

Collective Punishment

**Genocides committed against the
Macedonian people**



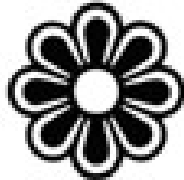
By Risto Stefov

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Collective punishment

Collective punishment is a punishment or sanction imposed on a group for acts allegedly perpetrated by a member of that group, which could be an ethnic or political group, or just the family, friends and neighbours of the perpetrator. Because individuals who are not responsible for the acts are targeted, collective punishment is not compatible with the basic principle of individual responsibility.

The punished group may often have no direct association with the perpetrator other than living in the same area and can not be assumed to exercise control over the perpetrator's actions.

Collective punishment is a war crime prohibited by treaty in both international and non-international armed conflicts, more specifically Common Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention and Article 6 of the Additional Protocol II.

International law posits that no person may be punished for acts that he or she did not commit. It ensures that the collective punishment of a group of persons for a crime committed by an individual is forbidden... This is one of the fundamental guarantees established by the Geneva Conventions and their protocols. This guarantee is applicable not only to protected persons but to all individuals, no matter what their status, or to what category of persons they belong...

Genocide

Genocide is the intentional destruction of a people in whole or in part. In 1948, the United Nations Genocide Convention defined genocide as any of five "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group". These five acts were: killing members of the group, causing them serious bodily or mental harm, imposing living conditions intended to destroy the group, preventing births, and forcibly transferring children out of the group. Victims are targeted because of their real or perceived membership of a group, not randomly.

The Political Instability Task Force estimated that 43 genocides occurred between 1956 and 2016, resulting in about 50 million

deaths. The UNHCR estimated that a further 50 million had been displaced by such episodes of violence up to 2008. Genocide, especially large-scale genocide, is widely considered to signify the epitome of human evil. As a label, it is contentious because it is moralizing, and has been used as a type of moral category since the late 1990s.

Ethnic cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is the systematic forced removal of ethnic, racial, or religious groups from a given area, with the intent of making a region ethnically homogeneous. Along with direct removal, extermination, deportation or population transfer, it also includes indirect methods aimed at forced migration by coercing the victim group to flee and preventing its return, such as murder, rape, and property destruction. It constitutes a crime against humanity and may also fall under the Genocide Convention, even though ethnic cleansing has no legal definition under international criminal law.

Many instances of ethnic cleansing have occurred throughout history; the term was first used by the perpetrators as a euphemism during the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s. Since then, the term has gained widespread acceptance due to journalism and the media's heightened use of the term in its generic meaning.

Introduction

Several times in my lifetime I have said to people my generation that we are a lucky generation to have lived in peace, at least here in the west and to have avoided being drafted and sent to war.

I can say the same for my peers in Greek occupied Macedonia where I was born... They too have not seen a war since the 1974 skirmish between Turkey and Greece.

But, it seems, I may have spoken too soon. I hope the world hasn't forgotten the lessons of past wars before it rushes into starting new ones.

Very few people who had not personally experience war can understand its horrors and even less can survive them without been scathed for life.

I was lucky to have been born four years after the Greek Civil War ended but was unlucky to have witnessed the damage it had caused to both people and property, and I don't only mean the physical damage.

The so called Greek Civil War was one of the greatest evils perpetrated against the Macedonian people living in Greece when, in addition to the killing and destruction, many children ¹ were taken away from their families and homes and sent away to foreign lands and never allowed to return to their home, not even for a visit.

This resulted in the destruction of the Macedonian family in many homes in every village in Kostur, Lerin and Voden Regions.

What people in the world don't know is that this was a perpetrated genocidal act to finally eradicate the Macedonian people from Greece. Unfortunately this not only brought disastrous changes to the Macedonian ethnic composition in Greece but it was never recognized or acknowledged by the world community and nothing was done to punish the perpetrators or to learn lessons from it.

¹ See <https://www.pollitecon.com/html/essays/Book-Review-Children-of-the-Greek-Civil-War-Refugees-and-the-Politics-of-Memory.htm>

In fact many Macedonians do not know the truth about the genocide that took place against the Macedonian people in Greece during the Greek Civil War because there were no Macedonian authorities to investigate it or record it. The only accounts we have come from individual historians and from the memoirs of those who participated in that war.

Those who perpetrated this act, the likes of the Greek communists and Greek governments, say that Macedonians do not exist so how could they have participated in the Greek Civil War and how could they have experienced genocide? But the fact remains that people died and were expelled from their homes during that war including the refugee children and were then not allowed to return, regardless of what the Greeks say.

Unfortunately this was not the first or the only genocide perpetrated against the Macedonian people in Greek hands or in the hands of the Bulgarians and Serbians for that matter.

The first major genocide was committed during the Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913, when Macedonia was brutally invaded by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria under the guise of liberation and was occupied, partitioned and annexed by the three in 1913.

This resulted in thousands of Macedonians being murdered, tortured and expelled because they were Macedonians. The situation was so bad that the Carnegie Endowment had to dispatch a Commission on a fact finding mission to find out what had happened. But, by the time the Commission concluded its report World War One had started and everything that happened in Macedonia was set aside and literally forgotten.

Before that, another genocidal atrocity was committed against the Macedonian people while Macedonia was still under Ottoman occupation. This was when Karavangelis, the Greek Bishop of Kostur, ordered the massacre of the entire village Zagoricheni just because a few adults from that village refused to bend to Hellenism.

All the people of Zagoricheni the Greeks could lay their hands on were massacred to the last person, including the unborn children inside the wombs of pregnant women. And, even though this massacre which qualifies to be called “colective punishment” was publicized, it was forgotten and nothing was done to punish the perpetrators.

The Zagoricheni massacre

Witnesses reported finding bodies of pregnant women with their abdomens cut open. The survivors that escaped the atrocity refused to bury the dead bodies of their neighbours. For days the dead were guarded until the European consuls in Bitola came to witness the atrocities for themselves.

Here is what Brailsford had to say. “The chef d’oeuvre of this Hellenic campaign was achieved at Zagoritchani, a large Bulgarian village (author’s note: Macedonian village, there were no Bulgarian villages inside Macedonia) near Klissoura, which, like Mokreni, took a leading part in the uprising of 1903, and like Mokreni was burned by the Ottomans. A Greek band, which is said to have numbered over two hundred men under three Greek officers in uniform, surprised it by night (April 6-7, 1905) by using bugle calls which led the villagers to suppose that Ottoman regulars were maneuvering in the neighbourhood. They burned ten houses, and twenty-eight of the temporary homes erected amid the ruins of the last conflagration. They wounded seven persons and killed no less than sixty, among them seven women, twenty-two persons over sixty years of age, and five children under fifteen. There was a good deal of evidence to show that the local Ottoman authorities were privy to this massacre, and some circumstances seemed to include the Archbishop of Castoria (Kostur). It is quite clear that no conflict or provocation preceded what was simply a deliberate massacre, and the only reason for choosing Zagoritchani was that it was an eager and patriotic Bulgarian center (author’s note: only in church affiliation) and that it disobeyed the summons of the Greek Archbishop to return to the Patriarch fold”. (pages 216-217, Macedonia its Races and their Future).

Genocide committed during the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913

During the Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria brutally invaded Macedonia under the guise of liberation and occupied, partitioned and annexed it in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest.

All three aggressors committed unforgivable atrocities but in the writeup we will only deal with the Greek genocide as reported by the Carnegie Commission.

Ten short years after their failed attempt to liberate themselves from the Ottoman yoke, the Macedonian people were faced with yet another serious dilemma. In 1912 under the guise of liberation, in what was later termed the first Balkan War, Macedonia was invaded and occupied by the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian armies. After these foreign armies expelled the Ottomans out of Macedonia they fought each other for a greater piece of Macedonia in what was later termed as the Second Balkan war of 1913.

After the Greek army consolidated its hold on Macedonian territory it began to expel first the indigenous Muslim population and later everyone else who did not agree with Greece's forceful occupation. After the expulsions, the Greek army was turned loose on the civilian population. Filled with hatred and propaganda, Greek soldiers were told that Macedonia was populated by Greeks and anyone who did not speak Greek was the enemy. When the Greek army invaded Macedonia it found the vast majority of the population, including women and children to be non-Greek speaking. So the entire Macedonian civilian population became the enemy to be disposed of at each individual soldier's discretion.

Entire villages were burned down to the ground. Civilians were murdered on mass. Old men, women and children were beaten, tortured and killed. Women and young girls were indiscriminately and repeatedly raped. The situation became so bad that the international community felt it necessary to send a Commission to investigate.

On August 2nd, 1913, shortly before the end of the second Balkan War, the Carnegie Endowment dispatched a Commission on a fact finding mission. The mission consisted of seven prominent members from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia.

In a statement dated February 22, 1914, Carnegie Endowment Acting Director Nicholas Murray Butler said: "The circumstances which attended the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were of such character as to fix upon them the attention of the civilized world. The conflicting reports as to what actually occurred before and during these wars, together with the persistent rumors often supported by specific and detailed statements as to violations of the laws of war by the several combatants, made it important that an impartial and exhaustive examination should be made of this entire episode in contemporary history. The purpose of such an impartial examination by an independent authority was to inform public opinion and to make plain just what is or may be involved in an international war carried on under modern conditions. If the minds of men can be turned even for a short time away from passion, from race antagonism and from national aggrandizement to a contemplation of the individual and national losses due to war and to the shocking horrors which modern warfare entails, a step and by no means a short one, will have been taken toward the substitution of justice for force in the settlement of international differences.

It was with this motive and for this purpose that the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Constituted in July, 1913, an International Commission of Inquiry to study the recent Balkan wars and to visit the actual scenes where fighting had taken place and the territory which had been devastated. The presidency of this International Commission of Inquiry was entrusted to Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France, who had represented his country at the First and Second Hague Conferences of 1899 and of 1907, and who as President Fondateur of the Conciliation Internationale, has labored so long and so effectively to bring the various nations of the world into closer and more sympathetic relations. With Baron d'Estournelles de Constant there were associated men of the highest

standing, representing different nationalities, who were able to bring to this important task large experience and broad sympathy.

The result of the work of the International Commission of Inquiry is contained in a report. This report, which has been written without prejudice and without partisanship, is respectfully commended to the attention of the governments, the people and the press of the civilized world. To those who so generously participated in its preparation as members of the International Commission of Inquiry, the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offer an expression of grateful thanks.”

It is therefore our wish to highlight some of the Commission’s findings in a series of articles and remind the world of the plight of the Macedonian people and the indignity they suffered at the hands of the Greek army and the Greek State.

The Carnegie Endowment was founded in 1910 by Andrew Carnegie to promote peace and understanding in the world. Its prime objectives are to do research, promote discussions, sponsor publications and education in international affairs and American foreign policy.

The Commission consisted of seven prominent members from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Among them was the distinguished journalist Henry N. Brailsford, author of the book “Macedonia its Races and their Future”.

The Commission was dispatched from Paris on August 2nd, 1913, shortly before the end of the second Balkan war and returned to Paris nearly eight weeks later, on September 28th. In spite of opposition from the Greek government, the commission arrived in time to witness much of the war’s aftermath and record most accounts while they were still fresh in people’s minds. The commission’s findings were compiled and released in 1914.

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The failed 1903 Ilinden Macedonian uprising against the Ottoman regime not only took away the hope for independence and self-rule but at the same time brought devastation and destruction. Many Macedonians lost their lives, properties and all hopes for freedom. While the Macedonian spirit for self-liberation was slowly extinguished by Turkish brutality, there was new hope on the horizon, the hope that Macedonia would be liberated by her Christian brothers Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Many leading Macedonians, including Krste Misirkov, warned against such false hopes, but most Macedonians, fed up with their intolerable living conditions, could not see the danger. Mesmerized by slick propaganda, they were more than ready to welcome their liberators.

Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, on the other hand, while priming the Macedonian people and the world with their propaganda for liberation, were actually planning for an invasion with intentions of occupying and partitioning Macedonia. The Great Powers were well aware of this sinister plan even before it was put into action.

Here is evidence that the Macedonian people were duped by their Christian brothers, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. According to the Carnegie inquiries, the Macedonian revolutionaries themselves, at first, rejoiced with an outburst of popular gratitude towards their liberators. In a “proclamation to their brothers”, published by the delegates of the twenty-five Macedonian Confederacies, at the very beginning of the first Balkan war, declared to the Macedonian population:

“Brothers:-your sufferings and your pains have touched the heart of your kindred. Moved by the sacred duty of fraternal compassion, they come to your aid to free you from the Turkish yoke. In return for their sacrifice they desire nothing but to reestablish peace and

order in the land of our birth. Come to meet these brave knights of freedom therefore with triumphal crowns. Cover the way before their feet with flowers and glory. And be magnanimous to those who yesterday were your masters. As true Christians, give them not evil for evil. Long live liberty! Long live the brave army of liberation!” (Page 50).

