

ASSOCIATION

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

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Sofia, 23 June 2025

TO MR MATEJ TONIN
SHADOW RAPPORTEUR ON NORTH
MACEDONIA IN THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT

COPY TO THE GROUP OF SLOVENIAN
MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT

ADDRESS ON THE REAL SITUATION OF BULGARIANS IN NORTH MACEDONIA AND THE NEED FOR AN ACTIVE EUROPEAN POSITION

DEAR MR TONIN,

We have learned from publications in the media in North Macedonia that you have expressed a position regarding the upcoming discussion in the EP of the progress report on North Macedonia, that ‘there is no reason for Bulgarians to be concerned’, and also that you have called the report in question ‘very balanced one, even in some places very pro-Bulgarian, because it includes all Bulgarian opinions’. You have also stated: ‘Regarding the Macedonian language and identity, I did not know that this was such a big problem in Bulgaria. I heard from some Bulgarian colleagues that the Macedonian language is just a dialect of Bulgarian, but I must say that it is not the job of MEPs or the EP to decide. This is the task of linguists or historians. We assess the current situation in North Macedonia and talk about the present-day Macedonian language and identity.’

As an organization representing the interests of more than 400 thousand descendants of refugees and migrants from the territory of present-day North Macedonia, we would like to draw your attention to the following facts.

1. No one in Bulgaria has ever denied the modern Macedonian identity and language. However, we are fighting to grant human rights to those citizens of North Macedonia who, despite daily repression and hate speech, have preserved their Bulgarian identity, including the right to continue to call their mother tongue Bulgarian, as all the Revival Period figures and revolutionaries from the geographical region of Macedonia did!

2. The understanding that North Macedonia and Bulgaria have bilateral disputes is a propaganda narrative of the administration in Skopje and Belgrade. At the end of 1944, a bloody internal conflict began in present-day North Macedonia, which continues to this day. Bulgaria not only remained silent for a long time but even supported the repressive regime in Skopje due to the dominance of Communist ideology and Moscow's pressure. Only after the establishment of democracy in Bulgaria did the Bulgarian state dare to support Bulgarians in North Macedonia who were fighting for their human rights.

3. As a Slovenian, you should know that the democratic Slovenian emigration had supported the struggling Bulgarians in the territory of today's North Macedonia long before Bulgaria.

4. Macedonian Bulgarians have repeatedly expressed support for Slovenia's struggle for independence from former Yugoslavia.

EXAMPLES OF SUPPORT AND COOPERATION BETWEEN SLOVENIANS AND BULGARIANS IN MACEDONIA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The new cooperation between Slovenians and Macedonian Bulgarians against their common suffering under the Serbo-Communist regime began in 1950. Then, at the 29th Congress of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization (MPO), which was held in Gary, Indiana, Slovenian Mirko Geretic, editor of the émigré Slovenska Drzava newspaper, was present. He appealed for 'common and joint efforts ... for the crushing of today's Titoslovakia'. At this congress, a special declaration was adopted, also affecting the future of Slovenia – extended were 'the most cordial and fraternal sincere greetings to ... the Slovenian fighters for freedom and independence. The manifested unanimity of the representatives of ... the Slovenians, so solemnly proclaimed before the delegates and guests of the MPO Congress, is a wonderful beginning of historical significance for the common struggle that we are all waging against our common enemy Tito and his despotic Communist regime.'

The first mass demonstration in the common struggle of Slovenians and Macedonian Bulgarians was on November 5, 1950. Then a protest rally of Slovenians and Macedonian Bulgarians was held in Chicago, which was also joined by Croats. At this demonstration, the spokesman for the Macedonian Bulgarians was Metodi Chaney. He stated that 'a regime led by the dictator Tito has been imposed in Yugoslavia, which does not have the slightest trace of true democracy... Especially in Macedonia, Tito's regime is not much different from the regime of the Serbian royal dynasties. Although Macedonia was declared one of the six federal republics of Yugoslavia, the orders for its regulations come from Belgrade. Moreover, Tito's government ordered that a new language, called 'Macedonian,' be taught in schools. This language... is mixed with many Serbian words, foreign to the local population. Through it, the aim is to Serbify the Macedonian Bulgarians in other ways... We do not recognize today's Yugoslavia.'

