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GREECE

State Dinner Toast
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DUKE UNIVERSITY

91 JUL 8 P3:04

INSTITUTE OF POLICY SCIENCES
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS214 Old Chemistry Building
4875 DUKE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706
(919) 684-6612

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL FORM

DATE AND TIME: 7-8-91 2:57 p.m.TO: CAROL BLYMYRE
(Name)202-456-6218
(Fax Number)WASHINGTON, D.C.
(City/State)FROM: BRUCE KUNIHOLM
(Name)214 OLD CHEMISTRY
(Address/Location)(919) 684-2861CHARGE CODE: 457-1023-6980-14100COMMENTS: _____

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DUKE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF POLICY SCIENCES
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Fax # 919-684-2861

BRUCE R. KUNIHOLM, Director

Chairman of the Department of Public Policy Studies

Professor of Public Policy Studies and History

tel # 202 456-7750

Fax # 202-456-6218

4875 DUKE STATION

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706

(919) 684-5026/6612

Carol Blymyre
Speechwriter
White House

July 8, 1991

Dear Carol:

Attached are the two pages of talking points for Ozal's visit to Duke along with the anecdote that I mentioned to you on the phone. If you are interested in background, I could send you more material, but its hard to know exactly what you want. Below are listed some of the articles and/or books I have written about Turkey which you can get access to through the Library of Congress or which I could send to you if you are interested (if you had a clearer idea of what you would like to emphasize I would be happy to help you; it would probably be a lot easier than wading through all of this stuff yourself):

1. The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 485 pp.

2. "Turkey and NATO: Past, Present, and Future," ORBIS, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 421-445.

3. The Near East Connection: Greece and Turkey in the Reconstruction and Security of Europe, 1946-1952 (Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic Press, 1984, 50 pp.

4. "Rhetoric and Reality in the Aegean: U.S. Policy Options Toward Greece and Turkey," SAIS Review, Winter-Spring 1986/Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 137-157.

5. "Turkey and the West," Foreign Affairs, Spring 1991, Vol. 70, No. 2, pp. 34-48. (This article is the most recent one.)

My basic suggestion would be to emphasize the US-Turkish connection that goes back to 1945-46 and to note that it has weathered the adversities that confront all alliances. It's important to mention the reciprocal notion of the alliance: that each side has both given something to it and received something from it and that, while it hasn't been perfect, it has stood the test of time and been beneficial to both sides.

Kuniholm - 1

President Ozal, Mrs. Ozal, Ambassador Kandemir, Ambassador Toperi, Consul General Bozkir, Distinguished Guests, Ladies, and Gentlemen

on behalf of the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs I would like to welcome today to Duke University President Turgut Ozal, the eighth president of the republic of Turkey a NATO ally with a population of close to 60 million people.

President Ozal has had a distinguished career:

an electrical engineer with a master's degree from Istanbul Technical University

he has served as Deputy General of the State Electrical Authority overseeing projects on the electrification of Turkey including Turkey's main hydroelectric power stations

as Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization he was responsible for developing the Turkish economy and implementing major infrastructural projects

as Deputy Prime Minister and Prime Minister he helped see the country through very difficult times when terrorist deaths reached over 25 a day and threatened to engulf the country in a civil war

subsequently, he encouraged the lifting of martial law, all the while encouraging the opening of the Turkish economy to trade and competition, and as the WSJ noted on Friday creating a new Turkish revolution.

Anyone who has been in Turkey over the years can see the changes, the most striking of which is the massive multi-billion Southeast Anatolia project.

As President (since 1989) he has had the vision to be creative about Turkey's role in the post Cold-War era, advocating trade and direct investment links with the nations of the Black Sea, a subject which he discussed with President Gorbachev, and proposing the so-called Peace Pipeline, an imaginative suggestion to bring water from the Turkish mountains down to the eastern Mediterranean and Persian Gulf. The recent war in the Gulf has underscored the value of water there, and the Middle East peace process, if it is ever to get underway, will require that the short supply of water be augmented. The interdependence that could be fostered by such a project could make an important contribution to peace. There will be a major meeting to discuss the subject in Turkey this November.

Kuniholm - 2

During the current Gulf crisis, Turkey, at a cost of \$10 billion, was a steadfast ally and President Ozal in particular, at considerable political risk, was unwavering in his support of UN principles and the coalition's policies. He:

- stopped the flow of oil in the Iraqi pipeline
- supported the UN sanctions
- extended the DECA agreement with the US
- deployed forces along his border with Iraq (100,000)
- and allowed allied troops to use Turkish bases

Turkey is the only Muslim country in the Near East that is secular and democratic, and it serves as an important model to other countries in the region striving to transform their structures for political participation. This is no easy task, and in light of the potential hostility from its neighbors, Turkey is keenly aware of who its allies are: it is loyal to its responsibilities, and it expects the same from its partners.

This is best illustrated by a story, once told to me by an official in the foreign ministry. Teams of analysts from a number of European countries in the NATO alliance, the story goes, were assigned to write on a typically arcane subject--in this case elephants--and labored--again typically--for eighteen months on the project. The French team wrote a modest volume on the love life of elephants. The British team wrote a two-volume work on elephants and their role in the expansion and decline of the British empire. The German team wrote ten ponderous volumes that served as an introduction to the study of elephants. The Turkish team wrote a very thin volume that was titled, simply, "Elephants: For or Against Turkey."

The bottom line, of course, is what diplomatic relations are all about, and Turkey was there when we needed her. President Ozal was there when we needed him. This was most recently recognized at the White House last Saturday where President Bush, after returning from Camp David with him, thanked President Ozal for--and I quote-- "the best communications any two countries could possibly have had, for his advice, and for his steadfast adherence to principle from DAY ONE." The Turkish government, he went on to say, "never waived one inch." For that we have President Ozal to thank, and I would like you all to give him a very special welcome here at Duke, where he has come to talk to us about US-Turkish relations and Turkey's role in the new world order.

--President Ozal will take questions directly from the floor. I ask you only to make your questions clear and to the point, so that as many of you as possible will have the opportunity to ask questions.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT BUSH
TO THE GREEK PARLIAMENT

MR. SPEAKER:

I APPEAR BEFORE THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT WITH A GREAT SENSE OF HONOR.

THE LAST HEAD OF STATE WHO SPOKE TO THIS CHAMBER WAS THE GREAT FRENCH STATESMAN CHARLES DE GAULLE. AND FOUR YEARS BEFORE THAT PRESIDENT DE GAULLE, ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST BELOVED PRESIDENTS, DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF STANDING HERE.

GREEK DEMOCRACY, OF COURSE, HAS A SPECIAL STANDING IN THE WORLD. IN HIS DECEMBER 15, 1959 ADDRESS TO THIS ASSEMBLY, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER REMARKED: "IN THIS CITY OF ATHENS, MORE THAN A SCORE OF CENTURIES AGO, DEMOCRACY - IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND IN ITS PRACTICES - FIRST WON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF MEN. THIS HOUSE OF FREE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT SYMBOLIZES THE VIGOR OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN ITS ANCIENT BIRTHPLACE; DEMONSTRATES THAT THE WILL OF MEN TO BE FREE IS IMPERISHABLE."

ONE MAN WHO WAS ACTUALLY PRESENT ON THAT COLD WINTER MORNING TO HEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S WORDS IS ALSO HERE TODAY. HE IS A MAN WHO LED HIS PEOPLE THROUGH THE DANGERS AND CHALLENGES OF THOSE SAME YEARS. ONE WHO LATER RESTORED DEMOCRACY TO GREECE, AND THEN BROUGHT HIS COUNTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. THAT GREAT STATESMAN IS, OF COURSE, YOUR PRESIDENT, THEN PRIME MINISTER -- CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS.

(TURN TO ADDRESS KARAMANLIS) TO HONOR YOU AND OUR FRIEND AND ALLY WHOSE PRESIDENT YOU ARE, I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOU TO WASHINGTON IN 1992. I HOPE YOU WILL ACCEPT, AND LOOK FORWARD TO RECEIVING YOU IN OUR CAPITAL.

PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM DURING PERILOUS TIMES. BUT THE U.S. AND GREECE HAVE A LONGSTANDING RECORD OF FIGHTING TOGETHER ON THE SIDE OF THOSE SACRED PRINCIPLES. WE HAVE SHARED A UNITY OF PURPOSE IN ALL OF THE MAJOR CONFLICTS IN THIS CENTURY. WORLD WAR I. WORLD WAR II. THE KOREAN WAR. WHILE ALL WERE TERRIBLE STRUGGLES, THE FORCES OF JUSTICE AND RIGHT TRIUMPHED EACH TIME.

WE WERE VICTORIOUS ONCE AGAIN OVER AGGRESSION WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN ATTEMPTED TO ANNEX HIS NEIGHBOR, KUWAIT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROSE UP TOGETHER TO DEFEAT THIS TYRANT. IT WAS AN AWESOME COLLECTIVE EFFORT. AND PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS RESPONDED JUST AS I EXPECTED HE WOULD. HE KNEW WHAT WAS AT STAKE. HE GAVE THE FULL, UNSTINTING SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO THAT NOBLE CAUSE. I HAVE TOLD HIM, BUT WISH NOW TO ALSO SAY TO ALL OF YOU HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATED GREECE'S HELP IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO MOVE US FORCES AND EQUIPMENT QUICKLY TO THE REGION. WE WILL REMEMBER THIS.

AS I STAND HERE NOW, I AM REMINDED OF THE GOALS WE SHARE AS PARTIES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF OUR PEOPLES. OF THE FOUNDATION WHICH THOSE GOALS REST -- THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW. SINCE 1949 THESE IDEAS HAVE GUIDED THE ALLIANCE IN STANDING FIRM AGAINST THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION AND TOTALITARIANISM. WE HAVE PERSEVERED. AND WE HAVE SUCCEEDED. THE WARSAW PACT IS NO MORE. GREECE IS NOT ONLY MORE SECURE, BUT WE ARE WITNESSING IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FREE MARKETS. FRAGILE IN SOME CASES BUT NURTURED BY THE LONG SUPPRESSED HOPES OF MILLIONS.

GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER FOR ALL THESE EPOCHAL CHANGES. WE WERE NATO PARTNERS. WE WERE GOOD FRIENDS. OUR WORK IS NOT FINISHED. WE MUST AND CAN MEET THE NEW CHALLENGES OF PEACE JUST AS WE DID THE OLD -- BY WORKING TOGETHER CLOSELY.

THE FACE OF EUROPE -- ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ITS STRUCTURES -- ARE CHANGING ALMOST DAILY. CHANGE REPRESENTS NEW OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES, AND HORIZONS FOR THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE. WE DISCUSSED MANY OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN LONDON FROM WHICH I HAVE JUST COME. I WANT TO MENTION A FEW OF WHAT SEEM TO ME TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS FROM THAT MEETING TO YOU NOW.

INSERT SUMMIT POINTS

WE ARE HEADING, I BELIEVE, TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER THAT HAS AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT A TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH STRETCHES FROM VANCOUVER TO VLADIVOSTOK. A COMMUNITY BASED ON THE CENTRAL VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC LIBERTY WHICH UNDERPIN DEMOCRATIC, FREE MARKET SOCIETIES. A COMMUNITY FREE AND AT PEACE.

GREECE HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NEW ORDER. MANY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS IN THE BALKANS ARE VALIANTLY STRUGGLING -- SOME FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER -- TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND TO RESTRUCTURE THEIR POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS.

BUT THERE IS YET MORE WHICH GREECE CAN DO. THE BALKANS HAVE BEEN AN HISTORICALLY TROUBLED REGION. AND NOW, RESURGENT ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM ONCE AGAIN THREATEN STABILITY AND PEACE. THESE FORCES UNDERMINE THE ONGOING ATTEMPTS TO NURTURE STILL INFANT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. WE LOOK TO GREECE TO SERVE AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY IN THE BALKAN REGION.

I HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ABILITY OF STATES IN THE NEW TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH IS UNFOLDING BEFORE US TO PUT OLD ENMITIES BEHIND THEM. THE UNITED STATES ENJOYS GREATLY IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE ALLIANCE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED A TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE. GERMANS HAVE SET ASIDE THE BITTER DIVISIONS OF THE COLD WAR YEARS AND REUNITED THEIR COUNTRY. GERMANY AND POLAND HAVE AGREED ON THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR BORDER. THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES HAVE EXPRESSED A STRONG INTEREST IN AFFILIATION WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE ARE WITNESSES TO ONE OF THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES FOR THE GOOD THAT MODERN MAN HAS EVER SEEN.

TOMORROW I WILL TRAVEL TO CRETE. WHILE THERE, I WILL LAY A WREATH AT THE TOMB OF ONE OF GREECE'S GREAT MODERN STATESMAN -- ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS. I WILL STOP THERE TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF HIS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF 1930 -- THE TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE WITH TURKEY. THIS HISTORIC MILESTONE WAS ACHIEVED

BECAUSE VENIZELOS' VISION OF THE FUTURE WAS SHARED BY THE FOUNDER OF MODERN TURKEY -- KEMAL ATATURK. THEIR PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP, AND THE PEACE THEY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, REMAIN AS PROUD LEGACIES TODAY.

IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF 1930 MAY TODAY INSPIRE THESE TWO GREAT COUNTRIES, BOTH VALUED FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES, TO INVOKE THAT SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES SHARE THE ASPIRATION FOR SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD. IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT THROUGHOUT EUROPE. YOU HAVE MY EVERY WISH FOR SUCCESS.

IN THIS CONTEXT I ALSO SHOULD BRIEFLY MENTION CYPRUS. WE ARE ACTIVELY WORKING TO SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL IN HIS GOOD OFFICES MISSION. ALL INTERESTED PARTIES MUST ACCEPT THAT COMPROMISE AND GOOD-WILL ARE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS OF ANY SOLUTION. AND ANY SOLUTION MUST, OF COURSE, PROVIDE FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. SUCH A SOLUTION NEEDS TO BE FOUND SOON AND CAN BE. WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP, BUT IN THE END, THE SOLUTION MUST BE NEGOTIATED BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

THESE ISSUES ARE AMONG THE ONES WHICH I EXPECT TO DISCUSS WITH PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS WHEN WE MEET LATER TODAY. I WAS

PLEASED TO MEET HIM IN WASHINGTON WHEN HE VISITED THERE IN JUNE 1990. SINCE THAT TIME WE HAVE DEVELOPED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP, EXCHANGING IDEAS OVER THE PHONE AND BY LETTER. I LOOK FORWARD TO RENEWING OUR PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCESHIP IN ATHENS, AND WHEN I VISIT HIS HOME IN CHANIA. I WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN HIS HOSPITALITY WHEN HE VISITS WASHINGTON THIS FALL FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT.

I BELIEVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. WE ENJOY GOOD COMMUNICATION, EXCELLENT COOPERATION, AND MUTUAL TRUST. PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH US TO FIND WAYS OF IMPROVING EVEN FURTHER THE MUTUAL RESPECT AND BENEFIT WHICH CHARACTERIZES OUR RELATIONSHIP.

OF COURSE, PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND I HAVE HAD MANY ADVANTAGES IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES. AMERICANS OF GREEK DESCENT ARE AN ACTIVE ETHNIC GROUP IN THE PLURALISTIC MELTING-POT WHICH IS AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE ALSO HAVE OUR PARTNERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE. FINALLY, WE SHARE A COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE OUR SOCIETIES AND GOVERNMENTS, AND A DESIRE TO SEE THESE PROSPER AND FLOURISH THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

WE OWE YOUR ANCESTORS A GREAT DEBT. THEIR CONCEPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES SHOWN AS A LIGHT WHICH WAS NEVER EXTINGUISHED, EVEN DURING THE DARKEST MOMENTS OF HUMAN HISTORY. GREECE WILL BE CELEBRATING THE 2500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES IN ATHENS THIS FALL. FREE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE WILL WISH YOU WELL IN THIS. FOR WE ALL ENJOY THE LEGACY YOUR ANCIENT FORBEARERS LEFT AS A GIFT FOR ALL MANKIND.

BUT GREECE TODAY IS NOT A SIMPLE REFLECTION OF ITS PAST. IT IS A VIBRANT SOCIETY WITH A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS EXPANDING ITS DIPLOMACY AND ITS INTERESTS. WE WELCOME THAT PROCESS AND LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOU TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER THE TIES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. MAY THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES NOURISH RELATIONS BETWEEN US. AND MAY OUR COMMON DEVOTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND MARKET ECONOMIES HASTEN THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY WHERE FREE MEN DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

WE HAVE MUCH TO ACCOMPLISH. LET US NOT DELAY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

Eisenhower also expressed interest in the steps His Imperial Majesty is taking to promote social progress. The President said that the United States intends to continue to assist Iran in the mutual interest of both nations.

The President took the opportunity to express the admiration of the people of the United States for the brave stand of the Iranian people and Government in the face of outside pressure.

NOTE: This joint statement was released in Tehran.

323 ¶ Remarks at the Mehrabad Airport,
Tehran, Upon Leaving for Greece.
December 14, 1959

Your Majesty, Ladies and Gentlemen:

During my brief hours here in Iran, I have learned much. First of all, I have learned about the hospitality and cordiality of the Iranian people and their leaders. I appreciate and am grateful for every greeting from every citizen that I saw all along the route.

I am particularly grateful to His Majesty for his many courtesies this morning to me and my party.

I should like to say a special word of farewell to the Diplomatic Corps. I should like to greet you again personally, but the hour grows late for my departure, and I must leave. I am sorry, and I want to apologize to this beautiful country and all its citizens because I didn't and couldn't stay longer. I would like to stay as many days as I have hours.

Thank you until we can meet again. Goodbye.

NOTE: Following the luncheon at the airport accompanied by the Shah of Iran, Marble Palace, the President left for the

324 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at Hellinikon
Airport, Athens. *December 14, 1959*

Your Majesty, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great privilege to be welcomed to this city for the first time in 7 years. I come back to a country that is responsible for much that belongs to Western culture and civilization.

When I came here 7 years ago, I found this nation to be one—in its courage, in its hardihood, in its adherence to principle—truly as great as those Greek city states that we learned to love and admire from the days when as little boys we learned our ancient history.

So I assure you again that the welcome from His Majesty, the audience, and the people—individuals here, it means much to me, and I hope as I have my talks with His Majesty, His Majesty's Government, that we will find much that we can exchange between ourselves that will be fruitful for the solution of any problems between us.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:47 p.m. He was met by King Paul, the Crown Prince, Prime Minister Constantine Kara-

manlis, Greek officials, U.S. Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs, and members of the U.S. Embassy.

325 ¶ Address to the Members of the Parliament of Greece. December 15, 1959

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, Your Beatitude, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Honorable Representatives of the Hellenes:

I am greatly honored that I have been invited to speak before this distinguished Parliament.

Greatness and grandeur are all about us; greatness and grandeur of ideas and ideals that were born and first enunciated nearby; of men forever memorable who walked and lived here, of a people whose valor and vitality and wisdom are written large on the human record. Your present Government and its leaders, your distinguished Prime Minister, are producing a record of achievement that makes them worthy successors to their illustrious predecessors.

I represent in this place 180 million men and women who with you of Greece share the golden legacy of culture and civilization bequeathed by your forebears to the Western World. We Americans, with you Greeks, are fellow-heirs to the glory of Greece.

In this city of Athens, more than a score of centuries ago, democracy—in its principles and in its practices—first won the hearts and minds of men. This house of free representative government symbolizes the vigor of modern democracy in its ancient birthplace; demonstrates that the will of men to be free is imperishable.

In our common dedication to the ideals of democracy our two countries—America and Greece—feel a basic kinship. An American can feel as much at home here as in Washington or Abilene, my own village, or Brooklyn—just as Greeks quickly find themselves at home in those three places in America.

To this Parliament, I come with a message of admiration and respect from the American people to the Greek people, and for the light of inspiration that shone out, in our own day, to all the free world from this land and its islands.

You have proved yourselves fearless of defense in your independence; tireless in your attack on the evils of hardship and privation; ready for sacrifice that your children might enjoy a brighter day. And, beset with hardship and difficulty at home, you joined in cooperation with the other countries of the Atlantic Alliance for mutual defense and security. Your Expeditionary Force to Korea, by its valor and heroism, helped sustain the rule of law and the United Nations in that divided nation.

The American people—and I am sure all the free peoples of the world—salute you, valiant and worthy heirs to the Greek traditions.

And now, briefly, permit me to speak on a cause close to my heart; close, I hope, to the hearts of all who believe in the brotherhood, the dignity, the divine origin and destiny of man as a child of God, created in His image.

The cause is: peace and friendship in freedom.

The Greek and American peoples share a common and deep devotion to peace. We share further the conviction that we must sustain the conditions under which the goal of peace may be pursued effectively.

We must be strong militarily, economically—but above all, spiritually. By developing and preserving such strength—by forever repudiating the use of aggressive force—we shall win the sort of peace we want; with friendship in freedom.

I mean peace that is creative, dynamic, fostering a world climate that will relieve men and their governments of the intolerable burden of armaments; liberate them from the haunting fear of global war and universal death.

I mean friendship that is spontaneous and warm, welling up from a deep conviction that all of us are more concerned with the bettering of our circumstances; giving our children wider opportunity and brighter promise—than in destroying each other.

I mean freedom in which, under the rule of law, every human will have the right and a fair chance to live his own life; to choose his own path; to work out his own destiny; that nations will be free from misgivings and mistrust, able to develop their resources for the good of their people.

To this cause of peace and friendship in freedom, Greeks are contributing all their hearts and minds and energies. Joined with the free men of the world they can help mankind at long last to enjoy the fullness of life envisioned by the sages of ancient Greece.

Honorable Members of Parliament, I want to assure you again of the very deep sense of distinction that I feel in the invitation to address you. I feel that here I am with men who, like myself and all other Americans, love peace and freedom and want to work with you for it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:19 a.m. His opening words "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, Your Beatitude" referred to Constantine Rodopoulos, Speaker of

the unicameral parliament, Constantine Karamanlis, Prime Minister, and Archbishop Theoklitos, Primate of Greece.

326 ☪ Toast by the President at a Luncheon Given in His Honor by King Paul.

December 15, 1959

Your Majesty:

My heartfelt thanks are extended to the people of Greece for the warm welcome they have accorded me. This welcome reflects the friendship between our two peoples—a friendship cemented in war and in our common effort to preserve and to amplify the concept of liberty, a heritage from the ancient Greeks.

Your Majesty has spoken eloquently of the mission of my country. I believe that the essential element in the alliance of people dedicated to freedom, including those sharing the responsibilities of NATO, is that we are equals who respect each other's interest.

Our alliance is based upon single will to maintain human dignity. This alliance of ours is a union of like-minded peoples, each contributing to the limit of their capacity. The devotion of the Greek people to this common ideal is nowhere more amply attested than in the settlement of the Cyprus problem.

I agree with Your Majesty that we in the free world today confront a great challenge.

How we shall meet it depends in large measure upon our determination, patience, and strength in union. In this test, I have no doubt that the heroic Greek people, who for thousands of years have guarded their independence with fierce decisiveness, will stand in the vanguard.

And so I raise my glass to His Majesty, the King, stalwart standard-bearer of the unquenchable spirit of Hellenism, and to the people of Greece, whose steadfast allegiance to right inspires the admiration of the American people. In union, and with the guidance of the Almighty, may we forge ahead to peace, justice, and prosperity for all mankind.

NOTE: The President proposed this toast at a luncheon at the royal palace.

327 ¶ Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Karamanlis.

December 15, 1959

ON THE occasion of his official visit to Greece on the fourteenth and fifteenth of December, the President of the United States Mr. Dwight Eisenhower concluded talks with the Prime Minister of Greece Mr. Constantine Karamanlis. Present at the talks were the American Ambassador, Mr. Ellis O. Briggs, and the Under Secretary of State Mr. Robert Murphy, and on the Greek side the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Panayotis Kanellopoulos, and the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Constantine Tsatsos.

The President expressed his warm appreciation of the hospitality extended by Their Majesties King Paul and Queen Frederika, and of all the Greek people.

The talks covered a wide range of general and specific topics of common interest to both countries.

Both countries affirmed their faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their staunch support of the objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which based on the solidarity of its members, aim at the firm establishment of security, and at peace with justice. The relaxation of world tensions was discussed in this spirit.

The Greek Prime Minister expressed his deep appreciation for the great

endeavor for peace undertaken by President Eisenhower. Both agreed that the consolidation of world peace must be pursued in such a way as to guarantee the independence of all nations and the freedom of the individual.

Historic instances in which both countries stood side by side in hard struggles were recalled, and in this context the importance of Greece in the common defense effort was recognized.

Opinions were exchanged concerning those parts of the world of particular interest to Greece. Careful account was taken of her special position in the Balkans and the general situation in this area as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean, was examined. It was agreed that the two governments should exchange views on matters of mutual concern involving these areas. The prospective emergence of an independent Cyprus State was hailed with special satisfaction.

