

## **„COMRADE FROM UDB-a<sup>1</sup> DESTROY THEM ALL!“<sup>2</sup>**

After the Second World War the Communist regime all over the Eastern Europe carried out unseen terror over their own population. Federative Yugoslavia was one of the states which after the war imposed the Communist system and becomes a center of violation of two major military blocs and sphere of interest „which on one side has active role in the United Nations and is signer of all the international documents referring to the human rights, while on the other side it starts a project which is to be remembered as a symbol of the human suffering, ideological settling of the accounts and cruelty – Goli Otok“.<sup>3</sup>

It is known that the Inform bureau represented authority for exchange of experience and cooperation of the communist parties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Poland, USSR, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy and others. It was founded in late 1947 with headquarters in Belgrade. However, due to the situation in the CPY i.e. "Deviation from Marxism - Leninism" the Inform bureau adopted resolution which reviewed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. CPY did not accept the allegations that were marked in the resolution and was excluded from the membership of the Inform bureau .

After that, relations between the two parties mounts. It leads to attacks and accusations which have reflected the relations between the two parties, and also state relations. The conflict escalated day by day, month by month and moved into hitherto surprising attacks that no one could have anticipated. It was the first time to show the international community that among Communist parties, there is no unity - one of the Communist parties was outside the control of the „queen bee“ USSR. In the mutual conflict they used harsh verbal attacks and labeling. Yugoslavia and its top leadership were convicted of cheating on the principle of Marxism-Leninism, of revisionism, also that Yugoslavia is an agent of Western imperialism and they called „healthy forces“ in the Yugoslav Communist Party to change the political management.

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<sup>1</sup> Administration for National Security.

<sup>2</sup> Statement of Josip Broz Tito in 13 May, 1949 on the occasion of the Feast of state security for clearing all those who supported the resolution of Informbureau.

<sup>3</sup> Nenad Markovic, „Spiritual Genocide Based on the Human Rights Concept – Regarding How Yugoslavia Has destroyed the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Why it has prohibited the Religion “, *„Communism – to the International Tribunal“*, 2008, 390.

Undoubtedly this situation led to a tightening of interstate relations that certainly had an impact on the stability of the country.

In such situation, the state leadership of Yugoslavia have taken rigorous measures aimed at every possible way to reverse the threat which was the result of the Resolution of the Inform bureau . They took measures to strengthen the state apparatus, especially the police was reinforced, COS<sup>4</sup> and the military, and simultaneously, measures were taken to clean the party. Special measures were imposed to those who did not accept the new policy of CPY and unequivocally supported the Resolution of the Inform bureau. Those who supported the Resolution were considered "traitors to the revolution, not people elements, sold people careerists, people with low morale, etc."<sup>5</sup>

Certainly, in this situation among the members of the Yugoslav Communist Party who supported the Resolution and those who were neutral, appeared confusion and fear, distrust and suspiciousness of everyone. Thus, law enforcement authorities have put into power all available means: provocations, arson, fraud, lying in order to verify loyalty of the party members. Undoubtedly, prosecution authorities were ruthless to those who supported the Resolution of the Inform bureau . They were primarily prewar members of the Communist Party and at the forefront of NLAW. They had to decide "for" or "against" the Resolution after one reading of it on the party meetings. Among them were supporters and friends of the USSR. At that time Soviet Union was the ideal on which they swore. We also have to bare in mind the traditional friendship with the great Slavic nation, crowned with victory against fascism and, therefore, the number of those who supported the Resolution was not low. And their fate was thus sealed. Not only to them, but also to their families, life of constant torture and suffering began.

„Without any doubt it was a time of fear, insecurity and uncertainty, anyone without any guilt could become victim. Before anyone understood the reasons behind the imprisonment, was subjected to reprisals of all kinds. It was sufficient to declare someone suspicious, to be slandered or provoked, even if you are angry to someone, to be detained in the prisons of UDB-a. Thus, whether you want it or not, you become a supporter of Resolution of the Inform bureau, and your fate is sealed forever...“<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Counter Intelligence Service.

<sup>5</sup> *Голооточки сведоштва*, Зборник, Редакција и коментари Димче Најчески, (Скопје, 1999, 9). (*Memories of Goli Otok*, Proceedings, Redaction and Comments Dimche Najcheski, (Skopje, 1999, 9).

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., 19.

