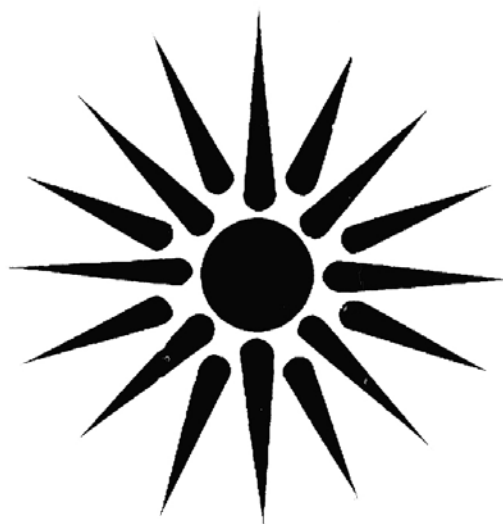


*Evidence of the  
Existence of  
Macedonians  
Throughout the Ages*



**Compiled By  
Risto Stefov**

**Evidence of the Existence of Macedonians  
Throughout the Ages**

*Risto Stefov*



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## INTRODUCTION

This document was prepared in response to Greek allegations that Macedonians do not exist and have ceased to exist since the so called “Slav invasions” of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

Some, who even claim to be historians, have made statements that the Macedonians were a modern creation perpetrated by Marshal Broz Tito solely for the usurpation of the so called “Greek-Macedonia”.

The Greek Republic (known internationally) or Hellenic Republic (known internally within Greece) has even gone as far as to claim that Macedonian symbols, including the name Macedonia are properties of Greece and the modern Macedonians have no rights to them on account that they are “Slavs” and not Macedonians.

Greece continues to interfere in the affairs of the independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia and is refusing to recognize the Macedonian minority living within its borders on the grounds that Macedonians do not exist.

The following, a very small sample of data of what there is available in the Macedonian archives, is a collection of historical documents from international sources that prove contrary to Greek claims, without a doubt that Macedonians have existed throughout the ages and continue to exist to this day.

The Macedonian nation was NOT artificially created in 1945 as Greek propagandists would have us believe but has existed since pre-history. Here is evidence that proves it.

My sincere thanks to all Macedonian scholars who worked diligently on the research and translation of the material for this document.

# THE HUNGARIAN DUKE ARPADIAN ATTACKS THE MACEDONIANS

## After 896 AD

According to the anonymous Hungarian chronicler (279)

(The Hungarian military commanders) returned to Arpadian (280) and sent emissaries to receive permission to go to Greece in order to subjugate all of Macedonia, from the Danube to the Black Sea (281). (Arpadian permitted them) to go to Greece and to conquer the land...

After several days, Zuard and Kaduze (282) with their entire army sailed across the Danube and captured the fortification of Beron (283).

Then they headed for the fortress of Serdika. Hearing of this, the Macedonian (284) and the Bulgarian inhabitants were frightened at their appearance. Then all the inhabitants of this country sent emissaries with many gifts for them to subjugate their country and to give their sons as hostages.

Anonymi (P. Magistri) Gesta Hungarorum, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducem regumque stirpis Arpadinae Gestarum. Vol. I (Edendo operi praefuit E. Szentpetery) Budapestini 1937, p. 91, 92.

(279) The anonymous Hungarian author (P. Magister) was a notary to Bela III (1172-1196). In his work *De gestis Hungarorum liber* (*Gesta Hungarorum*) from which only an extract is presented here, in addition to other peoples he also mentions the Macedonians.

(280) "Arpadian the grand duke" (890-907), under whose command the Hungarians arrived in the Pannonian valley.

(281) At the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Hungary, Macedonia referred to the territory from the Danube to the Black Sea.

(282) Refers to the two army commanders who were granted permission by Arpadian to conquer the above-mentioned country on the Balkans.

(283) Berons, Branitevo -present-day Kostolac.

(284) Cives Bulgarorum et Macedonum. Here the author clearly differentiates the Bulgarians and the Macedonians. For similar examples see S. Antoljak, "Makedonija" i "Makedonsite" vo sredniot vek p. 114 et seq.

(Page 76, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)



## **A MAN LIVING IN THE OHRID REGION, IVAN IERAKAR, INTRODUCES HIMSELF AS A MACEDONIAN**

### **Beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century**

From the synod records of the Ohrid Archbishopric (569)

(Ivan Ierakar) (570) by birth Macedonian (571).

J. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica specilegio Solesmensi parta, t. VI Juris ecclesiastici graecorum selecta paralipomena*. Parissis et Romae 1891, col. 315.

(569) In 1891 Cardinal J. Pitra published a collection of documents, 155 in number, which refer to the Ohrid Church during the time of Archbishop Demetrius Homatian (1216|235). It is established from these records that in this period in Macedonia the majority of the population consisted of Macedonians. Angelov has arrived at this conclusion on the basis of his studies of the synod records to determine the nationality of the subjects of the state of Epirus. Namely, he notes that “the second national population element in importance and numbers within the borders of the Epirus despotcy in that period were the Macedonians, of whom there is frequent mention in the records of the archbishopric (over 50 times)”, i.e. the Macedonians “formed the basic majority of the population”. (D. Angelov, *Prinos KJM Narodostite i Pozemleni Otnoshenja vo Makedonija* pp. 11-12 et. seq.; 43). The extract given here is from document number 72.

(570) Ivan Ierakar was from the village Vlasto, now Velesto, in Ohrid Region, (See Iv. Sneragov *Istoria na Ohriskata Arhiepiskopija I*, p. 250), who, besides this village in the Ohrid region, has picked out villages with Slav names in the records of the archbishopric. Ela (now Elsani ?), Ezerjani, and Robi, as well as the first names Bratan, Radov, Grida, Draza, Drvoslav, Dragomad, Sarakin, Dobri, Velkan and others. cf. also D. Angelov, *Prinos...*, p. 120.

(571) *To de genos Elkon ek Makedonon*. This name for the population of Macedonia, according to Angelov, was “due to their territorial appurtenance” (D. Angelov, *Prinos...*, p. 12). With

reference to the different naming of the separate peoples within the borders of Byzantium see G. G. Litavrin *Vizandinsko Obshestvo i Gosudarstvo v. X-XI BB*, Moscow, 1977, p. 156 et seq.

(Pages 129 and 130, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I*)

## BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIERE ON THE MACEDONIANS

15<sup>th</sup> century

From the work Voyage across the Sea by Bertrandon de la Brocuiere (652)

I remember the great subordination under which the Turk holds the emperor in Constantinople (653) and all the Greeks, Macedonians and Bulgarians, and the despot of Rasia (654) and all of his followers, which is a real shame for the entire Christianity.

As I said earlier, there are many Christians who are forced to serve the Turk, such as Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Esclavinians (655), Rasians and Serbians, followers of the despot of Rasia. and the Wallachs, who I am told, if they were to see the Christians, especially the French, in large numbers against the Turk, would bring great harm to him and would turn their backs, on him, because he holds them in harsh slavery.

Bertrandon de la Brocuiere, Putovanje preko mora. Beograd 1950, pp. 134-135, 140-141.

(652) Bertrandon de la Brocuiere (born toward the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) probably under the directive of the Burgundian Duke Philippe the Merciful, in 1432 traveled to the Middle East and on his return passed through the Balkans. Later, during the period 1455-1457 he wrote his Voyage Across the Sea, from which the extract referring to Macedonia is given here.

(653) He refers to the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus.

(654) He refers to the Serbian despot, Đurađ Branković. The writer uses the names Rasia and Raska for Serbia.

(655) Here the Esclavonians (i.e. Slavonii) most probably refers to the Croats, since Slavonia includes Croatia, Zahumle and Zeta (see B. de la Brocuiere "Putovanje preko mora" 166)

(Page 145, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## MANIFESTO OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR LEOPOLD I TO THE NATIONS OF THE BALKANS (734)

1690

We, Leopold, etc...

To all the people that depend upon our inherited Hungarian kingdom (735), and to all those that shall read this or shall hear, of it, especially to the Albanian people (I express) our imperial and royal mercy and (I wish) all good to them. Let it be known to you that the Turkish war (736), in which we are unjustly challenged due to the breaking of the agreement, in accordance with our imperial and royal duty, certain of the protection of God and the justice of our cause, is being conducted by us solely with the intention that the people who by law are subject to us and by the law depend upon the mentioned Hungarian kingdom, as well as all the other Christians, may be released from the terrible Turkish slavery and have their previous freedom restored, as well as their previous privileges and their previous unity with the body on which they depend, after we have removed any kind of abuse and mended the damage caused by the Turkish tyranny, as well as restored their rights to everyone. Therefore, we kindly call on all the people who live throughout Albania, Servia, Mysia, Bulgaria, Silistria, Illyria, Macedonia and Raska, as well as the other countries that depend upon our above-mentioned Hungarian kingdom, and all the other people that suffer the Turkish slavery, to reply to our pious and fatherly wish and, in this very favourable case, when the Turkish forces are almost annihilated by their numerous defeats from our triumphant arms, to come forth on our side and to fight against the Turks, for their own salvation and liberation and for the prosperity of the Christian faith.

Jovan Radonich i Mita Kostich, Srpske privilegije od 1690 do 1792. SAN Posebna isdanja, CCXXV. Odeljenje Drashtvenih nauka. Nova serija Knj. 10, Beograd, 1954. pp. 26-27.

(734) On April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1690, during the Austro-Turkish war (1683-1699) the Austrian Emperor, Leopold I, sent a manifesto “Invitatoria” to the people and to the countries of the Balkans, which actively collaborated with the army during its deep penetration into

the Balkan Peninsula in 1689. Hoping that fortune in battle would serve them once again, the Austrians wanted to retain the shaky confidence of the people of the Balkans in them and to inspire them to further participation with the Austrian army; therefore they issued the Manifesto.

(735) This refers to Leopold I, Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King (1657 -1705).

(736) This refers to the Austro-Turkish War.

(Pages 169 and 170, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## **LETTER OF PROTECTION FROM THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD I TO THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE (737)**

**April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1690**

Vienna 1690, April 26 Leopold, etc.

This is to inform you that the two Macedonians, Marko Kraida born in Kosana (738) and Dimitri Georgi Popovich, born in Macedonian Solun, have told us that the Macedonian people, with respect for our most righteous task, with devotion and zeal towards our service and with a serious intention, are of a mind to come over under our protection from the great Turkish slavery if our mercy and patronage are given for certain. Therefore, in line with our inborn kindness and with the inspired mercy to show protection to those who are close to us and to the holy Christian religion, we graciously accept them under our imperial and royal mercy and in any case and way the above-mentioned Macedonian people, cordially recommending to each and all of our willing commanders not to attack the Macedonian people, nor to cause them difficulties, but as far as it is in their power, always to guide and to protect them, and to assist them in their aims. Generally, to enable them security and certainty that they may esteem more of our imperial and royal favours, laws and freedoms. If any of the people of the same nation decide to fight under the leadership of our above-mentioned captains and under our banner, let such intentions be encouraged rather than prevented. We also allow them, with the previous knowledge and approval of our commander, to gather in one unit and to act separately, or to join with our own and in that way to have greater power to fight against the common enemy. For that aim they will enlist under the mentioned commander and, according to his orders and with God's aid, let them protect our regions for the general well-being. Everyone as far as his strength allows is not to miss an opportunity for collaboration.

Issued in Vienna, April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1690.

Representatives (739): defenders of the Macedonian people who have passed into the regions of his Imperial Majesty. Reported in Vienna, April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1690. M. Pauer. For Veterania (740).

J. Radonich, Prilozi za istoriju Srba u Ungarskoj u XVI, XVII i XVIII veku. Knjiga prva. Knj. Matitse srpske, broj 25 i 26. Novi Sad 1908, pp. 52-53.

(737) After the retreat of the Austrian army from Macedonia and after the crushing of the Karposh uprising in 1689, many Macedonians had left their native towns and crossed over to Austria. Two of them begged the Emperor Leopold I to take the Macedonian people under his protection. Here the protective letter of Leopold I is given. It was written on April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1690.

(738) Kosana, present-day city Kozheni.

(739) The text that follows is written on the edge of the front side of the document page.

(740) Veterani, a commander who fought on the southern front against the Ottomans.

(Pages 170 and 171, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)



## **EXTRACT FROM THE CALL OF RIGA OF FERÉ (758)**

**1797**

“The Macedonian rushes into battle with his sword at the trumpet’s sound, the breast of the tyrant shivers.”

F. Pouqueville, *Storia della Rigenerazione della Grecia*. Milano, 1854, Vol. II, p. 130

(758) The ideas of the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 were well received by the Balkan peoples. The greatest proponent of these ideas was Riga of Fere (also known as Riga of Velestino). He made an appeal in 1797 to the Balkan peoples, calling them to fight for the liberation from Osmanli (Ottoman) tyranny. The call also appeals to the Macedonians, emphasizing their ardour in the struggle.

(Page 180, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State*, Volume I).

## **A NOTE BY TEACHER GORGI MAKEDONSKI ABOUT HIS ORIGINS (798)**

**1846**

May everybody know when the peasants of my native village Radibus, Krivorechka Palanka, hired me as a teacher in our village school as well as at Rankovce and Krivi Kamen, for 1800 groschen a year. I was born of my father, priest Dimitrija, and mother Varskija as the seventh of twelve children, five boys and seven girls. I learnt the Slav alphabet from my father Makedonski, who calls himself so because we are Macedonians, and not Greeks, and his father was called Josif, a priest, and his grandfather, Stoiman, a priest. I also took the surname Makedonski, and not that of my father or grandfather, so that it may be known that we are Slavs from Macedonia. On the day of the Great Holy Mother of God, 1846.

