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THE BULGARIAN OCCUPATION OF THE PREFECTURE OF  
DRAMA (1941-1944) AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON THE GREEK  
POPULATION

The Bulgarian occupation of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace during World War II is a subject as complex and sensitive as it is tragic, and yet it was dealt with by Greek writers only during the decades of the 1940's and 1950's. A study of the bibliography of this time leads us to the following unavoidable observations: a) The people that dealt with and wrote about the issue of the Bulgarian occupation were directly involved—by position or by nature—in the situation when and where it occurred. b) In many of the works which deal with the issue there is no desire to approach it scientifically. c) A strong nationalistic, disorienting tone is inherent in most of these works. d) Many of the relevant works draw so heavily upon previous authors that it is often difficult to speak of new self-contained work. e) Finally, there is a marked absence of information coming from archive material; even when such information does exist, it is more often than not, fragmentary\*.

The aim of this article is to provide an initial scientific record by a Greek author of the World War II Bulgarian occupation and of its consequences on the city and the area of the prefecture of Drama. Its principle aim is not, however, to give a full catalogue of victims or an assessment of the extent of destruction etc., but rather to provide a brief, collective (and not necessarily exhaustive) picture of the Bulgarian occupation and its consequences on the Greek population. The prefecture of Drama was chosen because, in a way, it played a 'leading role' during the period of occupation, a role which we believe will be demonstrated in the discussion of the subject.

\* It should be borne in mind that very few Bulgarian archives are accesible to foreign, especially Greek researchers. The authors of this paper have, therefore, had to rely on works by Bulgarian authors (notably G. Daskalov, D. Jontsev, I. Koev, S. Krumovski) who have consulted the relevant archives (notably the Archives of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, the Central State Archive of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Military-Historical War Archives).

## THE BULGARIAN OCCUPATION OF EASTERN MACEDONIA AND THRACE

The Bulgarian decision for the invasion of the Greek provinces of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace was taken on 18 April 1941<sup>1</sup>. The invasion began on 20 April 1941 and by the following day (21.4.1941) the 2nd Border Brigade had reached and occupied Drama (where it installed its headquarters)<sup>2</sup>. The occupied Greek territory covered an area of 16,682 square kilometres and comprised of the prefectures of Serres, Drama, Kavala and Rodopi and part of the prefecture of Evros. It was subdivided into 11 local administrative units, one of which was that of Drama<sup>3</sup>.

1. With order no. 4.4545/4 of 18 April 1941 issued by the German military authorities (Oberkommando Der Wehrmacht - OKW) to the corresponding Bulgarian authorities, see *Memoire sur les Reparations dues par la Bulgarie à la Grèce*, Documents Helleniques Serie C (Questions Economiques), Paris 1946, (hence to be referred to as *Memoire*), p. 4. In applying the German order, an order numbered 6101/18 April 1941 was issued by lieutenant-general Hatzipetkov of the 2nd Bulgarian Army, for the Bulgarian army to invade Eastern Macedonia and Thrace "to protect the Bulgarian population from the irregular Greek forces and detachments still roaming the area". The German general who signed the former order was named Greifenberg. See Daskalov, Georgi - Koev, Ivan, "Ustanovjavane i izgrazdane na balgarskata voena vlast v Belomorieto (April - Juli 1941 g.)" (Settlement and organisation of the Bulgarian military authorities in the Greek Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (April-July 1941)), *Voennoistorticeski Sbornik* 5/1990, (hence referred to as *Daskalov-Koev, Ustanovjavane*), p. 108-9. (On 2 May 1941 the name of the 2nd Bulgarian Army was changed to the 1st. See *Daskalov-Koev, Ustanovjavane*, p. 115).

2. See also, *Daskalov-Koev, Ustanovjavane*, p. 110 and 113. Also Διεύθυνσις Ιστορίας Στρατού (Army History Section, Athens) (hence referred to as ΔΙΣ), Arch. 8, F. 918/D/8, records by Zois Zografos, Drama Police Commander, 26.3.1946, record no. 4/2/16d. According to this record the Bulgarians left the town on 15 October 1944.

3. The process of occupation proceeded at a very slow pace. For example, by 27 April the Bulgarian Armed Forces had occupied Macedonia only as far as the Serres-Drama line. The departure of the Germans started from the area of Serres and Sidirokastro. The German general Ot of the 30th German Army Corps wrote a letter to the Bulgarian general Loukas, Commander of the 1st Army, announcing that the executive power of the areas would be passing to the latter, who would replace the Greek bodies in their hitherto executive powers. See *Daskalov-Koev, Ustanovjavane*, p. 115-118. See also A. Chrysochoou, *Η Κατοχή εν Μακεδονία, Βιβλίον 4, Οι Βούλγαροι εν Ανατολική Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (The Occupation of Macedonia, Book Four, The Bulgarians in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace), issue D1, Thessaloniki (ΕΜΣ) 1951, (hence referred to as: Chrysochoou, *Η Κατοχή*, issue D1), p. 13; Krumovski, Slavko, "Vazstanovjavane na balgarskija belomorki izlaz i vansnopoliticeskite uslovija za otstojavaneto mu (Maj 1941 - Septemvri 1944 g.)" (The return of the outlet to the Aegean sea to Bulgaria and the foreign policy conditions for its defence, May 1941-September 1944), *Voennoistorticeski Sbornik* 4/1990 (hence referred to as *Vazstanovjavane*), p. 133.

The legal position of the occupation was never clear: the German military forces (following orders issued by their political superiors) allowed the Bulgarian army to occupy the above-mentioned areas, which, however, were never conceded definitively to Bulgaria. The definitive settlement remained to be arranged after the end of the war<sup>4</sup>. On 14 May 1941 Bulgaria announced the official annexation of the occupied areas. The announcement was treated with forbearance by Berlin, which, despite the Bulgarian announcements, continued to regard the annexation as provisional. The Germans held a wide range of rights throughout this territory, a fact that showed that they saw the settlement as provisional in nature. The economic interests of the Reich had been arranged on 24 April 1941 with the Clodius-Popov Agreement and the Complementary Protocol of 27 April 1941, in which it was determined that the Bulgarian Administration did not have the exclusive sovereignty in the area<sup>5</sup>.

Kozuharov—first general administrator of the Aegean area—was appointed with Resolution no. 39 of the Cabinet Council on 3 May 1941, having been chosen by Czar Boris himself. The same resolution maintained the existing administrative division of the area. Kozuharov was replaced on 20 October 1941 (on account of the events of October 1941) by Hristo Gerchikov, who remained in the position until 7 July 1942 and then by Stefan Klechov, who remained until 7 September 1944. The latter was handed over to the Greek authorities by the Bulgarians upon liberation, was tried, condemned to death and executed. See Daskalov, Georgi, "Izgrazdane na Balgarskata administracija i politiceskata sistema v novoosvobozdenite zemi na Zapadna Trakija i Iztočna Makedonija (1941-44 g.)" (The organisation of the Bulgarian administration and the political system in the newly acquired lands of Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, 1941-1944), *Voennoistoriceski Sbornik* 6/1992 (hence referred to as *Izgrazdane*), p. 105, 106, note 19. For an account of the exact extent of the occupied territory, see Stephen C. Xydis, *The economy and finances of Greece under axis occupation*, Pittsburg 1943, p. 10. For an account of the administrative division, see Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 105 and note 16 and Gennadeion Library (Athens), "Tsouderos' Archive, F. 11/60, 21.8.1941, record no. 2757, cipher from the Greek Embassy to Ankara (Raphael) to Tsouderos.

4. See Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 126; Hoppe, Hans-Joachim, "Bulgarian nationalities policy in Occupied Thrace and Aegean Macedonia", *Nationalities Papers* 14 (1986) (hence referred to as *Bulgarian nationalities policy*), p. 89.

5. For an account of the German reservations, see Hoppe, *Bulgarian nationalities policy*, p. 89. Also Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 118, note 60, which also refers to a German version of the political map of early 1942, which defines the Bulgarian-occupied area as 'under Bulgarian administration' and maintains the border demarcations between Bulgaria and Greece as they stood before the war. Also, see Miller, Marshall Lee, *Bulgaria during the Second World War*, Stanford (University Press), 1975, p. 128: "the fate of the various regions belonging to Yugoslavia will not be settled definitely until later, at the conclusion of peace. At present, no statements can be made regarding the future boundaries of Macedonia". For an account of the preservation of Germany's economic

From the very beginning, however, Bulgaria regarded the acquisition of the area as definitive; indeed, the establishment of civil and military authorities, civil servants, army personnel and settlers lent a definitive air to the occupation. Thus, despite German reservations, the Bulgarians proceeded gradually to take over the area's civil services, to dismiss Greek civil servants and to confiscate the services' funds and files<sup>6</sup>.