A manifesto to the international community was adopted at this gathering. It stated, with regard to Macedonia, that the aim of the policy pursued by Belgrade was 'to Serbianise the Macedonian population, which for centuries, according to the confessions of all prominent

philologists, has spoken only Bulgarian. The Communist rulers have denied the thousand-year-old culture and education of the Macedonian Bulgarians.'

This document stated, with regard to Slovenia: 'The people in general are being destroyed in the most brutal way and the borders from Italy, Austria and Hungary are hermetically sealed, so that no one can escape. The Slovenians were cruelly persecuted by the Nazi German occupiers during the last war. Many of the Slovenians were deceived by the Communists with promises during the time of the heavy occupation, but now it is even more disappointing than it was during the German, Italian and Hungarian occupation. The only way out of this terrible situation is the creation of an independent Slovenia, which would include the entire Slovenian people within its borders.'

The following important political program was put forward: 'The peoples of Yugoslavia have never had the opportunity to freely and democratically express whether they wish to be governed by Belgrade and whether they accept the state complex thus constructed in the Balkans. Therefore, we deny Yugoslavia as a state-political concept... We stand for free and independent Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia, which will form into their own completely free and democratic state units, governed by the local population themselves.' (Appendix 1).

During the following period, various forms of cooperation between Slovenians and Macedonian Bulgarians took place. In 1953, the Slovenian National Union in the USA congratulated the 32nd Congress of the MPO. In 1955, the MPO adopted a resolution stating that 'the present tyranny of the Serbo-Communists cannot be permanent. The Bulgarians of Macedonia would not submit to the new slavery for anything in the world. Together with the Slovenians... they will work for the day to come when Slovenia will be the truly free and independent state, when Macedonia will also be a truly free and independent state.' (Appendix 2).

In 1963, the Macedonian Bulgarians declared that Belgrade was robbing Slovenia. In 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969, the Macedonian Bulgarians repeatedly expressed their support for Slovenian freedom and independence. The Slovenians also sympathized with the struggles of the Macedonian Bulgarians. On October 1, 1965, the Toronto-based newspaper Slovenska Drzava wrote that the solution to the Macedonian question could be achieved through 'the creation of a free and independent Macedonia, where all nationalities: Bulgarians, Aromanians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, Turks, and so on, will enjoy absolutely equal rights.'

These documents clearly show the deep internal conflict on the territory of present-day North Macedonia, to which Bulgaria had absolutely no involvement at that time. Slovenian support for the Macedonian Bulgarians is also evident.

In 1991, present-day North Macedonia, under the pressure of circumstances, formally separated from Yugoslavia, but Serbian influence in it not only remained, but is now strengthening to such an extent that the authorities in Skopje only formally speak of a desire for membership in the European Union, while at the same time work for Belgrade's foreign policy program 'Serbian World', which is a scaled-down model of Putin's 'Russian World'. The Yugoslav secret services UDBA and KOS in the territory of North Macedonia remained unreformed and retained their main characteristic – anti-Bulgarianism.

You state that there is no reason for the Bulgarians in North Macedonia to be concerned, but since this statement of yours is not true, allow us to present you

SOME INDICATIVE EXAMPLES OF REPRESSIONS AGAINST BULGARIANS

The case of Maria Stoimenova, who was arrested on October 6, 1995, is indicative. She is the only one who dared to describe the methods of ill-treatment used by the Macedonian police. The reason for her arrest was her family ties with Alekso Stoimenov from Strumica, a long-time political emigrant in Belgium, close to the leader of the Macedonian liberation movement Ivan Mihaylov. M. Stoimenova described the behaviour of the police in the following way: 'I got ready and went to the toilet, at that moment the female persona entered with me and while I was performing the most intimate need – a physiological need, she stood next to me. When this happened, I was wondering at that moment whether I was a human being and whether I had any human rights.'

Here is the topic of the interrogation itself: 'They started with a threat, with which they made me understand that I had to tell everything, from the beginning with the first arrival of Alekso Stoimenov, to remember when he came, with whom he came, why, at which border he entered, with whom he met, how he spoke, how long he stayed in Macedonia, whom he called, what ideas he had, for what purpose he was in Macedonia, why he comes to us, where he moves around Macedonia? And if I don't say all this, and if I don't tell my life for these 3-4 years, where I went every day, and if I don't admit that I have carried out the assassination attempt on Kiro Gligorov, I'm finished, my personal file will be changed and that I will spend 20 years in prison. The conversation began: Come on, tell us when Alekso Stoimenov first came to Skopje and who he met in Skopje, what did he say..., where I went, what did I do..., how many times I have been to Bulgaria, what from Bulgaria I brought to Macedonia, what Alekso gives me to bring here to Skopje'.