Giorgija Makedonski

Bogosluzhbena knjiga “Opshti minej” – vo tsrkvata V S. Radibush, Krivopalanechko. Posledna nepaginirana stranitsa.

(798) Teacher G. Makedonlki, born in the village Radibus, Kriva Palanka Region, on the occasion of his becoming a teacher in his native village, left this note starting with the usual phrase for that time: “May everybody know...” (Znano budet...).

(Page 196, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**P. V. ALABIN ON THE PARTICIPATION OF  
MACEDONIAN VOLUNTEERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR  
LIBERATION OF BULGARIA (922)**

**1877-1878**

Another need also had to be satisfied, to which I could not stay indifferent. For example, when the companies of Bulgarian veteran, who had served with such dignity their now resurrecting fatherland in the numerous battles beyond Stara Planina, on Stara Planina and on Sipka, were disbanded to go home, since the companies were made up exclusively of volunteers, it became apparent that many of them had nothing to go back with to their native places. The Macedonians had the greatest need of help in money, for they are not able to return to their native homes, since their fatherland is still occupied by the Turks. Yet it is well-known that the Macedonians were the best people in the companies (and) filled even our old soldiers with enthusiasm by their courage and manliness in the battles. I distributed 894 Francs for food to such Macedonians, expecting the possibility of their return to their fatherland.

Osvobozhdenie Bugarii od Turetskogo iga. T. III p. 296.

(922) Petar Vladimirovich Alabin (1824-1896), Russian journalist and public figure. At the time of the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878) he was a representative of the Russian Red Cross and of the Slav philanthropic committee to Bulgaria.

(Pages 266-267, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## **RULES OF THE MACEDONIAN REBEL COMMITTEE (923)**

**1878**

The Macedonian Rebel Committee codifies,

It is well-known to all of us that this ill-fated country of ours, Macedonia, owing to the egoistic aims of the Great Powers, was again left to Turkey after the Congress of Berlin. As a result of that, in certain regions of our fatherland many scenes full of blood, known to all of us, took place. Desiring to throw off the Turkish yoke from our fatherland, each one of us, as much as possible, rose up to sacrifice himself, since help was needed from each of us. We rebelled as advocates of freedom. With the blood we shed all over the Macedonian fields and forests, we serve freedom, as the Macedonian army of Alexander of Macedon did, with our slogan "Freedom or Death!" Yet, owing to the events and the liberation of a great number of villages by our rebels, and the crying need to introduce order in the areas where the rebels are in action, we have decided to proclaim certain rules of the Macedonian Rebel Committee, or rather a Constitution, to which we shall all conform and the rules of which we shall all observe till the liberation of the whole of our fatherland, Macedonia.

(923) These Rules of the Macedonian Rebel Committee were proclaimed at the time when the Macedonian (Kresna) Uprising was at its height. They represented a programme of the Macedonian national liberation movement, which at the period of the Eastern Crisis meant an important event in the struggle for liberation of the Macedonian people.

(Page 267, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## WILLIAM GLADSTONE ON THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION (1168)

January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1897

Hawarden Castle, Chester Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1897.

Dear Sir, (1169)

The hopelessness of the Turkish Government would make me witness with delight its being swept out the countries which it tortures: but without knowledge of resources available to support the revolt. I dare not take the responsibility of encouraging it in any form or degree. Next to the Ottoman Government nothing can be more deplorable and blameworthy than jealousies between Greek and Slav, and plans by the States already existing for appropriating other territory. Why not Macedonia for Macedonians, as well as Bulgaria for Bulgarians and Servia for Servians? And if they are all small and weak, let them bind themselves together for defense, so that they may not be devoured by others, either great and small, which would probably be the effect of their quarrelling among themselves.

Your very faithful W. E. Gladstone (1170)

The Times (London), January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1897, p. 12.

(1167) Underlined as in the original. (P. Argyriades, *Op. cit.*, p. 44).

(1168) The current relevance of the Macedonian question at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century made some of the most prominent representatives of politics and scholars express their views on it. A special place among them belongs to the well-known British statesman, William Gladstone (1809-1898), who, on the invitation of the Byron Society, expressed his view on the Macedonian question in this letter. We quote the integral text of the letter.

(1169) The letter is addressed to the President of the Byron Society.

(1170) The letter was reprinted in the Daily News (London) on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1903, p .8.  
Hawarden Castle. Chester 19<sup>th</sup> Jany, 1897

Dear Sir,

The hopelessness of the Turkish Government would make me witness with delight its being swept out the countries which it tortures: but without knowledge of resources available to support the revolt. I dare not take the responsibility of encouraging it in any form or degree.

Next to the Ottoman Government nothing can be more deplorable and blameworthy than jealousies between Greek and Slav, and plans by the States already existing for appropriating other territory. Why not Macedonians as well as Bulgaria for Bulgarians and Servia for Servians? And if they are all small and weak, let them bind themselves together for defenses, so that they may not be devoured by others, either great and small, which would probably be the effect of their quarrelling among themselves.

Your very faithful W. E. Gladstone  
/The Times 6th Feby, 1897, p. 12.

(Pages 406-407, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**A. BRUTUS (A. DRANDAR), “CONCERNING A  
MOVEMENT IN MACEDONIA” (1176)**

**1900**

A considerable section of the European press does not cease to inform us of the immense sufferings undergone by the Christian population of Macedonia. Particularly in recent times, the press has presented in most dark colours the unbearable situation of the aforementioned population, a situation that can only end in general catastrophe for the Ottoman Empire. It was the sad fate of that population that made us publish this booklet, based upon the experience and personal observations I had acquired impartially, as a foreigner, (1177) during my stay in Macedonia of several years. If one takes a retrospective view of the history of Macedonia to the most ancient of times, one remains amazed by the great role this small country, this classical country par excellence, played in the world. Protected to the north by a broad chain of grandiose mountains, adorned with pleasant valleys and picturesque ravines, which give it the stamp of a Switzerland of the East, with a moderate climate and fertile soil, embedded in the wonderful coast of the Aegean Sea, located at the crossroads of the Old and New World, Macedonia enjoyed the lucky privilege of being in the first place in general progress. The Macedonian, born in a land to which nature was so favourable, has always longed for heroic feats and aspired to great deeds, not only in the domain of pure knowledge, but also in the political domain, as well as that of social progress. From the very beginning of history, we see Macedonia at the head of nations. Its reputation is universal; its glory has spread to all four sides of the world. Macedonia spreads its sovereignty over other significant nations; it destroys great barbaric kingdoms, it establishes new states and new commercial centres. Even the glorious cradle of Ancient Hellenism is subjected to the Macedonian kings. The fiery word of Demosthenes lags behind the cold reasoning of Philip. (1178) Alexander the Great, whose glory is epic, goes from victory to victory and subjugates the greatest kingdoms to his power. But his army does not spread terror, panic and destruction among the barbaric peoples; on the contrary, he brings to them the lights and virtues of civilization.

We find Macedonians on the Byzantine throne at the time when this empire was at its peak. As long as the Macedonian dynasty governed the fate of Byzantium, the empire preserved its power and was respected by its enemies. When the dynasty was extinguished, soon afterwards the full decadence of Byzantium began. Following the course of history, we see how the star of Macedonia shone with the same intensity. It plays the chief role in the revival of the Slav people. Thus, the two brothers exalted to apostles, Cyril and Methodius, objects of general admiration for the Slav world, are Macedonians, and owing to the very existence of these two apostles, this small land becomes the cradle of the Slav people to whom it gives its religion and its art. If Macedonia wants to be a master of itself and a master of its own destiny; if it wants to free itself from the unjust tyrant which has oppressed it for centuries, and if it wants tomorrow to be prepared to fight against all those who would like to usurp its territory and establish their domination, it is necessary for it to start using its might for the establishment of an unbreakable national unification! (1179)...The inhabitants of Macedonia do not want to be annexed either to Bulgaria or Serbia, or Greece; they want, they want so strongly, to live a human life in an autonomous country. Their slogan is “Macedonia to the Macedonians.” (1180).

A. Brutus, *A Propos d’un Mouvement en Macedoine*, Bruxelles 1900, pp. 12-13, 15, 56.

(1176) In order to inform the European public of the independent development of Macedonia, the Macedonian circles abroad were particularly active. Such a mission was undertaken also by Anton Drandar from Veles, a highly educated person from Macedonia of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He published a number of writings on the situation of Macedonian matters. Depending on the circumstances in which he worked and acted, he approached Macedonia and the Macedonian differently. But we observe in this author also a tendency towards a more adequate definition of the political arrangement of Macedonia, by supporting political separatism and using a great deal of distinct Macedon-ist views. A. Drandar expresses these views especially in his book “Concerning a Movement in Macedonia” (*A Propos d’un Mouvement en Macedoine*), published in Brussels in 1900 under the pseudo name of A. Brutus from which we quote here.



(1177) A. Drandar claims that he stayed in Macedonia in the service of a foreign state. He does not state any further details. (A. Brutus, A. Propos d'un Mouvement en Macedoine, Brussels, 1900, p. 15).

(1178) i. e. Philip of Macedon.

(1179) Interrupted as in the original (A Brutus, Op cit., p 15. The subsequent text deal, with the history of the Eastern Question (pp 15-56).

(1180) In the original: "...Le, habitants de la Macedolne ne desirent etre aunexes ni a la Bulgarie, ni a la Serbie, ni a la Grece; ils desirent, et ils desirent imperieusement, vivre d'une existence humaine dans un pays autonome. Leur mot de ralliement est: 'La Macedoine aux Macedoniens'." (A Brutu" Op cit, p 56).

(Pages 410-412, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## DAILY NEWS ON THE MACEDONIAN UPRISING (1270)

August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1903

- And, what is worse -for the Macedonian cause, I mean, the same misconception prevails to a considerable extent in Western Europe. - Macedonia for the Macedonians -not for a “Greater Bulgaria,” is our ideal -said the fighting priest, the Rev. Toma Nikolov, whose story I sketched in one of my letters from the Near East some weeks since. (1271) -So you see, we have already made some beginning with provisional government in Macedonia. -Our ideal is Macedonia for the Macedonians, and for that we shall strive. (1272) -I wish you would tell that to your English public. -The insurrection is Macedonian; the really efficient fighting Bands are Macedonian. - The bands do not come from Bulgaria. They come from the Macedonian people. They will continue to come as long as the Macedonian people and the misrule of the Turks endure.

J. M., (1273) Macedonian Rising. – “Daily News” (London), August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1903, p. 12.

(1270) The British press followed the Ilinden Uprising with attention. Numerous announcements were published about the course of the revolutionary events as well as other details on the development of the uprising. Some newspapers also printed interviews with prominent Macedonian activists, through which Europe obtained an authentic picture about the aims of the Macedonian struggle for freedom. The London Daily News published such an interview on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1903. We give extracts from it.

(1271) The interview was made by John McDonald, the writer of the article (J. M. “Macedonian Rising”. Daily News, August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1903, p. 12).

(1272) This is also what the Rev. Toma Nikolov said.

(1273) i.e. John McDonald.

(Pages 467-468, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”,  
Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for  
Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## **APPEAL OF “THE MACEDONIAN COMMITTEES” IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA (1289)**

**September 1903**

The Cry from Macedonia

What Paul saw in the spirit, the vision of the man from Macedonia, who called to him for help for his country, we have before us in the flesh. The suffering and destitution, resulting from insurrection in Macedonia, are extreme. Forty thousand Macedonians have managed to cross the border into Bulgaria.(1290) Several times that number remain in Macedonia, homeless, their herds and crops destroyed, perishing of cold and starvation. Everyone is familiar to some extent with the conditions which have prevailed in that unhappy country for the last two years and more, the active agitation of the Macedonian revolutionists, the rising in rebellion of a portion of the Macedonian people, (1291) the attempt of the Turkish authorities to suppress the revolution with the utmost severity by overwhelming force. With the rights and wrongs of the Macedonians we are not concerned, but we cannot help being concerned with the relief of fellow human beings and fellow Christians, of innocent women and children who are perishing by the hundred and will perish by the thousand most cruelly unless Christian Europe and Christian America come to the rescue. (1292).

The Committee in New York. The Committee in Philadelphia (1293) G. N. Chakaloff and S. J. Shoomkoff, The Macedonian Problem. Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 108-109.

(1289) The news about the Ilinden Uprising crossed the Ocean, too. It was most widely spread in the United States of America. Following the example of some European capitals, special “Macedonian Committees” were formed in this country as well, which directed the Macedonophile movement. Such committees were founded in New York and Philadelphia in September 1903. At the start of their activity, the two Committees sent a common appeal to the American people, underling the struggle of the Macedonians and the suffering immediately after the uprising. The appeal is

entitled “The Cry from Macedonia”. We quote the integral text of the appeal.

(1290) In order to cross the border as refugees.

(1291) This refers to the western part of Macedonia.

(1292) A similar resolution was also adopted by the Pan-American Conference of Bishops, held in Washington in October 1903. Among other things it says: “We would further express the hope that the moral influence of the government of this great republic may be thrown into the scale in favour of such reforms as may give to the Macedonian people the protection of law against injustice and fourteen by the Committee in Philadelphia. All of them were notable people 1919, p. 324).