The Greek Prime Minister expressed the gratitude of the Greek people for the enduring interest and help being extended by the American people. He also explained to the President the problems the country faces in seeking to raise the standard of living of the Greek people and maintaining the obligations and responsibilities of its position in the defense structure of the Free World.

President Eisenhower, recognizing the special economic and social conditions of Greece, expressed his admiration for the improvement being accomplished by the country and reaffirmed the interest of the American people in the security and economic development of Greece.

Generally it was recognized that improvement in the standard of living in the economically less developed countries constitutes a vital element in the consolidation of international peace.

The conversations were held in an atmosphere of deep sincerity and warm cordiality such as have traditionally characterized the relations of the two countries, and which were so happily confirmed by the visit to Greece of the President of the United States.

NOTE: This joint statement was released in Athens.

The President took leave of Their Majesties at the royal palace. Prime Minister Karamanlis accompanied him to the sta-

dium for departure by helicopter for the U.S.S. Des Moines, the flagship of the Sixth Fleet. The President spent a day aboard the Des Moines en route to Tunisia.

NOTE: Prior to making these remarks the President attended services at St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church and visited Pope John XXIII at the Vatican. He then left by helicopter from the grounds of the North American Ecclesiastical Col-

lege for the airport, where he was met by Premier Antonio Segni, Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella, Manlio Brosio, Italian Ambassador to the United States, and James D. Zellerbach, U.S. Ambassador to Italy.

295 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at Esenboga Airport, Ankara. December 6, 1959

Mr. President, Citizens of Turkey:

President Bayar, from my heart I thank you and your people for your welcome for my party and myself.

Almost 8 years have passed since my last visit to Ankara. In those years the bonds of friendship and partnership between the Turkish and American peoples have grown stronger. So I return to the capital of this sister republic, hopeful that my visit here will be fruitful for the good of both nations.

My purpose in returning to Turkey is twofold: first, I have wanted to take advantage of a long-standing invitation to visit this nation once again and see all the developments that have taken place since I was here in the spring of 1952.

Second, in my official capacity as President of the United States, I return the visit which you, President Bayar, so graciously paid America.

This visit will permit me to discuss with the leaders of your government some of the problems that confront free nations today. We shall take also the opportunity to talk about opportunities that present themselves to achieve a world of plenty in which all nations can live—independent and prosperous, at peace with their neighbors. I want you to know that we in America greatly respect and highly regard our staunch friend and ally, Turkey. We know that you will be strong and persistent and dedicated in all efforts for peace and friendship in freedom.

President Bayar, I am delighted to be here once again among my Turkish friends, and I know that I speak for all the members of my party when I respond to your warm words of welcome by saying, somewhat haltingly I fear, but nevertheless sincerely, "*Hos bulduk. Çok tesekkür ederim*" [We are happy to be here. I thank you very much].

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. He was met by President Bayar, Turkish civilian and military officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and by U.S. Ambassador Fletcher Warren.

296 ¶ Remarks by the President at a Dinner
Given in His Honor by President Bayar.
December 6, 1959

Mr. President, distinguished guests:

On this visit, as on my first more than 7 years ago, the unmatched hospitality of our Turkish allies and friends has been for the members of my party and myself a most heartwarming experience. The leaders and people of Turkey have extended to us a welcome that makes us feel more like friends returning to pleasant and well-remembered scenes rather than like strangers in this land.

For myself, it is in truth a return to a land I cannot forget. In March of 1952, I came here to inspect the troops which Turkey had committed to the common defense of the Atlantic nations. Here through a 3-day visit, along with the encouragement and inspiration I got from your armed forces and your leaders, I absorbed evidence of the beauty, the progress, the growth of Turkey. I developed a real admiration for both your military and civil leaders and for the great people they represented.

As tenacious defenders of your land and independence, you of Turkey have achieved a worldwide reputation. From two experiences with you, I can testify that you deserve an equal prestige as gracious hosts. For all of my party, it is indeed a high honor to be welcomed as partners of your nation.

All Americans who know you have a tremendous respect for your courage and your vision of a Republic dedicated to the good of its people, their freedom and their prosperity. You Turks, by your own efforts and by deliberate decision, resolved a generation ago to build a modern nation, free from aggressive intent on its neighbors, at peace with all nations of good will, but resolved never to be cowed by any threat.

Under the outstanding and farsighted leadership of the founder of Modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, you of this country have wrought revolutionary changes. In government, customs, and traditions these changes were breathtaking in scope. They were remarkable for the

swiftness of their achievement. They are an inspiration and a guiding light to all newly independent nations, determined on progress, prosperity, and peace.

No nation of today encounters greater obstacles to progress than you faced when you made your great national decision. You had just emerged from the ruin and devastation of the first World War. On every side, you were plagued with problems that seemed beyond solution. But you were rich in your spirit and in the idealism and vitality of your leaders. In them you had a wealth and strength beyond money and machines.

You, the people of Turkey forged steadily ahead on the path to industrial development and social progress. You made your country a modern proving ground that democracy and stout hearts are a people's best instruments for the achievement of greatness.

Much, I know, remains to be achieved. But I am impressed—even amazed—as I return to Turkey to see all around me the results of the past 7 years' progress and the evidences of determination and of dynamic growth.

The United States is proud of your achievements—very proud of our increasingly close friendship and associations. The American people understand your desire for progress and for higher standards of living. They are happy that they can provide some measure of assistance to help you realize the goals you yourselves have established.

I am confident that the United States, with other friends and allies, will continue to help in your economic development and security. And no power on earth, no evil, no threat, can frustrate a people of your spirit.

We of America as you in Turkey are much concerned today with the economic progress and political stability of the world's newly emerging nations. We believe that all free nations should cooperate in a great combined effort to achieve increased levels of free world economic strength. But alongside this purpose and because both of us are also concerned with our security and that of our friends we are joined with others in NATO to insure the safety of all of us. Here, my friends, I might as well have brought in CENTO, but since Turkey and ourselves are both full partners of NATO, and we are merely an associate of CENTO, I confine my remarks to NATO.

NATO is a defensive alliance, solely and simply for our mutual

security. We know that we are building defenses only against the possibility of an emergency, an aggression, a catastrophe which will never be of our making. Those who say otherwise speak for their own ulterior motives.

The peoples of Turkey and the United States seek peace. But the peace we are striving to achieve, as free, God-fearing nations, must be a just and enduring peace based upon individual freedom and human dignity. These values, the Koran and the Bible teach us, are fundamental to man's life on earth. We will not deviate from our goal nor compromise our principles.

We will continue in our search for peace and in our efforts to reach mutually enforceable agreements with the leaders of the world Communist movement.

With steadfast adherence to our principles, and with faith in Almighty God, we will do our best to achieve the goal we are seeking.

To all our Turkish friends, I express again on behalf of the American people and the members of my party my deep appreciation and sincere thanks for your exceptional welcome and hospitality. In closing I should like to say:

Long live Turkish-American friendship.

Long live the Turkish and American Republics.

Long live world peace, justice, and human freedom.

And in this spirit I propose a toast to your distinguished Head of State—
President Bayar.

NOTE: The dinner was held at President Bayar's palace.

297 ¶ Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Bayar. December 7, 1959

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER visited Turkey on December 6 through December 7, 1959. The sincere rejoicing of the Turkish Nation and the outstanding reception extended to President Eisenhower and to his party during this brief but meaningful visit reaffirmed in the most impressive way the existing strong friendship and close cooperation between the Governments and peoples of Turkey and the United States. The visit demonstrated anew the desire of both countries to continue this fruitful

cooperation in their mutual interest as well as in that of the community of free nations to which they both belong.

In the course of this visit talks were held at President Bayar's residence on Sunday evening between the two Presidents with the participation of Prime Minister Menderes and Foreign Minister Zorlu, Under Secretary of State Murphy, Secretary General Esenbel and Ambassador Warren.

During the talks a full and friendly exchange took place on a wide range of problems of common interest.

The alliance and partnership of Turkey and the United States within the defense organization of NATO and active association in CENTO, together with their common participation in the actions of the United Nations for the preservation of peace, influenced the nature and the scope of the talks. Turkish cooperation in the United Nations Command, Korea, was recalled in this connection.

On the vital question of the creation of an atmosphere that would lead to establishment of a true detente in the whole world, the two Presidents agreed that such a detente, in order to be effective, should be based on justice and equality and provided with the essential safeguards. Since it is not possible to divide the many problems at present separating East and West into separate compartments, they recognized that detente like peace had to be considered as an indivisible entity. It was understood that an efficient, controlled system of disarmament is necessary.

In the course of the discussions particular attention was paid to existing areas of tension and danger throughout the world. President Bayar and President Eisenhower jointly expressed strong conviction that at this point in history the future of humanity depended above all on the degree of solidarity in thought and action which the free nations can master in meeting their common problems. They agreed that cooperation and continuing consultation between the two countries both on a bilateral basis and within NATO and CENTO were paramount.

President Bayar expressed his sincere appreciation of the admirable efforts made by President Eisenhower in order to reduce international tensions and both Presidents voiced the hope that these efforts would bear fruit for the benefit of the whole world. Particular attention was paid to the question of subversive activities in the Middle East and the situation was appraised in the light of an eventual atmosphere of detente.

Economic aspects of the Turkish-American relations, as well as the

broad problem of the assistance to underdeveloped countries, were considered. President Bayar stressed the importance of securing a sufficient raising of the living standard of the Turkish people in order to enable Turkey to assume adequately the responsibilities which her geographic position imposes upon her. He outlined the economic progress achieved in the last ten years in Turkey and expressed appreciation for the generous assistance given by the American people to Turkey.

President Eisenhower expressed his appreciation of the economic and social goals met by the Turkish Nation. He expressed confidence that the United States will continue to support, in concert with other friends and allies, the economic development and security efforts of Turkey. He expressed his belief that such efforts would be successful.

The two Presidents recognized that improvement in the standard of living of the less developed countries is a necessary ingredient to the achievement of peace and security in the world. They expressed the view that coordinated action is desirable and that any aid extended would prove most effective when providing and receiving countries were united through a dedication to common goals.

The economic collaboration realized after the war constitutes a remarkable example in the field of economic assistance. The hope was expressed as well that European efforts in this field could be directed to the assistance of the less developed areas of the European continent, like Turkey.

The initiative of Turkey to be an associate member of the European Common Market was also examined and the hope was expressed that such association would foster solidarity among these countries.

In concluding their talk the two Presidents reiterated their dedication to the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. They expressed their determination to marshal all their efforts to the attainment of a lasting peace embracing full security and justice for all.

NOTE: This joint statement was released in Ankara.

298 ¶ Remarks at Esenboga Airport, Ankara, Upon Leaving for Pakistan. December 7, 1959

Mr. President, Prime Minister Menderes, Members of the Government, Citizens of Turkey:

Through you, President Bayar, and your government, I should like to express to the Turkish people my very warm thanks for the extraordinary reception they accorded to my party and me as we went through Ankara yesterday.

I have been deeply touched. I take their demonstration as a symbol of the true affection that exists between the peoples of America and of Turkey.

For the second time I say goodbye to this country—both times realizing that the visit that I have made is far too short.

This country takes hold of my heart. I should like to stay here and mingle with the people a far longer time than my official duties will permit me to do. But I do assure you that I leave with the greatest expression of appreciation and affection.

Our two countries have been friends for a long time. I think that they have been growing stronger and firmer friends, every year, every month, every day. I am confident this will continue to be so.

We stand together on the major issues that divide the world. And I can see no reason whatsoever that we shouldn't be two of the sturdiest partners standing together always for freedom, security, and the pursuit of peace.

Permit me, as I say Godspeed, good luck to you, to again attempt another Turkish expression, this time: *Allah'a ismarladik*. [I commend you to Allah.]

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m., following his arrival by helicopter from the Guest House in Ankara. He was accompanied to the airport by President Bayar. The farewell ceremonies were held in the airport building. A 21-gun

salute was fired as President Eisenhower filed through lines of members of the diplomatic corps and Turkish government officials, shaking hands with each on his way across the ramp to his aircraft.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT
ATHENS, GREECE

CARDL
TRIP
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MR. PRESIDENT -- I AM GREATLY HONORED TO HAVE YOU WELCOME ME HERE TODAY, AND TO SEE PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, I VISITED ATHENS ONCE BEFORE IN THE EARLY 1960'S AS A PRIVATE BUSINESSMAN. I COME NOW AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN THEIR LONGSTANDING TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE OF GREECE.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER WAS THE LAST U.S. PRESIDENT TO VISIT GREECE, IN DECEMBER OF 1959. THE WORLD WAS A VERY DIFFERENT PLACE THEN. TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WERE ESCALATING. THE RESOLVE OF THE ALLIANCE IN UPHOLDING THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WAS BEING TESTED. AND THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY IN MANY COUNTRIES WAS ALREADY EXTINGUISHED BY TOTALITARIAN RULE.

DURING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S VISIT, OUR TWO COUNTRIES REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE OBJECTIVES OF NATO. TO UNITE FOR THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND FOR PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY. TO DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND THE RULE OF LAW. THE ALLIANCE ROSE TO MEET EVERY CHALLENGE TO ITS MEMBERS AND ITS BELIEFS. IT HAS PROSPERED AND FLOURISHED. TOTALITARIANISM HAS BEEN ERODED BY ITS DEFEATS AND COLLAPSED UNDER ITS OWN UNSUSTAINABLE WEIGHT.

I HAVE JUST COME FROM THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT MEETING IN LONDON. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY HOLDS MORE PROMISE THAN EVER BEFORE. I SEE EVERY REASON FOR HOPE. EVERY REASON TO JOIN IN BUILDING A WORLD ORDER FOUNDED ON THOSE SAME TRIED AND TRUE ALLIANCE PRINCIPLES. AND ONE REASON I AM HERE TODAY IS TO DISCUSS THAT FUTURE WITH GREECE'S LEADERS.

I AM ALSO HERE TO AFFIRM AMERICA'S INTEREST IN A STRONG AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AND TO HONOR THE COUNTRY WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO DEMOCRACY IN THIS VERY CITY 2,500 YEARS AGO.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER WAS HERE IN A COLD WINTER OF THE COLD WAR. I AM FORTUNATE TO BE WITH YOU IN THE SUN-WASHED SUMMER OF GREECE AND A NEW AGE. PERHAPS YOUR OWN NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING POET GEORGE SEFERIS SAID IT BEST: "A LITTLE FARTHER -- WE WILL SEE ALMOND TREES BLOSSOMING -- THE MARBLE GLEAMING IN THE SUN -- THE SEA BREAKING INTO WAVES. A LITTLE FARTHER -- LET US RISE A LITTLE HIGHER."

LET US RISE TOGETHER. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT BUSH
TO THE GREEK PARLIAMENT

MR. SPEAKER:

I APPEAR BEFORE THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT WITH A GREAT SENSE OF HONOR.

THE LAST FOREIGN HEAD OF STATE WHO SPOKE TO THIS CHAMBER WAS THE GREAT FRENCH STATESMAN CHARLES DE GAULLE. AND FOUR YEARS BEFORE THAT, ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST BELOVED PRESIDENTS, DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF STANDING HERE.

GREEK DEMOCRACY, OF COURSE, HAS A SPECIAL STANDING IN THE WORLD. IN HIS DECEMBER 15, 1959 ADDRESS TO THIS ASSEMBLY, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER REMARKED: "IN THIS CITY OF ATHENS, MORE THAN A SCORE OF CENTURIES AGO, DEMOCRACY - IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND IN ITS PRACTICES - FIRST WON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF MEN. THIS HOUSE OF FREE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT SYMBOLIZES THE VIGOR OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN ITS ANCIENT BIRTHPLACE; DEMONSTRATES THAT THE WILL OF MEN TO BE FREE IS IMPERISHABLE."

ONE MAN WHO WAS ACTUALLY PRESENT ON THAT COLD WINTER MORNING TO HEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S WORDS IS ALSO HERE TODAY. HE IS A MAN WHO LED HIS PEOPLE THROUGH THE DANGERS AND CHALLENGES OF THOSE SAME YEARS. ONE WHO LATER RESTORED DEMOCRACY TO GREECE, AND THEN BROUGHT HIS COUNTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. THAT GREAT STATESMAN IS, OF COURSE, YOUR PRESIDENT, THEN PRIME MINISTER -- CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS.

(TURN TO ADDRESS KARAMANLIS) TO HONOR YOU, AND OUR FRIEND AND ALLY WHOSE PRESIDENT YOU ARE, I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOU TO WASHINGTON IN 1992. I HOPE YOU WILL ACCEPT, AND LOOK FORWARD TO RECEIVING YOU IN OUR CAPITAL.

PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM DURING PERILOUS TIMES. BUT THE U.S. AND GREECE HAVE A LONGSTANDING RECORD OF FIGHTING TOGETHER ON THE SIDE OF THOSE SACRED PRINCIPLES. WE HAVE SHARED A UNITY OF PURPOSE IN ALL OF THE MAJOR CONFLICTS IN THIS CENTURY. WORLD WAR I. WORLD WAR II. THE KOREAN WAR. WHILE ALL WERE TERRIBLE STRUGGLES, THE FORCES OF JUSTICE AND RIGHT TRIUMPHED EACH TIME.

WE WERE VICTORIOUS ONCE AGAIN OVER AGGRESSION WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN ATTEMPTED TO ANNEX HIS NEIGHBOR, KUWAIT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROSE UP TOGETHER TO DEFEAT THIS TYRANT. IT WAS AN AWESOME COLLECTIVE EFFORT. AND PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS RESPONDED JUST AS I EXPECTED HE WOULD. HE KNEW WHAT WAS AT STAKE. HE GAVE THE FULL, UNSTINTING SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO THAT NOBLE CAUSE. I HAVE TOLD HIM, BUT WISH NOW TO ALSO SAY TO ALL OF YOU HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATED GREECE'S HELP IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO MOVE US FORCES AND EQUIPMENT QUICKLY TO THE REGION. WE WILL REMEMBER THIS.

AS I STAND HERE NOW, I AM REMINDED OF THE GOALS WE SHARE AS PARTIES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF OUR PEOPLES. OF THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH THOSE GOALS REST -- THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW. SINCE 1949 THESE IDEAS HAVE GUIDED THE ALLIANCE IN STANDING FIRM AGAINST THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION AND TOTALITARIANISM. WE HAVE PERSEVERED. AND WE HAVE SUCCEEDED. THE WARSAW PACT IS NO MORE. GREECE IS NOT ONLY MORE SECURE, BUT WE ARE WITNESSING IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FREE MARKETS. FRAGILE IN SOME CASES BUT NURTURED BY THE LONG SUPPRESSED HOPES OF MILLIONS.

GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER FOR ALL THESE EPOCHAL CHANGES. WE WERE NATO PARTNERS. WE WERE GOOD FRIENDS. OUR WORK IS NOT FINISHED. WE MUST AND CAN MEET THE NEW CHALLENGES OF PEACE JUST AS WE DID THE OLD -- BY WORKING TOGETHER CLOSELY.

THE FACE OF EUROPE -- ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ITS STRUCTURES -- ARE CHANGING ALMOST DAILY. CHANGE REPRESENTS NEW OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES, AND HORIZONS FOR THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE. WE DISCUSSED MANY OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN LONDON FROM WHICH I HAVE JUST COME. I WANT TO MENTION A FEW OF WHAT SEEM TO ME TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS FROM THAT MEETING TO YOU NOW.

INSERT SUMMIT POINTS

WE ARE HEADING, I BELIEVE, TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER THAT HAS AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT A TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH STRETCHES FROM VANCOUVER TO VLADIVOSTOK. A COMMUNITY BASED ON THE CENTRAL VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC LIBERTY WHICH UNDERPIN DEMOCRATIC, FREE MARKET SOCIETIES. A COMMUNITY FREE AND AT PEACE.

GREECE HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NEW ORDER. MANY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS IN THE BALKANS ARE VALIANTLY STRUGGLING -- SOME FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER -- TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND TO RESTRUCTURE THEIR POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS.

BUT THERE IS YET MORE WHICH GREECE CAN DO. THE BALKANS HAVE BEEN AN HISTORICALLY TROUBLED REGION. AND NOW, RESURGENT ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM ONCE AGAIN THREATEN STABILITY AND PEACE. THESE FORCES UNDERMINE THE ONGOING ATTEMPTS TO NURTURE STILL INFANT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. WE LOOK TO GREECE TO SERVE AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY IN THE BALKAN REGION.

I HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ABILITY OF STATES IN THE NEW TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH IS UNFOLDING BEFORE US TO PUT OLD ENMITIES BEHIND THEM. THE UNITED STATES ENJOYS GREATLY IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE ALLIANCE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED A TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE. GERMANS HAVE SET ASIDE THE BITTER DIVISIONS OF THE COLD WAR YEARS AND REUNITED THEIR COUNTRY. GERMANY AND POLAND HAVE AGREED ON THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR BORDER. THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES HAVE EXPRESSED A STRONG INTEREST IN AFFILIATION WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE ARE WITNESSES TO ONE OF THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES FOR THE GOOD THAT MODERN MAN HAS EVER SEEN.

TOMORROW I WILL TRAVEL TO CRETE. WHILE THERE, I WILL LAY A WREATH AT THE TOMB OF ONE OF GREECE'S GREAT MODERN STATESMEN -- ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS. I WILL STOP THERE TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF HIS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF 1930 -- THE TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE WITH TURKEY. THIS HISTORIC MILESTONE WAS ACHIEVED

BECAUSE VENIZELOS' VISION OF THE FUTURE WAS SHARED BY THE FOUNDER OF MODERN TURKEY -- KEMAL ATATURK. THEIR PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP, AND THE PEACE THEY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, REMAIN AS PROUD LEGACIES TODAY.

IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF 1930 MAY TODAY INSPIRE THESE TWO GREAT COUNTRIES, BOTH VALUED FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES, TO INVOKE THAT SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES SHARE THE ASPIRATION FOR SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD. IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT THROUGHOUT EUROPE. YOU HAVE MY EVERY WISH FOR SUCCESS.

IN THIS CONTEXT I ALSO SHOULD BRIEFLY MENTION CYPRUS. WE ARE ACTIVELY WORKING TO SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL IN HIS GOOD OFFICES MISSION. ALL INTERESTED PARTIES MUST ACCEPT THAT COMPROMISE AND GOOD-WILL ARE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS OF ANY SOLUTION. AND ANY SOLUTION MUST, OF COURSE, PROVIDE FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. SUCH A SOLUTION NEEDS TO BE FOUND SOON AND CAN BE. WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP, BUT IN THE END, THE SOLUTION MUST BE NEGOTIATED BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

THESE ISSUES ARE AMONG THE ONES WHICH I EXPECT TO DISCUSS WITH PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS WHEN WE MEET LATER TODAY. I WAS

PLEASED TO MEET HIM IN WASHINGTON WHEN HE VISITED THERE IN JUNE 1990. SINCE THAT TIME WE HAVE DEVELOPED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP, EXCHANGING IDEAS OVER THE PHONE AND BY LETTER. I LOOK FORWARD TO RENEWING OUR PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCESHIP IN ATHENS, AND WHEN I VISIT HIS HOME IN CHANIA. I WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN HIS HOSPITALITY WHEN HE VISITS WASHINGTON THIS FALL FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT.

I BELIEVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. WE ENJOY GOOD COMMUNICATION, EXCELLENT COOPERATION, AND MUTUAL TRUST. PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH US TO FIND WAYS OF IMPROVING EVEN FURTHER THE MUTUAL RESPECT AND BENEFIT WHICH CHARACTERIZES OUR RELATIONSHIP.

OF COURSE, PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND I HAVE HAD MANY ADVANTAGES IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES. AMERICANS OF GREEK DESCENT ARE AN ACTIVE ETHNIC GROUP IN THE PLURALISTIC MELTING-POT WHICH IS AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE ALSO HAVE OUR PARTNERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE. FINALLY, WE SHARE A COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE OUR SOCIETIES AND GOVERNMENTS, AND A DESIRE TO SEE THESE PROSPER AND FLOURISH THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

WE OWE YOUR ANCESTORS A GREAT DEBT. THEIR CONCEPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES HAVE SHOWN AS A LIGHT WHICH WAS NEVER EXTINGUISHED, EVEN DURING THE DARKEST MOMENTS OF HUMAN HISTORY. GREECE WILL BE CELEBRATING THE 2500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES IN ATHENS THIS FALL. FREE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE WILL WISH YOU WELL IN THIS. FOR WE ALL ENJOY THE LEGACY YOUR ANCIENT FORBEARERS LEFT AS A GIFT FOR ALL MANKIND.

