STALIN
and the
MACEDONIAN QUESTION

By Macedonicus

Stalin and The Macedonian Question

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Translated and Edited by
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(translated from the Bulgarian)

THE PEARLSTONE PUBLISHING COMPANY
St. Louis, Mo., 1948

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Published by the Central Committee
of the Macedonian Political Organization
of the United States and Canada
20 South West Street
Indianapolis 4, Indiana

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Translator's Preface

It is now a quarter of a century since Serbia and Greece acquired possessions in Bulgarian-inhabited Macedonia. The bulk of the country being divided between them,* they immediately launched a strenuous policy of denationalizing the Bulgarians of Macedonia. Greece proclaimed to the world that there were no longer Bulgarians living in her part of Macedonia. The Slavs who continued to live there, according to Athens, were "Bulgarophones", that is, Bulgarian-speaking "Greeks". The events which are now taking place in northern Greece, (Greek Macedonia) prove that Greece has failed to assimilate the Bulgarians there and that they are now fighting to free themselves from the Athens regime.

The Serbian policy of denationalizing the Bulgarians in her part of Macedonia proved a complete *fiasco*. King Alexander's last attempt to coerce and Serbianize the Bulgarians of Yugoslav Macedonia cost him his life.

Now, out of the Macedonian Bulgarians the communist regime of Yugoslav Macedonia has proclaimed a new "Macedonian nation". Out of a Bulgarian dialect of the Macedonian Slavs, the Skopie communist regime has proclaimed a new "Macedonian language". The communist regime of Yugoslav Macedonia recognizes the nationality there of the Turks, Albanians, Vlachs, Gypsies, and others, but not that of the Bulgarians! What the Serbian chauvinists have failed after 25 years to achieve in Macedonia, the communist regime is now trying to accomplish to a far greater extent. Such is the tragedy of the Macedonian Bulgarians today.

The author of this brochure takes as text for his discussion Stalin's concept of the "national question", as outlined in his book, *Marxism and the National Question*. Macedonicus considers, of course, the Moscow German edition of 1945. Hence the quotations herein incorporated are translations from the German text into Bulgarian. Since upon careful comparison of the Bulgarian text of Macedonicus' quotations with the text of the English translation of Stalin's book, *Marxism and National Question*, published by the International Publishers, New York, we are, therefore, using the 1942 English translation of Stalin's work above for all page references in the footnotes.

The Table of Contents, the Chapter Headings, the Footnotes, the Appendices, and the Index are added by the translator. Interpretations are within the scope of such additions.

CHRIST ANASTASOFF

St. Louis, Mo.
June, 1948

(*) See Appendix "E" below.—Ed.

Introduction

For nearly the past seventy years attention, not only of world diplomacy, but also of wide public opinion, has been drawn by the Macedonian question as the most dramatic one for the restless political conditions in the Balkan Peninsula. The chancelleries of the Great Powers often have been concerned with it. The world press has often pointed out the absolute necessity for a just solution of the Macedonian question. The Macedonians themselves, who for decades have struggled for their freedom, through the voice of their organizations, have pointed out the most simple and agreeable method for its solution. In spite of all this, after the second World War the Macedonian question was left unsolved.

From certain untiring headquarters, however, it is noisily claimed that the Macedonian question has been solved and settled. This is constantly preached, especially to the people of Macedonia and Bulgaria, even though such claims, assurances, and admonitions are unnecessary because the Macedonian and Bulgarian people live there and can readily see and judge from the facts, that the Macedonian question today is far more complicated than it was before. The most destructive element in the new com plication is the denationalization which the Bolsevik regime has undertaken in Macedonia. Details about this will be given in the following pages.

This new contribution to the acuteness and uncertainty of the conditions in Macedonia most directly concerns the Bulgarian nation. It is of vital significance for the future relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, which very much wants to foster and extend the great Bolshevik influence and strategy.

We consider that the discussion in these pages is of vital interest not only to the Macedonian population or the Bulgarian nation and the Balkan peoples in general, but also to all of those who are interested in the affairs of south-eastern Europe. It is only necessary to read the following discussion in order to come to a realization that the world must again hear about the struggles in Macedonia—now nursing her senselessly inflicted new wounds—until Macedonia finally attains her freedom.

Inevitably, this discussion has to be tied up with Stalin's name, because he inspires the Bolshevik policy towards the nationalities. More particularly here we are examining how the Bolshevik regime in Macedonia executes the concepts embodied in Stalin's book, *Marxism and the National Question,* which was written in 1913, and later reissued and very often referred to by the Bolsheviks. We have in our hands a copy in German, published in Moscow in 1945.

After these remarks we now come to the exposition itself.

MACEDONICUS

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"And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, Come over into Macedonia, and help us."—*The Holy Bible*: Acts of the Apostles 16.9.

PART I

The Nationality of the Macedonian Slavs

"No right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property."—President Woodrow Wilson, January 22, 1917.

CHAPTER 1

A Nation — A Community of Language

"What is a nation?" asks Stalin in his book, *Marxism and the National Question,* and answers himself: "A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people.

"This community is not racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same should be said of the British, the Germans, and others, who were formed into nations from peoples of different races and tribes.

"*Thus, a nation is not a racial or tribal community, but a historically constituted community of people* (Our italics—M)."[1]

This may be taken as a truth for most nations in the world, for it is almost impossible to find in their veins pure blood of a single racial origin, and for the most part a nation is composed of a mixture of different races or tribes. As far as the Bulgarian nation is concerned, it is accepted that it is composed mainly by the fusion of different Slavic tribes, related to one another by origin and language. In its composition, as far as history tells us, is found only one other alien tribe—the old Bulgarians who had not been of Slavic but of Turanian-Mongolian origin.

Stalin continues:

"A nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.

"But not every stable community constitutes a nation. Austria[2] and Russia are also stable communities, but nobody calls them nations. What distinguishes a national community from a political community is inconceivable without a common language, while a state need not necessarily have a common language. The Czech nation in Austria is not affected by the fact that there are several different languages within its borders. We are referring, of course, to the colloquial language of the people and not to the official government language.

1. Stalin, Joseph—*Marxism and the National Question.* International Publishers, New York, 1942, p. 9.—Ed.
2. Note: The former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.—Ed.

"Thus *community of language* is one of the characteristic features of a nation."[3]

A. The Macedono-Bulgarian Language

We completely agree with this definition. It exactly answers the reality as regards the Bulgarian nation. No one can say, and as yet has not said, during the past centuries, that the Bulgarian nation from the delta of the Danube River to Epirus is not a stable community. In no case is she less a community nor less stable, than, for instance, the Russian national community.

As regards the Bulgarian language, it is common for the entire Bulgarian nation. It is one and the same in its construction, its vocabulary, and its grammar. Only Serbian official "science" has recently made an attempt to "prove", that the language of the Macedonian Bulgarians is not Bulgarian. Until several decades ago, however, no one among the Serbs' scholars ever dared to make such a claim. The Slavic speech of central and north-eastern Macedonia is almost identical with the Bulgarian dialect which is spoken in present south-western Bulgaria, that is, the districts of Sofia and Kustendil. The speech in the valley of the Mesta River, that is, in eastern Macedonia, is even more nearly identical with that which is spoken in northern Bulgaria, especially in the Turnovo district—a dialect which is the basis of the contemporary Bulgarian literary language. The dialect in western Macedonia, mainly by its accent, appears at first as if it were different from all the rest of Bulgarian dialects. The accent there is somewhat different from that of central and eastern Macedonia. But the accent in no case changes the meaning of the words, the spirit, construction, or the grammar of the people's speech, which is and remains entirely Bulgarian. On this subject, therefor, all foreign scholars who are familiar with, and have studied the extent of the Bulgarian language, are in full accord. And of the distinguished foreign scholars of Bulgarian speech and dialects let us note here only the following names: Leskin, the famous Slavist Vatroslav Yagitch, Florinski, Vondrag, and Sobolevski.

Let us mention also that in the translation of the holy scriptures Sts. Cyril and Methody used the dialect of the Macedonian Bulgarians of the Salonica, Voden, Kostour and other districts. In these districts, even now the features of the Cyril-Methodian language is still preserved.

Numerous foreign scholars, including many Russians, are agreed on this question of the Cyril-Methodian language. Hence, any one familiar with the Slavic languages can easily determine, that the language of the Macedonian Slavs is Bulgarian. Among other things there are these most

3. Stalin, Joseph—*Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 10.—Ed.

characteristic distinguishing features, by dint of which generally the Bulgarian language is distinguished from the rest of the Slavic languages, namely:

a) In Macedonia all dialects use the article for the nouns, which no other Slavic language possesses, except the Bulgarian;

b) There is no case form;

c) The comparative and superlative degrees are formed by the prefixes *P o* and *N ã y* (more and most—Ed.);

d) There is no infinitive (indeterminate mood);

e) Personal pronouns are used in double form, for example:
T é b é T é[4] M é n é M é;[5]

f) The future tense of the verbs is formed by the use of the little word S H T É, K É,[6], etc. etc.

And since the language of the Macedonian Slavs is Bulgarian, it follows, according to Stalin's definition above, that the Macedonian Bulgarians possess the most distinguishing feature; namely, community of language which makes them a part of the Bulgarian nation.

Furthermore, as early as the ninth century after Christ, the very language of the Macedonian Bulgarians was introduced by Sts. Cyril and Methody and their disciples, as the language for the church literature of all the Slavs and used by them for many centuries. The old Bulgarian literature and education attained its great bloom in Ochrida, Macedonia, and Preslav all in the same language. After the conversion of the Russins and the Serbs, it was passed on to them. Later on, already the literary language of the other Slavic peoples, just as with the Bulgarians, it was perfected.

B. The Macedonian Slavs are Bulgarians

If you were to ask the Slavic people today in any corner of Macedonia, what is their native tongue, they would answer you, that they speak the Bulgarian language. The other nationalities there—Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Arumanians (Vlachs)—if you would ask them what is the language of the Slavs in Macedonia, they would answer you, most categorically, that it is the Bulgarian language. There is a Turkish proverb, which states: "*Istambul turkchesi, Yanianun yuroumdjesi, Tikveshun bulgardjesi*" which means, that in Constantinople is spoken the most typical Turk-

4. Accusative personal pronoun of the second person as "you," "thou".—Ed.
5. Accusative personal pronoun, "me" (the objective case of "I").—Ed.
6. An auxiliary verb used in the formation of the future, as "shall", "will".—Ed.

ish, in Janina, Greek, and in Tikvesh, Bulgarian. It is well known that Tikvesh is situated exactly in the center of Macedonia.

The Bulgarian literary language of modern times, in its fundamentals, is not very much different from that of the western Macedonian Bulgarian districts. Many leading Macedonian Bulgarians have taken part in its modern construction. Of course, if the writing of books in general is ever a medium for the perfect construction or establishment of a literary language, it is logical to point out, that even leading and influential communists, born in Macedonia, have contributed to the construction of the all-national Bulgarian literary language, since they have written numerous articles and books about it. We refer, for example, to "Grandfather" Dimiter Blagoeff,[7] the founder of the Communist Party in Bulgaria, Dimiter H. Dimoff, Dimiter Vlahoff,[8] Pavel Shateff and other communists.

The greatest Bulgarian proletarian poet is Christo Smirnenski, a Macedonian Bulgarian from the city of Koukoush. All Macedonian revolutionists in the past have written in the Bulgarian literary language. It is these revolutionists which today, either for party reasons or for their sincerity, are respected by the Bulgarian communists. In the first place is the Macedonian legendary apostle Gotse Delcheff.[9] Not a single line of Delcheff's writings has been discovered written in any language other than Bulgarian. This certainly shows that all of these people have considered for their mother language that one in which they wrote and spoke. And all of them, naturally, considered themselves Bulgarian.

To what extent the language of the Macedonian Slavs is Bulgarian is shown by the fact that all proclamations and orders to the people during

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7. Dimiter Blagoeff (1857-1924), was the greatest Bulgarian leader of Socialism. He was born in the village of Zagoritchani, district of Kostour, Macedonia. He was founder and leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party ("tesnite") and served in the Bulgarian Parliament for over two decades. He was an outstanding Marxist and popularized in Bulgaria the teachings of Socialism.—Ed.

8. Dimiter Vlahoff was born in Koukoush, Macedonia. For the most part after 1900, he lived abroad. He was in the service of the Bulgarian crown during 1917-1918, first as governor of the Prishtina district and later King Boris' Consul-General at Vienna, and in this capacity he flirted with the Third International at Moscow. Vlahoff is now Vice-President of the Belgrade *Skupshtina*, and also president of the People's Front in federal Yugoslav Macedonia.—Ed.

9. Delcheff (1872-1903), was perhaps the greatest conspirator in the movement for Macedonian freedom and independence. Born in Koukoush, Macedonia, he received his elementary education in the local Bulgarian school, and later enrolled in the Gymnazia of Salonica. In 1891 he entered the Military School of Sofia, only to be expelled in 1894. Subsequently he returned to Macedonia to organize the peasants for a revolt against the Sultan's regime. He was spreading the gospel of liberty and independence of Macedonia. In a skirmish with Turkish troops in the village of Banitsa, Macedonia, he was killed (April, 1903). Delcheff figures in the annals of the Macedonian Independence Movement as the guiding spirit.—Ed.

the Illinden insurrection[10] were written in the Bulgarian literary language. Between the two World Wars, the communists themselves used the Bulgarian literary language for their official organs, which were designed and published for the Macedonian reading public; for example, the newspaper *"Osvobojdenie"* (Emancipation) published in Sofia, and *"Makedonsko Delo"* (Macedonian Cause) issued in Vienna, Austria.

During 1924 the communists issued in Vienna a manifesto "from the name" of the Macedonian emancipatory movement, directed to Macedonia. This manifesto they had written in the same Bulgarian literary language, knowing that only in that language they could communicate with the Bulgarian inhabitants in Macedonia. All of these things confirm the previously explained reality of the language, which the Slavs in Macedonia speak.

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10. The movement for which the Macedonian Bulgarians had prepared for ten years culminated on the evening of August 2, 1903. It was Sunday, the festival day of the prophet "St. Ilia", hence the name of the rising—*Ilindenskoto Vostanie* (the Ilinden Insurrection). This insurrection was an attempt only by the Bulgarians of Macedonia. The other Christian subjects—Greeks, Vlachs, Albanians, Serbomans (renegade Bulgarians)—either tolerated or actually opposed the insurrection.—Ed.

CHAPTER 2

A Nation — A Community of Territory

Stalin gives us the second characteristic feature for the existence of a nation. He writes:

"Englishmen and Americans speak one language, but they do not constitute one nation. The same is true of the Norwegians and the Danes, the English and the Irish.

"But why, for instance, do not the English and the Americans constitute one nation in spite of their common language?

"First, because they do not live together, but inhabit different territories. A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory. Englishmen and Americans originally inhabited the same territory, England, and constituted one nation. Later, one section of the English emigrated from England to a new territory, America, and here, in the new territory, in the course of time came to form the new American nation. Differences of territory led to the formation of different nation.

Thus *community of territory* is one of the characteristic features of a nation."[11]

A. The Bulgarian Nation—A Community of Territory

The Bulgarian nation for more than twelve centuries has lived on the Balkan peninsula over an inseparable territory, inclosed between the Danube and the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea to Albania. In this territorial entireness are included the provinces of Moesia and Dobruja, Thrace and Macedonia, and until sixty years ago, also Pomoravia.

Stalin brings forth the example of his fellow countrymen, the Georgians, who live on a common territory, speak the same language and in spite of that, strictly speaking, do not constitute one nation, because the different local principalities, into which the country had disintegrated, had

11. Stalin, Joseph, *Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, pp. 10-11.—Ed.

for centuries fought one against the other and thus had prevented a common economic and social life. Similar conditions in the Bulgarian lands, including Macedonia, do not exist. In the course of five hundred years, that is, until 1912, Macedonia was under Turkish domination. Until seventy years ago under the same domination were the rest of the Bulgarian lands. The living conditions over the entire Bulgarian land were developing identically for all Bulgarians in every respect—culturally, economically, politically, and nationally.

Bulgaria and Macedonia were artificially divided only in 1878 by a Turco-Bulgarian boundary. This not only failed to alienate them, but culturally and spiritually they were brought together. They were more united in their brotherly aspiration to hasten the political emancipation of Macedonia; in the exchange of printed books; and the continuous association of the subjugated Macedonian Bulgarians with those of free Bulgaria was hardly ever hindered by the Turkish authorities. In general, we might say, that the five-century-old yoke of all Bulgarians under Turkish rule did, finally, build the Bulgarian nation, as far as their common mentality, their dreams, their spiritual aspirations, and particularly their way of life was concerned. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Bulgarian people demonstrated—by their revolt against the Greek priesthood, and the aspiration to create its own Bulgarian national church—how firmly they felt and thought alike and to what extent they spread over the Balkan peninsula. During the process of their national renaissance the most vivacious Bulgarians come from those of Macedonia.

After 1918 it was so arranged along the former Turco-Bulgarian border, that Macedonia was separated from Bulgaria by barbed-wire entanglements, excavation of wolf traps, and the construction of numerous concrete frontier box-like fortresses. All of this was done by the Serbian authorities in order to separate from one another the people of one and the same nation. In spite of the twenty-three year (until 1941) Serbian rule in Macedonia, one cannot conclude, that the Bulgarian nation has submitted to live, somehow, on two territories, as shown by the example of the English and the Americans. On the contrary, the numerous Serbian measures above for the forced division, and the terror in Macedonia, have shown more and more to the Macedonian Slavs, that they are in full affinity with their brothers in Bulgaria and were far more ill-disposed toward their alien Serbian regime. If the Macedonians did not consider themselves as Bulgarian, if they were a different nation, naturally, Serbia would not have felt it necessary to build between them and Bulgaria, not only a spiritual, but also a physical Chinese wall. Serbia did not erect similar barriers and fortified frontiers between her other neighbors—Albania, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Greece and Rumania.

Historically, once before, namely, in the fourteenth century, practically all Bulgarian provinces, including Macedonia, were included within the boundaries of the Serbian state, for about three decades. But the Bulgarian nation had remained unchanged. There are numerous data for this. Interesting are the documents, which a young learned Bulgarian, Sakuzoff, has discovered in the archives of Venice, and which verify, that even the Serbian regime in Macedonia during the fourteenth century failed to influence the Bulgarian consciousness of the Macedonian Slavs. By their ascendancy in Macedonia the Turks had kidnapped multitudes of Bulgarians from Macedonia and sold them as slaves. The documents discovered in Venice, verify that in all such sales which took place in the Greek islands, the kidnapped Macedonian Slav-slaves had declared themselves before the notaries as Bulgarians, despite the fact that the Turks had found Serbian rule in Macedonia.

The Bulgarians of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia even today live over a territory which is not cut up by seas or by mountains such as the Pyrenees. Occasionally, imposed and artificial political boundaries have been drawn through the territory of the Bulgarian nation, as there were military and political boundaries drawn through Russia's national and territorial integrity; as, for example, by the Swedes, Poles, Tartars, and others. But at no time in the past, were those who came to conquer for a longer or shorter period the Bulgarian territory, ever permitted to call the Bulgarian nation with any other name. The Byzantine had called it Bulgarian. The Latins of Constantinople, as they moved about through Bulgarian regions, were saying that they had dealings with Bulgarians. The Russian prince Svetoslav, while he came to the aid of Byzantium and conquered the bigger part of eastern Bulgaria, knew, and commented, that he had dealings with Bulgarians. The Hungarians, and the Serbs later on, when they were at war with the old Bulgarian kingdom, knew and also recorded in their state documents, that they had quarrels with the Bulgarians. And the Turks, who until recently had ruled the above-mentioned three Bulgarian provinces, had never spoken of two or three different Slavic nations inhabiting them, but spoke only of one—the Bulgarian.

