

# ASSOCIATION

DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS FROM THE TERRITORY  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA AND FRIENDS

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF SLOVENIA  
MS NATASA PIRC-MUSAR

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CROATIA  
MR ZORAN MILANOVIC

TO THE EMBASSIES OF CROATIA AND  
SLOVENIA IN SOFIA

A COPY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA, THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE PRIME  
MINISTER AND THE MASS MEDIA

Subject: Claim of the President of the Republic of North Macedonia, Mr Stevo Pendarovski that the long-standing unresolved internal problems in his country constitute a bilateral dispute with Bulgaria.

DEAR MS PIRC MUSAR,  
DEAR MR MILANOVIC,

During your joint press conference in Skopje on September 11, 2023, your colleague Mr Stevo Pendarovski, President of the Republic of North Macedonia, stated that 'if the countries of the Western Balkans insist first on resolving bilateral disputes, then none will enter the EU...because the bilateral dispute with Bulgaria takes up the entire traditional accession agenda'. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that with this statement Mr Pendarovski is actually openly stating that the Republic of North Macedonia will not enter the EU because it has no intention of resolving the so-called 'bilateral dispute'. Mr Pendarovski's statement is solely in the

interest of third countries, whose goal for decades has been to erode the democratic processes in North Macedonia and destabilize the countries of the Western Balkans.

Our association was created by individuals originating from the group of over 400,000 Bulgarian citizens, descendants of refugees or migrants from the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia, who are part of about 1.3 million Bulgarian citizens who independently report their origin being from the geographical area of Macedonia. We are closely monitoring the ongoing processes there and believe that in this essentially anti-Macedonian thesis, Mr. Pendarovski resorts to a number of manipulations.

If Skopje ever had a bilateral dispute with another country, it was with Greece because of the Greek authorities' independent use of the name of 'Macedonia'. This bilateral dispute lasted 28 years, during which time Greece imposed an economic embargo on the country (1994–1995), required the use of the provisional name of 'Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia' and vetoed its NATO membership. Only after Skopje in the Prespa Agreement (2018) agreed to add the definition of 'North' to the name of the country, was this bilateral dispute resolved.

This is not the case with the need to amend the Constitution of North Macedonia, in accordance with the country's commitments arising from the so-called French proposal of July 2022. Unfortunately, Mr Pendarovski is once again trying to conceal the essence of the traditional problems in his country by manipulating public opinion and the international community.

Therefore, as an organization which expresses the interests of that part of the population which is connected to North Macedonia, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that the 'bilateral dispute' with Bulgaria referred to by Mr Pendarovski is actually much older. It began in the autumn of 1944 as an internal Macedonian matter and was expressed in the large-scale opposition between the traditional Bulgarian identity and the new Serbo-Macedonian (Serbo-communist) identity imposed by the Yugoslav government. The scale of the anti-Bulgarian repressions can be judged from a 1949 summary of the former Department for the Protection of the People (ONZA), which in 1946 became part of the the State Security Administration (UDBA). This report equated 'Greater Bulgarianism' with 'Vancho-Mihaylovism' [after the ideas of Ivan Mihaylov]. The document says that 'counter-revolutionary remnants in Macedonia have begun to create illegal organizations, to associate with the remnants of armed Mihaylovist... bands and to prepare the creation of new rebel groups. They are trying to create illegal organizations in the ranks of the People's Liberation Army through the Mihaylovist Greater Bulgarian agents serving in the Gotse Delchev Brigade... The authorities of the OZNA, by thwarting the attempted revolt in the artillery brigade in Skopje and in the infantry regiment in Shtip, by liquidating... the Vancho-Mihaylovist terrorist organizations led by Dr Chulev, and then Trenchev and Terziev, ...dealt decisive blows to the counter-revolutionary and open attempts to overthrow the people's power in the Republic of Macedonia, ...which essentially means ... the separation of Macedonia from the fraternal community of the Yugoslav peoples and the transformation of Macedonia into a protectorate of England and America... With the direct help of comrade Lazar Kolishevski, the authorities of the OZNA managed to uncover the entire conspiratorial network in other parts of the People's Liberation Army in Macedonia, in which these Great Bulgarian Vanchovist elements were also preparing riots... The Terziev-Trenchev group was preparing a memorandum to the

United Nations in which it insisted on the creation of a 'United Macedonia' under the protection of England and America.'

Cooperation between Macedonian Bulgarians, Croats and Slovenes aimed at their liberation from the rule of Belgrade began in the 1920's. Their new suffering under the Serbian Communist regime once again intensified the solidarity between them. In 1950, at the 29th Congress of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization in the United States and Canada, which was held in Gary, Indiana, the Croats, Kruno Pandzic and Berto Dragicevic, and the Slovenian, Mirko Geretic, editor of the émigré newspaper of Slovene State, attended as guests. It was at this time that the foundations of the new common struggle of the oppressed peoples in Communist Yugoslavia were laid.

