

# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

## ***MACEDONIA: ON THE PERIPHERY OF EUROPEAN MODERNITY***

Hotel Veltsi | Florina/Lerin

July 16-19, 2015

# SCHEDULE

## DAY 1: THURSDAY 16th JULY 2015

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 9:30am – 9:50am   | Conference opening speeches:<br>- EFA-Rainbow (Vinozito) (5 min)<br>- OMO Ilinden PIRIN (5 min)<br>- AMHRC/MHRMI (5 min)<br>- EFA representative (5 min)  |
| 9:50am – 10:00am  | Short Break   |
| 10:00am – 11:00am | <i>On the Significance of Kostur/Kastoria for Macedonian and Greek Dialectology</i><br><b>Victor Friedman (University of Chicago)</b>   |
| 12:30pm – 1:30pm  | <i>The Concept of the MILLET in Turkish Dictionaries:<br/>Its Alteration and the Impact on Ottoman Macedonia</i><br><b>Maria Pandevska and Makedonka Mitrova</b><br>(Institute of National History – University of Cyril and Methodius, Skopje) |
| 12:00pm – 12:30pm | Break   |
| 12:30pm – 1:30pm  | <i>Persecution of the "Non-Existent":<br/>Repression of the Macedonians in Bulgaria during the Communist Era (1944 - 1989)</i><br><b>Stojko Stojkov (University of Goce Delcev, Shtip)</b>  |
| 1:30pm – 2:30pm   | <i>Patriarchy and Totalitarianism in Post-Communist Societies:<br/>The Case of Macedonia</i><br><b>Katerina Kolozova (Institute of Social Sciences &amp; Humanities, Skopje)</b>  |
| 2:30pm            | End of Day 1  |

## DAY 2: FRIDAY 17th JULY 2015

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 10:00am – 11:00am | <i>Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question:<br/>The Metodija Andonov-Cento Affair, 1946</i><br><b>Andrew Rossos (University of Toronto)</b>              |
| 11:00am – 12:00pm | <i>Representations of Macedonian-Speakers during the late 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries</i><br><b>George Vlahov (La Trobe University, Melbourne)</b> |
| 12:00pm – 12:30pm | Short Break   |
| 12:30pm – 1:30pm  | <i>The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle 1905-1908</i><br><b>Dimitris Lithoxou (Greek author and social commentator)</b>   |
| 1:30pm – 2:30pm   | <i>Recent Narratives on Macedonia in Greece</i><br><b>Akis Gavrilidis (Aristotle University, Thessaloniki)</b>  |
| 2:30pm            | End of Day 2  |

## SCHEDULE cont'd

### DAY 3: SATURDAY 18th JULY 2015

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 10:00am – 11:00am | <i>"Come over into Macedonia and help us" Evidence for the Macedonian Language in the first half of the 19th Century</i><br><b>Grace Fielder (University of Arizona)</b>             |
| 11:00am – 12:00pm | <i>Macedonians as a political project for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: on the possibility of supra-ethnicity</i><br><b>Goran Janev (University of Cyril &amp; Methodius, Skopje)</b> |
| 12:00pm – 12:30pm | Short Break  |
| 12:30pm – 1:30pm  | <i>Europe's Margin of Appreciation for Greece - Is it time for a new approach?</i><br><b>Vasko Nastevski (University of Melbourne)</b>   |
| 1:30pm            | End of Day 3 and conclusion of conference. Lunch.  |

### SUNDAY 19th JULY 2015

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| 6:00pm | Official Book launch of <i>The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle: Volume II (1905-1908)</i><br>By Dimitris Lithoxou<br>Venue: TBA Ovchareni/Meliti   |
| 8:00pm | Attendance of the annual Macedonian Music and Cultural Festival in Meliti/Ovcarani, Lerin/Florina<br>Venue: High school grounds, Ovchareni/Meliti |

## ABSTRACTS

**Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (10:00am-11:00am)**

*On the Significance of Kostur/Kastoria for Macedonian and Greek Dialectology*

**Victor Friedman (University of Chicago)**

The Macedonian dialects of Kostur/Kastoria represent important phonological archaisms and morphosyntactic innovations vis-a-vis Macedonian dialectology. At the same time local Greek dialects display a related set of changes associated with language contact. The respective developments in the dialects of the two languages are arguably connected to the accommodations and innovations of local multilingualism that precedes the exclusionist ideologies of nation states.

**Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (11:00am-12:00pm)**

*The Concept of the MILLET in Turkish Dictionaries: Its Alteration and the Impact on Ottoman Macedonia*

**Maria Pandevska and Makedonka Mitrova (Institute of National History - University of Cyril and Methodius, Skopje)**

Our focus in this paper is on the term *millet* in various Turkish dictionaries and its interpretation in correlation with the Western European term *nation*. The term *millet* in the Ottoman Empire recognized only the notion of the following terms: *faith* and *religion*, or in broader sense *religious community* or a community of people of the same faith. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century this term began to westernize and to be equated to the definition, at the time, of the term *nation*. It was important to notice the misinterpretation of this term, because precisely this modification, would lead to significant changes in the perception of the ethnic structure of Ottoman Macedonia (in the nineteenth and early twentieth century). This is the period when the formation of nations on the Balkan, as well as the formation of national states would take place. When the terminological equality 'millet=nation' was introduced in western dictionaries, it had a negative impact on the territory of Ottoman Macedonia. Hence, the identification of the term *millet* with the term *nation* strongly stimulated irredentism among the small Balkan independent states – the neighbours of Ottoman Macedonia. In these Western academic interpretations they recognised their 'holy' right to look for, find, count, recount, and convert their 'national compatriots' in Ottoman Macedonia. In other words, the substitution of the term *nation* for *millet* was used as a justification for their respective expansionistic policies.

**Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (12:30pm-1:30pm)**

*Persecution of the "Non-Existent": Repression of the Macedonians in Bulgaria during the Communist Era (1944 - 1989)*

**Stojko Stojkov (University of Goce Delcev, Shtip)**

This paper is devoted to a discussion of the repressive measures implemented against Macedonians in Bulgaria on account of their choice of national identity and political persuasion. Various epochs and the conditions specific to those epochs will be outlined, along with mention of the various motives for the persecution of different groups. The nature of the persecuted groups, their modes of resistance, and the forms of discrimination will also be touched upon. The intention is to present a case study which may contribute to a general discussion devoted to a comparison of the treatment of minority groups in European modernity.

**Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (1:30pm-2:30pm)**

*Patriarchy and Totalitarianism in Post-Communist Societies: The Case of Macedonia*

**Katerina Kolozova (Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities - Skopje)**

Upon the remnants of the "political," i.e., the remnants of a political ideology and the failure to build a new one, the post-political apocalyptic landscape dubbed "transition" had to be filled with some meaning and, consequently, order. The cynical and disillusioned post-communist societies could not be easily swayed into a different ideological illusion. Capitalism rode into these countries on the horses of the so-called privatization which was marked by ruthless corruption, while the transformation of the public companies into private in most of the cases looked like plain theft from the society carried out by politically privileged individuals. The only convincing response to the political cynicism of the disillusioned masses of post-socialism could be a belief system that had never been compromised – the nuclear family of the socialist era. In spite of the declarative endorsement and promotion of the values of gender equality by the communist parties of the former Eastern Bloc, the socialist nuclear family remained a stronghold of patriarchy.

**Friday 17<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (10:00am-11:00am)**

*Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question: The Metodija Andonov-Cento Affair, 1946,*  
**Andrew Rossos (University of Toronto)**

In this paper Andrew Rossos examines the arrest, indictment and imprisonment of Metodija Andonov-Cento, the best known, most prominent and charismatic national leader in Yugoslav Macedonia in the anti-fascist national liberation struggle in the Second World War. As the President of the Presidium of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) he was in fact the first president of the Macedonian state. There is very little doubt that his arrest was ordered by the highest leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ). It was carried out by agents of the OZNa, later UDBa, its political police. However, he does not wish to provide here a detailed account either of Cento's political liquidation or of the KPJ's attitudes and policies on the Macedonian question at the time. Instead he concentrates on the historical meaning and importance of the Cento affair. In other words, he focuses on the reasons for Cento's tragic end and the communist ruling elite's attempt to erase, indeed, extirpate his name and memory from the historical record.

