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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 20, 1982

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be M [REDACTED]

ROBERT A. DESTRO is serving as General Counsel for the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In addition, he is Adjunct Associate Professor of Law at Marquette University School of Law. He was Associate Attorney with the firm of Squire, Sanders and Dempsey, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1975-1977. Mr. Destro graduated from Miami University (A.B., 1972) and Boalt Hall School of Law (J.D., 1975). He is married and resides in Fox Point, Wisconsin. He was born September 6, 1950. He would succeed Murray Saltzman.

CONSTANTINE NICHOLAS DOMBALIS is serving as Dean of the Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia. He is also serving as President of the Hellenic College and Holy Cross Theological School Alumni Association and is on the National Presbyters Council. He serves on the State Board, Virginia Rehabilitative Services, the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and the United States National Commission for UNESCO. He received degrees in Theology from the following institutions: Hellenic College; Greek Orthodox Seminary of the Holy Cross; and the Episcopal General Theological Seminary. He did post graduate work at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Harvard University Divinity School, and Columbia University. He is married, has two children and resides in Richmond, Virginia. He was born July 29, 1925. He would succeed Mary Frances Berry.

GUADALUPE QUINTANILLA has been Assistant Provost at the University of Houston since 1978. She has been with the University of Houston since 1969 and has served as Assistant Professor, Spanish Department, and Curriculum and Instruction Department, since 1976. She was Director of the Mexican American Studies Program at that institution in 1972-1978. In addition, she has been Director of the Spanish Program for the Y.M.C.A., in Houston, Texas, since 1969. She graduated from Pan American University (B.S., 1969) and the University of Houston (M.A., 1971; Ed.D., 1976). She is married, has three children and resides in Houston. She was born October 25, 1937. She would succeed Blandina Cardenas Ramirez.

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*file  
Greek-Americans*

June 1, 1982

I am delighted to send my warm greetings to the participants in the Twenty-Second Convention of the Panepirotic Federation of America and Canada.

This event provides me with a special opportunity to recognize and reflect on the many contributions Greek Americans have made to our country. By fostering and propagating the rich Greek cultural traditions and heritage in America, your organization adds much to the diversity that is the foundation of our nation's strength, unity, and progress.

You have my best wishes for an enjoyable and productive convention.

**RONALD REAGAN**

Sent Special Delivery to:

Mr. Constantine Papaioannou  
Chairman of the Convention  
Panepirotic Federation  
of America and Canada  
35 Dorset Drive  
Broomall, Pennsylvania 19008

Enclose black and white 8x10 photo

RR:Wells:-

cc: K.Osborne/J.Wells/J.Burgess/CF  
EVENT: June 1

*file  
Greek Am.*  
George A. Aretakis & Associates  
126 Hoyt Street  
Stamford, Connecticut 06905  
(203) 357-0415

Dear Jack:  
Thank you for the Proclamation & the  
President's statement. We were on the same bus  
on 7/19 but we didn't have  
the chance to say hello. Regards  
George

Financial Consultants  
Business Consultants  
Fiscal Advisors to Municipalities

August 5, 1982

*George  
8/5/82*

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D. C..

Dear Mr. President:

The U. S. Senate is acting on HR 6863 on August 10th and it includes an \$82,000,000 Supplemental Military Hardware Aid for Turkey, which I believe should be denied. The continued Occupation of 40% of Cyprus by Turkish Invasion Forces, and their terror tactics against the Cypriote population should not be rewarded with more American Military Hardware.

Cyprus is a small, peaceful nation. It is independent and its people want to be free and not under the control of another nation.

I was invited to the Rose Garden on July 19, 1982 when you signed the Proclamation on Captive Nations Week. In it you said "...we have witnessed another tragic demonstration of the failure of tyranny to compete with the principles of freedom." The Cyprus issue fits this statement and Turkey should not be rewarded with additional Aid, while they occupy Cyprus.

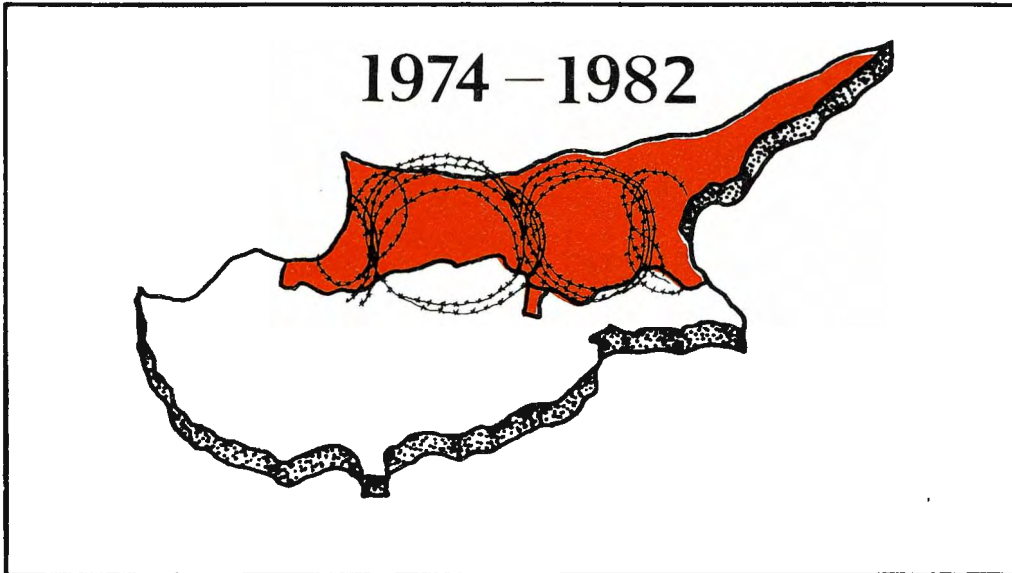
Exactly two years ago I worked with many others in the Ethnic community to support your efforts. The Greek-Americans were for your candidacy, and they still support you enthusiastically. We believe that you should consider using your influence to withdraw this \$82 Million Military Aid for Turkey from HR 6863. Your efforts will reassure many that fairness and justice has prevailed.

Yours truly,

*George A. Aretakis*  
George A. Aretakis

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**"EVERY MAN IS BORN FREE..."** *file fresh-Am.*



**PANCYPRIAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE, NICOSIA - CYPRUS**

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## **CYPRUS: Statistical Data**

Area:	9,251 Sq. Kilometres
Population:	630.000
Greek Cypriots:	82%
Turkish Cypriots:	18%

Turkish invasion:	20—22 July 1974
	14—16 August 1974

Occupied Area:	40% of the Cyprus territory
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Refugees:	200.000
The corresponding figures	
for USA:	80.000.000
for U.S.S.R.:	95.000.000
for Gr. Britain:	20.000.000
for Turkey:	13.000.000

Missing Cypriots:	1619
The corresponding figures	
for U.S.A.:	650.000
for U.S.S.R.:	750,000
for Gr. Britain:	140,000
for Turkey:	90,000

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## **A P P E A L**

In Cyprus since 1974 human rights are flagrantly trampled upon as a result of the Turkish invasion and occupation.

The refugees of Cyprus address this appeal for your solidarity and support for:

- Implementation of UN Resolutions on Cyprus.
  - Withdrawal of the turkish and all foreign troops from Cyprus.
  - Restoration of the Human Rights of the whole people of Cyprus and the return of refugees to their homes and properties.
  - Activation of the Investigatory Committee for the tracing of the missing persons.
  - A peaceful settlement in accordance with the UN Resolutions and the high level Agreements for a united, nonaligned, federal and demilitarized Cyprus with all human rights of its people fully safeguarded.
- The Cyprus problem is a question of invasion and occupation.
  - It is an international question.
  - You can also help.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1982

## MEETING WITH PATRIARCH DIODOROS

DATE: October 5, 1982  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: 1:30 - 1:40 p.m.  
  
FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

### I. PURPOSE

To receive the Patriarch, who will present you with the Great Cross of the Holy Sepulchre, the highest award of the Jerusalem Patriarchate.

### II. BACKGROUND

Patriarch Diodoros, elected in February, 1981, to head the Jerusalem Patriarchate (one of the five ancient Christian Patriarchates) arrived in the United States on September 16th for a six-week pastoral visit, his first to this country. He is the spiritual leader of 160,000 Greek Orthodox Christians in Israel, Jordan and other regions of the Middle East. Under his jurisdiction are all the sacred shrines of the Holy Land. A native of Greece, he is 59 years old.

The Patriarch will be accompanied by Archbishop Iakovos, Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, who is Diodoros' host and with whom you met in the Oval Office last November 3rd. Others in the party will be Metropolitan Constantinos, Archimandrite Timothy and Father Alex Karloutsos (who also participated in the November 3rd meeting).

The Great Cross of the Holy Sepulchre is being presented to you as a Chief of State who "maintains the highest order of commitment to freedom and dignity throughout the world." The Patriarch will also present personal gifts for yourself and Mrs. Reagan.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list

### IV. PRESS PLAN

Photo/Press Pool



V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

1:30 - You greet your guests as they enter the Oval Office and escort them to the area in front of the fireplace. Patriarch Diodoros will stand to your left, Archbishop Iakovos, to your right. The Metropolitan and Archmandrite will flank them.

1:35 - The Press Pool will enter for the presentation.

After the Pool exits, you will take your seats in front of the fireplace, with the Patriarch seated in the chair to your left.

The personal gifts will be presented to you, and you converse as per the talking points.

1:40 - You thank the Patriarch, and the others, and they depart the Oval Office.

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Attachments: Talking Points, Participants

## TALKING POINTS

NOTE: Patriarch Diodorus is addressed as "Your Beatitude."

- I want to thank you, Your Beatitude, for the honor you have bestowed upon me by this award. Given the current situation in the Middle East, it is particularly meaningful for me.
- I know that you have been in the United States for almost three weeks now. How has your visit been going?
- As you continue your visit, please convey to all the hierarchy you meet, and the Greek-American community, my warmest personal regards.
- Thank you, again, for presenting me with this award and for the personal gifts. Mrs. Reagan and I are most appreciative.

## PARTICIPANTS

Patriarch Diodoros	(Your Beatitude)
Archbishop Iakovos	(Your Eminence)
Metropolitan Constantinos	(Your Eminence)
Archimandrite Timothy	(Father)
Reverend Alex Karloutsos	(Father)

## STAFF

Jack Burgess - Office of Public Liaison

HONORARY CHAIRMEN  
His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos  
The Honorable Paul Sarbanes  
The Honorable John Brademas  
The Honorable Gus Yatron  
The Honorable George Christopher  
Charles Mallotis  
Charles C. Moskos, Ph.D.

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN  
Andrew A. Athens

SECRETARY  
John L. Marks

TREASURER  
Michael A. Svorakis

GENERAL COUNSEL  
George J. Charles

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR  
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ETHNIC LIAISON DIRECTOR  
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John S. Marandas  
James A. Peponis  
Michael Sotirhos

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Nicholas G. Manos  
M. Frank Manta  
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Louis W. Mitchell  
The Honorable Steven G. Nash  
Anthony A. Nichols  
James G. Orphan  
Mary G. Orphan  
Chris G. Pappageorge  
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William G. Rummel  
James Scofield  
Leon N. Skan  
Charles C. Sklavanitis  
Nick Skountzos  
Sam Stavrakas  
Nick Vern  
Charalambos Zarakiotis



*file  
Greek Am.*

September 10, 1982

Mr. John F. Burgess  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500


Dear Jack:

I am enclosing a copy of our invitation to Secretary of State George Shultz. His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Father Alex Karloutsos, and I want to thank you very much for all of your efforts and assistance in trying to get the Secretary of State to come to Chicago for our memorable banquet.

As you probably know, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Beatitude Diodoros, will also be with us; and I am sure you will be following up on this matter with the hope that we receive a favorable reply.