To reinforce and defend Bulgaria's legitimizing titles in the area, the Bulgarian authorities, in addition to the regular army (the 2nd Bulgarian Army Corps), used armed groups which had been recruited from among the Bulgarian population. For the same purpose, the official organisation of paramilitary groups ('Associations of Reservist Officers' and 'Reservist Non-commissioned Officers'), had been active from November 1941 (in Drama: since early 1942) whereas, in 1942, a branch of the (illegal) para-military organisation "Bulgarian Legion"<sup>7</sup> was founded at the Drama high school. Moreover, a plethora of political associations and organisations (illegal or not) which had been active in the occupied area took steps towards the same goal. One of the most peculiar legal organisations was the Iliden Organisation, with—interestingly—purely autonomistic aims<sup>8</sup>.

rights, see Miller, *ibid.*, p. 128; also, Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 111-112, in which it refers to a letter sent by the 30th Army Corps of the Wehrmacht (based in Kavala) to the commander of the 1st Bulgarian Army, entitled "General Guide-line Principles for the occupation of Greece by the German and Bulgarian Forces" (18-19 April); in this letter amongst others they request guarantees for the economic interests of the 3rd Reich (confining the tobacco harvested in 1940 and the unutilized remains of that harvested in 1939, also taking cotton into their care and maintaining the currency equivalence which had been set by the Germans).

6. The abolition of the Greek authorities took place despite article 3 of the truce agreement between, on the one hand, Germany-Italy and Greece on the other, in which it was determined that the Greek authorities would remain in Macedonia and Thrace. See Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 116, 118 note 60, 122. Krumovski, *Vazstanovjavane*, p. 134. It is interesting to note that the Bulgarians hold the Germans responsible for the abolition of at least the Greek communal authorities. See Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 125. They also ascribe the administrative incorporation of the area into Bulgaria to "the particular conditions prevailing in the area, as well as in the remaining territory which was returned". Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 104.

7. The 2nd Bulgarian Army Corps was founded with a ministerial decree (no. IV-M1, 5.11.1943), in accordance with the instructions of German military command. See Jontsev, D., "Osigurjavane na Otbranata na Belomorskija Brjag ot 2-ri korpus (Dekemvri 1943-Mai 1944 g.)" (Consolidation of the defence of the Aegean coast by the 2nd corps (December 1943-May 1944)), *Voennohistoriceski Sbornik* 1/1992, p. 49, 51. Krumovski, *Vazstanovjavane*, p. 133. Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 119, 123.

8. Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 122.

## BULGARIAN POLICY TOWARDS THE OCCUPIED AREAS

The principal and also immediate aim of Bulgarian policy in the occupied area was the latter's full incorporation into the Bulgarian state, which would happen on an administrative, ecclesiastical, educational, ethnological and economic level.

### *Administration: New political, military and police authorities*

The bulgarianization of the area's administration was achieved with the installation of new political, military and police authorities which were brought in to replace their abolished Greek equivalents. Some sources indicate that this replacement was carried out on a scale greater than that in any other occupied area of Europe, and that civil servants "from the highest ranks down to porters"<sup>9</sup> were replaced. A further aim of this replacement was to increase the Bulgarian population in the area: civil servants posted there were invited and encouraged to move to the area with their families<sup>10</sup>.

As capital of an administrative district, Drama was: seat of the Bulgarian prefect (duties assumed on 8 May); seat of the provincial administrator (the first administrator appointed was Basil Georgiev); seat of the provincial police administration and of one of the five police garrison commander's offices; seat of the provincial courts of law (there were five in all occupied Greek areas) and of one of the two district courts of law of the occupied areas; and capital of an educational province. Drama was also the seat of one of the provincial "State Property" services, the purpose of which was to create an inventory and administer the state's movable and immovable property; headquarters of the district railways of Thrace and those of the 18th sector (for Eastern Macedonia); branch headquarters of the Bulgarian Agricultural Co-operative Bank; and finally it had also been chosen as the location for a state prison. That Drama was a town of such significance to the occupying forces

9. Lemkin, Raphael, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (hence referred to as *Axis Rule*), Washington D.C. 1944, p. 188.

10. On the basis of the Cabinet Council Resolution of 9 October 1944. 'If they moved with their families, they were entitled to provisional free gifts of land and accommodation, a measure which was not extended to unmarried civil servants or workers, or to those whose families did not reside in their place of work. The gift of land and accommodation would become definitive upon the completion of three years of service in the area'. See Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 416-417 for excerpts from the Council Resolution.

is also indicated by the fact that as early as 5 May 1941 a telephone exchange had been installed there<sup>11</sup>.

### *The Church: Administrative matters - Expulsions*

The Bulgarian authorities were particularly concerned about the influence of the church on the Greek population in the occupied territories and about the likelihood that the church would develop into a pole of resistance against them. For this reason right from the very first days of the occupation they took care to bring the churches under their control so as to prevent their becoming centres of anti-Bulgarian propaganda (Decree of 19 May by General Loukas, commander of the 1st Army). On 22 May General Loukas ordered (amongst other things) that the sermons of the Greek clergy be followed by the military police<sup>12</sup>.

At almost the same time as the Bulgarians assumed the governing power of the area, measures were taken to de-hellenize the church in Eastern Macedonia and in Western Thrace by removing its leaders and expelling the Greek bishops to the German-occupied area<sup>13</sup>. With the Resolution of 29 April

11. Chrysostomou, *Η Κατοχή*, issue D1, p. 14. Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 112, 114. See also, Dimitar Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomoriето (Oktomvri 1940-9 Septemvri 1944 g.) Voennistoriceski aspekti* (Bulgaria and the Belomoriето, October 1940-9 September 1944. Military-historical aspects) (hence referred to as *Balgarija i Belomoriето*), p. 48. Daskalov, *Dramskoto Vastanie 1941* (The revolt in Drama 1941) (hence referred to as *Dramskoto*), Sofia 1992, p. 80. Ivan Bobatinov was appointed mayor of Drama and Dimitar Bakirchiev was appointed provincial administrator of Nevrokopi (See Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 109). Drama was also the seat of the decentralized health service, as well as that of the agriculture-livestock farming service, etc. The other four police garrison commander's offices were in Serres, Kavala, Xanthi and Komitini (Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 107-8). The other district court of law of the occupied areas was in Komotini. The district of Philippoupoli had judicial competence over the area of Drama (Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 114). On 22 June 1941 the 3rd Cavalry Regiment was installed in Drama, while the 2nd Infantry Battalion, whose headquarters was also in Drama, was reinforced by an artillery battery. The army forces of Drama came under the administrative authority of the Kavala Regiment, while from June 1941 they were brought under the administrative jurisdiction of the 2nd Division. See Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 123 and 124, note 95.

12. Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 121-122. The Muslim mosques were subjected to the same treatment.

13. Where some people took notable action in the relief of refugees. See A. Svolos, *Για τη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη* (For Macedonia and Thrace), Athens (Papazisis), 1945, note on p. 5 and on p. 49, where the author mentions actions taken by the archbishop of Serres. See also *Η Μαύρη Βίβλος των βουλγαρικών εγκλημάτων εις την Αν. Μακεδονίαν και Αντ.*

1941 of the Bulgarian Church Synod, the occupied areas were brought ecclesiastically under the Bulgarian Sees of Nevrokopi and Philippoupoli, and were managed by church commissioners<sup>14</sup>. A new ecclesiastical district of Stromnitsa-Drama was created, which included amongst others the Greek Sees of Drama and Zichnae, Sidirokastro, Serres, and Kavala<sup>15</sup>. Archimandrite Ieronimos Yamalakakis, who was substituting for the Bishop, was expelled from Drama and the area was brought under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Bishop of Nevrokopi<sup>16</sup>.

A number of Greek priests were also expelled at the same time and the remaining priests were forbidden from holding services in the Greek language. The authorities also made it compulsory that choristers learn to chant in Bulgarian<sup>17</sup>. Few priests were exempted from expulsion, mainly those wor-

*Θράκη 1941-1944* (The Black Book of Bulgarian Crimes in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, 1941-1944) (hence referred to as *Μαύρη Βίβλος*), Athens 1945, p. 17-18. Chrysochoou, *Η Κατοχή*, issue D1, p. 26.

14. See *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 18 and Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 16. The Bishop of Nevrokopi was Boris, who, in early 1944, made a one-week tour of Drama and the surrounding area. He held a service in the cathedral church of Drama (3.3.1944), in Doxato (9.3.1944) and in the church of St. Nicholas in Drama (Sunday 5.3.1944), *Zora*, newspaper 9.3.1944 ref. U.S. NARA 874.9111/771, 23 March 1944.

15. The same ecclesiastical district also included another four Sees in the Yugoslavian sector which had been occupied by Bulgaria, see Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 116, note 111. On 1 January 1943 the district was divided into two parts and an autonomous ecclesiastical district was formed, the seat of which was in Drama, see Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 117, note 116.

16. Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 116, note 111. Also see. A. Fostirides, *Εθνική Αντίσταση κατά της βουλγαρικής κατοχής, 1941-1945* (National Resistance to the Bulgarian Occupation, 1941-45), Thessaloniki 1959, p. 219.