BUT GREECE TODAY IS NOT A SIMPLE REFLECTION OF ITS PAST. IT IS A VIBRANT SOCIETY WITH A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS EXPANDING ITS DIPLOMACY AND ITS INTERESTS. WE WELCOME THAT PROCESS AND LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOU TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER THE TIES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. MAY THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES NOURISH RELATIONS BETWEEN US. AND MAY OUR COMMON DEVOTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND MARKET ECONOMIES HASTEN THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY WHERE FREE MEN DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

WE HAVE MUCH TO ACCOMPLISH. LET US NOT DELAY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SOUDA BAY, CRETE

PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS, CAPTAIN AND CREWS OF THE LEMNOS AND
USS _____, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

I CAN'T IMAGINE A MORE GLORIOUS SETTING FOR HONORING THE
SERVICEMEN -- AND WOMEN -- OF GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES THAN
THIS MAGNIFICENT HARBOR. I WAS, AS SOME OF YOU KNOW, A NAVAL
PILOT DURING WWII. IT IS THEREFORE ALWAYS A SPECIAL PLEASURE
FOR ME TO VISIT A U.S. NAVY SHIP. I ALSO WANT TO THANK THE
GREEK NAVY, AND IN PARTICULAR ADMIRAL LAGARAS, FOR MAKING IT
POSSIBLE FOR ME TO PAY MY FIRST VISIT TO A GREEK NAVAL VESSEL.

THE PRESENCE OF THE LEMNOS CALLS TO MIND THE RECENT VICTORY OF
THE COALITION FORCES OVER THE BLATANT AGGRESSION OF SADDAM
HUSSEIN. HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROSE TO DEFEAT THAT
TYRANT. THIS VESSEL'S PARTICIPATION IN THAT GREAT ENDEAVOR IS
TRIBUTE TO GREECE'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS
WHICH INEVITABLY PREVAILED OVER SADDAM. OFFICERS AND CREW OF
THE LEMNOS AND YOUR SISTER SHIP IN THE GULF EFFORT, THE ELLI,
-- I SALUTE YOU.

THE BOW-TO-BOW MOORING OF THESE TWO SHIPS SYMBOLIZES, FOR ME,
THE CLOSENESS OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONS. THE BILATERAL
SECURITY RELATIONSHIP BENEFITS BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THAT
RELATIONSHIP -- IN CONCRETE TERMS -- IS NOW BASED ON THE

1990 MUTUAL DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT. THAT AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR USE OF OUR FACILITY AT THIS SPLENDID BAY, AND OF OUR COMMUNICATIONS STATION AT IRAKLION.

FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE A COMMITMENT TO GREECE TO ASSIST IN MODERNIZING YOUR MILITARY FORCES. LET ME SAY THAT WE FULLY INTEND TO ABIDE BY THAT PLEDGE. GREECE'S ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF AND CARRY OUT ITS NATO ROLE ARE IMPORTANT TO US. PART OF THAT COMMITMENT IS FULFILLED THROUGH PROVISION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THESE FUNDS HELP YOU PURCHASE U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT. (THE GREEK GOVERNMENT RECENTLY ANNOUNCED THAT IT INTENDED TO PURCHASE 20 ADDITIONAL F-16 AIRCRAFT. IT WILL PAY FOR THOSE AIRCRAFT BY DRAWING ON OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FUNDS. I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER EXAMPLE THAN THIS OF THE VITALITY OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.) THIS, AND OTHER LIKE SALES, ARE PROOF POSITIVE OF THE DYNAMISM OF OUR BILATERAL SECURITY TIES.

U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TAKES SEVERAL FORMS. THE TRANSFER OF EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES HAS BEEN ANOTHER IMPORTANT WAY THAT WE HAVE TRIED TO ASSIST WITH THE MODERNIZATION OF YOUR MILITARY. SINCE OUR FISCAL YEAR 1990, WE HAVE TRANSFERRED EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES VALUED AT OVER \$81 MILLION FOR USE BY YOUR MILITARY SERVICES. THIS PROGRAM IS A KEY COMPONENT OF OUR OVERALL

ASSISTANCE PACKAGE. AND I HAVE SOME NEWS WHICH I THINK GEN. STATHIAS WILL BE HAPPY TO HEAR. I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACCELERATE THE DELIVERY SOME OF THE 28F-4E AIRCRAFT YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO RECEIVE UNDER THIS PROGRAM. TEN WILL NOW BE AVAILABLE ON JULY ?.

AS FOR THE NAVY, YOU ALREADY KNEW, OF COURSE, THAT WE WILL BE LEASING YOU FOUR CHARLES F. ADAMS-CLASS DESTROYERS. WE HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME OF YOUR STRONG INTEREST IN OBTAINING FRIGATES. OUR OWN NAVY, ESPECIALLY DURING DESERT STORM, NEEDED THOSE FRIGATES AND NONE WERE AVAILABLE FOR LEASE. AS AN EX-NAVY MAN, I TAKE PARTICULAR PRIDE IN INFORMING YOU THAT WE ARE NOW ABLE TO LEASE YOU THREE KNOX-CLASS FRIGATES. I BELIEVE ADMIRAL LAGARAS WILL AGREE THAT THESE VESSELS WILL GREATLY ENHANCE THE GREEK NAVY'S ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE CAPABILITIES. I KNOW YOU WILL USE THEM WELL IN CARRYING OUT (YOUR ALLIANCE MARITIME ROLE.)

OUR SECURITY TIES ARE STRONG. THEY ARE HEALTHY. AS WE LOOK TOWARD THE FUTURE, I SEE SECURITY COOPERATION CONTINUING TO REFLECT THE CLOSENESS OF RECENT YEARS. I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHARES THIS VIEW. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT AND UNDERSTANDING.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON
THE ACROPOLIS

I WISH THAT EVERYONE COULD VISIT THIS ANCIENT PLACE BY GREECE'S
FABLED MORNING LIGHT. CENTURIES AFTER ITS CONSTRUCTION, THE
PARTHENON REMAINS THE UNIVERSALLY-RECOGNIZED SYMBOL OF ONE OF
THE PROUDEST PERIODS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

ATHENS WILL CELEBRATE THIS AUTUMN THE TWO THOUSAND FIVE
HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ITS DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS. THIS WILL BE AN HISTORIC OCCASION FOR THE
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE TODAY WHO ENJOY THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES
GUARANTEED BY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

ARISTOTLE, IN HIS POLITICS, WROTE, "DEMOCRACY AROSE FROM MEN'S
THINKING THAT IF THEY ARE EQUAL IN ANY RESPECT, THEY ARE EQUAL
ABSOLUTELY." THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE'S ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS ON
THE GREAT THINKERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT DIRECTLY AFFECTED THE
BELIEFS OF OUR FOUNDING FATHERS. OUR CONSTITUTION RESTS ON THE
FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES FIRST ESTABLISHED HERE.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, GREAT POPULIST AND THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES WROTE, "IT IS AN AXIOM IN MY MIND THAT OUR
LIBERTY CAN NEVER BE SAFE BUT IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE
THEMSELVES." LET US CHERISH OUR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. AND MAY
DEMOCRACY PROSPER HERE IN ITS FIRST HOME -- AND AROUND THE
GLOBE.

FACT CHECK COPY

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Draft one in P2: 01

July 10, 1991

BRIEF REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST
ATHENS, GREECE
THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1991

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Thank you, Mr. President, for that warm welcome and those very kind words. I cannot tell you how happy I am to return to Greece, a land "at the crossroads" -- at the point where Europe, Africa and the East converge, and a time in which ancient principles, the medieval challenges, and the modern aspirations meet.

At the center of these three roads lies Greece, "the cradle of democracy." Some 25 centuries ago, the democratic idea was born here in Athens. You kept the idea alive and inspired our founding fathers to begin the American experiment. And while this year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, you celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of the democratic government.

Mr. President, we speak often of democratic principles, individual liberties and the rule of law. Together, we have stood strong so that democracy would survive in Europe. Greece was the first country to repel fascism when you fought Mussolini's army in 1940. And you were also the first to stop Soviet expansionism in Europe after World War II.

Now, our North Atlantic Alliance supports those same guiding principles, principles that inspire nations all around the world.

Today, the human spirit vanquishes the evils of totalitarianism. The spark of freedom ignites the fires of the soul in virtually every corner of Europe.

You, Mr. President, have played a tremendously important role in preserving the flame of democracy. Many world leaders have served within democratic governments -- but only a gallant few have risen to the call of reversing autocracy and restoring democratic principles to government and society.

You are a beacon in that small, very distinguished group: You fought oppression in the Second World War. You fought communism afterward. And you helped restore democracy to Greece in 1974. Your success in this profound endeavor was a victory for Greece and for the world.

P. 81:2
Barlett's

It was an Athenian, Thucydides, who wrote that "the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding ~~X~~ go out and meet it." Twice Prime Minister of Greece, and now twice President, you inspire the people of Greece, the people of the United States, and free men and women everywhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast ... to the good fortune of President Karamanlis, to the many times throughout history our two countries have inspired and supported each other, and to the deep friendship between our peoples. May God bless us all.

#

RETURN TOAST TO KARAMANLIS
STATE DINNER -- JULY 18

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, FOR THAT WARM WELCOME AND THOSE KIND WORDS. I CANNOT TELL YOU HOW PLEASED I AM TO BE IN GREECE ONCE AGAIN AFTER SO LONG A TIME.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE OFTEN SPEAK OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIBERTIES AND THE RULE OF LAW. THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS GROUNDED ON RECOGNITION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES. MANY OTHER COUNTRIES LONG AGO BASED THEIR GOVERNMENTS ON THESE IDEAS. AND WE ARE NOW WITNESSING THE TRIUMPH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT OVER TOTALITARIANISM AS THE SPARK OF DEMOCRACY FLICKERS AND CATCHES IN VIRTUALLY EVERY CORNER OF EUROPE.

WITH THE REFORMS OF CLEISTHENES, SOME 2,500 YEARS AGO, DEMOCRACY WAS FIRST BORN HERE IN ATHENS. GREECE WILL BE CELEBRATING THAT SEMINAL OCCASION THIS FALL, AND I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS AND CONGRATULATIONS.

YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, HAVE PLAYED A TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN PRESERVING THE FLAME OF DEMOCRACY. IT WAS YOU WHO RESTORED DEMOCRACY TO GREECE IN 1974. MANY WORLD LEADERS HAVE WORKED WITHIN AN OPERATING DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. BUT ONLY A GALLANT FEW HAVE FACED THE CHALLENGE OF REVERSING AUTOCRACY AND RETURNING

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES TO GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. YOU ARE A BEACON IN THAT SMALL, VERY DISTINGUISHED GROUP. YOUR SUCCESS IN THIS PROFOUND ENDEAVOR WAS A VICTORY FOR GREECE AND FOR US ALL.

TWICE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE, AND NOW TWICE PRESIDENT YOU ARE AN INSPIRATION NOT ONLY TO YOUR PEOPLE, BUT TO ME AND MANY OTHERS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I ASK YOU TO RISE AND JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS, TO THE ENDURING TIES OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE HELLENIC REPUBLIC, AND TO THE IDEALS FOR WHICH WHICH WE STAND. LONG MAY THEY PROSPER.



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JUNE 6, 1990, WEDNESDAY

SECTION: FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

LENGTH: 997 words

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS WITH
PRIME MINISTER CONSTANTINE MITSOTAKIS OF GREECE
THE WHITE HOUSE DRIVEWAY
WASHINGTON, DC

KEYWORD:

WH DRIVEWAY/MITSOTAKIS 06/06/90

BODY:

PRIME MINISTER MISOTAKIS: (In English.) I have to make a statement in the beginning, and then I would answer to questions in Greek.
It is deeply significant to me that President Bush and I have met on June 6th, D-Day, a date no European can forget. It is an annual reminder to us of how much America contributed to the defeat of fascism and later to helping us rebuild our countries. This has a special significance to me personally, because I was twice sentenced to death by the Nazis for participating in the Greek Resistance Movement.
Small as Greece is, however it can share your country's pride in helping democracy survive in Europe. Greece was the first country to dramatize to the world that fascism was not invincible when we decisively brought back Mussolini's much larger army of invaders in 1940. We were also the first to stop Soviet expansionism in Europe after World War II, an effort that never [would] have succeeded without American support.
Visiting Washington and speaking to President Bush on this historic day, was forcefully reminded to me how many bonds join our two countries. Your founding fathers took inspiration from the ancient Greek example of democracy and representative government. The Greek-inspired architecture of your government buildings and this beautiful city are physical reminders on that fact. And the cordiality and hospitality that I received today from President Bush reminded me of the many times throughout history our two countries have served as inspiration and support for each other.
I hope that two days' meeting is just one of many that will revitalize and strengthen the historic bonds between us.

Q (In Greek.)

Q [May we have] the question translated, please, too.

INTERPRETER: What was the main issue of your talks with Mr. Bush?

(At this point, the Prime Minster begins speaking through an interpreter.)

PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS: We reviewed mainly bilateral relations but general issues also.

We reviewed the problems of our region, attributing particular significance to the Cyprus issue.

We spoke of the two issues that interest both sides very much, namely, narcotics and terrorism.

On behalf of the President of the Greek Republic, Mr. Karamanlis, I officially invited President Bush to visit Greece, which he gladly



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accepted. And Mr. Bush, in his turn, invited me to visit officially Washington in the near future. I believe this was a very useful meeting which inaugurates a new period of relations between the two countries.

Q Mr. Prime Minister, did you ask him to pressure Turkey to withdraw some troops from Cyprus?

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: I asked him to use all his influence in order to help settle the Cyprus issue. And I told him that presently we are at a dead end, and some gesture acting like a catalyst should be made from the Turkish side.

Q The President requested the extradition of Mohammed Rasheed. Did you give the President assurance that he will be extradited, and if yes, when?

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: I said to the President that the matter is of interest to us, we're looking into it, and that we will decide before September.

Q (In Greek.)

Q Translation?

INTERPRETER: The representative -- the spokesman --

Q Fitzwater.

INTERPRETER: -- Fitzwater excluded the eventuality of an initiative from the American side for the Cyprus issue, and said that this is a matter to be settled between the United Nations.

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: I can't comment on a statement that I haven't heard.

What I can say though is that we all mean that we want a solution to be implemented within the framework of the procedure of the United Nations, a solution to be found within that procedure. However, since we have reached a dead end, this initiative should be further assisted. And I believe that the United States can play a very important role in this direction.

Q Did President Bush make any commitments towards that end?

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: I think that he was highly interested in the matter, and I really believe that it is to the interest of all parties to find a settlement of the Cyprus issue. It is definitely to the interest of Greece, it is for the benefit of NATO, for the benefit of the US, but mainly it's beneficial to Turkey to find a settlement.

Q Mr. Prime Minister, under the previous government, the United States was not convinced that Greece was doing all it could to fight terrorism. Have you today convinced President Bush that you will stand arm in arm with him against terrorists?

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: I don't want to comment on what previous governments did. I think I was pretty convincing when I told the President that, both as a human being and as a politician, I'll do my very best to combat terrorism.

Q Did you talk about the summit talks between President Bush and President Gorbachev? And if so, did you have any views -- did you exchange any views on what the new role of Greece is going to be in view of the developments occurring in the Eastern part of Europe more particularly?

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: Yes, we spoke about the last summit. We talked also about German unification and the participation of the unified Germany in NATO. More particularly, we discussed the developments in the Balkans. We discussed also developments in the Eastern European countries, in the Soviet Union. And I'm convinced that Greece can play an important role in our region, that is, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, as a member of united Europe but also as a friendly and allied country of the United States.

Q (In Greek.)

INTERPRETER (after the Prime Minister answers): It was on Cyprus again -- the question, and the Prime Minister answered that it was made clear that President Bush is interested in promoting a solution.

Q (In Greek.)

PRIME MIN. MITSOTAKIS: The climate was very good -- the ambience. And I think



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there will be real results for this meeting.

Q Thank you.

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choose the time and place for applying the relatively small but excellent forces of the Greek congress.

The first decision, to hold the narrow Vale of Tempe between Macedonia and Thessaly, was abandoned when it was realized that the position could easily be turned. On news of this the Athenians voted, on the proposal of Themistocles, to entrust themselves to "the wooden wall" of their ships in accordance with an utterance of the Delphic oracle, and plans were made for evacuating the noncombatants. Next the Greeks occupied the still narrower pass of Thermopylae with 6,000 or 7,000 hoplites and stationed 271 ships at Artemisium in northern Euboea. The positions were linked by communication between the Spartan commanders, King Leonidas at Thermopylae and Eurybiades at Artemisium, who intended to halt and damage the Persian forces. Meanwhile, Xerxes was advancing slowly. He made no use of separate columns, and his fleet suffered heavy losses in a storm when it was conveying supply ships along the coast. It was already August when Xerxes began the operations, which extended over three days.

On the first day he sent a detachment of 200 ships, unseen by the Greeks, to sail round Euboea and close the narrows of the Euboean Channel; and he also attacked with his best infantry at Thermopylae, where the Greeks inflicted heavy casualties. During the afternoon the Greek fleet, having learned about the Persian detachment from a deserter, engaged the main Persian fleet with some success. The Greeks intended to sail south that night and destroy the detachment next day, but a tremendous storm kept the Greeks at Artemisium and wrecked the 200 Persian ships off south Euboea. On the second day news of the Persian disaster was brought up by a reinforcing squadron of 53 Athenian ships. Xerxes attacked again with no success at Thermopylae, and the Greeks sank some Cilician vessels off Artemisium. That evening a Greek traitor, Ephialtes, offered to guide the Persians along a mountain path and turn the position at Thermopylae. The Persians' best infantry, called the "Immortals," were entrusted to him. At dawn on the third day they began to descend toward the plain behind the Greek position. Leonidas retained the troops of Sparta, Thespians, and Thebes and sent the remainder south. He then advanced. Except for the Thebans, who surrendered, he and his men fought to the death. Meanwhile the Persian fleet attacked at noon. Both sides suffered heavy losses and the Greeks realized that they could only succeed in narrower waters. That evening, when the fall of Thermopylae was known, the Greek fleet withdrew down the Euboean Channel and took station in the narrow Strait of Salamis.

In September, Xerxes, joined by many Greeks north of Attica, burned Athens. The city was almost deserted, for the evacuation had been completed. The Greek congress decided to fortify the isthmus and keep the fleet forward at Salamis. This decision caused dissension among the ship captains. Many wished to retire to the Argolic Gulf. As a stratagem, Themistocles informed Xerxes of their desire; Xerxes, who saw the end of the campaigning season close at hand, sent 200 ships that night to cut the Greek line of retreat and posted the main fleet, numbering probably 1,207 ships, off the eastern exit of the Straits of Salamis. During the night the Greeks learned of his dispositions and intentions. Putting to sea at dawn they feigned a retreat, actually sending a detachment northward to look out for the 200 Persian ships, and their manoeuvres led the enemy to advance incautiously into the narrow waters where superior numbers were of little effect. Within the narrows the Greek ships, stoutly built for ramming, had room to manoeuvre against the congested stream of Persian ships, which, designed for boarding tactics, proved less handy under oar and fell foul of one another. The result was a complete triumph for Greek seamanship. The Persians fled in confusion. Soon afterward their fleet, still superior in numbers but not in morale, set sail for Asia.

That winter, while Xerxes departed to Asia, a large

contingent, by skilful diplomacy he drew the Greeks toward in the summer of 479 to the northern foothills of Mt. Cithaeron near Plataea, where difficulties of supply forced the Greek army of 110,000 men to withdraw during the night. The withdrawal was disorderly and dawn found the army scattered. Mardonius at once attacked a group of 11,500 Spartan and Tegean hoplites who had halted on hilly ground. Their commander, Pausanias, undismayed by the swarms of Persian infantry, led his men downhill in close formation, charged at the double, and overwhelmed the enemy. When the Athenians came up after defeating the Thebans, the Greeks stormed the camp and the survivors of the Persian army fled. Meanwhile, the Greek fleet had passed to the offensive at Mycale on the Asiatic coast opposite Samos. The Persians refused battle, beached their ships, and joined a large supporting army, but the Spartan king Leotychidas landed his men farther north and attacked with complete success. The victories of Plataea and Mycale ended the Persian invasion.

Greek offensive (478-448 BC). The Greek triumph was due to Spartan leadership, Athenian loyalty, and Greek fighting power. The Spartans, however, had no desire to campaign in Asia, whereas the Athenians were ready to deploy their fleet in support of the Ionians. Hence arose the Delian League, formed by Athens as executive leader and by many Greek states on the islands and Asiatic coast, to defend Greek liberty and exact retribution from Persia. A series of successful operations culminated c. 466 in victory at the Eurymedon River in Pamphylia, where an allied force of 300 ships defeated a Persian army and navy. In 460 the Athenians and their allies supported Egypt in a successful revolt. But the Persian army returned to the attack; Egypt made a separate peace, and the Greeks, overconfident in their sea power, were trapped on the Nile and annihilated in 454. By this time the Athenians were at war with Sparta, but a truce on the Greek mainland enabled them to launch successful attacks on Cyprus in 450-449. A treaty of peace was concluded, probably in 448, by the Athenians, their allies, and Artaxerxes I of Persia that recognized the liberty of the Greek states in Europe and Asia and kept the Persian fleet out of the Aegean Sea.

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(N.G.L.H.)

Greece

A constitutional monarchy until 1974—though the reigning monarch fled the country in 1967 as part of a series of events that continues to mold the nation—Greece is a European republic stretching across the tip of the Balkan Peninsula from the Ionian Sea to the Aegean and including islands in both seas. Its area—50,960 square miles (131,986 square kilometres)—is about that of Czechoslovakia or North Korea, and its neighbours (clockwise from the northwest) are Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey; its insular possessions stretch as far south as the major Mediterranean island of Crete (Kriti). Its capital is Athens (Athína).

Plataea
and
Mycale

Thermopylae

There is about Greece a vitality, all too often undisciplined, that makes many another European country seem tame, even dull, by comparison. This is evident immediately on sailing into a Greek port or crossing a Greek border: sounds, smells, movements, colours—the very tempo of things—conspire to heighten sensibilities and intensify expectations. But alongside all this is the serene coolness, even aloofness, of what remains in Greece from classical antiquity, the visible monuments of which constantly stand as a challenge to (if not even a rebuke of) contemporary endeavours.

The vitality of Greece and Greeks can be said to stem from the heady mixture over centuries of many peoples and ways of life. That land, now the home of about 9,000,000 persons, has long been “at the crossroads”—at that place in the Balkans where “three roads meet,” where Europe, Africa, and the East converge, and at that point in time where the ancient, the medieval, and the modern coexist and conflict. The Greek is familiar with the Middle East: his language and food, to say nothing of his religion and history, are marked by exotic and even oppressive elements from Turkey, the Holy Land, Egypt, and beyond. But he is familiar as well with the more sober West, with the Europe to which the young go for training and for work, with the Americas and Australia to which so many have gone for a new home. Greeks, like the Jews whom they resemble in so many ways, have long been able to adjust themselves as merchants in many climes and to many ways of life. But, also like the Jews, they have preserved in their heart of hearts a vital memory of the homeland to which they yearn to return.

This homeland is as much a state of mind as it is a place to be found on maps. The yearning to “return,” then, is almost as strong among those who have never left Greek soil as among those who find themselves abroad. Perhaps it is a yearning to attain that which has never been but which has always been aspired to. It is a yearning evident in the melancholy of Greek music, the nostalgia that can be heard even in the lively tunes and ballads sung on festive occasions. It is a yearning that can be heard as well in interminable conversations, especially those with which Greeks refresh themselves through the long cool nights that follow blistering summer days. And it is a yearning that can be seen in the faces and deeds of the Greeks, a yearning that makes it impossible for them “to leave well enough alone.” A perpetual restlessness, much like that which was said to characterize the political life of ancient Athens, is evident, a restlessness that can continue subterraneanly despite surface conformity to the tyranny of the moment.

Indeed, there have been many tyrannies in Greece, tyrannies that are as much a part of the much-discussed “Greek experience” as (if not even the most frequent result of) their volatile democracies. Perhaps, it might even be said, memories of tyrannies remind Greeks of the unpredictability of human things, of the disaster that can follow upon prosperity, of the trials that even the most successful encounter from time to time. Life can be expected to be as hard, as unyielding, and as toughening as the soil and the sea from which Greeks have for centuries wrested their livelihood. But it can also be as enriching and as exciting as the landscape and the light for which Greece has always been celebrated and that can be seen, if not at this moment or place, then surely in a little while or down the road a few kilometres.

The following article surveys contemporary Greece. Additional information may be found in the articles on AEGEAN CIVILIZATIONS; AEGEAN SEA; ATHENS; BALKANS, HISTORY OF THE; BYZANTINE EMPIRE; CRETE; GREEK CIVILIZATION, ANCIENT; and the appropriate sections of VISUAL ARTS, WESTERN, and LITERATURE, WESTERN.

THE LAND

Topography. The Greek landscape is conspicuous not only for its beauty but also for its complexity and its variety. The dominant influence—as noted by Strabo, the great geographer of classical antiquity, and confirmed by a glance at the map—is the sea. An ever-present factor, the sea presses deep into the land in a host of arms

and inlets, which are often separated by the rocky spines of peninsulas that thrust back into the sea and are continued in the arcs and clusters of beautiful islands across its surface. Only a small, wedge-shaped portion of the interior of modern Greece is more than 50 miles from the sea. Mountains are the second major element in Greek topography. They cover about three-quarters of the country's surface, forming a ribbed, interlaced network, trending generally from northwest to southeast, and enclosing numerous small basins. The basins—together with narrow valleys, small plains (spreading more extensively about river mouths), and a thin, broken coastal strip—form the third element in the relief, the lowland.