The label "informbirovec"<sup>7</sup> clings to all those who were dissatisfied for various reasons or expressed disagreement with the policy of the CPY. It may be speculated that the decision to form the special concentration camps was delivered by Tito. But surely the role of all members of the Politbureau of the CC of the CPY is indisputable.<sup>8</sup>

Goli Otok is a place that was beset by harsh climate, isolated and out of the eyes of the public. It should represent a place where the "heterodox" party members and supporters of the Resolution of the Inform bureau should be re-educated and repent.

„In the period between 1948 and 1963 in Yugoslavia the Resolution of the Inform bureau was supported by 55.663 persons, or separately, defined by their role in the society, the people were divided into several groups: 5.081 worker, 5.626 farmers, 4.008 students, 21.880 participants in the Second World War, 4.153 members of the army squads, 2.616 persons on high positions in the Party nomenclature, 1.722 members of the police units and 1.189 functionaries and members of the municipalities. More than 16.000 of them were sent to prison or the so-called *social useful work*, but in numbers, separated according to the republics in Yugoslavia were not equal. Most of them were Serbs composing 44 %, than Montenegrins - 21 %, Croats - 15 %, Macedonians - 5%, Slovenians - 3 %, Albanians - 2 %, Bulgarians 1,5 % and Hungarians - 1,5 %. It is clear that the majority was composed by the Serbs and Montenegrins, mainly because of the historical heritage and common ideals between Serbia, Montenegro and Russia in the past. However, the most numerous arrests happened in the period between 1949 and 1951.<sup>9</sup>

Persons that accepted the Resolution divided by republics/provinces:<sup>10</sup>

Republic/ province	Persons that accepted the Resolution of the Inform Bureau	Quota	Quota in the population of the Republics/provinces
Bosnia and	4543	8,16	0,18

<sup>7</sup> Those who stand in favor of the Resolution of Inform bureau.

<sup>8</sup> The persons responsible for the invention of Goli Otok are Stevo Krajacic, the chief of the Croatian's state security police called UDBA and Edvard Kardelj, one of the most prominent Yugoslav communist leaders. Teon Dzingo, Goli Otok – „Wyspa Śmierci“, Wina i kara, społeczeństwa wobec reżimów zbrodni popełnionych przez reżimy totalitarne w latach 1939 – 1956, Instytut pamięci narodowej, komisja, ścigania zbrodni przeciwko narodowi polskiemu, Studia I materiały pod redakcją naukową patryka pleskota, Instytut pamięci narodowej, Warszawa, 2015, 417.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, 417-418.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 418.

Herzegov.			
Montenegro	5007	9,00	1,32
Croatia	6953	12,49	0,19
Macedonia	2662	4,78	0,23
Slovenia	934	1,68	0,07
Serbia	28661	51,49	0,69
Kosovo	1514	2,72	0,23
Vojvodina	5389	9,68	0,32
Total	55663	100,00	0,35

Macedonian communists were also among those who suffered from the Resolution of the Inform bureau . About 850, mostly members of the Communist Party were prosecuted and sent to the "company Marble". „Officially, Goli Otok was never named as prison camp. It was named labor camp' Marble'. The prisoners were not sent on a prison sentence, they were allegedly sent on *social useful work*. Only the members of the army were allowed to go through judicial procedure, while the other enemies of the state were never taken to court. The civilians were taken to Goli Otok as administrative measures rendered by local, administrative officials. The administrative measure was never documented as sentence and after its adoption, the prisoner was taken directly to Goli Otok“.<sup>11</sup>

## **GOLI OTOK**

Venko Markovski<sup>12</sup>, Macedonian poet, in his prose writing "Goli Otok - Island of Death" (1956-1961)<sup>13</sup> described what was Goli Otok and what was the attitude of former comrades to fellow inmates:

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Venko Markovski (Skopje, 5. III 1915 - 5. III – Sofia, 7. I 1988) - poet, playwright, translator, statesman, bicameral Macedonian and Bulgarian author, immigrant, political prisoner, a partisan participant in the National Liberation War (1941 - 1944), promoter, and giving up of the Macedonian national identity and language, tragic author with a huge literary and incomprehensible contradictions in individual fate, an example of a controversial creative personality accepted and denying it in two national environments (Macedonia and Bulgaria).

