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THE RETURN OF THE NAME ISSUE... AGAIN...

By George Vlahov

In the last two issues of our Review, there was an in depth focus on the political chaos in the Republic of Macedonia. That chaos is far from having receded and we shall need to return to it in future issues. In this issue, we have decided to begin with a focus on the name "dispute", which once more, became very topical during the final months of 2015. For both the uninitiated and forgetful, Dr. Dimitar Ljorovski-Vamvakovski provides a succinct overview of the matter.

From yours truly, the fragment which follows, is hardly the whole story, but it undoubtedly is a very substantial part of it. The almost ceaseless change, instability etc of modern life, at a level of economic, political and cultural intensity that pre-moderns seem only very rarely to have been confronted by (this is debatable but arguable, though I won't attempt to enter into details here) creates for many, a

substantial existential anxiety. In response, many, among other things, seek security and stability in romantic continuity myths - an essentialist or ontological permanence. They convince themselves that they have an 'objective socio-historical truth', a much sought after 'item' in a world that seems to offer little in that regard.

To some extent that is tolerable or harmless and perhaps even necessary, but it often reaches abusive levels. As a matter of course elites utilise all of that, both consciously and unconsciously, to maintain an ethically irresponsible control over people who are supposed to be members of their own group, be that a nation or whatever, and all will supposedly be "solved" if *OTHERS* are denied the right to determine for themselves, their own identity symbols and stories.

In reality the social structures in question are very

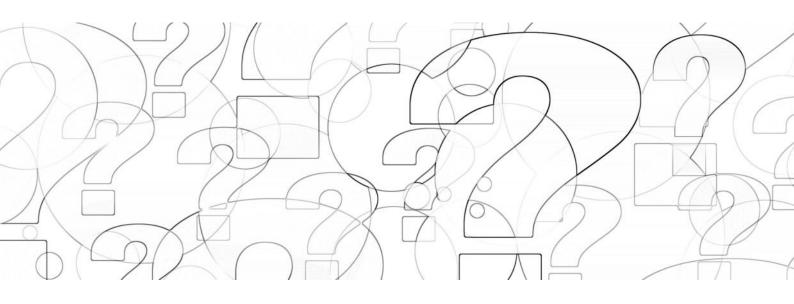
impermanent and changeable human creations; never-the-less the illusion remains widely popular, it's a remarkable phenomenon and the unconscious projecting that the larger, aggressor group, in this particular case, foists onto the smaller group, is quite arresting - as if the weaker group could actually implement "irredentism". Never mind that the only real threats of irredentism have come from the bigger group - how quickly people forget that an actual minister in the Greek government publicly stated that a town in the Republic of Macedonia, Gevgelija, "has not yet been liberated" or that it was the Greek Premier, Mitsotakis, who in 1991, discussed plans with the Serbian dictator Milosevic, for the partition of the Republic of Macedonia. ■

George Vlahov



WE'RE GOING DIGITAL

It is important to note that since this Review began in 2009 - how time flies - it was our practice to produce for our members, electronic and hardcopy versions. Since then, the vast majority of our members have managed to join the online world and thus we have decided to save what has become a difficult to justify, printing expense. We understand that there are still a few of our members who will experience difficulties in accessing the Review and we shall try to make ourselves as helpful as possible in order to overcome that problem.



THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE "MACEDONIAN QUESTION": THE NAME DISPUTE

By Dr. Dimitar Ljorovski-Vamvakovski

At the beginning of the 1990's, the Balkan Peninsula's "Sleeping Volcano", once again erupted. The Yugoslav dream created at the end of WWII. in the minds of many people, was coming to a very disappointing end. However, those well versed in the history of the Balkan peninsula were aware that it was only a matter of time before unresolved problems from the past, both religious and ethnic, would rise to the surface. So it was that in a very short amount of time, the Balkans once more became the centre of world attention. Some tried to understand the core of the problem and find appropriate solutions, while others, sought in the first instance to protect state interests in this strategically important part of south-eastern Europe.

During the early phase of the Yugoslav crisis, not much attention was given to the return of the "Macedonian Question" by the international community, in comparison to events in Croatia and Bosnia. The main reasons for this were a lack of understanding of the issues by the West and the seemingly absurd nature of the disputes imposed by Macedonia's neighbours.

With the independence of the Republic of Macedonia on 8 September 1991, the survival of the new country was imperilled by various national ideologies and movements. Firstly, by certain internal factors related to the large Albanian minority. The latter sought a substantial increase in minority rights

and to transform the country into a bi-national federation. Some of the Albanians were even more extreme in their demands, seeking to form a separate Albanian state. These problems relating to the internal stability and sovereignty of Macedonia were well noted by Macedonia's neighbours.

The Republic of Bulgaria, even though it officially recognised the Republic of Macedonia, refused to do the same in regard to the Macedonian nation and language, declaring them to be essentially Bulgarian. Serbia on the other hand, refused to recognise the independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. Greece however, exceeded both, it refused to recognise the Macedonian state, the Macedonian nation and language, by asserting that all which is Macedonian - the name, the people, history and territory - are Greek and only Greek.

The Name...

The wave of extreme nationalism and religious radicalism that engulfed the Balkans towards the end of the 1980's, and which, in some ways, continues today, also affected the Republic of Macedonia, even though the intensity was not as great. According to the American anthropologist, Loring Danforth, Macedonian nationalism was dominated by two terms: affirmation and recognition. Danforth contends that Macedonians *need to affirm* their exist-

ence as a unique nation, with a unique history and culture and by that, obtain *recognition* from international political organisations, governments, academic institutions and world public opinion in general.

In relation to Greek nationalist politicking on the "Macedonian Question", the Macedonian response, which was developed within the context of the Yugoslav federation and heavily conditioned by the official political line of Belgrade, was focused on gaining recognition of the Macedonian minority in Greece and a return of citizenship and property rights for Macedonian political refugees who left Greece around the time of the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949. Greek nationalism responded by denying the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece, rejecting all options in relation to the repatriation of Macedonian refugees and by accusing the Macedonian authorities of "irredentism".

Notably, even though Greek nationalist politicking negated the right of Macedonians to choose their identity markers, the issue was not a top priority during the Yugoslav period. This was precisely because the Macedonian state and nation were developing below the surface of and seemed to be subsumed by the Yugoslav state.

A Campaign of Hate

A dramatic change in Macedonian-Greek relations took place during the second half of 1991 when Macedonia's citizens and political leadership decided to exit the Yugoslav federation and declare Macedonia an independent state. Immediately upon the declaration of the independence of Macedonia, there were stern

from reactions Greece. The Greek government spokesman, T. publicly Manginas. stated: "Greece is not inclined to recognise the independent state which goes by the historical name, Macedonia." And subsequently Greece began an aggressive campaign against the new state, on the European stage. Official Greek state institutions, in close cooperation with the Greek media, worked to galvanise Greek public opinion at home and abroad in a hate campaign, which even resulted in some Greek nationalistic organisations calling for military action against Macedonia. According to the Greek anthropologist Karakasidou, at that time, there was a strong belief in Greek society that there would be a war in and for the Republic of Macedonia.

The negative campaign reached the point of buttressing Greek nationalist politicking with an ethnocentrism designed to create among the general Greek public, a warped view of the *other*. This dispute about the name of the Macedonia state, created by the Greek state, now has numerous dimensions and is strongly related to the historical myths surrounding the creation of the Greek nation. From the beginning these myths were utilised to justify and realise the creation and territorial enlargement of the Greek kingdom and the Greek nationalisation of newly acquired territories.

Knowing this, aids in understanding the length of the dispute, which can possess subtle variations depending on momentary conjunctures. However, the dispute has largely remained misunderstood by the West, which generally regards it as a strange anachronism. The Greek nationalistic creation of the

"Macedonian question", was explained by the editors of the Greek magazine, "Ios", in 2005, in the following terms: "the manner in which this problem was presented to the Greek public during 1991-1992, a sort of 'national-moral upbringing', contended by the official state academic of the Macedonian question, Evangelos Kofos, is based on 'historically false stereotypes' and 'a mix of falsified historical facts and half truths'. All of this resulted in blocking the development of any kind of realistic politicking and hilarity on the part of the international community."

The Official Position of Athens

The official positions adopted by Athens towards the newly created Balkan state were presented by the Greek government in the form of a document tabled at a session of the Council of Foreign Affairs of the European Economic Commission (EEC) on 5 December 1991. According to this document, in order to be recognised by Athens, the "Skopian Republic" needs to fulfil three conditions: 1. Change its state name "Macedonia". 2. Declare that it has no territorial preten-Greece. sions towards "Recognise" that there is no Macedonian minority in Greece. In spite of the fact that such demands are absurd and contrary to international law, official Greek politicking subsequently began an energetic campaign to promote its positions. As Danforth wrote, a primary aspect of the problem is that: "the dispute between Greeks and Macedonians is over which group has the right to indentify as Macedonian", which in turn, becomes a "dispute over names, flags, history and territory. However, in the last instance, it is a dispute over the meaning of the word 'Macedonia'."

Further to all of that, it is worth quoting Evangelos Kofos from a 1992 interview with a Bulgarian magazine. Kofos gave two arguments for not recognising Macedonia as 'Macedonia'. The first is that "the new state only encompasses part of the region of Macedonia" and the second is that "the name Macedonia is an inseparable element of Greek politics, culture and national identity." Some months prior to that, on 18 February 1992, in Athens, then Greek President, Constantinos Karamanlis, called a meeting of the leaders of all the major political parties in Greece - Constantinos Mitsotakis of New Democra-Andreas Papandreou of PASOK, Aleka Papariga of the Communist Party and Maria Damanaki of Sinaspizmos. At that meeting a discussion took place for the purpose of developing a unified strategy on national needs, including the issue of recognition of the new Macedonian state.

