

MACEDONIAN AGENDA



16 essays on the development of Macedonian culture in Australia. Includes cultural values, language, religion, arts, identity, women's issues, the elderly, immigration, politics, the "child refugees", human rights and more

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*Front cover: February 2, 1960, Bitola Railway Station, Macedonia:
Mr Aleksandar Kolupacev is farewelled by his village, Gjavato, as he
sets out for a new life in Port Kembla, Australia.*

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Introduction

The 1990s mark the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Macedonians in Australia, believed to have been in 1893. In this period, Macedonian-Australians have produced a considerable body of writing, a growing percentage of which is in English. While a good number of books and periodicals have been preserved, there have been few anthologies to record the many theses, essays and articles also produced.

With 16 essays by 14 writers, *Macedonian Agenda* is the most ambitious effort to date to fill this need. It is however only a beginning. The essays in *Macedonian Agenda* were written between 1988 and 1995 and represent a selection of the best writing by Macedonian-Australians during the period. The essays were all written in English and have as a common theme the development of the Macedonian people and culture in the Australian setting.

The essays give an insight into a range of topics close to the Macedonian heart. These include: cultural values, language, religion, arts, identity, women's issues, the elderly, settlement, politics, human rights, and the "child refugees" from Greece, among others.

Macedonian Agenda is suitable for general readers and researchers wishing to learn about the Macedonians in Australia as well as for readers of Macedonian background. The essays may be read in the order presented or according to the reader's own order of interests.

All of the writers are Australians of Macedonian background. The 14 authors comprise 11 individuals and three organizations. Among the individual authors are seven men and four women. The writers come from all major Macedonian settlements around Australia: Perth, Adelaide, Geelong, Melbourne, Canberra-Queanbeyan, Wollongong, Sydney and Newcastle. They are also representative in that their origins are in both the Republic of Macedonia and Aegean Macedonia (northern Greece).

Australia has been very good to its Macedonian immigrants, particularly in terms of educational opportunities and economic prosperity. The fact that most of the authors were born in Australia indicates how Australia has allowed the Macedonian spirit to find a freedom and expression that has too frequently been denied in its divided homeland.

The Editor

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Macedonian Values In Multicultural Australia

Zoran Coseski

This paper was written as part of a Bachelor Degree in Intercultural Studies and was published in the Australian Macedonian Weekly in 1991

Macedonian-Australians have been living in Australia for more than 70 years, and although the majority came after World War 2 certain families can trace their settlement to the early decades of this century. For many years Macedonian-Australians have been called "migrants" to distinguish them not so much from "older settlers" as from people of British origin, some of whom are more recent arrivals than the Macedonians, but who usually have no difficulty in acquiring an unhyphenated Australian identity. The latter applies to virtually all children of British migrants.

A good example of the ease with which people of British origin can become accepted as just ordinary "Australians" is the fact that there is differential treatment of minorities by the general Australian community. Another example of this is the way even grandchildren of immigrants from Macedonia are often labelled as third generation migrants. This of course is an absurd notion, since people born here are not migrants of any kind but Australians who by retaining aspects of Macedonian culture identify as Macedonian-Australians.

But if some of us feel and act as Macedonian-Australians, while others do so as Italian-Australians or Dutch-Australians, will this not fragmentalize the country and endanger its social and cultural cohesion? That cohesion has never been as clear cut and absolute as has been idealized in the mateship and the egalitarian myths about the Australian past. Nor is cohesion necessarily a virtue in itself; as Michael Novak (1982) has argued, there is a revulsion against the uniformity of the modern world. Furthermore as Mr Justice Kirby (1982) has pointed out, excessive stress on nationalism and cohesion can carry with it dangers of conformity and even some totalitarian overtones. It is not an accident that totalitarian regimes almost invariably regard "cohesion" as their aim, while "pluralism" is looked upon as dangerous deviation. It is also an acknowledged part of Australian history that people of English ancestry have

had a close identification with the language, culture, laws and customs of their native country without this being questioned as un-Australian and divisive.

If people of English ancestry can take legitimate pride in English derived institutions such as the Westminster style parliamentary democracy it is also legitimate for Macedonian-Australians to remind their English counterparts that Macedonians have proud traditions of the notion of freedom and of a fair go for the underdog.

The English language is the most important value in our multi-cultural society as the common means of communication for all Australians regardless of their heritage. However, it was never meant as a substitute for the native languages of non-English Australians but as an addition to Macedonian, Italian, Filipino etc as well as to some 50 surviving Aboriginal languages, that all in all over one million Australians learn from their mothers' lips and regard as their home or community language (Commonwealth Department of Education 1981). Such bilingualism is a fact of life in Australia. What is needed however is further public recognition of this social reality, as well as educational reinforcement of bilingualism in order to make it as acceptable and as normal a part of Australian life as the plurality of religions, educational systems and life styles that already exist and form an accepted pattern of Australian society.

The example of linguistic diversity as seen in the ability of some Australians to speak Macedonian and English shows that overarching values for all Australians may compliment the core values of the various ethnic groups.

This demonstrates that there is no intrinsic and inevitable conflict between the overarching values of the whole country on the one hand and the ethnic values on the other. In some instances these values are parallel to one another and can be used on different occasions. Thus one may speak, read and write Macedonian and English without one language interfering with or harming another. A further instance of such cultural co-existence is the celebration of both birthdays and namedays on the dates of the patron saints by many Australians of European heritage. In other instances the various majority or minority ethnic values may amalgamate to produce some new synthesis (such as Australian BBQ peppers or pineapple pizza).

Collectivism of Macedonian Life

One of the differences in the case of Macedonian culture is the special

bond that unites Macedonian families and the spirit of solidarity and collectivism that represents one of the most characteristic features of Macedonian life.

In this respect the Macedonian tradition differs from the more individualistic orientation of Australians who derive their family models from northern Europe. Such diversity of family patterns represents part of Australian multiculturalism which makes allowances for variation within a consensus framework provided by several aspects of our political or economic life. This allows for the possibility of mutual interaction in the sense that Macedonian family traditions can act as a model of inter-dependence for Anglo-Australians. On the other hand the British virtues of individualism and independence may in some way appeal to younger Macedonian-Australians who might like to preserve some aspects of their traditions while at the same time modifying other features to meet the changing conditions of life in Australia.

Anglo culture is concerned with preparing the individual to take their place in the formal structure of society. This is in contrast to the Macedonian culture which is essentially concerned with preparing the individual to take their place first and foremost in the family network. This implies that Macedonian society at large has been used to serve the individual as the member of a family. Hence the contrasting enculturation patterns in the two cultures and the Anglo concern to "free" the individual at an early age, so as to allow the external system to allocate his or her place through processes involving secondary personal relations.

My study of the collectivist Macedonian family indicates that the Macedonian family structure displays certain cultural features that differentiate it strongly from the Anglo type of family relations. The second most important finding is that there are no signs that this cultural difference is dissolving in Australia or that second generation Macedonian-Australians are abandoning the family traditions of their own group in favour of those evolved in Britain. This does not mean that Macedonian family tradition is static and that younger generation Macedonian-Australians are wholly unaffected by the mores of the dominant group. A degree of cultural interaction is undoubtedly taking place but my research indicates that the Anglo assimilation process so much advocated by the majority group in the 1950s and 1960s has failed at least in the realm of family relations.

Core Values of Macedonian Culture

In relation to the continuance of Macedonian culture in Australia as

well as the integration of Macedonian-Australians into the fabric of Australian life the question can now be asked as to which Macedonian cultural value needs to be maintained to ensure the survival of the Macedonian culture in this continent, and what modifications are likely to occur in the course of time?

The erosion of Macedonian values in Australia and their replacement by those of the Anglo majority would have resulted in cultural assimilation (although not necessarily in the structural absorption of the Macedonian migrants, since social discrimination may continue even against a culturally assimilated minority that can be distinguished as "different" from the dominant group by some physical features or residual cultural fragments). The opposite of assimilation, outright separatism, would eventuate if the Macedonian group kept itself utterly separate from the majority and searched for ways to preserve the specific political, legal and even economic structures that it brought from Macedonia. There is no sign of desire on the part of Macedonian-Australians to seek such ghetto style separation since it would only serve to undermine their chances of occupational and social advancement and arouse suspicion and resentment on the part of the dominant group.

The question then arises as to which values need to be preserved as specifically Macedonian, while the group remains firmly embedded within the multicultural setting of Australia and its overarching values.

My study of some 50 Macedonian families shows that Macedonian-Australians wish to preserve their traditional values in the area of the family, and that although these are likely to be modified in the course of time (and indeed many have already been partly affected) one cannot envisage at this point of time their complete convergence with the Anglo values of individualism and the specific emphasis on individual autonomy. (There are also few signs to suggest the opposite, namely the alteration of Anglo values to match more closely the Macedonian stress on family collectivism, although such mutual interaction cannot be excluded and it is likely that it may increase in the future.)

It would seem however that there are other Macedonian core values that will have to be maintained to prevent Macedonian culture being converted to a mere sub-cultural variant on the majority theme. (The majority group is accustomed to social class sub-cultural differences, as well as to the differences between town and country but all such variations occur within the overall Anglo-cultural mould and if ethnic cultures were to be reduced to the level of such variations they would lose their unique cores and retain mere trappings, or those aspects that are easiest to preserve and that are most palatable to the majority.)

In addition to family structure, two such core values suggest themselves in my study of Macedonian life in Australia, and they are the Macedonian language and the Macedonian Orthodox religion. A simple test to determine what constitutes such a core value is to ask oneself whether one would still be acceptable to the Macedonian community if one had forsaken one's family, lost or never acquired the ability to use the Macedonian language, or changed one's religious affiliation to some other faith. It would seem that the loss of any of these values would to a greater or lesser extent undermine one's continued membership of the Macedonian group in Australia. One must remember in this connection the traditional Macedonian concern for the opinion of their fellow countrymen which appears to be encapsulated in the saying, often repeated by parents as a warning to their more adventurous children "But what will the people say?" This must be understood in the sense that people refers here only to the Macedonian people, and that the opinion of outsiders may be irrelevant. This concern for acceptance by one's own ethnic group whether in Australia or in the homeland can help maintain core values and ensure their transmission to the next generation.

It is a matter for debate and further study whether language, religion or family structure should be given pride of place. These values are in any case integrated since family cohesion helps to preserve both language and religion, while in the absence of the common ethnic tongue family unity would suffer and church services become less meaningful.

In fact my research indicates that religion which is unique to a given group can only help with language maintenance if church services are conducted in that tongue and if parish activities also provide an avenue for the use of the ethnic language.

In conclusion one could quite safely say that Macedonian-Australians face many difficulties experienced by all minorities that rely upon language as one of their main guarantors of authenticity. Australia has learned how to be a religiously plural society, but it is still learning how to become a linguistically plural society. It is still uncertain whether linguistic diversity will ever be fully accepted (linguistic pluralism has not flourished in Great Britain, where Celtic languages have been reduced to near extinction despite attempts at Welsh and Irish revivals).

Yet it would seem that the Macedonian language is a principle core value of the Macedonians in Australia and that religion and family may not be enough to ensure a viable and intellectually stimulating cultural continuity. The Macedonian community has shown its concern in this regard by having evolved an extensive network of part time schools and folkloric ensembles.

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Some Observations On The Speech Of Bilingual Macedonian-Australians

Betty K Stewart

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the inaugural Australian Macedonian National Conference held at the University of Melbourne in 1989

Every language is in a constant process of change and adaptation in order to continue to be useful for speakers to express themselves. It is the aim of this paper firstly, to make some observations on the Macedonian language as spoken by the children of Macedonian immigrants in the Australian context and secondly, to consider the extent to which the Macedonian language is maintained in Australia.

It has been observed as inevitable that when two languages share the same environment, they will influence each other. These languages are said to be in contact as they are alternatively used by the same speaker (Weinreich). Such a situation of languages in contact can only arise where there is a pool of bilingual speakers who have some mastery of both languages. A bilingual speaker is a person who is able to generate meaningful utterances in two languages on a continuum of proficiency in each of the languages: from a perfect mastery of both languages, to a native speaker like competence in one language and a limited ability in the other.

Where two languages are in contact there is influence exerted by one language on the other. The result of that influence is the "transference" of some elements of one of the languages into the other. Transferred elements may be found solely in the language of one speaker or may have wide currency in the whole bilingual community, when the transfer is said to be stable.

In Australia, for Macedonian-Australian bilinguals Macedonian exists alongside Australian English, the language of government, commerce, media and education. While it is true that Macedonian has not impacted on Australian English generally, the English speech of Macedonian bilinguals is affected as a result of having Macedonian as their mother tongue. Amongst themselves, Macedonian-Australian bilinguals may use some Macedonian words mixed in with their English

speech. In the workplace or schoolyard where there are larger numbers of Macedonian speakers, non-Macedonian speakers may learn some Macedonian words from their Macedonian speaking colleagues and use those words which are usually, it seems, of a colourful variety. The present discussion focuses on the elements transferred from English into the Macedonian speech of the Macedonian-Australian bilingual.

Reasons for such transference are varied. They range from the inability of the bilingual to express his thoughts and feelings adequately in Macedonian, to social pressure to be "Australian" rather than an "ethnic". It may be that the bilingual does not know or has forgotten the appropriate Macedonian word as a result of lack of reinforcement of Macedonian. Further factors which are relevant to the arising of transference include formal schooling, degree of bilingualism and other aspects of a sociocultural nature.

The lexicon or vocabulary of a language is the least conservative and most flexible part of the language, so it is in the vocabulary that changes are most quick to take place. By contrast, the grammar of a language can be said to be impervious to change in the language contact situation. My comments will be restricted to the observable changes in the vocabulary of the Macedonian-Australian bilingual.

The comments in this paper are based on observations of Macedonian bilinguals in the Illawarra region of NSW. The immigrants who came to the Illawarra are, for the purposes of this discussion, a homogenous group with similar sociocultural experience. To explain the variety in linguistic behaviour, it is necessary to look at the linguistic factors as well as extralinguistic factors such as the sociocultural features of the bilingual speakers and the bilingual community. The migrants came to the Illawarra principally from the Bitola and Ohrid areas of Macedonia and the majority arrived in Australia in the period 1960-1975. These migrants are said to be the first generation bilinguals. Their children, the second generation bilinguals, were either born in Australia or arrived as small children (that is, prior to the age by which language and phonation habits are formed, estimated to be 9 years of age).

The places of employment of a large number of the first generation bilinguals principally include the BHP steel manufacturing plant, light manufacturing and associated transport industries or the clothing manufacturing industries, where they do unskilled work. The first generation bilinguals had little opportunity for formal education in Macedonian and generally no opportunity for education in English. This situation is changing as an increasing number of those first generation bilinguals who were in their teens or twenties on arrival are beginning

to occupy skilled and semi-skilled positions and have become self employed in their own small businesses.

In the Illawarra region there are two Macedonian churches; a number of soccer teams; a large number of folk dancing, pensioner, business and professional, youth and women's groups; the Macedonian Welfare Centre; and a community theatre group called the Blagoja Neskovski Macedonian Theatre. The Macedonian Welfare Centre, which has since 1984 provided a wide range of welfare services and has served as a meeting place and drop-in centre for various groups, is situated in Port Kembla. Community functions are run by the various cultural associations and are well attended and quite popular with the youth. These events together with family functions such as traditional style weddings, christenings, name days and village feast days are manifestations of the Macedonian community's identity in the Illawarra.

While it appears that few studies have considered the Macedonian language as an immigrant language in contact with English, many studies have been done on other immigrant languages in contact situations (such as Haugen on Norwegian in America, Bettoni on Italian in North Queensland and Clyne on German in Victoria) and from the results of these studies certain hypotheses can be made on the way in which it is likely that the Macedonian language will develop in Australia under the influence of Australian English.

It must be noted that there are some difficulties in preparing such a study of Macedonian. Obvious difficulties are the problems in establishing accurately the Macedonian spoken by the first generation bilinguals at the date of arrival (whether a dialect or the standard). This must be compared to Macedonian spoken by native monolinguals in Macedonia at the present time (to see how Macedonian has developed over time) in order to then contrast the Macedonian spoken in the Illawarra today (under the influence of the Australian environment). As the standard Macedonian language has changed a great deal over the last 30 years, including transference from English, the identification of transference in the speech of the bilinguals must be compared with the speakers' competency in Macedonian and not the standard language.

The second generation Macedonian bilinguals generally learn Macedonian informally in the home domain from their family. Generally the language is only ever learned as a spoken language. By way of contrast, the bilinguals learn English formally at school both as a spoken and a written language.

The possible sources of replenishing Macedonian for the bilingual come from the ethnic radio programs, the Macedonian press, and

theoretically Macedonian programs on SBS Television. For some bilinguals there will also be Macedonian language classes, whether run by the community ("ethnic schools") or the Department of Education in Saturday morning schools. There may in addition be correspondence with relatives overseas and, perhaps, meeting newly arrived Macedonian speakers.

A brief study conducted by the Macedonian Welfare Centre in Port Kembla indicates that the second generation bilinguals do not generally listen to 2EA (SBS Radio), they do not watch programs on TV (this is mostly because there are virtually no Macedonian language programs on SBS TV), and their Macedonian is not sufficiently developed to allow them to read the press.

Accordingly, Macedonian is under certain pressures from Australian English in the Australian setting in which the two languages co-exist. Transference can be observed in the speech of all bilinguals, both first and second generation. It appears that the speakers see the English transfers in their Macedonian speech negatively (so that they are embarrassed about their speech) or as humorous (so that transfers are used to share a joke with another bilingual or to self parody). The same negative attitude does not seem to arise in relation to the English borrowings in the standard Macedonian language. That is seen rather as that language's mechanism for adapting to the modern word. For example, the standard Macedonian word for "computer" is "kompjuter".

Credit should be given to bilinguals for their creativity in adapting a language in which they have had no formal instruction (that is Macedonian), by means of transferring elements from another language they regularly use (that is of course English), to allow some degree of every day use in an environment which requires innovation.

The sociocultural setting in which transference between two languages in contact takes place requires attention because it is the sociocultural setting which determines the frequency and type of transfers which take place. The factors which affect the individual bilingual are:

1. The bilingual speaker's ability to express himself verbally in general and his ability to keep the two languages apart.
2. Relative proficiency in each of the two languages.
3. The manner of learning each of the two languages.
4. Attitude to the languages spoken.

The factors which affect bilingual groups are:

5. The size of the bilingual group and its sociocultural homogeneity or differentiation.
6. The number of bilinguals with given characteristics or speech

behaviour (whether there is a large number of persons who have a native proficiency in the language or not).

7. The relative prestige of each language and whether it is an immigrant or indigenous language.

8. Attitudes towards the culture of each of the language communities.

9. Attitudes to bilingualism itself.

10. Tolerance to the transference or mixing of languages and views as to "correct speech" or pure language.

The speech of the Macedonian-Australian bilinguals is a variety of Macedonian characterized by changes in the vocabulary under the effect of transference from English. Australian Macedonian is definitely a variety of Macedonian and there can be no suggestion made that Australian Macedonian is a new language or a pidgin such that the constituent languages have now been lost.

The Macedonian language has been brought by migrants to a new sociocultural context. Leaving behind the village life, the migrants arrived in the Illawarra to find the factory, new place names, the unions, the Australian welfare system, the health system, local shopping and new consumer items. Thus it would be inappropriate for the language to be merely maintained as it was when the migrants arrived in Australia. This would not allow them to speak about their new environment. Rather the language is stretched and developed to fit the new environment.

What follows is a list of examples of transference compiled from the speech of the first and second generation bilinguals. By drawing attention to these words, it is not intended to mark the words as examples of incorrect speech, rather, the examples show the creativity of the bilingual. Some words may be familiar to Macedonian speakers outside the Illawarra, but others will not as transfers have taken place in the specific sociocultural context of the Macedonian community in the Illawarra. The list is compiled according to the degree and manner of integration of the transfer into the Macedonian sound system (pronunciation) and grammar. The terminology used to describe the examples is that established by Clyne.

Transfers with phonic integration

These are words that are borrowed directly from Australian English but adapted according to the sound system of Macedonian, that is to say they are pronounced with a Macedonian accent.

Some examples:

Words relating to work:

Ofis - office
 Kemis - chemist
 Kokavec - coke ovens
 Stilvork - steelworks
 Lidigen - leading hand
 Shifti - shifts: compare dajshif, najshif, atenu
 Rosta - rostered day off
 Overtaj - overtime
 Lajdzhuti - light duty
 Kompo - compo, abbreviation for workers' compensation
 Bandali - bundles (units of work at Bonds clothing factory)
 Ofa - offer (of redundancy)

Words relating to other domains:

Flor - floor
 Friza - fridge
 Shtofa - stove
 Olza - hose
 Kichin - kitchen
 Karpet - carpet
 Jard - yard
 Kabets - cupboard
 Shopin - shopping
 Bas - bus
 Bich - beach
 Trak - truck
 Brajzmer - groomsman
 Brajzmerki - bridesmaid
 Inshurants - insurance
 Strit - street
 Trajla - (box) trailer
 Voljunit - wall unit
 Sosich - sausage
 Fruta - fruit
 Pinats - peanuts
 Letes - lettuce

(Note: "j" is pronounced as "y" as in you, the "r" is pronounced as a rolled "r")

Transfers with morphological integration

These are words which are borrowed from English but adapted in Macedonian by applying more than just the rules of the sound system; the transfers are adapted to the grammatical rules of Macedonian. For example suffixes such as the diminutive or pejorative are added:

bucharnitsa - butcher shop

drinkarot - the man who delivered drinks to the home - compare with mlekarot and lebarot (milk and bread delivers respectively).

bositsa - female "boss"

karche/ karcheto - little car/ the little car

blajmam - I blame - (eg, nemoj da me blajmash mene; literally, do not blame me)

shutiram - I shoot - (eg, si ja shutiral grlfrenkata; literally, he shot his girlfriend)

Semantic transference

This is transference which involves giving Macedonian words additional meanings where the "equivalent" English words have those additional meanings but the original Macedonian words do not.

Some examples:

hit/ udrish in:

Odi pravo duri da go udrish Wentworth Street i setne svrti destro - literally, go straight until you hit Wentworth Street and then turn right; and die/ umrish in:

Ke umrish ko ke... literally: you'll die when (be very shocked/ surprised); and make/ napravam as in:

Ke go napravam krevetot... literally: I will make the bed.

Multiple transfers

These are words which are transferred into Macedonian without any adaptation whatsoever. Common switches or multiple transfers which occur in conversation are interjections such as "you know", "alright", etc. However it may be that when the speaker cannot remember the word in Macedonian a switch will often occur.

Type and number of transfers

The frequency of transferred words and the type of integration of

transferred words used depend on the speakers bilingual command, on the person to whom the bilingual is speaking and the context in which the conversation is taking place.

Where two persons, each aware that the other is bilingual, commence a conversation, one may use certain markers to indicate that some transference from English is about to take place. This is in order to establish whether the person to whom he is speaking understands Australian Macedonian or not. For example: Igram, kako sho velat tuka, soccer (literally: I play, as they say here, soccer). Obviously, where the bilingual is aware that the person to whom he is speaking knows no English at all, the bilingual will attempt to keep his speech free from any transfers.

Language use is person specific. While it may be generally viewed as a weakness in language skills to allow transfers of elements from English into Macedonian, this transference may not be viewed negatively where it does not interfere with communication. The speaker will try to control transference, for example, where he is speaking with monolinguals. His ability to do so will of course be restricted by his language competency.

Evidence that transference can be controlled is gained from the fact that Australian Macedonian is used between bilinguals to, for example, keep secrets from persons who are not familiar with both languages. Also it is common to hear in the conversation of young Macedonians in English some Macedonian phrase which will establish their common background. For example, zhimi majka (a common expression that literally means "I swear on my mother's health").

Perhaps the most important factor involved in the frequency of transfers is the concept of language economy or the principle of least effort. Where there are a number of choices for saying something, eliminating or not using words with which the speaker is less confident leads to a reduction in the items, whether English or Macedonian, to choose from. Thus a speaker may make maximum use of the words familiar to him and thereby can avoid making mistakes in getting his message across, eg, popravam karo'i, literally, I fix cars. An alternative, "sum mekanichar" (I am a mechanic) requires knowledge of or use of the word "mekanichar". Also, "rabotam vo banka" (literally, I work in a bank), avoids knowledge of the standard literary Macedonian word for the person's job description. "Ke imam shaoa" (I will have a shower) avoids the need to use "se tushiram" or similar.

When we look at the words which are transferred from English into the Macedonian of the bilinguals, it has been observed that nouns are most frequently borrowed, for example, flet, kar, etc; next in order of

frequency of borrowing are verbs, for example, "ne tajsta ubo" (it doesn't taste good), "me blajmat mene" (they blame me); then adjectives, "nashite luge se differen" (our people are different), and so on.

English does not assign genders to its nouns whereas Macedonian does. Thus when an English noun is transferred into Macedonian and is to be integrated grammatically, a problem is created as to the gender to be assigned to that noun. Here, it is interesting to compare the way a first generation bilingual and a second generation bilingual assign the gender. One of the factors behind the assignment of the gender could be the rules in Macedonian about assigning a gender. The transfer "party" serves as an example to show the contrast. A first generation speaker of Macedonian assigned "partite" (plural neuter for a single "party") whereas one of the second generation bilinguals said "partijata" (feminine). In the first case the article was attached as though the noun were plural presumably because it ends in the "i" sound. In the second case it was given the feminine gender article perhaps because the more important information was that "party" is not a plural noun.

Language Maintenance, New Language Learning or Language Shift

The overall pattern observed in immigrant languages is an erosion of the language. This occurs even in the family context suggesting extinction of the immigrant language by the third or fourth generation. That is to say that the grandchildren or great grandchildren of the immigrants who arrived in Australia will probably not know any Macedonian.

In order to survive, a language must have a context or domain of use, for example, the home, family, church, or work. English is the only language in Australia which has functions outside the home and outside community functions and organizations. If Macedonian is no longer necessary as the language in the home then any attempts to maintain Macedonian may prove to be futile. If it is important that children use Macedonian at home, their language skill must become more sophisticated in terms of vocabulary so that the child can discuss matters at home which relate to work or education and their spare time interests. It would also be helpful if their skills included the reading and writing of the language.

A 1984-85 study (Kalantzis) conducted by the Multicultural Studies Centre of the University of Wollongong for the Department of Immigration looked at the attitude of first and second generation bilinguals to language maintenance. The first generation bilinguals expressed the

view that Macedonian should be maintained because it is a language which is internationally under threat and maintenance of the language allows maintenance of the religion and social cohesion in the Macedonian community.

The attitude of the children (second generation bilinguals) seemed to be dependent on their peers. Those children who attended school or work where there was a large group of Macedonians thought it important that Macedonian be maintained, but indicated that they would not study Macedonian if it were offered in High School. Rather they felt it more important to learn a language such as French, German or Italian (languages given an amount of prestige by virtue of the fact that at the time of the study they were taught generally in secondary schools). Those speakers who attended a school where there were very few Macedonians felt it more important to be Australian rather than Macedonian and did not think maintenance of Macedonian was important. A reasonably high number of speakers indicated that they saw knowledge of Macedonian as a factor in getting a job. This can be explained by the very high youth unemployment rate in the Illawarra and the high profile of welfare and interpreting "industries" in the area. The study found that 99 per cent of the second generation interviewed for the study spoke Macedonian.

There are said to be certain values which are seen as central to the existence and identity of an ethnic group. At this time it is not unreasonable to assert that the Macedonian language is of central importance to the Macedonian identity of the Macedonian community in the Illawarra. The language has an importance for the individual as well as its sociological importance as a medium for communication in the community. The value to the speaker of maintaining the language must be related to the way in which the speaker sees himself: whether as an Australian or a Macedonian or a combination of both. According to Haugen, in *The Norwegian Language in America*, the likelihood of maintenance of a language is related to the status and intimacy of the language; its relevance to friendships, family, shared values and common cultural experiences.

At the present time, Macedonian is spoken in the home by a large number of families in the Illawarra area. The church may be seen as a protector of the language as services are carried on in Macedonian. Macedonian is used widely in local broadcasting and the Macedonian press, and for community continuity and interaction.

A large number of Macedonian youth are involved in dance groups and sports groups where the other members are also from the community and where there is also a role for parents. However a survey by the

Macedonian Welfare Centre in Port Kembla indicates that most Macedonian youth go to church only occasionally, that is for public holidays (praznitsi), and that the youth rarely listened to 2EA and virtually never read the Macedonian press.

As long as the Macedonian language has a communicative function, for example serving the communicative needs of recently arrived migrants and the elderly, obviously it will be maintained; children need to understand and speak Macedonian where parents and grandparents do not speak English. Macedonian may quickly be lost with the passing of the elderly and the assimilation of the recently arrived if that is the only need for the language.

However, if the language has a symbolic importance for future Macedonian-Australians, then an effort will be made to maintain the language for that reason. Then, even if the language does not survive the third or fourth generation bilinguals, perhaps that symbolic importance will have the effect that the language is revived in the future by Macedonian-Australians interested in their background. At that stage the question is no longer one of language maintenance but rather one of new language learning. This situation has been described as "third generation return" amongst Italian English bilinguals. It has been observed that the third and fourth generation bilinguals want to learn the language of their forbears but must learn the standard language formally rather than their forebears' dialect because the language is no longer spoken in the home.

The policy of the government towards the maintenance of languages should not be forgotten as it is an important factor in the maintenance of Macedonian. For economic reasons, the current government policy towards ethnic languages seems to value the south east Asian languages above maintenance of community languages, such as Macedonian, brought to Australia by immigrant workers. This in fact was the recommendation of the National Language Policy. The government cannot be relied on to ensure the maintenance of Macedonian.

The findings of the Kalantzis study indicated that those students who study Macedonian at school, in addition to speaking it at home, have a confidence and an ability in both the English and Macedonian languages unknown to those who learn Macedonian only at home.

Studying Macedonian in a formal manner helps the speakers to realize which are the stabilized English transfers inherited from their families: it expands the vocabulary (otherwise the home learnt Macedonian is stunted at the time of entering school and restricted to words relating to the family context); it gives children the benefit of the continual corrective

influence of the standard Macedonian spoken around them. Formal schooling in the language will offer the speakers a standard model of their mother tongue. Obvious problems are insufficient numbers of qualified teachers, and that for young children an extra effort is required because the language is taught out of school hours. Thus there is an importance for the language to be maintained at the tertiary level in order that teachers can become properly qualified to teach a standard model of the Macedonian mother tongue.

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The Australian-Macedonian Drama Group

Stefo Stojanovski

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While I will speak in general about the Australian Macedonian Drama Group, there will be three discernible threads that run through my talk. Firstly, I will outline the dramatic activities of the group in a chronological way; secondly, I will discuss our role as a specific community drama group working in a non-English community language; and thirdly, I will look at aspects of the writing being produced.

In 1983 a small group of people from the Macedonian Students Association in Melbourne, at the suggestion of Liljana Tasevska, arranged to hear a play written in Macedonian by a local writer, Jim Thomev. Called "Nashite" (Our People), the play was a five act "domestic" drama written in the Lerin dialect of Macedonian (Lerinsko). Its colourful expression, its colloquial vigour and the presentation of familiar issues from the life of Australian Macedonians convinced everyone of the dramatic potential of our language and lives.

It was decided that it would be a good idea to stage the play, and so through word of mouth a group of interested people met and started planning. The problem was that no Macedonian theatrical group existed. We weren't sure where to start. We decided to contact friends and acquaintances and see if we could get enough people interested. The organizational problems were made more difficult by the fact that the majority of Macedonians, mainly from rural backgrounds, did not have a theatrical tradition, either here or in Macedonia. The closest thing to a dramatic group were the numerous folkloric dance groups. Apart from this we did not get any support from the official church-based community organizations, so in effect we were starting from rock bottom, without anything except a script and the belief in the dramatic power of our language.

Through personal contacts and word of mouth we gathered a group of devoted people and painfully and gradually the ball started rolling in 1984. One person donated their house for rehearsals and someone else

introduced us to a then recently arrived Polish state director and we started rehearsals. We encouraged as broad a participation as possible. A number of members were teachers and students but we had people from all walks of life, and of all ages.

Very few people had had theatre experience apart from the odd school or university production. Because of this and the fact that we wanted to encourage as many participants as possible, we decided for our first production to put on a series of short plays instead of one long one. Five plays, each of about 25 minutes, allowed us to involve over 20 people, many with small roles. This suited our novice status.

The first show was staged in May 1984 in a local Town Hall. The show took the title "The Macedonians in Australia" - all the plays were about the efforts of Macedonians to settle into and make sense of life in Australia.

The first play, titled "Vlade", revolved around a home visit from a school co-ordinator who must pass on to the Macedonian parents the news that Vlade, their son, has been expelled from school. In the second play "Stram, Ces i Red" (Humility, Respect and Custom) a school teacher gives a hypocritical moral lesson based on the Macedonian dictum of humility, respect and custom. His outlandish students reveal the impracticality of such easy wisdom.

The third play, "Kume-Krle-Trts" (Godfather Krle-Trts), deals with the Macedonian naming customs and the role of the godfather, which comes into question after the godfather in the play names a family's children: Tikvar (Pumpkin), Teneke (Tin Can), Tevekeli (Lout) and Torlak (Unkempt).

In the fourth play, titled "Zdrav-Ziv" (Healthy Life), a young boy faces up to interpreting at the doctor's for his irascible grandfather who suffers from "nervi" (his nerves).

And in the final play a family gets itself into trouble after an attempt to marry off their young daughter with the aid of a "stroinik" (a matchmaker) fails.

In style the material ranged from situation comedy to high farce. The tone ranged from warm sentimentality to incisive social commentary and satire.

All of the works dealt with experiences from the lives of the audience and this was a key ingredient for the success of the group. I will come back to this important point later.

When planning for the production we decided to include music, songs and a folkloric dance group between plays. The reasons for this were two-fold - firstly the fact that we have such a rich tradition in these areas

and secondly to give our audience something of what they were used to. As I said earlier, many of them had little or no experience of theatre so we put it in a form that presented some known elements. The mixture of folklore and drama was successful, there was no clash of mode or style. One of the reasons for this was that the plays themselves contained many folkloric or anthropological elements, colloquial language, folk sayings, customs and traditions.

Such was the first production and it was a major success. Over 2,000 people attended our two seasons of eight performances. The second season, later that year, was held in a theatre.

To many people in the audience, and certainly to those involved in the production, the experience was a very emotional one. The Drama Group's activities represented a cultural, or if you like, nationalistic affirmation that had not been thought possible in Australia. In front of their eyes was the culture and language that had been so oppressed in the Balkans and so often neglected in Australia - challenging and entertaining, drawing sustenance from our life in Australia.

The second show early in 1985 was similar in style to the first one - five short plays, with songs and music in between. This time we also had some poetry recitation and a choral group was organized. The emphasis in the plays was on comedy - much of it similar in style to that of the first production. However a new variety was established in the "over the top" send up of "Pogodi-Dogodi" (The Macedonian "Perfect Match"). This has gone on to be one of the best remembered pieces offered by the group and it may be interesting to speculate on the reasons why.

On the surface the play appears to be light in substance, a flippant send up of the popular TV program - a light throw away of belly laughs. But why has it stuck in people's minds so much, ahead of weightier, perhaps more polished work? The reason is, I think, a cultural one. "Pogodi-Dogodi" deals with one of the greatest preoccupations of our people - getting married off correctly. The wedding practices and customs from "stojnici" to marrying from the right "soi" are very central to our culture. "Pogodi-Dogodi" symbolizes a transmutation of this important part of Macedonian culture in the Australian context, and for this reason has a high intrinsic interest.

In the first two productions most of the material came from Jim Thomev, Stefo Stojanovski and Lupco Temelkovski.

The third production took place late in 1985 and in this one quite a few new directions were experimented with; in fact the plays were quite a departure from those of the first two productions. With the passing of time the Drama Group had inspired more people to write so a different

style was bound to emerge. I will return later to this positive role in encouraging writers in the community.

The third show, for the first time, included two plays on historical themes: "Kucinjata Lajat" (The Dogs Are Barking) and "Makedonecot" (The Macedonian). "Makedonecot" was a bold change of form for it was a verse drama. Its poetical form was a challenge for the actors and an effective medium for conveying the sense of Macedonia's tragic history. The other historical play "Kucinjata Lajat", in symbolic form, looked at the attractions, demands and ultimately the sacrifices that national allegiance can lead to. One other piece, "Zimi Vas" (I Swear By You) was the result of a collaborative effort of a group of women who workshopped the idea of the oppression of women. The final play in this mixed bag was "Do Koga" (Until When), a sentimental comedy about an elderly Macedonian couple aging in Australia.

For our 1986 production we decided that the time had come to attempt a full length play. We chose the five-act play "Krvta Ne Se Praj Voda" (Blood is Thicker than Water). With a much broader scope this play brought together many of the concerns that were raised in the first two productions. It also used the similar style of incisive social humour. Centred around a family living in Australia, it examined the various ways people see life in Australia when their relationships are tested by an illegitimate pregnancy. The play ends in reconciliation and a multicultural vision of Australia.

With this longer play were presented two shorter pieces "Aramijata" (The Thief) and "Intimi" (Intimacies).

Our 1987 production had a similar form - one longer play and two short pieces. This time however the long play, for the first time, was a tragedy. It was "Sushata" (The Drought) by Tom Petsinis, a play about family divisions following the return of one family member from Australia. "Sushata" presented the group with the greatest challenge to that point. The play had a much denser and more allusive text and contained a chorus of women which spoke in verse. The play was also a great challenge for the audience, for while the issues were familiar, its style was not. This play was performed professionally, in English, by Playbox Theatre Co in 1994.

After the two productions involving long plays, for 1988 we went back to a format of shorter plays. There were three comedies, including a new "Pogodi-Dogodi" and another new style of play, a "mystery". That play was "Familija Tugini" (Family of Strangers) by Dorothy Siouclis, our first female writer.

In terms of writers we are now very well off with six or seven writers

who can contribute substantial work.

In giving this chronology, it might sound as if it has all been easily done. Far from it. Like most Macedonian groups or events we have our organizational problems. The time commitment involved in rehearsing and organizing theatre is major. As a consequence we have at times been undermanned. While we have extensive moral support from our community, it doesn't often enough translate into active involvement. But I don't want to go on about what is probably familiar to you all. I would like instead to concentrate on the more interesting positive aspects.

I would like to speculate about the reasons for the popularity of the Group's work. One reason is the fact that most of our material draws its inspiration from the daily life of our community. We encourage locally written work in the Macedonian language as used in Australia. The colloquial language of the dialects is not only the means of communication but also a rich source of inspiration in its own right.

In its specificity of language and theme, the drama provides a mirror for Macedonians to see themselves. However it is not just a mirror to admire oneself in but also one which confronts us with the images of ourselves. The Drama Group has allowed Macedonian-Australians to "indulge" themselves in a way that is not possible in the mainstream English-speaking society because it has given public expression to our specific world. This is certainly a rare experience for Macedonian-Australians. This public expression gives a kind of credence to our Australian-Macedonian culture because people see in objective terms, before their eyes, the substance of that culture. This feeling of being on show ("na seir" if you like) reinforces the empathy with that culture and promotes solidarity and belonging. It is this quality which has attracted such a range in our audience - from young children born and bred here to the truest of the patriots.

As well as presenting their world before their eyes, our plays have challenged the audience to look at themselves and how they relate to that world. Many of the plays deal with culture clash or conflicting viewpoints between generations, the changing role of women, tradition and change.

The play, "Toi Sho Znai" (He Who Knows) by Dorothy Siouclis, begins with two young people emptying out their wardrobe and sifting through their clothes, throwing out the useless clothes and only keeping what they will wear. The play looks at what from our past is valuable and what needs to be changed or discarded. I believe this image is also appropriate for the challenge that the drama offers our audience and for the nature of our life in Australia.

The affirmation of cultural identity is one of the great things about this Drama Group and the close relationship it has with its audience. As previously mentioned the other factor that keeps the audience close to us is the content of the plays - the material deals with issues close at heart to much of the audience. Thus for the audience there is an immediate emotional engagement with what is going on on the stage. The plays are more than an intellectual exercise or a mere piece of entertainment. I can illustrate this with one example from our more recent work. We staged the play "Sushata" (The Drought) in 1987. That play deals with the return to the family in Macedonia of a man who has been aimlessly wandering Australia for the last twenty years. Upon his return the question of inheritance and the division of family land between the two brothers is raised and through fear and misunderstanding a tragedy results. This basic conflict was very close to much of our audience, as it probably would be to most people who have migrated, whose families and country have been divided and who continue in various ways to live between two countries.

Thus when the audience see such close issues presented in the colloquial language they use, their level of involvement is heightened.

This of course happens in any audience where the issues will mean more to some people than to others. The pleasure of working in a community theatre group like this however is the fact that you can ensure that the material is personal for a much higher percentage of the audience.

This audience rapport has been commented on by all four of the non-Macedonian directors we have used. For all of them it has been a unique experience rarely found in the mainstream theatres. One other attribute of our audience is the fact that their behaviour is not determined by a tradition of theatre decorum. They do not follow standard theatre rules of how much, and when, to laugh or clap. They are quite spontaneous and often "participate" in the action, offering suggestions, compliments and taking sides. At first glance, particularly to those coming from a very decorous theatre tradition, this may appear to be rude behaviour, but for our audience the separation of audience and action does not hold. The audience's view of an event such as this is based on it being a participatory communal gathering. This of course is the folkloric heritage.

The other area of achievement has been in the participation of members from the community. For the first time there has been an outlet for a range of artistic, organizational and technical skills. We have over 70 financial members and more than 50 people have taken on acting roles.

We have also begun to encourage our own directors and as mentioned now have six or seven writers.

This is one of the great strengths and achievements of the Group. The Drama Group has been a catalyst, it has inspired people who might not consider themselves writers to put pen to paper and the Group has given a public forum for their work. The writing produced has also been of a remarkably high standard. It is very rare for a small amateur group to have such quality writing at their disposal. The quality of the writing has been commented on by all our directors and is evident in the choice of two of our plays by a professional company - Anthill - for their annual staged readings. Those plays were "Sushata" and "Aramijata" by Tom Petsinis. Another writer, Jim Thomev, has received a Literature Board grant for his dramatic work and has been used as a script consultant for a TV series. The Group has received financial assistance from the Victorian Ministry of Arts and from the Australia Council with whom we enjoy a good relationship and which is very pleased with our work.

Videos of two of our productions have been broadcast in the Republic of Macedonia. Channel 0-28 in 1984 produced a report on the Group for a current affairs program.

The strength of the writing has been the basis for these successes, and I think that there are specific reasons for the quality of the writing being produced. I don't think that it is just a coincidence of talented individuals. Firstly I think it is because migrants who belong to a transplanted culture have a richness of experience that can feed their creativity. Living in and watching the convergence of two cultures produces much tension, humour and heightened perception of social processes.

I also think that there is a "nationalistic" reason - what we may call a national creativity. Literary movements and creative periods have often been associated with national and cultural issues. The Irish for instance dominated the English language literary scene in the first decades of this century - at a time of political chaos and oppression of Irish culture. Writers such as WB Yeats, James Joyce, Synge, O'Casey, Lady Gregory and others took inspiration from Irish themes. Many writers were involved in the National Revival Movement.

In more recent times Jewish writers, particularly from the USA, have created a similar phenomenon. Chaim Potok, Phillip Roth, Bernard Malamud, Ella Wiesel and Saul Bellow have all been preoccupied with Jewish culture and history. It has been a major focus and a source of inspiration to them. I think that this sort of process has happened with our writers also.

The final area that I'd like to talk about concerns the linguistic content

of the plays. The first point is that the scripts of our writers are in one sense social and linguistic documents. They are recording or "canning" language in process, because largely we use the colloquial language as spoken here. For instance some of the dialectical and colloquial features used in the scripts may perhaps no longer be heard in Macedonia. The Macedonian migrants to Australia, through the well-known process of "culture freeze", have preserved features that may have changed in the place of origin.

What we also have is a written record of the emergence of a new dialect of Macedonian - Australian-Macedonian. As Italian linguists have shown with Italo-Australian, this is a fruitful area for research.

One other area concerns the linguistic and grammatical patterns and the way they relate to culture. Some of our writers write in Macedonian, others write first in English and then translate the text into Macedonian. The interesting thing about some of the English texts is that they still sound so Macedonian, and this is not just a matter of content or subject matter; the Macedonian mind is reflected in the grammar and constructions used. This subliminal influence can also be found in a reverse manner in our Macedonian scripts. As products of an Anglo-Celtic education system it is not surprising to find certain constructions that are not Macedonian. Again some interesting work in this area of sociolinguistics may offer itself.

Over its 10 year performance history the Australian Macedonian Drama Group has attracted an audience of over 11,000 people, many of whom eagerly await and attend the event every year. The videos of the productions have reached almost every Macedonian household with access to video. These videos have been distributed interstate and overseas in Macedonia and in Canada where the Group is also known.

The AMDG is a non-profit group and surplus funds from one show are put towards the next year's productions. The Group also contributes to the community: on many occasions they have donated money to other organizations and causes they consider worthy of support. The group recently held a fund raising party to raise money towards the Medical Supplies for Macedonia Fund, and were able to donate a substantial amount.

The Australian Macedonian Drama Group places great emphasis on serving the Macedonian community. The Group is made up of Macedonians from all walks of life and with backgrounds from all parts of Macedonia. From the beginning it has adhered to its primary objectives. Firstly, to encourage and spread the Macedonian name, language and culture throughout Australia and secondly, to provide an outlet for

the artistic talents and theatrical interests of people of Macedonian origin and others willing to work towards the same ends.

The Group has given many people an outlet for their talents in scripting, acting, directing, designing, stage production, singing, musical composition and in developing organizational skills in theatre management. Above all, it gives all the participants a strong sense of purpose with a worthwhile and highly appreciated community activity.

