontiers of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece in the Macedonian area must be considered as the legal boundaries, and that revision of any of them should be permitted only if it conforms to the freely expressed will of the populations directly concerned and has international sanctions as a part of the general peace settlement. If in the reconstitution of Yugoslavia, the government and the people of that country desire to set up a regional and de-centralized administration under which the area of South-eastern Yugoslavia would have a certain autonomous character there would of course be no grounds for objection on the part of the United States Government. This Government concurs however in the view of the British Government that there is no legitimate basis for any claim made on behalf of "Macedonia" whether as an independent State or as a part of Yugoslavia, or of a larger South Slav federation to territory within the boundaries of Greece on the ground that such territory is "Macedonian". With

regard to the frontier between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the United States Government favour the retention of the present boundary but would not be inclined to object to any settlement calculated to contribute to the peace, stability and general welfare of the region if reached through free negotiations on the part of those two states at such time as it may become clear that their respective governments are in a position to represent the real desire of the people involved, including also those inhabitants of parts of Yugoslavia still under enemy occupation. It is in the view of this government that changes in territorial boundaries of Bulgaria should not be made during the period proceeding the general settlement with Bulgaria as an enemy state. The United States Government believe that union of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to constitute a single unit [grp. under? or a] federation would under present circumstances be a disturbing rather than a stabilizing factor in south-eastern Europe since the neighbouring non-Slavic States, including Turkey, would consider it a threat to their security. In the opinion of the Government such a union in any case should not be permitted before the conclusion of peace between Bulgaria and the United Nations. This Government would be willing however to give consideration to a plan for regional understandings to include all States of southeastern Europe rather than an exclusively Slavic bloc, should all these States decide, with the concurrence of the principal Allied Governments that such a grouping represent a contribution to the welfare and progress of that area. Foreign office please pass to Belgrade and Sofia as my telegrams Nos. 18 and 13 respectively. OTP.

1945 – March. Control of the Ber prison was given to the English.

1945 - March 8. English and Greek soldiers conducted a raid in the village Radomir in Andzhivardar Region and arrested a large number of villagers. They took the villagers outside of the village near the river and severely tortured them. Included among those arrested were Atanas Kapasuzov, Risto Kozarov, Bozhin Stamenkovski and Sotir Zhupov.

1945 – March 16. Classified report by Sir Reginald Leeper, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., His Majesty's Ambassador, Athens to British Consulate-General, Salonica: I have the honour to report that I toured Eastern Macedonia and Thrace by car from March 8th -11th

last, visiting in particular the towns of Serres, Drama, Kavalla, Xanthi and Komotini, making Kavalla my headquarters. I was accompanied throughout by Mr. Wm. M. Gwynn, American Consul-General in Salonica. Traveling by road presented no difficulties whatsoever, and the surface everywhere was better than could have been expected. Only on the stretch from Salonica to the Struma was any destruction evident, but a temporary wooden bridge has now been constructed across the Struma and other bridges and culverts repaired in a rough and ready fashion so that traveling time between Salonica and Serres is now almost normal. From Serres onwards there were practically no signs of blown bridges or damaged roads. The railway is also functioning on a reduced scale from Rodhopolis to Alexandroupolis, lignite from Serres being used as fuel. Throughout Eastern Macedonia and Thrace communications and public utilities have remained largely intact, the chief material damage caused by the Bulgarian occupation being the burning of mountain villages and the carrying off of cattle, draught animals and agricultural produce. Conditions were thus much more favourable for a rapid economic recovery than in Western Macedonia. We were everywhere received with the utmost friendliness, sometimes to the point of embarrassment and not a single untoward incident marred our journey. Only a brief stay was made at Serres, but it was sufficient to impart an impression of considerable poverty, malnutrition and insufficient clothing in what should normally be a prosperous town. Most shops were shut, and the few that were open were but poorly stocked with articles of very inferior quality. British troops had not yet occupied the town, but security was reported to be good. More time was spent in Drama on both the outward and return journeys. It gave signs of much greater animation and economic conditions seemed definitely better. A company of the Gurkha Rifles had arrived there the previous day (March 7th), and I was able to obtain the impressions of the Officer commanding, Captain Aurick, who had already formed several local contacts. He had not found the ELAS officer in charge of the guard company by any means as co-operative as he could have wished. He held, it appeared, the mistaken view that he was responsible for disarming the Nationalist Bands, and likewise that he could continue to carry out his functions in his own way until the National Guard arrived to relieve him. He was also maintaining a force of some 200 armed guards instead of the one hundred laid down in the Agreement of Varkiza. Captain

Aurick considered that ELAS should confine itself to policing the town, and that for this purposes one hundred was entirely adequate. I therefore interviewed the ELAS officer to give him a more realistic view of his own position, stressing the point that Captain Aurick was the local representative of the Commander-in-Chief, and that he must take orders from him. I also told him that he had nothing whatsoever to do with the disarmament of the Nationalist Bands; that was a matter for the Greek Government and their local representatives, in this case the British troops. No difficulty was being made, however, as to the handing over of the arms surrendered by ELAS, which was due to take place the next day and has since been done. With regard to the disarming of the Nationalist Bands of Anton Tsaous, I found a certain amount of confusion. Two days previously the Officer Commanding H.M.S. "Kimberley" at Kavalla had visited the headquarters of these bands, accompanied by the ELAS officer who had previously commanded the 6th ELAS division at Kavalla, and had told the bands that they must be prepared to surrender their arms the following Sunday, although he had wished in the first place to collect them forthwith. This had caused some perturbation to the Nationalist Bands, who saw themselves disarmed while ELAS still had 200 armed men at their disposal, plus demobilized men who had retained their arms and could be mustered against the Nationalists. Apparently, Captain Aurick dealt with this situation by agreeing that the Nationalists should retain 25% of their arms until ELAS disarmament was completed. Subsequently another British officer, acting independently and on his own initiative, also took a hand in the disarmament of the same Nationalist Bands, but when I left the position was that some measure of co-ordination had been achieved and the handing over of 75% of the Nationalists' arms was to take place on the 13th instant. It has in addition since been agreed that, pending the arrival of the National Guards, Nationalists may carry arms north of a given line as a protection against Bulgarian bands. Prior to my leaving Salonica I had sent Anton Tsaous himself and he had raised the question of his return to Drama. I suggested to him that he should remain where he was until such time as Government officials and the National Guard had taken over Drama. This line is clearly advisable, as Anton Tsaous could only return at present under British military protection, which would in itself create a definite impression that we are lending him support. It is in any

case, I think, too much to hope for that there will not be further clashes between Nationalists and Communists in the Drama area, were the Nationalists are particularly strong in the country districts and have many reasons for taking revenge on their political opponents. For this reason I consider Drama the most sensitive spot of all the places visited, and particular attention should be given to it by the Greek authorities. There can be no doubt that complaints of the conduct of both sides are current here to a greater extent than elsewhere. The Nationalists complain that the EP guards are beating up their sympathizers, cutting off their electric light and carrying on propaganda against the Government. EAM/KKE elements, on the other hand, are complaining of attacks made on their members by Nationalists. It was impossible in the short time at my disposal to investigate in any detail the validity of these charges, although in the Municipal hospital I found a follower of Anton Tsoulos who had been taken prisoner in a recent clash and almost lynched by the mob when he was brought into Drama. Seated by his bed was an ELAS soldier who had been wounded in the same engagement, together with a number of the EP who had been put as guard over the Nationalist. They had buried their quarrels and were perfectly happy together. When I asked the EP guard why he was in charge of a prisoner who had automatically been released under the recent agreement, he pointed to his cap where, in addition to the EP badge, he was displaying the flags of all the Allies and expressed a readiness to serve whatever authority was now the proper one. Stopping again at Drama on the return journey on March 11th, I attempted to see the Nomark and Demark, but it was Sunday and they could not be found; nevertheless, I had a long conversation with the Demark's assistant, principally about the economic requirements of the town. Each inhabitant was receiving a daily bread ration of 400 grams, the price per ration being 7.5 levas, which is equivalent, at the rate of 6 levas to 1 drachma, to 1.25 drachma or 0.5d. Grain, he said, was in very short supply and would only last a short time. When the Bulgarians evacuated, the authorities had managed to retain a quantity of 2,200,000 okes, but some five or six hundred tons of this quantity had had to be distributed for seed to peasants in the mountains and to others whose farms had been burned down. The Assistant Mayor also complained of a shortage of fats, olive oil and sugar, adding that the population as a whole was suffering severely from malnutrition as a result of

the Bulgarian occupation when the bread ration had been only half of what it is now and of lower quality. Scabies was said to be rampant among the children due to lack of sugar. My informant considered that the Agreement of Varkiza had been generally welcomed, that the security position in the town was good, but that Anton Tsaous' followers were responsible for disorders outside. I asked him whether he had heard of any complaints about the conduct of the Indian troops in Drama (having heard from Captain Aurick that the communists were beginning a propaganda campaign against them) but he declared that nothing of the sort had come to his hearing. I should add that the report of communist propaganda against the Indian troops is correct, Drama is the only place where this has occurred. In Western Macedonia the communist policy is to welcome the British and Indian troops, whilst turning a comparatively cold shoulder to the National Guard. Subsequent reports received from the military authorities indicate the situation at Drama is developing favourably. British troops are increasingly warmly welcomed and the unco-operative ELAS officer in charge of the EP Company has vanished from the scene. Kavalla presented a scene of unwonted activity. The advance party of the 7th Indian Brigade had arrived the previous day to arrange accommodation for the Brigade Headquarters and Battalion that are to follow. On the day of our advent officials M.L. and UNDRAs had arrived. The following day, March 9th, H.M.S. "Sirius" and the Greek destroyer "Terax" entered the port, where H.M.S. "Kimberley" was already moored. The next afternoon an M.L. convoy of 50 trucks arrived, followed on the 11th instant by a food ship, an oil fuel ship and the Governor General of Eastern Macedonia. It had been intended that the National Guard should arrive on March 13th, but their movement has been subjected to some delay, and the Governor General, rather unwisely, has decided he cannot take over until he has their support. The population of Kavalla showed every sign of friendliness and satisfaction at the turn of events. As elsewhere, they are obviously anxious to resume their ordinary life, and the small minority who still retain a taste for turbulent politics are at present quiet. EAM/KKE have undoubtedly suffered a more than partial eclipse in this communist stronghold, helped by general dissatisfaction at their administration and the accompanying corruption and unfair discrimination. The communist organization, however, is here as elsewhere by no means broken, and will certainly make its presence

felt as soon as events present a favourable opportunity. On the morning of March 9th the American Consul-General and I attended a conference between representatives of M.L., UNRRA and the local authorities, represented by the Nomark and Demark. The purpose of the conference was to arrange for the resumption of the distribution of M.L. supplies. The Nomark and the Demark fell in with all suggestions made to them, promised their full support in every direction and self-sacrificingly stressed the point that the country districts were in worse need of help than Kavalla itself. In the course of the conference they mentioned that a delegation had been sent the previous day to Salonica to request the early arrival of Government officials and National Guards to take over the administration of the town. They contended that grain was in very short supply and would suffice the population for a few days only. Up to the present the peasants had been induced to make contributions for feeding the town, but now with the arrival of M.L. and new authorities they would no longer feel under the same obligation. They stressed, too, the need for clothing, a need which was obvious to the most casual observer. To introduce a little reality into the almost unnatural friendliness of the proceedings, I enquired as to the whereabouts of three previous employees of M.L. who were known to have been arrested by the ELAS police in December last. The Nomark confessed that two of them had been shot while trying to escape, adding that if we had not intervened in Greek affairs such things would never have been necessary. He was obviously very worried about asking about the third man, Constantine Vardakis, an interpreter who had been arrested in the M.L. office itself, and showed great agitation. After considerable hedging the Demark gave the game away by whispering to him audibly that Vardakas had been shot. I understood that these three persons were members of a group of eleven persons known to have been killed by the EP in December last. I explained to the Monark that there was no comparison between conditions in Kavalla and Athens, and that the shooting of these persons would doubtless be investigated by the Creek judicial authorities, as it might well disclose a common law offence. A visit was then paid to the offices of the Administrative Committee for Eastern Macedonia and Thrace to explain, if need be, the altered circumstances of their existence, but the head of the Committee, Grimbas, had already realized the position for himself. He was prepared to hand over his office immediately to M.L., which

had previously occupied them as its headquarters, and produced a declaration which he had already prepared, informing the population that the Committee were handing over their functions to the Governor General and thanking the people for their support. Grimbas also made no difficulty about leaving the house of the manager of the Commercial Tobacco Company, which he and his colleagues had occupied as residential quarter. He gave the impression of a man who was both disappointed and disillusioned, and confessed that previous lack of administrative experience likewise made him little desirous of remaining in office. He took the opportunity, nevertheless, of complaining that the National Guard had searched the house in Salonica occupied by his wife and child, and subjected them to certain rough usage. At Xanthi we were received by the Nomark and Demark and other officials with bouquets of laurels, gifts of their best cigarettes and an invitation to a civic banquet, which time, however, obliged us to decline. They were all quite reconciled to handing over to the Government authorities, and as in other places complained of the delay that was occurring. Politically, they said, the bulk of the population was republican, and there was a movement on foot to form a United Republican Front in conjunction with EAM, to include both Liberals and Progressives. The officer in charge of the EP/ELAS Guard informed us that security in the town was good, but that there had been some cattle stealing in the country districts owing to the absence of any police, and small bands of demobilized Nationalists (others called them demobilized Elastites) had been terrorizing certain villages. He said he was having difficulty in keeping his guard together; they were all anxious to go home without further delay. The food situation in Xanthi appeared from all accounts to be bad, particularly in the mountain districts which were appealing to the town for help. The bread ration was 400 grammes per day, 60% barley. I enquired as to the number of prisoners held, and was told that there were at present 42 in the local gaol, 20 of them on charges of collaboration, amongst whom were some Bulgars and two Bulgarians of Greek nationality. It was said that all hostages had been released after a few days' detention. The police officer asked for my advice regarding two demobilized Bulgarian soldiers whom he had arrested a few days before. They had been found wandering about the countryside, and were in danger of being lynched by the local population. I advised him to hand them over for disposal to the

first troops that arrived, considering them prisoners of war. Of all the places, Komotini made the happiest impression. The local officials seemed on excellent terms with the Liberals, a delegation of whom called on us in the Nomark's office. The Nomark confessed to being a member of KKE, but claimed that out of eighteen members of the Prefect's council only two belonged to this party, the remainder being Republican. He also talked about the formation of what he called a "Liberal Republican Party", to include EAM and all Progressive elements. It was proposed, we heard, to hold a protest meeting the next day, to complain of the delay in sending Government officials and the National Guard, but the Liberals we saw said that they had dissociated themselves from this demonstration. Security in the town, we were told, was excellent, though there was some thieving going on outside. The Nomark stated that there were at present 60 prisoners in the local gaol, including six charged with collaboration with the Bulgars and two or three Bulgarians; the rest were common criminals. He also mentioned that one Bulgarian war criminal had been shot. According to him, ten or twelve persons had been arrested preventatively during the recent troubles, all of whom had now been released. The food situation seemed better than elsewhere, although there was the same acute shortage of imported goods and particularly clothing and footwear. From reports received at Komotini it appeared that the situation in the Alexandroupolis and Demotika areas is very similar. Complaints were also made to us of the hardships caused by the inability to trade with Turkey and Bulgaria. Local efforts to renew commercial relations had failed as the present officials were not recognized by those Governments, nor could the question of payment be solved. Throughout the journey one everywhere felt that EAM/KKE is in varying degrees very much on the defensive. It is anxious to prove itself respectable, moderate and patriotic, loyal to the agreement of Varkiza and anxious to cooperate with republican and liberal elements in forming a common front against monarchists and other so-called reactionaries. But the KKE organization remains in the background unimpaired. The turbulent spirit that animates it is but temporarily repressed, and is ready to assert itself again when conditions are favourable. The demobilization of ELAS has been carried out with the greatest willingness. Most arms have been handed in, though there are many stories of hidden dumps and ultimate designs. Between Serres and

Drama we saw a group of seven or eight demobilized ELAS soldiers on the road, and stopped to talk to them. It appeared that they had been disbanded some weeks previously and were then merely returning from a carnival celebration at a neighbouring village. They were extremely friendly and full of pacific intentions. It was noticeable though that EAM – appointed officials were very sensitive to any suggestions of collaboration or even relationship with Bulgarians. They were anxious to appear first and foremost as good Greek patriots, even when their previous association with Bulgarian communists had been matter of common knowledge. There are two aspects of the economic situation that deserve special mention. In the first place, an early decision should be made on the question of currency, for east of the Strimon the leva is still the only circulating medium. To refuse to exchange at least limited quantities of leva into drachma at a reasonable rate will involve a great part of the population in considerable hardship, although even a reasonable rate from the point of view of the Greek Government will cause complaints, as all prices in terms of leva are unreal, the leva enjoying a purely fictitious value owing to its scarcity. Whereas in the rest of Greece currency has undergone a considerable devaluation, here the value of the leva has to a great extent been maintained in a closed economy. It would also seem essential that the Bank of Greece should as soon as possible establish branches throughout the area and make arrangements to give advance on a generous scale against merchandise during the transitional period. The second question relates to a stock of some 8.5 million kilograms of processed tobacco now ready for sale at Kavalla and elsewhere. This tobacco was bought by the Bulgarian Government from producers at unremunerative prices, and will now presumably be considered the property of the Greek State. Nevertheless, if the proceeds of its sale (and the United States is at the present moment a very interested purchaser) are paid into the Greek treasury there will be considerable local discontent, the producers complaining that they are now being robbed by the Greek Government instead of the Bulgarian Government. A reasonable suggestion for solving this problem has been made by the newly appointed Governor General for Thrace, M. Papathanassis. He suggests that part of the proceeds should be paid as compensation to the producers, and that part should be retained to form a fund for the repatriation and resettlement of refugees from Thrace now temporarily living in

other parts of Greece. This proposition merits serious consideration, and it is to be hoped that something on these lines can be arranged. Finally it may be said that, in general, all conditions favourable for the resumption of complete authority in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace by the Greek Government. The only question is whether the Greek Government can rise to the occasion. The principle dangers lie, firstly, in delay, secondly, in the quality of officials who are to assume office, and, thirdly, in the attitude and behaviour of the National Guard. Any ill-considered action on the part of the latter body would strengthen the hands of the extremists and seriously perturb the majority of the population who are now only too anxious to see normal life re-established on a peaceful, orderly basis. Here, as elsewhere, law must once more be made supreme and legal firms observed. Sir Reginald Leeper, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., His Majesty's Ambassador, Athens.

1945 – March 17. In the first attack on Dobrolishta the robbers were armed Madzhiri (Christian Turkish colonists from Asia Minor settled in Greek occupied Macedonia by the Greek government) from the village Papratsko. Here is what they stole. They plundered Andon Kalimanov's house and stole 38 sheep. They robbed Hristo Kalimanov's house and stole 31 sheep. They stole 35 sheep from Spiro Vlahov, 20 sheep from Dimitar Vlahov, 28 sheep from Nikola Gapkovski, 25 sheep from Andon Poplazarov, and 12 sheep from Nikola T. Kalimanov. They also pillaged the Nikola T. Kalimanov home and brutally beat Nikola's mother and wife. They stole 8 sheep from Paraskeva Kotorkova, pillaged her house and brutally beat her. They stole 6 sheep from Kosta Hadzhiev, 5 sheep from Tome Hadzhiev, 5 sheep from Atanas Hadzhiev, 4 sheep from Zizo Kalimanov and pillaged his home, 7 sheep from Micho Kalimanov, 4 sheep from Sterio Kalimanov, 4 sheep from Iane Kalimanov, 14 sheep from Anastas Dimovski and pillaged his home, 10 sheep from Vangel Kalimanov, and 8 sheep and 15 chickens from Pavle Mitkovski and pillaged his house.

1945 - March 24. "Elinikos Voras" in fact was so obsessed with the so-called phantom "Macedonian autonomous movement" and the so-called "Slav threat" from the north that it made it its most endearing theme to vilify the Macedonians by continuously publishing adventure stories and hypothetical scenarios of a non-

existent enemy attempting to “grab” their Macedonia. In one of its columns on March 24, 1945 “Elinikos Voras” wrote: “We have information from a reliable source that Captain Amintas Avgerinos (I. Papadopoulos from the village Pesoshintsa) of the 28th ELAS (National Liberation Army of Greece) brigade, in larger part composed of Slavo-Macedonians, does not recognize the Varkiza agreement, and has formed an armed group which now roams around the villages Pesoshintsa, Leskoves, Popozhani, Vrbenik, Kamenik and Voshtareni, where he is terrorizing the residents and forcing them to cross over to Bitola and to join the ranks of the Bulgarian detachments commanded by Ilia Dimovski - Gotse, who is fighting for Macedonia’s autonomy...” “Elinikos Voras” did not care to know or report the facts. All it cared about was to propagate hatred against the Macedonian people by continuously publishing fantasies. Contrary to “Elinikos Voras’s” allegations, Amintas Avgerinos, did not send Macedonian fighters to join Ilia Dimovski – Gotse’s Macedonian brigade in the Republic of Macedonia. In fact Amintas Avgerinos was a disciplined ELAS officer and trusted member of the Communist Party of Greece (CPG) who obediently followed the party line when the CPG itself was taking a stand against the Macedonian Liberation Movement Organization, the same organization that fought side by side with the Greeks to liberate Greece from the Germans and Bulgarians. “Elinikos Voras” took it upon itself to label the Macedonian detachments as “having autonomous tendencies” knowing full well that the very same Macedonian detachments fought bloody battles against the autonomist counter-bands in Kostur and Lerin Regions and against the Bulgarian sponsored “Ohrana” in Voden Region.

1945 – April. First Macedonian government in the Republic of Macedonia founded with Lazar Kolishevski as its first President.

1945 – April. The CPG Central Committee held its 11th Plenum

1945 – April 4. Armed Madzhiri (Christian Turks) from the village Papratsko and some from the village Sveta Nedela, led by spies Antonis and Giorgos, plundered Stavre Mirkovski’s house and stole 15 sheep and all his furnishings. They then mercilessly beat his wife and aunt.

1945 – April 15. Madzhiri from the village Zhelegozhe stole 7 sheep and 1 ox from Vasil Tashalukiv. They plundered Ilo Gubidenov's house and stole 6 sheep. They plundered Mihali Gubidenov's house and stole 5 sheep. They plundered Andrei Timiovsk's house and stole 8 sheep, 50,000 drachmas, 40 Albanian Napoleons, 2 liras and 500 kilos of tobacco. They stepped on and completely destroyed the tobacco on location. From Panaiot Timiovski they stole 5 sheep and 7 from Mihali Timiovski. They robbed Hristo Gapkovski's house and completely trashed it. They stole all of Katerina Evangelova's utensils and clothing and took her ox. They took everything from Damian Kirovski's house. They pillaged Nikola Petrovski's house and took his ox. They took everything from Iani Mirkovski's house. From Barbara Mirkovska they stole 6 sheep and all her furniture and clothing. From Todor Mirkovski they stole 13 sheep. They plundered Vasil Hristovski's house. They plundered Giorgi's house and stole 19 sheep. They stole 11 sheep from Nicholas D. Kalimanov and plundered his house. They stole 4 sheep from Argir Hristovski. This time they completely robbed Mihail Kalimanov's house and tossed a hand grenade into it, wounding his son. They also beat Mihail, his daughter Kiratsa and his son Ziso. All the stolen livestock was appropriated by the Madzhiri from the village Zhelegozhe. The household items and everything else was appropriated by the Madzhiri from the village Sveta Nedela...