At a second meeting held on April 13, all the political leaders (with the exception of the Communist Party leader) issued a communiqué which declared that Greece is prepared to recognise the new state, only if it accepts the conditions which were laid down in December 1991 at the above mentioned EEC meeting, and that Greek interests make it unacceptable for the new state to contain the word "Macedonia" in its name.

In other words the Greeks are claiming that, for various "historical reasons", only they have the right to use the name. Thus, for example, a propagandistic advertisement published in the New York Times on 26 April

1992, contained 17 points aiming to "prove" that "historical right" is on the side of the Greek nation and state and that the newly independent state and its population are usurpers of everything related to the word "Macedonia". The Foreign Minister deputy Greece at that time, Teodoros Pangalos, declared: "We live next to a dangerous neighbour....their flag is a provocation. The claims that you are descendents of the Ancient Greeks flatter us, but we beg you to find something from your own territory."

The Greek public soon became the object of an intensified propaganda campaign led by state and national institutions, with the aim of creating fear in relation to the declaration of independence by Republic of Macedonia, which, it was argued, would constitute a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece. Thus the newly elected Premier, Papandreou, publicly stated: "That is a means by which in the more distant future, there might be created 'Macedonian' state. which would include Skopje, Pirin Macedonia and northern Greece. That's why the question is not simply about a name. It's a question which hides a serious national danger in the near future."

An Unofficial Minority

This political program affected the thinking of the bulk of Greek citizens, especially in northern Greece, where a permamnent media campaign was implemented and successfully created a nationalstic euphoria and hatred of Greece's new northern neighbour. The rhetoric eventually led to the opening up of a long held taboo topic of discussion in Greece. That is, the negation of the existence of an ethnic Macedonian minority in Greece. Constantine

Mitsotakis, Premier of Greece in the early 90's, authored the preface of the book "On the name Macedonia" **Teodoros** (by Skilakakis and published 1995). The title of that preface is: "From the Beginning I Saw the Issue of Skopje in its Real Dimensions". Mitsotakis goes on to reveal his reasons for concern: "That which disturbed me from the beginning was not the name of this state, but rather the problem for me was to not permit the creation of a second minority problem in western Macedonia ... if the problem of a Slavomacedonian minority was added in western Macedonia, then the situation would become untenable for Greek foreign policy." So for Mitsotakis a solution to the problem involved the Republic of Macedonia accepting the "nonexistence of a Slavomacedonian minority ... and acceeding to international treaties to cease all propaganda at the expense of Greece." ■

Dr. Dimitar Ljorovski-Vamvakovski

Translated from Macedonian by George Vlahov

ALEXIS TSIPRAS AND SYRIZA: THE END OF AN ILLUSION

By Jorgos Papadakis

A few months ago, when asked to present my opinion about the then newly elected SYRIZA government, I was quite modest. No major breakthroughs were to be expected in resolving the absurd name issue Greece has imposed on the Republic of Macedonia, since Athens' priorities were significantly different. No particular intentions or eagerness towards granting the Macedonians in Greece the essential human rights they had been asking for.

I was merely hoping that a small goodwill gesture might eventually lead to a slight change in the Greek attitude towards the Macedonians and the Republic of Macedonia. The example I used back then was the re-opening of the border crossing Markova Noga-German that would facilitate improved communication between the Macedonians and others living on the shores of Lake Prespa. It would also have significant benefits for the tourism in the region since Prespa could be marketed as a joint product with easy access from both the Greek and the Macedonian side.

This hope was revived last summer, when I saw the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs visiting Skopje. In a press conference there and when asked about the so-called "confidence building measures" he even mentioned the opening of new border crossings as one of the 11 concrete steps



the two countries could undertake to come closer.

And then...new elections. SYRIZA and Tsipras win again with a very clear mandate. The same individuals stay in key ministries, so one would think that this process would continue. With sheepish steps maybe but nevertheless go on. That was until Tsipras travelled to New York late September to attend the UN General Assembly. Leaving aside the fact that he made a fool of himself (and the Greeks) when he appeared at the Clinton Global Initiative event barely speaking or even comprehending what Bill Clinton was saying to him, we move to the more important Conference against Terrorism, a high-level fringe meeting organized by the US and its allies in an attempt to find ways to stop the expansion of the Islamic State.

Greece was of course invited. So was the Republic of Macedonia, under its constitutional name as the event was under the auspices of the Obama administration and we all know that America has recognized the country as Republic of Macedonia since 2004. But the Greek delegation pretended that they just landed on this planet. First, they demand that the Americans change the reference into the appalling "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". When the organizers refused to accommodate such a demand, they threatened they would not participate. And when this failed as well, they simply walked out of the conference, led by Tsipras himself.

Now, what is the difference between this move and similar ones performed by various Greek prime ministers from 1991 until the present? Simply none. Greece proved for yet another time that its only goal is to sabotage and undermine, to deny and destabilize, to be destructive rather than constructive. Even when all this comes with a high price for Greece itself, international isolation and mockery. Nothing is more "sacred" than not allowing the Republic of Macedonia to exist, than denying the existence of a distinct Macedonian identity.

But that's not all. A few weeks later, the fascists of Golden Dawn reveal a letter they received from the Greek minister of Foreign Affairs (yes, the one who wanted to create "confidence" between the two countries). In this letter, Nikos Kotzias kindly asks the descendants of Adolf Hitler as well as all other political parties to "propose certain names (sic!) that could be acceptable" for them!

In other words we do not only continue full speed

with the policy of "baptizing" another sovereign state to our liking but we also legitimize a criminal Nazi organization with pending trials on serious crimes to participate in the political dialogue. Something that would seem unthinkable even for the Samaras government, known for its extreme anti-Macedonian sentiments.

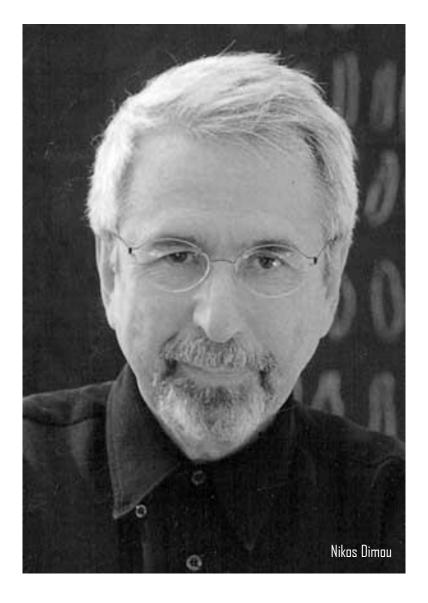
So what do you make out of all this? A very clear message that nothing will change for the Macedonians in Greece or the relations between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia under the SYRIZA government. There are plenty of reasons for such a behavior. First of all, we are not really talking about leftists here but about the worst kind of illiterate populists who additionally depend on the votes of the Independent Greeks party (Golden Dawn's first cousins) to stay in power.

Then, we have the excuse of the financial and migrant crisis. According to Alexis Tsipras, Greece is a poor but honest country that tries to cope with dignity and in a better way than Europe. Of course there is no dignity involved when you beg for extra EU funds because of the migrants or when you drag these poor souls all over Greece (so that everyone can benefit from them) and then ditch them in front of the Macedonian border. But this is a very good excuse not to touch issues you never really intended to tackle.

Last but not least, one should always remember that in Greece there are no ideologies. There is no left or right, liberal or center (I can literally count the very few exceptions that prove this rule). Greece's main and only ideology is "Hellenism", an abstract concept that combines total negativism with inferiority complexes and the constant fear of not exposing the fairy tale linking modern Greeks with the past. A dogma that was heard twice during the last month from the Greek president Pavlopoulos: "It is self-evident and axiomatical that Macedonia is Greek". It is a utopia to expect that Greece might ever consider to change this dogma, no matter who is in charge. Axiomatically.

Jorgos Papadakis

Jorgos Papadakis is a member of the secretariat of EFA Rainbow/Vinozhito, a political party struggling for the human rights of Macedonians in Greece.



IN RESPONSE TO NIKOS DIMOU

By Pavle Filipov Voskopoulos

The celebrated Greek writer, Nikos Dimou, recently made use of his pen in relation to the so-called "name dispute" between Greece and Macedonia. However, his form of 'realism' will not be of much use in convincing ordinary Greeks to reflect on the need to revise their views....

Dimou described Macedonia as historically and culturally, a very 'mixed salad', but he failed to note that what became Greece in 1830, had also been and still to a certain extent remains, a 'mixed salad'. The romantic European view of the ancient city states (often erroneously referred to as 'Greece' - in ancient times there was no such country) and Russian politicking convinced the Romios (or Romans, which was a term of self-identification that was widely used in what became Greece at the time of the creation of the Greek state and for decades after) and others (a Christian salad of speakers of Albanian, Vlach, Slav and other languages), early in the 19th century to choose to indentify as 'Greeks' and to call their country 'Greece', even though such a phenomenon had never previously existed.

Secondly, Dimou failed to mention that Greece's northern neighbour already officially possesses a prefix: 'Republic of' and therefore there is no need for it to be 're-christened' with prefixes like 'New' or 'Northern' - such an act would violate the basic right of a people to self-identify. Moreover, geographical prefixes like 'Upper' or 'Northern', may, in the long term, contribute to whetting irredentist appetites among politicians on either side of the border. As is well known, politicians seeking power can be very apt to promote such manipulative and megalomaniacal policies.

Thirdly, Dimou left out his narrative the pertinent fact that there exists in northern Greece a group of Greek citizens who define themselves ethnically as *Macedonian* and they do not use that term as an additional geographic qualifier to a Greek national identity as Cre-

tan and other Greeks do. These citizens of Greece possess a separate Macedonian ethnic identity, which the other citizens inhabiting the region, do not possess. This may cause some "confusion" because some of the other citizens sometimes choose to regionally identify as 'Macedonian', but when absolutely necessary they can easily be distinguished from the ethnic Macedonians as "Pontian Macedonians", "Albanian Macedonians", "Vlach Macedonians" and "Greek Macedonians" etc. It needs to be emphasised here that none of the latter groups identify as 'Macedonian' in an ethnic sense and therefore such a means of distinguishing them is quite appropriate.