17. See Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 188. Also, Διεύθυνσις Ειδικών Υπηρεσιών Πολέμου, Τμήμα ΙΙα [Γραφείον ΙΙΙον], *Δελτίον Πληροφοριών Β'*, Υπ. αριθ. 37 (Special War Services Administration, Dept. ΙΙα [Office ΙΙΙ], Information Bulletin no. 2, Service no. 37), 31 August 1943, p. 19. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 11-12, 17-18, 98. Also, *ibid.*, p. 47, where one can also find a testimony that the parish priest of the village Ftelia, Drama, "was maltreated in the presence of his parishioners and paid a fine of 10,000 drachmas because he told the Bulgarian bishop's representative that on account of his old-age he was unable to learn the Bulgarian language". Also, *ibid.*, p. 61 about Doxato. Also, see Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο (Greek Literary and Historical Archive, Athens; hence referred to as ΕΛΙΑ), Αρχείο Βουλγαρικής Κατοχής και Προπαγάνδας (Archive of Bulgarian Occupation and Propaganda, hence referred to as ABK), no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942, and no. 215, as reported by the archbishop of Serres, 27.7.1942. With the Resolution of 20 June 1941, the Bulgarian Synod took the decision that the Greek language could co-exist with the Bulgarian language on an occasional basis (Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 116). See ΕΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 199, statement made by E. Mantzaris (Doxato), 3.7.1942.

king in remote and, for the most part, mountainous villages. The places of the priests expelled were filled by Bulgarian clerics (some of whom were brought back from retirement), who held services in the villages on an alternating basis. Three churches remained open in Drama, while the others were either closed or handed over to Bulgarians<sup>18</sup>.

The lower clergy of the area also suffered extensively. In two Sees (Drama and Nevrokopi), eleven Greek priests were murdered by the Bulgarian regular and irregular forces out of a total of 58 that were executed during the occupation throughout the Bulgarian-occupied area (see Table 1 of the Appendix). Many other priests were maltreated, robbed and ultimately expelled by the Bulgarian authorities<sup>19</sup>: sources refer by name to 63 priests who were expelled, a significant part of the area's total number of priests<sup>20</sup>. The expulsions took place on any pretext: an example is the case of the priest of the village of Amisos (Drama) who, at the end of March 1942, having been betrayed by a 'Bulgarized' Greek, was arrested, maltreated and ousted because he performed a memorial service for those who had been executed during the events of September-October 1941<sup>21</sup>.

All the religious foundations of the area were plundered. Churches,

18. EAIA, ABK, no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942. According to another testimony, the Greek churches of Drama were not holding services. See EAIA, ABK, no. 188, 2nd statement made by N. Philippides (Drama), 16.6.1942.

19. See Chrysochoou, *H Κατοχή*, issue D1, p. 27, in which the following description appears of the treatment sustained by the 70-year-old archimandrite D. Nikolaidis, (Greek) bishop's representative at Mikropoli, Drama: 'Having obliged me to strip off completely, they began to examine my clothing and baggage. Having taken all the money that was to be found in my baggage, they ordered me to put on my vest and underwear. They immediately set about beating me thoroughly with rifle-butts and kicking me, calling me a partisan and asking: 'How much Bulgarian blood have you sucked, priest of the devil?'. This tragedy was carried out five times over a period of three hours and immediately after each beating they pulled at my hair and my beard with all their might so much so that many of the hairs remained in their hands (see also *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 106)'. The above priest was expelled after this occurrence and he died in Thessaloniki. 75-year-old Vissarion Dimitriades, archdeacon of Drama, was also subjected to similar treatment and he was also ultimately expelled. See Chrysochoou, *H Κατοχή*, issue D1, p. 28.

20. See A. Papaevgeniou, *Μάρτυρες κληρικοί Μακεδονίας-Θράκης. 1941-1945* (Cleric Martyrs of Macedonia-Thrace 1941-1945), Athens 1949, p. 68-72, in which descriptions of the maltreatment of priests by the authorities are also included, and *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 47, for the statement testifying to the maltreatment of the parish priest of the village of Poursovo. See also E. Gorgias, *Γύμνιες* (Devastation), Athens 1945, p. 28-29, which includes the statement from August 1942 that 'there were hardly any Greek priests [left] in the Bulgarian-occupied territories...'.  
21. See *ibid.*, p. 28.



monasteries and cathedral buildings were pillaged, for the most part, by Bulgarian priests, and icons, vestments, gold and silver vessels, carpets, books, etc., were removed. In particular, old icons were plundered from Doxato, whereas liturgical equipment was plundered from the churches of Drama. The monastery of Eicosifinissa was also plundered and all its monks were expelled<sup>22</sup>.

### *Education - Language*

One of the most significant manifestations of the Bulgarian policy of de-hellenization concerned education and language. The application of such a policy started off with the expulsion of Greek primary and high school teachers. The Greek schools were closed and were replaced with Bulgarian ones, at both primary and secondary level (the latter in towns). A Bulgarian high school was founded and operated in Drama. During the first months of the occupation there was an attempt to entice Greek children into attending Bulgarian schools by distributing food, a tactic that was soon abandoned. Later, it was forbidden to Greek children to attend Bulgarian schools: only Bulgarian citizens and persons embracing Bulgarian ideals were allowed to attend Bulgarian schools<sup>23</sup>. Reading rooms were also established in large towns (including Drama) to offer additional support to the Bulgarian education, and in some villages branches of the Bulgarian youth organisation were founded for the benefit of children and young people; night schools for illiterate Bulgarian adults were also established<sup>24</sup>. Seminars concerning the Bulgarian

22. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 43-44.

23. *Memoire*, p. 10; Hoppe, *Bulgarian nationalities policy*, p. 91; *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 19, 55; Dimitris Magriotis, *Θυσίαι της Ελλάδος και εγκλήματα κατοχής κατά τα έτη 1941-1944* (Greece's sacrifices and occupation crimes during the years 1941-44), Athens 1949, p. 229. Also, EΛΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 188, 2nd statement of N. Philippides (Drama) 16.6.1942. See also, U.S. NARA, 874.00/683, 3 February 1943, Burton Y. Berry (Sofia Embassy) to the Secretary of State. This record concludes that some Greek schools were operating in Thrace, although the basis of this conclusion was simply the fact that "it does not seem possible that the Greek children in Kavala, for example, should be obliged to attend Bulgarian schools". A memorandum by the same author, however, a few months later announces that all the Greek schools had been closed. See U.S. NARA, 874.00/49, 2 May 1943, Burton Y. Berry to the Secretary of State. Bulgarian historians maintain that it was forbidden for Greek children to attend school "due to it being impossible to find the necessary teaching staff"; see Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 82, note 114 and Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomorieto*, p. 99.

24. Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomorieto*, p. 74-76; Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 82, note 114. Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 119.

language, geography and history were organised at the same time<sup>25</sup>.

The compulsory use of the Bulgarian language, in both written and spoken forms of speech, was established throughout the Bulgarian-occupied area on 12 May 1941. The decree consisted of the following: a) that it was obligatory for working people to learn the Bulgarian language well; b) that it was obligatory for shop-keepers to address their customers in the Bulgarian language — a matter for which they had to sign a declaration; c) that the use of the Greek language was forbidden and it was an act punishable with a fine. The Bulgarians proceeded to take a series of measures aimed at reducing to a minimum the presence of the Greek language and civilisation. Thus, by means of decrees issued during the first days of the occupation, libraries, book-shops and museums were brought under military control; the possession and use of Greek historical books and printed material was forbidden, even in private libraries; Greek printing-houses were forbidden from operating, as were type-setting machines, Greek typewriters and duplicators; radio sets were confiscated and listening to stations other than German, Bulgarian and Italian was forbidden<sup>26</sup>.

The names of towns, villages and streetes, etc., were also changed. It was ordered by decree that Greek street-name signs and names of businesses be replaced by Bulgarian ones<sup>27</sup>. Greek inscriptions in churches and shrines,

25. Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 119. Also, EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 188, statement by E. Ferhatides of Drama and 2nd statement of N. Philippides (Drama) 16.6.1942; Also EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942; also, EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 175, statement of A. Pougara, 25.5.1942 and EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, statement of E. Chatzipetrou (St. Athanassios, Drama), 29.8.1942. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 55 and 70. For details of the seminars see Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 118. This is also backed up by the Bulgarian organisation 'Father Paisios', the aim of which was 'to strengthen Bulgarization beyond its borders' (see Daskalov, *Izgrazdane*, p. 120). In his statement of 29.8.1942, EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, E. Chatzipetrou of St. Athanassios probably refers to these seminars.

26. Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 121-122, Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 76, for the decrees of 19 and 22 May 1941 by General Loukas. See also EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 255, 2nd statement of A. Ladopoulos, 20.11.1942.