In fact the Serbian army entered Macedonia from the north and the Greek army from the south, welcomed with cries of joy from the Macedonian population. Unfortunately this enthusiasm for the liberators soon gave way to doubts, then to disenchantment and was finally converted to hatred and despair.

According to the Carnegie report, the Macedonians were not the only ones duped. The soldiers of the invading armies were lied to also. “The Servian soldier, like the Greek, was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriots, men who could speak his language and address him with jivio or zito. He found men speaking a language different from his, who cried hourrah! He misunderstood or did not understand at all. The theory he had learned from youth of the existence of a Servian Macedonia and a Greek Macedonia naturally suffered; but his patriotic conviction that Macedonia must become Greek or Servian, if not so already, remained unaffected. Doubtless Macedonia had been what he wanted it to become in those times of Douchan the Strong or the Byzantine Emperors. It was only agitators and propagandist Bulgarians who instilled into the population the idea of being Bulgarian. The agitators must be driven out of the country, and it would again become what it had always been, Servian or Greek.

Accordingly they acted on this basis.

Who were these agitators who had made the people forget the Greek and Servian tongues?

First, they were the priests; then the schoolmasters; lastly the revolutionary elements who, under the ancient regime, had formed an ‘organization’; heads of bands and their members, peasants who had supplied them with money or food, -in a word the whole of the male population.” (Page 50-51)

In other words, to a Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian soldier, if a person was not of his nationality as he had been taught back home, then this person was the enemy and in Macedonia, the entire Macedonian population was the enemy.

No sooner had the invading armies consolidated their hold on Macedonia, than they arrested and punished all Macedonians regarded as leaders and venerated as heroes by the population, while the dregs, the very men who caused much suffering, were raised to greatness.

Progressive disintegration of social and national life in Macedonia began with the entry of the occupying Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian armies and has not ceased to this day (in Greece and Bulgaria).

All three States, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia committed atrocities against the Macedonian people during the 1912 and 1913 Balkan wars. However, for the purpose of this series of articles, the focus of investigation will be on the Greeks.

Still in the midst of excitement, the first Balkan war was accepted by European opinion as a war of Liberation. In the European mind, its conclusion meant the downfall of the Ottoman regime in Europe and the end of all oppression. Unfortunately, European understanding of the Macedonian situation was far from reality as one tyrant was replaced by three. While the Ottoman regime tolerated the various religions, languages and traditions of all races in their Empire, the new tyrants did not. As soon as they consolidated their hold on Macedonia, they began to act on its population.

First came the evictions.

The first ones to be thrown out were the Muslim Macedonians. Even though they spoke the Macedonian language and insisted that they were Macedonians and not Turks, their captors relentlessly cast them out. For no reason other than being Muslim, they were evicted from their homes and forced out from their ancestral lands.

After the Turkish authorities vacated Macedonia, all that was left were civilians. No Turk dared remain behind knowing what awaited him. So the Turkish villages that the Carnegie report was referring to were in fact Macedonian villages inhabited by Muslim Macedonians.

After the Greek army occupied his town, according to Hadji Suleiman Effendi of Strumnitsa “They subsequently gave the order that the Moslems must abandon the town; and added that they, the Greeks, would burn the houses if the Moslems would not. I myself offered 3 pounds to the Greek patrol which came to burn down my house. The sergeant refused to take it, and said that if he did not burn the house another patrol would. The buildings were all systematically burnt, and the same thing was done in about thirty-two neighbouring villages. ‘We [pointing to the others that were present] were all large farmers, employing, each of us, nearly 300 laborers and tenants; now we have nothing’.” (Page 278)

The Carnegie Commission visited the camp of the Muslim refugees outside of Solun and spoke with refugees from Strumnitsa who, among other things, reported that most Muslims left their town, most under pressure. The few that remained were evicted by force. “They heard that other villages had been burned after they left and some of them actually saw their villages in flames. They had received no rations from the Greeks for four days; they had no plans for the future, did not wish to go Asia, nor yet to settle in Greek territory. They saw ‘no good in front of them at all’.” (Page 278)

Officials of the Comite Islamique, in Solun, informed the Carnegie Commission that by September 1, 1913, there were 135,000 Muslim refugees in and around Solun. Most of them had arrived after the conclusion of the second Balkan war. The Committee reminded the Greek government that it was responsible for these refugees since it evicted them from their homes. The Committee, which at this point was spending 50 pounds of its own money daily on bread to feed the refugees, had no faith that the Greek government would in any way help to relieve the situation. (Page 278)

In a separate account, according to Ali Riza Effendi of Kukush, the Greeks systematically and deliberately plundered and burnt the town. Many old people were burned alive in their homes. (Page 279)

A Muslim Notable from Yailadjik, a village one and a half hours' distance from Solun stated that on November 11, 1912, Greek soldiers came and killed fifteen Muslims. They then took all the furniture, 9,500 sheep and goats, 1,500 cattle and all the grain which they could find, and then burned the 250 houses of the village. (Page 281)

The following is a report drawn up by the Moslem community of Pravishta, on the atrocities committed in that town and the neighboring villages since the withdrawal of the Turkish authorities on October 24, 1913.

[NOTE.-The names of all of the killed (195 in all) and of some of those robbed, and also those of the aggressors, are fully given in the original Turkish document, but are omitted in the following summarized translation].

Village of Giran

Twenty-one Moslems killed by the Greeks of the village of Nikchan, and a sum of about £T3,000 stolen. Six hundred goats were also stolen for the benefit of the Greek church at Nikchan and 2,400 goats taken by the Greeks of Djerbelan.

Village of Palihor

Six Moslems killed by the band commanded by Demosthenes, headmaster of the Greek school of Palihor, pillage to the extent of about £T3,000. One woman (named) was violated by Demosthenes and another.

Village of Micheli

Demosthenes and other Greeks pillaged the village, carried off many oxen and much corn and stole credit notes for a sum of £T3,000.

Village of Drama

Two Moslems killed by Greeks of Pravishta.

Village of Osmanli

Six Moslems killed by Greeks of Holo; about £T1,500 stolen.

Village of Samalcol

Twenty-one Moslems of this village were taken by Miltiades Machopoulos of the band of Myriacos Mihail to the ravine of Casroub, where they were massacred by the Greek bandit Leonidas and others. Over £T1,500 were stolen from them; a shop looted of stock worth £T1,500, and about £T7,000 stolen in the village generally.

Village of Tchanahli

Two Moslems killed by Greeks of Holo; 200 sheep and a mule stolen.

Village of Mouchtian

Twenty-five Moslems killed by Myriacos Mihail, his band and some local Greeks in the ravine of Casroub. About £T3,000 stolen.

“In the twentieth century of progress, the skeletons which may still be seen in this ravine, present to the eyes of Justice a monument capable of enlightening her regarding Hellenic civilization.” (Page 282).

Village of Dranich.

£T2,000 in money, seven goats and 1,000 sheep stolen by the Greeks of Palihor and Nikchan.

Village of Ahadler

Nine Moslems killed by Greeks of Casroub, and sums amounting to £T258 stolen.

Village of Tchiflik

Ten Moslems killed by the same Greeks of Casroub, and about £T1,000 stolen.

Village of Pethor

Fourteen Moslems killed by the grocer Myriacos Mihail, member of the bishop's council, Panahi, priest of Boblan, and Miltiades Machopoulos. [The band led by these three men is frequently mentioned.] Local Greeks stole about £T1,500.

Village of Rehemli

Three Moslems killed by Greeks of Holo.

Village of Sarili

Five Moslems killed by Greeks of Pethor, and about 1,000 sheep and goats stolen.

Village of Dedeбал

Eight Moslems killed by Myriacos Mihail and his band; about £T1,000 stolen.

Village of Deranli

Three Moslems killed by Myriacos Mihail and his band; about £T3,000 stolen.

Village of Orphano

Three Moslems killed by the Greeks. One of these was seized by the priest Panahi on a telephonic order from the Greek bishop of Pravishta and killed at Essirli. The bishop had had the telephone

removed from the Turkish governor's office to his own house, and by this means he gave orders to the whole district.

Village of Boblan

Eight Moslems killed by Myriacos Mihail and his band, specially sent for the purpose by the bishop; about £T800 stolen.

Village of Carpan

Four Moslems killed by the band of Myriacos Mihail sent by the bishop. The Greeks of Carpan stole all the goods and corn belonging to the local Moslems, and did not leave them even the grain which they had in their household jars. The Greek bravoos brutally robbed the women of their earrings. Later Greek soldiers joined the villagers and began to violate the young women, until they were obliged to take refuge in the towns and villages held by Bulgarian troops.

About £T500 was stolen in this village.

Village of Leftera

Four Moslems killed by Greeks. The wife of Arnaut Agouchagha, who voluntarily embraced Islam fifty years ago, was taken to Pravishta to be reconverted to Christianity. She told the Bulgarian chief, Baptchev, that she did not consent to this conversion. Baptchev had her released, but on her return to the village she was "odiously lynched by Greek savages".

Baptchev took £T500 from a Turk at the instigation of the Greek priests of the monastery of Nozlé, who also robbed the villagers of about 2,000 sheep.

Village of Kochkar

Two Moslems killed by Greeks of Drazeni and about £T1,000 stolen.

Village of Kale Tchiflik

Five Moslems killed, and all the cattle seized by the priests of Nozlé.

Village of Devekeran

Four Moslems killed by Greeks of Pravishta; about £T500 stolen.

Village of Essirli

Nineteen Moslems killed in the ravine of Casroub by Greeks of that village. About £T1, 500 stolen.

Village of Kotchan

One Moslem killed to satisfy the vengeance of the bishop and of the priest Nicholas.

“It is worthy of remark that many Imams figure among the list of victims in the district of Pravishta further that the victims are almost always men known for their enlightenment.

The reason why the assassins killed Imams and the most enlightened notables for choice is obvious when one reflects that there are 13,000 Moslems in this district out of a total population of 20,000.”
(Page 283)

Town of Pravishta

Ten Moslems were killed, including one woman, while the town was held by Bulgarian bands, under the command of a chief named Baptchev, who established himself in the governor’s palace and acted as governor and commandant. They were killed by three Greeks (named) and the Bulgarians. On the evening when an assassination was to take place, the students of the Greek school assembled in the courtyard of the government house and sang the Greek national anthem.

The Greek bishop formed a municipal council composed of the priest Nicholas, the grocer Myriacos Mihail, and others (named). The sentence of death was passed by this council, approved by the archbishop, and communicated to Baptchev to be carried out.

Similar councils were formed in the villages which took their orders from that of Pravishta. The Bulgarian, chief Baptchev served as the tool of the Greek bishop and notables. In this town the Moslem population has incurred a loss of about £T3,000, stolen by the Bulgarian bands, guided by the Greeks.

The daughter of the commander of the gendarmeries, Suleiman Effendi, who is now in Constantinople, was summoned one night to the bishopric to be converted to Christianity, The bishop threatened her, in order to convert her, but the Bulgarian chief Baptchev, when he heard of this, went to the bishopric, saved the girl, restored her to her family, and thus prevented her conversion. Some days later he gave her a passport to go to Constantinople.

Thanks to the orders issued by Baptchev the mosques of the town and the villages were preserved intact, and no one was molested on account of his religion.

Neither the Bulgarian officers, nor their soldiers nor even the members of the bands committed any violence against women, but Baptchev took money to the value of about £T6,000.

The priest Panahi of the village of Nikchan and the Greek antiquarian Apostol, of the village of Palihor, who disapproved of the unworthy conduct of the bishop, were killed by his orders. The Bulgarian authorities after a careful inquiry were convinced of the bishop's guilt. The bodies of the victims of the town of Pravishta are still in the ravine of Cainardja, at the place called Kavala Bachi.

We certify that this report is in complete agreement with the registers of the Moslem community of Pravishta and true in all its details.

[Seal.]

Moslem Community of the Caza of Pravishta, 1331.

If these were not so tragic, they would be comical;

According to Serbian statistics compiled in 1889 by Gopceovich, 57,600 Bulgarians, 201,140 Greeks, 2,048,320 Serbians and 0 Macedonians lived in Macedonia.

According to Bulgarian statistics compiled in 1900 by Kantched, 1,181,336 Bulgarians, 228,702 Greeks, 700 Serbians and 0 Macedonians lived in Macedonia.