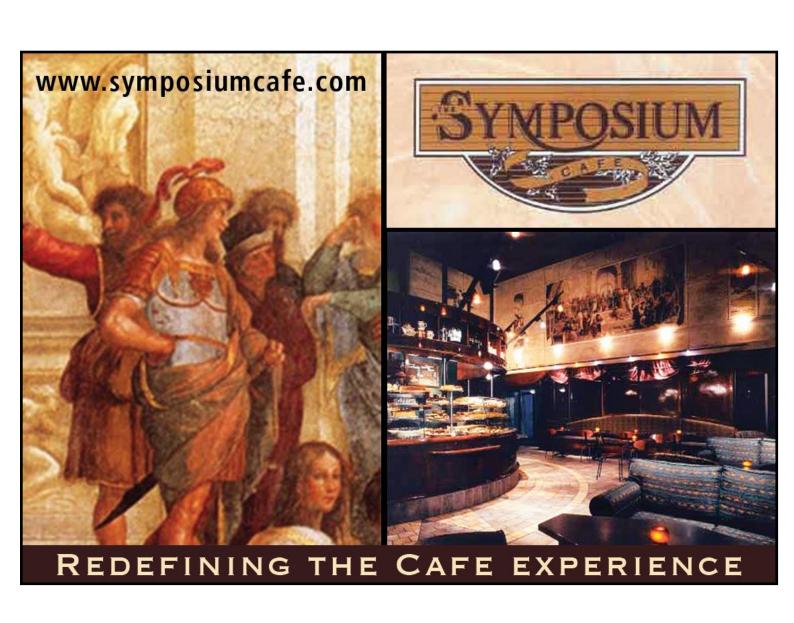
Finally, Dimou would have served his fellow Greek citizens well if he had reminded them that they have no more right than the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia or of any other country, to study, dis-

cuss or celebrate the ancient world....Greeks have no right to monopolise such activity. ■

Pavle Voskopoulos

Pavle Voskopoulos is a member of the secretariat of EFA Rainbow/Vinozhito, a political party struggling for the human rights of Macedonians in Greece.

Translated from Macedonian by George Vlahov.







EFA CONDEMNS ANTI-MACEDONIAN STATEMENTS OF THE GREEK PRESIDENT

Greece Should Finally Become a Modern European Democracy

of the Greek President Prokopis Pavlopoulos regard- from UN conferences only because the Republic of ing the Macedonian people and the absurd dispute Macedonia is there under its constitutional name and Greece has created over the name of another sover- by denying the mere existence of the Macedonian eign country.

who doubt the Greek-ness (!) of Macedonia are Rainbow and will unconditionally support the efforts making a fool of themselves" and that "Macedonia of the Macedonians and other minorities in Greece is and will remain Greek (!)".

Such words of irredentism and intolerance are not only unacceptable and completely unworthy of an EU statesman in the 21st century but they also con- The European Free Alliance - Rainbow/Vinozhito travene essential common sense. Everyone knows that there is a large number of ethnic Macedonians The European Free Alliance - Rainbow/Vinozhito is residing in the Greek part of Macedonia and that a political party of the Macedonian minority in there is an independent country called Republic of Greece. The party has offices in Florina/Lerin and Macedonia in Greece's northern border.

It is very disheartening to find out that the "new" political establishment in Greece is closely following

7/10/2015 - EFA is appalled by the recent statements the footsteps of its predecessors by walking away people.

Mr. Pavlopoulos was quoted to say that "...those EFA expresses its full solidarity to its member EFAto finally turn this country from a monolithic unitary relict of the past into a modern European democracy.

Edessa/Voden. For more information please visit www.vinozito.gr, or by email: vinozito@otenet.gr or on +30 23850 46548.



NEWS IN BRIEF

Compiled and Summarized by Mitch Belichovski

July 6 it was reported that the Croatian President, Grabar Kitarovic said that "the name issue with Greece can't continue to block Macedonian admittance to NATO and EU forever." The statement followed an official visit to Croatia by Macedonian President Gjorge Ivanov. The Macedonian President spoke highly of the support given by Croatia to the continued integration of the Balkans.

July 7 it was reported that Jim Johnson of Bike Tours Direct was so moved by Macedonian landscapes and culture that he worked with local outfitter Ride Macedonia to develop "Discover Macedonia", a 9 day guided tour involving cycling and hiking. The tours highlight is the town of Ohrid, which is a UNESCO World Heritage site and where one of Europe's oldest settlements was founded, some 5,000 years old.

July 8 it was reported that the Macedonian Interior Ministry was informed by the Kosovo police that they have arrested Sulejman Osmani, a member of the group of armed insurgents that tried to take over a neighbourhood in the town of Kumanovo in early

May. A Kosovo judge ordered a 30 day detention for Osmani, while Macedonian Justice Ministry initiates an extradition procedure.

July 9 it was reported that public infrastructure, robust credit growth, improving labour market conditions and strong exports continue to support growth in Macedonia, said the International Monetary Fund following its regular visit to the country. Macedonia's projected annual growth of 3.2 percent is amongst the highest in the region.

July 15 it was reported that Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski held early this morning a phone conversation with the US Assistant Secretary of State, Victoria Nuland, during which she congratulated him on the agreement reached to solve the political crisis in the country, the Government's press service had said. Prime Minister Gruevski underscored the Government's commitment to pursuing reforms aimed at improving standards in all spheres, economic growth and job creation.

July 19 it was reported that over the next three days, extreme high tempera-

tures up to 40 degrees are expected in Macedonia. Mobile healthcare points have been set up all across Macedonia where citizens can turn to for medical advice on how to follow recommendations from the health authorities. Due to the rising temperatures and the increased likelihood for the outbreak of food poisoning, citizens are advised to thoroughly wash produce i.e. vegetables and fruits, before consumption.

July 21 it was reported that President Gjorge Ivanov bestowed on Tuesday evening the Order of Merit for Macedonia to emigrant associations including the French-Macedonian "Blaze Koneski", based in Mantes-la-Jolie, France; Cultural and Sports Association "Prespa-Birlik" from Malmo, Sweden; "Macedonian Ensemble" from Toronto, Canada; "Australian--Macedonian Theatre" from Sydney, Australia; and "Ohrid -Social Company Naum Ohridski" from Melbourne, Australia. dressing the laureates, Ivanov expressed gratitude to the Diaspora and called it to help the fatherland in this period of challenges.

July 23 it was reported that the Assistant Parliament President of New South

Wales (Australia) Frederick John Nile has voiced support for Macedonia's recognition under its constitutional name and to enter the NATO alliance. He noted that he was cooperating with the Macedonian community, especially with the one in Sydney and that he has experienced a constant positive cooperation with the church groups and other kinds of organizations.

July 30 it was reported that about 3,000 apartments are built in Aerodrom (suburb in Skopje) each year. According to Ivica Jakimovski, member of the Construction Chamber, the net price per square meter stands at EUR 900. The price depends on the location, the utilities, expenses, revision costs and energy efficiency among others. Jakimovski confirmed that the demand has risen by 30% due to convenient interest rates.

August 4 it was reported that more than 200 facilities, private houses, state property, farmland and infrastructure have been severely damaged by the storm that hit the Tetovo region on Monday night. All residents who have suffered damages of any kind will receive financial aid in the amount of MKD 30,000 provided by the Macedonian Government, said Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Pesevski.

August 6 it was reported that after a month's long work, a team of archaeologists led by Dragi Mitrevski have finished excavations on the palace discovered in the ancient Bylazora site. The city, whose ruins are in central Macedonia, were a major centre in antiquity. The site has been investigated for the past 30 years, but extensive work has only been performed for the past several years, after the central town area and citadel were discovered.

August 9 it was reported that Skopje and Sofia are very close to reaching the

agreement on good neighbourly relations, Telegraf.mk reads. Several points of the agreement are disputed and Bulgaria insists on these issues, arguing those are a condition for the support Macedonia needs on its Euro-Atlantic road. One of the controversial points is the celebration of joint historical dates, such as the Ilinden uprising. Bulgaria will probably not insist on joint celebration of state holidays. Instead, the countries will decide on their own whether and in what form it will invite official delegations from the neighbouring country.

August 10 it was reported that a total of 39 poets from abroad will take part in the 54th edition of the Struga Poetry Evenings, the renowned literary festival that will take place between 26 and 31 August. Mexico will be the country in focus for this year's Struga Poetry Evenings, and four Mexican poets will come to present their work. "The festival will offer both the most significant and renowned international poets and upcoming poets", festival director Mite Stefoski told reporters at a press conference on Monday.

August 16 it was reported that parts of a settlement and remains of what is believed to have been a luxurious residence or palace, dating from the 3rd-4th century BC have been found at Gradiste archaeological site near northern Macedonian city of Kumanovo. The results of the most recent excavations are very important. As these findings point to a connection between Kumanovo, Skopje, Ovce Pole and South Morava region i.e. they are part of the same civilization.

August 17 it was reported that OKTA has not halted the agreement to supply Makpetrol with oil but has temporarily suspended the supply until the latter's bank account is put back to normal. The account of Makpetrol JSC, as well as a number

of other companies, has been frozen on Monday following the decision of a Criminal Court judge and on the demand of the Prosecution Office

August 18 it was reported that President Gjorge Ivanov, speaking at the ceremony to mark the Day of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, said that the continued blockade of Macedonia's membership in NATO is affecting the efficiency of the defence system. Macedonia was deemed prepared to join NATO back in 2008, at the Bucharest Summit, but due to Greek objections over the name issue, the invitation was delayed.