In their combination and interaction, these three elements have been of immense significance in shaping national development: the rich soils of the basins nurtured agriculture and the first stirrings of civilization, but the mountains (while often serving as a barrier against invaders) constricted this social development to small, fiercely independent areas and impeded communications between them. The sea—as both history and the ancient stories attest—made for contact between the separate communities and stimulated contacts farther afield, although it also exposed the coastal regions to external attack. For the geographer these three elements, in local combination, are a convenient basis for a division of the contemporary Greek landscape into six natural regions.

The Pindus Mountains. The core region in Greek topography is unquestionably the rugged Pindus Mountains (Píndhos Óros) area of the northwest interior. Following the general northwest-southeast trend of the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula, the Pindus sweep down in a series of rugged, roughly parallel ridges from the Albanian and Yugoslavian frontier and are structurally a part of the Dinaric mountain system of those countries. This system of young fold mountains was created relatively late in geological time, and earthquakes continue to afflict the region as the mountain structures settle down. The highest point in this region is Smólikas Óros (*óros*, plural *óri*, “mountain”), 8,651 feet (2,637 metres) high. The mountain scenery, with jagged granitic peaks, wild gorges, and a succession of magnificent views glimpsed from winding roads, is justly famed.

Macedonia and Thrace. A number of topographic regions surround this mountainous core and are often penetrated by extensions of it. The northernmost division, roughly the regions of Macedonia and Thrace (Thráki), extends in a long, narrow east-west band between the north Aegean coast and the frontier with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. It is bounded on the east by the Maritsa River (Évros Potamós; *potamós*, “river”), which marks the Turkish frontier, and consists of hills and forest-clad mountains interpenetrated by valleys, river basins, and alluvial plains. Along the Bulgarian border and beyond it rise the ancient crystalline rock structures of the Rhodope Mountains (Rodhópi Óri), against which the newer mountains of the Pindus were crushed during their formation. In the west, the three-pronged peninsula of Khalkidhikí (Chalcidice) forms a distinctive feature as it thrusts out into the Aegean. On the easternmost prong, Áyion Óros (Holy Mountain), is located Mt. Áthos, the site of the famous monastic community.

The peninsula is separated from the rest of the coastal region by a fault line of structural weakness, marked by the lakes Korónia and Vólvi. Just to the west extends a large plain drained by the Vardar (Axiós) and Aliákmon rivers, whose swampy deltas are slowly pushing out into the nearby Thermaikós Kólpas (*kólpas*, “gulf”). The forested Vérmion Óros and, beyond it, the barren inland basins around lakes Vegorritís and Kastorías mark the boundary with the Pindus proper. Farther east is a succession of plains, often swampy: that of Sérrai, around the lower Néstos (Strimón), and the deltaic plain of the lower Néstos are most significant. Inland basins of structural origin include that of the Pedhiás Drámas.

Central Greece. Central Greece lies to the south of Macedonia and Thrace and is lent character by four spurs that thrust out from the main Pindus mass, following the northwest-southeast trend of that region. A number of

The three elements in the topography

the Pindus Mountains and its regional context

The Khalkidhiki peninsula and Mt. Athos

The crossroads

The three elements in the topography

Mt. Parnassus and its regional context

The Kikladii peninsula and Mt. Áthos

volume of the Pindus along the coast of the Isthmian Kólpos and continues south to form the peninsula bounding one side of the Órmos Vólou (órmos, "bay"). One of its peaks is Mt. Olympus (Óros Ólimbos)—the mythical seat of the gods, whose often cloud-topped summit rises to 9,570 feet (2,917 metres), the highest point in Greece—and also the equally fine peaks of Óssa and Pílion (Pelion). The next spur on the west is the Óros Óthris range, which continues across the narrow Dhiávlos Oreón (Oreón Channel) in the northern sector of the long, narrow island of Évvoia (Euboea). Between the two spurs lie the ancient basins (formerly the site of lakes) of Thessalía (Thessaly), Tríkkala (Trikala), and Lárissa, drained by the Piniós. Just to their south, the basin of Almirós, of similar origin, lies around the Órmos Vólou.

To the southwest, the third spur leaving the Pindus is that of the Oíti, continued in the Ókhi Óros of southern Évvoia. Just before the Oíti reaches the sea, near the head of the Maliakós Kólpos, lies the pass of Thermopylae (Thermopíli), scene of the famous battle of antiquity. The last (and perhaps the most important) of the four spurs thrusting down into central Greece is that curving away to the southeast through the twin-peaked mass of Mt. Parnassus (Parnassós). This mountain rises to 8,061 feet (2,457 metres) and was held to be the home of the muses. The view from its summit at sunrise, with a broad expanse of the heart of Greece gradually unfolding, is regarded as one of the finest in the world. The range continues as the backbone of the peninsula lying between the Vórios Evvoikós Kólpos and the Gulf of Corinth (Korinthiakós Kólpos), and it reaches as far as Páris Óros, just to the north of Athens. To its north lie the plains of Fokis (Phocis) and Voiotía (Boeotia) and around its southern tip lie the depressions of Attica (Attikí), hotter and more arid but with a strategic importance that helps to explain the rise of Athens.

The Pelopónnisos. The entire southern portion of mainland Greece forms a peninsula lying to the south of the Gulf of Corinth. Technically, this region, the Pelopónnisos, or Peloponnese, also known as the Morea, is now an island, for the 3.9-mile (6.3-kilometre) Dhiórix Korinthou (Corinth Canal) cuts across the narrow neck of land formerly separating the Gulf of Corinth from that of Aiyina (Aegina). The Pelopónnisos consists of an oval-shaped mass with mountains rising to 7,800 feet and four peninsular prongs pushing out southward toward Crete. The limestone mass of the plateau of Arkadhía (Arcadia), where streams disappear underground in the soluble rocks, forms the heart of this mass, with the barren land of Taíyotos Óros (rising 7,897 feet, or 2,407 metres) extending southward to form the backbone of one of the subsidiary peninsulas. This mountainous core is surrounded by a thin fringe of fertile coastal plain in the north and west and by the larger alluvial depressions of Lakonía (Laconia), Messiniá (Messenia), and Árgos, which head the inlets between the peninsulas to the south. The coast is indented and offers some fine harbours, and the whole region is noted for its wild beauty.

The western uplands and islands. The western side of the Greek mainland north of the Gulf of Corinth to the Albanian frontier and the offshore islands (the Ionian Islands; Iónioi (Nísioi)) possess their own distinctive topography and regional character. This effect has been enhanced by the fact that the mountainous barrier of the Pindus lying inland and the ameliorating climatic influences from the west have led to historic isolation from the rest of Greece. Fertile basins are not as well developed as in some other parts of Greece because they are constricted by the parallel ranges of coastal mountains, but the mountain regions themselves, being adequately supplied with rainfall, are not so barren as elsewhere. Kérkira (Corfu), the island lying opposite the Albanian frontier, is the northernmost of the seven major Ionian Islands. It is fertile and well watered. The other islands, Paxoi (Paxos), Levkás (Leucas), Skorpíós, Itháki (Ithaca), Kefalliniá (Cephalonia), and Zákynthos (Zacynthus), lie farther south. Lack of rainfall accentuates their gaunt, broken

The Aegean Islands (Nísioi Aiyáíou). Just as ridgelike extensions of the Pindus interpenetrate the basins and coastal plains of mainland Greece, island groups, which are often further extensions of the same mountain chains, form distinct regional clusters in the Aegean Sea. In the northeast, the island region forms the most extensive—and, visually, perhaps the most attractive—of the physiographic divisions of Greece. In the north, off Thrace (Thráki), lie Thásos (an oval block of ancient mineral rocks similar in composition to neighbouring blocks on the mainland) and harbourless Samothráki (Samothrace), an island of volcanic origin. Límnos, situated midway between Asia Minor and Aiyón Óros, is almost cut in two by the northern Órmos Pourniá and the deep southern harbour afforded by the Kólpos Mouðhrou.

To the southeast, the rocky but sheltered islands of Lés-vos (Lesbos), Khíos (Chios), and Sámos lie close to the Turkish coast and are extensions of peninsulas on the coast of Asia Minor. Across the central Aegean, near northern Évvoia (Euboea), lie the Northern Sporades (Voríai Sporádhēs), or "scattered" islands; their crystalline rocks are similar to those of the Greek mainland. Farther south, in the heart of the Aegean, lie the Cyclades (Kikládhes), "islands in a circle." These roughly centre on Dhiós (Delos) and represent the tips of drowned mountain ridges continuing the structural trends of Évvoia and the region around Athens.

Between the Cyclades and the Turkish coast, the Dodecanese (Dhodhekánisos) group, with Rhodes (Ródhos), the largest of a dozen major islands, have a varied geological structure ranging from the gray limestones of Kálimnos, Sími, and Khálki to the complete ancient volcanic cone that forms Nísiros. Finally, the long, narrow shape of Crete stands at the entrance of the Aegean in the extreme southern portion of Greek territory. Its harsh, rugged landscapes mark yet another extension of the fold mountains of the Balkan Peninsula.

Climate and drainage. The basically Mediterranean climate of Greece is subject to a number of regional and even local variations occasioned by the country's physical diversity. In winter the belt of low pressure disturbances moving in from the North Atlantic shifts southward, bringing with it warm, moist, westerly winds. Squalls and spells of rain ruffle the Aegean, but sunshine often breaks through the clouds. As the low pressure areas enter the Aegean region, they may draw in cold air from those eastern regions of the Balkans that, sheltered by the Dinaric mountain system from western influences, are open to climatic extremes emanating from the heart of Eurasia. This icy wind is known as the boreas. Partly as a result, Thessaloníki (Salonika) has an average January temperature of 43° F (6° C), while Athens has 50° F (10° C). *Shilok*, or warm winds, are similarly drawn in from the south. The western influences bring plentiful rain to the Ionian coast and the mountains behind it; winter rain also starts early, and snow lingers into spring. At Kérkira (Corfu), January temperatures average 50° F (10° C), and the island's average annual rainfall is 52 inches (1,300 millimetres), compared with the Athens total of 16 inches (400 millimetres).

In summer, when the low pressure belt swings away again, the climate is hot and dry almost everywhere, with the average July sea-level temperature approaching 80° F (27° C), although heat waves can push the temperature up over the 100° F mark for a day or so. Topography is again a modifying factor: the interior northern mountains continue to experience some rainfall, while all along the winding coast the afternoon heat is eased slightly by sea breezes. In other regions the hot, dry summers are accentuated by the parching etesian winds, which become drier and drier as they are drawn southward.

In all seasons—perhaps especially in summer—the quality of the light is one of Greece's greatest treasures. Although the larger cities have not escaped the pernicious effects of industrial and vehicular pollution, the Greek atmosphere is generally pure and clear. The interplay of light and varied landscape is remarkable. The harsh white

Regional clusters of islands

The quality of Greek light

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spectacular gorges. Finally, the irregular, deeply penetrating coastline makes for short river courses. The overall effect is to produce short rivers with an erratic seasonal flow, virtually useless for navigation and limited for irrigation purposes. The Vardar, Struma, and the Néstos, which crosses Macedonia and Thráki to enter the northern Aegean, are the major rivers—but only because they drain large regions beyond the Greek frontier. A host of small and medium-sized rivers drain the rest of the country: the Aliákmon, the Piniós (running east across the main peninsula), and the Evrótas of the Pelopónnisos are noteworthy.

Plant and animal life. Like other Balkan countries, Greece is open to influences from several major biogeographic zones, with the major Mediterranean influences supplemented by plants and animals stemming from the central European interior. Hence, local topographic and climatic conditions also occasion great variety. On the mountain flanks, and in the north generally, the central European types of vegetation prevail. In central and southern regions and in narrow belts along the valleys of the mountains, about half the land is under scrub of various kinds; and maquis, the classic Mediterranean scrub complex—with oleander, bay, evergreen oak, olive, and juniper—is particularly well developed in the Pelopónnisos. Evergreen trees and shrubs and herbaceous plants are found in the lowlands, with the flowers offering brilliant patterns in springtime. Pines, planes, and poplars line the rivers, the higher slopes, and the coastal plains. Oak, chestnut, and other deciduous trees are found in the north, giving way at higher altitudes to coniferous forests dominated by the Grecian fir, in which clearings are carpeted in spring and summer with irises, crocuses, and tulips. Forests and scrub are found at the highest levels: the black-pine forests coating Mt. Olympus are particularly noteworthy.

The forested zones, especially in the north, harbour such European animals as wildcat, martin, brown bear, roe deer, and, more rarely, wolf, wild boar, and lynx. Animals of the Mediterranean regions include jackals, wild goats, and porcupines, all adapted to lack of moisture and to the heat. Birds include pelicans, storks, and herons, while many varieties winter in Greece from farther north. Reptile and fish life is rich and varied.

The human imprint. The large number of monuments dotted across Greece are testimony of the antiquity of man's attempts to wrest a living from this sometimes harsh environment. Contemporary patterns of settlement, especially in the rural areas, bear the marks of long centuries of development.

Village life remains a powerful influence. It nevertheless has a cosmopolitan nature—seen especially in the village-square discussions—and the modern cities have something of the village in their character. The rural communities themselves range from the little communities of the northern mountain interior, reminiscent of central Europe, to the sun-beaten villages of Crete, which are almost African in appearance. Although rural settlement patterns reflect the vagaries of physical geography and the changing currents of history in a particular region, the tiled roofs, low, whitewashed walls, long, narrow windows, the central church, and the traces of fortifications are frequent features of village communities. Between villages, the ancient stone walls and winding roads add their own character to the landscape.

Yet town and city life is becoming increasingly important, and more than half of the people were classified as urban in the early 1970s. The metropolitan sprawl centred on Athens (home of over 2,500,000 people) is one of the great urban complexes of the Mediterranean, complete with industrial and port facilities. The port of Thessaloníki, with a metropolitan population close to 550,000, is the second major urban centre. There is then something of a gap, for the next half dozen or so major centres—often ports—have populations generally falling between 50,000 and 100,000. Urbanization and the modernization of the economy—especially improvements aimed at the influx of tourists—are also leaving their mark on the traditional Greek landscape.

limestone crags of the islands, contrasting with the deep blue of the Aegean waters and an equally powerful sky; the dusty green olive groves, the burnt-orange tiled roofs, and dazzling whitewashed walls of coastal communities; and the ever-present weathered stones of the country's great number of ancient monuments all add their own tones.

The drainage pattern of Greece is significantly influenced by the porosity and solubility of the rocks of the limestone regions; hence, seasonal downpours are often immediately lost through seepage and runoff. Much rainfall is also lost in rugged terrain of the geologically young northern mountains, where there is a tortured network of rushing mountain streams, often falling into narrow,

	area		population	
	sq mi	sq km	1961 census	1971 census
Regions (dhiamérismata)				
Aegean Islands				
Departments: (nomoi)				
Cyclades	993	2,572	100,000	86,000
Dodecanese	1,044	2,705	123,000	121,000
Khíos	349	904	62,000	54,000
Lésvos	832	2,154	140,000	115,000
Sámos	300	778	52,000	42,000
Central Greece and Évvoia				
Departments				
Aitolia and Akarnanía	2,103	5,447	238,000	229,000
Attikí*	1,303	3,375	205,000	258,000
Evrítanía	790	2,045	40,000	30,000
Évvoia	1,509	3,908	166,000	165,000
Fokís	819	2,121	48,000	41,000
Fthiótis	1,686	4,368	160,000	155,000
Voioitia	1,240	3,211	114,000	115,000
Crete				
Departments				
Iráklión	1,020	2,641	208,000	210,000
Khaniá	917	2,376	131,000	120,000
Lasíthi	702	1,818	74,000	66,000
Rethímni	578	1,496	70,000	61,000
Ipiros				
Departments				
Árta	622	1,612	83,000	78,000
Ioánnina	1,927	4,990	155,000	135,000
Préveza	419	1,086	63,000	57,000
Thesprotía	585	1,515	52,000	41,000
Greater Athens†	167	433	1,853,000	2,540,000
Ionian Islands				
Departments				
Kefallinía	361	935	46,000	37,000
Kérkira	247	641	102,000	93,000
Levkás	125	325	29,000	25,000
Zákynthos	157	406	36,000	30,000
Macedonia				
Departments				
Dráma	1,339	3,468	121,000	91,000
Flórina	719	1,863	67,000	52,000
Grevená	903	2,338	43,000	35,000
Imathía	656	1,699	115,000	118,000
Kastória	651	1,685	47,000	46,000
Kavála	814	2,109	141,000	122,000
Khalikidhikí†	1,267	3,281	83,000	75,000
Kilkís	1,003	2,597	103,000	84,000
Kozáni	1,375	3,562	153,000	136,000
Pélla	968	2,506	133,000	126,000
Piería	598	1,548	98,000	92,000
Sérrai	1,539	3,987	248,000	203,000
Thessaloníki	1,375	3,560	544,000	710,000
Pelopónnisos				
Departments				
Akhaía	1,239	3,209	239,000	240,000
Argolís	855	2,214	90,000	89,000
Arkadhía	1,706	4,419	135,000	111,000
Ilía	1,035	2,681	189,000	165,000
Korinthía	884	2,289	113,000	113,000
Lakonía	1,404	3,636	119,000	96,000
Messinía	1,155	2,991	212,000	173,000
Thessalía				
Departments				
Kardhítsa	995	2,576	153,000	134,000
Lárisa	2,067	5,354	231,000	232,000
Magnisía	1,018	2,636	164,000	161,000
Trikala	1,289	3,338	143,000	133,000
Thráki				
Departments				
Evros	1,638	4,242	158,000	139,000
Rodhópi	982	2,543	109,000	108,000
Xánthi	692	1,793	90,000	83,000
Total Greece	50,960§	131,986§	8,389,000§	8,769,000§

*Attikí Department excludes area and population of Greater Athens, shown separately. †Constitutes part of Attikí Department. ‡Includes area and population of Ayion Óros (Mt. Athos), an autonomous administration. §Detail does not add to total given because of rounding. Source: Official government figures.

Linguistic, ethnic, and religious background. Despite the great variety of influences that have shaped modern Greece, and the marked differences among the many isolated regions, a sense of community binds the Greeks together, especially in a national emergency, such as World War II. A common religion, a great heritage, and a common popular tongue (variations in regional dialects notwithstanding) tend to make all Greeks feel that they are somehow one-people equal to each other in important respects. Combined with this sense of equality is the interest in, and appetite for, political discussion.

All but about 5 percent of the populace adheres to the Greek Orthodox Church (see EASTERN ORTHODOXY). This body appoints its own ecclesiastical hierarchy and is headed by a synod of 12 metropolitans under the presidency of the archbishop of Athens. The Greek Church has links in dogma with the other Orthodox churches. The Muslim minority, just over 1 percent of the populace, is mainly Turkish and is concentrated in western Thráki and the Dodecanese. Roman and Greek Catholics (concentrated in Athens and the western islands formerly under Italian sway) account for less than 0.5 percent, and there are a few thousand adherents of Protestant churches, the Gregorian Rite of the Eastern Church (mostly Armenians), and Judaism, the last named being much reduced in numbers by the German genocide of World War II.

In terms of ethnic composition, Greeks again make up all but 5 percent of the total, the remainder being composed of Macedonians, Turks, Albanians, and Romanians. Except in Cyprus, southern Albania, and Turkey, there are no major enclaves of Greeks in nearby foreign countries, although Greek communities play a distinctive role in Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and Australia.

Demographic trends. The Greek population has never displayed the high rates of growth attributed to it by some analysts, although—despite grievous losses in a succession of wars and constant emigration as a result of poor economic conditions—it has usually shown a regular increase since the first census, in 1828. Most of its growth in the years since it gained its independence from the Turks resulted from two factors—annexations of surrounding areas (the Ionian Islands; Thessalía [Thessaly] and Árta; Ipiros [Epirus], Macedonia, and Crete; Thráki [Thrace]; and the Dodecanese) and the influx of more than 1,000,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s. Emigration continues to be a limiting factor, the most active periods having been 1911–15 when nearly 130,000 persons left, 1956–60 (160,000), and the decade of the 1960s (830,000). The commonest destinations of the emigrants are the United States, Canada, Australia, and, most recently, West Germany, which has also attracted the largest number of the 300,000 Greeks working temporarily in western Europe. Vital statistics are comparable to those of the developed countries of Europe—deaths are 8.5 and births 16.1 per 1,000 annually, giving a natural increase of 7.6 per 1,000. Higher birth rates after World War II, however, have produced a youthful population: about 25 percent are less than 15 years of age and 45 percent less than 30. Along with population growth, urbanization has been a most important factor, especially since World War II. The rural component has shrunk to about one-third of the total. All these factors have had important social and political implications. The average density of population is about 175 per square mile (68 per square kilometre), although the variation in natural conditions makes the average rather meaningless. It is perhaps more significant to note that more than eight out of every 10 Greeks live on the main peninsula, and in 1971 more than one Greek in four lived in the Greater Athens area.

(G.An.)

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Although Greece is a Balkan country, its principal economic links are with the United States, the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market), of which it is an associate member, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), of which it is a member. Trade with the Socialist bloc and with Yu-

gostavia has increased, however, and by 1974 about 16 percent of Greece's annual exports were going to those countries; they account, however, for only 5 percent of imports into Greece. With a population of only about 9,000,000 and a relatively low annual income per capita, Greece is not an important country industrially or in international trade. In the world of international shipping, however, Greek owners occupy an important place. If tonnage actually controlled by Greek nationals (as opposed to tonnage flying the Greek flag) is considered, the Greek fleet of about 4,380 ships, aggregating about 43,630,000 tons gross by 1976, was the second largest in the world (after Liberia). The fleet flying the Greek flag ranks fifth in the world, with more than 2,740 vessels aggregating 22,530,000 tons.

The extent and distribution of resources. *Mineral resources.* Greece's total mineral and quarry deposits are estimated at between 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 tons. There are important reserves of bauxite, lignite, and chromiferous iron, while the main quarry products are ceramic clays, gypsum, asbestos, and the famous Greek marble. Oil has been drilled for in several parts of the country, but commercially exploitable fields have not been found except in the northern Aegean Sea, and these have led to disputes with Turkey.

Greece is one of the main bauxite-producing countries in Europe. Proved reserves in mainland Greece amount to 40,000,000 tons, and probable deposits are estimated at more than twice as much. Output (mainly for export) doubled in the 1960s to approach 2,000,000 tons a year. A substantial and increasingly larger portion is used in the local production of alumina and aluminum metal. Total lignite (brown coal) reserves are estimated at 1,000,000,000 tons. About three-quarters of the lignite mined is used by power stations, the remainder for the manufacture of chemical fertilizers and domestic fuels. Ordinary iron ores and ores with a chrome and nickel content are present, but only the latter are exploited.

Biological resources. About 30 percent of the total area of Greece is arable land, about 40 percent is rough pasture land, 20 percent is forest, and the remainder is either unsuitable for cultivation or is unexploited.

In spite of the natural poverty of the soil and a system that leads to excessive fragmentation of the land (the average parcel is only about 1.4 acres, or 0.56 hectare), Greece is still essentially an agricultural country, about half the working population being directly engaged in farming and related activities. Agricultural products account for more than half the total exports, though Greece also imports substantial amounts of food.

The chief crops are wheat, cotton, tobacco, currants and seedless raisins, grapes, olives, and citrus fruit, production of which grew rapidly in the 1960s, partly owing to United States aid. Attempts are being made to improve dairy and meat production. Forestry is not important, though progress has been made in restoring the forests that were severely depleted during World War II. The very long coastline and numerous islands help nourish an important fishing industry. With the modernization of the fishing fleet and the extension of refrigeration and processing facilities, output has increased; the once-important sponge-diving industry, on the other hand, has declined in the face of competition from synthetic products.

Power resources. Waterpower and lignite are the most important power resources in Greece, about 70 percent of the electric power being derived from them. A power station at Megalópolis in the Pelopónnisos successfully utilizes lignite of remarkably low calorific value and high moisture content. This plant has interested specialists in other countries dependent upon low-grade lignite deposits. Surveys are still being carried out (with United Nations aid) with the aim of developing more hydroelectric stations, and the establishment of a nuclear generating plant has been under consideration.