First, and very briefly, Rossos introduces Metodija Andonov-Cento (Prilep, 17 August 1902-Prilep, 24 July 1957). Second, he examines the official, the trumped-up charges levied against him, which served as the basis and justification for his conviction. Third, he puts forth the real, the actual reasons for Cento's fall from power and imprisonment. At the end he draws some conclusions on the place and significance of Cento and "centovism" in the larger context of the Macedonian question.

Throughout the paper Rossos maintains that from the very outset there were serious issues that divided Cento and the Centovites, non-communist and communist, in the leadership in Macedonia, on the one hand, and the leadership of the KPJ and their loyal disciples in the Communist Party of Macedonia (KPM), on the other. However, as long as the outcome of the war and the political struggle at home was in question, the communists emphasized national liberation and the need for unity and downplayed ideology and their real aims. The programs postulated by the Second Session of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) in Jajce, 29 November 1943, and especially by the First Session of ASNOM, 2 August 1944, were generally speaking rather moderate compromises acceptable to both sides. The former, while embracing federalism and in general the social and economic aims of the communists, placed primacy on the realization of the traditional Macedonian aims: national liberation and unification of all parts of divided Macedonia. The latter, while in general accepting the traditional Macedonian aims, placed primacy on securing power and safeguarding the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, including its Macedonian partition. Their respective aims were not necessarily contradictory, but they were not exactly identical and easily reconcilable either.

However, even before the end of the war, the communists who were virtually assured of political power, abandoned or modified important wartime declarations and sought the realization of their maximal ideological aims: socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which meant dictatorship of one party, the KPJ. The new Yugoslavia would be a highly centralized state of six equal republics; a federation in form and a one party dictatorship in fact. Cento and Centovites remained loyal to and called for the implementation of promises of the Second Session of AVNOJ and the First Session of ASNOM: the establishment in the new Yugoslavia of a very loose federation of six equal and sovereign nations or peoples.

These were two divergent, indeed, contradictory visions of the new federal Yugoslavia. Since the KPJ was already in control of the instruments of power, the Centovites were doomed. They could capitulate or be liquidated. Metodija Andonov-Cento chose not to capitulate. His political liquidation was a very clear warning to all real, potential, or imaginary "autonomists" and "separatists" in or outside the party, in Macedonia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia, that the KPJ will not tolerate any dissent from, let alone opposition to the official line.

**Friday 17<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (11:00am-12:00pm)**

*Representations of Macedonian-Speakers in the late 19th and Early 20th Centuries*  
**George Vlahov (La Trobe University)**

This paper will be devoted towards an examination of claims made by various authors, that Macedonian-speakers, during the late period of Ottoman rule, can be largely identified as possessing either a Greek or Bulgarian national identity. An analysis of the sources utilised by these authors reveals that the claim is unsustainable. Furthermore, an investigation of various primary sources, Macedonian-speakers themselves, foreign observers and even Greek and Bulgarian nationalists from the time, reveals the maintenance of a tradition in the present, based on irrational and anachronistic tendencies, in both Greek and Bulgarian nationalism. This discussion will also aim to buttress the argument that quantitative statistics based on religious affiliation, utilised in support of the Greek and Bulgarian national argument, are misleading and moreover, that there is substantial anecdotal evidence to indicate that in these sorts of discussions, the focus should be more on what can be deemed qualitative commentaries. In conclusion this paper lends support to the notion propounded by the historian David Day, that the writings of numerous Greek and Bulgarian authors, both in the past and present, are part of a colonialist supplanting process.