In 1949 he was arrested along with more than twenty members of his family. In 1955 he was re-arrested and trial and sent to Goli Otok, where he served a sentence of five years in prison until 1961. After returning remains without work and without means of subsistence and is under constant pressures of prosecution and monitoring. Leave Macedonia and settled in Bulgaria denying the Macedonian identity and language.

"I wonder where am I? I was on Goli Otok. By 1948 Goli Otok is unknown on the map. It is an island in the Adriatic Sea. By a strange and volatile climate is that island. If there is a storm, even during hot summer, is like winter. If there is the sun, and even in winter, is like summer. The island is rocky. No handful ground...remember that you are on the entrance of the earthly hell...

In the twentieth century, in a country where leaders have fought for a brighter future and happiness of the people, equality among nations, was it possible such inhuman prison, away from human view, to be built?

What is in fact, Goli Otok? What is its CV? Whether the devil came down from heaven to create this terrible Goli Otok? Man or inhuman have exceeded hell creating inhuman hell?

There are no people. People are shadows. The shadows are former fighters for freedom. There the people are figures, numbers, in rags. From morning till evening extends sad movement on all sides in barren Goli Otok. Their eyes are sunken into unknown depths. Hands are broken by the storms of inhuman torture. His legs seemed to be chained in heavy iron. They are with sloping foreheads. Do not speak, do not look up. Each shade itself is a separate page of a ruined life.

Who are these people? Where are they from? What was their offense? What sin did they do? What crime they committed? Are they criminal offenders? They are accused of all types of offenses. With bare hands, when the bloody Nazi criminal rushed to their country, they met the enemy, taking away his gun and they grab the road to the guerrilla movement. They were gathered here to Goli Otok from all over the country. Their crime is that in front of the close friends, in front of investigators and court, they openly and clearly stated that they support the Soviet Union and that the Soviet people brought mankind to the light of the day and saved humanity from the harsh brown plague on their shoulders. Here are gather the bravest among the brave, the most determined among the determined...<sup>14</sup>

And here, in the dark weary nights with anxious thoughts in the minds tentacles of UDB- a caught them, all pulled from their native beds, cast the disgrace in the hand of executioners to torture them, to play with what is sacred for them, pushed them away from their homes and families. Convert them to nonhumans. Many of them swallowed the insatiable sea floodwaters.

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<sup>13</sup> Гане Тодоровски, *Книга за Венко Марковски*, (Штрк, Скопје, 2009). (Gane Todorovski, *Book for Venko Markovski*, (Shtrk, Skopje, 2009), 451.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, 452.

Many of them lie under rocks unburied, and on the bad Grgur island, as opposed to Goli Otok, gape bloody pits of corpses that were beaten with fists, sticks, blades and still at night in the deaf silence, when the sea will silence and waves will slumber asleep, you hear the underground groans of not slained. Not even Hitler treated his enemies like this. Not even Nero killed Christians like this in that dark era.<sup>15</sup> Where did that malice and wickedness among people who yesterday walked side by side against the general enemy come from? Whose hand would fit them in a nameless tomb?

Whose hand will put them a gravestone plate? Whose hand would write their names on the cold marble?...

Goli Otok is populated with apparitions. Air on Goli Otok weighs like icy steel. The timing of Goli Otok is like in the Bronze Age. The whole island of Goli Otok is horrible, terrible. Everything here talks with mute dead language: once we were alive, now we are dead! Sometimes and we use to have joy, now we are mourn and grief. We use to be a river, but now we are deaf pooled sludge. Now we are baked lifeless desert.<sup>16</sup>

Here at Goli Otok, professors and students, workers and peasants, colonels, generals, soldiers, young boys, old people, statesman, former heads of state, former ministers and party leaders are gathered.<sup>17</sup>

Under convoy of guards and agents we go onto the shore of Goli Otok. And getting out of the ship is not usual. It comes by kicking in the ribs, kicking in the back, fists and boxing arm ready for battle...<sup>18</sup> But these cannibals of the XX century have long forgotten that they have family and relatives. These father's killers and detractors have long before sold their family and relatives.<sup>19</sup>

Inhuman was the human thought of giving birth to the creation of Goli Otok. Human chronicles know prisons and concentration camps of which, at the mention of their names ... rises hair and breath stops in the chest. Millions of nameless, innocent, burned in infernal furnaces, robbed, their ashes storms and winds circulated around the world. Scary is Dachau. Osvjencim is

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 453.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 454.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 455.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 456.