The Group began with most people having little or no previous theatrical experience, and in the early years theatre professionals were hired to train and share their expertise with members of the group. For the past several years the AMDG has become self sufficient. All artistic and production skills can now be met from within the Group. Outside technical personnel are engaged only if absolutely necessary. So impressive has been this development that professional actors have joined the Group, a clear sign of its growing reputation in the wider performing arts industry.

Because an increasing number of members in the Group wish to make performing arts their career, a smaller sub-group called Kacamak has been formed. This consists of Macedonian-Australians working full time in theatre. They will be an ongoing creative development and performance group while the AMDG will continue to work on the major annual production. Kacamak's first project was to prepare a piece of theatre for Macedonian students and others in Victorian schools. This touring play has been performed in 15 schools where it was eagerly greeted by the students. Kacamak hopes to continue this sort of community development work.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church: Its Role In The Moulding And Maintenance Of Ethnic Identity In Australia

Dr Christopher Popov and Michael Radin

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Historical Retrospective

The struggle for recognition and independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church has closely paralleled the struggle for national self-determination of the Macedonian people. It is perhaps one of history's great ironies that the Church, having made a considerable impact and contribution to every aspect of Macedonian life prior to 1767, only achieved its appropriate legitimacy in modern times with the creation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as an autonomous and self-determining national unit within the federation of Yugoslavia.

However, it is equally important to note that an independent Macedonian church, with its seat at Ohrid, now a large town in the Macedonian Republic, had existed for a millennium until 1767, and that through its stature, Macedonians had at various times established some de facto national independence.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church, particularly in medieval and late feudal times, as the most learned and conscious element of the developing Macedonian national psyche, had inspired a cultural and artistic renaissance amongst the Macedonian people which dated right back to the legacy of the Macedonian educators of the ninth century, the brothers Cyril and Methodius of Solun (now known as Thessaloniki in Greek), the former capital of Macedonia. This cultural renaissance was always closely linked with religious identification. For example, the Macedonian church was responsible for the tradition of medieval painting, as well as the famous icons and frescoes which decorated the churches and monasteries themselves.

The nexus between national and religious struggle was further made paramount during the era of the "national re-awakening" in the eighteenth century, when the Church protected and promulgated the

embryonic ideas of an independent Macedonia free from Ottoman Turkish rule.

After the Turks abolished the Ohrid Archbishopric in 1767, concerted efforts were made by the Macedonian people over the course of the next century to seek its reinstatement. These attempts proved long, arduous and fruitless, yet they were determined nonetheless. This struggle however, significantly honed the spiritual fabric of the independence movements which produced, over generations, patriotic ideals which manifested themselves in times of crisis as a resistance ethic.

It was with great alacrity therefore that the Macedonian Orthodox Church pronounced itself autocephalous in 1967, having formally re-established itself in 1958 in the Macedonian Republic, exactly two hundred years after its abolition.¹

However, problems have remained, the most fundamental of which has been the failure of the other Eastern Orthodox Churches to recognize the autocephalous status of the Church.

Yet the beginnings for the Macedonian Orthodox Church were far less auspicious. The settlement of Macedonia by Slavonic tribes in the late fifth and the sixth centuries A.D. reached its zenith by the early part of the seventh century, when the entire area of Macedonia had been covered by the tribes. These tribes however, were polytheistic, and initially this brought them into conflict with the local population, who were governed under the Archbishopric of Justinian the First. Over the course of the next century and a half, however, the tribes began to develop Christian characteristics, mostly due to the influences of the Byzantine state and its ecclesiastical organs. During the eighth century, an eparchate was established in Macedonia, which was presided over by the Metropolitan of Salonica.

There were principally two reasons why the Macedonian population was initially resistant to Christianity. The first was their long held pagan beliefs, and the second was the Macedonians' inability to understand the Greek language, in which the Balkan Christian culture was taught and disseminated at that time.

The development of the first Macedonian alphabet therefore by Cyril, based upon the orthography of the local Macedonian population of Solun, proved to be an historical watershed for the Macedonians and for all of the Slavonic peoples of Europe. Liturgical works were then subsequently translated into Old Church Slavonic, which achieved the status of a "civilized" language (along with Greek, Latin and Hebrew) over the following century. It is important to note that the first religious books to be written in Old Church Slavonic were in the language of the

Macedonians, as this was the language used by Cyril and Methodius and a significant element of the population of their birthplace, Solun.²

The Macedonian brothers, accompanied by their disciples, then embarked upon their "civilizing mission" amongst the Slavonic peoples in Europe, being noted most for their teaching in Moravia (now in the Czech Republic).

In the year 885 A.D., the Cyrillic disciple Clement returned to Macedonia and continued his teaching in Ohrid, in the Macedonian language. Thereafter, in the following decades, hundreds of pupils graduated from his "University", being taught not only in theology, but also in other subjects such as history, science, art, medicine, languages and philosophy. This body of knowledge disseminated from Clement's Ohrid school, when embodied in literature, constituted an entirely new literary culture which gradually spread to all of the Slavonic peoples.³

In addition to his teaching, Clement studiously undertook the organization of the Macedonian Church in Ohrid. Appointing and teaching priests and deacons, and organizing and establishing parishes, he laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid as a specifically Macedonian church (This ultimately saw the light of day during the reign of the Macedonian King, Tsar Samuel). This great work was, in succeeding years, completed by Naum, who also based himself in Ohrid after having taught for many years in Bulgaria.

In the tenth century A.D., what became known as the "Bogomil" movement saw its origins in Macedonia. The founder of this movement, the priest Father Bogomil, designed it as a rebellion against the official orthodoxy of the Church, which he saw as being subservient to the Bulgarian State and oligarchy, which at that time politically dominated Macedonia. The philosophies of Bogomil ultimately penetrated Western Europe, and held a modicum of influence there for almost five hundred years.

Following the defeat of Tsar Samuel in 1018 A.D., and the incorporation of Macedonia into Bulgaria's medieval Empire, the Patriarchate of Ohrid was co-opted into the service of the Bulgarian Court. In fact, the Patriarchate was once again demoted to an archbishopric, although it retained the status of an independent church.

The independence of the Church was maintained even through the twelfth century disintegration of the Byzantine Empire, which witnessed numerous wars, many of them taking place on Macedonian territory.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of Macedonia's territory was incorporated into the Serbian State, and indeed during the reign of Tsar Dushan (1331-1335), all of Macedonia was part of the

Serbian realm. Yet even during this period, the independence of the Macedonian Church was preserved, and the Serbian state maintained two archbishoprics, that of Serbia and that of Ohrid. This period witnessed a flourishing of medieval religious art, with the establishment of many new churches and monasteries of considerable architectural character, adorned by impressive frescoes.

In 1392 A.D., the modern Macedonian capital, Skopje, was captured by the Ottoman Turkish armies. Subsequently, Ohrid was overrun in 1408 A.D. This was the start of five centuries of Turkish domination, the longest and most significant period of foreign rule in Macedonia's history. However, the fate of the Macedonian Church under this rule varied. Initially, with the consolidation of Turkish power across the Balkans, the Archbishopric of Ohrid retained and indeed increased its influence as one of four autocephalous Churches in European Turkey, the others being at Constantinople, Trnovo and Pech.

However, as the feudal system was consolidated in Macedonia, heavy financial burdens were placed upon the Church and the Christian population in general. This produced a series of sporadic upheavals against the Empire, which responded with an active campaign of Islamization of the Christian population. The Macedonian Church, already heavily in debt, was unable to resist the tide of compulsory conversion and consequently lost considerable influence. As a result, many thousands of Macedonians, particularly in the western districts of the country, converted to Islam.

Unfortunately, the Turks also demolished many Macedonian churches, whilst others were converted into mosques. The legacies of this campaign are still readily visible in Macedonia today.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Macedonian Church found itself coming under increasing pressure from the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. This era had witnessed in general a marked increase in the Patriarch's drive to hellenize the southern Balkan lands, and the Macedonian Church at Ohrid had proved a constant irritant in this mission. The Patriarch initiated a campaign aimed at the Sultanate which responded by abolishing the Ohrid archbishopric in 1767 A.D.⁴

The ecclesiastical organs of the Macedonian Church were subsequently taken over by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and bishops and priests of Greek origin were despatched to Macedonia, with the express instruction to take over control of education within the parishes. Schools were established in an attempt to hellenize the Macedonian population.

In 1870, the Ottoman Court agreed to the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Church, which itself embarked upon a campaign of

proselytization of the Macedonian people. This ushered in a most destructive era of religious warfare between the two dominant foreign churches on the territory of Macedonia. In this battle, the Macedonian population most often chose to align itself with the Bulgarian church, as it was a case of this church being "the lesser of two evils".

The absence of an independent Macedonian Church during this period was a critical factor in determining the impact of the independence movement. The Macedonian Church could theoretically have provided the national focus within a religious guise for the intelligentsia to rally and integrate the subjective revolutionary forces towards national emancipation.

Its absence in any cogent and coherent form during this era meant that the external forces which destabilized the Macedonian population, principally through their churches and schools, were unable to be effectively challenged, and this of course impacted negatively upon the consciousness and preparedness of the independence movement in the 1890s and the first decade of the 1900s.

The demoralization suffered by all sections of the Macedonian people after the heavy defeat by Turkey at "Ilinden" (1903) was compounded by further successive national disasters in 1912-13 (Balkan Wars), the division of Macedonia between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria in August 1913, the First World War (Versailles Peace Treaty) and two decades of harsh denationalization, fascism and the Second World War. In this, the Macedonian Church suffered in much the same way as the Macedonian people. Religious identification with the Macedonian Church, and Christian worship as a form of subjective national and ethno-cultural expression, was outlawed in Greece (Aegean Macedonia), Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) and Yugoslavia (Vardar Macedonia). This has remained the situation in both Greece and Bulgaria to the present day. Albania, which has a small Macedonian minority, allows the entry of Macedonian Orthodox priests from the Republic of Macedonia.

During the fascist occupation of Yugoslavia, a guiding committee to organize church affairs in Macedonia was established in October 1944, and following the liberation of Skopje, this guiding committee held the First Macedonian Popular Church Assembly in that city in March 1945. The Assembly passed a unanimous resolution calling for the re-establishment of the Archbishopric of Ohrid as an autocephalous Macedonian Church.

In October 1958, the guiding committee held its Second National Church Assembly at Ohrid. Here, the Congress voted historically to restore the Ohrid Archbishopric. Though resolving to maintain canonical

links with the intransigent Serbian Patriarchate, the guiding committee had bravely decided to "go it alone". On the 5th of October, Archbishop Dositej was formally enthroned as the head of the restored Church, although nominally he remained subservient to the Serbian patriarch.

And, on the 17th of July 1967, the Third National Church Assembly was held at Ohrid, and on the following day, a resolution was passed unanimously proclaiming the Macedonian Orthodox Church autocephalous.⁵

The Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia: An Overview

Although the first Macedonian settlers in Australia are widely believed to have migrated to these shores in the 1890s and very early part of this century, it was not until the period immediately following the Second World War that this immigration took on a mass character. Charles Price has estimated that there were no more than 2,000 Macedonians in Australia in 1947. Certainly, even allowing for the rudimentary nature of these statistics, there were no more than 5,000. The great preponderance of these early settlers were either from the Lerin and Kostur districts of Aegean Macedonia (Greece), or from the region of Bitola in the Republic of Macedonia.⁶

As the numbers began to increase dramatically in the 1940s and early 1950s, with the itinerant male workers deciding to stay permanently and bring out their families, and joined subsequently by the political and economic refugees from Macedonia, community organizations were formed across all States. Initially, their orientation was towards the provision of settlement assistance and support services, although once the organizational infrastructures had been consolidated, their activities diversified considerably to include cultural and linguistic maintenance, social functions and celebrations, sport, politics, and of course, the establishment of churches to meet the spiritual needs of their members.⁷

Currently, there are 18 Macedonian churches around Australia.

Perth	St Nikola (2 separate churches)
	St Nikola
Melbourne	St George
	St Ilija
	St Nikola
	St Dimitrija
Geelong	St John
Sydney	Sts Cyril & Methodius
	St Nikola
	St Petka

Newcastle	St Mary
Wollongong	St Dimitrija
Port Kembla	St Clement of Ohrid
Queanbeyan	St Ilija
Canberra	St Clement of Ohrid
Brisbane	St Mary
Gold Coast	St Nedela
Adelaide	St Naum

In addition, there are two Macedonian Orthodox monasteries near Melbourne, St Clement and St Naum. Another church is planned for the St Albans region of Melbourne in 1996. Perhaps the crowning achievement was the erection and opening in December 1988 of the Macedonian Orthodox Cathedral, St Clement of Ohrid, in Red Hill, Canberra. The land was donated by the Commonwealth Government, and the foundation stone was blessed in 1983.

It is also of interest to note that many Macedonians in Australia, of the Muslim faith, regularly worship in Islamic mosques. Further, a small Macedonian Baptist Community exists in Melbourne, having been established in 1973, together with a Macedonian Uniting Church parish in Preston, Melbourne, which has canonical relations with the Methodist Church in Macedonia.⁸

The Orthodox churches together form the Australian Diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, with the seat of the eparchate based in Melbourne where its activities are governed by a ruling Executive Committee, elected every two years by the Diocesan Conference, comprising delegates and parish priests from all the Churches and headed by the Deputy to the Bishop. The Bishop incidentally, wearing the jurisdictional title of Metropolitan (of Australia) resides in Ohrid, in the Republic of Macedonia, although moves are afoot to have him permanently based in Melbourne. Interestingly enough, the Diocese is not registered pursuant to Australian law, although the individual churches have disparate registration within each state. The older churches, established either prior to or contemporaneously with the modern Macedonian Orthodox Church, have independent constitutions, whilst the newer ones have all adopted the uniform constitution of the Diocese.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church in Victoria and South Australia: A Descriptive Analysis

The modern historical period has witnessed the development of a

rather pragmatic attitude amongst Macedonians towards Orthodoxy and its institutions. This attitude was in large measure transferred to Australia where it was significantly strengthened by each succeeding wave of Macedonian immigration, which was forced to make the socio-psychological transition from a predominantly agrarian to a modern industrial society, and thus increasingly came to imbibe the more secular, materialistic values of contemporary Australian society. Consequently, the 200,000 strong Macedonian community in Australia does not display the same fervency of religious beliefs as would some other Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christian communities.

Religious worship and the institution of the Church, as we have indicated above, have historically been seen as serving the purpose of affirming the cause of national self-determination and recognition. The reason for this lack of religious fervour can in large part be traced to that period from 1767 to 1958 (especially up until 1944 when the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was constituted within Federal Yugoslavia), during which an independent Macedonian Church did not exist.

During this period the Orthodox Macedonian population (only a small number of Macedonians having been islamized during Turkish rule) was forced to express its religious devotion within the confines of the aggressively nationalistic Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches which worked hand in hand with their respective national states to dismember Macedonia (1912-1913) and denationalize the Macedonian people.

The defeat in 1949 of the Democratic Army of Greece, in which many Macedonians had fought in the hope of winning at the very least national rights within a Communist Greece, was deeply felt by Australia's Macedonian community. With their hopes for the national liberation of the homeland dashed and the denial of Macedonian ethno-specificity by the Greek and Bulgarian states, Macedonians expected the campaign to deny their identity to be transferred and stepped up in Australia as well.

The worst fears of the progressive Macedonians were quickly realized in 1950 with the arrival in Melbourne from New York of the Metropolitan of the then "Free" Bulgarian Church, Andreja Velichky. The Metropolitan had been invited by a group of Macedonians (mainly from Aegean Macedonia) to constitute a local church and appoint a parish priest.⁹ These Macedonians were characterized by their longer residence in Australia and a sympathy for the Bulgarian Church which dovetailed with their conviction that the Church in Bulgaria in the immediate post-war years was repressed and subservient to the Communist regime. However, they were by no means fervent anti-communists.

By skilfully manipulating the fears, religious convictions and misplaced national identification of these Macedonians, Velichky in 1950 managed to set up a Bulgarian-Macedonian Orthodox Church in Young St, Fitzroy, Saints Cyril & Methodius. However, due to the efforts of the Macedonian Australian People's League (MANS), Velichky failed to set up similar "Bulgarian" churches in other major cities in Australia, save in Queanbeyan, NSW (this church was subsequently to come under the aegis of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, soon after its establishment in Australia).¹⁰

In the mid 1980s the congregation of Saints Cyril & Methodius (which was now located in a former Anglican Cathedral in Northcote, Melbourne, and which had in the early 1960s passed under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church of Sofia) resolved to defect to the Australian Diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, and their application was accepted by the Metropolitan in Skopje. A dispute subsequently ensued over title to the Northcote church, with the Victorian Supreme Court ruling in 1986 that the property remained vested in the Bulgarian Archdiocese, despite the judge's considerable sympathy for the feelings of the Macedonian parishioners.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church St George, Melbourne, Victoria

It was precisely the desire for national self-affirmation through the medium of the Church that informed the decision to set up the first Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia and in fact in the Western world, St George, in Young St, Fitzroy, Melbourne.

After long consultations within the ranks of MANS, in May 1956 the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria was formed. A constitution was drafted in English and steps taken to register the Community as a legal Australian institution.¹¹ The prime movers in the establishment of the Community were the well known activists, Stojan Sarbinov, Vane Nedelkovksi, Dane Trpkov, Risto Altin, Atanas and Done Filipov.

A campaign was soon launched to collect funds for the building of a church. In 1956 the site of the intended Church was bought, 52-54 Young Street, Fitzroy where the MANS club was then located and where MANS' newspaper Makedonska Iskra (Macedonian Spark) was produced until its discontinuation in January 1957.¹²

On the 3rd of August 1958, on the occasion of Macedonian National Day, Ilinden, a dinner dance was held at which 6000 pounds - a large sum in those days - was collected for the building of the church. This astound-

ing success immediately provoked the ire of the Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian church authorities and the age-old argument was once again employed: "Permission cannot be given for such a church to be built as a Macedonian people and nation does not exist, therefore it would be ludicrous to have a "Macedonian Church".¹³

Such "argumentation" succeeded in convincing the municipal authorities to withdraw the building permit, which in reality left the Community (which was determined to assert its national and religious identity) with no choice but to challenge that decision in the Victorian Supreme Court. This case was decided in favour of the Macedonian Orthodox Community and people, who were deemed to be a distinct ethnic group with the same rights to their own national church and religious freedom as other Australian citizens.¹⁴

After this historic Supreme Court case the construction of the Church was begun with renewed enthusiasm and passion. In February 1959 the Community's constitution was given official approval.¹⁵

The Church was finally consecrated and officially opened on the 7th of August 1960 by the Archbishop of the Zletovo-Strumica region of Macedonia, the Right Reverend Naum, accompanied by the secretary to the Metropolitan, Archpriest Nestor Popovski, and Father Georgi Angelovski who was to become St George's first priest. The special edition of Makedonski Trskoven Bulletin (Macedonian Church Bulletin) was to proudly proclaim in its July 1960 edition:

"MACEDONIANS: THE CHURCH "ST GEORGE" WILL BE INAUGURATED ON ILINDEN! THE CONSECRATION WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY A MACEDONIAN ARCHBISHOP. The priest and the Archbishop are arriving from Skopje by plane ... The day has finally come when we can quite positively inform you that the Church St George has been completed and that we have selected the day of the glorious Ilinden Uprising as the day on which the first Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia - let us allow ourselves to state - the first such church in the whole world for the Macedonian people, since this church was begun and completed on a purely religious-national basis, is to be consecrated".¹⁶

There was a massive Macedonian presence at the consecration of the church and at the dinner held that same evening at Fitzroy Town Hall. Melbourne television news had widely covered the arrival of the delegation at Essendon Airport.¹⁷ From this period onwards Macedonians in Melbourne began to develop a cohesive socio-religious life which affirmed their presence and visibility in Australia. On the other hand, activities in the social political spheres aimed to consolidate the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia in order to preserve its role in promoting

national unity and identity.

The role of the fourth priest to serve at St George, Archpriest and Bishop's Deputy Metodija Gogov (now Archbishop Mihail, newly elected head of the Church in Macedonia), in furthering the social and religious life of the Macedonian community deserves special mention. For he did not only serve his flock conscientiously and compassionately in Melbourne, but contributed to the socio-religious life of Macedonians in all Australia. He played a significant role in helping to develop churches and an active community life in Perth, Adelaide, Queanbeyan, Newcastle, Port Kembla and Sydney. He ensured that the organ of the Macedonian Orthodox Church Diocese of Australia, "Makedonski Vesnik" (Macedonian Newspaper) was published more frequently and he enriched its contents significantly.

He was instrumental in improving the cultural and intellectual life of Macedonian youth through the creation of ethnic schools which taught in both English and Macedonian. In addition, his excellent knowledge of English enabled him to represent the Macedonian Orthodox Church throughout Australia in a worthy and dignified manner, as well as to advance his life-long goal of achieving a true ecumenical unity amongst all Christian Churches.¹⁸

The Macedonian Orthodox Church St Naum, Adelaide, South Australia

The strength and vitality of Macedonian church life as embodied in the socio-religious, cultural and political activity of the Macedonian Church Community "St George" provided a basis for the establishment of Macedonian Orthodox Church communities in other parts of Australia. Such a development was given added impetus in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the immigration to Australia of ever increasing numbers of Macedonians from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

These two factors contributed to the upsurge of religious activity amongst the Macedonian community in Adelaide, South Australia. The Macedonian Orthodox Community of Adelaide and South Australia Inc (the Association was then known as "Alexander the Great") was established in 1947, its first president being Vasil Apostol. The organization grew rapidly with the influence of young refugees and their families, predominantly from Aegean Macedonia (Greece), during the 1950s. In late 1967, a Community Hall was erected, and in the following year a decision was made to conduct religious service in the Macedonian language at the rear of the Community quarters. Leading roles in developing

these initiatives were played by Kosta Radin, Risto Yankov, Kosta Papas, Kosta Kiossev and Pandil Phillipov. The first major initiative of the Community's management was to invite the parish priest of the Macedonian Orthodox Church St George in Melbourne, Father Metodija Gogov, to conduct the first service, to which hundreds of Macedonians flocked. The second significant decision involved an application to the Church in the Republic for a parish priest. In 1969, Father George Kacarski arrived from Skopje to commence duties with the parish, and he remained until 1975 when he was promoted and moved to Melbourne. He was replaced briefly by Father Temelko Velkovski.

In the interim, the Community had resolved to prepare plans for the erection of a new Orthodox Church on a block adjacent to the Community Hall. These plans were initially drawn in 1974, with a further four years elapsing before the Community resolved to adopt St Naum as its patron saint.

On the 1st of May 1981, a foundation stone was laid and blessed by the then Metropolitan of Australia, Bishop Kiril. Work commenced soon after. Almost three years of voluntary labour was expended by Community members, and an associated cost (labour free) of \$120,000 before the new edifice was completed.¹⁹

Prior to its opening, the new parish priest, Father Jordan Tasev, arrived from the Republic to take up his duties in December 1983. Subsequently, on the 29th of April 1984, the new Church was consecrated by the Metropolitan of Australia, Bishop Timotej, in the presence of the President of the Macedonian Emigrants Council of the Republic of Macedonia and distinguished South Australian guests.

The design concept of the new church, praised as one of the most impressive Macedonian churches in this country, was commissioned from a leading Australian-Macedonian architect, Jim Petre, of Adelaide. Today the church has a regular parish of over six hundred.

Religious Leaders, Cultural Maintenance and Sectarian Affiliation

As we have stated above, the struggle for the recognition and independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, both in its Balkan homeland and in Australia, has been intimately intertwined with the overall struggle of the Macedonian people for national liberation and self-determination. This ineluctable fact has consequently informed the approach and philosophical outlook of not only the boards of management of the respective church communities throughout Australia, but also to a large extent of those priests who serve the spiritual needs of their

parishioners. To that extent, the strength and cohesion of the various church communities has tended to coincide with progress being made on the socio-cultural and political front for Macedonians in Australia. Likewise, the disunity and internecine fighting which has frequently erupted between church communities and their secular and religious leaderships has been mirrored in a general disarray and lack of orientation within the wider Macedonian community.

This is not to say that the Macedonian Orthodox Church is the only force in the community which is capable of giving general political, cultural and social direction, nor that it is the most significant.

In fact, in recent years bodies such as FOMAV (Federation of Macedonian Associations of Victoria), the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Committee, its various state committees for Macedonian Human Rights, the Australian Macedonian Progressive Society (AMPS), the Australian Macedonian Society and the Ilinden Foundation, the Association of Former Refugee Children, the Aegean Macedonian Association of Australia, the Macedonian Teachers' Society of Victoria, Welfare Councils, literary societies, professional and artistic groups, educational and studies foundations, school and student bodies, the Macedonian Communities of Western Australia and South Australia, the Australian-Macedonian Weekly and other media, and of late the Macedonian Councils, among others, have made the running on vital political, social and cultural issues confronting the community.

The activities of such organizations have had the goal of complementing the general community actions of the church boards of management, by focusing on areas and issues where specialist skills and expertise (traditionally lacking on the church boards) are needed for progress to be made. The fact that most of these organizations are led or significantly influenced by the younger, better-educated generation of Macedonians of both sexes has been wrongly perceived as a threat by some patriarchal secular church leaders (especially in Victoria and NSW), who feel that activity in the community is extending beyond the boundaries that they had traditionally determined and into areas which they feel ill-prepared to tackle in modern Australian society.

However, having said that, it must be stated that the activities of such progressive organizations are significantly advanced, or hindered, in proportion to the degree of support, or opposition, emanating from the ranks of separate church communities and in particular from the Diocese's Executive Committee. Such a statement is eloquent testimony to the influence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and its religious and secular bodies in moulding Macedonian public opinion.

The religious and socio-cultural activity of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia has undoubtedly fostered a sense of Macedonian ethno-specificity and uniqueness, as evidenced by the tenacity with which it fought to establish the first Macedonian church in the Western world, St George, in Melbourne in 1960, and by its contribution to the fund-raising for the trip to Europe in May 1989 by the international Macedonian Human Rights delegation. Its role in resisting the chauvinist denials of the Macedonian people's ethno-specificity in recent years in Australia is also noteworthy (the contributions of St George, St Dimitrija and St Nikola of Melbourne, St John of Geelong, St Naum of Adelaide and St Nikola of Perth being of particular significance).

Its emphasis on cultural maintenance is evidenced by the widespread network of Macedonian language schools that it has established within its confines and apparent from even a cursory examination of church bulletins, newspaper etc. (viz *Makedonski Vesnik*, *Makedonski Tsrkoven Bulletin* of St George's, Melbourne).

Yet, paradoxically, the emphasis placed by the Macedonian Orthodox Church on maintaining Macedonian ethno-specificity has led to an appreciable lessening of the significant role which it could be expected to have in such maintenance. Such a development is a result of the means by which "Macedonian identity" is promoted within the Church by the majority of church committees and boards of management in this country. For the promotion of Macedonian culture borrows heavily from traditional agrarian society with its attendant conservative and patriarchal values and, as such, the cultural model presented has come to be perceived as ossified and irrelevant to the needs of younger Macedonian-Australians seeking their place in modern society. The relative lack of representation of younger members of the community - and especially of young women - on church boards of management has tended to compound this problem.

At the same time such an approach has tended to militate against successful integration into the social, cultural and political mainstream by postulating a Macedonian identity rooted in pre-migration Balkan homeland conditions rather than one which attempts to marry the Balkan experience with the positive values of modern Australia. It must be stated unequivocally that the Church, to its credit, has always stressed the need for first generation Macedonian migrants to learn English adequately (a perusal of the pages of *Makedonski Vesnik* in the 1960s and 70s would bear this out) as a means of empowerment and progress within Australia.

However, those members of that same first generation who, due to

their deeper religiosity, imbibed the model of cultural identity promoted until recently by the Church, have experienced significant problems in adapting to the demands of life in their second homeland even after 40-50 years in this country. Consequently, their role as conveyors of a socially relevant Macedonian culture to their children (apart from obvious barriers such as age and radically different conditioning in formative years) has not been as effective as it could have been. The upshot is that Australian-born Macedonian youth has until recently been reluctant to promote Macedonian culture as an integral part of this country's multi-cultural fabric, although the emergence of a tight nucleus of young intellectuals during the last few years has worked to redress the situation.

The question of creating a Macedonian cultural model more relevant to the needs of the community in general has perhaps been most successfully tackled by those Macedonian Orthodox Churches which form part of an umbrella community structure rather than exist as parishes in their own right. In Perth, Western Australia, the Church St Nikola exists as a constituent organization of the umbrella body, Macedonian Community of Western Australia Incorporated. Whilst the church has its own board of management and is entitled to three members on the 40 member Community Executive Committee, decisions regarding its operation are taken by the Community Executive Committee, which in 1989 was led by young progressive Macedonians, namely Chris Angelkov (President) and Trajan Andonovski (Secretary), who managed to shift the focus of community life to issues more relevant to the lives of "Macedonian-Australians" rather than to "Macedonians in Australia".

Likewise, the Macedonian Orthodox Church of Adelaide, St Naum, forms part of the wider community body, The Macedonian Orthodox Community of Adelaide and South Australia Incorporated (MOCASA). This organization has managed to raise the profile of Macedonians in South Australia by working hard at developing links with both governmental and broader ethnic organizations, such that it has managed to obtain significant state funding for its multifarious activities. The image of St Naum has thereby been improved amongst second generation Macedonian-Australians through its membership of the wider community body.

Interestingly, the long-serving president of MOCASA, Kosta Radin, stood down from his post in 1984 in order to make way for "younger blood" so as to ensure the vitality and continuity of Macedonian community life in South Australia.

It was envisaged that the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Mel-

bourne and Victoria (MOCMV) would grow into a wider umbrella body, with the other four churches in Victoria together with St George eventually forming part of the same structure. However, these four remaining churches have constituted themselves as separate parishes and as such community cohesion in general has been weakened. In 1989 the only other organization affiliated with MOCMV is "Svetlost", the youth folkloric dance troupe, which throughout the 1960s and 1970s was ably led by Ana Vasileva. The inescapable fact remains however that an infusion of new blood into existing church structures would give them broader community appeal and strengthen their role and profile amongst Macedonians in Australia.

In keeping with trends which would cut across most ethnic communities in Australia, the children of the first generation Macedonian migrants hold significantly less fervent religious beliefs than those of their parents. As indicated earlier, the religious values of the first generation of adult Macedonians in Australia were rather more pragmatic than those of their Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christian brothers and sisters, due to a host of historical and political factors. These beliefs have been further diluted in Australian-born Macedonians who have grown up in relative affluence in a modern industrial society with its attendant secular and materialistic values. Yet, this is not to say that their sense of being Macedonian has decreased in corresponding degree. If anything, their identification as Macedonian-Australians has been heightened by the activities over the last five years of younger Macedonian intellectual circles who have been instrumental in creating an identity more suited to local conditions, and in raising the question of the denial of basic human rights for their country folk in those parts of the homeland which now form part of the Balkan states of Greece, Bulgaria and Albania.

Conclusion

The Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia has by no means lost its relevance in inspiring a sense of ethnic identity in the broader community. The huge attendance of young and old at especially the Easter and Christmas services is testimony to its continuing attraction. What is certain is that the determination with which Macedonians in the late 1950s in Melbourne fought in order to establish their national Church in this country - in the form of St George - was of enormous significance in building the impetus which led to the mother Church in Macedonia taking the decisive step and proclaiming its autocephalous

and independent status in 1967. The challenge lying ahead for the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia is for it to cement its rightful role in the maintenance of Macedonian culture by linking up with progressive circles in the community and the social, political, cultural, welfare and structural initiatives that they are taking.

Notes

1. D Ilievski, The Macedonian Orthodox Church, Macedonian Review, Skopje, 1973, pp7-9.
2. Op cit p16.
3. Op cit p17.
4. Op cit pp30-31.
5. Op cit pp92-95.
6. V Andonov, Makedoncite vo Australija, Kultura, Skopje, 1973, pp17-18.
7. P Hill, "Macedonians" in Encyclopedia of the Australian People, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1988, p689.
8. Ibid
9. S Sarbinov, Kako i Zosto Se Dojde Do Izgradbata na Makedonskite Pravoslavni Crkvi vo Australia, Paper prepared in December 1988, Melbourne, p14.
10. S Sarbinov, Makedoncite vo Australia: 1940-1988, Paper presented by author at the Australian Macedonian National Conference, April 1989, Melbourne University, pp5-6.
11. S Sarbinov "Kako i Zosto ...", p15.
12. Ibid
13. Ibid
14. S Sarbinov, Kako i Zosto ..., pp15-16.
15. S Sarbinov, Makedoncite vo Australija ..., p6.
16. Makedonski Tsrkoven Bulletin, A Melbourne Orthodox Community Publication, Vol 3, No 4, Melbourne, July 1960, p1.
17. S. Sarbinov, Kako i Zosto ..., p17.
18. Makedonski Vesnik, Publication of the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, July 1970, p3, p10.
19. Iskra, Macedonian Cultural Society, Adelaide, No 4, 1986.

Barriers To Social Change For Macedonian Women

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*This paper was written in 1991 as part of a Graduate Diploma in
Community Development*

Introduction

In order to understand the barriers to social change faced by Macedonian women, it has been necessary to define the various sources of oppression which Macedonians in general face. The most obvious of these in Australia pertains in the first instance to their ethnicity as well as to their experience as migrants. These aspects tend to draw Macedonian males and females together in a common struggle thus submerging the oppression of women deriving from a gender base.

The relationship between capitalism, immigration and gender is briefly explored to give insight into how one's status as a migrant affects one's class position and this, in turn, is shown to be determined by the needs of capital and the effects of racism. Again, both males and females are affected by discrimination generated by this form of oppression although the position of females is marginally worse. The reason for this is gender bias, but because the patriarchal influences in both Macedonian and Australian culture work so effectively, the manifestation of this bias is concealed from general awareness.

The various types of racism suffered by Macedonians is also examined so that insight is given into the complexities of applying community development principles to this group. Further, in order to be able to make some assessment of the potential for social change among Macedonian women, I have drawn on some research which I recently conducted with Macedonian women activists and this bears out some of the issues which I have observed over the period of my involvement with the Macedonian community.

It is the analysis of this research which has also enabled me to conclude that a systematic attempt at raising the awareness of the Macedonian woman must start with those who have some awareness of the forces to be overcome and that a Freirian approach would be most effective in achieving social change. The content of information and the

strategies employed to deliver it must be relevant so that "feminism" becomes redefined and relevant.

The Women's movement in the past thirty years has made significant inroads in uncovering reasons for the dominance of males over females and for the perpetuation of this phenomenon. Many types of feminist theory have developed which focus on various factors as explanations for the cause of gender based oppression.

There appears, however, to be an enormous dearth of material concerning the oppression of minority women, such as migrants of non-English speaking background, in the context of a country such as Australia. Indeed, it has only recently been realized that the feminism defined in the 1960s and 70s was mainly a phenomenon of the white, educated, middle class woman who had the time and opportunity to discover her oppression and to realize that it was gender based - a situation vastly dissimilar to many other women who experience other forms of oppression more keenly than sexism. White middle class women were able to define their oppression. It is similarly up to all other women to define their oppression and to develop their own "feminism" even though this may include issues which extend further than the term "feminism" normally encompasses. As Ramazanoglu states, "it is not clear how sexual oppression can effectively unite women whose lives, work, life expectancy, and children's futures are structured by the hierarchies of racism, ethnicity, nationalism..." (1. p127) and I would add class.

With this paper I hope to make a modest beginning in acquainting the reader with the complexities involved in defining the oppression of Macedonian women so that the potential for social change can be examined. It must be accepted by the reader that the focus is not entirely on oppression resulting from gender. This is because gender based discrimination is not as problematic for Macedonian women as other forms of oppression, particularly racial oppression. The development of the "womanist" approach becomes significant in this regard as it recognizes that women, "along with ... consciousness of sexual issues ... must incorporate national, cultural, racial, economic and political considerations into [their] philosophy." (2. p266)

If feminists are really serious about women becoming empowered, they must accept that the latter have to deal with a large number of issues which may not be directly a result of subservience due to gender.

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Macedonians in Australia are migrants. As such, they have to deal with problems associated with settlement. This includes adjusting to a

system and bureaucracy which is totally different from those in their country of origin. They must find lodgings, secure an income and accustom themselves to a new lifestyle (with many coming from a rural lifestyle to an urban environment). They find that new values surround them (as reflected and espoused by the dominant culture here) and that often they must learn to live in a different family structure where the support of the extended family is no longer available. They have to adapt to a new climate and all this in a system based on an unfamiliar and incomprehensible language. These requirements divert their energy, time and attention from apparently academic concerns such as defining their oppression. Indeed, we are confronted with a powerful contradiction - on the one hand, migrants are so busy ensuring their physical survival they do not have time to worry about their oppression, while this fact only serves to highlight the level of their oppression. Being a migrant attaches a low status and so the first form of oppression is exposed - that of class.

In discussing the class position of Macedonians in Australia, there is little difference to the situation of migrants generally from Southern Europe, the Middle East and more recently, Asia. They were permitted into Australia to provide industry with a cheap and expendable pool of labour and it is upon this that Australia's immigration program is based. As Collins explains, the role of immigrant workers is to provide "a reserve army that alleviates labour shortages and will accept wages and conditions rejected by indigenous workers. This decreases the price of labour power and produces artificial divisions within the working class facilitated by racist ideologies between privileged and less privileged workers. Consequently, male and female immigrants are concentrated at the bottom layer of Australia's proletariat." (3. p1) They tend to become employed in industries which are vulnerable to market fluctuations and in jobs which are often dirty, dangerous and repetitive.

The situation of migrant women is worse than that of many migrant men because, by virtue of their gender, they are paid relatively less than their male counterparts and have less opportunity to improve their positions. The plight of Macedonian women is consistent with this.

The next problem faced by migrants in general is that of "the in-built racism of Australian society [where] our institutions and most practitioners are Anglo-centric, constructed by and for the English speaking population." (4. p3) This originates from the racism of the colonialist tradition which assumes that other cultures and values are not valuable and thus should be changed. With this attitude implicit in Australia, racism also becomes a consideration in determining one's class position.

Awareness by Macedonians of the oppression of their class position is

negligible. Most of these migrants came from rural, agrarian backgrounds and have little formal education. Their social mobility in the countries of their origin has been largely restricted and that immobility has been perpetuated here in Australia. As Ramazanoglu reminds us "the majority of Southern European women in Australia are socially... distant from the urban bourgeoisie in their country of origin..." (1. p99) The position of the Macedonian male is also consistent with this. Macedonians feel that because they enjoy a superior standard of living in Australia to that which they had in Macedonia, other difficulties they must contend with are compensated for.

What we are confronted with then are two forms of oppression (class and racial) which are shared between both Macedonian males and females. This creates a solidarity between them and renders invisible the problem faced by women and which are peculiar to their gender.

This process is assisted by the patriarchal nature of the Australian and Macedonian cultures, both of which ascribe roles for men and women in society which ostensibly relegate women to private, domestic life, whilst the role of males is in the public arena. Although this is slowly breaking down, these assumptions are still internalized into our culture and accepted as truths. In this way, life becomes ordered and people live out their roles unquestioningly.

The Macedonian woman is generally unaware of the patriarchal influences on the culture and the way in which these are reproduced. She performs her role according to social mores and because it is, she believes, natural for her to do so. Empathy and understanding from similarly burdened women creates a network of support, but there is no conception of "sisterhood" as presented in feminist theories as there is no consciousness of oppression. By raising gender issues, the order which defines the roles of people is questioned and this is threatening for many people.

Macedonians in Australia face additional difficulties which other migrants do not due to the unusual political situation which exists in their homeland and the response to this situation by bureaucracy in Australia.

Macedonia is a nation which occupies a region in the Balkan Peninsula and which, since 1913 and the Treaty of Bucharest, has been located within the borders of Greece, Bulgaria and (until 1991) Yugoslavia. Albania later annexed a section of western Macedonia. Macedonians, despite the artificial divisions, share the same culture and language. The Macedonians in Australia tend to come predominantly from Aegean Macedonia (Greek dominated) and the Republic of Macedonia (formerly Yugoslav dominated).

The division of Macedonia has been re-enforced by the Australian

bureaucracy which bases service delivery for migrants on one's country of origin. The result of this for the Macedonians has been the lack of recognition by government of their uniqueness (which has impacted on the ability of the Macedonians to define themselves) and all this in a purported environment of multiculturalism. The upshot is that Macedonians have not had the same access to services as other migrant groups. For example, information is often not translated into Macedonian; or when in need of interpreters people are asked their country of origin and are allocated either Greek or Serbian interpreters. Similarly, Macedonians cannot be recorded statistically with any great accuracy and so their numbers are enormously understated. This impacts heavily on the distribution of resources to them.

A further problem Macedonians have to contend with is the promulgation of misinformation as to who they are - that is, like many other oppressed peoples, they are defined by others who have power over them. It is the power of this racism that Macedonians are most aware of and sensitive to, and this is as a result of their history. The oppression from this form of racism arises and is inextricably linked to the struggle in expressing oneself as Macedonian.

As Macedonians in their homeland have been subjected to policies of denationalization, subordination and even genocide, many have developed a negative Macedonian identity vis-a-vis the dominant culture in the homeland. When placed in the Australian context, this negative identity impacts upon the ability of the Macedonian community to develop in community development terms.

This form of oppression is also shared by both males and females and also serves to unite them in another common struggle, again with the result of making awareness of gender oppression negligible. "As both males and females share this form of oppression, relations between them are not reducible to sex oppression ... but [are] often characterized by solidarity in resistance to racial oppression." (3. p266)

In analyzing these two forms of oppression, it becomes clear that racism and sexism both have a number of parallels. In the same way that males have defined the parameters of life according to their perspective and in a relationship where they have power over women, so those who have had racial superiority over the Macedonian people have been in a position of power in defining who the Macedonians are, their history, culture, etc. Both these instances have resulted in the subordinate group (in this case women and Macedonian people) having a limited consciousness of their oppression.

Another interesting parallel which I noted is the ready applicability

of the participatory "feminist" approach to conducting research and its easy transferability to racial concerns. In the same way that feminist research seeks to investigate social change so that gender based oppression can be arrested and overcome, so these same processes can be utilized to arrest racial oppression. The result is that social change is able to occur only after the development of the consciousness and the resultant political mobilization. This conforms to Freirian theory, where Freire says, "it is ... essential that the oppressed wage the struggle to resolve the contradiction in which they are caught." (5. p42) This simply requires that the oppressed define their reality - not have it defined inaccurately for them, as has occurred with both women and Macedonians. As Freire further says, "Each man [read and woman] wins back his right to say his own work, to name the world." (5. p13)

When all of the above factors are taken into consideration, it is not surprising that the Macedonian community has encountered considerable difficulty in effectively organizing and developing along the same lines as other ethnic groups. This creates obvious problems in terms of social change not only for Macedonian women, but for all Macedonians.

In order to focus on the issue of social change for Macedonian women, it has been mentioned that there is little general awareness of gender oppression by Macedonian women. An exception to this exists with women who are educated and professional and this was borne out by some research I recently conducted.

The research, entitled A Study of Women Activists in the Macedonian Community, was participatory and feminist in approach and was designed to investigate the motivation, experiences and constraints of women activists in the Macedonian community. An informal meeting was held with six women activists, most of whom were university educated and employed as professionals. (This in itself shows a denature from the type of people which we normally include in the category of women of non-English speaking background.)

One of the most significant themes to emerge from the research was the struggle of some of the activists to come to grips with their Macedonian identity during their younger years. A woman from Aegean Macedonia and another woman from the Republic of Macedonia both expressed that before they learnt of their heritage, they believed that the Greek and Serbian languages, culture and people (respectively) were superior to that of the Macedonian. This is significant in a sample of only six people. Both of these women have since developed a positive identity (which seems to be a pre-condition for community involvement) and this seems to have occurred through their learning of the history of

Macedonia.

It is evident that the eighty year division of Macedonian territory and the resulting racial oppression has taken its toll on the identity of the Macedonians such that they have a solid private identity, but are often insecure in expressing their Macedonian identity publicly.

With regard to their consciousness of the oppression of women deriving from a gender base, the women in the project had a solid awareness of their oppression and they expressed frustration about the rigidity of sex roles within the culture and how this created difficulties for them in their activism.

The most significant outcome of the research was that it enabled the women to articulate and affirm their achievements in the community and to obtain a more holistic view of their contribution. Further, it put into motion a strategy to raise awareness of the importance of women's contributions and provided the impetus to do this. A number of the participants have begun a series of interviews of Macedonian women who have made considerable achievements in their professional lives as well as in the community. These will appear as features in a Macedonian newspaper with a view to having a book compiled of "Macedonian Tall Poppies" so that the contributions of women within, and outside of, the community can be recognized by both women and men. This is important in contributing to the breakdown of stereotypes within our culture regarding the appropriate role of women. Further, there are plans under way to raise the consciousness of other Macedonian women by delivering feminist papers at certain social events, for example, after a fashion parade. Although these initiatives may seem modest, they are a starting point in making feminist issues relevant and for raising awareness among Macedonian women.

The research made clear that differences in social class, education, opportunity and control in one's life all contribute to divisions within the same ethnic group, thereby limiting sisterhood. The contribution of feminism has been its recognition that personal is political; that production in "the private world of the home, while invisible under capitalism, is economically and socially critical; and that our culture, as well as our economic system, give some people power over other people's lives..." (6. p129) Recognition of all of these facts give us a starting point in our bid to instigate social change.

Conclusion

The racial inequality of all Macedonians results from racial and class

imbalances and is shown by their lack of freedom to define themselves. This leads to the political impotence of Macedonians in this society. For this to be addressed, recognition of this fact and a program of awareness raising for the purpose of social change are necessary.