Sources of national income. *Agriculture, forestry, and fishing.* The agriculture, forestry, and fishing sector accounted for 31 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1958, but thereafter it declined steadily. The decline was caused by the drift of workers from the land,

either to other employment in Greece or to work abroad. In the period from 1961 to 1971 employment in agriculture declined at an average annual rate of 1.4 percent. Productivity, nevertheless, has been growing faster in this sector than in industry and in the services sector. As a result, agricultural production actually increased on average by nearly 3 percent a year in the period from 1965 to 1970, notwithstanding its decline as a proportion of total national output. Despite the comparatively more rapid growth of productivity in agriculture, however, its level of productivity is still a good deal lower than that of the average in other sectors—a factor experienced by the agricultural workers themselves as poverty. In an attempt to alleviate this, the government has tried to shift the emphasis away from excess production of wheat and tobacco to more profitable crops, notably cotton. Wheat subsidies were abolished in favour of a system of intervention price that sets a minimum selling price guaranteed by the government, which will buy wheat if prices fall below it and sell such purchases at free market prices. Farmers have also been compensated for loss of income by the waiving of debts and by grants to help pay for seeds, fertilizers, and agricultural machinery.

Mining and quarrying. The mining and quarrying sector employs about 0.6 percent of the total labour force and accounts for just over 1 percent of the GDP. According to the industrial census of 1969, the number of mines and quarries (including quarries of building materials) and of solar-evaporation salt plants was 1,604, and average annual employment was 22,600 workers. In 1973 the value of the mining output was equivalent to 5.6 percent of total industrial output. In volume terms, more than one-half of the total output is accounted for by lignite production. The mining of bauxite is playing an increasingly important part in the economy, though if production of aluminum reaches the level planned for the mid-1970s, bauxite may have to be imported.

Manufacturing. Manufacturing output has tended to expand at a rate of about 10 percent per annum, but, largely because of the rapid growth of the services sector, manufacturing output as a proportion of the GDP remained around the level of 16 percent during the early 1960s; by the mid-1970s, however, it had risen to more than 25 percent of the GDP. Employment in the industrial sector as a whole (including building, mining, power production, and manufacturing) grew in the 1960s at an average annual rate of just over 4 percent, and over the latter half of this period productivity grew at the rate of 4.3 percent a year.

The main branches of industry are food processing, textiles, chemicals, steel, aluminum, and handicrafts. Athens and Thessaloníki are the main industrial centres, but government policy is to encourage industry to develop in other areas as well. The main change in the pattern of industry, however, has been the establishment of large industrial complexes, notably the huge Esso-Pappas complex at Dhiavatá, near Thessaloníki, which started production in 1966. Steel production is about 600,000 tons a year. The French-owned Pechiney complex at Dhírfis (Delphi) produces large quantities of aluminum for export. Another important industry, located at Elefsís (Eleusis), near Athens, is shipbuilding and ship refitting.

Energy. Electricity and gas production accounts for 2 percent of the GDP. In 1950, when 665,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity were produced, only 823 towns and villages in Greece were supplied with electricity; the Athens area accounted for 84 percent of the country's total consumption. In that year was founded the Public Power Corporation, on the initiative and with the aid of the United States; its first plant started operating in 1953. By 1970 a further 6,657 remote villages were receiving electricity, and the output was 9,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours; Athens then accounted for only 40 percent of consumption. Greece is still heavily dependent on imports for fuel supplies.

Financial services. The central bank is the Bank of Greece, founded in 1928. The bank is privately owned, but the governor is appointed by the government, and the state has a share in the profits. The Bank of Greece

Government
intervention
in
agriculture

Products
of industry

The
of com
munis

Principal
crops

is also the sole bank of issue, and it supervises all banking operations in the country, implementing the decisions made by the Currency Committee. Consisting of the governor of the bank and the ministers of coordination, finance, agriculture, and industry and commerce, this body formulates all monetary, credit, and foreign-exchange policy.

There are eight commercial banks, which are private competitive institutions. In addition to undertaking short-term financing, they extend long-term loans to industry and trade and sometimes take up shares in the equity capital of industrial firms. Two of the commercial banks have also set up special investment banks. There are also an agricultural and a mortgage bank. The latter, besides granting housing loans, arranges for loans to public corporations and to the tourist sector of the economy. Long-term industrial development is also promoted by the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, which is wholly state owned and endowed with government funds. The capital market is still relatively underdeveloped, though a number of measures have been introduced to improve matters. There is one stock exchange, located in Athens, in which there is active trading in about 30 banking and commercial shares.

Foreign trade. Over the 1960s exports more than doubled, as did imports. Exports also increased at a somewhat faster rate than imports; however, because imports were generally about three times as large as exports, the trade gap grew steadily throughout the decade, until it was equivalent to more than 18 percent of national income. An encouraging feature of trade trends in the second half of the 1960s was the growth in exports of industrial and handicraft products; exports of aluminum were particularly important. Exports of tobacco, once Greece's largest export earner, declined, and the market appears to be saturated. Items of capital equipment and fuel accounted for an increasing share of imports, but imports of manufactured consumer goods (and also food) also expanded, in spite of government attempts at restriction. The resulting inflation contributed to the fall of the military junta in 1974.

Although the Greeks have expressed dissatisfaction from time to time at the effects of their association (as associate member) with the EEC, trade with this area has grown steadily since 1964, when EEC countries absorbed 38 percent of Greek exports and supplied 42 percent of imports. West Germany is Greece's main trading partner, taking about 19 percent of the country's exports and supplying 20 percent of its imports.

Although Greece has a persistent and increasing trade deficit, the balance of payments is helped by a steady surplus on invisible services, notably shipping, foreign tourism, and funds sent back home by workers who have emigrated to other countries.

Management of the economy. Private enterprise and the role of the government. The Greek economy remains predominantly one of private enterprise, with the state limiting its intervention to the field of tax incentives, cheap finance, and its own or bank guarantees to overseas suppliers (and then only for large projects). With the exceptions of electric power, railways, telecommunications, and broadcasting, the state produces neither goods nor services, and its policy is to refrain from activities that can be undertaken effectively by private firms.

It has been official policy to aim at a surplus on the ordinary budget and to use this surplus to finance part of the deficit on the public investment budget, the rest of this deficit being met by domestic issues of bonds and interest-bearing treasury bills and by borrowing abroad. Direct taxes contribute about 20 percent of the total revenues of the Greek fiscal system; between 1957 and 1966 direct taxes on households rose by more than 8 percent annually. Over the same period net indirect taxes rose on average by more than 13 percent, and their share in the total gross national product at market prices rose from 9.7 percent in 1957 to nearly 14 percent 10 years later. In the 1970s policy appeared to aim at more efficient collection of existing direct taxes instead of alteration of the fiscal structure as such.

Trade unions and employer associations. The military government dissolved most trade unions and deported many union leaders soon after it came to power in 1967. After the fall of that government, trade union activity revived. The interests of employers are promoted by the Federation of Greek Industries, founded in 1907, and by the Federation of Shipowners and Industrialists. There are chambers of commerce in Athens, Piraeus (Piræus), and Thessaloniki.

Economic policies. The broad aim of economic policy is to secure growth through augmenting the share of industry in national output, while keeping prices as stable as possible. Since 1967 great emphasis has been put on the latter objective, and prices were held down by administrative measures for three years. Beginning in 1970, however, prices began to edge upward. In agriculture, the aim is to raise productivity through switching to more profitable crops, and the government no longer subsidizes the growing of wheat and tobacco at uneconomic prices. Under the first Five-Year Plan of the military regime of 1967-74, investment in infrastructure, in tourist facilities, and in industry was meant to be considerably increased, and the primary source of finance for the projected investments was intended to be found in domestic budgetary savings.

At the same time, however, great efforts were made to encourage private foreign investment. This was done not only in order to supply much-needed investment capital and technical and managerial expertise but also to balance the external-payments account by meeting the current deficit with a large inflow of capital. The government also did all it could to promote tourism and shipping, which are major sources of earnings.

In October 1975 a flexible Five-Year Plan (1976-80) was outlined, aiming at a 6 to 7 percent annual growth rate during the plan period and providing for fuller use of domestic energy resources, exploitation of mineral resources, and more active solicitation of foreign investment involving export industries.

The chief economic problem for Greece is the age-old one of lack of natural resources. The structure of employment and of the national income shows Greece's great dependence on secondary economic activities: only about 25 percent of the working population is engaged in manufacturing and construction, and very nearly half of the GDP is generated in the services sector. This leads to a persistent balance-of-payments problem, and foreign indebtedness has grown steadily.

(E.I.U./Ed.)

Transportation. Not unexpectedly, the Greek landscape and seascapes have had immense effects on the development of transportation patterns in the country and perhaps help to account for the pre-eminence of Greek names in the world of international shipping. The needs of tourism, military and political considerations, and the general economy have helped stimulate the development of a modern national transport system.

Sea transport. The importance of Greek (and Greek-owned) shipping fleets in national and international trade was noted above. Partly as a result, there has been strong emphasis on port development. Piraeus (Piræus), the port of Athens, is the major centre, followed by Pátrai, Préveza, Iráklion, Kaválla, and Vólos, among others. There is a developed steamer service to the various islands, and car ferries ply across many of the straits and inlets. Cruise ships and private vessels add to the demand for service facilities at ports.

Road transport. About 50 percent of the road network remains unpaved, and many of the smaller rural roads, especially in the mountain regions, still leave much to be desired. The Athens-Pátrai, Athens-Lamia, and Athens-Thessaloniki highways are modern roads, and the total amount of paved road tripled during the 1960s. There is also an extensive network of rural bus routes.

Railway transport. Extensive modernization has been effected in the Greek railway system, the aims being to improve the existing tracks, to standardize differing metric gauges, to forge links with western Europe, and to coordinate development with that of the roads. The

The widening trade gap

Taxation

Resource scarcity

Greek topography and a late start (railways date only from the 1880s, and Greece was one of the last European countries to develop them) have made this modernization costly and difficult.

Air transport. Air transport is operated by the government-owned Olympic Airways, which took over the financially troubled Greek National Airlines (founded 1951) in 1957. Increasing tourist traffic has resulted in a major expansion of facilities. Athens has a modern air terminal, regional facilities have been improved, and there are new airstrips on some of the islands. (G.A.N.)

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Structure of government. The constitution. The military junta (1967-74) ruled under a constitution approved in 1968 by a referendum held under martial law and preceded by a vigorous campaign in its behalf in the censored press. Political activity was prohibited, and the junta ruled by decree.

On June 1, 1973, the junta decreed that the monarchy was abolished and replaced by a republic. This was confirmed by popular referendum on July 29, but the validity of this referendum was challenged. After the fall of the junta and the restoration of democratic government, another referendum was held, on December 8, 1974, and 69.2 percent of those voting chose "uncrowned democracy."

On August 1, 1974, the prime minister, Konstantinos Karamanlis, announced that the constitution of 1952 would be reintroduced as a provisional measure until, in his words, "the country acquires a charter fully approved by the people."

The powers of head of state were to be exercised by the president of the republic. The word king in the constitution was replaced by the word president. Under the constitution of 1952 the government had full control over the armed forces, and the judiciary was free.

The draft of a new constitution was published on December 23, 1974, after endorsement by the full Cabinet. It provided for Greece to be a parliamentary republic, with a president as head of state and supreme commander of the armed forces. Legislative power was to be exercised jointly by the president and Parliament, the latter a unicameral body composed of 200 to 300 deputies (the exact number to be determined by Parliament itself) elected for five-year terms. The freedom to form political parties was guaranteed.

The president was to be elected by Parliament for a five-year (later reduced to four-year) term, and he was eligible for a second term.

The president was to appoint as prime minister the leader of the party with an absolute majority in Parliament; if such did not exist, other methods were prescribed. The draft constitution would also create an advisory body, the Council of the Republic, to consist of elder statesmen and the current leaders.

Administration. The Cabinet is composed of the prime minister and ministers of foreign affairs, national defense, coordination and planning, public order, culture and science, justice, national education and religion, employment, social services, interior, finance, agriculture, industry, commerce, public works, transportation and communication, and mercantile marine. There are also a minister for northern Greece and a minister to the prime minister.

Officially, Greece is divided administratively into 10 *dhiamerismata* (regions), although only four (and part of a fifth) have their own governments. A further subdivision is into more than 50 *nomoi* (departments; singular *nomos*); special arrangements are provided for the Greater Athens area, and the peninsula of Ayion Oros (Mt. Athos) is a self-governing monastic community with a civil governor, appointed by the government, who is responsible for public order outside the monasteries.

Municipal government, with elected mayors and urban and rural councils, was established in Greece in the mid-19th century. Local authorities may levy certain taxation, but, in general, provincial services are supported by the national government.

Political parties. After the downfall of the military junta in 1974 and the restoration of democratic government, two decrees, published on September 23, 1974, authorized the resumption of party political activities in Greece. Four major new parties emerged:

The Centre Union-New Forces Party, a merger of the Centre Union and the Movement of New Political Forces. The Centre Union represented the rump of the Greek liberal movement, the Centre Union Party (founded in 1961) of Georgios Papandreou. The new Movement of New Political Forces was founded to campaign for policies of "democratic socialism."

The New Democracy Party, founded by Konstantinos Karamanlis. It was pledged to work for the establishment of democracy in Greece through political, economic, and social reforms.

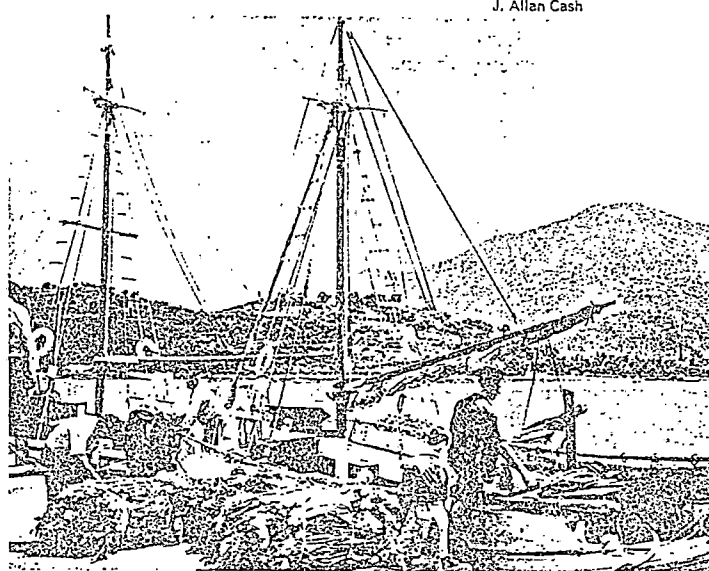
The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), incorporating two resistance organizations and founded by Andreas Papandreou, son of Georgios Papandreou. Its platform called for a non-aligned foreign policy (opposed to both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the EEC) and nationalization of private enterprises.

The United Left, a union of the United Democratic Left (EDA) and the two factions of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The EDA had been founded originally in 1951.

There were also a number of smaller parties representing various right-wing groups and groups that favoured the restoration of the monarchy.

Parliamentary elections were held on November 17, 1974, the first since 1964. The New Democracy Party of Karamanlis won 54 percent of the votes cast and a very large majority of the seats in Parliament; the next largest number of seats went to the Centre Union-New Forces Party (20 percent of the vote). On December 9, 1974, the Greek Parliament met for the first time in seven years.

New
Democ-
racy
Party in
power



The port of Palaia Epidhaurus (Epidaurus), Greece.

Justice. The Supreme Court consists of four sections; three civil and one criminal. There are 11 courts of appeal, having jurisdiction in cases of criminal and civil law of second degree; in exceptional cases they may also adjudicate in cases of first degree. Below these are the 58 courts of first instance, which function also as criminal courts. They have jurisdiction in cases of first degree and, in exceptional cases, second degree. Criminal and juvenile courts exist in towns where courts of first instance sit. Some towns also have tax courts. There are many courts of justices of the peace throughout Greece, and also magistrates' (police) courts. District attorneys function in all courts except justices of the peace and magistrates'; in magistrates' courts the duties of district attorney are carried out by a public prosecutor.

Procedure in the courts follows the French model; i.e., the investigating magistrate examines the evidence and

The
republic

Resour-
carcity

Dhiameris-
mata and
nomoi

prima-facie case, refers it to the public prosecutor, who decides whether or not a charge shall be brought. Judges of the higher courts are appointed for life, and others may be removed only if convicted of a criminal offense.

In addition to the regular courts, there is a State Council, having jurisdiction over administrative disputes, administrative contraventions of law, and revision of disciplinary procedure on permanent civil servants.

Police. There are two main bodies of police, the city police (in Athens, Piraeus, Patrai, and Kérkira) and the gendarmerie, the latter a paramilitary force with responsibility for the whole country outside the four cities. Both forces are administered by the minister of the interior. The police forces were reorganized by a British mission after World War II. The gendarmerie and city police provide personnel for the tourist police. In addition, there are small forces of farm police, customs guards, and forest police and a Harbour Corps.

Armed forces. The Greek armed forces consist of an army, navy, and air force recruited on the basis of compulsory military service for all male citizens aged 21, for a period of two years. There is also a National Guard recruited from reservists for local security duties in frontier districts.

In 1967 a clique of army officers, mainly colonels, seized power in Greece by means of a coup d'état. After the restoration of parliamentary government in 1974, Prime Minister Karamanlis stated (December 11), in a policy announcement, that the aim of the government would be to modernize the armed forces and ensure that they "recovered their concord and discipline." A gradual review of all members of the armed forces was begun, and in March 1975 a reorganization got under way. Clearly, it would be some time before the government could be confident of the loyalty of the military services.

Social conditions. Wages in Greece are low by reason of chronic rural underemployment and because the low agricultural income leads many young peasants to seek employment in the towns and there swell the ranks of unskilled labour. Minimum wages are fixed by the Ministry of Employment.

The Workers' Housing Organization, an agency of the national government, constrains housing and also provides technical assistance and loans for home building. Its projects are largely financed by a national lottery.

Health. After World War II the government took the lead in combatting disease, establishing modern health services and facilities. Malaria, once a scourge, has been virtually eradicated, and standards of hygiene and sanitation have been greatly improved. In the larger cities and towns the water supply is generally safe, though the same claim cannot be made for rural areas. Health measures taken in conjunction with the World Health Organization have been responsible for a great decline in deaths from infectious diseases. The main causes of death are cancer, cerebrovascular disease, and senility.

The Ministry of Social Services is responsible for the maintenance of hygiene, malaria control, establishment and financing of health and medical care centres and pharmacies, and for providing drugs, maternal and child care, and mental care. The large hospitals are concentrated in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Patrai.

Social insurance. In 1968 the government unified the complex social insurance schemes which are now controlled and supervised by the Ministry of Social Services through the Social Insurance Institution (IKA), the Unemployment Insurance Organization, the Farm Insurance Organization, and several separate main and auxiliary semi-public funds. The IKA insures workers in government, business, and industry, some agricultural workers, nonfarm self-employed persons, and domestic workers. The main and auxiliary funds offer insurance programs by occupation—e.g., a fund for seamen, a fund for newsboys in Thessaloniki.

Social insurance costs are largely financed by contributions paid into IKA by employers, in the form of payroll deductions, and by matching contributions from employers. Taxes on manufactured products and income

from investments made by the insuring agency also help pay for social insurance.

Education. Education is the responsibility of the state, through the Ministry of National Education and Religion, policy being formulated by a Supreme Board of Education. In 1964 a new Education Act introduced radical changes, making school attendance compulsory till the age of 15 and covering both primary school (six years) and part of secondary school (three years). It also made demotic Greek (the colloquial language) the main language of instruction throughout the school system. The military junta in 1967 practically abolished the act of 1964, requiring attendance at school for only six years and reinstating Katharevusa (the literary language) as the principal teaching medium.

Junior secondary schools offer a three-year program, either a general academic course or a more technically oriented course, the former intended for students who plan either to end their education with secondary school or to continue in higher education, the latter for those planning to enter higher technical or vocational schools. Beyond the junior secondary schools are the advanced secondary schools, also offering a three-year program.

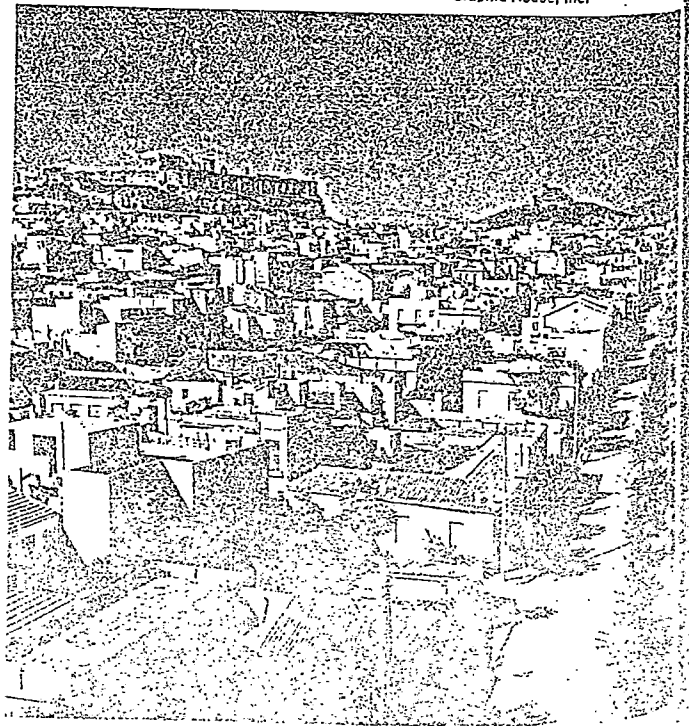
For higher studies there are universities at Athens (National Capodistrian University of Athens, founded in 1837, and National Technical University of Athens, founded in 1836) and at Thessaloniki (Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, founded in 1925). The University of Ioannina (1964) and the University of Patrai (1966) are newer institutions. Athens also has a number of higher schools with university status: the Higher School of Fine Arts (1836), the Athens Graduate School of Economics and Business Science (1920), the College of Agriculture (1920), the Graduate School of Industrial Studies (1938), the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (1881), the Panteios School of Political Sciences (1930), and Pierce College (1875). The Graduate School of Industrial Studies at Thessaloniki (1958) also has university standing. (Ed.)

Universities

CULTURAL LIFE

The physical remains of the culture of ancient Greece, whether preserved *in situ*, in the fine network of museums, or (as a result of past activities) in the museums of other countries, are an ever-present reminder of the country's classical heritage. It continues as an important element in the culture of contemporary Greece and plays

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The Acropolis (background), in Athens.

Social
Insurance
Institution
(IKA)

a major role, through its attraction to tourists, in the economy. In addition, the deep religious traditions of the country—which found rich expression in the medieval icons and in the mosaics and frescoes that made the 14th century one of the triumphant eras of Byzantine art—continue to provide a fertile cultural source, generating a great variety of contemporary folk art and religious festivals. These are at their most vigorous in the rural areas generally and in the remoter regions in particular. Easter is the major event in the Orthodox calendar, and the sombre processions of Good Friday are followed by the festivities—including roasting of lambs and dancing in traditional costume—celebrating Easter Sunday. Other religious ceremonies occur throughout the year, beginning with the New Year blessing of the sea at Piraeus (Piraeus) and elsewhere. The summer months are renowned for international music and drama festivals, particularly at Athens and Palaia Epidhauron (Epidaurus). A revival of Byzantine iconography may be seen in the work of such artists as Fotos Contoglou and Stathis Trahanatzis as well as in the restoration of medieval frescoes and mosaics. The traditional Karankiōzis puppet theatre is preserved by such masters as Panayioti Mixopoulos.

Modern Greek poetry is considered by many to be among the best of the 20th century. Poets of international renown include Constantine Cavafy (who spent most of his life in Egypt), George Seferis (who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1963), Angelos Sikelianos, Odysseus Elytis, and Yannis Ritsos. Another remarkable writer was Nikos Kazantzakis, who experimented with several forms of expression. Contemporary Greek literature is fortunate in its English translators, especially the Americans Kimon Friar, Edmund Keeley, Themis Vasils, and Theodora Vasils.

The Greek character is reflected in the opening verses of the "Hymn to Liberty" written by the 19th-century poet Dionísios Solomós. These lines, set to the stirring music of N. Manzaros as the national anthem of Greece, read (in a prose translation by Theodora Vasils),

I know you by the sword's dread cutting edge, I know you by the look that with vigour measures the earth. Out of the sacred bones of the Hellenes you issue valiant as before, hail o hail, Liberty! You dwelt therein, sorrowful, withdrawn, waiting for a mouth to tell you, "Come again." That day was long in coming, and all were silent, cowering under the terror and the crush of slavery.

The other great "national" song of the Greeks is the fervent Resurrection hymn attributed to an 8th-century monk, St. John of Damascus,

Christ has risen from the dead, by death trampling upon death, and has upon those in the tombs life bestowed.

The music of these two hymns, a millennium apart in composition, is both joyful and haunting. The listener is reminded of Greek nostalgia, of the deepest fears and hopes of the Greeks and indeed of all mankind.

Greek musicians with international followings include Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis. After the fall of the military regime in 1974 there was a revival in Athens of an irreverent political theatre as well as of the film industry. It remains to be seen what effect a decade of suppression will have on young literary talent. It also remains to be seen what effect the constantly growing tourist industry will have on the cultural integrity of the country.