According to Greek statistics compiled in 1904 by Deliani, 336,017 Bulgarians, 652,795 Greeks, no figure was given for Serbians and 0 Macedonians lived in Macedonia.

Where did they get such numbers?

One can only make such claims about Macedonia and get-away with it. Try and tell a Frenchman or an Englishman that 0 French live in France or 0 English live in England and see how far you get!

Leave it to the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians to make fools of themselves.

Before beginning with the atrocities committed by the Greek army against the Macedonian civilian populations in Kukush, I want to provide you with some background information on the overall situation in Macedonia in order to better understand what was happening.

For some thirty years prior to the 1912, 1913 Balkan wars, the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian States had established zones of influence inside Macedonia.

Initially, through their respective churches which operated freely inside Macedonia, they employed propaganda campaigns enforced by armed brigands, denationalizing the Macedonian population and swaying it, sometimes forcefully, into accepting Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian national sentiments.

After the 1903 failed Ilinden Macedonian uprising, many Macedonians lost hope for self-liberation. Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, aware of this, began to exploit the situation. Again through

their churches, they started new propaganda campaigns, this time promising to liberate the Macedonian people.

While reporting Turkish atrocities in Macedonia to the outside world, mostly instigated by their own agents, the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbians were raising false hopes inside Macedonia. On one hand, their agents were working hard to vilify the Turks and gain the sympathy of the Great Powers and at the same time they were feverishly promoting the idea of liberation for the “Christian brothers” while all along their aim was “occupation and annexation”.

Many leading Macedonians, including Krste Misirkov the author of “Macedonian Matters”, understood that there would be a price to pay if foreign powers were allowed to invade Macedonia. There were warnings that if Macedonia was invaded, there would be consequences for the Macedonian people. Unfortunately, in view of the overwhelming Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian propaganda cries for liberation, those few voices of protest were drowned out.

By the first Balkan war, Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, through their respective church agents had established contacts inside Macedonia and had prepared the civilian population for liberation. Each State, village by village had strategically established who would support them and who would oppose them. Each State identified each village as “Greek friendly”, “Bulgarian friendly”, or “Serbian friendly” based on which sentiment the village majority supported.

Villages with strong Macedonian sentiments were classified hostile. Villages with strong Greek sentiments were classified as “Greek Villages”, those with strong Bulgarian sentiments were classified as “Bulgarian Villages” and so on.

I must strongly emphasize at this point that prior to 1912-1913 there were no “Greeks”, no “Bulgarians” and no “Serbians” living in the Macedonian villages. Statistics produced by the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian States were based strictly on religious affiliation and not on national sentiments.

Because Macedonia at the time was not a State, it did not have its own church. As Christians, however, the Macedonians were entitled, according to Ottoman law, to pray in their church of choice. The majority, being Orthodox, chose the Orthodox Church. Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, as Orthodox States with their own active churches, took advantage of this situation and each established its own churches inside Macedonia. (The Ottoman authorities prohibited any other type of organization within their territories).

As part of their regular service, each church introduced their own brand of denationalization policies. Each offered its service not in Macedonian but in its own language, Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian.

Even though their parishioners were Macedonian, the parish registered them not as Macedonians but as Greeks, Bulgarians, or Serbians depending on which church they attended. The parishes also changed the parishioners' Macedonian names to reflect their new Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian identities. For example if a certain Macedonian was a parishioner of the Greek Church, then he would be given a Greek name, registered as a Greek and statistically counted as Greek. If his brother, on the other side of the village, was a parishioner of the Bulgarian Church then he would be given a Bulgarian name, registered as a Bulgarian and statistically counted as a Bulgarian. If their sister in mid-village was a parishioner of the Serbian church then she would be given a Serbian name, registered as a Serbian and statistically counted as a Serbian.

Many Macedonians who left Macedonia for the west during that period still carry foreign family names given to them by the foreign church clergy.

In addition to prayer, the competing foreign churches also offered Macedonian children free education. That too unfortunately was offered, not in Macedonian, but in foreign languages, Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian.

This is how the Macedonian population of late 19th and early 20th century was denationalized and declared extinct.

Foreign propaganda in Macedonia was so effective that when the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian armies marched into Macedonia they were welcomed as friends. Even the old guard from the 1903 rebellion joined in and fought side by side with them. But as soon as the Turks were driven out, the Macedonian old guard and its leaders were arrested and jailed.

The second Balkan war was about the division of Macedonia. Neither Greece, Bulgaria, nor Serbia, after occupying Macedonia, was happy with what they had.

Since no division lines were agreed upon prior to Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia occupying Macedonia and treaties were broken as soon as they were made. The three States that entered Macedonia as allies quickly found themselves at odds with each other. Bulgaria who believed it fought the hardest to drive the Turks out, was not happy with its meager share. Greece who grabbed the most territory with the least effort was unwilling to share. So conflict was inevitable.

The second Balkan war was about grabbing territory and exacting revenge. As the armies clashed, there were winners and losers. The losers took revenge on the civilian population by looting, burning, killing and raping the Macedonian population.

“Deny that your enemies are men, and presently you will treat them as vermin”. (page 95)

“When you have to deal with barbarians, you must behave like a barbarian yourself”. (page 95, a quote from a Greek officer).

According to the Carnegie report, Greece was the first to instigate aggression by attacking Kukush on July 4, 1913. In retaliation Bulgaria attacked Demir-Hissar on July 7, Serres on July 11 and Doxato on July 13.

On July 12, according to the Carnegie report, King Constantine dispatched the following telegram to the representatives of Greece in the European capitals;

KING CONSTANTINE’S TELEGRAM

July 12, 1913.

The general commanding the Sixth Division informs me that Bulgarian soldiers under the command of a captain of gendarmes gathered in the yard of the school house at Demir-Hissar over one hundred notables of the town, the archbishop and two priests, and massacred them all. The headquarters staff ordered the exhumation of the bodies, with the result that the crime has been established. Further, Bulgarian soldiers violated young girls and massacred those who resisted them. Protest in my name to the representatives of the powers and to the whole civilized world against these abominations, and declare that to my great regret I shall find myself obliged to proceed to reprisals, in order to inspire their authors with a salutary fear, and to cause them to reflect before committing similar atrocities. The Bulgarians have surpassed all the horrors perpetrated by their barbarous hordes in the past, thus proving that they have not the right to be classed among civilized peoples.

(Signed) CONSTANTINE, King. (Page 300)

The accounts you are about to read are of those who either witnessed or themselves experienced the Greek atrocities at Kukush.

EVIDENCE OF FATHER JOSEPH RADANOV, of Kukush.

On July 2 he could distinctly see from Kukush that the surrounding villages were on fire, Salamanli among others. Fields of corn and stacks' of reaped corn had been set on fire even behind the Greek positions. The Greeks moreover had fired upon the reapers who had gone to work in the early morning in their fields. The refugees from the neighbouring villages began to arrive upon the heights called Kara-Bunar about a mile away, and were there bombarded by artillery.

Next day (July 3) the battle approached the town, but the Bulgarians retained their position. About midday the Greeks began to bombard Kukush, but when I left no house had taken fire. (Page 300)

FATHER JEAN CHIKITCHEV.

I took refuge after midday on July 3 with Father Michel and meant to stay with him. I saw the shells falling upon the sisters' orphanage. I saw the hospital struck by a shell. There were at this time no Bulgarian troops in the town, although they were in their positions in front of it. The town was unfortified. The bombardment seemed to be systematic. It could not be explained as a mistake incidental to the finding of the range. Quite forty shells fell not far from the orphanage and three or possibly four houses were set on fire. At this point I left the town and fled with the refugees. Next night it looked as if the whole plain were burning.

NOTE.-Both the above witnesses were priests of the Catholic Uniate Church. (Page 300)

MR. C. [the name may not be published] a Catholic resident in the village of Todoraki near Kukush, states that on July 6 the Greek commandant of Kukush arrived accompanied by thirty infantrymen and eighty armed Turks. He was bound and left exposed to the full sun without food or water from 7 a.m. until 3 p.m. His house was pillaged, and 200 francs taken with all his personal property. On being released he learnt from the villagers that they had lost in all £T300 during the pillage. Two men were beaten and twelve were bound and sent down to prison in Salonica. The women were not maltreated. (Page 301)

PETER SHAPOV, of Zarovo near Langaza, a shepherd.

He was taking his sheep and goats on the road to Demir-Hissar when Greek cavalry overtook the refugees on the edge of the town and began to slash out with their sabres to left and right. They took 600 goats belonging to himself and his two brothers. One of his brothers was wounded by a cavalryman and died afterwards at the Bulgarian frontier. The Bulgarian army was quite half an hour's walk away. There were no Bulgarian troops near them. (Page 301)

MATE, Wife of Petro of Bogoroditsa, near Langaza.

I saw the Greek cavalymen when they entered our village. I fled and in my haste was obliged to leave a baby of eighteen months

behind in the village in order to flee with this one which I have with me, a child of three. I saw our village in flames. I want my child.
(Page 301)

ELISAVA, Wife of Georghi of Zarovo, near Langaza.

We all fled when the shells began to fall in our village and got safely to Demir-Hissar. Then I heard people saying the Greek cavalry are coming. There was a panic; children fell on the ground and horsemen rode over them. I lost my children, save one whom I was able to carry. My husband had two others with him. I do not know what has become of him, and have not seen him since that day.
(Page 301)

MITO KOLEV, a boy of fourteen from the village of Gavaliantsi, near Kukush.

On Wednesday, July 2, after the fighting at Kukush, the peasants fled from our village except a few old people. I fled with the rest and reached Kilindir. On Thursday I went back three hours' walk to our village to collect our beasts and find my mother. I found her and was going along the road back to Kilindir with others. As we were leaving our village I saw a Greek cavalryman in uniform on horseback. He fired his rifle at me and missed. I threw myself on the road, pretending to be dead. He then shot my mother in the breast and I heard her say as she fell beside me, "Mito, are you alive?" and that was the last word she spoke. Another boy came up and ran away, when he saw what had happened. The soldier pursued him, shot him, and then killed him with his sword without dismounting. Then I saw a little cripple girl named Kata Gosheva, who was in front of us hiding in a ravine. The soldier went after her, but I do not know whether he killed her. He then came back, passed us and met other cavalymen. A certain miller of the village named Kaliu, who could speak both Greek and Bulgarian, then came up and lifted me up. The miller had a Mauser rifle. He hid in the ravine when he saw that the two troopers were hurrying back and I hid in some hay. I heard the horses' hoofs going towards the miller. They talked, and I suppose he must have surrendered. He then came back to where I was and the miller said, "Mito, Mito, come out or the cavalry will kill you." So I came out. We both then went to the school house

where we found other Greek troopers. I was quite sure they were Greeks because I recognized the uniform.

They used to come to our village sometimes before the war broke out. They questioned the miller in Greek and wrote something and gave it to him. The miller then said, "Let's go to the mill. It is about fifteen minutes from the village." We stayed there for an hour. In the meantime, three other Greek troopers came up from another direction. The miller went to meet them and showed them his piece of paper. The miller told me to gather straw, and he did the same. The troopers set fire to it so as to burn down the mill.

[In reply to a question, Mito explained that the mill was not the miller's personal property. It belonged to the village community, which employed him.]

The miller took away his mattress on his horse, which was at the mill. The troopers then left us and went to the village. We followed and the miller said to me, "We had better ask them for another bit of paper so that they will let us go to Salonica." Then some cartridges which had been left behind began to explode in the mill. This brought up other troopers at a gallop. They fired on us. The miller said something to them in Greek, showed them the paper and they chatted. I saw them looking at me. Then one of them drew his revolver and fired. The ball went through my clothes without wounding me. I fell down, pretending to be dead. He fired again and this time the ball went in at my back and came out at my breast. Then, still on horseback, he struck me on the shoulder with his sabre and the same blow wounded my finger.

[Mito lay down and showed exactly how it happened. He still had the scars of all these wounds. The position was perfectly possible.]

Blood was flowing from my mouth. I hid in the corn all the rest of the day and saw the village take fire in three places. The cavalry then gathered together and then rode off. I was in pain, but managed to walk away. I met two neighbors on my way and one of them took me in his cart to Doiran. There I met my father and had my wounds dressed in the military hospital. We fled through the mountains, and I was taken to the hospital in Sofia. (Pages 301 and 302)

VLADIMIR GEORGHIEV of Dragomirtsi, near Kukush.