In community development terms, the issues arising from the lack of profile of this ethnic group in Australia and their negative Macedonian identity are immediate and must be confronted by the community. The current events in Macedonia, where independence from Yugoslavia has been declared, can only contribute to a strengthening of the public identity of the Macedonians and thus strengthen their political position.

The barriers to social change for Macedonian women with regard to gender imbalances lie in the attitudes of their men folk and the women themselves and are a product of a patriarchal culture and the sexual division of labour.

With regard to awareness of gender based issues, it is necessary for Macedonian women to develop an awareness of this concept. Awareness raising among colleagues must be the first step in achieving this, followed by a concentrated and ongoing strategy for all Macedonian women.

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A Study Of Women Activists In The Macedonian Community

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This paper was written in 1991 as part of a Graduate Diploma in Community Development

Introduction

The number of Macedonian women who have worked in Macedonian community affairs in Melbourne is very small and as a result of this, their involvement has been quite limited. This indicates that there is a huge, untapped field of resources which our under-resourced Macedonian community could take advantage of - if they had awareness of its existence and if the contributions of women were as valued as those of men.

As there is so much scope to improve the rate of participation by women, I was interested in learning those factors which have enabled activists to become involved with the Macedonian community so that these factors could be duplicated, thus inspiring and empowering other women to become active. This was the primary motivation for the research, as well as the opportunity to learn of the consciousness of fellow women activists, their experiences, trials, successes, etc.

The research was conducted by means of an informal group session to which five women activists were invited. The participants were familiar with each other and this facilitated frank, open discussion which proved very fruitful in response to the research question.

The outcome of the discussion was that motivations for community participation stem from a number of internal factors such as an expressed need to be involved, as well as external considerations such as the benefit which they felt they could bring to the community.

One of the most significant findings of the research was the importance of the establishment of the activists' identity as Macedonians - people had to contend with this before they could become involved. (Appendix 1)

The research enabled me to realize that to encourage the long term participation of women in this community, an educational program would be needed, both for men and women, so that their value as potential

contributors to the community can be realized.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The research undertaken had a participatory framework and used a feminist approach.

The aim of participatory research is "to develop critical consciousness, to improve the lives of those involved in the research process and to transform fundamental societal structures and relationships..." (1. p3) According to Patricia Maguire, it is a process of social investigation, education and action in order to share the creation of social knowledge with oppressed people so that their social reality can be transformed. This approach has some overlap with the feminist approaches which also seek to generate action and social change arising from the recognition of oppression and the identification of power inequalities.

The feminist premise of the personal being political is embraced and the focus of the project is experiential, conforming to the feminist view that "personal, direct experience underlies all behaviour and action". (2. p165)

Stanley and Wise have suggested that "our consciousness is always the medium through which research occurs; there is no method or technique of doing research other than through the medium of the researcher." (2. p157). I accept the position that every researcher is a social being who brings his or her values into the research process. My position is as both researcher and participant.

My participation in the project leads to an introspective method which is also relevant and conforms to the view of the naturalists who believe that "reality should be represented as it is experienced and lived, that is, for those people themselves to present their own analytical accounts of their own experiences." (2. p167)

With regard to the content of the research, *A Framework of Participation in Community Organisations* by Abraham Wandersman provided the most useful tools for breaking down the elements which encourage participation. Wandersman identifies environmental, ecological and social characteristics of community as antecedents of participation. The most relevant to the study of Macedonians is the social characteristics category which refers to factors such as social networks, norms, traditions, race, class and homogeneity. These factors will be discussed in relation to the material derived from the group discussion.

In relation to the participation of women of non-English speaking background in community affairs, the source I referred to was *Italian Migrant Women, Participation and the Women's Movement* by Anne

Sgro, Pieria Stefania and Mirna Risk. The most relevant point in this book was that a history of participation in their country of origin can work as an impetus to participation in Australia.

Other theoretical works briefly referred to are *Three Worlds of Inequality - Race, Class and Gender* by Jennett and Stewart and *Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression* by C Ramazanoglu. It was in these works that it was acknowledged that racially based oppression cuts across oppression resulting from either class or gender.

Research Question

To investigate the motivations, experiences and constraints of women activists in the Macedonian community.

Purpose Of Research

The purpose of the research was to learn of factors which enabled Macedonian women to participate in Macedonian community affairs as well as to provide a forum where activists could be encouraged to recognize their own and their peers' roles and contributions to the Macedonian community. This exercise had the additional purpose of clarifying the conditions which are conducive to participation so that the involvement of a greater number of Macedonian women could be encouraged.

Objectives

1. To undertake the first research project on Macedonian women's involvement in the community.
2. To produce a credible document to be published within Macedonian community circles about Macedonian women.
3. To gain recognition within the community about the contribution of Macedonian women to community affairs.
4. To raise community awareness of the potential of Macedonian women to make a more effective and substantial overt contribution to the community.
5. To enable Macedonian women activists to recognize their role in challenging social norms.
6. To provide a basis for further investigation into reasons for the lack of involvement of Macedonian women in the community.

Aims

To encourage Macedonian women activists to relate their experiences in working with the community so that they can identify the importance

of their contribution and be aware of the social implications of their activities.

Accountability

Accountability will be to the discussion group who will receive a copy of the research document on its completion and will be consulted before it is made public.

Methodology

The methodology I adopted was to hold an informal meeting of Macedonian women activists, including myself, at my home. I had contacted nine women by telephone, explaining the reason for the discussion and inviting them to attend. Five agreed to attend and together with my involvement, the group comprised six women. The women were all known to each other but with varying degrees of familiarity. The sample was limited by the specificity of the research question.

My role was to facilitate the process - and I use the term "facilitate" loosely. I outlined the purpose and objectives of the research and posed the questions which I had earlier constructed. The questions were:

- * What are the areas and capacity of your involvement in the Macedonian community?

- * What factors motivated you to become involved in Macedonian community affairs?

- * Did you encounter any barriers/constraints to your involvement and what were they?

- * Did you overcome these and how?

- * What factors made your involvement possible?

- * How do you see your role in the organizations you have been involved in and in the wider community?

I informed the participants at the outset that they would be able to reflect upon the processes and content of the discussion in an evaluation at the end of the session. In fact, the session lasted three hours and by that time we were all happy to finish. There was no time to do the evaluation at the end of the session, but the response of the women to what was done was very positive. Three of them expressed the desire to hold informal discussions like this more often, and one woman said she thought the process was excellent and the whole idea was very interesting.

Results of Group Discussion

In order to put the data into context, it is important to note that some

of the activists interviewed had considerable direct involvement with Macedonian community organizations, whilst others had been involved predominantly through their professional work. They had experience in a wide range of community fields such as education, welfare, drama, business and academia as well as in students' associations, a teacher organization, a folkloric group, and women's organizations. Most of the women were university educated.

In posing the questions, I found that we talked of constraints, motivations, and factors that enabled our participation just by relating our experiences, so these questions were answered simultaneously.

When asked about the factors which enabled them to become involved in Macedonian community affairs, the responses encompassed a wide range of reasons. Firstly, there were practical reasons such as time availability. In addition all the married women expressed the importance of flexibility in their family situations - that is, they had support from husbands in principle, as well as in terms of looking after domestic concerns, children, etc.

These same reasons were factors which had constrained the involvement of some of the women. Time constraints was a serious factor with one respondent saying that time had to be divided between care for young children, work, business, and the community.

Another constraint expressed by some of the women with younger children was the guilt felt at dropping children at creche, or leaving them with spouses to go to work or to meetings, and the emotional cost of having less time for the family. One woman mentioned that she was unable to become involved until her children grew up.

With regard to motivations for becoming involved in the community, people expressed their personal and inner needs as reasons which seemed to compel them to be involved. One woman expressed "the need to belong". Statements such as "I needed to fill a void" were common as was the need to learn about one's identity, ie "curious about my Macedonian heritage". When this line of thought was pursued, it was revealed that there was not just the need to belong to a group, but to actually affirm one's identity by being active in Macedonian community affairs. There was also the view that it was time for women to become more involved and this motivated one woman in particular.

Two of the activists who are now teachers of Macedonian expressed their love of and passion for the language as motivations for them.

Further, some of the women had grown up in environments where their fathers had active involvement in the community and doing work of this nature just became a part of life. This can be related to the work

done by Sgro, Pieria and Risk which suggests that Italian women had a history of this type of involvement in their homeland and so it was not strange that they became involved here.

Apart from these personal motivations, there were reasons which focussed on the benefit and development of the community. One woman said she wanted the Macedonian community to have status in the wider Australian community and that she thought her involvement would improve the quality of the activities of the organization she joined.

Another woman stated that the area of her involvement was necessary in terms of trying to improve the profile, resources and development of community structures so that Macedonians would be better able to access the services offered here.

The final question pertained to the role of the women in the community and how they perceived their contribution. Generally, they perceived themselves as educators - of their own children, of the community's children, as educators to people in the wider community on Macedonian matters such as history, language, identity etc. One woman articulated her view of the importance of the academic work in presenting the Macedonians' side of the story in order to offset the enormous amount of misinformation in the wider community about the Macedonian community and who we are.

Another role was that of being role models to younger girls. One activist mentioned her role as "mother" for the children whose parents work until late and, because they are so tired, they have little time to spend with their children. She says she tries to fill some of the void left by training the children in the finer skills which is known as "kultura". No word in English meets the meaning of this, but it is a mixture of etiquette, culture, respect, self esteem and skill in interacting.

Discussion

The most significant fact to emerge from the research was the struggle of the activists to come to grips with their identity. This is indicative of the lack of confidence felt by Macedonians as Macedonians. One woman, from Aegean Macedonia, expressed her feelings of shame at being Macedonian until a few years ago. She said that she had been frustrated at their "backwardness" and had only in more recent times been comfortable with her Macedonian identity. Indeed she had felt a negative Macedonian identity until she had the opportunity to learn of the history and background of the Macedonians - something which had not been available to her before then.

Her view was shared by a participant who had grown up in Skopje (in the Republic of Macedonia) with the idea that they were more cultured and of a higher class than other Macedonians because of the Serbian influence. She said that in her younger years she was ashamed to be Macedonian, that she was ashamed of her parents as they were so typically Macedonian and that she did not want to be a part of that scene. She told us an example of the "off the boats", a term referring to the newly arrived Macedonians, and their different cultural position which had served to alienate her from things Macedonian.

It is interesting that these two people, from two different parts of Macedonia, had the view that the Greek and Serbian languages, cultures and peoples generally were superior to that of the Macedonian. The reasons for this are very complex, suffice to say here that the eighty year division of Macedonian territory and the resulting racial oppression has taken its toll on the identity of the Macedonians.

Both of these women admitted to previously having limited knowledge about the partition of Macedonia and it is interesting to note that their negative opinions of their identities turned positive when they were able to learn of their history. As one participant pointed out, "Macedonia was divided nearly eighty years ago so what exists is Macedonians growing up and living in totally different contexts - that is, different countries, different political systems, different economic structures and so on. And then we wonder why in Australia we are not united and have to struggle to be one homogeneous group. It takes time and knowledge to reach that state."

The discussion seemed to focus on these issues of identity and the women felt a need to relate their struggles in this regard. For some of the women who had grown up in an environment where their Macedonian identity was positive, the need was focused more on the need to understand and explain the reasons for the negativity. As was articulated by one activist, "Being Macedonian is a struggle and this becomes a part of our identity."

Although there was a strong expression of the need to affirm ourselves, our potential and our contributions in the community as women, this element took second place to the need to affirm ourselves as Macedonians. This suggests that the racial oppression we feel as Macedonians is felt more keenly and renders us more powerless than our gender oppression.

Ramazanoglu has stated in her work that the oppression which men and women face together is a bridging force which helps to unite them in a common struggle. This is certainly true for Macedonians and this has implications for the women's movement and its relevance to women of

non-English speaking background. As both males and females share this form of oppression, relations between them are "not reducible to sex oppression... but [are] often characterised by solidarity in resistance to racial oppression." (8. p266)

Achievements

The achievements of the women were considerable, and there was a great deal of natural affirmation of the contribution of the women in their different areas of involvement. The teachers were able to articulate that they had seen at their schools where the Macedonian language and culture were taught a new confidence in the children - they were proud to be "Maco". (Appendix 2) They felt that "It's okay to be Maco and to have this culture." This differed to the older students who had not experienced the Macedonian language program from a young age. The positive identity was shared by Anglo-Australian teachers. There was affirmation by the group at the enormity of this development.

The group realized that this was the first generation of Macedonians who have a positive Macedonian identity and are proud of their heritage. This is an historic achievement because, for all the racism of our society in Australia, these children have the opportunity to develop in a way that is still not allowed in their homeland.

One of the most inspiring thoughts came from one of the younger activists who said that "we survived 550 years under the Turks and we are still surviving under the present divisions."

There was the realization that before we can move forward as a community, "we need to get rid of the illiterate enemy in our community". This refers to the process of "conscientisation" which Freire has maintained as relevant for oppressed peoples. As was aptly stated by one of the participants, "za celi ima mesto, samo treba da se nauci nekako ovaj narodot nas." This translates into "there is room for everyone to contribute, but our people have to learn this somehow."

The general feeling was that the situation of the Macedonians can only improve and that the work we had done had made a difference.

The next most striking outcome was the very solid awareness amongst us of the problems encountered as a result of our gender.

There were numerous examples related by the women which illustrated their feeling of being inferior. One activist shared with us an incident regarding a meeting of about six men at her home. She placed drinks and savouries on the table as was expected of her, but when she tried to contribute to their conversation, she was told openly by one of the

men that she was a woman and that she should not speak. The group participants were indignant, saying that on the one hand they were expected to stand up as professionals and advocate for the needs of the Macedonians whilst on the other hand they were told that they had nothing to contribute simply on the basis of their gender. As one of the participants said, "Our men have been conditioned to think that our women have no intelligence" and "men are ignorant of women and that is why a lot of problems exist - they simply do not know any better."

Many other instances were related illustrating perceptions regarding the position of women in the community. (Appendix 3)

Frustration was expressed with the culture in its imposition of rigid sex roles. The group felt that "women have brains and can make a contribution, but unfortunately, our culture does not recognize this." One of the most powerful ways this manifested itself was with inferences made about the moral status of women who were involved in community affairs." To be fair, this is breaking down amongst the more progressive organizations, but some sections of the community still entertain such myths.

An example which cannot go unmentioned is that of one of the activists at a village meeting (Appendix 4) where she was one woman in a sea of men. Having prepared a proposal as to why she wanted to be in the all male committee, she attempted to speak to it. As soon as she mentioned the term "Macedonian" (in a group which saw itself as pro-Greek despite their use of the Macedonian language) she received a tirade of abuse regarding her moral status and was literally shouted down. She recounted her experience of standing up, stamping her feet and shouting "Sakam pravina, sakam zbor" (which translates into "I want justice, I want to speak"). She was given no such opportunity and has had to live with being judged negatively by these people since then.

This activist received accolades from the other women in the group about her courage in such a difficult situation, and her contribution was affirmed. This incident is very powerful in illustrating that issues of racial oppression, which manifest themselves in problems with identity, are actually transformed into gender-related ones and this diverts attention from the real problem. This requires far more analysis on a psycho-sociological level and is one which would be very interesting to pursue.

Discussion around the achievements of the women led to the conclusion that the teachers were able to contribute a visible amount as they have control over students. Those women working directly in the community had no such control, nor status, next to the men. One woman said she felt "abused" by the community and had withdrawn and felt fulfilled

in her withdrawal because she had turned to academic work which analyzed the reasons for the failure of the community to develop. As was pointed out however, "You can't reach the masses by putting pen to paper."

Another issue which emerged was that of a participant who related her feelings of inadequacy when she was about to deliver a paper on the contribution of Macedonian women to culture at an academic conference. She was not confident about the academic competence of her work - whether it would be good enough and what the male academics would think of it. This merely reflects the inferiority women face on traditionally male turf.

As one of the participants succinctly said "We undermine ourselves [as Macedonians and as women] because we've been so oppressed, but we have to keep telling ourselves that we are good, worthy ... we must fight back."

The final point worth mentioning is the support the women had given to their husbands in the latter's community involvement by raising and taking responsibility for children. This was acknowledged by the group as a form of activism as it nurtured the culture and was seen as fundamental to involvement by future generations. The meaning of activism thus took on a new dimension, and if this meaning is accepted the involvement of women becomes quite extensive. This becomes problematic as it changes the entire meaning of the research from what was intended. For that reason, I felt that it would be appropriate to acknowledge the importance of this support work which is not recognized in the mainstream of Macedonian community affairs, and also to name it as basic for activism.

Appendices

Appendix One

Despite the partition of Macedonia in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest, the Macedonian people in all four parts of Macedonia are a nation with the same language, culture and history.

Appendix Two

A Macedonian language program where the Macedonian language and culture are taught as part of the normal school curriculum from grade prep through to grade six exists at Thomastown West Primary School in

Melbourne. This is continued up to year 12 at Thomastown Secondary College. Thomastown West Public School is one of the feeder schools of Thomastown Secondary College so Macedonian children at these schools have the opportunity to learn their language, culture and history uninterruptedly and with the status and esteem of it being a part of the normal school curriculum.

Appendix Three

At a Macedonian Conference in 1991 there were some fundamental problems with the organization which reflected the marginalization of women.

The first example of this was the lack of women speakers at the opening ceremony. The next example was the scheduling of workshops. There were workshops on human rights issues and community issues and these were scheduled at the same time as workshops on women's and aged issues, welfare and education. This served to inhibit the attendance of women at the "male" workshops due to their involvement professionally in traditionally female areas. In another incident, female activists were not acknowledged appropriately at a social function. The male activists were acknowledged by the positions held in their organizations. The women activists were not.

Appendix Four

The Macedonians in Australia originate largely from villages in rural areas of Macedonia. In order to retain links with their village folk, many organizations have formed in Australia around these village identities.

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The Macedonian Elderly: A Needs Study Of The Macedonian Elderly In The Western Region of Melbourne

**Macedonian Community Welfare Association Of The Western
Region Inc**

This is an edited version of the report, The Macedonian Elderly: A Needs Study of the Macedonian Elderly in the Western Region, published in Melbourne, June, 1993

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Executive Summary

This report is a pioneering work in the exploration of the needs of the Macedonian elderly. Whilst its essential focus is the four Macedonian senior citizen groups of Keilor, Sunshine, Footscray and Altona in Melbourne, nevertheless it presents a general picture of the Macedonian people and their historical background.

The main source of specific information about the Macedonian elderly was a survey which mainly looked at the knowledge and use of the Home And Community Care (HACC) services.

The primary research was conducted with:

1. Key information in the local social welfare field.
2. The community - 100 Macedonian elderly citizens (the respondents).

The key findings of this survey were:

- a. There was very little knowledge and very limited use of the HACC services and facilities.
- b. Services need to be promoted in a proactive manner.

Whilst there was no existing information available on the Macedonian elderly for the conduct of secondary research, general information on the

Macedonians was drawn on for the purpose of this report. Of interest here are the patterns of migration and settlement, key cultural values and preoccupations together with a brief guideline of the history of the Macedonian people.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Project

During 1992, the Macedonian Community Welfare Association of the Western Region (MCWAWR) received a grant from Community Services Victoria (CSV) under the HACC Program to document the needs and support the elderly Macedonians in the western region of Melbourne. The Macedonian senior citizens groups targeted were in the municipalities of Keilor, Sunshine, Footscray and Altona.

This project had a community development perspective and its emphasis on support for elderly Macedonians was a timely extension of the various activities of the MCWAWR since its formation in 1984. The main interests of this association have included support for recreational and sporting groups, dancing groups, elderly clubs, women's groups, research and volunteer information and referral services.

1.2 Objectives of the Project

The project aimed to:

- Promote access and advocacy by establishing formal links between local government and Macedonian elderly groups.
- Educate Macedonian elderly groups about access to decision making processes in the region, so that they can be included in the planning and development of services for their needs.
- Establish social, recreational and information programs in response to specific needs.
- Survey the needs and assess the knowledge and use of HACC services by the Macedonian elderly.

1.3 Methodology

To achieve those objectives the following methods were used: an appointed Macedonian Elderly Research and Support Worker:

- Assisted the transition of elderly citizen groups to Council owned

Senior Citizen Centres (Footscray and Altona).

- Advocated on behalf of Macedonian Senior Citizen Groups to ensure access to appropriate Council owned premises.

- Arranged for Centre based meals to be introduced to all four Macedonian elderly groups.

- Developed and administered a questionnaire to a cross-section of Macedonian elderly from the four groups to examine their profile and needs, knowledge and use of HACC services.

- Arranged health based sessions targeting Macedonian women in the 40+ age group.

- Developed a women's senior citizens group.

1.4 About the Report

The specific purpose of this report is to give service providers and other interested individuals or government departments a profile of the Macedonian elderly in the western region of Melbourne. The four groups referred to are based in the municipalities of Keilor, Sunshine (St Albans), Altona (North) and Footscray (Yarraville). A profile of the respective groups can be found in Appendix I.

Whilst many senior citizens in Australia regardless of origin share various characteristics (or problems) across the board, and many "ethnic" groups have closer affinities, ethnospecific reports such as this one can be justified by the high specificity and uniqueness of the cultural/ ethnic group in question. It is not only important to alert policy makers to specific needs of an obvious sort such as language, but also those more elusive areas of experience which are usually referred to with the blanket term "culture".

In point of fact, in the case of Macedonian elderly citizens there are very important dimensions of identity, expressed in ethnic terms, which comprise a major preoccupation for them and certainly pose a problem which requires illumination. It is hardly surprising that in the May 1991 HACC Program Report the following statement was included:

"The consultations with the Macedonian community illustrated that the recognition of ethnic identity was extremely important". (page 7, Ministerial Reference Group on HACC Ethnic Services)

This current research is a pioneer in the area of looking at the needs of Macedonian senior citizens. The study is confined to only four Macedonian senior citizens groups from a possible 12 throughout Melbourne (other important groups are found in the municipalities of Witlesea, Preston, Northcote, Doncaster, Springvale and Geelong).

Whilst we confine ourselves to the Macedonian elderly in the western region, no doubt the issues will have a more general application and validity for this ethnic group.

1.5 Limitations

There were three major limitations in the execution of the research project.

I) The short term nature of the project with funding allocated for only six months.

II) This research formed a part and not the sole role of the worker as the position title, Macedonian Elderly Research and Support Worker, indicates.

III) The need for the worker to be present while virtually every questionnaire was answered proved to be very time consuming.

Due to the abovementioned limitations which were largely foreseen, virtually all the questions had to be designed to be answered in a pre-set fashion, which curtailed the potentially limitless variety of responses.

Also, these same limitations did not allow the project worker to access any of the isolated and frail elderly in the Macedonian community. The results will therefore represent a younger mean age. However this is a significant snapshot of the HACC users of the very near future so this information should therefore encourage service providers to be productive and develop relevant appropriate services accordingly.

2. THE MACEDONIANS IN AUSTRALIA

2.1 Macedonians and the Census in Australia

It is important to give some explanation about why it is difficult to get accurate statistics on the Macedonians. After all, many plans and decisions for service delivery are necessarily made on numbers which indicate the range and extent of need.

Amongst the Macedonians themselves it is generally believed that Australian Bureau of Statistics figures for the Macedonian people are significantly understated. Community estimates range from 150,000 to 200,000 Macedonians living in Australia. The Diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia which has jurisdiction over 19 churches gives a modest 150,000 plus.

However the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census of 1986

revealed that 41,893 people in Australia indicated as being of "Macedonian ancestry", the majority of whom live in Victoria and NSW.

The explanations for such discrepancies are the persistent after effects of historical reasons such as the lack of recognition and denationalization in country of origin and poor understanding of what is being asked. Thus due to the fact that Macedonia was not an independent country there is confusion in self-identification with such labels as "Yugoslav-Macedonian" or "Greek-Macedonian" which the ABS did not classify as valid designations of either ethnicity or language. To the outsider it may seem odd that ethnic identification does not appear a straightforward matter. In fact in terms of everyday living it is not so complicated. Some of the difficulty is a result of the fear of bureaucracy. Macedonians have a very negative experience of authorities and officialdom regardless of which part of the divided homeland they come from. Moreover, notions of confidentiality and trust of authority are difficult to accept by people who have experienced the institutionalized paranoia of the police state.

An interesting statistic for Victoria from an official source other than the ABS is that of the state Ministry of Education (now the Directorate of School Education - DSE). In 1990 the ministry released data on "Language spoken at home" which indicates that Macedonian is the fourth largest language of the students of Non-English Speaking Background in the state school system.

2.2 Macedonian Community Structure in Victoria

Few people who have a close familiarity due to membership or professional involvement with a particular community would be inclined to disagree with the following judgement:

"Communities are always mixed, contradictory, conflict-ridden and by no means socially isolated entities". (Kalantzis, Cope and Slade, 1985 p94)

This is true for the Macedonian community. Its complexities of background, language and identity are reflected in its organizational structures in Victoria.

In the traditional pre-industrial society from which most Macedonians have come, life was centred around the village church. This has been duplicated to some extent in the countries to which they have migrated. A significant part of the political pluralism that has developed in the Republic of Macedonia since 1989 has been a new emphasis placed on the church as a symbol of national unity. Indeed it would appear that the Macedonians in the home country believe it is the strongest link with the

diaspora.

In Australia, the first church outside Macedonia was consecrated in 1960. For this reason the St George Macedonian Orthodox Church in Fitzroy, Melbourne, has a powerful emotional significance. It was founded by Macedonians who had their origins in Aegean Macedonia, and what is even more worthy of note, it was established before the Macedonian Orthodox Church was declared autocephalous in 1967 (on the bicentennial of the demise of the Ohrid Archiepiscopate in Western Macedonia in 1767).

In Melbourne there are four Macedonian Orthodox Churches: in Fitzroy, Footscray, Preston and Springvale. There is also a church in Geelong, while the St George community also has a little monastery located on acreage in Kinglake and the Footscray church, St Ilija, has a monastery in Rocklyn.

Typically, the Macedonian Orthodox Church parish has a church run by a church board, a social committee and various subsections such as a school where the language is taught, a women's group as well as a folkloric dance group for the young people. Broader welfare activity has not been seen as a role of the church.

In 1984, a group of more than 30 Macedonian organizations came under the umbrella of the Federation of Macedonian Associations in Victoria (FOMAV). Member organizations included pensioner groups, a human rights committee, the Macedonian Teachers Association of Victoria, the Australian Macedonian Drama Group, the Preston-Macedonia Soccer Club, and practically all the folkloric dance groups independent of the churches. The churches did not send representatives as they maintained FOMAV was a "political" organization.

Many of the groups within FOMAV were newly formed and involved professionals from the second generation, and the Federation availed itself of these specialist skills for its lobbying role. In its constitution, FOMAV explicitly stated its intention to be a consultative body, viz:

"Objective 4 (b). To represent the interests of the affiliated bodies and organizations before local, state and federal governments, and other bodies worldwide."

There is nothing comparable in the Constitution of the Macedonian Orthodox Communities which are bound to the canonical rules of the Macedonian Orthodox Holy Synod of Skopje and Ohrid.

In the short period since its formation, FOMAV organized cultural activities, Moomba Parades (it won the best float award in 1990), liaised with government departments and lobbied specific politicians, initiated a Macedonian Welfare Council in the northern suburbs and organized

two mass demonstrations in 1988 which were the first of their kind in Melbourne.

We have noted that the Macedonian churches have been conservative in terms of involvement in the mainstream in Australia, whereas FOMAV saw its role as becoming more and more involved with life in Australian society generally. Apart from these two strands, there is a third which has explicitly nationalist and political goals, mainly determined by a strong attachment and a nostalgia for the place of origin, Macedonia, and its historical fate.

In 1989, in immediate response to attacks on the Macedonian ethno-specificity from Dr V Seselj, a former dissident and Serbian nationalist who at present has a seat in the Serbian parliament in Belgrade, a grass roots political organization was formed and named The United Macedonians of Australia.

In the Statute of the United Macedonians (1989) the main stress is on maintaining and developing "a Macedonian national consciousness". All methods, within legal bounds, are to be used to continue "the revolutionary people's liberation struggle ... [to achieve] ... a united and free Macedonia, independent in the Balkans, or as an equal subject of the European community of free peoples." (Section II, Article 7). With regards to the younger generation, the Australian-born, love of Macedonia ("the old fatherland") is to be fostered alongside love of Australia ("the new fatherland").

Significantly, when multi-party elections were finally permitted in Yugoslavia in 1990, the United Macedonians in Victoria formed a political branch of the nationalist opposition party in the Republic of Macedonia and started fundraising for the election campaign. The party, VMRO - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, had enormous emotional appeal because of its use of the name of the most important liberation movement in modern Macedonian history (VMRO - Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [1893-1934]). Whilst the party won the most parliamentary seats in the first democratically held elections, it did not get an absolute majority mandate and has since been in opposition.

More than 150 Macedonian organizations in Victoria usually roughly fall within the three strands of ideas and practices of the organizations described in this section. The dominant impulse (with varying degrees of strength) to affirm Macedonian ethno-specificity is present in all of them, although there is broad disagreement about procedures and differences in rhetoric.

This year, 1993, has seen many dramatic changes in the Macedonian

community in Victoria. Two such changes or movements are worthy of note because they suggest new directions for the community not only in Victoria but Australia.

The first is that 14 Macedonian Orthodox community organizations in Australia have decided to make a move to bring more control of the Diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia and have a Bishop reside locally rather than in the homeland. With more control of church communities by local Macedonians there may be more relevance for the church in local conditions. This is a period of transition not only for Macedonia as a nation but its very institutions and their relations with Macedonians in the diaspora.

Another local (Victorian) change has been the transformation of FOMAV into purely a federation of artistic or folkloric groups. A new structure has been put in its place. The Macedonian Community Council of Melbourne and Victoria has been established with over 70 organizations already forming its extensive membership. In a Macedonian newspaper article (Today Denes 23/ 3/ 93, page 12) the organizers concluded the report on the meeting with resounding optimism: "Macedonians, we are on the crest of a new era, on an international level and locally. The future is in our hands".

In terms of welfare services, two bodies have undertaken this task, one of which has commissioned this report. The MCWAWR is based in St Albans and caters to the large number of Macedonians in the western region of Melbourne. The other is the Australian Macedonian Welfare Council based in Reservoir and caters mainly to the Macedonians in the northern suburbs. More specifically, as this indicates, Macedonians are found in the greatest numbers in such municipalities as Whittlesea, Preston, Sunshine, Footscray and Keilor. In the eastern suburbs they are found mainly in Doncaster, Bulleen and Springvale.

2.3 A General Point

In a demographic and attitudinal survey of the Macedonian speaking community in Queanbeyan and Canberra published by the Canberra Regional Office (1984), there is an interesting summary of findings:

"In the workforce it appears that many of the first generation rode out their disadvantages (ie, lack of industrial skills and English) through hard work ... employees ... were more interested in generating harmonious working relations than overreacting to any racial or other source of tension.

"At home their families also learned the perceived advantages of

keeping largely to themselves, not only as a direct outcome of their long tradition of self-reliance but also because of their awareness of the unfamiliarity of the ways of an urban, industrial based English speaking society. However ... this approach brought with it a general lack of willingness to make rightful claims along with other residents on the opportunities, resources and services available in the wider society. In turn, this led to an underdevelopment of members' occupational skill capacities and thereby to a lack of work promotion and economic advancement. This approach also led to a failure to fully develop their English speaking and writing abilities; and in due course resulted in the inevitable transfer of relative disadvantage to the children" (p2-3).

Broadly speaking this gives a very valuable insight into Macedonians in general from the second big wave of migration, ie mainly those from the Republic of Macedonia. Whilst the above study is based on only 298 families in one particular location in Australia, it would be fair to say that the mechanisms of coping with the English-speaking industrial society which it describes are broadly accurate for most Macedonians. The relatively few graduates of Macedonian origin from tertiary institutions in Australia could be explained in part by the first generation's difficulties and indeed, values. It is not surprising that practically all surveys on the needs of Macedonian speakers (eg Chapman, 1989; Kareski, 1983; and Christie 1990, 1991) stress the need for more bilingual professionals of Macedonian origin in the service areas.

3. THE MACEDONIAN ELDERLY IN THE WESTERN REGION

Whilst the earlier post-war Macedonian migrants (in the 1950s and 1960s) who came from Aegean Macedonian settled in the inner city areas (Fitzroy, Clifton Hill, Northcote, Richmond etc) or on farms mainly in Werribee and Shepparton, those from the Republic of Macedonia (ex Yugoslavia) went to the northern or western suburbs in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The fact that Macedonia was divided and the parts incorporated in larger nation-states has meant that the ethnicity of the Macedonians has not been given due prominence and visibility in Australia. In the past they have been grouped as either a part of the Yugoslav or Greek group as the tendency was to identify people with country of origin rather than specific ethnicity. Of course, Macedonian self-identification was also vitiated by fear, expedience or lack of comprehension of the notion of ethnicity.

So the Macedonians in the western region have generally been lumped with the other ethnic groups from Yugoslavia, with Werribee being unusual in that it has many settlers from Aegean Macedonia. Within the western suburbs there is resettlement as Macedonians move out from inner suburbs such as Yarraville, Spotswood, Footscray and Newport towards suburbs such as Sunshine, Keilor, Sydenham, Delahey, Taylors Lakes and St Albans. A comparable earlier shift has been that of Macedonians from the inner city moving out towards the north (Lalor, Thomastown etc) or the north-east (Doncaster, Bulleen etc).

The approximate membership of the four Macedonian elderly clubs in the western region is as follows: Footscray - 100, Altona - 80, St Albans - 80, and Keilor - 40. We have already mentioned (in 2.1) the difficulty of getting accurate demographic statistics on the Macedonians. Bearing in mind the complexity of the situation we may nevertheless still find some available information useful. For instance in its Comparative Study of Ethnic Communities in Sunshine and Keilor (1992) the MRC North West Region report has this entry on the Macedonian people:

"If it can be assumed that the rate of increase of the aged sector of the Macedonian community is similar to the Yugoslav born, then there will be three to four times as many elderly Macedonians in 2001 as there were in 1986". (page 48)

It is obvious that the number of Macedonian elderly is increasing as is the number of elderly in the rest of the population, and that the urgency for services and attention will become more vital.

For the above reasons Non English Speaking Background (NESB) statistics available from the Royal District Nursing Service (RDNS) of patient episodes in the western metropolitan region are particularly revealing. Table 1 indicates the number of Macedonian-born patients for the period of 1 July 1991 to 30 June 1992.

Table 1

Location of District Nursing Centre	Municipalities Served by RDNS Centre	Number of Macedonian - Born Patients
Altona	Altona	53
	Werribee	
	Williamstown	
Broadmeadows	Broadmeadows	8
	Coburg	
Essendon	Essendon	3

	Brunswick	
Footscray	Footscray	29
	Melbourne	
Sunshine	Keilor	38
	Sunshine	
Total		131

A much more revealing set of statistics is those given for patient episodes from the country of origin previously known as Yugoslavia. Of the total patients treated in the period 1 July 1990 to 30 August 1991 in the western metropolitan region 2,790 (or 32 per cent) were NESB. 232 patients (or 8 per cent) of these NESB patients were born in the former Yugoslavia. A further breakdown from this raw data gave the following:

Table 2

	Numbers	Percentage
Macedonian	151	65
Croatian	53	23
Serbian	12	5
Unknown	17	7
Total	232	100

At any one time 90 per cent of these 'episodes' are in the elderly (65+) category. (Source: Vivienne Hester, Education Officer, Royal District Nursing Service.)

It would be safe to infer that the Macedonian speakers are by far the more numerous population, generally speaking, not just greater users of the RDNS.

4. SURVEY OF THE NEEDS OF THE MACEDONIAN ELDERLY IN THE WESTERN REGION

4.1 Aims and Methodology

The survey conducted for the purpose of this project was modest in scope. The major aim was to assess the knowledge and use of HACC services by the Macedonian elderly. This was done on the basis of the response of 100 respondents to a questionnaire designed by the HACC worker.

Whilst the survey is not painstaking in its details, it is the first time such first hand information has been collected on this scale on the Macedonian elderly anywhere in Australia. Such documentation is essential for the purposes of understanding the life situation of the Macedonian elderly.

Participants in the research were approached through existing elderly clubs in the western region. The purpose of the research was explained and volunteers were asked to respond to a prepared questionnaire.

The questionnaire was translated into Macedonian and interviews with the 100 respondents were conducted by bilingual workers and volunteers. The questionnaire was read to individuals from the groups and usually took 15-30 minutes to complete. This was done for over 90 per cent of the respondents.

It was not feasible to attempt a random sampling of elderly Macedonians. However, the final results are encouraging in that the sample characteristics proved to be consistent with some of the known population statistics. Sample data such as gender mix and place of residence were similar to the census figures for the population distribution within the western region. Overall, between 10 per cent and 20 per cent of the elderly Macedonians, as identified in the 1986 census, were interviewed from the main locations of the community within the region. Therefore it can be argued that the sample is typical of the elderly population and that the research findings are applicable to a large number of people.

4.2 Survey Findings

Question 1. *WHICH ELDERLY GROUPS DO YOU ATTEND?*

	Male	Female	Total
Keilor	1	1	2
Keilor & Sunshine	9	9	18
Sunshine	10	7	17
Sunshine & Altona	1	-	1
Sunshine & Footscray	1	-	1
Altona	10	-	10
Altona & Footscray	1	1	2
Footscray	20	29	49
Total	53	47	100

It should be kept in mind that equal numbers from each group were

not surveyed. Approximate breakdown of the membership of each group at the time of the survey was: Footscray 100, Altona 80, St Albans 80, Keilor 40. Actual regular attendance at these groups are between half for the bigger groups to two-thirds for the smaller groups of these respective figures.

Question 2. *WHICH SUBURB DO YOU LIVE IN?*

Keilor	5
Sunshine	18
Footscray	21
Altona	8
St Albans	18
Avondale Heights	4
Keilor Downs	2
Braybrook	2
Altona North	1
Footscray West	2
Yarraville	10
Williamstown	2
Spotswood	1
Moonee Ponds	1
West Sunshine	2
North Melbourne	1
Maidstone	1
Taylors Lakes	1
Total	100

Ninety nine per cent of respondents live in the western region of Melbourne, which fall into the following municipalities, below.

Question 3. *WHICH MUNICIPALITY DO YOU LIVE IN?*

	Male	Female	Total
Keilor	11	10	21
Sunshine	17	13	30
Footscray	13	21	34
Altona	9	-	9
Williamstown	2	2	4
Essendon	1	-	1
Other	-	1	1
Total	53	47	100

When we check what municipality the respondents live in against the figures of actual group attendance, we find that one-third of respondents who attend the Footscray group don't live within the municipality. Despite the group having recently moved from its central position in Footscray, which is well served by public transport, to a location in Yarraville, the status of being the original Macedonian elderly group in the western region has held an attraction for many people.

Question 4. *SEX OF RESPONDENT*

The sample consisted of 53 males and 47 females.

Question 5. *AGE OF RESPONDENT*

	Male	Female	Total
<50	3	4	7
50 < 55	3	7	10
55 < 60	6	9	15
60 < 65	16	11	27
65 < 70	13	12	25
70 < 75	11	4	15
Total	52	47	99

Minimum age = 42

Maximum age = 74

Average age = 62.3

Median age for sample = 64

Fifty two per cent of the respondents are between the ages 60 to 70 years and 15 per cent are 70 and over.

Question 6. *COUNTRY OF BIRTH*

Macedonia	72
Yugoslavia	21
Greece	5
Not Stated	2
Total	100

This question was left open to respondents to choose what they

identified as "country".

It is interesting to note that when cross-checked with Question 7 which asks, which area (of the country of origin) do you come from, 95 per cent indicated they came from a region of the Republic of Macedonia or the Republic itself.

Question 7. WHICH AREA IN COUNTRY OF ORIGIN?

Macedonia	20
Bitola	59
Prilep	5
Ohrid	4
Skopje	1
Kocani	2
Lerin	4
Serbia	1
Not stated	4
Total	100

Question 8. YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

	Male	Female	Total
1950 - 1954	1	1	2
1955 - 1959	2	3	5
1960 - 1964	11	1	12
1965 - 1969	18	11	29
1970 - 1974	12	20	32
1975 - 1979	2	5	7
1980 - 1984	3	5	8
1985 - 1989	4	1	5
Total	53	47	100

The bulk of settlers (73 per cent) arrived in the 15 year period between 1960 and 1974. The greatest concentration (61 per cent) was in the 10 year span between 1965 and 1974. Forty-seven per cent gave economic reasons for migrating whilst 41 per cent gave family reunions.

Looking at the gender breakdown of the period, when the bulk of these settlers arrived, there is a marked difference between the sexes. There appears to be a time lag, with women arriving after the men and then surpassing their numbers. This is consistent with the practice and tradition of pechalbarstvo where the man goes out of his home country

to earn money and if he finds the new land more congenial, rather than go back, he brings his family out.

Question 9. *IMMIGRATION/ SPONSORSHIP CATEGORIES*

Sponsored by child	19
Sponsored by child & independent	2
Sponsored by relative/ friend	41
Sponsored by relative/ friend/ & independent	5
Refugee/ displaced person	-
Assisted passage	5
Independent	13
Sponsored by spouse	15
Total	100

Question 10. *REASON FOR EMIGRATION*

	Male	Female	Total
Economic	29	18	47
Economic & family	1	1	2
Political	-	-	-
Family reunion	16	25	41
Other	7	2	9
Unknown	-	1	1
Total	53	47	100

More men than women (29 vs 18) responded that they migrated for economic reasons, whereas a similar opposite response was given between the sexes (16 vs 25) for family reunion.

Question 11. *RELIGION*

98 of the respondents were of the Orthodox religion, and two registered other.

Question 12. *LEVEL OF EDUCATION*

	Male	Female	Total
None	3	13	16
Some Primary	35	26	61
Completed Primary	10	3	13

Some Secondary	3	2	5
Completed Secondary	2	-	2
Completed Trades/ Tech	-	3	3
Total	53	47	100

A large number of respondents (77 per cent) had only a few years of primary schooling (usually up to grade 4) if at all. Only 10 per cent of respondents had gone beyond the level of primary school. The implications of this can be seen in the responses to the following questions 14-16. It is interesting to note that although women generally had fewer years of schooling, the only three respondents registering the highest level of education were women. We cannot be certain of these respondents' ages.

With such a low level of education in their own language, it is obvious that there are special communication needs which have to be considered. Clearly the best method for reaching the Macedonian people is through radio programs in their own language.

These statistics for the Macedonian elderly are certainly typical of practically the entire age group or generation. This fact can be easily corroborated by anyone who is in contact with them on a regular basis. The war years go a long way in explaining this situation together with the rural or working class background of the respondents.

Clearly a low level of education and literacy in one's own language has implications for the capacity to learn English (or the host language) in Australia.

Question 13. *UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH*

13a *UNDERSTANDING OF SPOKEN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Hardly/ not at all	45	39	84
Not well	5	7	12
Fairly well	2	1	3
Very well	1	-	1
Excellent	-	-	-
Total	53	47	100

13b *SPEAK ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Hardly/ Not at all	45	40	85
Not well	5	6	11

Fairly well	1	1	2
Very well	1	-	1
Excellent	-	-	-
Not stated	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

Clearly, speaking and understanding spoken English is an area that respondents felt, on self assessment, that they did not fare well in. This response is fairly evenly spread between the sexes.

13c *READ ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Hardly/ not at all	48	45	93
Not well	2	2	4
Fairly well	1	-	1
Very well	1	-	1
Excellent	-	-	-
Not stated	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

In terms of literacy the results indicate even less competence in the host language.

13d *WRITE ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Hardly/ not at all	49	45	94
Not well	2	2	4
Fairly well	1	-	1
Very well	-	-	-
Excellent	-	-	-
Not stated	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

Question 14. *EXPERIENCE DIFFICULTIES WITH ENGLISH?*

14a *DIFFICULTY READING INFORMATION IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	49	44	93

No	2	-	2
Sometimes	2	3	5
Total	53	47	100

14b *DIFFICULTY FILLING-OUT FORMS IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	50	47	97
No	3	-	3
Sometimes	-	-	-
Total	53	47	100

14c *DIFFICULTY LISTENING TO NEWS IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	46	40	86
No	5	1	6
Sometimes	2	6	8
Total	53	47	100

14d *DIFFICULTY READING NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	49	46	95
No	4	-	4
Sometimes	-	1	1
Total	53	47	100

14e *DIFFICULTY HOLDING CONVERSATION IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	41	38	79
No	3	1	4
Sometimes	9	8	17
Total	53	47	100

14f *DIFFICULTY COMMUNICATING WITH DOCTOR IN ENGLISH*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	38	39	77
No	6	5	11

Sometimes	9	3	12
Total	53	47	100

The least difficulty registered was with their treating doctors. It is interesting to note that there is a greater number who express that they don't have difficulty in communicating with their doctor. It is also evident from the above two tables that respondents felt more confident in face to face communication.

Predicably, speaking and understanding English is minimal for 96 per cent of the respondents. Non-competence in reading and writing English was even higher at 98 per cent of the respondents.

The obvious communication barrier here with the host culture does not need to be elaborated. It stresses the need for bilingual workers and professionals as well as qualified interpreters.

Question 15. *UNDERSTANDING OF MACEDONIAN*

15a *READ MACEDONIAN*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	48	36	84
No	5	11	16
Total	53	47	100

15b *WRITE MACEDONIAN*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	47	36	83
No	6	11	17
Total	53	47	100

Question 16. *UNDERSTANDING OF MACEDONIAN SCRIPT*

16a *READ/ WRITE IN ROMAN SCRIPT*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	33	20	53
No	20	27	47
Total	53	47	100

16b *READ/ WRITE IN CYRILLIC SCRIPT*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	47	37	84
No	5	10	15
Total	52	47	99

Whilst 84 per cent could read Macedonian and 83 per cent could write it, there were 16 per cent who had no literacy whatsoever - presumably the 16 per cent who did not have any schooling.