Many thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

  
Andrew A. Athens  
Chairman  
60th Anniversary  
Banquet Committee

AAA/cg

HONORARY CHAIRMEN  
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 The Honorable Paul Sarbanes  
 The Honorable John Brademas  
 The Honorable Gus Yatron  
 The Honorable George Christopher  
 Charles Maliotis  
 Charles C. Moskos, Ph.D.  
 NATIONAL CHAIRMAN  
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 Nick Skountzos  
 Sam Stavrakas  
 Nick Vern  
 Charalambos Zarakiotis

September 10, 1982

The Honorable George Shultz  
 Secretary of State  
 of the United States  
 The State Department  
 Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz:

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos has announced that the 60th Anniversary of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the Americas will be celebrated in the City of Chicago this year. The Chicago Diocese will have the honor of hosting a banquet commemorating this 60th Anniversary, which will be held Saturday, October 23, 1982 in the International Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. The cocktail reception will begin at 5:30 p.m., with dinner to follow at 6:30 p.m. The event will be black tie.

On behalf of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, the Archdiocesan Council and Diocese of Chicago of the Greek Orthodox Church, I extend to you our most cordial invitation to attend this banquet as an honored guest and as the principal speaker. It would please us to have you with us for this very important affair relating to the history of our Church in the Americas.

We respectfully solicit your favorable consideration, and we shall very much appreciate having your reply.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Andrew A. Athens  
 Chairman  
 60th Anniversary  
 Banquet Committee

AAA/cg



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩ ΚΥ ΝΟΤΙΩ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

10 EAST 79th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • TEL (212) 570-3500 • CABLE ARCHGREEK, NEW YORK

October 21, 1982

Mr. William Clark  
National Security Advisor  
National Security Council  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Clark:

The United States decision to modernize ten military airfields in Turkey is both unwise and unjust, coming at a time when the authoritarian junta of General Evren continues to suppress human rights under martial law and criminal intransigence on Cyprus continues to contravene in the U.S. Rule of Law.

American defense and foreign policy toward the Turkish military regime threatens not only to upset the balance of power in the volatile eastern Mediterranean but will exacerbate latent anti-American sentiment among close allies of proven loyalty.

Recalling our cordial meeting last year, I would like to speak with you personally on this serious matter and look forward to doing so in the immediate future.

Faithfully yours,

I A K O V O S

Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox  
Church of North and South America

AI:mn



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΩ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

10 EAST 78th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • TEL (212) 570-3500 • CABLE: ARCHGREEK, NEW YORK

October 21, 1982

Caspar W. Weinberger  
Secretary of Defense  
Defense Department  
The Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The United States decision to modernize ten military airfields in Turkey is both unwise and unjust, coming at a time when the authoritarian junta of General-Evren continues to suppress human rights under martial law and criminal intransigence on Cyprus continues to contravene the U.S. Rule of Law.

American defense and foreign policy toward the Turkish military regime threatens not only to upset the balance of power in the volatile eastern Mediterranean but will exacerbate latent anti-American sentiment among close allies of proven loyalty.

As an American Church leader, I would like to speak with you personally on this serious matter and look forward to doing so in the imminent future.

Faithfully yours,

I A K O V O S

Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox  
Church of North and South America

AI:mn



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΗ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

10 EAST 79th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • TEL (212) 570-3500 • CABLE ARCHGREEK, NEW YORK

October 21, 1982

George Schultz  
Secretary of State  
State Department  
2201 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The United States decision to modernize ten military airfields in Turkey is both unwise and unjust, coming at a time when the authoritarian junta of General Evren continues to suppress human rights under martial law and criminal intransigence on Cyprus continues to contravene the U.S. Rule of Law.

American foreign and defense policy toward the Turkish military regime threatens not only to upset the balance of power in the volatile eastern Mediterranean but will exacerbate latent anti-American sentiment among close allies of proven loyalty.

As an American Church leader, I would like to speak with you personally on this serious matter and look forward to doing so in the imminent future.

Faithfully yours,

I A K O V O S  
Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox  
Church of North and South America

AI:mn



cc: Jack Burgess

*few  
Gee*

WASHINGTON COORDINATING COUNCIL ON PRODUCTIVITY

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, N. W.

SUITE 210

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 638-0314

ANDREW E. MANATOS  
PRESIDENT

October 14, 1982

The Honorable George Bush  
Vice President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

We at the Washington Coordinating Council on Productivity have watched your work in the area of reducing government regulations and encouraging the export of American goods. Our efforts to improve American productivity and to better enable American businessmen to compete internationally have been consistent with and supportive of your work.

We have created a number of important projects which will take substantial steps toward improving American productivity and international competitiveness. Most of these programs are about to move into their implementation stage. Minor adjustments to Administration activities in the area of productivity will make both our efforts much more effective.

Mr. Tom Murrin, the President of the Public Systems Company of Westinghouse Electric Corporation, is probably the nation's most successful businessman with regard to productivity. He has moved his company from a two percent productivity increase a year to eight percent a year by applying some of the proven productivity improving techniques. Mr. Murrin has also been the prime mover behind the Washington Coordinating Council on Productivity.

We would very much like to arrange a meeting for you with Mr. Murrin so that he might give you more detail about the substantial steps that we will be taking in this area and suggest to you ideas that you might want to consider which could enable this Administration to be even more effective in its work in this arena. For a number of reasons it would be most helpful to us if such a meeting could be arranged sometime in November or early December. If your staff has any questions about this matter, please tell them not to hesitate to call.

Yours truly,

  
Andrew E. Manatos

AEM:lwc

*file  
Greek - Armenians*

**TURKEY  
VIOLATES  
HUMAN RIGHTS  
OF  
ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS  
AND THE  
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
(IN ISTANBUL)**

**SPIRITUAL  
HEADQUARTERS  
OF  
250,000,000**



**ORTHODOX  
CHRISTIAN  
COMMUNICANTS  
IN THE WORLD**

# **Turkey's Oppression Against The Ecumenical Patriarchate**

## **And The Greek Orthodox Christians In Istanbul . . .**

### **The Documented Facts . . . Of Recent Years**

- 1945-1978 •** AS THE RESULT OF CONTINUING OPPRESSIVE MEASURES THE GREEKS OF ISTANBUL FORCED TO LEAVE THEIR HOMELAND OF CENTURIES ARE REDUCED FROM OVER 100,000 TO LESS THAN 10,000. UNBEARABLE TAXES (VARLIK) ARE IMPOSED ON MINORITIES IN THE YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II THOROUGHLY DRAINING THEM, THEIR BUSINESSES AND ORGANIZATIONS.
- 1950-1965 •** TWO HIERARCHS AND 30,000 TURKISH CITIZENS OF GREEK ANCESTRY ARE DEPORTED IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE.
- 1962-ON •** THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX IN TURKEY ARE VIOLATED IN MANY WAYS.
  - 1) THEY ARE FORBIDDEN TO ENTER CERTAIN PROFESSIONS.
  - 2) ARE REFUSED BANKING AND CREDIT PRIVILEGES.
  - 3) PROPERTY OWNED BY THEM IS SEIZED BY FISCAL AUTHORITIES AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE AGAINST PAYMENT OF FUTURE TAXES CALCULATED AT MUCH HIGHER RATES THAN THE TAXES ON OTHER TURKISH CITIZENS.
  - 4) CONTRACTS INVOLVING TRANSFER OF REAL ESTATE PROPERTY BELONGING TO GREEK ORTHODOX ARE NO LONGER RECORDED IN LAND REGISTRY DEPARTMENT, THUS JEOPARDIZING OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY.
  - 5) LEADING GREEK ORTHODOX BUSINESS MEN IN COMPANIES WITH GREEK CAPITAL ARE REMOVED FROM THEIR POSITIONS AND BANISHED FROM THE COUNTRY.
- 1964 •** THE PRINTING FACILITIES THAT PUBLISHED THE NEWSPAPERS AND OFFICIAL JOURNALS OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE ARE SHUT DOWN.
- 1971 •** THE HISTORIC HALKI THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF THE PATRIARCHATE IS FORCED TO CLOSE DOWN.
- 1972 •** THE MERCANTILE HIGH SCHOOL, ALSO ON THE ISLAND OF HALKI, IS TAKEN OVER FOR USE BY THE TURKISH NAVAL ACADEMY.
- 1972 •** THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT INTERVENES IN THE ELECTION OF THE NEW ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH WHEN IT COMPILES A LIST OF BISHOPS CONSIDERED AS UNACCEPTABLE BY THE TURKS.
- 1978 •** THE TURKS CONTINUE TO REFUSE THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS TO MANY BISHOPS OF THE PATRIARCHATE. A BISHOP'S LETTER DATED CHRISTMAS 1977 SPEAKS OF THE "ATMOSPHERE OF DESPAIR" HANGING OVER THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS OF ISTANBUL. A PORTION OF THE BISHOP'S LETTER (WHO OBVIOUSLY MUST NOT BE IDENTIFIED) RELEASED BY HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA READS:



## A Bishop Writes From Istanbul ...

"The purpose of these intense pressures upon the Patriarchate is so that it will be obliged to cease its religious (ecumenical) activities abroad and then it will be condemned to wither away. Their goal is to terrorize the Hellenic community here. The violation of the freedom of the individual in our case is committed without shame and for the first time in the history of the Patriarchate the letters of protest from the Patriarch go unanswered."

## NEWS IN PICTURES

### BLITZ NIGHT IN ISTANBUL

IN the four weeks since an inflamed Turkish mob swept through Istanbul, venting its wrath over the campaign to swallow up the Turkish minority on Cyprus in union with Greece, ironclad censorship has kept the full story from the outside world. But by last week enough accounts had filtered out to justify the worst accounts of that terrible night. As these pictures show, Greek churches, tombs and sacred ossuaries were rifled and wrecked, as well as the stores along the famed Avenue of Independence. A sea of olive oil flooded the streets before one large grocery store; spilled paints and dyes made the street a nightmarish rainbow before a paint store near by. One aging priest was burned alive in his bed, another scalped. By next morning, Istanbul was quiet again, its rubble-strewn streets the property of prowling cats and patrolling soldiers, but a reporter from London, who was there to see, compared the debris to the worst in England during Hitler's blitz.



**BATTERED PRIEST** of Greek Orthodox Church, who narrowly escaped death at hands of mob that beat him, recuperates in hospital.



**DESECRATED CHURCH** was one of 78 wrecked by anti-Christian mob, which despoiled relics, crosses.



**DEMOLISHED AUTO** shows violence of rioters' assault on prosperous victims, who were dragged from cars, beaten

in streets. Rampaging crowds picked up showiest vehicles bodily, carried them to Bosphorus and dumped them in.



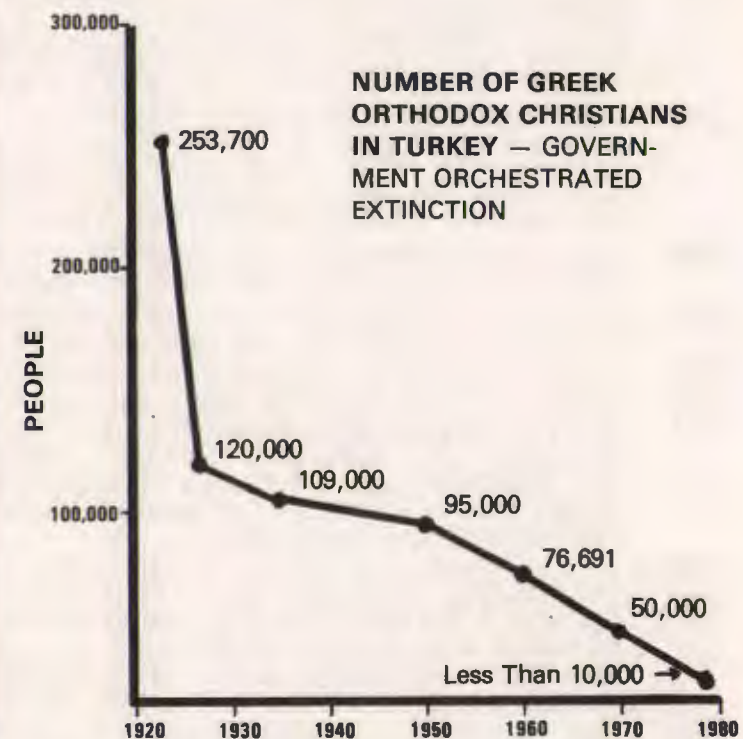
**RUINED MERCHANDISE** from looted stores blocks traffic, attracts curious on day after riot. Drunken hoodlums who sacked shopping district destroyed what they could not use.