I left the village when the war began and afterwards went back to find some of my property. I saw the Greek cavalry, perhaps a whole regiment of them. There were ten in our village with officers. I managed to hide in some reeds near the village. I saw Cavaliantsi burning. About 2 o'clock eight cavalymen passed and burned the mill. They then went into the village to finish the burning. I also saw our own village Dragomirtsi burning, and heard two or three shots fired. Toward 6 o'clock I fled and on my way met Mito Kolev, who was wounded and could hardly walk. Mito said he could not ride, so it was no use to offer him my beast. I left him and went on. (Page 302)

CHRISTO ANDONOV, of Gavaliantsi.

He was beaten by the Greek soldiers. He saw the mother of Mito Kolev near the Greek cavalymen and supposes she must have been killed. He did not see what happened very distinctly as he was at considerable distance. He saw the boy named Georghi Tassev killed with a sabre thrust by a trooper who was one of five. Some way off Kata Gosheva, the lame girl, was killed with a sword. This he saw quite distinctly. He was hidden in the ravine at the time.

NOTE.-These two witnesses were in a crowd of refugees at Samakov. In passing through the market place we inquired whether anyone present came from the village of Gavaliantsi. They stepped forward and told the above stories when asked to explain what happened to them after the battle of Kukush. (Page 302)

A Land of Sorrow

December 15th, 1915

Everything is in ashes and ruins, everything is devastated. Only the little white churches have been preserved, together with the small mills on the banks of streams: they can easily be seen from the hilltops.

Greek armies had marched here, devastating everything on their way. I do not know what was done in other parts of Macedonia by other peoples that conquered it one after the other: Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs. Probably the same, but here, in the region of Kukush, it was done by the Greeks. You can pass from village to village without meeting a living soul, except for the shepherds and their herds. Perhaps it is a village there in the distance? No, it is all in vain! It is nothing but ruins. The miserable huts have been pulled down. Nothing can be seen but the blackened walls overgrown by weeds. Nothing. Nobody. Only occasionally a rabbit dashes across the field, swift as lightning in the wilderness; hardly a bird fluttering its wings as it starts its flight, and then everything is silent and motionless again, under the clear sun in the glimmering blue light of December. The water is so clear that the horses can hardly stop drinking from it. They drink thirstily from every small stream that we pass by. Fields that could be tilled stretch around us, but there are no furrows in sight. Those that used to till it have been either killed or banished. Macedonia could be the granary of the Balkans. This is the conclusion to be made after one sees those numerous mills and rich little churches.

Lieutenant V. Lebedev, *En Macedoine avec l'armee Francaise. Impressions d'un officier Russe. Traduit du Russe par Paul Trogan* Le Correspondant, 88 anee, 10 Septembre 1916, Paris, 1916, p.p. 842-849.

MR. G., a Catholic inhabitant of Kukush, interviewed at Salonica, made the following statement:

“After fleeing from Kukush, I arrived at Akangeli with some thousands of refugees from all the surrounding villages. It is close to the station of Doiran. Between two and three p.m. on Sunday afternoon (July 6) the Greek cavalry arrived, possibly 300 of them, with officers. The inhabitants went out to meet them with white flags and the priest at their head. About 120 people of the village were told off to look after the cavalry horses. These people disappeared and no trace could be found of them next day. That evening the women, both natives and refugees, were all violated, often repeatedly. The soldiers pillaged and killed, but would spare a man's life for five piastres or so. Probably fifty inhabitants of

Akangeli were killed. I and another man were bound together by the cavalry. Six piastres and a watch were taken from me and my life was spared, but my companion was killed at my side. Women and girls were stripped and searched to find money. I saw many cases of violation myself. It was done more or less publicly, sometimes in the houses but sometimes in the fields and on the roads. I saw the village burnt and witnessed another case of the murder of a peasant.”

In reply to questions he stated that he saw the corpses of the fifty inhabitants after they had been killed. Some were shot and some were bayoneted. Again in reply to a question he was certain there was no conflict in the neighborhood and no shots were fired, but the villagers were told to collect their rifles and surrender them. They did so and one went off accidentally in the hands of an officer who was breaking it. He was wounded, and the soldiers at once killed a boy who was standing near. Turks joined with Greeks in the pillage and so did the infantry, which arrived next day. (Page 303)

GEORGI CHARISANOV, of Selo-Surlevo.

He took refuge in Akangeli. A squadron of Greek cavalry arrived on Sunday afternoon, gathered the refugees together and demanded arms, telling them not to fear. They then began to beat and rob. The Turks who followed them assisted in the pillage. On Monday, Greek infantry came and joined in sacking the village. Anyone who resisted was killed. There was a general panic and everyone fled who could. There were refugees from quite fifteen villages in the place. The soldiers violated women all the time, even little children. The soldiers went round from house to house on Sunday night and ordered the people to open the doors. They had a native of the village with them in order to give confidence to the people. Women were searched for money. About one hundred men were taken to look after the horses of the cavalry and these disappeared. On Monday the village was burned. We had given ourselves up quite voluntarily to the cavalry and welcomed them, and had surrendered about one hundred rifles. There was no excuse for what the soldiers did. (Page 303)

MITO ILIEV, a butcher of Akangeli.

I was there when the Greek army arrived on Sunday afternoon towards four o'clock. Reckoning from St. Peter's day it must have been July 6. The village was filled with refugees from Kukush district, perhaps 4,000 altogether. The people went out to meet the cavalry by each of three roads. There were about 400 of them. We made a white flag and showed the Greek colors. Everything went quietly at first. The commandant asked for the mayor, and inquired in Turkish whether he would surrender and give up the arms of the village. We fetched our rifles (generally old Martinis) and piled them on a cart. The soldiers called for bread and cheese which were brought out. They then said, "Who is the butcher here, that he may kill sheep for us." I was chosen and troopers went with me to fetch and kill thirty sheep. Meanwhile the soldiers began to demand money from everybody. I saw a young man, a refugee from another village, whose name I do not know, killed with a sword because he had nothing. I was told that a boy of fifteen was killed about this time, but did not see it. The people were now gathered together in the square of the village and told to sit down. This I witnessed. The Greek command came and asked, "Where do all these people come from?" Then he separated the Akangeli from the rest to the number of about sixty and sent them to a wood called Chulak. Nothing more was ever heard of them. I went on cooking the sheep. Then the soldiers began to violate all the women. I heard cries going on all night, especially about 11 o'clock. The soldiers were not drunk, and they had officers with them. I stayed all night at my oven, and saw the two daughters-in-law of Stovan Popovali violated in front of me a few paces away by three soldiers. Next morning, when we talked together in the village, I heard of many other violations. On Monday the Greek infantry arrived, seized me and told me to lead them to Dourbali. I led them there, and as I went off Akangeli began to blaze. I heard cries and rifle shots on all hands. When I got to Dourbali I fled to Atli, half an hour away, and hid in the house of my partner Saduk, a Turk. I sent Saduk to see what had become of my wife and family. He came back and said that everyone was being killed in the village, that he had seen many corpses, that my house was not burnt, but there were three dead bodies in front of it. Saduk advised me to flee, and I did so. The Turks in our own village (Akangeli) behaved well, but strangers from other Turkish villages came and joined in the pillage.

In reply to questions the witness stated that an officer was accidentally wounded in the arm while examining one of the revolvers which had been given up. This he saw personally, but denied that it explains the killing of the young man who was the first to be killed with a sword. That happened some distance away. (Page 303, 304)

STOYAN STOYEV, aged 18, of Akangeli.

This witness, at Dubnitsa, in reply to a question addressed to the group of refugees, whether any of those present came from this village or had passed through it in their flight, related in outline almost exactly the same story as the last witness, including the details about the conversation between the commandant and the mayor. The pillage he said, began while the arms were being gathered. A rifle went off accidentally, and an officer was wounded, while the Greek soldier was emptying it. This he saw from a distance of about forty meters. Then the cavalry drew their swords and some people were killed, certainly two youths. At this point he hid and saw little more. He heard from a friend of his, a youth who came running out of the house of Dine Popov, that his wife was being violated. He then fled to a Turkish village. (Page 304)

ANASTASIA PAVLOVA, a widow of Ghevgheli.

Shortly before the outbreak of the second [Balkan] war I was staying with my daughter, a school teacher, in the village of Boinitsa. A Greek lady came from Salonica and distributed money and uniforms to the Turks of the place some six or eight days before the outbreak of the second war. She also called the Bulgarians [Macedonian parishioners of the Exarchate Church] of the village together, and told them that they must not imagine that this village would belong to Bulgaria. She summoned the Bulgarian priest [Exarchate priest], and asked him if he would become a Greek. He replied "we are all Bulgarians [Macedonians belonging to the Exarchate Church] and Bulgarians [Macedonians belonging to the Exarchate Church] we will remain." There were some Greek officers with this lady who caught the priest by the beard. Then the men who were standing by, to the number of about fifty, had their hands bound behind their

backs, and were beaten by the soldiers. They were told that they must sign a written statement that they would become Greeks. When they refused to do this they were all taken to Salonica. When the men were gone, the soldiers began to violate the women of the place, three soldiers usually to one girl. [She named several cases which she witnessed.] The soldiers came in due course to my house and asked where my daughter was. I said she was ill and had to gone to Ghevgheli. They insisted that I should bring her to them. The Greek teacher of the village, Christo Poparov, who was with the soldiers, was the most offensive of them all.

They threatened to kill me if I would not produce her. The soldiers then came into the room and beat me with the butts of their rifles and I fell. "Now," they said, "you belong to the Greeks, your house and everything in it," and they sacked the house. Then sixteen soldiers came and again called for my daughter, and since they could not find her they used me instead. I was imprisoned in my own house and never left alone. Four days before the war I was allowed to go to Ghevgheli by rail with two soldiers to fetch my daughter. She was really in the village of Djavato. At Ghevgheli, the soldiers gave me permission to go alone to the village to fetch her. Outside the village I met five Greek soldiers, who greeted me civilly and asked for the news. Suddenly they fired a rifle and called out, "Stop, old woman." They then fired six shots to frighten me. I hurried on and got into the village just before the soldiers. They bound my hands, began to beat me, undressed me, and flung me down on the ground. Some Servian soldiers were in the village and interfered with the Greeks and saved my life. My daughter was hidden in the village and she saw what was happening to me and came running out to give herself up, in order to save her mother. She made a speech to the soldiers and said, "Brothers, when we have worked so long together as allies, why do you kill my mother?" The soldiers only answered, that they would kill her too. I then showed them the passport which had been given to me at Boinitsa. I can not read Greek and did not know what was on it. It seems that what was written there was "This is a mother who is to go and find her daughter and bring her back to us." The Greek soldiers then saw that it was my daughter, and not I, who was wanted and my daughter cried, "Now I am lost." The soldiers offered me the choice of staying in the village or going with my daughter to Ghevgheli. I

begged that they would leave us alone together where we were until the morning, and to this they agreed. In the night I fled with my daughter, who disguised herself in boy's clothes, to a place two hours away which was occupied by Bulgarian soldiers. I then went myself to Ghevgheli and immediately afterwards, the second war broke out. The Bulgarians took the town and then retired from it, and the Greeks entered it. The moment they came in they began killing people indiscriminately in the street. One man named Anton Bakharji was killed before my eyes. I also saw a Greek woman named Helena kill a rich Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] named Hadji Tano, with her revolver. Another, whose name I do not know, was wounded by a soldier. A panic followed in the town and a general flight. Outside the town I met a number of Greek soldiers who had with them sixteen Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] girls as their prisoners. All of them were crying, several of them were undressed, and some were covered in blood. The soldiers were so much occupied with these girls that they did not interfere with us, and allowed us to flee past them. As we crossed the bridge over the Vardar, we saw little children who had been abandoned and one girl lying as if dead on the ground. The cavalry were coming up behind us. There was no time to help. A long way off a battle was going on and we could hear the cannon, but nobody fired upon us. For eight days we fled to Bulgaria and many died on the way. The Bulgarian soldiers gave us bread. I found my daughter at Samakov. My one consolation is that I saved her honor. (Page 304, 305)

ATHANAS IVANOV, of Kirtchevo, near Demir-Hissar.