THE OUTLOOK

The future of Greece remains in serious question, and in the decades ahead the fundamental alternatives facing the Greeks may be the exciting dangers of Balkan and eastern Mediterranean politics or the complacent prosperity of a closer association with the European community. Forces may already be at work among the Greeks that compel them toward further urbanization and industrialization and toward greater exposure to the homogenizing (if not demoralizing) "culture" of the international mass media.

Continuity with the past, a very long past, remains Greece's burden as well as its glory. The past and its

significance are often obscure but always present. Their very language constantly reminds Greeks both of what they have been and of what they have aspired to. The ramifications of old influences go deep and are unpredictable; they seem to make permanent solutions impossible, so long as Greece retains its identity. Perhaps it is true for all peoples that there are no "permanent solutions" and that most of what can be done in the present depends intimately on what has happened in centuries past. But these limitations upon self-determination are much more evident in Greece than in most other countries. After all, the light of Greece has long been known to make many things clearer there than they are likely to be elsewhere.

(G.An.)

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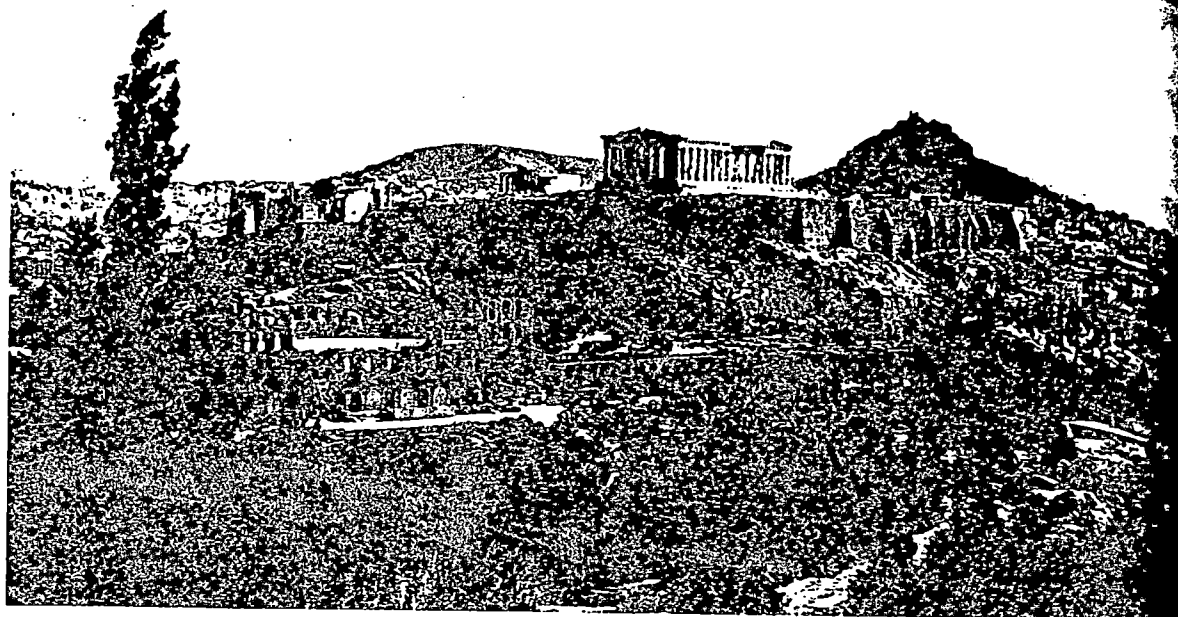
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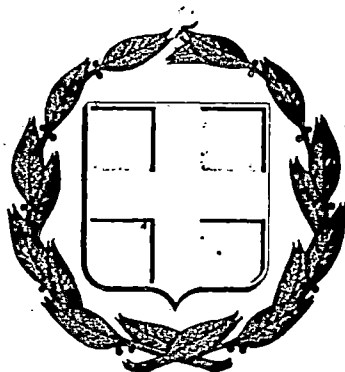
Social conditions. Changing Greek social conditions as well as the relatively unchanging Greek countryside, people, and customs are described in PATRICK L. FERMOR, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (1958); TIMOTHY WARE, *The Orthodox Church* (1963); ERNESTINE FRIEDL, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece* (1962); JOHN K. CAMPBELL, *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (1964); BERNARD KAYSER, PIERRE-YVES PECHOUX, and MICHEL SIVIGNON, *Rural Exodus and Urban Attraction in Greece* (1971); GEORGE ANASTAPLO, *The Constitutionalist* (1971), includes citations to 10 of the author's articles on contemporary Greek affairs republished in the *Congressional Record*, and his *Human Being and Citizen* (1975) has discussion of Greek affairs and character.

(Ed.)



The centuries-old Parthenon, crowning the ancient Acropolis, overlooks the modern city of Athens.

GREECE



Coat of Arms of Greece

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GREECE is a small country located in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. One of the world's greatest civilizations once flourished there. The modern state occupies not only the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula but also the Ionian Islands, lying off its west coast; the large island of Crete, to the south; and, except for Imbros (Turkish Imroz) and Tenedos (Turkish Bozcaada), all the main Aegean islands, including Rhodes.

In world politics Greece is a member of the Western bloc. A member of the Council of Europe, Greece joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952 and the European Economic Community (EEC), or Common Market, as an associate member in 1962. In its relations with its immediate neighbors, since World War II Greece has experienced periods of strain. With its three Communist neighbors to the north, who helped the Communists in Greece during the Greek civil war of 1944-1949, the strain has been ideological. But there have also been long-standing territorial issues. Greece still claims northern Epirus, or southern Albania; Yugoslavia has cast longing eyes on Greek Macedonia; and Bulgaria has claimed Thrace as well as Macedonia. Nonetheless, since 1948, relations with Yugoslavia have ranged from proper to cordial, and in 1965 diplomatic relations with Bulgaria were fully restored. Turkey, a member of the Western bloc, is formally allied with Greece as a comember of NATO. But in the mid-1950's the issue of the status of Cyprus revived historic Greco-Turkish hostility, and on two occasions after that almost precipitated war. Due to the sizable Greek communities in the Middle East and the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church there, Greece maintains cordial relations with both Israel and the Arab states.

Geographical Influences. Geography has always had a great influence on the Greeks and is responsible for many of the continuities of their long history. The mountains that chop up the Greek lands have contributed to localism and have been a major barrier to national unity. The difficulties of communication by land and the presence of the sea have made mariners out of some Greeks in every age. The limited natural resources of the Greek lands have always ensured a steady flow of Greeks to richer lands. Finally, the position of the Greek lands in the eastern Mediterranean basin, in close proximity to Asia and Africa, has made them a bridge between east and west, north and south.

The natural land bridges are two. The later route, along which the Romans once built the famous Via Egnatia, runs from the Albanian city of Durrës (Durazzo) on the Adriatic coast to

Salonika (Thessaloniki) and then along the northern Aegean coast to Istanbul (formerly Constantinople). The vertical route runs from Athens and points farther south, in the Peloponnesus, through the eastern part of the Greek mainland, intersects the lateral route at Salonika, and follows the Axios-Vardar-Morava river valley to the Danube River and thence into central Europe. In addition to the land routes, the sea constitutes a natural highway, with the numerous islands serving as stepping-stones, especially in the Aegean. These natural routes, along which armies, merchants, goods, and ideas could travel, have served as channels through which the Greeks could extend their influence or, alternatively, receive the influence of others.

Cultural Influences. Because of their curiosity, ingenuity, and gregariousness, as well as for this basic geographic reason, the Greeks as a people have never developed in isolation from the outside world. Their long and distinguished history has always been tied to that of other peoples and cultures, with periods of cultural borrowing alternating with periods of cultural ending.

During the 2d millennium B.C. the Greeks absorbed the influences of the older Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations through the Minoan society of Crete and produced the Mycenaean civilization that was celebrated in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. After absorbing the Dorian conquerors who descended from the north around 1100 B.C., the Greeks colonized western Asia Minor (Ionia), the Black Sea coast, Sicily, and points farther west in the Mediterranean. In this expanded Greek world, they developed the classical civilization that culminated in the achievements of 5th century Athens. Under Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C. the Greeks acquired an empire extending to India.

Subsequently, the Greeks fell under the western domination of Rome, but culturally they took their conquerors captive. During this same Roman period, they fell under the eastern spiritual dominion of Christianity, but gave it a Greek philosophical formulation that has remained important ever since. To Byzantium, the continuation of the Eastern Roman Empire after the 5th century A.D., they gave their language and a good part of their cultural heritage. Through Byzantium, they radiated the Greek Orthodox form of Christianity, a modified Greek alphabet (Cyrillic), and other cultural influences to the Slavs (Russians, Bulgarians, and Serbs).

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Greeks were conquered from the east by the Ottoman Turks, but in the process Greeks fleeing westward brought to the Renaissance West whatever classical Greek learning the West had not already absorbed. The long period of Ottoman domination continued the flow of Oriental influences that had also taken place in Byzantine times. However, in the 18th century, while still under Ottoman rule, the Greeks began to feel the first impact of modern Western civilization. It gave them a new appreciation of their classical heritage and intensified their desire for national independence. Thus, since the 15th century, the Greeks have been in one of their receiving periods of history. Modern Greek history has been the attempt of the Greeks to Westernize while remaining true to themselves.

Independent Greece. Greece, as an independent nation-state, is much younger than many other

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Hellenic Republic.

Head of State: President.

Head of Government: Premier.

Area: 50,960 square miles (131,986 sq km).

Boundaries: North, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria; east, Turkey; southeast, Aegean Sea; south, Mediterranean Sea; and west, Adriatic Sea.

Highest Point: Mt. Olympus (9,573 feet, or 2,917 meters).

Population: (1981 census) 9,740,151; (1971 census) 8,768,641.

Capital: Athens (population, 1981 census: 885,136; Athens Metropolitan Area, 3,027,331).

Major Language: Greek (official).

Major Religious Groups: Eastern Orthodox (97%); Muslim (1.3%).

Monetary Unit: Drachma (1 drachma equals 100 lepta).

Weights and Measures: Metric system.

Flag: White cross extending full length and height of the flag on a light blue field (adopted June 1975 to replace flag with nine white stripes).

National Anthem: *Ethnikos Hymnos* (Hymn of Liberty), written by Dionysios Solomos, set to music by Nicholas Mantzaros.

European countries. It achieved independence in 1830, after a decade of revolution, but with only about one third its present territory and with a majority of Greeks still under Ottoman rule. Relatively poor in natural resources, it has had a stormy history ever since. Until the years immediately following World War I, irredentism preoccupied the people, limited internal development of the country, and poisoned Greek-Turkish relations.

Since independence, political disunity and financial crises have been endemic in Greece, leading to continuous interference and domination by one or more of the world powers. Though Greece has been a monarchy, except for the period 1925-1935, the first dynasty was deposed in 1862, and in the 20th century three kings, including King Constantine in 1967, suffered exile at some point in their reigns. Coups d'état in response to political crises have not been infrequent.

Peace and prosperity have seldom been enjoyed by modern Greece for long. In the 20th century the country was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949. It fought on the Allied side in World Wars I and II. Between the two wars, Greece was especially unstable. The struggle between monarchists and republicans was bitter; the country faced the immense task of assimilating more than one million Greek refugees from Turkey and Bulgaria; and population growth outstripped economic progress. The Greeks suffered severe hardships under Axis occupation during World War II and barely escaped Communist domination during the long and bitter civil war of 1944-1949. Only since the 1950's have the Greeks enjoyed relative peace and a degree of prosperity.

Modern Greece

1. The People

The names "Hellas" and "Hellenes," by which the Greeks refer to the country and themselves, originally designated a small district and tribe in Phthiotis. The name "Hellenes" was not applied to the Greek people as a whole until the post-Homeric period. The word "Greek" is derived from the Latin term "Graecus."

What defines a Greek historically is his language and the culture it expresses, not his race. Racially, the Greek people are a composite of the various peoples who have settled in the region over the centuries. That was probably true of the classical Greeks, who were separated from the original Greek-speaking inhabitants of the region by at least 1,000 years. It is certainly the case with the Greeks of today. In the 6th and the following centuries A.D., the Slavs settled in the Greek lands, as place-names in Greece attest. They were followed in the Middle Ages by Latins and Franks, Albanians and Turks. But because of the remarkable ability of Greek culture to assimilate intruders, by the dawn of the modern era the overwhelming majority of those living in Greece still spoke Greek and identified themselves as Greeks.

Greece today is linguistically one of the most homogeneous nations of the world. Virtually the entire population speaks Greek. There are, however, various bilingual groups which together make up almost 3% of the population. These include Albanian-speaking people in Epirus and Attica, a few Bulgarian-speaking Slavs on the Macedonian border, and some nomads speaking a dialect of Rumanian called Vlach. These groups are all Orthodox Christian in faith. In Greek Thrace there are two distinct ethnic groups of

Muslims, who were exempted from the compulsory exchange of populations with Turkey in 1923: the Turkish-speaking descendants of Ottomans who settled there in the 14th century, and the Pomaks, descendants of pre-Ottoman inhabitants who converted to Islam during the Ottoman period. The latter speak a dialect akin to Bulgarian.

Language. Greek is an Indo-European language using a 24-letter alphabet. The use of Greek on the Greek mainland goes back to the early 2d millennium B.C. Modern Greek grew out of the popular Byzantine language, which in turn stemmed from the common language (Koine) used throughout the Greek world at the time of Alexander the Great. Turkish, Slavic, Albanian, Italian, and French words enriched the idiom.

The spoken form of the language (demotic) has become a rich and forceful literary medium. Alongside it there exists a purist form *Katharevousa* (Katharevousa), reconstructed at the beginning of the 19th century to accord more closely with ancient Greek. The latter is the official language of state and is used by the government, press, and universities.

Religion. The Eastern Orthodox faith is the official religion of Greece, though other faiths are tolerated. The Orthodox faith is professed by 97% of the population. Orthodoxy has traditionally commanded the loyalty of Greeks for spiritual reasons but also as a badge of nationality. Under Ottoman rule the Orthodox Church, headed by the patriarch of Constantinople, exercised civil as well as spiritual powers. When the Greeks achieved independence in 1830, the church in Greece withdrew from the control of the patriarch and became self-governing, or autocephalous. Ever since, it has been administered by a holy synod of bishops, subject to the control of the state, but it has maintained doctrinal unity with all other Orthodox churches. The chief primate of Greece is the archbishop of Athens. There is a married clergy, though only celibate priests may hold ranking positions within the hierarchy.

Among the religious minorities are the already mentioned Muslims of Greek Thrace, constituting about 1.3% of the population. There are also small communities of Roman Catholics, mostly remnants of Venetian times; Protestant products of 19th century missionary activity; Armenian Monophysites; and Jews.

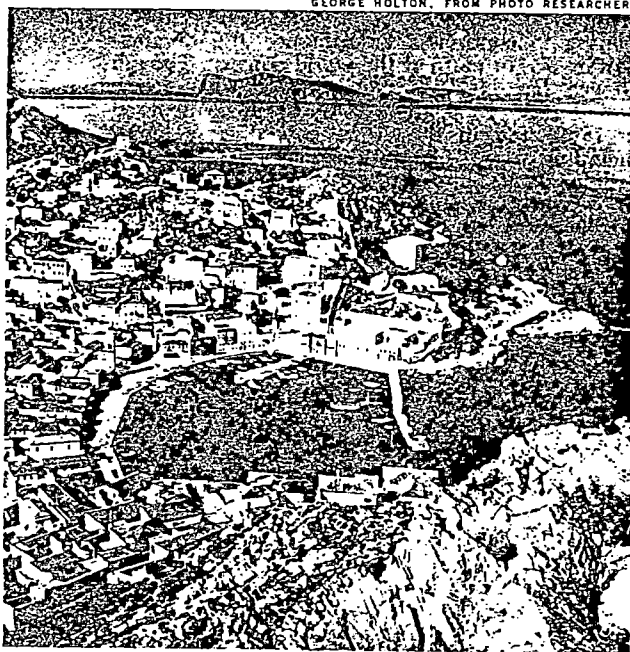
Population. The population of Greece, including the Greek islands, totaled 9,740,151 in the 1981 census. Since independence in 1830, it has multiplied more than 12 times, whereas the area of land has increased less than three times. The population density in 1981 was 191 persons per square mile (74 persons per sq km) of the total area, including the islands.

Greece suffered acutely from overpopulation in the years following World War I. More than one million refugees from Turkey and Bulgaria had to be absorbed. Also, foreign immigration restrictions cut off the emigration that had been taking place since the beginning of the century.

Since World War II, Greece has been spared the population explosion that has characterized many developing nations. But its low annual population growth was attributable in large part to renewed emigration. The number of emigrant

HYDRA, an island in the Aegean Sea, has a sheltered harbor that was once the center of a flourishing trade.

GEORGE HOLTON, FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS



OUTDOOR CAFÉS along the waterfront of Mykonos provide a cheerful welcome for tourists from the mainland of Greece, as well as for foreign visitors.



PETER THROCKMORTON, FROM NANCY PALMER

...until the mid-1970's and then declined sharply. The chief recipients were the United States, Canada, Australia, and West Germany.

Urbanization. Concurrently, there has been a massive internal movement of people from the countryside to the cities. The chief recipients of rural emigrants have been Athens and Salonika. Many other smaller cities have absorbed their share as well. As a result, in 1981, greater Athens, including the port of Piraeus, contained 31% of the country's total population, as compared with only 6% in 1920. Approximately half of the Greek population is now classified as urban, compared with slightly less than one third in 1928. A frenetic building boom has taken place to house the new urban residents. Glistening, ultramodern apartment buildings have transformed parts of Athens and Salonika.

Both population movements affected the distribution of the rural population between the infertile hills and the fertile plains. Before the war, hill villages had been overpopulated and therefore contained the most poverty-stricken segment of Greek society. Most of the postwar exodus to the cities or to foreign countries took place from the hill villages where the land was marginal. The population of the plains, where the land was amenable to mechanization, remained fairly stable.

Besides drawing off a portion of the rural inhabitants, the city has also extended its influence into the countryside through radio, newspapers, and a road system that reaches practically all the villages. The decline of rural isolation and self-sufficiency, which began before the war, has been intensified. Most villages now produce to profit rather than for mere subsistence, and therefore rely on the city to absorb their surpluses. Villagers, preferring standardized machine-made goods to their often aesthetically superior homemade clothes and household items, are dependent on the city for many essentials. Since most villagers have relatives in the city or abroad, their mental horizon transcends their immediate surroundings. They no longer accept poverty as an act of God and accordingly have been constantly absorbing rural immigrants. Urban dwellers generally maintain ties with the village of their origin, the ties that have retained at least some continuity with the past.

Social Structure. Social mobility has been a marked feature of modern Greek society. There is no hereditary aristocracy. Wealth, education, and personal achievement have been the chief determinants of social class. In the rural areas there are no fully formed social classes. The major social division is that between landowning and landless peasants. But most villagers own at least some land, and disparities of wealth and education are much less pronounced than in the cities.

In urban Greece, social classes are distinguishable. The upper class consists of shipowners, bankers, industrialists, and large-scale merchants. It also includes men of influence who may not be wealthy, such as leading politicians, senior military officers, and leaders in the professions and the arts, as well as self-made men who may not be educated. The middle class, a majority of the urban population, has two distinct parts. The upper part includes professional people, businessmen, officials, and senior executives. The lower middle class is made up of clerks, junior civil servants, small merchants and shopkeepers, craftsmen, and skilled workers. Finally, there is the lower class of unskilled, factory workers, drivers, and domestic servants.

Each social class has its own life-style. At least the educated and second-generation members of the upper class generally speak English or French fluently. They possess a cosmopolitan culture and indulge in conspicuous consumption. The middle classes tend to be thrifty and account for the remarkable growth of bank savings in Greece since World War II. The lower class, of limited education and often of recent rural origin, tends to be much closer to the rural areas in their style of life.

Social Values and Way of Life. The family plays a crucial role in Greek society. A closely knit unit, extending beyond a married couple and their children to include relatives as well, it commands a loyalty that overrides duty to other groups. Only the nation, and that only in time of crisis, can elicit equal devotion. Confidence and trust, self-sacrifice, and even friendship are usually restricted to the circle of one's family. Among Greeks who are not kinsmen, social obligations tend to be negative and marked by distrust. Cultivation of land or the running of a business tends to be a family enterprise because it allows men to pool their resources while sparing



HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON, FROM MAGNUM

LOCAL CRAFTS
shoppers to an outdoor
market in Sparta, which
lies just south of the ruins
of the ancient city

them the necessity of working for nonkinsmen or investing in larger enterprises beyond family control.

The family is not just concerned with the upbringing of the children. Its ultimate concern is their marriage and honorable establishment. Daughters generally receive dowries. Sons receive equal portions of what remains either during the lifetime of the father or through inheritance. Family solidarity is a protective device against threats from the state or rival groups. However, it inhibits cooperative ventures between unrelated families, such as community action, labor unions, or farm cooperatives, and makes it difficult for the state to mobilize the population as a whole for the pursuit of national goals.

Concern for honor and desire for social reputation are deeply engrained attitudes among the Greeks, as they were in Homeric times. In the past, desire for social approval elicited the degree of conformity that permitted the Greeks to retain their heritage under adverse conditions. In more recent times, however, it has been instrumental in making Greeks adaptable to rapid social change, once those with prestige have shown the way. The Greeks as a whole have always been quick-witted and curious, freedom loving, and egalitarian in spirit. They admire personal achievement, disdain manual labor, and have a keen taste for intellectualism, discussion, and politics.

In spite of Westernization, the rhythm of daily life in Greece still bears distinctive features. Due to underemployment, the Greek farmer enjoys a great deal of leisure time, especially during certain seasons of the year. He spends most of it among exclusively male company in the village coffee house (*cafeneion*), talking, playing backgammon, or just observing. Though rural women have less time for leisure, they do spend some of it in public, apart from the men, at the village fountain or in the village churchyard.

In the cities, too, Greeks spend most of their leisure time out-of-doors and in public. The workday starts early in the morning and extends into the early evening, but it is interrupted by a long siesta in the early afternoon, when offices and stores close. In the evening, after work, Greeks come out in full force to the public

squares, parks, and boulevards for a walk, a freshment, window-shopping, or just to see what is going on.

European-style clothing has universally replaced the traditional Greek garb, except for ceremonial and tourist purposes. Traditional dances, with several persons linked in a chain or with two dancing opposite each other, still prevail in the countryside and some have been revived in the dine-and-dance places (*tavernas*) of the cities. Some characteristically Greek items of diet are egg-lemon soup (*avgolemono*), stuffed vine leaves, various sorts of lamb dishes, a soft white cheese (*feta*), honeyed pastry of various types, a white resinated wine (*retsina*), an anise-flavored liqueur (*ouzo*), and demitasse coffee with a thick bottom of sediment.

Standard of Living. Following World War II there was a general rise in the standard of living. Real per capita income rose from \$15 in 1955 to more than \$500 in 1966. To be sure, inequalities among regions as well as group continue. Income levels in greater Athens are far greater than those in the provinces. Yet no important segment of Greek society has been excluded from this general improvement.

The rising standard of living is perhaps best reflected in dietary and health conditions, which before World War II were among the lowest in Europe. However, the composition of the average Greek diet, though now more varied and nutritional, still leaves much to be desired. The average life expectancy is about 69 years, and the country is free from endemic diseases.

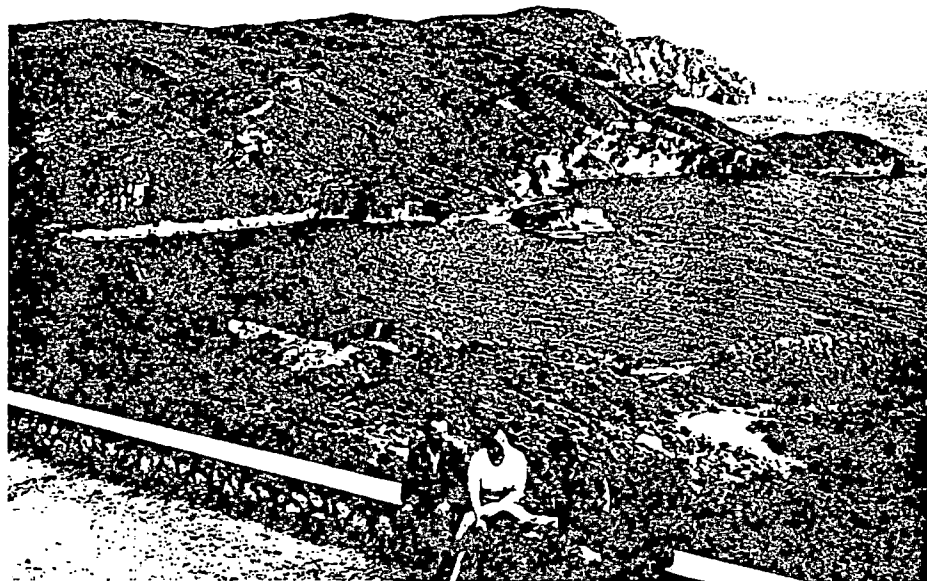
JOHN A. PETROPULOS, *Amherst College*

2. The Land and Natural Resources

Within Greece there are wide variations of climate. The northern areas have the hard winter and torrid summer of southern continental Europe; the peninsula and the islands have the short mild winter and long dry summer of the Mediterranean area. Also, the western areas are much wetter than the eastern areas; thus Corfu is much greener than Chios. Within each district the mountains and the sea provide minor variations of climate, so that occupations and foodstuffs are varied.