August 19 it was reported by BIRN that on the anniversary of the devastating Skopje earthquake in 1963. BIRN Macedonia published online interactive database "Skopje 2014 Uncovered" documenting the new classical look of Skopje in the past five years. The database documents and maps works built or under construction with the official contracts among other statistics regarding the project. As of July 26, this data is available to the public in Macedonian language. An English version will be available soon.

August 20 it was reported that the Macedonian Government has declared a crisis situation and deployed army troops along the southern and the northern border, Telegraf.mk reports. The reason for this newly declared situation is the surge of migrants whose number is growing each day. A government crisis headquarters is to be established that will be organized by the Crisis Management Centre, which will be tasked with the preparation of an action plan.

August 30 it was reported that based on trends in Turkey and Greece, the UN agency for refugees

(UNHCR) predicts that the number of newly arrived refugees in Macedonia will soon rise to 3,000 a day, stated a joint report issued Sunday by UN agencies in Macedonia. According to their estimates, 80 percent of those entering the country fled from the war in Syria, a factor that automatically qualifies them for international protection.

September 8 it was reported that Macedonia celebrates 24 years of independence during a period of political crisis, a crisis that has resulted in an agreement for organizing early elections in April 2016. In 24 years, Macedonia has "survived" about 14 election cycles, local, parliamentary and presidential elections. Kiro Gligorov, Boris Trajkovski, Branko Crvenkovski led the country so far, whereas the incumbent Macedonian President Gjorge Ivanov has won a second term, which is to end in 2019.

September 10 it was

reported that Macedonia is considering building a fence on its border following the example of Hungary to stop the large influx of migrants, the Foreign Minister Nikola Poposki said in an interview with the Hungarian weekly "Figelo". The head of Macedonian Foreign Ministry added that Macedonia is doing the best in its power to register all the migrants. "But whenever we take seriously the requirements of our European partners about what should be done in an attempt to control the border and stop the people. we immediately get negative international reactions", Nikola Poposki said.

September 20 it was

reported that Macedonia is left to tackle migrant influx on its own. "Macedonia is blamed for the situation with the migrants although they come to us from a territory of the European Union", said the country's President Gjorge Ivanov in an interview for the Polish newspaper Gazeta Wyborcza. "The migrants come to us from the territory of Greece, which has already been granted EUR 450 million by the EU. So far, we have received only EUR 90,000" Ivanov noted.

October 1 it was reported that the World Bank Board of Directors approved a EUR 83 million IBRD loan for the Road Upgrading and Development Project in the Republic of Macedonia. The project aims to improve transport connectivity for road users along Corridor 8 between Skopje and Deve Bair and to improve the asset management and planning function of the Public Enterprise for State Roads

October 6 it was reported that the Macedonian Diaspora has expressed fierce disapproval of the announcements regarding the possibility to deprive expatriates from the right to vote at parliamenelections tary next year, Telegraf.mk has learnt. Dejan Adzijoski, a Macedonian living in Geneva, has sent a letter to the SDSM president, Zoran Zaev, stressing that the Diaspora is utterly angry by the moves his party is taking these past several months.

October 13^{it}

was reported that Israeli touroperator "Arkia International" plans to launch a direct flight to Ohrid, enabling Israeli tourists to spend their summer holidays in Macedonia. It is expected that two flights would operate on a weekly basis as of 1 June 2016.

October 19^{it}

was reported that there is still no agreement on the new ministers, said DUI party president Ali Ahmeti, after the meeting with EU Enlargement Commissioner Johannes Hahn at the EU Residence in the Skopje neighbourhood of Przino, Telegraf.mk reports. Almost all the

time frames on the implementation of the points contained in the Przino Agreement have been breached already, therefore political leaders and EU Enlargement Commissioner Hahn are facing long hours of negotiations.

October 28^{it}

was reported Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski wrote on his Twitter account on Tuesday that Macedonian citizens will decide their own future, right after several foreign ambassadors held a press-conference in front of the Government building, Telegraf.mk reports. On Tuesday, several ambassadors from EU member countries, on behalf of the EU and the US, demanded from VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM to uphold the Przino Agreement commitments and to find a solution to the political crisis. They pointed out that the ruling party has a responsibility to implement the reforms, while SDSM should give up its intention to publish wiretapped materials in the future.

Compiled and Summarised by Mitch Belichovski AUSTRALIAN MACEDONIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE
presents

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SATURDAY 12TH MARCH 2016 7:00PM GRAND NERET RECEPTIONS

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8
SPECIAL GUESTS:



Professor Victor Friedman (University of Chicago) and Dr. Jim Hlavac (Monash University)

Both will speak about the publication of the book: On Macedonian Metters which was recently published to mark the passing of 100 years since the partition of Macedonia. The book was the result of a scholarly conference organised by the AMHRC at Monash University in 2013. Professor Friedman will also talk about the conference on Macedonian metters that was organised by the AMHRC, last July in Lerin, Aegean Macedonia.

COPIES OF THE BOOK WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE ON THE NIGHT.



FOR TICKETS & INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT:

Tase Filipov - 0431 056 353



ANASTASIOS TAMIS: A SOURCE OF HATRED

Melbourne, Australia— 8/4/2015

A prominent ethnic Greek community spokesman, Anastasios Tamis, in an opinion piece recently penned for the Greek-Australian newspaper, *Neos Kosmos* (1/4/2015*), referred to Macedonians as possessing a "pseudo-identity". The shameless use of such offensive language appears to be part of an attempt to buttress a repugnant desire to undermine respect for Macedonians and the right of Macedonians to maintain their identity and culture in general.

It seems that Tamis' bigoted outburst came in response to calls recently made in the Australian parliament by West Australian MP, Luke Simpkins, for the Australian government to show respect for the Republic of Macedonia by recognising its official name.

In his intolerant and disrespectful rant, Tamis also made questionable and in any case, irrelevant assertions in relation to ancient/medieval history and liberally used the offensive "Macedoslavs" term, in reference to Macedoni-

ans. The affixation of a "Slavonic" label to the end of the name of the Macedonian language, was ruled by the Australian judiciary, in a landmark 2000 human rights case, to be an unlawful violation of the Racial Discrimination Act

Finally in a grubby attempt to dissuade Australia's politicians from supporting moves to recognise the Republic of Macedonia, Tamis made use of dubious population figures in order to make an implied voting numbers argument. Tamis claimed "550,000" Greeks in Australia and only "70,000" Macedonians (he used the offensive "Macedoslavs"). The official ABS census data of 2011 shows that there are only 378,270 Greeks in Australia and moreover, that there are 93,570 Macedonians.

The Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee deplores Tamis' attempt to spread hatred and expresses the hope that more sensible, tolerant and respectful members of the ethnic Greek community will find a way to

supplant purveyors of intolerance like Tamis, who tarnish that community's image. There is no room in multicultural Australia for such intolerance and we call on the wider community and political leaders to condemn it.

*http://neoskosmos.com/news/en/ Superficial-and-provocative-Simpkins

Established in 1984, the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (AMHRC) is a nongovernmental organisation that informs and advocates before international institutions, governments and broader communities about combating racism and promoting human rights. Our aspiration is to ensure that Macedonian communities and other excluded groups throughout the world, are recognised, respected and afforded equitable treatment. For more information please www.macedonianhr.org.au, email info@macedonianhr.org.au or via +61 3 9329 8960.

THE RISING TIDE OF MACEDONIAN WOMEN WRITERS

By Dr. Michael Seraphinoff

It was not so very long ago that Macedonian women writers were as scarce as hens' teeth. In more recent times women have begun to assert their rightful place as equals in the literary arts in Macedonia. I documented some of this recently in a study I did for a presentation for the 9th Macedonian-North American Conference on Macedonian Studies held in mid November of 2015 at the University of Chicago. In that study, entitled: "The changing canon of Macedonian literature (as exemplified by the Prescribed List of Authors of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program)", I drew upon documentation from that academic organization that I have worked with for the past 17 years.

As I state in my study, as the canon of literature that Macedonian students read undergoes change over time, the process and direction of such change can be an interesting subject for research. The academically challenging diploma program of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO.org) in secondary schools in the Republic of Macedonia, and in the World College system worldwide, provides one useful window into this process. The Macedonian students in this program study works of world literature from a Prescribed Book List as well as works of Macedonian literature from a Prescribed List of Authors of Macedonian literature. These lists have undergone a number of changes over the years.