27. See Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 121. Also, K. Snok, *Η τραγωδία της Δράμας* (The tragedy of Drama), Drama 1945, p. 25; *Memoire*, p. 10; Hoppe, H.-J., "Γερμανία, Βουλγαρία, Ελλάδα: Οι σχέσεις των τριών χωρών και η πολιτική της Βουλγαρίας στην Κατεχόμενη Μακεδονία", στο *Η Ελλάδα 1936-1944. Δικτατορία, Κατοχή, Αντίσταση* ('Germany, Bulgaria, Greece: relations between the three countries and the policy of Bulgaria in occupied Macedonia' in Greece 1936-44, Dictatorship, Occupation, Resistance), Athens 1989, p. 406. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 18, 20; Vestis, *Atrocités Bulgares en Grèce*, Paris 1946, p. 6. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 176, statement of H. Syroglou, 9.6.1942 (Choristi, Drama).

etc., were also whitewashed and even tombstone inscriptions were re-written in Bulgarian<sup>28</sup>.

The Bulgarian obsession with removing any traces of Greek names as elements-symbols of identity extended even to people. The Bulgarian Church Synod, in its meeting at the end of December 1942, decreed that residents of the occupied areas with Greek names should have their names changed to its Bulgarian equivalent. Attempts to change surnames are also reported whereby a Bulgarian suffix would be added to existing names<sup>29</sup>.

### *Economy*

#### *Significance of the area for Bulgaria*

The occupied area did not only satisfy the strong tendencies towards revisionism, irredentism and territorial expansion that had been cultivated for years in Bulgaria. It was also of tremendous economic significance<sup>30</sup>. It was for this reason that one of the aims of the Bulgarian policy was the full economic integration of the area with Bulgaria.

The area of Drama, in particular, was of great value for Bulgaria's economy: an article in a Bulgarian newspaper of 1943 described it as 'the Bulgarian Eldorado', referring to it as the major tobacco-producing centre in terms of both quality and quantity in the occupied area; according to the article, the area produced 1/10 of the total amount of tobacco produced in Bulgaria: the tobacco crops of the area of Prosotsani alone, the article continued, were greater than those in the whole area (of the prefecture) of Harmanli in Bulgaria.

See also, Antonovski, Hristo, "The Drama Uprising of 1941 and Bulgaria's fascist crimes" (translation), *Glaznik* 5 (1961), p. 59.

28. See ΔΙΕ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Memorandum of Dimitrios Andreades, Prefect of Drama to the Ministry of General Administration for Macedonia, 'concerning the situation in Bulgarian-occupied Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace', Thessaloniki 6.8.1942, p. 2. Also, see p. 5 where it makes reference to the fact that in Kavala the only Greek inscription is the dedication of the Greek communities of Egypt on the statue of Mehmet Ali.

29. In accordance with this procedure the law courts of each area would issue certificates with the new name, on the basis of which the church authorities would issue new birth certificates. See U.S. NARA, 874.00/671 from the American Consulate General in Istanbul to the Secretary of State, 4 January 1943, reference in article of the *Zora*, newspaper of Sofia, 24 December 1942; also, ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 278; ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 41; ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 176, statement of H. Syroglou, 9.6.1942 (Choristi, Drama).

30. See newspaper 'Der Wirtschafts-Ring' US NARA, 874.014/33, 22 September 1942, Daniel J. Reagan, Commercial Attache to the American Legation in Bern to the Secretary of State. The same is valid, though to a lesser degree, for other agricultural produce (flax, silk), and for minerals and ores.

ria. According to the author of the article, apart from tobacco, the area of Drama was also suitable for the cultivation of every type of fruit — the climate would even permit two harvests a year — as well as for raising cattle<sup>31</sup>.

### *First measures*

The economic destruction of the Greek population was essential within the framework of the economic policy of bulgarization of the area. Initially the Bulgarians confiscated the property of those Greeks absent from Drama during when it was occupied; their movable property was shipped to Bulgaria, while their immovable property was given to Bulgarians<sup>32</sup>. The inhabitants of the occupied areas were later obliged to exchange the Greek currency notes they had with Bulgarian ones. However, the amount they were given was only 60% of its exchange value while for the rest state bonds were given<sup>33</sup>.

Thereafter, they attempted to systematically destroy the economy of the area using two types of measures: heavy taxation, whereby it was attempted to destroy economically the Greek inhabitants, and measures aimed at limiting the economic activity of the Greeks.

### *Taxation - Measures for draining the economy of the area*

Most sources agree that the taxes imposed on the Greek population of the area were both particularly severe and of an arbitrary nature.

In July 1941 the Bulgarian Ministry for the Interior issued a decree according to which, apart from those taxes provided for in Greek legislation, the new municipal authorities in the occupied areas would also levy taxes in accordance to Bulgarian legislation. The same practice seems also to have been applied to outstanding debts to Greek banks. Thus, for example, in 1941, the value (or part of it) of the tobacco bought by the Bulgarian state was not paid to those entitled to it, but instead was retained in payment to outstanding debts to the Greek Agricultural Bank<sup>34</sup>.

31. See *Zora*, newspaper, 21.7.1943 in US NARA, 874.9111/282, 16 July 1943, Burton Berry, American Consul General in Istanbul to the Secretary of State.

32. E/IA, ABK, no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942. According to other sources, they confiscated the property of those absent at the census of 25-30 June 1942, see E/IA, ABK, no. 8, 11.8.1941, Aliens' Center of Thessaloniki to the president's office, unsigned, and K. Doxiades, *Destruction of Settlements*, Athens 1946, p. 42.

33. D. Magriotis, *op. cit.*, p. 243. E/IA, ABK, no. 8, 11.8.1941, Aliens' Center of Thessaloniki to the president's office, unsigned. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 34.

34. 'Law for the Budget, revenue, expenses and accounts of the municipalities of the

A series of taxes (regular and special) were imposed which covered all manifestations of economic activity. Thus, the following taxes were established:

- real estate taxation (of up to perhaps 20% of the value of the real estate).
- taxes on houses, gross income, signs, fares, employed personnel; also on coffeeshop chairs (10 leva per hour), on card games, etc.
- taxes on agricultural produce: on tobacco (7 leva per kilo), on animals (20-40 leva per head, 70 leva on pigs), on poultry (10-20 leva)<sup>35</sup>.

Beside this, a compulsory domestic loan of 4% on land value was also legislated, effective from 20 June 1943, and the land owners were required to pay this amount<sup>36</sup>.

There are also testimonies to the fact that the Greeks were obliged to pay certain amounts to support Bulgarian settlers or at least to feed them. They were also obliged to deposit the acre tax corresponding to land that belonged to them but had been expropriated and handed over to Bulgarian settlers<sup>37</sup>.

The tax was fixed at a rate decided upon by the Bulgarian financial authorities as they wished; the person taxed was not invited previously to fill a tax return form: he was simply expected to pay the amount assessed, without any right to appeal. Often the tax-collector would not give the proper

recently liberated countries', (Bulgarian) Government Gazette, no. 164, 29 July 1941; US NARA, 874.512/47, Enclosure from George Earle III, Legation of the United States of America, Sofia to the Secretary of State. The same seems to have been applied for municipal taxes and outstanding debts to banks. See EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 141 and 205, 3rd statement of A. Rassas, 16.7.1942; EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 200, "Summary Report...". Altinamazis, mayor of Alexandroupoli, 6.6.1942. The occupation government of Tsolakoglou also submitted a declaration to the German authorities on this subject: see G. A. Pharmakides, *Πεπραγμένα της παρά τω πρωθυπουργώ υπηρεσίας ανταποκρίσεων μετά των Γερμανικών Αρχών κατά την κατοχήν* (Actions taken by the correspondence service to the prime minister along with the German authorities during the occupation), Athens 1957, p. 29. *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 60, testimony by the village of Kyrgia (Drama).

35. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 206, report by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942; also, EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, statement of E. Chatzipetrou (St. Athanassios, Drama), 29.8.1942 and *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 34, 62.

36. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 311, Aliens' Center of Thessaloniki to the Administration of the Service for Aliens, Athens, 'Information about the Bulgarian-occupied Greek territories', 20.5.1943. *Μάχη Βίβλος*, note p. 34, 62.

37. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 231 (3), 'Report by A. Chrysochoou, Gen. Inspectorate of the Prefectures of Macedonia', 2.9.1942 and EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, statement of E. Chatzipetrou (St. Athanassios, Drama), 29.8.1942. *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 62.

collection receipt which, in some cases, resulted in Greeks having to pay the same amount all over. If the tax was not paid in full within a month it was doubled, interest was added, and if not paid within the next month the movable property of the debtor was auctioned<sup>38</sup>.

The following are typical examples of the arbitrary and severe nature of the taxation contributions which were imposed: a) the case of the village of St. Athanassios (Drama), the residents of which paid 200 leva per family to the Bulgarian communal authorities for the supply of water for irrigation; however, only once during the occupation period was water supplied, and even then this lasted for three hours; b) the case of the village of Doxato, the residents of which, according to some testimonies, had to pay 500 leva per family as compensation for the ammunition used to execute the residents of the village in October, 1941<sup>39</sup>.

### *Measures for the limitation of the economic activity of the Greeks*

Attempts were also made to cripple the Greek population using measures to limit its economic activity.