1945 - April 23, NOF (People's Liberation Front) is formed along with the Women's Anti-Fascist Front (AFZH) and the Youth organization (NOMS). The ELAS fighters who earlier had left Greek occupied Macedonia and went to Yugoslavia came under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPY/CPM). It was from these fighters that, in Skopje on April 23, 1945, the organization NOF was formed under the initiative of the CPY/CPM and sent to organize the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia in preparation for a new conflict - the Greek Civil War. From the day it was formed to the day it was handed over to the CPG as part of the so-called "brotherhood and unity" formation, NOF acted under CPM/CPY directives. After that it was placed under CPG command until it was disbanded. NOF never acted independently. The NOF organizational leadership, named in the documents as the "NOF Main Board" or the "NOF Senior Leadership", was made up of six members that

included Paskal Mitrevski, Giorgi Urdov-Dzhodzho, Atanas Koroveshovski, Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, Pavle Rakovski and Mincho Fotev. The leadership was appointed on May 21, 1945 in Skopje, in the “Matsura” building on “Ortse Nikolov” street. Paskal Mitrevski was appointed Political Secretary. Atanas Koroveshovski was made responsible for military affairs. Mincho Fotev was appointed Secretary of NOMS and SKOJ. The NOF leadership functioned under the body of the CPM (Communist Party of Macedonia). During NOF’s constitutive meeting, discussions took place to determine responsibilities for the various organs and functions of people’s Boards as well as the responsibilities of the AFZH Secretary. However, the answers to these questions were deferred to the next meeting. After NOF was established, British and American agents in Greece initiated a strong propaganda campaign in support of Vancho Mihailov, creating an autonomist movement under the slogan “united and independent Macedonia”. Their real goal was to create spy and sabotage centres to combat the people’s liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia and to work against the People’s Republic of Macedonia with “espionage and subversive activities against the people’s democratic Balkan countries, but primarily against the SFRY”.

1945 – April 25. Every day from April 25 to April 30, 1945, there were multiple reports of looting and other crimes committed by the armed Madzhiri (Christian Turks) and the spies from the villages Chetirok, Sveta Nedela and Grleni. The Madzhiri attacked villages and turned them into wasteland. Leading the Madzhiri in these robberies and raping of women were Parharidis and Lazaridis. Apart from the Madzhiri committing crimes there were also the “Burandari” (Greek soldiers and policemen fighting for the Greek government against the people). The following women and girls were raped: 1) Maria Argirova, 2) Sofia Vlahova, 3) Constantina H. Vlahova. They tried to rape other women but failed.

1945 – April 26. Macedonian villages in the district of Kostur were attacked daily by local armed bands whose most frequently-employed methods were maltreatment, force and theft. Thus on April 26, 1945 the village Kumanichevo was attacked by a gang of up to 60 armed bandits, led by Dimitar Minelis and Athanasios

Psalmodakis, 60 houses were plundered and, among other things, 1,000 sheep and 110 head of cattle were carried off.

1945 - April 26, Tito hints to Macedonians uniting. This may have been as a result of Tito's following statement made in Moscow on April 26, 1945, when he gave an interview for the "New York Times" during which he said: "If the Macedonians from the Greek regions of Macedonia express desire to unite with other Macedonians, Yugoslavia will respect their aspirations.

1945 – May. Captain Pat Evans reports from Lerin on "a general lack of confidence... a number of people have been remarking in cafés and other public places: 'There is no State'. 'The Communists did at any rate make things run, whatever else they may have done.' 'The present Government is useless'!"

1945- May 4. A group of armed bandits from the village Loshnitsa, led by the Monarcho-Fascist Giorgos Douflas, stole 1,500 sheep and 50 cattle. After invading Kumanichevo they raided the houses and stole wine and rakia and helped themselves to the people's food. They then took what was left and began to intimidate the unprotected population with their knives and swords yelling, "We will kill you filthy Bulgarians and you will not be able to escape to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia..." The village was severely devastated... Doors and windows were broken... right in front of the people as they were watching. Many of the residents fled their homes and hid in the mountains.

1945 – May 5. Douflas's gang returned to the village Kumanichevo and stole about 750 kilos of grain. After that they smashed the grain bins and storage barns, stole a number of chickens and eggs and left. A few days later they came back and went straight to the house belonging to Metodi, Toma and Giorgi Samara and plundered it. This house had not been plundered before.

1945 – May 8. The war in Europe ends with Germany signing its surrender.

1945 - May 17. A National Guard band from the village Inon (Tsakoni) attacked the village Polipotamos and severely beat most

of the villagers. After beating him to near death, Zhivko Poptraianov was taken to Kostur for interrogation.

1945 - May 19. A band of around 200 armed nationalist bandits from the villages Shiiaki, Chetirok and Gorno Paprechko attempted to enter the village Polipotamos in order to plunder it. The villagers however did not succumb to fear and fought back with sticks and stones as they met the gangsters before reaching their village. The village came out victorious with only a single casualty. Lazo Antonopoulos was wounded.

1945 - May 23. The villages Shiiaki, Chetirok and Gorno Paprechko were blockaded by the National Guard. The guardsmen detained and beat many residents accusing them of being communists. Fifteen people were beaten to near death and the entire village was plundered and three flocks of sheep were stolen.

1945 – May 29. When the war (WWII) was over, Zahariadis found himself in London, a guest of the English intelligence service. After spending two or three weeks in England, on May 29, 1945, Zahariadis was flown from England to Greece on a special British military aircraft, wearing a British military uniform. The English delivered him to Athens. The Siantos CPG leadership welcomed him back and immediately gave him his old position - CPG Secretary General, the function he served during the war...

1945 - May 31. Andreas Papadopoulos with a group of 15 residents from the village Zagorichani, armed with rifles and wearing military uniforms blockaded the Macedonian part of the village and summoned all the Macedonians. Some were tied to a post and severely beaten with whips as they were forced to run like horses around a post and humiliated. Mitse Popiovanov, the village mailman, was beaten so badly that his life hung by a thread.

1945 – May. Asia Minor Turkish settlers and colonists deposited in Greek occupied Macedonia after the Greko-Turkish war attacked the Macedonian population in the village Brest and stole a flock of 1,200 sheep. They stole all the flocks of sheep from the village Dolno Papretsko and about 300 sheep from the village Setoma. When the people from the robbed villages went to the Regional

Governor in Kostur to complain, he kicked them out of his office and told them “to go to hell”. In spite of EAM numerous attempts to publicize the terror in an attempt to curb it, the ultra-nationalists continued to commit crimes unabated.

1945 - Terror committed in Greek occupied Macedonia. Between 1945 and early 1946 terror was the rule of law in Greek occupied Macedonia where beatings and atrocities were committed daily against democratic citizens. Not only the jails but barns and stables everywhere were filled with people who supported the resistance movement. According to official statistics in 1945 there were 17,985 people jailed of whom 15,596 were jailed without a trial. Another 18,401 were accused of various crimes and 48,936 were accused of being members of EAM and ELAS. About 80,000 people in total were pursued by the Greek government in 1945. The terror, as a means to break the movement, took frightening measures with each passing day. This is how the situation was described on July 5, 1945: “After the December incidents terror became the rule of law with the arming and unprecedented growth of the extreme Right. Every day life for the non-royal citizens became unbearable. This is a sad affair and the state cannot be without responsibility. The terrorist organizations of the far right most of which were armed by the Germans and cooperated with them, now cooperate with the government to extinguish the democratic spirit. It was the government that enlisted the skills and services of these terrorists and is allowing the atrocities to multiply daily. Therefore the government is responsible for the lockups, imprisonments, the raping of women, the hangings, the beatings and humiliations carried out against the free citizens. This represents a black spot on our civilization.” Here is how the Regional Governor of Kozheni Region described the situation in a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs: “From a standpoint of public order the district is finding itself in a savage situation. Disgusting things are happening; multiple hangings, known criminals are being freed from jails, etc. These acts are carried out by known collaborators of the Germans, under whose leadership they developed these blood thirsty skills.” Regarding the bloody Greek Monarcho-Fascist terror, perpetrated against the Macedonian people, the NOF organizational leadership at its first meeting, held on May 21, 1945, decided to take a stand and, along with the other factors of the resistance movement, formed

armed groups to confront the extreme Monarch-Fascist gangs and traitors who were persecuting the Macedonian people to no end. The NOF armed groups were instructed to only attack the armed terrorist gangs if they attacked the Macedonian villages and to stop them from looting and terrorizing the Macedonian people. Given that the Monarcho-Fascist armed gangs and Greek gendarmerie squads crossed the grounds on a daily basis, the NOF armed groups responsible for their safety, along with the safety of the NOF, NOMS and AFZH leaders and activists, had their hands full. The NOF armed groups and their actions were managed by the NOF district and regional board secretaries. At that time there was no other way to protect the lives, honour and properties of the Macedonian people from these Greek terrorists. The evil needed to be prevented with organized countermeasures. Unfortunately, the CPG strongly condemned NOF's armed group activities even though in practice they confirmed that they played a positive role in preventing terrorist waves. No Monarcho-Fascist gang attack on the innocent Macedonian population was left without the proper punishment. Another benefit from this armed self-defense was that it encouraged more people to join the revolution and bolster its militant actions.

1945 – June. British soldiers kill Macedonian. After receiving information from informant Hristo Petsi, British soldiers went in pursuit of Petar Stamenitov from the village Pendalofos and had him killed in the chestnut grove above the village Kriva.

1945 – June 16. Four tanks, one armoured car carrying a number of Englishmen and three armed Greek civilians inspected the border at Kaimakchalan. On their way back they blockaded the village Zhervi, on the Ostrovo Region side, and arrested and took one person with them. The person was charged with allegedly delivering supplies to the “autonomist armed groups”.

1945 – June 19. An armed unit of reactionaries from Lerin arrived and blockaded the village Ostrovo. The Burandari began to discharge their firearms from all sides, terrorizing the residents. Then after they searched the houses and plundering them, they gathered the people in the village square and one of the officers, in an intimidating tone of voice, among other things, said: “If those

people who left the village and joined the Macedonian army do not return to the village within ten days, their property will be confiscated. Tell them to desert from there and come back here...” After leaving a platoon of soldiers in the village, the armed unit left and took the road along the border towards Kaimakchalan. With much protest the people managed to recover some of their things that were plundered but most of the gold items, including their jewelry and gold coins, had disappeared and were never returned.

1945 – June 20. During the night English and Greek soldiers stationed in Subotsko, Tresino, Vladovo and Chegan were sent out to liquidate “autonomist groups”.

1945 - June 20. Voden NOF holds regional conference at a place near the city Voden. The conference was attended by 125 city and countryside delegates. Pavle Rakovski, member of the top NOF leadership, presented a report outlining the ideological content and form of the struggle. Vangel Ainovski – Oche, NOF Trustee and District Secretary reported on the organization’s financial status. The delegates, among other things, called for the liquidation of the rural guards causing terror in the countryside.

1945 - June 25. Aris Veluhiotis found dead. Aris Veluhiotis, commissar of the main headquarters of ELAS, along with about one hundred Partisans who had no faith in the Varkiza agreement, detached themselves from the battalion and took to the mountains. The CPG Central Committee naturally responded by calling Veluhiotis a “deserter” who on June 25, 1945 was found dead on Mount Pind. Circumstances surrounding his death to this day have not been explained. Historians that support the political right, leave it to be understood that Veluhiotis was killed by people from the CPG, claiming that only they know his whereabouts and movements. In view of the disagreements between the various resistance leaders, the CPG purged Petsopulos, Orestis and Zaharias from the ranks of the party and took measures against the leadership of the Macedonian battalion by initiating a campaign of slanderous propaganda rivaling that of Gables. Macedonian leaders opposing the Varkiza agreement were automatically labeled “autonomists” and “sell outs to the Intelligence Service”. A flyer released in Voden on October 10, 1944 referring to Veluhiotis’s splinter group puts it

this way: “Those are autonomists and anarchists and with their own brand of adventurism are solely responsible for bringing hardship to the Slavo-Macedonians. They claim to be your protectors but far from it, they are provocateurs who by their actions have provoked the fascist elements to new and more brutal acts against you Slavo-Macedonians.” Anyone from the CPG or from the national liberation front who spoke up in the defense of the splinter group was labeled a traitor. The CPG high leadership openly suggested to people who harboured such thoughts that they were better off going to jail then going to the mountains. In reference to Veluhiotis fleeing to the mountains, Zahariadis said “it was an attempt to pass with yesterday’s expired ticket”. Attempting to explain what happened, Zahariadis blamed it on a misunderstanding by putting it this way: “A large number of our membership had difficulty comprehending what it is that we are trying to do and where we want to go with the Varkiza Agreement. The confusion comes from a number of members who have a small difference of opinion. Some, like Veluhiotis for example could be dangerous that is why the party had to take decisive action. Party members like him wanted to hold on to their guns and to continue the guerilla war.”

1945 – June 25. The CPG Central Committee held its 12th Plenum from June 25 to 27, 1945

1945 - June 28. CPG sees NOF as threat. The CPG Central Committee, during its 10th Plenum, made the following decision: “NOF with its rapid promotion of its military formations is dangerously threatening the Greek character of Macedonia. It is threatening Greek interests and the territorial integrity of the Greek state.”

1945 - June 29. Decree denouncing NOF is issued by members of the CPG District Committee for Voden Region and by the people of Voden Region.

1945 - Law 543/45 is passed by Greek legislature against the organization NOF, AFZH and NOMS. I.e. “Against NOF and all persons working for the secession of Greek territories.”

1945 - Macedonian homes looted, people abused, women raped by Greek murderous bands and by the Greek National Guard. In the summer of 1945 a band of well known occupier collaborators from Drama Region appeared in Lerin Region. Lead by the murderous Andon Chaush the band of nationalists took control of entire villages and sealed the doors of the Macedonian homes with wax so no one could get in or out. Macedonians were placed under house arrest overnight for at least 12 hours without an explanation. No one dared break the seal for fear of what might happen to them. Members of the National Guard roamed the streets during the nights and broke into the houses of those jailed and abused and raped their wives and daughters. In the village Setina, National Guardsmen raped the young wives of two brothers. Another young woman was then taken to the barracks and repeatedly raped overnight. The next morning she was taken and surrendered to her relatives, half dead. One particular woman from the village of Petoratsi was targeted, because of her activities in the United Panhellenic Organization of Youth, and raped.

1945 – July. English and Greek soldiers raided the village Tsrna Reka in Gumenidzhe Region. While searching the mountains looking for partisans, the soldiers came across four villagers, Mino Chatkov, Risto Zharov, Giorgi Durchov and Ivan Popov, who at the time were carrying wooden beams back to the village on their ox-cart. The soldiers arrested the men, took them to the village and locked them up in one of the village taverns where they subjected them to terrible torture. After causing some havoc in the village the soldiers took the prisoners and left for Gumendzhe.

1945 - July 1. Andreas Papadopoulos's band of nationalists attacked the village Breshtani, summoned all residents and began to indiscriminately beat them. Many, including three women, fell unconscious from the beatings. Lazar Panduli's wife was purposely undressed in public and while bare naked was raped by 4 of the bandits. Afterwards they carried her off and locked her in a room until they found a donkey and then as she rode the donkey she was paraded through the village and further humiliated. When she was returned to lockup, the man responsible for guarding her felt sorry for her and let her escape.

1945 - July 2. Andreas Papadopoulos's nationalist band entered the village Tsakoni and committed all kinds of atrocities. Andon Siula was badly beaten in an attempt to convert him to a turncoat so he could spy for them but they were unable to break him. He later died from the ordeal. Also badly beaten were Vasilis Suklidis, Naum Nartea, Andreas Stavridis and Petar Chocho. Other thefts reported at the time included 5 heads of large livestock stolen from the village Tikveni by the nationalist Pavle Sjagari. Other atrocities committed by the nationalists and the National Guard included the rape and execution of Dafina Valtova from the village Izglebi and the rape of 20 women from the village Gratsi.

1945 - July 6. Members of National Guard from the 165 battalion raped 4 women in the village Gornichovo because their husbands were serving in the Yugoslav army. Rapes and robberies were also committed in the villages Gorno Kleshtina, Elovo, Sorovich and Rudnik.

1945 - July 7, Law 453 enacted in Greece.

1945 - July 7, Law TOD:/45 enacted in Greece. "For order, peace and justice" to ensure public safety and to stop "autonomist activities" of which the Macedonian political organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were accused. NOF, AFZH and NOMS were found to be autonomist, separatist and anti-Greek and were placed outside of the law and their members were to be judged for possessing and using weapons.

1945 – July 8. CPG admits Macedonian nation exists. An article entitled "The truth about the Slavo-Macedonians" was published on July 8, 1945, in the newspaper "Rizospastis", the CPG Central Committee's organ, in which, among other things, it was said that the Macedonian nation has its own customs, personality and history and its national awareness is quite developed." This is further evidence that the CPG not only has admitted that Macedonians exist but gave the world proof of their existence inside Greece as a unique nation. What is peculiar about all this is that today the CPG says Macedonians do not exist and has taken either the amnesia route about its past or it claims that "it is not the same CPG".

1945 - July 10. The Greek Gendarme located in the village Lukovtsi detained 4 girls from the same village. No reason was given. The girls were taken away to jail and placed under guard in the city Sobotsko where they were subjected to torture. A few days later, 14 boys all under the age of fifteen were also detained in Lukovtsi and beaten to death. This was a tragedy not just for their parents but for the entire Macedonian community.

1945 - July 10. Balkanski, in a report to the leadership of the PLF, stated that the National Guard had stolen 250 sheep from the village Eksisu, 2 herds of sheep, 6 oxen and 6 pigs from the village Zelenich and one herd of sheep from the village Mokreni.

1945 - July 18. Law CC 43 passed. Law “against autonomist activities” was passed in Greece with which the organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS were declared autonomist, placed outside of the law and their members were declared criminals to be caught and tried for high treason.

1945 - July 20, Law (CC) 4124 passed. Law against “Prosecution of suspected persons” was passed. Law (CC) 4124/45 was enacted to be applied only against the Macedonians.

1945 - July 20, Laws PZ 433/45 and PZ 753/45 passed Decree “G” and other laws: PZ 433/45 “For illegal possession of weapons”, PZ 753/45 “For illegal possession and use of arms”, “For extraordinary measures for public safety” were passed.

1945 - July 25. The National Guard flag bearer pulled out his pistol and fired at children he heard praying out loud in the Macedonian language at the Kiupria neighbourhood in Voden. Ianis Perchemlis, Gerimdzhes and Fotiadis, well known collaborators and Fascists who spied for the Germans during the occupation, were seen pacing up and down the streets calling out loud “lists of those going to jail are already made”. In other words they were openly threatening the population with harm without naming names, clearly a terror tactic to frighten everyone.

1945 – August 6. The United States detonated two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9,

1945, respectively, with the consent of the United Kingdom, as required by the Quebec Agreement. The two bombings killed between 129,000 and 226,000 people, most of them civilians.

1945 – August 8. The “Nea Alithia” newspaper fans flames of hatred. Another Greek nationalist newspaper that also fed the flames of hatred against this phantom “Slav threat” from the north was “Nea Alithia” which on August 8, 1945 wrote: “Greece fought, suffered, sacrificed and today is victorious but it cannot ignore threats from the north...”

1945 - August 15. The Fascist Socrates Tumanidis and his band of cut throats invaded the village Lukovtsi, detained 10 people and took them to the village Dragomentsi where they subjected them to beastly torture. Tortured the worst was Nikola Markov who in addition to being badly beaten had to endure hot eggs placed under his armpits and salt poured on his wounds.

1945 - August 19. The Greek Gendarme detained and jailed 25 people from the village Sarakinovo. A Greek Captain from the nearby army base, together with several soldiers, raped a young Macedonian woman in the village Tresino in front of her father-in-law. In a beastly manner, Jovan Dokov from the village Pozhartsko was ferociously beaten and while still conscious was buried alive. In the village Strupino 13 houses were burned down. One of those houses belonged to Tasho Boichev, a Macedonian resistance fighter. Boichev’s wife was killed and her body was thrown in the fire to burn. The same day Germanos Papadopoulos and his band of nationalists detained and killed 2 Macedonian boys.

1945 - August 25. Nationalists from the Greek army and Gendarme killed Kosta Dzhina from the village Laka, Atanas Koroveshov from the village Smrdesh and Atanas Lubchev from the village Kastaneri. These individuals were executed in Krombi, Edindzhe-Vardar Region.

1945 – October. The 7th CPG Party Congress was held to review some of the activities in which the CPG leadership participated in 1945 while attempting to consolidate its authority.

1945 - October 5. A group of National Guardsmen blockaded the village Shtrkovo and imprisoned 7 Macedonians, who after been beaten were sent to Lerin. Among the 7 beaten included were Ioshe Grozdanov, Bozhin Kostov, Pando Kostov and Stavre Katielov.

1945 - October 10. The village Rudari was blockaded and 15 people were taken and sent to the Lerin jail. Joshe Tsaklarovski and Mihail Mihailovski were beaten to a state of unconsciousness.

1945 – October. The CPG held its 7th Congress in Athens in early October 1945. This Congress was held ten months after the bloody events in December 1944, eight months after the signing of the Varkiza agreement and three months after the old CPG Central Committee 12th Plenum was held, when the situation for the democratic forces in the country was increasingly worsening.

1945 – November 7. After the 7th Congress had taken place, the 1st Plenum was convened during which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece Political Bureau was appointed. Seven permanent members were appointed. They were Siantos Giorgios, Zahariadis Nikos, Ioanidis Gianis, Hadzhivasiliou Hrisa, Partsalidis Michos, Bardzhiotas Vasilis, Petridis Tassos (Anastasiadis Stergios). Appointed were also three candidates for permanent membership. They were Stringos Leonidas, Zevgos Gianis and Rousos Petros. During the decade of the 1940's, the CPG was represented by a large number of fairly young people.

1945 - November 17. Upon their surrender by the collaborator Dimitar Doiara from the village Kastaneri, the National Guard executed Giorgi Shashev from Kastaneri, Hristo G. Tarteve, Trifun Aita, Dimitar Parlapanov, Hristo Gatsov, Giorgi Gulev, Petar Karamutev and Aleksandar Vasilev from Kriva, Gumendzhisko Region. The executions took place in the Sehovo area near the village Barovitsa.

1945 - December 16. 106 Macedonians from the town Rupishcha in Kostur Region were prosecuted, accused of collaborating with the occupiers. This was done in spite of the fact that these people were ELAS fighters and fought against the occupiers. Many were sentenced to life in prison the rest were given shorter sentences.

1945 - December 28. In a hypocritical sense, Nikos Zahariadis, CPG General Secretary, spoke positively about NOF. During the December 28, 1945 General Assembly of the Provincial Committee for Macedonia and Thrace, speaking about a flyer published by the Voden branch of NOF, Zahariadis, among other things said: "Every Greek democratic citizen, I am sure, will agree with the call of NOF from Voden Region, to fight together for our freedom, for political rights and social equality and for a general amnesty. We will struggle together for our bread, our freedom and for a new Greek democracy." It seems that the change in attitude on the part of the CPG towards NOF is owed mainly to the CPG's need to reorganize for a new armed struggle against the Greek political right. A new armed struggle at this point was not possible without involving the Macedonians. The call for a new struggle was made during the December 28, 1945 CPG General Assembly when the slogan "We call on the people wherever they are, in the cities and in the villages, to carry out an armed struggle against the reactionaries" was first introduced. Too many mistakes had been made by the left in allowing the right, more commonly known as the Republicans and Royalists, in Greece to hijack power and abuse the innocent to no end. For the leftists more commonly known as the democrats, there was little choice left but to fight back; this time for their own survival.

1946 – January. In early January the NOF Main Board took unilateral action to establish cooperative relations with the CPG. With such a directive it ordered the NOF, NOMS and AFZH county, district, city and regional leaderships to establish links with the CPG, EAM, AKE and EPON organizations and to show them flexibility in resolving outstanding issues, mutual accusations and attacks and to avoid conflict "at any cost" in order to achieve unity with them against the Monarcho-Fascist regime.

1946 - January 13. The newspaper "Rizospastis", in defense of the Macedonians who were terribly persecuted, harassed and mistreated, said: "...this is the greatest and most dreadful persecution ever heard of in Modern Greek history..."