The results were not late in coming and on November 5, 1950, a protest gathering of Slovenes, Croats and Macedonian Bulgarians was held in Chicago. The Macedonian speaker at this event was Metodi Chanev. He stated that 'a regime led by dictator Tito has intruded in Yugoslavia, which bears not the slightest trace of true democracy... Especially in Macedonia, Tito's regime was not very different from the regime of the Serbian royal dynasties. Although Macedonia was declared as one of the six federal republics of Yugoslavia, the orders for its constitution came from Belgrade. Moreover, Tito's government ordered a new language called 'Macedonian' to be taught in schools. This language... is mixed with many Serbian words foreign to the local population. The goal is to Serbianize the Macedonian Bulgarians by other means... We do not recognize today's Yugoslavia. "

At this council, the three oppressed groups adopted a memorandum addressed to the international community stating that the goal of the policy pursued by Belgrade was 'to Serbianize the Macedonian population which for centuries, according to the admissions of all prominent philologists, has spoken only Bulgarian. The Communist rulers have denied the thousand-year culture and education of the Macedonian Bulgarians.'

During the ensuing period, various forms of interaction were observed, and one of the highest points in the cooperation between the Macedonian Bulgarians and Croats was the declaration on the situation in Yugoslavia, which on 27 March 1969 was presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant. The document was signed on behalf of the Croatian Liberation Movement, by Dr Stepan Hefer, and for the Macedonian Liberation Movement by Ivan Mihaylov. A mixed delegation was set up, including Stepan Hefer, Ante Bonifacic, Otto Negovetic and Anton Nestic on the Croatian side, and Petar Atsev, Hristo Atanasov and Blagoj Markov on the part of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

The document regarding the population in Macedonia stated as follows: 'Although geographically related to their brothers in the Bulgarian state, the Macedonian Bulgarians during their nearly seven decades of struggles for liberation declare that in the name of Balkan peace and harmony, they are making a sacrifice by accepting the creation of an independent Macedonia, organized according to the example of Switzerland, with equal civil rights of all nationalities living in the country – Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Romanians, Albanians, etc... In the Yugoslav state there are a number of well-established historical, ethnographic and culturally distinct nationalities:

Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Macedonian Bulgarians, etc., with their own national aspirations. A cure must be found for the open wounds in the body of Europe, since there are still unresolved national issues, including those of Croats and Macedonian Bulgarians.’

We enclose several documents confirming the facts presented by us.

From what has been written so far, it can be seen that the conflict on the territory of today's North Macedonia has existed for a long time, as established by the Croats and Slovenes during a period when Bulgaria did not participate in it. For this reason, under no circumstances can we speak of a ‘bilateral dispute’. Bulgaria has intervened only very timidly in this internal Macedonian conflict in 1948. It undertook a more decisive stance in 1963, and only in 2021 did it firmly decide to support the demands of the oppressed Macedonian Bulgarians.

Recent developments in North Macedonia are increasingly persuading the entire civilized world that the problem in this country is not ‘an unnecessary historical dispute with Bulgaria’ or ‘a bilateral issue,’ as President Pendarovski claims. At the heart of today's problems in North Macedonia is the unwillingness of the political elite to respect the rights of Bulgarians in the country. In the media and in their public messages, politicians and public figures in North Macedonia systematically use hate speech against Bulgaria and Bulgarians. The definitions of Bulgarians in public discourse range from ‘Tatars’ to ‘occupiers’.

This demonization and dehumanization of the Bulgarians is the result of the educational process which has not been reformed since the time of former Yugoslavia. History textbooks in North Macedonia still present a false historical narrative. From an early age, children are indoctrinated to hate Bulgaria and Bulgarians as bearers of the greatest evil for their country.

By inciting hatred and fear, the political elite in North Macedonia encourages hate crimes against Macedonian Bulgarians. A sense of impunity has been created in society, and the perpetrators of hate crimes are portrayed as heroes in the state-controlled media, along with the impression of widespread public support for them. The ultimate goal of the authorities in Skopje is to continue to justify the repression of the Macedonian Bulgarians by propagating hatred and false historical narrative.

Although Skopje is silent on the matter, we recall that Bulgaria was the first country to recognize the independence of North Macedonia in 1991 and has never denied the right of its citizens to declare their Macedonian identity. At the same time, Bulgaria cannot close its eyes to the systematic violation of the human rights of Macedonian citizens who preserve their Bulgarian identity. That is why Bulgaria supported the desire of those citizens of North Macedonia who have preserved their Bulgarian self-awareness to be included in its constitution as a people with a right to statehood.

Despite the commitments made internationally in 2022, the government in Skopje, actively supported by Belgrade, refuses to give this elementary human right to the Macedonian Bulgarians, which the other ten ethnic nations in the country possess. This is a drastic form of discrimination which in the past had taken the forms of genocide. Such a policy has no place in the EU, no matter which ethnic group is persecuted. For this reason, it is inadmissible to talk about a bilateral

problem, because respect for human rights is a universal principle and a civilizational commitment for any government in the world that claims to be democratic.

The demands for real reforms in North Macedonia are enshrined in the proposal of the French Presidency of the EU from 2022. It reflects the '4+1' package and it is not only Bulgarian, but of the whole EU. We are convinced that neither Bulgaria nor the other EU members want to exercise 'dictat' on North Macedonia, as the propaganda in Skopje and Belgrade claims. The solution to the long-standing problems in North Macedonia is urgent reform and democratization of institutions, in order to achieve national reconciliation, and not the continuation of state anti-Bulgarian propaganda and repression of persons with Bulgarian self-awareness inherited from the totalitarian Yugoslav period.