When the program was in its formative stages in the late 1990's, participating schools, through the advice of the teachers of Macedonian literature, provided the International Baccalaureate Organization with the initial Prescribed Book List of authors of Macedonian Literature. It included the following:

DRAMA:

КРЛЕ	РИСТО	3	XX век
ПЛЕВНЕШ	ЈОРДАН	8	XX век и почеток на XXI век
СТЕФАНОВСКИ	ГОРАН	3	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ЧАШУЛЕ	КОЛЕ	3	XX век
ЧЕРНОДРИНСКИ	ВОЈДАН	3	почеток на XX век

NOVELS:

АНДОНОВСКИ	ВЕНКО	8	XX век и почеток на XXI век
АНДРЕЕВСКИ	ПЕТРЕ М	5	XX век
ГЕОРГИЕВСКИ	ТАШКО	50	XX век
ЈАНЕВСКИ	СЛАВКО	3	XX век
ПЕТРОВСКИ	TPAJAH	3	XXI век
ЧИНГО	живко	3	XX век

POETRY:

АНДРЕЕВСКИ	ПЕТРЕ М	3	ХХ век
КЛЕТНИКОВ	ЕФТИМ	3	XX век
миладинов	КОНСТАНТИН	3	XIX век
ПАВЛОВСКИ	РАДОВАН	3	XX век
ПРЛИЧЕВ	ГРИГОР	3	XIX век
РАЦИН	КОЧО	3	почеток на XX век
ТОДОРОВСКИ	ГАНЕ	3	ХХ век

SHORT STORIES:

ВЛАДОВА	ЈАДРАНКА	9	XX век
КОНЕСКИ	БЛАЖЕ	60	XX век i po~etok na XXI vek
ТОЧКО	ИВАН	₹0	XX век i po~etok na XXI vek
ЦЕПЕНКОВ	МАРКО	8	XIX век

When that initial list of authors was eventually revised in 2009, again with input from teachers from participating schools, this is what the list became:

DRAMA:

дуковски	Дејан	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
КРЛЕ	Ристо	ð	XX век
МИРЧЕВСКА	Жанина	9	XX век и почеток на XXI век
HACEB	Сашко	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ПЛЕВНЕШ	Јордан	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
СТЕФАНОВСКИ	Горан	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ЧАШУЛЕ	Коле	ð	XX век
ЧЕРНОДРИНСКИ	Војдан	ð	почеток на XX век

NOVELS:

АНДОНОВСКИ	Венко	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
АНДРЕЕВСКИ	Петре	50	XX век
ГЕОРГИЕВСКИ	Ташко	70	XX век
ГИЛЕВСКИ	Паскал	50	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ДИМКОВСКА	Лидија	4	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ЈАНЕВСКИ	Славко	0	XX век
МИНЕВСКИ	Блаже	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
УРОШЕВИЌ	Тања	9	XXI век
ЧИНГО	Живко	3	XX век

POETRY:

АНДРЕЕВСКИ	Петре М.	3	XX век
ДИМКОВСКА	Лидија	9	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ДИРЈАН	Лиљана	9	XX век и почеток на XXI век
ЃУЗЕЛ	Богомил	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
конески	Блаже	3	XX век
миладинов	Константин	ð	XIX век
ПАВЛОВСКИ	Радован	ð	XX век
ПРЛИЧЕВ	Григор	8	XIX век
РАЦИН	Кочо	ð	почеток на XX век
РЕНЏОВ	Михаил	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
тодоровски	Гане	ď	XX век
УРОШЕВИЌ	Влада	3	XX век
ШОПОВ	Ацо	3	XX век

SHORT STORIES:

АНДОНОВСКИ	Венко	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
АНДРЕЕВСКИ	Петре М.	ð	XX век
владова	Јадранка	9	XX век
миневски	Блаже	ð	XX век и почеток на XXI век
МИХАЈЛОВСКИ	Драги	7 0	XX век и почеток на XXI век
КОРВЕЗИРОСКА	Оливера	2	XX век и почеток на XXI век
УРОШЕВИЌ	Влада	ð	XX век
ЦЕПЕНКОВ	Марко	3	XIX век

When we compare the older and the newer versions of these lists. there are a number of obvious changes over the decade and a half of the program. The most obvious of these is the increasing number of women authors. It has risen from one to five, across all genres. Jadranka Vladova, my dear old friend and former teacher, was the lone female author on the list, in the section on short stories, in 1998. By 2009 the list came to include Olivera Kjorveziroska among short story writers, Liljana Dirjan among the poets, Tanja Uroshevich and Lidija Dimkovska, among the novelists, and Zhanina Mirchevska among the dramatists. Obviously we see a significant change in the recognition of the literary works of Macedonian women writers between then and now.

There are, no doubt, a number of factors that have influenced this change. I remember a day in the summer of 1989, when I was sitting in the office of MANU librarian Radmila Baskic, drinking coffee with her and several of her female colleagues. For some reason, it popped into my head to ask this gathering of bright, educated women, why there were so

many male Macedonian writers, but so few women. They looked at me, as if I must be quite the fool, to even ask such a question. And then they proceeded to give me quite the earful. How, they asked me, did I imagine that Macedonian women had the time to devote to serious writing when they were responsible for work duties, home chores and nearly all childcare?

As an illustration of the quality of the work of Macedonian women writers, let me share a version of one of the now deceased professor Jadranka Vladova's short stories:

"The Same":

My father takes a long time to climb the two steps. He hooks the handle of his cane on his pocket, gropes for the door frame with his right hand and, hunched over and panting, enters the kitchen. He cautiously sits in his chair and with a sigh proclaims that we have a turtle.

My mother raises her eyes, reddened from her chopping onions, and they sharply scold him through a film of tears.

I recognize what's happening: he has mentioned nuns in brown habits with bluish-violet halos around their heads: the monastery for whose construction my grandfather collected a thousand gold coins; the water that gurgles just under the bedroom; unknown people with bloated faces who stand in the garden and stare at our windows when the moon is full; the pictures one can enter (even more easily than mirrors!) just by stepping high into the frame; travels that require only the bluish cold darkness behind closed eyelids...

But my father's fabrications have never included a reference to animals

Yes, there were winged horses for the angels in his visions of healing... And, yes! Once, returning from the street (with a thick sweater over his striped pajamas) he said that exactly ten donkeys were waiting for their tailor. But this was all (still) at the beginning of his illness, and we took it as a very successful joke at the expense of Uncle Risto – the saddler.

So now I ask:

What turtle?"

Very pink," he says and calmly inhales the smoke of the freshly lit cigarette.

Without a word, in resignation my mother wipes her tears with the wrist of her right arm, and I steal a glance at my father's wrinkled, bewildered face, whose expression prompts my second question:

Where did you see it?"

In the yard, 'he says with that uncertain tone in his voice that so often has hinted at the nesting places for the wonders similar to the ones found in the books I like. I often draw the wrong conclusions, but at once the thought occurs to me that my father is just getting warmed up. I return to my book, thinking the appearance of a turtle in our yard, unusual as it might be, is not a miracle great enough for me to put up with all of my father's asides and repetitive digressions. He will not miss the chance of mentioning the old monastery, and then my mother will raise her voice:

You and your monasteries! And in our yard!"and the magic will evaporate, turning into an ordinary family quarrel.

My father, oblivious to all outside influences, sinks into himself. He strokes his powerless stiff arm with the other in measured, slow movements, the only remedy for the pain, strokes that stretch the only thin and transparent thread that connects him to the ordinary world. When he opens his mouth to say something he frightens us because we expect him to start moaning. The ritual of stroking his arm is always accompanied by moaning and his honsense that a big worm is drilling holes in his

elbow.

My mother has yelled at him many times, annoyed with this "stupidity."

What kind of worm? What kind of worm?"

And he stares at her wide pupils and answers dispassionately:

White."

But this time the scene is not repeated. And my father whispers the reason:

It's not so bad off. There is a lot of greenery..."

After a few days we adapted to my father's new fabrication. Everybody knew there was a turtle in our yard. Some mockingly asked questions about it. (What does it eat, where does it go, how does it sleep, where did it come from?) Some, when my father started telling his story, just nodded their heads without much concern, uninterested. calm. somewhat bored, but also undoubtedly with a pang of anxiety for the Boor, fragile, and gentle creature under the shell. And the shell, it might get crushed if you happen to step on it."

For a long time my mother would heave a sigh and lift her eyes, but this also passed, and she started cracking jokes. The your turtle" from her shouted diatribes turned into our turtle, spoken in coy feminine tones of mockery to prod her husband as if he were impotent, especially in the rare moments when a thin smile would rearrange the network of wrinkles on his dark face. But he remained stubborn, even in the new mood, and stood by his claim: We do have a turtle in the yard!



Our yard is truly marvelous. All who enter for the first time crook their necks to take in the Big Tree. And they wonder aloud at the female loyalty of the ivy clinging along the entire length of the tree. They admiringly sniff the air when they are struck by the fragrance of the flowers, and they smack their lips prosaically when their eyes eagerly nibble at the image of the future salad within the frame of flowers – tomatoes, cucumbers, and peppers.

And the greatest miracles, my father says, are in our yard upside down. As if in a mirror, the top of the monastery bell tower, that is, the Big Tree, is as deep as it is high. The roots of the flowers are the same as these, but even prettier from the other side. Under the marble basin of the former Turkish bath (where my mother planted petunias) there is a gurgling spring that can be heard at night in the deep silence of the bedroom. No, there are no tomatoes and peppers like these. That's right. None. Oh, the guests know how to admire the underground image of our yard. But because of many of them, my father breaks off his story, leaving them to the munching of a salad that gives them goose bumps, a certain sign that only we, the privileged few, know the difference between what is important and what is not.

Our guests inhale the fragrant air with nostrils spread wide. My father, shoulders hunched, sits in the chair that more than anything seems to hinder movements to and from the kitchen. From there, where the succulence of our yard has relocated, my mother carries dishes.

My father stares into the distance. His glance glides along the concrete pathway and, like a

magnet, pulls the dark spot from the denseness of the parsley. Taptap. He lowers his gaze for a thread of light, fearfully staring, following the clumsy movements of the turtle along the pathway. The guests have their backs turned. I stare at it with my mouth open, and my mother, stepping from the kitchen and faced with the miracle on the trail, drops the platter. (Inevitably of salad.)

I keep watching the turtle, but out of the corner of my eye I catch a glimpse of the frozen figure of my father, whose gaze protectively steers it into the safety of the thick shade of okra and eggplant. In the kitchen, my mother is fuming over the freshly sliced vegetables and whispers sharply:

It's not pink, you see! And I'm sure, positive, that it's the small turtle we brought from Vodno when you went there for a summer holiday. With the children from the kindergarten. I'm sure. S-u-r-e! It has just grown up. Nothing strange after all."

The turtle incident inspired me to listen with new attention to my father, who tells the old stories with a new vitality. My mother observes our bond suspiciously and from time to time mumbles: Pink turtles only exist in cartoons!"

Many days after my encounter with the turtle, my father woke me up one morning by touching me with his cold, but healthy hand. Disheveled, his pajamas unbuttoned, he barely leaned against the bed. His eyes sparkling with his plea, he stammered that I had to save it... She had thrown it in the garbage. I had to get up. He was sorry, but the garbage men would be coming.