That means, the Bulgarians of Macedonia, as a part of the entire Bulgarian people, possess the second important feature—to consider themselves belonging to the Bulgarian nation—community of territory, according the requirement of Stalin's definition.

B. The Bulgarian Nation—A Community of Economic Cohesion

Further on, Stalin explains:

"But this is not all. Community of territory in itself does not create a nation. This requires in addition, an internal economic bond which welds

the various parts of a nation into a single whole. There is no such bond between England and America, and so they constitute two different nations. But the Americans themselves would not be called a nation were not the different parts of America bound together into an economic whole, as a result of division of labor between them, the development of means of communication, and so forth.[12]

"Thus *community of economic life, economic cohesion,* is one of the characteristic features of a nation."[13]

With this we are in full accord. Relative to Macedonia it is useless for one to resort to numerous evidences in order to prove that she had not only been in an internal economic cohesion with the other Bulgarian lands, but also that the whole economic existence of all Bulgarian lands has assumed identical form. If one could visit every Bulgarian home of these Bulgarian lands, every village backyard or village home, he would see, how much the centuries have struck upon them the impression of one and the same methods of labor; how identical is their productivity, their similar methods of exchange, the same degree of agricultural development, domestic manufacture, etc., and how much—we shall add here—identical habits, identical manners and methods of thought have created all of them.

That which the Bulgarian people were producing, were used in the provinces where they lived, or else through the same and identical routes, had been sent to other countries. Identical economic outlets, identical needs of the international markets had influenced in some way the Bulgarian economy in Macedonia and in the other Bulgarian lands.

Especially during the last five hundred years, while the Bulgarian lands were under Turkish jurisdiction, the entire Bulgarian economic life had been peacefully developing with one and the same rapidity, in one and the same direction. No events, no wars, no new boundaries had ever influenced the Bulgarian lands, to advance different economic forms, or to create here and there self-sustaining economic life. The appearance of the boundary in 1878 between Bulgaria and Macedonia in no way changed these conditions, because the trade between the two Bulgarian provinces was not obstructed by the Turkish authorities. The Serbo-Greek regime, imposed upon Macedonia after 1912, had no significance in the change of the national identity of the Macedonian Slavs on an economic basis. Serbia and Greece have created economic barriers toward Bulgaria, but through this the Bulgarian consciousness in Macedonia was aroused against the conquering countries, and did not weaken their attitude to their own Bulgarian nationality.

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12. *Ibid*, p. 11.
13. *Ibid*, p. 12.

It can be said that the Bulgarian people in its entirety ought to be singled out as one of the most typical examples in Europe for community of economic life and conditions.

It means that the Bulgarian nation, especially in Macedonia, possesses in the highest degree this feature—community of economic life, and of living conditions, and therefore should be considered Bulgarians by those who think as Stalin.

C. The Bulgarian Nation— A Community of Psychological Make-up

Further on Stalin writes:

"But even this is not all. Apart from the foregoing, one must take into consideration the specific spiritual complexion of the people constituting a nation. Nations differ not only in their conditions of life, but also in spiritual complexion, which manifests itself in peculiarities of national culture. If England, America, and Ireland, which speak one language, nevertheless constitute three distinct nations, it is no small measure due to the peculiar psychological make-up which they developed from generation to generation as a result of dissimilar conditions of existences.

"Of course, by itself the phychological make-up, or, as it is otherwise called, the 'national character', is something indefinable to the observer, but inasmuch as it manifests itself in a distinctive culture common to the nation it is definable and cannot be ignored.

"Needless to say, 'national character' is not a thing that is fixed once and for all, but is modified by changes in the conditions of life; but since it exists at every given moment, it leaves its imprint on the physiognomy of a nation.

"Thus *community of psychological make-up,* which manifests itself in a community of culture, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

"We have now exhausted the characteristic features of a nation."[14]

All of this we entirely accept. As regards the Bulgarians, we emphasize that the national character or the psychological make-up, as reflected in the national culture, are for all of them today one and the same. Such is the evaluation by all, who more particularly have studied the Bulgarian people, and such is the evaluation by all other neighboring nations.

Stalin explains why North America, England and Ireland, speaking one and the same language, yet represent three different nations. Some of

14. *Ibid*, p. 12.

the reasons which contribute to this difference might be explained by the circumstance that North America is separated from England by a 3,500 mile ocean; that the Irish are, for instance, Catholics, while the vast majority of the English are Protestants; that Ireland is a separate island several scores of miles away from England, and that between Ireland and England had existed a century-long struggle, which no less than the sea between them, has contributed to their mutual estrangement.

No natural disturbances, no distances, no religious divisions or internal political struggles had ever separated the various provinces of the Bulgarian people. They had lived in compact form for thousands of years over one and the same territory, as already mentioned above. They had dwelt in one and the same economic and general living conditions. Thus into them were hardened one and the same features of national characteristics, one and the same psychological make-up, and out of this they built one and the same all-Bulgarian culture. This culture, which in large part is due to the contribution of the Bulgarians of Macedonia.

If someone looks for community of the Macedonian Bulgarians with all other remaining Bulgarians, he will find it primarily on the basis of this psychological make-up, fundamentally explained by Stalin as an ordinary vital symptom for determining the physiognomy and the very existence of a nation.

Finally Stalin gives the condensed characteristic of a nation. Writes he:

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."[15]

Naturally, one could mention some other things about the characteristics of a nation. But here we shall purposely dwell on nothing else, but shall follow Stalin's definition. We also agree with him in his contention that, when one of the given features is lacking, the existence of a given nation practically ceases; more so, if more than one distinguishing feature is lacking. He explains, for example, that the Russian, the Galician, the American, and the Georgian Jews, because they live in different territories, economically are separated from one another; they speak different languages, and do not represent one nation. Nevertheless, the fact is, that the Jews dispersed in every corner of the world up to the present still feel themselves as one nation, although it is only because of the circumstance that they all believe in the Israelite religion. And it is their religious faith and mysticism, which keeps them in the position to support their national

15. *Ibid*, p. 12.

consciousness and spirit. But, as we have already stated, we accept, and agree with all that has been said by Stalin. And according to that which he has said, we have established, that the Macedonian Bulgarians have unquestionably, every distinguishing feature to be considered as an inseparable part of the Bulgarian nation.

CHAPTER 3

The Bulgarian National Renaissance Begins in Macedonia

Until the time when the Bolshevik regime was established in Macedonia, that is, for at least the past twelve centuries, were the Macedonian Slavs able to point out to what nationality they belonged? Is there any evidence from other sources to indicate to what nationality they belong?

We will briefly answer these questions.

Numerous data indicate to us that the Slavs of Macedonia always considered themselves Bulgarians. In order to exhaust all of these data, it would be necessary to write the whole history of Macedonia from the ninth century to the present time. Since this is impossible here, and even useless, we shall limit ourselves to only a few references of strong historical significance.

During the Middle Ages the masses of the people, not only among the Bulgarians but also among the other nations, had no opportunity to manifest their will, their opinion, and their feelings. For this reason, the Slavs of Macedonia left us no data to indicate their social and national achievement. And, during the period of the Turkish domination it was impossible for the Bulgarians to manifest their accomplishments. In addition, very few documents are preserved relative to Bulgarian medieval history in general, for such documents had been systematically destroyed by the Greek clergy which were placed in Bulgarian lands by the Constantinople Greek Patriarchy. As for the earlier centuries, we need point out only the fact that the Slavic history of Macedonia, as recorded by the historians and the people's traditions, is the history of the Bulgarian people.

Fourteenth century documents were discovered in Venice—as we have already mentioned—which show a series of instances of slaves sold on the Greek islands who were later carried away by the Turks upon their arrival in Macedonia. Upon being questioned with regard to nationality, all of these enslaved people had answered that they were Bulgarian. Facsimiles of these documents were published in the periodical "*Makedonski Pregled*" (Macedonian Review) of Sofia, about fifteen years ago.[16]

16. See Dr. Ivan Sakuzoff, "*Novootkritite Documenti ot Kraya na 14 vek za Bulgari ot Makedonia, prodavani kato robe*" ("The newly discovered documents of the 14th century about Bulgarians of Macedonia, sold as slaves), in *Makedonski Pregled*, Sofia, 1932, vol. 7, book 2 and 3.—Ed.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, and more particularly from the beginning of the nineteenth century, there are numerous recorded facts confirming that the Slavs of Macedonia referred to themselves as Bulgarians. Moreover, let us not forget the unrefutable fact that the Bulgarian national renaissance began first in Macedonia in 1830. It was a veritable spiritual and national revolution for the Bulgarians. This, we must emphasize, pointed out exactly to what territorial extent the Bulgarian nation was spread in the Balkans at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All the Bulgarians at that time were under Turkish rule. There was no Bulgarian state in existence, so one cannot claim that that state was artificially promoting a Bulgarian movement in Macedonia. We cannot consider here every instance of all Bulgarian movements in Macedonia because they were so many. However, the Bulgarian Renaissance was successfully culminated when the Sultan of Turkey permitted the Bulgarian nation, in 1870, to create its own national church.[17]

At the head of the newly created Bulgarian national church there was an Exarch with headquarters at Constantinople. This separated the Bulgarians from the Greek Patriarchate, under whose spiritual jurisdiction they had been left, together with all Christian peoples in the Near East, from the very day when Byzantium was conquered by the Turks and Constantinople became the Turkish capital.

A typical example of the Bulgarian spirit and consciousness of the Macedonian Slavs was the moment when they began to threaten orthodox Russia, as well as the Greek Patriarchate, that they would acknowledge the spiritual leadership of the Roman Pope if they would not be permitted to form their Bulgarian national church. It was in Macedonia, in the city of Koukoush, where the movement for affiliation with Rome began. To preserve their Bulgarian nationality, the local Bulgarians were the first to become Uniates placing themselves under the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church. It was this particular act which influenced most the Russian representatives at Constantinople and compelled them to exercise Russia's

17. Not until 1870 was the Bulgar-Greek struggle over the Bulgarian dioceses in Turkey attended by a definite result. In that year the right of the Bulgarians to an independent church was affirmed by an Imperial *Firman* of the Sultan. The *Firman* of March 11, 1870, was the fundamental charter of the Bulgarian Church in Turkey, and formed the starting-point of the later national development of the Bulgarian people. The head of the Bulgarian Church was given the title of Exarch, and he was permanently invested with the Presidency of the Bulgarian Synod. Article ten of the *Firman* designates the ethnic boundaries of the Bulgarian people. To districts in Macedonia which were left outside the jurisdiction of the Exarchate, a Bulgarian bishop might be appointed should two-thirds of the inhabitants thereof desire (art. X). By virtue of this provision the *Porte* issued a *Berat* (an investiture) for Bulgarian bishops of Ochrida and Skopie (1890). The dioceses of Veles and Nevrokop received Bulgarian prelates in 1894, and those of Monastir, Strumitsa, and Debra, in 1898. Thus, these districts which were left outside of the jurisdiction of the Exarchate by the *Firman* were all placed under the supervision of the Exarchy.—Ed.

pressure on the Turkish government and also on the Greek Patriarchate.[18] As already mentioned, in 1870 the Bulgarian people attained their independent national church.

This was achieved, of course, eight years before the establishment of a free and independent Bulgarian state. Can anyone claim that the Slavs of Macedonia were influenced from somewhere to call themselves Bulgarians? Or that some foreign influence compelled them to undertake such a gigantic national and church struggle? Here is the place to mention how pitiful are the assertions of some learned Serbians which claim that the Bulgarian Exarchy by its propaganda had created the Bulgarian nation in Macedonia! It is as if to say that "the cart pulls the horse"! For forty years (1830-1870) the Macedonian Bulgarians, together with their brethren in Moesia and Thrace, carried on a struggle for Bulgarian national renaissance and for their own independent church. As a result of this struggle, as explained above, there was created in Constantinople the Bulgarian Exarchy. The Serbians—reckoning, evidently, that the world was too involved with its own problems and could not verify the truth—claimed that the Bulgarian Exarchy began after its establishment to create a Bulgarian nation in Macedonia.

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18. Count Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatieff (1832-1908), was Russian Ambassador at Constantinople from 1864 till 1877. He supported the claims of the Bulgarians in their controversy with the Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople. His diplomacy led up to the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), at the close of which he negotiated with the Turkish plenipotentiaries the San Stefan Treaty.—Ed.

CHAPTER 4

The Macedonian Slavs Fight for Their Political Freedom as Bulgarians

Before the emancipation of Bulgaria, revolutionary struggles were taking place in all Bulgarian provinces. Here and there, in the domain of Turkey, Bulgarian newspapers were published. Newspapers were also issued by the Bulgarian immigrants in Rumania, Serbia, and Russia.[19] In all of these publications there are numerous articles on the conditions in Macedonia, written in the Bulgarian language by local Bulgarians abroad. The outstanding of the great Bulgarian emigrants at that time was the famous Bulgarian poet and revolutionist Christo Boeff,[20] worshipped by the whole Bulgarian nation, but now very baselessly adopted by the communists just as if he were their own ideologist. Boteff was one of the greatest defenders of Macedonian Bulgarianism at that time. In all his writings, Macedonia appears as the dearest and an inseparable part of the common fatherland of the Bulgarians. If Boteff was writing untruth about Macedonia, there would have been in some Bulgarian or foreign newspaper a refutation or criticism against him, or even some sort of denouncement of his assertions, on the part of some Macedonian Slavs. Nowhere has such refutation ever appeared, or ever had any cause to appear.

In connection with the revolutionary roaming and organization of that

19. Christo Boteff (1847-1876), while in Braila, Rumania, worked on the staff of *Dunavska Zora* (Danube Dawn) in 1867, and later he issued his first revolutionary paper, the *Duma na Bulgarskite Emigranti* (the word of the Bulgarian emigrants), 1871. In Belgrade, George S. Rakovsky (1821-1867) published the newspaper *Dunavski Lebed* (Danube Swan) in 1860, and later on the *Budestnost* (Futurity). Dragan Tsankoff (1828-1893), edited in Constantinople the newspaper *Bulgaria* (1851-1861). Petko Racheff Slaveikoff (1827-1895) edited the newspaper *Gaida* (Bagpipe. 1863-1867), and *Makedonia* (Macedonia, 1867-1873). Stefan S. Bobcheff established and edited in Bucharest the newspaper *Stara Planina* (1877-1878), etc.—Ed.

20. Boteff is still considered Bulgaria's noblest patriot, ablest writer and Bulgaria's greatest lyrical poet, the singer of Bulgarian liberty, revolutionary life, and exploits. When the revolt broke out in 1876, he put himself at the head of 200 men, left Rumania, captured the Austrian boat "Radetski" and compelled the captain to land his band somewhere on Bulgarian soil. While on his way to Vratsa, where the revolt was taking place, he was met by Turkish troops and Boteff was fatally wounded on May 20, 1876.—Ed.

epoch, the apostle of Bulgaria's freedom, Vassil Levsky,[21] also visited Macedonia in order to study the ground for establishing revolutionary contacts. The legends about his roaming and revolutionary work, his martyr's death, and so forth, were as widely spread in Macedonia as they were in the remaining Bulgarian lands. Would this have been so—would Levsky himself have gone to Macedonia if no Bulgarian people were living there?

Toward the end of the nineteenth century a great revolutionary struggle began in Macedonia for the attainment of her political independence. This struggle is not over yet. The entire mass of the people—peasants, workers, intellectuals, priests, students, both men and women—have been participating in this struggle. Beside the Arumanians, who are very small in number, all participants in this national emancipatory movement were Slavs, who considered themselves Bulgarians. Besides, after 1912, the Turkish inhabitants also fought against the conquering Serbian and Greek regimes in Macedonia. The abundant documents in connection with this revolutionary struggle indicate only one and the same fact—that the Macedonian Slavs are fighting for their freedom as Bulgarians. All correspondence of small and big leaders, all orders in connection with the struggle (the proclamation for the great Macedonian insurrection of 1903, etc., etc.), we must again point out here, are written in Bulgarian and by Bulgarians from Macedonia.

Many Bulgarians, mostly educated people, came from Bulgaria and sacrificed their lives as volunteers in the ranks of the Macedonian revolutionary organization. Among these were many with progressive views, mainly socialists. They enlisted with the full conviction that they were going to help their Bulgarian brothers. In the preserved letters of such volunteers, and in their extant memoirs—some of them already published—nowhere is it stated that any of the Slavs in Macedonia ever told them that they are, or feel, themselves to be in any manner different from the Bulgarians.

Precisely because the struggle was a struggle of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, no Serbian or Greek volunteer ever joined their ranks. No one even from among the Serbian and Greek "leftists" ever joined the ranks of the Macedonian revolutionists. Conversely, many Serbian volunteers were implicated in the struggle for the freedom of Bosnia from Austrian rule, because actually, many Serbians lived in Bosnia. There were

21. Vassil Ivanoff Levsky (1837-1873), was the most energetic and successful organizer of the Bulgarian revolt against the Turks. He drew the youth to him, trained and molded them into the secret struggle against the Turks. His name soon became the symbol of patriotism and self-sacrifice. He succeeded to organize more than 200 local committees, and his name became most popular among the subjugated Bulgarians. After years of most strenuous revolutionary exploits, he fell victim of treachery, and was caught and hanged in Sofia, in 1873.—Ed.

volunteers from Greece in the struggle of Thesaly and the island of Crete, because a Greek population was fighting.

After the Ilinden insurrection of 1903,[22] several thousand persons were compelled to emigrate from Macedonia to America. Some of these were veterans of the insurrection and others members of badly suffering families. These people never lived or ever were in Bulgaria, but crossed the ocean directly. They are still in America and have settled there permanently. Their political and informational activity in behalf of Macedonia has not ceased. Moreover, they manifest such great interest for the cause of Macedonia that it is exemplary to all other Bulgarians. Anyone can verify the national consciousness of these Macedonian-Americans by asking them of what nationality they were. They are of such Bulgarian toughness that one seldom meets even in free Bulgaria. To preserve their Bulgarian name, and the spirit and traditions bequeathed by their fathers, they share from their food budgets in order to raise thousands of dollars to build their own Bulgarian churches in America.[23]

Long before the Ilinden insurrection, and soon after the liberation of Bulgaria, many thousands of Macedonian Slavs, when forced to leave their native homes, were always going to Bulgaria. The number of Macedonian emigrants to Bulgaria is about 500,000. Only when there was no other choice, for example, when the Serbians fortified the Bulgarian borders with barbed-wire entanglements, wolf-trap excavations, and well-armed outposts, while in Macedonia there existed terrible want and poverty, many Macedonians were compelled to go into Belgrade to seek employment and livelihood. Even there, nevertheless, they preserved their nationalistic outlook and did not Serbianize themselves.

After Turkey introduced a constitutional regime in Macedonia in 1908, naturally, the Slavic inhabitants were also permitted to elect their representatives for the parliament at Constantinople. Anyone can verify the facts of these elections and determine what nationality the Slavic electorate were, and be able to identify these elected representatives to the Constantinople Parliament, as being Bulgarians from Macedonia.

Subjugated against their will by the regimes of different states, the Macedonian Bulgarians were called to serve in their armies. At the first op-

22. See footnote 10, above.—Ed.

23. In many localities in the United States and Canada, the Macedonian Bulgarians have built and maintain their own national churches and halls. In Toronto, Ontario, Canada, there are two churches; the one which was recently built cost them $85,000. In Detroit, Michigan, besides the church, the Macedonians there have raised over $65,000 for the construction of an assembly hall, which was recently completed. There are Macedonian-Bulgarian churches and halls in the following cities: Indianapolis, Indiana; Akron, Ohio; Loraine, Ohio; Youngstown, Ohio; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Granite City, Illinois; Madison, Illinois; and Steeton, Pa.—Ed.

portunity, with greatest of risks, of course, they deserted the ranks of their alien armies and always rushed toward Bulgaria. Thus they acted until 1912 when they deserted the Turkish army with arms in hand. Mass desertions took place after 1913 from the ranks of the Serbian army. During 1941 many of them deserted the Yugoslav army. There were also times, when, senselessly, they undertook daring engagements with their oppressors. Forced to serve in the Serbian army after 1913, the newly recruited Macedonians loudly and resentfully protested that they were Bulgarians. Typical is the incident of their mutiny in Kraguevetz during 1914, when they were asked to take the oath of allegiance and loyalty to the King of Serbia. Several thousands of them unanimously refused to take that oath, declaring that they were Bulgarians. Many of them were subjected to severe punishment, some of them were thrown in jail, and others managed to escape to Bulgaria. All of this points out, of course, that the Macedonian Slavs never felt themselves to be Serbs, or Yugoslavs. Most daringly they were continuously manifesting their Bulgarian feeling.