CO-CHAIRMAN



(Prof. Trendafil Mitev)

CO-CHAIRMAN



(Assoc. Prof. Spas Tashev)

SECRETARY:



(Dimitar M. Dimitrov)

Sofia, September 28, 2023



Една част от македонските представители и гости, които присъстваха на общия събор

## М А Н И Ф Е С Т Ъ

Днес 5 ноември, 1950 година, представи големите на американците от хърватски, македонски и словенски произход, събрани на общия събор в Чикаго, Ил., след като взеха под сериозно внимание както вътрешното така и външното положение на Югославия, сметоха за свой дълг да представят на световното обществено мнение следните констатации:

1. Днешният комунистически режим на диктатора Тито външно не се различава от предвоенният диктаторски режим, когато начело на управлението стоела сръбският кралски династия. Вътрешната и външна политика на Тито, макар да е обгърната с нови формули, си остава антидемократична, тоталитарна. Въпреки че страната е разделена на шест федерални републикански единици, фактически цялата власт е концентрирана в Београд, откъдето Тито и неговата комунистическа клика управляват страната със деретни. Всички приказки външните вестници и изявления на неговите послушници, че днешна Югославия била демократична — сж само прахъ въ очитъ на външното обществено мнение.

Затворитъ въ Хърватско, Македония, Словения и Мериа Гора сж пълни съ интелектуалци, специалисти, селяни и граждани, които не сж съгласни съ деретитъ на режима. Частната собственичествъ и частната инициатива — сж унищожени. Хранитъ на селититъ — се изземват отъ държавата на цени определяни отъ комуниститъ и дадена на много мѣста селититъ откънатъ да лезватъ земита съ определена цѣна.

Цѣла Югославия е превърната въ полицейска държава. Кавгата която Тито има съ Коминформата не може да го направи по-привлекателенъ предъ външния святъ, ако режимътъ му е избѣренъ съ истинска демократична мѣрка. Титовото управление е и си остава диктаторско, тоталитарно. Въ свой споръ съ Коминформата Тито се стреми да докаже, че той е по-добъръ комунистъ откълото комуниститъ въ Съветска Русия и поднедоместнитъ й сателитни държави. Всичко е подчинено на комунистическата държава. Пресата се контролира и субсидира отъ държавата, политич. събирания се уреждатъ отъ държавата, църквитъ се ръководитъ по нареждане на държавата и презъ време на изборитъ има само една листа, държавната, т. е. таи на Тито и кликата му.

2. Въ Хърватско откъто Тито дойде на власт положението е следното:

Народътъ е ограбенъ отъ човѣкитъ му права и сведенъ до най-тежка мизерия. Политическитъ и религиознитъ представители сж или избити, живущи въ изгнание, или затворитъ както е случай съ архиепископъ Степинацъ и много други като него.

Откъто комуниститъ взеха властта тѣ сж избили надъ 400,000 души въ Хърватско. Едва ли има два процента отъ хърватския народъ съ комунистически режимъ. И това е именно причината, че въ така нареченото правителство на Хърватско въ Загребъ има повече сърби откълото хървати. Сегашното положение въ Хърватско е непоносимо и комунистически режимъ разчита само на тайната полиция, редовната полиция и милицията, както и на комунистическия орджин.

3. Въ Македония, откъто Тито дойде на власт положението е следното: Следъ като се унищожиха всички граждански, политически и религиозни права на населението, следъ като биде убита частната инициатива, стимула за всѣки стопански напредѣкъ, затворитъ въ Скопие, Битоля и другаде се напълниха съ интелектуалци, граждани и селяни отъ всички кѣтве на страната. Населението нѣма право да излиза съ опозиционни листи, а трѣбва да гласува за посочената отъ комуниститъ листа при всички избори. Начело на така наречената «македонска федерална република» сж поставени послушници на Тито чийто качество е, че сж членове на комунистическата партия. Отъ Београдъ се нареди мѣстното население да се учи на новъ, изкуствено създаденъ езикъ, нареченъ «македонски». Този езикъ е едно съединя отъ разни диалекти, подсилвани постепенно съ сърбизми. Цѣлта е да се сърбирира македонското население, което отъ вѣкове споредъ признанията на всички видни филолози е говорило само български. Комунистическитъ управници отътокоха хилядо годишната култура и просвѣта на македонскитъ българи и почнаха за нашата история отъ 11 октомври, 1944 година. Всѣки, който се осмѣли да поиска езиковитъ си, политически и граждански права, споредъ комунистическия наредби се обвинява за врагъ на държавата, агентъ на американски капитализъмъ и на Уолъ стритъ и при една бърза еждебна процедура се праща въ затвора. Населението е съслано стопански Гладъ и мизерия сжществуватъ изъ всички градове и села. При подобно положение населението се чувствува, и то съ право, като безправни египетски роби отъ фараонскитъ времена.

Подобни условия сжществуватъ и въ оубни части на Македония, които сж подъ грѣцка и българска власт.