## THE BISHOP'S PLEA IN 1978 IS NOT NEW . . .

TURKEY'S COVERT POLICY FOR DECADES HAS BEEN TO BRING ABOUT THE EXTINCTION OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITY IN ISTANBUL. AT TIMES THIS POLICY HAS BECOME VISIBLE. BELOW IS HOW TIME MAGAZINE IN THE ISSUE OF OCTOBER 10, 1955 REPORTED THE FURIOUS RIOTS OF SEPTEMBER 6-7, 1955 AGAINST THE GREEKS AND THE PATRIARCHATE IN ISTANBUL. THESE WERE LATER PROVED IN THE COURTS TO BE INSTIGATED BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

## MYTHS AND FACTS . . .

IT IS SAD BUT TRUE THAT CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, NOTABLY THE C.I.A., THE PENTAGON AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT ARE SO CONCERNED ABOUT TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE NATO ALLIANCE THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO WHITEWASH THE REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN TURKEY AND TO ECHO TURKEY'S BLATANT LIES ABOUT CITIZENS OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN GREECE. THE **DOCUMENTED NUMBERS** SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.



TIME

OCTOBER  
10, 1955



# THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

## MILESTONES AND MARTYRDOM IN A LONG AND ILLUSTRIOUS HISTORY

- 36 A.D. • APOSTLE ANDREW ESTABLISHES THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN BYZANTIUM, THE ANCIENT NAME OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NOW ISTANBUL.
- 324 • BYZANTIUM DECLARED CAPITAL OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT — WHICH LATER EVOLVED INTO THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE — IS RENAMED CONSTANTINOPLE AND BECOMES ONE OF THE FIVE SEES OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH ALONG WITH ROME, ANTIOCH, JERUSALEM AND ALEXANDRIA.
- 325-787 • THE FIRST 7 ECUMENICAL COUNCILS TAKE PLACE IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE — SET THEOLOGICAL DOCTRINE FOR THE UNDIVIDED CHRISTIAN CHURCH.
- 800-1000 • CONVERSION OF EASTERN EUROPE TO CHRISTIANITY BY MISSIONARIES FROM THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.
- 1453 • CONSTANTINOPLE IS CAPTURED BY OTTOMAN TURKS AND SACKED. LONG PERIOD OF HUMILIATION BEGINS FOR THE PATRIARCHATE DESPITE PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS GRANTED TO IT BY MOHAMMED II "THE CONQUEROR". NUMEROUS PATRIARCHS SUFFER AND MARTYR AT THE HAND OF TURKISH AUTHORITIES. SPECIFICALLY: 7 WERE FORCED TO RESIGN, 17 WERE DEPOSED, 2 BANISHED, 2 POISONED, 2 KILLED, 2 STRANGLED AND 2 HANGED.
- 1821 • GREEKS REVOLT TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM AFTER 400 YEARS UNDER THE TURKISH YOKE. IN RETALIATION GREEKS OF CONSTANTINOPLE ARE PUT TO THE SWORD AND PATRIARCH GREGORY THE FIFTH, AFTER BEING TORTURED IS HANGED ON EASTER SUNDAY (APRIL 10, 1821) FROM THE CENTRAL DOOR OF THE PATRIARCHATE. GREEKS BECOME FREE AFTER A MONUMENTAL STRUGGLE LASTING 8-1/2 YEARS.
- 1856 • TREATY OF PARIS WHICH ENDED CRIMEAN WAR IMPOSES UPON TURKEY TO RESPECT AND MAINTAIN PRIVILEGES OF HER CHRISTIAN POPULATION.
- 1878 • TREATY OF BERLIN REITERATES AND IMPOSES UPON TURKEY TO MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR HER SUBJECTS, GIVING IT THE WIDEST POSSIBLE EXTENT.
- 1922-1923 • 2,000,000 GREEKS OF ASIA MINOR (TURKEY TODAY) ARE UPROOTED FROM THEIR ANCESTRAL HOMES OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS AND FORCED TO GO TO GREECE. METROPOLITAN CHRYSOSTOM OF SMYRNA IS TORN TO PIECES, METROPOLITAN OF AIVALI WITH MANY OF HIS CLERGY IS BURIED ALIVE, HUNDREDS OF PRIESTS, MONKS, NUNS ARE TORTURED. ARTICLES 38-42 OF THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE (JULY 24, 1923) TEMPORARILY PUT AN END TO ATROCITIES AND GUARANTEE FREEDOM OF THE MINORITY RIGHTS OF THE GREEKS AND THE UNHAMPERED EXISTENCE OF THE PATRIARCHATE.
- 1948-1972 • ATHENAGORAS, ARCHBISHOP OF NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA BECOMES PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE. PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN MAKES HIS AIRCRAFT, *THE SACRED COW*, AVAILABLE TO FLY THE NEW PATRIARCH FROM NEW YORK TO ISTANBUL. A PRELATE OF FAR-SIGHTED VISION AND UNDISPUTED STATURE, HE IS A MAJOR FORCE IN THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT UNTIL HIS DEATH IN 1972. THIS GREATEST OF POST-BYZANTINE PATRIARCHS INSTITUTES A POLICY OF IRENIC (PACIFIC) APPEASEMENT AND RECONCILIATION WITH THE TURKS.
- 1955 • IRENIC POLICY OF PATRIARCH ATHENAGORAS IS SHATTERED BY "BLITZ NIGHT IN ISTANBUL" — SEE INSIDE.
- 1955-1978 • THE TRIBULATIONS OF THE PATRIARCHATE AND THE GREEKS OF ISTANBUL THAT STARTED IN 1453 CONTINUE. SEE OPPOSITE PAGE.

**THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IS FOR THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN WHAT THE VATICAN IS TO CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS. THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA WITH THREE MILLION COMMUNICANTS IS PART OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.**



THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY WISDOM (AGIA SOPHIA) IN ISTANBUL IS TO THE ORTHODOX FAITH WHAT ST. PETER'S IN ROME IS TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH. BUILT IN THE 6th CENTURY IT IS ONE OF THE GREAT ENGINEERING ACHIEVEMENTS OF ALL TIME. IT WAS THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH FOR 1000 YEARS. DESECRATED BY THE TURKS IN 1453 IT WAS LATER TURNED INTO A MOSQUE AND IS NOW A MUSEUM.

# **AMERICANS OF THE GREEK-ORTHODOX FAITH ARE RIGHTLY CONCERNED AND DEEPLY DISTURBED.**

## **REASONS:**

- THE CURRENT HARASSMENTS AGAINST THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN BROTHERS THERE.
- THE VIOLATIONS BY THE TURKS OF:
  - THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS
  - THE TURKISH CONSTITUTION
  - THE HELSINKI ACCORDS (TURKEY IS A SIGNATOR)
  - PRESIDENT CARTER'S CURRENT ESPOUSAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A WORLD WIDE SCALE.
- FAILURE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO SPEAK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TURKEY AS HAS BEEN DONE FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA, JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE OPPRESSED IN SOUTH AMERICA.
- THE SELECTIVE FOCUS BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AROUND THE WORLD AND THE "WHITEWASH" IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S *COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES* ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN TURKEY.

**THE PLIGHT OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX  
CHRISTIANS AND THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE IS NOT SOME REMOTE EVENT  
OF NO CONCERN TO AMERICANS. HUMAN RIGHTS  
VIOLATIONS FOR EVEN ONE HUMAN BEING,  
WHEREVER HE MAY BE, MEANS AS THE POET SAYS:**

***THE BELL TOLLS FOR THEE ...***

**WE URGE EVERYONE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT IS  
HAPPENING IN TURKEY TO WRITE THE UNITED  
NATIONS, THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT,  
SECRETARY OF STATE AND ALL MEMBERS OF  
CONGRESS TO RAISE THEIR VOICES AND MORAL  
STATURE TO BRING PRESSURE ON TURKEY TO  
MEND HER MEDIEVAL WAYS.**

PREPARED BY  
THE UNITED HELLENIC AMERICAN CONGRESS  
12900 SOUTH METRON DRIVE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60633

MARCH 1978



# Archons Renew Commitment To End Religious Persecution In Turkey

NEW YORK — Ending religious persecution and human rights violations in Turkey is the goal of an ongoing campaign by the Archons of the Order of St. Andrew the Apostle.

During an unprecedented meeting Nov. 30th at Archdiocese headquarters, nearly 50 from various American cities, Archons assured Archbishop Iakovos that they would work tirelessly to alleviate the misery of an estimated 5,000 surviving Greek Orthodox faithful in Turkey, today.

"It is essential," said Dr. Anthony Borden, Commander of the Archons, "that Americans of our Greek Orthodox tradition rise to their responsibility in educating their Congressional representatives and the American people concerning the grave problem of religious liberty and basic human rights being denied in Turkey."

Archbishop Iakovos agreed, saying: "We must mobilize an organized effort to deal with the problem of religious persecution and the denial of human rights among our brethren in Turkey."

The Archbishop told the group: "I look to you for more initiative in pursuing your responsibilities as Archons committed to the historic role of defending the faith." His Eminence presided at a St. Andrew's vespers service and engaged in a dialogue with the Archons, who have pledged to support the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and its philanthropic institutions.

At a meeting that followed the dialogue with the Archbishop, the Archons mapped strategy on how best to communicate the sorry plight of religious minorities in Turkey to national and world leaders.

Since the United States supplies the largest portion of Turkey's multi-billion dollar foreign aid, the Archons reasoned

that effective lobbying on Capitol Hill could result in moral persuasion being applied successfully to Turkey's ruling military junta.

Twice in the past year, delegations of Archons have traveled to Washington, where they were received by Senators including Paul Sarbanes, Edward Kennedy, Charles Percy and Paul Tsongas plus Congressmen Edward Derwinski, Nicholas Mavroules and Gus Yatron among others.

"Most of us in Congress," Derwinski stated, "are unaware that these conditions presently exist, and we are appreciative of your enlightening us with this information."

Derwinski, a Republican from Illinois who has long championed the cause of Greece and Cyprus, distributed to key members of Congress remarks made by Prof. Deno Geanakoplos, a Yale University scholar in Byzantine and Orthodox Church History, about the oppression of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey.

The Archons have also notified the International Congress on Human Rights about the violations that are continuing against the once-numerous but now steadily dwindling Greek Orthodox community and other non-Moslems seeking to worship without interference. These violations have been documented repeatedly by impartial observers.

Dr. Borden reiterated the devotion and love the Archons have for the Ecumenical Patriarchate and its institutions. He read the text of a telegram sent to His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios I that offered prayerful greetings on the occasion of the Feastday of St. Andrew the Apostle who founded the Christian church where the Patriarchate is now located.

## UHAC Issues "White Paper" On Patriarchate

CHICAGO — In an effort to help delineate the continued harassment of the Ecumenical Patriarchate by Turkish authorities and the ongoing violations of human rights of Greek Orthodox Christians in Turkey, the United Hellenic American Congress has issued a "White Paper", on the current status of the Patriarchate which has been distributed to U.S. Government officials.

Recipients of the "White Paper" have included members of the U.S. State Department, the National Security Council, Vice Pres. George Bush, Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the State Foreign Relations Committee and to leading members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The plight of the Ecumenical Patriarchate has been a continuing concern of UHAC which has been seeking

ways and means, in collaboration with the Church and other Hellenic organizations, to ameliorate conditions on the basis of international accords to which Turkey is a signatory and on the fundamental concept of human rights.

The "White Paper" was a topic of discussion at a recent meeting arranged by Congressman, Edward Derwinski of Illinois, in Washington, DC with United States Government officials and members of the national Greek Community. Andrew A. Athens, President of UHAC attended along with representatives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, the Order of AHEPA and the Order of St. Andrew, the national organization of Archons of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The "White Paper" was prepared by Prof. Andrew T. Kopan of DePaul University in Chicago.