And here is the description of the physical torture itself: 'One of the inspectors told me: well, if you don't want to admit kindly that you did the assassination attempt on Kiro Gligorov, it'll have to be badly, and that they don't have the nerve to deal with me. He went out and after 5 minutes came back with a baton, started bragging, first started hitting the wall, then the desk and yelling at me: Do you see what's going to happen to you? First, he started pushing me with his hand gradually towards the wall and when he reached the wall, he started hitting me into it saying: You're very strong, stronger than the wall, let's see if you're stronger than the baton too... What was happening to me, just as I was mistreated and humiliated, the same was applied to my husband, with the difference that he was beaten mercilessly... On the sixth day I collapsed from hunger and insomnia'.

And after leaving the police station, M. Stoimenova's problems did not end: 'We called for first aid by phone. When we said who we were and what we wanted, they answered that they could not come, they told us to go to our nearest medical centre, that they could not offer us help. We searched everywhere in Skopje to give us a medical certificate for our injuries. Not a single doctor wanted to give us and sign a certificate with the words: We do not dare, and we will be imprisoned.' (Appendix 3).

This is happening in North Macedonia – a country that, despite its formal status as an EU candidate member state, continues to be under strong influence from Belgrade. To understand the scale of the repression, we will point out the latest mass example of violence and manipulation during the 2021 census of the population of North Macedonia. Only

Bulgarians were asked to provide proof to show that they were Bulgarians. In some cases, they showed their Bulgarian ID cards, and in this way, 20,000 people had their identities changed, being registered as dual citizens, not as Bulgarians. And another 100,000 citizens of North Macedonia were not visited by census takers. We know that lists of people with Bulgarian identity were compiled in advance, and the authorities told census takers not to visit and not to count the households of Bulgarians.

In view of everything stated here, we appeal to you, when the EP considers the report on North Macedonia, to take an active civic position and protect the human rights of Bulgarians in this country. If necessary, we are ready to provide you with additional information, or to assist in organizing meetings with repressed Bulgarians in North Macedonia.

Respectfully,

CO-CHAIRMEN:



Prof. Trendafil Mitev,
DSc



Assoc. Prof. Spas
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Ilija Stojanovski

SECRETARY:



Dimitar M. Dimitrov

This address is also supported by the New Political Emigration of Macedonian Bulgarians, represented by Blagoy Shatorov and Goran Serafimov.



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 гласът 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, счетоха за свой дълг да представят на световното обществено мнение следните констатации:

1. Днешният комунистически режим на диктатора Тито във нищо не се различава от предвоенните диктаторски режими, 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 раздължена на шест федерални републикански единици, фактически цялата власт е концентрирана в Београд, откъдето Тито и неговата комунистическа клика управляват страната със декрети. Всички приказки за татковите вестници и изяви на неговите послушници, че днешна Югославия била демократична, еж само празни, които не влияят на външното обществено мнение.

Затворител в Хърватско, Македония, Словения и Черна Гора еж пълни с интелектуалци, специалисти, селски и граждански, които не еж свързани с декретите на режима. Частната собственост и частната инициатива еж унищожени. Хранител на селските се изземват от държавата на цени определени от комунистите и латове на много места селските откъсват да ласват асмата с определена кола.

Цяла Югославия е превърната във полицейска държава. Кавата които Тито има с Коминформата не може да го направи по-привлекателен пред външния свят, ако режимът му е измбрен с истинска демократична мбрка. Титовото управление е си остава диктаторско, тоталитарно. Във своя спор с Коминформата Тито се стреми да докаже, че той е подобря комунист откълото комунистите въ Съветска Русия и подведомствените й сателитни държави. Всичко е подчинено на комунистическата държава. Пресата се контролира и субсидира от държавата, политическите събрания се уреждат от държавата, църквите се ръководят по нареждане на държавата и през време на изборите има само една листа, държавната, т. е. тази на Тито и кликата му.