CHAPTER 5

The Role of the Macedonian Slavs in the Life of the Bulgarian People

More than sixty years ago the Macedonians who had immigrated to Bulgaria were organized in their own societies for the purpose of publicly interceding in behalf of Macedonia's freedom. Another objective of these societies was to preserve vivid memories of their fatherland in the form of the songs, the customs, the national Bulgarian garb of Macedonia, and the traditions of their fatherland.

Up to now no one has ever been able to bring forth any evidence to prove that the Bulgarian state or its government influenced the Macedonian immigrants there to call themselves Bulgarian. On the contrary, there are many instances to show that some Bulgarian governments and social groups in Bulgaria complained about "the cursed Bulgarian manifestations" of these Macedonian immigrants.

The war of the Balkan Christian states against Turkey began in 1912. The Macedonian Slavs formed a division of 15,000 volunteers in the Bulgarian army. Not a single group of the Macedonian Slavs ever showed up to volunteer in the Greek, the Serbian, or Montenegrin armies. Moreover, in the regiments of the Bulgarian army there were tens of thousands of soldiers mobilized from the ranks of the Macedonian immigrants to Bulgaria.

Volunteer detachments of Macedonian Bulgarians fought against the Serbians at Slivnitsa in 1885.[24] No one, not even a single Macedonian volunteer, ever fought on the Serbian side.

Long after the liberation of Bulgaria, in the revolutionary bands of Philip Totiu, Stephan Karadja, and among the volunteers who fought at Shipka,[25] could be found the names of many Macedonian Bulgarians.

The renown old fighter, "Grandpa" Ilia Malishevsky, a Macedonian from Berovo, with a number of his comrades from Macedonia, was in constant alliance with the Bulgarian *Voivodes*[26] before 1878. He was con-

24. During the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885.—Ed.
25. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the most significant battle took place at the Shipka pass in eastern Bulgaria.—Ed.
26. Chief of a revolutionary band or *cheta*.—Ed.

sidered the most experienced headman. One of his young *chetnik*[27] was the great Bulgarian revolutionary apostle, Vasil Levsky.[28]

In the hundred years immediately before the liberation of Bulgaria, Macedonia had contributed a number of writers, poets, painters and national awakeners of the Bulgarian nation. All declared themselves voluntarily as Bulgarians. Their works and songs, often written with much depth of feeling and thought, were dedicated, without exception, to the Bulgarian national destiny. Their dreams always were for a happy future of the Bulgarian people. They were living at a time when no Bulgarian State existed. At that time the Bulgarians were economically and politically oppressed by the Turks, and were culturally and religiously crushed by the Greeks. Many of these people were asked by the Greek Patriarchate and Greek national agents to Grecianize themselves but they refused to do that and proudly worked among the poor and subjugated Bulgarian people. Can any one refute that these were sons of a nation expressing the national feelings, consciousness and desire of their Bulgarian people?

The world is aware that there exists a Macedonian question, that is, the question of Macedonia's liberation. It should be recalled, also, that this question appeared on the scene for the first time in 1878, after the decision of the Congress of Berlin when the Bulgarian State was created.[29] Macedonia was left again under Turkish rule, and as consequence its struggle for liberation began. It became necessary now to talk about a distinct Macedonian question. Until 1878, however, such a question had not existed, it was included in the common question of the liberation of the Bulgarian nation—in the common Bulgarian people's question, which was relatively the same for the three large Bulgarian provinces—Thrace, Moesia (with Dobruja), and Macedonia.

Seldom has a population sacrificed so much for its national name, as have the Bulgarian inhabitants of Macedonia. We shall not resort here to statistics to show the degree of suffering and the sacrifices undergone by

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27. Member of a revolutionary *cheta*.—Ed.
28. See footnote 21, above.—Ed.
29 The Great Powers were quite reluctant to accept the San Stefano Treaty, which was imposed upon Turkey by the military victory of Russia. Otto Bismarck, acting as a peace mediator, issued invitations for a Congress of the Powers to be held in Berlin to discuss the contents of the Treaty of San Stefano. The Congress was held in Berlin on June 13, 1878 A month later, the diplomats announced the division of the San Stefano Bulgaria. The territory north of the Balkans and south of the Danube River was to be the new Principality of Bulgaria. South of the Balkans was created an autonomous state of Eastern Rumalia,* under the direct political and military control of the Porte. The districts of Nish, Pirot, Zaichar, and Vrania (Bulgarian Pomoravia), were given to Serbia. Thrace and Macedonia were handed back to the Sultan—hence the appearance of the Macedonian Question.—Ed.
(*) Subsequently, Eastern Rumalia was united with the Principality of Bulgaria in 1885.—Ed.

the Macedonian Bulgarians during the past sixty years of struggle in order to save themselves as Bulgarians. Without any exaggeration we might say that the Bulgaro-Macedonian today is as much Bulgarian, as, for example, the Frenchman is French, or the Russian is Russian.

CHAPTER 6

Early Greek and Serbian Views On the Macedonian Slavs

Let us see what the other nationalities living in Macedonia and her neighboring people thought about the nationality of the Macedonian Slavs. Above all, let us see what was thought by the Greeks and the Serbs, who in the course of the entire past history, and now, have been enemies of the Bulgarian people.

Let us begin with the Greeks. Their most ancient chronologists talk about the Macedonian Slavs only as Bulgarians.

In 1014 the Byzantine emperor Vasilius II engaged in the last big battle against the army of the Bulgarian King Samuel, whose capital was Ochrida, Macedonia. Samuel, then at the head of the western part of the Bulgarian Kingdom, carried on in the course of forty years an epic struggle against Byzantium.

After many attempts, Byzantium succeeded in subjugating the eastern part of the Bulgarian Kingdom. They achieved this victory through the aid of the Russian prince Svetoslav who struck at the Bulgarians from the north. This battle between the armies of Samuel and Vasilius II took place in the Struma battlefield which is near the Belasitza mountain in Macedonia. The Byzantines won the battle and captured 15,000 Bulgarian soldiers as prisoners. The Byzantine emperor had ordered that the eyes of all these prisoners be put out, with the exception of one soldier for every hundred. These one-eyed soldiers were to act as leaders for the purpose of bringing the unfortunate prisoners to the Bulgarian capitol at Ochrida. To commemorate this event the Byzantine world at that time honored Vasilius II with the nickname of "Bulgarian Killer" (Bulgaroktonos—Ed.) Under this name Vasilius II is known in history and so it will remain forever. The question now is: if the army of Samuel, recruited for the most part in Macedonia, were not composed of Bulgarian soldiers and if that Slavic kingdom and her people in Macedonia were not considered as Bulgarian, and if King Samuel himself was not considered as a Bulgarian King, why did the Greeks give to their victorious emperor the title of "Bulgarian Killer"?

After the fall of the eastern half of the Bulgarian Kingdom under Byzantine rule in the eleventh century, the military and political centres of the Bulgarian kingdom and also the supreme administration of the Bulgarian church (the Bulgarian patriarchy) moved to the western half. When, however, after Samuel's defeat, the Byzantine rule was extended over all of Macedonia, there was permitted to remain in Ochrida an Archbishopric under whose leadership were left almost all the lands which had been under the rule of the Bulgarian King Samuel (976-1014). This Ochrida Archbishopric continued to be titled as Bulgarian. This is verified not only by the Greek writers of the Middle Ages, but also by documents which come from the archbishopric itself. It existed for more than seven hundred years. It was in 1767 that as a result of the intrigues of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople, the Ochrida Archbishopric was closed by the Turkish authorities.[30] This caused common sorrow among the Bulgarians of Macedonia. Notwithstanding the fact that for administrators of the Ochrida Archbishopric the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople had almost exclusively appointed Greek bishops, the people had been content simply because it was called Bulgarian.

The two great insurrections of 1014 and 1070, against the Byzantine rule in Macedonia are recorded by the Greek chronologists as Bulgarian.

It is known that the Greek nation borders with Slavs generally—along the Aegean Sea coast, and the Macedono-Epirus line. In connection with this circumstance, one might well point out, that there is a Greek expression, which says: "Vulgaros Kondrokefalos"—meaning headstrong Bulgarians. It is obvious that the Greeks in the course of centuries had the opportunity to mingle and familiarize themselves with the Bulgarians of Macedonia, in order to characterize them with this expression, which even today they use in referring to their relations with the Macedonian Bulgarians.

It seems rather useless to quote testimonials from Greek sources showing the Bulgarianism of the Macedonian Slavs since they are inexhaustible They are known to the whole world. The Greeks, in general, have never, in documents, in written history, or in their ordinary life, considered the Macedonian Slavs other than Bulgarians.

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30. The religion of the conquered nationalities being the same, that is, Oriental orthodoxy, the Turks ended up by recognizing only one clergy as representative of the Christian subjects. The one chosen was the most prominent Greek clergy in Constantinople. The Phanar (the Greek quarter of Constantinople in which the Greek patriarchate is situated), finally became the sole orthodox church in Turkey. The last remains of the national autonomous churches which still existed at Ipek, for the Serbians and at Ochrida, for the Bulgarians, were abolished by the decrees of the Greek patriarchate of 1766 and 1767, respectively. Consequently, in the official language of the Turkish bureaucracy, a common race name was given to the orthodox populations. They were all "Roum-mileti", from the name *Romaios*, of the Greek people. This is the name the modern Greeks gave themselves down to recent times.—Ed.

As far as the Serbians are concerned, there are plentiful testimonials on their part which acknowledged the Bulgarian character of the Macedonian Slavs. Such evidences may be shown from the Middle Ages to even the most recent time. Let us point out first, that a Serbian King—the most renowned in Serbian history—King Dushan,[31] gives us unrefutable royal testimony which confirms the Bulgarian character of the Slavs in Macedonia. Before Dushan had crossed the boundaries of his kingdom, south of Morava and Shar Mountain, his title was "King of the Serbs". He also called himself "King of the Greeks", after he had conquered the territory up to the city of Serres, where the Greek population is found. With his advent into Macedonia, he added to his title the name of "King of the Bulgarians". If he had not recognized the Bulgarian character of the Slavs in Macedonia, why should he call himself King of the Bulgarians? Modern Serbian historians, better called propagandists, now proclaim the Bulgarian lands which Dushan had conquered as Serbian, and the people thereof as Serbs. In the Middle Ages, however, chauvinism and denationalization did not exist as it does today; that is why King Dushan readily recognized and emphasized the ethnographic truth relative to Macedonia by his royal title above.

In 1557 the Serbians renewed their old Ipek patriarchate. It lasted until 1766.[32] Because under its authority were included several northern Macedonian cities, the Ipek Serbian patriarchs had been titled as patriarchs of the Serbians and the Bulgarians. The Serbian patriarch Vasili Burkich distinctly called Bulgarians the Slavs of those Macedonian ecclesiastical districts which were included in the Ipek patriarchate.

We have said that the Bulgarian nation was engaged, from 1830-1870, in a gigantic struggle, known as Bulgarian national renaissance. The aim and objective of the Bulgarians in this fight was to liberate themselves from the religious domination of the Greek patriarchate and to create their own Bulgarian church. This, finally, was accomplished by the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchy in 1870.[33] Throughout this period of time, the Serbian press had given numerous reports and data about the Bulgarian national struggle, and in no instance did it ever call that fight other than a struggle of the Bulgarian people. Available are facsimiles of Serbian writings of those days and also numbers of the newspapers.

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31. Dushan, called the Mighty (1331-1355), conquered most of the Balkans, and proclaimed himself Tsar of the Serbs, Bulgarians and the Greeks. Dushan's empire went on the rocks as the Turks swept over from Asia Minor and began another chapter in the history of southeastern Europe —Ed.

32. See footnote 30, above.—Ed.

33. See footnote 17, above.—Ed.

About 1860 the Serbian government had helped the Bosnian, Stephan Verkovich,[34] to go to Turkey for the purpose of making a study of the Slavs in Macedonia. Verkovich lived there for twenty years. He visited every village and town in Macedonia. As a result of his investigation, he published many books in which he gives detailed statistics relative to the number of the country's population. Not in a single community has he ever pointed out that the Slav inhabitants of Macedonia were Serbs. Everywhere he shows them as Bulgarians. Verkovich has also compiled a collection of national songs, gathered from different Macedonian districts. The book is entitled *"Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians"*, and Verkovich dedicated it to the reigning Serbian queen. This book was published in Belgrade by the Serbian Academy of Science. At that time no one in Belgrade objected to it for the Serbian state policy then had not yet ordered the Serbian institutions of learning to falsify science and history with regard to Macedonia.

There is no doubt that there in the hands of the Bolshevik authorities in Yugoslavia are now all the archives which the Serbian government has written and filed, from 1918 to 1941, in connection with Macedonia. And we believe that the archives of the first Serbian regime in Macedonia, 1913 to 1915, are also in their hands. Had the Bolshevik authorities deemed it harmless for their political plans to bring out the truth about the nationality of the Macedonian Slavs, they would have permitted the learned Russian Slavists today to make research in these archives, and, on the basis of their findings to bring out publicly the testimonials of the Serbians themselves, which would show that in Macedonia the Slavs are Bulgarians. These documents would show furthermore that all the plots of the Serbian military, financial, learned, and police, authorities, and all Serbian state measures have been directed exclusively and only to the purpose fighting the Bulgarian spirit and consciousness. These documents might also show us that the leading and most distinguished Serbians of modern time—the biggest chauvinists and Bulgarophobes among them—unconsciously bear witness that there were no Serbians in Macedonia, and that there were no other Slavs there except Bulgarians.

34. Verkovich was a member of the Societé Savante (later the Belgrade Academy of Science). He lived many years in Macedonia as an official of the Serbian government. He published important works on the ethnography of Macedonia, the most important of which is, *The Ethnography and Topography of Macedonia*, Petersburg, 1889. In this book Verkovich gave figures on the ethnic composition of Macedonia's population. He mentioned no Serbians in Macedonia. See Appendix "A", 8.—Ed.

CHAPTER 7

The Ethnographic Extent of the Bulgarians Established*

What is the opinion on this question of the Turks and Albanians living in Macedonia? These Turks and Albanians refer to the Macedonian Slavs as Bulgarians. You will hear the same thing from Aromanians, Jews and Gypsies living there. And if it were possible to look into the Turkish state archives, it would be far better understood, because since the advent of Turkish rule in Macedonia in the fourteenth century, the Turks have been recording the Macedonian Slavs only as Bulgarians.

And how does the rest of the world, far away from Macedonia itself, look at her Slavic inhabitants? About this, here are some explanations. The provinces of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia are considered by the outside world as Bulgarian provinces because of their predominating Bulgarian inhabitants. In connection with the repeated uprisings throughout the Bulgarian lands, and more particularly because of the subsequent Turkish horrors and massacres after 1870, the sympathy of the civilized world grew toward the subjugated Bulgarian people. As a result, the attention and concern of the world diplomats was aroused.

In 1876 the six Great Powers had decided to hold a conference at Constantinople and compel Turkey to introduce autonomous rule in the provinces with "predominating Bulgarian population." To such provinces (vilayets) were considered—the Eastern vilayet with Tirnovo as its capital, and the Western vilayet with Sofia as its capital. In the Western vilayet were included all Macedonian districts that were considered as lands "with predominating Bulgarian population."[35]

In 1878 the Bulgarian state was resurrected, as result of Russia's military victory of Turkey.[36] Russia then intended to include all of the Bul-

(*) See Appendix "C" below.—Ed.

35. Lord Derby convoked the Ambassadorial Conference in 1876. The first session of this Conference was attended (December 11-23, 1876) by representatives of Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, and Russia. In the future boundaries of Bulgaria was included Macedonia, with Skopie, Monastir, Ochrida, and Kastoria, as a matter of course. The nationality principle was strictly observed, as is evident from the following statement: "The Conference could not comprehend under the name of Bulgaria districts in which the Bulgarian population does not predominate." See its Third Protocol of the Conference annexed to report eight in the *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1877, p. 153.—Ed.

36. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878.—Ed.

garians in one state but the other Great Powers, for reasons of their own, wrecked the Russian plan. In any case it is logical to ask: Why did Russia then incorporate the Macedonian Slavs in the boundaries of Bulgaria if they were not Bulgarians? As a reward for her participation in the war against the Turks, Russia gave to Serbia the cities of Pirot, Nish, and Leskovetz. If the Macedonian Slavs were, for instance, Serbs, how much more logical would it have been to have them incorporated in the already long-existing Serbian Kingdom, and not included in the boundaries of the projected and newly resurrected Bulgarian state. If those Slavs of Macedonia were then a different Slavic nation, surely Russia would have considered the creation of their own state, or else she might have given them some sort of autonomy within the boundaries of Bulgaria. Neither the one nor the other was anticipated or considered, but within the boundaries of the so-called San Stefano Bulgaria was included the whole of Macedonia *as a country with predominantly Bulgarian inhabitants.* And it must be accepted that Russia, like the rest of the world, was well informed about the nationality of the Macedonian Slavs and that is why she included them within the boundaries of Bulgaria.

People from all over the world who have traveled through Macedonia have written books with detailed data for the Macedonian Bulgarians. Among the most popular names, let us mention the Frenchmen Amé Boue[37] and Louis Leger[38]—the first traveled through Macedonia in 1836-1838, and the latter during 1857-1858. Deserving of special attention are the data which have been left by the English women travelers Mackenzie and Irby[39] from 1862-1863. And we might also add names of Turks who have traveled through the country.

From among the numerous Slavic and non-Slavic learned people who have verified that the Slavs of Macedonia are Bulgarians, is the great Czech historian and ethnographer Shaferik, who wrote as early as 1826 that the Bulgarian language is spoken in Bulgaria and in Macedonia. Of the same opinion is the distinguished professor Hinderle. However, there is such a huge literature—written by scores of scholars from different European nations, that it is impossible here to enumerate the names and works of all authors who have irrefutably proved the Bulgarian essence of the Mace-

37. See Boue's *Recueil d'interneraires dans la Turquie d'Europe.* Vienna, 1854.—Ed.

38. Louis Leger was, perhaps, the most distinguished authority on Slavism. He was one of the few European scholars who possessed a thorough mastery of Balkan race intricacies. As a specialist on Slavic languages, Leger was a life-time Professor of the *College de France.* Of the many books which he has written, the following works deserve attention: *Le Paleoslave,* Paris, 1868; *Le Monde Slave,* Paris, 1882, 2 vol.; *Les revindications des Bulgares de Macedonine,* Lausanne, 1885; *Turcs and Grecs contre Bulgares en Macedonine,* Paris, 1904.—Ed.

39. See G. Muir MacKenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces.*

donian Slavs. We might only mention the names of the following travelers and scholars: Constantine Jirecek;[40] the learned German scholar, Professor G. Weigand;[41] Edward Spencer;[42] the distinguished scholar, Sir Arthur Evans;[43] Dr. George B. Washburn;[44] Mary Edith Durham;[45] the most distinguished London *Times* Balkan correspondent, James D. Bourchier,[46] Noel H. Brailsford;[47] the Buxton brothers, Charles R.[48] and Noel E.;[49] the French authority on Macedonia, Colonel Leon Lamouche;[50] George Desbons;[51] Henry Pozzi;[52] the distinguished Russian authority, statesman and scholar, Professor Paul N. Milyukoff;[53] Leon Dominian,[54] as well as scores of other distinguished authorities on the Balkan problems.