1946 – January 21. With intentions of helping the EAM coalition, which had been persecuted in the country since the beginning of 1946, a Soviet delegation at the UN, on January 21, 1946, raised the Greek question in the Security Council with a request to adopt a resolution to “withdraw the British occupation forces from Greece”. This resolution, however, was met with bitter resistance from the British as well as from the American, French and other Western Power delegations which, after lengthy discussions at the Security Council, ended on February 6, 1946 with a vague resolution that read as follows: “The Security Council took into consideration statements made and opinions expressed by the Soviet, British and Greek delegations regarding the presence of British troops in Greece. The statements were entered into the Council’s documents and thus the issue was considered closed.”

1946 - January 28. Attacks against the Macedonian people living in Greece from Athenian newspapers were just as vicious engaging in brutal anti-Macedonian campaigns through the newspapers “Elefteria” and “Elenikos Kirix”. On January 28, 1946 “Elefteria” published an open letter demanding the expulsion of all Macedonians from their native homeland. “The Slavo-Macedonians can leave our Macedonia. They can go wherever they want. They need to disappear from here; they need to emigrate immediately and compulsorily. There is no place for them here.” In a similar tone the nationalist paper “Ethnikos Kirix” paved the way for conflict and for persecuting the Macedonians when it proposed, “that there is a need to get rid of 180,000 Slavo-Macedonians as soon as possible”. Even stronger criticism against the Macedonians came from the newspapers “Foni tis Kastorias” and “Ethnos” when they published quotes from Periklis Iliadis, a former Nazi collaborator, insisting that, “there is no place for Greeks and Macedonians in Greek-Macedonia”. In spite of the sacrifices the Macedonian people made to safeguard the security and integrity of Greece, the rightist elements of Greece were bent on destroying them. When they thought their situation could not get any worse, it did. If terrorizing and threatening them with death was not enough, the Greeks were now bent on exterminating the Macedonian people to the last one. The Macedonian people were now faced with a dilemma: remain at home and accept fate in the hands of the blood thirsty Nazi collaborators or forever leave their homes and ancestral lands and

cross over the border? Out of the two evils, the Macedonians chose to remain at home and together with the democratic people of Greece, resumed their struggle for their freedom, equality and human rights for all (in theory). The people had had enough of the lawlessness and brutality committed by the Greek nationalists and their armed wings the National Guard, armed bands and police. The very same sentiment was echoed by the world public which vehemently disapproved of how the Greek government and the British handled the situation.

1946 – February 12. 2nd CPG Central Committee Plenum was held in Athens during which in his introductory speech, Zahariadis specifically said: “...Today, just a year ago, the Varkiza Agreement was signed giving Greece a fair chance in taking the path of a peaceful and democratic evolution, which will allow us to freely express our will during the elections, so that our country could take the path to peace and reconstruction. That was our goal and our tendency. This was the right thing to do. Without a doubt today we can say that Varkiza was correct. It was the correct path to take because it absolutely served our democratic and national interests. The signing of the Varkiza agreement was the only correct step that could have been taken under those circumstances...” During this Plenum, Zahariadis also called for an armed struggle but only as a bluff, without having any serious intention of starting one. A decision was made not to take part in the parliamentary elections and to start an uprising (which later became known as the Greek Civil War).

1946 - March 5. Members of the National Guard jailed 10 people from the village Nered. They were all taken to court and without a shred of evidence, presented as members of the Greek National Liberation Front and of the National Liberation Army of Greece. Similar events took place in the villages Neokazi, Popozhani, Boreshnitsa, and Sekulevo.

1946 - March 6. Betrayed by Irini Mechkari a number of people were picked up by the Ofchareni Gendarmes at 9 pm on March 6, 1946 and sent to jail. Among those jailed included were Dimo Kratev and Vane Alamchev from Krushoradi.

1946 - March 8. Imprisoned were Petros Hadzhikarmenis, Janis Hadzhikarmenis, Kostas Hadzhikarmenis, Janakis Kostas, Dimitar Uzunov, Hristo Uzunov, Stamat Stamenov, Todor Vaskov and Gligor Tumbov from the village Petgas. Among the 35 men and women interned from the village Kriva included were Vangel Janakev, Atanas Jankov, Jovan Ropkov, Tano Janakev, Jovan Mladev, Petar Hadzhikarmenis, Tano Tsegli, Hristo Siagli, Giorgi Janakov, Paskalina Mitrova, Anastas Karadzha, Elisabeta Gatsi, Katerina Stoiu, Marika Pulka and others.

1946 - March 13. Ten people from Petoratsi sued in the Lerin court and were given 10 to 15 year prison sentences. They were accused of belonging to illegal socialist organizations. Among those sued were Bitko Mialev, Lazo Damianov, Naso Zhinzov and Vasil Popov. Another 18 people from the village Setina were also sued by the same court and handed 8 to 10 year prison sentences. These people were accused of various crimes. Their accuser was the teacher Miltiadis Dulukas who was a witness at their trials.

1946 - March 15. The Gendarme from Ofchareni, lead by collaborator and spy Ianis Apostolidis, stormed into the village Krushoradi and abducted resistance fighters Petar Donevski, Pando Vesev, Spase Dzhodzhov and Giorgi Mainov. The next day they were taken to Lerin and put in prison. More Macedonians were rounded up and taken before the courts in Lerin, even decent resistance fighters like Jordan Vitkov who was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour, Katerina Ts. Shabalova sentenced to 3 years imprisonment and Alekso Gashtarov, Sveto Charkev and Giorgi Chakalov from the village Setina sentenced from 8 to 12 years imprisonment which prompted one to speak up and say “We are Macedonians and that is why it is not difficult that we must lie in prison. This is our tax for our freedom. The Macedonians are used to spending time in prison, but for us one day the sun will shine”.

1946 – March. About 500 ELAS fighters, refugees from the ELAS camps in Bulkes and Voivodina, left the CPG en masse and joined NOF. But in spite of all the challenges, attacks, accusations, slanders, and everything else the CPG could throw at NOF, the NOF leadership remained coolly restrained, always trying to avoid

confrontation. NOF's only and most orderly response to all this was its consistent defense of the Macedonian people's real interests...

1946 - March 31. Elections take place in Greece, Greek Civil War officially begins. While the British and the Greek press continued to speak of free elections in Greece, the nationalist and chauvinistic elements continued to rain terror on the civilian population arresting and imprisoning people uncontrollably. By the time the elections took place on March 31, 1946, almost all of the former resistance fighters were either missing or serving jail sentences under trumped up charges. Interestingly some of these election irregularities were confirmed by British, Colonel Shepard who was quoted by the newspaper "New Democracy" on December 8, 1947 as saying: "During the election a Greek officer was watching a British officer and finally got enough nerve to speak to him. The Greek officer boasted to the British officer about how his regime was capable of creating conditions where 100% of the people would vote for the royalists. 'Even if not 100% then at least 95% and for those 5% who vote differently we will call them the enemies of the regime and invent reasons as needed to bring them in' explained the Greek officer."

1946 - March 31. Greek elections a total farce, not only because of the coercion by the rightist regime forcing voters to vote for them but also because of the perpetrated election fraud. In most European countries like France, Italy and others the population had naturally shrunk because of the war but not in Greece. In spite of the half million deaths due to starvation and war, Greece, according to the number of people who voted in 1946, showed a massive population increase, much greater than those voting in 1936. For example, 1,753,000 voters participated in the 1936 elections and 2,200,000 voters participated in the 1946 elections (voting in Greece was mandatory). Above that another 250,000 voters, known democrats were intentionally left off the lists so that they could not vote.

1946 - March 31. Uprising starts by one of the most characteristic acts performed by the partisans, which was to attack the village Lithohori, in which 23 government soldiers were killed. This, as one of the first major acts performed in the Greek history of DAG, was accepted as the beginning of the Greek Civil War. The Greek Civil

War officially began on March 31, 1946 by decision of the CPG 2nd Plenum held on February 12, 1946. It did not happen by accident, it was planned.

1946 – March 31. “The period from March 31, 1946 (the day the elections were forged) to September 1947 was the most suitable time to bolster the armed uprising and even take power... It seemed like almost all throughout 1946, the CPG leadership showed apathy to the drama committed against ordinary CPG members and former fighters of ELAS. Even during the first months in 1947, when CPG activists from field committees raised the issue of seizing power in the country, Zahariadis’s position was: ‘We are not going to take power for now, we will see, perhaps in 1948...’ During this time the CPG leadership insisted that the primary tasks of the Party were to solve economic problems and bring reconciliation. The CPG forbade ELAS fighters from joining the partisans, and those who insisted on doing it, because of the unbearable terror perpetrated against them by the monarchists, were labeled cowards, suspicious characters and provocateurs. It was during this period that all conditions were perfect for recruiting fighters into DAG and DAG could have easily grown into an army of over 60,000...” According to P. Mavromatis, when in 1946, the Provincial Bureau informed Zahariadis that 20-25 thousand partisan fighters could be recruited in Macedonia within a month, the Bureau was ordered “to stop, because the armed struggle was conceived as only a bluff, as a fake tactical maneuver for political needs, that is, to achieve political goals...”

1946 - April 2. Zahariadis initiates armed struggle in Greece and Tito supports him. CPG General Secretary Zahariadis, after returning from Moscow, went to Belgrade where he met with Marshal Tito and discussed his decision to initiate an armed struggle against the Right in Greece. Tito gave Zahariadis his full support and promised to supply him with moral and material aid. This meeting was arranged to also accomplish the following: 1. Place the Macedonian national liberation movement in Greek occupied Macedonia led by NOF, which as of April 1945 was under the leadership of the CPY-CPM, under the CPG. 2. Transfer part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ianis Ioanidis, to Belgrade with the task of managing supplies for the armed struggle and representing the CPG abroad. I.e. to take care of

supplying the partisans with weapons, clothing, food and other materials. 3. To organize recruitment of fighters from the Republic of Macedonia, more specifically from the so-called Greek political emigrants who fled Yugoslavia. To organize hospitals for the wounded and sick DAG fighters and for Yugoslavia to take on the role of organizer and coordinator of assistance for DAG from other countries.

1946 - May 4. First Macedonian Detachment formed at the “Trsie-Turie” mountains in Lerin Region. The detachment was led by Petre Markov from the village Neret, Lerin Region.

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

1946 – June. Communists and ELAS fighters came under extreme attacks from the Athens based Monarcho-Fascist regime. According to General Markos Vafiadis, by June 1946 some 80,000 Greeks and Macedonians, members and supporters of the CPG and EAM, and ELAS fighters were detained and imprisoned without a trial. About 8,000 ELAS partisan, officers and commissars were expelled from Greece and exiled in Yugoslavia. It was under these conditions that the CPG decided to re-arm the partisan movement and fight back. New partisan units were created from the former ELAS fighters and their numbers were increased with time. By July 1946 there were Greek partisans in the mountainous regions of Thessaly, Epirus, Greek occupied Macedonia and other places. By CPG Central Committee Politburo decision, Markos Vafiadis was appointed supreme commander of the new forces. There were only a few Greek partisan units in Greek occupied Macedonia because, at that time, both the CPG and EAM were unpopular with the Macedonian people.

1946 – June 16. The CPG Regional Committee for Greek occupied Macedonia and Thrace held its 3rd Session during which Secretary General Zahariadis announced NOF’s recognition as a “democratic and progressive organization” of the Macedonian minority in

Greece. Zahariadis's speech, during which he recognized NOF, was published on June 19, 1946 in the CPG central newspapers "Rizospastis" and "Laiki Foni". The publishing of Zahariadis's speech informed the entire Greek public about NOF's recognition. This made many Greeks unhappy, including many Party leaders who quickly changed their attitude towards NOF and further deteriorated the internal political situation in Greece. But, as it turned out, the recognition was done in order to secure Macedonian support in the struggle against the Monarcho-Fascist regime. Guided purely by self-interests, the Communist Party of Greece recognized the Macedonian national organization as a respectable political and potential military factor, as the sole legitimate representative of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. Soon after recognizing NOF, the CPG leadership decided to initiate an armed struggle against the Monarcho-Fascist regime in order to seize power in Greece. The Macedonian people and their organization began to emerge as a reliable ally in this fight. The Macedonian people, it appears, had no other alternative but to fight against the Monarcho-Fascist regime in solidarity with the CPG. In October 1946, under these conditions, NOF and the CPG reached an agreement to combine forces and jointly fight against the Monarcho-Fascists. Following a directive issued by the CPM Central Committee, the NOF Main Board made arrangements to have NOF put under the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece.

1946 – June 28. The CPG District Committee for Voden Region called on all party members and on all the Greek people to mobilize against the "autonomists", "separatists" and "counter-bandits" organized by NOF. All this led to strained relations. To avoid escalation, the NOF leadership responded with restraint to the violent CPG attacks and looked for a way to normalize relations, because the CPM from the People's Republic of Macedonia insisted that NOF normalize its relations with the CPG.

1946 – June. Towards the end of June 1946 the NOF Main Board Committee, consisting of Paskal Mitrevski, Giorgi Urdov-Dzhodzhov, Pavle Rakovski, Mihailo Keramitdzhiiev and Mincho Fotev, was summoned to visit Lazar Kolishevski, CPM Central Committee Political Secretary and Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia. The meeting was also attended by Tsvetko-Uzunovski-

Abas, CPG Central Committee Organizing Secretary, during which the situation in Greek occupied Macedonia and NOF's position in relation to the CPG and EAM were discussed. Kolishevski and Uzunovski expressed support for the normalization of relations and noted that "the unity of NOF with the CPG was of vital interest to the national liberation movement of the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia."

1946 – July 7. Terrorist activities against the Macedonian population peaked on July 7, 1946 when the Greek government voted to take "extraordinary measures" to further deprive the people of their rights by prohibiting political and professional organizational activities and by openly moving towards reinstating a military dictatorship. In view of the Macedonian national liberation front and its activities, these "extraordinary measures" were particularly brutal against the Macedonians who were now being treated more harshly than the citizens of southern Greece. By treating the Macedonians differently and by accusing them of having "separatist tendencies" the regime was promoting division between the democratic people. Here is a quote of "article one" from the "extraordinary measures" adopted on July 7, 1946: "Those who aim to partition a section of the national territory or create opportunities to conspire inside this country or take part in them will be sentenced to death..." Ironically these measures were only a pretext to attack the innocent Macedonians and not the real conspirators; the British consulate in Lerin, Vice-Consul Hill, Captain Evans and the Greek Colonel Bafas who started this conspiracy in the first place. The "extraordinary measures" were immediately put into effect and the courts were transformed into death factories in which tens of real patriots, the ones who spilled blood and freed Greece from the occupiers, were sentenced to death on a daily basis. All one had to do was accuse someone of "committing subversive activities against the state" and the military did the rest. "Article ten" of the "extraordinary measures" allowed for the searching of premises at all times. This part of the law was utilized to justify the brutal measures taken against innocent people in response to press allegations of conspiracies. Names of so-called "autonomists" were printed and people were pursued by state organs without the slightest proof of wrong doing. While the Greek parliament was voting to pass the "extraordinary measures" the Greek newspaper "Makedhonia",

published the following: “Our competent government officials have uncovered concrete information that proves that in the first 15 days of June disorder of a revolutionary character was taking place, which spread throughout the entire region of Macedonia, both inside and outside of cities. According to government sources, bandits who entered the villages and are concentrating their forces have been advised to act on a moment’s notice. We have information that these orders came directly from NOF whose long term objectives are to free Macedonia from the Greek yoke and proclaim it a “Peoples’ Republic” and then join it with Tito’s federation of Peoples’ Republics.” This well planted Greek propaganda, by the way, today serves as the “Greek side” of the story. With this well fabricated, well planned and well executed program along with the use of well paid “professional witnesses” the Greek government managed to send thousands of Macedonians, sometimes entire families, to the Greek concentration prison camps in the waterless and parched Greek islands not to mention the many that Greece senselessly sentenced to death and executed. Among the many executed were six high ranking Macedonian NOF cadres one of them Mirka Ginova sentenced to death by the military court in Enidzhe-Vardar. The campaign against NOF was becoming fiercer by the day especially in the spring of 1946 after the appearance of the Macedonian detachment in Kaimakchalan. The detachment’s rapid growth was seen as a threat to the Republican and Royalist control of Greek occupied Macedonia and they took immediate action to liquidate it. Gendarmes from Western Meglen were dispatched in pursuit and one day in the middle of July 1946, when the detachment was taking a rest near the village Pochev, it unexpectedly came under attack from three sides. Over 500 gendarmes were involved and in view of such an overwhelming force the Macedonians decided it was wise to retreat. Unfortunately during the withdrawal a group of seven people, leaders of NOF, who that day were having a conference, were left behind and mistakenly took the wrong route to escape. During their retreat they ran into the enemy and were captured alive. Of the seven only Mirka Ginova was armed with a pistol. As the seven were rushed by enemy soldiers, Mirka fired all her rounds and in frustration threw the pistol at the soldiers. Among the seven was also a Greek. All seven were taken to the city of Voden. Mirka Ginova’s capture was touted as a big success for the Republicans and Royalists. To demoralize her

and the Macedonian people, the gendarmes had her dressed in rags and paraded through the streets as a scarecrow. But this fiery revolutionary walked with her head up and saluted onlookers calling on them not to cry for her. "Mothers don't cry the revolution will be victorious!" A local woman, wife of Andon Shulov, who lived near the gendarme station in Voden, afterwards reported that for three nights in a row a motorcycle was left running just outside the station under Mirka's cell to mask Mirka's screaming. Mirka had been severely tortured by the gendarmes using middle age inquisition methods. Several times she was lead to the city cemetery and buried in an open grave up to her neck. She was then fired at with blank shells to frighten her to disclose information on activities and on people in her organization's network. Even after all that torture Mirka told them nothing.

1946 - July 12. At six o'clock in the morning the army and police from the villages D'mbeni and Gabresh attacked the village Chereshnitsa, using grenade launchers and machineguns. After burning several barns they gathered the entire population in the village square and began to beat people with sticks and metal rods. Thirteen people were beaten unconscious. Among them were Hristo Markov, Vasil Palev, Hristo Andreev, Vasil Skivinov, Poptraianov and Andon Terziev. Dimitar Anastasov was captured while working and taken to the village Gabresh where he endured prolonged beatings until he was dead. Afterwards his body was taken out of the village, doused with gasoline and burned. This was the second attack against the village Chereshnitsa. The village was also attacked three days earlier on July 9, 1946 and the following people were abducted and sent to the island of Corfu concentration prison camps: Lambrovitsa Popfilipova, Marko Vivkov and Filip Palev. They were punished because they were relatives of people who illegally fled the country. Others who were jailed and tortured included Ivan Kizov from the village Gabresh. Unfortunately Ivan Kizov could not withstand the torture he received and died in prison the same night he was jailed. His body was taken and tossed in front of the door of his house and left there. The next day the police jailed Lena Makrieva, Nikola Rompov and Hristo Robov, no reasons were given. Seventy people, fifty women and twenty men, from the village Biraltsi were turned in by the village informer Minche

Shpirov. They were detained, locked up and severely beaten by the army and gendarme.

1946 - July 17. During 1946 a Commission made up of British Labour Representatives (Solei, Tifanis and Dode (sp?)), visited Greece and examined the political situation in some detail. Upon their return to their own country, on July 17, 1946 they announced that Greece is 90% Fascist, after which Laski, the former British President of the Labour party of Great Britain prophetically said: "The return of King George to Greece will convert this state into a second Spain..."

1946 - July 23. Mirka Ginova and the other six (Giorgi Projev, Petre Popdimitrov, Risto Stoianov – all from Voden, the Greek Alekos Mutsakis from the village N'te, Mitse Liumbata from Vlahovo and Tomo Mihailov from Teovo), were taken to a military court in Enidzhe-Vardar where they were sentenced to death. Mirka's words in her defense will remain a testament for the Macedonian people from Greek occupied Macedonia. To her last breath Mirka defended NOF and all Macedonians from the slanders of her captors. "I am a leader of NOF" said Mirka before the court "and during the occupation I fought against the Germans and the executioners Kalchev and Dimchev, who jumped upon us like beasts, especially against us Macedonians so that they could mislead us into the claws of 'Ohrana'. We fought the Ohrana with fanaticism, just as we fought against the German occupier. NOF is not a military organization; it is a political Democratic Macedonian organization, which is struggling for equal rights for our people within the framework of the Greek State. We are fighting for freedom and democracy!"

1946 – July 26. A military court in Enidzhe-Vardar sentenced to death and executed Mirka Ginova AFZH Secretary and hero of the Macedonian people, Pando Terpovski NOF District Board Secretary, Tasho Ivanovski Head of NOMS from Rupishcha, Giorgi Proeski from Voden, Dimitar Limbov from the village Vladova, Risto Stoianov, Petre Popdimitrov, Tomo Mihailov, Giorgis Mistikidis, Vasil Delevski from the village Chuka and others. Mirka (Irina) Ginova, was a school teacher from the village Rosilovo, Voden Region. From Varkiza (February 12, 1945) until July 1946,

20,000 Macedonians were forced to seek shelter across the border, 22,458 were jailed, 21,202 were convicted, 225 were killed, 1,309 found refuge in the mountains...

1946 - July 28. The Greek army, stationed in the village Breznitsa attacked the village Besfina and jailed the following people: Dimitar Skenderov, Ristana Skenderova and Giorgi and Iane Skenderov. The next day the army captured and violently tortured Donka Dukova, after which she was taken to Lerin and jailed. The following women from the village Rabi, Prespa Region, were tortured and also taken to the Lerin jail: Sevasti Dimitrova, Barbara Kalkova, Metoditsa Iakreva, Mitrovitsa Dimitrova, Stoiantsa Dimitrova, Ioshevitsa Nikolova and Sofia Bailova. The following people were also jailed in the same prison on August 1, 1946: Vezo Karavanov, Ilia Nichov, Done Lazarov, Mitre Gogov and Ilia Srbinov. Also locked up were many residents from the villages Bukovik, Oshchima, German, Orovnik and Orovo. According to press reports, during the months of May, June, July and August 1946, 5,246 people were killed, 415 heavily wounded, 1,446 tortured, 1,246 interned and 3,290 imprisoned. During the same period over 20,000 Macedonians fled Greek occupied Macedonia.

1946 - August 9. In regards to Macedonians in Bulgaria, political changes after the capitulation of fascist Bulgaria and the September 9, 1944 coup d'état positively influenced the Macedonians in Pirin. On August 9, 1946 the Communist Party of Bulgaria, under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov (a Macedonian), officially recognized the Macedonian nation and the right of the Bulgarian controlled part of Macedonia to attach itself to the People's Republic of Macedonia. After World War II the Macedonians in Bulgaria were recognized as a separate and distinct ethnicity. Demographic data from a free census in 1946 revealed that the majority of the population in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia declared itself to be ethnic Macedonian. There was a period of cultural autonomy and affirmation of Macedonian national and cultural values. The Macedonian literary language and national history were introduced into the educational system and almost 32,000 students were taught Macedonian. In 1947 in Gorna Dzhumaia (Blagoevgrad) the first Macedonian bookstore, reading room and Regional Macedonian National Theater were opened. Macedonian newspapers such as

“Pirinsko delo”, “Nova Makedonija”, “Mlad borets” etc. were also published. Literary, cultural and artistic associations were founded contributing to the spread of Macedonian culture. In the 1956 census conducted by the Bulgarian government, 63.7% of the population living in Bulgarian occupied Macedonia declared itself Macedonian. Since that census, and after Tito broke relations with Russia and Bulgaria, Bulgaria changed its attitude and negated the existence of Macedonians thus forbidding the expression of the Macedonian ethnicity and language. Another census conducted in 1965 shows only 8,750 or less than 1% of the total population living in the district of Blagoevgrad to be Macedonians. This was a region with the highest percentage of Macedonians shown to live there by a previous census.

1946 - August 15. In Gumendzhe the nationalists and gendarmes killed Giorgi Hadzhipopov, Dimitar Karadzha from Gumendzhe, Kosta Popianov from Karpi, Lazo Proichev from Gomendzhe, Giorgi Tampov from Kastaneri, Petad Dautis, Iovan Shahsov, Trifun Minov, and Tano Mitachov from Karpi.