The law "for the compulsory expropriation of the various organisations of public benefit in the newly-liberated countries" of 29 July 1941 gave civil services and the local administration the right to expropriate private businesses (such as electricity) producing plants, flour mills, mines, quarries, banks, hospitals, pharmacies and others) which were regarded as being of general public benefit; committees set up by the local mayors were empowered to decide on the characterization of such facilities<sup>40</sup>.

Administrative measures were also taken to limit the scope of activity of Greek skilled workers and self-employed businessmen. An 'occupation tax' was imposed with particular severity upon them, and a special work permit system was established. Contemporary sources deemed the refusal to grant

38. *Μαύγη Βίβλος*, p. 35.

39. ΔΙΣ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Andreades. Also, EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama, 23.7.1942 and EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, statement of E. Chatzipetrou (St. Athanassios, Drama), 29.8.1942. *Μαύγη Βίβλος*, p. 33-4, which refers to taxation amounting up to 30% on profits and inheritances, and additional municipal taxes. See also, Gorgias, *op. cit.*, p. 12, which refers to the case of the compulsory distribution of 1,400 copies of a book ('Houbava Bulgaria') to the thousand families of the village of Nikisiani at 500 leva per copy (= 350,000 leva), 1,5 mill. leva for wheat seed (which was not delivered), 100,000 leva for 'lost uniforms' of the Bulgarian police, etc. Again, *Μαύγη Βίβλος*, p. 34.

40. Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 89.

such a permit to be granted as equal "to a sentence to death by starvation"<sup>41</sup>. The following extract shows the results typical of the application of this measure:

Considerations of a political nature have also augmented the number of those without jobs; ... the institution of a system of special permits of work has been introduced since December, 1941 with the result that out of the 6,800 storekeepers, small merchants, small businessmen, etc., who applied for such licences, only 4,300 received them; and out of 5,530 artisans, only 4,300 were successful in their petitions. (Xydis, Stephen C., *The economy and finances of Greece under axis occupation*, Pittsburg 1943, p. 19).

Greek doctors, lawyers and pharmacists were forbidden from practicing their professions<sup>42</sup>. The limiting measures taken by the Bulgarians resulted (according to the statement of A. Zacharopoulos, a pharmacist from Drama), in the population of Drama being left with neither doctors nor pharmacists from spring 1942<sup>43</sup>.

According to some information, Greek self-employed businessmen were only permitted to practice their profession if they engaged in partnership with Bulgarians, who contributed neither capital nor labour to the business: they

41. Decree no. 2206 of 30.5.1941 and 2290 of 6.6.1941, of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour, see Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 88. See also Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 189 and ΔΙΣ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Andreades. In December 1941 the Bulgarian authorities ordered businessmen to sell their merchandise before a particular deadline — once this had expired, practicing any profession by a Greek was forbidden. ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 49b. Probably the same law as referred to in ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 225, statement of I. Lambropoulos, 20.8.1942, in accordance with which the practicing of any profession by Greeks was forbidden after July 1942, though this deadline was ultimately extended to the end of the year.

42. Greeks doctors had been forbidden from practicing from March 1942, and in August of the same year they were obliged to hand in their diplomas to the authorities. ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 227, statement of A. Zacharopoulos, Drama, 3.9.1942. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 31 and p. 123, to which is attached the text banning a Greek doctor from Komotini (with the date 27.4.1942) from practicing his profession, in accordance with which the relevant resolution of the Cabinet Council (no. 4404) had been issued from the 31.10.1941; probably, however Greek doctors were allowed to practice their profession on some occasions for some time after the publication of the law. The Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labour banned Greeks from practicing the profession of lawyer and pharmacist with another Resolution no. 2288 of 6.6.1941. Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 88-89.

43. ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 227, statement of A. Zacharopoulos, Drama, 3.9.1942. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 99.

merely took a share of the profits; according to the complaints lodged by many Greeks these partners promptly forced the Greeks to quit and took possession of the business<sup>44</sup>.

Even farmers did not escape the economic limitations. Wheat producers were obliged to hand over their produce to the authorities, keeping only a very small part of it<sup>45</sup>. The 1942 tobacco harvest was bought from the producers at artificially low prices<sup>46</sup>. Similar measures were applied in the case of animals: they were requisitioned for use or consumption by the Bulgarian army and settlers, against receipts which were only rarely acquitted. In this manner, the village of Pyrgi (Drama) during the Bulgarian occupation lost 100 head of cattle, 25 beasts of burden, 2,000 sheep and goats and others<sup>47</sup>.

### *Colonization of the area by Bulgarian settlers*

The Bulgarians, the entire Aegean region, the refugees are rejoicing, they are anxious to return to their homeland, all the Bulgarians wishing to move to the fertile land are rejoicing. (article entitled "The Aegean is rejoicing", *Novo Vetser*, newspaper, Sofia, 7 November 1941, see, *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 120).

One of the primary aims of the Bulgarian government was to alter the ethnological composition of the area. The Bulgarian historian, D. Jontsev, makes a characteristic reference to the fact that in summer 1942, the Bulgarian government was seeking ways "to expel at least half the Greeks..."<sup>48</sup>.

The settlement programme was officially announced by decree on 24 October 1941<sup>49</sup>. The stated purpose of the programme was to "give the area back its Bulgarian character". The settlers were given, amongst other things,

44. Snok, *op. cit.*, p. 25. *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 31. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 61 and no. 208, 5th statement of D. Theodoropoulos, Drama, 24.7.1942.

45. See EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 197, 1st statement of C. Bitsas, 29.6.1942. In 1942 the residents of Doxato harvested their fields under the supervision of the Bulgarians (soldiers and rural police), were obliged to thresh using mechanical threshers (handing over 10%) and they were not allowed to grind the wheat. See also, *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 31-2.

46. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 254, 1st statement of J. Tsapanides, 17.11.1942; 2nd statement of N. Daskalos, Mikropoli, Drama, 18.11.1942.

47. *Μάχη Βίβλος*, p. 32.

48. Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomorieto*, p. 78, 93.

49. See Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomorieto*, p. 79. Also. US NARA, 768.7415/51, 4 November 1941, Royal Greek Legation in Washington (C. Diamantopoulos) to Cordell Hull, Secretary of State.



land, houses, animals, and seeds<sup>50</sup>. The local Bulgarian authorities had submitted proposals the aim of which, according to Gerchikov (General Administrator of the occupied territories) was for the Aegean area “to...heal and become bulgarized”.

The legal details concerning the colonization were arranged with a plethora of laws, decrees and circulars. One of the decrees facilitated the confiscation of privately-owned Greek land. Another decreed that any pieces of occupied land which had not been distributed to settlers by March 1943 would be rented “firstly to Bulgarians and, as a last resort, to the indigenous population”<sup>51</sup>. The land distributed among the settlers was of significant area: according to information, 620 acres of land were distributed among 35 settler families in the village of Kyrgia, as well as part of the animals and tools belonging to the Greeks<sup>52</sup>.

Because problems had been encountered in finding land and homes for the settlers even as early as September 1942, a decree was issued in accordance with which “any privately-owned real estate which is essential for the construction of housing for settlers in the Aegean area will be confiscated”; following this, settlers began to move into the houses of Greeks still living in the area<sup>53</sup>.

Extensive “illegal” immigration, chiefly by persons seeking to profit by the situation, also occurred during the occupation. According to the complaints expressed on 16.11.1942 by the regional administrator of Drama, Hristo Enev, unsuitable categories of people had been chosen as settlers. The representative of the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, on his visit to the area in 1943, also verified the unsuitability of a large number of the settlers<sup>54</sup>. The acts of banditry of many of these people had catastrophic consequences on the area.

50. See US NARA, 874.52/9, 24 October 1941, From Gray (Sofia) to the Secretary of State. Also, 874.9111/218, 24 June 1943, Burton Berry, Consul General, Istanbul to the Secretary of State and 874.9111/467. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 28-29. The possession and paying off terms were extraordinary favourable, see indicatively, Jontsev, *Balgarija i Belomoriето*, p. 79. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 122.

51. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 290, *Zora*, newspaper, 10.2.1943.

52. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 30.

53. Georgi Daskalov, “Demografski procesi v Iztocna Makedonija i Zapadna Trakija (1 Januari 1942-25 Oktomvri 1944 g.)” (Demographic processes in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace (1 January 1942-25 October 1944)) (hence referred to as *Demografski*), *Voennostorticeski Sbornik* 1/1992, p. 26, 29. Lemkin, *Axis Rule*, p. 189. ΔΙΣ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Andreades. See US NARA, 874.9111/218, 24 June 1943 and 874.9111/467, 15 October 1943, Burton Berry, American Consul General to the Secretary of State.

54. Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 28, 29, 37 and 38; *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 29.