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

Народът е ограбен от човешките му права и сведен до най-тежка мизерия. Политическите и религиозните представители еж или избити, живущи във изгнание, или затворници, както е случая с архиепископ Степинац и много други като него.

Откъто комунистите взеха властта тт еж избити над 400,000 души във Хърватско. Едва ли има два процента от хърватския народ с комунистически режим. И това е именно причината, че въ така нареченото правителство на Хърватско във Загреб има повече сърби откълото хървати. Сегашното положение във Хърватско е непоносимо и комунистически режим различа само на тайната полиция, редовната полиция и милицията, както и на комунистическите оръжия.

3. Във Македония, откъто Тито дойде на власт положението е следното: След като се унищожиха всички граждански, политически и религиозни права на населението, след като биде убита частната инициатива, стимула за всички стопански напредък, затворител въ Скопие, Битоля и другата се напълниха с интелектуалци, граждани и селски от всички кжтве на страната. Населението няма право да излиза с оппозиционни листи, а трябва да гласува за посочената от комунистите листа при всички избори. Начело на така наречената «македонска федерална република» еж поставени послушници на Тито, чийто качество е, че във прилежни членове на комунистическата партия. От Београд се нареди местното население да се учи на нов, изкуствено създаден език, наречен «македонски». Този език е едно смесване от разни диалекти, подсилвани постепенно с сърбизми. Целта е да се сърбизира македонското население, което от въко не спореж признават на всички видни филолози е говорило само български. Комунистически управници откъкоха хилядо годишната култура и просвета на македонските българци и почнаха да пишат история от 11 октомври, 1944 година. Всички, който се осмели да поиска езиковите си, политически и граждански права, спореж комунистическите наредби се обвинява за враг на държавата, агент на американския капитализъм и на Уолъ стрит и при една бърза съдебна процедура се праща във затвора. Населението е съвпаано стопански глад и мизерия ежществуват из всички градове и села. При подобно положение населението се чувства, и то с право, като безправни египетски робове от фараонските времена.

Подобни условия ежществуват и във околните части на Македония, които еж под гръцка и българска власт.

4. Положението във Словения откъто Тито взе властта е следното:

Народът, въобще, е по най-груб начин унищожаван и границите откъм Италия, Австрия и Унгария еж герметически запечатани, за да не може никой да избяга. Словенците бяха жестоко преследвани от нацистките и фашистките окупатори през последната (Следва на страница втора)

МАНИФЕСТЪ

(Продължение от страница първа)

война. Много от словенците бидоха подмамени от комунистите чрез обещания през време на тежката окупация, но сега те са още повече разочаровани отколкото бяха през време на германската, италианската и унгарската окупация. Единственият изход от това ужасно положение е създаването на една независима Словения, която да включва цялия словенски народ в нейните граници.

5. Подобни условия съществуват и в некоего гордото кралство на Черна Гора, което бѣ инкорпорирао в бивша и днешна Югославия чрез насилие.

Имайки предъ видъ горните факти, ние считаме също като наше задължение да направимъ достойствие 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 направя да проведе конституцията на федералните републикански единици написани по образецъ на съветските, не бѣше никакъвъ народенъ или плебисцитъ. Народитъ въ Югославия никога

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

2. Името «югославецъ» творение на сръбската кралска династия отъ 1929 год. насамъ, не изразява народностната обособеностъ на Хърватско, Македония и Словения. То бѣ създадено съ огледъ да се унищожатъ историческите, културните и народностните белези на тези 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 народитъ, 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 цялия Балкански полуостровъ.

Translation from Bulgarian (old orthography)

MANIFESTO

On November 5, 1950, representatives of Americans of Croatian, Macedonian, and Slovenian origin, gathered at a general assembly in Chicago, Illinois, having carefully considered both the internal and external situation of Yugoslavia, felt it their duty to present to world public opinion the following conclusions:

1. The current communist regime under dictator Tito differs in no way from the pre-war dictatorial regimes, when the Serbian royal dynasties ruled the country. Tito's internal and foreign policy, although cloaked in new formulas, remains anti-democratic and totalitarian. Despite the country's formal division into six federal republics, in reality all power is concentrated in Belgrade, from where Tito and his communist clique govern the country by decree. All the rhetoric in Tito's newspapers and the statements of his loyal followers, claiming that Yugoslavia is democratic, serve only to mislead foreign public opinion.