ominous. Buchenwald is deaf. Oradour shakes memory. Lidice freezes the blood. But Goli Otok - with its ferocity exceeded all of cruelty of the human hatred...<sup>20</sup>

Steps of old teacher Panko Brashnarov<sup>21</sup>, comrade of Vasil Glavinov,<sup>22</sup> revolutionary, internationalist, who vowed his life in the struggle for justice and freedom. He lived in the most difficult conditions, a bachelor who had not yet felt tender caresses of a girls friend, wore inmate shirt separated from close relatives, still not overjoyed at the dawn of socialism, which had not still ended his first speech in the creation of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of Macedonia, and his dark oppressor throws him in hell of Goli Otok. And Panko Brashnarov disappears without a trace. In the Veles cemeterie his relatives placed five pointed star with the inscription - here lies Panko Brashnarov. A whole town knows that there is no coffin and no bones. No one attended his funeral. Nobody ask forgiveness on the grave of his old teacher. Nobody sent flowers to his last home, where he rests in perpetuity. Who knows where his bones lie? Who knows which flattened ground hid his tortured body? Who knows in what kind of pit among other nameless he found himself? And perhaps on Grgur, the nearby island of Goli Otok, lies in a terrible nameless ossuary? ".<sup>23</sup>

The same destiny had Strahil Beginov, as well, born 1918 in Veles. A member of CPY from 1939. Active participant in NLW. In his memories he pointed out:

"On the third of February 1949 I am deprived of liberty due to the Resolution of the IB, together with several members of the General Board of the workers' trade unions, which mainly had exchanged thoughts about the Resolution ... I immediately accepted the Resolution, as I read and studied its text. I did it because even before the Resolution came out I was swayed out of the appearances of Josip Broz - Tito in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade in the 1945/46. From the text

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 457.

<sup>21</sup> Born in Veles 9. VIII 1883 died on Goli Otok, Croatia on 17. VI 1951) - teacher, Macedonian political activist, a participant in the socialist and communist movement in Macedonia, one of the organizers of the IMRO (United) in the Vardar part of Macedonia, a delegate and the first chairman of ASNOM. On 2. VIII 1944 opened the AFCNLM, and was later appointed as the first vice president of the Presidium. On 11 XII 1950 on charges for the Resolution of the Inform bureau was arrested. He was sentenced to 24 months in prison on Goli Otok, where sick and disappointed died after only ten days.

<sup>22</sup> Born in Veles 1869, died in Sofia on 24. I 1929 - founder of the social democratic movement in Macedonia. As a carpenter in Sofia accepted and spread socialism. Member of the Bulgarian worker association "Brotherhood." In 1893 he established the independent Macedonian Social Democratic group with tasked to spread socialist ideology among Macedonian migrant workers and in Macedonia. After the Ilinden Uprising Glavinov entirely was oriented to the class labor movement. After World War acted in Bulgaria.

<sup>23</sup> Гане Тодоровски, Op.cit., 461 - 462. (Gane Todorovski, Op. cit., 461 – 462).

of his speeches I could understand, that he was not in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, that deviates from its positions.

My activity on the Resolution is verbal. The immediate reason for my imprisonment is that I have not manifested publicly that I am against the Resolution and annexed statements from some persons that I have declared openly in its favor ... I do not know why, then they took me to the head of the Republican administration of state security Elisie Popovski. He, as I got in his office, immediately asked me a question: did I know why I was arrested. I replied that I suppose, but I see no reason therefore to be arrested because I did not act in an organized manner, but I just exchanged thoughts with a few good acquaintances, communists about the event and Resolution of IB.<sup>24</sup>

Physical torture is not conducted on me, but the psychological torture was severe and murderous. Conduit led me down into the basement and shut me up in solitary confinement. I spent 21 days without the possibility to sit or lie down, I could not speak because the room was one square meter. Then they transferred me to the cell no. 10, opposite solitary confinement. The length of it was one meter and eighty, and the width sixty centimeters. Above the door was a hole 20/30 cm with a lamp attached above it. A small volume of air enter through the opening and breathing was difficult. Lamp is shining day and night, and you did not know when the day and night is. The only advantage was that I could sit down to stretch my feet and lie down. In the solitary confinement and in the cell, I spent seven months in total. I could have gone crazy, which was not excluded for individuals who were in the same cells sorted from 1 to 10...<sup>25</sup>

I was under the investigation for nine months, though there was no investigation, only occasionally they took me from the cell and guided me to the investigator. He asked me whether there was a change of me, as to the resolution of IB. Once I answered that there was not, they immediately put me back in the cell.