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of Turkey in Europe. London, 1877.—Ed.

40. Jirecek was an outstanding Slavic historian and archeologist. He was professor of history at the University of Prague, and made extensive travels and studies in the south Slavic countries—Bulgaria and Serbia. A distinguished Czech scholar, Jirecek was made a member of the Vienna Academy of Science in 1898. The bulk of Jirecek's works deal with the history and literature of the southern Slavs. The following are the most important of his works: *A Bibliography of Bulgarian Literature* (1872); *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Konstantinopel und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien im Mittelalter* (1879); *Excursions in Bulgaria* (1880); *A History of the Bulgarian People* (1876); *Travels in Bulgaria* (1888); *Die Romanen in den Stadten Dalmatiens Wahrend des Mittelalters* (1901-1904), etc.—Ed.

41. Weigand, G.—*The National Struggle of the Balkan People.* Leipzig, 1898; *Uber Macedonien..* Leipzig, 1918; *Ethnographie von Macedonien.* Leipzig, 1924.—Ed.

42. Spencer, Edward.—*Travels in European Turkey.* London, 1850.—Ed.

43. Evans, Sir A.—*The Adriatic Slavs and the Overland Route to Constantinople,* and see also his article on "Who the Macedonians Are" published in the *London Times,* September 30, 1903.—Ed.

44. Washburn, G. B.—*Fifty Years in Constantinople.* Boston, 1913.—Ed.

45. Durham, M. E.—*The Burdens of the Balkans.* London, 1905.—Ed.

46. A great friend of the Greek and Bulgarian people, Bourchier was instrumental in bringing about the Balkan alliance in 1912 against the Turks. As a great expert on Balkan problems, Bourchier was never able to reconcile himself with the Bucharest settlement (August, 1913), which left Macedonia divided between Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. In articles in the *Times* as well as to the *Fortnightly, Quarterly, Contemporary* and other Reviews, he constantly pleaded for a just Balkan settlement.—Ed.

47. Brailsford, N. H.—*Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future.* London, 1906.—Ed.

48. Buxton, C. R.—*Turkey in Revolution.* London, 1909.—Ed.

49. Buxton, N. E.—*With the Bulgarian Staff.* New York, 1913.—Ed.

50. During 1904-1909 Lamouche was in Macedonia as a member of an International Commission (French Section) for the organization of the Ottoman police force. He had often visited the Balkans for special studies. He is the author of the following works: *La Bulgarie dans le passe et le present.* Paris, 1892; *La Peninsule Balkanique.* Paris, 1899; *Quinz Ans D'historie Balkanique, 1904-1918.* Paris, 1928; and *Les Bulgares en Macedoine, dans les confins occidentaux et en Thrace.* Paris, 1931.—Ed.

51. Desbone, G.—*La Bulgarie apres le traite de Neuilly.* Paris, 1930.—Ed.

52. Pozzi, H.—*Black Hand Over Europe.* Bristol (England), 1935.—Ed.

53. Prof. Paul Milyukoff was a member of the Russian *Duma.* He adds to his political authority, the distinction of being a scholar who not only knew the Balkan nations thoroughly, but their languages, as well. Prof. Milyukoff was a member also of the *Carnegie International Commission of Inquiry to investigate the causes and effects of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.*—Ed.

54. Dominian, Leon.—*The Frontiers of Language and Nationality of Europe* (Published by the American Geographical Society), New York, 1917.—Ed.

It merits mentioning, that in Bolshevik Russia of today there are scholars with distinguished names who have studied and brought out the truth about the Macedonian Slavs. Thus, for example, Professor Selishteff wrote, between the first and second World Wars, excellent works on the life of the Bulgarians in northwestern Macedonia, particularly the Tetovo and the Gostivar districts. With more convincing data and arguments, Professor Derjavin has shown in his historical works, that the history of the Macedonian Slavs is Bulgarian history.[55] Recently he has written a history of Bulgaria. In it he has brought forth the age-long truth about Macedonia as a country inhabited by Bulgarians.

In the chancelleries of the big and small powers, there exist numerous international acts, especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century. All of these acts emphasize the truth, that when the Macedonian Slavs are referred to, they are understood to be Bulgarian.

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55. Derjavin, N. S.—*Bulgaro-Serbskite Vzainmi Othnoshenia i Makedonskia Vopros.* Sofia, 1916; and *Les Rapports Bulgaro-Serbs et la Question Macedonienne,* Lausanne, 1918.—Ed.

PART II

Macedonia and Bolshevism

They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.— Point Three of the *Atlantic Charter* of August, 1941.

CHAPTER 8

Solution of the Macedonian Problem

There are Bulgarians living in Macedonia. They are outside the borders of the Bulgarian state, but it is clear that they ought to enjoy all rights recognized for every nation. For the attainment of national rights they have been fighting for the past several decades. As a result of this struggle the Macedonian question has come to the knowledge of the world. The development of this question indicates at present that for Macedonia, a country with predominating Bulgarian population, the most natural approach of solution would be the following:

1. Union with the Bulgarian state;
2. Creation of an independent state;
3. (As a minimum solution and as a last resort to be accepted by the Macedonian organizations); giving autonomy to the Macedonian parts within the states to which they are annexed and guaranteeing national freedom for the development of all nationalities, among that number the Bulgarian.

A. Stalin on the Minorities

Let us here briefly point out how Stalin himself defines the rights which a given nation ought to possess.

He states in his book that the workers have been fighting and shall continue to fight against the policy of national oppression because it obstructs their spiritual development. Stalin says, that "the social-democratic parties in all countries proclaim the right of self-determination."[56] He repeats yet more clearly that "the workers combat and will continue to combat the policy of national oppression in all of its forms, subtle or crude,"[57] and "in fighting for the right of nations for self-determination", states Stalin, "the aim of the social-democrats is to put an end to the policy of national oppression, to render it impossible, and thereby to remove the grounds of hostility between nations, to take the edge off that hostility and reduce it to a minimum."[58] Also, "the right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one

56. Stalin, Joseph.—*Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 22.—Ed.
57. *Ibid*, p. 22.—Ed.
58. *Ibid*, p. 23.—Ed.

has the right forcibly to interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to repress its language, or curtail its rights.''[59] The nation has the right to decide freely its destiny. It has the right to arrange its way of life as it wishes. Of course, without curtailing the rights of the other nations. That is undisputable.

Stalin examines the projects advocated by some socialists for the creation of special national institutes or state foundations which have as their purpose the care and protection of the national rights and liberties. In connection with this, he states:

''A minority is discontented not because there is no national union but because it does not enjoy the right to use its native language. Permit it to use its native language and the discontent will pass of itself.

''A minority is discontented not because there is no artificial union, but because it does not possess its own schools. Give it its own schools and all grounds for discontent will disappear.

''A minority is discontented not because it does not enjoy liberty of conscience, liberty of movement, etc. Give it these liberties and it will cease to be discontented. Thus national equality in all forms (language, schools, and so forth) is an essential element in the solution of the national problem. That, and that alone, is a real, not a paper guarantee of the rights of a minority.''[60]

The above quoted words of Stalin were written by him at the time when he and the Bolshevik party were speaking as Social-Democrats. At that time they were preaching to the Russian people and to the rest of the world, promising them the most ideal social order, the purest national freedom, and so forth. All of these promises of theirs are characterized as allurements in view of all that which the Bolsheviks are now doing in Macedonia.

B. The Bolsheviks Create A New ''Macedonian Nation''

Here is the method how they ''guaranteed'' and ''assured'' the national rights for which Stalin speaks in the above quotations:

Once they established themselves in Macedonia, the Bolshevik regime declared illegal the Bulgarian name and nation. All Bulgarians were ordered to call themselves henceforth ''Macedonians''. The other nationalities living in Macedonia, such as, Albanians, Turks, Jews, Arumenians, and Gypsies must now unlearn to call their Slavic co-inhabitants ''Bulgarian.''

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59. *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.—Ed.
60. *Ibid*, p. 65.—Ed.

In 1913, with the establishment of the Serbian domination in Macedonia, there were closed 641 Bulgarian schools, and 761 churches with six bishoprics. The Serbians drove 1,013 teachers and 833 priests out of the country.[61] The Macedonian fight for freedom, which has been carried on for the past twenty-five years against the Serbian tyranny, has had as its aims and objectives the restoration of rights to the Bulgarian people in Macedonia. Serbia, now called Yugoslavia,[62] under the minority Treaties was to reopen these Bulgarian schools and churches and furthermore not to prevent the opening of new ones. If the Bolshevik regime wanted to pose as liberator of the Macedonian Bulgarians, it should have restored, above all, their school and the church freedom, as well as the free use of their national name. But instead, they again closed the Bulgarian churches and schools after they had been temporarily re-established during 1941-1944, when Bulgaria ruled that part of Macedonia. This means, that the Bolshevik regime in relation to the Bulgarians in Macedonia is doing exactly the same thing which the Serbian regime had done previously

C. A New "Macedonian Language"

The Bolsheviks are undertaking to create for the Macedonian Bulgarians a new literary language adapted from a Bulgarian dialect which is spoken in the most northwestern part of the country, around the Skopie, Tetovo, and Kichevo districts. They mix in this dialect numerous Serbian literary words, with, of course, a definite purpose in view. Nearly a century and a half ago, the early Bulgarian national awakener, Cyril Peichinovich,[63] who was born in the village of Teartse, Tetovo district, had written in the beforementioned dialect a book[64] for the "simple Bulgarian people." Since he stated specifically that he wrote this book in the "simple Bulgarian language", that certainly should indicate that it was the speech of the Slavic inhabitants in northwestern Macedonia—pure Bulgarian.

For the successful attainment of the specifically designed task of denationalization the Bolsheviks have taken a number of measures. Thus, for example, they now preach that all immigrants in Bulgaria who in the course of decades have left Macedonia either as a result of, or in connec-

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61. Anastasoff, Christ—*The Tragic Peninsula*, St. Louis, Mo., 1938, p. 245. —Ed.

62. See footnote 114 below.—Ed.

63. Peichinovich was a leading Bulgarian writer during the first half of the nineteenth century. He studied in the Debra monastery "St. Ivan Bigor". In 1802 he became an abbot in the Markov monastery near Skopie. It was there that he wrote his book, *Ogledalo* (Mirror), published in Budapest in 1816. This book was written—in the words of the author—in the "simple and unliterary Bulgarian language." In 1840 he published another book, *Outeshenie Greshnim* (Solace for the Sinners). He died in 1845 and is buried in the Leshochki monastery near Tetovo —Ed.

64. See footnote 63 above.—Ed.

tion with the revolutionary struggle, are not Bulgarian but "Macedonian." Furthermore, they proclaim as "Macedonians" the 200,000 Bulgarians who live in eastern Macedonia around the Pirin mountain, which territory has been included in the boundaries of Bulgaria since the Balkan War of 1913. And to make their allegations more effective, they have arranged with their obedient satelite groups in Bulgaria, such as the *Zveno* Club,[65] to refer to the Macedonian Bulgarians as people of a different nation. They now forbid the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria to have personal connections with anyone in Macedonia, or to make visits there, and so on. With such a policy, it is believable, that the Bolsheviks are now about to re-establish along the Serbo-Bulgarian borders toward Macedonia, the barbed-wire entanglements, and the wolf-traps, such as Serbia had built, in order to divide spiritually, culturally, and nationally the Bulgarian people.

D. Bolshevik Anti-Bulgarian Policy in Macedonia

No Bulgarian books can be printed now in Macedonia. No Bulgarian newspaper is now issued there. There is no doubt, that even as the previous Belgrade regime opposed, so will the Bolsheviks of today oppose should someone admit, for example, that he owns a copy of the Holy Scriptures in the Bulgarian language. In addition, to this, there has been undertaken a general falsification of the centuries-old history of the Bulgarian nation in Macedonia. Even the slightest opportunity is utilized to incite Macedonian society against the Bulgarians there in order to estrange them and create enmity between them.

The rest of the nationalities in Macedonia (Turks, Albanians, etc.) are recognized by the Bolshevik regime the same as they were before. The Bolshevik regime puts forth special effort, in order to render the Gypsies in Macedonia conscious as a nation. They organize courses in their own language, and are ready to open schools for them. Woe is only to him who wants to call himself Bulgarian! And it is so obvious that the name Macedonian can be and, in reality, is only a geographic expression.

The Greek, as well as the Albanian, and the Rumanian born in Macedonia, all call themselves Macedonian. And thus they have done for many centuries. Despite that fact none of them consider that he belongs to some kind of a "Macedonian nation." If in Macedonia you ask a Turk what he

65. The "Zveno" (link) Club came into prominence in Bulgaria on May 19, 1934, when members of the Zveno in conspiracy with members of the Military League forced King Boris to sign a manifesto which overthrew the Mushanoff cabinet, and placed at the head of the new cabinet Kimon Georgieff, leader of the Zveno Club. Thereafter a strong anti-Macedonian policy was inaugurated by Kimon Georgieff's regime in Bulgaria.—Ed.

is, and he will also answer that he is Macedonian. But in the Turkish language he will express it with the word "Makedonialy", which literally translated, means "from Macedonia". The conception of "Makedonialy" (Macedonian) indicates only, that the person originates from Macedonia, and not that there exists a Macedonian nationality. Rightfully so will another Bulgarian tell you that he is Dobrudjanets (Dobrudjanian), which means, that he is from Dobrudja; or Thracian, which means, that he is from Thrace. The peasants of western Bulgaria, especially around the Sofia and the Kustendil districts, call themselves "Shopi". Those in the Vidin, and to a certain extent in the Vratsa districts call themselves "Torlatsi". But who would contend that there exists a Dobrudjanian or a Thracian, a Shopska or Torlatska nation? In the midst of every nation there exists such geographic or provincial appellations.

Stalin states:

"The Social-Democratic Party can reckon only with real nations, which act and move, and therefore insist on being reckoned with."[66]

As far as the Bulgarians of Macedonia are concerned they are part of a nation—the Bulgarian—which is a real nation, at least as real as is Russia or any other nation. The Macedonian Bulgarians have developed their history with such a Bulgarianism that some of the other Bulgarian provinces look upon them with a certain degree of friendly and brotherly jealousy.

The Bulgarians in Macedonia have worked so hard and have undertaken so many actions for their freedom, that the whole world's attention has been focused on them. Their Bulgarian outbursts, their actions in the past few decades in their struggle for freedom have attracted the attention of the world's public opinion in many cases far more than have the problems of some of the big nations. Since that is true, then the Bolsheviks have no right to say that the Macedonian Bulgarianism is a subject for which no one need keep account. Therefore, instead of keeping account in the spirit of the truth, instead of conforming themselves with the spirit of justice, the Bolsheviks "keep account" by their covetous attitude toward Macedonia and her fight for freedom since 1918, which is the time when Bolshevism came to power in Russia.

66. Stalin, Joseph, *Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 16.—Ed.

CHAPTER 9

The Communists' Effort to Undermine the Macedonian Freedom Movement

After a period of six years of wars in the Balkans, the Macedonian freedom movement was renewed in 1918 with a people's fight against the newly-imposed subjugation of Macedonia. The communists immediately engaged themselves to disunite the cadres of that people's movement. First they tried among the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria to win adherents on a Macedonian basis. This was not for the object of waging some sort of fight in behalf of Macedonia, but simply for the purpose of augmenting the membership of the Bulgarian communist party. They took advantage of the post-war suffering, poverty, and the big disappointment of the Macedonian Bulgarians, who until then had been engaged in a strenuous fight for their freedom, which, unfortunately, was denied them at Neuilly.[67]

While the Macedonian organizations were preaching no partisanship in the Macedonian movement, the communists, on the other hand, were asking every immigrant in Bulgaria to join the communist party, that is, to become partisans. The principle of no partisanship was considered by the Macedonian cause as the best tactics for rallying more Macedonian forces against the oppressors of Macedonia. They felt that the distractions of the free Bulgarian social and political life were dangerous in the sense that they diverted attention and thought from their fatherland—Macedonia. Before the Bulgarian people there was the vivid lesson and example of the Serbianization of the Bulgarian province of Moravia. The emigrants from this province who escaped to free Bulgaria after the Serbian army had taken their country in 1878,[68] absorbed themselves in their own private lives and careers. They never created an organization of Moravian Bulgarians. They never rendered any moral and spiritual help to their brothers in their native land. Thus, because of their indifference and inertia, they helped to

67. By the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913), which terminated the second Balkan War, the whole of Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece, with only a small part left to Bulgaria. After World War I, which was fought for "democracy" and "self-determination" of nations, this division of Macedonia in 1913 was sanctioned by the Treaty of Neuilly (November 27, 1919). See Anastasoff, C. *The Tragic Peninsula*, 1938, pp. 234-238.—Ed.

68. By the Berlin settlement in 1878, the Bulgarian districts of Pirot, Nish, Zaichar, and Vrania, in western Bulgaria, were given to Serbia as compensation for Serbia's aid in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877.—Ed.

facilitate the assimilative work of their conquerors. This situation served as an example and it indicates to the Macedonian immigrants in Bulgaria what course they must follow. If they were to join the various political parties in free Bulgaria and thus become split among themselves, they would not be able to raise a common political banner relative to the freedom of Macedonia, because the various political parties in Bulgaria entertained different conceptions on the Macedonian question.

For the communists, however, no other idea ever existed, except the social revolution. They were not interested in tactics of or concerned about the Macedonian movement. With a partisanship sunk to the marrow of their bones, they intentionally attempted to disorganize the Macedonian society and make it an instrument for the Bolshevik aims in the Balkans. They knew how dynamically the Macedonian movement manifested itself in its struggle. They were evaluating it with the hope and expectation to speculate abroad with its high purposes. They knew and hoped that they might derive certain benefits if they manipulated among the Bulgarian nation with the idea of Macedonia's freedom. Huge sums of money furnished by Moscow were spent in order to crush the Macedonian organization. The fight with the communists has cost the Macedonian movement many sacrifices, but it has managed to defend itself from their attacks.

The Bulgarian communists were not satisfied with undermining the immigrants only in Bulgaria. Similar attempts were made among the Macedono—Bulgarian immigration in America, but with no success.[69]

69. A group of Macedonian Bulgarians in the United States, led by communists, is organized under the name of "Macedonian American People's League", with headquarters in Detroit, Michigan. Pretending that they are working in behalf of Macedonia's freedom, the leaders of this organization are spreading communistic doctrines among the Macedonian immigrants in the United States and Canada. Their official organ is "*Narodna Volya*" (People's Will), and is written and edited by communists. In December 5, 1947, Attorney General Clark declared the Macedonian American People's League as a subversive organization. The bulk of the Macedonians in the United States and Canada is organized in the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO) of the United States and Canada, with headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana. Its official organ is "*The Macedonian Tribune*", which advocates Macedonia's freedom, and strenuously opposes the communistic propaganda among the Macedonians in the United States and Canada. The membership of the MPO builds and maintains its own churches and other cultural establishments.—Ed.