### *Colonization in the prefecture of Drama*

The information we possess does not allow us to provide details of the exact number of Bulgarian settlers in the prefecture of Drama. The local authorities in the area anticipated that 780 families would settle in 8 villages. According to some information 1,750 Bulgarian families had settled in 12 villages in the Drama area by the end of 1942<sup>55</sup>. It is almost certain that colonization in the prefecture of Drama took place on both rural and urban levels. Thus, the Bulgarian urban population in Drama in the census of 1943 stood at 5,056 persons—one of the largest in the occupied area—and the vast majority of these were Bulgarian settlers<sup>56</sup>.

### *The draining of the Greek population in the prefecture of Drama*

The aim of the Bulgarian policy in the occupied territory to alter the ethnological composition of the population by any means was furthered by the flight of Greek citizens. This flight was in the form of either individual or mass deportations, displacements of population and “voluntary” departures; all this took place despite the fact that the German authorities wished otherwise<sup>57</sup>.

### *Deportations*

The Bulgarian authorities proceeded with the deportation of educated Greek citizens shortly after the occupation was completed. The persons deported were mainly school teachers, doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, notary publics, etc. —generally those who the Bulgarian authorities felt could be regarded as a point of reference and pole of resistance to the bulgarization programme of the area. To cite an example, immediately after he assumed his duties, the

55. The former piece of information was taken from Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 22. The latter appears in Monastiriotes, *Οι Πρώσσοι των Βαλκανίων* (The Balkan Prussians), Cairo 1944, p. 59.

56. Xanthi: 7,289 Bulgarians, Serres: 6,344, Kavala: 4,624. See Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 40.

57. The opposition of the German authorities to the departure of the Greek population of the area was stated quite clearly by the German authorities in a letter sent by the commander of the 30th Army Corps of the Wehrmacht (Kavala) to the commander of the 1st Bulgarian Army, entitled “General guide-line principles for the occupation of Greece by the German and Bulgarian Forces” (18-19 April 1941) (see Daskalov-Koev, *Ustanovjavane*, p. 111-112).

district administrator of the area of Drama, Basil Georgiev, proceeded with the deportation of approximately 60 Greek scientists who 'could influence the population'. The wave of mass deportations (on any pretext) intensified in July and August 1941 when the results of the census which had been carried out turned out negative for the Bulgarians. Yet again, 96 people were deported from the area of Drama from 9 to 25 August 1941<sup>58</sup>. The attitude of the Bulgarian district administrator of Drama towards the Greeks was demonstrated clearly in his letter of 15 September 1941 to the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior. In it he requests that the wave of expulsions of the Greek population, which had been checked on the 1st September be resumed, explaining that the expulsion of the Greeks was the only way "to begin the economic and political bulgarianization" of the area which would be hindered by the fact that "a Greek always remains 100% Greek"<sup>59</sup>.

*"Law concerning the citizenship of the areas liberated in 1941"*

Another measure which led to the mass exodus of the Greeks from the area was the Bulgarian "Law concerning the citizenship of the areas liberated in 1941" of 5 June 1942. In accordance with article 4 of this law, anyone who did not take up Bulgarian citizenship by 1 April 1943 would be deported. A Bulgarian representative stated typically that the purpose of the law was "to facilitate the emigration of Greeks, Serbs and others from [within] the kingdom's boundaries"<sup>60</sup>.

The same representative issued an order to the local authorities on 23 March 1943 to facilitate the emigration of the Greeks from the area using any possible means. On the basis of the above, a large number of permits to leave (1,627) were granted to Greeks of the Drama area wanting to emigrate<sup>61</sup>. The

58. Specifically, 31 people were deported on 9 August (from the villages of Doxato, St. Athanassios, Platania, Kalabaki, etc.); 16 people on 12 August from the villages of Xiro-potamos and Photolivos, 36 people the following day and another 13 on 25 August (see Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 90). See also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 20-21; Magriotis, *op. cit.*, p. 231. EAlA, ABK, no. 36, '4th Report of the General Administration of Prefectures of Macedonia', 30 November 1941, p. 8; see E. Grigoriou, *Έλληνες και Βούλγαροι* (Greeks and Bulgarians), Thessaloniki 1954, p. 535, which also refers to the mass deportation of 72 lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. from Drama in June 1941.

59. Daskalov, *Dramskoto*, p. 91.

60. Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 31. The law was published on 10 June 1942 in the Bulgarian Government Gazette, see also *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 118-120 to which the text is also appended. In Greece this law is more commonly known as the 'Law concerning Naturalization'.

61. Whereas only 240 were granted in the town of Xanthi, 358 in Serres, 2,754 in the prefecture of Xanthi. See Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 34.

prerequisite in every case before the permit to emigrate to German-occupied Greece was granted was a signed declaration stating that all those who were leaving would not return and that they were handing their property over to the Bulgarian state<sup>62</sup>.

The rate of exodus of the Greek inhabitants of the area was accelerated by pressures to submit a statement by which one agreed to take up Bulgarian citizenship were exerted long before the relevant deadline expired (it was rumored that the deadline would expire on 15 August 1942 or December 1942, while the date given by the law was 1 April 1943)<sup>63</sup>.

*Other reasons for the exodus of the Greek population from the area*

Finally, it should be noted that found various ways of forcing the Greek population to leave were devised. For example, there is information that some Greeks were arrested as undesirables and transported to Bulgaria. There are testimonies to mass displacements to Bulgaria<sup>64</sup>, while many of the —mainly young— Greeks sought ways to emigrate as industrial workers to Germany, quite a few of them doing so to avoid being called up to the labour battalions. From the area of Drama alone 480 Greek workers left for Germany in April 1943<sup>65</sup>.

*Measures of oppression and physical extermination of the Greek population:  
Labour battalions — forced labour*

Those Greeks who remained in the area had to suffer not only the consequences of the economic and other measures, but also the humiliation of working for the occupying forces. The best-known and most usual method was being called up for municipal, civil and military work. In April 1942 many Greeks of the 1942 class (1,700 from the area of Drama alone)<sup>66</sup> were called

62. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 107-109. Antonovski, *The uprising*, p. 61.

63. See EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 227, statement of E. Chatzipetrou (St. Athanassios, Drama), 29.8.1942; also, ΔΙΣ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Andreades.

64. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 41 and 43, which refers to the arrest of Petros Andrikopoulos from Kyrgia, who was arrested along with others on 1.11.1941 and transported to Drama to be deported, but subsequently escaped. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 41-42.

65. The number is large when compared to the 183 from Xanthi and 246 from Kavala in the same month. See Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 36. It is estimated that a total of 10,000 Greeks left the Bulgarian-occupied area to work in Germany (see Daskalov, *Demografski*, p. 42).

66. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 201, 3rd statement of Ilias Theocharides, 8.7.1942. According to

up by the Bulgarian army<sup>67</sup> and sent out of Greece (mainly into Bulgarian-occupied Yugoslavia) for the construction of roads and other works<sup>68</sup>. Around 1,200 people from the Drama area were also called up and taken to the Greek forts of the Metaxa line in Komotini in order to demolish them. Those called up worked long hours in the open, under exhausting conditions. They were given little food and were maltreated. This maltreatment in many cases constituted a type of punishment to break the spirit of opposition of the Greeks and make them yield to the intense pressures exerted upon them by the authorities to declare that they were Bulgarians. Many Greeks lost their lives either due to maltreatment or to accidents during their compulsory service in the labour battalions<sup>69</sup>.

Apart from the labour battalions, to which mainly young and exclusively male Greeks were called up, it is apparent that various types of forced labour were imposed on those residing in the countryside. For example, in the countryside around Drama, the residents of Doxato were obliged to construct new houses for the Bulgarian settlers; the residents of the village of St. Athanassios (Drama) were used on an alternating basis twice a week, together with their animals and carts, to build houses for the settlers; finally, the residents of the village of Pyrgi were obliged throughout the occupation to cut fire-wood (a total of some 20,000 cubic metres of timber) for the authorities and settlers<sup>70</sup>.

### General Comments

#### a) Damages

To conclude we would like to add some general information as to the

other information it was 850 (see EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 184, 2nd statement of N. Chatzopoulos, 9.6.1942, Choristi, Drama).

67. According to another source the classes 1941-2 were called up from May to November 1942 and the class of 1943 in August. See Gorgias, *op. cit.*, note p. 30-34.

68. See Gorgias, *ibid.*, p. 20-21.

69. See *Μαύγη Βίβλος*, p. 40. Svolos, *op. cit.*, p. 27-30. Gorgias, *ibid.*, p. 20-21, who mentions that their daily rations were pulses and 500g. bread. See also EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 147, 188, 205, 1st and 2nd statement of 14-16.7.1942, of P. Serkitzis, A. Chatzifotiades. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 167, statement of 29.5.1942, of I. Sismanis and in particular EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 158, as reported by Gen. Inspectorate of the Prefectures of Macedonia 'Concerning the maltreatment of those Greeks from Eastern Macedonia and Thrace called up for service by the Bulgarians', 29.5.1942; the report estimates the number of men called up at approx. 7,000.