(1293) Fifteen persons signed the Appeal by the Committee in New York, and fourteen by the Committee in Philadelphia. All of them were notable people In American political, cultural and religious life. (C. Stephanove, Op. cit., p. 324).

(Page 474, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## **A RESOLUTION ON THE MACEDONIANS BY A BRITISH WORKERS' MEETING (1304)**

**May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1904**

National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Rushden, May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1904.

We think that the Macedonians (1305) would not have been allowed to suffer such cruelties and indignities they have done at the hands of the Turks (bond-holders) if there had not been so many of Turkish bonds among the capitalist class of this country; also if there had been gold and diamond mines there in Macedonia, more prompt action would have been taken by the present Government.

Public Record Office (London) FO 96/183, 1903 - 1905.

(1304) The Ilinden Uprising met with a notable reaction from the British working class as well. The British proletariat raised their voices of protest against the atrocities perpetrated against the Macedonian people. The British workers expressed their protest at a large number of gatherings, assemblies and meetings, which were organized starting from the middle of September 1903 and continuing in 1904 and 1905. Such a meeting was also held by the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives in Rushden on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1904. We quote the whole text of the resolution from this meeting.

(1305) This is the term used in the original.

(Page 480, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## **KURIER ON THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION (1318)**

**November 14<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> 1904**

### **1. The Macedonians and their Benefactors**

If the Macedonian Question were settled in such a manner that would not leave traces of national and state aspirations in the Balkan Peninsula, it would promote the unification in a political whole of all the Balkan peoples and states; on the other hand, if it left traces of them, this would divide them entirely; in other words, Macedonia is a spring that moves the Balkan states and peoples towards friendship or hostility...

### **2. Autonomous Macedonia and the Balkan Alliance...**

We, the Macedonians, appeal to Bulgaria and Serbia, and especially to Russia and the other Great Powers, all together to help improve the already unbearable state of affairs by introducing full political and economic autonomy of Macedonia, Southern Thrace, Old Serbia, Epir-Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the guarantee of the Great Powers.

“Kurier” (Sofia) 13 (14. XI. 1904, p. 1); 14 (21. XI.1904).

(1318) The Kurier (Courier) journal, which was published in Sofia and edited by the well known Macedonian public figure, Stefan Jakimov - Dedov, defended the interests of the Macedonian cause. In several articles printed in 1904 there are interesting views about the Macedonian question and the autonomy of Macedonia. We quote extracts from two of these articles.

(Pages 497-497, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## ALLEN UPWARD ON THE MACEDONIANS AND THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE (1325)

1907-1908

### The Macedonian, Villages

...I asked him (1326) what language they spoke, and my Greek interpreter carelessly rendered the answer *Vulgare*. The man himself had said *Makedonski*. (1327) I drew attention to this word and the witness explained that he did not consider the rural dialect used in Macedonia the same as Bulgarian, and refused to call it by that name. It was Macedonian, (1328) a word to which he gave the Slav form of *Makedonski*, (1329) but which I was to hear farther north in the Greek form of *Makedonike*. (1330) And so the “Bulgarophone” villagers (1331) are no longer willing to admit that they speak Bulgarian. They have coined a new term of their own accord, and henceforth their dialect, until they have got rid of it, is to be known as “Macedonian.” (1332) My Athenian friends were delighted when I told them of this on my return. It should give even greater pleasure to those Bulgarian agents who are so anxious to see the Macedonians thought that they are Macedonians. (1333)

Allen Upward, *The East End of Europe*. London, 1908, pp. 204-205.

(1325) Following the Ilinden Uprising, Macedonia was visited by a large number of European and American journalists and writers. The British were most numerous among them. After their return to Great Britain, they gave interpretations of the situation in Macedonia and the position of the Macedonian people. Most impressive were the recollections of Allen Upward from Macedonia prior to 1908. We give an excerpt from them.

(1326) This refers to the villager whom the writer addressed.

(1327) i.e. Macedonian.

(1328) i.e. Macedonian in origin.

(1329) i.e. the Macedonian language.



(1330) i.e. “Makedonikos”

(1331) The Greeks used the terms “Bulgarophones” or “Slavophones” for the Macedonians. (Lazo Mojsov, Okolu prashanjeto na Makedonskoto Natsionalno Malchestvo vo Grtsija, Skopje, 1954, p. 68)

(1332) i.e. Macedonian in origin.

(1333) Id.

(Page 506, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I).

## AUGUSTE BOPPE TO MAURICE ROUVIER (1352)

August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1905

Therapia, August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1905.

The reports I received from Macedonia during last month are unanimous in the claim that the situation within the country is far from improving. The antagonism among the various Christian peoples is increasing every day and their regrettable effects are only enhanced with the ever greater boldness of the bands. Notably that of Sandanski, (1353) the watchword of which is "Macedonia to the Macedonians", (1354) is active in the Pirin region (1355) and is gaining strength all the time. Its leader organizes shooting practice in the mountains, in which the inhabitants of the surrounding villages take part. In a circular letter addressed to the villagers, Sandanski stresses that in view of the fact that the Turkish army has begun to get accustomed to the mountains and become bolder, it is necessary to take measures of greater precaution than seemed to be needed before. Accordingly, the villages are to organize posts from which the coming of the soldiers can be observed and the bands informed of it. Those who do not respond to these instructions are to be severely punished. The bands of Andon and Stojanov were sent by the Committee to destroy that of Sandanski. (1356) But they sometimes join their enemies to fight against the Turkish army, which do not even manage to upset them seriously. The Serbian bands, of which nothing has been heard for some time, penetrated Albania towards the end of the month of June. Finally, the Greek committees, for their part, have doubled their boldness. A few days ago they delivered me a letter addressed to the inhabitants of the villages in the surroundings of Solun by some leader of a Greek band, who, on threat of death, ordered them to subordinate themselves to the Patriarchate and declare themselves as Greeks in the census lists. We may also note a distressing increase of murders committed by the Greek bands in the Bitola vilayet. Confronted with this rise in the activity of the revolutionaries of all kinds, the Ottoman authorities are powerless. The soldiers, who always arrive too late to intervene, sometimes add their own actions to those of the outlaws, whom they are unable to defeat. The peaceful population of Macedonia is thus mercilessly exposed to the outlawed bands of

professionals, headed by political agitators who have only one aim - the increase of disturbances and insecurity in order to bring about the intervention of Europe and the dismembering of the country in conformity with their national programmes. The Moslem villages, which the military have succeeded in protecting up to now, are no longer protected from assassinations by the komitadjis; some of the villages have decided to defend themselves alone, and thus only add to the anarchy. One may realize that in this deplorable situation the Macedonians are little occupied with the reforms announced by the Powers. (1357)

No one can see a possible solution to this situation, the change of which is desired by the whole of the local population, but such a change that would exclusively be in favour of each group separately.

Boppe

Documents Diplomatiques, Affaires de Macedoine 1903-1905, pp. 190-191.

(1352) This diplomatic report by August Boppe, charge d'affaires of France in Constantinople, addressed to Maurice Rouvier, President of the Ministerial Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, comments on the situation in Macedonia and the activity of the propagandist bands there. The activity of Jane Sandanski and his propagating of the slogan "Macedonia to the Macedonians" is especially emphasized. We quote the integral text of the document.

(1353) Jane Sandanski.

(1354) In the original: "Celle de Sandansky notamment, dont la devise est la Macedoine aux Macedoniens..." (Documents Diplomatiques. Affaires de Macedoine 1903-1905. Paris, 1905, p. 190).

(1355) In the original: "...la region de Perin .." (Documents Diplomatiques, p. 190).

(1356) This relates to the attempt by the united Vrhovist bands to organize a campaign against J. Sandanski. But on April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1905,

near the village Kasina, they were ambushed by Jane Sandanski and defeated.

(1357) In the original: “...On peut penser que dans cette lamentable situation, les Macedoniens se preoccupent bien peu des reformes annoncees par les Puissances.” (Document Diplomatiques, p. 191). This refers to the financial reforms prepared by the Great Powers.

(Pages 523-524, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## HENRIK TUMA ON MACEDONIA AND THE MACEDONIANS (1398)

1912

...Macedonia has 2,360,000 inhabitants, 52.4% of which, i.e. 1,182,000, are Slavs. There are half a million Turks, i.e. 22%. 230,000 Albanians, i.e. 5.7%, 80,000 Tsintsars or Wallachians, i.e. 3.6%, 70,000 Jews or 3%, and 54,000 Gypsies or 2.4%. The Greeks live in South Macedonia. The Turks mostly along the Vardar ravine and the Aegean Sea. The Jews live in Solun... Of decisive significance for the realization of the South-Slav idea are the state and legal circumstances. Almost half of the South Slavs live in Austria-Hungary, i.e. 5,700,000 Serbo-Croats and 1,200,000 Slovenes, while in the Balkans there live 3.5 million Serbs, 4 million Bulgarians and 1,200,000 Macedonians. (1397) ...Linguistically, all the Slav groups are related. The philologist, Mr Jagic, Ph.D., (1388) considers there are five dialects: Slovenian (kajkavian), Croatian (cakavian), Serbian (stokavian), Macedonian and Bulgarian. Their literary languages have developed from these dialects; Slovenian, Serbian and Bulgarian. The South Macedonians (1388) have preserved the Old Slavonic language for us. The Holy Scripture, a gift by SS. Cyril and Methodius, was not written, as the philologist, Mr Miklosic, Ph.D., (1400) claims, in the language of the Panonian Slavs, but, as is natural and as was proved by the philologist, Mr. Oblak, Ph.D, (1401) in the language of the Slav apostles, i.e. in the Macedonian dialect from the vicinity of Solun.

Dr Henrik Tuma, Jugoslovanski in Balkanski problem. – “Nashi zapiski” (Ljubljana) 8-9 (1912), pp. 233-234, 239.

(1396) Henrik Tuma, Ph. D., a prominent Slovenian socialist, politician and writer, publishing his views on the South-Slav (Yugoslav) question, also stated his views on the question of Macedonia and the Macedonians. He expounded his standpoints most extensively and most objectively in his paper Jugoslovanski in Balkanski problem (The South-Slav and Balkan Problem), “Nashi zapiski”, 1912, of which we here give a few extracts.

(1397) In the original: "...1,200,000 Macedoncev." (H. Tuma, Jugoslovanski in Balkanski problem. -" Nashi zapiski" 8-9, 1912, p. 239).

(1398) Vatroslav Jagic, Ph.D., (1838-1923), one of the most outstanding scholars in the field of Slavistics.

(1399) In the original: "Juzni Macedonci (Ibid., p. 284).

(1400) Franc Miklosic, Ph.D., (1813-1891), a prominent Slovenian scholar in the field of Slavistics.

(1401) Vatroslav Oblak, Ph.D., (1864-1896), a prominent Slovenian philologist.

(1402) This excerpt comes from the book Slav sorrow by the well known Russian writer Aleksandar Valentinovich Amfitetrov, published in 1913. There is an article printed in this book under the title "Macedonia", which actually represents a summary of the author's views about Macedonia and the Macedonians expounded in his previous books.

(Pages 565-566, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**RENE PICARD, "THE AUTONOMY OF MACEDONIA"  
(1457)**

**July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1916**

The idea of Macedonian autonomy is familiar to all those who are acquainted with Balkan history and politics. If we asked the Christians of Macedonia they would answer that autonomy was the most desirable solution for them. There is and, in fact, there has always been a Macedonian spirit in Macedonia. Geographically, Macedonia has its own unity. Its borders are the following: to the south Mt Olympus, the mountains on the north bank of the River. Bistritsa, Lake Prespa and Lake Ohrid; to the west -the Drim from Debar; to the north-west and north -the Shar Mountains, the highlands north of Skopje, the defile of Kumanovo, the mountains that mark the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier of before 1912; to the east - the Rhodope Mountains. The borderline with Thrace on this side is not clear. The regions of Drama and Kavala can either be adjoined to Macedonia or separated from it; the plain of Drama is populated mostly by Turks; the town of Kavala, like all the ports, has a strong Greek colony. To the south, the Chalcidice Peninsula is geographically Macedonian, but ethnographically Greek; the line of lakes separates it by a natural border from the rest of Macedonia. Within these borders Macedonia has the natural basins of Skopje, Bitola, Veles, Seres, Drama and Solun with the mountains that separate them and the narrow valleys that unite them. The Christian population in the country side is Slav. It is known to be neither quite Bulgarian, although it is closer to the Bulgarians, nor quite Serbian. The Bulgarians themselves admit that the Macedonians differ from the other Bulgarians: they possess a more lively spirit, are more fond of politics and intrigue, more inclined to eloquence and the arts, also more cunning; in a word, they are a little Hellenized. The Macedonian politicians in Sofia are feared; many Bulgarians of old Bulgaria would be glad to see the Macedonian Bulgarians return to Macedonia. They accuse them of taking everything away from them, their jobs and privileges. Many Balkan people think that there will be no stability in the Balkans until Macedonian autonomy comes into existence. In any case, it is likely that the creation of Macedonian autonomy would quickly develop a Macedonian spirit and patriotism. The autonomy of Macedonia and the constitution of

a Balkan federation would have most ardent advocates among the citizens of Solun, especially among the majority of the Jewish population. The annexation to Greece caused their ruin. Solun was a particularly important port from, which the Austro-German products brought from Triest were distributed all over the peninsula; the new border, having separated Solun from its background, delivered a terrible blow to it. The Greeks, who already have other ports, are not able to support Solun. The geographical position of Solun at the debauchment of the great natural route from the Danube to the Aegean Sea via Nish has always made this port to be of primary economic importance, and this economic importance will ensure it an equivalent degree of political importance. One can be certain that either there will never be a Balkan federation, or Solun will be its port as well a sits intellectual and economic centre. One can very well see Solun in the future as a free city, the capital of autonomous Macedonia and the centre of the Balkan federation. To hold such an important point, although provisionally and awaiting the settlement of all the Balkan questions and the strengthening of the new status of the peninsula, would be of considerable advantage for the allies. They would have a means of pressure upon their friends of all degrees, as well as upon their enemies. We shall have many friends after our victory, and at that moment we shall have to take precautions against them. What will become of Macedonia? This is the whole problem of the Balkans.