After nine months...they imposed an administrative penalty of two years and I was immediately sent to Goli Otok...The welcome there was more than ugly: totally trampled the human personality, which was not the case in prisons and camps in pre-war Yugoslavia and in the prisons of Bulgarians in the time of Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia against whom we fought. But it was the same and in times of serving the sentence: prisoners were forced to

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<sup>24</sup> *Голооточки сведоштва*, Зборник, Редакција и коментари Димче Најчески, (Скопје, 1999, 20).  
(*Memories of Goli Otok*, Proceedings, Redaction and Comments Dimche Najcheski, (Skopje, 1999, 20).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 21.

persecute and terrorize each other, especially the communists...My stay at 'Goli Otok' was three years and three months and including investigation, total of four years. I was released from the camp at the end of 1953. I was imprisoned again in 1956...for enemy propaganda and sentenced to two and a half years...Totally I was in prison 6.5 years.<sup>26</sup>

In my second imprisonment, my wife experienced severe stress, being expelled and move away from the apartment without any notification about it, and was intimidated that she will be fired from work. Because of it, she suffered internal bleeding, which reflected heavily on her health condition; she became chronically heart ill from that, though still relatively young, she died.

After serving the sentence, especially after the second row, I encounter obstacles, in terms of both employment and in all other respects...<sup>27</sup>

As for my position on the Resolution it has not been revised; I stayed with the same understanding and serving the sentence, and to date I have held the same beliefs.

Methods of 'correction', as applied on prisoners is incomparable with anything human. Their intention was to kill the human inside the individual; and brainwash his mind and reasoning, to degrade his personality as a man...

It was disgusting and more than anything else degrading and deserves all condemnation, because the majority that experienced Goli Otok were carriers of the struggle and organizers of the revolution, and there were individuals and its founders: participants in the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, participants in anti-fascist Civil war in Spain and others. This heinous offense and punishment could be done only by madmen without conscience...<sup>28</sup>

It should be particularly noted that the Resolution served as a benchmark to break up with the old communist cadres who were at the party in the period between the two world wars“.

In the same context were the memoirs of Stojmir Jordanovski-Mirche, participant in the NLW from 1941, who became partisan in 1943, bearer of the flag of First Macedonian - Kosovo brigade, after the war he held social and political functions. Despite the fact that he did not declare on the benefit of the Resolution of the Inform bureau, the fact that he twice refused to come out of the booth and read the reports of Milovan Djilas, under the pretext of a supporter of the Resolution, was sent to Goli Otok and stayed there from 1950 to 1954. About what he

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 22.

experienced at Goli Otok he pointed out: "All the regimes and governments of the world that invented and applied torture were collected in one place - Goli Otok. Everything and anything is applied to break the man, to kill the human in the individual...

To the people, on the one hand, to be angry, to despise, and on the other hand to complain...A small number of prisoners remained 'what they were'. Barely 10%...In Goli Otok I saw a father testify against his own son. They scale them in front of the formations in the shed where I was, and prisoners gather from other shacks /pavilions. Father addresses his son:

- Say mother fucker, what you said, where you wanted to run away?
- Nowhere, I told you Dad, nothing I have said! - refuses son.
- Kill him, mother fucker, kill him, lie! alleged father.

There were opposite cases: son attacking father.<sup>29</sup>

"The plight of Goli Otok can not be describe ... On Goli Otok there were things that were not proved. What I am saying is only one tenth of it, because previously deliberately I was trying to forget many things. Recalling them troubled me, so I asked for drugs and tranquilizers. And now I do not want to remember - from disgust. And there was not anyone and to whom to say. My very appearance among people is characterized as 'spreading propaganda'...".<sup>30</sup>

Also after the Second World War, the new communist authorities in order to protect the new social order, initiated strong action against anyone who in any way the future of federal Macedonia viewed within federative Yugoslavia. Therefore, all those who after the war are advocating organizations formed under the name of IMRO and advocated the idea of a sovereign, independent and united Macedonian state, came under the impact of the UDB-a. They were sentenced to multi-year prison sentences on fix trials being accused of being an extended arm of Ivan Mihajlov, One of them is Eftim Gashev, who was a member of the Macedonian national movement "Riot"<sup>31</sup>. Gashev pointed out that they in "Riot" worked „strictly

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<sup>29</sup> Стојмир Јордановски – Мирче, *Една голооточка голгота*, соопштува д-р Стојан Ристески, (изд. Никола Костески, Охрид, август 1991, 39-40). (Stojmir Jordanovski-Mirche, *A Goli Otok Golgotha*, Announce d-r Stojan Risteski, (ed. Nikola Kosteski, Ohrid, August 1991, 39 – 40).