70. Magriotis, *op. cit.*, p. 244. EΛΙΑ, ABK, no. 254, 2nd statement of N. Daskalos, Mikropoli, Drama, 8.11.1942. *Μαύγη Βίβλος*, p. 36, 62.

consequences of the Bulgarian occupation on the prefecture of Drama with regard to material damage and loss of human life.

It is certain that the destruction suffered in the prefecture of Drama was much greater than that suffered by any of the other Bulgarian-occupied areas. The exact extent of the damage is not easy to estimate. One source<sup>71</sup> gives a total of 67 destroyed villages in the prefecture and of 2,163 homes as well as the further destruction of 961 homes in other villages (which were not entirely destroyed). Another source gives a figure of 31 villages destroyed in their entirety and some 18,025 homeless<sup>72</sup>. More specifically, in the rural settlements of the prefecture of Drama, 3,357 buildings in all were totally destroyed, 2,952 were partially destroyed (a total of 6,309 houses out of a total of 14,925), and 179 settlements were suffered damage as a consequence of the above<sup>73</sup>. Municipal buildings suffered damage as well as private houses, and many were either wholly or partially destroyed. Among the municipal buildings which met the same fate was the Drama High School which had its doors, windows and even the floor-boards removed; the same also happened to the school at Doxato<sup>74</sup>.

According to post war estimates of the Greek Ministry of Reconstruction 36.5% of the total buildings throughout the prefecture of Drama were destroyed during the occupation, while the prefecture comes 7th in terms of loss of building capital in the whole of Greece<sup>75</sup>.

71. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 14, 45, which mentions 1,500 plundered homes in the town of Drama.

72. See *Cities and Villages of Greece Destroyed by Germans, Italians and Bulgars 1941-44*, n. p., n.d., p. 37-38. Of those 15 were destroyed at the end of September (1, Doxato) and in October 1941 (14, Mikropoli, Kokkinogeia, Prosotsani, Mikrokambos, Kallithea, Sitagri, Kalos Agros, Photolivos, Mesorema, Choristi, Kallifytos, Christos, Adriani, Nikiforos), 2 (Platanovrysi and Prinolofos) in September 1942, 9 in October 1943 (Potami, Prinotopos, Nerofraktis, Ano Ftelia, Kato Ftelia, Pigadia, Mikroloufos, Chamokerasia, Kranochori) 5 in November 1943 (Granitis, Pyxarion, Mavrokordatou, Paliambela, Mikrolivado).

73. K. Doxiades, *Καταστροφαι οικισμών* (Settlement Destruction), Athens 1946, p. 47. Various sources also refer to the destruction of particular small settlements at different times. See eg. A. Phostirides, *Εθνική Αντίσταση κατά της βουλγαρικής κατοχής 1941-45* (National Resistance to the Bulgarian occupation 1941-45), p. 227-228 and 234 for the partial destruction of the communities of Kastanoto and Paschalia on 12-13 May 1944. Also in the community of Ano Pyxarion a total of 38 houses were destroyed, as well as the school and the community building, see *Ιστορικό Αρχείο Μακεδονίας (IAM)* (The Historical Archive of Macedonia), the Prefecture of Drama 1940-50, AEE=D/2 ABE=44, ESPA Report, community of Pyxarion, 23.11.1946.

74. *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 45, 61.

75. K. Doxiades, *Θυσίες της Ελλάδος, αιτήματα και επαπορθώσεις στον Β' Παγκόσμιο*

b) *Loss of human life*

The exact number of human lives lost is exceptionally difficult to estimate. The wanton violence of the Bulgarian occupying forces and the many different ways in which the Greeks were pursued and exterminated make such estimates impossible. The figures given vary<sup>76</sup>. Thus the victims of the events of September-October 1941 are estimated at 2,000-3,000 (mostly men) in the town of Drama and at 5,000-6,000 throughout the prefecture<sup>77</sup>.

The difficulty in determining the exact number of Greeks who lost their lives becomes more evident when one tries to estimate out the losses on a local level. Thus in the area of Drama, on the basis of the register of names (drawn up by the Mayor of Drama, A. Nikiforides) of those Greek citizens murdered by the Bulgarians, the losses total 468 persons during the occupation; another 28 died during the same period as a result of beatings, maltreatment, torturings, etc.<sup>78</sup>. Another source reports 56 executions in Drama and twelve in the rest of the prefecture during the period of the Bulgarian occupation<sup>79</sup>. In addition to the catalogues of victims which have been drawn up by

*Πόλεμο* (Sacrifices of Greece; claims and reparations in the Second World War), Athens 1947, p. 41, 45.

76. ΕΑΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 36, '4th Report of the Gen. Inspectorate of the Prefectures of Macedonia', 30 November 1942, p. 10, 19; Grigoriou, *op. cit.*, p. 553, 569; A. Svolos, *op. cit.*, p. 212, reports 5,000-6,000 victims. Snok, *op. cit.*, p. 31, mentions approx. 2,500 dead in Drama, 15,000 in the district (on p. 42 he mentions 16,000 "people slaughtered in Drama and its district"). Finally, Antonovski, Hristo, in *The Uprising*, p. 67, raises the number of victims to 2,500-3,000.

77. Other sources estimate the victims throughout Eastern Macedonia and Thrace at 23,000, see *Ruins of Modern Greece*, p. 38; 40,000 ref. Greek Royal Legation, Press Bureau, Bulletin no. 14, Greece and Bulgaria, June 1946, p. 10, with 30,000 displaced to Bulgaria; 50,000 victims (P. Monastiriotes, *op. cit.*, p. 61) and 100,000 hostages in forced labour. See also Doxiades K., *Devastation in Greece*, n.p., n.d. (= England), p. 15, which reports 45,000 dead, victims of the Bulgarian occupation and Christopoulos, George, *Bulgaria's Record*, Chicago 1944, p. 112, which gives 54,974 as the official estimate of victims until 28 October 1944 (on the basis of 'official estimates of the Greek Government'). Finally, Υπουργείο Ανοικοδομήσεως, *Η επιβίωσις του Ελληνικού Λαού* (The Ministry of Reconstruction, The survival of the Greeks), Athens 1947, p. 80, table 49 reports 10,000 hostages in Bulgaria and 30,000 victims of Bulgarian atrocities, with a total reduction of the population on the Bulgarian-occupied territory of 30%.

78. ΔΙΕ, Arch. 8, F. 909/G/5, 'Register of names of those murdered by the Bulgarians', Drama, 26.10.1954, Mayor of Drama, A. Nikiforides, to ΔΙΕ. Typically, most of these were refugees from or had origins in Asia Minor or in the Black Sea area, and a small number of them were Jews or Armenians.

79. IAM, General Administration of N. Greece, B/19, 2/1, index manuscripts (24 pages).

various services, there are occasional testimonies to more murders (individual or mass), the accuracy of which cannot be assessed<sup>80</sup>.

Finally, we should not forget to include the 780 (out of a total of some 1,200) Greek Jews of Drama who were deported to Germany. During the occupation, Greek Jews suffered together with the rest of the Greek population; on 3 March 1943, they were rounded up by the Bulgarian authorities (together with the other Jews of the Bulgarian-occupied areas) transported (in inhuman conditions) to Bulgaria and later handed over to the Germans and put to death in the German concentration camps. Of the 780 deportees, only 4 had returned to Drama in April 1945, a figure which had reached 39 in 1948<sup>81</sup>.

It should also be noted here that to those physically exterminated must be added the unknown number of people who succumbed to the consequences of the systematic undernourishment imposed on the Greeks by the Bulgarian authorities<sup>82</sup>.

In conclusion, the authors believe that it may be stated with certainty that the population in the prefecture of Drama decreased by 25,161 persons during the 1940-1951 period (from 145,653 in 1940 to 120,492 in 1951). We cannot, with any certainty, give details of the total decrease in the population during the Bulgarian occupation alone and attributable to its direct and indirect consequences. It is not even possible to provide an exact estimate, for reasons we believe are clear, even of the victims of executions and slaughter. It is, however, indicative that, while the average rate of population increase during the decade 1940-51 for the whole of Greece was +0.21%, for Northern Greece -0.32%, for all of Macedonia -0.27% and for Thrace -0.60%, during the same period the population of the prefecture of Drama dropped by -1.60% (see also Table 2, Appendix)<sup>83</sup>.

80. The testimony of the Bulgarian head-gardener of the Municipality of Drama is typical: he boasts of having killed 88 Greeks and of having only another 12 to go to make it 100. See EAIA, ABK, no. 197, statement of Androkli Mavrides, 29.6.1942.

81. See indicatively, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 142-44; M. Molho, *In Memoriam, homage aux victimes juives de Nazis en Grèce*, Salonique 1948, vol. I, p. 103-4 and vol. II (par J. Nehama), p. 164, and Hoppe, *Bulgarian nationalities policy*, p. 95-99.