Our village is purely Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] and consists of 190 houses. I am a shepherd and look after the sheep of the village. When the Greek army approached, most of the other villagers fled, but I was late in going and remained behind to see that my family had all got safely away. On July 16, while my wife was gathering her belongings, the Greek soldiers arrived. Some of them told a young woman, a relative of ours, who was in front of the house, to go and find bread for them. Her husband had already been seized. I went to look for her. I found a sentinel with a fixed bayonet in front of her house. I rushed past him, and found that she had just been violated by a soldier, while

another stood over her with his bayonet, and then the second soldier also violated her, She had had a baby [given birth] only three days before. I then met Peniu Penev, who said to me, "You can speak Greek. All our wives are being violated; come and talk to the soldiers." I entered the courtyard of a house and saw three women on the ground who were being violated. One was wounded in the leg and another in the arm. [We took the names, but see no object in publishing them.] This was about three p.m. Many other women were there, crying. I then went out in fear, and when I had gone some distance, saw that the village was burning. I met a woman trying to put out the fire with water. The soldiers came up and violated her. I saw six soldiers trying to violate a young girl. Another soldier protested, but they threatened him with their bayonets. A sergeant then told this man to stop interfering and ordered him to arrest me and take me to the officers, who were at a place some half an hour's distance from the village. [In reply to questions, the witness stated that two cavalry officers were in the village, but were not in the courtyard, where most of the violations were going on. There were, however, non-commissioned officers among the infantry in the village.] When I got to the camp and was brought before the officers, the officers said, "Take him away and fling him into the flames." On my way back to the village, I met nine other villagers and saw them all killed with the bayonet. Their names were Ivan Michailov, Angel Dourov, Pavlo Zivantikov, Ilio Piliouv, Peniu Penev, Peniu Christev, Athanas Belcov, Thodor Kandjilov, Gafio Demetrev. I escaped at the moment by saying I was a Greek, when the soldiers asked, "What kind of creatures are these?" I can speak a little Greek. At dusk I managed to run away. They fired but missed me. I know nothing of what happened to my wife, but my children are saved. (Pages 305, 306)

A WOMAN FROM IJILAR, near Kukush, seen, at Salonica. Name suppressed.

Everything in our village was plundered and burnt including the school and the church. All this was done by Greek soldiers of the regular army. The inhabitants mostly disappeared. Soldiers kept sending for peasants to supply them with sheep. Four would go and never return, and so on at short intervals until hardly anyone was

left. "What am I to do now? I have nothing left but the clothes I wear." (Page 306)

ANTON MICHAILOV AND DEMETRI GHEORGHIEV, of German, near Demir-Hissar.

On July 5 (Saturday), we went to the market at Demir-Hissar. A panic presently took place. Everybody said that the Greek cavalry was coming. We went up to a height from which the plain was visible. We could see no cavalry but a lot of refugees coming from the other direction, from Barakli Djumaia. The Greeks of German, when the town was cleared, began to pillage the Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] shops. They [Greeks] armed themselves and distributed arms to the Turks. We found the corpses of two Bulgarian soldiers in the garden of Doctor Christoteles. The refugees whom we met from the country all said that the Greeks were everywhere killing and burning; so we returned to our village which was still intact, gathered our things together and fled.

Some of the villagers, however, remained in German. Some days after we had left, Greeks and Turks arrived together and began to pillage, burn and kill. We believe that 180 men, women and children were killed. German had 100 houses, and about half the population remained. We heard of the fate of the others from a young man named Demetri Gheorghiev [not to be confused with our witness of the same name], who told us that the people were gathered together by the Greeks and Turks, the men in the church and the women in the house of Papa Georghi. Some of the men tried to escape from the church, but were all shot at once. This was a signal for the massacre. The men were first searched and robbed, and then killed. Young Demetri jumped from the window of the church and had the good sense to lie down as if he were dead when he was shot at. He told us that some insurgents (andartes) had arrived from Athens and organized everything. There is only one other survivor of the massacre, namely, Papa Georghi.

NOTE. We made a uniform rule of refusing to allow witnesses to give us any information at second hand, but in this instance since the

alleged massacre had been so complete the circumstances seemed exceptional. (Page 306)

ANTON SOTIROV, a Priest from the Village of Kalendra near Serres, stated that Greek regulars and Turks came and burnt the Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] houses at their village and killed an old man, the only one of the inhabitants who remained behind. This he saw from some little distance. (Page 307)

GEORGHY DIMITRIEV, of Drenovo near Serres, stated that his village was burnt by Greek infantry on a Tuesday about noon. He saw an old women named Helena Temelkova, aged about 80, shot and then beheaded by a Greek soldier. He was hidden behind some stones on rising ground and shortly afterward managed to flee. He saw the village burnt by the Greeks. (Page 307)

MR. V. Seen at Salonica. Name suppressed. Was made prisoner by the Greeks at Pancherovo. He speaks Greek well and pretended to be a Greek and was released. He saw three men of the village killed, apparently for motives of robbery. Their names were Angel Michail, Athanas Bateto, and the latter's son. Athanas had £T21. The peasants of this village had gone out to meet the troops with a white flag. This occurred on July 23. Eleven prisoners, who were taken at the same time as himself, were all killed on the hillside in the Kresna pass. These were armed men. (Page 307)

NICOLA TEMELKOV, of Melnik, formerly a teacher, now a merchant.

Between July 11 and July 16, last, all the Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] inhabitants of the Melnik district fled to Old Bulgaria, and he went with them, but had recently visited Melnik. In the village of Sklava, as he passed through it, all the women were gathered by the Greek soldiers in the house of Mito Constantinov, and the women were distributed among thirty soldiers. One girl of eighteen named Matsa Anton Mancheva resisted stoutly and offered money to the amount of £T60. The Greeks took her money and still attempted to violate her. She resisted and was killed. Melnik has not been burnt, with the

exception of the officers' club, the hotel and the post office. The Greek [Macedonian belonging to the Patriarchate Church] houses are empty and the furniture gone. His father and mother remained in the town and told him their story. The Greeks said to them, "We do not wish to have bears living in our country. We want men." By "bears" they meant the Bulgarians. The officers took everything belonging to the witness on the pretense that he had fled. They demanded produce belonging to his father to the amount of 18 napoleons. They then took him out to his farm at Orman-Tchiflik and threatened him with death. He paid £T180 for his life and was taken back to Melnik. All this was done by officers. They took quantities of wheat, rice and barley from his father's farm and also the buffaloes. The order was given that everything and everybody must be cleared out of Melnik and go to Demir-Hissar, and the government put both automobiles and wagons at the disposal of the Greek inhabitants for this journey. Those who were unwilling to go were beaten. This his father related to him. His father, an old man, has since died from exhaustion and mental worry.

NOTE: In the letters that follow, many of the soldiers wrote about "Bulgarians" in Macedonia. I just want to remind the reader that there were no civilian Bulgarians (outside of Bulgarian government officials) living in Macedonia in 1913. The Bulgarian civilians the soldiers referred to were Macedonians who were either parishioners of the exarchate Church or who did not speak Greek. Anyone who could not speak Greek or Turkish was assumed to be Bulgarian.

The following are EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF GREEK SOLDIERS found in the mail of the nineteenth regiment of the Greek seventh division, captured by the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] in the region of Razlog.

Letter 1

RHODOPE, 11th July, 1913.

This war has been very painful. We have burnt all the villages abandoned by the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church]. They burn the Greek villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Patriarchate Church] and we the

Bulgarian [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church]. They massacre, we massacre and against all those of that dishonest nation, who fell into our hands, the Mannlicher rifle has done its work. Of the 1,200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been, we have not left a single root of this race.

I embrace you tenderly, also
your brother and your wife,
SPILIOTOPOULOS PHILIPPOS.

Letter 2

Mr. Panaghi Leventi,

Doctor

Aliverion Euboea.

I also enclose herewith, the letter of congratulation from my commandant, Mr. Contoghiri in which he praises my squadron, which on the occasion of the short stay of a few days of our division, received the order at five o'clock, to march to the north of Serres. During the march, we engaged in a fight with the Bulgarian comitadjis [Macedonian revolutionaries] whom we dispersed, after having killed the greater part. We burnt the two villages of Doulia and Banitza [Banitsa], the homes of the formidable comitadjis, and passed everything through the fire, sparing only the women, the children, the old people, and the churches. All this was done without pity or mercy, executed with a cruel heart, and with a condemnation still more cruel.

Merocostenitza, 12th July, 1913.

The outposts of the Army.

Love to you and also the others.

(signature unreadable)

Sergeant.

Letter 3

Mr. Sotir Panaionnou,
in the village of Vitziano, parish Ithiou
Tricala de Thessalie.
River Nesto, 12th July, 1913.

Here at Vrondu (Brodi) I took five Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] and a girl from Serres. We shut them up in a prison and kept them there. The girl was killed and the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] also suffered. We picked out their eyes while they were still alive.

Yours affectionately:
COSTI.

Letter 4

Bulgarian Frontier, 11th July, 1913.

DEAR BROTHER JOANI:

Here is where the archicomitadjis [Macedonian revolutionaries] live. We have massacred them all. And the places we have passed will remain in my memory forever.

SER. CLETANIS.

Letter 5

RHODOPE, Bulgarian Frontier,
11th July, 1913.
BROTHER MITZO:

And from Serres to the frontier, we have burnt all the Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church].

My address remains the same: 7th Division, 19th Regt.; 12 Battalion at Rhodope.
JOAN CHRISTO TSIGARIDIS.

Letter 6

NESTOS, 13th July, 1913.
Village Banista [Banitsa],

If you want to know about the parts where we are marching, all are Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church], and everyone has fled. Those who remain are “eaten” by the Mannlicher rifle and we have also burnt a few villages. The Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] suffered the same fate at the hands of the Servians [Serbians].

S. NAKIS.

Letter 7

In the desert, 12th July, 1913.

...in Bulgarian territory, we are beating the Bulgarians who are continually retreating, and we are on the point of going to Sofia. We enraged them by burning the villages, and now and again when we found one or two, we killed them like sparrows.

Your brother GEORGE (name unreadable)
I am writing you in haste.

Letter 8

Zissis Coutoumas to Nicolas Coutoumas.

With the present I give you some news about the war that we have made against the Bulgarians. We have beaten them and have reached the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier. They fled into Bulgaria and we massacred those who remained. Further, we have burnt the villages. Not a single Bulgarian [Macedonian associated with the Exarchate Church] has been left. God only knows what will come of it. I have nothing more to write you. I remain, your Son Zissis Coutoumas. Many compliments from Thimios. He is well as also the other young men here.

12th July, 1913.

Letter 9

M. Zaharia Kalivanis,
Erfos-Milipotamos,
ethimo, Crete.
RHODOPE, 13th July, 1913.

Seal of the Commandant of Public Safety, Salonica

We burn all the Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church] that we occupy, and kill all the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] that fall into our hands. We have taken Nevrocop and were well received by the Turks, many of whom came to our ranks to fight against the Bulgarians. Our army is in touch with the Servian [Serbian] and Roumanian [Romanian] armies, who are 32 kilometers from Sofia. With regard to ourselves we are near the ancient frontier.

S. Z. KALIYANIS.

Letter 10

July 15th, 1913.
MY BROTHER SOTIR:

Thanks to God, I am well at the moment of writing you. We are at present on the Bulgarian- Thracian frontier. As far as the war is concerned, I can not tell you anything about the situation and what takes place. The things that happen are such that have never occurred since the days of Jesus Christ. The Greek army sets fire to all the villages where there are Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] and massacres all it meets. It is impossible to describe what happens. God knows where this will end. The time of...has come for us to start eating one another.

Love from your brother
PANAGHIS BEGLIKIS.

I am writing you in haste.

Letter 11

Bulgarian Frontier, 12/VII/1913.

Everywhere we pass, not even the cats escape. We have burnt all the Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church] that we have traversed. I can not describe it to you any better.

Your loving brother

GEORGES (corporal).

My address is as follows:

To Corporal Sterghiou George,
12th Squadron, 3rd Battalion, 19th Regt.
7th Division-if away, send on.

Letter 12

RHODOPE, 13th July, 1913.

My DEAR LEONIDAS:

Keep well, as I am. That is what I wish you. I received your letter, which gave me great pleasure. I also received one from Aristides, who is well, and writes that he has also been enrolled, which pains me, because my sufferings are such that could not be consoled by tears, because everything is lost, because you can not imagine what takes place in a war. Villages are burnt, and also men, and we ourselves set fire and do worse than the Bulgarians.

Your affectionate brother,
THOMAS ZAPANTIOTIS.

Letter 13

Mr. Demetrios Chr. Tsigarida

For the Greek Army, at Mexiata as souvenir of the Hypati-Phtiotis.

Turco-Bulgarian war. COPRIVA (?),

11th July, 1913.

Seal of the Commandant of the 19th Regt.

I was given 16 prisoners to take to the division and I only arrived with 2. The others were killed in the darkness, massacred by me.

NICO THEOPHILATOS.

Letter 14

IN BULGARIA, 13th July, 1913.

What a cruel war is taking place with the Bulgarians. We have burnt everything belonging to them, villages and men. That is to say we massacre the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church]. How cruel! The country is inundated with Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church]. If you ask how many young Greeks have perished, the number exceeds 10,000 men.