The use of Cyrillic script (used in standard Macedonian) was consistent with the above whereas 47 per cent of the respondents could not read Roman script and the remaining 53 per cent could.

The level of competence that the respondents have in the Macedonian language is not known. Given their level of education, one can assume that official documents translated into Macedonian would need explanation.

The Macedonian language has only been codified since the beginning of the post-war period (1946) when a literary standard was finally established. This was a culmination of a long historical process which began in the mid 19th century. The liberation from denationalization and assimilationist policies in Vardar Macedonia (which became the Peoples or Socialist Republic of Macedonia in 1944) enabled the development of a literary standard for the language without opposition.

Therefore for most of the respondents their native or mother tongue which they would have used when young would have been a dialect of Macedonian and the scant schooling they received would have been mostly in Serbian or entirely in Serbian if they went to school before the Second World War.

It is also interesting to observe that of those who indicated the region of Macedonia from which they came, 70 per cent would use a regional dialect on which the literary standard was based (Bitola, Ohrid, Prilep, Lerin) - that is, the central dialects.

With the Macedonian elderly one can safely say that interpreters or bilingual professionals and workers need to be sensitive to dialectical language so that the aim would be to communicate effectively rather than speak a "correct" educated standard of the language. Obviously the same point can be made for English-speakers and the call for "plain English" in all Government documents (and "plain Macedonian" for those which have been translated into Macedonian) is not idle.

Question 17. *MARITAL STATUS*

	Male	Female	Total
Single (Never Married)	-	-	-
Married	47	36	83
Separated	-	-	-
Divorced	-	3	3
Widowed	5	8	13
Other	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

The response reflects the strongly felt cultural value of the institution of marriage.

Question 18. *DWELLING*

	Male	Female	Total
Own Home	39	34	73
Own Home, mortgaged	2	2	4
Privately Rented House/ Flat	1	2	3
Ministry of Housing Rented Accommodation	5	3	8
With Children/ Relative in their own home	2	3	5
Boarding	-	-	-
Hostel	-	-	-
Nursing Home	-	-	-
Other	4	3	7
Total	53	47	100

Question 19. *HOUSEHOLD/ LIVING ARRANGEMENTS*

	Male	Female	Total
Living Alone	5	9	14
With Spouse Only	23	20	43
With Children	1	6	7
With Other Relative	-	-	-
With Spouse & Children	23	12	35
Other	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

85 per cent of respondents lived with someone else, be it their spouse, children or both. However, relatively speaking, more than twice as many women (approximately 20 per cent) than men, lived alone.

No doubt the fact that Macedonians are predominantly economic migrants, and have a tradition of being self sufficient explains the high level of home ownership. There is a tremendous pride in this type of achievement and, culturally, renting accommodation is viewed as having failed to achieve basic goals.

Traditionally the Macedonian family has been a powerful tightly-knit unit which was the basis of life's purpose. It is the central value and one's misery or happiness is measured by how well the family fares. In Macedonia the traditional extended family living arrangements have been slowly undergoing change with the population moving more and more to the cities. However, the urbanization/ industrialization is nowhere near comparable to Melbourne. Indeed, the capital city of Macedonia, Skopje, has a population of some 500,000 only, and is a very compact city. Like the majority of first generation Macedonians in Australia, most of the respondents have a rural village background and therefore the move towards the nuclear family or the situation of living alone or with just a spouse in a large city would be quite traumatic or at any rate would require considerable adjustment.

Question 20a. *FEELING ISOLATED OR LONELY AT HOME*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	12	22	34
No	26	24	50
Sometimes	15	1	16
Total	53	47	100

Half the respondents indicated they didn't feel isolated or lonely at home. However a total of 50 per cent did, to varying degrees, feel lonely.

How can we reconcile this with the 85 per cent of respondents stating they live with someone else in the home?

Consistent with the response to the previous question, almost half the female respondents felt isolated or lonely, twice as many as the men. It is also interesting to note that far more men (15) than women (1) responded in the "sometimes" category.

Of the 50 per cent of respondents who did feel lonely at some time, the following question was asked.

Question 20b. *FEELING ISOLATED/ LONELY AT HOME AND INTERESTED IN A VISITING SERVICE*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	15	17	32
No	5	4	9
Don't Know	3	1	4
Not Stated	4	1	5
Total	27	23	50

Almost two-thirds responded yes. It must be borne in mind that most of the respondents are physically active and able members of the elderly citizens' clubs. It would be interesting to find out how those who use the Royal District Nursing Service spend their time and what quality of life they have.

Those responsible for access and advocacy of the Macedonian elderly will be inevitably concerned with the visiting service and will no doubt have to develop networks with volunteers and/ or community structures which alleviate the problem of elderly isolation and malaise.

Question 21a. *IF EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTIES WHO WOULD YOU TURN TO FOR HELP?* (Tick as many as appropriate)

	Male	Female	Total
Spouse	4	5	9
Children	26	28	54
Friends	6	3	9
Pensioner Group	3	1	4
Australian Welfare Service	-	1	1
Macedonian Welfare Service	16	5	21
Council	2	-	2
Other	3	-	3
Not Stated	6	6	12

When asked who they would turn to for help when in difficulty more than half of the respondents nominated their children. The availability and knowledge of an ethno-specific welfare service for Macedonians totalled as the next largest response. Most of the respondents nominated people or a service where Macedonian is spoken.

This again bears testimony to the very strong family bonds which are created by Macedonians.

The need for services where Macedonian is spoken cannot be emphasized enough.

Question 22. *DO YOU KNOW OF ANY SERVICES WHICH ASSIST THE ELDERLY?* (Tick as many as appropriate)

	Male	Female	Total
No	35	41	76
GIA/MRC Worker	10	2	12
HACC Worker	6	2	8
Social Security	1	-	1
Macedonian Worker	2	2	4
Community Services	1	-	1
Meals on Wheels	-	1	1
Respite Care	1	-	1
Community Health Centre	1	-	1

It is interesting to note that the respondents identified more with the person in the position rather than the position's title. For example, only one-quarter of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the HACC and Grant-in-Aid workers, even though the workers filling these positions assisted with the completion of virtually every questionnaire and acted as a resource to all the elderly groups. It is likely that the elderly respond more readily to a known individual with whom they can identify (also refer to comments relating to question 36).

Question 23. *HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT THESE SERVICES?*

	Male	Female	Total
Word of Mouth	1	1	2
Notices/Pamphlets	4	2	6
Local Council	4	-	4
Other	10	1	11

Question 24. *EVER USED SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY?*

24a *MEALS ON WHEELS*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	1	2	3
No	52	45	97

Total	53	47	100
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24b HOME HELP

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	1	2	3
No	52	45	97
Total	53	47	100

24c HOME HANDYMAN

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	2	2	4
No	51	45	96
Total	53	47	100

24d COUNCIL MINIBUS

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	2	3	5
No	51	44	95
Total	3	47	100

24e HOME NURSING

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	2	1	3
No	51	46	97
Total	53	47	100

24f COUNCIL SENIOR CITIZENS CLUB

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	14	12	26
No	39	35	74
Total	53	47	100

24g COUNCIL SOCIAL WORKER

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	2	-	2
No	51	47	98

Total	53	47	100
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24h GERIATRIC ASSESSMENT

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	1	1	2
No	52	46	98
Total	53	47	100

Question 25. REASON FOR NON-USE OF SERVICE

	Male	Female	Total
Not needed yet	37	31	68
Children/ family/ friend help	12	12	24
Don't know of services	7	5	12
Don't like asking for help	-	2	-2

Question 26. IF HELP NEEDED AT HOME WOULD YOU USE ANY COUNCIL SERVICES?

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	37	32	69
No	8	8	16
Don't Know	8	7	15
Total	53	47	100

Seventy six per cent of the respondents had no knowledge whatsoever about the various services assisting the elderly in the community. Twenty four per cent know of something available.

There is obviously a large proportion of Macedonian elderly who have no knowledge of the availability of various forms of assistance. One per cent knew that each of the following was available: Meals on Wheels, Community Services, Respite Care, Social Security, Community Health Centre.

The implications of this are very serious: many Macedonian elderly are totally alienated from mainstream social and community services. This is consistent with no competence in English and a poor level of education. It suggests a passivity and powerlessness which calls for intense community education and development. No doubt the questionnaire itself conducted in a personal interview with a bilingual profes-

sional would have been an eye-opener for many of the respondents.

With the exception of the Royal District Nursing Service and the Geriatric (now Aged Care) Assessment Team (Health Department), all the above services are provided by local council.

There are complex issues here in terms of the reason given for low use ("did not need the service"). Culturally such services as Meals on Wheels for instance, if known about, may be perceived as charity which implies failure in one's family life. Pride is an important factor at work in a range of situations where the preferred ideal for help - the children - is not forthcoming. This is a difficult area to quantify, but many of these attitudes can be unearthed amongst the elderly directly. In point of fact, quantified research is out of the question in such areas as human beings cannot be programed to give dispassionate and objective responses to matters which are so sensitive. On the basis of what we know about the values of Macedonian culture, the pride of family and the humiliation of accepting charity or help which is perceived to imply personal failure and/or weakness, it is not surprising that many services are not used. Of course, when necessary, people do adapt, in which case they need to be made aware of and to understand the nature of the service.

In answer to the question "would people use Council services if they were needed?", there was a positive response of 69 per cent. Yet in the light of the above discussion relating to cultural values/ perception, how and when would it be possible to make the assessment for need?

Question 27a. *ATTEND MEETINGS / ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED BY MACEDONIAN COMMUNITY*

Yes	100
No	-
Total	100

Question 27b. *TYPE AND FREQUENCY OF ACTIVITIES ATTENDED*

	Male	Female	Total
Elderly Group - several times weekly	19	8	27
Elderly Group - weekly	32	34	66
Elderly Group - monthly	-	3	3
Elderly Group - occasionally	1	1	2
Church	1	1	2

Question 28. *DO YOU ATTEND ANY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR ACTIVITIES?*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	7	2	9
No	46	45	91
Total	53	47	100

Ninety one per cent of the respondents said that the only activities or organizations that they visited were the Macedonian elderly group.

One would have to assume that the understanding of what constitutes an organized formal activity by an elderly citizen group is what is being responded to. One assumes that there are other social occasions attended by the respondents such as weddings, christenings, etc or even the Macedonian family get togethers arranged by village or regional clubs such as balls or dances.

However what does seem to emerge out of this response is the theme of social isolation and that the main or most important social event for these elderly is the get together with people of their own age group who speak their own language.

Question 29. *IF MACEDONIAN SERVICES WERE NOT PROVIDED IS THERE ANYWHERE ELSE YOU WOULD GO TO FOR HELP?*

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	11	5	16
No	25	27	52
No service in our area	3	1	4
Don't know	13	14	27
No answer	1	-	1
Total	53	47	100

If there were no Macedonian services, 52 per cent said that there would be nowhere else to go and 27 per cent said that they did not know what they would do. Without the possibility of communicating in their own language, 79 per cent of the respondents believe themselves helpless.

Question 30. *USUAL MEANS OF TRANSPORT*

	Male	Female	Total
Own Car	29	4	33

Someone drives	6	19	25
Bus/ train/ tram	23	25	48
Taxi	-	2	2
Bicycle	1	-	1
Walk	7	2	9

Predominant means of transport is public transport followed by own car (for males) or as passengers (for females).

Question 31. *ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ACTIVITIES*

31a *SHOWER, BATHE AND DRESS*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	42	35	77
On own with difficulty	9	11	20
Only with help	1	-	1
Not at all	1	1	2
Total	53	47	100

31b *GETTING OUT OF THE HOUSE*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	45	33	78
On own with difficulty	6	13	19
Only with help	1	-	1
Not at all	1	1	1
Total	53	47	100

31c *USING PUBLIC TRANSPORT*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	45	34	79
On own with difficulty	5	8	13
Only with help	1	1	2
Not at all	2	4	6
Total	53	47	100

31d *DRIVING A CAR*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	27	6	33

On own with difficulty	3	1	4
Only with help	-	-	-
Not at all	6	9	15
Not applicable	16	31	47
Total	52	47	99

31e *GOING SHOPPING*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	42	28	70
On own with difficulty	7	10	17
Only with help	1	4	5
Not at all	2	3	5
Not applicable	1	2	3
Total	53	47	100

31f *HOUSE CLEANING*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	29	31	60
On own with difficulty	3	13	16
Only with help	-	2	2
Not at all	8	1	9
Not applicable	13	-	13
Total	53	47	100

31g *COOKING*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	27	37	64
On own with difficulty	1	8	9
Only with help	-	1	1
Not at all	9	1	10
Not applicable	16	-	16
Total	53	47	100

31h *GARDENING*

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	23	11	34
On own with difficulty	12	15	27
Only with help	1	5	6

Not at all	5	3	8
Not applicable	12	13	25
Total	53	47	100

31i HOME REPAIRS

	Male	Female	Total
Without difficulty	16	12	28
On own with difficulty	7	-	7
Only with help	8	17	25
Not at all	12	7	19
Not applicable	10	11	21
Total	53	47	100

The statistics here are generally of a group of elderly who are still predominately independent and are able to function in their everyday life without experiencing difficulties. But as we said in the previous section, these are the fittest of the elderly. Nevertheless, there are signs that about 20 per cent of the group is experiencing difficulty in some areas of daily activities if left on their own.

Question 32. *WHEN YOU CAN'T MANAGE ON YOUR OWN WHAT WILL HAPPEN?*

	Male	Female	Total
Stay at home with help from family	12	16	28
Stay at home with help from Council & nursing	1	1	2
Move in with children	2	3	5
Move to Home for Aged	2	-	2
Move to Macedonian Home for Aged	6	5	11
Don't know	23	17	40
Not stated	7	5	12
Total	53	47	100

The greatest concern drawn from these figures is the largest number of respondents (52 per cent) unsure of their future when they became frail. Twenty eight per cent would stay at home with their family and 11 per cent would move to a Macedonian home for the aged (if one existed).

Perhaps here we get a mixture of emotions, hopes, fears, doubts and wishes which are hard to sort out. The most significant and telling detail is the 40 per cent who are completely unsure of what would happen to them. It proves that there are no guarantees and certitude and points strongly towards the need for creating stronger support networks and structures for the elderly within the Macedonian community.

Question 33. ARE YOU AWARE OF FRAIL ELDERLY PEOPLE LIVING ON THEIR OWN WHO ARE SICK OR NEED HELP?

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	13	9	22
No	40	38	78
Total	53	47	100

It is worth noting that during the input of the data it was noticed that the figure could represent the same person and not actually 22 different people. We therefore cannot draw any conclusions from the above table.

Question 34. IS THERE ENOUGH INFORMATION ABOUT SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY?

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	12	11	23
No	12	16	28
Don't Know	29	19	48
Total	53	46	99

Question 35. HAVE YOU SEEN LEAFLETS TRANSLATED INTO MACEDONIAN?

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	13	6	19
No	31	30	61
Don't Know	9	11	20
Total	53	47	100

Question 36. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT YOU WISH TO ADD?

The last question was designed to be open ended to give the respondent

the opportunity to give his or her thoughts on anything that may not have been covered.

Although the questionnaire was far from exhaustive, the project workers choice of questions based on initial informal discussions with elderly group members seem to have come across as comprehensive to the respondents. This is drawn not only from the fact that only a quarter of the respondents gave some sort of comment, but that nothing that was stated was new, except for the comments on "equality" and "rights" (see below).

Various responses were given, a number of which were represented. A summation of the answers will be given here in an attempt to encapsulate the sentiments.

The largest single response (10) was for the need to have Macedonian speaking workers. This was indicated both in general and specifically, such as in hospitals. This was qualified by some for the necessity for longer term, if not permanent, positions. This was for the reason that it takes time to get to know a worker to establish the basis of trust and a rapport. New faces or an old worker in a new role proved frustrating as adjustments had to be made on the part of the elderly.

Alongside this need was the request for interpreters. As one respondent elaborated, this was necessary for an informed decision to be made.

Transport, especially for the frail, was sought for travel to and from the elderly groups.

A small number spoke of their right in terms of equality for all senior citizens (groups). A distinction was made between the 'ethnic' as opposed to the mainstream. A number questioned why they don't get the facilities (Senior Citizens Centres) and services (such as transport and the centre based Meals on Wheels service) as 'other' elderly groups do.

Recommendations

The findings of the research show that elderly Macedonians do not know of and do not use mainstream services. These recommendations aim to address these two issues. However it is difficult to target only specific consumers such as the frail elderly because of isolation, language and cultural barriers. The concept of a "continuum of care" should be used to familiarize Macedonians with the range of community supports available to the elderly. This concept will encourage and support the use of ethnic elderly clubs as a way of reaching ethnic community networks which would not normally approach Anglo-based services. Initially these networks may be more focused on the agile elderly and be concerned with

social and recreational pursuits. However, introducing members to HACC services at this stage would prepare them for use of the services as they grow frailer. Dependant members of the community will learn of the services through family networks.

The following are specific recommendations:

1. Councils should market and promote their services to non-Anglo background people through highly visible means such as outreach work at clubs and other venues where the elderly may congregate and through using ethnic organizations for consultation and assistance, in this instance with the MCWAWR and the established Macedonian elderly clubs.

2. Due to the evident semi-literacy amongst the elderly, the sometimes unsympathetic translations, and the choice of script used, it is clear that translated material on its own is not an effective means of communication. All government services and particularly local government and health services should have more face-to-face contact with the elderly as this has shown itself to be a most effective form of communication. This personal contact should supplement the written information. This personal contact should supplement the written information.

3. HACC services should recruit Macedonian speaking workers to assist the elderly.

4. The introduction of a mainstream service to an ethnic group should be seen as the first step. Use of the service should be monitored and adjustments made to ensure the continued use of the services, such as centre-based meals.

5. Service providers should collect data which records ethnicity, country of birth and language spoken, to target those groups under-represented in service statistics.

6. Service planners and providers should establish formal consultation with the MCWAWR to plan and deliver services using the approach outlined in the Protocols for the Establishment and Management of Ethnic Home and Community Care Services in the Western Region contained in the Western Region Ethnic HACC Project Report, Phase 1, May-December, 1992 by Betty Haralambous.

7. The consultations should address the adaptation of mainstream services or the development of ethnic-based services to cater for friendly visiting of the isolated elderly, home-based care, and hostel/ nursing home options for the future.

Appendix I

Brief History of Macedonian Elderly Groups in the Western Region

Footscray Macedonian Elderly Group

The Footscray Macedonian Elderly Group (FMEG) began when a number of elderly Macedonians gathered to meet once a week. Up until 10 March 1992 the FMEG met every Tuesday at the Footscray MRC annexe at 1 French Street, Footscray. On 17 March 1992 they began meeting in the recently completed extension of the Yarraville Senior Citizens Centre at 48 Fehon Street, Yarraville. Due to the pressure of the growing number of members, the group shifted into the main hall on 30 April 1993 and now meets on Fridays. The group's membership currently stands at 110.

Macedonian Senior Citizens Group of Altona North

This group started as an off-shoot from the Footscray Macedonian Elderly Group.

On 6 April 1989 a group of people gathered at the Migrant Resource Centre (MRC) in Altona to discuss the possibility of starting up a Macedonian elderly citizens group. Money was collected for membership that day and the group has met every Thursday since in a small upstairs room at the Altona MRC.

The cramped conditions compelled the group to look for new premises but none were suitable until the Altona North Senior Citizens Centre (ANSCC) was built, with its official opening on 18 August 1991.

After the initial period of becoming familiar with the new concept and premises, the group began to regularly meet every Friday at the ANSCC from late January 1992.

The MSCAN still continues to meet at Altona MRC but their days have since changed to Wednesdays. Their current membership stands at 80.

St Albans Macedonian Elderly Group

Formed in 1984 with the help from the president of the MCWAWR, the St Albans Macedonian Elderly Group meets every Wednesday at the Scout Hall in Percy Street, St Albans.

The group is part of the St Albans Multicultural Elderly Group and meets at the above location which is auspiced by Sunshine Council. The group's membership in February 1993 stood at 70.

Keilor Macedonian Elderly Group

The newest group, the Keilor Macedonian Elderly Group formed on 1 March 1991. It evolved with the assistance of the Macedonian Grant-in-Aid Worker from the MRC North West Region and is now auspiced by the MCWAWR. For some time the group gathered on Fridays in the Community Room at the St Albans Library or in an upstairs room at the MRC North West Region until moving into the recently built Keilor Downs Community Centre on 6 August 1992.

The group meets on Thursdays and currently has 40 members.

Appendix II

The origin of the Macedonian Community Welfare Association of the Western Region Inc goes back to October 1983 when a constituent of the St Albans area, Mr George Kostrevski, went to the Local Member of Parliament, Mr George Seitz, to discuss the needs of the Macedonian community in the locality.

Mr Kostrevski explained that while the Macedonian immigrants had initially settled in the inner western suburbs such as Footscray and Yarraville, there was a clear indication that many were now buying their new homes around the St Albans area. He expressed concern that due to language difficulties and the lack of services in the area, many people had experienced problems with settlement and isolation.

The outcome of the meeting was the identified need to form a Macedonian community group. Mr Kostrevski undertook this task with the assistance of Mr Seitz and the Grant-in-Aid social worker at the St Albans Community Health and Resource Centre.

Until 1990 the only funding the organization had received was from the (then) Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission (VEAC) under the Organizational Support category.

With this sole source of funding the organization nevertheless gave support, financial and otherwise, to start the second Macedonian elderly group in the region, which still meets at the Scout Hall in Percy Street, St Albans (see Appendix I).

They also gave support to the newly formed Macedonian Cultural Artistic Association "Jane Sandanski" which is now the largest youth dancing folk group in Victoria with 300 members.

The Sydenham Park Macedonian Juniors Soccer Club was formed in 1985 under the umbrella of the MCWAWR.

The MCWAWR had also supported a submission as far back as 1985 for a Macedonian Community Worker from the Department of Immigra-

tion and Ethnic Affairs but did not see its efforts rewarded until 1990, when the Footscray Migrant Resource Centre secured funding for a Macedonian speaking position under the three-year Grant-in-Aid program.

In early 1991, under the Community Support and Development Program from CSV, the MCWAWR was awarded funding to research and develop what became the Bilingual Directory of Macedonian Speaking Service Providers in the Western Suburbs.

Earlier in the same year the organization gave financial support to help establish the Keilor Macedonian Elderly Group (see Appendix I).

1992 proved to be most fruitful for the MCWAWR, as funding was received for a worker for the first time. The Macedonian Elderly Support and Research Worker was funded by CSV for six months initially under the HACC program, with some further small funding granted to extend the project. Without this funding this report would not have been possible. In 1993 the MCWAWR was awarded funding from H&CS under the same program to address some of the findings of this report.

Also in 1992 another position was funded for six months by the Ministry of Consumer Affairs (now the Office of Fair Trading) under the Ethnic Tenancy Community Education Project.

In addition the MCWAWR has conducted forums in some secondary colleges in the western region from funding received last year from the Health Department Victoria (now H&CS) for AIDS Education in Ethnic Communities under the Small Grants Program.

Lastly, a small amount of funding was secured from the Office of Ethnic Affairs (formerly VEAC) under the Capital Grants Program which has provided the organization with some necessary office equipment.

With the funds received to date, the MCWAWR has endeavoured to meet the needs of the Macedonian community in the western region of Melbourne. Future available funding will be sought to continue its important work.

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Features Of Settlement In Australia By Macedonians From The Aegean Region

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Summary

Using as standard time periods the period before World War I, the interwar period and the postwar period, the author treats certain significant aspects of the emigration of Macedonians from the Aegean region of Macedonia to Australia. In this context the Macedonian emigrants from that part of Greece are divided into the categories of economic migration (pechalbari) and refugees. The latter category was the result of national suppression of Macedonians during the Turkish domination, and also of the occupation of this region and a similar attitude by the Greek regime, especially after the civil war in that country. Furthermore, the author gives special attention to the problems of settlement, the reasons and modes of association (confessional and other groups), and to the perspectives of the Macedonian ethnic community in Australia, composed of immigrants and their descendants from the Republic of Macedonia, Aegean and Pirin Macedonia.

Introduction

Due to the continued controversy at a polemical level over what is known broadly as the "Macedonian question" it is desirable at the outset of this paper to precisely define the terminology that will be commonly featured in it.

"Macedonia" refers to an area that today occupies the central region of the Balkan peninsula in Europe (1). The term today incorporates both an ethnic and a geo-political description. Ethnic Macedonia describes an area that from medieval times through the period of Ottoman occupation to 1912 was the homeland of its largest ethnic group, the Macedonians. This territory, although never politically self-determining, existed as a

natural social, economic and administrative unit throughout the currency of the Ottoman occupation in what was generally known as European Turkey. The borders of ethnic Macedonia are today still defined by the Shar Mountains in the north, the Rhodope Mountains and the River Mesta (Nestos) in the eastern districts, the Aegean Sea and Mount Olympus in the south, whilst in the west, ethnic Macedonia is bordered by modern Albania and the Lakes Ohrid and Prespa. The total region covers some 67,700 square kilometres, making Macedonia approximate in size to Greece proper. Conversely, in a modern political context, the territory of Macedonia falls predominantly within the boundaries of the three neighbouring Balkan States, Greece, Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia, with a small strip of Macedonian territory between Lakes Ohrid and Prespa lying within modern Albania. This partition of Macedonia following the First Balkan War in 1912 succeeded in driving the Ottoman presence from Europe. The partition was subsequently ratified at the Bucharest Peace Conference in 1913 which followed the conclusion of hostilities in the Second Balkan War of that year (2:163).

Today, approximately 50 per cent of Macedonian territory lies within the borders of modern Greece as its northernmost province, whereas almost 40 per cent now forms the Republic of Macedonia. A shade over 10 per cent now comprises the small Pirin District in the southwestern corner of Bulgaria.

Perhaps the most vexed and volatile issue debated within the parameters of the Macedonian question is the ethnicity component. On the basis of both objective historical factors and subjective self-identification criteria, it is offered that a Macedonian in an ethnic sense refers to a person emanating from any of the four parts of homeland or ethnic Macedonia who is of Macedonian speaking descent. A confusing factor is injected into the issue today by the oblique reference to other groups having been resident in the area of ethnic Macedonia calling themselves "Macedonians". However, this label is merely a geographic description in this sense and not an indicator of ethnicity.

Following the aforementioned partition of Macedonian territory, the progressive resistance movement coined names for the respective portions - the Serbian occupied territory was referred to as Vardar Macedonia (later known as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia with the status of self-government within Federal Yugoslavia); the Bulgarian occupied territory was known as Pirin Macedonia, whilst the region in northern Greece has been referred to as Aegean Macedonia (2:166). Thus, Macedonians from the Aegean region of Macedonia who have settled in Australia have emanated within the modern political borders of Greece.

The Macedonian question then is the polemical manifestation of the debate over Macedonia which remains a source of tension and rivalry between all of the antagonists to the dispute - Greece, Bulgaria, the Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and their emigrant communities and representatives in Australia.

Finally there remains the similarly ambiguous question of the status and derivation of the so called "Yugoslav Communities". Given the set academic milieu within which this paper is prepared, this description will refer to the ethnic and national groups of Yugoslavia, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Montenegrins, Muslims (Bosnians) and Macedonians, leaving aside the issue of those persons from Yugoslavia who, notwithstanding their ethnic origin, refer to themselves as "Yugoslavs". In a strict sense, therefore, Macedonians from the Aegean region, having no actual historical connection with Yugoslavia, cannot be considered as a Yugoslav community group, though this description has often been used colloquially by the uninformed. However, it should be pointed out that imprecise labels of this nature exacerbate the specific historical impediments that have manifested themselves in a crisis of identity for Macedonians from the Aegean region.

Background

1. Migration to Australia from the Aegean Region of Macedonia - Historical Overview and Synopsis

Due to the continued existence of an enervating environment in Macedonia for the greater part of the last century, the Macedonian people have sought to escape the political and socio-economic excesses of their occupiers in search of safer harbours. In this respect, the Macedonian experience has differed little from, say, the Irish or Palestinian diaspora. Macedonian migratory movements have come in waves, according to the dictates of necessity or expediency. The travels of the itinerant workers, known as the "pechalbari", are instructive in this respect and date back to the middle of the last century. A number of unfortunate historical episodes complemented the flow, and saw substantial Macedonian emigration from all regions of the country on each such occasion - during the aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising against the Ottoman Turks in 1903 when the country was politically, socially and economically devastated; during and after the decade of the Balkan Wars and the First World War, which witnessed the ratification of the partition of Macedonia.

Following the partition of Macedonia, the focus fell predominantly

upon the Aegean region, most notably during the comprehensive population transfer schemes of the 1920s instigated by the governments of Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria; thereafter, there was the fascist Metaxas dictatorship and 10 years of continuous war in Greece between 1940 and 1949. Subsequently, continued expatriation processes by the Greek Government were encouraged right up to the early 1960s.

During the period of total political and cultural anonymity between the two World Wars, Macedonians in all three parts of their country suffered severe repression, violent assimilation and radical measures of proselytization. The Greek governments of the day however used a further strategy most effectively - that of a wholesale population change. Having suffered a defeat by Turkey in the 1922 War, Greece was forced to accept the expulsion of over a million Asiatic Greeks from the regions of Pontus on the Black Sea and Anatolia in Asia Minor. The majority of these refugees were re-settled in Aegean Macedonia at the expense of thousands of Macedonians and Turks, with the former being forced to flee overseas or run the risk of being "repatriated" to Bulgaria. Thus, within 5 years, the ethnic composition of Aegean Macedonia was dramatically altered, with Macedonians becoming an oppressed and uncohesive minority in their own land (2:203). The oppression continued unabated over the following three decades; thousands of Macedonians left Macedonia with Australia by then being the major destination. The United States of America and Canada had previously been destinations, with a continuous flow of Macedonian workers and migrants reaching those shores between the 1880s and 1920s. During the latter decade, however, the economic collapse in both countries forced the imposition of restrictive immigration quotas, and Macedonians subsequently turned their attention upon Australia (3:212).

2. Phases of Settlement in Australia

For the reasons outlined above, immigration of Macedonians to Australia prior to the 1960s was almost exclusively from the Aegean region. The only exceptions to this were the small number of migrants from the Bitola region of Vardar Macedonia, which borders Greece, and a number of families from Ohrid, about 70 kilometres west of Bitola (4:315-16). In their respective works on Macedonians in Australia, both Price and Hill (5) identified distinct phases of Macedonian migration to Australia which they described as waves of chain settlement. The earliest manifestations of this characteristic, the first wave, were tied to a particular phenomenon known by Macedonians as "pechalba" or the

"itinerant worker". The male head of the household would leave his town or village in search of work, usually outside of Macedonia in neighbouring Balkan countries, Western Europe and even as far as the United States of America and Canada. He would stay away for perhaps only 12 months, or as long as 3, 5 or more years before returning home cash in hand. Small trickles of Macedonian "pechalbari" made their way to Australia in the early twentieth century, but few of them stayed. After North America had closed its doors in the 1920s, and due to the chaotic climate in Aegean Macedonia with the upheaval and social dislocation resulting from the population schemes, Macedonian pechalbari from this region headed for Australia (6:213).

Over time, the character of this first wave underwent a transformation. As the situation continued to deteriorate in Aegean Macedonia, these pechalbari, joined by increasing numbers of comrades with stories about the misfortune of the old country, decided to remain in Australia, and thus became the first Macedonian immigrants.

These first wave immigrants from Aegean Macedonia were predominantly from a village background, and in view of their limited education and work skills, they found employment either as itinerant workers in rural Australia, or in heavy labouring jobs in the larger towns and cities (5:6-8). Having made the decision to stay either permanently or until conditions improved substantially in Greece, they sought to quickly establish themselves on a more secure footing. As such, during the 1920s and 1930s, these Macedonians made the transition from itinerant and poorly paid rural workers working in such areas as forest and scrub clearing in Western and South Australia, tobacco plantations in Manjimup in Western Australia, fruit picking in Renmark, South Australia, sugar cane cutting in Queensland, and railway hands in Grafton, New South Wales, to urban industrial workers in factories (despite Union opposition) and mines in Newcastle, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Kalgoorlie and Broken Hill. Many took the opportunity to invest their earnings by purchasing land and establishing market gardens and small farms, or businesses such as cafes, restaurants and fish and chip shops.

In his work, Price indicates that around this time, the early 1920s, there may have been a 100 or so Macedonians in Australia, whereas by the late 1930s these numbers had risen to over 1,000 (4:318). On the basis of the rudimentary statistics available it is believed that 90 per cent of the settlers were from Aegean Macedonia.

Once these first settlers had established themselves in a more secure environment, they then made efforts to bring out their families from

Aegean Macedonia. This consolidated the chain pattern of migration, with the workers' wives and families representing the second wave of immigrants from the old country. As numbers increased, small Macedonian "colonies" grew, usually either in the inner or outer city areas of Melbourne (Fitzroy, Collingwood, Preston, Richmond and Werribee), Adelaide (Fulham Gardens, Seaton and Virginia), Perth (North Perth) and Sydney (Rosebery, Richmond and Penrith).

Accustomed to a closely knit village setting in their homeland, these Macedonians sought to reproduce familiar settlement patterns in their new environment (5:7-8).

The third and final wave of migration from Aegean Macedonia occurred following the Second World War. Whereas economic factors had been the prevailing influence upon the first and second wave immigrants, third wave migration was characterized by a substantial proliferation of political refugees. Conditions for the Macedonian minority in Greece had worsened under the Metaxas regime. After the defeat of fascism in Greece in 1944-45, many Macedonians joined the ranks of the Greek Democratic Army which had at its helm the Greek Communist Party. During the ensuing Greek Civil War (1946-49) Macedonians suffered many casualties, and when the progressive forces suffered their ultimate defeat, over 50,000 Macedonians were displaced and disbursed widely throughout Yugoslavia and the eastern bloc countries. From there, many made their way to Australia over the course of the next decade. They, together with those who continued to leave Greece for both economic and political reasons until the 1960s, represented the third wave of settlers from Aegean Macedonia. However, unlike their predecessors, the third wave was distinguished by the fact that it saw a relatively high incidence of family migration, and its members immediately settled in the large urban centres of Australia where there were already small but thriving Macedonian communities.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention that the current fourth wave of Macedonian migration to Australia has its origin almost exclusively in the Republic of Macedonia and traces its flow back to the early to mid 1960s; this source also exhibited a chain character, and so the incidence of both greater family and new migration has remained consistent. Conversely, immigration from Aegean Macedonia has dried up, ostensibly due to a normalization in the political and socio-economic conditions in Greece over the past two decades.

Community sources, which differ radically from the 1986 census, place the number of Macedonians in Australia today, including all generations, at over 150,000, with perhaps 60 per cent or more now having

emanated from the Republic of Macedonia. Concentrations of Macedonians from the Aegean region are to be found predominantly in the southern States: in Melbourne, Shepparton, Adelaide, Perth, and Manjimup, with the exceptions in the northern States being Queanbeyan and Richmond in New South Wales.

The Characteristics of Settlement from Aegean Macedonia

1. Social and Family Factors

In Aegean Macedonia, Macedonians traditionally participated little in the national market economy. Their rural practices were ritualistic and geared towards a semi-isolationist village interdependence. These patterns were repeated in Australia, where either the family or the wider Macedonian community network accepted responsibility for meeting the needs of new arrivals with the provision of assistance. As a rule, the newly arrived migrants would live initially in the same house as the relatives or friends that had sponsored them. Daily requisites would be provided until the new arrivals could make their own way. The importance of the role played by the family and wider social network needs to be stressed. It offset to a degree the dislocation and trauma experienced by the new settlers, who suddenly had to become quickly accustomed to a new life in an industrial environment in a large urban centre, very remote from the often tranquil setting of the old village (7:11).

The chain pattern of migration from Aegean Macedonia witnessed in certain cases the complete re-establishment of the village structure in Australia. Indeed, many villages are stronger than in the homeland, and perhaps even more closely knit, given the defensive attitudes that were a reaction to what was perceived to be an essentially alien and unsympathetic social environment (5:9). A substantial number of Macedonians from the Aegean region now living in Adelaide emanate from two small villages in Aegean Macedonia. The two groups, within the ambit of the wider Macedonian community, hold regular gatherings and social functions. One of the villages, in terms of numbers at least, far outstrips the population remaining in the village in Aegean Macedonia today! In his work, Price similarly noted that in earlier times, many of these village societies from Aegean Macedonia owed their first loyalty to the village, rather than to the Macedonian community in toto (4). In many cases, social intercourse was limited entirely to fellow villagers, and in the more extreme situations, limited to members of the greater family only.

Unlike the example of Macedonians from the Republic of Macedonia,

where the diversity of regional settlement is marked, encompassing cultural traits, status, dialects, attitudes and rituals, the majority of Aegean migrants in Australia have emanated from a concentration of villages surrounding the regional towns of Lerin (Florina in Greek) and Kostur (Kastoria), which are found in the northwestern corner of Greece near the frontier with the Republic of Macedonia. As a result, the kinship that has developed between Aegean Macedonians in Australia has been quite pronounced.

As mentioned above, the first level of support for newly arrived migrants from Aegean Macedonia was the extended family, which in traditional Macedonian village society was both the basic social and economic unit. The second tier of support systems were initially provided by small business proprietors such as the cafe and restaurant owners. These operations were especially evident during the first wave settlement, where, in the absence of traditional family structures, the "common" or meeting place was established to take on this primary role. During second and particularly third wave settlement, this function was usurped by the two tier model, with the "meeting places" being upgraded to community halls, club rooms, churches and cultural centres. Nonetheless, during the 1930s and 1940s, the traditional cafe played an instrumental role in enabling Macedonians to meet, exchange information, participate in recreational activities, and even transact business. The first known Macedonian establishment of this nature operated during the mid 1920s in Perth, whereas similar places were open in Melbourne and Adelaide during the late 1930s (5:12).

2. The Development of Macedonian Organizations

The first Macedonian organization of note to be established in Australia was the Macedonian Patriotic Organization, which was an offshoot of the MPO network that had been established a decade earlier in the United States of America (5). This organization, founded in 1936 by a group of Macedonians from the Lerin region of Aegean Macedonia, was based in Melbourne, and over the ensuing period organized meetings and social functions for the Macedonian community.

In 1939, an association known as "Edinstvo" or "Unity" was established in Perth, and its members were responsible for holding the first acknowledged public performance of Macedonian folk dances (5). In 1942 other progressive persons from Aegean Macedonia established an organization known as "Sloboda" or "Freedom", which followed in the footsteps of "Edinstvo". Subsequently, during the war years, similar

organizations were established by Aegean Macedonians all over Australia, many for the express purpose of assisting the war effort. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that a common purpose would be identified across the new homeland, and a common vehicle needed to be created for this purpose. At a watershed national conference held in Perth on 24 and 25 August 1946, Macedonian delegates from all Australian States resolved to establish the Makedonsko-Avstraliski Narodni Soyuz (MANS) or the Macedonian Australian People's League. On the executive were progressive Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia. Branches of the League were established in all States, and regular fund raising functions were held to ensure the organization's longevity.

Many of these funds were channelled into the organization's newspaper, Makedonska Iskra or Macedonian Spark, which was published as the voice of the League for over 10 years, from 1946 to 1957. The paper was printed in a tabloid format, and apart from the title which was written in the standard Cyrillic script, the Latin script was used because it was far more readily comprehensible to Aegean Macedonians who, because of the persecution and oppression going on in their homeland, had never been afforded the opportunity of attending Macedonian schools to learn the Macedonian language.

The paper featured articles written in the dialect spoken in Aegean Macedonia, as it was understood better than the literary Macedonian language then taking root in the new Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Makedonska Iskra was ultimately replaced by similar newspapers in the late 1950s, though none were able to achieve the success of the former which at its peak was circulating some 5,000 copies (8:68).

The arrival of the second wave migrants from Aegean Macedonia swelled numbers considerably and highlighted a pressing need for the establishment of Macedonian halls and churches. The first such establishment was erected in Crabbes Creek in 1947, and was used essentially for church services (5:14).

As mentioned previously, settlers from Aegean Macedonia had settled predominantly in the southern region of the Australian continent. One of the strongest and best organized settlements remains the Macedonian Community of Western Australia, which in 1957 succeeded the original Edinstvo organization. The Macedonian Community Centre in Perth was completed in 1968, and houses a church chapel. Similarly, in Adelaide, the Macedonian Community, set up initially in 1947, established its own hall in 1967. As a complement to the hall, an orthodox church, St Naum of Ohrid, was opened in 1984.

In 1960, the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Melbourne and

Victoria, the largest Macedonian community organization in Australia, had its new church consecrated in Fitzroy. This community, comprising predominantly of members from Aegean Macedonia, later established the impressive Macedonian Social Club at Epping, Victoria, in 1980.

Shepparton in Victoria and Richmond and Queanbeyan in New South Wales are also large Aegean Macedonian centres, with only the latter community, however, having its own Orthodox Church.

Within the parameters of these community organizations have continued to thrive sectional affiliations, such as sports and soccer clubs, cultural and literature societies, folkloric ensembles, ethnic schools, radio programs, and women's, youth and seniors' committees.

3. Political Dimensions

The mainstream Macedonian community in Australia has always been acutely susceptible to the pressures exerted by the dominant Greek political culture. The driving force behind Greece's foreign policy in its modern era of independence has been its nationalist obsession with the "Megali Idea", the idea of "Greater Greece", with its sovereign claim upon lands and cultures which have some alleged historical lineage with the modern Greek state.

The relative sophistication and success in its instruments of oppression - population exchange, proselytization, forced expatriation - has as its legacy a disoriented and factionalized Macedonian political movement which has often been on the brink of extinction, both within Macedonia and outside of its boundaries.

After decades of denationalization in Greece, the Macedonian resistance ethic has tended to have worn thin and left the Macedonians bereft of an intelligentsia. This situation applied universally until the creation of the Republic of Macedonia in 1944, which reversed the slide into national oblivion and cemented the path towards a national political and cultural renewal.

However, the barrier transplanted amongst Macedonians had its desired effect - it fomented a "partition mentality" within which Macedonians from the Aegean region have struggled, particularly in subsequent generations, to acquire and maintain a sense of identity vis-a-vis the Republic.

Official Greek propaganda holds that there is no distinct Macedonian ethnic group, and that the few "slavonic speaking" persons remaining in Aegean Macedonia are in reality "slavophone Greeks", converted to a slavonic dialect by Bulgarian pressure and intrigue, but all having a

strong Greek consciousness. Macedonia and the Macedonians, they claim, have always been Greek, dating back to the era of Phillip and Alexander of Macedon. Another variation in this Greek theme is that the Macedonians are Bulgarians or even Gypsies who have no culture, language or ethnic identity as such. Furthermore, their position on the Republic of Macedonia is that this state is a political fiction, created by Tito, who had grand ambitions for Aegean Macedonia. The inhabitants of the Republic, according to the official Greek position, are either "Yugoslavs", "Serbs" or "Bulgarians", speaking a variety of those languages.

At times when they are forced to concede, such as when multicultural policies in Australia are affirmed, they acknowledge Macedonians from the Republic as "Yugoslav Macedonians", stating that the Greeks of Aegean Macedonia are the "Greek Macedonians".

This has been the consistent historical approach of the Greek state and elements within their emigrant communities in dealing with the Macedonian issue. Concomitant with the presence in this country of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia has been the existence of acute forms of propaganda and provocative activity aimed at negating the existence of these Macedonians, and Macedonians in general, and their rights in this country.

The response from the Macedonians has been interesting. The mainstream Macedonian community has usually opted for a low key approach, seeking guarantees from the Australian Government that, in a multicultural society, Macedonians will continue to have the same rights as all other groups. This is a tactic that over the years has worked particularly well. Australian Governments have on the whole been somewhat reticent about embracing the issue too intimately. The recognition of the existence of the Republic and its people and culture is unequivocal. Most often however, Government leaders and officials have refused to be drawn on the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece and its denial of basic human rights for fear of offending the large Greek presence in this country. Nonetheless, on many occasions over the past 40 years, where Macedonians have loudly protested their rights both here and in Aegean Macedonia (through petitions, publications, conferences, delegations and other activities), Australian Governments have responded positively to affirm the right to self-identification and absolute cultural rights within the parameters of Australia's democratic multiculturalism.

Nonetheless, the Greek political pressure has remained constant and stifling. The effects of many years of intimidation and violent assimilation in Aegean Macedonia have produced fear and suspicion and a

resultant diminution of national consciousness and identity.

As Price noted in his work (4:317-20), many Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia who had settled here as part of the first wave had strong pro-Bulgarian leanings. During the pre-partition phase and even during the 1920s and 1930s, and before the creation of the Republic, many Macedonians regarded Bulgaria as their natural protector, acknowledging their cultural affinity with their neighbouring nation. However, with the creation of the autonomous Republic, most of these Bulgrophiles joined Macedonian community organizations and consolidated the drift towards the Republic, which was further enhanced by the re-establishment of the autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church there in 1967.

However, during this era, many new arrivals from Aegean Macedonia opted to join Greek organizations. In a democratic and open society, the question of identity and allegiance became at once both alluring and confusing, given that they then had a choice. Many were genuinely ignorant, others rallied to the Greek cause out of fear and concern for relatives and property remaining in Aegean Macedonia. As such, it was not surprising to see many villages and even families split as a result of this contentious and very real issue. Price placed weight on the fear factor stating that many Macedonians spoken to who were unashamed about their pro-Macedonian loyalties had no relative or ties remaining in Greece (4). Other observations made by that writer were that Macedonians who had defected to the Greek cause were not themselves comfortably thought of and accepted as Greeks by Greeks. This convoluted issue was further complicated by the fact that the incidence of inter-marriage was prevalent and created genuine "Greek-Macedonian" families.