Rene Picard

Les Archives du Ministere des affaires etrangeres (Paris). Guerre 1914-1918, Balkans, Dossier generate, pp. 158-165.

(1457) The interest of the Great Powers and the Balkan states was substantially increased during the time of the imperialist First World War. This interest was understandable among other things, because the main battlefield in the Balkans was upon Macedonian territory. The French Second Bureau - in fact the intelligence service of the French Army was interested in all that happened on the front, even among the population of Macedonia. Having spent about ten months on the Macedonian front, Rene Picard, certainly one of the experts on the Macedonian Question, wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Future



of the Balkans” in which he particularly stressed that an autonomous Macedonia was the only solution to the Macedonian problem.

(Pages 632-633, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**RUDOLPH ARCHIBALD REISS ON THE MACEDONIANS  
(1467)**

**1918**

I said that I would rather call your Bulgarophones Macedonians. You call those people Bulgarophones, owing to their language which is similar to Bulgarian. But, is it Bulgarian, is it the same language spoken in Sofia? No. Macedonian is just as similar to Serbian as it is to Bulgarian. I am not a linguist and I would not allow myself a personal judgment, but disinterested Balkanologists have asserted to me that Macedonian is more similar to Serbian than Bulgarian. It is possible that there are linguists who assert the opposite. But it is a fact that the Macedonian language is spoken neither in Sofia nor in Belgrade. It is an individual Slav language, just as we have the Romansch in Switzerland, spoken in Grisons, apart from Italian. To my mind, the Macedonian can be called neither Bulgarian nor Serb, but simply Macedonian.

R. A. Reiss, *Sur la situation des Macedoniens et des musulmans dans les nouvelles provinces grecques*. Paris, 1918, pp. 6-7.

(1467) Rudolph Archibald Reiss (1876-1929) was a prominent Swiss lawyer and Professor at Lausanne University. As an expert on international military law and later as a volunteer in the Serbian Army, he participated in World War I and on the Solun front.

(Pages 640-641, *The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I*)

## EDMOND BOUCHIE DE BELLE ON THE MACEDONIANS (1468)

1918

The Macedonian Question is not a question of yesterday or today. Macedonia has had a long past behind it, and it will not cease to interest Europe in the future. Europe has come to know Macedonia mainly owing to two facts: one, its geographical position as a crossroads of world routes - the first, from Belgrade and Novi Pazar through the Vardar valley to Solun, and the second, the ancient Via Egnatia from Durazzo to Solun again, while Solun as Macedonia's port and according to its importance does not lag behind Constantinople or Suez. Solun has a dominant position over the East Mediterranean and the routes to Asia. The second reason is: the population is different in nationality according to its origin and has long since been an object of the tactics of influence by the neighbouring Balkan states, with the support of the Great Powers, the interests of which have been linked with the situation in the Balkan countries. Macedonia is populated by three groups of nationalities. One of them is the disputed nationality of the Macedonian Slavs, or briefly, Macedonians, which comprise the core of the rural population. Then follow three other nationalities which aim to dominate the Macedonians - the Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks - and still another three nationalities detached from the dispute - the Wallachians, Turks and Jews. But none of these nationalities populates a defined territory, but appears here and there throughout the country. In all the fields of Macedonia there is a nationality of peasants with a Slav language and of the Orthodox religion. The Bulgarians consider them as being their own "in language and heart," even citing the Greater Bulgaria, created by the Treaty of San Stefano and the name "Bulgarians" under which the victims of the Treaty of Berlin fought against Turkish oppression. The Serbs consider them as "Serbs" - since Dushan's state formerly included "the whole of Macedonia," according to the manuscripts surviving Turkish subjugation, and since the language was allegedly "Old Serbian" and since the Macedonians celebrated the family "Slava" or Saint's day. Finally come the Greeks, according to whom neither the origin nor the language are of decisive significance, but only the "spirit" and culture, which are allegedly Greek; just as no

one can say, for instance, that the French are not Latins, so, too, no one can say that the Macedonians are not “Greeks.” It is obvious that the Macedonian Slavs are not Greeks. And in spite of the fact that they bear some similarities in their character, faith and language with the Bulgarians and the Serbs, they differ from both. You may ask a peasant from the district of Ostrovo, or Bitola, what he feels himself to be, and in nine instances out of ten, he will answer you - Macedonian! Accordingly, the Slav population of Macedonia should be considered as a separate nationality, the name of which would be Macedonian Slavs, or briefly, Macedonians...

Edmond Bouchie de Belle, *La Macedoine et les Macedoniens*, Paris, 1922, 80, IV, 303.

(1468) Edmond Bouchie de Belle, born August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1878, Doctor of Law, was a high financial official in Paris, advisor at the Ministry of Finances, and during World War I occupied a prominent position in the Headquarters of the French East Army in the Balkans. In this way, de Belle had the opportunity of spending a substantial period of time near the great bend in the River Tsrna, following the movement of the Army in the vicinity of Lake Ostrovo, Lerin, Bitola, Prilep and finally, Skopje, where he died on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1918. During his stay, de Belle wrote a book about Macedonia, which was printed posthumously in Paris under the title *La Macedoine et les Macedoniens* (Macedonia and the Macedonians), 1922. De Belle’s book, which was given an award by the French Academy of Sciences, is interesting and significant from several aspects. Here we quote a few extracts from it.

(Pages 641-642, *The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I*)

## SISTER AUGUSTINE BEWICKE ON THE MACEDONIAN AUTONOMY (1475)

January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919

Dear Sir,

Please excuse the liberty I take in writing to you, it is because the final settlement in the Balkans is of vital interest to the Catholic in these countries. - I have been 33 years on this Mission, the Uniate Catholic Mission, which at the beginning of the Second Balkan War counted about 10,000 Catholics. The Treaty of Bucharest, (1476) which divided Macedonia without any regard to justice, was the cause of these poor people being dispersed on account of their Slav language, which was forbidden in Churches and schools. - The Bishop (1477) had his residence in Solun, he has now been in exile more than three years, his priests are dispersed, his flock is indeed without pastors, nor do we have any hope of his return to any place under Greek or Serbian rule. - The Greeks will not admit the Slav language in Churches or schools; the inhabitants of Macedonia are in the great majority Slavs; they call themselves now Macedonians, and what they desire and what we ardently desire for them is autonomy under European control. - In whatever way Macedonia might be divided, the people would always be discontented, and would fight again as soon as possible. The only hope I can foresee is in a strong autonomy, which neither Greeks nor Bulgars nor Serbs would dare attack; then the Macedonians, who are really intelligent and docile when they are well treated, would peacefully develop this beautiful fertile country, and might learn to be civilized. - Surely Europe will not leave Macedonia under people whom the Macedonians hate, and whom they will continually fight. (1478) As the little Balkan states can never agree, but always fight for Macedonia, let none of them have it. - We might then have peace, the Catholics would again have heart, and all the years of hard work among them would not have been wasted. At present things look very black, especially where the Greeks get in, but it is God's world, and one hopes and prays that He will bless all the efforts that are being made to save the Catholics.

Believe me, dear Sir, Sincerely yours, etc.

Sister Augustine, Sister of Charity

Public Record Office (London). -FO 608/44. Peace Conference.  
(British Delegation), 1919.

(1475) The First world imperialist war had catastrophic consequences for Macedonia. The partition of the country between the bourgeois Balkan monarchies, which took place as a result of the Balkan Wars, remained unchanged even after the end of the Great War. The Macedonian people, however, continued their struggle for independence and autonomy. This letter from the Catholic Sister of Charity, Augustine Bewicke, sent to Ian Malcolm, British diplomat, testifies to this desire of the oppressed Macedonian people. We cite the complete text of the letter. (1476) The Peace Treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1913 between the Balkan states, partitioning Macedonia and other Balkan areas.

(1477) This relates to the Catholic Uniate Bishop.

(1478) This is the fervent belief of the writer of this letter.

(Pages 649-650, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”,  
Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for  
Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**TELEGRAM FROM THE MACEDONIAN POLITICAL  
ASSOCIATION “MACEDONIA TO THE MACEDONIANS”  
OF ZURICH TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU (1479)**

**February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

Zurich, February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

The Assembly of the Macedonian representatives away from their homes asks You to intervene at the Peace Conference so that the right of the Macedonians to self-government can be recognized following the example of all other peoples, thus confirming Your humane principles which will ensure peace in the Balkans and will contribute to the guarantees of universal peace.

Bojadziev, President of the Macedonian Association

PRO-FO 608/44

(1479) The Macedonian political association “Macedonia to the Macedonians” of Zurich was among the more active associations in Switzerland which supported the right solution for the Macedonian cause. On February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1919 it sent a telegram to the President of the French Government, Georges Clemenceau, and to P. E. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Paris Peace Conference, in defense of Macedonian rights. Here we quote the integral text of the telegram.

(Page 651, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**MEMORANDUM BY JAMES BOURCHIER ON THE  
CONSTITUTION OF MACEDONIA (1480)**

**February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

London, February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

(1) In the interests of justice and of the future peace of the Balkan Peninsula, it is necessary that the new frontiers of the Balkan States should be made to coincide so far as possible with the limits of nationalities.

(2) If in any instance this system of delimitation cannot be carried out, the principle that no Balkan people should be placed under the rule of another may still be maintained by according self-government to the population concerned.

(3) In the case of Macedonia the application of this principle is peculiarly desirable in view of the rival claims of neighbouring countries, which have been the cause of infinite misery to the population for nearly half a century. Under an autonomous government protected by the Powers, the population would be enabled to care for its own interests and to live and thrive without the molestation to which it has hitherto been subjected.

(4) If we accept the theory advanced by the Serbians and Greeks that the national conscience of the Macedonians is "fluid" and displays no partiality for any foreign propaganda, the natural conclusion is that they should govern themselves and that the principle "Macedonia for the Macedonians" should be adopted.

(5) The autonomous Macedonian State would extend from the Shar Mountains (the Serbian ethnical boundary) on the north, to the Aegean Sea on the south, and from the Bulgarian frontier on the east to the Albanian on the west. The southern frontier, extending from Lake Kostur to the mouth of the Vardar, would leave Verria to Greece, which would also retain Nigrita and the Chalcidice Peninsula.



(6) It would be desirable that the autonomous State should be policed by a Great Power, America for preference, during the earlier years of its existence.

(7) The renunciation by Serbia and Greece of the Macedonian territory they have occupied since 1913 would not be unreasonable in view of the great extension which these States will now receive.

(8) Solun, which is commercially inseparable from the interior, would naturally become the capital of the new State.

(9) The solution thus proposed would satisfy the widely-felt desire for autonomy which has existed in Macedonia and at Solun for many years past.

Unsigned (1481)

PRO-FO 608/44

(1480) James D. Bouchier, a prominent British public figure and journalist was a great friend of Macedonia from as early as 1903. He continued his pro- Macedonian activity after the Ilinden Uprising. He was also active at the time of the Paris Peace Conference and interceded in favour of a just solution to the Macedonian Question. The result of that activity was also this Memorandum sent to British political circles. Here we reproduce the integral text of the Memorandum.

(1481) The author of this Memorandum has been determined according to the data in the documentation file (PRO-FO 608/44).

(Pages 651-652, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

## APPEAL TO THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE (1482)

March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1919

1. Following all that it has experienced, the Macedonian population, regardless of nationality and faith, has a firm and determined desire to preserve its country complete and undivided as an autonomous political unit in the Balkans within its natural Balkan boundaries upon the following basis: Solun as the common centre, the Vardar valley, Skopje and Bitola with their economic hinterland. The Macedonian population is prepared to confirm openly this striving for a peaceful and free life through a plebiscite as soon as the interested administrations are removed.
2. The state established in this way should be granted self-government and equal rights for all peoples, regardless of number, and there should be no spiritual or political institutions which would give advantage to anyone of them or would arouse suspicion or fear from nourishing separatist tendencies or aspirations.
3. Until it is organized and strengthened internally and until the disputes and passions just beginning to calm down are fully outgrown between the various nationalities which have all the necessary conditions to live in peace and brotherhood - if they could only free themselves from outside influence - the future autonomous Macedonia should be given firm international guarantees for its lasting neutrality and should be placed under international protection against any acquisitive aspirations from outside, so that it might take, through this guaranteed existence, its modest place as soon as such a place is provided in the future family of nations.
4. In supporting the aforesaid demands, the Macedonian population is not guided by a feeling of hostility, but by the desire to live and live in peace. Crystallized long since in its national character, none of the nationalities in Macedonia wishes foreign political mastery or dismemberment of the country which, after the secession of the neighbouring Balkan states from Turkey, developed internal commercial centres such as Skopje and Bitola, which were only surpassed by the capitals. So, the Macedonian population in its integrity became a victim of a Balkan policy which externally had a

certain national justification, but which, owing to the geographical location of Macedonia that made it valuable only as a whole, was actually expressed in aspirations for forceful occupation, thus throwing the entire population along with its Balkan brothers into catastrophic self-extermination; now, having shed its blood, ruined and experiencing on two occasions the horror of such a fruitless policy, the population is confronted with the necessity of eliminating once and for all such a policy, starting to live autonomously, independently and in brotherly relations with the related Balkan peoples, should their governments respect Macedonia as a permanent and equal factor in the Balkans. (1483) If these demands indeed the demands of our compatriots everywhere, if they are the ideals of the population of Macedonia as well as our emigrants in Bulgaria, and, if we, the signatories of this appeal, offering our hands fraternally in the name of a national ideal, determined to persevere to the end, have the qualities to represent the former revolutionary organization and serve it faithfully, give us your confidence and give us your support. We shall strive to make this organization again stand on its feet with all its forces preserved. Help us and be prepared to support it at any moment, especially when it will be imperative for it to give an appropriate form to the uncorrupted national forces, in order to direct them towards the tasks and needs of the future, whatever that may be.