Shivering, I passed through the fog that had rolled into the yard. But, in fact, my mother had thrown the turtle into the garbage and it helplessly tried, using the five openings in its shell to turn over, to swing itself using the roundness of its back... I looked it at closely – it had a whitish, smooth underside, but with dry, scaly legs with sharp claws, with an awful head from which dark little eyes glittered, pleading for help. But... I couldn't touch it because five little snakes slithered in and out of the shell's openings...

Panting heavily, I returned through the yard, yelling to my mother that she had to get it out IMMEDIATELY. Yawning, barefoot, she sauntered down the pathway and then returned slowly, afterwards slurping her coffee restlessly. After a brief question, my father limped to the shed as if under a great burden. He peered for a long time through the crack in the old door and then struggled down the path again to us, even more slowly. Stammering, he whispered that it was awful. I should never leave him alone. He would break himself in two trying to help the poor pink creature. Yes. In the beginning it looks like a snake, but that should be overlooked. You have to reach in your hand and turn it over, not be disgusted by its shell, or afraid of its claws... Then it becomes pink.

My father died one night as I, whether because of a long night reading, or because of some predetermined fate of a person to be alone – slept deeply.

The next day I looked in shock at his body in the casket. The crossed arms were now symmetrical, both immobile, with large, uncut, curved fingernails. The fine capillaries on his forehead and cheeks created a bluish shadow over his hazy visage...

The sleeve of the palsied arm had a big hole at the elbow. My mother, noticing my gaze, whispered:

Moths ate our clothes."

But I knew the big white worm had left through that hole. Now that pain was completely out of the question.

The night after the burial I dreamt of a huge turtle on the pathway of our yard. Turned on its back. With huge claws poking through the openings for its legs. It displayed its bent head. Just like a snake's head. Revolting. But it looked at me with those

familiar, sad eyes, pleading for help. I was sweating as I turned it over. I struggled as if I were lifting a paralyzed man. But after I had turned it, pink, like a mobile bush, it disappeared into the garden

I was awakened by my own weeping, and the cold air flowed towards me through the open window, rhythmically banging the shutters. With my back breaking, leaning over the tear-stained dark yard, I yelled to the top of the Tree/Bell Tower:

Fraanz! My father has turned into a turtle."

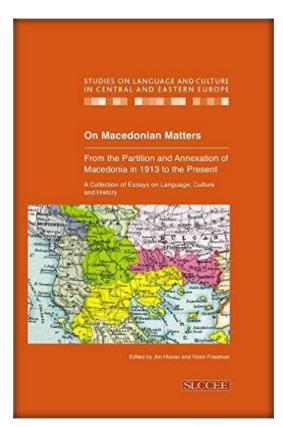
Jadranka Vladova, from the collection VODEN ZNAK.

Dr. Michael Seraphinoff

NOTE FROM DR. SERAPHINOFF

If any of you would like to read something altogether different by me, please take a look at my recently published novel, available as an eBook at Amazon, under the title ADRIFT ON THE SALISH SEA, author Mladen Serafimov (my pseudonym).

'On Macedonian Matters', Verlag Otto Sagner, Berlin & Washington, 2015.



'On Macedonian Matters' is the title of a new book edited by Professor Victor Friedman (University of Chicago) and Dr. Jim Hlavac (Monash University) that was recently released by the international academic publishing house: Verlag Otto Sagner. The book contains 15 chapters written by various scholars from a variety of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. These texts emerged from discussions at an international scholarly conference which was facilitated by the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (AMHRC) at Monash University in 2013.

The focus is on modern Macedonian history, as the subtitle of the book indicates: From the Partition and Annexation of Macedonia in 1913 to the Present. From the publisher's blurb, we learn that a common theme running through the book is a concern about the subjection of the Republic of Macedonia to "blockade politics" and an "absence of respect and recognition for Macedonian language, nationality and ethnicity".

Copies of the book may be purchased from the AMHRC website here: http://macedonianhr.org.au/contents/111

Or directly from the publisher's website, here: http://www.kubon-sagner.com/opac.html?record=6027

A SUCCESSFUL SCHOLARLY CONFERENCE IN LERIN

Melbourne, Toronto & Lerin 4/8/2015



The Australian Macedonian Hu-Rights Committee man (AMHRC), the European Free Alliance - Rainbow (Vinozito), Macedonian Human Rights Movement International (MHRMI) in Canada, OMO "Ilinden" PIRIN, and the European Free Alliance - EFA (Brussels) were honoured to host an international scholarly conference in the town of Lerin (Florina in Greek) from 16-19 July 2015 entitled Macedonia: On the Periphery of European Modernity.

The aim of this multidisciplinary conference was to make a substantial contribution to an understanding of modern Macedonian history from a variety of perspectives, including sociological, linguistic, anthropological and political. An attempt by members of an ultra-nationalist Greek organization to disrupt the conference on the first day was unsuccessful.

The conference, as well as the launch of the book The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle: Volume II (1905-1908) by Greek author Dimitris Lithoxou attracted the interest of Macedonians from a myriad of locales in

Macedonia. The high quality of the delivered papers, will result in an academic publication that will prove useful in tertiary institutions and beyond.

The AMHRC, MHRMI and all of its co-organizers would like to express their sincere gratitude to all the speakers and attendees in general, though especially those from among the Macedonian minority in Greece.

Lastly, special thanks are due to the following sponsors of the conference for their generous fisupport: Macedonian Community of WA (Inc.) (Perth, Australia); Macedonian Orthodox Community of Newcastle and District (Newcastle, Australia); Macedonian Orthodox Community of the City of Wollongong "St Dimitrija Solunski" (Wollongong, Australia); Macedonian Orthodox Community of Geelong "St John the Baptist" (Geelong, Australia); Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne Victoria and (St.George, Epping); European Free Alliance (Brussels) and certain generous, anonymous individuals from the Macedonian

community in Australia.

Established in 1984, the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee (AMHRC) is a nongovernmental organisation that informs and advocates before international institutions, governments and broader communities about combating racism and promoting human rights. Our aspiration is to ensure that Macedonian communities and other excluded groups throughout the world, are recognised, respected and afforded equitable treatment. For more information please visit

www.macedonianhr.org.au, email info@macedonianhr.org.au or via +61 3 9329 8960.

Macedonian Human Rights **Movement International** (MHRMI) has been active on human and national rights issues for Macedonians and other oppressed peoples since 1986. For

www.mhrmi.org, twitter.com/ mhrmi, facebook.com/mhrmi, info@mhrmi.org, +1 416-850-

more information:



Настевски: За македонското прашање научно ќе дебатираме на тлото на Грција

Има уште многу прашања што не се доволно истражени, има многу теми што допрва треба да се отвораат, има многу други аспекти кои треба да се однос истражуваат во македонското прашање. Затоа и ги организираме овие научни конференции, вели разговорот за МКД.мк Васко Настевски, член на одборот на Австралиско-македонскиот комитет за човекови права.

Настевски (43) е доктор по правни науки, професор на универзитетот во Мелбурн и правен советник во државната австралиска администрација. Тој е роден во Австралија, а неговите родители по потекло се од Битола и Демир Хисар.

"Пред две години на Универзитетот "Монаш" во Мелбурн, Австралија, организиравме научна конференција по повод 100

крајот годишнината од Втората Балканска војна поделбата на Македонија со Букурешкиот мировен договор. Како резултат на тој успешен настан, неодамна, од страна на реномираната германска академска издавачка куќа "Верлаг Ото Сагнер" (Verlag Otto Sagner) беше издадена книга ,,3a македонските работи: Ол поделбата Македонија до денес". Како организатори на таа научна конференција, тогаш решивме годинава да ја продолжиме таа работа со уште една таква конференција, ама овојпат во Лерин, Грција. во Ова навистина ќе биде интересно да се види - истакнати светски научници да расправаат прашања македонското BO Грција", вели Настевски.

Тој вели дека организаторите на оваа конференција, Австралиско-македонскиот

комитет за човекови права од Мелбурн, Виножито, партијата македонското малшинство Грција Европската И слободна алијанса од Брисел, за сите нивни планови во врска со настанот во Лерин редовно информираат ΓИ грчките власти. Досега никој ΟД организаторите добиле не никакво предупредување, официјално или неофицијално, за можни пречки во однос на реализацијата конференцијата.

"Сѐ е веќе готово. Закупен е хотелот, договорено е местото одржување конференцијата и не гледам зошто некој би правел проблеми. Ова е добар начин и Грција да покаже дека навистина демократска држава. Ова е академска конференција. Од 16 до 19 јули во Лерин ќе дебатираат научници. пристигнат научници од цел

грчки свет, тука има И професори. He сакаме да никаква даваме политичка обоеност. Во Лерин водечките македонисти од цел свет ќе расправаат за македонското прашање. Овој настан се смета за историски затоа што за првпат во поновата историја за македонското прашање ќе биде дискутирано на научно ниво, токму на тлото на соседна што Грција, каде e најпроблематизирано", вели Настевски.

Учесници на конференцијата ќе бидат Виктор Фридман од Универзитетот Чикаго на (САД), Грејс Филдер ΟД Универзитетот Аризона на (САД), Ендру Pococ Универзитетот на Торонто (Канада), Акис Гаврилидис од

Универзитетот на Солун (Грција), Џорџ Влахов од "Ла троб

универзитетот" (Австралија), Васко Настевски Универзитетот на Мелбурн (Австралија), Катерина Колозова од Институтот за хуманистички социјални И науки, Марија Пандевска и Македонка Митрева ΟД Институтот национална за историја при УКИМ (Македонија).

Овој мултидисциплинарен настан има за цел да даде суштински придонес кон разбирањето на современата македонска национална историја ΟД различни академски перспективи, вклучувајќи социолошки, лингвистички, антрополошки и политички аспект, велат организаторите и додаваат дека за две години ќе организираат уште една, трета таква научна конференција.