The legacy of the "crisis of identity" has been more pronounced in the second generation Aegean Macedonians in Australia. Trends have indicated an ongoing and deepening rejection of the culture in its traditional elements (9). Caught between the competing propagandas, the questions: do we exist and what are we, have been less mandatory for a generation with the skills, educational qualifications and language to enable them to opt for a passive Anglo conformity.

Aegean Macedonians in Australia - The Future

1. The Cultural Dynamics of a Peasant Society in Transition

The tendency towards cultural disintegration identified above that

appears to be manifest at present amongst Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia has its roots in the simple dynamics of the culture of these Macedonians in their country of origin, and particularly in the presence of an occupier or oppressor. All of the first wave and the great majority of the second wave of migrants from Aegean Macedonia have been of a peasant background.

In general, what are the cultural dynamics of a peasant society? In terms of identifying what we might call core values or traditions, it must first be readily appreciated that there is a singular lack of uniformity exhibited in peasant societies, notwithstanding the commonality of the relevant socio-economic relations in feudal, semi-feudal and early capitalist settings. To some degree, therefore, even a peasant culture is often indistinguishable from the normal patterns exhibited in any small rural community. However, perhaps the most marked point of departure is identified when considering the mode of transmission of all facets of the culture from one generation to the next. In a peasant or village community, access to more sophisticated instruments of cultural transmission has historically always been limited. Here, of course, reference can be made to transmission by way of print, by image or by apparatus, modes which are all taken for granted in late Western capitalist society. In a peasant society, the total cultural heritage that is often called simply tradition, historically is transmitted orally, that is by direct human expression and contact, rather than by the more sophisticated forms that were mentioned above. In the main, such culture has remained conservative, displaying a propensity rooted in maintenance of an existing social order and a well tried and tested acknowledgment of previous life experiences and their successes, thus providing a suitable and largely self-determining role model for normative or core cognitive and behavioural patterns.

It is the general rule that where the peasant culture is essentially quiescent and reliant upon oral transmission by direct human demonstration that it remains conservative, disrupted only by coercive external stimuli such as physical or environmental changes due to technical innovations, fundamental changes in the socio-economic relations of the state, or perhaps even higher literacy rates.

These dynamics then are exceedingly simplistic, with the reality of a peasant society being reflected in small, semi-isolated but economically self-sufficient villages with little or no market orientation. The social model is simple, the organization of work and use of work technology rudimentary. Occupation of the land in the absence of coercive external forces is virtually permanent. In almost all cases, the relative lack of

social and even spatial mobility is exacerbated by a very low literacy level. Other features are just as easily recognizable. The family relations are patriarchal, with an exaggerated dependence upon the head, and a generally submissive psychology apparent in the offspring. The extended peasant family, so familiar in many European cultures, and the close co-operation between the different generations therein, also acts as a vehicle preserving the conservative peasant culture.

Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia of peasant background have tended to fit perfectly the aforementioned stereotype. This explains in part the success achieved in maintaining the traditional culture even in the face of centuries of political oppression and proselytization. However, it also alerts one to the major problem of an oral culture. Such a culture, by definition, limits severely the possibility of a wholesale cultural transmission from one generation to the next, and in turn restricts the very quality and durability of those facets of cultural life that are successfully transmitted. This analysis is borne out by an observation of the subsequent dissolution of a traditional peasant culture with the advent of a more advanced, progressive and sophisticated culture in a new physical and intellectual environment. It is in such an environment, for example in Australia, where a peasant culture is more susceptible. Able to survive in its traditional elements for centuries in the old country, even in the presence of an occupier, the new physical and cultural milieu severs the nexus between the land and the peasants' social and spatial immobility, and renders the old values, practices and usages redundant, consigned to social oblivion where they are sometimes irrevocably lost. They are replaced by cultural traits inherited or transmitted both directly and subtly from the new dominant cultural ethos, producing inevitably an entirely different persona, a product of assimilation.

As mentioned above, this is a trend that many young Macedonians with parents and ancestors from Aegean Macedonia are now inadvertently consolidating. It seems paradoxical that this pattern is developing in a multicultural community within which is an implicit encouragement and acceptance of the expression, evolution and consolidation of living minority cultures as an integral part of the daily life of the nation.

Given such a universal and ongoing commitment to multiculturalism in this country, one would expect then that the incidence of cultural retention amongst the younger generations of Macedonians would be high. However, the results of post-graduate research done in the 1970s by Betty Kris at the University of Adelaide are as illuminating as they are contradictory (9).

Part of the survey focused upon second generation Macedonians under

the age of 30 years, and given the period of the survey and the composition of the community at that time, the background of the specific target group here was exclusively from Aegean Macedonia. Ninety six per cent of these respondents were from a peasant or village background. The gender quota was approximately equivalent. Forty five per cent were involved in white collar work, a further thirty two per cent had done or were doing tertiary studies, whilst only six per cent were engaged in professional work.

In answer to the question, (i) "Should Macedonia be an independent state?", of the 26 per cent that were ambivalent in their response, almost 85 per cent were in the under 30 category.

Other interesting and relevant questions and responses were:

(ii) Should a Macedonian Church be built in Adelaide?

- Of the 35 per cent answering in the negative, 75 per cent were aged between 15 and 30 years, with most claiming that they saw the Macedonian religion as irrelevant.

(iii) Who would you prefer to marry?

- Thirty per cent responded, "A person of Macedonian origin."

(iv) Who would your parents prefer you to marry?

- Eighty four per cent responded "A Macedonian."

(v) Should Macedonians marry Macedonians?

- Ninety two per cent of young respondents again expressed ambivalence.

(vi) Is there a generation gap in your family?

- Eighty nine per cent of young respondents replied in the affirmative, citing the following reasons:

(a) Clash of cultures.

(b) Unable to communicate properly.

(c) Rejection of parents' experiences.

When parents were asked to respond to the same question, they identified the most common areas of disagreement as being:

(a) Mode of behaviour.

(b) Choice of spouse.

(c) Choice of occupation.

(vii) What is the solution to this generation gap?

- The most common answers here were:

(a) A complete break from the family unit.

(b) A complete break from the community.

(viii) Is the Macedonian way of life up-to-date with the Australian?

- Ninety six per cent answered "No".

(ix) Is your parents' degree of discipline over you adequate?

- Seventy one per cent stated that is was excessive.

- (x) Do you feel that you belong to the Macedonian community?
- Fifty eight per cent of respondents said "No", stating that their participation in the community automatically meant a restriction upon their life chances in the wider community.
- (xi) What do you think your parents would like you to grow up as?
- Sixty six per cent said "Macedonian".
- (xii) Do you belong to any non-Macedonian organizations?
- Forty three per cent of young respondents said "Yes".
- (xiii) Do you prefer to engage in Australian or Macedonian social or cultural activities?
- Sixty seven per cent said "Australian".
- (xiv) Have you adopted "Australian customs"?
- Seventy nine per cent said "Yes".
- (xv) What language do you speak at home?
- Ninety one per cent of young respondents spoke English amongst themselves, and 56 per cent spoke Macedonian with parents and relatives. Almost 30 per cent spoke almost no Macedonian at all.

The decided and ongoing rejection of the Macedonian culture in almost all of its facets by second generation Australians of Aegean Macedonian background is borne out empirically by a critical absence of participation in the traditional mass structures in Australia, the communities, which were established by first, second and third wave migrants from Aegean Macedonia. For example, the number of second generation Macedonians in Adelaide from Aegean Macedonia is five times that of those from the Republic of Macedonia. Yet the active participation rate in cultural activities, both within the community and outside of it in other forms of traditional, ritualistic practice, lies in favour of those from the Republic by perhaps thirty to one.

The answer to the dilemma lies in the peculiar historical and sociological phenomena which have manifested themselves in a more visible form with the second generation. The aforementioned partition mentality that tends to afflict all Macedonian communities has been described as a crisis of identity. As mentioned also, its effect is exaggerated in the case of the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia for historical reasons. Psychologically, many first generation Macedonians in Australia from Aegean Macedonia perceive themselves as being stateless, and often, in search of a secure identity, they have drifted into opposing camps. Simply, this is as a result of their misconception of the status of the Republic of Macedonia and its modern form culture.

By comparison, Aegean Macedonia, their portion of the mother country, remains tethered. In effect, the barrier planted between Aegean

Macedonia and the Republic in 1912 created a cultural gulf that widened further after emancipation and establishment of the Republic in 1944. In Aegean Macedonia, the culture remained frozen in its traditional form, as it was way back in 1912, unrepentant even in the stifling presence of the Greek. The mode of transmission remained oral and very unsophisticated, due ostensibly to the harsh denationalization measures adopted by the Greek state. This was an appropriate formula for survival and cultural retention in Aegean Macedonia, but in the post migration and settlement phase, it left these Macedonians acutely ill equipped to be able to appropriately transmit an oral culture in the new physical and intellectual milieu that was Australia. Low literacy rates coupled with a lack of skills exacerbated the dissolution of the traditional culture notwithstanding the steadfast determination to re-create the past and the heady conservatism that this produced in its wake.

Thus, Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia have always exhibited a strong tendency towards isolationism, even within the multicultural community, and the insistence upon a strict reproduction of their peasant traditions and values without an effective and sophisticated mode of transmission has produced considerable stress and misunderstanding within families.

The upshot has been a significant rejection of the culture by the second generation, and a general opting out in favour of a superficial but more accessible cultural acceptance within the parameters of mainstream Anglo conformity. As such, if the modern form of Macedonian culture as embodied today in the Republic is somewhat unfamiliar to the first generation Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, then this has undoubtedly had a multiplier effect in the case of subsequent generations in Australia. Here then is the classic product of assimilation with a new persona, illustrating well the total and complete dissolution of an oral peasant culture within a dominant and pervasive, though nominally pluralistic, culture.

2. Settlement from the Republic of Macedonia - A Comparative Comment

In relation to this delicate dilemma, theories about the comparative case of Macedonians of peasant origin from the Republic of Macedonia remain speculative, particularly in the absence of definitive research. Certainly, some factors are undeniable. Their settlement in Australia has been more recent, and perhaps the majority of the first generation now in this country can only ever recall total political freedom and a flourishing culture. Many have had a good degree of formal education, relative

to their first generation Aegean counterparts, and are seen as more culturally aware and sophisticated. Modern modes of cultural transmission have been accepted and embraced and adapted within the new environment, without an over emphasis on the cultural rigidity displayed by Macedonians from the Aegean region. This has enable a more relevant and palatable cultural retention of what are seen as positive cultural attributes by the subsequent generations. This also explains perhaps the higher incidence of participation in cultural rituals and activities as evidenced in the Adelaide example and elsewhere in Australia, without any compromise on manoeuvrability within the mainstream community.

Conclusion

The Imperative for Survival

Without overstating the case, it can be readily seen that Macedonians from the Aegean region of Macedonia have, since the partition in 1912, continued to lead a very tormented existence. This of course was a position common to all Macedonians, notwithstanding which part of the country they may have come from, prior to 1944.

The immense contribution made by the first wave pechalbari to this country, where they faced discrimination and loneliness, has been complemented by the second and third wave settlers, amongst whom were a substantial component of political refugees who had no choice about leaving their country. What they have subsequently established for themselves, their families, and their community has been built with toil and endeavour. Its impact upon the Australian community and its institutional and community life has been profound, as in the case of the many other migrants who have come to these shores.

The standard lament however must be that the many thousands of young Australian-born Macedonians of Aegean background now face being permanently and irrevocably lost because of the ongoing identity crisis, which, when coupled with the imminent passing of the patriarchal generation in Aegean Macedonia and the first generation settlers in this country, may perhaps mean the disappearance of an entire facet of Macedonian historical and cultural heritage. This remains a delicate dilemma, perhaps more psychological than it is historical, geographical or even ideological. Macedonians of the Aegean region must therefore be enabled an opportunity to come to terms with the modern cultural forms exhibited in the Republic of Macedonia and, in so doing, nurture a relevant and contemporary retention on an ongoing and evolutionary

basis. This must be done without in any way making any concession to the ongoing deprivation being suffered by Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia.

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Proud Of The Macedonian Heritage

Faye Kolev

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My name is Faye Kolev. My surname was formerly "Saros", but I chose to revert to "Kolev" because it is the original Macedonian surname my family held before the Greek governments of Yiannis Metaxas and others changed the names of all Macedonians of Aegean Macedonia to Greek names between the 1920s and the 1930s.

I want to explain that I am Australian born. My parents came here to Australia from the village Neret (Lerinsko). Like many of us born here, I grew up very traumatized learning English in school and how to be an Australian, and then going home to a Macedonian household.

Weighing up my life as I grew older I chose to live the Australian way of life, but I must add I was nearing my 30s when I made this choice.

I also want to say even though I made this choice, I have never, ever, been ashamed of my Macedonian heritage and I speak the Neretski dialect as well as one who was born in Neret.

After almost 16 years of not associating in anything Macedonian, other than weddings or funerals, I was asked to go to the Macedonian rally in Melbourne on July the 30th, 1994. Prior to this, watching and reading the news of a free Macedonia being put on the world map was stirring my Macedonian heritage somewhat.

I went to the rally with my relatives, Neretski born, and one born in Kalinik, but by a Neretka mother, my father's sister. Yes, I went to protest about the "Slav" slogan given to us by the Australian Government because they were gutless and bowed to Greek pressure. The funny part is the Australian Government does not realize that of the people they think are Greek, half are Macedonians who had to come out on a Greek passport, because the word "Macedonian" was completely wiped out in Greece, until recent events.

I went to the rally, but I witnessed something else which was a feeling that stirred every bit of Macedonian pride in me, that was lying dormant in me for many years.

There were no Aegean, Vardar, or Pirin Macedonians. Wherever I

looked or as far as the eye could see, we were all just Macedonians. I didn't hear one person say "what part are you from?"

It was just great. It stirred me so much that I will stand and fight to have the Macedonians of Aegean and Pirin Macedonia free in any way I can. I hope to live to see the day that Macedonia is all one again.

I also would like to say that there are many Aegean Macedonians who migrated here, who know that they are Macedonian, but still have a fear of reprisal by the Greek Government. Don't look down on these people as traitors. Many of them have seen and been through terrible tragedies.

My mother's brother was a Macedonian partisan and he was executed by the Greeks. The people of Neret lost many young men and some women, married and not married. And not just Neret. Many villages lost people for a free Macedonia. Their lives weren't lost in vain. What they fought for has begun to happen.

The other thing I would like to stress is to all the younger first and second generation Aussie Macedonians. Yes, we are Aussie and I am sure some of us couldn't speak Macedonian to save our lives. It is just like the ones in Aegean Macedonia - Greek is now easier for them.

There is just one difference: we have a choice, those in Aegean Macedonia have not. We who were born here have never been denied our heritage. Actually, people born here of all nationalities are told to keep their heritage. We were born in a freedom-loving country.

I just want to say: let's be proud of our Macedonian heritage, let's combine it with our Aussie way of life, let's not forget the people who have passed away. Yes, they brought their traditions with them, some bad, but some very good ones also.

The parents, the grandparents, the uncles, aunties, cousins who didn't live to see a free Macedonia, even though it's not Aegean Macedonia yet, they would have been full of pride to see it.

I also say to anybody from 50 downward who was born to Neretski parents, both or one, who reads this letter, the Neret club needs you. We all have someone who gave to build the club, but didn't live to see it erected. The club needs its younger people. If anyone is guilty of not supporting it, I am the first to admit that I for one am guilty.

There is definitely a culture problem within us and the elders that run the club, but they are good people. They are Neretski and Macedonians. These are the people who taught us about our Macedonian heritage, as have those that have passed on. I am sure they would be prepared to hear some of our grievances so that we can combine both Australian and Macedonian cultures together. Neret needs us as does the Macedonian movement.

The last thing I want to write, although I know many Macedonians won't agree with: the Greeks are human beings, every Greek cannot be blamed for the terrible treatment of the Aegean Macedonians. There are Greeks who have been sentenced to prison in Greece for speaking up for us. We must use our voice for these people.

Also only up to a few days ago I had an intense hate for the "Grkomans". I now only pity them. They have been brainwashed beyond reality. The Greeks who were sentenced to prison, who told Greece we are Macedonian, that we have our own language, our own culture, have been brave enough to prove this.

God bless them, Macedonia and this country Australia that I am also very proud to be a part of.

Assimilation And The Public And Private Identity Of Macedonians: A Dialectical Expose

Pandora Petrovska

This paper is based on a 1991 Masters Preliminary Thesis

Synopsis

Social scientists have explored the phenomenon of assimilation and ethnic change in relation to the migration experience. The thrust of this study is to investigate the assimilation and political socialization of the Macedonian nation within their partitioned homeland, which exists within the boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. Apart from the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonians live in the other three partitioned regions as historical or "involuntary" national minorities (Radin 1989: 18) and as a result have not shared the same socio-political development due to the colonization of their homeland. Because of the complexity of the Macedonian situation on a macro level, I have chosen to concentrate on Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia (northern Greece) in this work, as Macedonians in all the divided sections have experienced different forms of assimilation.

In this paper I will discuss the effects of assimilation on the individual. The thesis is based on the theoretical analysis of a case study which exemplifies the pre and post migration experiences of a Macedonian family from a village in Aegean Macedonia who migrated to Australia after World War Two to escape the political turmoil in their homeland. Based on the lives of two brothers and their families, the case study reveals a split between the brothers in terms of their ethnic self-identification once in Australia. One identified as Macedonian, the other as "Greek" Macedonian. Along with an examination of the socio-psychological consequences of the political partitioning of Macedonia on the individual, a discussion of ethnic self-identification and an analysis of processes which bring about ethnic change are presented.

Fear induced by political, linguistic and cultural subjugation and the psychological effects of assimilation and differentiation are examined in relation to the case study material as well as the Marx/ Hegelian theory

of dialectics (Dupre 1983, Jackson 1971, Bologh 1979). Dialectical theorizing will be used to interpret the psychological effect of socio-political phenomenon on the individual, in order to objectively examine the contradiction which is revealed in the case study, in terms of two brothers born in the same national group but who later adopt different forms of self-identification.

The case study is the focal point in examining the socio-psychological effect of the assimilatory policies in Aegean Macedonia, which were aimed against ethnic diversity and were designed specifically for the creation of a Greek ethnic identity for peoples who did not automatically self-identify as Greeks. This has led to the process of differentiation or split in terms of ethnic self-identification, namely the emergence of Greek Macedonian labelling in Australia. Those who take on an externally appropriate alternative ethnic identity are showing some outward signs of assimilation into the dominant society or culture. However, in the case of this Macedonian family, this process cannot be considered on face value only, because a duality of self-identification is also present and is used when situationally relevant. This is exemplified in the case study and it is this concept of "public" and "private" identity that will be examined.

Dialectic methodology reveals the way in which human made phenomena such as denationalization policies have been internalized and reproduced on a socio-psychological level, leading to the apparent duality of ethnic self-identification by some Macedonians. The phenomena of hyperconformity (bending over backwards to assimilate and be accepted by the dominant group) and differentiation (a splintering or splitting of a particular group) are evident in many of the Aegean Macedonian village communities in Australia, so in many ways the analysis of this case study family is an introduction to a better understanding of the assimilation of the Macedonians in their homeland. The inability to understand the reasons for this apparent duality of ethnic self-identification could lead to a total misunderstanding of the Macedonian community in Australia, particularly in terms of the "public" defining process and the offering of appropriate community, health, welfare and education services to the Macedonian communities in multicultural Australia. Because in their homeland the defining processes were in the hands of the non-Macedonian colonizers, a distinct "public" Macedonian identity has been suppressed; there is confusion as to the definition of the Macedonian nation and negation that an ethnospecific Macedonian nation exists. Hence, the duality of identification and Macedonians being identified as Greek Macedonian, Yugoslav Macedonian etc depending on which side of the political borders they happen to be. They are a divided people who

share the same language and culture regardless of public labels used to identify them. Their "private" Macedonian identity is very well developed, but it is the "public" component which has been suppressed due to the division.

1. Introduction

The negation of Macedonian ethnospecificity is a reality experienced by Macedonians all over the world. When one's national identity is constantly being challenged as a result of the denationalization process, one's very existence is also being challenged and is problematic for the individual and the nation as a whole. The purpose of this paper is to uncover why and how this is taking place in the Macedonian context.

- * Why is the use of Macedonian as a marker of ethnic self-identification problematic?

- * Why is Macedonian identity challenged on a micro (individual) level and a macro (political) level?

- * What happens to the individual whose Macedonian identity is negated?

These are just some of the issues that will emerge in the context of this paper.

The term "multi-statal nation" used by Van Den Berghe (1981: 62) to define divided peoples like the Kurds and Armenians can also be used to define the Macedonian people. Macedonia has existed within the present political borders of the Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania since its political partition in 1913 and the Treaty of Bucharest. However, it is only within the Republic of Macedonia that the Macedonian people have been free to develop as an ethnospecific nation with a recognized official language, education system, literature and socio-political life. Macedonians in the other sections do not have national minority status and have been subject to systematic denationalization.

In terms of the development of a national 'psyche', the first multi-party democratic elections held in the Macedonian Republic in 1990 and the subsequent establishment of an independent Macedonian Parliament has been a turning point for the Macedonian people all over the world. For the first time in the history of their national development, Macedonians are able to define the parameters of their national existence and further develop a "public" political culture, which has been somewhat limited in the past. The desire to exist as a sovereign state has been highlighted in the September 1991 Referendum when there was a unanimous vote for sovereignty. In fact the political instability in former

Yugoslavia and the Balkans has far-reaching implications for Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, for those who live as ethnic minorities within Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, as well as for the Macedonian emigre communities in Europe and Western capitalist countries such as Australia, USA and Canada.

On the macro level of international politics the use of the name Macedonia is still problematic, with pressure applied by the Greek Government on the European Union and others not to recognize the sovereignty of a state called Macedonia. The expression of the Macedonian ethnicity in the divided sections was restricted because of the fear of territorial claims being made and the emergence of a unified Macedonian nation. The colonizing countries fear losing their portion of Macedonia which provides agricultural wealth, and in the case of Greece a sea port on the Aegean Sea. Hence, the resistance to the sovereignty of Macedonia.

It has become evident that Macedonians in all sections of partitioned Macedonia have been vocal in seeking very basic human rights in the form of freedom of thought, religious, cultural and linguistic expression, freedom of movement and repatriation and freedom to an education in their mother tongue. This has been motivated by their common identity.

The Macedonian people are recognized as a separate ethnic group or nation (depending on whether reference is being made to Macedonians as a minority or national group) by the United Nations, world organizations such as the European Community Council and the European Parliament, as well as by the governments of large emigre communities in Australia, Canada and America.

In the Australian context, the recognition of Macedonian ethnospecificity has been supported in terms of government funding for Macedonian language programs within State education systems, funding for bilingual community, social and medical workers and for the translation of government documents and community information into the Macedonian language. However, confusion is created when the Macedonian community are inaccurately classified and labelled as Greek Macedonian or Yugoslav Macedonian by some government departments: for example, the Victorian Ministry of Education Scope Survey 1990 which made use of the above-mentioned labels in relation to language spoken at home. These categories have also been used to classify statistical information about the ethnic composition of Victorian State Government schools in terms of birthplace and fail to give a homogenous view of the Macedonian community. Rather, they tend to perpetuate the geo-political division. This is evidence of confusion regarding the defini-

tion of the Macedonian people based on geographic identification as opposed to national identification. There is also a problem with the meaning of 'nation'.

Limited scholarly works exist about the Macedonian people as a nation since its partition and the attempted assimilation by dominant groups within their homeland. The problematic for Macedonians is that they exist as divided minorities rather than a consolidated nation state. In the socio-political colonization by the dominant groups, the process of further development has not occurred systematically and there has not been sufficient "development or public presentation of a self conscious ethnic group" within the divided parts. Macedonians experience negation by the dominant groups if they self-identify as Macedonians and so a "public" political cultural identity is under-developed due to suppression in their homeland. It demonstrates a particular type of "power relationship" between the Macedonian minority groups and the colonizers, in whose interest it was to suppress the Macedonian nation.

The sociological concepts I wish to explore in this paper are those of ethnic and national identity. The purpose of this sort of research is not only to draw connections between nationality and ethnicity as defined by geographical borders and common peoplehood but also individual identification as defined by geographical and political borders and common kinship. Moreover, I wish to examine the social consequences of the political partitioning of Macedonia after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. With reference to ethnicity survival and or change, I will explore in what way the identity of Macedonians in Greece has survived, despite the deliberate policies and strategies opposing ethnic diversity and pluralism which were incorporated in the Hellenization process after the partitioning of Macedonia. The case study provides us with concrete evidence of the above process and a humanistic view of the social reality and human consequence of political division.

When an individual's self-identification is challenged, he/ she must make choices as to how to consolidate the power relationship with the dominant group. On the one hand the individual may become "ethnically aggressive", maintain and develop his/ her culture and continue to self-identify as Macedonian. On the other hand, the individual may maintain the status quo, accept the superiority and domination of the majority group, assimilate accordingly, and adopt an acceptable form of ethnic self-identification, such as a Hellenized version of their identity.

The significance of the word "nash" (literally "us") is important in understanding how Macedonians have been defining themselves for generations, regardless of the labels and "public" definitions that have

been given to them by the states dominating their homeland. For Macedonians their "private" self-identification has always been Macedonian and the pronoun 'us' may be used to reinforce this when Macedonians interact with one another regardless from which section of their divided homeland they come from.

The following theoretical considerations and definitions will be examined in this paper. Most significant is the concept of dialectics which was a method originally used by Socrates to discuss different points of view. The adaptation of this concept by Hegel and then Marx is presented as a different problematic by both writers: the former seeing it as purely theoretical in terms of human thought and the interplay between thesis and antithesis to form a synthesis; whereas the latter applied it to the practical, namely materialism and the interplay between people and the mode of production. For us the problematic as presented in the case study is in the form of a contradictory interplay between individual ethnic self-identification and the forces of assimilation and definition according to geo-political borders.

The theory of dialectics will be used to develop a theoretical framework to objectively examine abstract and subjective phenomenon, such as ethnic identity, which is both "intra-psychic" and "social" in character. Dialectics is a way of examining and understanding the complexities and contradictions inherent in the case study and the phenomenon of ethnic change. Complex abstract elements such as identity are simplified and the fundamentals which comprise them are isolated. Dialectics, as a mode of analytical theorizing, illuminates the contradictions and the inter-relatedness of such phenomena, particularly the misinterpretation of the duality of identity presented in the case study. Because of the inherent contradiction, I found it necessary to simplify the components of the dual identity, in order to facilitate a greater understanding of the issues which have been used to politically negate the ethnospecificity of the Macedonians. Whilst social theory gives us some insight into public and private identity, dialectical reasoning enables us to delve deeper into this process of dual self-identification.

The concept of ethnic identity is central to this paper and has been presented by sociologists in the following ways. Van Den Berghe sees the "evolutionary origins of ethnicity as an extended kin group" and he concludes that ethnicity in humans "is not in principle different from the phenomenon of boundary maintenance between animal societies" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 27). He also states that "ethnic solidarity is an extension of kin based solidarity." However, while ethnicity cannot be manufactured it can be manipulated (Van Den Berghe 1981: 27). This is

of particular relevance to this study in relation to assimilation and ethnic change, as is Edwards' analysis of this concept which concludes that "Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group large or small, socially dominant or subordinate with which one has ancestral links ... some sense of group boundary must persist, this can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion)" (Edwards 1985: 10). For the Macedonians, regardless of political division and emigration, a very strong sense of group allegiance still exists particularly on a "private" level, in terms of language and group boundary but also on an international level which is exemplified in the Human Rights Movement.

Weaver's concept of ethnicity includes a discussion of both "public" and "private" ethnicity as applied to minority groups and nation states (Weaver 1984: 184). The concept of private and public ethnicity in terms of defining the parameters of the Macedonian nation is the fundamental thread in understanding the dialectic of the identity crisis as revealed in the case study, resultant from deliberate assimilation policies in the Macedonian homeland. The parallels with Weaver's analysis of Australian and Canadian Aborigines are very valid especially in relation to the ethnic definition and separation of the Macedonian people. The main link with the Macedonian situation is in terms of "power relations" and the majority's domination of the minority and the defining process. In other words, non-Macedonians have had the "power" to define who Macedonians are, in the similar way that Canada and Australia have been defining who constitutes the Aborigine or native population. Further to the maintenance of ethnic separation, Devos maintains that this depends on the people outside the group, the group itself and the individual's definition of him/ herself (Devos 1975: 30). It is this defining process which is the centre of the problematic in the analysis of the Macedonian people, because they fall under four different defining processes as a result of the political division of their homeland and have not had the same opportunities to define their own parameters as a nation in a "public" political sense. As a result some have adopted separate public and private identities.

The process of assimilation is many faceted and can take place in a number of ways depending on the social context. I believe that there is significant difference between assimilation or acculturation in the migration process and the deliberate assimilation of minorities as a result of colonization. The latter is more aggressive and further complicated by the political component and fear of the dominant group. The form particularly relevant to this study is known as "incorporation" and occurs when one group merges into another group and loses its identity in the

process. This has been the aim of Greek government policies opposing ethnic diversity and promoting "Greek nationality and national unity" in the latter part of this century (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 172).

The phenomenon of dual identity and lifestyle is by no means uncommon in emigre communities where immigrants "pass" or become absorbed into the dominant culture and public life, whilst still retaining their original culture and lifestyle at home (Leman 1984, Roosens 1989). In the colonizing context, the minority group often experiences a more aggressive form of assimilation and the duality of self-identification becomes a necessity for survival. Fear plays a very important role in the assimilation process as well as the psychological internalization of the minority group's negative self-perception. Pauwel's 1983 study of the South American Indians highlights the characteristics of ethnic change in the colonization process as being: changes of self-identification, adoption of Spanish names, claiming to be monolingual in Spanish and denying bilingualism on census data. In fact, the "residents of Turco" appeared to be doing everything possible to forget their ethnic identity" (Roosens 1989: 109) in order to overcome their sense of backwardness and inferiority. This internalization of a negative self-image is central to oppression culture (Freire 1972). These characteristics are also present in the Macedonian example, although taking a slightly different form because of the political division.

On a psychological level, Tajfel categorizes four main types of assimilation, of which "illegitimate" assimilation (Tajfel Report 38: 14) is relevant as it presents considerable "difficulties for the assimilating individual in that they are not fully accepted by the majority." Furthermore, this also leads to "an identification with the new group and a rejection of the old" (Tajfel: 14-15). This group rejection and "hyperconformity" occurs in an attempt to gain acceptance. Tajfel concludes that one of the well known effects is leaning over backwards in the acceptance of the majority's derogatory views about the minority (Tajfel: 15). In the Macedonian context, this can be seen in the adoption of a dual identity as deemed necessary and an acceptance of misinformation about the Macedonian people without any conscious realization that one can define oneself and does not have to rely on definitions presented by others.

Furthermore, I hold that dual identification is the beginning of a process known as "differentiation" where definite division begins to take place and one group divides into two or more components (Horwitz 1981: 116). Giles explains this phenomenon as occurring as a result of "the perceived threat experienced by a social identity, associated with a racist culture ... and psychological differentiation" (Giles 1977: 234). Others

point to a variety of possible adaptations.

In the case study to be presented, there is evidence that the action of one of the brothers clearly indicates the process of "leaning over backwards" in an attempt to be accepted by the dominant social group, to ensure that their children will not suffer the same psychological alienation that they have. By self-identifying as Greek Macedonian instead of Macedonian, the psychological effects of the denationalization policies emerge as a split or differentiation between brothers born into the same kingroup. However, the dialectic which is also present is that the differentiating brother also retains his Macedonian self-identification in private settings. The duality of identity and public and private self-identification reflects the internalization of the oppression and the negation of the existence of the Macedonian people.

Clarifying the duality is the purpose of this paper.

2. Historical Overview

Macedonia is the mirror of the oldest melting pot in the history of Europe, the ethnographic synthesis of the Balkan peninsula of today (Nirugiani 1967: 23)

During Ottoman rule, the Macedonians remained illiterate peasants who were unable to break out of feudal oppression. In the latter part of the 19th century, Greece and Bulgaria, and later Serbia, had a powerful influence over the church and education system. Subjecting the Macedonian population to this type of tripartite influence plus feudalistic practices imposed by the Ottomans were effective mechanisms for controlling the development of Macedonian insurgence against Ottoman rule. In fact, it has been claimed that the Macedonians escaped the Hellenization process "by remaining illiterate" and as a result of this retaining their language and customs (Friedman 1975: 86).

At the turn of the century the "Macedonian Question" was a very important political power question as Macedonia lay on the gateway to the East and was an important consideration to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian as well as the British and French Empires. Moreover, weakening Turkish rule in the later part of the 19th century signalled territorial considerations by Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. With developing Macedonian national consciousness or to use the Freirian term "conscientization" during the 19th century, there is evidence of an understanding of the socio-economic and political processes in the "empowerment model" by the emerging middle class in the towns (as opposed to

the villages) who had access to education, albeit in another language. "A major and far-reaching result of educating young people from Macedonia was that enlightenment often bred dissatisfaction and frustration with the political, social and economic status quo" (Perry 1988: 28). The Macedonian writers of the time clearly reflect and have documented the complex socio-political situation at the turn of the century. One such example is intellectual, sociolinguist and teacher Krste Petkov-Misirkov who wrote:

"Three nations struggling against one another in our country to force us to accept their religion and national propaganda. All three are battling against us and our interests hoping to deal us a mortal blow by taking church and school in their own hands ... stifling our national consciousness." (Misirkov 1903, 1974: 195).

The main historical event which consolidated the evolving Macedonian national consciousness occurred about the same time that Misirkov wrote his expository socio-political account of the time, *On Macedonian Matters*, in 1903. The unsuccessful Ilinden Uprising occurred on 2nd August, 1903 when the VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) undertook an insurrection against Turkish domination as a result of "restlessness and dissatisfaction", fed by a steady stream of students, graduates and teachers into revolutionary circles and later into guerrilla bands (Perry 1988: 30). Although unsuccessful and premature due to heavy Bulgarian influence, the failed uprising is a concrete example of Macedonian 'conscientization' and for 10 days the first Macedonian Republic in Krushevo was formed until a crushing defeat by Turkish forces. This event, St Elijah's Day, is celebrated as Macedonian National Day in the Republic of Macedonia as well as emigre communities the world over. It is also celebrated in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia but in a more subdued manner. Although short-lived it exemplifies the existence of an ethnospecific Macedonian nation and the difficulty of national development in the context of feudal domination. As survival and the protection of "one's land and family" (Perry 1988: 21) were the basic pre-occupation of peasant society, the failed Ilinden Uprising exemplifies the extent of hardship experienced by the Macedonian peasantry led by their intelligentsia in trying to achieve "political legitimacy".

In the years that followed Ilinden, pre and post the division days of 1912-13, there is primary source material in the form of letters sent to British and European powers arguing for Macedonian autonomy and gaining the support of politicians and statesmen in influential political spheres. For example, there was the Memorandum on the Independence

of Macedonia submitted by the Macedonian Colony in St Petersburg to the conference of the representatives of the great powers in London (1st March, 1913) and a Memorandum of the Macedonians to the Russian Government in August, 1914. Further, the active Macedonian Scholarly and Literary Society in St Petersburg sent open letters, and published articles in Russian and other newspapers. Of particular significance are writings by Dimitria Chupovski and Krste Misirkov in terms of demanding an autonomous Macedonia. As late as 1918 there were declarations presented by the Macedonian Liberation Movement demanding an autonomous settlement of the Macedonian Question, as well as further protests from the Provisional Representatives Office of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization to the Paris Peace Conference 10th April, 1919. (Documents Vol 1 1985: 655)

It is important to understand these facts as they are crucial in the conceptual understanding of the development and to a point the latent development of the Macedonian nation. Clearly, Macedonian ethnospecificity was ignored by the world powers, particularly the development of an autonomous Macedonian State. Although specific reference was made in the Bucharest Treaty to the protection of the minorities in the divided parts, the territorial division meant that the notion of Macedonian ethnospecificity was further suppressed and distorted by systematic assimilation programs in all divided territories.

This, coupled with the population exchanges set about in the Neuilly-Sur-Seine Agreement between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey in 1919 meant there was quite an extensive Macedonian population exodus from Aegean Macedonia.

The effect was catastrophic in changing the ethnographic make up of the region which was predominantly Macedonian Christian before the division. Considerable discussion is revealed in the Minutes of the Committee for the New States and the Protection of Minorities at the Paris Peace Conference July - November 1919. Article five of the Neuilly Convention between Greece and Bulgaria refers to a specific form of social engineering in the population exchange program:

"Emigrants will lose the nationality of the country ... from the moment of their departure, and will acquire that of the country to which they go as from the time of their arrival in its territory." (Documents 1985: 676 Greece/ Bulgaria Emigration of Minorities, Neuilly, 27th November, 1919.)

This historical event needs to be fully understood as it had a direct impact on the life of the case study family in terms of land acquisition and later land dispossession. The supposed "voluntary" population ex-

changes between Greece and Bulgaria in the Conventions of Neuilly and between Turkey and Greece in the Lausanne Convention were adopted in an attempt to achieve ethnic homogeneity in the participating countries and to overcome the "problems of minorities". An official attempt was also made to regulate the liquidation of properties and indemnification of emigrants (Ladas 1932: 720). In September 1920, the League of Nations set up a Commission "to supervise and to facilitate the emigration and the compensation of the estates of the emigrants" (Simovski 1978: 462). However, the property Commission failed dismally, indemnification of properties was inefficient and there were many far reaching problems associated with the procedure as given in the following example of the case study family.

The initial Greco-Bulgarian emigration was not a total success as "more than one third" of the Macedonian population remained in their homeland. Ladas claims that "96,000 of the Bulgarian Minority in Greece emigrated to Bulgaria" (Ladas 1932: 721)¹. Simovski on the other hand outlines the abhorrent conditions these Macedonian refugees suffered upon arrival in Bulgaria where no adequate provision was made for their settlement. "65 per cent of refugees" died in a two year period in the region of Bourgas (from *Internationale de La Croix Rouge*, VII No 83, November 25 in Simovski 1978: 464). Furthermore the Macedonian minority living in Aegean Macedonia were forced to emigrate because they were terrorized and provoked by the Greek authorities (Simovski 1978: 463). Although claimed to be "voluntary in theory" the emigration became "to a greater extent compulsory" (Ladas 1932: 721). The dispossession of land as experienced by the case study family was clearly one of those provocations aimed at expelling Macedonians who did not automatically align themselves with the Greek regime in their homeland.

In relation to the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey, Simovski's statistical analysis shows that initially, as a result of the Convention of Lausanne, 640,000 refugee settlers migrated to Aegean Macedonia with an exit of 300,000 Turks and other Moslems, including some 40,000 Macedonians (Simovski 1978: 462). However, whilst denominationally Christian, the refugees coming into Macedonia from Asia Minor and Thrace (referred to as "prosfigi" by the Macedonian population) spoke the Turkish language of these regions. So even though these refugees are claimed to have been "Greeks" (Ladas 1932), they in fact spoke other languages which meant that they too had to be "Hellenized" if ethnic homogeneity was to be achieved. The settlement of the refugees occurred predominantly in Aegean Macedonia. This is well documented in Simovski's extensive ethnographic examination of Aegean

Macedonia, *The Inhabited Places of Aegean Macedonia* (1978), and is clearly shown in the map extract of an ethnographic map, "annexed to the publication of the League of Nations on the settlement of refugees" in Geneva 1926 (Ladas 1932: 701 - see Appendix 1). Sociolinguistically speaking, Popov and Radin estimate that the Macedonian language as a "langue usuelle" (most commonly used language) "out of a total population of 1,052,227 inhabitants" was spoken by 805,000 Macedonian and non-Macedonian inhabitants prior to 1913. By 1928 however, the effect of the population exchanges and government policy of monoculturalism meant that "1,200,000 persons out of a total population of 1,412,477 used the Greek language which was then the 'langue officielle' " (Popov and Radin 1989: 15).

In the years following these Conventions for population exchanges, there is evidence that the existence of a Macedonian speaking minority in Greece was recognized by the Government. Specific Government attempts were made in the writing of the primer ABECEDAR in the Macedonian language. In 1926 the primer, which was compiled by Greek linguists in the Latin script, was published and designed specifically for used in primary schools in Aegean Macedonia. This never eventuated. Whilst copies of the primer existed it was never used in mother-tongue maintenance programs for the Macedonian minority in Greece. The exercise could be interpreted as an attempt "to make a good impression on the members of the League of Nations whose sympathy was needed if Greece was to be awarded an international loan and successfully resettle a large number of refugees from Asia Minor, who entered Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne was signed by Greece and Turkey in 1923" (Andonovski in Popov and Radin 1989: 112).

During the same period other policies for the denationalization of the Macedonian people were aimed specifically at the elimination of Macedonian names and language. This is documented as occurring in late 1926 when a new law was passed to Hellenize all place, village, city, river and mountain names in the Macedonian language (Andonovski 1969: 71). Names were targeted as they are the simplest and most obvious symbol of identity, also "a person's own name in some way establishes the fact of his existence" (Glazer and Moynihan 1981: 50). As well as the forced Hellenization of people's family names, Macedonian inscriptions in churches and graveyards were also removed.

The policies of denationalization continued in the partitioned regions until the end of the Second World War when the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was established within the Socialist Yugoslav Federation. Whilst Macedonians in the Republic now received some scope and

freedom to develop as a nation, Macedonians in Aegean Macedonia were caught up in the Greek Civil War from 1946 to 1949.

During the period of the Second World War Macedonians in Greece had formed anti-fascist fighting battalions and organizations which worked in cooperation with Macedonian forces and battalions across the Greek-Yugoslav border. Some of these organizations included MAO (Macedonian anti-fascist organization) formed in Voden 1942 and NOF (Macedonian Liberation Front) which was formed in 1945. These organizations did not always see eye to eye with the Greek ELAS (Liberation Army) and later Democratic Army, given the problematic Macedonian desire for autonomy, but it cannot be disputed that Macedonians were recruited in particular columns in the aforementioned armies (Andreevski 1989).

During the Greek Civil War 87 Macedonian schools were formed in Aegean Macedonia as well as Macedonian newspapers and organizations. It was hoped that some type of national liberation would be achieved with the help of the Communist party, which recognized Macedonian ethnospecificity to a point.

The Greek Civil War was not "merely the continuation of the struggle for power that had been started by the communists in the resistance movement ... in World War Two" (O'Ballance 1966: 19), but it also exemplified the "spheres of influence" mentality and tactics perpetuated by British and American interference in post World War Two European politics and the onset of the "Cold War" between Russia and the West. In America's desire to assist the Greek National Army to "withstand the communist pressures", the Truman Doctrine in 1947 authorized \$300 million of aid to Greece (O'Ballance 1966: 141) in the form of clothes, rations, agricultural and industrial rehabilitation, as well as "some 74,000 tons of military equipment" in the latter months of the same year (O'Ballance 1966: 153). As the Civil War dragged on and the better equipped and stronger Greek National Army could not defeat the Communist guerillas of the Democratic Army, the most effective counter-measures promoted by the Americans was the "systematic removal of whole sections of the population" (O'Ballance 1966: 214). This tactic had a definite impact on the ethnographic makeup of the region and there was a definite exodus of Macedonians from their homeland, as it was systematically destroyed and their villages razed to the ground. Those villages which had refugee settlers were spared, those with predominantly Macedonian population like D'mbeni and Buf were razed to the ground. It was during this period that the mountain village of the case study family was destroyed. This corresponds with the arrival of the case study

family in Australia.

Before the extensive post World War Two migration, Macedonian men "pechalbari" (itinerant workers) came to Australia as migrant workers in the early part of this century. After the 1920s "a much greater number came from the villages in the mountain area of Bitola, Florina (Lerin) and Kastoria (Kostur)" most settling as market gardeners, small-scale farmers, timber cutters and eucalyptus-burners or as unskilled labourers in the larger cities (Price 1963: 321), thus starting the chain migration from their villages as described in the case study. Price outlines that Macedonians from Yugoslavia and Greece maintained similar settlement patterns once in Australia and these were quite different from the settlement patterns of Greeks from southern and island Greece (Price 1963: 322). This is directly related to their common Macedonian identity and way of life in the homeland.

3. Case Study

The following case study demonstrates on a micro level or personal and familial level the effect of the political division of Macedonia. It demonstrates the effects of the population exchanges on the ordinary Macedonian village, exemplifies Greek assimilationist policies and the way in which political socialization was internalized and reproduced in Australia. It also provides us with some insight as to why and how Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia came to migrate to Australia.

The Research

The research investigates the motivations, experiences and constraints of a Macedonian family from Aegean Macedonia in their pre and post migration experience to Australia focusing on the maintenance of their Macedonian identity, and addresses the following questions. Why the suppression of Macedonians in their homeland? What form did that suppression take? What have been the effects of the assimilation process on the case study family? What have been the consequences for Macedonian ethnic identity?

Purpose of Research

The purpose of the research was to gain some humanistic insight into the effects of political events and deliberate assimilation policies on the individual. To investigate the interplay between the macro political scene

and the micro (individual) internalization of the former. This exercise had the additional purpose of clarifying the complexities and contradictions inherent in a discussion of the Macedonian and his or her public and private identity.

Objectives

1. To undertake one of the first in-depth research projects on the public and private identity of the Macedonian people, concentrating on Macedonians who have been socialized outside the Republic of Macedonia in a non-Macedonian context, in order to clarify the misinformation often presented that Macedonians from those regions are not an ethnospecific group.