The prisons in Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Montenegro are full of intellectuals, priests, peasants, and citizens who disagree with the regime's decrees. Private property and individual initiative have been destroyed. Farmers' produce is confiscated by the state at prices fixed by the communists, which has led many peasants to refuse to sow their land with the designated crops.

All of Yugoslavia has been turned into a police state. Tito's quarrel with Cominform cannot make his regime appear more acceptable to the outside world if it is judged by genuine democratic standards. His rule remains dictatorial and totalitarian. In his dispute with

Cominform, Tito aims to prove himself a better communist than those in Soviet Russia and its satellite states. The press is controlled and subsidized by the state; political gatherings are organized by the state; churches are governed by state orders; and during “elections,” there is only one candidate list – the state’s, i.e. Tito’s and his clique’s.

2. In Croatia, since Tito came to power, the situation is as follows:

The people have been stripped of their basic human rights and reduced to utter misery. Political and religious representatives have either been executed, live in exile, or are imprisoned – as is the case with Archbishop Stepinac and many others.

Since the communists seized power, over 400,000 people have been killed in Croatia. It is doubtful whether even 2% of the Croatian population supports the communist regime. That is why in the so-called Croatian government in Zagreb, there are more Serbs than Croats. The current situation in Croatia is intolerable, and the communist regime relies solely on the secret police, regular police, the militia, and its party structures.

3. In Macedonia, since Tito came to power, the situation is as follows:

After destroying all civil, political, and religious rights of the population and suppressing private initiative – the engine of any economic progress – the prisons in Skopje, Bitola, and elsewhere have been filled with intellectuals, citizens, and peasants from all corners of the country. The population is not allowed to present opposition lists but is forced to vote for the single list approved by the communists in every election. At the head of the so-called “Macedonian Federal Republic” are Tito’s appointees, whose only qualification is being obedient members of the Communist Party.

Belgrade has ordered the local population to be taught a new, artificially created language called “Macedonian”. This language is a mixture of various dialects constantly infused with Serbianisms. The goal is to Serbianize the Macedonian population, which – according to all prominent philologists – has spoken only Bulgarian for centuries. The communist authorities have denied the thousand-year-old culture and education of the Macedonian Bulgarians and have begun rewriting history, starting from October 11, 1944. Anyone who dares to demand their linguistic, political, or civil rights is, under communist regulations, declared an enemy of the state, an agent of American capitalism and Wall Street, and is sent to prison under expedited judicial procedures. The population is economically ruined. Hunger and misery prevail in all cities and villages. In such conditions, people rightfully feel like the enslaved Egyptian laborers of pharaonic times...

4. In Slovenia, since Tito assumed power, the situation is as follows:

The population is being destroyed in the harshest way. The borders with Italy, Austria, and Hungary are hermetically sealed to prevent any escape. Slovenians were brutally persecuted by the Nazi German occupiers during the last war. Many Slovenians were misled by communist promises during the difficult occupation years, but now they are even more disillusioned than during the German, Italian, or Hungarian occupations. The only way out of this dreadful situation is the creation of an independent Slovenia, which should unite the entire Slovenian nation within its own borders.

5. Similar conditions exist in what was once the proud kingdom of Montenegro, which was incorporated into both the former and current Yugoslavia through violence.

Having considered the above facts, we also feel it our duty to present the following:

MANIFESTO

1. Yugoslavia, as a state-political entity, is an artificial construct. It was created without any free, democratic consultation of the people. The farcical constitutional referenda organized by Tito to form the federal republics — modeled on the Soviet system — were in no way genuine popular plebiscites. The peoples of Yugoslavia have never had the opportunity to freely and democratically express whether they wished to be ruled from Belgrade, or whether they accepted the state structure imposed on the Balkans. Therefore, we reject Yugoslavia as a state-political concept.

2. The term “Yugoslav” — a creation of the Serbian royal dynasty since 1929 — does not reflect the national identities of Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. It was created with the aim of erasing the historical, cultural, and national characteristics of these lands, preserved over many centuries. Therefore, we categorically reject this name.

3. We support the establishment of free and independent Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia as fully sovereign and democratic states, governed by their own populations. Only through the voluntary will of the peoples currently living in Yugoslavia, and with truly guaranteed democratic rights, can there be peace and economic progress — not only in Yugoslavia, but also across the entire Balkan Peninsula.