Your Son, TSANTILAS NICOLAOS.

P.S. Write me about the enrolments that are taking place. They are surely on the point of enlisting old men. Curses on Venizelos.

Letter 15

To Georgi D. Karka (Soldier)
First Section of the Sanitary Corps, 9th Division.
Arghirocastro, Epirus.
The River Nestor,
12th July, 1913.

DEAR BROTHER GEORGI:

Thank God I am quite well after coming through these five engagements. Let me tell you that our division has reached the river Nestor, that is to say, the old Bulgarian Frontier, and the Royal Army has passed this frontier. By the King's orders we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated

with the Exarchate Church], because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town Serres, also Nigrita and a lot of Greek villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Patriarchate Church]. We have turned out much crueller than the Bulgars-we violated every girl we met. Our division took 18 pieces of artillery in good condition and two worn out pieces, altogether 20 cannon and 4 machine guns. It is impossible to describe how the Bulgars went to pieces and ran away. We are all well, except that K. Kalourioti was wounded at Nigrita and Evang the Macedonian got a bayonet wound while on outpost duty, but both are slight cases. Remember me to our countrymen and friends, although after coming through so much, thank God I am not afraid of the Bulgars. I have taken what I had a right to after all they did to us at Panghaion.

My greeting to you,
N. ZERVAS.
(Some illegible words follow.)

Letter 16

M. Aristidi Thanassia, Kamniati.
Commune of Athanamow; Trikala, Thessaly.
14 July, 1913.

DEAR COUSIN:

I have received your letter of the 1st and I am very glad that you are well, as, after all, so are we up to now. Let me tell you, Aristidi, all we are going through during this Bulgarian War. Night and day we press on right into Bulgarian territory and at any moment we 'engage in a fight; but the man who gets through will be a hero for his country. My dear cousin, here we are burning villages and killing Bulgarians, women and children [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church]. Let me tell you, too, that cousin G. Kiritzis has a slight wound in his foot and that all the rest of us, friends and relations are very well including our son-in-law Yani. Give my greeting to your father and mother and your whole household, as well as my cousin Olga.
That is all I have to say,
With a hearty hug.

Your brother,
ANASTASE ATH. PATROS.

Letter 17

M. George P. Soumbli,
Megali Anastassova,
Alagonia, Calamas.
Rhodope, 12th July, 1913.

DEAR PARENTS:

We got to Nevrokop, where again we were expected, for again we fought the entire day, and we chased them (the enemy) to a place where we set on them with our bayonets and took eighteen cannon and six machine guns. They managed to get away and we were not able to take prisoners. We only took a few, whom we killed, for those are our orders. Wherever there was a Bulgarian [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church] village, we set fire to it and burned it, so that this dirty race of Bulgars couldn't spring up again. Now we 'are at the Bulgarian frontier, and if they don't mend their manners, we shall go to Sofia.

With an embrace,
Your son,
PERICLI SOUMBLIS
7th Division, 19th Regiment, 12th Company, Salonica.

Letter 18

M. Christopher Kranea,
Rue Aristotle et de l'Epire 48.
Athens.
Rhodope, 14th July, 1913.

DEAR BROTHER CHRISTOPHER:

I am writing from Rhodope, a Bulgarian position, two hours away from the old Bulgarian frontier. If God spares me I shall write again. I don't know how much further we shall go into Bulgarian territory

or if we are to have any more fights, as I don't know what further resistance we shall have to meet. If this war is to be the end of me, I pray the Almighty to comfort you greatly; and above all my mother and the relatives; but I hope that God will preserve my life. The money you speak of has not come yet. I have sent a few "bear-leaders" into a better world. A few days back my god-father Vassil Christon, tried his hand at shooting eight comitadjis [Macedonian revolutionaries]. We had taken fifty whom we shared among us. For my share I had six of them and I did polish them off. That is all I have to say.

Greeting from your brother,
DIM. KRANEAS.

Letter 19

M. Georges N. Yrikaki,
Vari-Petro, Cydonia,
Canea, Crete.
Macedonia, July 12, 1913.

DEAR GEORGE:

After that we went forward and occupied the bridge over the Strouma. A lot of Bulgars [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] were hidden in different spots. After we had occupied the bridge we found numbers of them every day, and killed them. The Bulgars have burned the bridge to stop our advance towards Serres.

With greetings,
F. VALANTINAKI.
This is my address-
STILIAN VALANTINO,
19th Regiment, 3rd Battalion, 9th Company, 7th Division. Macedonia.

Letter 20

To A. M. Nicolas Hartaloupa,
Ksilokastro, Tricala, Corinth.

Rhodopian Mountains, 18/7/1913.

DEAR BROTHER NICOLAS:

I am very well and I hope you are as well as I am. We have turned up close to the Bulgarian frontier. We are constantly pressing on and putting the enemy to flight...

When we pass Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church] we set fire to them all and lay them to waste.

With an embrace, Your brother,
A. V. THODOROPOULOS. (Same address.)

Letter 21

To Mme. Angheliki K. Lihouidi,
Manastiraki, Acarnania,
Ksiromera-Vonitza.
Rhodope, July 13, 1913.

DEAR MOTHER:

I send you my greetings. I am in good health. We have to-such is the order -burn the villages, massacre the young, only sparing the aged and children. But we are hungry.

With greeting,
Your son, JEAN LIHOUIDIS.

Letter 22

To M. Christo Tchiopra,
Petrilo, Arghitea,
Karditza, Thessaly.
The River Nestor,
July 13, 1913.

DEAR KINSFOLK:

My greeting to you. I am well and hope you are in good health. This is something like real war, not like that with the Turks. We fight day and night and we have burned all the villages.

With greetings,
KAMBAS NICOLAOS.

Letter 23

Independant Cretan Regiment,
12th Company,
To Corporal Em. N. Loghiadi. Leaskoviki, Epirus.
Dobrisnitza, 12th July, 1913.

Today I am answering your letters of the 22nd of May and the 21st of June. We have had a little engagement near the Strouma with the refugees from Koukouch [Kukush] and Lahna [Lagadina]. The guns mowed them down on the road. We did not succeed in occupying the bridge, which they burned in their retreat toward Serres. This letter is being sent from Mehomia.

Greeting from,
E. N. LOGHIADIS.

Letter 24

To M. Dimitri Koskinaki,
Skardelo, Milopotamo,
Retimo, Crete.
Nevrokop, July 12, 1913.

DEAR COUSIN:

I am well and I hope you are, too. We burned all the Bulgarian villages [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church] on our route and we have almost reached the old frontiers of Bulgaria.

With an embrace,
Your cousin, S. KALIGHEPSIS.

Letter 25

11 July, 1913.

I have not time to write much; you will probably find these things in the papers. It is impossible to describe how the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] are being treated. Even the villagers - it is butchery - not a town or village may hope to escape being burned.

I am well and so is cousin S. Kolovelonis.
With a loving embrace,
Your brother, N. BRINIA.

Letter 26

The Bulgarian Frontier,
11th July, 1913.

DEAR BROTHER ANASTASE:

I hope you are well. Don't worry, I am all right. We have had a lot of engagements, but God has spared my life. We had a fight at Nevrokop and took 22 cannon and a lot of booty. They can't stand up to us anywhere, they are running everywhere. We massacre all the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] that fall into our clutches and burn the villages. Our hardships are beyond words.

Your brother, NICOLAS ANGHELIS.
I embrace you and kiss my father's hand.

Letter 27

Dobrountzi,
13th July. 1913.

DEAR BROTHER:

All the villages here are Bulgarian [Macedonian villages associated with the Exarchate Church], and the inhabitants have taken to flight as they did not wish to surrender. We set fire to all the villages and smash them up,-an inhuman business; and I must tell you, brother, that we shoot all the Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] we take, and there are a good number of them.

With an embrace,
Your brother,
Al. D----GEAS. (Illegible.)

Letter 28

Banitza [Banitsa], 11th July, 1913.

My DEAR LEONIDAS:

I can't find paper to write to you, for all the villages here are burnt and all the inhabitants have run away. We burn all their villages, and now we don't meet a living soul. I must tell you that we are close upon the old frontiers of Bulgaria. We have occupied the whole of Macedonia except Thrace.

I want an immediate answer.

This is my address,
CORPORAL GEORGE KORKOTZI,
19th Regiment, 3rd Battalion, 11th Company, 7th Division-whenever we may be.

The following account was given by a young Russian officer who visited the wider region of Kukush. Not much is know about Lieutenant V. Lebedev, except that he was a liaison officer in the French army at the Solun front line, or, more precisely, the Macedonian front line. Little is known about him because it is practically impossible to identify this young man solely on the basis of a common Russian surname. As a matter of fact it is irrelevant, just as is the fact that he used several different names to describe "Macedonians". But it should be noted that the people whom he contacted all called themselves Macedonians.

It is important to note that this description comes to us from a witness with a keen sense of observation and a richness of expression. In addition, as he himself pointed out, he understood the people very well and therefore he gave us their stories as a supplement to what he saw and described himself. His truthfulness is also obvious, intertwined with his human compassion for the suffering of the Macedonians, victims of the two Balkan chauvinist passions of the basest kind, so typical of the times. He was an unprejudiced observer.

His testimony is a rare and highly appreciated source of information, and at the same time of indisputable historical authenticity. His accounts are a historical document of the consequences of the two Balkan wars in Macedonia in general and the suffering of the Macedonian people in particular. It is of special importance for Greek occupied Macedonia, since the dramatic events that took place in the region of Kukush are of a similar nature to those that took place in the southern regions of Macedonia by June 1913, and which were occupied by the Bulgarian army.

It is a rare testimony, since inhabitants of Kukush, after those two terrible days in June 1913 when the place was burned down, already fleeing across the front line, could neither see nor describe the ruins and desolation which followed the withdrawal of the Bulgarian and the oncoming of the Greek army. Later, they could tell only of the life in the older days. By December 1915, when our traveler walked this region, the Solun front line was already established near Kukush, passing through this region of Macedonia along the then Serbian and Greek international border.

It is also authentic because it depicts a situation almost unchanged since June 1913. It came only two years later after the catastrophe which befell this region, whose ethnic characteristics were never to be the same again. There is something more essential: it is the fact that there only the land ruled, fertile and beautiful but devastated and un-peopled. It was the result of the newly risen, medieval in nature, efforts of conquest.

Greek colonists would populate these parts more systematically some ten years later and this was to gradually bring new life to the barren land. This is why this sight which he saw, and described so vividly had such a terrifying effect on Lebedev's mind. Devastated land, land without people before the very gates of Solun can be seen even in these days; a sight which evokes the same shuddering feeling in every unbiased passer-by, who does not necessarily have to be Macedonian. All this was a direct result of the two Balkan wars, which, at least for Kukush, were dynastic wars of conquest, and which could be very adequately called wars of extermination.

There is one sentence which draws our attention in particular. In it, Kukush is described as "a nest of komiti" (insurgents). Lebedov obviously took it from another source. Written by whom? The context and the manner in which it was written suggest that it must have been a Greek source. Speaking more precisely it must have been just such a place for the Greek chauvinists. From their point of view, their plans and interests, it was normal procedure to describe it as such. It was necessary to blacken the victim morally prior to his conquest and destruction in order to justify the deed both in the eyes of their own nation and in the eyes of others: the victim was to be labeled in a pejorative manner. This has been done by conquerors and rulers all over the world, both before and since the Balkan wars. The Greek chauvinists used frequently this pejorative expression to describe Macedonian partisan villages in the last war, up to 1944, pretending to have forgotten that modern Greece was the child of the Greek anti-Turkish revolution.

Times change, and so do rulers. And still, Kukush was not "a nest of komiti", but a Macedonian revolutionary nest, and one of many at that. It had played an important role in the Macedonian Enlightenment movement since the time of Dimitar Miladinov. During the 1903 Ilinden Uprising it gave more than 200 volunteer uprisings. It is also the birthplace of Gotce Delchev, and out of four Macedonians delegated to the Ottoman Parliament, two were from this region, Dimitar Vlahov and Hristo Delchev.

Kukush had a well-organized and developed educational system, a reading room with a rich library, dozens of young people with university degrees: professors, doctors, engineers, economists and

lawyers. They had all been educated in Europe, Russia, Tsari Grad (Constantinople) and Bulgaria. It held a very important place in the social life and history of the Macedonian people. But all of this held true only up to the ill-fated days of June 20th and 21st, 1913.

The following selection of excerpts have been taken from the publication “En Macedoine avec l’armée française. Impressions d’un officier Russe”, preserved in a Paris library.