2. To provide a basis for further investigation into Macedonians from the other sections of their divided homeland.

Aims

To provide information about the Macedonian people which can be used by educators and government departments. To encourage further research into the importance of understanding and establishing the "defining process" for the Macedonian people. (This in the past has been left in the hands of others.) To inspire Macedonians to embrace the Freirian "conscientization" model and gain the self-confidence to define themselves instead of being constrained by imposed definitions and fear.

Methodology

The information presented in the following case study was collected by interviewing some of the surviving family of two Macedonian brothers, Vane and Mito Spanovski[#]. The case study family is part of an extended family currently living in Melbourne. I interviewed Vane's daughter (aged 59) on numerous occasions and had two sessions with her first cousin and aunt (Mito's family).

Taping the interviews with the first cousin (aged 67) and aunt (aged 88) was ruled out and the interviews were undertaken in a very informal way because of the reluctance of some family members to even talk about their past. I sensed their uneasiness, even when I wanted to take notes. I believe this to be indicative of the fear that they harbour.

The use of written questionnaire type research was inappropriate because the family is functionally illiterate in Macedonian and has only

[#] All personal names and some place names and dates have been changed to protect privacy.

very limited literacy in English and Greek.

Fania, the daughter of the older brother Vane, was more than willing to discuss her childhood and recount her family experiences to me without fear. She was in fact instrumental in helping me gain access to her cousin and aunt. I sensed that the process of recounting her family history actually enabled her to put many issues into perspective and in some ways was very positive for her. It was her pain in handling the split that occurred in her extended family that inspired me to analyze the processes which occur as part of denationalization.

Results of Interviews

The Macedonian family in this case study originated from the mountain village of Rakovo[#] (or Krateron, the Hellenized name) which is said to have always been inhabited by Macedonians. Situated on the Greek Macedonian border it is approximately 1,000 metres above sea level and some 20 kilometres north west of the city of Lerin.

During the mid 1920s after the population exchanges agreed upon in the Lausanne Convention, the family had an opportunity to purchase prime land at the foot of a nearby mountain as a result of the resettlement of the predominantly Muslim Turkish population in and around the village of Gorna Kleshtina. The Muslim villagers of Gorna Kleshtina sold their property to neighbouring Macedonians from the surrounding villages and/ or had their land re-occupied by the incoming refugee population from Asia Minor and Thrace. It is believed that some 384 refugees were settled in that village (Simovski 1987: 113).

The Spanovski Family[#]

Pando (patriarch)		Ristana (matriarch)	
	(their children)		
Vane	Mito	Marika	Ana
+ Elena	+ Jana*		
(children)	(children)	(children)	(children)
Fania*	Vasil*	Gorjana	Nada
Petre (dec)	Kata	Spase	Ilinka
	Silvana	Jaklina	Ilija
	Angelina	Giorgi	

[#] See footnote page 150. *Interviewed by writer.

The Spanovski family (Ristana and Pando with their children) took the opportunity to resettle in Gorna Kleshtina, as life supported by subsistence agriculture in the fertile valley region was a lot easier than in a mountain village. It is common knowledge that the Turks had settled and owned the most productive and best farming land during the course of the 550 year occupation, whereas the Macedonians often inhabited very mountainous places affording protection and isolation. So it was an opportunity for the Macedonian population to resettle and reclaim some of that land before the influx of the refugees.

The family was able to buy approximately 15 acres from a Turkish family "for a hat full of gold coins". In the early 1900s the patriarch, Pando, had spent 10 years in America as an itinerant work migrant (na pechalba) as well as doing seasonal gang work in Greece and Europe, known as "na bichkija" (logging). It was necessary for men to leave villages in search of seasonal work in order to supplement the family's income. It would seem that those living in mountain villages were more prone to seasonal or itinerant work migration than those living in fertile valley regions. Upon marriage Pando's sons Vane and Mito also carried on this tradition by going na bichkija and na pechalba.

Whilst the family succeeded in purchasing considerable land in and around Gorna Kleshtina as well as near Dolna Kleshtina - they were not able to enjoy the fruits of such a purchase for very long. In the late 1920s (the exact date could not be established) the Spanovski family, whose name was Hellenized to Spaniou, was dispossessed of practically all of their land which was given to several incoming refugee families. The reason for this is not quite clear, however in the course of my research one source claimed that Pando swore at the Greek surveyors when they had come to remark the land. He is said to have had strong views about the current political situation and was not afraid to air them. This is probable, given the length of time Pando had spent in America and as he was a literate and intelligent man. The land, even though paid for in gold, was considered as belonging to the Greek Government as the Turkish titles "senebi" held by the family were invalid.

This led to many a bloody fight between the family, particularly the sons, and the refugees who had taken possession of the land. It also resulted in a court case, which was lost, and alleged bribery. The way in which the Spanovski family had lost their land became common knowledge. However one refugee family who had been allocated Spanovski land on the outskirts of Dolna Kleshtina could not take possession of the land and allowed the family to continue to cultivate the field. There were constant clashes, often bloody, between the sons and

the new settlers. One such incident may well have ended in death, if Vane's wife Elena had not hidden Vane's pistol.

With the best farming land taken, the family had to survive by other means, so they took to goat herding and building a mill on the outlying hills of the village. For the father, who had effectively lost all that he had spent a lifetime working for in America, it was a means of distancing himself from the socio-political reality in the village. He became a recluse, preferring to stay in the mill and seldom going down to the village. (Foreseeing problems under a new Greek regime in earlier days, Pando had pressured his wife Ristana to migrate to America. Because she did not want to leave her way of life and land she had refused such a move, only to migrate to Australia as an old woman after Pando's death and the dispossession of their land.)

The family was close-knit and the brothers lived together with their wives, children and parents. The two sisters were married and moved to other villages. The sons Vane and Mito were conscripted into the Greek Army in 1922 for about four years, after which they went "na pechalba" work migration to Australia and America respectively. Upon marriage, it was expected that Vane and Mito should continue the familial tradition of "pechalba". Mito went to seek his fortune in America whilst Vane came to Australia in 1929, only to return as a result of the depression. (Vane returned to Australia in 1936 for the second time.) The brothers' wives and young families remained in the village in the extended family set-up. During those years the family survived with younger family members (children of brothers) and women attending compulsory Greek language classes and school. They also experienced the official changing of place and people's names as well as restrictions placed on cultural events and the use of the Macedonian language, particularly in religious and cultural celebrations. One particular event was recounted regarding an elderly villager who was taken into custody, severely beaten and given castor oil to drink for speaking Macedonian to his donkey. Of relevance here is the point that everybody had to comply with the ban on the use of Macedonian.

When Vane's daughter Fania was born, the Godfather, as is customary, gave the newborn her name, but in Greek form. The family were disappointed with the Godfather's choice because it was a Greek name. The mother of the child complained because she could not pronounce the name, but the Godfather insisted that the child needed a Greek name so that the priest could christen her. Macedonian names were unacceptable and a Hellenized version would be given in the Greek church services. The family reluctantly accepted this, but called the child Fania and never used the Greek name even though it was presented on official documents.

During later years the significance of the education experience is revealed in one of the interviews with Fania. Her first day at school was recounted as being quite traumatic as she was sent back home for not wearing a blue and white uniform.

"The teacher took a firm hold of my plaited hair and pulled my head back, ridiculing me in front of the class for wearing traditional clothes. I remember Grandma cursing as she tried to find me other clothes, after I had run home in tears."

Her experiences at school include being beaten for speaking Macedonian, which was described as a "Gypsy" language or a "pretend language" by her teacher. Not attending Church every Sunday was also a punishable offence at school, in fact going to the church service was considered a class activity, with students taking turns in reciting parts of the liturgy. This is yet another example where the Greek Orthodox Church played a vital role in the Hellenization process (see also Trudgill and Tzavaras 1983).

These examples contributed to grandmother Ristana's avid hatred for the education system. When the grandchildren would come home from school, she would often throw their Greek books into the fire saying that she did not want them learning the language of the people who had taken everything away from them. A school photo taken in 1945 shows primary aged students dressed in different national costumes - Macedonian, Thracian and Greek. Macedonian students wore the Greek and Thracian costumes and vice versa. The student in the centre is dressed as "mother Greece", thereby promoting a sense of Greek brotherhood through the education system. Whilst this act did acknowledge the reality that these ethnic groups existed, the underlying message was that all these ethnic groups were Greek and unified. Fania wore a Thracian outfit and her Thracian friend Macedonian national dress. This was a particularly sore point for the family who had lost their land to the Thracian refugees. One point worth mentioning about the relationship between the Thracian girls and Fania was that in order to communicate, the Thracian girls, upon arriving in Macedonia, learnt Macedonian and this was the language of communication until the girls reached high school age. Then, the Thracian girls refused to communicate in Macedonian, preferring to use Greek instead and belittling Fania for not speaking Greek. The effect of negative reinforcement was a component of the education and social system and is exemplified in this quote from Fania.

"As a child, almost from the age that I could understand, I was taught that my people were lower class, my language was lower class, everything we did, customs, everything was inferior. I then came to Australia and

again I was the bottom of the heap, again my background was lower class because I did not know English."

(For many Macedonian immigrants, negative reinforcement continued as they faced a process of "double assimilation" both in their homeland and in Australia.)

Towards the end of World War Two, Pando was killed by Germans after being betrayed as a partizan collaborator, given the family's mill in the hills. After the family was betrayed by somebody in the village, the mill was ransacked and razed to the ground with no trace of insurgents found. However, Pando was still taken into custody and was led down to the village on top of a canon draped with the women's woven and embroidered clothes, which had been taken to the mill for safe keeping as were all things of value such as photos, papers etc. The house in the village was spared because of its close proximity to other houses. Pando was imprisoned in Lerin for three days and later executed by firing squad in the autumn of 1944 along with a group of innocent persons from neighbouring villages as retribution for the loss of German troops as a result of a partizan bombing. During this time, Vane was in Australia and could not return because of the war.

Vane

The Macedonian community in Australia was established on the tradition of "pechalbarstvo" or migrant workers. These itinerant migrant workers who laboured in logging camps in Western Australia in the early 1920s started the early chain migration process by bringing out their families. Vane was one of the early pechalbari, coming to Australia first in 1929, working in the remote logging camps in Western Australia, cutting wood for train sleepers. Due to the depression he returned to Macedonia only to come to Australia again in 1938. After the family had been dispossessed of their land, Vane felt restless and decided to go na pechalba again. He refused to participate in a parting ritual which was performed to ensure a safe trip and a speedy return. He was so frustrated with the socio-political situation that he vowed to his mother that he would never return to this land which held nothing for him.

After his father's execution, the hardships the family had suffered, and as a result of impending danger of the Greek Civil War, Vane decided to resettle his family in Australia. It would appear that at this stage, the notion of "na pechalba" work migration was transformed into permanent migration. It was the beginning of the chain migration described by Price. Vane had been in Australia for over ten years and in 1950 managed to

bring his wife Elena and daughter Fania to Australia. Due to the long years Vane was separated from his family, Fania did not recognize or know her father, as he had left for Australia when she was only two years old. Vane settled his family in Werribee in Victoria and later bought a fish and chips shop in Brunswick. In 1956 the family bought a farming property.

Vane helped to bring out his remaining family but once in Australia a definite split occurred between the brothers and their families in terms of their ethnic self-identification. Vane developed his Macedonian identity, as he was literate in Macedonian. He actively attended and became involved in Macedonian community organizations such as St George Church Fitzroy (the first Macedonian church to be built outside of Macedonia). His grandchildren attended the first Macedonian language community school.

Vane was buried by a Macedonian priest in 1985 at the above-mentioned church. The children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of the brothers also promote the sense of transgenerational differentiation. Vane's offspring have a sense of Macedonian identity, continue to become literate in Macedonian, enrol grandchildren and great grandchildren in Macedonian schools and classes in Melbourne.

Vane's family unreservedly displayed their public Macedonian identity and attended the Macedonian church. This issue was very important in terms of familial relations and was clearly not supported by all the family members who refused to attend the funeral of Vane's wife, Elena, in 1965 because the service was held in the Macedonian church and not the Greek church. They were afraid of spies and as a consequence only the women attended the funeral service, with most of the male relatives abstaining. Those who attended did not even console or pay their condolences to the grieving Fania and her family. Not to pray for the soul of the deceased or console the grieving family with the phrase "Bog da go prosti" (translated meaning: may God have mercy on this soul), is considered to be a very open display of hostility. This act signifies the beginning of the differentiation in the family and exemplifies the fear of external pressures by representatives from the Greek authorities in Australia. Members of the extended family wanted "to keep the road clear for bringing relatives overseas, or to preserve them from harsh treatment in Greek Macedonia itself" (Price 1963: 317). But Elena's dying wish was to be buried by a Macedonian priest from the newly opened church so that "she could understand what was being said in the here after, because she was sick of not being able to understand."

Her daughter Fania was ostracized by her kin (ie cousins and their families) for not taking on a Greek identity and for openly showing her

Macedonianness by attending the Macedonian church. She was offered little or no support from her extended family during her bereavement. It was felt that this could bring further damage to the extended family in terms of remaining family in Macedonia and assets. However, Fania and her husband Risto were clearly fed up with the sort of discriminatory treatment they had received in the Greek Church, before the Macedonian church was built, that there was no hesitation in their decision to support the Macedonian church. One incident was a particular turning point regarding this issue. Their second daughter Gordana was christened in the Greek Orthodox Church in 1957 (well before the completion of the Macedonian Church in Melbourne). Considerable hostility erupted at the christening service when the Greek priest refused to christen the child by the chosen name, saying that this name Gordana was not a proper Greek name. When he proceeded to christen the child with a Greek version of the name, the Godfather became very upset and confronted the priest who became very hostile, complaining that he would under no circumstances christen any child with a "Slav" (meaning Macedonian) name. At the end of the service, the parents decided never to attend a Greek Church again. Until the Macedonian Church was built, they even attended the Syrian Orthodox Church in Melbourne.

Mito

Mito and his family came to Australia in 1950 to 1951, settling in Footscray and then later buying a fish and chips shop in Yarraville. There is some controversy as to the way in which Mito was encouraged to leave Greece. Some members of the family allege that he had to denounce his Macedonian heritage and agree never to return in order to leave the country. When Mito's son was questioned on this issue he became clearly evasive and did not want to discuss the matter. Upon coming to Australia, Mito sent money to the village Kleshtina to pay for troughs for the animals. This could be interpreted as an act of support for his village, but also as a demonstration of support for the Greek status quo, so that he could ensure returning to his village. In short, he appeared to be buying acceptance from official and government departments.

Once in Australia, Mito on an external level took on a Greek Macedonian identity, one would assume in order to avoid further loss of remaining family assets. He attended the Greek church and actively assisted "profigi" refugee migrants coming to Australia. (These were the refugee settlers with whom he fought almost to the death when the family's land was taken.) He had nothing to do with the Macedonian

Orthodox community in Melbourne and was afraid of showing any outward signs of support for anything Macedonian, being very conscious and wary of "spies". His daughters married "prosfigi" (refugees) much to his abhorrence and he affirmed his "Greekness" even to the point of having the Hellenized version of his mother's name on her gravestone in the northern suburbs cemetery in Melbourne. Ristana died at the age of 85. This was the same woman who cursed and burnt her grandchildren's Greek books. I believe all these actions can be interpreted as an act of reparation with the Greek government, proving his reliability and "Greekness" in order to return to his homeland for a holiday. Mito's son has the attitude that it is best not to meddle in politics or be seen to overtly air one's political views. A common quote regarding this point is "Oh, we don't like politics. It's best that a man looks after his family and does not get involved in those sorts of things. It isn't worth the risk." This is also in line with the typical "peasant" mentality, to look after one's family and land as being the ultimate aim in life. However, regardless of external display of support, the family (ie cousins and family members) communicate only in the Macedonian language, have only a basic knowledge of spoken Greek and are practically if not totally illiterate in that language. Mito and his brother Vane and their immediate families would often have long private conversations about what their family had suffered. Mito would speak of his hatred of the Greek regime. He also held animosity towards the "prosfigi" who married his daughters. He thought of them as foreigners and they too often called the family, "Vulgaros" or Bulgarians. Mito always referred to his daughters' husbands as *prosfigi*, never "*nashi*". This term was only ever used in reference to Macedonians.

Mito's offspring and grandchildren have a strong sense of Greek Macedonian identity and/ or have assumed an Australian identity rejecting the former and all its complexities. In 1987 Mito was proclaimed as a "good Greek" at his funeral service attended by three Greek priests.

This case study has concentrated mainly on the families of the two brothers, but I would just like to briefly mention the other two sisters. Pando and Ristana's daughters, Marika and Ana, married into the neighbouring villages of Kalenik and Kladorabi respectively. Ana died young and did not migrate to Australia, whereas her children migrated to Australia after the brothers were well settled in the later 1950s.

Marika on the other hand came to Australia twice and could not settle here and returned to live in Kalenik with her son Spase until her death. All of Pando's grandchildren and their families live in Australia, bar Spase who remained in the village and Gorjana who lives in Canada.

The extended family is no longer close-knit and has grown apart

during the past forty years. The split occurred, according to my interviewee, when the Macedonian church was built in Melbourne in 1960. Then, people had to decide whether they were going to show their Macedonianness openly or not. Many Macedonian families donated money for the new church but wanted their contribution kept anonymous.

The fear of the Greek regime was further perpetuated by villagers who claimed to know spies, actually threatening Fania and her husband about ever returning to their homeland if they persisted in this type of "anti-Greek" activity. One of the relatives in the extended family was renowned for holding this type of position. The father-in-law of Fania's first cousin Nada, claimed to be a "government official" with a special task to complete in Australia. Price documented this type of activity and the use of paid "village individuals" to assist in the Hellenization process within the extended family situation is also documented in "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia" (Popov and Radin 1989). So we can conclude that there was considerable pressure on people to conform with the status quo even in Australia. This external pressure has continued to affect the choices Macedonians make about their public self-identification even after the first generation have died.

The contradiction in Mito's story is that whilst he portrayed a very strong Greek Macedonian public image, he still retained a very strong private Macedonian sense of identity. It is this contradiction that is most often misunderstood. A culmination of fear, the internalization of a negative self-image and a sense of not wanting harm to come to family and property in the homeland are the main ingredients which contribute to the adoption of dual self-identification in Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.

4. Case Study Analysis

The following case study analysis will be divided into two sections. The first will be a discussion of the assimilation process in Aegean Macedonia on a macro level, drawing on material presented in the historical overview and the case study. The second will entail a more detailed dialectical analysis of the effect of this process on a personal or micro level.

(a) An Analysis of the Process of Assimilation in Aegean Macedonia and Australia

From the historical overview and the case study we can conclude that

quite comprehensive denationalization schemes in Aegean Macedonia attempted to promote a false ethnic consciousness by banning the use of the Macedonian language, curbing the cultural activities of the Macedonian people, changing the ethnographic makeup of the region with the resettlement of refugees of a different language group, and the dispossession of land and assets. In terms of social psychology what was being done? Clearly, it was a case of social engineering by attempting to bring about a change in the ethnic identity of Macedonians aimed at the assimilation of Macedonians and the refugee population into one homogeneous group. Ethnic diversity in Greece was not encouraged. On the contrary, ethnocentric government policies emphasizing a Greek brotherhood and national unity, especially the notion of a "glorious Hellenic past", have been systematically promoted via the education system, religious and cultural activities.

The assimilation of minority ethnic groups in Greece has been systematic and this has been documented in sociolinguistic studies by Trudgill and Tzavaras (in Giles 1977: 171-183) who undertook a study on the assimilation of Albanian-Greeks and the Arvanitika language which they classify as a "dying language". In their investigation of the social and educational problems faced by the Arvanites, they conclude that the assimilation process is practically complete. Trudgill and Tzavaras state that the erosion of Albanian identity occurred as a result of three main factors. The first was the wave of Hellenization after the War of Independence and the Greek Civil War; secondly, through the Greek Orthodox Church which strove to promote ethnic and religious similarities rather than differences; finally, the demographic change as a result of the population exchanges broke down Albanian homogeneity as "formerly Albanian areas became mixed and Hellenized" (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 173). These factors are also exemplified in the Macedonian case study family and have been documented in the historical section. Indeed the cultural, economic and political dominance of the Greeks had a definite impact in breaking down the identity of both these minority groups.

Regarding the dispossession of land (as experienced by the case study families) as a direct result of the resettlement program, Ladas outlines the procedures undertaken for the liquidation of property. He claims that there was a local Florina (Lerin) Sub-Commission which held "official files for the establishment of property rights" (Ladas 1932: 191). This is most probably the Government organization dealt with by the case study family. Furthermore, there was often difficulty in proof of ownership in the land surveying procedure, as little bits of land were often separated

by other people's property. This was further complicated by the existence of abandoned land and in fact "most of the establishment of property rights and the surveying of land was made on the basis of the testimony of the delegates" (Ladas 1932: 194). This, as we have seen in the case study, was inadequate to say the least and was open to abuse, especially if there was any doubt as to the allegiance of families to Greece. It can be said that this was a process designed to covertly encourage migration from the region.

Apart from forced migration from the region, the resettlement of non-Macedonian speakers highlighted in the former examples attempted to effectively break down the strength of the Macedonian language as well as the languages of other groups like the Arvanites. A situation was created where "the home language was stigmatized or ridiculed, thus creating a sense of inferiority or even self hatred" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 258). This is outlined in the case study in Fania's negative school experiences regarding the Macedonian language and is also supported by the Trudgill and Tzavaras study, "speaking Arvanitika makes you feel embarrassed" (1977: 174). Political socialization via the education system was aimed at creating a sense of unified Greekness or a melting pot for the poly-ethnic makeup of the region. The school photograph mentioned earlier supports this argument. This was directed as much to the newcomers (refugees) as well as the original inhabitants and exemplifies the engineering of a public Greek identity. Ladas (1932) and (Price 1963) make direct reference to this as the aim of the resettlement programs. The very deliberate policies to eradicate the Macedonian language through a systematic monolingual education system demonstrate a systematic approach to ethnic engineering where the superiority of the dominant culture was the agenda. When people aren't given the opportunity to become literate in their mother-tongue, they internalize a sense of inferiority and backwardness about their language and themselves (Clyne 1985, Edwards 1985).

Language teachers involved in minority language maintenance programs are aware that the fundamentals of language teaching methodology should ideally be centered on the total development of the child in terms of family cohesion, where communication between the younger and older generation are maintained. More importantly, in terms of self esteem, Clyne notes that, "children from non English speaking backgrounds often develop the misconception that their family language is a worthless language because it does not play a role in the school domain" (Clyne 1985: 137-8).

If we reverse this ideological and methodological stance on language

maintenance and teaching, one question remains unaddressed. What was the effect of the Greek education system on the children from Macedonian background who were denied a holistic education in terms of their bilingualism and self-esteem? The case study reveals that there were no mother-tongue maintenance programs for Macedonian students. Moreover, kindergartens were established where children were taken at a very young age (pre-school) in order to distance them from the "monoglots" in the extended family situation where the Macedonian language was being passed on. "Subtractive" bilingualism was the aim, that is, the acquisition of the second language slowly overpowering the mother-tongue (Garder and Kalin 1981).

The socio-psychological process of ethnic change and language shift has been described by other scholars as often traumatic, as in the case of the Mexican American experience. In the American education system, for example, when no attempt is made to promote or develop the Mexican child's ethnic self-esteem or to maintain his mother-tongue the following experience has been documented. "The Spanish-speaking child who encounters stern and imposing prohibitions against using his language not only is traumatized by a conflict he does not readily understand but is forced into a position of repudiating his cultural identity or else of perishing within the educational process" (Bouchard Ryan and Carranza in Giles 1977: 60).

Similar parallels are revealed in the case study when the grandchildren are stigmatized and physically punished by the teacher in the primary school for speaking their "Gypsy language" at school. If they were caught speaking the language in the yard, again the use of corporal punishment was the norm. Coupled with this, students were taught that the language they spoke was "not a real language", ie not a literary language. If they spoke Macedonian with their proslfigi school mates they were ridiculed. The attempt to proscribe the use of Macedonian and undermine the value of the home language has been described by my interviewee as "trying to drive a nail through our tongue."

The situation faced by the grandchildren on the homefront was the total rejection of the Greek language and the education process by their grandmother and mother who would burn the Greek language books and tell the children that they had their own language, thereby nullifying the education process. It also signalled a reinforcement of their individual self-worth as Macedonians and exemplifies the promotion of ethnic self-esteem.

The promotion of the inferiority of the Macedonian language, which implied the inferiority of such ethnic self-identification and the supe-

rriority of the Hellenic culture and people, was a psychological lever used in assimilating the Macedonian minority in Greece. This coupled with better life chances within the wider Greek society meant that the younger generation had to conform by becoming bilingual or risk a lower standard of living.

We can draw parallels with the Irish language to a certain extent especially where "The National School System itself established in 1831, excluded Irish, it was called the "murder machine" by Pearse. Also the famine and emigration which it prompted had their greatest effect in rural Irish speaking areas" (Edwards 1985: 54).

Moreover, there developed a negative attitude to the Irish language of "drudgery and backwardness". However, the Irish language was effectively destroyed and attempts to revive it occurred too late (Edwards 1985: 55).

The value of language as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness must not be underestimated. However, if we examine the level of prestige and economic advantage to be had by being educated in the dominant group language (Greek), given that Macedonians were not provided with the opportunity to become literate in their mother-tongue, it is understandable in some cases that Macedonians developed a sense that the Macedonian language and therefore being Macedonian was of an inferior status. This is clearly outlined in Fania's quote about her school experience.

"As a child, almost from the age that I could understand, I was taught that my people were lower class, my language was lower class, everything we did, customs, everything was inferior..."

However, her grandmother's reinforcement of her individual and ethnic self worth as Macedonian by destroying Greek books, refusing to speak Greek at home, maintaining her Macedonian culture and maintaining a very aggressive attitude towards the denationalization, is possibly the reason why Fania has maintained her Macedonian identity. Fania's grandmother was displaying aggressive ethnicity and this is also duplicated by Fania with her own children. On the other hand, individuals experiencing such situations may also react in the opposite way and accept the denationalization process without apparent resistance. In the Arvanitika study, those who suffered discrimination were determined that their children would not suffer in the same way because they would speak Greek (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 174). This is also present in the case study, particularly in reference to the second brother. Mito's family began to self-identify as Greek Macedonian, even though their command of Greek was somewhat limited. The psychological inter-

nalization of inferiority is the reason for this and the implications of this are enormous, especially if we are concerned with the development of the Macedonian language in the future. There is cause for concern in Aegean Macedonia, given that the number of "monoglots" are decreasing and bilingualism in Greek and Macedonian is increasing, especially amongst the younger generation. Future studies will have to be completed regarding language maintenance or shift in this context.

One point needs to be stressed, considerable Greek government resources have gone into promoting the supposed Hellenic background of Macedonians. The Institute of Macedonian Studies in Salonica and the Institute of Balkan Studies have worked tirelessly both in Greece and in countries of migration to define the supposed Hellenic parameters of the Macedonian ethny or "slavophone Greeks" as they call them. Thus continuing the development of an ethnospecific public Macedonian identity was impossible when the Greek state had the power of defining the parameters of the Macedonian "public" ethnicity, which in their definition was Hellenic in character.

The role of the Greek church in the assimilation process must also be mentioned because, historically, it was free to maintain a hold in the Macedonian region unhindered by the Ottomans. From the eighteenth century the powerful Patriarchate from Constantinople "not only robbed the congregations of their material possessions, they strove to deprive them of their most treasured immaterial possession, their racial identity" (West 1984: 642).

In contemporary times its influence is significant as revealed in the case study because it was mandatory for children to go to church on Sunday and this was reinforced through the education system, punishing students who did not go to church. In places of migration, the Greek Church also assumed control over Macedonians, with many Macedonians still to this day being afraid to enter the Macedonian churches for fear of reprisals against their families in their homeland. This was exemplified in the case study when one of the brothers would not be seen at any Macedonian community function or church. Other members of the extended family would not even attend the funeral of a close relative, namely Vane's wife, because the funeral was at the Macedonian church.

Apart from the "fear" element inherent in attending the Macedonian church, let us not underestimate the psychological effect of the internalized negative messages Macedonians have been receiving about their Macedonian background, namely that they had no "real" language, or culture or church, due to the fact that there had been little expression allowed of any positive "public" Macedonian political culture and identity.

Attending the Greek church for these Macedonians was and is also a way of gaining a "proper" or "acceptable" form of culture and identity. In order to gain a sense of self-worth and acceptance by the dominant social group, they continue to compromise their public Macedonian identity even though they now live in Australia. It is crucial to isolate this fact as it has been and is a covert form of socio-psychological pressure which was brought to bear during the Hellenization process. This occurred because these people were never given the opportunity to develop literacy in their mother-tongue and an education which affirmed their worth as Macedonians. During Turkish domination, it was illiteracy which 'saved' Macedonians from the Hellenization process (Friedman 1985), however in the 20th century, when Macedonia became part of the Greek state, the pressure of Hellenic cultural imperialism transcended the Greek church and was evident in all forms of social life. Macedonians were no longer isolated and distinct efforts were made by the authorities to teach the Greek language to everybody including the older generation. Fania's mother, aunt and grandmother all had to attend compulsory Greek classes.

One other point must be raised in reference to Macedonians and Greeks sharing the same Orthodox faith; justification for attending a Greek church is often given by way of claiming that "it is the same faith so the church is not important". The similarities of the faith have been promoted by the Greek Orthodox Church (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977: 175). In this context, I believe that Macedonians have also internalized and accepted church service in foreign languages because this has been a part of their recent historical past when Greece abolished the use of Old Church Slavonic in Aegean Macedonia under the Metaxas regime. Until then, even though the Macedonian Church had been officially abolished by the Ottomans, the use of Old Church Slavonic as a liturgical language (based on the Macedonian language) was the way in which the Macedonian language and identity were maintained.

Apart from the fear of attending the Macedonian church in Australia because of political ramifications for relatives in Macedonia (Price 1963: 317), some Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia could not come to regard the new Macedonian church as really their own because of the confusion inherent in the false propaganda that the Republic of Macedonia was really Yugoslav or Serbian. There is a confusion about the identity of Macedonians which has been promoted by vast propaganda campaigns that Macedonians living in Greece had always been part of the Greek civilization (Price 1963: 316) and were often called "Slavophone Greeks". This was done to foster or enforce a "split" or

differentiation between Macedonians in Australia. But in actual fact, the autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church was not re-established in the Republic of Macedonia, then part of Yugoslavia, until 1967, well after the building of the first Macedonian church outside of the Republic of Macedonia in 1960. The establishment of this church was not merely to serve the religious needs of the Macedonian community in Melbourne, but it was a symbol of their "conscientization" or national identity as Macedonians. In an internal Greek Government document "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia" dated 16th February, 1982 (Popov and Radin 1989), special recommendations were made to promote pro-Greek sentiment in Aegean Macedonia by holding "special teaching seminars for all state workers and for the clergy who work in the sensitive region of Macedonia". Furthermore, financial support has been given to cultural organizations in Lerin to "stage events, and to publish books, newspapers, magazines etc which would be sent to compatriots abroad who come from this region in order to strengthen nationalist feeling and to arm them against anti-Greek propaganda which is carried out by the Macedonian organizations".

As a result of the extensive denationalization policies, the erosion of ethnic self-affirmation in Macedonians of Aegean Macedonia has occurred because "ethnic self-esteem is susceptible to all kinds of political manipulation" (Roosens 1989: 18). Furthermore, Van den Berghe states that "typically, people do not consciously decide to assimilate or resist assimilation. They simply take a multitude of small daily decisions to behave in certain ways in certain situations" (Van Den Berghe 1981: 257).

The economic factor must never be underestimated in such situations because one of the main reasons in the case study for the extended display of hyperconformity is to secure the family's property and assets, particularly after the bulk of the land was lost by voicing their dissatisfaction with the status quo. In more recent times there is evidence that employment preference is given to Greek speaking personnel. "Workers and support personnel who do not know the local idiom (ie Macedonian) should be employed in state public services and in the schools" (The Conspiracy Against Macedonia, in Popov and Radin 1989).

Given this type of social context in Aegean Macedonia, one phenomenon that has emerged as a result of the assimilation program is the adaptation of a "pseudo-identity" or the suppression of Macedonian identity and the open adaptation of a type of Greek Macedonian identity in particular situations. This change in self-identification is the crux of the problematic in the case study and this was done on a conscious level. The socio-psychological implications of the emergence of such a pseudo

identity need to be addressed, especially if we perceive this phenomenon in terms of survival. If we accept the preservation of "self" as being the basic drive of human nature the adaptation of a pseudo identity in some situations is quite comprehensible. From a very young age the "fear" mechanism is triggered off both on a very overt and conscious level, like one's personal safety, but also on a subconscious level. Induced by the internalization of the negative reinforcement of denationalization policies, the long term effect still burdens Macedonians today and has been transmitted to subsequent generations.

This "fear complex", namely fear of losing property, denial of entry to Greece and reprisals against relatives, is still blatantly obvious today if one samples Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia living in Australia. The writer has witnessed Macedonians from Aegean Macedonian villages donating money to the Macedonian Human Rights Organization, but wanting their identity kept secret. The case study reveals the conflicts and problems the "fear complex" caused in this particular family leading to the split or differentiation. Even after years of settlement in Australia, "the power of the past" still has a psychological hold on some Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia.

It is not surprising that the source of agony and anxiety in the Macedonian homeland also can burden the immigrant in the new country in the form of a deliberate well-oiled machine which continued the Hellenization process of Macedonians abroad in the following forms. It effectively nurtured ethnic change and the development of the pseudo identity or mask that Macedonians adopt in order to survive on a social and psychological sense.

The Hellenization of Macedonians in Australia continued as follows:

(a) The establishment of the Pan Macedonian Association was meant as an umbrella organization for all mushrooming village organizations in Melbourne in the 1960-70s. It was the Greek version of "brotherhood" between Pontians, Thracians, Macedonians, Vlachs, Albanians and Greeks. Similar activities have been outlined in the Greek lobby in America where a "sense of common identity" was forged (Stack ed. 1981: 51). This was followed by the establishment of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies in 1987, which has been an anti-Macedonian lobby, promoting the Greekness of Macedonia in conferences held in Australia as well as lobbying against the teaching of the Macedonian language in Australia.

(b) The Greek print media publish specific material promoting the Greek identity amongst Macedonians in Australia which are still being circulated to village organizations and even the State education system

in Victoria. Such publications like *Makedoniki Zoi* (Macedonian Life) and others promote such ideas as the Greekness of Macedonia and promote false allegations about the Macedonian language, culture, ethnospecificity and the Republic of Macedonia. The misleading information presented in these publications centres on the Macedonian language being "an idiom, without syntax, grammatical components and spelling." Linguistic facts and arguments by DeBray (1980) and Friedman (1975, 1985) which outline the lack of logic and linguistic fact in such assertions are ignored in the attempt to prove that "Macedonians are Greeks" and that a "pseudo title" Macedonian Nation does not exist. In fact they hold that the name "Republic of Macedonia has been misappropriated by those in Skopje" (*Makedoniki Zoi* No. 60 1971).

(c) As outlined in the case study, spies (members of the extended family) report the activities of the emigre community back to the homeland. Furthermore the use of influential village individuals to promote pro-Greek sentiment both in the homeland and in Australia is also documented in "The Conspiracy Against Macedonia".

"In each village individuals should be designated who, because of their family ties and their personality, have influence on a wider circle of their co-villagers; they should be approached by any means (including monetary compensation) to become advocates leading the battle against the use of the idiom (ie Macedonian) in their circles" (in Popov and Radin: 1989).

(d) In countries of migration there is a history of anti-Macedonian activity perpetuated at Government level dating back to World War One when war allies Greece and Serbia applied pressure to the Canadian and United States governments to classify Macedonians as enemy aliens. This occurred after the Bulgarian alliance with Germany (Vasiliadis in Gold 1984: 65). For "so simple an action as speaking Macedonian" people were "fined or arrested for not registering as enemy aliens" (Vasiliadis in Gold 1984: 66). In Australia, the anti-Macedonian lobby has been active in sending letters and lobbying the Australian government, even to the extent of letters addressed to the Prime Minister and various government departments reprimanding Australian initiatives regarding the recognition and teaching of the Macedonian language, and in recent times lobbying against the recognition of a sovereign Macedonia.

(e) The role of the Greek priests in promoting the Hellenization process in Australia centred on church activities like christening children with Greek names even against the wishes of Macedonian parents, as exemplified in the case study where Fania tried to christen her second daughter Gordana but the Greek priest refused. Also in church the priests

reinforce the negative attitude to the use of the Macedonian language. The Greek church has assumed covert control over Macedonians, with many Macedonians still to this day being afraid to enter the Macedonian churches for fear of reprisals against their families in their homeland. Price documents Macedonians deliberately joining Greek organizations, particularly church and village organizations, to counter this fear as was exemplified in the case study when one of the brothers assisted the prosfigi migrants to Australia.

In the case study, the same brother is buried as a "good Greek" in order to accommodate the "fear complex". However, while he was giving a very public display of this Greekness, he still had a very firm conceptual understanding of who were Greeks, prosfigi, and Macedonians. This was only ever aired privately but along with the use and maintenance of the Macedonian language shows that he most certainly retained his private Macedonian identity as well. We come now to the crux of the problematic analysis regarding the way in which these Macedonian brothers self-identified. The contradiction inherent in this case study can systematically be defined with the use of dialectics.

(b) Understanding the Dialectic Process

In order to develop an objective critique about identity and to understand the contradictions of relationships, the complexities, problems and causes of the apparent ethnicity change/ crisis as outlined in the case study, we must apply the analytical to the concrete. It is in this way that I propose to investigate the case study. Truth is subjective and rather than falling into subjectivism, we need to separate the fundamentals in this problem to enable a deeper understanding of social phenomenon such as identity. In this case, the contradiction in the case study exemplifies the dialectics of identity. After examining a phenomenon in such a way, it is possible to work towards a synthesis. For Marx the separation of subject and object "provides the solution to the problem of the split between subjectivity and objectivity, idealism and materialism, mind and body" (Bologh 1978: 8). It also uncovers the active relation of subject and object which in turn should reveal the internal relationships of subject and object. So, in order to understand the split or the internal relationship between Macedonians and their identity, we must first separate Macedonians and their identity and look at each as separate components. If we look at Macedonians as the subject and their identity as the object we have in fact started the first stage of examination as shown in diagram 1.

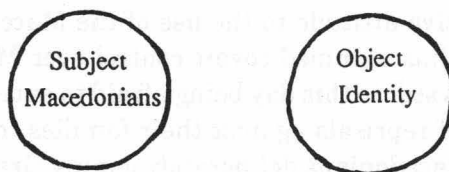


Diagram 1

Conversely, if we examine Macedonians as the objects of "external abstractions" namely denationalization or assimilationist policies, we see that this leads to a divided subject identity as in diagram 2 because of the internalization of the assimilation process.

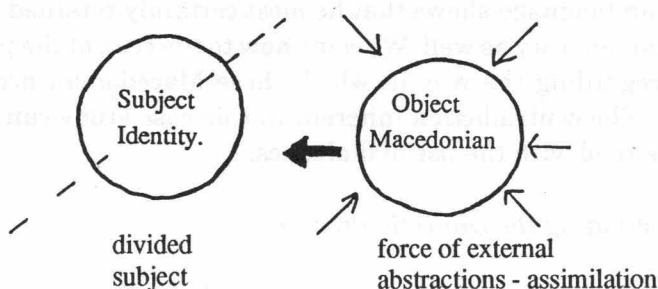


Diagram 2

The examination of the "ongoing subject-object" gives us a clue as to how this phenomenon is reproduced. The subsequent internalization of the assimilation policies manifested as a split subject are transferred as a divided object or apparent dual identity in diagram 3. We may interpret this as "divided subjectivity (re)presents itself as internal conflict" (Bologh 1979: 8). The contradiction is evident when internal struggle brings about change which manifests itself as the use of externally appropriate Greek Macedonian labelling.

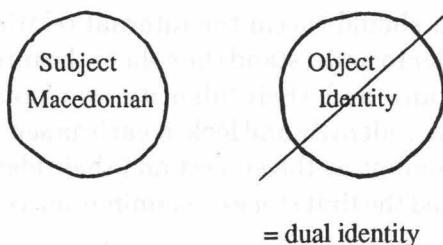
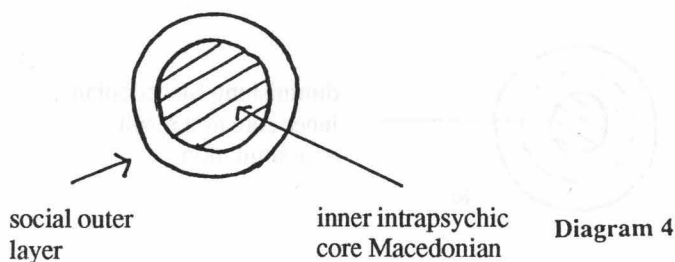


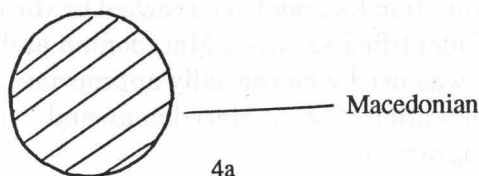
Diagram 3

In this case the externalized abstractions become an internalized reality in the way the subject perceives the object, that is the Macedonian and his or her identity. This is in line with Bologh's interpretation that "treating social human-made phenomena as given, makes them reified and hence oppressive" (Bologh 1979: 273).

On a micro level let us further examine the above dialectic object of identity using Roosens' anthropological viewpoint which explores the concept of creating ethnicity or ethnogenesis. He outlines the core or the internal "intrapsychic" dimension of ethnicity as well as the "social" dimension in referring to others (Roosens 1989: 15). In this case study it is the social "outer" core which is prone to accommodatory change. However, the intrapsychic core remains Macedonian and intact. See diagram 4. Whilst some Macedonians outwardly show signs of assimilation in order to survive in the social context they find themselves in, the inner core is not so manipulable. The Macedonian intrapsychic core remains Macedonian, in that he sees himself as nash (one of us). This is obvious in the way he refers to his kin or members of his community, the way he maintains his culture, traditions and language and is perplexed at the idea of his children marrying other nationalities, as occurred in the case study. If there were significant changes to the intrapsychic component, all the above-mentioned criteria would not be Macedonian but something else, illustrating the much deeper effect of assimilation.



If we make diagrammatic representation of Macedonian identity based on the Roosens model it would look something like this.



This represents Macedonian identity both social and intrapsychic which has not been affected by assimilation. Vane's family would be represented by this model because they possessed a very strong sense of ethnic self-esteem and self-identify as Macedonians in the social context and nashi in an intrapsychic sense. There is no duality of self-identification or inner conflict which produces a split between the social and intrapsychic component.

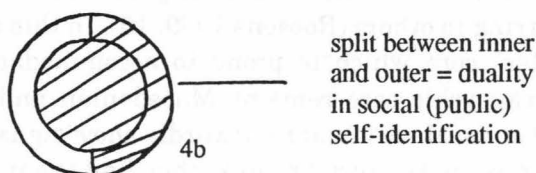
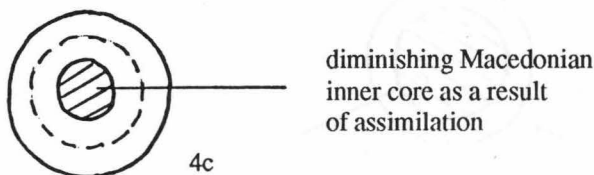


Figure 4b represents Macedonian identity with a split between the social and intrapsychic level as a result of the internalization of the assimilation process. However, the duality of self-identification, ie Greek Macedonian can also be represented as a "double split" on the social level because the Macedonian identity is also used in the appropriate social context. Note there is no split in the intrapsychic level.



As the assimilation process increases, the intrapsychic qualities begin to change as well as the social. As a result, language, traditions, and the concept of being Macedonian changes to a self-perception of being Greek and not wanting to identify as being Macedonian even on a personal level. This stage of assimilation had not been reached by the case study family who in public self-identified as Greek Macedonian and whose duality of self-identification was used when socially appropriate but who still had a very firm self-perception of being Macedonian and "one of us". They are represented by diagram 4b.

Clearly, the dialectic or contradiction in Macedonian identity is

centred on the social dimension which is more prone to change while the inner core remains the same. Because the outer core is manipulable, supposed ethnic change occurs on a superficial level, much as a chameleon changes its skin colour to blend into the surrounding social environment. Having internalized and accepted that their people may be culturally, linguistically, socially and economically inferior, some Macedonians attempt to convey the image that they are more Greek than the Greeks in an attempt to earn recognition and acceptance as equals. It is an interesting phenomenon that this process actually continues in Australia (Price 1963). Yeboah (1988) in his disquieting expose of ideology and racism of black people by western civilization outlines similar social behavior. For Macedonians the use of another external ethnic identity should be looked upon as a survival technique and this has been mentioned in contemporary Macedonian novels. For example, Petre Andreevski's *Nebeska Timjanovna* where a Macedonian would call him/herself Greek, Bulgarian or Serb in the course of one day because they were starving and absolutely destitute as a result of a continuation of wars and simultaneous oppression by different groups. This phenomenon, if not understood and placed in context, may be easily misinterpreted and thus have inaccurate conclusions drawn in terms of understanding the identity of this individual.

The dialectic put quite simply is this: regardless of how the outer shell or the external identity of Macedonians may change due to the internalization of denationalization processes, the inner or intrapsychic dimension remains Macedonian and "one of us". The dialectical complexity and contradiction most often misunderstood is that even though one must be born into an ethnic group, in social terms one's ethnicity is sometimes fluid. The findings of Gardner and Kalin in *Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations* concludes that "ethnic identity is not fixed and certain, ethnic identity can change although not easily and an individual can also at the same time and over a period of time identify with more than one ethnic group depending on the situation he finds himself in" (Gardner and Kalin ed. 1981: 17).