CHAPTER 10

The Communists' Attempt to Undermine the Imro

The Communists also made an attempt to undermine the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO).[70] From Bulgaria they equipped and sent armed bands into Macedonia in order to take over the revolutionary districts organized by the IMRO. When these bands failed to succeed and found themselves unaided by the people, many of their members merely placed themselves at the service of the Serbian oppressive regime, in order to torment and murder the leading Bulgarians in the cities, towns and villages of Macedonia. A number of individuals enlisted themselves in direct service with the Serbian police through the Bolshevik centre in Vienna which was established in 1923, and was headed by Dimiter Vlahoff[71] and Todor Panitsa.[72] These agents officially led bands in Macedonia. These bands were armed, equipped and supported by the Serbian regime for the purpose of persecuting the Macedonian freedom movement. In many cases, the Serbian district govrenors were assisting Panitsa's bands by facilitating the procurement of the communistic newspapers, "*Balkanska Federatsia*" (The Balkan Federation) and "*Makedonsko Delo*" (The Macedonian Cause). The communists kept in contact with several well-known renegades, at the head of whom was Stoyan Misheff. Once they even took the liberty to recommend that the Macedon-

70. When Macedonia was restored to the Turks in the Berlin settlement of 1878, Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin provided for a degree of autonomy for Macedonia. When the Sultan of Turkey failed to carry out the provisions of the above article, the autonomist movement of the Macedonian Bulgarians led by Damian Grueff, Gotse Delcheff, Pere Tosheff and others, launched the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (I. M. R. O. or IMRO) in 1893. The ultimate aim and obective of the founders of the IMRO was to establish political liberty in Macedonia. The IMRO had, indeed, great influence among the Bulgarian inhabitants of Macedonia. It carried on its secret revolutionary work for nearly ten years before the Turkish authorities uncovered its revolutionary network. On August 2, 1903, the IMRO proclaimed an insurrection in southwestern Macedonia. For six weeks it engaged a Sultan's army of over 250,000 men, before the forces of the IMRO were temporarily subdued. Shortly thereafter they reappeared to continue their fight for Macedonia's freedom. See Anastasoff C.—*The Tragic Peninsula*, 1938, pp. 16-97.—Ed.

71. See footnote 8 above.—Ed.

72. Panitsa was once a member of the IMRO, but his later policy and activity were diametrically opposed to the principles and By-Laws of the IMRO. The latter found Panitsa guilty of treason and pronounced his death penalty. He was shot and killed in the Burgtheater of Vienna on May 9, 1925, by a young lady of 26, Mencha Karnicheva. See Anastasoff, C.—*The Tragic Peninsula*, 1938, note 14, pp. 318-319.—Ed.

ian movement ought to be "united" with a new administrative centre of the IMRO in which Todor Panitsa and the renegade Stoyan Misheff were to be included. It is impossible here to give details about the work and character of these two traitors of Macedonia because a whole book could be written about their criminal acts. It is sufficient to mention here that Panitsa carried with him everywhere a Bolshevik passport, a Serbian one, issued to him by the Serbian regime, and also one issued to him by the Greek police. With the Greek police and military authorities he plotted the invasion of the part of Macedonia which is included in Bulgaria,[73] and he assigned to the service of the Serbians his own friends like Vianeto[74] from the Nevrokop district and others. Stoyan Misheff, disdained by the entire population of Macedonia, directed a whole net of Serbian state bands which for years were sowing terror in the valley of the Bregalnitsa River. Indescribable are the horrors committed by them on the Bulgarians of Macedonia: looting, rape, beating, murders through all possible tortures, including burning alive. Before he reported to the Serbians and became a tool of their police, Stoyan Misheff, together with Todor Panitsa, at the head of a large band proceeded through the Rodope mountains toward the Nevrokop district, from which the population had once before driven Panitsa and his band because of their ignominiousness. Misheff's band, which had as its aim to place Panitsa as "chief" in the Nevrokop district, was crushed by the armed population, but its leaders quickly appeared in Serbia. Stoyan Misheff came openly and loudly, and Panitsa secretly and with no commotion. Both of these men brought with them several renegades. For all the horrors and barbarities committed by these renegades in the service of Serbia, for the tortured thousands of the subjugated Bulgarians, for those buried alive, for those burned at the stake, and for the innumerable betrayals, the moral responsibility lies equally on Stoyan Misheff and Todor Panitsa. The punishment of Stoyan Misheff was felt by the people as God's deed.[75] This infinitely disgraced man and traitor of his people, was the person the communist centre had recommended that the Macedonian movement accept in its supreme administrative staff. By that recommendation the communists for the last time had demonstrated how little they were interested in Macedonia's freedom and how completely, because of his usefulness to them, they had embraced Stoyan Misheff. Todor Panitsa became, in addition to Dimiter Vlahoff, the second important individual of

73. Greek troops invaded a sector of Bulgarian Macedonia in 1925, ostensibly in pursuit of IMRO bands. Subsequently the League of Nations found Greece guilty and penalized her with an indemnity in behalf of Bulgaria.—Ed.

74. Vianeto was an insignificant individual in the Macedonian movement, but he was Panitsa's and Misheff's trusted henchman.—Ed.

75. Because of his treasonable acts and deeds, the IMRO pronounced in 1926, the death penalty of Stoyan Misheff. He was subsequently shot and killed in the city of Shtip by the nineteen year old *chetnik*, Cyril Grigoroff, who was later caught and shot by a Serbian military firing squad.—Ed.

the Vienna communist headquarters. Among other things, according to the known data of the Bulgarian state organs and other evidences, these headquarters had organized a series of conspiracies in Bulgaria, one of which was the plot for the famous outrage of the Sofia Cathedral.[76] The Vienna communist headquarters drew close to itself Stoyan Misheff's intimate friend, the renegade Slave Ivanoff. Since he was uneducated and illiterate, they even wrote for him a brochure against the IMRO and encouraged his activities against his own fatherland.

From all of this—even though cursorily mentioned here—it becomes clear by what method "the social democracy" of Stalin is "keeping account" for the Bulgarianism of Macedonia, for its subjugation, suffering and ideals.

Since its reappearance on the scene after the first World War, the Macedonian movement was never by even a single word presented in its true light by the Bulgarian communist press. It tirelessly misrepresented, misinterpreted, and distorted its whole form and purpose. The communists were not interested in the problem on a Macedonian basis, and never worked against the subjugators for the deliverance of the nation. They were working only under foreign commands for interests which were foreign to Macedonia. That is why they were always antagonistic to the Macedonian people's cause. And when they showed themselves seemingly loyal to it, it was only temporizing tactics. They were waiting for the opportune time to betray the Macedonian movement and to stab a knife in its back.

Typical of such an example is the insurrection in Gorna—Djumaya and the Raslog district. These people had given their word of honor that they would be loyal members of the Macedonian movement. But, by an order from the communist headquarters abroad, the communist core there rose with arms in hand, at the same time that the September insurrection flared up in Bulgaria during 1923.[77] In this affair these people utilized the arms of the Macedonian organization, which they had secured from it under an oath of fidelity. The purpose of this act was to create a situation by causing the Macedonian movement to get in bloody conflict with the existing Bulgarian military regime and to spill unnecessary Bulgarian blood in the villages and towns of the Petrich district.[78] The IMRO showed it-

76. In April, 1925, a hundred and fifty people were killed and many others wounded when radicals placed a bomb in the Sofia Cathedral where members of the government were attending the funeral of a killed General.—Ed.

77. It was the *fiasco* of this communist revolt that drove the communist George Dimitroff into exile until the Soviet Governmen restored him to power in Bulgaria in 1946.—Ed.

78. That part of Macedonia which was left to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) is commonly referred to as the "Petrich district". It includes the following Macedonian counties: Gorna-Djumaya, Nevrokop, Razlog, Melnik, and Petrich. After 1919 the IMRO was the sole master over this part of Bulgaria.—Ed.

self magnanimous and none of the participating communists was punished in the Razlog district. In the Gorna-Djumaya district, however, the communist group offered armed resistance, and as a result of that, there were a number of casualties. As a result of this event the communists all over the world began to bark against the IMRO.

If one would examine the communist press after 1918 in connection with Macedonia, he will readily determine that in it has been written very little against the subjugators of the country. It has, however, contained a great deal in Bulgarian and foreign languages, against the Macedonian freedom movement. By doing this, its aim has been to eliminate the movement or to subordinate it entirely to communism. If it were eliminated, the Bolshevik centre has reckoned, it could influence the Macedonian population for its own purposes. This propaganda, these attacks against the Macedonian freedom movement are carried on by the communist staff through the expenditure of huge sums and with the well known communistic tactics of lies and the distortion of the truth.

CHAPTER 11

More Communist Falsifications and The Imro's Aims and Policy

Dimiter Vlahoff, who is at the head of the Bolshevik regime, while speaking before an audience in Skopie recently, said that in the small Petrich district of Macedonia the IMRO has killed 5,000—exactly five thousand people. We should like to have Vlahoff and his colleagues in Sofia, also Bolshevik agents like himself, publish a book in which are shown the names of these alleged 5,000 victims, with information on their birth places, occupations and other data. But Vlahoff and his associates will not be caught by such a bait. They spread lies wherever they can and figure that the bulk of the people are so naive that they will believe these lies. While making these accusations the communists are ceaselessly destroying people who do not think as they do. Only when Bolshevism leaves the Bulgarian lands will it be possible to survey the situation and find out how many thousands of people it has killed.

There is no doubt that the Macedonian struggle for freedom is far more falsified by the communists than it is by the conquerors of Macedonia. Now they are even undertaking to falsify the essence of our nation itself (the Bulgarian—Ed.).

One of their favorite falsehoods in reference to the Macedonian organization and movement is, for example, that it is working for the division of the Balkan peoples. In reality no one is more for the pacification and unity of the Balkans than the Macedonian organization. The leading workers for Macedonian freedom and independence, although good Bulgarians, have consistently declined any unity with Bulgaria but are seeking the preservation of Macedonia through autonomy or independence, with the view of eliminating the quarrels between the Balkan states. As a result of this position and policy, it has more than once fallen into sharp conflict with Bulgarian governments, parties and other social currents. The IMRO

once carried on a well-known fight against the Sofia Supreme Committee[79] and defeated it solely because of its before-mentioned position. The communists, who oppress all Balkan peoples, want to represent their policy as a unifying and liberating action for the Balkans. Their action is not liberating because they are an insignificant minority in the midst of every Balkan peoples, which has imposed its ideology upon the majority. It is against the interest of these Balkan peoples because the communists' policy is to subordinate them to a foreign state. Their policy is not beneficial for the Balkans because it aims to impose upon the Balkan peninsula some kind of Yugoslav domination, while as it is well known, the other nationalities there, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, and Rumanians, number as many millions as all the Yugoslavs put together. We must also bear in mind that Turkey is very much interested in the Balkans and still has one leg in Europe. A Yugoslav domination on the Peninsula would not bring pacification, but division of the peoples. It would create not peace, but war. These things have been known to the Macedonian movement for some time. There never existed in its program the idea of a Yugoslav domination, nor, in general, does it contain provisions for any sort of Yugoslav idea. The Macedonian movement has been fighting for the freedom of Macedonia. It has accepted the idea that Macedonia might become a member in a Balkan federation where all constituent members will have equal rights and responsibilities. Such a federation would make impossible the formation of hostile blocs, for hegemony and conflicts on the Peninsula. From the standpoint of the Macedonian movement and in the interest of Macedonia, a greater Danubian federation, which would include Macedonia as an equal member is far more preferable than a greater Yugoslavia.

It is not out of place to point out here, that only the Macedonian Bulgarians, have been subjected to enslavement and denationalization under the Yugoslav scepter. That was the policy of King Alexander's Yugoslavia, and the same policy is pursued now in Bolshevik Yugoslavia.

A favorite theme of the Bolsheviks is the accusation that the Macedonian movement and cause is "fascist". The Constitution and By-Laws

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79. In 1895, the Supreme Macedono-Adrianople Committee was organized in Sofia for the purpose of restoring the conditions of the San Stefano Treaty. (*) In addition to General T. Tsoncheff, at the head of this Committee were Macedonian officers in the Bulgarian army: Colonel Iankoff, and Captain A. Protogeroff, who became later a famous Bulgarian General. The Sofia Committee stood for the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. Its views were diametrically opposed to those of the IMRO, which stood for autonomy and independence of Macedonia. Moreover, the IMRO believed in the principle of an internal organization of the Macedonian people to work for Macedonia's freedom and independence. The IMRO fought with all its might the Sofia Supreme Committee.—Ed.

(*) The San Stefano Treaty united all Bulgarians. See footnote 29 above. —Ed.

of the Macedonian organization (legal and illegal)[80] are left almost unchanged from 1893 to the present. In them there are no features of fascist conceptions. Until now, not a single Macedonian organization, congress, or administrative individual, either by word of mouth or in writing has ever recommended fascism. The principle of dictatorship is alien to the Macedonian organizations. Their aims, objectives and ideals have never had anything in common with the concrete aims pursued by fascism. The Macedonian movement is a people's popular struggle for freedom, and, above all, for national preservation. It upholds the respect for, and dignity of the individual. And it has maintained the same aims. Day before yesterday the Macedonian movement fought against the Turkish rule, yesterday it fought against the Serbian and Greek rules, and today it is fighting against the Bolshevik regime. It is as ridiculous for the communists to charge that the Macedonian cause is fascist as it is ridiculous for the communists to refer to themselves as "democrats."

Very often the communists assert that only through their program will the people advance socially and economically. As it is well known, the Bolsheviks want to convince the world that before their ascendancy no one else ever cared for "the people." However, without such commotion, the Macedonian movement has put forth much effort toward the economic and social betterment of the people in Macedonia.

Long ago, when the communist party of Bulgaria was in its infancy, the IMRO, regardless of the fact that it was waging a hard armed fight against the Turkish yoke, attained great benefits for the people of Macedonia in matters concerning their economic life. First of all, the IMRO succeeded gaining for the subjugated peasants ownership of the land which they had cultivated for centuries for the benefit of the beys (owners of big estates). In addition, many other benefits for the enslaved peasantry were instituted by the Macedonian movement.

If some day Macedonia is freed, organized according to the plan and dreams of the IMRO she will be a country far better administered, with her people far more contented than they are now under the Bolshevik regime. Unlike Russia, a free Macedonia will not close her frontiers to foreign observers, but would willingly welcome everyone who wishes to see how the aspirations of a fighting people are realized. The masses of the people in Macedonia were never disgusted with any of the social and eco-

80. "Illegal", or active, organizations were those composed of *chetniks*, who were members of a *cheta* (armed band). These fought openly with arms for the Macedonian cause. "Legal", or passive, organizations are those composed of any ordinary local group or society which through speeches, literature, articles, newspapers and other publications advocates the freedom and independence of Macedonia.—Ed.

nomic measures proposed by the IMRO; that cannot be said about the peoples who are now under the Bolshevik boot. The Macedonian peasantry and the working masses, the latter known as the *esnafi*,[81] were the backbone and the staunch supporters of the IMRO. They were deeply convinced that the IMRO protected their real interests.

Now attempts are being made to falsify and to distort the Macedonian movement. Thus, for instance, Dimiter Vlahoff and several of his satellites are trying to glorify the name of Yane Sandanski,[82] as a leading figure of the Macedonian cause. But they do not say much of Sandanski's past, neither do they mention the fact that he was only an ordinary *Voyvode* in Serres—the smallest Macedonian revolutionary district—nor that more than half of the revolutionary population there was against him. At a general IMRO congress, Sandanski was expelled and condemned as a traitor. His name became well-known in the annals of the Macedonian movement only after he had committed treasonable acts against the national interests of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and had traitorously resorted to arms to kill distinguished members of the IMRO. These were ferocious and numerous murders. The *Virhovists*[83] claim that Sandanski had killed, in the Melnik district alone, four hundred and seventy people.

Chiefly several of his communized adherents like Vlahoff are now saying that only Yane Sandanski was for the autonomy of Macedonia. That is not true. The IMRO from its very beginning was for Macedonian autonomy. Its By-laws were written for that specific aim ten years before Sandanski joined the IMRO's ranks. But Vlahoff with his falsification and misrepresentation at the expense of the Macedonian freedom movement, has never been consistent. For example, during the period of the first World War he was appointed district governor of Prishtina by the Bulgarian minister-president, Dr. Vassil Radoslavoff. And people well acquainted with the situation then are telling us that Vlahoff at that time was sending Dr. Radoslavoff reports which recommended and urged measures for the quicker Bulgarianization of the Albanians in the Kossovo district. But today he is applying measures in Macedonia through which he aims to destroy the Bulgarian name of his own nation.

All of these things indicate the extent the communists are from the

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81. The Bulgarian artisan's guilds.—Ed.

82. Sandanski was a school teacher and revolutionary organizer of the Melnik district. He was a *voyvode* (chief) of a band and also a member of the Serres Revolutionary Committee. Sandanski became a strong pro-Young Turk, after the Young Turks' revolt in 1908. It is well to note here that the Young Turks' policy in Macedonia was very detrimental to the Bulgarian inhabitants of Macedonia.—Ed.

83. Those who share the views of the Sofia Supreme Committee of 1895 and which advocate the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. See footnote 79 above.—Ed.

truth; how little they have in common with the Macedonian movement, and how numerous are their basic ideological differences.

We have already shown that the Macedonian movement is a cause, above all, that transcends party lines; that it is a people's movement. But Bolshevism, on the other hand, is a party movement with a partisanship in the extreme meaning of the term.

The Macedonian movement is entirely independent. For the preservation and security of its independence, it had undertaken hard fights even with pure Bulgarian factors. Bolshevism, on the other hand, advocates and has as its basic dogma, universal subordination of nations to its own centre. This foreign centre for the Bulgarian communists is located at a distance of 4,000 kilometers. From the standpoint of Macedonia's interests, it seems that the communists are advocating a more virulent form of *virhovism*—red *virhovism*.[84] Whereas the earlier *virhovism* was a movement which originated in Sofia and had as its fundamental aims that the Macedonian freedom movement be directed from Sofia, and that Macedonia be eventually annexed to Bulgaria, the *red virhovism* wants the Macedonian movement to be directed from Moscow and seeks to pursue a Bolshevik policy of denationalization of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. Considering this matter calmly and objectively, the earlier Sofia *virhovism* would be a thousand times more logical and acceptable to the Macedonians today.

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84. Communists who advocate the annexation of Macedonia (including Bulgarian and Greek Macedonia) to Yugoslavia.—Ed.

CHAPTER 12

Stalin on the Freedom of the Nationalities and Macedonia

People from every walk of life have been represented in the ranks of the Macedonian movement. It has accepted rich and poor, educated and uneducated, men and women, and people with different convictions, as long as they submit to the By-laws and fight for the aims and objectives of the movement. Bolshevism, however, is purely a class movement. It crushes everyone who does not share its ideology.

The ideal of the Macedonian cause is national freedom for all the people irrespective of race and faith, with equal rights for all of them. The Bolsheviks, as we see them in Macedonia, are against national freedom. They seek forcibly to denationalize the Bulgarians there. Although they broadly and noisily claim that the national question was best solved in Soviet Russia under Bolshevism, their pattern for solving the national question in Macedonia is perhaps the worst method.

But let us see again what Stalin has to say for the rights of the nationalities:

"What will be the position under a future democratic system? Will not specific 'cultural institutions which guarantee' the nations 'complete freedom of cultural development',[85] be required even under democracy? What is the position in this respect in democratic Switzerland, for example? Are there specific cultural institutions in Switzerland on the pattern of Springer's[86] 'National Council'?[87] No, there are not. But do not the cultural interests of, for instance, the Italians, who constitute a minority, suffer for that reason? One does not seem to hear that they do. And

85. Here Stalin makes allusions about the institutions which the famous Austrian socialist, Otto Bauer, had proposed to create in Austria-Hungary to guarantee the national freedom and development of the heterogeneous groups within the Empire.—Ed.