4. Положението въ Словения откъто Тито пое властта е следното:

Народътъ, въобщо, е по най-грубъ начинъ унищожаванъ и границитъ откъмъ Италия, Австрия и Унгария сж херметически запечатани, за да не може никой да избѣга. Словенитъ бѣха жестоко преследвани отъ нацисткитъ и фашисткитъ окупатори презъ последната

(Следва на страница втора)

# МАНИФЕСТЪ

(Продължение от страница първа)  
война. Много отъ словенцитѣ бидоха подмаме ни отъ комуниститѣ чрезъ обещания презъ време на тежката окупация, но сега тѣ сѣ още повече разочаровани отколкото бѣха презъ време на германската, италианската и унгарската окупация. Единствениятъ изходъ отъ това ужасно положение е създаването на една независима Словения, която да включва цѣлия словенски народъ въ нейнитѣ граници.

5. Подобни условия сѣществуватъ и въ нѣкога гордото кралство на Черна Гора, което бѣ инкорпорирао въ бивша и днешна Югославия чрезъ насилие.

Имайки предъ видъ горнитѣ факти, ние считаме сѣщо като наше задължение да направимъ достойние и следния

## МАНИФЕСТЪ

1. Югославия като държавно-политическа единица е изкуствено творение. Тя се създаде безъ да се има свободно, демократично запитване до народа. Фарсътъ, който Тито направи за да проведе конституциитѣ на федералнитѣ републикански единици написани по образецъ на съветскитѣ, не бѣше никакъвъ народенъ плебисцитъ. Народитѣ въ Югославия никога

не сѣ имали възможность свободно и демократично да се изкажатъ дали желаятъ да бъдатъ управлявани отъ Бѣлградъ и дали въобще приематъ така построениятъ държавенъ комплексъ на Балканитѣ. Следователно, ние отричаме Югославия като държавно-политическа концепция.

2. Името «югославецъ» творение на сръбската кралска династия отъ 1929 год. насамъ, не изражава народностната обособеность на Хърватско, Македония и Словения. То бѣ създадено съ огледъ да се униожатъ историческитѣ културнитѣ и народностнитѣ белези на тѣзи страни, запазени отъ дълги вѣкове насамъ. Следователно, ние категорически отричаме това име.

3. Заставаме за свободни и независими Хърватско, Македония и Словения, които да се оформятъ въ свои напълно свободни и демократични държавни единици, управлявани отъ самото мѣстно население. Само чрезъ доброволното желание на народитѣ, които населяватъ днешна Югославия и при действително гарантирани пълни демократични права ще може да има миръ и стопански напредъкъ не само въ Югославия, но и на цѣлия Балкански полуостровъ.

*Manifesto of Slovenes, Croats and Macedonian Bulgarians,  
adopted in Chicago on November 5, 1950.*

## ПОДРОБНОСТИ ПО СЪБОРА ВЪ ЧИКАГО

Въ историческото развитие на народитѣ настѣпватъ моменти, когато по силата на обстоятелствата два или повече народи си подаватъ братска ръка за взаимна помощ и сътрудничество. При такива случаи често пѣти създаденитѣ връзки добиватъ историческо значение за бъдещето развитие на самитѣ народи. Паметенъ е случая, когато презъ време на българското възраждане въ Македония братя Димитъръ и Константинъ Миладинови следъ като въ продължение на много години събираха българскитѣ народни пѣсни отъ Македония, нѣмаха възможностъ да ги издадатъ. Тогава, именно, въ тѣх на помощ се притече Загребскиятъ епископъ Посипъ Щросмаеръ, който подпомогна издаванетоъ презъ 1861 година ценната книга на двамата македонски труженици братя Миладинови подъ заглавие «Български Народни Пѣсни.» Затвърденото отъ тогава приятелство между Македония и Хърватско остана да живѣе презъ иднитѣ десетилѣтия.

Въ днешно време, обстоятелствата наложиха наново не само тѣзи два братски народи, но и словенитѣ да си подадатъ ръка за общо сътрудничество. Общата съдба на македонци, хървати, словенци и черногорци подъ страшния деспотически режимъ на комуниста Тито, принуди американцитѣ отъ македонски, хърватски, словенски и черногорски произходъ да предприематъ една историческа стѣпка въ борбата имъ за за свобода, демокрация и независимостъ.

На 5 ноемврий т. г. въ градъ Чикаго, Ил. се събраха представителитѣ на тѣзи народности групи на общъ съборъ да манифестираатъ не само своето единство срещу общия си врагъ — Тито и сърбо-комунизма — но и да начертаятъ бъдещата си задружна и неразривна братс-

ка дейностъ. Подобна родолюбива проява става за прѣвѣжтъ на този континентъ и като така тя ще остане историческа не само поради своята същина, но и поради голѣмиятъ ентусиазъмъ, единство и масово посещение.

Съборътъ стана въ Хърватската зала въ Саутъ Чикаго, която още преди определеното време започна да се пълни съ народъ. Тукъ дойдоха братски представители отъ най-различни краища на Съединенитѣ щати и Канада. Хърватитѣ, които играеха ролята на домакини, посрещнаха любезно всички. Македонскитѣ представители и гости изваха групово, като най-големата група бѣше отъ Гери, Инд. и околността. Между публиката личеха и много свещеници: хърватски, българо-македонски и словенски. Млади и стари всички чакаха съ нетърпение да се открие съборътъ.