ORDER OF ST. ANDREW THE APOSTLE  
Archons of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

AN APPEAL TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BY THE ORDER OF ST. ANDREW  
ON THE CONTINUING VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TURKEY

The Order of St. Andrew the Apostle is a national organization of outstanding Greek Orthodox laymen incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. It has as its principal objective the aid and support of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the worldwide center of the Orthodox Church, and the ecclesiastical center for Americans of the Greek Orthodox Faith, located in Istanbul (Constantinople) Turkey. The Order of St. Andrew respectfully and urgently brings to the attention of the U.S. government a series of discriminatory actions taken against the Patriarchate by the government of Turkey over the years. These actions not only impair the function of the Patriarchate in its ecumenical mission, but indeed affect its very life and existence. As a result of economic pressures, violence and restrictions in religious freedom and education, the Greek Orthodox population in Turkey has dwindled from over 150,000 in 1923 to the present 7,000.

Treaty of Lausanne

The Turkish government has consistently violated the Articles of the Treaty of Lausanne of July 24, 1923, pertaining to the safe treatment of minorities living in Turkey. These articles guarantee the protection of life, and the freedom of non-Turkish minorities to fair employment and to freedom of religion and education. Through continuing acts of repression, the Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian, and other minorities have been deprived of their protection of life and opportunity to enjoy basic civil and political rights. By taxing religious institutions such as churches and church related schools, minority schools where minority languages are taught, hospitals, orphanages and philanthropic institutions associated with the Patriarchate, the Turkish government has reduced the status of the Patriarchate to that of a captive church unable to perform its sacred mission.



### Specific Treaty Violations

The specific violations of the Treaty of Lausanne are as follows:

Article 38 (paragraphs 1 & 2) guarantee the full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants, regardless of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

Article 39 (paragraph 3) states that differences of religion, creed or confession should not prejudice any Turkish National in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights.

Article 40 accords to all non-Moslem minorities an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable organization, religious school, social institution or other establishment for instruction and education with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely.

Article 41 states that the Turkish government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem Nationals are residents, adequate facilities ensuring that the instruction in primary schools shall be given to the children of such Turkish Nationals in their own language.

Article 42 (paragraph 5) grants full protection to churches, synagogues, cemeteries or other religious establishments.

Article 43 (paragraph 1) stipulates that Turkish National non-Moslem minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, etc.

### Turkish Constitution

The highest authority of any independent nation is its constitution. The Turkish constitution rightly guarantees the freedom of religion to its minority peoples, yet this basic human right is openly violated by the government through the restrictions and harassment continually imposed upon the Greek Orthodox community and other minorities in Turkey.

### Convention on Human Rights

The European Convention on Human Rights was signed by Turkey as a contracting party on November 4, 1950. These international agreements provide for the protection of life and property of the non-Moslem population in Turkey. They also guarantee the freedom of religious

education, freedom of marriage, freedom of petition, and the right of non-discrimination and non-assimilation.

The Order of St. Andrew seeks to focus the attention of the United States government on these acts of discrimination and oppression aimed against the Ecumenical Patriarchate since the end of World War II. The Turkish government has been encouraging the formation of an independent Turkish Orthodox Church, which usurped and seized, with the acquiescence of the Turkish government, three churches in Constantinople, and continues to harass the Greek Orthodox Church in that city.

The government condoned the acts of violence of September 5 and 6, 1955, which can only be described as a pogrom against the Greek Orthodox churches, clergymen, cemeteries and Greek institutions. Despite the report rendered to the U.S. Senate by Senator Capehart of Indiana on these atrocities, nothing appeared in the U.S. press concerning them, and the magnitude of desecration amounted to over \$300 million wreaked in a matter of six hours. The desecration of churches and cemeteries, and the opening of the tombs of Patriarchs were just some of the actions of the hostile mobs from whom no protection was provided.

#### Patriarchate Suffers

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been deprived, through unbelievable legalistic maneuvers, of its major education institution, the Theological Seminary of Halki. This Seminary has been the source of international leadership for the Greek Orthodox Church for nearly 150 years, and is located on a picturesque isle, just a short distance from Istanbul. In 1971 it was closed by the government on the grounds that it was a private university, and all universities should be State controlled. Numerous attempts by the Patriarchate, for several decades, to have the Theological Seminary of Halki recognized as an equivalent to a university department, were invariably turned down.

Likewise, freedom of choice and election of Patriarchs has been obstructed by rejecting candidates of the Holy Synod for this highest office and removing them from the electable list. This is a "right" reserved to the government.

Moreover, the government continues to reject and deny permission for repair of churches, buildings where Greek minority schools are held, repairs for welfare institutions and income producing property attached or donated to the Patriarchate.



The government has also imposed a five percent tax of supervision on the gross income of philanthropic institutions. This has only recently been lifted. It has imposed numerous restrictions on the free travel of the Prelates of the Greek Orthodox Church of Constantinople, thus impeding the progress and welfare of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate has likewise undergone unrelenting police harassment and supervision which directly interferes and discourages the faithful in their attendance at Services and participation in the functions of the Patriarchate. This type of psychological pressure has been continuously exerted upon the Greek minority and extends also to interference with Sunday school teaching which has been prevented by the Turkish government. There is a constant cloud of harassment that obstructs and impedes the progress and welfare of the Greek Orthodox population in Turkey.

#### Additional Repression

There are additional governmental acts which compromise the economic viability of the Patriarchate, as well as that of its philanthropic institutions. These include the ban on the acquisition of property by philanthropic institutions and the prevention of Orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople in naming the Patriarchate, its schools and institutions, as beneficiaries in their wills.

The government has also subjected these institutions, until recently, to a five percent supervisory trust on their gross income. The properties of Moslem religious institutions are exempt from any estate property belonging to the Patriarchate and its institutions.

Confiscatory action has been taken repeatedly by the government against institutions, schools, churches, orphanages, and there are documented instances where those institutions were totally confiscated because of this discriminatory taxation.

Greek Orthodox cemeteries have been repeatedly violated and the destruction of tombstones and theft of sacred objects from cemetery churches are continuing occurrences in Istanbul.

Greek elementary and high schools have been systematically harassed and strangled in their function by prohibiting them to acquire any gifts of property. Likewise, the dismissal of their Boards of Trustees and denial to the Boards of any legal standing makes them subject to the whims and regulations of the government's Director of Welfare Institutions.

The rents and properties which support the schools, welfare institutions, hospitals, orphanages, and the Patriarchate itself are paid to the General Directorate of the Vakoufs, a government organization.

#### Contrasting Situation in Greece

Americans of the Order of St. Andrew would like to contrast this oppressive handling and infractions of Human Rights with the freedom of religion and education enjoyed by the Turkish-Moslem minority, numbering close to 100,000 in 1923, has now increased to at least 150,000 in population, despite the fact that this particular area of Greece has been a battlefield both during World War II and during the War of the Communist Insurrection, 1947-1950. Despite these factors, the Moslem schools and students in Western Thrace are allowed to have religious education and enjoy full freedom. Schools are maintained and repaired by the Greek government and are completely independent of any governmental intervention. This is guaranteed by the Greek constitution. The Greek State also provides funds for the maintenance and repair of Moslem religious institutions in Western Thrace.

#### Conclusion

In concluding this rather brief memorandum, we wish to briefly bring to the attention of our government agencies, and those committed to the defense of civil rights around the world, the plight and pressures of the Greek inhabitants in the North Aegean Sea area. The Islands of Tenedos and Imbros situated in this area have been, despite the assurances of the Treaty of Lausanne, colonized by prison inmates transferred from mainland Turkey. The Greek community, which constituted the majority on these two Islands, declined from 8,200 in 1934 to 1,400 people in 1979 as the result of such actions, and the Turkification of its schools and arbitrary expropriation of its lands and properties.

The Order of St. Andrew, speaking on behalf of Americans of the Greek Orthodox faith, are deeply pained and concerned over the welfare of our brethren in Turkey, and the existence of our Mother Church, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople which, under present circumstances, may face ultimate extinction. This is an unthinkable possibility, for its extinction would mean the violation of the most sacred and unalienable human rights of thought and religious freedom that we as Americans are uncompromisingly committed to, and upon which our Nation was founded and has existed for over two hundred years.



It is our prayerful hope that the conditions outlined in this memorandum will energize the appropriate agencies of our U.S. government to address these grievances and violations in a manner consistent with our national policy on universal human rights. Toward this sacred goal and hope we pledge our full support, and look forward to a response in the near future advising us of the actions taken.

We commend the readers of this document to the publication, "Christian Minorities in Turkey". Published in Brussels in 1979 by the "Churches Committee on Migrant Workers in Europe", it documents the severe problems faced by all minorities living in Turkey over these past decades.

Anthony G. B. Borden, M.D., Commander  
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Rydal, Pa. 19046

# UHAC 'White Paper' on Patriarchate

THE GREEK STAR  
4731 N. Western Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60625

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1981

The United Hellenic American Congress, a national umbrella association of Greek-American organizations headquartered in Chicago, issued a "White Paper" on the current status of the Ecumenical Patriarchate—world center of the Greek Orthodox Church at Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey. The purpose of the paper is to delineate the continued harassment of Ecumenical Patriarchate by Turkish authorities and the ongoing violations of the human rights of Greek Orthodox Christians in that country. The plight of the Ecumenical Patriarchate has been a continuing concern of UHAC which has been seeking ways and means, in collaboration with the Church and other Hellenic organizations, to ameliorate conditions on the basis of international accords to which Turkey is a signatory and on the fundamental concept of human rights.

The statement was distributed to United States Government officials in the State Department, the National Security Council, Vice President George Bush, as well as Senator Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and to leading members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The "White Paper" was a topic of discussion at a recent meeting arranged by Congressman Edward Derwinski of Illinois, in Washington, D. C., with United States Government officials and members of the national Greek community. Andrew A. Athens, President of UHAC, attended along with representatives of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, the Order of Ahepa and the Order of St. Andrew, (a national organization of archons of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), and other groups.

The White Paper, which was prepared by Professor Andrew T. Kopan of DePaul University in Chicago, and UHAC Ethnic Liaison Director, is as follows:

## The Ecumenical Patriarchate

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople at Istanbul, Turkey, also known historically as the Great Church of Christ, is the spiritual center for some 250 million Orthodox Christians in the world, of which approximately five million reside in the United States. Founded by Apostle Andrew in 36 A. D., during his missionary travels in that part of the world, it rose to international prominence when Emperor Constantine the Great, transferred the capital of the Roman Empire to that City in 324. As such, it emerged as one of the five patriarchates along with Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem governing the Undivided Church of the first millennium, ranking only after Rome. This was accomplished by decrees of the Second Ecumenical Council which met in 381 at Constantinople and of the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451 which added the title of "ecumenical" to the Patriarchate, a term implying a spiritual universality for all churches (II Cor. 11:28).

Located in the capital city of the Byzantine Empire which succeeded Rome for another thousand years, and because of its universally important position and its enjoyment of a wholly non-political, integrity of status, it gradually became the cen-

ter and source of moral, cultural, and religious enlightenment for the whole Eastern world, which embraced within itself a number of different nations, languages and ethnic groups. The Patriarchate played a leading role in the propagation of the Gospel in Europe, Asia and Africa. It played a vital part in the summoning of the Great Ecumenical Councils. Through its Church Fathers and other outstanding theologians, it contributed to the formulation of those creeds and confessions of faith which enshrine the essential truths of Christianity, and which still unite all Christendom today. It developed an effective system of discipline and canon law still valid today.