March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

Signed by:

G. Petrov, P. Acev, T. Delivanov, M. Iv. Gerdzikov, Tasko Spasov Serski, A. Lozanchev, D. H. Dimov, D. Ikonov, Hr. Jankov, Kr. Ljondev, N. Puskarov, Archpriest Tomo Nikolov, Cud. Kantardziev, R. Rizov, G. Skrizovski, P. P. Arsov, Pav. Hristov, Luka Dzerov, M. Skartov, Ar. Ma-ev, St. - V., etc.

Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog instituta JNA, (Beograd) Operatsijski dnevnik operativniot odelenja Brhoven komand, Kut. 27, Br. 2 kn. 40, 1919, 596.; Apel km Makedonskoto nasilenje i km emigratsiata v Blgarija.

(1482) Immediately after the conclusion of the imperialist First World War, the shattered forces of the Macedonian national liberation movement renewed their activity. The members of the former Seres Regional Committee, as a shaped ideological group on the left, were the first to do so. With their declaration of October 1918, they called for the reaffirmation of the struggle of the Macedonian people in accordance with the principle of autonomy for Macedonia. On the basis of this declaration, an agreement was made between the Seres members and the representatives of the former Internal Revolutionary Organization in western Macedonia for unification of these two wings in the Macedonian national revolutionary movement. The immediate outcome of the unification of these two groups was the proclamation of this Appeal addressed to the Macedonian people. The introductory section of the appeal deals with the standpoint of the group concerning the relevant problems of the Macedonian national liberation movement, and then the political programme is stated in four points.

(1483) Underlined as in the original.

(Pages 652-654, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

# TELEGRAM FROM THE GENERAL COUNCIL, OF THE MACEDONIAN SOCIETIES IN SWITZERLAND TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS (1484)

March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919

To the Peace Conference – Paris

In our telegram of December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918 and our memorandum of January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1919, we humbly requested the honourable Peace Conference to apply also to Macedonia the principle of self-disposition actually granted to so many oppressed peoples. The population of Macedonia, whose land has been soaked with blood and tears, undergoing most horrible sufferings, and having fought for more than forty years for its deliverance from the foreign yoke, energetically protest before the honourable Peace Conference against the possible projected dismemberment of their country which would be but a repetition of the fatal fault committed by the Peace of Bucharest (in 1913 - editor's note), where the Macedonian population was treated like a herd of animals. The overwhelming majority of the Macedonian population earnestly desires the establishment of an autonomous state placed under the protection of the Great Allied Powers and administered on the example of the cantons of Switzerland. Such an administration, demanded by the overwhelming majority of the Macedonian population, would at the same time bring with it durable peace in the Balkans and would be the only way of securing the economic and spiritual development of all Macedonians regardless of race and religion. The principle "Macedonia to the Macedonians," which was the slogan of the Internal Revolutionary Organization, is very popular in Macedonia. Besides, the autonomy of Macedonia was also formally recognized by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria in their ultimatum to Turkey in 1912. Hence we take the liberty to call the attention of the honourable Peace Conference particularly to this last fact and beseech it humbly not to destroy an innocent people, which largely paid its tribute to the cause of its liberation by slavery, suffering and pain. For the General Council of the Macedonian Societies in Switzerland.

President: S. Tilkov, Secretary: A. Gikol (Seal)

L. Lane, Aktivnosta na Glavniot odbor, p. 155.

(1484) At its session of March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919, the General Council of the Macedonian Societies in Switzerland decided to send this telegram to the Peace Conference in Paris, stating in it the demands of the Macedonians.

(Pages 654-655, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)

**PROTEST FROM THE PROVISIONAL REPRESENTATIVE  
OFFICE OF THE INTERNAL MACEDONIAN  
REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION TO THE PARIS  
PEACE CONFERENCE (1485)**

**April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

To His Excellency Monsieur Clemenceau, President of the Council,  
Paris

Your Excellency,

It is a duty of my honour, as a delegate of the Macedonian Committees to the High Peace Conference, to protest against the manoeuvres of certain suspicious persons who claim to speak in the name of Macedonia and to represent some so-called "Executive Committee of the Macedonian Societies." Let me be allowed to indicate that the Macedonian emigrants to Bulgaria have over the past 30 years created quite a small class of Macedonians Bulgarianized to such a point that they sacrifice completely the interests of their native land to those of Bulgaria. People who have two homelands are generally suspect; what to say, on the other hand, about those who do not hesitate to propose as delegates to the Conference two persons such as Aleksandrov and Protogerov, adherents of the Kaiser (Wilhelm II - editor's note) and Ferdinand, and organizers of the massacres of Nish?

Indeed, there is no one else who could more compromise the cause of "Autonomous Macedonia" before the Areopagus of the victors! Hence I have the honour to point out that the only Macedonian Societies free from any Bulgarian political influence, or any other, and representing loyally the whole of Macedonia, without distinction of language or religion, are the Macedonian Committees, which starting from 1893 constituted the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization... It is in their name, and by no means in the name of Bulgaria or the Bulgarians, that I have already had the honour to request and now I am requesting again from Your Excellency to grant me an audience so that I may present to You the desires of the Macedonian people. I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurance of my deep respect and devotion to You.

Paris, 7, rue Vital. April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1919

Archimandrite Paul Christoff, General Vicar of Thrace, Delegate of the Macedonian Committees.

Lapnovih A., *Jugoslaviska u biblioteki za savremenu – megunarodni dokumentatsii u Parizu. – Godishen zbornik na FF, 24-25 (1972-73), pp. 88-89.*

(1485) Paul Christoff, delegate of the Provisional Representative Office of the I. M. R. O. in Sofia, protested to Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference in Paris, against the self-appointed “Executive Committee of the Macedonian Societies” in Sofia and its activity.

(Pages 655-656, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I)



**EXCERPTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON NEW STATES AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF  
MINORITIES AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE (1493)**

**July - November 1919**

(1493) The question of Macedonia at the Paris Peace Conference was considered solely by the Committee on New States and for the Protection of Minorities, which began working in May, 1919. In the solution of that question a number, of proposals were considered, which can be seen in the minutes of the Committee, excerpts of which we quote in the following text.

# 1. MINUTES OF THE THIRTY - THIRD MEETING, OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

**July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

The Treaty with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State was discussed. The Italian proposals for conferring autonomy on Macedonia (Annex (A)) and Albania (Annex (B)) were discussed and a long discussion took place on them. The Italian representative laid stress on the importance of providing the necessary securities for the protection of the inhabitants of Macedonia and in particular the Slavonic population which was not Serbian. Mr. Leeper (1494) suggested that while it was no doubt desirable that some form of self-government should be given to Macedonia by the Serbian Government, it was doubtful whether the obligation to do this should be imposed upon the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and it would be better at any rate as a first step to enquire what the proposals of the Government for dealing with this district were. M. Laroche (1495) again laid stress upon the extreme importance of not undermining the authority of the Government by setting up a State within a State, and strongly urged the desirability of keeping to a minimum interference with the internal institutions of the State. After a discussion on the historical and ethnical problem of Macedonia, it was eventually determined that a letter should be written to the Serb-Croat-Slovene Delegation enclosing a copy of the minority clauses in the Polish Treaty, and explaining that these were an indication of the nature of the general clauses which they would be asked to agree to. It would be pointed out in the letter that there were of course differences in the conditions of the different States and that therefore the Treaties could not be identical in each case. It would not be proposed to include the Jewish clauses in the Serbian Treaty, but on the other hand it might be desirable to include special clauses dealing with other Minorities. The Macedonian and Albanian question should be referred to and the Government be asked for an indication of the manner in which they proposed to deal with these problems. M. Laroche undertook to draft the letter. It was agreed also that a similar letter should be sent to the Greeks (1496)

Annex (A) to thirty-third meeting Draft of Articles for Macedonia

## Article

Jugo-Slavia agrees to organize the territory of Macedonia within the frontiers fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers under the form of an autonomous unit within the Jugo-Slav State, provided with the greatest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Jugo-Slav State.

## Article

The territory of Macedonia shall have an autonomous Diet. This Diet shall exercise the legislative powers in matters of language, education, and religion, and for questions of local administration and all others the competence for which may be assigned to it by the laws of the Jugo-Slav State. The Governor of the said territory of Macedonia shall be named by the Jugo-Slav Government and shall be responsible to the Diet.

## Article

Jugo-Slavia agrees that the officials of the territory of Macedonia shall be chosen as far as possible from among the inhabitants of this territory.

## Article

Jugo-Slavia guarantees to the territory of Macedonia an equitable representation in the Legislative Assembly of the Jugo-Slav State, to which this territory shall send deputies elected according to the constitution of the Jugo-Slav State. However, the said deputies shall not have the right to vote in the Skupshtina in any legislative matter of the same order as those assigned to the competence of the Diet of Macedonia.

D. H. Miller, *My Diary*. At the Conference of Paris. With Documents. New York 1924, vol. XIII, pp. 263-265; *Recueil des Actes de la Conference*. Paris 1922, vol. VII. *Commission des Nouveaux Etats*. Paris 1929, pp. 175-178.

(1494) Allen Leeper, head of the Press Office of the British Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

(1495) Jules Laroche, delegate in the French Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and member of the Committee on New States.

(1496) The further text relates to the Rumanian Treaty.

## 2. MINUTES OF THE THIRTY - NINTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

**July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

...The Committee then discussed the Macedonian question. (1497)  
Two proposals were put forward, first a draft which had been prepared by Colonel Castoldi, (1498) by request, making Macedonia an autonomous district on the line similar to those adopted for Ruthenia. (1499)

It was generally agreed that it would not be possible to adopt this. The other was a suggestion made by the British representative that arrangements should be made by which the League of Nations would be authorized to maintain representatives in Macedonia in order to strengthen the guarantees against oppression. As a result of the discussion no definite decision was reached, but it was agreed that the different members of the Committee should, if possible, bring forward some concrete proposals at the next meeting.

D. H. Miller, *My Diary*, p. 323; *Recueil*, 215.

(1497) The previous text relates to the discussion on the Austrian Treaty

(1498) Colonel Castoldi, member of the Italian Delegation at the Committee on New States

(1499) The Ukraine was indicated in the Western maps of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries as Ruthenia. Similarly also: Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in the countries of the former monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

### 3. MINUTES OF THE FORTIETH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1919

...The Jugo-Slav Treaty. (1500) - The question of Macedonia was again discussed. The British representatives submitted a proposal giving to the League of Nations the right to maintain representatives in Macedonia. The Italian representatives submitted a proposal for conferring on Macedonia certain rights of local autonomy, which was a modification of the draft they had submitted at a previous meeting. A lengthy discussion took place. M. de Celigny (1501) stated that he must reserve any opinion as to the British proposal; he was not inclined to accept even the modified form of autonomy now suggested. The Italian representative maintained that the British proposal was not sufficient to meet the situation. It was finally agreed that the decision should be reserved for the next meeting, when the two proposals, with such modifications as might appear desirable, would be brought before the Committee. If, as was to be expected, there was a difference of opinion as to which was preferable, then the two proposals would have to be sent up to the Council of Five for their decision. The Chairman explained that it seemed to him most desirable that in this way both proposals should receive equal consideration. The Chairman undertook, if possible, to present at the next meeting draft reports for the Council of Five to accompany the Treaties with Greece and Jugo-Slavia.

D. H. Miller, *My Diary*, pp. 345-346; *Recueil* 229-230.

(1500) The preceding text relates to the discussion on the Greek Treaty and the privileges of Mount Athos.

(1501) De Celigny, member of the French Delegation at the Committee on New States.