86. Rudolph Springer was a leading Austrian socialist and advocate of national cultural autonomy.—Ed.

87. Something in the nature of a Diet on cultural matters advocated by the Austrian socialists, Springer and Bauer.—Ed.

that is quite natural: in Switzerland all specifically cultural 'institutions', which supposedly 'guarantee', are rendered superfluous by democracy''.[88]

Elsewhere he states:

''But even within the framework of capitalism it is possible to reduce the national struggle to a minimum, to sever its roots, to render it as innocuous as possible for the proletariat. This is borne out by the example of Switzerland and America. It requires that the country should be democratized and the nations allowed opportunity for free development.''[89]

Supplementing this, he writes:

''The institutions (for the protection of the national freedom and development—Ed.) in themselves cannot serve as 'guarantee' if the regime in the state generally is not a democratic one.''[90] And elsewhere he states: ''Obviously, the point lies not in institutions, but in the general regime prevailing in the country. If there is no democracy in the country there can be no guarantee of 'the complete freedom of cultural development' of nationalities. One may say with certainty that the more democratic a country is the fewer are the attempts made on the 'freedom of nationalities,' and the greater are the guarantees against such attempts.''[91]

Stalin points out, for example, that in France there is more democracy than in Germany, and concludes with these words: ''We will not mention Switzerland, where, thanks to her highly developed, although bourgeois, democracy, nationalities live in freedom, whether they represent minorities or majorities.''[92] And once more Stalin confirms that ''complete democracy in the country is the basis and condition for the solution of the national problem.''[93]

When the above lines were written, Stalin had in view the absolute regime of Tsarist Russia. In Yugoslavia today, the degree of absence of democracy is even greater. The attempts against the Bulgarian nationality in Macedonia, naturally, might be explained to a great extent by the lack of democracy there. But this cannot be the explanations for, we see, that there are today parts of Yugoslavia, for example, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, The Kossovo province, etc., where the national name and the written language are not persecuted.

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88. Stalin, Joseph.—*Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, pp. 45-46.—Ed.
89. *Ibid*, p. 24.—Ed.
90. *Ibid*, p. 45.—Ed.
91. *Ibid*, p. 44.—Ed.
92. *Ibid*, p. 45.—Ed.
93. *Ibid*, p. 63.—Ed.

As exemplified by the Bolshevik regime in Bulgaria and Macedonia, without democracy and freedom every institution for the protection of its nationality and culture is meaningless. In Bulgaria there were many institutes of the Macedonian Bulgarians which devoted themselves primarily to the advancement of Bulgarian culture among the immigrants, and also among the conquered population in Macedonia. The Bolshevik regime eliminated these institutes. They went even further for they no longer allowed to exist freely even the institutions of the local free Bulgarians, which were concerned only with pure Bulgarian national culture, and were uninfluenced by any foreign political or cultural intervention. Today all Bulgarian institutions are converted, in one way or another, into instruments for Bolshevik inculcations.

The condition which exists in Switzerland and which Stalin himself praised, has been the age-long ideal of the Macedonian fight for freedom. All aspirations of the Macedonian movement can be expressed by this brief formula, "Macedonia, a Switzerland in the Balkans." Can the Bolsheviks say that their established regime in Macedonia resembles the conditions of Switzerland? There was a time when Stalin maintained that a nation must be given the opportunity for free development. Ought he not give such a recommendation to his functionaries in Macedonia? Should he not now order them to introduce there a Swiss or an American regime?

These beautiful things Stalin has written but never with the intention to apply them, but because, as he himself has stated in his book, "the paper is too submissive," and promises are easy to make.

Stressing that a nation must freely arrange its destiny, Stalin immediately put the question: "How exactly should a nation arrange its own life, what form should its future constitution take, if the interests of the majority of the nation and, *above all* of the proletariat, are to be borne in mind?"[94]

In no country has it yet been proven that the interests of the proletariat are invariably identical with those of the majority of the nation. In a great many agricultural countries the proletariat remains a strongly emphasized minority. Is it just or logical to build theories for the national freedom as Stalin does, bearing in mind, *above all,* the interests of the proletariat?

He uses as an example the Transcaucasian Tatars, who, if they obtained self-determination could easily be influenced by their beys and mullahs. He points out that succumbing to the influence of their beys and mullahs would not be in the interest of the toiling strata of the Tatar na-

94. *Ibid,* p. 24.—Ed.

tion. In such a case, according to Stalin, the Social-Democrats could come out with their own plan to show the Tatar masses where their interests lie. Such a right of the Social-Democrats would be entirely natural. Not only before the Transcaucasian Tatars, but everywhere, including Macedonia, every movement has a right to present its plan before the whole people and to show them what are their interests. But the Bolshevik regime now prohibits all other movements to develop their own plans which are in the interests of the majority. The Bolshevik policy recently instituted in Macedonia remains unchanged from the principle that "the minority invariably must oppress the majority." This, in spite of the fact that no one has proven, nor can prove, that in Macedonia the interests of the meager minority of communized individuals is in contradiction with the interest of the majority of the people. Even so, the few Macedonian communists feel that they must by all means impose oppression upon the Macedonian Bulgarians by declaring them as a different "nation" from the Bulgarian.

Very laughable and pitiful would be the effort of the Bolsheviks should they attempt "dialectical justification" for the new Macedonian enslavement.

CHAPTER 13

Stalin on the Right of Self-Determination of Nationalities and Macedonia

Stalin, in his book, was entirely too generous with his promises toward the nationalities. He conceded the right to every national group to secede from a state union in which it lives, should it decide that such action would be advantageous. And he pointed out that Karl Marx, in the middle of the nineteenth century, stood for the secession of Poland from Russia. But toward the end of the same century the Polish Marxists themselves were against such separation. Stalin held that the solution of a national question depends on the conditions in which a given nation lives. He further contended, that "the economic, political, and cultural conditions of a given nation constitute the key to the question of how a particular nation ought to arrange its life and what form its future constitution ought to be".[95]

Returning to the situation in Macedonia, we might ask:

1. Which economic, political, and cultural conditions dictate that Macedonia must positively remain a part of Yugoslavia, but not become, for instance, a part of Bulgaria? Which conditions dictate or necessitate that Macedonia remain in Yugoslavia and must not be independent? None of the communists have ever expressed any convincing arguments on these questions.

2. What changed historical conditions or cultural, economic, and political situations dictate that even the Petrich district[96] should be cut off from Bulgaria and given to Yugoslavia, as at present the communists are so boldly insisting?

3. Which circumstances impose the denationalization of the Bulgarian population of Macedonia, at the same time, while the communists are boasting of their efforts in up-lifting and encouraging the cultural and social life even of the Macedonian Gypsies?

4. After a constraint is violently imposed, let us admit, an eventual quietness of graveyard proportions will prevail among a given people.

95. *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.—Ed.
96. That part of Macedonia which was given to Bulgaria by the Bucharest Treaty of 1913.—Ed.

But must the world accept that as an unchangeable "new historical situation"? Must the concerned people absolutely acquiesce or become complacent with oppression?

5. If we take Stalin's concept as a criterion, then, for example, the Bolsheviks would have had to consider as just, the oppressive measures which Adolph Hitler intended to impose upon Russia as solution of the Russian national question in case of a Nazi victory. There would have been on hand "a changed historical condition". The Bolsheviks, nevertheless, fought against Hitler's attempt. Now they deny the right of others to fight against the forcibly imposed "conditions" by the Bolshevik policy. In the Bolshevik's "dialectical" world-outlook there is, apparently, a similar solution of the national question; namely, pure and simple oppression of a given nationality.

As far as Macedonia is concerned, we have shown exhaustively that there are no cultural and economic conditions in her life which have so changed, as to be different from those which are apparent among all the rest of the Bulgarians. Because of the political conditions which were forcibly imposed upon her after 1912, the Macedonians, through the past decades, have carried on a struggle for freedom.

Anyone who raised a voice in Macedonia for separation from Yugoslavia could expect a bullet from the Bolsheviks. However, Stalin had written: "The right of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal."[97] Not only is one forbidden to talk about separation in Macedonia, but the Bolsheviks want to forbid such talk even to Bulgarians who live outside the confines of Macedonia. Should any one care to express such an opinion he would be accused as an "enemy of the people." The principles and promises which Stalin pronounced in behalf of the nations are false, at least as far as Macedonia is concerned, and are more of a dead letter than the provisions promised in 1919 by the minority treaties, but, in reality, never applied. Even Abdul Hamid[98] carried out more readily promised reforms and rights.

Of course, the Yugoslav Constitution, which is patterned after that of the Soviets, provides for the right of secession. Article I of the Constitu-

97. Stalin, Joseph.—*Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 23.—Ed.

98. The Sultan of Turkey (1876-1909) under whose regime Macedonia was placed after 1878.—Ed.

tion states: "The federal peoples' republic Yugoslavia is a united peoples' state with a republican form; a community of peoples' equality, in which, on the basis of the right of self-determination, including the right to secede, they have expressed their will to live together as a federal state." It is not clear what "right of self-determination" is meant here. It is not clear when and how the peoples under the communist satrap have expressed their will "to live together."

Article IX of the Constitution, among other things, states: "The federal peoples' republic Yugoslavia defends its security, as well as the social and political arrangement of the peoples' republics". This means, of course, that the Yugoslav communistic social and political conceptions which are forcibly imposed upon Macedonia would be protected by the entire state power. By the very same method the Serbian King previously "protected" the social and political arrangements which were imposed upon Macedonia.

In Article X of the Constitution the national freedom of the peoples is also provided for. But under the "national freedom" the Bolsheviks have their own conception, and it is not the real freedom of the nations, which has been well defined in Macedonia for more than a thousand years.

Article XIII states: "The national minorities in the federal peoples' republic Yugoslavia are to enjoy the rights and protection of their cultural development and the free use of their language." At the present time, the Macedonian Slavs, however, are forbidden to call their language Bulgarian. The Bulgarians of Macedonia are now denied existence as a minority group. In consequence, no person there may call himself Bulgarian. It is obvious that Article XIII of the Yugoslav Constitution was incorporated only for decoration and to deceive the outside world.

CHAPTER 14

The Bolshevik Declarations on the Freedom of Nationalists and Macedonia

Article XIII of the Yugoslav Constitution is about the same as the other Bolshevik declarations in Russia. Here is, for instance, what was said in the declaration of November 2, 1917, made, in the name of the Russian republic, by Stalin, in his capacity as Peoples' Commisar for the affairs of the nationalities:

". . . . The Soviet of the Peoples' Commisars have decided to carry out as its fundamental policy on the question of nationalities in Russia the following principles:

1. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples in Russia.

2. Right of the peoples of Russia for free self-determination, including the right to secede and create an independent state.

3. Assistance to each and every national and national religious group, whether privileged or limited, and

4. Free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups, inhabiting the territory of Russia."

And such are, in words at least, the promises of the Bolshevik regime in Macedonia. But in reality, instead of abrogating the limitations imposed by the Serbians and the Greeks, the new regime there has made harder by law these limitations against the Bulgarian nation. Instead of permitting free development of the national minorities, it oppresses the national majority itself.

Instead of allowing free expression of the opinion of the people, the Bolshevik regime assumes the right to express that opinion for them through special decrees. The peoples' opinion in Macedonia could be established only by removing the Bolshevik regime and placing the country under a broad international control. A free vote of the Macedonian immigrants is also necessary. Such a *plebiscite* might be conducted under the control of only the social democratic parties of the world, because Stalin himself pretends to be a social democrat. Consequently, Bolshevik Russia

would have no grounds to be suspicious that such control and supervision would be "fascist."

In his speech, delivered in 1936, on the occasion of the new Soviet Constitution Stalin said:

"The draft of the new Constitution proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights. It proceeds from the fact that neither differences in color or language, cultural level, or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present positions, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political, and cultural life of society."[99]

Every Macedonian Bulgarian who reads these words of Stalin, and who knows what is now taking place in Macedonia under the Bolshevik regime, can only bitterly laugh them off.

Stalin specified in his book that the nationalities which do not have a sufficiently developed culture and literature could not benefit themselves with national autonomy. And yet, in his words above, we see that he promises equal rights of all nationalities irrespective of whether they are strong or weak, or whether they are with a higher or lower cultural development. Here is, of course, a contradiction.

Another more strange and startling contradiction is that Stalin is giving national rights to a "nation" not only without a literature, a history, or anything, but which has until now never existed. We refer, of course, to the recently-created fictitious "Macedonian nation." At the same time to the centuries-old Bulgarian nation, notwithstanding its culture, its literature, and its history, it has now denied every right, even the right to exist as an enthnographic group. All of this is being done now to the Macedonian Bulgarians by the directives of Moscow.

Stalin and his aides have pronounced that they are against every type of imposition from above. But let us see what Stalin said when, speaking in the name of the Russian revolution, he appeared before the Congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party held on November 14, 1917, at Helsingfors. He said: "Complete freedom for Finland to arrange its life as it sees fit, as well as all other nationalities of Russia! No guardianship or tutalage! No supervision from above over the people of Finland! So, ac-

99. From the report to the Eight All-Union Congress of Soviets, November 25, 1936. See Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1943, pp. 218, 219.—Ed.

cording the assurances of the communists, there is no guardianship and supervision by their instituted regime in Macedonia!

If there were now in Yugoslavia a shadow of justice and equality, above all, Macedonia should have received her national autonomy. Her present status as a federal unit,[100] signifies only an administrative decentralization. (Similar status could have been given to Macedonia by the Serbian regime, without altering in any way its assimilative policy. Moreover, by such an act Serbia could have advertised herself favorably as a democracy to a word unfamiliar with the Balkan situation). Let us face the fact that in spite of such Bolshevik decentralization, the affairs in Yugoslav Macedonia are still settled by dictatorial methods.

The communists state that there is permitted a local dialect as the written language for the Macedonians. Permission of its use does not, of course, constitute recognition of a Bulgarian nationality. This very Bulgarian dialect is not recognized as a derivative of the Bulgarian language. With an apparent purpose in view—injurious to the Macedonian Bulgarians—there are included in this dialect numerous Serbian words and expressions which are entirely alien to the Macedonian Slavs. The Belgrade and Skopie Bolshevik aim and objective now is to infiltrate Serbianism among the Macedonian Slavs in order eventually to accomplish their assimilative and denationalizing purpose. To achieve their objective more successfully, they have created in "federal Yugoslav Macedonia" a ministry of education. Its objectives are anti-Bulgarian and its main purpose is to foster policies of denationalization. It is not a department of "education and culture" but is an obvious agency to assist in the suppression of national rights of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

Such a territorial decentralization of authority could have been of some advantage during the Turkish regime, which never denied the nationality character of the Bulgarians. Such an arrangement then would have resembled to a certain degree the principle of autonomy, under conditions not of a despotic government, but a democratic one.

According to the Yugoslav constitution, the new "Macedonian nation" and her local institutions are not permitted to deal with political questions, in spite of the fact, that for demagogy only there are provisions of that nature and even the right to secede. Macedonia has her own political questions to be solved. But it is all left to Belgrade to think about them in conformity with the policy of Moscow. In Skopie[101] they must

100. Since 1944 Yugoslav Macedonia is considered as one of the six "self-governing" units of Federal Yugoslavia.—Ed.

101. Skopie is the capital and the seat of the "government of Yugoslav Federal Macedonia".—Ed.

deal only with affairs of economic and cultural questions. And of the cultural ones, that which has the foremost place, is, of course, the destruction of the Bulgarian nationality.

Stalin is against national autonomy because it represents mostly the nationalistic solution of the question. He recommends provincial autonomy, which in no way is a guarantee for national freedom. The very name itself has nothing in common with the nation. The socialist democrats on the other hand will never approve provincial autonomy, such as the one introduced in Macedonia. The position taken by the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party on the Macedonian question appears to be entirely logical and in harmony with the objective truth.

The former leading socialist Bauer,[102] recommended national autonomy.[103] Stalin, however, holds the opinion, that such a national autonomy is "a refined form of nationalism."[104] At any rate the "nationalism" of the Bolsheviks is interesting. It engages itself so boldly as to erase from the history whole nations in such a way as Genghis Khan has never attempted to do.

In his book Stalin explains that national autonomy means deviation from the class struggle and entering upon the road to nationalism. It is useless to explain here the fact that in Macedonia there is no labor movement, for everyone is a man of labor. Hence, oppression does not stem from any national bourgeoisie class, but the entire mass of the people is trampled by the Bolshevik regime in Macedonia.

Stalin has shown inconsistencies in this same book. In several places in his book Stalin ironically has mentioned, that Bauer is concerned with the preservation and development of the national identity of peoples. He has asked: "Must the right of vendetta be guaranteed to the Georgians just so it may not vanish?" To select just such an example as an attack upon Bauer's thesis, is entirely irrelevant and unconvincing. Stalin in these instances followed the premise that the nations will melt together and that some day they ought to melt together. Whether it would, invariably, so happen, or how and when this melting would take place, he did not specify.

Here is the place to remind ourselves that when the Russian revolution flared up, Stalin's actions took the negative position toward protecting and

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102. Otto Bauer was Austrian Socialist theoretician of national autonomy and leader of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party.—Ed.

103. The Austrian Social-Democratic Party adopted this principle at the Brunn Congress in 1899.—Ed.

104. For a discussion on this subject, see Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, pp. 31-40.—Ed.

preserving the national customs and traditions of the ethnical groups coming under Bolshevik rule. However, he still continued to pay "lip-service" to the ideal of preservation of national customs and traditions, for, in his capacity as Commisar of national questions Stalin sent a message to the working masses of Mussulmans of Russia and the East which was published in *Pravda* on December 5, 1917. This message (which was also signed by Lenin) stated to the Mussulmans: "Your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable. Organize your national life freely and unimpeded. You have the right of that. . . ."

Stalin is well aware that if he had not exercised the appeal to the nationalism of the ethnic groups composing Russia, he never would have succeeded in defending the Soviet Republic against those who attacked her.

CHAPTER 15

Stalin's Contradictions and the Bulgarian Macedonian Culture

Stalin claimed that "if the national autonomy is unsuitable now, it will be still more unsuitable in the future society, a socialist society. Bauer's prophecy regarding the division of 'humanity into nationally delimited communities'[105] is refuted by the whole course of development of present-day humanity. National partitions are being demolished and are falling, rather than becoming firmer."[106]

In any event, the evolution of Russia since 1917 justifies Bauer's contentions. The development of the whole world justifies him. It is noticeable, that in the North American continent the national delimitations become even more apparent. The racial groups in the United States themselves are changing more and more into a definite nation.

"What sort of Social-Democrats are they," shouted Stalin, "who in a period of extreme aggravation of the class struggle organize inter-class national unions?"[107]

With justification Bauer's followers might ask Stalin: What sort of "socialists" are they who permit themselves forcibly to create new nations? Bauer's "socialist principle of nationality", in Stalin's words, "is skillfully masked by socialist phrases,"[108] and because of that, "it is much more difficult to combat."[109] In reality, it was because it did recognize national rights, it was difficult to combat.

The publishers of Stalin's book have added to it quotations from the writing which Stalin did during 1920 as a preface to a publication under the title: *"Collections of Stalin's Writings on the National Question"*. In these quotations we read:

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105. Bauer, Otto, *The National Question and Social-Democracy*. Vienna, 1924, p. 533.—Ed.
106. Stalin, Joseph. *Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 38.—Ed.
107. *Ibid*, p. 37.—Ed.
108. *Ibid*, p. 38.—Ed.
109. *Ibid*, p. 39.—Ed.

"Two theories for the nation and correspondingly two national programs were mutually fighting them: First, the Austrian, which was supported by both the "Bund"[110] and the Mensheviks,[111] and, secondly, the Russian Bolshevik program. Subsequent events, particularly the imperialist war, followed by the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy into separate national states, did show on which side was the truth. Now, that Springer and Bauer find themselves before the ruins of their program, there can be no doubt that history has condemned the Austrian school."[112]

Justifiably we might briefly state against this the following: Austria-Hungary would not have disintegrated from internal causes if she had solved the national question by giving equality and full national freedom to every constituent racial group. The Empire would have survived if, above all, the Slavs there had enjoyed the same rights and privileges in every respect as the Germans and the Magyars were permitted to enjoy. Here, in principle, the thesis of Bauer is correct, and not that of Stalin. Not because every right or too much freedom was given to the nations, as Stalin thinks, but because not all due rights were given to some of them, is why Austria-Hungary suffered. The integrity of Yugoslavia would be more secured by the recognition of the national rights of the groups thereof, than by negating them.