1946 - August 24. Based on prior agreements between Tito and Zahariadis, one part of the CPG Central Committee Politburo composition, headed by Ioannidis, was moved from Athens to Belgrade. General Markos Vafiadis, who was appointed organizer and leader of the partisan groups, in June 1946 by Zahariadis, left Greece and moved to Belgrade. There he received specific directives and promises of support from the CPG Politburo.

1946 – August 26. Classified dispatch from Mr. Peake to Mr. Bevin. No. 324. Belgrade, 27th August, 1946. WITH reference to Mr. Clutton’s dispatch No. 310 of the 13th August, 1946, have the honour to report that the leading article in the issue of Borba for the 26th August was devoted to Greek, or, as the Yugoslav’s call it Aegean Macedonia. At the head of the article was a map, a copy of which I attach, showing the present national frontiers and also the ethnical frontier. As you will notice the latter embraces Salonica and almost all Greek Macedonia. The article opens by saying that the frightful terror which is being carried on by Monarcho-Fascist bands in Greek Macedonia is already known to the Yugoslav public. Thousands of Macedonians and democratic Greek refugees are

living witnesses of the murder and incendiarism which these bands are committing on "our brothers." This terrorism has become much worse latterly, when the Monarcho-Fascist clique, which has not been able to find deep roots in the Greek people, began its attempt to purge Greek Macedonia of Macedonians and Greek democrats. Just now active purging of Greek Macedonia is going on- tens of villages are burning, women and children and powerless old men are being murdered, as in the most terrible period of the German occupation. The district, in which a particularly violent terrorism is being carried on, and which is known under the name of Greek (Aegean) Macedonia, is, in fact, ethnically a part of Macedonia. In the whole of the Balkans there is no district which has passed through in the course of recent history such a bitter terrorism as has been suffered by the Macedonian population from the Greek imperialists. The ethnical history of Macedonia is then traced from 1896-1914, during the whole of which time it is shown that the Macedonians remained in an absolute majority in Greek Macedonia. After 1914, however, the picture began to change. The Greek soldiers killed tens of thousands of Macedonians, they destroyed villages, they burnt down houses. In the place of their former inhabitants there came Greeks or philhellene "Aromuni." The greatest ethnical change was caused by the enforced exchange of populations between Greeks and Turks after the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 and the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. At that time the Greeks were forced by the Turks to take in all the Christian inhabitants, among whom "Karamanlija," Greeks, Kurds and other Caucasian people predominated. The great part of these people were settled in Greek Macedonia. The Greeks, for their part, sent into Turkey all the Mohammedans, such as Turks, Mohammedan Macedonians, "Arbanassi" and "Aromuni." Large numbers were also forced into Bulgaria from Macedonia. After this war, in which our Macedonian brothers fought heroically shoulder to shoulder with the Greek patriots, the Monarcho-Fascists had chased into Yugoslavia and Bulgaria about 20,000 Macedonians from Macedonia. As the result of this persecution 150,000 Macedonians had been displaced or killed from 1914 up till now. In the course of the years 1941-42 our partisan representatives personally completed a list of Macedonian families in Greek Macedonia, and they reckoned that there were still about 250,000 Macedonians there. If one also takes into account the places in which the Macedonians do not represent the absolute but only the

relative majority, then this figure of 250,000 should be considerably greater. What, the article goes on, can our brothers expect from the present regime in Greece? The latest terrorism which is being carried on in Greece only confirms that the Monarcho-Fascist bands are continuing the prodigious terrorism which was carried on by the reactionary cliques in the past, and that it is intended that this terrorism shall completely annihilate our brothers in Greek Macedonia. The Macedonians in Greece do not enjoy any kind of rights. It is forbidden for them to speak their national language even in their own homes. Absolutely no Macedonian schools exist. Even their local political organizations have been rendered powerless. Chauvinistic cliques try to sow hatred among the Greek and other nationals against Macedonians, and to destroy that fraternity which was created in the course of the war of liberation. But to-day, opposed to that reactionary Greek policy, there is not the old Yugoslavia in which the Macedonians were oppressed equally with other peoples, but the new democratic Yugoslavia where all peoples have equal rights. The Macedonian people who fought with Greek partisans for their liberation expected, with reason, that this war would bring them, in the spirit of the proclamations of the Great Allies, the right to advance and unite themselves with their other brothers. With justice they expected, that finally all the Macedonian people would be united and break away from foreign slavery. But it is only the Macedonians in Yugoslavia who have succeeded in bringing about their own complete liberation; and while in the People's Republic of Macedonia a new national life is awakening, on the other side of the frontier our brothers are suffering under the yoke of Monarcho-Fascist bands. Greek imperialists have no right at all to hold Macedonians any longer under their intolerable yoke; they can no longer answer that Belgrade and Sofia are persecuting their Macedonian populations and that such people as free Macedonians in their own countries do not exist. They have even less right because they are stifling with all their force the democratic movement and the democracy of their people, accepting foreign support and giving over their country to the mercy, or otherwise of foreign exploitation. The people of Yugoslavia watched patiently what was happening to their brothers in Greek Macedonia. They believed, and today still believe, that the Greek people cannot oppose the fight of the Greek Macedonians for democracy and national independence. But the latest statements of responsible

Greek circles, not only in Greece but also in the international arena, and also the frightful terrorism which is being carried on in Greek Macedonia, show that the Greek, reactionary circles have become the provokers of tumult in the Balkans and have decided to annihilate their Macedonian population. There is no hope at all that the reactionary Greek circles, who to-day with naked force and with the help of foreign troops keep themselves in power, will show the slightest wish for the solution of this problem in conformity with the demands and interests of the Macedonians in Greece. This problem has become part of the fight which is being carried on all over the world for peace, for democracy and for the self-determination of peoples. Therefore, the article concludes, our country cannot remain indifferent to the annihilation of our brothers in Greece, nor to their rights and their demands for self-determination and union with their brothers in Yugoslavia. The theme of this article again predominated in the Belgrade press of the 27th August, when all three papers carried leading articles, which in Borba and Politika were headed by another map. The tone of these articles was extremely violent. I am sending copies of this dispatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Athens, His Majesty's Political Representative at Sofia, His Majesty's Political Adviser at Caserta, and to His Majesty's Consul-General at Salonica. I have, &c, C. B. PEAKE.

1946 – August. From January to August 1946 more than 100 Macedonian people from Gumendzhe alone were imprisoned including members of the Menchev family. From the village Barovitsa imprisoned were Iovan Chutra, Hristo Siuli, Hristo Aita, Giorgi Kiosev, Jovan Gata, Katina Kuta, the entire Vangel Shoshov family, Paskalina Garti and Giorgi Todorov Shoshov. From the village Karpi imprisoned were Giorgi Tekni, Hristo Peikov, Hristo Kirkov, Hristo Kioska, Giorgi Kioska, Giorgi Dzharov, Giorgi Popnikolov, Atanas Betov, Maria Beta, Aneta Benova, Giorgi Erov, Aneta Tumba, Dimitar Popianov and Iovan Popianov. From the village Mandelevo 16 people were imprisoned, from Isiklar 50, from Boemitsa 15 and from Gorgopik 50.

1946 – September 1. A Plebiscite to bring the monarchy back to Greece was held. It was conducted under extreme conditions of anarchy and terror. First, now that the counter-revolutionaries (Republicans and Monarchists) were “legally” in power and their

authority was given to them by the people in the March 31, 1946 elections, they threw themselves with even greater vigour against the democratic forces. They liquidated all provincial EAM and CPG organizations and shut down all democratic newspapers. Second, after the parliamentary elections, as terror increased to unprecedented levels. open armed resistance began to take shape in the country. The democratic organizations and the political left in general did not abstain from the plebiscite. But who could now doubt the success of the monarchy? If falsification could succeed in parliamentary elections, then why not in a plebiscite? Indeed, on September 1, 1946 the eyes of the world were focused on Greece's second massive fraud, this time in the restoration of the monarchy.

1946 - September 16. Civilian nationalists aided by the Greek Gendarme beat to death with sticks Ianis Asaridis from Gerakona, Nikos Karamanlis and Ianis Sideris from Aksiupolis.

1946 - September 20. A detachment of gendarmes and bandits entered the village Barovitsa and burned the houses of brothers Trifun and Giorgi Kuplev and took 2 mules, 300 goats, cheese, butter and everything of value they could find. They did the same to Hristo P. Kurlev's house and to the houses and properties of Petar Aita, Kosta Proichev, Tano Gatsev, Kosta Gatsev, Giorgi Taratev, Jovan Kovachev, Hristo Cholakov and Giorgi Poppetrov.

1946 – September. The Greek government enacted a law designed to punish the families of army deserters. Imprisonment for political crimes was on the increase and as regular prisons became dangerously overcrowded, new systems of detention were being invented including detention centers, islands of deportation, concentration camps, etc. Incarcerating large number of democrats, male and female of all ages, dated back to before the Metaxas dictatorship, which involved the punishment of people not for their deeds but for their ideas, but the sheer number of those incarcerated during this period was far larger than at any time in the past, and easily dwarfed even the thousands jailed or detained under Metaxas. There was a far greater number of women and even children detained during this period than ever before, necessitating the need for special women's camps. In 1934, for example, there were approximately 130 women jailed in the Averof Women's Prison in

Athens. By 1945 the number of prisoners had grown tenfold. “The strains upon the primitive infrastructure required to support such an expansion of the system of incarceration can be judged in the remarkable collection of photos taken by women inmates and recently published under the heading *Gynaikes exoristes sta stratopeda tou emfyliou.*”

1946 – October 14. Tito and Zahariadis decide to transfer control of NOF from the CPY/CPM to the CPG.

1946 – October 18. Paskal Mitrevski, Ilia Dimovski-Gotse and Mincho Fotev were invited to visit Kolishevski at his office. After a brief conversation about an agreement with the CPG, Kolishevski ordered the NOF leaders to show absolute loyalty to the CPG and all problems that NOF had were to be solved by the CPG. At the end of the meeting Kolishevski told them that: “It was of particular interest that they consistently enforce unity with the CPG on the basis of this agreement, to maintain and strengthen unity in the ranks of NOF, to maintain and strengthen brotherhood and military solidarity with the Greek people, to consistently and unreservedly fight when necessary, and any problems that arose during the fight were to be decided jointly with the CPG leadership and with DAG headquarters...” After NOF was put under CPG control, all ties and contacts with the socio-political factors in the Republic of Macedonia were to be broken.

1946 – October 19. The NOF Main Board representatives rushed back to Greek occupied Macedonia through Albania. They were met by DAG couriers in Korcha and were escorted back in. Paskal Mitrevski, through Gramos, arrived at DAG Headquarters on Mount Hasha where he met with General Markos Vafiadis. Ilia Dimovski-Gotse went to Mount Vicho to the Regional Headquarters of the Macedonian Partisans, where the other NOF Main Board members were, and informed them of the latest orders. Mincho Fotev went to Kostur to inform the NOF district leadership of the agreement and its implementation.

1946 – October 28. The Monarcho-Fascist regime in Greece further intensified its repression through its police and terrorist formations, in an attempt to expel the Macedonian population in Greek occupied

Macedonia through terror. This practice reached its peak with the return of the Greek king on October 28, 1946. The right-wing press, through its newspapers “Ellinikos Voras”, “Nea Alithia” and others, called for the expulsion of the “Sudetenland of Greece”. Because of the cruelty of the perpetrated daily terror, old people, men, women and children, naked and barefoot began to flee across the border into the Republic of Macedonia in an attempt to save their lives. According to reports maintained by the NOF Main Board, in the first 6 months of 1945 alone, more than 25,000 Macedonians were expelled from Greek occupied Macedonia. The Macedonian fighters in ELAS were constantly persecuted and arrested. The number of Macedonian patriots and ELAS fighters detained and persecuted had risen to several thousand. Even in a small town such as Rupishcha around 300 Macedonians were arrested, three were heinously killed and about 100 were persecuted and expelled to the People’s Republic of Macedonia. Those arrested were sent to the infamous concentration camps such as “Makroniso”, “Iura” and “Pavlos Melas” and to the prisons “Averof”, “Edikule” and others in which many were killed by the Greek police using “medieval inquisitorial methods of torture”.

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

1946 - October 28. In September 1946 Markos Vafiadis returned to Greek occupied Macedonia from Belgrade where, on October 28, 1946, he established DAG Partisan Headquarters.

1946 – November 9. All DAG and NOF units in the Gramos area were gathered together in the village Drianovo, Kostur Region, and were merged together in the presence of Paskal Mitrevski, Nikos Theoharopoulos-Skotidis and their assistants.

1946 - November 10. Paskal Mitrevski met with the NOF, NOMS and AFZH District leaderships and informed them that a UN Inquiry Commission had arrived in Greece at its headquarters in Solun and that the Commission was there to examine the causes of the Greek Civil War amid allegations, made by the Greek Monarcho-Fascist government, that the governments of Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria were responsible for the war in Greece. NOF senior officials in the district organizations were requested “to take most urgent measures and form groups of delegates, approach the UN Inquiry Commission, and submit petitions, memoranda and others materials, with irrefutable evidence, that point to the Greek government as the sole culprit for the Greek Civil War and for the causes of the unprecedented terror unleashed against the anti-fascist movement participants, who for the most part were members of EAM and ELAS, and who fought with gun in hand against the German-Italian fascist invaders. The NOF leaders were asked to also inform the Commission of the Greek genocidal attempts to terrorize the Macedonian population with aims at crushing the progressive democratic forces, which represent the vast majority of the Macedonian and Greek population. This information was to be confirmed and accompanied by thousands of signatures signed by Macedonian fighters and supporters of the anti-fascist struggle and to testify that thousands more Macedonians were currently in Greek prisons and in Greek concentration camps being brutally tortured by the Greek government. The people being imprisoned, without trial and being killed by the Greek police, were the leaders and fighters who had earlier fought in the anti-fascist movement. The International officials needed to learn that the majority of the chiefs of police in the Greek State apparatus and officers in the Greek army were officials of the quisling government and officers and associates of the fascist occupiers. The highest priority for the NOF leaders at that time was to inform the Commission that the Macedonian people were suffering in Greek occupied Macedonia and that “orgies and crimes were carried out against them by the Monarcho-Fascist government”. It was expected that when the world found out the truth, about what was going on in Greece, it would also find out that there were many Macedonians living in Greek occupied Macedonia and that they had participated en masse in the great anti-fascist war and had made many sacrifices and sustained huge material damage.

On top of that it was also important to inform the civilized world and the international democratic community about the genocide the Greek Monarcho-Fascists were committing against the Macedonian population. In other words, to inform the world, in the most comprehensive way, of the Macedonian National Question in Greek occupied Macedonia. The United Nations representatives were given over 50 memoranda and petitions. These were documents with evidence showing the tragic situation that existed among the Macedonian people in Greek occupied Macedonia. The documents also contained requests for the United Nations “to condemn the terrorist policies of the Greek government and to demand of it to commit to providing a peaceful and democratic life for the people in Greece and to recognizing the Macedonian people as an equal nation to the Greeks”.

1946 - November 10. Zahariadis receives directive from Stalin to NOT expand the armed movement during the winter of 1946-1947 because it was allegedly causing an international situation and that the CPG should focus more or less on its political struggle.

1946 – November 21. Based on decisions made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, the CPY, represented by Karaivanov, and the CPG, represented by Ioannidis, soon after announced the following joint agreement: “The Macedonian organizations NOF, AFZH and NOMS and their leaderships will now fall under CPG leadership and the Macedonian armed units will join DAG and fall under the leadership of General Markos.”

1946 – November 21. After a few preliminary meetings between CPG and NOF representatives, it was decided that a meeting should be held between the NOF leadership, the CPG and DAG. After the meeting was held in the village Turie, Lerin Region with NOF’s immediate leadership on one side and Skotidas representing the CPG and DAG on the other, it was decided that NOF should merge with the CPG and its battalions stationed in Paiak, Kaimakchalan and Vicho should merge with DAG. But, as it turned out, NOF was subordinated to the CPG and the Macedonian battalions were placed under DAG’s command.

1946 – November 21. Following the agreement reached at the unification meeting Pavle Rakovski was assigned the task to find the necessary people and technical means to organize the NOF Central Council Agitation and Propaganda department. The main task in this department was to prepare and publish NOF and AFZH's newspapers "NEPOKOREN" and "BILTEN" and the magazine "NOVA MAKEDONKA" as well as print flyers, leaflets, brochures and propaganda material. Unfortunately this was one of Zahariadis's maneuvers. The newly established agitation and propaganda department was systematically prevented from starting work and working normally after it was formed and capable of doing such work.

1946 - November 21. Based on decisions made by Tito and Zahariadis on October 14, 1946, NOF's new program goals were to instruct the Macedonian people to fight together with the Greek people in an alliance. The Macedonian people were told that they now had to fight for their survival in order to "save themselves".

1946 – December 3. A Greek delegation was sent to the UN to inform the Security Council that the struggle being led in Greece was led with help from the outside, claiming that "the rebels in Greece are being helped by Greece's northern neighbours who are in violation of international law and are endangering the peace and security in the Balkans".

1946 – December 19. A decision was reached at the UN to form an Inquiry Commission which was to go to Greece and examine the situation on the ground. The Inquiry Commission consisted of 11 Security Council representatives which included delegates representing the interested parties of the four named Balkan countries - Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria on the one hand and Greece on the other.

1946 – December 23. The rightist Greek newspaper the "Ethniki Floga", an organ of Napoleon Zervas, a former occupier collaborator now under British influence, waved another "Slav threat" flag giving Greek nationalists the signal to start terrorizing the anti-Fascist democratic citizens of Greece by printing the following: "The danger is patient and is always there. As long as Soviet Russia

is not contained within its own borders the danger will lurk and make us uneasy threatening our lives and our country. As long as Russian watchtowers are closer than 30 km from the Aegean Sea they will continue to attack. With burning heat provided by their branches Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania the communists will burn our state because it is in their nature. There is only one way to escape this –full destruction of this banditry which breaks the law of justice and makes this treachery possible. The lozenge is war without hesitation or mercy. War until the enemy is transformed into food for vultures and wild beasts or it is in chains in the prisons from which there is no escape.”

1946 - December 27. NOF partisan units ordered to join DAG. An order, order number EP 13, from General Markos read: “As of today, all NOF Partisan Units are to be placed in the composition of DAG.”

1947 - Legal Act L-2 is issued during the Greek Civil War, on the strength of which all who left Greece without the consent of the Greek government were stripped of their Greek citizenship and banned from returning to Greece. This included Greeks and Macedonians. In its modernized version the Act is still binding for Macedonians.

1947 – January 11. A joint meeting between NOF, CPG and DAG representatives was held in the village Kupa, Gumendzhi Region. The meeting was chaired by Paskal Mitrevski, NOF Main Board Secretary. Included among the others from NOF who participated and spoke in the meeting were Evdokia Baleva-Vera, Mincho Fotev and Ivan Kovachev-Orfias. Mitrevski opened the meeting by speaking about the brotherhood and unity between the Macedonian and Greek people, the role of NOF and the other Macedonian organizations in the struggle, and how the Macedonians were helping with DAG’s development. Evripidis Kapetanos-Panos, CPG and DAG representative on the Greek side in the meeting, welcomed the NOF-CPG unification Agreement and promised that the CPG would deliver a “free Greece” and “national equality and freedom for the Macedonian people...”

1947 – January 29. The Inquiry Commission began its work as soon as it arrived in Athens. The Commission remained in Athens from January 29 to February 15, 1946, after which time it moved to Solun with individual teams visiting one side and then the other side of Greece's northern border. On March 24, 1946 the Commission left for Sofia and Belgrade with one team heading for Skopje, where it held meetings until April 2, 1947, conducting interviews of witnesses. The Commission also received CPG and EAM delegations, one team even made contact with General Markos Vafiadis, Army Commander of DAG General Headquarters. The Inquiry Commission then retreated to Geneva where it remained from April 17 to May 23, 1947 preparing the report of its findings.

1947 - February 12. The UK government informed the U.S. government that, for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947 it would stop helping Greece. The U.S. government agreed that it must inherit Great Britain's role in Greece because otherwise Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence.

1947 - February 20. The U.S. and Greek governments signed agreement in Athens. The U.S. government pledged to help Greece and as a result began to exercise American dominance over Greece, pushing the UK to the side.

1947 - February 24. The Greek king and Greek government publicly called on DAG fighters to surrender. They were given a deadline up to March 15, 1947. If they were to surrender before the March 15 deadline their offenses committed against the State and against the people would be absolved and they could return to their homes.

1947 - February 25. Armed Greek civilians and soldiers attacked and looted the village Lagen, Lerin Region, burned 16 barns, raped a girl and set fire to Evdokia Ivanova's house. The armed band of the notorious Skordas led by the villains Garapis from Kalinitza and Argir the Vlach from Plasnichevo was responsible for terrorizing the Macedonia population in Enidzhe-Vardar and Gumendzhisko Regions. Armed civilians and gendarmes with whips in their hands roamed the streets calling the Macedonians "Bulgars" and threatening to kill them. These were acts of torment and humiliation never before experienced by the Macedonian

population. And if that was not enough the rampant unemployment and economic crisis created by the evacuation of the villages added another dimension of hardship to the people, a burden which forced them to look to NOF for relief. Since the spring of 1947 hundreds of villages were emptied of their residents by force. In Negush Region alone 17 villages were evacuated among them were Gorno Seli, Dolno Seli, Kutsu Fliani, Trasilovo, Golema Reka, Ianakovo, Nea Strandzha, Ropan, Arkudohor, Chernevo, Iavornitsa, and Tursko Selo.

1947 – March. British Vice-Consul Hill weaves conspiracies. If anyone should be accused of having “autonomist ideas” it should be the British. It was no secret, at least not to the Macedonians, that during 1945-1946 the British government and Greek security forces, through the political officer Bafas and through various collaborators of the occupiers, were interested in creating an autonomous movement in Lerin Region. If anyone should be accused of irregularities it should be the British Vice-Consul Hill who was the one weaving conspiracies. This information was made available to the UN Inquiry Commission by Dr. Ianidis, a Lerin Region doctor, in March 1947. It took a lot of courage on the part of Dr. Ianidis to divulge this information and as a result of this he lost his life.

1947 – March 1. US President Harry Truman openly said that he was determined to “help Greece secure its independence”. Truman announced this to the US Congress and his statement became known as the “Truman Doctrine”, which basically was a plan to rescue the Greek bourgeoisie. Based on this the US government began to openly intervene in the Greek Civil War. In 1947 alone the US sent 300 million dollars of military aid and this practice continued throughout the entire duration of the civil war and beyond. On top of material assistance in military equipment, the US also sent military experts to train the Greek army. In the fall of 1947 a joint military staff was formed and placed under the command of US General Van Fleet and all major operational units were staffed with US officers. This intervention was deemed of “legal” character because it was there to help the “legally elected government” and the “lawful regime in Greece” against “subversive elements”. US aid came at a time when the Greek bourgeoisie had fallen into a difficult situation. Before the US had awarded this aid, part of the Greek bourgeoisie

was unsure of Prime Minister Konstantine Tsaldaris's Populist Party and the success of its dynamic policies. Themistoklis Sofoulis, head of the Liberals with his MP's in opposition, had criticized the government and the partisan movement of being two extremes and advocated "for agreements", "peace", etc. But the arrival of US aid in September 1947 had such an effect on the entire liberal bourgeoisie that it entered into coalition with the government and led the war against the Democratic Army with even greater dexterity.

1947 – March. With collaborator Napoleon Zervas taking charge of the Ministry of Public Security in March 1947, the police and gendarme forces were expanded and the terror and violence were increased to unprecedented heights, especially after the elections and the plebiscite.

1947 - March 31. US replace UK in Greece. The UK government informed the U.S. government that, for economic reasons, as of March 31, 1947 it would stop helping Greece. The U.S. government agreed that it must inherit Great Britain's role in Greece because otherwise Greece would inevitably fall under Russian influence.