Конференцијата во Лерин ќе заврши на 19 јули кога истакнатите академски имиња и претставници од Европскиот Парламент за првпат ќе имаат можност да присуствуваат на традиционалниот македонски културен фестивал "Илинден" во село Овчарани, Грција. ■

А.Д.

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ЏЕЈСОН КАМБОВСКИ, АВСТРАЛИСКО-МАКЕДОНСКИ КОМИТЕТ ЗА ЧОВЕКОВИ ПРАВА

По сè што направи Грција, време е да ја видат во поинакво светло и да ѝ извршат притисок за името

ИСКРА КОРОВЕШОВСКА

ошне е лицемерно што Обединетите нации и Европската Унија се залагаат за вредностите на почитување и самоопределување, а ги игнорираат кога Македонија треба да стане членка во двете организации под уставното име. Ова е една од оценките на Џејсон Камбовски, кој е успешен економист и член на ИК на Австралиско-македонскиот комитет за човекови права. Во интервіу за "Дневник" тоі зборува за актуелната политичка состојба во земјава и за перцепцијата однадвор, колку дијаспората може и реално помага, како и за децениската болна тема - спорот за името. Голем дел од овие поенти се тема на тридневната конференција посветена на Македонија, која прв пат се одржува во Грција, во Лерин, организирана токму од Австралиско-македонскиот комитет во соработка со други македонски организации во регионот. Прв пат во Грција се собрани влијателни македонски историчари, економисти и други аналитичари да разговараат за отворените македонски прашања и историскиот концепт на Македонија на Балканот.

Според оценките на многумина, Македонија е исправена пред голем предизвик: внатрешна политичка криза, блокиран евро-атлантски процес и нерешениот спор за името. Како изгледа сево ова кога го набљудува Македонец што живее во Австралија и има успешна кариера и живот?

- Се надевам дека политичките лидери во земјата ќе ги стават настрана своите индивидуални интереси и во оваа насока, на долг рок, ќе постават стабилен правец, кој понатаму ќе го следи целото македонско

Во однос на спорот за името, мојот став се совпаѓа со оној на пошироката дијаспора. Сметам дека сите македонски политички партии треба да се држат до политиката на одбра-

Мошне лицемерно е што Обединетите нации и Европската Унија се залагаат за вредностите на почитување и самоопределување, но ги игнорираат кога станува збор Македонија да стане членка во двете организации под уставното име, вели Камбовски

на на името на Македонија во каков било договор за иднината на земіата и да му се спротивстават на секој повик да се смени официјалното име, без разлика колку тоа би можело да придонесе за унапредување на приемот на Македонија во НАТО и во ЕУ. Не смееме да заборавиме дека спорот за името е еднострано прашање наметнато од Грција. Македонија треба да продолжи со сегашниот пристап во градење на дипломатските односи, на крајот тоа ќе донесе членство во НАТО и во ЕУ.

Како ги оценувате посветеноста и вложувањето на македонската дијаспора (не само на австралиската) токму во овие клучни моменти во кои Македонија се наоѓа?

- Знам дека македонската дијаспора во светот е апсолутно посветена на поддршката на Македонија во борбата да се постигне меѓународно признание и членство во клучните меѓународни институции. Во неа има членови со огромно искуство во економијата, финансиите и во политиката и желни се да помогнат.

Истовремено има многу заинтересирани Македонци од надвор што сакаат да инвестираат во татковината. Поаѓам од себе, неодамна купив стан во Охрид. Има и други мои блиски Австралијци што сакаат да вло-

Уште еден важен начин за придонес на македонската дијаспора е да се увери светот во историското постоење на македонскиот народ на Балканот. Така се балансира лажната про-

паганда што ја

врз Грција за да го

одблокира проце-

шири грчкото

лоби. сурдните приговори во однос на Ма-Како го кедонија. коментирате Ниту Австралија сѐ уште ја нема фактот што признаено Македонија под уставното меѓународната име. Реакциите на низа австралиски заедница не изпратеници како да не допреа до авсврши ни минитралисните власти? мален притисок За жал, австралиската влада сѐ

> признавање на Македонија под нејзиното уставно име. Мора да се разбере дека грчката заедница во Австралија е повеќе од трипати поголема од македонската, многу претходно основана и организирана. За разлика

сот за решавање на спорот за името?

нации и Европската Унија се залагаат

за вредностите на почитување и са-

моопределување, но истите ги игно-

рираат кога станува збор за Македо-

нија да стане член во двете организа-

ции под уставното име. Се надевам

дека после сè што поминаа со Грција

периодов, ќе ја видат грчката влада

во поинакво светло и ќе извршат се-

риозен притисок да се откаже од ап-

уште не го има сменето ставот за

- Лицемерно е што Обединетите - ламентот, ни на федерално ни на државно ниво. Грчката заедница е многу повеќе интегрирана во австралискиот политички и административен систем. Меѓутоа, работите почнаа да се движат во поинаква насока, сè поголем број австралиски политичари сега зборуваат за поддршката на Македонија, нивниот број расте и се надевам дека евентуално идната нова австралиска влада ќе се движи во насока на признавање на Македонија.

> Постојат ли области во кои македонската и грчката заедница во Австралија соработуваат и имаат заеднички точки?

> За жал, и покрај нашите напори, нема дијалог со грчката заедница во Австралија. Тие се целосно под влијание на националистичката позиција преземена од грчката влада дека Македонците не постојат како посебна етничка припадност, со свој посебен јазик. Сѐ додека не го признаат основниот факт на постоење на македонската заедница, не гледам дека е можно поместување на позициите. Ние сме секогаш подготвени да соработуваме со нив во интерес на решавање на спорот.

Отворено да зборуваме за непризнавањето

Какви промени очекувате следниве 5 години во Македонија?

- Очекувам и сакам да верувам дека ќе се подобри ситуацијата со македонското малцинство во Грција и во Бугарија во следните 5 години. Затоа и ја организираме конференцијата, отворено да зборуваме за негативностите што произлегуваат од непризнавањето.

Уште една моја надеж е дека следниве 5 години земјава не стане членка на НАТО, ќе се обезбедат стабилност и гаранција на границите и ќе се олеснат инвестициите. Се надевам и на членство во ЕУ. Но, пред сѐ, најважно е внатре во државата да се создаде стабилна политичка ситуација.

БЕЗ ПРИТИСОК ОД ЕУ, ГРЦИЈА НЕМА ДА ГО СМЕНИ СТАВОТ КОН МАКЕДОНЦИТЕ

Тешко е да најдеш сериозен научник што ги поддржува грчките ставови за сите тие прашања. Научниците не се проблемот, туку медиумите и, особено, политичарите и чиновниците во европската заедница, за кои, изгледа, е полесно да мачат еден мал народ како македонскиот отколку да ги исправат законите за веќе да не ѝ се дозволува на Грција да ги тероризира Република Македонија и Македонците

Разговораше I Ненад Мирчевски Фойю І Александар Ивановски

рофесорот Џорџ Влахов предава социологија на Универзитетот "Латроб" во Мелбурн и е член на Австралиско-македонскиот комитет за човекови права. Оваа организација е организатор на научната конференција во Лерин, на која 12 научници од повеќе држави во светот ќе дискутираат за современата макелонска историја и за македонското прашање. Влахов, кој е еден од организаторите на настанот, смета дека луѓето во научната сфера се согласни за неправдите што им се нанесуваат на Македонија и на македонскиот народ, а проблемот за непроменетата ситуација го гледа во Европската унија, која не покажува сериозен интерес за ова прашање.

• Господине Влахов, пристигнавте од Австралија по повод научната конференција посветена на македонското прашање која се одржа во Лерин. Зошто сметавте дека има потреба од организирање таков настан токму сега и токму таму, во Грција?

ВЛАХОВ: Ние одржавме слична научна конференција во Мелбурн во 2013 година, на Универзитетот "Монаш". Како резултат на тој успешен настан, неодамна од реномираната германска академска издавачка ку ќа "Верлаг Ото Сагнер" (Verlag Otto Sagner) беше издадена книгата "За македонските работи: од поделбата на Македонија во 1913 до денес". Книгата, која е на англиски јазик, се проширува во многу факултетски библиотеки во Европа, Северна Америка и во Австралија. Точно тоа го баравме бидејќи мислевме дека е многу важно да има во тие библиотеки уште една објективна книга за современата македонска историја. Во англискиот свет таквите книги

Сепак, има уште многу теми од современата македонска историја да се анализираат и затоа решивме да одржиме втора конференција. Над тоа си мислевме нека биде во Лерин за да имаат шанса Македонците во Лерин да дојдат и да слушнат нешто пообјективно за современата македонска историја - значи пообјективно од тоа што се чита во грчката историографија. На конференцијата ќе зборуваат прочуени академци и научници, како проф. Виктор Фридман од Универзитетот во Чикаго, проф. Грајс Филдер од Универзитетот во Аризона, проф. Андру Росос од Универзитетот во Торонто, проф. Катерина Колозова од ISSH во Скопје итн. Околу 12 научници, меѓу нив и двајца Грци.

 Имавте ли проблеми или некакви закани од грчките власти при организирањето на настанот?

ВЛАХОВ: Досега не, па и во нормална држава не ќе има проблем 12 научници да се соберат во еден хотел за три дена да разменуваат идеи. Ама во ред. Не се крие фактот дека кога се зборува за Македонци, Грција е сосема ненормална и, морам да признаам, има шанса грчките власти да го забранат собранието.

Како научниците низ светот гледаат на односот на Грција кон Македонците не само во врска со по-

читувањето на човековите права на македонското малцинство, туку и кон македонскиот народ и култура во спорот за името?