Appendix 1

A joint manifesto of Macedonian Bulgarians, Slovenes and Croats for a joint struggle against the Serbo-Communist regime in Yugoslavia. 5 November 1950.

Source: Makedonska Tribuna (Macedonian Tribune). Indianapolis, November 16, 1950.

ДО БОРЧЕСКИЯ СЛОВЕНСКИ НАРОДЪ

Тридесетъ и четвъртиятъ годишенъ конгресъ на Македонските политически организации въ Съединенитѣ Щати, Канада, Бразилия и Нова Зеландия, състоялъ се на 4, 5 и 6 септемврий, 1955 година, въ Кливлендъ, Охайо, съ настоящето дава изразъ на братскитѣ чувства, които Конгреса таи къмъ братята словенци, принудени да страдатъ заедно съ македонцитѣ въ общата тъмница на народитѣ, наречена Югославия.

Отъ връзкитѣ и познанствата, които имаме съ живущитѣ въ Америка словенци, ние знаемъ много добре какво отношение тѣ иматъ къмъ комунистическия режимъ на диктатора Тито. Прекрасната словенска земя днесъ е превърната въ доли-

на на страданията. Всѣка свобода на народа е отнета. Хубавата Любляна, където много студенти отъ Македония сѣ следвали висшитѣ си науки, днесъ е изолирана отъ западния свѣтъ — отъ свободата и демокрацията.

Но нека вѣрваме силно въ бъдещето. Днешната тирания на сърбо-комуниститѣ не може да бѣде трайна. Българитѣ отъ Македония нѣма за нищо на свѣта да се подчинятъ на ново то робство. Заедно съ словенцитѣ и хърватитѣ тѣ ще работятъ, за да дойде денятъ, когато Словения ще бѣде истинската свободна и независима държава, когато и Македония ще бѣде истински свободна и независима държава.

Translation from Bulgarian (old orthography)

TO THE STRUGGLING SLOVENIAN PEOPLE

The Thirty-Fourth Annual Congress of the Macedonian Political Organizations in the United States, Canada, Brazil, and New Zealand, held on September 4, 5, and 6, 1955, in Cleveland, Ohio, hereby expresses its fraternal sentiments toward our Slovenian brothers, who, like the Macedonians, are forced to suffer under the darkness that has engulfed the nations within Yugoslavia.

Through our relationships and acquaintances with Slovenians living in America, we are well aware of their stance toward the communist regime of dictator Tito. The beautiful Slovenian land has today been turned into a valley of suffering. All freedoms of the people have been taken away. The lovely city of Ljubljana, where many students from Macedonia once pursued higher education, is now isolated from the Western world — from freedom and democracy. Yet let us hold firm faith in the future. Today's tyranny of the Serbo-Communists cannot be permanent. The Bulgarians of Macedonia will never submit to this new form of slavery. Together with the Slovenians and Croats, they will work tirelessly for the day when Slovenia will become a truly free and independent state — and so will Macedonia become a truly free and independent state.

Appendix 2

Greetings from the Macedonian Bulgarians to the struggling Slovenian people.

Source: Makedonska Tribuna (Macedonian Tribune). Indianapolis, September 29, 1955.

5.
и ако не признаам дека јас сум го
мачувала самостојно и криворот
со мене е крив, дека мачноста не
ми го сменала мисла 20 год. не можам
завбој.

Тој на разговорот: ајде мајко кога
прв пат дојде Алекса Стојменов во
Скопје и со кој пат се среќава во Скопје
и што зборува, одговори ме дека
како што била, па што била не била
задоволна, па ќе се одржала мајка
и ме, и ќе ме мачувала; јас каже
одан, што работам, во кои се обртам
земји имен одан, каде била сум била
во Бугарија, ама од Бугарија имен
носено за македонија, односно што
Алекса ми има работно да однесам кука
во Скопје, каде се во македонија се
имам движено и зомло, дојќа домина
деној исто, била мајка ми се мену-
ваа мајка јас им 22. со то 2-3
интервјуа во исто време, била прва-
це и мачуванието дено-ноќе, а
јас веќе познав да се мачувам ден

Appendix 3

Part of Maria Stoimenova's written account of the physical and psychological violence inflicted on her in present-day North Macedonia in 1995.