When in 1054 the Great Schism between East and West separated the Undivided Church into two parts—Greek Orthodoxy in the East and Roman Catholicism in the West—the Ecumenical Patriarchate assumed leadership of the Eastern Church by virtue of its position of "first among equals," a position of primacy which is retained to this day among the Orthodox churches that make up Eastern Christianity. In 1453, following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and in order to prevent the interference of European nations, foremost of all, Russia, in behalf of Christians, the Ecumenical Patriarch was recognized as not only the religious leader but also the temporal leader of all Christians in the Ottoman Empire regardless of race, ethnic origin, or language. But despite this privilege, the Patriarchate suffered indescribable horrors through the centuries. The Patriarch himself was in reality at the mercy of the sultans who often did not hesitate to depose or even incarcerate and hang Patriarchs whom they suspected of political intrigue against Ottoman rule. Among many was Patriarch Gregory V, who was accused of complicity in the outbreak of the Greek War for Independence in 1821. Such conduct necessitated the intervention of the Western Powers which forced Turkey to sign several international treaties for the protection of her Christian minorities. Among these treaties, which in essence guarantee the international status and inviolability of the Ecumenical Patriarchate are: Kuchuk-Kainarji (1774); Paris (1856); London (1871); Berlin (1878); and Lausanne (1923). After World War I following the defeat of Turkey by the Allies and the creation of the modern Turkish state, an attempt was made to oust the Patriarchate from Constantinople (renamed Istanbul in 1930), but this was prevented by the Lausanne Treaty of which the United States is a signatory. Failing in this, the Patriarchate was curtailed

# UHAC 'White Paper'

Continued from page 1

in its authority and prerogatives; and 1,500,000 Greek Orthodox Christians were forcefully expelled from their ancestral homeland of a thousand years in Asia Minor in order to diminish the status of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

However, in spite of these severe harassments, the Patriarchate continued to function as an international religious center, providing leadership for the Orthodox churches and participating in world religious affairs. Indeed, an encyclical issued by the Patriarchate in 1920 calling for the union of all Christian churches is acknowledged today by all ecumenists as one of the major factors leading to the establishment of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948. In the same year also, an American, Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States, was elected as the 268th Ecumenical Patriarch. Flown to Istanbul in President Truman's private plane, this prelate of far-sighted vision and undisputed stature who became a major force in the ecumenical movement until his death in 1972, inaugurated a policy of reconciliation and friendship with the Turks and embarked upon a program of reuniting the Churches of Christ. His history-making meeting with Pope Paul VI in Jerusalem in 1964 led to the simultaneous lifting in Rome and Istanbul of the mutual excommunications between the Churches of Constantinople and Rome in 1965. Both these events along with the exchange of visits, the last one that of Pope John Paul II to Istanbul in 1979, are considered important milestones on the road to a genuine rapprochement between the Western and Eastern Churches which have been separated since the eleventh century.

Unfortunately, his policy of friendship with the Turks was shattered by the outbreak of the Cyprus problem in 1955. In that year, due to differences between the Greeks and Turks in that island nation, reprisals were launched in Istanbul

resulting in a "blitz night" which terrorized the Greek Orthodox community destroying extensive communal property. From that time since, the Patriarchate and its communicants have been under continuous harassment to leave Turkey. The Patriarchate itself is being subjected to severe restrictions; its books have been "examined" and its activities "supervised," and freedom of movement for officials of the Patriarchate has been curtailed. Patriarchal schools and philanthropic institutions have been closed and the publications of the Patriarchate have been suspended. The intent is to render the Patriarchate inoperative as an international religious center forcing it to close down. So severe have these measures been that President Johnson wrote to Patriarch Athenagoras in 1965 expressing his deep concerns.

Meanwhile, the remaining Greek Orthodox populace, Turkish citizens in their own right, have had their human rights denied, a violation of the Helsinki Accords of 1975 which Turkey signed. Oppressive taxation, discriminatory laws forbidding them banking and credit privileges, restrictions against entering certain professions and the confiscation of property and business for "back taxes owed" among other constraints, has forced many to emigrate. The Greek Orthodox population, once more than a third of the inhabitants of Istanbul, dwindled from 100,000 in 1960 to less than 10,000 today. Thus, unless the present trend is reversed, the Greek Orthodox presence of nearly two thousand years in Istanbul will soon come to an end, and Turkey's covert policy to bring about the extinction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul will have been accomplished.

The Patriarchate is purely spiritual and pastoral, both in its function and in its exercise of that function whether at home or abroad. Endowed with a strictly spiritual mission, it does not interfere in secular affairs and has consistently given evidence of its non-political character. From the judicial point of view, it is not a national Church. Its character is specifically supranational, and it is precisely this fact that accounts for the use of the word Ecumenical in its title, and that leads other Orthodox Churches still to call it the Ecumenical Patriarchate and to treat it

as such. The Patriarchate in fact is called by this term precisely to convey that it has spiritual responsibilities towards and relationships with the churches of all nations. In this respect, in addition to its immediate jurisdiction in Turkey and of the Greek Orthodox churches in Western Europe and in the New World (which it governs by canon law and of which the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States is the largest), the Patriarchate's spiritual supremacy is universally recognized both in the East and West. Firstly, of course, by the venerable patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and the autocephalous ethnic Orthodox churches of Russia, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, etc., which comprise the Eastern Orthodox Church, and secondly, by virtually all European nations, i.e. the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, France, Poland, Austria, etc., which maintain diplomatic relations with the Patriarchate. Its demise will have serious ramifications and consequences for the stability of the world-wide Church!

Continued on Page 3



## TURKISH TREATMENT OF THE GREEK-ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE IN ISTANBUL

One of the most critical issues that concerns the Greek-American community in the United States is the Turkish treatment of the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate situated in Istanbul, the former Greek city of Constantinople. It is the Patriarch of Constantinople, the titular head of the entire Orthodox church in the world, who holds direct jurisdiction over the more than two million Greek Americans of the Orthodox faith in the United States.

The Patriarchate has been centered in Constantinople since the time of the fourth century Emperor Constantine the Great. The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, to use his official title, exercised his religious authority in Constantinople until 1453 when the Byzantine, (that is, Greek) city of Constantinople was conquered by the Turks. At that time Mohammed II, the Turkish Sultan, granted to the Patriarch the right to continue to function, relatively unhindered, in Constantinople, subject to the overlordship of the Turkish Sultan. This situation continued during the four century period of the Turkish occupation of Greece. When Greece became an independent nation in 1821, the Patriarch of Constantinople continued to remain under Turkish jurisdiction in Constantinople (later renamed Istanbul).

In 1922, after the Balkan Wars, there was an exchange of population, many Turks living in Greece being transferred to Turkey and many Greeks living in Turkey being sent to live in Greece. Some 1.3 million Greek Christians were driven from their ancestral homes in Asia Minor, while about 400,000 Turkish Muslims left Greece for Turkey. In the exchange of populations, two exceptions were made: some 90,000 Turks were permitted to remain in Greek Thrace and about 110,000 Greek Orthodox Christians were permitted to remain in the city of Istanbul.

According to the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, which was signed by both Turkey and Greece in 1923, the right of the Orthodox Patriarchate to remain in Istanbul was guaranteed by international law. Actually, the guarantees of the Treaty of Lausanne were preceded by those of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The main point to be made is that the rights of the Patriarchate in Turkey, especially since World War II, have been systematically and forcibly violated by the Turkish government. This has been true, above all, since the conflict over Cyprus began, the Turkish government in effect holding the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in Istanbul a virtual hostage, who is thus unable to function properly. At the same time the Greek population of Istanbul (virtually all of whom are Turkish citizens) has been so ruthlessly persecuted that only some 10,000 now remain.



Turkish pressures, direct and indirect, on the Patriarchate, have been exercised in many ways, by the imposition of special illegal and discriminatory taxes, by Turkish pressures on the Holy Synod to conform to various Turkish demands, by Turkish refusal to permit much needed repairs to be made on the few remaining Orthodox churches in Istanbul (which, as a result, are falling to pieces), and by restriction of the movements of the members of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate. One of the most severe blows was the forced Turkish closing of the Patriarch's (only) theological school, which has been turned into a high school under a Turkish headmaster.

In this atmosphere of fear and hostility the Patriarchate hardly can exist. It certainly cannot effectively carry out its duties to the Greek Orthodox Church of America which is under its direct patriarchal jurisdiction. Worst of all is the fact that the way things are now going, there is the distinct danger that sometime in the near future, the Ecumenical Patriarchate will be expelled from its traditional home in Istanbul. All this is happening in violation of past treaties and even Turkey's own constitution, which guarantees protection to minorities. Moreover, all these hostile Turkish acts are committed in violation of Turkey's commitment to the United Nations declaration on Human Rights, the European Commission on Human Rights, and the international Helsinki accords.

The issue of the fate of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople should be one of prime concern to the United States government not only because the American nation contains a population of millions of Greek, Slavic, and other Orthodox peoples...who are faithful American citizens...but because at stake are the fundamental human and religious rights of the head of the entire Orthodox church, an institution with a 1600 year history whose communicants include millions of Christians throughout the world, not least important of whom are those in America itself.

Deno J. Geanakoplos

Professor of Byzantine and Orthodox  
Church History  
Yale University

SUNDAY OF ORTHODOXY  
1980



KNIGHTS OF  
SAINT ANDREW

10 EAST 79TH STREET  
NEWYORK, N.Y. / 10021 / (212) 626-2500

## THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE — 527 YEARS AGO

May 29, 1980 will mark the 527th anniversary of a momentous event -- the fall of Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, Queen City of the world, and center of civilization, religion and culture when the rest of the world lived in the dark ages. It was on May 29, 1453, that the 5,000 remnant Greek forces with the aid of 2,000 Western allies succumbed after 55 days of siege to the overpowering forces of 80,000 soldiers of Mohammed II, the Turkish sultan who vowed after repeated failures, to capture the City, and make it the capital of the Ottoman Empire. It was on that fateful Tuesday, May 29, 1453, that the last of the Byzantine emperors, Constantine XI, met his heroic death defending the City, slain on the walls of Constantinople, thus ending the long line of monarchs that had ruled the Byzantine Empire. The fall of Constantinople brought to an end the longest living nation in history, existing over 1,100 years since its founding by Constantine the Great in 325 A.D.

The fall of Constantinople had enormous repercussions in world affairs. Firstly, it brought an end to one of the most brilliant and sophisticated empires in the world, renowned for its learning and refinement, for its wealth and achievement. Secondly, its fall opened the way for the Turks to overrun Eastern Europe until they were finally stopped two centuries later at the gates of Vienna. For centuries prior to its fall it had served as a bulwark against the Eastern hordes, protecting Western Europe and enabling it to emerge out of the dark ages into the modern nations of today. Thirdly, its impending fall released a flood of Greek intellectuals who fled to Italy and other parts of the West taking with them copies of ancient Greek manuscripts, thus contributing to the development of the Renaissance and the reintroduction of Greek works which had been destroyed or lost during the dark ages. Indeed, the revival of Greek ideas during the Renaissance would have been largely impossible had not Byzantine scholars studied and preserved the ancient literature.

It was in Constantinople that the foundations of the Christian Church were established and its theology formulated during the Seven Ecumenical Councils which took place within the Byzantine Empire. And it was in Constantinople (then known as Byzantium) that the Apostle Andrew founded the first Christian church in 36 A.D. and ordained the first bishop, Stachys in 38 A.D., for the new religious community. It was this beginning which evolved into one of the world's great religious centers -- the Great Church of Christ at the Ecumenical Patriarchate -- world headquarters of the Orthodox Christian Church. It is still suffering after 527 years in captivity as witnessed by the ongoing harassments against it and the remnant Greek Orthodox community by Turkish officials as a result of the Cyprus troubles. Yet, it is this very institution which continues to serve as a vital link between the present and the past -- between our current Orthodox civilization and that of the Byzantine Empire.

It was here also that one of the world's greatest religious edifices was erected in 535 by the Emperor Justinian -- the Church of Holy Wisdom (Saint Sophia), which inaugurated a new style of architecture copied by churches the world over and which served for nearly a thousand years as the Patriarchal Church and beacon for world Orthodoxy. This structure still stands today after 1,400 years as a testimony to the greatness of Byzantium even though it was converted into an Islamic mosque by Mohammed the Conqueror, and subsequently into a museum by the Turkish Republic under Ataturk.

The criteria for citizenship in Constantinople were simply the use of Greek in everyday speech and membership in the Orthodox Church. In Byzantium it was the Gospel that determined the structure of society and the position of the individual. From this it follows that the Byzantine Empire was essentially a democracy, an authoritarian one, doubtless, but a democracy in the sense that the regime was equalitarian. There were no class or caste prejudices and the highest positions were open to all, advancement depending not upon age or birth, but upon merit and ability. The emperor himself was the vice-regent of God on earth and as such was accountable to God for the welfare of the citizens of the Byzantine State. This principle resulted in one of the most extensive philanthropical and welfare systems the world has ever seen, comprised of institutions maintained by the state in cooperation with the Church for the care of the poor, the aged, the infirm and other indigents.