ВЛАХОВ: Тоа е лесно да се одговори. Тешко е да најдеш сериозен научник што ги поддржува грчките ставови за сите тие прашања. Научниците не се проблемот, туку медиумите и, особено, политичарите и чиновниците во европската заедница, за кои, изгледа, е полесно да мачат еден мал народ како македонскиот отколку да ги исправат законите за веќе да не ѝ е дозволено на Грција да ги тероризира, (зборот на прочуениот и арогантен Варуфакис) Република Макелонија и Макелониите.

 Како ја оценувате состојбата со македонското малцинство во Грција во споредба со минатото? Сметате ли дека во иднина Грција може да се демократизира на тоа поле? ВЛАХОВ: Како што е познато, во минатото имаше етничко чистење во Грција итн. Денес тоа не е можно, па и непотребно затоа што денес, точно поради тоа чистење, македонското малцинство во Грција е меѓу најмалите малцинства. Сепак, бројот нема врска според европските принципи и закони.

Грција не само што мора да го признае постоењето на тоа малцинство тука и мора да воведи мерки за да го обезбеди идниот опстанок на тоа

Без притисок од ЕУ, нема шанса во блиска иднина Грција да го смени ставот кон Македонците. Расната дискриминација е многу длабоко сврзана во Грција со грчката национална митологија, а таа се предава на секое дете во Грција, од најраните години, дома и на школо. Значи, тука е потребен притисок од Брисел, за Грција не само да ги почитува законите за човекови права, туку и за длабоки промени во образовниот систем. Инаку, работите ќе продолжат како досега.

Колку неединството меѓу Македонците и негирањето и потсмевањето со сопствената историја влијаат врз позицијата на македонската страна во решавањето на спорот за името со Грција?

ВЛАХОВ: Мислам дека такви внатрешни расправи се нормални во секоја држава. Свесен сум дека сега има политичка криза во Македонија и важно е да се најде некој начин да се реши тоа. Не сум добро запознаен со сите детали и поради тоа ќе дадам само еден општ коментар, а тоа е, по мое мислење, дека се потребни сериозни демократски реформи во сите политички партии и во начинот на функционирање на државата.

А сега да се вратиме на проблемот со Грција. Тука имаме, што се вели на англиски, голем "power imbalance" меѓу Грција и Македонија. Значи, и да има тотално единство во Република Македонија (што не може да биде, тоа не постои никаде во светот), проблемот со спорот за името воопшто ќе биде ист. За мене други се виновни, Вашингтон и, особено, Брисел. Брисел се саморекламира како шампион за човекови права и меѓународен законски ред, а спорот со Грција докажува дека ги кр ши најосновните принципи во врска со човековите права итн. Дваесет голини глупости. Брисел дозводува еден член во европската заедница постојано да малтретира една помала држава. Тоа ни докажува дека ЕУ беше во сериозна дисфункција доста време пред сегашните финансиски кризи во разни земји-членки.

 Сметате ли дека големите сили го игнорираат македонското прашање и премолчено го одобруваат тоа што се случува на Балканот? ВЛАХОВ: Да, донекаде да, и тоа веќе

излегува од моите поранешни одговори. Веќе спомнав дека има една бирократска летаргија која дозволува Грција да си ја продолжи својата негаторска, па и расистичка политика. Над тоа се зборува за некаков културен и донекаде биолошки расизам од страна на главните централни и западни европски држави. Тоа е сврзано со ориентализмот, за што Едвард Саид напиша: "Тие луѓе не се нормални, подобро е да не се мешаме во нивните проблеми".

• Сметате ли дека Вашингтон и Брисел треба да бидат позаинтересирани за решавање на овој проблем и како можеме да ги привлечеме вниманието и симпатиите на големите сили?

ВЛАХОВ: Одговорот е да. И тоа излегува од сè што тврдев досега. А за привлекување, сите по свое. Ние се обидуваме да го направиме тоа преку пишување и издавање научни книги. Повеќето, барем оние добрите новинари, ќе консултираат научни книги пред да пишуваат за некаков сериозен социјален проблем. Над тоа, сите можеме да се обидеме да бидеме поактивни граѓани, дали тука во Македонија или во други држави, дали сме обични граѓани или во некоја висока политичка положба. Активни и одговорни граѓани се важни за секое општество, во секоја сфера.

 Има ли шанси Австралија наскоро да ја признае Македонија под уставното име?

ВЛАХОВ: Во блиската иднина, не, и тво да кажува на друга држава или општество како да се именува.

тоа поради истите причини во главниот спор меѓу Грција и Македонија, има power imbalance. Сепак, како што реков, ние се надеваме дека со повеќе активности од страна на македонската заедница во Австралија, полека ќе успееме да ги убедиме австралиските политичари дека не е во ред за една држава или општес-

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"WHO GAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO NEGOTIATE

Y NAME?

Do not be deceived by the terms 'international, bilateral, constitutional'

- Change it once, even bilaterally, and it will be changed everywhere
- Do you want to be called 'Northern Macedonian', 'Vardarian', 'Skopjan' or simply Macedonian?
- We applaud the Macedonian government for saying "We will not change our name", but by negotiating we are telling the world "We will change our name
- No dual-name. Greece is the only country that objects to our name. It is not our problem. No bilateral or international "solution" is needed
- Countries that have recognized Macedonia have said "If a bilateral solution is reached, we will abide by that decision and use the new name for Macedonia
- Any change to our name is unacceptable, even 'qualifiers' like 'Democratic' or 'Northern' in front of 'Republic of Macedonia'. We would be known everywhere as 'Northern Macedonia' and 'Northern Macedonian', who speak 'Northern Macedonian'

WE ARE WINNING. 127 COUNTRIES HAVE RECOGNIZED MACEDONIA, **INCLUDING 4/5 UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS.** WE HAVE THE POWER TO END THIS. STOP NEGOTIATING OUR OWN NAME.

Prior to 1988, Greece's policy was that Macedonia did not exist. Then it renamed 'Northern Greece' to 'Macedonia'. Now suddenly Macedonia is Greek?

As former Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis admitted in 1995, the reason Greece objects to our name is to deny the existence and persecution of its large Macedonian minority

- Macedonians in the Balkans are fighting for their human rights as Macedonians, nothing else

REMEMBER: IT IS A LIE THAT A COMPROMISE WILL SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS WITH GREECE. IT WILL JUST STRENGTHEN GREECE'S POSITION TOWARDS ITS FINAL GOAL: TO ERASE MACEDONIANS FROM HISTORY, THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

We are Macedonian! Do you want to go down in history as the people who changed our name and identity?

What gives the EU and NATO the right to ask you to sell out your identity?

- The EU and NATO are violating their own principles and laws by asking us to change our name
- Do not give in to scare tactics from Greece and media reports that Macedonia will 'collapse' without EU & NATO membership
- Look at the current economic crisis in Greece
- Scare-mongering is being used to get Macedonia to change its name

Greece is holding the EU and NATO hostage

- Despite overwhelming support for Macedonia's NATO membership, Greece was permitted to use its veto power against Macedonia
- Greece lied about its economic situation, and now the rest of the EU is being forced to bail them out

The European Union cannot allow its member-states to be handcuffed by Greece's xenophobic policies. Recognize Macedonia.

- If the EU and NATO insist on a name change, what other concessions will they ask for?
- By continuing the negotiations, we are telling the world "we will change our name"

Common sense. Would any other country negotiate its own name?

- Should the US state of Georgia demand that the Republic of Georgia change its name?
- Should the Belgian province of Luxembourg demand that Luxembourg change its name?

MOST BASIC HUMAN RIGHT IS

THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE MUST TELL THEIR GOVERNMENT TO STOP NEGOTIATING OUR NAME.

DEMAND AN END TO 'FYROM' REFERENCE. DEMAND IMMEDIATE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION.





OUR NAME IS MACEDONIA

IMAGES FROM THE LERIN CONFERENCE, LITOKSOU BOOK LAUNCH & THE ANNUAL MACEDONIAN FESTIVAL IN THE VILLAGE OF OVCHARENI

Special thanks to John Vidovich for the photos















































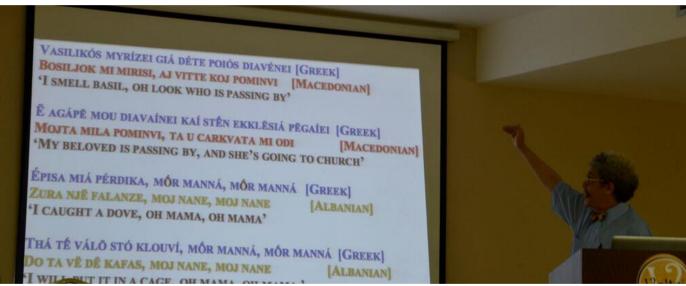












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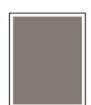




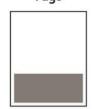
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Macedonian **Human Rights** Movement **International** (MHRMI) has been active since 1986. The Australian Macedonian **Human Rights** Committee (AMHRC) has been active since 1984

Both MHRMI and AMHRC are nongovernmental organisations that inform and advocate about combating racism and promoting human rights. Our joint aspiration is to ensure that Macedonian communities and other excluded groups throughout the world, are recognised, respected and afforded equitable treatment.

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

The AMHRC and MHRMI are part of an international Macedonian network that spans Australia, North America and Europe, including:





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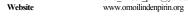












MACEDONIAN SOCIETY "ILINDEN" TIRANA A Macedonian cultural association in Tirana, Albania

Website www.ilinden-tirana.com

NOVA ZORA

A pro-Macedoniannewspaper based in Aegean Macedonia, Greece, edited by Dimitri Jovanov and with a printed circulation of 20,000 copies per month

Website



NARODNA VOLJA

A Pro-Macedonian newspaper based in Pirin Macedonia, Bulgaria, edited by Jan Pirinski and Stoiko

Stojkov. The first edition was published in 1980

www.narodnavolia.com

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