Откриването стана съ изпѣванетоъ отъ една хърватка на американския химнъ, изслушанъ на крака отъ всички. Следъ това хърватски свещеникъ Любо Чувало съ нѣколко думи по здрави официално всички и представи за ръководищъ събора хърватскиятъ адвокатъ Винсенти Кнаустъ. Последниятъ е родомъ въ Америка, но въпреки това интересътъ му къмъ Хърватско и Балканитѣ го е държалъ винаги въ близкъ контактъ съ неговитѣ сънародници.

Представенъ бѣ председателътъ на американскитѣ обединени хърватски дружества г. Посипъ Шабанъ, който съ сърдечни думи на хърватски езикъ изтъкна значението на това първо по рода си проявление, като пожела успѣхъ и подкрепа въ всѣко отношение.

На сцената се яви хърватскиятъ оперенъ пѣвецъ г. Драгутинъ Шоштарко, който съ своя (следва на страница 4-та)



# Подробности по Събора в Чикаго

(Продължаваме от стр. 1-ва)  
 възможности да се извършат, македонски и словенски песни. Той се живя през време на програмата няколко минути, изпълнявайки и македонски песни и песни.



**Г-н. Метод Чавчев**

Следващото говорител е председателът на Ц. К. на МП О. Г. Метод Чавчев, който на българско слово, отвори пътя на поддръжката съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас. Не тогава рече аз публикуване във всеки брой на вестника.



**Г-на Велика П. Гортчева**

На следното се живя след Велика П. Гортчева от Дарбаре, Мич., събраха на маса от Ц. К. на МП О. Г. Нико Гортчев. Тя живя много любиво народна музика и донесе много обаяние на всички българи.



**Г-н. Мария Гортчев**

Другият говорител е г-н. Мария Гортчев, представител на словенските и словенските македонски вестници «Слово» на Дубровник. Речта му изведе много добро впечатление както на македонците, така и на словенците. Двадцатината на следното се живя борба през време обаяние през се востана със радост от всички.



**Г-н. Г. Г. Г. Г. Г.**

На следното се живя с. Г. Г. Г.

Нико. Съ своя реч, гласът той живя няколко македонски и словенски песни, които поддържа на публиката през време Нико. Нико с живя македонски и словенски песни.



**Г-н. Луис Самардан**

Следващото след това изведе речта от словенските председатели Лука Самардан, а след това изведе речта на българско слово, отвори пътя на поддръжката съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.

Докато рече втората част от програмата, след това изведе речта на българско слово, отвори пътя на поддръжката съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.

След това представител на Ц. К. на МП О. Г. Любим Давидов, който водеше поддръжката от място на македонските речници на този момент, разказвайки програмата съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.



**Г-н. Крун Пандич**

Другият говорител е г-н. Крун Пандич, който водеше поддръжката от място на македонските речници на този момент, разказвайки програмата съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.



**Г-н. Никола Милошевич**

След него на следното се живя от г-н. Васил Милошевич от Торонто, Канада, който се говорише дуплетна дума през следния следен водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.

Последна била да живя следна македонка г-н. Христова Навалова от Хеминг, Мич., която участва на един от македонските патриотични групи, които водеха поддръжката от място на македонските речници на този момент, разказвайки програмата съборът, водеща до историческото му значение за всички нас.

речи македонска народна песен.

Веднага след това се живя на следното македонската танцова група от Дитровиц, Мич. Та се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии. След се живя следното живя на следното македонската танцова група от Дитровиц, Мич. Та се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии. След се живя следното живя на следното македонската танцова група от Дитровиц, Мич. Та се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии.

Тя била изведена от околностите на словенските говорители: г-н. Никола Сушич от Уайтер, Ана и г-н. Рудолф Петров от Акрон. О. Н. Давидов се прекрива дума издарила то на историческо място между родолюбивите от Македония, Хърватско и Словения.

Накрай се живя следното живя на следното македонската танцова група от Дитровиц, Мич. Та се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии. След се живя следното живя на следното македонската танцова група от Дитровиц, Мич. Та се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии.

Това трябва да обясним, че всички говорители от първите народни групи на словенските речници живяха много по-добре, ама се състояше от около петдесет души, водеща на македонската песен при МПО «Татковина», а след това: Висока, Висока, Ана И. Павлова, Ружа Драговица, Маргарита Немец, Софи А. Немец, Мари Вангелова, Димитри С. Павлова и Владомир Петров. Всички бяха облечени на македонски народни носии.

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Publication of the "Macedonian Tribune" of 16 November 1950 with details of the gathering of Slovenes, Croats and Macedonian Bulgarians held on 5 November in Chicago.

# The Declaration on the Situation in Yugoslavia Presented by the Croatian and Macedonian Liberation Movement to: U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations in New York, N. Y.

## FOR THE RIGHTS AND DEMANDS OF THE CROATIAN AND MACEDONIAN BULGARIANS UNDER THE RULE OF YUGOSLAVIA

March 27, 1969

His Excellency  
U THANT  
Secretary-General of the United Nations  
New York, New York

### YOUR EXCELLENCY:

Confident that we are expressing the will of our people, we deem it our duty to submit to the United Nations Organization and its constituent member states, and also before the world public opinion, the following statement:

"It is well known that in Yugoslavia, since its creation after the first World War in 1918, and also, prior to that, when Serbia existed as an independent state, there have existed acute irreconcilable national conflicts.