Greece is divisible into the mainland and the islands, and into highlands, hill country, and plains, each of which plays a different

THE ISLAND OF CORFU off the northwestern coast of Greece is one of the country's most beautiful islands. Its fertile soil produces olives and fruits.



J. ALLAN CASH, FROM RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

part in the country's economy. Capital, industry, and urban population are concentrated on the mainland at Athens and Salonika, situated in maritime plains, whereas Greek shipping is manned chiefly by islanders. The highlands provide timber, fodder, and pasture, especially for sheep; the plains are rich in cereals, tobacco, and rice; and the hill country provides olives, wine, figs, vegetables, maize, apples, pears, peaches, nuts, pasture, and charcoal. The seas breed fish, especially the tunny, in great numbers.

The Mainland. The mainland consists of northern Greece, central Greece, and the Peloponnese. Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, constituting northern Greece, are relatively rich in basic foodstuffs and large in population. Thrace and Macedonia have large plains and coastal flats that grow excellent cereals, cotton, and tobacco, and maintain cattle, while their mountains are forested at high levels with pine, fir, beech, and chestnut, and at lower levels with mixed deciduous timber. Apples, pears, and peaches are increasingly produced for export. Epirus, on the western side of the Pindus range, has fewer plains and more pasture. It produces cattle, sheep, maize, milk products, and, at Arta, olives, citrus fruits, and rice. Sheep graze in the mountains in the summer and in the lowlands in the winter.

In central Greece, Thessaly is the richest region. Cereals are grown and stock pastured on its three large plains, while the mountains and hills produce timber, fruit, nuts, and olives, and provide pasture. Trikkala and Larissa are the chief centers inland; Volos on the Gulf of Volos (Pagasai) is the chief port.

To the south the plains of Phocis and Boeotia are rich in wheat. Attica, with its light soil and Mediterranean climate, is suitable for the culture of the olive; its cereal-producing plains are small; its indented coast is well wooded with the small Mediterranean pine. The Athens-Piraeus metropolitan area, linking plain and coast together, is by far the largest center of population in Greece. The political and cultural capital, it lies at the focal point of seaborne commerce and overland traffic between northern Greece and the Peloponnese.

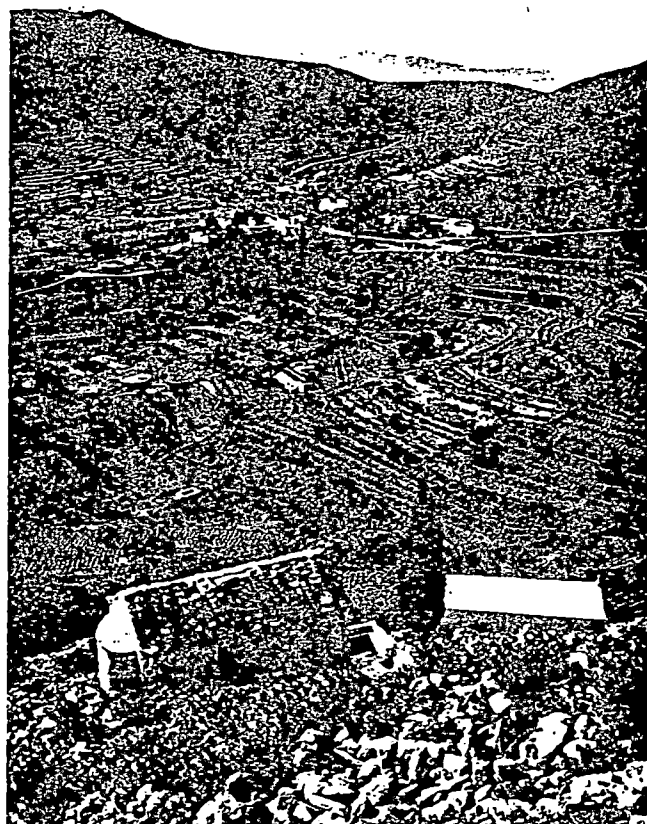
The western part of central Greece is much more mountainous. Parts of Acarnania and Elis are barren tracts of limestone; the population is relatively thin, except in the plain of

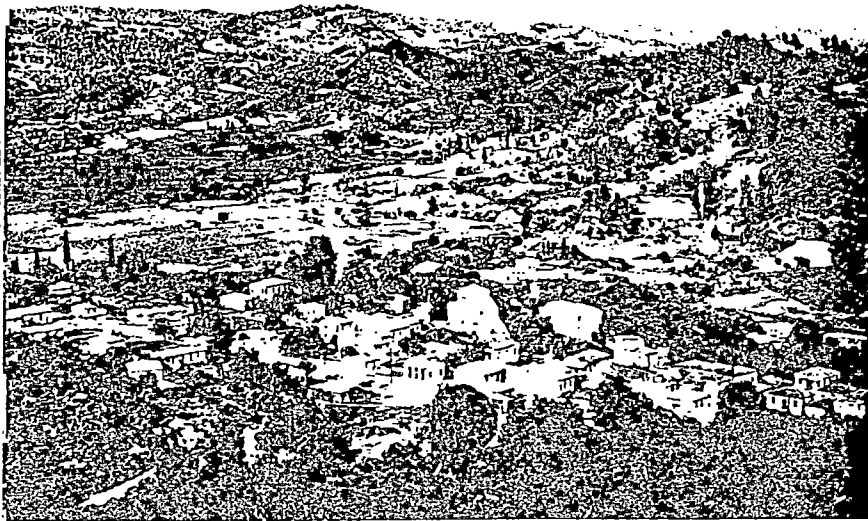
Agrinion, where fine tobacco is grown and processed. The southern coast facing the Gulf of Corinth is generally rugged; Naupaktos and Itea are its chief ports.

The Peloponnese is entered via Megara, a wine-producing area. Corinthia, Achaea, and Elis grow most of the grapes for the currant and sultana raisins that Greece exports. The Isthmus Canal being little used, Corinth has be-

TERRACED HILLSIDES on the island of Aegina enable crops to be raised on otherwise unusable land.

ERICH HARTMANN, FROM MAGNUM





J. ALLAN CASH, FROM RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

THE VILLAGE OF OLYMPIA lies in a lush valley near the site of the ancient sanctuary. Here were held the famous Olympic Games of antiquity.

come a provincial town. Patras in Achaea is the main center of export from the Peloponnesus. Elis, a rich farmland, has only one port, Katakolon. In the south the alluvial basins of Kalamata and Sparta are very fertile, but water for irrigation is in short supply. In the center, Arcadia's limestone mountains have meager pastures and pockets of arable land, the largest of which is in the area around Tripolis. To the east, Argolis and Epidaurus resemble Attica in climate and products, but the population is rural. The Peloponnesus, so nearly an island, has an ethos of its own; life is hard but sunny, and a diet of bread, cheese, olives, garlic, and wine seems to suffice.

The islands. The islands fall into groups. The western, Ionian islands, enjoying more rainfall, are more productive and more wooded than those east of the mainland; thus Corfu (Kerkira), which has the densest rural population in Greece, is able to export olives, fruit and wine. These islands control the coasting trade, Corfu having special importance as the key to the Adriatic.

East of the mainland, Cythera (Kithira), Aegina, and Euboea controlled the coastal trade at various times in history, but not today. Only Euboea is rich in its own right: it has timber, pasture, cereals, olives, and vines; it trades with the mainland opposite; and its channel offers shelter to small ships.

Between Euboea and the Dardanelles, the Northern Sporades have good harbors, little soil, and some olive groves, while Lemnos, having better soil, produces timber, cattle, cereals, and wine. Lemnos' harbor is magnificent. Well-wooded Thasos, and Samothrace with its granite peak, like the three prongs of the peninsula of Chalcidice on the mainland, have more rainfall and are more fertile than the outlying islands.

In the central Aegean the Cyclades are similar to Attica in climate and olive production, and the people engage in seafaring. Eastward the largest islands off Turkey—Lesbos, Chios, and Samos—are relatively rich in olives, wine, figs, fruit, and mastic gum. To the southeast the Dodecanese include small, almost waterless islands, where men live mainly from the sea; two larger islands, Kos and Karpathos, produce olives, wine, and fruit. Rhodes lies at the southeastern gate of the Aegean basin. Once famous for its forests, Rhodes still exports olives, wine, fruit, vegetables, and honey.

The largest Greek island, Crete, forms the southern side of the Aegean basin. Its mountains once forested with cypress, cedar, pine, and oak, are now mostly bare, but the rich alluvial plains and the fertile hillsides give it a favorable balance of trade. Its better ports face the Aegean.

N. G. L. HAMMOND
University of Bristol

3. The Economy

As a result of foreign occupation during World War II and the long civil war that followed (1944–1949), economic recovery started later in Greece than in most war-torn countries. Yet, thanks to massive U. S. economic aid, it had been achieved by 1950–1951 and the basis laid for economic expansion. In 1953 the Greek government devalued the currency by 50%, initiating the monetary stability that lasted until the early 1960's. It also removed many import controls, making it easier to acquire equipment and machinery. United States aid declined rapidly after 1952, and direct assistance ceased in 1961.

The rapid expansion of the Greek economy after 1950 was apparent in an annual growth rate of the gross domestic product that averaged 7.3% between the mid-1940's and the mid-1960's and about 5% by the mid-1970's.

By tradition an agricultural country, Greece experienced a significant change at the beginning of the 1970's, when manufacturing began to count for a greater share of the gross domestic product than did agriculture. While agricultural production accounted for more than 90% of the country's exports in 1960, it dropped to about 36% by 1974. At the same time, the increased industrial production accounted for nearly 64% of the exports by 1974. In the mid-1970's, industrial production was increasing at a rate of about 10% annually.

An adverse balance of trade existed after the pre-World War II period despite a fourfold increase in exports between 1963 and 1973. The deficit was offset in part by a remarkable improvement in invisible receipts from shipping, tourism, and emigrants' remittances.

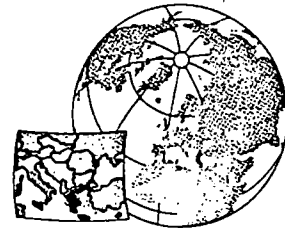
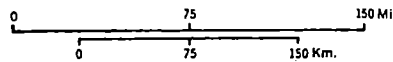
Economic expansion led to a serious problem of inflation. By the late 1970's, with the annual inflationary rate at 15%, the government was forced to take emergency actions.

Greece's principal trading partner has been the European Economic Community (EEC), in which



GREECE

TOPOGRAPHY



Below Sea Level	100 m.	200 m.	500 m.	1,000 m.	2,000 m.	5,000 m.
	328 ft.	656 ft.	1,640 ft.	3,281 ft.	6,562 ft.	16,404 ft.

LAGE OF OLYMPIA
lush valley near the
the ancient sanctuary
re held the famous
Games of antiquity

Crete, forms the
basin. Its mountains
cedar, pine, and
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N. G. L. HAMMOND
University of Bristol

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ATHANASIOS TSAGRIS, FROM PHOTO RESEARCH

Greece, where almost half of the population subsists by farming, is a land of small, individually owned farmsteads.

it attained associate membership in 1962. Greece's relationship with the European Economic Community, or Common Market, involved mutual reduction of tariffs over a 20-year period and led to western European, especially German, replacement of the United States as the major source of public loans to Greece. Greece was admitted to full membership in 1979, effective in 1981 after completion of all necessary ratifications.

Power. Before World War II, Greece's per capita production of electricity was the lowest in Europe. Recognizing that industrialization depended on the availability of electric power, the Greek state embarked on a nationwide electrification program. Between 1966 and 1971, electric power production was nearly doubled as both hydroelectric and coal-fueled plants were added. Virtually all of Greece's public power system is state owned.

Fuel and power resources remain inadequate. High-grade coal is lacking and nine tenths of its lignite (brown coal) is used to generate electric power. In February 1974 the Greek government announced that oil and gas had been struck in commercial quantities in the Aegean, a few miles off the island of Thasos.

Mining and Metallurgy. There is a wide variety of minerals available in Greece, such as bauxite, lignite, chromiferous iron, barite, sulfur, magnesite, iron, emery, chromite, and marble. The basic metal industry of Greece produces such items as iron reinforcing bars, magnesite, and lead, as well as steel, aluminum, and copper sheets. Yet the mining industry provides only a small percentage of the national income and labor force. In the 1970's the minerals industry expanded considerably, as to both exploration for new ore deposits and building of new ore-processing facilities. Most mines are privately owned, but the government's policy aims at development of the mineral industry through better mechanization, financing, transportation, and exploration.

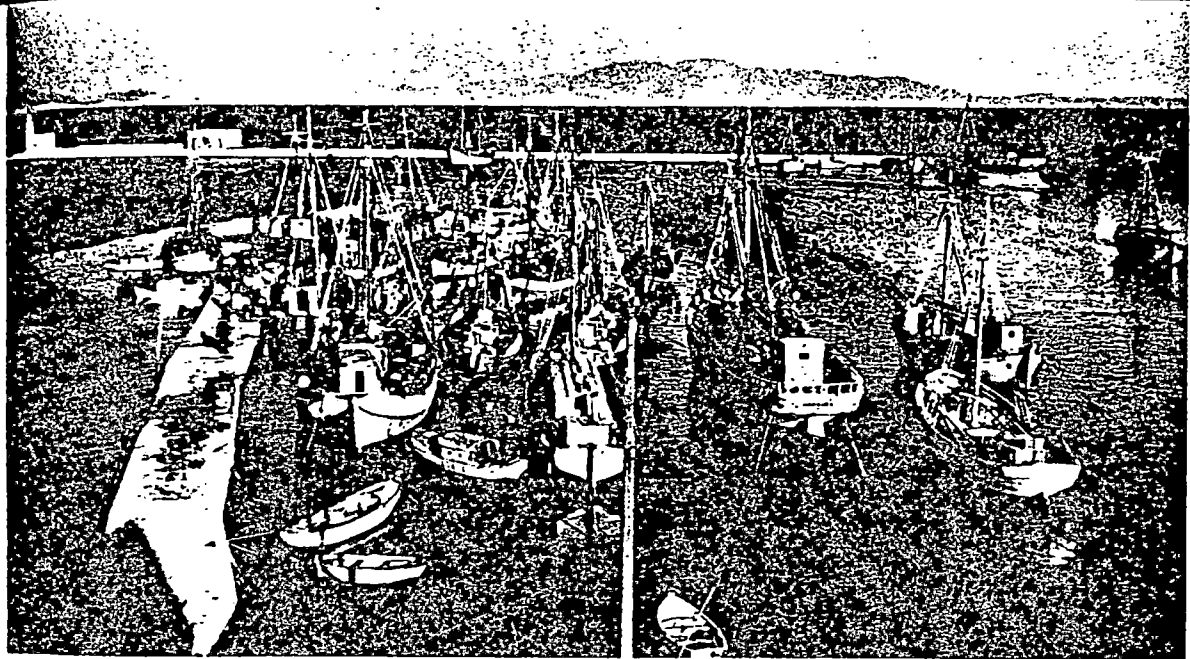
Manufacturing. The Greek manufacturing industry originated at the very end of the 19th century and gained steadily between World Wars I and II. Since then it has made striking gains.

Between 1953 and 1963 its output doubled. Its annual rate of growth averaged 9% between 1948 and 1964 and reached as high as 11.7% in 1965-1966. Textiles, food processing, chemicals, metals, cigarettes, paper products, cement, and steel are major industries. The building construction industry has grown considerably since the civil war that ended in 1949.

Developing out of small artisan businesses, manufacturing is still largely a matter of small family enterprises engaged in inefficient, non-specialized, small-scale production. Yet relatively few firms account for the bulk of production and industry is still concentrated in the area of Athens and Salonika. Some economists complain that too small a portion of available capital is being invested in manufacturing as compared with other sectors of the economy. All agree that there is a serious shortage of factory management. Protected by a high tariff wall until 1953, Greek manufacturing has concentrated almost exclusively on the domestic market.

Yet large-scale industry, operating efficiently with modern machinery and adequate power, is being developed, much of it built by foreign private investment. Two such enterprises are the great aluminum refinery on the Corinthian Gulf and the Esso-Pappas complex of petroleum, metallurgical, and chemical factories near Salonika. Thanks to them, Greece is exporting aluminum, nickel, iron products, and liquid fuel. Fertilizer production and shipbuilding were also new industries. Association with the Common Market has made further modernization a necessity. It means that Greek industry will have to compete with the more efficient industry of western Europe to sell its goods, even within Greece.

Agriculture. Only about 29% of the land surface of Greece is arable. Yet almost one half the population depends on farming for a livelihood. As a result of government division of large estates before World War II, and of the practice of dividing the land among all the children of a landowner, Greece is a land of small, individually owned farmsteads. These are almost all subdivided into a number of widely dispersed plots.



PETER THROCKMORTON, FROM NANCY PALMER

One of Greece's many small fishing fleets, which for centuries have plied the surrounding seas for their catch.

Though holdings are too small and fragmented to be farmed efficiently, the government has abstained from forced collectivization, and there has been little response to its legislation for voluntary land consolidation.

Agricultural productivity has increased markedly since World War II, though the annual growth rate has been somewhat sporadic and lower than that of industry. A good deal of this growth resulted from the extension of cultivated areas. Much also came from improvements in the yield of already cultivated land, through irrigation, better seed, and fertilizer. However, by the late 1970's, agriculture contributed only a little over one third of the country's exports.

Wheat, olives, and vines, the basis of traditional Greek agriculture, still play an important part in meeting the nutritional needs of the Greek people. In 1957, Greek farmers succeeded, for the first time, in growing enough wheat to meet the nation's need for bread. Olive trees, of which Greece is the third- or fourth-largest grower, satisfy the nation's demand for oils. Vines provide the domestic market with wine. Since World War II rice has become an important crop. Agricultural commodities for export are tobacco (the most important), currants and other raisins, citrus, table grapes, and other fruits, and cotton. All but the first two have assumed their importance since World War II.

The government has attempted to diversify the crop pattern through a decrease in wheat and tobacco production and an increase in the output of fruits, vegetables, rice, cotton, sugar, and livestock. There is a growing foreign demand for fruits, vegetables, and cotton. These products require more intensive labor for their production and bring greater monetary rewards than does the production of wheat. Thus they reduce rural unemployment and bring farmers greater profits. The raising of livestock, dairy farming, and the growing of sugar beets, industries which are still underdeveloped, are calculated to provide the meat, dairy products, and sugar that now have to be imported to meet the nation's demand for a more varied diet. As yet, the principles of modern animal husbandry are little practiced.

The cattle population is relatively small, fodder is scarce, and natural pastures have contracted as cultivation has expanded.

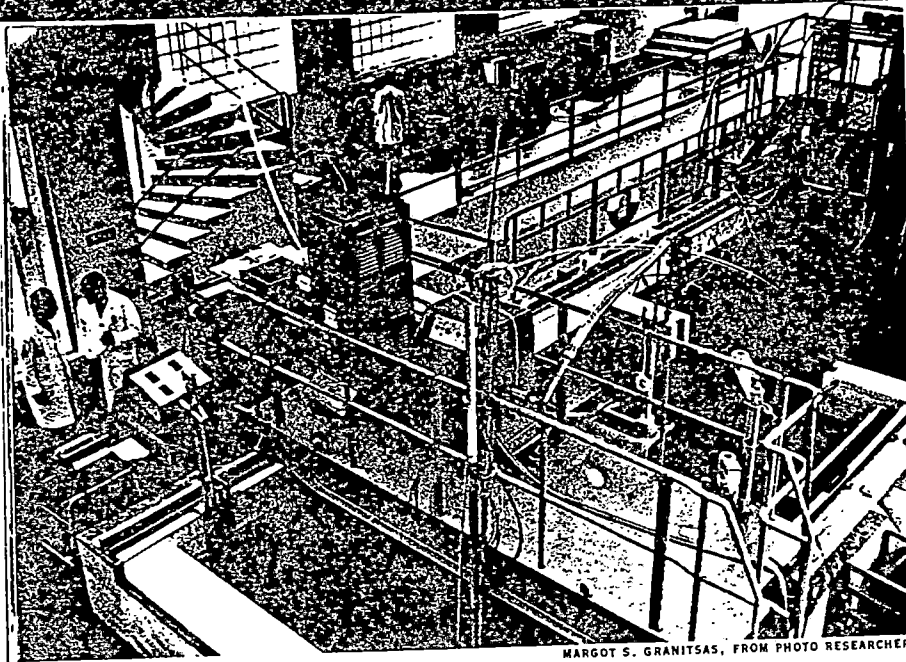
International Trade. Between the late 1930's and the mid-1970's, Greek foreign trade increased by nearly 340%. Imports rose by more than 400% and exports by more than 240%. Thus an increasingly adverse balance of trade became a regular feature of the Greek economy for many years. The excessive rise in imports was partly a consequence of modernization, which necessitated the purchase abroad of tractors, industrial machinery, and transportation equipment, and partly because of increased purchases of consumer goods.

In 1970, industrial products accounted for more than half of Greek exports. Within about five years, exports were divided roughly into two thirds industrial and one third agricultural products. Greece's continuing problem was that some of its exports were largely in the luxury or semi-luxury category, the demand for which drops in times of recession, while a sizable portion of imports consisted of essentials.

About half of Greece's trade is with the EEC countries, of which West Germany commands the greatest share. The United States and Britain also remain important trading partners. Although the Communist countries play a far smaller role in the country's foreign trade, Greece has a higher export dependence on them than do other members of the EEC.

Transportation and Communications. The main highways and railroads of Greece follow natural historic routes. The railways system, rebuilt after World War II to its prewar extent, has given way to roads as the chief means of transportation. Great advances have been made in roadbuilding. The main highways were widened and improved. Even more important, the construction of secondary roads has ended the centuries-old isolation of many villages.

Maritime transportation and shipping have always been important in Greece. Among the many ports of Greece, Piraeus (the port of Athens), Salonika, and Patras are the most important. Piraeus is one of the chief ports of the Mediterranean and handles 60% of all Greek



MARGOT S. GRANITSAS, FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS

THE NUCLEAR REACTOR at Democritos, the nuclear research center outside Athens, is illustrative of the advances being made in all phases of Greek life.

shipping. Salonika is the outlet for other Balkan countries as well as for Greece's northern provinces. Ferries connect Patras with the western mainland and with Brindisi, Italy. The Greek merchant fleet ranks fifth in the world in tonnage (more than 25 million tons in 1976). Greek-owned vessels flying foreign flags totaled over 23 million tons in that year. Receipts from shipping constitute one of the major sources of invisible earnings.

Olympic Airways, a private company primarily owned by Greeks, has maintained a monopoly on Greek air transport since 1952. From Athens airport, it maintains regular air services with all parts of Greece and the rest of the world. Greece has nationwide telephone and telegraph systems, both of them government-controlled. By the constitution of 1975, radio and television broadcasting also were placed under government control.

Tourism. Because of its antiquities, mild climate, and scenic beauty, Greece has long been a land of tourism. But only after World War II was there a concerted attempt to have tourism play a vital part in the economy. This effort included the building of roads, the construction of modern hotels, the organization of coach tours, cruises, and drama and music festivals, and the establishment of information offices abroad. By the late 1970's, over 4 million tourists visited Greece annually. Tourism has become one of the major sources of invisible earnings.

4. Education

Greeks have long treasured education as a channel of social mobility, as a means of recovering their glorious past, and as a way to achieve national progress. The modern revival of education started in the 18th century under Ottoman rule and played a vital role in stimulating the desire for national independence. After independence the state adopted the principle of free, compulsory, public education. But because of limited resources, implementation of this principle came very slowly. Only in 1929 was education made compulsory at the primary level, and the length of compulsory education has never been permanently extended since then. Only in 1964 was education made free at all levels. Since World War I, but at a greater pace since World

War II, the number of schools and teachers, as well as the proportion of the young people in school, has increased. One indicator of this is the rise in literacy from 39% of the population aged 10 years or older in 1907 to 88% in 1972.

Elementary education covers six years of study between the ages of 6 and 12. Secondary school education has been divided, since 1964 into two successive 3-year cycles, the gymnasium and the lyceum. Higher education is provided by five universities in Athens, Salonika, Patras, Jannina, and Komotini, and by more than a dozen other schools with university status, each specializing in a separate field. Besides these three basic cycles, there is also preschool and vocational education. Nine years of education became compulsory by 1980 under the constitution adopted in 1975.

The role of private education in the total educational system varies according to the level of education. At the primary level, private schools are few except in Athens. At the secondary level, they are important throughout the country. Higher educational institutions are mostly state financed.