82. Whereas the Bulgarian settlers and employees were given (with a red ration-book) 300g. of wheat bread per day per head, the Greeks (with a white ration-book and the label 'Inorodni' [Foreigners]) were only given 200g. of corn bread. The same discrimination was also applied for other foods. ΔΙΣ, Arch. 8, F. 909/E/2d, Andreades; EAIA, ABK, no. 206, as reported by K. Papageorgiou, Drama 23.7.1942 and EAIA, ABK, no. 176, statement of C. Syroglou, 9.6.1942 (Choristi, Drama); EAIA, ABK, no. 167, statement of I. Sismanis, 29.5.1942. According to other information the bread ration for the Greeks was 45 drams, EAIA, ABK, no. 141; or 62 per day for the town of Drama and 62 per week for the villages,



During the same period the semi-urban and rural population of the prefecture seems to have particularly suffered. The statistical data attached (see Table 3, Appendix) are indicative of the development of the population (rural, semi-urban and urban) in two neighbouring prefectures, both under Bulgarian occupation. A comparison of the data of the three prefectures, apart from showing the marked drop in the rural and semi-urban population of the prefecture of Drama, also demonstrates vividly the difference in the scale of reduction of the population of this prefecture in relation to the other two prefectures mentioned above.

### CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we believe that this first attempt for an integrated presentation of the Bulgarian occupation reveals and proves, in a way which is not impeded by emotion, that the Bulgarian measures:

- were part of an integrated and well-planned policy
- covered almost every sector of public and private life
- were uniquely severe, and the authorities called upon to apply them, carried out the orders given to them with excessive zeal
- finally, the measures were aimed at the marginalization, physical extermination and eventual removal of the Greek population from the area and its complete incorporation to Bulgaria.

see ΕΛΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 184, 2nd statement of N. Chatzopoulos, 9.6.1942 (Choristi, Drama); *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 37. For details of the food supply, see extensively A. Svolos, *op. cit.*, p. 30-33, with references to the situation in Drama and its area. The distribution of other foodstuffs (mainly sugar and small amounts of vegetable oil) did not occur frequently (every 2-3 months). Keeping food reserves of over 1 kilo per type in the towns and of certain amounts in the countryside was also forbidden. It was even forbidden for Greeks to buy many types of foods: shop-managers were obliged to hang labels in the shop-windows which reminded that the goods displayed were "samo za balgarite (only for Bulgarians)". ΕΛΙΑ, ΑΒΚ, no. 223, Aliens' Center of Thessaloniki, 12.8.1942, anonymous memorandum. Also, *Μαύρη Βίβλος*, p. 37-38, and A. Svolos, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

83. Υπουργείο Συντονισμού, Υπηρεσία Περιφερειακής Αναπτύξεως Βορείου Ελλάδος, Γραφείο Επενδύσεων-Στατιστικής, Τμήμα Στατιστικής, *Εξελίξεις και προβολαί του πληθυσμού Μακεδονίας-Θράκης, 1940-1972* (Ministry of Co-ordination, Service for the District Development of N. Greece, Office of Investments-Statistics, Dept. of Statistics, Developments and Projections of the Population of Macedonia and Thrace, 1940-1972), s.l., December 1968, p. 8, table 1.1: Population of Macedonia-Thrace during the years 1940-1951-1961 per prefecture.

The application of this policy was carried out with methods unique to all parts of Europe occupied by the Axis forces, methods which are more in keeping with the rationale of the 19th century (when the Balkan states were still coming into being) than to that of the 20th century.

*A P P E N D I X*

*TABLE I*  
*Clerics of the Sees of Drama and Nevrokopi that lost their lives*  
*during the Bulgarian occupation*

<i>Name</i>	<i>See of Drama</i> <i>Village</i>	
Anastasios Karypides		executed
Georgios Alexiades	Agios Georgios at Kokkinogeia	executed
Stylianos Gripas	Nikiforos	tortured and executed
Ioannis Iliades	Platania	beaten to death
Savvas Karagiannides	Ypsili Rachi	executed
Anthimos Papadopoulos	Sitagri	executed
Iakovos Koryfides	Agios Georgios at Kyrgia	executed
Monk Sofronios	Monastery of Eikosifinissa	hostage in Bulgaria, died of hardships
Monk Daniil	Monastery of Eikosifinissa	executed
Archimandrite D. Nikolaides	Mikropoli	died of hardships and maltreatment
<i>See of Nevrokopi</i>		
Eleftherios Iosifides	Katachloro	executed

*Source:* Ath. Papaevgeniou, *Μάρτυρες Κληρικοί Μακεδονίας-Θράκης, 1941-1945*,  
Athens 1949, p. 14-15, 28, 33,

TABLE II  
Average annual growth rate of the population during the period 1940-1951: Total of Greece, N. Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Drama Prefecture, comparative data

	1940	1951	Average annual growth rate 1940-51
Greece	7,460,203	7,652,801	+0.21
N. Greece (Macedonia and Thrace)	2,116,587	2,042,388	-0.32
Macedonia	1,756,664	1,705,434	-0.27
Thrace	359,923	336,954	-0.60
Drama Prefecture	145,653	120,942	-1.70

Source: Υπουργείο Συντονισμού, Υπηρεσία Περιφερειακής Αναπτύξεως Βορείου Ελλάδος, Γραφείο Επενδύσεων-Στατιστικής, Τμήμα Στατιστικής, *Εξελίξεις και προβολαί του πληθυσμού Μακεδονίας-Θράκης, 1940-1972*, December 1968, p. 8, Table 1.1.

TABLE III

*Development of the urban, semi-urban and rural population in the Prefectures of Drama, Kavala and Xanthi, 1940-1951*

Prefecture	Total		Urban Population		Rural Population		Semi-urban Population	
	1940	1951	1940	1951	1940	1951	1940	1951
Year								
Drama	145,653	120,492	33,816	33,166	67,912	51,904	43,925	51,904
Kavala	138,133	136,337	49,667	42,261	74,529	72,325	13,937	72,325
Xanthi	98,575	89,891	31,015	27,283	63,555	59,420	4,005	59,420

Source: Υπουργείο Συντονισμού, Υπηρεσία Περιφερειακής Αναπτύξεως Βορείου Ελλάδος, Γραφείο Επενδύσεων-Στατιστικής, Τμήμα Στατιστικής, *Εξελίξεις και προβολαί του πληθυσμού Μακεδονίας-Θράκης, 1940-1972*, December 1968, p. 8, Table 1.6a.

TABLE IV

*Population in the towns and villages in the prefecture of Drama  
before and after the Bulgarian occupation*

<i>Names of towns and villages</i>	<i>Census of 1940<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Census of 1951<sup>2</sup></i>
Drama	33,816	32,651
Doxato	4,760	4,959
Prosotsani	7,011	6,227
Achladea	443	505
Adriani	2,065	2,088
Ag. Athanasios	4,301	3,770
Agora	525	467
Ano Pyxario	978	801
Charitomeni	1,181	1,149
Choristi	3,184	2,969
Chrysokephalo	979	802
Dasoto		618
Dipotarnoi	1,456	831
Exochi	873	647
Grammeni	701	700
Granitis	577	215
Kalabaki	2,873	3,228
Kalamonas		785
Kali Vrysi	1,678	1,399
Kalliphyto	3,186	2,838
Kallithea	1,764	1,552
Kalos Agros	1,367	1,594
Kataphyto	1,064	473
Kato Nevrokopi	3,290	1,775
Kato Vrodou	1,980	944
Kokkinogeia	2,240	1,956
Koudounia	1,635	1,786
Kyrgeia	5,532	5,154
Leukogeia	1,859	1,382
Makryplagio	896	649

<sup>1</sup> Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 16ης Οκτωβρίου 1940.

Πραγματικός, νόμιμος και μόνιμος πληθυσμός. Athens: Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 7ης Απριλίου 1951.

Athens: Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία, 1961.

Mavroleuki	701	861
Mavrotopos	1,117	1,104
Megalokampos	756	786
Mikrochori	769	775
Mikrokleisoura		339
Mikromilia	986	335
Mikropoli	3,169	2,436
Mikrotopos		546
Mokros	1,203	558
Monastiraki	707	783
Mylopotamos	777	807
Nerophraktis	837	935
Nikiphoros	2,484	1,640
Ochyro	2,162	1,464
Pagoneri	1,256	545
Paleo Katapoti	597	347
Paranesti	3,488	2,909
Perachora		595
Perithori	3,422	1,486
Petrousa	3,636	2,383
Photoleivos	2,278	2,358
Pigadia (Pigai?)		844
Platania	1,993	1,942
Platanovrysi	1,293	1,045
Potamoi	1,551	1,233
Poursovo	439	423
Ptelea of Doxato (Ftelia)	827	767
Ptelea of Platania	1,107	1,174
Pyrgi	396	438
Sidironero	1,542	1,171
Silloi (or Sylli)	937	541
Sitagroi	1,823	1,348
Skaloti	624	372
Tholos	1,025	918
Valtochori	624	687
Vathytopos	973	807
Volakas	2,445	1,188
Ypsili Rachi	1,182	1,049
Xiropotamos	2,983	3,074
Total in the prefecture of Drama	145,089	127,567 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reduction of the population between 1940-1951: 17,522 persons