## 4. MINUTES OF THE FORTY - FIRST MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

**August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

...The alternative proposals for dealing with Macedonia put forward by the British and Italian Delegations were first considered. (1502) It was agreed that it would be necessary to print these two alternatives in the text of the Treaty; that Delegation which was responsible for each of these two alternatives would have the right of inserting in the report to the Supreme Council the reasons for which they were put forward. The American and Japanese Delegations intimated their adherence to the British proposal. The French Delegation stated that they were unable to accept either, and considered that the general clauses were sufficient. Certain modifications in the British proposal were then agreed to (Annex (A)) by the British, American and Japanese Representatives; in the Italian proposal a slight alteration was made (Annex (B)) It was determined that they should forthwith be printed in the final form which had been adopted. A redraft of the Preamble was then proposed by the British Delegation; certain modifications were made and it was then accepted. (1503)

Annex (A) to forty-first meeting

Article 12

(Proposed by the British, American and Japanese Delegations) In view of the peculiar conditions which have arisen in the former Ottoman provinces of Serbia, as a result of the wars of the last six years, and in order to inspire confidence in the populations concerned, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government undertakes to invite the Council of the League of Nations at its discretion to nominate a Commissioner who shall reside in the district and who shall advise the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government in its execution of the foregoing clauses. The functions of this Commissioner shall be advisory only, and he shall furnish periodical reports to the Council of the League of Nations. The Commissioner and his staff shall be accorded diplomatic privileges, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government undertake to give him all necessary assistance in the

performance of his duties. His appointment shall in the first place be for five years, but will be renewable at the expiration of this period by a decision of a majority of the Council of the League.

Annex (B) to forty-five meeting

Article 12

(Proposed by the Italian Delegation)

Section I

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes agrees to grant to the districts of Macedonia (within the boundaries fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers) autonomy in matters of language, instruction and religion, as well as in questions of local administration.

Section II

A Central Administrative Council, whose seat shall be at Monastir (Bitola), and an Administrative Council for each district, shall have the power to regulate these matters, as well as all others over which jurisdiction shall be granted to it by the laws of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The number of elective members in the Administrative Councils shall be at least three times as large as that of the de jure members. The religious heads of each confession shall be de jure members of the Administrative Councils. The other members shall be elected in conformity with the laws of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

Section III

The Administrative Sub-Division of the Macedonian territory shall be made so as to group as far as possible the populations of the same nationality and religion.

Section IV



The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes agrees that the officials of the districts of Macedonia shall be chosen from among the inhabitants of these districts.

## Section V

The Governor of each district shall be appointed by the Serb- Croat-Slovene Government, taking into consideration, as to their choice, and designation, the numerical importance of the population as regards nationality and religion.

## Section VI

An organic regulation shall be prepared within three months after the signing of the Peace Treaty, to determine the powers and the attributions of the Governors as well as the administrative, judicial, and financial regime of the districts of Macedonia, taking as a starting-point the preceding regulations on that matter. Provisions shall be included concerning the right of the General Council to propose modifications to this regulation, in the course of its first session. The final text, once decided upon, can be modified only on the initiative of the Skupshtina.

D. H. Miller, *My Diary*, pp. 349-362; *Recueil*. pp. 236-242.

(1502) The preceding text relates to the Treaties with Czechoslovakia and Romania, the Austrian Note on Minorities and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Treaty.

(1503) The following text relates to the different modifications of the drafts proposed.

## 5. MINUTES OF THE FORTY- SEVENTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

**August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

Serb-Croat-Slovene Report. - Certain modifications were introduced into the report which was then approved and order to be printed (Annex (A)) It was decided, however, that the draft Treaty should if possible be brought up before the Supreme Council without awaiting the printed report.

Annex (A) to forty-seventh meeting

Report to the Supreme Council from the Committee on New States enclosing Treaty for representation to the Serb-Croat-Slovene Delegation

August 29<sup>th</sup>, 1919

The Committee on New States and for the Protection of Minorities have the honour to submit the draft of a Treaty with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in accordance with Article 59 of the Treaty of Peace with Austria. (1504) The Committee, in submitting the Treaty to the consideration of the Supreme Council, feel it their duty to call attention to certain points in it.

1. As in the case of Romania the clauses of the Treaty apply to the whole of the Kingdom and no distinction is drawn between the old and the new provinces.

D. H. Miller, My Diary, pp. 422-436.

(1504) The following text relates to the given modifications and the way this draft Treaty was worked out.

## 6. MINUTES OF THE FORTY - NINTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF NEW STATES

**September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

The Committee discussed the decision of the Supreme Council of September 4, relating to the clauses proposed by Mr. Veniselos (1505) for migration between the different Balkan States (Annex (A)). It was decided to draft letters communicating these proposals in the form approved by the Committee to Mr. Veniselos and to the Serb-Croat-Slovene Delegation, and Mr. Castoldi promised to prepare the drafts for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee. (Annex (B))...

Annex (A) to forty-ninth meeting

At the meeting of the Supreme Council held on September 4, 1919, it was agreed:

1. That no clause on the subject of reciprocal immigration in the Balkans should be inserted in the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria.
2. That the report of the Committee on New States should be accepted, and that this Committee should be authorized to consult with Mr. Veniselos as to the best methods of putting his proposals into effect.

Annex (B) to forty-ninth meeting

The President of the Committee on New States to Mr. Veniselos, President of the Greek Delegation.

Paris, September 19, 1919.

The Committee on New States and the Protection of Minorities has examined the proposals of the Greek Delegation relative to the emigration which, by exercise of the right of option, may take place between Greece and Bulgaria. The Committee has not considered itself competent to examine certain of these clauses, which seemed rather to deal with questions of reparation. It has given its attention

to the proposals relating to questions of minorities, which appear useful in their entirety with a view to regulating emigration, individual or collective, and the questions of property connected with it. The Committee considers that this general conception could advantageously not be restricted to the inhabitants of territories transferred by the present Treaty of Peace, but extended to all inhabitants of any of the Balkan States who desire to transfer their place of residence to another State. The Committee believes that if this general idea were thus extended, it would contribute much toward the settlement of troubles which have so long agitated the Balkans, and would increase the efficacy of the clauses for the protection of minorities. The Committee does not think it would be possible to limit this principle, making these provisions solely in favour of certain minorities of nationality or of race; the only real criterion of this question should be the desire of those interested. The Committee believes it necessary, in order to put this plan into execution, to obtain the agreement of the different states interested to the formation of mixed commission which would regularize emigration; it would be necessary also that the states interested should advance funds to be expended by this mixed commission. In this manner reciprocal stipulations common to all the interested Balkan states might be made, and their execution entrusted to a special commission. (1506)... I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to communicate to the Committee all the observations which it may appear to you useful to present toward this end. Please accept etc.

Berthelot, (1507) Chairman of the Committee on New States.

D. H. Miller, My Diary, pp. 441-447.

(1505) Elefterios Veniselos, President of the Greek Government, head of the Greek Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

(1506) Then follows the supplement, "Terms of Agreement".

(1507) F. Berthelot, Chairman of the Committee on New States.

## 7. MINUTES OF THE SIXTY - SECOND MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES

**November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1919**

The Committee examined the revised draft of the treaty between Greece and Bulgaria for the reciprocal emigration of minorities prepared by the Drafting Committee. The Chairman reported that the Drafting Committee considered that the signature of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to the Emigration Convention was not essential, but that provision could be made for the record in an annex of a formal decision of the Supreme Council that these clauses were approved by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with Article 56 of the Bulgarian Treaty. The Committee was informed that the Supreme Council had on November 19 adopted its report regarding the submission of the proposed Treaty to the Bulgarian Delegation, and that the draft agreement had accordingly been communicated to that Delegation with the request that a reply be made within forty-eight hours. The Committee also had before it the reply from the Serb-Croat-Slovene Delegation, dated November 23, expressing readiness to sign the Minorities Treaty.

D. H. Miller, *My Diary*, pp. 535-550; *Recueil*, pp. 351-361.

(Pages 666-673, *The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume I*)

**A PRIMER FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN AEGEAN  
MACEDONIA (78) 1925**

Excerpt from Page two (79)

**PAGE TWO**

I, you, he  
We, you, they  
My, your, his hers its  
Our, your, their  
I read a book  
You go to school  
He went to school  
We are pupils  
You are clever boys  
They are naughty  
Our grandmother tells us stories  
He-re here  
The-re there  
Up, up  
Down, down  
In-side, inside  
Out-side, outside  
Ri-ght, right  
Le-ft, left  
For-ward, forward  
Back-ward, backward  
Stay here  
Go there  
I go upstairs  
Go downstairs  
Go inside  
Come outside  
Turn right  
Turn left

**FTORA STRANA**

Jas, ti, toi  
nie, vie, tie  
moi, toi, sfoi  
nashe vashe sfoe  
Jas peam va knigata  
Ti odis na skolia  
toi oide na skolia  
nie sme ucenici  
vie ste umni  
tie set losi deca  
Nasata baba ni kazva prikaski  
tu-ka tuka  
ta-mo tamo  
go-re, gore  
do-lu, dolu  
na-tre, natre  
nad-vor, nadvor  
des-no, desno  
le-vo, levo  
na-pret, napret  
na-zat, nazat  
sedi tuka  
odi tamo  
odam gore  
odi dolu  
odi vnatre  
idi nadvor  
svrti desno  
svrti levo

Abecedar. En Athina, 1925.

(78) Taken from the front page of a Primer published in Athens in 1925 to fulfill the needs of the schools in Aegean Macedonia where Macedonian children were taught. Although it was prepared upon the instructions of the Greek government, the text-book was never used due to obstructions by the same government.

(79) The Primer was written in the Latin alphabet. The dialect spoken in Lerin was used. The text given here was taken from Page Two of the same Primer.

(Page 61, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

**AN ORDER BY THE GREEK TERRORIST  
ORGANIZATION “THE GRECO-MACEDONIAN FIST” (80)**

**January 27, 1926**

In the name of our faith in God and fatherland, in the name of our homes and hearths, we take the oath and, as true descendants of Alexander the Great, we call upon you to join us in the holy struggle which we have begun:

**WE ORDER**

1. Starting today it is forbidden to speak Bulgarian (81) at public places, in the cafes and restaurants, in doing business, at meetings, assemblies, and gatherings, at parties, luncheons, weddings, etc.
2. We order the above mentioned to speak only in the Greek language.
3. We recommend to all authorities - the administrative and the military, the civil servants and private employees, neither to accept nor to give information in any other language but Greek.
4. Parents, teachers, priests and tutors of minors - we call upon you to fulfill your patriotic duties; we shall hold you responsible for the offences (82) of your subordinates.
5. Whoever violates these orders will be considered a traitor of the fatherland and shall be horribly punished by our organization which has been created following a lengthy and thorough analysis of the situation and under the slogan “The Fatherland Above All”. It has the power to punish any who does not carry out its orders.

Lerin, January 27, 1926.

“The Greco-Macedonian Fist”

Arhiv na Makedonija (Skopje) /Further: AMI – Fond. Dimitar Vlahov K. 21. A. E. 86



(80) An extremist Greater Greek chauvinist organization, a counterpart to the Greater Serbian “Association Against the Bulgarian Bandits”. Its aim was to speed up the process of denationalization and assimilation of the Macedonian people in Aegean Macedonia through pressure and terror.

(81) The usual name given to the Macedonian people and their language by chauvinist circles and the Balkan bourgeoisies. By using this name, not only was the Macedonian individuality discriminated against, but also a policy was implemented to justify its quickest possible denationalization and assimilation.

(82) The use of the Macedonian mother tongue in everyday communication was qualified as a crime.

(Page 62, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **A REPORT ON THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE VILLAGE ARMENSKO (ARMENOHORI) (83)**

**January 25, 1932**

In the section for women in the church, I found three small Icons with a Bulgarian text inscribed, I took them down and I am enclosing them in this Report. The two priests there have only a most rudimentary education, while their consciousness is very much Bulgarian. Everyone would easily recognize this (priest) by his appearance which is very much Mongolian, and that one of them is Bulgarian in his soul.

Part VIII. Confidential persons: there is not a single native who could be used as confidential because the majority of them are clearly pro-Bulgarian (84)

Part X. Miscellaneous. It was to my great surprise to hear the children of the refugees speak Bulgarian (85). This forced me to take the following measures:

1. Being shocked and increasingly concerned, I struck the village mayor when I heard him speak Bulgarian, which he wishes to call Macedonian, and I recommended that in the future he should always and everywhere speak only Greek, and that he should recommend that his villagers do the same.

2. In complete secrecy I summoned the refugees (86) and after I described to them the situation here, I recommended that they should avoid learning the Bulgarian language, explaining to them at some length the danger they expose themselves to if they do not pay enough attention to this matter.

3. The refugees informed me that Bulgarian is used in the municipal building during various sessions of the municipal council, which forces them to leave the sessions.

In short, an extreme anti-Greek spirit dominates among the natives of the villages, they hate everything Greek and do not miss any opportunity to express their hatred. It is my opinion that the most

efficient way to achieve assimilation would be if the hot heads could be expelled as undesirable to some other state.

Florina (Lerin), January 25, 1925. Dim. Kamburas, Infantry Lieutenant

AM. – F. Dimitar Vlahov, K. 21. A. E. 86.

(83) There is no record as to whom this report was submitted.

(84) The usual name given to the Macedonian people and their language by chauvinist circles and the Balkan bourgeoisies. By using this name, not only was the Macedonian individuality discriminated against, but also a policy was implemented to justify its quickest possible denationalization and assimilation.

(85) Underlined in the original.

(86) This refers to the Greek refugees from Turkey following the defeat of Greece in its war against Turkey, who were subsequently deposited as colonists in Aegean Macedonia.

(Page 63, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

# **A REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN LERIN REGION**

**November 25, 1932**

Report submitted by Lieutenant G. Sakelaropulos to the Second Army Corps in Larissa concerning the measures and actions taken both at Local and higher levels.