With the fall of Constantinople began Hellenism's dark ages of 400 years of misrule, atrocities, massacres and oppression under the Turks. During this bleak period it was the Church which kept alive Greek nationalism and the flame of freedom, keeping intact the Byzantine heritage of the Greek people. Finally, when the Greek nation rose in revolt and recovered its independence in 1821 it was the Church that initially led the fight for freedom. Indeed, no other people (with the possible exception of the Jews) emerged after such a long period of subjugation with their ethnic and national traits intact as the Greeks, and this was due to the Byzantine impact on Hellenism.

Constantinople remained outside the new Greek state and so it is today, a Turkish city known as Istanbul. But until very recently, the Greek presence there was very real. Over 100,000 Greeks lived in the city forming its mercantile and professional classes and contributing to the viability of the city. But beginning with the Asia Minor disaster of 1922, resulting in the forceful exchange of populations (even though Constantinople itself was excepted from this exchange), and the anti-Greek riots of 1955 and the ongoing Cyprus problem, the Greeks have been forced to leave the city until today there are less than 10,000 left, threatening the very existence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the last remaining link with the Byzantine past. Thus, unless the present trend is reversed, the Greek presence of thousands of years in this great and historic city will soon come to an end.

It is fitting that we Americans of Greek descent reflect upon and contemplate the importance of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire to our cultural and religious way of life. We have inherited this Byzantine legacy along with that of ancient Greece. It is a proud legacy which we should do our utmost to preserve in this age of cultural pluralism in America. For a long

time the memory of this great empire and its incomparable achievements was shrouded in mystery and misunderstanding. Today, thanks to the work of Byzantine scholars at our universities and academic institutions the vast contributions of this unique civilization are being made known to the world. But we ourselves must also strive to keep alive this vital heritage, and it is toward this goal that the Archons of the Ecumenical Patriarchate are dedicated through our flourishing Order of St. Andrew The Apostle.

The foregoing are excerpts  
from an article written by  
Dr. Andrew T. Kopan  
Archon Didaskalos Tou Genous,  
Chairman of the Department of  
Educational Foundations at  
DePaul University, Chicago.



LAMBROS E. SIDERIDES, M.D., F.A.C.P.  
1100 BELFORD STREET  
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT 06905  
—  
TELEPHONE 348-3154

April 9, 1980

The Order of Saint Andrew the Apostle, an independent, incorporated body of religious orientation, of the Greek Orthodox faith, whose founding principle is to aid and further the needs of the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate and its institutions of Istanbul (Constantinople) Turkey, wishes to bring to the attention of the government authorities of this country the discriminatory actions against the Ecumenical Patriarchate that impair its function and its universal spiritual mission as the seat of the Orthodox Church. The plight of the Patriarchate is directly related to the mistreatment over the past twenty five years of the Greek Orthodox population of Turkey, which as a result of physical violence, economical pressures, restrictions in religious freedom and restriction in education, has dwindled from over 100,000 in 1923 to the present 7,000.

The Turkish Government in violation of the Articles of the Treaty of Lausanne, of July 24, 1923, pertaining to the treatment of the minorities living in Turkey, ignored the Articles safeguarding the protection of life and freedom of the non-Turkish minorities in Turkey, and the free access to employment, freedom of religion and the freedom of education. These actions reduced the Greek population of Istanbul to its present number, restricting and also directly affecting the functions and freedom and effectiveness of the Patriarchate as the religious center for all Orthodoxy. Through these acts of repression, which deprived the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey, and particularly, the Greek Orthodox Armenians, Jewish, and other Christian minorities living in Istanbul and Turkey, of their protection of life, deprived their employment and opportunities to enjoy civil and political rights, and particularly, taxing religious institutions, such as churches, church related schools, minority schools, where the minority languages were taught, hospitals, orphanages, welfare and philanthropic institutions associated with the Patriarchate has rendered the situation of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul to that of a captive church unable to perform its religious mission and duties, which it has been doing since its inception in 67 A.D., even under the Turkish Ottoman rule from 1493 to 1923.

The Turkish Government has thus violated Articles of the Treaty of Lausanne concerning the treatment of the minorities, Article 38, paragraph 1, which guarantees the full and complete protection of life and liberty of all inhabitants, regardless of birth, nationality, language, race or religion, Article 39, paragraph 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne, where the differences of religion,

creed or confession should not prejudice any Turkish National in matters relating to enjoyment of civil or political rights. It continues to violate Article 38, paragraph 2 of the Treaty, where all inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which, shall not be incompatible with public order and good morale.

According to Article 40, of the Treaty, all non-Moslem minorities shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control, at their own expense, any charitable, religious, social institution, school and other establishment for instruction and education with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely.

It has violated Article 42, paragraph 5, at which the Turkish Government undertakes a grant of full protection of the church or synagogue, cemeteries and religious establishments of the above mentioned minorities. It has violated Article 43, paragraph 1, where the Treaty stipulated that Turkish National non-minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, etc.

Concerning the freedom of education, Article 41, specifically the Treaty of Lausanne states, that regards to public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem Nationals are residents, adequate facilities ensuring that in primary schools, the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish Nationals, through the medium of their own language.

The Turkish Government has also violated the stipulation of the European Convention on Human Rights, which was signed by Turkey as a contracting party on November 4, 1950. The Treaty again assures the protection of life and property of the non-Moslem population living in Turkey, the freedom of religious education, the freedom of marriage, the freedom of petition, the right of non-discrimination and the right of non-assimilation.

Specifically, this order of Saint Andrew wants to draw the attention of the United States Government to these specific acts of discrimination and oppression which the Ecumenical Patriarchate has been subjected to since the end of World War II. The Turkish Government has been encouraging the formation of a Turkish independent Orthodox Church, which usurped and seized, with the acquiescence of the Turkish Government, three churches in Constantinople and continues to harass the activities of the Greek Orthodox Church in that town. It condoned and abated acts of violence and attacks in 1955, during the September 5th and 6th program against the Greek churches, Greek clergymen, cemeteries, Greek institutions and offered no protection against the hostile actions of the mobs that have been actually encouraged by the government. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been deprived, through unbelievable legalistic maneuvers, the Theological Seminary, the site of training of

Greek Orthodox Church clergymen for all the missionary work. The Seminary was closed in 1971 by the Turkish Government on the grounds that this was a private University, and all Universities should be State controlled. However, attempts by the Patriarchate for several decades, to recognize the Theological Seminary of Chalki, as an equivalent to a University Department, were invariably turned down by the Turkish Government. The Turkish Government has violated the freedom of choice and election, and has interfered openly into the selection of Patriarchs, repeatedly refusing and rejecting candidates of the Holy Synod, and removing them from the electable list.

The Turkish Government, to this date, has been rejecting and denying permission of repair for the buildings of the Patriarchate, the buildings where Greek minority schools are held, repairs for welfare institutions and any income producing property attached or donated to the Patriarchate.

The Turkish Government has imposed, until recently, a five per-cent tax of supervision on the gross income of the philanthropic institutions, which has only recently been lifted. It has imposed restrictions, (eight or nine) to the free travel of the Prelates of the Greek Orthodox Church of Constantinople. The Orthodox Patriarchate, has been through all these years, through an unrelenting police harassment and supervision, which directly interferes and discourages the faithful in their attendance of services and participation of the functions of the Patriarchate. This psychological pressure has continuously exerted to the Greek minority population residing in Turkey. The freedom of religious education has also been interfered with and Sunday School teaching has been prevented by the Turkish Government.

Those are a few highlights of the oppression exerted against the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. However, there are further restrictive acts, which compromise the viability of the Patriarchate: The economic viability, as well as the economic viability of its philanthropic institutions. These include the ban on acquisition of property by the philanthropic institutions, the prevention of Orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople in willing property to the Patriarchate, its schools and philanthropic institutions. It has subjected all these institutions, until recently, to a five per-cent supervisory trust on their gross income. The property of the Moslem religious institutions, the majority population of this country, are exempt from any land taxation. Where there is land taxation for unimproved real estate property belonging to the Patriarchate and its philanthropic institutions, as well as building leased to tenants and buildings used by their owners.

The confiscatory action has been taken repeatedly by the Turkish Government against institutions, schools, churches, orphanages and there have been documented instances, where those institutions were confiscated by the authorities because of this discriminating taxation.



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The Greek Orthodox cemeteries have been violated repeatedly where destruction of tombstones, theft of sacred objects from cemetery churches are all repeated occurrences in Constantinople.

The Greek elementary and high schools in Turkey have systematically been harassed and strangled in their function by prohibiting these institutions to acquire any gifts of property and also by dismissal of their Boards of Trustees and denial to the Boards of Trustees of any legal standing, making them subject to the whims and regulations of the Turkish Government's Director of Welfare Institutions.

The rents and properties which support the schools, welfare institutions, hospitals, orphanages, and the Patriarchate itself, are paid to the General Directorate of the Vakoufs, which is a Turkish Government organization. The Americans of the Greek Orthodox faith in the United States, specifically, and the members of the Greek Orthodox Church of America, and the Order of Saint Andrew want to contrast this oppressive handling and the infractions of the Human Rights of the non-Moslem minorities in Turkey, with the freedom of religion and education enjoyed by the Turkish Moslem minority living in Western Thrace, Greece. The Turkish Moslem minority living in Western Trace, numbering close to 100,000 in 1923, has grown to at least 150,000 population, despite the fact that that particular area of Greece has been a battlefield during the Second World War and the War of the Communist Insurrection in 1947 to 1950. Despite that, the Moslem minority schools and Moslem minority students in Western Trace, in Greece are allowed to have religious education. They are allowed the Moslem religious instruction in the Moslem religious institutions, and have full freedom. They are maintained and repaired by the Greek Government. Religious teaching, Sunday School is being permitted by the Greek Constitution without any hinderance.

The Greek State provides funds for the maintenance and construction and repair of Moslem religious institutions in Western Thrace in Greece. The freedom of maintenance and function of the Moslem schools in Greece are completely independent of any government intervention, in contrast to the existing repressive situation of the Greek religious education in Constantinople, the Moslem religious education in Western Thrace is flourishing.

Furthermore, no amplification is needed for the flourishing of the Turkish minority in Greece, which numbers about 150,000 population in contrast to the pitiful decline of the equivalent in 1923, the Greek minority in Constantinople, which barely reaches 7,000 at this time.

In conclusion of our memorandum, we want to also bring to the attention of our government agencies and those people committed to the defense of the Civil Rights around the world, the plight and pressures of the Greek inhabitants of the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos under Turkish jurisdiction in the Aegean Sea, which have been colonized against the Treaty of Lausanne by prison inmates from mainland Turkey, where the Greek population in the combined Islands declined from 8,200 in 1934 to the present 1,400 people, on which Islands the land of Greek inhabitants has been appropriated, their safety has been compromised and their education and religious



freedom has been impaired.

We, the American Citizens of Greek Orthodox faith, and members of the Order of Saint Andrew, are deeply disturbed, concerned and worried about the welfare of our brethren in Turkey, and also about the function and existence and mission of the Orthodox Patriarchy in that country, which in our mind, is running the risk of ultimate extinction. The consequences of which will be detrimental to the freedom or religion, and particularly detrimental to the Free World, since it is well known that the Patriarchy of Moscow, which itself has been called the Third Rome, in contrast to Rome and Constantinople, has been long since disputing the role of supremacy and leadership for all the Orthodox faith on the globe.



# SAMPLE LETTER TO SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN



## ORDER OF SAINT ANDREW THE APOSTLE

ARCHONS OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

### COUNCIL OF ARCHONS

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Commander  
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Hartoularios

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ANASTASIOS MANESSIS  
Depoutatos

JOHN PANAS  
Depoutatos

LAMBROS SIDERIDES, M.D.  
Aktouarios

MIMIS THERRY  
Depoutatos

KONSTANTINE VELLIOS  
Depoutatos

Dear Senator:

As a member of the Order of St. Andrew the Apostle, a group of American Greek Orthodox laymen deeply concerned with religious freedom and human rights, I wish to draw your attention to the plight of religious minorities in Turkey. These conditions have continued.

The military junta headed by General Evren in Ankara has decreed that Turkish citizens of Greek descent cannot buy or sell real estate, thus creating the expectation that their homes and businesses will be confiscated.

Turkish officials recently visited the worldwide center of Orthodox Christianity, known as the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, called Istanbul by the Moslems. In this holy place, which corresponds to the Vatican, all sacred items were registered and declared the national property of Turkey.