1947 – April. The royalist government issued a secret order to all its units to withdraw from open spaces and concentrate in major administrative and communication centres. Here the forces found better security and at the same time isolated these urban centres from democratic partisan movement access. The royal army's retreat into city centres was followed by a forceful civilian evacuation of many villages which gave the royalists greater economic control. These measures were accompanied by efforts made to organize a defense strategy around urban centres and communication facilities. The cities in the regions where partisan movements existed were surrounded by barbed wire (left over from the occupation), minefields, bunkers, machine gun and cannon nests, etc.

1947 – April 9. According to the military plan 'Terminus', on April 9, 1947, the Greek government initiated military operations in order to destroy DAG. DAG forces were to be encircled, destroyed or thrown out of the Greek territory.

1947 - April 17. Military age men were forcibly taken from the Lerin Region villages and sent to the Greek island prison camps. They were victims of American policies in Greece. They were victims of Lieutenant General James A. Van Fleet's military tactics. Van Fleet was familiar with the concept of how to starve a guerrilla army. In order to do that he had to rob the guerrilla army of the ability to feed itself and of the ability to recruit new fighters. To stop the partisans from recruiting new fighters, the Greek government arrested basically every man, capable of carrying a gun, who was not loyal to the government or was affiliated with the partisan movement. All these people were sent to the Greek island prison camps.

1947 – April 21. Nikos Zahariadis went to Belgrade to discuss with Tito the help the CPY had promised him. He then went to Moscow and in May 1947, met Stalin and Zhdanov. In June 1947, after returning from Moscow he again went to Belgrade to speak with CPY representatives. They agreed to create a corridor for transporting weapons from Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. In the meantime operation 'Terminus' was finished, but the government forces did not achieve their goal. DAG forces breached the encirclement and escaped but with severe losses.

1947 – April. In late April 1947, after spending two fruitless months in Greece, the UN Inquiry Commission was dispatched to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to interview more witnesses at the request of the Greek government. The Greeks were making accusations against Yugoslavia for allegedly harbouring a NOF organizational network in Skopje and Bitola, which allegedly managed the partisan groups in Greek occupied Macedonia. The witnesses offered by the Greek government were Patatoukas, Mensourakis and Bopchis who, in their testimony, created a lot of confusion about what NOF's role was and about the refugees from Greek occupied Macedonia found in Yugoslavia, which caused many Commission members to declare that the statements made by these witnesses were deprived of any value. In other words, their testimony was useless.

1947 – May 20. Siantos had a heart attack and died. Zahariadis, however, claimed that the intelligence service liquidated him

because he was one of their agents and they feared that he was going to be discovered. They killed him to stop him from talking...

1947 – May 20. During a NOF meeting, the CPG put in a request for the name to be changed from “NOF Main Board” to “Coordinating Bureau”. Then during NOF’s First Congress, held on January 13, 1948, the name “Coordinating Bureau” was replaced with “Central Council”. This last “nickname” given to the highest NOF governing body remained until NOF was dissolved.

1947 - May 23. NOF issued fist edition of a Macedonian newspaper. The newspaper “Nepokoren”, organ of NOF, edited by Pavle Rakovski, published its first issue with about 500 copies.

1947 – August. During the time that the royalist government in Athens was facing a crisis in Greece, DAG General Headquarters issued a communiqué with which it declared that Greece was an “independent republic”. Further in the communiqué it reported that DAG General Headquarters was in charge of the supreme legislative and executive powers up to the formation of a democratic government.

1947 - September 15. The CPG 3rd Plenum was held (from September 15 to 17) during which time military matters were discussed. The following slogan was coined: “All to arms, everything for victory!” It was also decided to create a free territory in the Kozheni Plateau surrounded by the mountains Pind, Pieria, Karakamen, Kaimakchalan and Vicho. This was done immediately after the Greek government hostile spring offensive. The CPG Central Committee decided to create a compact liberated territory which was prepared to defended at all costs until the spring of 1948, at which time DAG was to be expanded to 65,000 fighters. This unfortunately proved to be completely unrealistic. According to General Markos: “That was wishful thinking on our part and did not necessarily reflect the reality of the day...” Considering all the above factors, one should have arrived at the logical conclusion that the 1st NOF Congress was convened in order to turn NOF into a mobilizing Machine to mobilize all the Macedonian young men and women into the war effort in accordance with the decisions made by the CPG Central Committee.

1947 - September 27. DAG GHQ issues mobilization order to mobilize all men ages 17 to 35. A mobilization which took from 4 to 9 months was conducted, which included mobilizing people from the Macedonian refugees who had fled Greece and had gone to Yugoslavia. Places of mobilization outside of the Greek borders included Skopje, Veles, Shtip, Bitola and various other places in the Republic of Macedonia. All these people were shipped out of Yugoslavia and sent to join DAG.

1947 – October. The CPG Central Committee held its 3rd Plenum.

1947 - November 22. A British officer, who at the time was stationed in Greece made the following remarks for the newspaper “New Statesmen and Nation”. In short he described the situation in Greece like this: “One week after the signing of the Varkiza agreement I witnessed the most horrific and antisocial behaviour committed by the newly formed National Guard made up from personnel from the former collaborators of the occupiers. Everyone who placed their faith in the word of the agreement (which the English had guaranteed) and did not leave in good time, were put in prison and mistreated. In an underground enclosure in the larger part of a kitchen in a small flat I saw 16 men, women and children. Two of the men were lying on the floor unconscious swimming in a pool of their own blood. Every prisoner had the right to go to the toilet only once in three hours and only for three minutes. An old man, because he was selling EAM newspapers, was tied and beaten for an entire hour. None of the prisoners were informed as to why they were imprisoned. None of the prisoners were taken to court, sued and found guilty but were kept in prison for nine months. This was not an isolated situation during the time when not a single group of communists existed and not even a single leftist activity was taking place.” The newspaper “Daily Mirror” published an article written by a British soldier who personally had witnessed atrocities committed by the Greek Rightist forces. The article was illustrated with photographs showing people being tortured and beaten. There were photographs of mass slaughters and decapitations. There was even a photograph of a 16 year old decapitated girl. People’s decapitated heads were shown to be carried as trophies hung on the saddles of horses or propped up on spikes. The people who had

suffered and died at the hands of these blood thirsty Greeks were Macedonians who had done nothing wrong except to have being born Macedonian. Connie (Koni Ziliakus (sp?)) wrote that the official Greek government and the military which was organized by General Charles Uiakam, (sp?) a well known enemy of the communist ideology, well known from the time he was chief of the British military interventionist forces in the Soviet Union, were no better than the police and the gendarmes. “Four fifths of the forces in the official administration, in the courts and in the police are in the hands of these extremists. Surlas’s bands ruled the province and had established their own administration. They are well armed and did what they feel like.”

1947 - December 7. Greece enacted Decree “Z” which stated that: “All persons abroad who express anti-national sentiments are to be stripped of their Greek citizenship.”

1947 - December 12. , 1947, quoting British Colonel Shepard, the newspaper “New Democracy” wrote: “The backbone of the Royal Gendarme, making up Greece’s Security battalions today, consists mainly of German collaborators”. Richard Mayer from the American Overseas Information Agency reported from Athens that “a large part of the former gendarme which a while ago served the Germans is now using the lists left by the Germans to oppress doubtful personalities...”

1947 – December 17. Based on the two reports which the Balkan Commission prepared regarding “Greece’s neighbours helping the rebel war”, the Greek government requested that this “Greek issue” remain on the Security Council agenda, which it did for the entire summer of 1947. But because the Soviet Union placed a veto on it whenever the issue was brought up, the US, on August 20, 1947, sent a request to the UN Secretary General to move the “Greek issue” to the UN General Assembly agenda. When the General Assembly convened on December 17, 1947 in New York, the item was present on the agenda under the theme “Endangerment of the national independence and territorial integrity of Greece”. The initiation of the “Greek issue” by the US delegation in August 1947 had great significance for the Greek government and was also encouragement for the counter-revolutionary forces in the country.

The major crisis that the Greek government faced in August 1947, thanks to the international factor, primarily the US, reached consent and the leadership was assigned a mandate to put together a government headed by Themistoklis Sofoulis. For the Americans, and for the international factor, it was like it was for the domestic factor, he was last but a pretty good trump card. The “Greek issue” was again raised in the UN General Assembly in October 1947 during which time a decision was made to task the Balkan Commission with assisting the Greek government to suppress the democratic movement. The commission, composed of representatives from the US, Britain, France, Australia, Brazil, Mexico, Pakistan, China and the Netherlands, arrived in Greece in November 1947 and, after remaining in Athens for a few days, moved to Solun where it was subdivided into teams and dispatched to various points along the Greek border. The Commission remained in Greece until May 1948, after which it moved to Geneva. The Balkan Commission became a good protector of the Greek bourgeoisie by strongly insisting that material assistance to the democratic movement by the democratic countries must be prohibited. It constantly and morally acted in favour of the bourgeois government both domestically and on the international scene. When on December 24, 1947 it was announced that a democratic government had been established in the “free territories” in Greece, with General Markos Vafiadis at the helm, the Commission was first to warn the Balkan countries that “any recognition of the Democratic Government is in opposition of UN decisions”, and so on. Thus “international intervention” regarding the “Greek issue” was actually developed in favour of the Greek counter-revolutionaries.

1947 - December 23. The Provisional Government of Greece was created in accordance with the decisions made by the CPG’s Central Committee Political Bureau. The seat of the provisional government was established in Prespa, in Asamati, located in the Peoples’ Republic of Macedonia. The seat of the government was supposed to be established in Konitsa (as claimed by Secretary-General Zahariadis when he said “... If we take Konitsa our government will probably be recognized...”). But unfortunately, it did not happen! DAG units fought tough battles and sustained heavy losses in their attempt to take Konitsa, but to no avail. The arrival of members of

the Provisional Greek Government in Prespa was accommodated by UDBA's Lieutenant Colonel Slobodan Krstich, a Yugoslav National Army officer. Originally the provisional Greek government consisted of eight members: President Markos Vafiadis, Yannis Ioannidis, Petros Rousos, Miltiadis Porfirogenis, Petros Kokalis, Vassilis Bardzhiotas, Dimitrios Leonidas and Vlandas Stringos. Then, by decree, 25 people were promoted to the rank of DAG colonels. But neither in the government nor among these officers, who represented the military and political factor of DAG, was there a single Macedonian! The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece was a one-party government exclusively composed of Greek communists. Despite the fact that 50% to 60%, or more, of the DAG fighters were Macedonians, not a single Macedonian was in charge! But according to the "false" history of the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia, NOF was a military and political factor. The Provisional Democratic Government of Greece led by Markos was not recognized by any country, which means it was conducting illegal mobilizations, especially in the Republic of Macedonia. NOF and AFZH remained silent on this "illegal" act. There was also a "third period" for NOF which lasted from the time it was disbanded on December 23, 1947 until DAG was liquidated on August 30, 1949. This was the time when NOF accepted the program of the Interim Democratic Government of Greece, a government that was not recognized anywhere in the world. A self-recognized government desperate to continue the struggle by further committing the Macedonian people to war and by offering them: "Equal rights as national minorities and freedom to carry out national activities!" but only if they won the war.

1948 - January 13. NOF's 1st Congress is held at the Sv. Dimitria Church in the village V'mbel, Kostur Region during which it was concluded that more than 20,000 of the 25-28,000 DAG fighters in the entire country were Macedonians. This means that by 1948 8,000 fighters, at most, were Greeks i.e. of non-Macedonian origin. The name "Coordinating Bureau" was replaced with "Central Council". This last "nickname" given to the highest NOF governing body remained until NOF was dissolved.

1948 – January 13. Because of the terror perpetrated by the Greek government forces on the Macedonian population as well as DAG's

decision to forcibly mobilize more Macedonians, NOF held its 1st Congress. The purpose of this Congress was to implement the decisions made during the CPG Central Committee 3rd Plenum to add more Macedonians to the DAG reserves. In the meantime, Stalin radically changed his attitude, and he requested the uprising in Greece to be finished immediately, and for Yugoslavia to stop supporting DAG.

1948 - January 20. Legal Act M is issued, on the strength of which the property of those who were stripped of their citizenship was confiscated. The law was updated in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians.

1948 – February 10. Stalin literally told the Yugoslav delegation in Moscow that: “I do not agree with you, my Yugoslav comrades that the revolution in Greece should continue. That struggle has no hope of success. What do you think the UK and the USA, the strongest countries in the world, will allow it to bring down a line of communication with the Mediterranean Sea? Nonsense! And there’s almost nothing of naval forces! No! The revolution in Greece should stop, as quickly as possible.” That is what Stalin recommended to the Yugoslav delegation, most likely based on what was decided between Stalin and Churchill in Yalta and in Moscow from October 5th to the 20th 1944, during the division of spheres of influence of the Balkans between the Great Powers. Another of Stalin’s clear and undeniable positions was that the USSR was against Zahariadis’s decision to announce the creation of a “United and Independent Macedonian state within a Balkan Federation” passed during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum. Stalin’s dislike of this was made very clear in the correspondence files between the USSR leadership and Chernishov, Soviet Ambassador to Athens.

1948 – February 18. The plan here was to destroy a column of over 1,000 fighters which had both military and psychological significance. About 1,600 newly recruited DAG fighters were dispatched unarmed from Rumeli to Gramos. They were to be armed upon their arrival in Gramos and then engage in the fighting against the government forces. The column was dispatched from Rumeli without enough provisions to last the trip. The trek led the fighters along a difficult terrain and over almost impassable mountains

coated with half a metre of thick snow. They arrived exhausted and starving in Pieria in mid-March where they were welcomed by the 16th brigade, which had traveled by a different but equally difficult passage around Grevena to get there. The 16th Brigade was initially tasked with initiating an offensive near Solun to distract the enemy but later received new orders to join the column of new fighters and go back to Gramos. To stave off starvation the Brigade redistributed its food supplies and supplied the unarmed fighters. The two columns left Pieria during the night on March 15, 1948 and headed for Gramos. But, as it turned out, the enemy was aware of this plan and knew what path the columns were going to take and greeted them with an ambush while they were still in Pieria.

1948 - February 24. The American Military Advisory and Programming Group working with General Van Fleet arrived in Greece. It was announced as the “high visit” to Athens.

1948 - March 15. Call for evacuating children. The newspaper “Eksormisi”, issued by DAG in Gramos Region, carried an announcement from the Provisional Greek Government’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated March 7, 1948 entitled “Parents and children appeal to the government”. Further down the article it said: “From mid-February to March 5, 1948 parents from 59 villages from the free territory gave 4,784 children.” The same newspaper carried an article on March 20, 1948 saying that the Interim Government decided to evacuate all the children up to age 14.

1948 – March 21. The 16th brigade, which included many unarmed fighters that left Pieria during the night on March 15, 1948 decided to run. The fighters hid the two mountain cannons and a set of heavy machine guns and set off along the Pieria main cliff. The road was frozen and covered with a layer of snow a metre deep. They eventually reached the peaks of Mounts Arvanitis (1,995m) and Flamburo (2,199m), and with all their might descended down on the enemy and broke the ring. But they still had to make their way to safety which exposed them to enemy tanks and aerial attacks. Finally, during the night, they managed to cross the Solun-Larisa highway and arrived in Amarbei. But as soon as they thought they had escaped they were attacked again. The enemy caught up to them and, on March 25, 1948, attacked them again near the village Sina

Kerasia. At this point the brigade was running out of ammunition and would have been decimated if it were not for Ipsilantis's Brigade which arrived just in time to rescue it. The whole incident was a real drama.

1948 - March 25. Mass evacuation of children. The evacuation program began to gain momentum in early March of 1948 starting with the recruitment and training of the special teachers. The actual evacuations were carried out on mass starting on March 25 through to March 30, 1948 until all the designated villages were evacuated. Most children were transported through Yugoslavia and were sent to Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Some were evacuated through Albania and Bulgaria. As the numbers of the evacuated rose, children were also sent to East Germany and the USSR. It is estimated that about 28,000 children in all were evacuated, most of them from North-Western Greek occupied Macedonia. Although smaller in number some orphans, children of Partisans and children of families who were in trouble with the Greek Government authorities were also evacuated. In the first half of 1948 columns of small children (ages 2 to 14) began to move from Greek occupied Macedonia into the People's Republic of Macedonia, and from there to the Yugoslav republics and to the other democratic countries. The children were accompanied by women called "mothers" who dedicated themselves to lead the column of children to safety and to deliver them to the free countries where the children were placed in homes and boarding schools. The paths taken during the long trek led the children through gullies and mountains to the territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia, and hence to Bitola, Brailovo and beyond to Skopje, Belgrade, Gakovo, Bela Tsrkva, Tsrkvenitsa, Stara Gora and other places. The majority of the Macedonian refugee children, after they were given medical assistance, food and clothing, were sent to Belgrade and from there were deployed in Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia and the Autonomous Province of Voivodina. This is where the majority of the centres were set up to accommodate the Macedonian refugee children, whose numbers, although negligible to the total number of children uprooted and displaced, was still rather significant. Several researchers have pointed out that the figure of displaced children was 28,600, 90% of whom were Macedonians and the others were from the other national and ethnic groups living in Greece. A Greek

settlement was established in Bulkes, Autonomous Province of Voivodina, from 1945 to 1949 to accommodate Greek party leaders, fighters and other staff as well as Greek refugees. The entire overall policy regarding the Greek refugees, including the refugee children, regardless of the fact that the vast majority were Macedonians, was led from Bulkes. The “Committee for helping the children” was formed here. Their job was to place the refugee children in homes (boarding schools) in Yugoslavia and to make sure they received a proper education. Here they printed newspapers and brochures and created all the political means to deal with the refugee children. After the Informburo Resolution was adopted in mid 1948, which publicly proclaimed that there was a conflict between the then Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, two things came out: first, the Greek leadership in Bulkes adopted the Informburo Resolution and began to brutally and mercilessly attack the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This was done regardless of the fact that Bulkes was right in the middle of Yugoslavia. Secondly, the Greeks in Bulkes attempted to exploit the refugee children for their own propaganda purposes. Besides printing leaflets attacking the social and political system in the former Yugoslavia, they insidiously began to organize riots in the refugee shelters and in children’s homes. They informed the foreign media, especially the media in Eastern European countries, to publish fabrications and rumours that the children in orphanages in Yugoslavia lived under extremely difficult conditions because they were exploited. They were forced to work hard in physical labour camps instead of being educated in schools. Naturally, these were lies perpetrated by the Greeks which the Yugoslav and Macedonian authorities had to fight against with the strength of argument and the truth. They organized visits for several foreign journalists to visit the homes that sheltered the refugee children from Greek occupied Macedonia, and to show the world that the children were indeed being well looked after as well as being educated. This, the journalists had to see for themselves and verify how the children lived. In the end their articles were published in several prominent newspapers. The articles were impartial and showed the actual conditions under which the refugee children lived and were educated in Yugoslavia. This was a slap in the face for Greek and Eastern European propagandists. It showed the world that the situation in Yugoslavia was completely different and positive and that there

should be no concern for the wellbeing of the refugee children living there.

1948 - April 29. AFZH held its 1st Congress near the village Besfina in Prespa, Greek occupied Macedonia, in an open space because of the threat of the Greek Monarcho-Fascist aviation bombing the villages. More than 420 delegates participated in the Congress from all the districts in Greek occupied Macedonia, including women DAG fighters and guests from all the organizations and parties participating in the Greek Civil War. The Congress chose a new AFZH Main Board. Evdokia Baleva-Vera was again elected AFZH Secretary. The main task of AFZH was to strengthen the organizations ability to act. According to Evdokia Baleva-Vera: "AFZH invited its sisters from AFZH in the People's Republic of Macedonia to take part in the First AFZH Congress in Greek occupied Macedonia. Unfortunately the People's Republic of Macedonia's delegation, comprised of Mara Minaneva, Liliana Maneva and one more member, was stopped in Korcha, Albania, and because of that it was unable to attend the Congress. Afterwards, however, the women were familiarized with the events that took place in Greek occupied Macedonia." The 1st AFZH Congress had the same objectives as the NOF 1st Congress where, this time, the CPG succeeded in convincing the Macedonian women to join DAG as was decided by the CPG Central Committee during its 3rd Plenum, with regards to solving the reserve problem for DAG. Now the Macedonian women too were coaxed into joining DAG and fighting at the front.

1948 – June. According to secret CIA documents, the conflict between Stalin and Tito was about Tito not adhering to the idea that the Soviet leader did not want problems with the allies of America and England because of the Yalta agreement. So Tito continued to supply the communist rebels in Greece with weapons, equipment and officer corps to fight on the Greek partisan side. Stalin sent a letter to Tito criticizing him for opening the "Greek line" and for helping the Greek communists who started a fight that had no chance of success because Athens was supported by America, "the most powerful country in the world". CIA documents have also revealed that immediately after Yugoslavia was discharged by the Informburo, Tito suspended aid to the communist resistance in

Greece, even closed the borders. This was destined to end the civil war in Greece. From what has been said above it should be obvious to everyone that not only did the Macedonians have no chance of uniting Macedonia because the West would not allow Greece to break up, but the communists in Greece had no chance of succeeding either! So why did Yugoslavia, against Stalin's advice, continue to support this campaign? Again, it is important to understand that events such as this war do not happen by chance, there is always a purpose to them and to understand that purpose we need to take look at the final outcome. There is no doubt here that the Macedonian people were lied to in order to get them involved in this war and eventually led, not to the victories they were promised but to their demise! Why? Because the powers to be did not want the presence of Macedonians in Greek occupied Macedonia... They wanted the Macedonians out of Greek occupied Macedonia! And by doing what they did, the CPY and the CPG made that happen! They emptied Macedonia of its Macedonians! And what are the chances of that ever happening purely by chance alone? Very small... very small indeed!

1948 – June. The Informburo resolution was announced which called for isolating the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which the CPG leadership used as an excuse to remove all NOF leading figures, because they were accused of creating internal problems, and to replace them with its own cronies.

1948 - June 1. Mitrevski and Keramitdzhiev suspended. The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau made a decision to suspend Mihailo Keramitdzhiev, President of NOF, and Paskal Mitrevski, NOF Board Secretary, because they were alleged to have conducted an “unprincipled factionist struggle”.

1948 – June 14. The CPG Central Committee Politburo decided to extricate and replace the NOF leadership during the period from June 14 to August 21, 1948, which coincided with the Monarcho-Fascist government's major offensive against DAG in western and central Greek occupied Macedonia. This was also the time when the Macedonian people were still led by NOF and bore the entire burden of fighting at the front. These were the same Macedonian people

who, in the past, had fought and demonstrated mass heroism and self-sacrifice that was recognized by the CPG.

1948 – July 28. The CPG Politburo took a resolution during the CPG Central Committee 4th Plenum held on July 28 and 29, 1948 during which, it said: “The CPG Central Committee Plenum underlines the extraordinary contribution of the ‘Slavo-Macedonian’ people for their struggle in our common cause for freedom.” In other words, the “Slavo-Macedonian” participation in the liberation was nation-wide and wholeheartedly complete. With the blood of their sons and daughters, the Slavo-Macedonian nation in this struggle had earned its solid freedom and equality in Greece, which was guaranteed in the future by the people’s liberation movement. The Macedonian people had massively fought in the armed struggle from the beginning of the Greek Civil War to earn their rights. They lived through the fiercest terror and persecution campaigns perpetrated by the Greek police, army special units and air force bombings by the Monarcho-Fascist regime. The Greek police and special Monarcho-Fascist army units loaded truck loads of old men, women, babies and young children into military trucks and, through the village Visheni, drove them to the free territory on Mount Vicho. All the young people over the age of 15, from the displaced families, were put in jail. Since over 90% of the expelled families were Macedonians, and the others Vlachs, their homes were completely looted and their properties usurped... The Monarcho-Fascist army, led by US officers headed by the notorious General Van Fleet, forcibly evicted around 50 villages in the Lerin and Kostur Regions and in the Anasel Region, and gathered them in the cities in ghettos under very difficult conditions. Many of the villagers who protested at being moved were accused of collaborating with the DAG partisans and sent to prison in the Aegean islands. The Monarcho-Fascist aviation, flown by US and English pilots, bombed and destroyed the free zones on a daily basis. Flying the British military aircraft “Spitfire” and the American aircraft “Dakota” they bombed everything including flocks of cattle and sheep in their pastures. They also bombed the crop fields with flammable liquids. The Monarcho-Fascist army led a totally destructive war not only against DAG but also against the people. The lives of the people were turned into real tragedies. Their physical existence was threatened by the bombardments and from disease and hunger. The Provisional

Democratic Government of Greece called on the governments of the people's republics to start taking refugees from this part of the population. Their calls were answered in the spring of 1948 when about 28,000 young children under the age of 15 were accepted.