## **I. LOCAL LEVEL**

It is necessary to ensure efficient and close contact and cooperation on the spot between the military authorities on the one hand and the administrative municipal police, as well as other civil authorities (church, educational, etc.) on the other; this could involve all authorities with headquarters in the regions of Lerin (Florina) and Kozani, for the purpose of coordinating their activities in respect of surveillance and the neutralization of foreign propaganda, as well as Komitaji (insurgency) actions, for the purpose of collecting information and data of all sorts, for coordination of measures for the development of sport activities, to spread and strengthen nationalistic organizations, the Scouts, as well as national feelings in different sections of economy, for the purpose of preparing statistical information and, finally, to coordinate activities in the collection of information and preparing of research analyses for the needs of the Army Corps.

## **II. HIGHER LEVEL**

Activities of the PKP (Political Center of the Prime Minister) (87).

In order to perform its mission in the interior (of the country) particularly great efforts have been made towards the development of close cooperation with the educational and church authorities who command the most efficient means for a national re-education of the youth and the people, and hence for the assimilation of the population that uses foreign languages in its communication. At the beginning, this cooperation ran smoothly, thanks to the good will of the respective authorities or, what seems to be more likely, to the fear of the local authorities that a new independent service had appeared which - as it was then believed - would be empowered

with dictatorial authorization. However, with the revelation of the true authority of the P.K.P., this cooperation began to decrease and, in fact, was limited to the circle of the Regional Prefect, the Bishop, the inspector of the grammar school while the other authorities participate now in this cooperation only formally.

After the situation was thoroughly examined, with a view to the factors which influence the attitude of the “Bulgarophonic” population (those who speak Bulgarian) (86), it was unanimously decided that it would not be possible to attain our goal only through the limited activities of the local authorities but rather by undertaking comprehensive measures (which fall under the jurisdiction of the Administration).

It is quite understandable that the majority of the villages in this region were without priests while the church situation was as described above. In the villages where priests existed, the majority of them are in their souls and appearance Bulgarian, and almost without any education at all. The continuous use and observation of the Gregorian calendar is explained by these circumstances.

Civil servants usually consider Lerin and its vicinity as an area of confinement, and all of them are convinced that they were sent here only because they had fallen out of favour with their superiors, which explains why they began to work for their transfer back to the center of old Greece from the very moment they arrived.

The following are the measures we recommend:

1. Introduction of self-government in the districts of Lerin (Florina), Kostur (Kastoria) and Voden (Edessa).
2. Purging the teaching personnel, transfer of native teachers to the interior of the country, and improving the teaching staff.
3. Purging the clergy of pro-Bulgarian priests and bringing in a number of educated and nationalistic clergymen.
4. Purging the civil service personnel.

5. Removal of dangerous individuals (Bulgarophils).
6. Enforcement of the Greek language.
7. Allocation of land to landless veterans.
8. The transfer of the 28<sup>th</sup> Battalion.
9. Organizing an efficient intelligence service.
10. Strengthening and spreading nationalist organizations.

All of the above-mentioned measures were submitted for consideration to the Special Council which met in December last year under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister himself, and in which the Governor General of Macedonia and the Regional Prefect of Lerin also participated. All of these measures were approved by the Council, with the exception of the first one, because it appeared not to be in accordance with the Constitution.

Following these consultations, everyone began to believe that this time the entangled problem of the assimilation of the population in the three above mentioned districts (89) would be definitely solved.

The political factors which we mentioned above, as we could observe, played an important role in thwarting these measures; They were not motivated by personal and egotistical interests, because in this way, and primarily through the purge of the civil service, they would lose the ground under their feet and an end would be put to the shameful exploitation of the pro-Bulgarian inhabitants of this area, whom they serve as protectors, and for which they receive substantial rewards.

...More than 50 elementary school teachers in the region of Lerin are completely unsuitable and should be removed as soon as possible, either by discharge from the service or transfer to Old Greece.

Not a single teacher with a dubious national consciousness has been transferred so far from here to the interior, to an area where only Greek is spoken.

...The clergy is in a similarly deplorable situation. All the pro-Bulgarian priests remain in their parishes here, while not a single capable priest has been sent from Old Greece, although that was promised by the responsible authorities. The majority of villages where the Slav tongue is spoken remain without a priest. The matter of removal (confinement) of dangerous Bulgarophiles is a basic condition for the assimilation of the population, since this happens to be the connecting link between the Bulgarian Committee and the population which speaks the Slav tongue and represents the most serious obstacle to assimilation.

None of the fifty odd individuals sent to the Security Committee, all of them probably agents of the Bulgarian Committee, were removed which to a certain extent encouraged them to continue their anti-national activities. Nothing has been done to impose the Greek language either.

Merchandise is still advertised in Bulgarian, especially on market days; one has the impression that he is not on Greek land.

In the development and spreading of nationalist organizations, one is forced to fight not only the passive resistance of the Slav population of this area, but also the indifference of the intelligentsia, whose ranks include a large number of bitter enemies of these nationalist organizations... (In the Bulgarian village Ksinoreno-Eksisu, one of the leaders of the Papanastasi Party called the members of the EEE nationalist organization, monsters and shit.).

There is however, a point in the activities of this office which has borne good results. It is the compiling of statistics on the ethnographic composition of the population in the region of Lerin (Florina), which is detailed and perfect in every respect and which encloses special reports and records of dangerous individuals in the region. Clarifying these matters once and for all, these statistics certainly deserve to be studied and analyzed by the responsible authorities. Special attention was paid to the compilation of these statistics and therefore it is possible to say that the information they contain is very close to reality.

It was possible in some cases by intimidation, in others by persuasion to make the teachers in the elementary and grammar schools follow the proper course in all-round educational work with the Slavs. The rest of the civil servants are also intimidated, for the time being, and this situation produces many benefits.

This Report was submitted on November 25, 1935 by Infantry Lieutenant G. Sakelaropoulos to the Second Army Corps. P.K.B. No 562, Office No 2, Larissa.

AM. – F. Dimitar Vlahov, K. 21, A. E. 86.

(87) Political Center of the Prime Minister in Athens.

(88) The usual name given to the Macedonian people and their language by chauvinist circles and the Balkan bourgeoisies. By using this name, not only was the Macedonian individuality discriminated against, but also a policy was implemented to justify its quickest possible denationalization and assimilation.

(89) Underlined in the original.

(Pages 64-66, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)



## **PERSECUTION OF MACEDONIANS IN THE DRAMA REGION**

**April 6, 1934**

The whole bourgeois press reported yesterday that at the village of Drenova, region of Drama, which is inhabited by Macedonians, an “anarcho-communist” organization which intended to blow up and set fire to the whole town of Drama, was discovered.

A police detail from Drama raided the village and arrested 8 peasants. In fact, this was a brutal attack against the communists who were presented as anarchists, and whose names were compared with those of the hated Komitajis (insurgents), the obvious aim being to stifle their struggle for the rights of the national minorities. The workers and the peasants of Greece should protest against the deportations of Macedonians, rejecting the slander of an alleged agreement between the communists on the one hand, and the Komitajis, fascist agents of the Bulgarian capitalists, on the other.

“Rizospastis”, ar. 27 (6963), 6, IV 1933, s. 1

(Page 67, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## COMMUNIST LEAFLETS IN SERES

April 15, 1934

On April 15, 1934, the town square was covered with leaflets with revolutionary proclamations calling upon the soldiers to struggle for a solution to their problems and against the beastly reign of terror. Officers imprisoned the soldiers who had read the leaflets, asking them to reveal the names of the individuals who distributed them. The most barbarous methods were used against us Macedonians, soldiers of the Sixth Heavy Artillery Regiment. The majority of us are illiterate, we do not know Greek and therefore we frequently do not understand their orders. The officers tried to teach us to read and write, but their efforts were abandoned too soon and were performed so improperly that none of us learned anything. Following this, the 12 soldiers who did not learn anything were punished by 5 days in jail, each. Two days later we were given one tomato and stuffed pepper each, which is not enough for anyone. The one hundred and forty soldiers, after they had been given this food, gathered around the kettle and, in spite of the officers' threats, demanded better food for the value of 25 Drahas. Eventually, their bowls were filled up with food which had been left in the kettle.

Seres, April 15, 1934

A Macedonian

“Rizospastis ar. 195 (7132), 25. IV 1934. s. 3

(Page 67, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## OPRESSION OF THE MACEDONIANS IN VODEN

June 6, 1934

Voden

Here, in Voden, and in our whole district, in the heart of Macedonia, here where we Macedonians do not know any other language but our own Macedonian, various agents of Greek capitalism force us to speak Greek. Consequently, they threaten us constantly with expulsion to Bulgaria, they call us Komitajis expropriate our fields, which we have drenched with our sweat just to produce a piece of bread. In addition, they deprive us of the freedom which our fathers won after many years of struggle in which they gave their lives for the liberation of Macedonia. We live under the yoke of Greek capitalism, literally as slaves. In the elementary schools, the young children who speak their own language are beaten every day. Particularly here in Voden, the henchman and fascist Georgiadis beats the children if they speak their Macedonian tongue, if they wrap their notebooks in red paper, or if they use red ink or red colours.

Second Lieutenant Tagoris is another “great hero”, anti-communist and persecutor of Macedonians. In his slandering of communism in our district, he does not even shrink from such nonsense as saying we are not communists but rather Bulgarian Komitajis etc.

Not long ago, a number of Macedonian comrades were arrested, and Tagoris threatened them with grave consequences if they did not stop agitating among youth. A number of other comrades, Prosfigis, (90) were arrested together with them. They were repeatedly told that the local people (91) were Bulgarian and Komitajis.

To these agents of capitalism the Macedonians keep repeating that they cannot be intimidated by anything and that they will continue their struggle until they attain their full liberation.

Voden, June 6, 1934

A Macedonian correspondent

“Rizospastis” ar. 105 (7042), VI 1934 s. I.

(90) Christian population of multi-national composition, colonized, following the Greco-Turkish war, the part of Macedonia which had been annexed by Greece.

(91) This refers to Macedonians.

(Page 68, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## MACEDONIANS IN THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

June 8, 1934

Lerin

- It has been some time now that the whole bourgeois press has launched a campaign against the Macedonian people. It represents a part of the fascist and military measures which the Government of Tsaldaris carries out in its orientation towards an increasingly brutal oppression of the people's masses in Macedonia.

This campaign is waged not only by the bourgeois press but also by all the other agents of Greek capitalism. The Chief of the Security Service here, Karamaunas, whenever he meets us in the streets, threatens us with the words: "You are Bulgarians and if by any chance I discover any sort of organized movement, I will beat you without mercy and then I will deport you".

We Macedonians should rise with greater courage and by means of increased activities should reject this campaign because it brings us an even more brutal oppression, starvation, misery and war. Appropriate activities have also been undertaken at the Anti-Fascist Congress. Five hundred drahmas were donated to cover the expenses of our representative. However, this will not do. We should start forming anti-fascist associations, and we should bravely reject the yoke imposed by our oppressors, and create a free and independent Macedonia.

A nationally conscious Macedonian

"Rizospastis" ar. 87 (7074), 8. VI 1934, s. I.

(Pages 68-69, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **ARRESTS AND TORTURE OF MACEDONIANS IN THE SERES AREA**

**June 24, 1934**

Macedonian peasants, especially the poor ones, are dragged through the jails because of unpaid debts of only 60 to 100 Drahas. Six days ago, in addition to those arrested for their unpaid debts, a number of peasants from the village Frashtani (92) were arrested and accused of supplying the Komitajis. Nine more peasants were taken to jail from Kseropotamo (93) and charged likewise. These two villages are located within two hours walking distance from Seres and seven hours from the Bulgarian border. All these poor Macedonians do not know Greek and only speak their own language. Under torture they were forced to admit that Komitajis had been passing through their villages.

Many convicts from the prisons at Seres

“Rizospastis”, ar. 105 (7042), 26. VI 1934, s. I.

(92) A village in the district of Seres.

(93) This village has not been identified.

(Page 69, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## OPPRESSION AND PLUNDER OF MACEDONIANS

July 19, 1934

The following is a letter we have received from Kozani which on the one hand demonstrates the suffering experienced by the Macedonian minority at the hands of the captains – plunderers (94) who are in the service of Greek democracy, and on the other, the latest reckless exploitation of woods belonging to Macedonians by various capitalists who want to impose their monopoly over the forestry industry and to expropriate the poor lumberjacks. Because of this, all those employed in the wooded areas should rise against the methods of reckless exploitation which are now being applied in the forests.

Comrade “Rizospastis”

The knife has cut deep into the flesh and reached the bone. The Greek government has struck us a heavy blow. It has left us at the mercy of Captain Marko Papaterpov, an Andart (95) and goat thief who robs us of our forests which provide a living for 2000 Macedonian families from Dolni and Gomi Nestram (96). This plundering of the woods has aroused all the villagers, young and old alike. We oppressed Macedonians address you and ask you to help us in our struggle because you have been leading us for some time now. Our village commune demands your support as well as the support of all the workers throughout the country.

Nestram, July 19, 1934

Many Macedonians

“Rizospastis” ar. 130 (7067), 22. VII 1934 s. 4

(94) Leaders of the Greek detachments which operated in Southern Macedonia during the so-called “Macedonian Struggle” (1903-1908).

(95) A Greek - member of the Greek Chetnik (insurgent) detachments which operated in the period between 1903 and 1908 in Macedonia, imposing Greek influence.

(96) A village in the district of Kostur.