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, 50.

<sup>31</sup> On May 30, 1938 in Skopje on the initiative of Trajko Popov v. Rastak (Skopje), Borislav Gradiski student from Skopje, with Gele Ristevski, car repair from Skopje and Macedonian-Muslim Nouri, a worker from Skopje was formed the Macedonian national movement "Riot" The organization had not intended to become a political party, but posed an informal political-propaganda asset, with the primary task to spread the idea of Macedonian national consciousness, to counteract the Serbian and in 1941 and Bulgarian occupiers in spreading Anti-Macedonian assimilation activity. Gashev is actively involved in the organization "Riot" in January 1943. Eftim Gashev, *Our cause*, Second Edition, (Skopje, 2007, 33).

conspiratorially even they know each other for a limited number...I walked mainly in the circle with Trajko and Borislav, and we almost daily informed each other about our activities. Our activity mainly consisted of agitation and propaganda against Bulgarian assimilation policies“ in the time of Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia 1941-1944.

After the liberation, the people had to realize that with the new system there will be no joke, that it would take drastic measures against all those who in any way hinder the establishment of the same. Despite the collaborators of the occupiers, the traitors of national honor and so on, the political opponents of the regime or those who the future of Macedonia did not see in the federative Yugoslavia, but in the formation of an autonomous, independent and united Macedonian state were treated badly. As an opponent of the newly established socialist system, Eftim Gashev was imprisoned on May 23, 1945. He stayed in prison until March 12, 1952. In the prison he went through various physical and psychological torture. We transmit only a fragment of his memories: "Besides the physical torture of prisoners, the greatest enemies for the prisoners were the hot summers and cold winters. Especially for those working outdoors. In summers producing bricks, and in winter the removal of sand from Vardar...In a transporting bogie, a full wagon rolls over into a huge hole full of cold water. It was at St. Archangel - 21. 11. 1949. And again the larger group of 'saviors' had to intervene, as a rule - the young IMRO... they should be immersed in cold water to a concrete bind iron trolley and pulling and pushing to remove the shore. Young bodies shook under the impact of cold wind and frozen water. During the rescue action, the guards beat the cold frozen bodies of young IMRO with sticks. Trolley and 'precious' cargo were saved at the cost of unbearable torment of the young convicts. The full price was paid with their young lives, dewy IMRO...who from that adventure earned pneumonia, then tuberculosis and died after a short time".<sup>32</sup>

## **IN RETURN**

Certainly after getting out of the camp every prisoner should face the new reality in which they entered. It was a psychological shock. Overnight they had to forget everything that passed in the prisons and concentration camps. Their destroyed psyche has to be particularly emphasized. They had to admit that they are traitors, that they betrayed the Party, that they

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<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 321.

should repent, that they were corrected and sided with Tito's path. Primarily, they were fighters who were at the forefront of NLW. All this led to mental crises and even to suicides.<sup>33</sup>

But the question is what they found when they returned home? Together with the accused, a special system of repression was used on their families as well. They found homes that were anathematized, almost no one dared to visit. Much of their wives were fired, harassed, humiliated even raped. They feared to contact, talk, friends and neighbors left them. All feared from those who were sent to concentration camps accused for the resolution of the IB as lepers. They had problems finding a job and each of them was under supervision. Each was followed by Party organizations, the management of labor organizations and anyone who wanted to show his love toward the Party. During the visits of prominent politicians, they had to go outside the cities. Often happened to be invited for discussions in the police departments, their passports were confiscated, some were again turned back in camp as irreparable, some tried to rig trials, some were denied the right of "Partisan Memorial 1941" just because they were punished by IB, pressure was exerted and they were blackmailed to cooperate with UDB-a and many of them were controlled by the end of their life. The pleasure of doing the above to the families served as an extra vehicle for a psychological pressure and torture of the people during the investigation or while serving a sentence.