"The present chief of state in Yugoslavia, the Communist dictator Joseph Broz Tito, does not hesitate to publicly announce that the single-party system in the country, that is, the deprivation of dissent, must be preserved, since this is the only way to guarantee the existence of the state; otherwise, there would immediately appear nationalist parties of the different national groups in the country, and thereby signify the end or eventual downfall of present Yugoslavia. Thus, Tito has vividly described the 'strength and worth' of his artificially created mosaic state which would disintegrate if it were not for its dependence on the harsh police power and certain foreign economic assistance. Foreign powers are helping a brutal Communist tyranny in complete contradiction to the elementary principles of international law, as well as the obligations under the provisions of the U. N. O. charter.

"The national suppression within the borders of today's Yugoslavia is well known ever since 1912, when Serbia occupied the Macedonian province with a predominantly Bulgarian population.

"Many books have been published and many newspapers have carried reports on the frightful acts of the Serbian authorities against the Bulgarian people living in this province.

"The lawlessness committed by the Serbian administrative authorities is amply described by competent foreign observers of cultural nations. We shall mention only the famous 'Report of the Carnegie International Commission of Inquiry into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars,' published in Washington, D. C., in 1914. Details of Serbian lawlessness are also found in the archives of the diplomatic chancelleries of all Great Powers.

"Long is the list of names of Macedonian Bulgarians that have been either killed or thrown into prison or completely impoverished in the effort to Serbianize them. The schools, the churches and every sign of social and cultural life among the Macedonian Bulgarians were either taken over or destroyed.

"After the first World War by the arbitrary will of the victorious Powers, instead of resurrecting Serbia, there came into being in 1918 the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Later on the Serbian King Alexander arbitrarily renamed the country with its present name: Yugoslavia.

"But in this state, which is in reality an expansion of Serbia, as far as the Macedonian Bulgarians are concerned, lawlessness and coercion have become the law of the land. Nowhere in Western or Middle Europe (except the Macedonian provinces occupied by Greece in 1912) could one find anything to resemble the oppressive action of the Yugoslav regime.

"In Croatia, which was illegally included in the Yugoslav state in 1918, that is, without the free will of the people, there, too, was inaugurated the reign of lawlessness and harsh police power, and economic plunder.

"For a quarter of a century the tyranny of King Alexander's regime raged over the Croatian people. While after the second World War, as a result of the Yalta agreement, our peoples were deprived of their national rights by the brutal Communist dictatorship. And with no right or delegated authority, there currently speaks in behalf of our people a conspiracy and adventurous group which relies on police power and the single party apparatus.

"Yugoslavia is a typical state that is greatly disliked by the vast majority of its constituencies.

"The Croatian people have never voted for the creation and existence of this state. The Macedonian Bulgarians on the other hand despise her and always curse Yugoslavia. And there is hardly a case among the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, or the German, the Hungarian, the Romanian or other national minority, to have expressed itself in favor of Yugoslavia.

"Many Western authorities admit and know that this mosaic satrapy state would have been dissolved long ago by the oppressed peoples themselves, if it had not been for the foreign help which she receives.

Favorable for her existence, Yugoslavia has always stood for the principle of non-interference in her internal affairs; and that for very good reasons. She is worried and attempts to conceal officially the fact that the included nationalities are against her. The government of Yugoslavia is fearful of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the promises of the Atlantic Charter. She trembles by the very idea that the people should be given the right to decide their political destiny and also elect their national representa-

# The Declaration on the Situation in Yugoslavia Presented by the Croatian and Macedonian Liberation Movement to: U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations in New York, N. Y.

tives.

"Since they were included in the borders of Yugoslavia, our people have at numerous times presented reports and memorandums concerning their political situation. Complaints of violations of their Human Rights and demands for rectifications have formerly been sent to the League of Nations in Geneva, and after the second World War to the United Nations in New York; but all of this without any effect.

"The peoples there have fought with every possible means against the imposed political misfortune.

"The national question of our peoples stand above everything else. The only salvation they can visualize is secession from Yugoslavia in which country they were incorporated against their will. It would be desirable that this separation take place by peaceful means. Such a solution would not only be in the interest of Balkan, and even world peace, but also in the harmony with human justice.

"It is the right of the Croatian people to create an independent and sovereign state of their own not only on the principle of self-determination, but also on the basis of the 10-century-old historical state right from which the Croatian people have never renounced themselves.

"Although geographically connected with their brothers in the Bulgarian state, the Macedonian Bulgarians during their nearly seven decades of fighting for liberation have often declared that they would, in the name of Balkan peace and harmony, make sacrifices by accepting the creation of an independent Macedonia organized on the example of Switzerland, with equal civil rights of all nationalities living in the country — Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Romanians, Albanians and others.

"Recalling that the Yugoslav Constitution itself provides for self-determination of its peoples, and also stipulates the right to secede — but let anyone speak of secession and he would be exposed to a death penalty.

"The division of Yugoslavia into six republics and two autonomous provinces, even though subjected to the rigid Serbian government in Belgrade, in itself points out that there exists no such a thing as a Yugoslav nation. Conversely, in the Yugoslav state there exist well-established historically, ethnographically and culturally separate nationalities — Croatians, Slovenes, Serbs, Macedonian Bulgarians, and others, with their own national aspirations.