The famous Greek Orthodox School of Theology on the island of Halki, from which great hierarchs (including His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios and His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, spiritual leader of the Americas) have graduated is now a modest high school with a Turkish principal.

Turkish law prohibits any repair work to Christian Churches, schools, businesses or homes exceeding 250 liras or less than \$2 without a permit. Yet such permits are systematically denied to Greek Orthodox residents of the country.

There are continuous efforts to seize the income-producing properties willed by Greek Orthodox people to the famous hospital in Balukli, Istanbul, which treats all the members of the community-- regardless of religion or nationality.

At least 300 Greek Orthodox families were forced to flee Turkey last year because of these and other oppressive conditions. The ethnically Greek population of Turkey has dwindled from half a million at the turn of the century to less than 5,000 souls today; 92% of those who remain are aged 65 or older.

These anti-Christian and inhumane conditions are clearly intended to eliminate the remaining Greek Orthodox faithful and drive the Patriarchate into oblivion.

As American citizens and members of a religious order committed to upholding religious freedom and human rights, we respectfully request

### REGIONAL AND STATE COMMANDERS

ARGENTINA  
Stelios Palanzoglou  
CALIFORNIA  
Paul Manotis  
COLORADO  
Michael Johnson  
CONNECTICUT  
Ari D. Coclin

Dr. Lambros Siderides  
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Dr. John Mendros

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Demetrios Karavasilis

VIRGINIA  
Alfred Vonetes  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
& MARYLAND  
Mimis Tsintolas  
Gus Pappas

your understanding and support for our noble cause. All previous attempts to persuade the Turkish regime to cease its oppression, harassment and persecution of religious minorities have failed because the United States was not adamant that this is an intolerable situation.

The United States has leverage on Turkey because of its enormous economic and military aid to Ankara, but it has never chosen to use that influence. Now is the time for the Congress and the State Department to exert its good offices to rectify a needless tragedy.

The United States is the only country capable of rescuing these unfortunate worshippers from a predicament not of their own making. It would be morally negligent to stand idly by and not intervene.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM CLARK

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

SUBJECT: Meeting with Archbishop Iakovos

Archbishop Iakovos has informed me that he has requested a meeting with you, at your convenience, to discuss U.S. policy toward Turkey. His particular concerns center on harassment of the Patriarchate in Istanbul, Cyprus, and our recent decision regarding the modernization of airfields in Turkey.

The Archbishop is the spiritual leader of the Greek-American community, a symbol of their unity, and a revered figure throughout the Americas. He has met with the President on two occasions here at the White House and has been as supportive as he can be, given his religious status. The Greek Orthodox Church, with his full support, officially endorsed the President's tuition tax credit legislation and supported our pro-life efforts.

I would, therefore, like to recommend that you consider a meeting with His Eminence, as your schedule permits. If my office can be of assistance in the arrangements or provide any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CASPAR WEINBERGER

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *EH*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE SHULTZ

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE *ED*  
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Thank you.

—  
Capt. Bill Gost

file  
Gust-Ann

097-8244

SOB

Medal of Honor

- Gost says got  
full credit by  
SOB (Weninger)  
+ WH

- no chance of success.  
in re opening issue

telecom J 11/29/82



July 5, 1982 San Francisco Calif  
Mr Burgess:

Would you please ask the President  
Mr Ronald Reagan to please sign the  
Congressional Medal of Honor (posthumously) for  
William James Tsakanikas (Battle of the Bulge).  
The Army & the Navy approved it in 1981,  
but the Air Force (Mr Jones) <sup>(2 votes)</sup> did not approve.  
Sec of Defense Mr Weinberger is aware of it.

My brother (now deceased) was on beyond  
the call of duty as the Army found him to be  
above the call of others in his division.

Respectfully

Agatha T. KOUMAS

has also written to the  
President for approval  
of awarding the Medal

4300 3.24th Rd ARLINGTON, VA 22207 (525-1066)

Col MYER  
X 5004

P.S.

I honestly  
believe that  
if our President  
ever heard about  
my brother, he  
would believe  
to award it.

Mr Burgess

Please read and  
if practical and permissible  
pass info to

our Beloved President

Mr Ronald Reagan

Thank you

Agatha J. Koremas

*(for the files for the study, etc. check reference)*

*file  
Greek-Turkish*

M E M O R A N D U M

Greek-Turkish relations are affected by two categories of problems:

1. Greek-Turkish bilateral problems and
2. The Cyprus issue, which concerns a third country, member-state of the U.N.

These problems were created by Turkey. For it is Turkey and not Greece that is seeking a change in the status-quo, both in the Aegean and in Cyprus. Greece has proposed and is still proposing, for both questions, moderate and reasonable solutions or procedures that can lead to settlements, but there has been no response from the Turkish side as yet.

I. BILATERAL PROBLEMS

These consist of the problems of the Aegean, the minorities' issue and the question of the reintegration of Greece into NATO, which was also created by Turkey.

A. A e g e a n

1. Continental Shelf

The issue arose on November 1st, 1973, when the Turkish Government unilaterally granted, without any prior consultation with or notification of Greece, prospecting and exploitation licences of the natural resources of the seabed of the Aegean, in certain areas which lie on the Greek continental shelf to the west of the eastern islands of the Aegean. This was done in disregard of both the Geneva Convention of 1958, which is fundamental to the Greek position and the physical presence of 2383 Greek islands, islets and rocks in

the Aegean.

Greece reacted strongly to these arbitrary Turkish actions, which were contrary to international practice. After a fruitless exchange of consecutive notes, Greece proposed, in February 1979, that the question be referred to the International Court of Justice. Turkey agreed with the proposal in principle, but when it came to implementing it she refused, and proposed instead to hold substantive negotiations on the problem. Mr. Karamanlis tried to give partial satisfaction to this Turkish view at his meeting with Mr. Demirel in Brussels, in May 1975. It was indeed agreed there, and this was recorded in the communique published after the meeting, that following the joint submission of the issue to the International Court of Justice, an attempt would be made to reach an agreed solution. If this attempt failed, judicial proceedings would follow their course, and the tension that is inevitably created by an unsuccessful negotiation would be thus alleviated. But again Turkey reneged refusing to negotiate the compromise, by which the case would be submitted to the International Court. Moreover, she engineered the crisis of the summer of 1976, with the unlawful and provocative exploration mission of the vessel SISMİK I. Greece confronted this crisis by applying to the Security Council and to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council recommended the resumption of negotiations, which were resumed but have made little progress. The International Court of Justice decided, in December 1978, that it was not competent to deal with the substance of the dispute.

The moderation of Greece and her willingness to facilitate the solution of her differences with Turkey is also shown by the fact that, so far, she has refrained from extending her territorial seas



from 6 to 12 nautical miles, as she is entitled, although she would thereby, inter alia, automatically solve the problem of the continental shelf, in order to facilitate a constructive dialogue.

On the contrary, Turkey appears intransigent and maintains positions which not only ignore international law and practice, but also enclave 501 Greek islands and islets on the continental shelf that she claims, with the result that the unity of the Greek state is disrupted. It is obvious that these positions are unacceptable for Greece.

The Greek position on the matter can be summarized as follows:

- (a) The dispute must be settled by serious and constructive negotiations, based on international law and practice.
- (b) All provocative actions which might undermine the negotiating process must be avoided.
- (c) If negotiations fail, the dispute should be jointly submitted to the International Court of Justice or to international arbitration.

Turkey has not, to date, shown any signs of accepting this reasonable procedure, followed by all the countries engaged in similar disputes.

## 2. Airspace

On August 6, 1974, Turkey issued NOTAM 714, which bisected the Aegean by a line arbitrarily drawn, within Flight Information Region (F.I.R.) Athens, to the west of the eastern islands of the Aegean, and required from all aircraft crossing that line en route to or Turkey to identify themselves to Turkish air traffic control authorities. By this act Turkey seeks to unilaterally alter the existing airspace status in the Aegean, which is based on the 1952 and 1958 international agreements. By these agreements, which Turkey has signed, Greece has the exclusive control of all flights

within Athens F.I.R., whose area extends up to the maritime boundaries of her easternmost islands.

As soon as NOTAM 714 was issued, Greece asked Turkey to revoke it, and upon the latter's refusal, declared the air corridors to and from Turkey unsafe. This action was natural, because the simultaneous control of the same airplane by two different air traffic authorities could endanger flight security.

In October 1974, ICAO attempted to mediate and submitted proposals for the lifting of the measures taken by the two countries and the restoration of the previous legal regime. Greece accepted the proposals but Turkey rejected them. There followed bilateral negotiations on the subject that lasted for two years and, in January 1976, ended in virtual agreement on all points, except for the exchange of information on military flights over the Aegean. On this point too Greece submitted new proposals which, although accepted by the Turkish experts - and this proves that they were reasonable - were rejected by the Turkish Government.

In March 1977, Turkey, disregarding the progress that had been achieved up to then, submitted entirely new proposals, the main characteristic of which was the establishment of joint Greco-Turkish control of the airspace over the international waters of the Aegean within Athens F.I.R. In practice, this meant that air communications between the mainland Greece and most of her islands would come under Turkish control.

The Greek position on the problem of the airspace as it has been repeatedly stated publicly, is the following:

- (a) The measures taken by both sides must be lifted. That is, Turkey should repeal NOTAM 714 and Greece should reopen the air corridors, so that freedom of air traffic over the Aegean may be restored forthwith.

- (b) Talks must be held between the two governments on the issue of military flights, with a view to guarantee the security of both countries.

Turkey has not accepted the revocation of the measures taken by the two sides, but has accepted to hold talks on military flights. Two more meetings of experts were thus held, without however, reaching a conclusive outcome.

Our conclusion from these meetings is that all the relevant problems can be solved at the technical level with practical methods, which fully satisfy the security requirements of the two countries, if Turkey accepts reciprocity in the application of these methods, which she refuses at present. The fact that the line of NOTAM 714 and the positions that Turkey adopted at the experts' meeting roughly coincide with the limits of the continental shelf that she arbitrarily claims, leads to the conclusion that the two questions are linked in the mind of the Turks and that their refusal to accept a reasonable settlement for the airspace is due to political motives. This view is strengthened by the Turkish stand in the matter of the reintegration of Greece into the military command of NATO, which is dealt with further below.

### 3. Territorial waters

The width of the Greek territorial waters is 6 n.m., and it is measured from her natural coastline. Turkey has a mixed system. In the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, Turkish territorial waters extend to 12 n.m., while in the Aegean they are 6 n.m. For their measurement Turkey follows, since 1964, a straight baseline system. In the same year she proclaimed a 6 n.m. contiguous zone (fishing) in the Aegean. Greece protested, naturally, against both the straight baselines and the contiguous zone.

Greece, on her part, has not yet decided the extension of her territorial waters to 12 n.m., because she awaits the development of the dialogue on her other differences with Turkey. The issue has been raised negatively by Turkey directly with us and in her contacts with third countries, in which she let it be understood that she would consider the extension of Greek territorial waters to 12 n.m. as a casus belli.

In International Law, however, it is customarily accepted that states are allowed to extend their territorial waters up to 12 n.m. In the Mediterranean, twelve countries, among which France, Italy, Turkey herself and lately Yugoslavia, have already adopted 12 n.m. for their territorial waters. Greece is entitled to act likewise, while respecting the right of innocent passage and allowing for corridors of free navigation in the Aegean.

In conclusion, the position of Greece is that International Law permits her to extend her territorial waters to 12 n.m., and that she cannot waive that right. The use of this right belongs to the domain of her sovereignty.

#### 4. Fortification of the Aegean Islands

The Cyprus operation demonstrated that Turkey had both the capacity and the will to undertake landing operations against islands situated at quite a considerable distance from the Turkish coast.

On the other hand, the attack of the Turkish Airforce against the Greek contingent in Cyprus and against naval units that were thought to be Greek, has shown that the Turks would not hesitate to turn even against Greece, if their interests dictated it. For this reason, Greece decided to reinforce the defence of the Aegean islands, which are particularly vulnerable because of their proximity to the Turkish coast.