One of the arguments against Bauer's proposed national autonomy has been that it concerned nations in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which had never lived compactly in one territory, but that there were parts or small groups of these various peoples spread throughout the monarchy. Stalin says, that in this case one would have to resort to artificial creation and organization of nations. Certainly, there had been in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy a number of people from every nation, spread all over. There were, for example, German settlements—several hundred thousands of people in Transylvania, and another several hundred thousands of them in Banat, and so on. But, in general, every nation in Austria-Hungary had its national territory, where racial groups lived compactly. Such was the case with the Austrian Germans, the Poles, the Magyars (Hungarians—Ed.), the Czechs, the Rumanians. The Croatians, even though a small nation, had preserved their old national territory retaining several millions of their own compact population, in spite of the

110. The "Bund" was an organization of Jewish Social-Democratic workers launched in 1897.—Ed.

111. One belonging to the more conservative wing of the Russian Social-Democratic party, which held opposite views to Bolshevism.—Ed.

112. The program of the Austrian Social-Democratic party as adopted at the Brunn Congress in 1899, supported the principles of "national autonomy". Springer and Bauer were the exponents and theoreticians of this concept.—Ed.

fact that during that time more than a half-million of them emigrated to America. Thus, then, one of Stalin's weakest arguments is his contention that Bauer through national autonomy wanted artificially to create nations.

Applied to Macedonia, this argument of Stalin's has no foundation, because there the Bulgarian population for centuries has lived compactly.

Only a nation with a developed culture and literature qualifies for cultural and national autonomy. According to Stalin, it seems that in the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the Czechs, the Poles, the Croatians, etc., were not nations with developed culture and literature. As part of the Bulgarian national entirety, the Macedonian Bulgarians do have their own culture and their own literature which started long before there was any conception of either in Russia. To that literature and culture the Bulgarians of Macedonia made great contributions. This fact is known, and it will be confirmed by any scholar who is at all familiar with the ancient and modern Bulgarian literature, the Bulgarian folklore, customs, family life, and in general, with the whole spiritual make-up of the Bulgarian people.

The case of the Macedonian portion of the Bulgarian people is not analogous to that of the unfamiliar Caucasian national groups, whose names seem to be strange even to Stalin: The Mingrelians, Abkhazians, Adjarians, Lesghians, Ossets, Kobuleti, Ingushes, Inghilois, and Svanetians. In national consciousness, culture, language, and spiritual wealth, the Bulgarian inhabitants are much higher than the Turks and Albanians in Macedonia. Still, cultural autonomy and political federal privileges of these Turks and Albanians are recognized by the Bolshevik regime. In their literacy the Bulgarians, while still under Turkish rule, stood much higher than the Albanians and the Turks themselves. Furthermore, in literacy and schools[113] the Macedonian Bulgarians until 1912, and later, stood much higher than the Serbians who had for one hundred years their own independent state. And, although still under Turkish rule, the Macedonian Bulgarians until 1912, as far as literacy and schools are concerned, stood much higher than the Rusians.

Therefore, the least which the Macedonian Bulgarians have full right to, is national autonomy. Instead of that, they have received national enslavement.

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113. Until the eve of the Balkan War, the Bulgarian population in Macedonia had 1,373 schools of various grades, 2,266 men and women teachers, and 78,854 students. And in addition, there were 1,331 churches, 294 chapels, 275 monasteries, and seven bishoprics.—Ed.

CHAPTER 16

Russia's Imperialism Leaves the Macedonian Question Unsolved

The aims of the Bolshevik policy toward Constantinople and the Mediterranean Sea are well known. The shortest route to these aims and objectives passes through Bulgarian lands. The Bolshevik leaders are well aware of the fact that the Bulgarian people cherish their freedom and independence. They were willing and able to fight for their freedom and independence against Russia's policy soon after she granted them their liberation from the five century-old Turkish yoke. They will be much more willing to fight for their freedom and their independence against Bolshevism which has given to the Bulgarians nothing, but threatens to deprive them of much. That is why they began at the Kremlin to plan a method by which to reduce more effectively the resisting force of the Bulgarian nation, and to weaken its national spirit.

The projected schism by the proclamation of a "new Macedonian nation," is perhaps, the most gigantic of the means which the Bolshevik centre has used in order to win over to her policy the nearest and only Slavic people on her path to Constantinople and the Mediterranean Sea—the Bulgarians. The Bolsheviks do not even hide their design to take away from Bulgaria that little corner of Macedonia, which, after the Balkan War, remained within the borders of Bulgaria. The communists have already declared as "Macedonians" not only the 200,000 Bulgarians living there, but also several hundred thousands of emigrants in Bulgaria. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of that Macedonian land prefer to remain a part of Bulgaria and it would be against their wish to be incorporated into Yugoslavia, an age-long oppressor of the Bulgarians.

This population of Bulgarian Macedonia would agree to secede from Bulgaria, only if there would be created an independent and unified Macedonian state, which included all Macedonian lands, with boundaries so fixed that there would be no danger to their national existence.

Recently the Bolshevik propaganda is devoting its interest to the Slavic population in Macedonia which is under Greek rule. They are falsifying the name of the Bulgarians there, and calling them "Macedonians." From experience the native Macedonian Slavs know, that, when the Greek

police persecute and morally and physically oppress them, they are being subjected to a distinct process of denationalization. The Bulgarian nationality is now identically endangered not only in Greek but also in Yugoslav Macedonia.

The regime of the Serbian King Alexander, after it was convinced that it was impossible to Serbianize the Macedonian Bulgarians, attempted to make them "Yugoslavs."[114] But even in this respect he was unable to succeed, since in reality, a Yugoslav nation does not exist. For centuries, the Yugoslavs number four different nations—Bulgarians, Croatians, Serbs and Slovenes. This fact is clear. There is no "Yugoslav nation" as there is no "Westernslav nation", but there are Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. By the proclamation of a "Yugoslav nation," the Serbian regime hoped to strengthen the conglomeration called "Yugoslavia". In reality it became weaker and thus it hastened the aspiration of the different national constituent groups toward self-preservation.

The Bolshevik regime in Yugoslavia imagines, that by proclaiming the Macedonian Bulgarians a separate nation, it will greatly contribute to the strength of the state conglomeration. More than that, it hopes by such a solution of the Macedonian question to bring Bulgaria and Yugoslavia closer with the idea of eventually forming one state, well-obedient to the Bolshevik centre. Actually, as result of such an arrangement, there would develop far more serious consequences in the relations among the southern Slavs, and new complications in the whole Balkan situation would be created.

Notwithstanding the Russian arguments which aim to lull the Bulgarian people, now almost every Bulgarian sees that Bolshevik Russia is pursuing her own aims and objectives. According to the pronouncements of Russian leading and authoritative individuals, it is necessary that Bulgarian land be held under Russia's supervision for Russia's own security. It is not the place here to go into more detail on this point. We shall only point out here that Hitler on his part showed far more powerful motives (need of *Lebensraum*—living space) to justify Germany's need for influence over the Balkan peninsula, and the lands of the western Slavs and Russia, since the Bolsheviks resisted Hitler on this point, should not also the Balkan peoples, including the inhabitants of Macedonia, be expected to resist Russia's attempt to take their freedom and to endanger their national existence for the benefit of her "security."?

114. By a decree of October 3, 1929, the old name of "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovences" (created by the Constitution of 1920) was discarded, and that of "Yugoslavia" adopted. Henceforth the Macedonian Bulgarians were also called "Yugoslavs."—Ed.

The whole Bolshevik system is best characterized by international social-democracy. Mr. Clement Atlee, a leading contemporary social-democrat, in a speech delivered before the annual Congress of the British Trade Unions, June, 1946, stated "for the Bolsheviks, freedom means the denial of freedom to all those who do not share the communist ideology." The former American Ambassador to Soviet Russia, Mr. William C. Bullitt, in his book published in 1946, wrote "the Bolsheviks regime has made fear a dominating motive in the life of Russia." He adds: "The Russians today live under a despotism whose authority is based on secret police and firing squads. That secret police and those firing squads dominate Poland today. . . . And the same is true of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany."[115]

Stalin himself has foreseen that in similar circumstances the people will fight. He has even shown what possible means the nationalists will take in order to win and liberate themselves. In connection with the national question in Tzarist Russia, Stalin wrote: "When seeking a solution of the problem we must take account not only of the situation at home but also of the situation abroad. Russia is situated between Europe and Asia, between Austria and China. The growth of democracy is inevitable.

"The growth of imperialism in Europe is not fortuitous. In Europe, capital finds itself too restricted, and it is striving towards foreign countries in search of new markets, cheap labor, and new fields of investment. But this leads to external complications and to war. Nobody will dare to say that the Balkan War[116] is the end and not the beginning of the complications. It is quite possible that a combination of internal and external factors may arise in which one or another nationality in Russia may find it necessary to raise and settle the question of its independence. And, of course, it is not for the Marxists to create obstacles in such case. Thus the right of self-determination is an essential element in the solution of the national problem."[117]

The political combinations and alliances will not cease to change. Accounts for them were kept and will be kept by all oppressed peoples.

Our thesis needs no further argument. It is sufficiently sustained by the social-democrat Stalin against the Bolshevik and dictator Stalin. And, up to the present, it has been amply supported by the twelve centuries of Bulgarian history.

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115. Bullitt, Wm. C.—*The Great Globe Itself*, New York, 1946, p. 45.—Ed.
116. The war of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro against Turkey in 1912.—Ed.
117. Stalin, J.—*Marxism and the National Question*, New York, 1942, p. 63.—Ed.

Freedom, restoration and adjustment according to nationality for the Balkan States.—Point Eleven of President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

APPENDICES

Macedonia, despite the contrary affirmations of the Greeks and the Serbians, is almost entirely populated by Bulgarians. The pretenses of the Greeks and the Serbs are belied by such ethnographic experts as Le Jean, Kiepert, MacKenzie, Rittitch, Grigorovitch, Hilferding, et al. In reality Shar Mountain is the limit of the Bulgarian and the Serbian settlement. The Macedonian Slavs consider themselves Bulgarian and speak a Bulgarian dialect. Only after the Treaty of Berdin did Serbia, seeing herself hopeless in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, take on the idea that there were Serbians in Macedonia, a country which is entirely populated by Bulgarians.—Louis Leger, co-editor of *Le Grande Encyclopedie.*

I have traveled Macedonia at different times in almost every direction. The whole mass of the population is Slavonic, speaking characteristically Bulgarian dialects. . . . There are no "Macedonians". There are Bulgars.—Sir Arthur Evans, the great British scholar and archeologist.

APPENDIX A

Statistical Data Concerning The Population of Macedonia

It is not a question of punishing Bulgaria. . . . It is a question of punishing the Macedonian Bulgars by severing them permanently from their kith and kin and subjecting them to the merciless process of compulsory assimilation applied by their bitterest enemies. The greater part of Macedonia has been handed over to the Serbians, who, even thirty years ago, never made any ethnic claim to its possession. All the efforts to shake off the Turkish yoke were made by the Bulgarians, all the sacrifices were theirs. In Turkish times the Macedonian Slav peasant when asked as to his nationality replied, "I am a Bulgarian."—James D. Bourchier, one of the greatest British Balkan correspondents for the *London Times.*

Statistical Data Concerning The Population of Macedonia

Editor's note: The Slavs of Macedonia are Bulgarian Slavs. To contradict the assertions of the Yugoslav communists, we are giving below some statistical data as well as expert opinion on the nationality character of the Macedonian Slavs.

1. *American, 1917.*

Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality of Europe* (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York), 1917.

Total population	1,438,084[1]
Bulgarians	1,172,136
Greeks	190,047
Vlachs	63,895
Albanians	12,006

2. *Turkish, 1905.*

Official Turkish statistics published in the Salonica newspaper *"ASR"*, No. 2, January, 1905.

Total population	2,903,920
Bulgarians	1,203,696[2]
Vlachs & Serbs	199,717[3]
Turks	1,500,507

1. Leon Dominian gives statistical data only about the Christian population of Macedonia.
2. In this number are included also the Bulgarian Patriarchists.
3. The Serbs included in this number are of the Kossovo Province which is north of Shar Mountain.

3. *German, 1898.*

a) Prof. G. Weigand, *The National Struggles of the Balkan People,* Leipzig, 1898.

Total population	2,275,000
Bulgarians	1,200,000
Greeks	220,000
Vlachs	70,000
Turks & Albanians	695,000
Jews	90,000

b) Richard von Mach, *Der Machtbereich der Bulgarischen Exarchat in der Turkei,* Leipzig, 1906.

Total population	1,334,827
Bulgarians	1,166,070
Greeks	95,005
Vlachs	56,118
Albanians	6,036
Gypsies	8,550
Miscellaneous	3,048

4. *Czech, 1918.*

Vladimir Sis, *Macedonia,* Zurich, 1918.

Total population	2,173,849
Bulgarians	1,047,012[4]
Greeks	204,367
Vlachs	67,865
Turks	520,845
Albanians	184,300
Gypsies	43,100
Miscellaneous	106,360

4. In this number are included also the Bulgarian Pomaks.

5. *Bulgarian, 1912.*

Prof. Yordan Ivanoff, *The Macedonian Question, Historically, Ethnographically, and Statistically*, Paris, 1920.

Total population	2,342,524
Bulgarians	1,103,111
Greeks	267,862
Vlachs	79,401
Turks	548,225
Albanians	194,195
Gypsies	43,370
Miscellaneous	106,360

6. *French, 1913.*

Robert Pelletier, *The Truth of Bulgaria*, Paris, 1913.

Total population	1,437,000
Bulgarians	1,172,000
Greeks	190,000
Vlachs	63,000
Albanians	12,000

7. *Russian, 1877.*

V. Teploff, *Statistical Data Concerning Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia* (in Russian), Petersburg, 1877.

Total population	1,479,417
Bulgarians	1,172,136
Greeks	190,047
Serbs	41,284[5]
Vlachs	63,895
Albanians	12,055

5. These Serbs are all of the vilayet of Kossovo, which is north of Shar Mountain.

8. *Serbian, 1889.*

S. Verkovitch, *The Ethnography and Topography of Macedonia* (in Russian), Petersburg, 1889.

Total population	1,949,043
Bulgarian Christians	1,029,119
Bulgarian Mohammedans (Pomaks)	288,092
Greeks	222,740
Turks	240,264
Albanians	78,790
Vlachs	74,375
Gypsies	10,568
Jews	1,612[6]
Miscellaneous	3,483

6. The author has omitted to include in this number the Jews of Salonica, Kavala, Veria, Monastir, and Kostour.

I do, however, know something about southern Macedonia. I have traveled there and have had opportunities of observing what is the character of the population. *The population of southern Macedonia all the way from Ochrida and Monastir on the west as far as Serres on the east is a Bulgarian population. That is a population Bulgarian in race, Bulgarian in speech, Bulgarian in tradition and in ecclesiastical organization.*—Lord James Bryce, the great British scholar, author of the *American Commonwealth,* and British Ambassador at Washington, D. C., 1907-1913.

APPENDIX B

What Is The Nationality of The Macedonian Slavs?

The most tragic instance of minority oppression is that of the 600,000 Macedonians now resident within the borders of Yugoslavia. Of this community an overwhelming majority are of Bulgarian stock and language, in other words, Bulgaro-Macedonian.—David Lloyd George, British statesman and Prime Minister (1916-1922).

What Is The Nationality of The Macedonian Slavs?

1. *Sir Arthur Evans and the Macedonian Slavs*

"As one who has the exceptional opportunities for studying the Macedonian problem from the inside, I may perhaps be permitted to point out some of the most essential conditions of the present situation. *I have traveled Macedonia at different times in almost every direction*—from the Aegean side, from Albania, from the Kossovo vilayet, from Serbia, and from the Bulgarian Principality. I have spent months there engaged in archaeological researches in the most out of the way districts, and though my main objects were scientific and not political, I had perhaps all the better opportunity for forming an unbiased judgment on the conditions of the country. Nor, perhaps, do these impressions lose in value the fact that they were formed before the beginning of the actual insurrectionary movement.

"Let me begin by correcting an almost universal fallacy. *There are no 'Macedonians'. There are Bulgars.* There are Roumans—the relics of the Latin-speaking provincials of Rome's Illyrian provinces, who still hold their own in the Pindus range and in the neighboring towns. There are Greeks, including more or less superficially Hellenized Roumans.* There are 'Turks', including Mohammedan Bulgarians, and some true Turkish villages in the Vardar valley representing a settlement earlier than the Ottoman conquest. There is an infusion of Skipetars or Albanians on the western and northern fringe. Finally, there is the large Spanish Jew population in Salonika. *But there are no 'Macedonians'.*

"*It is an unpleasant duty to have to tell one's friends home truths, but the Greek claim to Macedonia, at least as regards the greater part of the interior of the country, is a dream.* . . .

"The fact is that even in this country (England—Ed.)—largely owing to interested efforts to disguise the true situation—*the great preponderance of the Bulgar element in Macedonia is only imperfectly realized.* I can only say, as my personal experience after exploring almost the whole interior of the province, that outside the fringe already referred to, and some small urban centers, *practically the whole mass of the population is Slavonic, speaks characteristically Bulgarian dialects. Such as the placing*

*. Aromanians or Vlachs in Macedonia.—Ed.

of the article after the word, extend even to the Uskub region, sometimes claimed by the Serbs, whose real speech only begins north of the Shar range. Where, as in certain small towns as Kastoria, the Greek element was in a majority, *it was far outweighed by the populous Bulgar villages around. This great preponderance of the Bulgar element is a fundamental factor in the present situation, which has been much obscured by statistics drawn from Greek sources.* It is liable to be very imperfectly realized by foreigners and even by Consuls whose experience with Macedonia has been mainly confined to towns like Salonika and Monastir."—Sir Arthur Evans, in the *London Times,* September 30, 1930 (all italics are the editor's).

2. *James D. Bourchier and Macedonia*

"It is not a question of punishing Bulgaria, even if she is guilty of all the enormities of which her foes (of whose misdeeds we never hear) accuse her; with regard to the 'balance of criminality' some strange surprises may be in store for us when another Carnegie *Report* appears. *It is a question of punishing the Macedonian Bulgars by severing them permanently from their kith and kin and subjugating them to the merciless processes of compulsory assimilation applied by their bitterest enemies.* . . . By the Treaty of Bucharest, the greater part of Macedonia has been handed over to the Serbians, who, even thirty years ago, never made any ethnic claim to its possession. In 1903, came the great insurrection in Western Macedonia, repressed with the utmost barbarity by the Turks, who were in many cases aided by a number of Greek bands. More than one hundred Bulgarian villages were burnt, and some 80,000 peasants were homeless in the mountains at the approach of winter. The Powers intervened with ineffective reforms; the Young Turks then tried their hand, and their blind and indiscriminate severity brought about a Balkan combination and the extinction of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

"In the sad history of this period one fact stands out: *all the efforts to shake off the Turkish yoke were made by the Bulgarians, all the sacrifices were theirs.* . . . Efforts are even made to deny that the language of the people is Bulgarian; with regard to this, it is enough to quote Weigand, a very high authority: *'All linguistic specialists',* he says, *'are unanimous that it is Bulgarian, and the politicians cannot alter the fact.'* . . . The best test of a man's nationality is what he believes himself to be. *In Turkish times the Macedonian Slav peasant when asked as to his nationality replied, 'I am a Bulgarian'."*—James D. Bourchier, in *The Contemporary Review,* London, February, 1919, (all italics are the editor's).