1948 – August 8. The 1st NOF Central Council Plenum was held in the village Bukovo, Prespa Region. The proceedings were conducted by a high CPG Party delegation led by Ianis Ioanidis, CPG Central Committee Secretary. It took no time before a raging controversy developed between the two polarized factions in the NOF leadership. Mihail Keramitdzhiev accused the NOF leaders of being “anti-Party elements”. He personally and vehemently accused Paskal Mitrevski of being an anti-Party element. The entire Plenum was ignited with polemics, with the separatist group arrogantly and brazenly, in a manner similar to the style of the Bulgarian supremacists, attacking all the NOF leaders who Keramitdzhiev considered to be Hellenophiles and alleged anti-party elements. Paskal Mitrevski was personally attacked by Mihail Keramitdzhiev. The CPG representatives used this situation to adopt a resolution to remove both Paskal Mitrevski and Mihail Keramitdzhiev from NOF because of the controversies they created. Mihail Keramitdzhiev was sacked as president and Paskal Mitrevski as secretary of the NOF Central Council and both were made available to DAG Headquarters. After their dismissal Stavro Kochev was appointed president of the NOF Central Council and Vangel Koichev was appointed Secretary. The NOF Central Council did not vote to confirm their appointments.

1948 – August 10. The CPG Central Committee Politburo published a resolution regarding the faction-ism that had developed in NOF's Central Council, as observed during its First Plenum. The CPG, according to its own accounts, had no choice but to suspend both Mitrevski and Keramitdzhiev from their NOF leadership functions in order to stop their “unprincipled factionist struggle”.

1948 - August 27. DAG reorganized. Sitting of the CPG Central Committee Politburo with an agenda:

a/ The struggle in Gramos called: “Epic of the Northern Pindus, political and military questions and decrees.”

b/ Removal of Markos Vafiadis as General and Leader of DAG due to illness and his departure for Moscow. (Note: Then, the system produced the term “ideologically crazy”, which grouped very smart and healthy people with the lunatics.)

c/ The New Military Council was to consist of:

1. Nikos Zahariadis - President and Supreme Commander of DAG.
2. Georgios Vonditsios - Head of military battles.
3. Vasilis Bardzhiotas - Political Commissar of General Headquarters.
4. Michos Vlandas - Responsible for military resources.
5. Leonidas Stringos - State Administration.

d/ Reorganization of General Headquarters by region and creating military divisions. Promotion of officers into DAG high military ranks.

1948 – August. After the DAG units were relocated from Mount Gramos in August 1949, due to extreme enemy pressure, the CPG’s position began to deteriorate. There were large divergences in the ranks of the CPG Central Committee leadership even before the serious crisis broke out. The main culprit for the crisis, according to claims made by Nikos Zahariadis, was Markos Vafiadis, DAG General Headquarters Commander. Vafiadis was suspended from his position and responsibilities in August 1948 while he was still DAG’s Commander and Chief and President of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece. The CPG leadership, headed by Nikos Zahariadis, suspended Markos Vafiadis from his positions because of his views that “DAG should not lead a frontal campaign and should continue fighting a guerrilla warfare”.

1948 – October 3. A NOF military and political Conference was held in the village Rudari, Prespa Region. This Conference was personally attended by Nikos Zahariadis, CPG Central Committee General Secretary. Among other things discussed there, was NOF’s situation starting from the day that Mitrevski and Keramitdzhiev were removed from their duties. During this Conference the CPG leadership decided to completely remove Mitrevski and Keramitdzhiev not only from the NOF Central Council but also from NOF. The NOF Central Council, at the end of the Conference, was comprised of Vangel Koichev (Secretary), Stavro Kochev (President) and Evdokia Baliova Vera, (Vice-President). Vera was

also AFZH Main Board Secretary. During the Conference Nikos Zahariadis asked Paskal Mitrevski what he would like to do, i.e. where he wanted to work while being suspended from the NOF leadership. Mitrevski said: "I am a communist and a fighter... I will go wherever the Party sends me..." To that Zahariadis replied: "Then go and join the ranks of DAG and fight like an exemplary fighter..." And that's exactly what happened. On October 5, 1948 Paskal Mitrevski was sent to the ranks of the DAG 107th Brigade to serve as an ordinary fighter. The order for this came directly from Nikos Zahariadis.

1948 - November 15. Markos Vafiadis is suspended. The CPG Central Committee Political Bureau decided to suspend General Markos as Chief of DAG and member of the CPG Central Committee. By a special flight from Tirana, Markos was transferred to Moscow in March 1949.

1948 - November 23. DAG HQ to mobilize Macedonians. DAG headquarters ordered the mobilization of Macedonian men and women ages 17 to 35 only in the Vicho area. Practically all Macedonians in Kostur and Lerin Regions were mobilized.

1948 – December 24. DAG's artillery was ordered to assemble somewhere near Solun and bombard targets inside the city where there were large concentrations of enemy units. But just as the attack began the enemy units disbursed and were on the move. But even though the targets were gone the partisan artillery was not allowed to retreat and, according to its orders, continued with its bombardment. This continued well into the next day, December 25, 1948, until the enemy units surrounded the artillery and seized all cannons and artillery pieces. DAG was hard hit by this both militarily and psychologically, especially psychologically...

1949 - January 9. Zahariadis refuses to see reality of war wants more sacrifices from the Macedonians. During the CPG Central Committee's 5th Plenum, held on January 9, 1949, Zahariadis, refusing to face reality and continued to speak of DAG as an invincible force that would defeat the Greek government's regular army, destroy the Republicans and Royalist, take over the government and bring victory to the Democratic people. He threw

around slogans like “1949 will be the year of victory” and “Death to Monarcho-Fascism and American-Imperialism”. He then called on the Macedonian people from the “free territories” to continue their struggle and sacrifice and in place of promising them “equal rights with the Greeks as a minority” as has been done before, he now promised them “National self-division as Macedonians” but only when the CPG came to power. He said all this when even the most lay of people knew that DAG was facing an unavoidable defeat. Was this an act of an incompetent commander or an act of a treacherous and deceitful traitor? Let the historians of the future decide. As was done during the 4th Plenum, the Macedonian contribution to the struggle was again complimented at the 5th CPG Central Committee Plenum. Among other things it was stressed that the Macedonians in Northern Greece have given their all in the struggle with outstanding heroism and self sacrifice which calls much admiration. There should be absolutely no doubt in anyone’s mind that as a result of their effort and spilling of blood the Macedonian people have earned their full national restitution in the way they themselves would want it.

1949 – January 30. The CPG Central Committee held its 5th Plenum on January 30-31, during which it coined the slogan “United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation.” And because of this the Central Committee of NOF convened its 2nd Plenum on February 3, 1949 and proclaimed its new principles for the future of the Macedonians in Greece. This was an unpardonable cruel manipulation: Just a few months before DAG’s liquidation, during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum, held on January 30 and 31, the CPG decided to: “Recognize the Macedonian people’s right to self-determination”. Naturally this was only a ploy to “intensify” the war on both sides! And as it turned out, this “offer” lasted only until DAG was liquidated! After that it was business as usual for the CPG... Accordingly, this position was taken quite independently and outside of the Balkan reality and, of course, it was absurd and not true. Here Zahariadis was publicly speculating playing on emotions and on centuries-old Macedonian aspirations with a specific goal in mind. This position, or resolution, was also published in DAG’s organ “Pros ti niki”, number 12, on March 27, 1949 and even more spectacularly announced through the radio program “Free Greece”. Thus, given the current situation in the

Balkans, the announcement caused vivid public interest and a sharp reaction from the Athens government. Because of this, or perhaps because of someone else's complaint, Zahariadis, on March 10, 1949, denied that such a resolution was ever made during NOF's 2nd Plenum and that this was an enemy fabrication. Among other things, this is what was specifically said: "There are rumours that the 2nd NOF Congress is expected to declare the creation of a single Macedonian state, and that this state will then join Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, or the Balkan Communist or Democratic Federation. Our enemies always choose to say what they think is better for them. The truth, however, is different. The 2nd NOF Congress is a military congress, a congress for further strengthening and not breaking our unity. This is a congress that will organize our victory... To expel the foreigners, destroy the Monarcho-fascist killers and ensure a free and independent life for our people's democracy.

1949 – February 3. The 2nd NOF Central Council Plenum was held and program principled introduced. The Second NOF Plenum during which the new NOF program principles were introduced in which it was proclaimed: "That Macedonia will be unified and the Macedonian people will live in a single independent Macedonian state." This, as it turned out, was a drastic attempt, a last political maneuver on the part of the CPG to keep the Macedonians in the war. We already know how the Greek government and the West, Britain and the Unites States in particular, felt about splitting Greek occupied Macedonia from Greece.

1949 – February 9. As requested by Porfirogenis, member of the CPG Politburo, a CPG delegation was sent to Skopje to meet with NOF representatives who had deserted DAG and demanded that they recruit at least 300 new fighters from the refugees who had fled to Yugoslavia to save themselves. Those demands were not met.

1949 – February 12. Partisans fight battle for Lerin. This was one of the bloodiest battles in the so-called Greek Civil War, which was unnecessary because the partisans were already losing the war. But Zahariadis insisted on capturing Lerin because, as he said, if the Partisans won this battle and captured a city then they would be taken seriously by the outside world. DAG units attacked in an

attempt to enter the city Lerin but their actions failed because of the poor coordination and strategy, DAG endured a catastrophic defeat. Around one thousand DAG soldiers died and were wounded. The enemy was well-aware of this attack and all the details. DAG's attacks were anticipated and wherever the partisans came from they were welcomed with well-prepared counter-attacks and ambushes. The enemy commanders knew everything, all the details about the attack. According to the accounts of a Vlach from Lerin: "exactly that evening of that February night in 1949, our unit was informed that the partisans would be attacking from there, from there and from there... Many partisans were killed. We recognized many of the women fighters; they were from the Prespa villages..." At the time the Vlach was mobilized in the enemy reserves as a non-commissioned officer.

1949 - March 7. CPG backtracks on promises. The CPG Central Committee denied coining the slogan "United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation." The CPG also denied accepting NOF's new program principles drafted during NOF's 2nd Congress on February 3, 1949. In March 1949 the Interim Government in Greece was overhauled. More specifically the CPG Central Committee issued a statement denying any decisions being made during the 5th CPG Plenum regarding the Macedonian Question and regarding NOF's programming principles outlined at the 2nd NOF Congress on February 3, 1949.

1949 – March 8. Soviet Ambassador to Greece Chernishov telephoned Moscow to report that the Greek reactionaries were using unprecedented aggressive and active propaganda against the Communist Party and against the partisan movement (DAG). The reaction was in regards to the "Macedonian Question" about which a decision was made during the CPG Central Committee 5th Plenum and during the Macedonian National Liberation Front 2nd Congress. The main thrust of this propaganda was aimed at the Communist Party and at the DAG partisans, who allegedly wanted to break the sovereignty of Greece. The reason for this was the "unification of Macedonia"... This propaganda gave Athens reasons and opportunity to conduct recruitments, transfer government troops and place the military on high alert in the areas controlled by the partisans. The Greek people have special sensitivity to the issue of

Greece's sovereignty and integrity. The same concern is found in people living in the cities who are supporters of the Communists and of DAG. The Macedonian National Liberation Front (NOF) is expected to convene a Congress, scheduled to take place on March 10, 1949, in the free territories held by DAG. Regarding this, the government press of the Anglo-American League has declared, with provocative measures, that the aim of the Congress is to split Greek Macedonia and create a common state with Bulgarian and Yugoslav Macedonia and, as such the Communist Party of Greece "has committed treachery against Greek Macedonia." According to the information Chernishov received from Moscow, the Congress organizers were told that such intent was imprudent and that the Congress should not focus on this question, and not even on the future of the Macedonian people within a Balkan Federation. It was recommended that the delegates turn their attention to the population in Greek Macedonia and orient it in the direction of combating the Monarcho-Fascist society in Greece and to fight to create a free and democratic Greece. What this boiled down to is that after World War II, when people believed that the war was over and that the bloodshed had ended, the Macedonian people paid a high price for fighting to support a communist ideology which was not willing to support the Macedonian cause. In other words, the Macedonian people fought defending an ideology which worked against their interests...

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

1949 – March 24. Zahariadis convened an emergency meeting with NOF and DAG military and political leaders in the school building of the village Nivitsi, Prespa Region, with a single item on the agenda: "To determine Paskal Mitrevski's attitude towards Yugoslavia". Rather surprised, Mitrevski refuted and dispelled these

libelous provocations. At the end of Zahariadis's speech Mitrevski angrily said: "...No one can convince me today that Tito's Yugoslavia has gone down the road of capitalism. I, as a Communist and a fighter in the Democratic armies of Greece, will continue to fight against the Greek Monarcho-Fascists and against the Anglo-American imperialists for the final liberation of my people..." After Mitrevski spoke at this meeting, all of the Macedonians that were in attendance greeted him with applause and congratulated him for his courage, for standing up to Zahariadis and for setting the record straight with Tito and Yugoslavia. Zahariadis angrily walked out without saying a word. Zahariadis's logic was strange indeed. His approach to the Macedonian National Question was even stranger. He was an experienced and fanatic demagogue who many times demonstrated his care for a Greater Greece and his distaste for the courage of the NOF Macedonian leaders and DAG fighters, attacking them and accusing them of being enemies of the democratic movement in Greece.

1949 – March 25. A 2nd NOF Congress is held in the village Nivitsi. It was here that resolutions were adopted to invite the Macedonian people to join the struggle (Greek Civil War) en masse. It was here that the Macedonian people were told and retold by the Greek Communists that they would allow them to create their own Macedonian state. But there was a condition, a catch. For that to happen, every able bodied Macedonian man and woman had to join the struggle. "All to arms – everything for victory," read one slogan. Zahariadis also said: "You Macedonians have a right to secession, within a Balkan federation..." There were many slogans written especially in honour of Zahariadis, the so-called "greatest", wisest and most respected son of Macedonia and then, a little later, no one wanted to believe that he was the "greatest" liar and cheat! But the leaders of NOF (National Liberation Front) and all those serving under him, believed and trusted him and that is why they all suffered and many died; because of those beliefs!

1949 - March 27, 1949. The Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia (KOEM) was created by Zahariadis. After his failure to win over NOF and turn it into an anti-Yugoslav weapon to satisfy his own purposes, Zahariadis invented another so-called Macedonian organization and imposed it on the Macedonian people.

This time the CPG General Secretary created the organization KOEM (Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia). At its founding meeting, on March 27, 1949, Zahariadis appointed the Organization's Committee comprised of Mihali Maliov, Vangel Koichev, Paskal Mitrevski, Stavro Kochev, Evdokia Baliova Vera, Vangel Nichev, Urania Pirovska, Hristo Kolentsev and Tashko Hadzhiianev. This Committee was tasked with leading KOEM until a Party leadership was elected at an all-Macedonian KOEM Conference. The First KOEM Conference was held on August 2nd, 1949. At Zahariadis's request, 17 regular and 14 deputy KOEM members were selected. Included among the regular members chosen were Mihali Maliov, Vangel Koichev, Stavro Kochev, Hristo Kolentsev, Andon Sikavitsa, Paskal Mitrevski, Tashos Gushopoulos, Pando Vaina, Sterio Dachov, Evdokia Baliova Vera, Ziso Deliovski, Lazo Poplazarov, Vangel Nichev, Urania Iurukova, Traiko Popsermedzhiev, Giorgi Nedelkov and Foti Urumov. Included among the deputy members chosen for the KOEM leadership were Krsto Mangov, Ahileas Papaioanou, Lambro Gakidov Dzhavela, Dimitar Prikov, Argir Kuzevski, Paskal Paskalevski, Atanas Angelovski, Mincho Fotev, Lambro Moshov, Micho Velaki, Mahi Pilaeva, Hrisanthi Tsanzovska, and Andonia Filipova. Obviously Zahariadis did all this to show sincerity and to remove all suspicions from the anti-Macedonian acts he and his Central Committee had committed against the Macedonian movement and people. He wanted the Macedonian people to remain in DAG's ranks, the small rebel army which he himself insisted remain small, and to become cannon fodder for the opponent's mighty war machine. Even though DAG was already bleeding profusely, instead on negotiating a peace deal, Zahariadis preferred his small rebel army to fight on, at the front, so that it could be milled one hundred percent, to the last man, in an absolutely uneven battle, under a single catastrophic disaster.

1949 – March 27. Extract from the Dispatch from His Majesty's Consul in Skopje: The Yugoslav communist Party's entire Macedonian policy is based on the assumption that they can carry in the teeth of fierce opposition from most Bulgars and some Serbs their thesis of a distinct Macedonian language and national tradition. The Party is therefore particularly committed to support advanced research in the little explored subjects of Macedonian national history and philology. Such studies have, of course, had little chance

until recently of getting very far, owing to ferocious opposition from Greeks, Bulgars or Serbs, and as a result there are really no trained specialists in this field. The discovery that at Skopje University very few students are showing any interest in Slavonic Philology or the Macedonian language, and that during the recent end-of-term examinations they showed themselves much keener on the Serbian language and Yugoslav literature, is therefore a good deal more significant than might appear at first sight. One or two other minor incidents that I have observed would appear to suggest that some Macedonians, at least in Skopje, may prefer to read in Serbian, rather than Macedonian, when they get the chance. Add to this the fact that a large number of the students here are showing very little interest in their compulsory Russian studies, or at any rate are scoring deplorably bad marks at Russian in their examinations, and it will be seen that Crvenkovski has a lot to think about in his new post. The apparent lack of interest among certain sections of the intelligentsia in the "Macedonian National Tradition", so essential to party ideology here, is no doubt also reflected in the "indiscipline" and "passivity" of the Macedonian writers and poets referred to earlier in this dispatch. It is a fact that, to judge from Dimitar Nitrev's speech, various brands of "decadence" (meaning, apparently, a failure to express oneself unequivocally as on the side of the Yugoslav Communist Party or, at the very least, to be interested in individual, rather than in mass emotions, and thus, by implication, "apolitical") is a far commoner offence here, and certainly very much graver, than any inadequacy in form or style. Some clue to the degree to which the "Macedonian National Tradition" has captured people's imaginations here may also be afforded by the long series of free public lectures given in Skopje recently by Dimitar Vlahov. At the beginning of the series, when Vlahov was speaking on the early history of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement, his audiences were quite large -perhaps 500 or more -but a very high proportion of them appeared to be elderly people such as may have had some personal experience of the period he was describing. As the series progressed, however, not even Vlahov's considerable reputation, as the "Grand Old Man" of the Macedonian movement was able to compensate for the impossible dullness of his lectures. When I looked in one minute before he was due to begin the lecture entitled "The successes of the Macedonian People's Republic" there were precisely three people

sitting there, and another half-dozen or so huddled around the stove at the back of the hall -although in fairness it should be said that Vlahov tended to begin his lectures later than the advertised time, and it has been a habit for people to return. If as these events appear to suggest, the (not very numerous) intellectuals here are not over-impressed by the new Macedonian Idea, what then is their attitude? Some (I should say not very many) are plainly pro-Bulgarian on principle. Most of the students and young people, although probably more interested in their technical studies than in their Macedonian traditions, are, I should say, supporters to a greater or less degree of the present Yugoslav Government in the same way as are most other young Yugoslavs. As Macedonians, they are likely to be far less worried by any submergence of "Western Values" than are their fellow students, say, in Zagreb and Ljubljana. At the same time the Yugoslav Communist Party, by putting an end to the almost colonial policy in Macedonia of successive pre-war Belgrade governments, has at one stroke eliminated the greatest single curse of Vardar Macedonia, and released a good deal of latent energy hitherto suppressed. The Party can also claim, convincingly, that Yugoslavia has done a lot more to liquidate the economic backwardness of Vardar Macedonia in the last three years than Bulgaria is ever likely to do for Pirin. Finally, the Bulgarian Occupation was not a particularly pleasant affair, and the memory of it probably still works as a fairly effective discouragement to pro-Bulgarian sympathies. On the other hand, there is evidently fairly widespread support for a Macedonian autonomist movement - largely, I should say, among older people, though certainly also in certain sections of the youth. As a spokesman of the Yugoslav security service said at the Macedonian Party Congress what opposition groups there have been have consisted "almost entirely of Mihailovists". It is a commonly held view that the Mihailovists, or IMRO, are really only advocating autonomy as a prelude for incorporation in Bulgaria when the time is ripe. The fact that they seem quite happy to talk the Bulgarian language lends credence to this view, and certainly one of the main tenets of Yugoslav propaganda is that the policies of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Mihailovists is virtually indistinguishable. I am inclined to believe, however, that this is an over - simplification, and that there is a body of opinion which seeks a united, independent Macedonia as an ultimate object in itself - quite possibly within some larger federation, perhaps, as is alleged

here, under Anglo-American protection, but probably not under the protection of the Kremlin. Evidence in support of this view comes from Lazo Mojsov's book, mentioned earlier in this dispatch. Mojsov gives, for the first time, more details of the "Skopje intellectuals" who had been mentioned earlier as criticizing the Manifesto put out by the partisan Headquarters for Macedonia at the end of 1943. These, critics, who appear to have been supporters of the Partisans, were apparently professional politicians with no very great regular following, but their views are interesting none the less. They argued that there could be no final settlement of the Macedonian question within Yugoslavia, as the very name of Yugoslavia was for Macedonians a symbol of slavery; that the future of Vardar Macedonia could not be decided without reference to the other two parts of Macedonia as well; that the first aim of the Macedonian Partisans must be clearly stated as being a United Macedonia, and a joint Macedonian military command must therefore be established with a view to placing the Macedonian Question fairly and squarely "in the diplomatic arena". Other criticisms put forward by these people were that the Partisan Headquarters were "not competent" to issue any "Manifesto" in the name of the Macedonian People; that they, the "intellectual leaders", should be consulted more frequently and entrusted with diplomatic missions, etc.; that there was no need publicly to criticize Ckatrov and other "fascists", as they were completely discredited anyway; that for General Mijalce (or Mise) Apostolski to sign himself "Mihajlo" "smelt of Serbdom", and so on. Various extracts from Tito's letters quoted by Mojsov make it clear that he was worried by autonomist tendencies on the fringes of the Partisan movement in Macedonia. No doubt they were a good deal harder to deal with than plain "Greater Bulgarianism". It seems clear that Metodi Andonov-Cento, the Macedonian nationalist politician who eventually became President of the Presidium of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia, must have been one of these "autonomists". He must also have been a figure of some standing in Macedonia, otherwise he would scarcely have been given the appointment. This may also explain why the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has proved so eager to sing Andonov's praises since their hands were freed by the Cominform Resolution. Andonov, of course, tried to escape to Greece with the object of laying proposals for an independent Macedonia before the Paris Peace Conference,

and since that attempt (as on several occasions before the war) he has been inside a Yugoslav gaol. Lazo Mojsov, of course, argues (or rather states categorically again and again -it cannot be called argument) that these Macedonian autonomists were really “tools of Bulgarian Chauvinism”. If that were so, then it would of course be easier for Mojsov to discredit them in the eyes of the public. But his “arguments” are not convincing, and clearly beg the question. There seems to be no doubt that IMRO, if it plaid its cards carefully, could count on the support of most politically conscious anti-communists among the Macedonian intelligentsia, in addition to the more-or-less fascist following it has always had -in present circumstances there would appear to be no other alternative to communism, whether Titoist or Stalinesque. It is certainly a fact that autonomist bands were active in both Vardar and Aegean Macedonia during the war, and at least in Vardar Macedonia for a considerable time after the war, until they were dispersed by Yugoslav security troops. It is scarcely likely that the ideas for which they stood in 1945 have been so easily disposed of. But IMRO has often been described with some justice as mainly an affair of the bourgeois intelligentsia, with little mass support. The same is probably true today, and autonomist tendencies are likely to be limited to certain groups of Macedonian intellectuals (not a very numerous body, in any case). The state of opinion among workers and peasants is altogether a different matter. My impression is that the Macedonian workers’ main feeling is one of dissatisfaction with living conditions as they are at present -they are certainly very bad -and that they are a good deal more interested in their standard of life than in ideological or national disputes. Town workers here suffer more than those elsewhere as a result of the inevitable, but none the less frightening inefficiency of Management in their People’s Republic, which can be observed at its worst in the State commercial network. As a result, housewives here have had to put up with a good deal more in the way of queuing and shortages than elsewhere, and the free market-prices of essential food are painfully higher than they are only a few kilometers away in Serbia (particularly in Kosmet). “It was better than when the Bulgarians were here” is a typical comment, but it is not a political judgment; in fact, most people know well enough the rations in the Bulgarian People’s Republic are appreciably worse than they are here. “Yes, we suppose things will get better – but WHEN?” probably best expresses the resigned attitude of most town worker.