**Friday 17<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (12:30pm-1:30pm)***The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle 1905-1908***Dimitris Lithoxou (Greek author and social commentator)**

I began writing "The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle" towards the end of 1994. I did so in response to the official Greek commemoration of 100 years since the beginning of the "Macedonian Struggle". Most of the chapters of that work were published in the magazines Dawn and New Dawn which were published by the Macedonian organisation Rainbow, between 1995 and 1997. I made use, mainly, of Greek sources (memoirs of the protagonists and other archival material) to re-write the history of the Greek attack on Macedonia, from May 1903 to March 1905. I took the key themes from basic works on the subject, in official Greek national historiography. In 1998, I polished those articles, added an introduction and two new chapters and all of that published in a book. This was the first volume, as I emphasised in the subtitle, of "The Greek Anti-Macedonian Struggle". It was difficult to find a publisher in Greece and even more difficult to find a place for that book in Greek bookshops. The content of the book was characterised as "anti-Greek" and "anti-national". The book was translated and published in Macedonia on the initiative of the late Vasko Karadzha and later it was translated to English by Chris Popov, David Vitkov and George Vlahov. Some years have passed since then, during which I regularly returned to writing and publishing about the history of Macedonia during the years of 1904 to 1908, via my website. In 2014 I completed the second volume of "The Greek Anti-Macedonian" struggle. In this work I chronicle the Greek atrocities carried out against individuals, groups and villages in Macedonia, from March 1905 until the Young Turk Revolution in July 1908. Kakavos, Vardas, Draganof and Rubin, sources which I did not use in the first volume, were of substantial use in the writing of the second volume. Moreover, for the first time, Greek newspapers from the time are also utilised as sources in relation to Greek acts "revenge" against individuals or villages. In the second volume of "The Anti-Macedonian Struggle", we do not, in the main, create an alternative reading or lend a different meaning to the events; rather we simply attempt to systematically document hundreds of Greek attacks against the civil population in Macedonia, which are absent from the history books. In this manner, we are left with a "black book" of actions undertaken by the Greek "Macedono-fighters", three times the size of the one detailed in the first volume of "The Anti-Macedonian Struggle". The work also contains a geography of the history, with information about the linguistic and religious make up of 462 inhabited places and details about the changes in the demography of those places.

**Friday 17<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (1:30pm-2:30pm)***Recent Narratives on Macedonia in Greece***Akis Gavrilidis (Aristotle University, Thessaloniki)**

The recent years have seen the publication (in Greek) of some works by historian Spyros Karavas, notably two books, whose titles translate as a) *Blessed are the land possessors. Real estate planning in view of alienating consciousness in Macedonia, 1880-1909* and b) *Secrets and fairy tales from the history of Macedonia*. In these two books, one can find abundant evidence, (including as yet unpublished letters and reports from Greek 19<sup>th</sup> century diplomats), and analyses, that leave little space for the official [anti]Macedonian narrative dominant within the Greek state and society to be still considered as a serious version or interpretation of historical facts. Yet, these two books were met with complete indifference. No polemics were ignited around them, and no populist politicians, journalists or priests came out to decry the "treason" and the "falsification of Greek history" performed by them. Of course, indifference can also be a tactics for silencing a discourse. However, given that, in the past, denigrating campaigns had been undertaken against intellectuals or activists for far less important "crimes", in my presentation I will try to examine what is the meaning this lack of reactions; in particular, whether it points to a relative *relaxation* of the public's over-sensitivity—or a saturation of interest- around the Macedonian question within the Greek society, or to a tacit admittance of the weakness of this official narrative about "Macedonia being Greek throughout the centuries".

**Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (10:00am-11:00am)***"Come over into Macedonia and help us" Evidence for the Macedonian Language in the first half of the 19th Century***Grace Fielder (University of Arizona)**

The discovery of the Konikovo Gospel, a translation of the New Testament into an Aegean Macedonia vernacular, as well as Pavel Božigropski's corrections to that manuscript in preparation for printing, attests to a distinct linguistic identity on the part of inhabitants of Aegean Macedonia in the first half of the 19th century. In this paper I will present further evidence found in 19th century reports of protestant missionary activity concerned with vernacular translation of the bible in the Balkans, evidence that corroborates the awareness of two distinct variants of Balkan Slavic, that is, Macedonian as a variant distinct from Bulgarian during this time period.

**Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (11:00am-12:00pm)***Macedonians as a political project for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: on the possibility of supra-ethnicity***Goran Janev (University of Cyril & Methodius, Skopje)**

The notorious Macedonian Question from the turn of the centuries, when the Ottoman Empire disintegrated and the Great Powers were quarrelling about the re-composition of the broken pieces, has been the first association to many during the collapse of the Yugoslav federation in the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century regarding Macedonia that emerged as independent state. While no longer dubious but still disputed the existence of the Macedonian nation was a central problem and stirred controversies anew, both externally and internally. In a couple of weeks in May 2015 Macedonia as a political project was stretched to the limits. On 5 May several thousand revolted against the government and broke the police barrier in front of the Government building. The leaked tapes with conversations among the highest-ranking politicians revealed their condescension over the killing of innocent young man four years ago and their clumsy attempts to cover it up. Angered masses covered with eggs the freshly decorated façade of the Government building and the police forces in a sudden move pushed away those protesting against police brutality with brutal force. The nationalism was main driving force behind the ruling parties, both Macedonian and Albanian, since the inception, especially in the past nine years. The weekend of 9 and 10 of May in Kumanovo was bloodiest in its history with over 20 casualties in a clash between Macedonian police and alleged Albanian terrorist group. The weekend war was good enough to dampen the anti-government protests but failed to stir an ethnic war. At the contrary, on 17 May when the largest opposition party organised the great anti-government rally Albanians joined by thousands. Joined flags of Albania, Macedonia, Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Roma and Rainbow flag and many other were waived with joy. The next day the ruling party organized a big show of support to counter this protest. The iconography was quite different. Besides party and Macedonian flags there were Orthodox crosses and even Russian flags. The crisis in May 2015 revealed the destructiveness of nationalism, but at the same time it showed the potential for new Macedonia, based on mutual respect. Basing my arguments on longer observation of new social movements we can even start conceiving the emergence of supraethnic Macedonianess.

**Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> July 2015 (12:30pm-1:30pm)***Europe's Margin of Appreciation for Greece - Is it time for a new approach?***Vasko Nastevski (University of Melbourne)**

A foundational doctrine governing the judicial methodology employed by the European Court of Human Rights (European Court) is 'margin of appreciation'. Developed as early as 1976 in the case of *Hayside v United Kingdom*, the doctrine proposes that national authorities, rather than a supra-national judiciary, are eminently better equipped to opine on the requirements set out in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Convention) in respect to the conditions in their country. This doctrine is built on the assumption that mutual trust exists between the Court and the national government, which itself is only possible because of the so-called democratic polity that permeates the countries of Europe. This paper will test this proposition with reference to Greece, a European Union member that consistently and flagrantly denies minority groups in that country, including the Macedonian Minority, basic human rights as articulated in the European Convention. How can the European Court's approach of 'margin of appreciation' apply to such a country and what are the consequences of such an approach for the minority groups in that country? Is the political environment in Greece sufficiently democratic to warrant the European Court's methodology? Is it more appropriate for the European Court to adopt a different approach for countries that frequently disrespect the assumed democratic principles espoused as part of the European project. To this effect, the paper will consider the approach taken by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (Inter-American Court), which adopts a judicial methodology known as 'control of conventionality'. This approach removes the flexibility of national authorities to make their own judgements regarding the requirements applying to their country stemming from the relevant human rights instruments. In contrast, national authorities are required to strictly apply the interpretation given by the Court. Unlike the assumptions underpinning the approach taken by the European Court, the starting point for the Inter-American Court's approach is a lack of trust in the ability of national governments to respect the various human rights conditions, which reflects the historical weakness of the democratic environment in Latin America. Is this approach more suitable for a country like Greece and can such an approach finally benefit the minority groups in Greece?

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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- Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria (Melbourne, Australia)
- 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)



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