“My guide is pleased that he can speak Russian with me and that I understand Macedonian. Here we are already at the site where everything was burned down. ..It is impossible to locate a single village which has not been burned. All the villages were burned down. In this region it was the Greeks who set fire to them, because the population was Slavonic. The Bulgarians (Bulgarian army-M.P.) did the same to the villages which were populated by the Greeks [Macedonians associated with the Greek Patriarch Church]. Sometimes it was the Serbs, in other places, the Turks. ..(the three full-stops by Lebedev -M.P .) Macedonians suffered plundering and destruction everywhere. The fields turned into uncultivated land; ruins are overgrown with weeds; there is no life.

Is this a war of liberation? -sigh the people, while everything is burned down and plundered, the whole population banished, fled or ostracized. We were better off during the Turkish rule.

The hamlet had no more than 30 to 40 houses: Yes, they must have adhered passionately to their religion, since they had built such temples during the Turkish rule. But today the liberators came. They banished the people and burned the villages. The churches are almost ruined, even the stork left the steeple. And still, the church has not been deserted. Small coins are glued to the wax around the altar and there is always oil in the icon lamp.

A shepherd comes to us from nearby pasture.

-We have no priest - he said. The priest fled together with the peasants in 1913, but the church is always a church. Here we come, bring icon lamps and pray to God.

-But who are you?

-We are Macedonians, Greek Macedonians. And the land is Turkish.

-What do you mean?

-It belongs to the Turkish beg who left before the War. He is in Istanbul, but he does his best to collect payment for everything, even for the grass. He charges us dearly.

-And when the village was still here, whose was the land?

-It has always been his.

-But tell me, my dear friend, who was it that burned the village?

-It was the Greeks. They burned it. It is very bad, they burned the village, the villagers were driven out, it's very bad.

I entered the church graveyard. Small marble crosses mark the graves. "Here lies..." "Here lies Mihail Tanchov". On every cross the inscription begins with these words, and I came upon this phrase in every church graveyard I visited from the Vardar to the Galik.

The big town of Kukush is in ruins. The white monastery of St. George, the patron saint of Macedonia rises from the hill which dominates the town. This monastery is a real jewel, a real miracle of Macedonian artistry. During holidays and family feasts for patron saints people came to pray from everywhere: Bulgarians, Greeks, even Turks. In older days, during Turkish rule, it did not bother anyone. But today, things are changed.

Kukuch was a rich town, populated by 8,000 Bulgarians [Macedonians associated with the Exarchate Church] and 20,000 Turks. The Bulgarians won and conquered it (The Bulgarian army after the First Balkan War -M.P) When they came near the town the Turks fled for Turkey. The Bulgarians took their land. They held Kukush for 8 months under occupation and then the fratricidal war, i.e. the Second Balkan War began. After the battle for Kukush all the population fled and went to Bulgaria following the Bulgarian

army. The new conquerors, the Greeks, burned down this “nest of komiti”. Few houses were spared: the mosque and the empty Turkish barracks, miserable blue and yellow.

The Macedonians believe that justice will be done, that it will triumph over injustice, but I truly doubt that this wish of theirs will come true. Macedonia will continue to be for a long period of time a land of sorrow and death.

In all the villages and populated places in which there are still traces of preserved life, there is the same sight to be seen. Refugees, always and everywhere. Refugees among whom the most desperate are the Gypsies, who had always led the life of tramps, and who now have come here to settle themselves among the ruins. The desolate villages are being populated with refugees who would do anything, either for the Greek merchant in Solun or Athens, or for the Turkish beg now living in Istanbul.

NOTE: I must emphasize again that there were no Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian villages in Macedonia in 1913 as referenced to by the authors of the Carnegie report. The majority of the indigenous people living in Macedonia prior to the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian occupation were Macedonians. Among the Macedonians also lived Turkish, Albanian and Vlach minorities.

The only Greeks living in Greek occupied Macedonia were the colonists settled there by the Greek State after the 1913 occupation and partition.

BURNED VILLAGES

The list of burned villages which follows will be found to be accurate, in the sense that it includes no villages which have not been burned. But it is far from complete, save as regards the Kukush and Strumnitsa regions.

Many other villages were burned, particularly in the Serres and Drama districts. In many cases we have not been able to discover the exact number of houses in a village. It will be noted that the list includes a few Turkish villages in Bulgarian [occupied] territory

burned by the Greeks, and a few villages burned by the Servians [Serbians]. The immense majority of the villages are, however, Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greek army in its northward march.

The number of burned villages included in this list is 161, and the number of houses burned is approximately 14,480.

We estimate that the number of houses burned by the Greeks in the second [Balkan] war can not fall short of 16,000.

The figures which follow the names indicate the number of houses in each village.

District of Strumnitsa

Eleven Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks, with number of houses in each:

Dabilia (50), Novo-selo (160), Veliussa, Monastira, Svrabite, Popchevo (43), Kostourino (130), Rabortsi (15), Cham-Tchiflik (20), Baldevtsi (2), Zoubovo (30).

Nine Turkish villages burned by the Greeks: Amzali (150), Guetcherli (5), Tchanakli (2), Novo-Mahala (2), Ednokoukovo (80), Sekirnik (30), Souchitsa (10), Svidovitsa (10), Borissovo (15).

Two Patriarchist villages: Mokreni (16), Makrievo (10), with three-fourths of the town Strumnitsa, about 1,000 houses and shops.

In all, over 1,620 houses.

District of Petrits: Fourteen villages burned by the Greeks: Charbanovo, Breznitsa, Mouraski, Mitinovo, Ormanli, Michnevo, Starochevo, Klutch, Koniarene, Kalarevo, Mikrevo, Gabrene, Skrit, Smolare, (the last two partially).

District of Raslog: Dobrinishta (298).

District of Gorna: Djoumaia, Simitli, Dolno-Souchitsa, Srbinovo (200) (the last burned by the Greeks after the Bucharest peace treaty was signed).

District of Melnik: Sixteen Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Spatovo, Makriko- stenovo, Sklave (30), Sveti-Vratch (200), Livounovo (60), Dolni-Orman (90), Tchiflitsite, Prepetcheno (20), Kapotovo, Kromidovo, Harsovo (100), Dolna-Oumitsa, Hotovo, Spatovo (16), Spanchevo (30), Otovo (60).

District of Nevrokop: Seven Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Dolna-Brodi (300), Libiachovo (400), Kara-Keui (40), Godlevo, Tarlis (10), Obidin, Tcham-Tchiflik, (and ten houses in the town of Nevrokop) (also the Turkish village of Koprivnik (100).

District of Salonica: Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Negovan, Ravna, Bogorod.

District of Ziliahovo: Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Skrijevo, Libechovo. Kalapot (partially), Alistratik (partially), Guredjik.

District of Kukush: Forty Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Kukush town 1,846 houses, 612 shops, 5 mills. Idjilar (70), Aliodjalar (50), Goliabache (40). Salamanli (15), Ambar-Keul (35), Karaja-Kadar (25), Alchaklish (13), Seslovo (30), Stresovo (20), Chikiria (15), Irikli (20), Gramadna (100), Alexovo (100), Morartsi (350), Roschlevo (40), Motolevo (250), Planitsa in part (180), Nimantsi (40), Postolar (38), Yensko (45), Koujoumarli (30), Bigliria (18), Kazanovo (20), Dramomirtsitsi (115) in part, Gavalantsi (45), Kretsovo (45), Michailovo (15), Kalinovo (35), Tsigountsi (35), Harsovo (50), Novoseleni in part (20), Malovtsi (20), Vrightourtsi (15), Garbachel (30), Haidarli (10), Daoutli (18), Tchtemnitsa (40), Rayahovo (150) in part, Gola (15).

In all 4,725 buildings.

District of Doiran: Eleven Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Akanjeli (150), Dourbali, Nicolits, Pataros, Sourlevo, Popovo, Hassanli, Brest, Vladaia, Dimontsi, Ratartsi.

District of Demir-Hissar: Five Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Kruchevo (800), Kirchevo (180), Tchervishta (170), German (80), Djouta-Mahala.

District of Serres: Six Bulgarian [Macedonian] villages burned by the Greeks: Doutli (100), Orehovatz (130), Drenovo, Moklen, Frouchtani, Banitsa (120).

District of Gevgheli: Fifteen Bulgarian [Macedonian] and three Vlach villages burned, mainly by the Greeks, but in two cases by the Servians [Serbians]: Sehovo, Schlopentsi, Matchoukovo, Smol, Baialtsi, Marventsi, Orehovitsa, Smokvitsa, Balentsi, Braikovtsi, Kostourino, Mouine, Stoyacovo, Fourca, Ohani, Houma (Vlach), Longountsa (vlach).

It is important to note at this point that the Macedonian people did not raise arms against the invading allied armies (Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian). Instead of opposing them, the Macedonians welcomed the allied armies and in fact helped them evict the Turkish forces from Macedonia.

The atrocities committed against the civilian population in Macedonia including the burning of villages was simply a cold act of genocide perpetrated to eradicate the Macedonian population in order to make room for Greek colonization.

“ANASTASIA PAVLOVA, a widow of Ghevgheli.

Shortly before the outbreak of the second [Balkan] war I was staying with my daughter, a school teacher, in the village of Boinitsa. A Greek lady came from Salonica and distributed money and uniforms to the Turks of the place some six or eight days before the outbreak of the second [Balkan] war. She also called the Bulgarians [Macedonian parishioners of the Exarchate Church] of the village together, and told them that they must not imagine that this village would belong to Bulgaria. She summoned the Bulgarian priest

[Exarchate priest], and asked him if he would become a Greek. He replied “we are all Bulgarians [Macedonians belonging to the Exarchate Church] and Bulgarians [Macedonians belonging to the Exarchate Church] we will remain.” There were some Greek officers with this lady who caught the priest by the beard. Then the men who were standing by, to the number of about fifty, had their hands bound behind their backs, and were beaten by the soldiers. They were told that they must sign a written statement that they would become Greeks. When they refused to do this they were all taken to Salonica. When the men were gone, the soldiers began to violate the women of the place, three soldiers usually to one girl. [She named several cases which she witnessed.] The soldiers came in due course to my house and asked where my daughter was. I said she was ill and had to go to Ghevgheli. They insisted that I should bring her to them. The Greek teacher of the village, Christo Poparov, who was with the soldiers, was the most offensive of them all.

They threatened to kill me if I would not produce her. The soldiers then came into the room and beat me with the butts of their rifles and I fell. “Now,” they said, “you belong to the Greeks, your house and everything in it,” and they sacked the house. Then sixteen soldiers came and again called for my daughter, and since they could not find her they used me instead. I was imprisoned in my own house and never left alone. Four days before the war I was allowed to go to Ghevgheli by rail with two soldiers to fetch my daughter. She was really in the village of Djavato. At Ghevgheli, the soldiers gave me permission to go alone to the village to fetch her. Outside the village I met five Greek soldiers, who greeted me civilly and asked for the news. Suddenly they fired a rifle and called out, “Stop, old woman.” They then fired six shots to frighten me. I hurried on and got into the village just before the soldiers. They bound my hands, began to beat me, undressed me, and flung me down on the ground. Some Servian soldiers were in the village and interfered with the Greeks and saved my life. My daughter was hidden in the village and she saw what was happening to me and came running out to give herself up, in order to save her mother. She made a speech to the soldiers and said, “Brothers, when we have worked so long together as allies, why do you kill my mother?” The soldiers only answered, that they would kill her too. I then showed them the passport which had been given to me at Boinitsa. I can not

read Greek and did not know what was on it. It seems that what was written there was “This is a mother who is to go and find her daughter and bring her back to us.” The Greek soldiers then saw that it was my daughter, and not I, who was wanted and my daughter cried, “Now I am lost.” The soldiers offered me the choice of staying in the village or going with my daughter to Ghevgheli. I begged that they would leave us alone together where we were until the morning, and to this they agreed. In the night I fled with my daughter, who disguised herself in boy’s clothes, to a place two hours away which was occupied by Bulgarian soldiers. I then went myself to Ghevgheli and immediately afterwards, the second war broke out.