While housewives struggle to make ends meet, many of their husbands have to work in extremely bad conditions, and workers are constantly leaving their jobs in the (slender) hope of finding something better. This again seems to be very largely due to inefficiency and thoughtlessness, resulting once more, to some extent, from Macedonian inexperience in management and administration. In the once British-owned chrome mines at Radusa, to take one fairly typical example, workers have been standing all day in several inches of water although it is said that gum-boots are in fact available if someone will only do something about it. One thing is certain, and that is that in general (although a few branches do manage to assist their members to some extent, as for instance in getting them extra rations and firewood) the Trade Unions are of almost no help at all in improving working conditions. It is scarcely likely that the scandals revealed in the recent purge of the Trade Union leadership will do much to increase their reputation. Nevertheless, there are, signs that the living conditions of ordinary workers will improve this year, and I should say that most of them would give their more-or-less willing support to the present authorities unless somebody else can offer them, convincingly, a standard of life dramatically better than the one they suffer at present. It seems very unlikely that advocates of union with Bulgaria could hope to make such an offer. Whether Macedonian autonomists could make their proposals more attractive with an offer of Anglo-American spam and circuses is another matter. I should be inclined to think it extremely doubtful. Probably, apart from other factors, very few of the thousands of Greek Macedonian refugees here are likely to be good propagandists for Anglo-American support. Opinion among the peasants (the great majority of Macedonians, of course) is a different matter again. As I have reported on an earlier occasion, many (if not most) of the country districts of Vardar Macedonia are so backward that it is difficult to conceive of any but a few individuals having any sort of coherent political opinion at all. But Bulgarian (and perhaps more particularly Albanian) occupation was certainly no pleasant business for the Macedonian peasants, and I should say that by the end of the war the Partisans were regarded genuinely as liberators in many country districts where the peasants neither knew nor cared anything about communism. Macedonia possesses an unusually high proportion of really poor peasants, and many (particularly among the Albanians in the south-west, it

appears) were either without land or hopelessly in debt. For these people -a very numerous class -the Agrarian Reform came as a godsend, and subsequent resistance to the idea of Producer Cooperatives was far less than in districts with a higher proportion of richer peasants. The Macedonian Communist Party, compared with the parties in the rest of Yugoslavia, had comparatively little influence in the towns, where the Bulgarians were naturally able to develop far more effective anti-communist (or at any rate anti-Yugoslav -communist) propaganda than German or Italian occupiers elsewhere. The Macedonian Partisans, therefore, were based almost exclusively on the villages, and it seems clear that the Macedonian Communist Party is well aware of the source of most of its strongest and most effective potential support nowadays. The Party appears to consist of a not very large group of intellectuals who in earlier days might have been Macedonian nationalists, a group (again, I should say, not large) of Macedonian workers who for one reason or another were less influenced by anti-Serb opinion than their fellows, plus the usual admixture of flamboyant "1941 Partisans" and warriors, together with an unusually high proportion of time-servers with rather murky records. The latter, although they do not occupy the highest positions, are obviously the most unstable element in present circumstances. The Party is both young and (except as regards Partisan warfare) very inexperienced. As pressure on it becomes stronger (and the leaders are obviously very nervous about the possible effects of Bulgarian propaganda, especially since it increased in vehemence at the beginning of the year), the Party is trying to consolidate its position in the most promising (and, in Macedonia, the most decisive) sector; namely, in the villages. In my opinion, the Party is likely to be successful in its policy, given time. There is to be ideological work on a very big scale where pre-conceived political notions are few; the party's wartime record is mostly in its favour; loyal peasants of the more influential kind are to be admitted as members of the Party with little or no regard to the purity of their Marxist-Leninist ideology (if indeed they understand it at all). In this way, the Party will build up a firm basis of influential villagers committed to its support. Many of them will undoubtedly be (already are) opportunists and yes-men, but the policy in general is likely to be effective. The main weapon in this drive for increased support in the countryside is of course the extension of the Producer Cooperatives. On this issue (as I have

suggested earlier in this dispatch) Kolishevski, who, as a worker born and bred, probably takes a less novel view of the social category from which a communist party should draw its main support, appears to have been over-ruled. There is no doubt that Macedonia, compared with the rest of Yugoslavia, offers very favourable conditions for the establishment of Producer Cooperatives with the minimum of peasant opposition. It is, after all, the home of “pecalbarstvo” -the system under which the men of a village unable to support its inhabitants would go abroad to earn their living, and send their savings home. In the case of the mountain village of Galicnik, near Debar (and others too) the entire male population used to go abroad to work as crafts men or yoghurt makers, and returned once a year in July for about a fortnight (or every other year, if they had been to America). The month of July was thus filled with celebrations and weddings, and the newlywed husbands would look forward to seeing their three-months-old children the following July. Such a way of life was extremely picturesque for foreign visitors, but not very satisfactory for the villagers themselves. Now, Galicnik has a very large and flourishing cooperative engaged in stock-breeding and carpet-making. It has libraries, electric light, a cinema. I am told by a man who has just spent a few months there teaching the carpet makers the secret of wool-dyeing that the women and young people are delighted with the new arrangements, although some of the older men who had got used to the idea of going “on pecalba” every year are still inclined to hanker after foreign parts. The case of Galicnik, of course, is so startling that it can scarcely be called typical. I believe, for example, that government loans to this particular cooperative have been unusually large. Nevertheless, it does serve to illustrate the fact that the cooperative idea is likely to become increasingly popular in the very large number of poor, backward and barren villages of Macedonia. It is therefore clear that if “the population of Bulgaria is to be increased from 7 million to 10 million” (as has apparently been said in Sofia), it will not be as the result of a popular rising in Vardar Macedonia in the foreseeable future. Propagandists here have not much difficulty in disposing of Greater Bulgarian Chauvinism. They can point to the fact that there is not likely to be any autonomy for Macedonians inside Bulgaria -and some sort of autonomy would certainly be demanded even by Macedonians who might not press their claim to a language of their own distinct from

Bulgarian. The “Kolishevski clique” can even make a convincing enough counter-claim for the inclusion of Pirin in the Macedonian people’s Republic. Neskovic, at the Macedonian party Congress, strongly denied that Yugoslavia had ever claimed Pirin except as part of a general settlement in an eventual South Slav Federation. This seems, if not an actual misstatement, to be at least misleading. Mojsov’s book makes it quite clear that at one stage the union of Pirin and Vardar Macedonia within Yugoslavia and without regard to an ultimate South Slav Federation was agreed to in principle by the Bulgarian Communist Party, though without enthusiasm. They are scarcely likely to have agreed to this unless the Yugoslavs had been pressing them very strongly (and unless, one might perhaps add, they had had instructions from Moscow in this sense). Mojsov and his fellow publicists will have a far harder task, though, to counter proposals for some sort of Macedonian autonomy with no special Yugoslav association. The Bulgarian Party appears, wisely enough, to have given up the attempt to persuade Macedonians that they are really Bulgars, or that they would be happier as citizens of the Bulgarian People’s Republic. Nor can they convincingly propose Pirin as a basis for some sort of autonomous Macedonia. But if they are still thinking in terms of an autonomy based on Aegean Macedonia, then they touch the Yugoslav Communist party in general, and Lazo Mojsov in particular, on a very weak spot indeed. Publicists here have surely been thinking of this possibility when driving home the not entirely convincing argument that all Macedonian autonomists without exception are the dupes or agents of Sofia. As I have indicated the autonomists can in no sense be described as the agents of Sofia; whether they will in due course become their dupes will depend on the skill and subtlety of the Bulgarian propaganda machine. Less convincing still is Skopje’s secondary argument that, pending a form of South Slav Federation acceptable to the Yugoslav Communist Party, a united Macedonia not based on the People’s Republic within the framework of Federal Yugoslavia is “unthinkable”. At this point Mojsov completely abandons reasoned statement in favour of a mystical wrath and categorical assertion. He claims that those Macedonians (i.e. the Yugoslav Macedonians) who fought for and won their national independence within Yugoslavia have a natural right to lead the way to Macedonian unity, and that since Yugoslavia is in itself a federation of South Slav peoples, the incorporation of the rest of

Macedonia in it, along with the Macedonian People's Republic, is an obvious next step. Vardar, says Mojsov, is in any case the natural heart of a united Macedonia, gliding calmly over what I believe to be a fact -namely, the existence of a fairly general feeling in Aegean Macedonia that the people of Vardar are backward and uncouth. Perhaps as a natural reaction on the part of the latter there is, I believe, a slight tendency here (certainly in other parts of Yugoslavia) to regard Aegean Macedonians as slackers. Mojsov's assertion that Vardar is the natural heart and head of any united Macedonia is not likely to go unchallenged. His language at this stage of his "argument" is cautious and in rather general terms. He probably realizes he is skating on very thin ice which may expose him to the charge of Belgrade Chauvinism. Reading most of the Yugoslav Communist Party's Macedonian propaganda one might be excused for supposing the Macedonians quite entitled, if they so wish, to form a united Macedonia of their own. But this is just what Mojsov will not countenance, and he only just manages not to say in so many words that South Slav Federation is of less importance than the need to keep the Macedonian people's Republic firmly attached to Yugoslavia, and to add the rest of Macedonia to it as soon as the opportunity arises. It is difficult to see what else a Yugoslav publicist could say, given the post- Cominform situation in the Balkans, but this is certainly the weakest part of Mojsov's (and therefore of the Yugoslav Communist party's) case as far as Macedonians are concerned. In the light of recent developments, it looks as if the first shots in what must surely develop into a high powered Macedonian propaganda campaign were in fact fired by Mito Hadzi Vasilev in his article in "Nova Makedonija" on 24 February (i.e. some days before Mosa Pijade opened up with his big guns on 6 March). Vasilev revealed, rather innocently, in a single brief sentence adduced in support of his charge of Bulgarian hypocrisy, that Mr. Visinsky's reference in Paris to the "Macedonian and Albanian minorities" in Greece had been reported by Tass and Pravda as "Bulgarian and Albanian" minorities. Since when, asked Vasilev curtly, had Tass been a mouthpiece for Bulgarian Chauvinism? - and in the rest of a nine-column article made no further reference to Soviet Policy or to Greece. He charged the Bulgarian Government with encouraging talk in Pirin (he did not say Aegean) Macedonia of a "free Macedonia not in Yugoslavia but in a South Slav Federation", and hinted darkly at the possible

significance of the alleged Bulgarian claim that “Bulgaria’s population will soon be increased from 7 m. to 10 m.” If the Bulgarian leaders did not realize they were making a big mistake and mend their ways, said Vasilev, “invincible Life will teach them a cruel lesson to-day or to-morrow”. I do not know whether this is in fact the article which is said to have been quoted indirectly by The Times on 21 March (I have not yet seen the Times report but if so, then Vasilev certainly got no nearer to anything that could be called a threat of war than this prophecy about “invincible Life”. It may not be irrelevant to conclude this general review of the position in Macedonia by mentioning a conversation I had last December with an officer of the Yugoslav Army Engineers in Djevdjelija. He was a Bosnian, from a remote village in Krajina. I asked him whether there were many Macedonians in his unit on the frontier, and how he liked service in Macedonia. “Macedonians?”, he replied, “of course not – we’re mostly Bosnians and Montenegrins – you can’t expect a Macedonian to be any good at fighting. Wild people too - just savages – take the girls, they just run away when you chaps appear – as for dancing..... Give me Zagreb any day”.

1949 – April 8. KKE and NOF, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, No. 82. Since sending my dispatch No. 66 of March 22nd regarding Macedonia and a South Slav Federation I have read the texts of the KKE and NOF (National Liberation Front of Macedonia) Resolutions given in dispatch No. 174 of March 23rd from the Canadian Ambassador in Athens, as well as the account of the KKE and NOF denials that a separate unified Macedonia state within the South Slav Federation (but dominated by Bulgaria) was envisaged. Macedonia is very much in the limelight at the moment but the situation is far from clear, and speculation, though enriched by the dismissal of Kostov in Bulgaria, is still guess work while the evidence gradually accumulates. By reviving the idea of a Macedonian state Bulgaria has been able to spearhead the Cominform offensive against the CPY and at the same time to further her own traditional “Greater Bulgarian” interests. Yugoslavia and Greece have a common interest in thwarting Bulgarian ambitions in Macedonia but at the moment the Yugoslav Government can go little further than to reduce their anti-Greek propaganda campaign and their complaints to UNO (steps which already appear to have been taken) and to cease aiding the Greek guerillas. I understand that the Yugoslavs have discreetly

let it be known in Western quarters that they can go no further as long as Tsaldaris remains Prime Minister. I think you will be interested in the attached extract from a lengthy dispatch from Mr. Hilary King, British Consul in Skopje, who possesses a good knowledge of Macedonia. Mr. King examines the success achieved by the CPY in Macedonia with its policy based on the thesis of a distinct Macedonian language and national tradition. He feels that the idea of a "Macedonian National tradition" has not attracted a large following amongst the Macedonian intelligentsia, which in its younger branches probably supports the present Yugoslav Government. Pro-Bulgarian sentiment is not widespread. He has, however, found evidence of fairly strong support for a Macedonian autonomous movement, perhaps under Anglo-American protection but probably not under the Kremlin's wing. Autonomous tendencies, Mr. King thinks, are limited to some Macedonian intellectuals who form a very small group. Amongst the workers and peasants the situation is quite different. Although the workers complain of bad economic conditions and the low standard of living, they would give their support to the present authorities unless offered a dramatically better standard, which advocates of union with Bulgaria are unable to do. The peasants, of whom a high proportion are very poor, have benefited by the land reform carried out by the Communist Party. For this reason, because of its war record, and through its establishment of producer cooperatives the Party will be able, in Mr. King's opinion, to secure the support of the peasant masses. Mr. King concludes that there will be no popular pro-Bulgarian rising in Vardar Macedonia but that there will remain considerable support for some sort of Macedonian autonomy with no special Yugoslav association. I am sending copies of this dispatch, with enclosure to London, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Athens. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, (can't make out the signature), Secretary of State, for External Affairs, Ottawa

1949 – May. The Greek government national army general staff began preparation for a military strike against DAG. The operation was code named "Pirsos". The National Army military structures and numbers at that time were as follows:

150,000 regular soldiers,
50,000 national defense forces,
25,000 gendarmerie forces,

7,500 police,
50,000 special units,
14,300 navy,
7,500 aviation.

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

1949 – May 5. Prerequisite to McLean’s mission, after Tito’s break with Stalin, a meeting took place between Fitzroy McLean and Marshal Tito. It was a dinner meeting during which many issues and layers of issues were discussed concerning Yugoslavia and its position, i.e. relationship with the West. Some of these issues applied to Greece. Tito did not hide the fact that he was of great help to the Andartes (DAG) in past years. But now the situation had changed and he said that Yugoslavia could not by itself refuse the right of asylum to political refugees. But those refugees were now kept deep inside the country and beyond the borders. It was understood that Tito could promise that in future he would not allow these people to return to Greece to resume fighting. And he would no longer provide any help to the Andartes (DAG). He also said that this information must not be revealed to the public because it would result in a very complex situation. Tito’s promise about this was kept top secret. No one was allowed to know about it because it would have damaged the Yugoslav Marshal’s reputation.

1949 – June 6. AFZH passes resolution to induct more Macedonian women into the war effort. The AFZH women’s Executive Board, led by Evdokia Foteva - Vera, passed a resolution to induct Macedonian women en masse into the fighting force in defense of the Vicho frontline.

1949 – June 20. Full equality was granted to the “Slavo-Macedonians” just before DAG (Democratic Army of Greece) was liquidated. Final extermination of the Macedonian people; “Fight for your lives or die!”

1949 – July 1. During its 6th Plenum the CPG Central Committee abandoned the Macedonians when it admitted that, for the sake of “national unity”, the “Macedonian Question” did not exist for

Greece. This was one of the requirements for the CPG joining the Papandreou “national unity” program.

1949 – July 3. Greek government royal troops began their decisive offensive against the DAG 24th Brigade units in Mount Kaimakchalan. After four hard and bloody days of fighting, the Brigade was overpowered and forced to withdraw into Yugoslav territory. The CPG and DAG leaderships, in order to justify the tragic losses in Kaimakchalan and put the blame elsewhere, insisted that a secret agreement had been reached on July 4, 1949 between Yugoslav and Greek royal officers in Kaimakchalan so that Yugoslavian authorities would allow Greek government troops to attack DAG units from behind. It was alleged that, according to this agreement, on July 5, 1949, Greek government units using Yugoslav space would attack from behind and rout out units of the DAG 24th Brigade. And thus the fictional “attack from behind” was invented. After the disastrous defeat at Kaimakchalan, the fighters from the DAG 24th Brigade moved to Yugoslavia and in the statements they made they denied claims made by the CPG and DAG leaderships about being attacked from behind in that sector. It was also uncovered that the alleged attack from behind was an invented lie and a provocation to justify DAG’s defeat.

1949 - July 16. AFZH Executive Board passes resolution to activate the Macedonian women and mobilize them to defend the Vicho front. This was in response to the “Pirsos” strategic plan developed and implemented by US General Van Fleet’s staff in preparation for the liquidation of the guerillas in Greece. And it is well known what happened to the Macedonian women after that, when they were shoved in the trenches to defend the frontline. Their patriotism, love for their homeland, for their fathers, husbands and brothers, drew them into this terrible war which, unbeknown to them, was waged for the benefit of strangers and against their own interests. And in the end they too faced the same humiliation... being labeled “traitors” and “wrongdoers”... and worse than that, they too were driven out of their homes and homeland and torn away from their families...

1949 – July 29. It was announced that the Yugoslav Government had delivered a note to the Greek Government protesting against the

bombing of the Yugoslav village of Kotsimir by a Greek aircraft. The note called for sanctions against those responsible for the alleged incident and demanded damages for the destruction which had been cause. The Yugoslav also protested because of a Greek military officer, on being notified of the incident, declined an invitation from the Yugoslav authorities to enter Yugoslav territory to ascertain on the spot the damage which the bombing had done to the village. The Greek authorities claimed that the Yugoslavs had been unable to put forward any proof whatever that the aircraft in question was actually Greek, and pointed out that the local Yugoslav authorities did not even allege to have established the markings of the plane. The Greeks pointed out that, on the contrary, the records of the Royal Hellenic Air Force showed conclusively that on the day of the alleged "incident" no Greek plane flew over the sector in question. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the Greeks undoubtedly made a mistake in refusing to accept the Yugoslav invitation to inspect the damage to the village. UNSCOB has been trying repeatedly to obtain Yugoslav permission to investigate incidents on the Yugoslav side of the border and the Greek refusal to the Yugoslav invitation would appear unfortunate from a tactical point of view, especially since the Greeks would not acknowledge responsibility for the bombing merely by visiting the village in question.

1949 - August 10. The Greek Monarcho-Fascist army launched a major offensive against DAG and its units in the DAG free territory in Greek occupied Macedonia. By August 17, 1949 it poked a hole in DAG's positions and evicted two DAG divisions and several smaller units and occupied Mount Vicho and Prespa. The Macedonian civilian population in that region was pounded by the Greek Monarcho-Fascist artillery and aviation. With fanatical hatred, the DAG divisions stationed at the Greek-Yugoslav border prevented refugees from fleeing into the territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia and coerced them to withdraw to the territory of Albania. Any Macedonian who attempted to cross the Yugoslav border was shot. There were many such incidents. The Monarcho-Fascists carried out a violent and hellish attack against DAG on August 10-14 with unprecedented air support supplied by the United States. The poet Atso Shopov was right when he wrote the poem "Gramos" telling us that "no bird can fly in Vicho from

the hail of bombs and grenades”. This struggle has been objectively presented in two volumes by Greek historian Giorgos Margaritis, a professor at the University of Crete. Margaritis has relied on the memoirs of prominent anti-Fascists for his source material. The information presented is the best example I have read that describes why DAG fighters aborted Vicho and pulled out of Gramos, leaving the population unprotected and running for its life. One hundred and thirty bombing runs were made on August 10, 1949 by the American supplied air support using “Dakota” and “Spitfire” military aircraft to bomb units of DAG and columns of fleeing refugees. The next few days the military aircraft did the same, at the same pace, providing air support for the Monarcho-Fascist artillery and infantry. There was not a square foot of space that had not been bombed on Mount Vicho, on Lisets, on Mount Malimadi and in Prespa along the Albanian and Yugoslav border. The entire area had been bombed with aerial bombs, grenades, napalm bombs and rockets and was garnished with machine gun fire by the dive-bombing aircraft. This clearly describes the conditions under which DAG was placed and the kind of pot its fighters were put in to boil. There was an insurmountable amount of pressure and worry placed on the fighters not only for saving their own lives but also for caring for the wounded and for saving the huge columns of fleeing refugees. DAG was again attacked in Gramos with the same vigour. It was under these circumstances, created mainly by foreign intervention, that the “freedom-loving democrats” of Gramos dropped the “last flag”. The Greek government offensive initiated against DAG had a force of 60,000 Greek government troops, commanded by General Van Fleet of the U.S.A., organized in 6 divisions from all branches of the military, with 200 tanks and armoured cars and with about 100 aircraft of all types, was unleashed on Mount Vicho. Opposing this force was commander Michos Vlandas of the resistance with 9,863 fighters and 40 cannons. DAG was defeated in the period during August 13 and 14 with 1,859 dead, wounded, missing and captured fighters. The Government side sustained only 256 dead and 1,336 wounded.

1949 – August 13. DAG command ordered its units to start leaving Vicho.

1949 - August 15-16. DAG units retreated into Albania but in the following days about 6,000 were transferred to reinforce the fighting in Mount Gramos.

1949 - August 17. On the first day of the offensive (August 10) the government forces breached the DAG defensive line and achieved great success. Within six days DAG lost about 800 fighters and another 600 went missing. On August 17, 1949 the last DAG unit withdrew. The majority of the units crossed over into Albanian territory.

1949 - August 20. The CPG promises victory in Gramos. The CPG Central Committee Politburo held a meeting and promised its fighters that “Gramos has all the means necessary to deliver the enemy a death blow” and coined the slogan “Gramos will become the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists Government troops”. That, however, never happened! All Zahariadis wanted to do was kill more Macedonians.

1949 - August 24-29. Greek government attacks Gramos. During the night of August 29-30, government troops began a new campaign against Gramos. Commanded by U.S. General Van Fleet, this force was larger by three battalions than that of Vicho. Placed in charge, of the resistance side in Gramos and of Gramos DAG General headquarters, was General Georgios Vontisios-Gusias with about 12,500 fighters (6,000 were transferred from the battlefields of Vicho). The Greek government artillery and aviation alternately bombed DAG positions continuously. It was a hellish situation for DAG and its units. The last battles took place on August 29 and the retreat for Albania began on August 30. DAG losses amounted to 922 dead, 944 captured, 650 wounded and about 400-450 voluntarily surrendered. Losses on the government side amounted to 243 dead and 1,452 wounded. The DAG 6th and 7th Divisions withdrew to Bulgaria during September and October 1949. The last DAG remnants, located in the southern parts of Greece, withdrew in early 1950.