(Page 70, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)



## **BEATINGS AND ARRESTS OF SOLDIERS - MACEDONIAN**

**August 12, 1934**

Voden

- We Macedonians make up the majority in the 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and therefore our life here is very difficult. Whenever anyone utters a Macedonian word, he is punished with 10-15 days in jail. We are called “ignoramus” and are constantly beaten. Disciplinary measures are taken every day, and we are often ordered to do forced labour. In spite of all this, we shall continue to speak our language and to sing our revolutionary songs. We are prepared to resist the pressure against us, which is being made in order “to throw” us into a war, and we shall fight fascism.

A Macedonian correspondent from the 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment in Voden.

“Rizospastis”, ar. 152 (7089), 12. VIII 1934, s. 5.

(Pages 70-71, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **“RIZOSPASTIS” ON THE SIDE OF THE OPPRESSED MACEDONIANS (97)**

**November 13, 1934**

The Workers and communists “Rizospastis”,

The tiroriata (98) against the Macedonians in the district of Sorovich (99) has reached its peak. Macedonian women who sell 20 kilos of peppers in order to buy a kilo of bread and butter for their families are taken (100) to the market inspectorate (101) to buy market licenses (102). The women who did not know Greek, went together, in order to be able to complain, with a peasant who spoke Greek to the market inspector (103). However, the inspector, enraged, told them to submit a written complaint (104) and asked them to immediately pay 60 Drahas each.

This is one more reason why we should organize groups of Macedonians in order to fight for an independent state.

A Macedonian

“Rizospastis”, ar. 213 (7151), 13. XI 1934, s. 3.

(97) The original was published in the Macedonian language.

(98) A Greek expression meaning “terror”.

(99) A town in Aegean Macedonia.

(100) A local dialect expression was used.

(101), (102), (103), (104) - Greek expressions were used.

(Page 71, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

**A REPORT BY THE COMMANDER OF THE NINTH  
BORDER SECTOR TO THE SECOND BUREAU OF THE  
9TH DIVISION IN KOZANI**

**March 2, 1936**

No 2 E. P. 107, March 2, 1936

I have the honour to inform you that on February 28, upon the invitation of the regional Chief of the Administration, a conference was held in Lerin. At this conference, the following persons took part:

1. all the chairmen of the commercial, trade and craftsmen organizations of the town of Lerin,
2. the president of the bar association at Lerin,
3. the inspectors of the elementary and grammar schools,
4. the principal of the grammar school,
5. the Commander of the 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the Ninth Border Sector, as well as the Chief of Police at Lerin.

In accordance with the recommendation submitted by the regional Chief of the Administration, as well as by the other present chiefs of government agencies, a decision was made to request all the village administrators to convene general assemblies in their villages, and there to stress the necessity to abandon this language and to ensure that only Greek be spoken.

The conference concluded with the pledge of all participants that in future, they will work for the attainment of this goal.

AM. – F. Dimitar Vlahov. K. 21. A. E. 86.

(Pages 71-72, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

**CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR USING THE  
MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE IN THE KINGDOM OF  
GREECE**

**April 24, 1939**

The public prosecutor of the village Dolno Kotori , (105) in connection with paragraphs 143-145 of the Penal Code, summoned Georgi Mitri, a villager from Neret, to appear in person in court on Monday, May 15, 1939, at nine o'clock in the morning, to be tried under the indictment that on February 19, this year, he had been caught by the police of the village Neret, talking to other people in a language which is not known to these other people (Slav language), as well as singing in the same language.

Since paragraph 697 of the Penal Code was violated, and in accordance with Police order No 15/36, if the summoned does not appear in person, he will be tried and sentenced in absence.

Neret.

(106) April 24, 1939 (Seal)

The Public Prosecutor (signature illegible)

AM. –F. Dimitar Vlahov. K. 21. A. E. 86.

(105) The village has not been identified.

(106) A village in the district of Lerin (Aegean Macedonia).

(Page 72, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GERMAN WORKERS CONCERNING MACEDONIA**

**February 25, 1930**

German workers about Macedonia.

A powerful voice in defense of the Macedonian people. A major contribution to the Macedonian Cause. (112)

A Resolution (113)

...Macedonia was partitioned in three parts by so-called Peace Treaties. Partitioned in this way, the Macedonian people under Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian bondage are constantly being suppressed.

In the part of Macedonia under Serbian rule, Macedonians are killed on the basis of a black list which is prepared in advance. In 1928 alone, three hundred Macedonians were killed. Hundreds of others were brought before terrorist courts and thrown in jail. There, by slow torture, they are done to death. The courts delivered 9 death sentences. The corpses of murdered people are found virtually daily in the streets of Macedonian villages. Mass arrests are on the agenda now. (114) The arrested are subjected to brutal and atrocious torture. Public activists, who are not in favour of the dictatorship, disappear without a trace, one of whom was the well-known and respected Macedonian fighter Panko Brasnarov. (115). The state confiscates the property of political prisoners who have been accused of treason to the state. All non-Serbian schools and cultural institutions in Macedonia were closed. Macedonian peasants are being expropriated from their land.

The part of Macedonia under Greek rule is being terrorized by the fascist bands of Captain Stefo and other agents of Athens. Death sentences are being delivered and large-scale deportations of Macedonians to the Greek islands are carried out. The Macedonian population is being expelled from their homes and hearths, while their land and other property is being plundered. Schools and other cultural institutions have been shut down. Every Macedonian who

speaks in his mother tongue is persecuted. Greek teachers pierce with needles the tongues of their pupils who are not able to speak Greek.

In the part of Macedonia under Bulgarian rule, it is the Macedonian fascist organization which plays the role of the hangman (116). Every day it kills fighters for a united and independent Macedonia and for a Balkan federation. Over 1200 Macedonian national revolutionaries (117) have been killed since the introduction of the Bulgarian fascist dictatorship. Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria are subjected to cruel terror.

We demand: Full political, national and cultural rights, and freedoms for the population in Macedonia.

Further, we demand: Abolition of the special regime. An end to the expulsions and deportations of Macedonians. Full and unconditional amnesty for the national revolutionaries and other political prisoner. Aid for the refugees who are suffering and possibilities for their return to their native hearths.

We support the struggle of the Macedonian people for national liberation and for a federation of the liberated Balkan peoples (118).

“Makedonsko Delo” V/108 (25. II 1930), p. 4.

(114) The reason for this statement probably were the mass arrests in Macedonia following police infiltration of Macedonian organizations at Kumanovo and Veles in July and August, 1929.

(115) Panko Brasnarov had been in prison since May 1929. Later, he was included in the group arrested in Veles and, together with them he was tried at the so-called Veles trial, between June 21 and 23, 1930.

(116) This refers to the organization of Ivan Mihajlov.

(117) Since the June 1923 Coup d'Etat in Bulgaria.

(118) Underlined in the original. “Makedonsko Delo” (The Macedonian Cause) wrote that the Resolution “was published in many worker newspapers and magazines”.

(Page 72, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

**A LETTER FROM MEMBERS OF THE “DIMITROV”  
BATTALION IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, ADDRESSED  
TO GEORGI DIMITROV**

**April 27, 1937**

On the day when all peoples celebrate labour, on May the First, we the members: soldiers, commanders and political commissars, of the international battalion which bears your name, address to you our militant anti-fascist greetings. The sons of more than ten nations, among them Spaniards, Poles, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians, Poles, Macedonians (167) and others fight in the ranks of our Battalion and follow your example in the struggle against Spanish and international fascism.

Although we speak different languages, since we have left the countries which separated us before we came to Spain, we now understand each other and live fraternally. We have been united by a single idea and goal: to destroy fascism, to win freedom and independence for Spain...

Front on Harama, 27 April 1937 G. Dimitrovac, (168) 1 (1. V 1937), p. 3.

(166) The newspaper “Makedonski Vesti” (Macedonian News) reflected the positions of the I.M.R.O. (United) in Bulgaria. Its first issue was published in January 1935 and the newspaper was printed regularly in the course of the next two years.

(167) Several hundred Macedonians took part in the defense of the Spanish Republic. Many of the Macedonian volunteers, before they went to Spain, lived in different countries of Europe and America. The exact number of Macedonians who participated in the Spanish Civil War, has not been fully established, particularly those who came from Pirin and Aegean Macedonia.

(168) The newspaper “Dimitrovac” was put out by the Dimitrov Battalion in the International Brigades which took part in the defense of the Spanish Republic from fascist aggression. The initiative to publish this newspaper was given by Blagoje Parovich,



representative of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Yugoslavia in Spain. The first issue was published on May 1, 1937. Altogether 12 issues were published.

(Page 132, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **TERRORISM IN THE VILLAGE PATELE (DISTRICT OF LERIN)**

**October 26, 1934**

In the village Patele (329) a Macedonian organization was formed to fight for the liberation of the long-suffering Macedonian people who are groaning under a Greek reign of terror. The government terrorizes the Macedonian fighters and has decided to deport Andreja Cipov. (330) The population of Patele protested against this act and demanded an end to the deportations, and also a release of all the deported fighters

Patele, October 26, 1934

A Macedonian

“Rizospastis” ar. 243 (7173), 1. X1 19J4, s. 3.

(329) Village in the district of Lerin.

(330) Andreja Cipov (1904-1956), well-known Macedonian and Greek revolutionary. In 1933 he became a leader of the I.M.R.O. (United) in Aegean Macedonia and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. In 1936-1941 he was deported to Akronavplion (Greece). For a short period in 1941 he was secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.G. Participant in the National Liberation Front since 1945.

(Page 268, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

**A LETTER OF PROTEST BY A GROUP OF  
MACEDONIANS ADDRESSED TO THE GREEK  
NEWSPAPERS (341)**

**February 1935**

All the Greek people have been following these days the debate in the League of Nations in connection with the complaint of the Greek minority in Albania. We, the undersigned Macedonians, from the bottom of our hearts wish that the complaints of our brothers in northern Epirus may be remedied, since the Macedonians are in the same situation under the bondage of the Greek authorities. We demand the freedom to speak freely in our Macedonian tongue, to open our own schools so that our children will be educated in our own language. We demand that the Greek government should implement the treaties concerning the minorities in regard to the Macedonian minority, which have been disregarded for so many years. Instead of giving us our rights, the Greek governments are interested only in the “hellenization” of our population. On the other hand, with the assistance of their chauvinist newspapers they endeavour to present us Macedonians as “Slavophones” and “pure Greeks”. We protest also against the orgies which are being held by various nationalist organizations. Together with the gendarmes, they frequently arrest Macedonians, accuse them of being “Komitadjis” and subject them to brutal torture. We call upon our brother Macedonians to complain against this situation. Let us demand that an end be put to the terror, let us demand to be given the right for free use of our own language, to open our own Macedonian schools.

“Makedonsko Delo” X/195 (Februari 1935), p. 8.

(341) According to a note added by the editorial board of the newspaper “Makedonsko delo” (The Macedonian Cause), the Greek minority in southern Albania protested in the League of Nations against the terror of the Albanian authorities. The League of Nations considered this protest early in 1935. A group of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia used this case to address a letter of protest to the Greek newspapers against the terror of the authorities in Macedonia under Greek rule. The letter was written in the Macedonian language.

(Pages 271-272, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”,  
Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for  
Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## **DEEP IN OUR HEARTS WE KEEP THE MEMORIES OF THOSE WHO WERE MURDERED**

**July 1935**

Dear “Rizospastis”,

You, who are on the side of the oppressed, write also something about us Macedonians. Older Macedonians, who had been lured by Bulgarian money and chauvinism and who bore arms fighting for the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria, have now understood that they did not do anything but defend the interests of the landowners and bankers who dismembered Macedonia and annexed parts of it to Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. Now they are reviving the memories of the murdered Macedonian leaders Gruev, Tosev, Delchev, who sought self-determination for Macedonia.

We, Macedonians from Voden held a meeting at which one of our comrades talked to us about the program of the I.M.R.O. (United) and how the minorities lived in the Soviet Union. He told us that the Macedonians in Serbia and in Bulgaria were fighting under the leadership of the communist parties for a united and independent Macedonia. We declare that we shall struggle for our freedom under the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece and that we demand to have our schools where the Macedonian language will be taught, and we also demand that we should not be called Bulgarians because we are not Bulgarians, nor are we Serbs or Greeks, but only Macedonians! We demand permission to publish and distribute our own newspaper.

We invite all Macedonians to join the I.M.R.O. (United), so that we shall all struggle together for a free Macedonia.

Per the Group from Voden

G. Slavos

“Rizospastis” July 3, 1935.

(Page 273, The University of “Cyril and Methodius”, Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)

## THEY WANT TO SPEAK IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE

July 3, 1935

Kroncelevo (District of Voden)

- One hundred and twenty Macedonian families live in this village. They are Macedonians and they do not know any other language except Macedonian. However, nobody should envy the fate of anyone who might be heard by the authorities speaking Macedonian. A threat hangs above his head of being expelled to Bulgaria. All the villagers have relatives in Bulgaria who write to them that the same thing is being done to them by the Bulgarian authorities.

However, the Macedonians in Bulgaria have their own organization and they are struggling for their freedom.

The latest news is that the Security Service has learnt that we receive here our newspaper "Makedonsko delo" (The Macedonian Cause), which has enraged them. However, we are not afraid of them. We shall spread ever wider this newspaper and we shall form national revolutionary groups in all the villages and towns in our Macedonia. We shall publish newspapers in our Macedonian language, we shall prove to all the Macedonians that only the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (United) is waging a struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Macedonians.

Village Kroncelevo, District of Voden Correspondent 1948

"Rizospastis" July 3, 1935.

(Pages 273-274, The University of "Cyril and Methodius", Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State, Volume II)