The Bulgarians took the town and then retired from it, and the Greeks entered it. The moment they came in they began killing people indiscriminately in the street. One man named Anton Bakharji was killed before my eyes. I also saw a Greek woman named Helena kill a rich Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] named Hadji Tano, with her revolver. Another, whose name I do not know, was wounded by a soldier. A panic followed in the town and a general flight. Outside the town I met a number of Greek soldiers who had with them sixteen Bulgarian [Macedonian belonging to the Exarchate Church] girls as their prisoners. All of them were crying, several of them were undressed, and some were covered in blood. The soldiers were so much occupied with these girls that they did not interfere with us, and allowed us to flee past them. As we crossed the bridge over the Vardar, we saw little children who had been abandoned and one girl lying as if dead on the ground. The cavalry were coming up behind us. There was no time to help. A long way off a battle was going on and we could hear the cannon, but nobody fired upon us. For eight days we fled to Bulgaria and many died on the way. The Bulgarian soldiers gave us bread. I found my daughter at Samakov. My one consolation is that I saved her honor”. (Page 304, 305) George F. Kennan. “The Other Balkan Wars” A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect with a New Introduction and Reflections on the Present Conflict. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, 1993.

Denationalizing Macedonia

By the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923, the Greco-Turkish war came to an end. Greece and Turkey signed a population exchange agreement using “religion as the basic criterion for nationality.” (Page 120, Richard Clogg, A Short History of Modern Greece)

The November 1925 issue of National Geographic Magazine best illustrates the magnitude of the human wave, the audacity of the Greek and Turkish authorities and the total disregard for human life.

“History’s Greatest Trek, Tragedy Stalks the Near East as Greece and Turkey Exchange Two Million of their People. ...1922 began what may fairly be called history’s greatest, most spectacular trek—the compulsory intermigration of two million Christians and Muslims across the Aegean Sea.” “...the initial episodes of the exchange drama were enacted to the accompaniment of the boom of cannon and the rattle of machine gun and with the settings pointed by the flames of the Smyrna holocaust.” (Page 533, Melville Chater, National Geographic, November 1925)

“Stroke of the Pen Exiles 3,000,000 People. It is safe to say that history does not contain a more extraordinary document. Never before in the world’s long pageant of folk-wanderings have 2,000,000 people—and certainly no less than 3,000,000 if the retroactive clause is possible of complete application—been exiled and re-adopted by the stroke of the pen” (Page 569, National Geographic, November 1925). “Even if regarded as a voluntary trek instead of a compulsory exchange, the movement would be without parallel in the history of emigration.” “One might just add that history has never produced a document more difficult of execution. It was to lessen these difficulties that exchangeability was based in religion and not race. Due to five centuries of Turkish domination in Greece, the complexities in determining an individual’s racial status are often such as would make a census taker weep.” (Page 570, National Geographic, November 1925)

“Greece with one-fifth Turkey’s area has 1,5000,000 more people. Turkey with a population of 5,000,000 and naturally rich territory contains only 15 people to the square mile...Greece, with less than

one fifth of Turkey's area, emerges with a population exceeding the latter's for the first time by 1,500,000 people averaging 123 to the square mile." (Page 584, National Geographic, November 1925)

"History's Greatest Trek has cost 300,000 lives. Conservative estimates place it at 300,000 lives lost by disease and exposure." (Page 584, National Geographic, November 1925)

"The actual exchange was weighted very heavily in Turkey's favour, for some 380,000 Muslims were exchanged for something like 1,100,000 Christians." "The total population in Greece rose between 1907 and 1928 from 2,600,000 to 6,200,000." "After the Greek advances of 1912, for instance, the Greek elements in Greek Macedonia had constituted 43 percent of the population. By 1926, with the resettlement of the refugees, the Greek element has risen to 89 percent." (Page 121, Richard Clogg, A Short History of Modern Greece)

After all this, surprisingly (and shamefully) Greece still claims her population to be homogeneous; direct descendents of the peoples of the ancient City States.

"If Greece exists today as a homogeneous ethnos, she owes this to [the Asia Minor Catastrophe]. If the hundreds of thousands of refugees had not come to Greece, Greek Macedonia would not exist today. The refugees created the national homogeneity of our country. (Antonios Kandiotis, Metropolit of Florina, Page 141 in Anastasia Karakasidou, Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood)

According to Karakasidou, almost half of the refugees were settled in urban centers and rural areas in Macedonia. "Searching for locations in which to settle this mass of humanity, the Greek government looked north to the newly incorporated land in Macedonia..." "...by 1930, 90 percent of the 578,844 refugees settled in rural Greece were concentrated in the regions of Macedonia and western Thrace. Thus Macedonia, Greece's newly acquired second 'breadbasket' (after Thessaly), became the depository for East Thracian, Pontic, and Asia Minor refugees." (Page 145, Anastasia Karakasidou, Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood)

Greek governments have never made a sincere attempt to solve the question of the Macedonians and their ethnic rights in Greece.

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 its grip on Macedonia by implementing more racist assimilation policies. If that was not enough, on December 18, 1936 the 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. Among other things, Metaxas on September 7, 1938, by legal act 2366, outlawed the Macedonian language and prohibited people from speaking it by imposing heavy fines and imprisonment.

The act of forbidding the use of the Macedonian language in Greece is best illustrated by an example of how it was implemented in the Township of Assarios (Giuvezna). Here is a quote from Karakasidou's book *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*.

"[We] listened to the president articulate to the council that in accordance with the decision [#122770] of Mr. Minister, General Governor of Macedonia, all municipal and township councils would forbid, through [administrative] decisions, the speaking of other idioms of obsolete languages within the area of their jurisdiction for the reconstitution of a universal language and our national glory. [The president] suggested that [the] speaking of different idioms, foreign [languages] and our language in an impure or obsolete manner in the area of the township of Assirios would be forbidden. Assirios Township Decision No. 134, 13 December 1936." (Page 162, Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*)

By 1928 1,497 Macedonian place-names in the Greek occupied Macedonia were Hellenized (LAW 4096) and all Cyrillic inscriptions found in churches, on tombstones and icons were destroyed (or overwritten) prompting English Journalist V. Hild to say, "The Greeks do not only persecute living Slavs (Macedonians)..., but they even persecute dead ones. They do not leave them in peace even in the graves. They erase the Slavonic inscriptions on the headstones, remove the bones and burn them."

In the years following World War I, the Macedonian people underwent extensive measures of systematic denationalization. The applications of these “denationalization schemes” were so extensive and aggressively pursued that in the long term, they eroded the will of the Macedonian people to resist.

“In Greece, in 1929 during the rule of Elepeterios Venizelos, 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.

On December 18, 1936, Metaxas’s dictatorial government issued a legal Act ‘On the activity against state security’ on the strength of which thousands of Macedonians were arrested, imprisoned, expelled or exiled (EXORIA) on arid, inhospitable Greek islands, where many perished. Their crime? Being ethnic Macedonian by birth.

On September 7, 1938 legal Act No. 2366 was issued banning 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 the time.” (Page 8, What Europe has Forgotten: The Struggle of the Aegean Macedonians, A Report by the Association of the Macedonians in Poland)

Many Macedonians were fined, beaten and jailed for speaking Macedonian. Adults and school children alike were further humiliated by being forced to drink castor oil when caught speaking Macedonian.

In Vardar (Republic of) Macedonia, the Yugoslav government attacked the problem of denationalization and assimilation by enacting laws, such as the September 24, 1920 “Resolution for the Settlement of the New Southern Regions”, designed to effectively exclude Macedonians from owning any property. The Macedonian language was banned along with cultural institutions through a uniform code known as the December 30th, 1920 EDICT, which was aimed at persecuting all political and trade union associations.

The bulk and most arable of Macedonian lands were awarded to Serbian army officers who survived the World War I Solun front. Land was also awarded to the Serbian administrators of Macedonia including government bureaucrats, judges and the police. The denationalization measures were complemented with aggressive re-education programs producing “little Serbs” out of the Macedonian children. As for the unwilling adults, they were given two options - “live as a Serb” or “die as a Macedonian”!

In Pirin (Bulgarian occupied) Macedonia, the Bulgarian government enforced compulsory name changes and, through repressive political and economic means, stepped up the assimilation process. Initially land reforms favoured the poor, including the Macedonian peasants. Later, however, that too changed and Macedonians here were exposed to a similar fate as the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) and Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia.

The Macedonians in Albania posed little threat to Albania’s authority and fared relatively better than their kin in Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. The village inhabitants were not persecuted or subjected to any comprehensive denationalization programs. As a result the Macedonian culture flourished, original names remained and the people spoke Macedonian uninhibited.

After the Great War (WW I) ended there was peace in Europe. Unfortunately, Macedonians continued to endure denationalization, forced assimilation, forced emigration and economic neglect at the hands of Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.

Genocide committed during the Greek Civil War 1946 to 1949

The Greek Civil War was a perpetrated war, perpetrated by the English to achieve two goals; get rid of the communist menace and evict the Macedonian population.

After Greece ethically cleansed its population by getting rid of the Muslims, Macedonians and Albanians from its territory it declared itself homogeneous consisting of 98% pure Greeks and 2% Muslim Greeks.

The reason it declared that there was a 2% Muslim population was to placate Turkey so that the Turks would not expel the Christians from Istanbul. Greece was hoping that the Christian population would grow in the future and Istanbul would be theirs. But, it seems that backfired on Greece because, of the higher birth rate, the Muslims outgrew the Christians.

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, evict 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 Macedonian names were forbidden, and the Macedonians internally 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.

Evidence of this is Greece's insistence that the Republic of Macedonia change its name.

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.

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.)

Here is the actual report in its entirety:

[Mr. Leeper to Mr. Eden
Athens 24th November, 1944

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit the following comments on Research Department paper of the 26th August, 1944, on the subject of Macedonia. (1)

2. The two formidable Macedonian problems in which Greece is concerned are: (a) that of Greek relations with the Slav world as represented by Serbia and Bulgaria, both of whom must be expected in the immediate future to be under strong Russian influence and to have Russian sympathy for their aspirations; and b) that of the surviving Bulgarophone minority in Western Macedonia.

3. The former problem turns chiefly on that of Serbian and Bulgarian access to the Aegean, the subject discussed in paragraphs 35-40 and 41-43 of the paper under reference. There is clearly no case (or handing over to Slav Powers any part of the North Aegean

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

4. The problem of the Western Macedonian Bulgarophones, who are briefly mentioned in paragraph 7 of the paper, also remains serious and formidable, in spite of its limited dimensions. This minority, which extends through the region from Florina and Kastoria through Siatista to the plain of Yannitsa, has proved exceedingly unreliable during the war. Satisfactory data are not available, but it appears from events during the occupation that the dissatisfied minority must be considerably larger than is suggested by Greek census figures; and it is certain that successive Greek Governments have shirked facing the problem and have preferred to persuade even themselves that it did not exist. On the assumptions (1) that the policy of His Majesty's Government is to treat Greece as the most important Balkan country from the point of view of British interests, and to support those elements in Greece which are most stably pro-British

and (2) that Greece does not wish to belong to a Balkan Federation in which there would be a large Slav majority, it would appear to follow that Greece had better not contain any Slav minorities at all. And since the amputation of the Slav areas in Western Macedonia and their annexation to a Slav Federation is a practical impossibility and would also be economically disastrous for Greece. It would follow that, difficult as it may be, a home must be found for perhaps 120,000 Slav Macedonians north of the Greek frontiers of 1941.

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

I have, &c. R. A. Leeper.

(1) See “Balkan States” print section, 26th August, Section 6.]

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 Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and with the Communist Party of Macedonia’s (CPM) 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”!

Communist Yugoslavia, for the sake of having good relations with the West, naturally prepared the groundwork through the creation and indoctrination of the Peoples’ Liberation Front (NOF) and the

Women's Anti-Fascist Front (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!

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 in Greece 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 Macedonian 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 willing 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 National Liberation Army of Greece (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. It then attacked 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 that would include Greek occupied Macedonia. No Greek of any political affiliation however 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. Greece’s 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 Greek 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 had started, later termed the Greek Civil War, and began 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.

And, as I said earlier, 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 the Peoples' Liberation Youth Organization (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 "for 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.

It was estimated that thousands of Macedonian civilians and combatants were killed during the Greek Civil War and thousands more were displaced including the refugee children. There are no exact statistics on this but in total close to about 120,000 Macedonians were displaced from their homeland just like Mr. Leeper suggested in his dispatch to Mr. Eden.

But that was not the most tragic part.

In the years following none of the Macedonians that were exiled from their homeland were allowed to return home, not even the innocent children which had nothing to do with the war.

The Greeks butchered the Macedonian people and drove their families apart all around the world! They took the Macedonian people's properties and refuse to allow them to return to their homes, claiming that they don't belong there because they are not Greeks by birth. They destroyed the Macedonian habitat, changed the names of Macedonian toponyms and personal names and all this was done in front of Europe. And thus Europe and the rest of the world are well aware of the Greek genocides committed against the Macedonian people and to this day, have done nothing!

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