1949 – August 30. The Greek Civil War ended. DAG was defeated by the Monarcho-Fascists on Mount Gramos with Anglo-American support. After Vicho fell to enemy hands, Nikos Zahariadis, General

Secretary of the CPG Central Committee, said: “Gramos will be the tomb of the Monarcho-Fascists.” But that did not turn out to be the case. DAG suffered numerous casualties but had it not backed down and fled to Albania, the opposite would have been true. Gramos would have been the tomb for DAG. For the longest part, after removing General Markos Vafiadis from his command and after abandoning the proven military strategies of the so-called “Supreme War Council Law”, Zahariadis worked personally with his Politburo, which had absolutely no relevant experience, implementing new “military strategists”. Units of DAG from Gramos and from other places withdrew to Albanian territory. The main culprits for DAG’s defeat naturally were Nikos Zahariadis, General Secretary of the CPG Central Committee and his Politburo. But that’s not who they found guilty. Instead of laying blame where it squarely belonged, Zahariadis and his clique pointed their fingers at the Macedonians, specifically at the NOF and AFZH leadership and at the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece. In Bureli, a town in Albania, Zahariadis staged a fake political trial, similar to those staged by Informburo countries. He had the last word. While the last battles in Gramos were still raging on, DAG General Headquarters ordered all DAG units to withdraw claiming that their intended task was now completed. What intended tasks were they completing? With this DAG was declared liquidated and its units were ordered to go to Albania. The great Greek offensive began on August 10, 1949 but the war did not end until August 30, 1949. Following is a list of battles that took place during the Greek Civil War. These were frightful battles where the opponents had forces as high as ten times larger and much better equipped:

1. Battle at North Pindos, (June 26 to July 22, 1947);
2. Battle for the city Konitsa (December 24, 1947 to January 4, 1948);
3. Battle in Kailiari, (October 18, 1948);
4. Battle in Bukovik (November 10 to 14, 1948);
5. Battle for the reception of the heroic unarmed phalanx from Rumeli to Mount Pieria, (March 16, 1948);
6. Battles in Agrafa: Villages Karoplesi, Smokovo, Kerasovo and Mount Niala (April 8 to 22, 1947);
7. Battle at Ilia, Furka, Taburi-Greko, (July 31, 1948);
8. Battle at Golio-Kamenik, (June 21, 1948);
9. Battle at Klevti (June 28 to August 1, 1948);

10. Battle at Taliaro-Likokrema and Eastern Smolika, (July 31, 1948);
11. Battle at Alevitsa, (June 14, 1948);
12. Battles to conquer the cities Voden, Sobotsko and Negush, (December 22, 1948 to January 14, 1949);
13. Battle for the conquest of Lerin, (February 12, 1949);
14. Battles in Kaimakchalan, (June 4, 1949);
15. Major battles for the re-taking of Gramos (April 1 & 2, 1949);
16. Battles at the heights of Bulgara, Kotelsko-Gramos, (April 4, 1949);
17. Battles at Patoma-Gramos, (June 2, 1949);
18. Battles for Vicho. The fiercest battles were fought at Lisets and at Iamata, (August 10 to 14, 1949);
19. Dramatic battle fought at Kulata - Prespa between the two lakes, (August 14, 1949);
20. Battles at Black-Gramos, (August 24 1949);
21. The last battles of Gramos, (August 24 to 29, 1949);
22. Battles at Kiafa (elevation 2322) in Gramos, (August 30, 1949, just less than 10 hours before DAG's defeat).

On this day, history will witness a terrible event; the heroic death of Petso Romev, commander of the 426 battalion within brigade 118. He was born in the village Gornichevo, Lerin Region, in 1919. Hundreds of fighters, members of the CPG and much of the democratic force that took part in this disastrous war, have wondered why the CPG continued the fighting in August 1949 after its defeat on the Vicho and Gramos frontlines.

1949 – September 9. General Michos Vlandas, Minister of War in the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece and member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, held a meeting with his military and political staff in the Albanian camp. There were about 3,000 fighters and DAG officers, including Macedonians fighters and officers. The CPG Central Committee Politburo, in the presence of 200 officers, announced its conclusion as to why DAG was defeated and that blame was placed squarely at Yugoslavia and NOF as being the main culprits for losing the war. General Michos Vlandas said: “When our Party opted for an armed struggle it relied on Yugoslavia for its unwavering support promised to us. We relied on Yugoslavia because of its radiant glory in its victory in the People’s Liberation War and Revolution. But here we are, at the

most critical and decisive moment of our struggle, Tito turned his back on us... he sold us out... he surrendered us and, through his agents (alluding to NOF), he undermined our national-movement and DAG". After that, all NOF leaders were systematically watched around the clock by the DAG Security Services and their activities were recorded in pre-existing files. Since 1945, the CPG had open files and followed the life and activities of all the NOF leaders. CPG representatives in the People's Republic of Macedonia have been monitoring NOF activities since NOF was created in the spring of 1945. They have been spying on both NOF and the People's Republic of Macedonia." It would appear that the CPG Greeks were preparing "a court case" against the Macedonian activists and supporters well in advance of losing the war.

1949 – September 30. Ioanidis Ioannis from the CPG officially asked Stalin to provide DAG and the CPG two bases, one in Bulgaria and the other in Albania. Stalin did not provide one in Albania.

1949 – September 30. The CPG Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision to arrest the leaders and activists of NOF, NOMS and AFZH. Over 100 Macedonians, 30 of them women, DAG fighters and NOF activists were arrested and handed over to the Albanian police. Nothing is known of their fate. They were detained without being tried and carried off to the concentration camps.

1949 – October 2. With agreement from Mehmet Shehu, Albanian government President, and in the presence of Petrov, a representative from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, ten of the top executives from NOF, NOMS and AFZH were arrested. Included among those arrested were Paskal Mitrevski, NOF Central Council President, Evdokia Baleva-Vera, NOF Central Council Vice-President and AFZH Central Committee Secretary, Mihail Maliov, KOEM Secretary and NOF Central Council Secretary, Mincho Fotev, member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee and NOMS Main Board President, Urania Iurukova, member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee, Lazar Poplazarov, member of the NOF Central Council, Risto Kolentsev, member of the NOF Central Council and President of the Lerin District Board of the People's government, Tashko

Hadzhiianev, member of the NOF Central Council, Lambro Cholakov, President of the NOF District Board for Kostur District and candidate member of the NOF Central Council Executive Committee, and Pavle Rakovski, former member of NOF Central Council Presidency.

1949 – October 7. Paskal Mitrevski, Evdokia Baleva-Vera, Mihail Maliov, Mincho Fotev, Urania Iurukova, Lazar Poplazarov, Risto Kolentsev, Tashko Hadzhiianev, Lambro Cholakov, and Pavle Rakovski, were imprisoned in the “Bureli” prison camp jail. Their arrest was publicly announced at a gathering of DAG officers and soldiers in the camp where they were all stationed. The gathering was attended by all members of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, members of the Provisional Democratic Government of Greece with its president, Petrov the representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Albania, and representatives of the Albanian Labour Party. Some of the arrested NOF leaders were paraded in front of those attending the meeting.

1949 – October 9. The 6th CPG Central Committee Plenum was held. Vasilis Bardzhotas, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, submitted a paper which presented the Party’s position on the Macedonian Question announced a change. The CPG changed its position by abandoning the slogan “self-determination for the Slavo-Macedonian nation” and returned back to its previous position of “national equality”. It did this, it said, because the overall situation had changed. It was no longer possible for the People’s Republic of Macedonia to be “the centre of national unification”, and because of that there was need to introduce the “Slav-Macedonian nation” and because of that the CPG Central Committee Politburo had to decide what to do with the organizations NOF and KOEM and clean up those who were “traitors to the Party” and “Tito’s agents”. Bardzhotas said: “The Party’s 5th Plenum introduced the slogan ‘self-determination’ over establishing a ‘Slavo-Macedonian nation’. That slogan was chosen during an unsuitable moment. We chose the slogan ‘self-determination’ so that we could oppose the actions of Tito’s agents and attract the Slavo-Macedonian people into the armed struggle. Today the situation has changed and we needed to re-examine the slogan. Stalin has taught us that a national question must be

subordinated to the general interests of the revolution and then changed again to serve the general interests of the Party. This too needs to happen today in our country. We need to embrace the slogan of ‘national equality’, which we chose during the CPG Sixth Congress...” Full equality was extended for the “Slavo-Macedonians” in October 1949. This was the period when people started returning to their homes. But in reality nearly all Greek officers, who had returned after the Greek Civil War, were promoted by the Greek government to three ranks higher than those who suffered during World War II. There were no Macedonian officers but those Macedonians who did try to return were told that “only Greeks by birth can return” and that “there is no place in Greece for the likes of you...” Yes, the CPG did grant the Macedonians rights; the right to be ethnically cleansed and exiled from their homes...”

1949 – October 9. The CPG, during its Central Committee 6th Plenum held on October 9, 1949, decided to disband all Macedonian organizations: NOF, AFZH, NOMS and KOEM and on February 19, 1951 proposed to form a new organization called “Ilinden”. The reason given for dissolving NOF, AFZH and NOMS was because these organizations were managed by Tito’s agents and by traitors. The new “Ilinden” organization was created in order to combat “Tito’s agents”. Vasilis Bardzhotas, member of the CPG Central Committee Politburo, submitted a paper which presented the Party’s position on the Macedonian Question announced a change. The CPG changed its position by abandoning the slogan “self-determination for the Slavo-Macedonian nation” and returned back to its previous position of “national equality”. It did this, it said, because the overall situation had changed. It was no longer possible for the People’s Republic of Macedonia to be “the centre of national unification”, and because of that there was need to introduce the “Slav-Macedonian nation” and because of that the CPG Central Committee Politburo had to decide what to do with the organizations NOF and KOEM and clean up those who were “traitors to the Party” and “Tito’s agents”.

1949 – November 27. Refugees from Greek occupied Macedonia gathered at the ‘Freedom Square’ in Skopje where they held a protest in which they vigorously protested against the wild terror perpetrated by the Greek Monarcho-Fascists against the Macedonian

people with aims at cleansing the Macedonians from Greek occupied Macedonia. They also protested against the terror and arrests carried out by the traitor Zahariadis who arrested the Macedonian leaders and Democratic Army of Greece fighters, in order to hide his own and his Party's role and responsibility in the disaster, and blame it on Yugoslavia and on the National Liberation Front (NOF). By putting pressure on the national liberation front leaders, Zahariadis wants to condemn Yugoslavia which allegedly betrayed the struggle of the Greek people. Among the national liberation front leaders that Zahariadis has arrested, included were Paskal Mitrevski, Pavle Rakovski, Kicha Baleva Vera, Mincho Fotevski, Urania Pirovska, Lambro Cholakov, Lazo Poplazarov, Tashko Hadzhianov and Mihali Maliov..."

1949 – December 14. The Macedonian NOF leaders were loaded onto the Soviet freighter "Michurin" at the port of Durres in Albania, and transported to the USSR. They arrived at the port of Odessa on December 25, 1949 and were handed over to the Soviet security Services who then locked them up in a prison in Odessa. On January 1, 1950 the detainees were loaded onto a train with special prison wagons called "Stopilinskie" and transported to Moscow where they were handed over to the USSR Ministry of State Security, which then imprisoned them in the "Liublianka" prison in Moscow. A little later they were transferred to other prisons in Moscow including Lefortovo, Butirskaia and Suhanovka. The interrogations of the NOF leaders in Moscow lasted from January 1950 until May 1952. During this time the detainees were locked up in solitary confinement or in individual cells. The interrogations were conducted around the clock from 1200 to 1700 hours and from 2300 to 0500 hours (12 noon to 5pm and from 11pm to 5am) by a group of Soviet officers, led by Colonel Rubliov, head of the Second Department of the USSR Ministry of State Security. Included among the interrogators were Major Pandleev, Colonel Viktor Petrov Firtsov, Colonel Evgeni Kostandinovich Nikitin, and Lieutenant Colonel Andrei Pogrebniak. The interrogations were done in the Greek language because the Soviet service did not have Macedonian speaking translators. The translators were Soviet officers of Greek origin. Included among the translators were Captain Hristos Dzhumiadis, Captain Ioanidis, and Lieutenant Aristotelis Papounidis.

1950 - Greek minister admits Macedonians exist. Ioanis Sofianopulos, leader of the leftist liberals and former Foreign Minister of Greece, in a debate in the Greek Parliament, admitted that “there is a Macedonian minority in Greece but, according to international law, that minority does not exist and can not claim any protection because it did not prove itself to be loyal to the state in which it lives” on account of its mass participation in the Greek Civil War in the years 1945 to 1949.

February 19, 1951. CPG proposes to form a new organization called “Ilinden”. The new “Ilinden” organization was created in order to combat “Tito’s supposed agents”.

1952 – April 2. Some Macedonian members of the CPG, the likes of Pando Vaina, Stavro Kochev, Tasho Gushevski-Maki and others, “blindly attached” themselves to Nikos Zahariadis and were used by him to create the anti-Macedonian Organization “Ilinden”. On behalf of the CPG Central Committee, while in Poland, Zahariadis petitioned the Polish Worker’s Party and received approval to hold a founding Congress for “Ilinden”. The Congress was held on April 2 and 3, 1952 in the village Krostsienko, which was attended by about 500 Macedonians. The organization was formed in order “to mobilize the Macedonian emigrants in Eastern European countries” to conduct anti-Yugoslavian propaganda on behalf of the Informburo.

1953 – March 5. Stalin dies. After his death Goergi Malenkov took on the Soviet government helm followed by Nikita Khrushchev. During the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee 20th Congress, Khrushchev strongly condemned Stalin’s personality cult. As a result, in March 1955 strained relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were normalized and later so were relations between the CPG and CPY.

1953 – April 19. In a Soviet court the Macedonian NOF leaders were sentenced to long prison terms ranging from 8 to 25 years to be served in hard labour concentration camps. Paskal Mitrevski was sentenced to 25 years, Mincho Fotev was sentenced to 10 years, Lambro Cholakov, Risto Kolencev and Tashko Hadzhiiianev were

each sentenced to 8 years in prison. They were sent to serve their sentences in the concentration camps in Vorkuta, Komi, in the north part of the USSR, “where the temperature dips 56 degrees below zero”, to work in the coal mines. Pavle Rakovski was sentenced to 10 years. Evdokia Baleva-Vera, Urania Iupukova and Lazo Poplazarov were each sentenced to 8 years in prison. All of them were sent to the concentration camps in Siberia.

1953 - August 23. Legal Act No. 2536 was issued, on the strength of which all those who left Greece and who did not return within three years time could be deprived of their property. A decision on the resettlement of Macedonians was taken. A wide-flung campaign was launched in the mass media to induce the Macedonians to leave their native areas voluntarily and to settle in the south of the country and on the islands. The Greek authorities intended to create a 60 kilometer-wide belt along the border with Yugoslavia where “the faithful sons of the Greek nation” were to be settled. In the first point of this Act it is stated that the resettlement was necessary owing to the humanitarian aspect of the matter as the living standard of the Macedonians would improve. The actual intention was to separate Macedonians living in Greece from the Republic of Macedonia. Due to a firm reaction from Yugoslavia the realization of that shameful plan was cancelled.

1956 - June 4. A decision was made to disband “Ilinden” because the organization was regarded as sectarian, adventurous and harmful. This certainly was done to normalize relations between the SKJ and the CPG when in May 1956 the CPG Central Committee adopted a special resolution.

1957 - The CPG Central Committee held its 7th Plenum during which General Markos said: “DAG could not have been turned into a regular army by giving speeches and by writing articles about it, or by simply having a desire for it to be a regular army. By calling DAG a regular army and by removing it from its solid defensive positions, Zahariadis not only threw away its tactics of defense and permanent positions, but also began to create a terrible danger for the very existence of the democratic armed resistance movement in general.”

1958 – August. The CPG Central Committee held its 9th Plenum.

1959 - Legal Act No. 3958 was issued, on the strength of which the land of those who left Greece and did not return within five years time was confiscated. The law was amended in 1985, but it is still binding on Macedonians. Acts from the years 1948, 1953 and 1959 concerning property confiscation are a consequence of the 1947 ban on returning. Several villages in Greek occupied Macedonia were forced to swear “Language Oaths” to speak only Greek and renounce their Macedonian mother tongue.

1962 - Legal Act No. 4234 was issued, on the strength of which persons who were stripped of their Greek citizenship were banned from returning to Greece. The ban on crossing the Greek border also extends to spouses and children. It is still in force for Macedonians, even those who left Greece as children.

1967 - July 17. Ohrid Archbishopric is renewed in the Republic of Macedonia. The Macedonian Orthodox Church becomes independent on September 8, 1991 following a referendum for the independence of the Republic of Macedonia as a separate state.

1968 - ECHR accuses Greece of human rights abuses. The EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS accused Greece of human rights abuses.

1969 - Legal Act was issued on the strength of which the settlement of the unoccupied Macedonian farms by Greeks by origin was permitted. After that a plan was put together to locate over one hundred thousand immigrants of so called Greek origin from the ex-Soviet Union on this territory. In the future this will be a source of new national tensions. Council of Europe declares Greece “undemocratic, illiberal, authoritarian, and oppressive”. Greece forced to resign from Council of Europe under threat of expulsion. Military Junta continues the policy of colonizing the confiscated lands in Greek occupied Macedonia. Land handled over to persons with a “proven patriotism” for Greece. European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms signed by Greece states: ARTICLE 10(1) “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and

impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers”.

1976 - DECREE 233 suspends about 150 past decrees, government decisions and laws since 1913. Regulations for the confiscation of properties belonging to Macedonian political exiles not affected.

1979 - 135 places renamed since 1940. The Greek vigil regarding names is an indicator of the Macedonian ethnic identity in Greek occupied Macedonia.

1980 - Tito dies, rise of nationalism among federation's constituent republics.

1982 - New attempts made to erase the Macedonian language. The Greek internal security police urged an intensive campaign to wipe out any remaining Macedonian language and consciousness in Greek occupied Macedonia. LAW 106841 political exiles who fled during the Civil War and were stripped of their citizenship are allowed to return providing they are “Greek by ethnic origin”. The same rights are denied to Macedonian political exiles born in Greek occupied Macedonia. U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARTICLE 17, “No one can be deprived of their own property against their will”.

1982 – December 29. Legal Act No. 10634I was issued. While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister legal Act No. 10634I was issued. On the strength of that Act only Greeks by origin have the right to Greek citizenship and their right to return to Greece. Macedonians born in Greece and their families have been excluded. They were and are doomed to live in exile. Heads of various rungs of the state administration received the right to make free use of the property left by Macedonian refugees. The Greek authorities refer to that hostile Act whenever they reject Macedonian demands for the recovery of Greek citizenship taken away by default. They refer to that “law” even in their explanations to the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva! Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XIII, Point 2: “Everyone has the right to leave every country, including one's own, and to return to his own country.” Art. XV, Point 1: “Each person has the right to have a

citizenship.” Art. XV, Point 2: “No one can be freely dispossessed of his or her citizenship.” U.N. UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARTICLE 13, “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including their own, as well as to return to their own country”.

1985 – April. Hostile Act, No. 1540, was issued. While Andreas Papandreou was prime minister hostile Act, No. 1540, was issued. This amended the previously issued Acts regulating property relations so as to make it absolutely impossible for Macedonians to return. This Act permits the recovery of illegally seized property to “Greeks by origin only”. The Macedonian refugees from Greece are excluded. Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Paris, December 1948: Art. XVII, Point 2: “No one can be deprived of his or her property freely.”

1986 - PEN condemns Greece. International writers’ organization, PEN, condemns Greece’s denial of the existence of Macedonians and their language. Greece escalates climate of fear in Greek occupied Macedonia. Greece officially calls the Republic of Macedonia as the “Republic of Skopje”, after the name of its capital city; and Macedonians are called “Skopjans”. The term “Skopjans” used to label Greek citizens who declare themselves as ethnic Macedonians. “Skopjans” laced with hatred, and racism. It connotes a traitor to Hellenism.

1988 – September. CPG declares Macedonians don’t exist. Almost one years after the May 1987 Congress, CPG Secretary General Harilaos Florakis held a press conference in Solun with Greek and foreign journalists to openly explain the position he took at the Congress. In his answer to a journalist working for “Mesimvrini”, among other things, Florakis said: “On this occasion I would like to say that for us, for our Party, the Macedonian minority does not exist!”

1989 - OMO Ilinden formed. A group of Macedonians formed the United Macedonian Organization - Ilinden (OMO Ilinden) with aims at gaining cultural and national autonomy for the Macedonians in Pirin. OMO Ilinden PIRIN was a political party of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. It was registered as a political party in 1999

and participated in municipal elections in October 1999, where it elected five local officials. However, on February 29, 2000, the Constitutional Court in Bulgaria declared OMO “Ilinden” - PIRIN unconstitutional. This was in direct violation of the right to freedom of association and the right to freedom from discrimination.

1989 - August 30. Legal Act rehabilitating the participants from the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949 was issued. These participants had hitherto been recognized as bandits. The Act granted damages and disability pensions to fighters in the civil war who now have Greek citizenship. By the same token, the Macedonian fighters living in exile – who earlier had been stripped of their citizenship - were not included.

1990 - CSCE Conference on Human Dimension. CSCE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN DIMENSION, to which Greece is a signatory, states in ARTICLE 32: “Persons belonging to national minorities have the right freely to express, preserve, and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious identity and to maintain and develop their culture in all its aspects, free of any attempts at assimilation against their will”. ARTICLE 33: “Participating states will protect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities...and create conditions for the promotion of that identity”. GREEK HIGH COURT DECISION 19 refuses registration of “CENTER FOR MACEDONIAN CULTURE” in Florina (Lerin). Appeal is turned down by High Appeals Court in Solun. Further appeal dismissed by Supreme Administrative Council of Greece in Athens.

1991 - CSCE meeting on minorities held in Geneva. CSCE MEETING ON NATIONAL MINORITIES IN GENEVA, in which Greece participated states: “Issues concerning national minorities...are matters of legitimate international concern and consequently do not constitute exclusively an internal affair of the respective State...Participating States reaffirm, and will not hinder the exercise of, the right of persons belonging to national minorities to establish and maintain their own educational, cultural and religious institutions, organizations and associations”. Belligerent anti-Macedonian propaganda incites Greek population into a state of

chauvinistic hysteria. Translation from Greek: “Hang the Skopje Gypsies.”

Acronyms

AFZH	- Women's Anti-Fascist Front
AKE	- Agrarian party of Greece
ASNOM Macedonia	- Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia
BRP(k)	- Communist Party of Bulgaria
CPG	- Communist Party of Greece
CPM	- Communist Party of Macedonia
CPY	- Communist Party of Yugoslavia
CVG	- Greek Civil War
DAG	- Democratic Army of Greece
EAM	- National Liberation Front
ELAS	- National Liberation Army of Greece
EON	- National Youth Organization
EPON	- All Greek National Youth Organization
KOEM Macedonia	- Communist Organization of Aegean Macedonia
KOS	- Counter-intelligence Sector of JAN
NKVD	- People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
NOB	- People's Liberation War (WW II)
NOBG	- Peoples Liberation Struggle in Greece
NOBM	- Peoples Liberation Struggle in Macedonia
NOF	- Peoples' Liberation Front
NOMS	- Peoples' Liberation Youth Organization
OKNE	- Communist Youth Organization of Greece
ONOO	- Local People's Liberation Council
OZNA	- People's Defense Division
PAO	- Pan-Hellenic Liberation Organization
PDEG	- Pan-Greek Democratic Union of Women
PDOG	- International Federation of Democratic Women
POJ	- Partisan Units of Yugoslavia
SID Affairs	- Information Services of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs
SNOF	- Slavo-Macedonian National Liberation Front
SKP(b)	- Communist Party of the Soviet Union
UDBA	- Directorate of State Security
USSR	- United Soviet Socialist Republics

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