This is most certainly the case with the younger brother in the case study who has a dual ethnic identity, but what can be said of the brother who maintained his Macedonian identity and those who have continued to identify as Macedonians regardless of negative assimilatory practices. Roosens states "those who identify with an ethnic category network or group can find psychological security in this identification, a feeling of belonging, a certainty that one knows one's origin, that one can live on in the younger generations of one's people who will carry on the struggle.

One can commit oneself to "a cause", fulfil oneself, realize oneself to be unique, original, irreplaceable as a member of an ethnic group" (Roosens 1989: 16).

I believe that this reflects a very real element of Freire's "conscientization". Macedonians who maintain and develop their identity have arrived at this stage of awareness or "svest" which is simply an awareness and positive acceptance of one's Macedonian self. The fundamental key to understanding the dialectic of apparent duality in Macedonian identity and relationships Macedonians have with others and themselves is tied to the process of assimilation and/ or differentiation. Those who take on the externally appropriate hyperconformative alternative "pseudo" ethnic identity and call themselves Greek or Greek Macedonians are deliberately compromising socially and displaying signs of some assimilation, albeit on an outward level. However, on an inner private level, the Macedonian language is still spoken and customs are still observed and the family identifies as Macedonian. The reasons for this are varied as we have seen. Those who remain Macedonian and resist all pressure to change their ethnic identity do so because they have more "ethnic self esteem" and can repel or resist the denationalization forces. This type of situation leads to differentiation or the split which is evident in our present communities in Australia and many families around the world and which has also been documented in Price's 1963 study.

Furthermore, those who adopt the alternative ethnic identity, which is simply the internalization and reproduction of assimilation policies, are further disadvantaged because they lack the relevant education (knowledge about themselves) and literacy in their mother-tongue to be able to competently develop their own "intrapsychic" ethnic identity and esteem. They do not have the self confidence in their public Macedonian ethnic identity because they have never been given the opportunity via the education and social system to explore the dimensions of such development.

Therefore the above analytical theorizing is vital in the process of liberation. It clarifies the fact that human-made phenomena are merely "ongoing social accomplishment and subject to human intervention" (Bologh 179: 273). Dialectics shows us the way in which this takes place; how human-made forms of ethnic engineering are internalized and accepted as the truth by forthcoming generations. It is not sufficient to accept the subjective nature of such phenomena without further analysis because in doing so we fail to understand the true parameters of the situation Macedonians have endured. Dialectics shows the interplay of the relationships Macedonians have with their surrounding social en-

vironments. Freire gives us some insight into the process of assimilation in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. "The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom, they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized" (Freire 1970: 32).

Sally Weaver's (1984) analysis of Aboriginal ethnicity both in Australia and Canada makes special reference to the concept and development of public and private ethnicity. Unlike the indigenous populations of Australia and Canada, Macedonians did not inhabit the Balkan Peninsula entirely by themselves until the socio-political domination of their homeland by different nations. In the recent past, Aboriginal minorities have been more actively involved in their defining process or the development of their public identity, which was primarily in the hands of the nations where they exist as minorities.

Moving towards a synthesis in the case of the Macedonians, who exist as a "multi-statal" nation, this process of ethnic definition on a public level or the affirmation of public ethnicity is further complicated because they fall under four sets of defining processes within four separate nations. This in effect means that each nation defines their Macedonian minority as something different. What we can effectively summarize about the Macedonians is that their private ethnicity is very well developed and practised to the point that the situational qualities of that ethnicity have also been rationalized. For the Macedonians, the defining process of their public ethnicity as part of the political culture of their nation state is the area which has been suppressed and lacks development, hence the contradictions and juxtapositions frequently presented about Macedonians not being an ethnospecific group.

The development of the Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Federation after World War 2 was a crucial step in the defining process in terms of public ethnicity and political culture. This historical evolution was not totally complete as it was done within the framework and context of the Yugoslav brotherhood, which was not entirely relevant to Macedonians living outside the Republic in the other divided sections. Needless to say, it reflected in part the political culture of the Yugoslav nation and an emerging Yugoslav ethnic identity, as opposed to the development of the separate and complete Macedonian nation that was independent of the Federation.

The emergence of the Macedonian Republic has been a definite fillip to the defining process and the structures for defining the parameters of

a public Macedonian ethnic identity have been put into place. The growth of an education system, the recognition of the Macedonian literary language and increasing literacy in the Macedonian language have been major achievements in the past fifty years. The democratization of socialist countries has had ramifications for the Macedonian people who for the first time in their national development have a democratically elected Parliament. Macedonian public identity is emerging alongside a definite and separate political culture. The "ethnic self-confidence" or the process of conscientization that is encapsulated in the political culture of public ethnicity and definition is the vital component which given the partition is insufficiently developed in some areas of the Macedonian nation. The question one must ask based on this theoretical assumption is as follows: can the public ethnicity of a people be developed even if all areas of the nation don't develop simultaneously as in the case of the Macedonian homeland?

It would appear from the case study that one brother uses the migration experience to Australia and the distance from his troubled homeland to more fully develop and maintain his private identity, by practising his traditions and culture, becoming literate in his mother tongue and identifying as Macedonian. On a public level he also becomes involved in emerging Macedonian community organizations in Melbourne. Indeed, the development of autonomous Macedonian community and church organizations, as distinct from village organizations, reflects the strong state of the public ethnicity outside the divided nation in a neutral social setting that encourages ethnic diversity.

The opposite occurred with the second brother who retains his private ethnicity but does not develop it to the same extent as his brother. He develops the public ethnicity of the dominant socio-political group in his homeland, ie Greek. There were venues for this type of development in the Australian social context as well. The benefits of such ethnic duality are clear in terms of economic gain but also in psychological terms where acceptance is being sought from the dominant social group. This may be interpreted as the Kleinian concept of reparation or mending the relationship with the dominant group in his homeland which often ostracized and mistreated the family.

The power equation, particularly in reference to minority groups and national governments, is tied directly to the "defining game". The accurate definition and promotion of a distinct and honest Macedonian past and present, and especially of a public Macedonian ethnicity and political culture, has not been to the economic and social advantage of countries such as Greece and Bulgaria where ethnic pluralism and diversity are

suppressed. If we understand that frequent misinformation is presented about the definition of Macedonians, the dialectics of the Macedonian identity crisis as a result of assimilatory practises becomes very comprehensible.

The new Greek Macedonian identity which has been promoted by the Greek Government, particularly in immigrant countries such as Australia, has been a way of utilizing the internalized duality of an oppressed people. This idea supports the notion that Macedonian is synonymous with the idea of Greekness. This has been nurtured and supports the apparent duality, both social and public, which has been internalized and reproduced as the assimilatory process began to work.

The concept of private and public ethnicity is the fundamental thread in understanding the dialectic of the identity crisis revealed in the case study, resultant from deliberate assimilation policies in the Macedonian homeland. The parallels with Weaver's analysis of Australian and Canadian Aborigines are evident because of the colonization experience. Public ethnicity and the process of defining the parameters of national culture can only develop in a social environment where the individual and group have freedom of speech and the right to demand change. The freedom of expression, language, culture and religion without fear of overt or covert persecution is an essential ingredient for the development of "national consciousness" and "ethnic self esteem"; thereby facilitating the development of group self-identification in the public political arena.

If we accept Devos' idea that "ethnicity in its deepest psychological level is a sense of survival" (Devos et al 1975: 25) in terms of acquiring a sense of self, Macedonians have had to contend with the internalization of a negative self image or negative social identity which further complicates the individual's ability and disposition to develop his/ her public Macedonian ethnicity. This is in line with Mead's idea that "in acquiring a sense of self, one internalizes a generalized other", therefore it is quite conceivable that individuals in lower status minority groups "cannot resist some internalization of a negative self image" (Devos 1975: 31).

The case study gives us a concrete insight into the assimilation process and its inherent intrapsychic complexities. It shows a closeknit Macedonian extended family who had a clear self-identification as being Macedonian, as distinct from the other groups in their homeland. They were a family with hostile and bitter experiences of the incoming refugee population and Greek regional authorities before coming to Australia. The brothers, instead of developing a clear sense of their Macedonian self along similar lines, as a result of their past experiences, develop apart. When responding to racist culture "defensive responses of psychological

differentiation" (Giles 1977: 234) are quite evident in the split between the brothers' families.

The brother who was in Australia for longer on work migration had not internalized such a negative self image and developed a very clear social and intrapsychic sense of his Macedonianness in the form of both public and private identity. The brother who had remained in his homeland for longer had internalized the oppression and negativity inherent in the degradation of the Macedonian minority by the more powerful social force as he and his family were subject to the socio-psychological pressures of Hellenization. Whilst he has a very clear sense of his private Macedonian identity, he takes on a new outer public identity when situationally appropriate. However, he does have a very strong sense of injustice in terms of what the family experienced in the homeland, but a resignation to the fact that the family must accept the Greek line if they don't want to lose any more. He had surrendered.

Conclusion

The main thrust of this work has been the isolation of the dialectic of public and private identity in Macedonians. The next scholarly task must be the development of a synthesis or a solution to help Macedonians develop a positive self-image and heal their collective Macedonian psyche to offset generations of racism and oppression, so as to facilitate the further development of this nation into the 21st century. I believe this synthesis can only be written from within this oppressed culture and that process in itself will be liberating. I believe that this task lies with the scholars, but should then be transformed into a socially palatable form of community development or community education. The development of a public political culture which is fundamental in this process is well on the way as a result of the democratization of former socialist countries. More succinctly, the recent declaration of Macedonian sovereignty, which has been termed by Macedonians as their third Ilinden, reflects and exemplifies the modern Macedonian national consciousness that has taken a century to affirm to the world.

At the turn of the century when Macedonian revolutionary activity was at its height, Goce Delchev (revolutionary leader of the Macedonian nation) was often quoted as referring to the revolution for Macedonian autonomy as extending beyond the physical and bloody fighting with the Ottoman empire and other powers. It was in fact described as the "spiritual revolution of an enslaved people".

"... the moral revolution - the revolution of the mind, heart and soul of

an enslaved people is our greatest task" (Letter, March 1901).

"... the Internal Organization is not only involved in arming the people, but also in developing their enslaved soul" (7 April, 1901 Congress Sofia - translated by the writer from Andonov-Poljanski 1985: 206-208).

This type of revolution was aimed at the development of a positive self and national image and a public political culture.

Taken from an Englishwoman's journal at the turn of the century, Lady E Thompson outlines relief work undertaken by the Macedonian Relief Fund established by the Balkan Committee after the Ilinden Insurrection of August, 1903. She outlines the following observations about the devastating state of oppression the Macedonians found themselves in, making Delchev's statements comprehensible.

"There is too, an illness, more or less serious, and sometimes fatal, peculiar to Macedonia, openly avowed by the sufferers and recognized by name by the doctors - *straf* (fear). How many women, and men too, did we not see this winter literally bent to the ground, unable to lift up their heads, unable to work, unable to speak and yet organically sound and uninjured" (Ilieva 1977: 144).

Fear was the "constant and characteristic disease" which continued to afflict the Macedonian people even after the end of Ottoman rule and the subsequent division. The following Macedonian proverb crystalizes the psychological effects of oppression and fear as internalized by the Macedonian people and gives us a glimpse of their psyche:

"Navedena glava, ni sabja ne ja seche."

Translated literally it means "a sword will not behead a head that is bent down". The figurative meaning is also present in the word 'navedena' or to bend down, meaning that if one surrenders to one's fate and accepts enslavement, one will be spared from death by the oppressor. Submission as opposed to action. Accepting a pseudo identity may be interpreted as one of those acts where the Macedonian hangs his head or compromises in order to survive. This is only one of the dimensions of oppression culture inherent in the Macedonian psyche which has been outlined in this paper and is fundamental to a better understanding of the Macedonian people.

Appendix I



From (Ladas 1932: 701)

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Declaration Of The "Child Refugees"

The Association of Refugee Children From The Aegean Part of Macedonia

This is the declaration of the first gathering in Australia of the child refugees from the Aegean part of Macedonia, held in Melbourne on January 10 to 12, 1992

We, the former child refugees from the Aegean part of Macedonia, present citizens and residents of Australia, participants in this our first mass gathering held in Melbourne, Australia from 10-12 January 1992, look back to that distant year 1948, when, as part of a total number of 28,000 children aged between two and fifteen, we were forced to flee our homeland and loved ones in order to save ourselves from the bombardments and programs which were being carried out against the progressive forces and the Macedonian partisans at the height of the civil war then raging in Aegean Macedonia and Greece.

To this very day we have been denied the right to return to our homeland by successive Greek regimes on account of the preservation and promotion of our Macedonian identity.

We, the innocent victims of that war, look back solemnly to that tragedy in memory of the catastrophe which affected thousands of children, which wrote thousands of sad pages in our national and personal history, in order that it never be forgotten. However, we also look back to that tragedy because of our ardent and sincere wish that such events, which unfortunately still rock the world to this very day, never occur again.

This process of re-experiencing the pain that we felt 44 years ago is at the same time an affirmation of the indestructible spirit of our people which raises its voice not only in defence of its own human rights, but also those of all people throughout the world who are deprived of them.

Inspired by our desire that the message of this gathering be a voice of protest against all these injustices done to mankind in whatever part of the world, and in the name of humanity, democracy and cooperation between all peoples, we, the exiled child refugees from Aegean Macedonia, hereby make before the Australian Government, Australian and world democratic forces, the United Nations (UN), the European

Community (EC), the Council of Europe, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and those countries which accepted and gave us asylum after the flight from our homeland - the CIS (USSR), Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czech and Slovak Republic, Albania, Bulgaria, Germany (then East Germany) and Yugoslavia - the following DECLARATION AND DEMANDS:

WE DEMAND

(1) An immediate end to the policy of forced assimilation of Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria, including the cessation of the settlement of ethnic Greeks from the former USSR and Albania in Aegean Macedonia, Greece;

(2) The repeal of all discriminatory Greek legislation such as Law No. 106841 of 28.12.1982 (which denies the return to Greece of all political refugees who are not "ethnic Greeks"), Law No. 1540/85 of 10.4.1985 (which also prevents the return of property to political refugees who are not "ethnic Greeks") and the 1983 law with which degrees obtained in the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia ceased to be recognized on the grounds that the "Macedonian language is not internationally recognized", a false claim given that the UN does recognize the Macedonian language;

(3) The free return of all Macedonians, including all former child refugees, former partisans and their children, to Greece, whether for purposes of resuming residence or for family or humanitarian visits. The abolition of visas for Macedonians from the Macedonian Republic wishing to visit Greece for short-term stays;

(4) The immediate cessation of discrimination in the fields of education and employment as well as in cultural, social and political life against Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania;

(5) The enactment of legislation (including constitutional recognition) in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania which expressly recognizes the ethno-specificity of the Macedonian people and its history, language and culture and accords it the status of an official minority;

(6) Recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church by Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian state and ecclesiastical authorities;

(7) The creation of conditions which enable Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania to participate freely in the political life of their respective countries, including representation at all levels of government and the civil services;

(8) Measures which enable Macedonians in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania to receive their primary and secondary education and if possible, their tertiary education, in the Macedonian language on an equal footing

with instruction in the national language;

(9) Administrative and legal measures by Greece, Bulgaria and Albania which provide for the use of the Macedonian language in local administration and in decentralized government services and recognition of Macedonian personal, place and geographical names in official documentation;

(10) Greece, Bulgaria and Albania to introduce measures in respect of the mass media, including full access for Macedonians to local, regional and central public and commercial broadcasting systems and the free production and dissemination of Macedonian-language papers, literature and written works;

(11) Measures which ensure the free use of the Macedonian language when directly participating in cultural facilities and activities in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania;

(12) Adoption of measures by Greece, Bulgaria and Albania which ensure free movement across state borders for Macedonians for the purposes of cultural maintenance, family and humanitarian visits, and in pursuit of the goals of freedom of association;

(13) Immediate recognition by the Greek authorities of the Committee for the Defence of Macedonian Human Rights and the "Centre for Macedonian Culture" in Lerin (Florina). Immediate recognition by Bulgaria of OMO "Ilinden", VMRO "Ilinden" (Independent) and all other genuinely ethnic Macedonian organizations. Cessation of reprisals against Macedonian human rights activists and members of the abovementioned organizations in Greece and Bulgaria;

(14) An immediate end to the aggressive and negationist policies practised against the Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonians which live within its borders by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia which represent a danger for the continued existence of our nation state. The cessation of Greek Government-dictated campaigns of destabilization of Macedonian communities in Australia, Canada, USA and Western Europe.

We resolutely condemn the senseless adventurism of the present Serbian leadership whose expansionist policies not only threaten the continued existence and independence of the Republics of Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia & Hercegovina, but peace throughout Europe as a whole.

We appeal to the progressive and democratically-minded governments and peoples of the world to recognize the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. Such recognition represents a moral obligation for all well-intentioned people who truly respect the right to self-determination.

We firmly believe that the realization of the abovementioned demands

shall contribute to Macedonia being transformed from an apple of discord between the Balkan States into a uniting force which will bring about conditions for lasting peace and stability in the Balkans and the promotion of the processes of European integration and cooperation. We strive for a Europe without frontiers, however without recognition of the Macedonian people and nation there will be no peace in the Balkans or Europe as a whole.

Let Australia's policy of multiculturalism which has created conditions in which we, the former child refugees, are able to preserve and develop our rich Macedonian culture, serve as a shining example to Greece, Bulgaria and Albania and to all the countries of the world where human rights are trampled and violated.

Let the world know about the terrible tragedy that we experienced as children. May our tragedy motivate all progressive-minded people throughout the world to unite in a strong front in the struggle against all forms of injustice and denial of basic human rights and degradation of the aspiration to freedom and peace.

Long live Macedonia, long live the Macedonian people and its noble, universal struggle.

Submission On The 28,000 Ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees"

Aegean Macedonian Association of Australia

This submission was made by the Aegean Macedonian Association of Australia to the Federal Government's Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade: Human Rights Sub Committee, July 16, 1993.

Subject Matter: 28,000 Ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" Of The Greek Civil War (1946-1949)

More than 28,000 ethnic Macedonian children between the ages of 2 - 14 became "Child Refugees" as a consequence of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949).

The Times, December 3, 1948, reported - by the spring of 1949, the estimated total was approaching 30,000.

The plight of the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees", who went into exile and lived in refugee camps and hostels provided by Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania is best illustrated in the 40th anniversary book titled "1948-1988: The Exodus of the Children from the Aegean Part of Macedonia", a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

This tragic event led to the United Nations on November 27, 1948 adopting unanimously Resolution 193 C (III) reproduced hereunder:

"The General Assembly recommends the return to Greece of Greek children at present away from their homes when the children, their father or mother, in his or her absence, their closest relative, express a wish to that effect;

"Invites all the Members of the United Nations and other states on whose territory these children are to be found, to take the necessary measures for implementation of the present recommendation;

"Instructs the Secretary-General to request the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to organize and ensure liaison with the National Red Cross organizations of the states concerned with a view to empowering the national Red Cross organizations to adopt measures in the respective

countries for implementing the present recommendation".

Ethnic Greek refugees from the Civil War have been allowed to repatriate to Greece. The most notable is Markos Vafiades, commander of the communist guerillas and illegal "Prime Minister" during the 1946-1949 Greek Civil War, who was allowed to return to Greece from exile after which he became a Socialist MP in 1989 and 1990. The Times, February 24, 1992 at page 13 "Obituary Column" gave a historical perspective of him, a copy of which is annexed and marked with the letter "A".

Refugees from other crises have also been allowed to enter Greece. On March 1, 1990 the Greek Government made an application to the Council of Europe (EEC) to part finance a program for the reception and re-settlement of 100,000 people of Greek origin who are refugees from the USSR, a copy of the front page of which is annexed and marked with the letter "B".

However, the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" have been legally denied repatriation to their homes in Greece to reclaim their citizenship and ancestral property. This is evidenced by the following specific current legislation:

1. On December 28, 1982 the Greek Parliament passed Law 106841/82 which allows only political emigrants who are "Greek by origin" (ethnic Greeks) to repatriate to Greece and the effect of this law is to clearly discriminate against ethnic Macedonians.

2. On April 10, 1985, the Greek Parliament passed Law 1540/85 which deals with the return of property seized by the Greek state in the wake of the Civil War from political refugees and internees, and blatantly discriminates against ethnic Macedonians by limiting the definition of political emigrants to only "Greek by origin" (ethnic Greeks).

A Case History

Apostolis Radis, an ethnic Macedonian living in Poland, is just one such "Child Refugee" whose application to repatriate to his home in Greece was refused by the Greek Government on the grounds that Mr Radis is not a refugee of "Greek origin" pursuant to Law 106841/82.

The relevant correspondence in this regard is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "C" -

1. Letter from the Greek Ministry of Interior dated January 16, 1984.
2. Letter from the Greek Ministry of Interior dated March 24, 1986.
3. Letter from the United Nations Centre for Human Rights dated April 11, 1986.

4. Letter from Apostolos Radis to the United Nations Centre for Human Rights dated June 14, 1986.

5. Letter from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Greece in Geneva dated January 19, 1987.

6. Letter from United Nations Centre for Human Rights dated May 5, 1987.

7. Letter by Apostolos Radis to United Nations Centre for Human Rights Geneva dated September 20, 1987.

International Covenant

The Greek Law 106841/82 contravenes the General Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, particularly Article 13, which states:

"2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

This law removes the right of ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to return to their own country (Greece).

The Greek Law 1540/85 contravenes the General Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, particularly Article 17, which states:

"No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

This law removes the right of ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to claim their ancestral homes.

The Australian Perspective

There are currently 550 ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" living in Australia. These Australian citizens are deprived by the Greek Government from repatriating to Greece and claiming their ancestral property.

Many of these Australian citizens have on numerous occasions tried to journey back to Greece by crossing the Greek/Macedonian border only to be refused the right of entry.

On one such occasion in 1988, the 40th anniversary of their exile from Greece, more than 100 Australian Macedonian "Child Refugees" were among 3,000 Macedonian "Child Refugees" who took part in a reunion in Skopje, Macedonia. About 50 Western Australians were believed to be among 250 "Child Refugees" who were stopped at the Greek border and held under duress. This event was reported by the Perth Sunday Times, July 17, 1988 in an article titled "Perth Group in Border Block", a copy of which is annexed and marked "D".

An insightful discussion of the issues pertaining to the Macedonian "Child Refugees", combined with an analysis of anti-Macedonian Greek laws, is contained in the book "What Europe Has Forgotten: The Struggle of the Aegean Macedonians" annexed herewith.

Conclusions

It is clear that the Greek Government has failed to comply with United Nations Resolution 193 C (III) of November 27, 1948 in respect to the repatriation of the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to Greece.

It is well documented that ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" are denied their basic human rights by the Greek Government, particularly their right to repatriate to their homes in Greece, and reclaim their citizenship (denied by Law 106841/82) and ancestral property (denied by Law 1540/85).

It is noted that Law 106841/82 was used by the Greek Government to deny the application for repatriation to Greece of one, Apostolos Radis (an ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugee" residing in Poland).

Ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" such as Apostolos Radis, who have been denied the return of their citizenship by virtue of Law 106841/82 are consequently unable to reclaim their confiscated ancestral property pursuant to Law 1540/85.

Proposals

The Australian Government to use its good offices in the United Nations to raise the issue of the repatriation of the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to Greece, in compliance with UN Resolution 193 C (III) of November 27, 1948.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece its refusal to allow repatriation of the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to Greece.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece the nature and effect of discriminatory law of 106841/82 as it applies to ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees".

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece its refusal to allow ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to claim their ancestral property in Greece, which was confiscated by the Greek Government after the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece the nature and effect of discriminatory law 1540/85 as it applies to ethnic

Macedonian "Child Refugees".

In the alternative:

The Australian Government to use its good offices in the United Nations to raise the issue of the repatriation to Greece of the 550 Australian citizens who are ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees", in compliance with UN Resolution 193 C (III) of November 27, 1948.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece its refusal to allow the repatriation of the 550 Australian citizens who are ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to Greece.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece the nature and effect of discriminatory law of 106841/82 as it applies to the 550 Australian citizens who are ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees".

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece its refusal to allow 550 Australian citizens who are ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" to claim their ancestral property in Greece confiscated by the Greek Government after the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949.

The Australian Government to raise with the Government of Greece the nature and effect of discriminatory law 1540/85 as it applies to 550 Australian citizens who are ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees".

The Association would like to thank the members of the Committee for the opportunity to make this submission in respect to the tragic plight of the ethnic Macedonian "Child Refugees" from Greece.

OBITUARIES

MARKOS VAFIADES

Markos Vafiades, who fought with ELAS partisans against the Germans in occupied Greece and subsequently commanded the communist forces in the Greek civil war of 1946-49, died in Athens on February 22 aged 84. He was born on January 28, 1906, in Theodosia, now Tsoia, in Asia Minor.

MARKOS Vafiades, or "General Markos" as he was known in his subsequent days, fought with the communist ELAS resistance to German occupation of Greece during the war years and then took command of the communist armies in their attempt to ensure that Greece remained within the communist fold. Highly successful in the first undertaking, in the second he and the communists were totally defeated. But it was a chieftain thing. Only someone American and to the nationalist forces in the wake of alarmed British warnings in the USA about the extent of communist success, and the sealing off of their Yugoslav leaders by a Tito who had by then fallen out with the Russians, turned the tide in 1947 when everything seemed to be going the communist way. The real end in the Soviet Union was Markos's lot, an increasingly uncomfortable experience as Soviet gratitude for his efforts for the cause wore thin. Eventually Vafiades was allowed to return to Greece where he served as a socialist member of parliament until his death.

Markos Vafiades was the sixth of seven children of a teacher in one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. He received a decent elementary school education but was orphaned at the age of 14 when he moved to Istanbul, taking odd jobs to support his two sisters. He came to Greece as a refugee in 1923 in the aftermath of the Asia Minor disaster — the Greek invasion of Turkey that cost Greece enclaves on the Ionian coastline which had been Greek for more than 2,500 years. Vafiades obtained work as a tobacco labourer in the north-eastern city of Kavala.

He joined the Greek communist party (KKE) while still in his teens and was appointed to the central committee of the party's youth movement. During the 1930s he was several times sentenced to imprisonment and internal exile before and during the right wing dictatorship of General Ioannis ("Little



John") Metaxas. When, in April 1941, the Germans invaded Greece, Vafiades was enjoying one such period of exile at Gavdos, Greece's southernmost island, off Crete. He escaped and joined the ELAS communist resistance movement. He was soon appointed political leader of the Macedonian Command Committee in his capacity as a central committee member of the KKE. It was at this time that he first demonstrated the flair for soldiering and the readiness to learn from the Greek regular army officers active with the guerrillas that were to give him a lead role in the subsequent civil war.

The first communist attempt to seize power in Greece was defeated in December 1944 with the help of British troops who had moved into

Greece as the Germans pulled out, with the aim of preserving the country as a predominantly western interest. This was a concession Churchill had extracted from Stalin, in exchange for a recognition of Soviet rights over Bulgaria and Romania. In the bargaining between the three allied leaders over the apportionment of post-war spheres of influence.

The second attempt to seize power, which led to the 1946-49 civil war, opened with the formation of the Greek Democratic Army, the communist successor to the partisan ELAS. Appointed its commander, Vafiades adopted the title "General Markos" and provided strong and able leadership. By September 1946 he had set up communist outposts in northern Greece from which to

launch his and run attacks — tactics which he so much enjoyed — in his study of their usage by Mao Tse-tung during the revolutionary struggle in China. He was, perhaps rightly, convinced that they provided the sole hope of eventual victory for the communists in Greece.

The communist movement appeared to be well on the way to victory early in 1947 when resolute difficulties forced Britain to warn the Americans that it would have to discontinue military aid to the Greek government and withdraw its troops. The United States responded with the Truman Doctrine, the pledge by President Harry S. Truman of assistance to "free peoples against movements seeking to impose on them totalitarian regimes".

This translated into military backing for the Greek government that virtually assured communist defeat, though the civil war was to continue for another two years. When a Greek communist "provisional democratic government" was set up in exile in Albania, Vafiades became its prime minister and defence minister as commander in the field of the communist forces. However, this government failed to secure recognition even from the Soviet Union and from the three Balkan countries — Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria — which provided it with aid and refuge. Government in exile was also defeated in successive attempts to seize a Greek town as seat of government.

A conflict developed between Vafiades and the Greek communist party leader, Nikos Zachariades, who forced him, against his better judgment, to abandon his successful hit and run tactics for conventional warfare. The open lines when this led to military reverses Zachariades was able not only to accuse him of being an incompetent but also to charge him with being a British agent. Vafiades was dismissed from all his posts and expelled from the communist party in 1948. Tito now withdrew the asylum in Yugoslavia to which the communist forces had been accustomed and Albania and Bulgaria were also denied to them. Zachariades launched a desperate all-out final attack in Greece but was defeated at the battles of Gramos and Vitsi on the Greek side of the mountain border in the summer of 1949, and the civil war was over. Vafiades fled to Albania where, for some time he was under house

arrest in the Albanian capital. Eventually he was allowed to go to the Soviet Union in 1949, but did so virtually in disgrace, having fallen out with his own party and labouring under the twin stigmas of being variously an agent of British and Yugoslav intelligence. Since, by then, Tito was Stalin's *bête noir* but having taken Yugoslavia out of the Soviet bloc, these were difficult times for Vafiades and like-minded Greek communists who had taken refuge in the USSR. Following Stalin's death in 1953, Markos and his companions were rehabilitated at the sixth congress of the Greek communist party, which now excluded Zachariades. But the fear of successive Greek centrist and right wing governments still ensured that Vafiades and his fellow exiles received no invitation home. Vafiades spent the next 34 years working as a watch repairer in a provincial town, under the name Vasili Ivanovic Kuliev. Indeed, at the years went by there were about 25,000 Greeks, many of them children of the original exiles, in the Soviet Union, concentrated mainly on the Uzbek capital, Tashkent, where they kept up their culture and traditions.

When, in 1983, with the socialist (PASOK) party of Andreas Papandreu in power, Markos was reunited with other communists and he returned to Greece on March 25, the anniversary of Greece's declaration of independence from the Ottoman empire in 1921. He wrote his memoirs in two volumes and, though never joining the socialist party, was elected in 1989 as an independent member of the Greek parliament on the PASOK ticket.

Vafiades was a man who could always raise a smile for public scrutiny but was nevertheless often bitter at heart. In a final television interview last December he was still declaring his faith in communism as an ideology, blaming the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev for the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Yet he recognised that the Greek communists had only themselves to blame for their defeat, acknowledging that it would have been wiser if they had participated in elections in 1946.

Married in 1956, he is survived by his wife and a son, Vladimir, who are still living somewhere in the former Soviet Union.

KATE TER HORST

Kate Ter Horst, "the angel of Arnhem", died in a road accident on February 21 aged 85. She was born on July 6, 1906.

KATE Ter Horst, a gifted, determined and courageous Dutch woman, won a unique place in the hearts of the 1st British Airborne Division through her heroism during the nine days of desperate action in September 1944 to secure the Arnhem Bridge.

The affection in which she was held was demonstrated by the many veterans of the battle who visited her every year, to whom she was known as "the angel of Arnhem". Kate Arriens was the daughter of a Dutch naval officer. Married in 1930 to a lawyer, Jan ter Horst, she came in 1941 to live in the old pastor's house at Horsterlee, a small town in the west of Arnhem. It was this house which quickly became a first medical post when the airborne troops landed on September 17, 1944, at the start of the Battle of Arnhem.

Her husband was cut off from the house by the fighting but she remained there with her five children throughout the eight days of the battle. The house was badly damaged in the ferocious fighting: one shell went straight through it, but in the basement the minimised casualties to the wounded and dying: more than 200 lay packed on the floor at any one time. She sat there every evening she had with them. At the height of the fighting the red blooded Psalm 91, "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress..." a scene portrayed movingly by Sir Ullmann in the film *Bridge Too Far*. When the

battle was over more than 50 British soldiers were buried in a grave in her garden and she and her children were forced to leave their home immediately with small cash hoards of possessions. But some years later the horror of the battle returned tragically when her first son jumped from a tree in her garden on to an unexploded mine and was killed instantly.

Kate Ter Horst was a reserved participant rather than a hero of the commemoration of the Battle of Arnhem initiated by her husband, as mayor of Horsterlee, and by General Irwin, who had commanded the 1st Airborne Division throughout the battle.

The veterans, from general to private soldier, who came to her year after year had a special place in her heart. Her profound spiritual strength, which had carried her through the ordeal of the battle of Arnhem, was felt by all who knew her. She was a person of great modesty, but was intensely proud of the honorary 1301st which had been awarded to her.



APPRECIATION

Robin Johnston

YOUR excellent account (February 21) of Robin Johnston's wartime record as a renowned fighter pilot made no mention of his post-war

and confused on thought. Robin did not see and did not... On the strength of this briefing Mr. Johnston had the Governor, Sir Edward Twining, the following day that

"B"

COUNCIL
OF EUROPE



CONSEIL
DE L'EUROPE

Strasbourg 20 March 1990
7932.90
000-21/3/90-4-B

Confidential
Fonds/Projet 932 (1990)

Or. Fr.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Application of 1 March 1990
from the Greek Government on behalf of the
Agricultural Bank of Greece (ABG) for a loan
of USD 300,000,000 or ECU 247,524,800
to part-finance a programme for the reception
and resettlement of 100,000 refugees of Greek
origin from the USSR

- I. Governor's report on the technical and financial aspects of the project (pages 2 and 3).
- II. Opinion of the Secretariat of the Partial Agreement on the Social Development Fund as to admissibility (pages 4 and 5).
- III. Referral to the Administrative Council and Governor's recommendation (page 6).

APPENDIX - Project abstract (page 7).



Fifty years
Council of Europe
Quarante ans
Conseil de l'Europe

This document will not be distributed at the meeting. Please bring this copy.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΣΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ
Δ/ΝΣΗ ΙΘΑΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ
ΤΜΗΜΑ Α

ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΙΚΟ

Αθήνα,

Αριθμ. Ερωτ. 68 5746/83

ΚΟΙΝ: 1. ΥΠ.Ε.Α. - Β1/2

Ε.Υ.Τ.Ο.Δ.Θ.Α

2. Τμήμα Α' Ιθαγένειας.

ΟΠΩΣ: Απορρίπτεται αίτημα ανανέωσης Ελληνικής Ιθαγένειας του
Απόστολου Ραδισ, γιου του Δημήτρη και της Ευδοκίας

Α.Η.Ε.Ο.Α.Ε.Η

Ο ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ

"Σχοντας υπόψη:

1. Τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 19 του Ν.Ε.τος 3370/55 "περί Κώδικα
Ελληνικής Ιθαγένειας".

2. Την Αριθ. 11.10.1983 αίτηση του Αποστόλου
. περί ανανέωσης της ελληνικής
ιθαγένειας που τρέχει απειράσθηκε με την Αριθ. 21.12.1983
απόφαση του Υπουργείου, δυνάμει των διατάξεων του ανωτέρω άρθρου.
Επίσης, 8/39452-362021/Α.Ε.Ε. 1983 έγγραφο της ΥΠ.Ε.Α.

3. Την 11.15.1983, 21.12.1983 γνωμοδότηση του
Εμβουλίου Ιθαγένειας, σύμφωνα με την οποία δεν συντρέχουν λόγοι
που να δικαιολογήσουν την ανάκληση της απειράστικης της Ελληνικής ιθαγένειας
του εν λόγω και για τους λόγους που ειδικότερα αναφέρονται
ο' αυτή

ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣΤΕΛΕ

Απορρίπτουμε το αίτημα του Αποστόλου Ραδισ, γιου του Δημήτρη και της
Ευδοκίας, περί ανανέωσης της Ελληνικής Ιθαγένειας.

Ο Γενικός Γραμματέας

Ο Υπουργός

ΠΡΟΤΟΙ ΤΕΛΕΜΑΤΑ

Translation of enclosure 10

Confidential

Republic of Greece
Ministry of Interior
Department of Citizenship
Citizenship Section

Duplicate

Athens, 16.01.1984
No EII 5746/83

1. Office of Public Security - B1/2
- local -
2. Citizenship Section - I

Ref: the rejection of the demand of Mr Apostolos Radis, the son of Dimitr and Evdokia, for the recovery of Greek citizenship.

The Decision
The Minister of Interior

According to:

1. The regulation clause 19 Law No ND/3370/55 - Code of Greek Citizenship.
2. The above mentioned application dated 17.10.1983 in the matter of the recovery of Greek citizenship, which on January 21, 1960 was taken away from him by the Minister's Order on the basis of the Act L-2/1947.
3. The letter of the Office of Public Security - No 8/39452-362021 dated 2.12.1983.
4. The regulation of the Council for Affairs of Citizenship, in accordance with that regulation there is a lack of reasons justifying the recovery of Greek citizenship.

We have decided:

to reject the demand of Mr Apostolos Radis, the son of Dimitr and Evdokia, for the recovery of Greek citizenship.

The signatures:

1-/ Members of Commission
unreadable signatures

1-/ Secretary
Pandeli Tsuras

1-/ Chairman
Georgos Gennimatas

Enclosure 10

"C" (1)

"C" (2)

Enclosure 6

ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ
 ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑ ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ
 ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ
 Αριθ. Πρωτ. 425..
 Αριθ. Πρωτ.



ΠΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟ

Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑΣ
 ΠΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΕΙ ΟΤΙ:

ο Ράδης Αναστάσιος
 του Δημητρίου και της Ευδοκίας
 το γένος Βαγγιλιώτη γεννημένος στ Ο. Γιαννοχώρι
 κάτοικος πύρα Μαγνησίας είναι γάμος
 στο Μετρώ Αρρένων μας με σύζυγο αριθ. 59
 και έτος γεννήσεως Θάρα ΕΠΕΣΜΟΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΛΙΤΕ ΕΠΕ (1937) πο
 και ότι είναι Έλληνας ορθόδοξος και χριστιανός ορθόδοξος από γονείς Έλληνες και ορ-
 θόδοξους. Επάγγελμα Ε. Αρμόνι ΕΠΕ ΕΠΕ ΕΠΕ
 Το πιστοποιητικό αυτό εκδόθηκε ύστερα από αίτησή του, για να το χρησιμοποιή-
 σει για να διαγράψει

ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΟΥ 24-3-1986
 Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑΣ


 Εμπιστευτικό

Translation of enclosure 6

Ministry of Interior
 Province Kastoria
 District Nestoriu
 No 425

The Certificate
 The Head of District states:

Mr Apostolis Radis, the son of Dimitr and Evdokia (nee Barba), born in Giannochori, presently living in Athens, is in our Birth's Book under the number 59, the year of birth 1937, as a holder of orthodox religion, of orthodox Greek parents. He is not a Greek Citizen because Greek Citizenship was taken away from him.

The above certificate was issued on the basis of the petitioner's request for his general use.

Nestoriu, 24.03.1986
 The Head of District Nestoriu
 /-/ unreadable signature

(Note: There is a mistake in the above certificate. Mr Radis did not live in Athens in 1986. He lives in Gdynia, Poland.)

"C" (3)

Enclosure 7

OFFICE DES NATIONS UNIES A GENÈVE

CENTRE POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME



UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA

CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Télégrammes : UNATIONS, GENÈVE

Télex : 28 96 96

Téléphone : 34 82 11 31 02 11

RÉF. N°:

(à reporter dans la réponse)

G/SO 215/1 GEN (GREE/POLA)

Palais des Nations

CH - 1211 GENÈVE 10



11 April 1986

Dear Mr. Radis,

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 4 September 1985 which reached this Office only recently due to the necessity of translation into a working language of the United Nations' Secretariat. No previous letter from you has, however, been received by the Centre for Human Rights.

.....
Please be informed that communications alleging violations of human rights may be handled in accordance with a procedure governed by the enclosed resolutions. This means that a copy of the communication is transmitted to the authorities of the State concerned and a summary of it is confidentially submitted to the Members of the Commission on Human Rights and of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

If you wish to avail yourself of that procedure with respect to the problem described in your letter, you may do so by addressing a new communication to this Office - preferably in English, French or Spanish - giving more details, e.g. your place and date of birth, names and nationality of your parents (if possible attach a copy of birth certificate), mentioning under which circumstances and by whom you were brought to Poland and stating why you did not try to return to Greece immediately after the end of the civil war. You are also kindly requested to mention again the steps you took with respect to the Greek authorities to be allowed to return to that country (if possible, attach a copy of any letters), whether you have any close family members in Greece (names and addresses) and whether you have approached the Polish authorities in order to obtain an exit visa.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Meike Noll-Wagenfeld
Officer-in-Charge
Communications Unit
Centre for Human Rights

Mr. Apostolos Radis
Ul. Olchowa 13
81526 GDYNIA
Pologne

Enclosure 8

"C" (4)

Mr Apostolos Radis
ul. Olchowa 13/2
81-525 Gdansk, POLAND

Gdynia, June 14th, 1986

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA
CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
Palais des Nations
CH-1211 Geneva 10

For the attention of Mrs. Meike Koll-Tagenfeld

Dear Sirs,

Greek Citizenship

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 11 April 1986, Ref. No. G/80 215/1 GEX/GREE/POLA/, and accordingly send some particulars concerning my personal details and steps I have taken to obtain Greek citizenship.

I, Apostolos/Christian name/ Radis/surname/ was born in Janochori, Greece, on September 18th, 1937. My parents, father Dimitrios Radis, mother Radokina nee Barba, were Greeks. These details are conformable to the birth certificate, record No. 425, issued on March 24th, 1986 took by rural district Kastoria, province of Kastoria, where I have been registered in Registrar Book under No. 59. The Certificate is signed by Athanasios Kiriakow, president of the rural district.

My father was a Greek citizen, served in the Greek armed forces, fought against Nazi occupants during World War II, and lost his life heroically in a battle in 1944; he is buried in a Greek town Kiklis. Here lies in the grave my mother, deceased in 1970.

I am an orphan and have no family members in Greece. The situation that arose in Greece during the civil war 1946-49 forced my mother to consign me to the countries of people's democracy. I could not return to Greece so long as there reigned dictatorial power.

After a law was adopted ^{in 1984} ~~in 1983~~ the emigrants to return to Greece I submitted my application to the Greek embassy in February 1983, but up to date I received no answer. On January 27, 1984 I also sent my papers to the Ministry for Internal Affairs in Athens but they have remained without answer till today.

On April 19th, 1984 I repeated my request to the Ministry for Internal Affairs to give an answer, but without result. In the Ministry for Internal Affairs I am registered under No. X 17.580.

I also wrote letters to the prime minister Papandreu and the president Constantine, but they gave me no answer.

The Greek Embassy neither wants to give me a visa to visit

- 2 -

my country nor a tourist visa to visit my father's grave. Polish authorities make no difficulties and issued me the required travel documents.

Please find enclosed a copy of my birth certificate, a copy of an answer from the Ministry for Internal Affairs confirming receipt of my papers, and a copy of registering my application of April 9th, 1984.

In this connection I communicate that I have no citizenship papers, which makes my life very difficult for me in my profession as seaman.

I ask you kindly to intercede with the Greek authorities for me to be given Greek citizenship.

Yours sincerely,

Apostolos Radis

Apostolos Radis/

"C" (5)

Enclosure 11

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA GRÈCE
GENÈVE

No. F. 6171.1311/1/AS 89

REGISTRY	
23 JAN 1987	
A 1311	
To:	
1	Mr. J. SCHULER
2	
3	
☐ Ack. required	
☐ Ack. not required	
☐ No Ack. Required	
Initials	

The Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations Office in Geneva present their compliments to the Centre for Human Rights and with reference to the latter's Note No. G/SO 215/1 G-REE/30.9.1986 have the honour to inform them that, according to information received from the competent Hellenic Authorities, APOSTOLOS RADIS, a resident of Warsaw - Poland, had been informed with document No 262/24.1.84 that his demand for the recovery of the Greek Citizenship had been rejected because of lack of the reasons justifying it. (Ministerial Decision No. ET5.46/83/16.1.84 in accordance with the opinion of the Citizenship Council's session No 1115/17.12.1983)

With the above-mentioned document of the Greek Ministry of Interior and those in reply to his later demands No. 6102/27.1.84 and ET 1620/84, Mr. Radis had been as well informed that according to the Ministerial Decision No. ET 1073/28.12.83 his case did not apply to the joint Ministerial Decision of the Ministers of Interior and Public Order No. 106841/29.12.82 which concerns the free repatriation of political refugees of greek origin.

The Permanent Mission of Greece avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the Centre for Human Rights the assurances of their highest consideration.

Geneva, 19th of January 1987

Centre for Human Rights
Palais des Nations
Geneva



"C" (6)

Enclosure 9

OFFICE DES NATIONS UNIES A GENÈVE
CENTRE POUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME



UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA
CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Télégrammes : UNATIONS, GENÈVE

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RÉF. N°: G/SO 215/1 GREE

(à reporter dans la réponse)

Palais des Nations
CH - 1211 GENÈVE 10



5 May 1987

Dear Mr. Radis,

..... Further to our letter of 30 September 1986 in response to your communication of 14 June 1986, please find enclosed a copy of a reply, dated 19 January 1987, from the Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations Office at Geneva concerning the matter raised in your communication in reference. The enclosed copy is sent to you with the consent of the Permanent Mission.

I regret to inform you, that the United Nations cannot be of further assistance to you in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Jakob Th. Möller'.
Jakob Th. Möller
Chief, Communications Unit
Centre for Human Rights

Mr. Apostolos Radis
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81-526 Gdynia
Pologne

"C" (7)

Enclosure 12

Radis Apostolis

Gdynia 20th Sept, 1987

ul. Olchowa 13/2

81-526 Gdynia

POLAND

case Ref. No G/SO 215/1 GREE

to CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Geneva

I would like to inform you that I have received your letter of 5th May 1987, No. F.6171.1311/1/HS 89, presenting the reply of the Stationary Diplomatic of Greece in Geneva.