The claims and threats which were repeatedly made by Turkish officials, as well as the subsequent formation of a separate "Army of the Aegean" with headquarters at Izmir, also contributed to this decision. Finally, Greek fears are not allayed by the fact that Turkey created and maintains today, to a large extent in this area, the most powerful landing fleet in the Mediterranean. This fleet is obviously not intended to be used for landing operations against the Soviet Union or other members of the Warsaw Pact, and its existence is naturally of serious concern to the Greek Government.

It cannot be denied that the Lausanne Treaty established a partial disarmament of four islands in the Eastern Aegean and that the Paris Treaty, which Turkey has not signed, provided for full disarmament of the Dodecanese. But Greece has not and could not have given up, by any treaty, her natural right to defend her territory. This is corroborated by the minutes of the competent committee of the Lausanne Conference, where it is stated that the demilitarization of the islands would not deprive them of the ability to defend themselves. The reinforcement of the defence of the islands must be viewed in this context. It can be stated, however, and this has been made clear to the Turkish Government, that the measures taken are not of an offensive nature. Nor could the islands be used as a springboard for operations threatening the security of Turkey, because of their limited size and their location in the immediate proximity of the Turkish coast.

Greece maintains that this issue may be discussed once the threat against the islands has been removed, in a manner guaranteeing the security of both sides.

B. N A T O

On August 14, 1974, Turkey, a member of NATO, unleashed, without justification, her second military operation in Cyprus. Greece reacted by withdrawing from the integrated military structure of NATO, while declaring that she remains a member of the Alliance and that she will fight beside her in case of war.

During the whole Cypriot crisis of the summer of 1974, NATO demonstrated an inconceivable inertia and an inability to deter an armed confrontation between two members of the Alliance. The Greek Government, conscious of her responsibilities towards the country's security, was forced to withdraw from NATO's integrated military command, in order to redeploy her Armed Forces to face the threat which was then shaping. At the same time, the withdrawal from NATO's military command defused the internal situation, with the result that the imminent military clash between the two countries was avoided.

As Greece, according to her declaration of withdrawal, would fight with the Alliance in the case of a generalized conflict, it was necessary to find practical ways of cooperation with the latter's military structure. As a result, Greece submitted proposals, in September 1976, for the conclusion of a special relationship between her and NATO's military wing. These proposals were referred to the Military Committee of the Alliance and, following strenuous negotiations, were shaped into a form of reintegration, approved by the military Authorities of the Alliance, with the sole dissent of Turkey.

Turkey's dissent is due to her desire to limit the operational control boundaries of the Greek military commanders (Navy and Airforce) in the Aegean, and to extend her own operational boundaries

of the Turkish Airforce Commander.

These Turkish aims are not novel. The issue of the areas of responsibility in the Aegean had been raised long before Greece's withdrawal and had been discussed in NATO for years without success. Following Greece's withdrawal, a new element cropped up, i.e. the replacement of the International Command of Izmir by a purely Turkish Command. As the Izmir Command's mission under U.S. Commanders was to coordinate the Land and Air Forces of Greece and Turkey, it lost its international nature after Greece's withdrawal and could no longer be commanded by non-Turkish officers. The arrangement reached in the negotiations between Greece and NATO envisages the establishment of a corresponding Greek Command of land and air forces in Larissa. There is of course no more question of areas of responsibility for the Land Forces, but the problem remains for the Air Forces, as the operational control boundaries of the Greek and Turkish Airforces, which came under the U.S. Airforce Commander at Izmir, had not been properly fixed even under the old regime. In practice, however, these boundaries coincided with the boundaries of the early warning areas which in turn coincided with the Athinai, Istanbul and Ankara FIR boundaries.

Turkey's wish to extend her operational control area under the pretext of the need to have clearly defined boundaries, amounts to the enclavement, for geographical reasons, of Greek islands within this area. That is to say that if the Turkish demand were accepted Greece would relinquish the air defence of parts of her national territory. This is inconceivable. What is more, Turkey poses as a precondition for the reintegration of Greece the determination of the operational boundaries in the Aegean, and seeks to refer the matter to the Defence Planning Committee of the Alliance, where,

of course, unanimity is required.

The Greek position is that the negotiations for reintegration must not encompass issues that existed before the Greek withdrawal. These issues can be discussed after reintegration. This position is adopted by all members of the Alliance except Turkey.

As matters stand, Greece considers that the issue exists not between her and Turkey, but between the Alliance and Turkey, and it must be solved between them. Greece has stated that she is not pressed. She warned, however, that the passage of time can lead to the emergence of conditions that will not allow her to retain her proposals. If these proposals are withdrawn, Greece's withdrawal from NATO will become final. This will have an adverse effect on the Alliance as a whole, but it will particularly affect the strategic position of Turkey, as she will be cut off from the rest of the Alliance and as her defence, in the case of a generalized conflict, will become highly problematical.

Apart from other considerations, the present impasse and the possible final withdrawal of Greece will influence the military presence of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean. The U.S. retain today certain military facilities on Greek soil, both on the mainland and in the islands. The legal basis for granting these facilities has been, from the start, Greek military participation in the Alliance. If this participation is not ensured, the legal basis will cease to exist.

#### C. The Minority Issue

It is becoming increasingly apparent that Turkey intends to raise a minority question with regard to Western Thrace, where some 120,000 Moslems live today. The statement of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Turkish National Assembly on January 18, 1979, is



indicative.

The Lausanne Treaty contains certain provisions concerning the protection of minorities in Turkey and Greece. A census of these minorities was made by a special Mixed Commission, established by virtue of the Treaty. According to this census, in 1934, a total of 111,200 Greeks resided in Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos, which were Turkish areas exempted from the exchange of populations, while 106,000 Moslems resided in Greek Western Thrace. It is evident from these figures that an absolute numerical balance existed between the two minority groups.

Today, there remains only some 7,000-8,000 minoritarians in the above mentioned Turkish regions. The rest were forced to leave Turkey as a result of acts of intimidation and oppressive measures of the Turkish Authorities. Moreover, the survival of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, which is the head of the Eastern Orthodox Church, established in Istanbul since the 4th century A.D., is endangered because of restrictions imposed by the Turkish Government.

On the contrary, in the Greek Western Thrace, the Moslem population today numbers 120,000 people, which constitutes an increase over the figures in 1934, in spite of the unfavourable conditions that have prevailed in the area (a world war, enemy occupation, the events of 1946-1949.) Its standard of living is far higher than that of the equivalent rural populations in Turkey. It enjoys full religious, linguistic, cultural and political freedom as demonstrated by the fact that it is represented by two deputies in the Greek Parliament, it has formed numerous associations, it publishes six papers and periodicals and it has two secondary and 295 primary schools and 242 mosques.

One can conclude from these facts that it is Greece and not Turkey who has the right to raise a minority question and to demand the restoration of the balance which has been upset. If she has not done so, it is due to her wish not to aggravate the situation.

## II. THE CYPRUS ISSUE

On the 20th of July 1974, Turkey, taking advantage of the colonels' coup d'état against Archbishop Makarios, intervened militarily in Cyprus, stating formally that her intervention, based on the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, aimed at restoring legality on the island. (Statement of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Greek Ambassador in Ankara on the 20th July 1974).

Three days later legality was restored in Cyprus, in the person of Mr. Clerides, deputizing for Archbishop Makarios. In Greece, the dictatorship collapsed and a Government of National Unity under the leadership of Mr. Constantine Karamanlis took over. Following these events, Turkey should have withdrawn from Cyprus immediately, as the reasons which she have invoked to justify the invasion had ceased to exist. However, not only did Turkey not withdraw, but on the contrary, she launched a new military operation on August 14, during the Geneva Conference, with the result that the Turkish-Cypriots, representing a mere 18% of the island's population, today occupy approximately 40% of its territory and that 170,000 Greek-Cypriots became refugees in their own country.

It is thus clear that the Cyprus question, in its present state, is not a consequence of the dictatorship's coup against Archbishop Makarios, but of the second Turkish operation on August 1974, which aimed at the definite abolition of the 1960 Treaties and a fundamental

change of the island's regime. Confronted with this situation, the Cypriot Government appealed to the United Nations, which censured Turkey in four resolutions of the General Assembly and eleven decisions of the Security Council. These recommended the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops, the return of the refugees to their homes and the opening of a dialogue with a view to reaching a solution. However, the Turkish side not only refused to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations, but it sought to consolidate the fait accompli by colonizing the occupied zone and by integrating it into the administrative and economic structure of continental Turkey.

The Greek side was entitled to demand a return to the regime of the Zurich and London Agreements, which had been guaranteed by Greece, Great Britain and Turkey. But in spite of that it accepted to satisfy the Turkish claim for the creation of a new regime for the island. To this effect, consecutive talks were held under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General (6 meetings), which, however, have not to this moment led to any results, because the Turkish side refuses to make concrete and reasonable proposals.

In order to facilitate the solution of the problem, the Greek-Cypriot side, through Mgr. Makarios, adopted moderate positions which should have been considered as fully satisfactory by the Turkish side. Thus, it:

- a. accepted that Cyprus become a Federal Republic,
- b. agreed that a central Government be formed, with such powers and to ensure the autonomy of the two ethnic communities and the unity of the State,
- c. accepted that the Turkish-Cypriot zone should include up to 25% of the territory of the Republic, in spite of the fact that the Turkish-Cypriot community represents only 18% of the island's population.

The Turkish side did not take advantage of the moderation of the Government of Cyprus; on the contrary, on April 13, 1978, it submitted proposals which, instead of leading to a solution of the problem, render the impasse more acute. Because, as regards territory, the 18% of the population insists on keeping 35% of the land, and, as regards the constitution, the proposals are not only partitive, but also aim at establishing a state that cannot possibly function. These proposals were naturally rejected. At this moment a new effort of the U.N. Secretary General is in progress, aiming at the resumption of intercommunal talks.

One cannot help but wonder at the intransigent attitude of Turkey. For, by accepting the Greek positions, Turkey would not only attain her basic goals, but would also rid both herself and all the other parties involved of the manifold consequences of the continuation of this tragic problem.

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It appears from the foregoing that the Greco-Turkish differences in the Aegean were not caused by Greece but by Turkey. Relying on the treaties in force, Greece could have denied the existence of these problems. Not only did she not do so, but as a token of her peaceful intentions and of her good faith, she accepted to negotiate on them, but met with no understanding. In the same spirit Greece accepted the meeting of Prime Minister Karamanlis and Mr. Ecevit at Montreux, in order to create a climate of confidence and to initiate a constructive dialogue. It is true that both sides showed good will in the search of solutions to the problems dividing the two

countries. On the other hand, it was established that differences on the substance as well as on the procedure for solving these problems continue to subsist.

Anyway, it was agreed that the views expressed by both sides should be studied and further discussed at a new meeting of the two Prime Ministers. This meeting took place in Washington in May of the same year. A decision was reached there to prepare the ground for a new meeting of the two Prime Ministers, through consultations of the Secretaries-General of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Greece and Turkey. Unfortunately these meetings, as well as the meetings of the experts for the delimitation of the continental shelf which followed, have not produced any results to date.

It must be recalled that, when the question of lifting the arms embargo against Turkey was raised, it had been argued that the lifting of the embargo would facilitate the settlement of the Greco-Turkish differences, as it would relieve Turkey from the complex of international pressure and thus make her more moderate. The Greek Government opposed at the time the lifting of the embargo and expressed the fear that such a step would encourage Turkey's intransigence and would hinder rather than facilitate the settlement of Greco-Turkish differences.

The Greek Government regrets to have to ascertain that the development consequent to the lifting of the embargo have confirmed its fears.

The outcome of the developments which have been described above is that:

- a. No progress whatsoever was made on Cyprus. The extreme positions adopted by the Turkish-Cypriots in May 1978 and rejected by the Greek-Cypriots are



still valid today, according to a recent public statement by Mr. Ecevit (January 19, 1979). This in disregard of the fact that the Secretary-General of the United Nations recently undertook a new initiative for the resumption of the intercommunal talks, which met with a positive response from the Greek-Cypriot side.

- b. Bilateral negotiations on the problems of the Aegean (continental shelf and airspace) have reached an impasse, because Turkey refuses to accept internationally established procedures
- c. Negotiations within NATO for the reintegration of Greece in the Alliance do not advance, because of Turkish reactions which are not only groundless, but are contrary to the interests of the Alliance and of Turkey herself.

2.3.1979

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