"There should be a cure for the active and open wounds in the body of Europe, as there are still unsolved national questions, among the foremost those of the Croatians and the Macedonian Bulgarians.

"A happy future of the world would be assured only by removing the existing national injustices, since there would always be danger of despair and a resort to means of violence.

"For the cause of justice and Balkan peace, the dissolution of Yugoslavia is indispensable.

"In an eventual unified Europe, our people should figure as members of rightful national independent states rather than be represented by Belgrade, Serbia or some kind of Yugoslavia.

"On this anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the name of the principle of freedom, equal justice, and the national right of self-determination of nations, we are presenting to the United Nations Organization and of all its member nations, and world public opinion, our demand for a peaceful separation from Yugoslavia of all historical and ethnic territory of the Croatian people (the present republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), and of the Macedonian Bulgarians and the creation of independent and sovereign states of Croatia and Macedonia."

## FOR THE CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT:

DR. STJEPAN HEFER, President

### The Central Committee of the Croatian Societies in Europe

DR. ANDRIJA ILIC, Pres.  
JOSIP BIOSIC, Secy.

### The Central Committee of the United Croats of Canada

OTO NEGOVETIC, Pres.  
GOROSLAV MANDIC, Secy.

### The Central Committee of the Croatian Societies in South America

ING. IVAN ASANCAIC, Pres.  
EMIL KLAIC, Secy.

### The Central Committee of the Croatian Guardians of Liberty, Inc., in the United States

DR. ANTE BONIFACIC, Pres.  
ING. MILAN M. SEGA, Secy.

### The Central Council of the Croatian Association in Australia

P. LUKOVIC, Secy.

## FOR THE MACEDONIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SUBJUGATED MACEDONIA

IVAN MIHAILOFF

### The Central Committee of the Mac- edonian Patriotic Organization of the United States and Canada

PETER G. ATZEFF, Pres.

CHRIST ANASTASOFF, V-Pres.

BLAGOV MARKOFF, V-Pres.

CLEMENT G. NICOLOFF, Secy.

THEODOR TCHOUKALEFF,

Treasurer

IVAN A. LEBAMOFF, Adviser

DR. A. P. ISAKOV, Adviser

## RESOLUTION

which has been unanimously voted by the United Croats of Canada on the occasion of their 18th Convention in Toronto from 20th-22nd May 1972.

1. The United Croats of Canada, whose branches are all over Canada, express their most sincere gratitude to the Government and people of Canada for granting their members asylum after the Second World War and giving them opportunity to live in freedom. Especially we are grateful that we are able to speak the truth about the struggle of the Croatian people for their freedom and independence.

2. As loyal citizens of Canada, who appreciate freedom above all, we declare, that we shall continue to give every possible moral and material support to our Croatian Liberation Movement the aims of which are complete freedom and independence of Croatia.

3. We condemn most resolutely all atrocities of the great Serbian Communist regime against the Croatian people, especially the genocide of Bleiburg when Tito's Communists massacred hundreds of thousands of Croats because they did not want to live under Serbian domination but in their own State of Croatia. We demand from all international jurist institutions a start to investigations of this crime, which is shameful for European history, and to bring to trial all those responsible.

4. Especially, we condemn the latest brutality of Tito's regime against the Croatian students, intellectuals, workers and peasants who, after 26 years of unheard of great Serbian persecution and exploitation of our rich and beautiful homeland, Croatia, unanimously rebelled against Belgrade.

5. We protest against the exploitation of all able Croatian men who are forced to work in free countries of Western Europe under supervision of Tito's secret police, many of whom during their visits to Croatia are persecuted and imprisoned.

6. We appeal to the United Nations and to all responsible institutions of the free world to intervene and demand from Belgrade to release immediately all imprisoned Croatian patriots and to stop the slave trade with Croatian workers.

7. We declare that between the great Serbian imperialism and the will of the Croatian people to live free in their own independent State of Croatia there cannot be any compromise. The whole world has seen this fact from the present oppressive measures of Belgrade against the Croatian people. Therefore, the only solution of the Croatian problem is the complete separation of all Croatian lands from Serbia.

8. We condemn all those who presumably on behalf of the Croatian people want to achieve this separation with Russian help because the Croatian people do not want to swap the Belgrade yoke with a Russian one.

9. We express our solidarity with all oppressed peoples of Yugoslavia, especially with the Macedonian Bulgarians who, together with the Croats, suffer most.

10. We point out that Yugoslavia represents the greatest threat for peace in Europe and in the world. Therefore, we appeal to all the responsible statesmen and politicians not to make any agreements behind the back of the Croatian people, but, on the contrary, to help them to get rid of the great concentration camp called Yugoslavia, and to restore their independent State of Croatia without which there cannot be freedom for the Croatian people nor peace and stability in Europe.

For the United Croats of Canada

Secretary General:  
Goroslav Mandić

President:  
Ante Marković

*Resolution of the United Croats of Canada of 22 May 1972, expressing their solidarity with all oppressed peoples in Yugoslavia and especially with the Macedonian Bulgarians, who, together with the Croats, suffer the most.*



## Ethnic Kinship Fosters Common Political Goals For Croatia, Macedonia

*The following is a transcription of the comments made by the guest speaker of the Sixty-Fourth Annual MPO Convention, Janko Skrbini, who addressed those present at the Sunday evening Grand Banquet at Stouffer's Inn on the Square on September 1, 1985.*



It is an honor and privilege to be among you tonight, and I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Ivan Lebamoff and the leadership of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization for the invitation to speak at your convention in Cleveland in the name of the Croatian National Congress.