I have also received a reply from the Greek Ministry of Internal Affairs. The reply gives very many numbers of the clauses concerning my case. Here I have to admit that I am feeling very much disappointed with the way my case has been settled. In my opinion - the enumeration of some base clauses does not explain nor convince me, why I was deprived of Greek citizenship in 1960, and still - why I have not been restored to rights of Greek citizenship now.

I would feel much better if Greek authorities would develop the clauses cited in their reply in words, as I have no possibility to reach any documents dealing with that clauses in Poland. Besides, I am deeply convinced that base clauses, no matter how many of them, shouldn't and cannot determine one's life.

If Greek authorities do not investigate my case a second time and if they do not send me a full explanation concerning my deprivation of my rights as a Greek citizen - I wish to request to be given rights as a citizen of the world so as to regulate my situation in the view of the international law.

I have got to remind here that I am a travelling seaman and I have no citizenship. This, obviously, has been giving me, and still is, a lot of troubles at my work as all immigration authorities always ask me about my citizenship.

Please, send me all necessary forms, I will fill them and send back to you.

I wish to stress once again the unsincere intentions and violation of national minorities' rights by Greek authorities, because I am of opinion it is the only way to understand the chauvinistic reply I got from Greek authorities.

I am enclosing a xerox of the document stating that my own father served in Greek army which consequently means that he was the Greek citizen - and also a copy of the enigmatic reply to my request about the Greek citizenship I had from Greece. These documents are in Greek language as were issued.

Yours sincerely

/-/ Apostolos Radis



□ Nick Andonovski . . . blocked from the land of his birth.

Perth group in border block

By CHRIS MANLY

ABOUT 50 Western Australians are believed to be among 250 people caught in a border dispute which has blocked their way into Greece from Yugoslavia.

And the blockade could cost the tourists hundreds of dollars paid for hotel bookings and travel tickets inside Greece.

The 250, all Macedoni-

an-born, but travelling on Australian, Canadian and US passports, were among 3000 people who journeyed back to celebrate in Skopje.

More than 100 WA people are believed to have joined the giant reunion, organised to

mark the 40th anniversary of their exodus from Greece as a result of the Greek civil war.

The war, which flared soon after the end of World War II, forced many Macedonians to flee to surrounding

eastern bloc nations as refugees.

Many eventually arrived in Australia and others made their way to Canada and the US.

A concerned Macedonian community in Perth is unsure of the exact movements of 250

people on the five tour buses.

But community secretary, John Caidovski, said that once the tour was turned back at the Greek border, it continued into Bulgaria and was planning another attempt to enter Greece at the Bulgarian border.

Macedonian language newspapers reported the 250 people were kept under armed guard at the Greek border for two hours in 420.

The WA Macedonia community says what was once Macedonia was split between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania in 1912-13 after the Balkan wars.

The 250 people, among them Perth businessman Nick Andonovski and his wife, wanted to return to the country they left as children because of the civil war and had not seen for 40 years.

Macedonian Community president, Lou Ogenov, said he was worried by the problems at the border but was unsure if the buses would be allowed in if they tried again.

"Some may try and others may just give up the ghost," he said.

SUNDAY TIMES

PERTH

JULY 17, 1988.

A Political Strategy For The Macedonian Diaspora

Victor Bivell

An earlier version of this article was published in the Today Denes newspaper, September 21, 1993

It is now over three years since the Republic of Macedonia declared its independence and began to seek international recognition, and over three years since the Government of Greece began its latest international and public campaign to thwart that recognition. What lessons does this period of intense international rivalry hold for the Macedonian community around the world?

So far over 70 countries have recognized the Republic of Macedonia. Some of these countries have few or no citizens of Macedonian origin. Yet the three countries with the largest Macedonian immigrant populations - the USA, Canada and Australia - have been among the slowest to recognize the Republic. The US was the 59th country to recognize Macedonia, Australia was the 60th,¹ and at the time of writing Canada had yet to do so.

Even then, recognition by the US and Australia was tempered with recognition under the so called temporary name that includes the qualification "Former Yugoslav" and in Australia's case with a number of onerous conditions regarding the flag and establishment of a Consulate² which were unacceptable to both the Republic of Macedonia and Macedonian-Australians.

The reasons for the slow and conditional recognition are tied to the relations that these three countries have developed with the Greek state since it was founded in 1832, and the existence in these countries, beside large communities of Macedonian origin, of even larger Greek communities.

Thus at the political level the lesson is painfully clear. Despite the fact that many Macedonians in the diaspora have worked hard and unselfishly for recognition of the Republic, and others have worked equally hard for human rights for the Macedonian minority in northern Greece, the respective Greek communities have been winning the race for influence with the ruling politicians in the US, Canada and Australia. At least for the present.

Reasons and Strategy

Why has this happened, and how can it be corrected as quickly as possible?

If we take Australia as an example, the most relevant factors would seem to be the considerably greater size and the better political organization of the Greek community compared to the Macedonian community.

The Greek community is estimated at between two and six times the size of the Macedonian community. This greater size and potential voting power has been exploited by some with the message that on the Macedonian issue Greek-Australian voters will vote according to which political parties and politicians support their position, despite that position being identical with Greece's foreign policy.

The imbalance between the two communities has been further complicated by the perception that the Greek community traditionally votes for the Labor Party. Thus the recognition of Macedonia has not been decided on its merits, but on the political desire of the Labor Party to retain the so called "Greek vote" and the desire by elements in the Liberal Party to win the same vote.

At times this has led to a "Greek auction" where particular members from one party have tried to outdo the other party in what they can promise the Greek community at the expense of the Macedonian community. Perhaps the most disgraceful example of this has been the attempt by the Kennett Liberal Government in Victoria to change the name of the Macedonian language despite this being against all expert advice and against the will of the Macedonian people.

This unfortunate process has highlighted deficiencies in the democratic system, and has been recognized as a dangerous trend against multicultural co-existence in Australia. The main correctives to this trend have come from the Australian public, the other ethnic communities, and the media, which have been sympathetic to the Macedonian position.

The relative sizes of both communities may also help to explain why the Greek community has been better organized politically, a situation indicated by a number of key political comparisons.

Currently, the Greek community has five politicians in Federal parliament, the Macedonian community none; the Greek community has 10 politicians in State parliaments around Australia, the Macedonian community none; the Greek community has 11 Labor Party branches in Victoria, the Macedonian community has only had one.

Several politicians of Greek origin have played an influential role in the slow and qualified recognition of Macedonia and also in the sub-

sequent attempts to introduce the "Slav" prefix to describe the Macedonian people and the "Slavonic" suffix to describe the Macedonian language.

(In fairness it should be mentioned that many Greek-Australian politicians have not been publicly active on these issues.)

Also relevant to the political balance are the existence of Greek nationalist groups that for many years have specialized in political lobbying that is highly pro-Greek and in effect anti-Macedonian. The Hellenic Council of NSW, the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne and Victoria, and the Melbourne-based Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies are well documented as being among the most active lobby groups in this regard.

Over the years these groups have produced a considerable body of material that has been circulated to Federal and State politicians and other influential people. Much of this material is considered by Macedonians to be misleading and at times extreme and offensive. However, the groups have enjoyed a certain level of success simply through being organized and persistent.

Fortunately, there are many able Macedonians who have worked hard to raise awareness about the Macedonian position, and these have achieved some notable victories. Although their many efforts were insufficient to deliver immediate and unqualified recognition of Macedonia, the issues around recognition have not been finalized and this and other outstanding problems of concern to the Macedonian community indicates a continuing need for current and future political activism.

How the Macedonian community can increase its level of political influence in Australia and improve the balance of political power is thus a crucial question. At least two things are required. These are:

- * recognition by the Macedonian community of the extent of the problem, and

- * a clear and achievable strategy that will deliver results in the shortest time possible.

Such a strategy needs to address all the key issues raised by the co-existence of Macedonian and Greek communities in Australia, their relative population size and political representation.

Community Size

The perceived difference in size of the Macedonian and Greek communities in Australia could be mitigated to an extent by a proper reckoning of their numbers.

For example, the Australian Bureau of Statistics is unable to say how many people in Australia are of Macedonian origin, despite knowing precisely how many Italians, Chinese, Greeks etc. This is because until 1991 it classified Macedonians by country of birth as either Yugoslav or Greek. During this period the main, albeit inadequate, indicator of the number of Macedonians was the Census question on language spoken at home.

With recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by Australia has come an Australian Bureau of Statistics country code for Macedonia that in the forthcoming 1996 Census will allow immigrants from the Republic to be counted separately.³

Another problem with the Census is its inability to differentiate Macedonians who have come from Greece from ethnic Greeks. Macedonians who put Greece as their country of birth or birthplace of their parents are counted as Greeks, not Macedonians. This has overstated the number of Greeks and understated the number of Macedonians, influencing the perceived political balance.

For many years Macedonians have requested a method that allows ethnic Macedonians from Greece to be counted as Macedonians. Until this is provided, it may be more politically beneficial for Macedonians from Greece to put Macedonia as their country of birth rather than Greece; and likewise for their children when answering the question regarding the country of birth of their parents.

If any Macedonian does put Greece as the country of birth, it is imperative that they also put Macedonian as the language spoken at home and Macedonian Orthodox as their religion, as this will allow them to be identified as Macedonian and to be subtracted from the total number of Greeks.

If community estimates of the number of Macedonians are close to correct then proper use of the new code for Macedonia and of the questions on language spoken at home and religion should make a substantial difference to the relative totals for both communities.

Other strategies to assist in the proper reckoning of numbers would need to tackle the caution that many still experience in declaring themselves Macedonian, and a methodology to win back those Macedonians who because of denationalization and assimilation in Greece have developed a Greek or partial Greek identity.

A community education campaign emphasizing the confidential nature of the Census may assist those people who are still afraid to be themselves and those people who have affected a public Greek identity but in private still maintain their original Macedonian identity.

Parliament

Another cornerstone of Greek influence in Australia are the many politicians of Greek origin in the Federal and State parliaments. When the Greek community has a problem, such as with Cyprus or Macedonia, Greek-Australian members of parliament are able to assist in organizing Greek community leaders and groups to meet with the relevant Ministers and parliamentarians.

Instances where this has happened are detailed by Andrew Theophanous in a paper titled *The Role of the Greek Communities in the Formulation of Australian Foreign Policy: With Particular Reference to the Cyprus Problem*. This controversial paper was delivered to a conference on the topic of *The Greek Diaspora in Foreign Policy* held at the Institute of International Relations in Athens in 1990.

While the Greek community has found the doors of parliament wide open, Macedonian representatives know that trying to arrange meetings with Ministers when they do not have a Macedonian in parliament to help with the footwork can be hard work.

The lack of a parliamentarian of Macedonian origin may also help to explain why between 1991 and September 1993 no questions were asked in Federal Parliament about Australia's position on the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, despite the intense international rivalry then current.

It is tempting to believe that a Macedonian-Australian in parliament with an interest and commitment to the issues which affect the Macedonian community may have made a substantial difference to the way in which the issue of recognition and consequent developments were handled by the Government.

Such a representative would be a considerable asset as at present Macedonians are dependent on the goodwill of the 200 plus federal MPs, all of whom are of non-Macedonian background and only a few of whom are actively involved with the Macedonian community and its concerns.

The Political Parties

Another cornerstone of Greek political influence in Australia has been the 11 or so Greek Labor Party branches in Victoria. These branches allow the Greek community to field its own candidates in party and general elections. If one person is unsatisfactory, they can be replaced with another.

Thus the Greek community has a power base and a guaranteed voice

in the deliberations of the Labor Party when it is both in and out of Government.

The contribution of these branches should not be underestimated. Macedonians can write, meet and talk with Labor politicians all they like, but ultimately if the Labor Party were to go against the wishes of its ethnic branches it would risk splitting the party and losing a chunk of its members and votes, something that is unlikely to happen. Thus through this simple device the Greek community has been able to limit the political influence of the Macedonian community.

If the Macedonian community wishes to rectify this imbalance, it needs to encourage as many Macedonians as possible to join the political parties, particularly the educated, articulate and politically aware. This encouragement should extend to all the parties, be the individual's choice Labor, Liberal, Democrat etc.

There are many places in Australia where the Macedonians are numerous enough to form large branches or to join existing branches in strong numbers. In many instances winning control of one or several local branches would be relatively straightforward.

These include the localities of Thomastown, Lalor, Epping, Reservoir and Geelong in Victoria; Rockdale, Kogarah, Bankstown, Richmond, Wollongong, Port Kembla, Newcastle and Queanbeyan in NSW; North Perth, Balcatta and Balga in WA; and Canberra in the ACT.⁴

There are sufficient Macedonians elsewhere around Australia to form many more strong centres.

In these electoral areas, Macedonian-Australians are numerous enough to influence election results for Lower House seats. Additionally, there are sufficient Macedonians in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia for each community to give a Senate candidate or State Upper House candidate a respectable head start towards the requisite quota of votes in their State.

The third level of government, Local Councils, provides limited opportunities to influence international and national issues. However, it is often the best way to help a local community in practical ways. It is also the level of government in which Macedonians have already achieved some electoral success.

Public Life

Unfortunately, becoming active at Federal, State and to a lesser extent Local Government levels is something that Macedonians in Australia have not yet been attracted to in the natural course of settlement and life

in this country. At present there is little doubt that the Macedonian community needs more capable people to take an active role in public affairs at all levels.

Fortunately, there are many suitable Macedonian-Australians, particularly among the first and second generation professionals born in Australia.

However, motivating these people to become active in public affairs has so far proved a considerable challenge. Thus there are many Macedonian-Australians who have the requisite skills and professionalism to make a contribution, but who for various reasons have not done so.

Some of these people may wish to bypass their current or local Macedonian community structures and become directly active in Australian affairs, a path which due to their Australian upbringing or other reasons they may find easier or more natural.

Whichever path the individual takes, the Macedonian community should actively encourage all suitable people. It should actively encourage an understanding of the Australian political system, the skills to work with non-Macedonian Australians, and a genuine interest in improving the life of Macedonian-Australians and other Australians.

At the same time it should discourage the nationalism, egotism, verbosity, infighting and destructiveness that sometimes pass for Macedonian political activity in Australia.

Community Structures

Overcoming the Macedonian fear of political involvement and its consequent insularity could be assisted through a broadening of the type of structures that comprise the Macedonian communities.

Although there are many Macedonian organizations, many of these are dance, welfare or pensioner groups. These are valuable in themselves but a greater variety of opportunities would be offered with more hard core intellectual organizations such as political, business and professionals' groups, which at present are few in number.

With a greater variety of organizations, each community would then have a structure whereby those people who show leadership potential could rise through the ranks and continue to rise.

At present, an individual who shows ability may rise to be president of one or other organization, perhaps even president of the local community, but beyond this there is nowhere else for them to go. Others, also ambitious, may soon cut them down to make room.

If Macedonians were better organized and more active politically, these people could continue to rise by following well worn steps through the Macedonian community organizations and political support groups into the major political parties.

The path could then lead all the way to the top. And a Prime Minister of Macedonian origin is not such a bad idea; simply a little far-fetched at this stage.

Meanwhile, the art of cultivating politicians by inviting them to major community functions appears to have been forgotten.

Community Profile

The political imbalance between the Greek and Macedonian communities in Australia is mirrored in a number of social comparisons, which in turn influence the political balance.

Consider SBS Television. The Greek community receives over 169 hours of Greek language broadcasts per year, the Macedonian community receives between two and three hours per year.⁵ The Greek community has its own Greek language news report each week. Nothing for the Macedonians. The Greek community has news reporters and many other full time staff on SBS. The Macedonian community no one.

SBS Television badly needs a Macedonian touch and it is important to get some Macedonians working there to help right the staffing and programing imbalances. As is the case with parliament, Macedonians can write a million letters to SBS and demonstrate outside, but they will only change things from the inside.

There are other examples of such imbalances.

It is also important for Macedonians to examine the many options for marketing the Macedonian culture and raising their public profile in the wider Australian community. For example, Macedonians have an original, varied and hearty cuisine, but only a handful of restaurants across the whole country. Does anyone else think this is odd? Macedonians have a large and original canon of music, but little of this is appreciated outside the community. Perhaps there is a role here for instrumental music and songs in English or translation.

The Chinese model is instructive. The Chinese way of gaining a high community profile is to create a China Town. Every city has one and everyone knows where it is. How many Macedonia Towns, or perhaps more appropriately, Macedonia Villages, are there?

One can image if there were well established Macedonia Villages and the Greek Government had tried to change the name of the Republic. The

concept of a "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Village" would be absurd, especially if you were hungry and looking for a restaurant.

There are many other strategies available to the Macedonian community in Australia and around the world to increase its political influence and social standing.

However, an important point here is that political influence takes time. Greece has been courting the Western World since before its independence in 1832. In contrast, Macedonia gained its independence and turned to the West in 1991, 159 years later.

There is much to do.

References

1. Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs, News Release: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Canberra, 15 February, 1994.
2. Ibid
3. Australian Standard Classification of Countries for Social Statistics, Revision 1.03, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 1994.
4. Community Profile, 1991 Census, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 1993.
5. Special Broadcasting Service Annual Report 1990-91, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, p122.

The Political Future Of The Macedonians In Australia

Zoran Coseski

This article was published in the Australian Macedonian Weekly of October 12, 1993

In the past few decades the Macedonian community around the world has had unprecedented freedom of expression for its unique culture; not only in the Republic of Macedonia but most countries where Macedonians live, including Australia, USA and Canada.

In Bulgaria, Albania, and the cradle of democracy, Greece, no such cultural rights exist for the Macedonian people and recently the Greek state has intensified its anti-Macedonian campaign to the extent of Greek officials stirring up trouble in other countries. Something the Australian authorities are well aware of but conveniently choose to ignore.

Assume for the sake of argument that there are regimes whose ends seem to be irrational. It is a mistake to think that because a Government has irrational ends it must be clumsy, erratic or incompetent. Greece's aim to jeopardize Macedonia's capacity to exist as a viable political and economic unit is an example of how efficient the menagerie that calls itself the Greek Government is when it knows that it can get away with almost anything against the Macedonians in Australia and the world. This is mainly because the Greek community is more nationalistic and well organized than the Macedonians, who think the world evolves around Macedonia - how wrong can one be?

The menacing anti-Macedonian sentiment being fostered to obscenely hysterical levels by the Greek Government is more than an exercise in intimidation of a relatively peaceful and impoverished people. It is arguable that Greece's reckless and chauvinistic foreign policy is deliberately calculated to make the deteriorating situation attractive for a Serbian military intervention in Macedonia. Such a conflict also provides a pretext for involvement by Greece.

Here again the Australian Government chooses to keep quiet and not upset the large Greek lobby in Australia.

In the past the Macedonian community in Australia has been more than loyal to the Australian Labor Party. However, the Labor Govern-

ment has remained unresponsive and unsympathetic to the logical arguments being put before it in support of the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia or the opening of a Macedonian Government office in Australia - simply because it remains captive of the formidable Greek lobby in Australia.

The Labor Government does not deserve any further support from the Macedonian community for the following reasons:

1. Prime Minister Bob Hawke in a radio interview in Perth in October 1991 said that as soon as Macedonia fulfilled the requirements for international recognition Australia will be amongst the first to recognize it. Macedonia fulfilled these requirements on 15 January 1992.

2. Prime Minister Paul Keating in July 1992 said that as soon as the European Community recognizes Macedonia, Australia will follow. All 12 European countries including Greece have either recognized Macedonia, though they have not yet established full diplomatic relations, or have a Consulate in Skopje. Australia is yet to make any move.

3. Around 200,000 Macedonians in Australia are discriminated against by the Australian Government in the lack of assistance for travel, family, trade and other related problems that could be provided by a Macedonian Government office.

4. The federal seat in Wollongong is one of Australia's safest seats because of the Macedonians. What have Macedonians gained from this?

5. Gareth Evans as Foreign Minister visited Kutlesh (Vergina in Greek) at a politically inappropriate time.

Macedonians must view the Australian Government's position on Macedonia with suspicion and resentment. In other words, it is only using the Macedonian community for its own political convenience.

The Labor Government needs to re-earn the respect of the Macedonian Australian community and respond more comprehensively to logic and international law.

Meanwhile the Australian-Macedonian community must become more sophisticated in the art of political lobbying.

Macedonians must consider very carefully the support given to them by their local member of parliament in support of Macedonians being equal with everyone else in Australia. An example of this inequality was the listing of Macedonia under the letter "F" in the Telecom directory so the Greek community could be satisfied. Macedonians need to turn to all political parties who will lend a sympathetic ear to the concept of equality.

Macedonians need to form business and trade bodies in Australia and undertake the cultural development of young Macedonians through private, mainstream schools where the Macedonian language, culture and religion will be taught on a daily basis.

Australian Law, International Treaties And The Government's "Slav" Prefix

Risto Balalovski

This paper was written in July, 1994 as part of a Bachelor of Laws degree and received some exposure at a display at Newcastle University

"He still believed in the constitutional liberty of an Englishman".¹ Like the character in Lawrence's novel, many Australians believe that they have inalienable rights and freedoms. This paper examines some of those rights; detailing their origins and sources, and how they are enforced. In particular, it focuses on the rights of Australian individuals belonging to an ethnic minority group, or of a group in its entirety, to self-identity.

In March 1994, the Federal Government of Australia in a Ministerial Statement announced that it would issue a directive to all Commonwealth Departments that in their official dealings with Australians who originate from, or identify with, the Republic of Macedonia, a 'slav' prefix to the identity of 'Macedonian' was to be used temporarily in regard to country of birth and nationality data. In response, the Macedonian Australian Council of Sydney (the Council) has said that "the term ... is a vilification and denial of ... cultural, ethnic and national identity". It further said that "the directive transgresses basic human rights to self-determination and self-identification ... (and) ... contravenes international human rights agreements to which Australia is a signatory".²

Historical Context

In examining the claims of the Council, it is necessary to discuss the historical development of human rights standards.

In ancient Greece, deliberations on the role of the individual led to an examination of the 'Rights of Man'. This notion was linked to those of 'Natural Law', 'right reason', and 'the eternal law of God'³ developed later by the Stoics and Christian thinkers.

Struggles against the abuse of the power of the English Crown further developed and protected individual liberties and rights; epitomized by the Magna Carta 1215-1297, the Petition of Right 1628, the Bill of Rights 1688 and the Habeas Corpus Acts.

Concepts of the 'law of nations', a 'social contract', and the 'separation of powers', developed during the 12th, 17th to 19th and 18th centuries respectively, all contributed to the incorporation of human rights into the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, and in the French 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which attempted to control the exercise of power, vested in a state, over the individual.

Concerns in the 18th and 19th centuries for the treatment of Christian minorities, the exploitation of labour, the protection of people entangled in war, public health, welfare, education, and the banning of the slave trade and slavery, were all factors relevant in the development and extension of the idea of human rights.

The Modern Era of International Human Rights

After World War I, the League of Nations sought, unsuccessfully, to protect the rights of minorities. The founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, however, established human rights as a matter of universal concern and commitment.

Perhaps the most important document produced by the UN was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Along with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), it forms the basis of international human rights law.

In the context of time, the range of human rights has changed. For example, increasing global attention to pollution and the exploitation of the Earth's resources has led to the development of a right to protection of the environment.

Specific Provisions of the Treaties

The Universal Declaration, the ICCPR and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1975 (CERD), contain similar provisions which seek to promote and protect the rights to a nationality, self-determination and a culture.

In the absence of any precedents directly in point, in my opinion, it is possible that all of the above provisions, in instruments to which Australia is a signatory, have been violated by the prefix directive, by the denial of a right to self-identity, which I consider essential to concepts of nationality, self-determination and culture. My contention is supported by Patrick Thornberry, who feels that "the concept of a right to identity for minorities is implicit in Article 27 of the ICCPR".⁴

Self-determination

According to both the First Optional Protocol of the ICCPR (in force in Australia) and the ICESCR, "all peoples have the right to self-determination ...".⁵ The existence of this right is advantageous to the argument of the Council, but is it available?

It seems that the concept particularly relates to groups, who have "a will to assert their separateness, and institutions to reflect that will".⁶ Thus, the notion appears limited to groups who seek autonomy. Nevertheless, Thornberry has said that minorities use the term whether they have secessionist aspirations or not.⁷

Political, Cultural and Philosophical Context

In discussing the interpretation of the international human rights standards, Bailey says that "almost certainly, each (ratifying State) would lay different emphasis on the rights they set out".⁸ Indeed, the Universal Declaration is sometimes criticized as reflecting Western ethical, philosophical and political principles. For instance, the Universal Declaration's obligations to ensure rights to private property were excluded from the ICCPR and the ICESCR because of the objections of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The contention is not limited to the interpretation of the provisions of the Covenants, but extends also to the philosophy upon which the rights have been based; revolving particularly around their compatibility with the world's major religions.

Christianity, Islam and Judaism appear to be able to reconcile their basic tenets with the rights proclaimed in the international standards. Buddhism is regarded as compatible also, due to its non-belligerent approach, centred on the individual. Hinduism, however, is fundamentally incongruous with the notion of equality between individuals, due to it being based upon the caste system of differentiation.

Opposition on the nature of human rights continues to exist between the Western and Socialist/Communist political views. Marxist doctrine categorizes individual rights as bourgeois fabrications, existing at State expense. In fact, the People's Republic of China has asserted that the protection of human rights, in developing nations, entails a priority being given to economic development.

As a result, some states say that each state should be permitted to observe human rights from within its own political and cultural context.

The Australian Context

Unlike many other nations, Australia does not have a Bill of Rights. This means that our human rights laws must be substantially sourced elsewhere. Those sources are:

- a) the Constitution;
- b) the powers of legislation vested in the States and Territories;
- c) the 'reception' of English laws into the Australian colonies, resulting in the applicability of certain doctrines and laws;
- d) ever increasingly, from the interpretations of the judiciary;
- e) international human rights expectations.

There have been attempts to change the paucity of human rights provisions in the Constitution on several occasions during the past century. However, all attempts to amend the Constitution or introduce a Bill of Rights have failed, due to arguments that: the common law democratic system inherently protects human rights; from the experiences of other countries, a Bill doesn't necessarily protect human rights; posited rights will be interpreted in a limited way; the power of the Commonwealth would increase to the detriment of the States; and that a Bill is undemocratic!

Although there is no specific constitutional authority for the Commonwealth Parliament to legislate with respect to human rights, the 'external affairs' power in the Constitution has been interpreted to enable Australia to adopt, sign, ratify and accede to international treaties, and legislate with respect to them. For example, in *Koowarta v. Bjelke-Peterson* (1982) 39 ALR 417, the High Court held that compliance with the CERD was indeed an aspect of Australian 'external affairs'.

The terms of international conventions become a part of Australian law by being 'incorporated' into legislative provisions. With respect to human rights legislation, there currently exists in Australia, at the federal level:

- * the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, which relates to the CERD;
- * the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986 and the Human Rights Commission Act 1981, which both incorporate the ICCPR;
- * the Sex Discrimination Act 1984;
- * the Privacy Act 1988; and
- * the Crimes (Torture) Act 1988.

For the purposes of this paper, only the first two enactments are relevant. Both of those acts make it an offence to discriminate on the basis of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin, to the detriment of

any human right or fundamental freedom; the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act particularly relates to employment situations, and seeks to protect the human rights described in the ICCPR.

All of the Australian states and territories, except Tasmania, have passed anti-discrimination laws. They are limited though, in that they typically only operate when an individual is seeking access to education, work, accommodation, goods and services, clubs, and professional associations.

Discrimination on the basis of race, thus, is specifically made illegal in all Australian jurisdictions. From *King-Ansell v. Police* (1979) 2 NZLR 531, at page 542, a race may exist where "individuals or the group regard themselves, and are regarded by others in the community, as having a particular historical identity in terms of their ... origins". In that case, the judge further said (at page 543) that, a race may be identifiable by having "shared customs, beliefs, traditions and characteristics derived from a ... common past". It is my view that the Macedonian community satisfies this test; evidenced by the establishment in Australia, since the late 19th century, of common religious, cultural, sporting and academic associations, which have *always* been recognized by the wider Australian community as Macedonian.

Any Precedents?

When the Constitution was amended in 1967 to enable Parliament to legislate with respect to and include 'Aboriginals' within any national population statistics, an official policy of self-determination has applied to indigenous Australians. One aspect of this notion is "the retention by Aboriginal people of their distinctive cultural identity, lifestyle and values".⁹

For a long time these people had been collectively referred to as 'Aboriginals', and it appears that from 1967 it was realized that the term was an imposed generalization upon the various peoples of the indigenous 'nations'. Since then, traditional nomenclature, such as Koori and Murri, has come into common use. This appears to be a fairly clear example of how particular Australian ethnic groups have been allowed the right to identify themselves with titles that they prefer.

Are We Bound?

In an environment where there is an increasing degree of international scrutiny of the domestic laws of the signatories to various international

covenants, conventions and treaties, several writers seem to agree that Australian law will come under the increasing influence of international human rights jurisprudence. Others, however, feel that the ICCPR, for example, is not a part of Australian law, upon which a cause of action can be founded in Australian courts; as Australia has not enforced the right to petition by a national Charter or Bill of Rights.¹⁰

From an article quoting directly from Chief Justice Mason, however, "there is a *prima facie* presumption that the legislature does not intend to act in breach of international law".¹¹ In *Mabo*, Justice Brennan said that "international law is a legitimate and important influence on the development of the common law, especially when the international law declares the existence of universal human rights".¹²

Thus, there is contention with regard to the extent to which Australian courts will recognize, and consider themselves bound by, international law. The Positivists say that a court cannot apply the international laws until they have been 'transformed' into local law, usually by legislation, which, in my opinion, has occurred in Australia. Others, who adhere to the natural law approach, say that international law is axiomatically 'incorporated' into domestic law, and can be applied.

The Remedies

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission administers the Commonwealth anti-discrimination laws, and seeks to ensure Australia's compliance with its international obligations by inquiring into the activities of Commonwealth Government departments. Individuals or groups may make a complaint to the Commission. The Commission may make non-binding determinations, which will only be given force in the Federal Court.

The various state and territory dispute resolution mechanisms are similar to the federal, except that the decisions of the state and territory bodies are enforceable.

By operation of the First Optional Protocol, individuals, and groups of Australian citizens and residents, may complain to the UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) about breaches of human rights standards. Only an individual may bring a complaint to the HRC, however, for alleged violations of the ICCPR. Thus, corporations and groups are excluded from such actions, presenting an impediment to the Council if it in particular wishes to bring the case to the HRC.

An important condition for the laying of a petition to the HRC is that all domestic remedies have been sought and exhausted. If it does hear a

case, the HRC will only express its opinion, and is "reluctant to interfere with (a) domestic legal system".¹³

Redress may also be sought from specialist UN bodies such as:

- * the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; and
- * the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Conclusion

In 1986, the Federal Australian Government required all relevant departments and authorities to "develop personnel practices which sensitize staff to cultural factors"¹⁴ and, in its 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, sought to protect every Australian's right to express and share their individual cultural heritage, and to equality of treatment and opportunity.

Australia has an enviable and reputable international status with respect to the protection and promotion of human rights, and is renowned for having an all government policy recognizing its multi-cultural society, giving support to individuals and groups in the preservation of their cultures, languages, traditions and customs.

Despite the adoption of the above policies, it appears that the Federal Government has acted in breach of both international and domestic human rights laws. The issuing of the directive does not appear to comply with the principle of 'good government', in that it was undemocratic, and does not respect the rule of law and rights to a culture and identity. The directive threatens the right of Australians to freely identify with their ethnic background, and to develop and promulgate their heritage within the wider Australian community, without fear of prejudice or discrimination. I feel that it should be withdrawn, in order that Australia continues to model a respectable social, legal and political system which complies with international customary law.

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Why Australia?

Bob Spasenovski

This speech was delivered at the Macedonian rally held at Parliament House, Canberra on June 1, 1994

Ladies and gentlemen, special guests and supporters.

Thank you for attending this peaceful protest, organized by the Macedonian community from all over Australia, and aimed at showing our disgust and displeasure towards the Australian Government's recent attempt to refer to us as "Slav Macedonians". It is important to note that in this year when nations such as South Africa have gained equality and democracy, and the Palestinian people limited autonomy, the Macedonian nation has been returned to the dark ages of dictatorship and denial of basic human rights. The difference between South Africa, Palestine and Macedonia is in the fact that what is done to the Macedonian nation is in fact done here, in Australia, in our so called democratic and multicultural homeland. Ladies and gentlemen, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, Australia decided to embark on an unprecedented path and attempt to rename the Macedonian community. This decision was made without any consultation with the Macedonian community, but under strict requests by the Greek lobby, and implemented through the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Senator Bolkus. The Government's decision is unprecedented because it is the only country, the only government, apart from Greece, that has decided to take this divisive, unjust, and inhumane approach.

We ask ourselves, why? The answer is because the Macedonian community has been loyal, has been fair, has not shouted and screamed as loud as the Greeks, has not burned churches, and has basically left the matter in the hands of the democratic process of Australia. Or at least we thought democratic. And what did we get for being patient and law abiding? We received a recognition package which can only be described as a Clayton's recognition. A recognition when you don't want a recognition. The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, said at our meeting with him, "You ought to be pleased about our efforts to recognize the FYROM," as he called it "and you should be very happy". I ask the Prime Minister, what

is there to be happy about? You give with one hand and you take with the other. The only group that can show pleasure and happiness as a result of this decision is the Greek community and the Greek Government. They got exactly what they requested. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is that a decision which shows that the Government is for all Australians or is it one that is divisive and biased?

There are no illusions, this government has done its homework, it has done its sums, and obviously decided to take the ball and run with the Greek lobby. It has decided to cause the biggest division within our multicultural society, and has denied the Macedonian community a basic human right, the right to call itself as it feels. It is ironic that this year, the year when the Australian Government attacks human rights violations in China for instance, they themselves commit the biggest human rights violation against their own citizens.

They spend millions of dollars telling other governments how to run their households, however they have not got their own house in order. It is a shameful act, an act that will haunt this government for the rest of its term. And out of office at the next elections. The Macedonian community has been known as Macedonian since the very first arrival of a Macedonian immigrant on the shores of Australia, which by the way was in 1893. The Macedonian community had formed and indeed registered churches, social and sporting clubs, dance groups and many other organization, and these have always been known as Macedonian. No previous Australian government has ever questioned our nationality and our ethnic background, no other government except this current Labor Government.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, when claiming victory at the last election, said "This is a victory for the true believers, this is a victory for all Australians". I remind the Prime Minister, we, the Macedonian community of Australia, are a part of those true believers, we are part of Australia, how come we missed out on our government's pledge? How come you abandoned us as if we were an insignificant leftover? Well, let me tell you, Mr Keating, Macedonia is not a leftover, but a part of the world, in fact it is one of the oldest nations on the Balkans. It is a bit like the Aboriginal nation, the rightful owners of Australia. You have introduced the Mabo legislation which goes a long way in addressing the question of the plight of the Aboriginals, and yet, with a stroke of your pen you have driven Macedonia back into the dark ages, you have decided to rewrite history, you have invited yourself to be our modern day godfather, unwanted by us, uninvited by us. Who gave you the right, Mr Keating, to place yourself above every other head of government in the world?

Where is your logic for attempting to rename us? If it is based on the fact that Macedonia was part of former Yugoslavia, then you must be aware that your government recognized other countries from the same Yugoslavia, without any preconditions and renaming. If on the other hand your logic is based on any threat of territorial pretences by Macedonia, then I must also draw your attention to the war in Bosnia. What is the cause for that war, Mr Keating? Territory, territory sought by the Serbs, yet you still recognized the new Yugoslav republic. And again this shows that any logic that you may utilize to excuse your inhumane treatment of the Macedonian community does not stand up to the very basic test. Does this then mean that there is one set of standards used in determining policy for Macedonians and another for other nationalities? Obviously so. I suppose you will now rename every person who originated from the former Soviet Union as Soviet Russian or Soviet Georgian. Or every German that lived in the former East Germany will now become East German, or maybe former East German. How ridiculous. Wake up to yourself, Mr Keating, reverse your unjust, inhumane decision, or at least, if you are too embarrassed to reverse it, then rescind the entire recognition package. We would rather be unrecognized by your government than have our pride and dignity attacked. Better no recognition than a Clayton's recognition. It is better to die standing up than to live on one's knees. We will not accept and obey your decision, we will fight it all the way, and believe us sooner or later you will see it our way and you will recognize your mistake. Only one thing will change by then, you will be out of office, you will have lost all support from the Macedonian voters. So if you plan a visit to Athens, we suggest to you to get it over and done with as soon as you can, or at least whilst you are still the Prime Minister.

You are in the process of turning Australia into a Republic. How would the Australian people like it if some governments in the world decided to rename Australia as the Former British Colony of Australia? I for one would stand up and protest most vigorously against such a decision, and I would like to think that every other Australian would do the same.

I conclude by saying - history cannot be rewritten. Many have tried in the past but fortunately for the human race they fell by the wayside. Don't let history repeat itself, don't allow yourself and your government to be remembered as the only government in the world, apart from Greece, that has imposed its will on another nation in this way. Reverse your decision, or rescind the entire package. There is no such thing as a "Slav" nation or country, there is only Macedonia and it belongs to the Macedonian nation. Makedonija na Makedoncite.

The Authors

Aegean Macedonian Association of Australia

The Aegean Macedonian Association of Australia was formed in Sydney in December, 1992.

The purpose of the Association is to raise awareness of the need for basic human rights for ethnic Macedonians who live in or originate from Greece.

The Association lobbies politicians and other influential groups, and publishes and disseminates reports on the situation in Greece.

Risto Balalovski

Risto Balalovski was born in Newcastle, NSW in 1965. His parents, Tashe (village Sopotsko, Resen) and Paca, nee Topevska, (village Gjavato, Bitola) emigrated separately from Macedonia in their youth to seek enhanced economic and lifestyle opportunities.

Mr Balalovski holds a Bachelor of Commerce degree and has worked for several years with the Federal Government. He is currently completing a Bachelor of Laws degree.

Throughout his life, Mr Balalovski has been involved with local Macedonian cultural, sporting and academic associations, and takes great interest in early Macedonian literature and music.

Victor Bivell

Victor Bivell's parents are from the village Neret in Aegean Macedonia. He was born in Manjimup, Western Australia in 1957, and grew up in Perth where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in English.

In 1984 he moved to Sydney and worked as a magazine editor for five years before starting his own publishing company, Pollitecon Publications, in 1992.

Mr Bivell has been active in political and cultural affairs, including the campaign for human rights for Macedonians in Greece and publishing in English on Macedonian themes.

Zoran Coseski

Zoran Coseski was born in Struga, Republic of Macedonia, in 1963. His father is from the village Vranista and his mother from Mislesevo.

Mr Coseski arrived in Perth, Western Australia in 1970 and holds a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Sociology. He is currently employed with the WA Government and is a member of the WA Multicultural Week Committee.

Mr Coseski has a strong commitment to the Macedonian community,

having been secretary of the Macedonian United Society of WA for 10 years as well as working in radio and as a translator and interpreter. He is also a delegate to the Macedonian Council of WA.

Faye Kolev

Faye Kolev was born in Melbourne in 1948. Her parents are both from the village of Neret in Aegean Macedonia.

Ms Kolev attended Richmond Girls' Secondary School and worked as a book binder for 20 years.

More recently she has become a researcher and writer focusing on the suffering experienced by Macedonians in and from Greece. Her interests include the Greek Civil War, human rights, and a free and united Macedonia.

Macedonian Community Welfare Association of the Western Region Inc

The Macedonian Community Welfare Association of the Western Region Inc originated in 1983 with the identification of the need for local services for Macedonians experiencing problems with settlement and isolation.

The organization has given support, financial and otherwise, to start or assist a number of Macedonian community initiatives including the second Macedonian elderly group in the region, the Macedonian Cultural Artistic Association "Jane Sandanski", the Sydenham Park Macedonian Juniors Soccer Club, the employment of a Macedonian Community Worker, the Bilingual Directory of Macedonian Speaking Service Providers in the Western Suburbs, the Keilor Macedonian Elderly Group, the employment of a Macedonian Elderly Support and Research Worker, and forums in secondary colleges in the western region, among other projects.

Pandora Petrovska

Pandora Petrovska was born in Werribee, Victoria in 1955. Her mother is from the village Kleshtina and her father from Dolna Kleshtina, both in Aegean Macedonia.

Ms Petrovska has a Bachelor of Arts degree, a Diploma of Education, and has been accepted as a candidate for a Master of Education degree. She is employed as an education administrator.

Ms Petrovska has been involved in the Macedonian community for many years and is a past president and current secretary of the Macedonian Teachers' Association. Her interests include language, oral history and expository cultural writings about the experiences of Macedonian women.

Dr Christopher Popov

Dr Christopher Popov was born in Melbourne in 1953 to Macedonian parents from the region of Lerin, Aegean Macedonia.

Dr Popov holds a Bachelor of Arts degree and a PhD in History. He

presently works for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in Melbourne.

Dr Popov is active in Macedonian community circles in Melbourne and Australia. In the late 1980s he was president of the Australian Macedonian Progressive Society, and is currently president of the Australian-Macedonian Human Rights Committee and the Macedonian Human Rights Committee of Melbourne and Victoria. He has written widely on the subject of human rights for Macedonians, and has contributed to and led overseas human rights delegations. He is a regular contributor to the Macedonian press in Australia and has also contributed to the Melbourne Age.

Michael Radin

Michael Radin was born in Adelaide, South Australia in 1958. His parents are from the villages of Visheni (Kostursko) and Dolno Kotori (Lerinsko) in the Aegean region of Macedonia.

Mr Radin holds degrees in Law and Arts, and Honours in Political Science. He has worked as a lawyer and in 1989 was appointed to the Immigration Review Tribunal as an administrative judge.

Mr Radin has been a Commissioner of the South Australian Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission, has served on numerous State and Federal Government bodies, and currently holds several consultancies. He has been active in the Macedonian community for over 12 years in a variety of positions. His interests include Macedonian migration, history, politics, culture and community affairs.

Malina Stankovska

Malina Stankovska was born in Kinglake, Victoria in 1956. Her mother is from the village Kleshtina and her father from Dolna Kleshtina, both in Aegean Macedonia.

Ms Stankovska has a Bachelor of Economics degree, a Graduate Diploma in Community Development, and is currently undertaking a Master of Social Science degree. She spent four years working in aged care and is now employed as a community worker and ethnic psychiatric access co-ordinator. She also serves on the Mental Health Sub-Committee of the Ministerial Ethnic Health Advisory Committee.

Among other roles, Ms Stankovska served on the committee that established the Australian-Macedonian Welfare Council and is the current chairperson of the Macedonian Welfare Workers' Network.

Betty Kolupacev Stewart

Betty Stewart's parents are from the village Gjavato near Bitola in the Republic of Macedonia. She was born in Wollongong, NSW in 1963 and moved to Sydney in 1982.

A lawyer, Ms Stewart has Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws degrees and a Master of Arts degree in Macedonian Studies.

Ms Stewart has been active in the Macedonian community for a number of years and was a founder and past president of the Macedonian Studies Foundation. Among her Macedonian interests are language, folk songs, customs and traditional design.

Stefo Stojanovski

Stefo Stojanovski was born in 1958 in the village of Lazec, Republic of Macedonia. His mother is from the village Buf, near Lerin, in Aegean Macedonia while his father's family was originally from Rakovo, also in Aegean Macedonia, before moving to Lazec at the end of the Ottoman Empire.

Mr Stojanovski arrived in Geelong, Australia in 1965. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree with Honours in English and a Diploma of Education. He worked as a teacher for nine years and is currently a manager in the Victorian School of Languages.

A past office bearer of the Macedonian Teachers' Association, his involvement with the Macedonian community is now mainly through the Australian-Macedonian Drama Group of which he is a founder, writer, director and public officer.

Bob Spasenovski

Bob Spasenovski was born in 1956 in Krushevo, Republic of Macedonia, and arrived in Australia in 1969.

Mr Spasenovski attended high school in Macedonia and Australia and is also a NAATI accredited interpreter. A former Federal policeman, he is now a businessman with his own driving school and auto repair shop.

Based in Canberra, Mr Spasenovski has been active in the Macedonian community since 1985. Among other positions, he is a long time president of the Macedonian Orthodox Church "St Kliment of Ohrid" and producer and broadcaster of the local Macedonian radio program.

The Association of Refugee Children from the Aegean Part of Macedonia

The Association of Refugee Children from the Aegean Part of Macedonia is a worldwide body formed in 1986 to represent the interests of 28,000 Macedonian child refugees from the Greek Civil War and to fight for human rights for Macedonians from Greece.

The Association's Australian affiliate is the Australian Macedonian Child Refugees Association, which has branches in most States.

The first gathering of the child refugees in Australia was held in Melbourne from 10 to 12 January 1992. The second gathering was held in Perth from January 6 to 8, 1995.

Macedonian Agenda is a selection of 16 of the best essays by Macedonian-Australian writers from the period 1988 to 1995. Written in English, the essays have as a common theme the development of the Macedonian people and culture in the Australian setting.

The fourteen authors give an insight into a range of topics close to the Macedonian heart: cultural values, language, religion, arts, identity, women's issues, the elderly, settlement, politics, human rights, and the "child refugees", among others.

Australia has been very good to its Macedonian immigrants. The fact that most of the authors were born in Australia indicates how Australia has allowed the Macedonian spirit to find a freedom and expression that has too frequently been denied in its divided homeland.

Original, wide ranging, informative, and sometimes controversial, Macedonian Agenda will appeal to general readers and researchers as well as to people of Macedonian background.

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