Also UDB-a often performed psychological pressure of the wives of prisoners, enemies of the state, forcing them to divorce. Those who did not live up to the demands of agents of UDB-a also were considered enemies, traitors to the country.

Surely that after release all those who have passed torture chamber had to face reality and in any way should be involved in the processes of life. One of them, Eftim Gashev, pointed out: "the day of their release 'a secondary punishment' started to run - the 'loss of civil and political rights'". After getting out of prison they had to engage in the construction of socialism, the reason for what they were imprisoned. Gashev uses the term "released but yet not free" from prison.

He believes that "we can not speak of any 'released' because we are convicts who opposed the current government in its subtlest segment of the federal state system, and after the released from prison we had a treatment as enemies of the people. Qualification which will

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<sup>33</sup> *Голооточки сведоштва*, Зборник, Редакција и коментари Димче Најчески, (Скопје, 1999, 22). (*Memories of Goli Otok*, Proceedings, Redaction and Comments Dimche Najcheski, (Skopje, 1999, 174)).

unfortunately bear with us to the grave". Surely that seeking work in the country that had condemned them, was a decision to reconcile with their own fate and live under the same roof with those who persecuted them and had no guarantee that they will not be persecuted again. For them, CP was "alien and inspirer of all the evil inflicted upon the Macedonian people and we were always on the margins of social and political life".<sup>34</sup> After returning to their homes, all former political prisoners were under constant surveillance and persecution. How he felt after returning, Gashev would state: "For years and decades we were unable to obtain a passport for traveling abroad. When Tito would come to visit Macedonia or other foreign statesman, then the 'dangerous' were isolated in quarantine detention for several days. In these and similar cases, we were often notified about critical few days to stay out of home. Home detention! In organizations where we worked regularly we were surrounded by informers and treated as citizens of a different order in the country. Occasionally they called us in UDB-a for advisory conversations, and when in the meantime, political escapes across the border occurred or any anti-state political activity of individuals or groups, some of the former prisoners were detained for several days and investigated. In this sense, and our closest families were under the same and similar treatment. However, this spoiled our life.

Learning from the political and prison experience, we were forced to do "self-isolation" by limiting contacts with relatives and friends in order to rid them of unnecessary inconvenience or avoid the 'timed' contacts and visits from people who had accepted the role as the provocateurs and informers. It must be said that despite the above mentioned, former convicts somehow adjusted to the life that surrounded us in their everyday work, behave as loyal citizens of this country, leaving the political action. In this way, we mainly avoided dampened conflicts with police, despite their permanent monitoring".<sup>35</sup>

The fact that in the process of democratization of the Republic of Macedonia after 1989 the number of those who decided to talk about their fate as political prisoners in the prisons and concentration camps speaks about the fear of talking about their live destiny to be available to the general public.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ефтим Гашев, *Op. cit.*, 338. (Eftim Gashev, *Op. cit.*, 338).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>36</sup> The Macedonian historian professor Violeta Ackovska, highlight: „The biggest part of the documents which are part of the trials and repression were sent out to Belgrade (in ‘metal cases’) on a regular basis until the fall of Aleksandar Rankovic (1966), but, till today they were not accessible to the Macedonian Historians. These resources which are settled through the archives are immaculately cleared. In the Archives of Yugoslavia there were

Until 1989 "victims were silent and executioners too, also and historical science was silent. Is it possible to outdat and place all those crimes ad acta (to mention only the physical killing, purposeful murder, physical and psychological mutilation) committed in one state that is not in war and had not proclaim emergency, and is a signatory of all international conventions guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms. Is it possible to get rid of any guilt people who were direct perpetrators of the crimes which are intentional murder without existing any incriminating action.

All that still covers the silence, as if it never happened...".<sup>37</sup>

Let's hope that the mankind will realize that the most important work of history is to teach people not to repeat past mistakes. Whether it succeeds in it?! We will say that every generation repeated the History on one or another way.

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short films for all trials in relation to VMRO, but unfortunately there (the beginning of 1992) I was told that they do not exist. According to the statements of Vladimir Dedijer, a 'safe' was made i. e. the files to not contain the most important documents, and most of them were destroyed as ordered by Aleksandar Ramkovic". Nenad Markovic, Op. cit., 415.

<sup>37</sup> Ефтим Гашев, Op. cit., 338. (Eftim Gashev, Op. cit., 170).