3. *Lord James Bryce and Macedonia*

In a speech delivered in the House of Lords, in connection with the "Second Reading of Treaties of Peace (Austria and Bulgaria) Bill, April, 23, 1920, Lord James Bryce said: "I do, however, know something about southern Macedonia. I have traveled there and have had opportunities of observing what is the character of the population. *The population of southern Macedonia all the way from Ochrida and Monastir on the west as far as Serres, on the east, — that is to say, all the way from the Lake of Ochrida to the river Vardar and Struma—is inhabited by a Bulgarian population. That is a population Bulgarian in race, Bulgarian in speech, Bulgarian in tradition and in ecclesiastical organization, and the Serbian population ceases a little way south of the town of Uskub, between Uskub and Veles, and from there to a considerable way south, till you approach the Greek-speaking population, it is not Serbian, but mainly Bulgarian. All this has been left in the hands of the Serbians.* . . . I can quite understand the argument that we were not called upon to reward Bulgaria considering that Bulgaria was our enemy in the war. That is an argument the force of which I entirely admit. But there was another course, a course which according to rumor was proposed and discussed at the Conference and which indeed had the support of some Powers at the Conference.* *That course was to make southern Macedonia autonomous; to create it into a separate Principality, one can hardly call it a State, and in that way remove it from the rule of Serbia.*" (All italics are the editor's).

4. *Lloyd George's Opinion on the Macedonians*

"By many authorities the most tragic instance of minority oppression in violation of the 1919 Treaty *is held to be that of the 600,000 Macedonians now residing within the borders of Yugoslavia. Of this community an overwhelming majority are of Bulgarian stock and language, in other words, Bulgaro-Macedonians. It was because of this fact, at the Peace Conference, the Italian, British, and American members of the New State Committee, when drafting the Yugoslav Minority Treaty, endeavored, first to secure a special local regime for this area, and, when their efforts in this direction failed in the face of Franco-Yugoslav opposition, to ensure the appointment of a resident League Commissioner. But, once more, Franco-Yugoslav opposition defeated this proposal, which was raised again, and again, and finally defeated, owing to the same cause, in 1922. Ultimately the League Council would appear to have acquiesced in the Serbian contention that no minority problem really existed in Macedonia, as the Mace-*

*. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Committee on New States for the first time considered the Macedonian question on July 10, 1919. Italy stood for autonomy of Macedonia; England proposed that the United States should become the League of Nations' mandatory power in Macedonia. But French-Yugoslav opposition terminated (on August 1, 1919) the discussion on Macedonia.—Ed.

donians could be regarded as overwhelmingly Serb in race and language! If any disproof were needed, one could easily turn to the troubles in this area before 1914, when there was riveted on it for years the attention of the then Concert of the Great Powers.''—David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference,* Vol. II, pp. 901-902. (All italics are the editor's).

5. *Winston Churchill's Opinion on Macedonia*

''The imminent peril in which Serbia stood, and the restricted conditions under which the Allies could afford her protection, *made it indispensable that she should cede, and if necessary be made to surrender, the uncontested zone in Macedonia to the Bulgarians, to whom it belonged by race, by history, by treaty, and*—until it was taken from them in the second Balkan War—*by conquest.* Serbia, even when at the last gasp during the Austrian attack upon her in 1914, *had found it necessary to keep large numbers of troops in the Bulgarian districts of Macedonia to hold down the native population. Right, reason, the claims of justice, and the most imperious calls to necessity alike counseled the Serbians to surrender at least the uncontested zone.* . . . Had the Allies been able to secure for Bulgaria the immediate cession of the uncontested zone in Macedonia and the port of Kavala, it seems very probable that they might have been inclined during the month of July to come to our aid and to march on Adrianople. . . .

''Serbia, however, though fully conscious of her danger, remained recalcitrant to all appeals to make effective concessions. Till the last moment she kept her heel on the conquered Bulgarian districts of Macedonia, and maintained a stubborn front to overwhelming forces that were gathering against her.''—Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis,* 1915, pp. 460-462. (all italics are editor's).

6. Louis Leger on The Ethnic Limits of The Bulgarian People

Because of his erudition on Balkan matters, Leger was made, in 1888, one of the co-editors of the *Grande Encyclopedie.* In his article on Bulgaria (page 400 of the Grande Encyclopedie), Louis Leger defines the ethnic limits of the Bulgarian race as follows:

''Under the name of Bulgaria is meant: 1) The Principality of Bulgaria created by the Berlin Treaty between the Danube and the Balkans,

with Sofia as capital; 2) The group formed by this Principality and the autonomous province of East Roumalia, united in consequence of the successful Philippopolis revolution in September, 1885. Of this group we shall treat here; *but it is well to remark that it does not embrace all the Bulgarians. It leaves out of its limits: the Bulgarians in Macedonia and western Thrace, destined in all probability to unite some day with their free brethren; those of Dobroudja left by the Berlin Treaty under Roumania; and those of the districts of Pirot, Nish and Vranya, which the Berlin Treaty gave to Serbia.*" (All italics are the editor's).

Considering the Greek and Serbian claims about the inhabitants of Macedonia, in his recently published book, *Le Panslavisme et L'interet Francais,* Louis Leger writes (pp. 12-13): "I return to the Bulgarians. They have taken part on the side of our enemies and we have no particular reason to have for them any tenderness of love. But the duty of the savants is above all to seek out and state the truth.

"Leaving aside all emotions, let us examine this question from a purely scientific viewpoint. Here is what I wrote in 1888 in the *Grande Encyclopedie* during a period when we were yet far from knowing that the action of France and Russia would have repercussions in the Balkan Peninsula:

" '*Macedonia*', I said, '*despite the contrary affirmations of the Greeks and the Serbians, is almost entirely populated by Bulgarians. The pretenses of the Greeks and Serbs are belied by such ethnographic experts as Le Jean, Kiepert, MacKenzie, Rittich, Grigorovitch, Hilferding, et al. In reality Shar Mountain is the limit of the Bulgarian and the Serbian settlement. The Macedonian Slavs consider themselves Bulgarian and speak a Bulgarian dialect.*

" '*Only after the Treaty of Berlin did Serbia, seeing herself hopeless in regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, take on the idea that there were Serbians in Macedonia, a country which is entirely populated by Bulgarians*'." (All italics are the editor's).

The imminent peril in which Serbia stood, and the restricted conditions under which the Allies could afford her protection, *made it indispensable that she should cede, and if necessary be made to surrender, the uncontested zone in Macedonia to the Bulgarians, to whom it belonged by race, by history, by treaty, and by conquest.*—Winston Churchill, an outstanding British statesman and Prime Minister during the World War II.

APPENDIX C

Historical Documents Concerning Macedonia

"The Servian soldier, like the Greek, was firmly persuaded that in Macedonia he would find compatriots, men who could speak his language and address him with JIVIO or ZITO. He found men speaking a language different from his, who cried HOURRAH! The theory he had learned from youth of the existence of a Servian Macedonia, and a Greek Macedonia, naturally suffered, but his patriotic conviction that Macedonia must become Greek or Servian remained unaffected. Accordingly, he acted upon this basis."—Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), pp. 50-51.

In regard to the geographical distribution of the Bulgarian element in Macedonia the following official documents possess unquestionable importance:

1. The *Firman* of February 29, 1870, establishing the Bulgarian Exarchate, in accordance with which the *exsequatur* was granted to seven Bulgarian bishops, whose dioceses covered the greater part of Macedonia. These bishops have all been expelled by the Serbians.[1]

2. The establishment of the two autonomous "Bulgarian" vilayets by the Constantinople Ambassadorial Conference in 1876. The southern vilayet, with its capital at Sofia, embraced the greater part of Macedonia.[2]

3. The Treaty of San Stefano, which included all Macedonia in the "Big Bulgaria".[3]

4. The Reform area laid down by the Murzsteg programme in 1904 (after the Bulgarian revolt of the previous year). This excluded "Old Serbia" and the Greek districts in the extreme south.[4]

5. The Protocols of the Berlin Treaty in which Macedonia is referred to as Bulgarian.

6. The general and local Bulgarian insurrections in Macedonia—the Maleshevo in 1876, the Kresna in 1878, that of Ochrida in 1881, the one of Pirin in 1895, the Vinitza in 1897, the Melnik in 1902, and the Bitolia or Ilinden Insurrection, the greatest of them all, in 1903, in which took part more than 30,000 Bulgarian Macedonians.

7. The Reports of the special English, Austrian, Italian, Russian, and French officers attached to the respective diplomatic agencies of the Great Powers at Salonica, in which reports they unanimously attest the fact that the great majority of the Macedonian population is Bulgarian.

8. The Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1913 in which the Serbians solemnly recognized that Macedonia is Bulgarian.

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1. See footnote 17, page 14, above.
2. English *Blue Book*, Turkey, No. 2, 1877, p. 153.
3. See Article VI of the San Stefano Treaty of March 3, 1878.
4. Anastasoff, C., *The Tragic Peninsula*, St. Louis, Mo., 1938, pp. 115-120.

9. The London Conference of 1913 which was a sanction of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, and which set up Midia-Enos as the future boundary line between Bulgaria and Turkey.

10. The Carnegie Balkan Investigation C.mmission in 1913 is a fresh and irrefragable document of the intimate bounds existing between Macedonia and Bulgaria.

11. The statistics of the Bulgarian churches and schools in Macedonia, according to which the Bulgarians in 1910 possessed 1,359 schools with 79,519 pupils, 1,201 churches and monasteries with 1,132 priests. The number of Bulgarian schoolboys and girls in Macedonia under the Turks, even at that date, was proportionally far greater than the number of the school youth in the adjacent countries of free Serbia and Greece.

The Bulgarians constitute the bulk of the people in ancient Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia. The Bulgarian dialect is spoken from the mouth of the Danube River to Salonika, and from Lake Castoria to and beyond Lake Ochrida.—The *Serbian newspaper Vidov-Dan,* in the issue of February 13, 1868.

APPENDIX D

An American Missionary Letter on Macedonia

In southwestern Macedonia the inhabitants of the districts of Kastoria, Florina, and Kailar are generally Bulgarians. Even the Mohammedan villages, as, for example, Grevena and Nedelia, nothing but Bulgarian is heard. The fundamental Bulgarian character of the entire region is furthermore established by place names which are Bulgarian in spite of secular infiltrations of Greeks, Albanians and Turks.—Leon Dominian, in *Frontiers of Language and Nationality of Europe,* p. 210.

An American Missionary Letter on Macedonia

Editor's note: Finding their missionary work blocked by the new conquerors of Macedonia, the leading members of the American Balkan Mission finally were compelled, August 5, 1913, to send a note of protest to Sir Edward Grey, British foreign secretary, as well as the prime ministers of the other Great Powers. The following is the text of the note (all italics are the editor's):

Sir:

It is a well-known fact that for more than fifty years American Protestant missionaries have carried on religious and educational work in various parts of the Balkan Peninsula. In this work they have been without political purposes or political alliances, and, on principle, have consistently avoided all interference in political affairs. In view of these facts, a brief statement as to the place where this work has been conducted, the people among whom it has been conducted, and the manner of conducting it, may be of value at this time when the fate of large portions of the Balkan Peninsula is about to be decided.

About the middle of the last century the attention of American missionaries in Constantinople was attracted *to the Bulgarian peasants in and about that city,* and the impression made by them was so favorable that it was decided to investigate the region from which they came. This investigation was made in the late fifties, and its result was that religious societies in Great Britain and the United States of America decided to inaugurate missionary work in the Balkan Peninsula, mainly among the Bulgarians. The Methodist Episcopal Church of North America, took as its field the region between Danube and the Balkan Mountains, and began its work in 1857; while the region south of the Balkans was assigned to the Missionary Society of the Congregational Churches of America, which society sent out its first missionaries in 1858.

These missionaries were located at Adrianople. Others followed them, and in turn, Stara Zagora, Philipopolis, Sofia and Samokov were occupied before 1870. The work was extended to the Razlog district, and in 1871 the first Bulgarian Protestant church was organized in Bansko.

In 1878, after a tour of investigation, the city of Monastir was se-

lected as the most favorable center for work in Macedonia, and in the fall of that year two missionary families were located there. From this center the work was extended all through Macedonia, and churches or preaching stations were established in Monastir, Ressen, Prilep, Vodena, Vardar-Enije, Kafadartsi, Velles, Skopie, Prishtina, Redovish, Raklish, Strumitsa and its villages, Velusa and Monospitovo. In 1894, after the opening up of the railway lines which converge upon Salonica, that city was made a new center of work with supervision over the outlying districts, from Mitrovitsa on the northwest and Mehomia on the north, to Drama on the east. New preaching stations were established in Kileshnitsa, Doiran, Koukoush with its villages, Todorak and Mazhdurek, Gurmen (Nevrokop district), Drama, Tetovo, and Mitrovitsa.

Although it was originally the plan of the Mission to work among Mohammedans of European Turkey as well as among the Bulgarians, as a matter of fact, the work has been confined, with the exception of the recently established Albanian branch, almost exclusively to the Bulgarians. *The Bible was translated into modern colloquial Bulgarian, and has been circulated all through Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace.* Over six hundred hymns and sacred songs have been prepared in Bulgarian for the use of the religious communities connected with the Mission in Bulgaria and Macedonia. *The literature of the Mission is prepared in Bulgarian. The language of preaching in all the places of assembly, except* Prishtina and Mitrovitsa, where Serbian is used, *is Bulgarian.* Schools of Gymnasium rank have been established in Samokov and Monastir, and an Agricultural and Industrial Institute in Salonica. Primary schools have long been maintained by the Mission in many cities and villages in Bulgaria, and in the following places in Macedonia: Monastir, Todorak, and Mezhdurek (Koukoush district), Vardar-Enije, Koleshino, Monospitevo, Strumitsa, Drama, Bansko, Banya, Mehomia, and Eleshnitsa in the Razlog district. *In all these places the language of instruction has been Bulgarian,* although English has been introduced of late years in the Girls' Boarding School of Monastir.

After years of acquaintance with Macedonia, either through residence or travel, or both, mingling with the people and living in their homes, we are fully convinced that the great bulk of the population in the region which we have indicated as the Macedonian field of our work, is Bulgarian in origin, language, and customs, and forms an integral part of the Bulgarian nation.

We desire to call your Excellency's attention to this simple statement of facts with the hope that it may be of some assistance in securing a just and righteous solution of the momentous problem of Macedonia's future;

and we also hope that, whatever the solution may be, the necessary measures will be taken to guarantee full religious liberty for all under the new administration of the country, and to insure the same freedom to carry on religious and educational work which has been enjoyed in the past.

A statement identical with this has been sent to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of all the Great Powers.

Samokov (Bulgaria), August 5th, 1913.

Signed:

J. F. Clarke, D. D., Missionary in European Turkey for 54 years.

J. W. Baird, D. D., Missionary in European Turkey for 40 years

Robert Thomson, of Edinburgh, Missionary for 30 years in Constantinople and European Turkey.

And if for a Cross a Golgotha is absolutely necessary, we shall designate it: it is all of Europe. And if a summit for a Golgotha is needed, we shall name it Macedonia.—P. K. Yavoroff

APPENDIX E

The Division of Macedonia

"Macedonia for the Macedonians".—William E. Gladstone, British statesman, writer, and four times Prime Minister (1865-66, 1880, 1886, and 1892-94).

According to the most accurate statistics gathered on the eve of the Balkan War, the total population of Macedonia was 2,301,767[1] and distributed among the different nationalities as follows:

Bulgarians	1,095,355
Turks	541,615
Greeks	253,336
Albanians	184,366
Vlachs (Rumanians)	77,365
Gypsies	43,370
Jews and others	106,360
Total	2,301,767

1. In that part of Macedonia given to Serbia by the Treaty of Bucharest the population was distributed as follows:

Bulgarians	632,620
Turks	205,885
Greeks	480
Vlachs	33,725
Albanians	161,870
Gypsies	16,175
Jews and others	20,420
Total	1,071,175

2. In that part of Macedonia which was acquired by Greece as the result of the settlement in Bucharest there were:

Bulgarians	297,735
Turks	299,880
Greeks	249,657
Vlachs	39,470
Albanians	21,770
Gypsies	23,130
Jews and others	84,170
Total	1,015,812

1. Anastasoff, C., *The Tragic Peninsula*, St. Louis, Mo., 1938, pp. 234-235.

3. In the five former Turkish *kazas* or districts in northeastern Macedonia, left to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Neuilly, there were:

Bulgarians	165,000
Turks	34,850
Greeks	3,230
Vlachs	4,270
Albanians	695
Gypsies	4,065
Jews and others	1,430
Total	213,540

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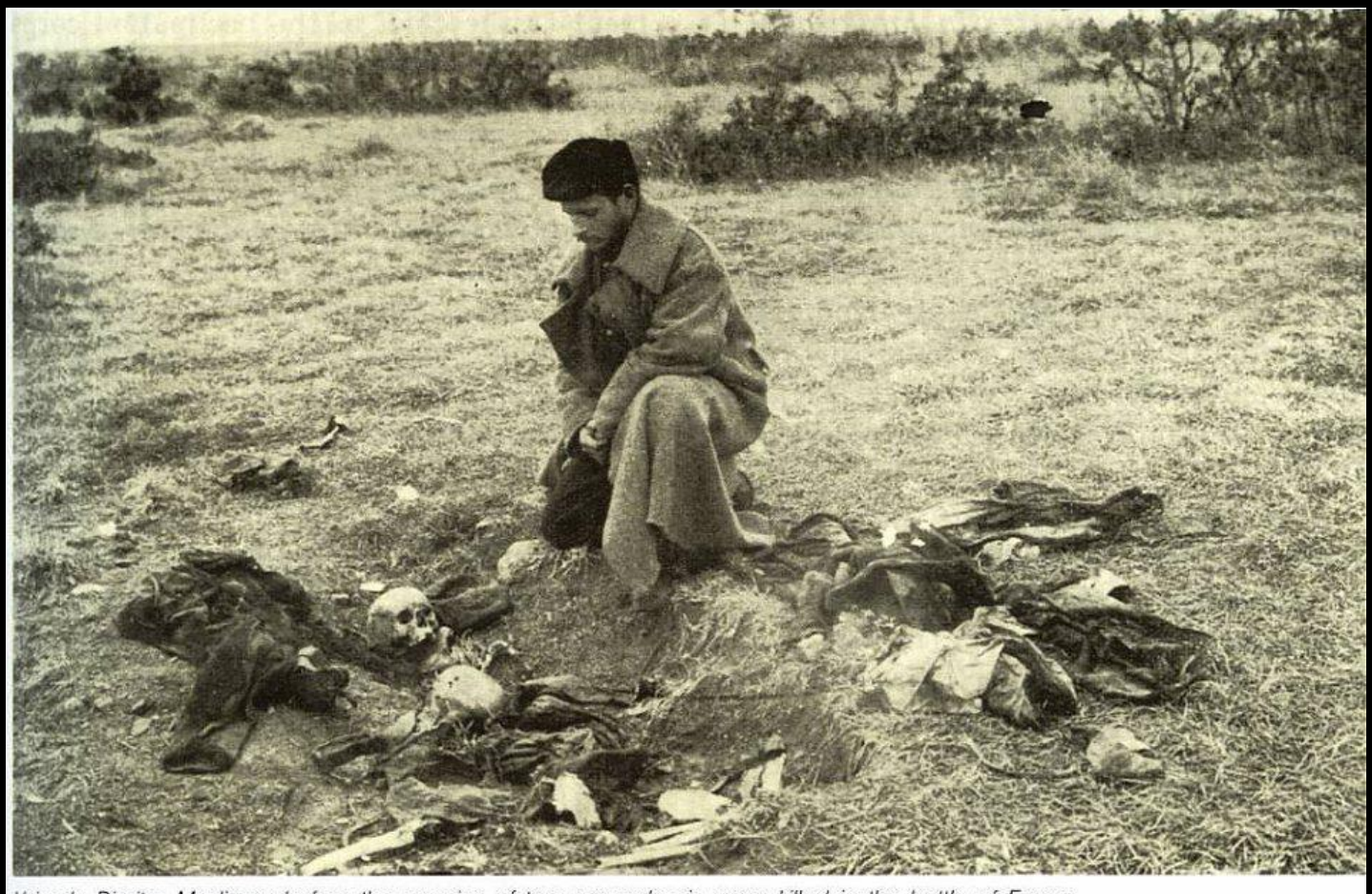
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Voivode Dimiter Madjarov before the remains of two comrades in arms killed in the battle of Ferres