After our meeting in Detroit on April 21 of this year, at which time Dr. Mate Mestrovic, President of the Executive Committee of the CNC, and I were present, we meet again for the second time and we hope and firmly believe that this is not only the continuation of an old friendship, but also the beginning of a new cooperation for the realization of our national objectives.

I wish that this date and this convention be marked as the date of concentrated and systematic efforts of our organizations for the liberation and self-determination of our peoples.

Both the Macedonian Patriotic Organization and the Croatian National Congress

depart from the stand-point that any Yugoslavia, be it monarchial, be it communist, is always the instrument of Serbian national interest, and therefore essentially anti-Macedono-Bulgarian and anti-Croatian. For this we have ample historical evidence, since Yugoslavia was always an oppressive state, because as a democratic state it simply cannot exist.

Both Macedono-Bulgarians and Croats became a part of the Yugoslav state against their national will, and we propose today at this convention the dissolution of Yugoslavia as the only logical solution. There will be no peace as long as Yugoslavia exists. A basic demand for justice and democracy is the right of national self-determination. It is the internationally recognized right of every people in every corner of the world and it has to be applied to our geographical area, to Macedonia and Croatia.

We Croatian emigres, in the sequence of events at home and abroad, have come to the conclusion of an urgent need, and necessity for the consolidation of our political activity and national efforts. For that purpose the Croatian National Congress was created in Toronto, Canada, in 1974. Our charter was signed by 23 organizations and political parties. Today we have organizations from Melbourne to Stockholm, from Johannesburg to Vancouver. Our main objective is to assist the Croatian people—with all appropriate means—in the estab-

*Continued on page 7*

October 10, 1985

**Janko Skrbin**

ishment of an independent, democratic state within our national and historical boundaries.

As a democratic political coalition, we speak in the name of our Croatia, in defense of our rights, and against Yugoslavia as a state of tyranny. Whenever we speak for Croatia we also speak for the equal rights of all other peoples oppressed in Yugoslavia, and every oppressed people is our friend in the cause of liberty and justice.

Therefore, our communication with you my dear friends is very clear: it is not only the ethnic kinship, not only almost a hundred years of cultural and political contacts, it is a simple fact that our essential interests are identical; and we hope that from now on we will speak together more often for our common goals and objectives, against the centralist, repressive and chauvinist state of Yugoslavia, and for the liberation and self-determination of our peoples. In reality, looking from the standpoint of our national interests, our cooperation is an expression of mutual self-interest. The closer we cooperate, the stronger we are.

We know how honorable but difficult the journey of your people has been during its history. Macedonia was the area of the first Bulgarian state and the cradle of Slavic literary activity. As was our Croatian history, so was your history a constant struggle for survival. Due to its geopolitical location, Macedonia was always exposed to invasions, occupations, and oppressions. Five hundred years of Turkish occupation and more recent ambitions and claims of neighboring countries on your national territory mark your political history. Your national awakening in the 19th century brought a very brief unity to Macedonian lands with the San Stefano Treaty, yet only a few months later by the Treaty of the Berlin Congress in 1878, Macedonia again became a part of Turkey. Struggle for autonomy stimulated your patriots to organize IMRO in 1893 as a Macedonian Liberation Movement leading to the heroic Ilinden Uprising in 1903 which was crushed in blood, but which remained in history as a symbol of political will and national determination. Essentially, there were two Balkan

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Wars fought over Macedonia, in 1912 and in 1913, leading to the partition of Macedonia. As the result of the second Balkan War, Macedonia was divided among three countries: Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia; and still to this day, this division remains a sad reality. For that reason, the principal aim of the Macedono-Bulgarian patriots everywhere is the unity of the Macedonian lands and the Macedonian country. In this endeavor you have our understanding and our support.

In fact the Croats have demonstrated an understanding and support for the Macedonian Liberation Movement as early as the end of the last century when the author and patriot Georgi Kapchev started to publish in Zagreb a magazine called *Macedonia*. He also wrote a booklet called *Makedonia Ili Glas Roba* (Macedonia or the voice of a slave). Croats have considered the Macedonian national struggle as deeply justified, as we continue to do today.

When the pan-Serbian chauvinists tried in vain to wipe out Macedonia in the first Yugoslavia, calling your national territory South

Serbia, and when tens of thousands of Macedono-Bulgarians went to jails in testimony of their national identity, Croats again came to the defense of your people in the historical process against 20 young men in Skopje in 1927 and declared that Macedonia has the right to free political and national expression.

There are other historical contacts, which neither we, nor history, will forget. It should never be forgotten that the partition of Macedonian national territory is mainly due to Serbian imperialistic designs. Today, at this convention of Macedonia's patriots, I would like to point out with the Croatian historian Ivo Pilar "that the essence of the South-Slav problem consists in fact, that the Serbianism has evolved in a strong, imperialistic movement, equally as religious as it is national-political, with the objective to subjugate and absorb the other South-Slavic peoples."

This is why the Macedono-Bulgarians and the Croats both face Yugoslavia as a fundamental problem to our national existence and future.