The percentage of the student population completing secondary school in Greece greatly exceeds that of several Western European countries, while the proportion of university graduates runs equal to or slightly greater than theirs. However, the quality of education in Greece does not equal the numbers educated. There are too few teachers and schools for the number of students. Teaching methods are outmoded and textbook deficient. In terms of educational needs, too small a portion of the national budget is spent on education. The curriculum is overwhelmingly "classical" and deficient in technical subjects. As a result, there is an excess of lawyers and civil servants, while engineers, economists, technicians and business managers are in short supply. Of the thousands of Greek students who annually study in foreign universities, a large percentage concentrate in scientific and technical fields.

In spite of its shortcomings, the educational system is contributing to social mobility. For instance, as far back as 1961, nearly half of the students at Athens and Salonika universities came from families of farmers and other laborers.

JOHN A. PETROPULOS*, Amherst College

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SITES ON MAP
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5. Sites of Tourist Interest

The following sites are of major interest:

Athens. Structures on the Acropolis include the Propylaea, the temple of Athena Nike, the Erechtheum, and the Parthenon. Among other classical remains in the city are the Agora, the reconstructed stoa of Attalus, the Roman Odeum of Atticus and the Theater of Dionysus, and the temple of Hephaestus.

Bassae. The Doric temple of Apollo Epicurius is one of the best-preserved Greek temples. It was built by Ictinus.

Cape Sounion. On this cape at the eastern tip of the Attic peninsula stand remains of the Doric temple dedicated to Poseidon, god of the sea.

Corinth. The acropolis (Acrocorinth) of the city is 1,857 feet (566 meters) high. Ruins near the Acrocorinth include a temple of Apollo, a theater, stoas, an odeum hewn out of rock, the spring of Pirene, and part of the road to Lechaum.

Delphi. Impressive ruins include the Temple of Apollo, the theater and stadium, a tholos or round building, the reconstructed treasury of Athens, and treasuries of several other city-states. Mt. Parnassus looms 8,062 feet (2,457 meters) over Delphi; it and neighboring Mt. Helicon were the home of the Muses.

Eleusis. Located 12 miles (29 km) west of Athens, Eleusis was one of the most sacred sites in all of Greece. It contains the ruins of a great hall of initiation into the cult of Demeter, and the Great Propylaea, built about 170 A. D.

Epidauros. The ruins of this complex dedicated to Asclepius include the Temple of Asclepius, a tholos, baths, and a gymnasium. The great theater (4th century B. C.) is still used.

Marathon. The plain where the Athenians defeated the Persians in 490 B. C. lies 20 miles (32 km) northeast of Athens; the mound for the Athenian dead can be seen.

Mycenae. The capital of the legendary Agamemnon is situated high above the plain of Argos. The court and megaron of the palace of the Atridae have been partially restored. Other remains of the Mycenaean period include the Lion Gate, cyclopean walls, Grave Circles A and B, the house of the oil merchant, the Treasury of Atreus (a royal tomb of about 1300 B. C.) and the so-called tomb of Clytemnestra.

Olympia. Beginning in 776 B. C., the Olympic Games were held here for almost 1,000 years. Extant remains include the entrance to the stadium, the temples of Zeus and Hera, and the foundations of several 6th century B. C. treasuries.

Sparta. There remains only a low hill, which was the acropolis for a group of separate villages—there was no central city of monumental structures.

Thermopylae. Recession of the shoreline has enlarged the narrow pass between the mountains and the Malian Gulf, where Xerxes and the Persians defeated the Spartans in 480 B. C. Visitors can see the "burial mound of Leonidas" and the springs from which the pass derives its name.

Tiryns. Cyclopean circuit walls and the ruins of a Mycenaean palace are situated near the sea on a rock 263 feet (80 meters) high.

For additional ancient sites on Crete and the other Greek islands see articles on the individual islands.

SELECTED ANCIENT SITES ON MAINLAND GREECE

The map shows some of the many reminders of a culture from which Roman, and later Western, civilizations evolved.



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7. Modern Culture

Among the many factors that have shaped the cultural life of modern Greece, two of the most important are the history of the country and its geographical location.

From the historical point of view, modern Greek culture is both old and new. It is old not only because it developed in an environment of ancient marbles, Byzantine churches, and countless monuments, but also because, in the people's songs, in folk art, and in popular customs, elements still exist that go back to Homer's day. Past eras, indigenous developments, and the influence of the peoples who conquered or came in contact with Greece have been integrated in the cultural patterns of the present-day Greeks. At the same time, modern Greek culture is young because Greece became independent only in 1829, after almost four centuries of Turkish rule. Born when romanticism was at its peak in Europe, Greece accepted it, as well as the reactions against it, and all the currents that followed. It is notable, however, that modern Greeks have inherited from their forefathers a tendency to be selective in their cultural borrowings. They adopt only those foreign patterns that are suitable, and then assimilate and develop them until they bear a genuine and unmistakable Greek stamp.

Geography has played an important role as history in the cultural life of the nation. From very ancient times, Greece, located at the junction of East and West, developed two cultural characteristics. One is the Apollonian: clear, full of light, well defined, rational. The other is the Dionysian: dim, passionate, instinctive, mystical. Both elements have existed side by side, at times clashing with each other and causing serious cultural problems.

LITERATURE

The revolution of 1821 opened a new era in Greek literature. The same problems and currents then prevalent in most European countries found expression in the poetry and prose of the infant nation. The new literary production, however, owed much to the indigenous literary and cultural achievements of the 17th and 18th centuries. These included a greater quantity and higher quality of literary production; the development of individualism in writing; a more widespread use of the vernacular as a literary medium; the development of a body of literary criticism that reevaluated existing aesthetic principles; and the growth of a wider audience for literature. The 17th and 18th centuries also saw the influence on literature of the ideals of humanism and of the Enlightenment, and the replacement of Italy by France as the chief foreign literary influence. Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Ionian Islands were the principal centers of literary activity during this period.

During the prerevolutionary period, there was continued development of a folk poetry whose origins dated back to the Homeric period. This poetry had come down through the ages, continually being enriched with new experiences, and reached the 19th century with all its freshness and genuineness unspoiled. It was a masterly expression of the Greek soul and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for each succeeding generation. Set to music, it sang of every phase of the people's life: work, love, war, and death. It sang also of the beauties of nature and of the events

of ancient times. During the immediate revolutionary period, one specific group of songs reached its fullest development: *klephtika*, or songs about outlaws in the mountains who lived a life like Robin Hood's, defied Turkish rule. Epic and symbolic, and moving, these songs told of the hard life of the Klephts and of their heroism and gallantry. They were both a challenging denunciation of tyranny and a hymn to freedom.

Ionian School. Two poets who stood far above their contemporaries in the new period that began with the revolution of 1821 were Andreas Kalvos (1796-1869) and Dionysios Solomos (1797-1857). Kalvos was educated in Italy, where he met his compatriot from the island of Zakynthos (Zakynthos), Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), who inspired him with a love of the classics and taught him the technique of poetry. In 1824, Kalvos published his *Lyra*, 10 odes in Greek, which followed by 10 more in 1826. The greatness of his poetry lies in his genuine lyricism and in his powerful expression of the lofty ideals of virtue and freedom. His work shows the influence of neoclassicism in its solemn and balanced expression, but its tone reveals a slight tendency toward romanticism. Its language is a mixture of archaic and modern expressions, accentuating the neoclassical character of the odes. Kalvos influenced modern poetry, particularly that written after 1900.

Dionysios Solomos also was born on Zakynthos. He studied law at the University of Pavia in Italy, but he soon abandoned it for literature. The conflict between romanticism and classicism, the doctrines of the *philosophes*, and the ideas of the French Revolution aroused his interest. Like Kalvos, he wrote his first poems in Italian. In 1818, Solomos returned to Zante, and his poems in Greek were on Greek subjects and reflected a deep romantic feeling. The revolution of 1821 provided him with fresh poetic inspiration. In 1823 he composed his *Hymn to Liberty*, which was set to music in 1828 and in 1864 became the national anthem of Greece. In 1828 Solomos left Zante for the neighboring island of Corfu, where, after a lonely life of study and writing, he died in 1857. His brilliant imagination, sincere emotion, masterly technique, pure lyricism, combined with an ardent liberalism and love of freedom, made him the greatest of the poets of modern Greece. His poetry, consisting at first of simple and emotional lyrics, became, after his contact with German romantic philosophy, lofty and idealistic. Freedom, death, and life took on deeper meanings for him, and Solomos, without becoming a philosopher-poet, endeavored to get at the absolute essence of his subjects. He was always concerned with the conflict between romanticism and classicism and finally managed to achieve in his poetry an admirable balance of sentiment and thought.

In prose, Solomos left few works. His main contributions are his *Dialogue*, written sometime between 1823 and 1825, and *The Woman of Zante* (1826). The *Dialogue*, the serious piece of criticism in modern Greek literature, is an eloquent and inspired defense of the vernacular, written in the form of a dialogue. *The Woman of Zante*, a satiric work written in a masterly vernacular, is a strong condemnation of the ugliness the writer found in contemporary society and a diatribe against those who did not sympathize with the struggle for freedom.

Besides Kalvos and Solomos, the school of the Ionian Islands included in its first period (until about 1880) several other literary figures. Some of the more important were Antonios Matesses (1794-1875), known especially for his *Vassilikos* (about 1830), a remarkable play written in the vernacular; Iakovos Polyas (1826-1896), a fine poet and serious critic, influenced by Solomos; Athanasios Typaldos (1814-1883), whose poetry is characterized by a deep religious and mystical feeling; and Georgios Kalosgouras (1849-1902), known especially for his translations into Greek of Solomos' Italian poems and of other Italian literature. After the middle of the 19th century, a group of new authors continued the tradition of this school, but by then stronger ties existed between the literary production of the Ionian Islands and that of the mainland.

Early Athenian Writers. In Athens, in the early 19th century, a group from Phanar, the famous Greek quarter of Constantinople, gave a different flavor to literary expression. When the Phanariots migrated to the newly liberated Athens, their superior education and broader background enabled them to dominate the intellectual life of the capital. Deeply influenced by the French romanticists and the glories of antiquity and attached to the "pure" language as opposed to vernacular Greek, they created a different climate from that of the Ionian Islands. Among the most distinguished of these writers were Alexandros Soutsos (1803-1863), best known as a satirist with liberal tendencies and a great facility in turning verse; his brother, Panayiotis Soutsos (1806-1868), whose patriotic and love poems were modeled after those of the French romanticists; and Alexandre Rizos Rangabé (Alexandros Rizos Rhangaves, 1810-1892), who left a voluminous body of work in all literary genres.

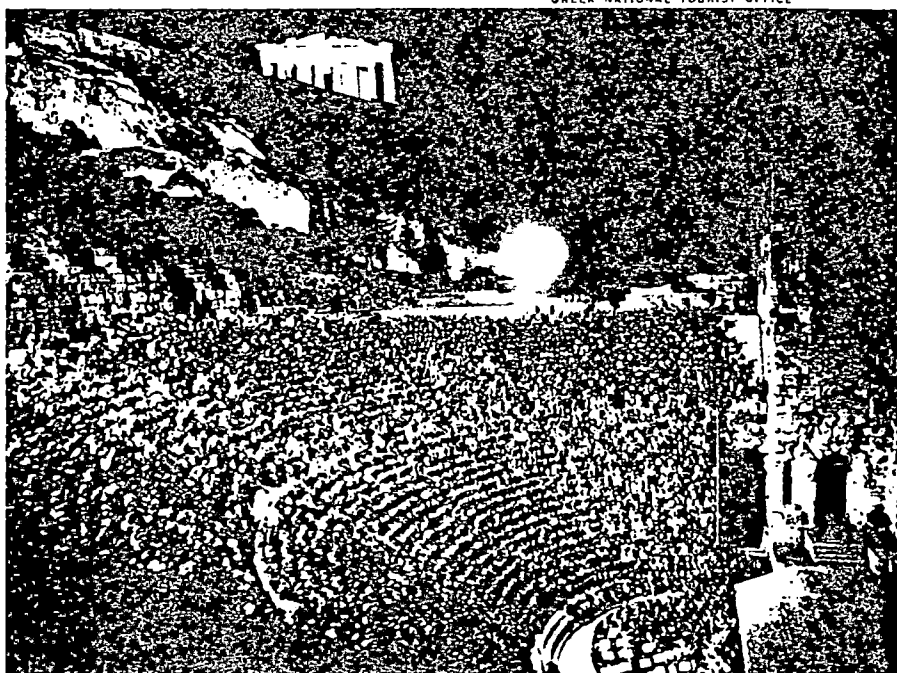
Old School of Athens. The road to romanticism is now open, and the next generation, known as the old school of Athens, between 1850 and 1870 developed romanticism to its highest point.

Shallow and highly colored, with little technical or aesthetic value, the poetry of this period, written mostly in the pure language, provided an outlet for buoyant patriotism, melodramatic love, and everyday politics. Some of the most distinguished poets of this school were Demetrios Paparregopoulos (1843-1873); Spyridon Vasilades (1845-1874); Georgios Paraschos (1822-1886); and his brother, Achilles Paraschos (1838-1895), who was widely read, exercised a great influence, and is considered the best representative of this period.

Meanwhile, a reaction against the excesses of the romanticists developed into a general demand for higher quality and new forms in literature. This reaction was stimulated by contact with literary men from the Ionian Islands, like Georgios Tertsetes (1800-1874), a sensitive poet with a strict devotion to the tradition of the Ionian school; Brailas Armenes (1812-1884), aesthetician and philosopher; Georgios Zolokostas (1805-1858), a lyricist; Aristoteles Valaorititis (1824-1879), a dynamic, eloquent poet who followed his Ionian compatriots in the use of the vernacular and the folk songs as prototypes, but the Athenian school in his technique and romantic style; and Andreas Laskaratos (1811-1901), a liberal writer noted for his criticisms of contemporary social conditions.

The prose of the second half of the 19th century is on a lower level than the poetry. Some notable exceptions are the few prose writings of Solomos and the memoirs and autobiographies of some of the leaders of the revolution. The most important of the latter is the *Memoirs* of the revolutionary hero John Makriyannis (1797-1864). His narrative is vivid and possesses the finest qualities of folk art; his *Memoirs* is one of the masterpieces of Greek literature. The best novels of the period were *Thanos Vlekas* by Pavlos Kalligas (1814-1896) and *The Heroine of the Greek Revolution* by Stephanos Xenos (1821-1894).

GREEK NATIONAL TOURIST OFFICE



ROMAN ODEUM, on the slope of the Acropolis, Athens, provides the setting for modern productions of classical Greek dramas.

Another exception to the generally low level of prose during this period is *Pope Joan*, written in 1866 by Emanuel Rhoides (1835-1904). This witty and articulate novel is significant because, though its story takes place in the Middle Ages and its author pretends that he is writing a romantic novel of the Walter Scott type, it contains a great protest against the excesses of contemporary romanticism and introduces into Greek prose a new emphasis on rationalism and realism. The example of Rhoides, who was also a respected critic, encouraged the younger generation to find new media of expression. In 1879 the novel *Loukis Laras* by Demetrios Bikelas (Vikelas, 1835-1908) showed some of the results of this encouragement. Its simplicity, grace, and form reveal striking divergences from the works of the Athenian romanticists.

New School of Athens. The last two decades of the 19th century in Greece were a period of increasing social differentiation, economic bankruptcy, and political corruption, culminating in the catastrophe of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897. It was in this period of contrasts and conflicts, when out of frustration and disappointment a demand for a national rebirth began to arise, that there appeared the generation of the 1880's, known as the new school of Athens. It was a small group of enlightened men, most of them young, who, challenging the standards of their day and utilizing everything valuable in the Greek tradition, endeavored to express a new spirit.

Their leader was the poet Kostas Palamas (1859-1943), who was the dominant figure on the Greek literary scene for more than 60 years. His work is distinguished by profound thought and inspiration and by a complete mastery of metrical technique. He embraced the Psichari movement for the use of the vernacular, broke with the romanticists, honored folk poetry, and emphasized the significance of the Ionians, especially Solomos and Kalvos. By 1900, Palamas' purpose was clear: to express the continuity of the Hellenic spirit from ancient times to his own day. But his eyes were also turned to contemporary realities. The age of science evoked from him deep admiration and great hopes. The social conflicts made him an advocate of the weak and the oppressed. The national adventures, and especially the catastrophe of the Greco-Turkish War, filled him with grief and despair, but he continued to express his faith in a better future for his country. Palamas left a voluminous body of work consisting of many collections of poetry, several fine volumes of literary criticism, and an exceptionally fine play, *Trisevyene* (1903).

Gathered about Palamas was a galaxy of outstanding literary figures. Among the most important was Jean Psichari (Ioannes Psychares, 1854-1929), who became a bold and inspired advocate of the vernacular, and who was the first to emphasize the importance of the linguistic problem. He studied in Germany and France and later taught for many years in the School of Modern Oriental Languages of the University of Paris. In 1866, when he returned to Greece, the linguistic problem was acute. Daily newspapers, literary works, and all classes from grammar school to university used the pure language. This language, based on the grammar of the ancient Attic dialect, purged of all foreign words—even those that had been imported and Hellenized through a long historical process—and including

many obsolete words, was the pride of the dominant groups in every segment of Greek society. The spoken language of the people was despised and those few who persisted in using it in literary works were considered radicals. The pure language, an artificial and dead tongue, was not only an inadequate means of expression, but also a serious handicap to the country's educational development. Vigorous protests were frequently made, and the Ionian school, beginning with Solomos, established the vernacular as the literary language. Nevertheless, the pure language remained in use because it was intimately connected with the ruling system of Greece.

Psichari was the first to shake the foundations of the pure language. With his fighting spirit, profound linguistic knowledge, and impressive personality, he not only pointed out the treasures of the vernacular, but placed the whole question of language on a national and social basis. Psichari's preaching had a strong impact, especially on young writers, whom it liberated from the shackles of convention and precedent. His novel *My Journey* (1888) became a milestone in modern Greek literature.

Another important figure of this new school was Nicholas Polites (1852-1921), who devoted his life to revealing the riches of Greek folklore. In so doing, he started one of the most creative movements in modern Greek culture and inspired literary men, composers, artists, and scholars. Polites' work is of inestimable value and significance.

The year 1903 was marked by an important literary event, the founding of the magazine *Noumas*. Around it were grouped the new writers who strove for the establishment of the vernacular and the renovation of Greek letters.

The new school of Athens included several good poets: Georgios Drosines (1859-1951), a tender and elegant lyricist; Georgios Vizyenos (1849-1896), who wrote with simplicity and sensitivity; Aristomenes Provelengios (1850-1900), gentle and idealistic; Ioannes Polemos (1882-1924), who sang of commonplace subjects in simple lyrics; Kostas Krystalles (1868-1894), who used folk songs as prototypes and succeeded in re-creating the atmosphere of peasant life in the mountains; Alexandros Palles (1851-1935), a poet of real talent and a warm fighter for the vernacular, in whose lyricism is reflected a passion for Greece's regeneration; Argyris Eftiotis (1849-1923), another disciple of Psichari, who left a varied literary output; and John Grypares (1872-1942), who wrote some of the best sonnets in modern Greek and made some masterly translations of classical tragedies. To the same generation belong a number of poets who wrote with feeling and warmth, but did not contribute anything new to the literature of their times—Zacharias Papantoniou (1877-1940), Konstantinos Hadzopoulos (1868-1921), Miltiades Malakases (1870-1943), Lambros Porphyrios (1879-1932), and Soteris Skipes (1881-1953).

Early 20th Century Writers. At the beginning of the 20th century, literary production continued along the paths already opened by the new school of Athens. Three major poets emerged: Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951); Konstantinos Kavafis (1863-1933), who is better known in the United States as Constantine Cavafy; and Kostas Varnales.

Angelos Sikelianos was a dynamic lyric poet with a powerful imagination, one of the richest

vocabularies in Greek style, so that his imagery, telling use of opposing elements, and sensualism and original mysticism of Christ, and for him are but a new thing.

During the 19th century, the old site of Delphi, a center of repression of the world in a brotherhood, was re-created, how in 1930. Sikelianos' poetry, which is called *Lyric Life*, is a work in which symbolism is visible, a social reform, if not a poetic expression, place them on the production.

Constantine Cavafis in Alexandria, a poet of his time, the fate of those who are unmoved by the chaos, but simply stresses only the fact that they are involved in the chaos but by the poet describes with wisdom projects that usually allow him to speak for him. Human problems, situations in mind, most of his poem toward the beginning, characterized by aesthetic sophistication and declining nature of the vernacular, contributes to his atmosphere. Cavafis is a major figure in Greek literature, an influence on the modern period of immediately after.

Kostas Varnales, a social conflict, poor laborers, the oppression. Though he could easily lead a rhetoric, he infused tone and emphasis: sensitive perception, especially the collection (1933), he emerged in country. His irony mixed with one of the modern writers.

During this period, there was Nikos Kavafis, who wrote a few highly poetic translations.

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vocabularies in modern Greek poetry, and a grand style, sometimes tightly knit, sometimes free. His images are vivid, and he makes especially telling use of the contrast and resolution of opposing elements. For example, his deep feeling for nature is both Apollonian in its immediacy and sensualism and Dionysian in its search for the "original mystic value" of all things. He also reconciles Orphism with Christianity, Dionysus with Christ, and reason with mysticism, which for him are but different and revealing aspects of one thing.

During the 1920's he endeavored to create on the old site of Delphi a spiritual center for the meeting of representatives from all the countries of the world in the interest of universal peace and brotherhood. Only two Delphic festivals materialized, however, one in 1927 and another in 1930. Sikelianos' works, besides his lyric poetry, which is gathered in three volumes entitled *Lyric Life*, consist of a few inspired tragedies, in which with a deep insight and strong symbolism he views social conflict and advocates social reform, if not revolution. Their powerful poetic expression and genuine dramatic elements place them on the highest level of Greek literary production.

Constantine Cavafy, who spent most of his life in Alexandria, Egypt, expresses a different aspect of his time. He writes of the tragedy of life, the fate of the weak, of the unsatisfied, of those who are unable to react. It is not that he is unmoved by the brave, the virtuous, the lofty ethos, but simply that he passes them by and stresses only the tragic side of the story in which they are involved. He is attracted not by generalities but by particulars, by isolated cases that he describes with a superb sensitiveness. He seldom projects himself into his poems, instead usually allowing historical or fictitious persons to speak for him. Though he deals with deeply human problems and probably has contemporary situations in mind, he sets the historical scene of most of his poems in the late Hellenistic period (toward the beginning of the Christian era), an era characterized by intellectual brilliance and synthetic sophistication as well as by disintegration and declining values. His language, a mixture of the vernacular and the archaic, greatly contributes to his re-creation of the Hellenistic atmosphere. Cavafy became the most controversial figure in Greek letters and exercised a deep influence on the younger writers of the critical period of World War I and the years immediately after.

Kostas Varnales was the first Greek poet of the social conflict. He sings of the humble, the poor laborers, the victims of social injustice and oppression. Though he deals with subjects that would easily lead to the use of commonplace rhetoric, he infuses his poems with a high lyric tone and emphasizes the human element with sensitive perception. With his later work, and especially the collection *The Light That Burns* (1933), he emerged as the chief Marxist poet of his country. His clear and powerful lyrics and his irony mixed with a sense of the tragic made him one of the most influential figures of Greek poetry.

During this period several other poets contributed greatly to literary development. Among them was Nikos Kavounes (1880-1947), who wrote a few highly dramatic verses and was the first to translate Walt Whitman into Greek

(1912). Kostas Karyotakes (1896-1928) impressed his contemporaries by his pessimism, irony, and sarcasm and by his criticism of the conventionality of his society.

Meanwhile the Ionian Islands with their great literary tradition continued to produce some remarkable poets, among them Cerasimos Markoras (1826-1911) and Lorentzos Mabiles (1860-1912), who combined deep thought and warm feeling with his lyricism.

From the appearance of the new school of Athens until the end of World War I, Greek prose failed to reach the high standards of Greek poetry, but the contribution of a few authors, especially short story writers, is notable. Among them are two writers from the island of Skiathos—Alexandros Papadiamantes (1851-1911) and Alexandros Moraitides (1851-1929), close friends whose lives and work were very similar. They (especially Papadiamantes) wrote with a deep understanding of human nature, with sincerity, and with religious feeling. Georgios Vizyenos is noted for the introduction of psychological themes in his prose. Demetrios Kambouroglou (1852-1933) wrote graceful stories chiefly about historical subjects. Ioannes Vlahoyiannes (1868-1945) divided his efforts between writing short stories and doing historical research. Ioannes Kondylakes (1861-1920) is noted mainly for his psychological novel *Patouhas* (1916), and Andreas Karkavitsas (1866-1922) for his short stories. Kostas Theotokes (1872-1923) was the first Greek to write well-organized novels with a social content. They include *The Convict* (1912) and *The Slaves in Their Chains* (1922), which, with their strong psychological analysis, human feeling, and vivid description, are two of the best in Greek literature. Konstantinos Christomanos (1887-1911) was an author of great talent, who wrote both in a genteel style, as in *The Diary of the Empress Elisabeth* (1907), and with sensual realism, as in the *Doll of Wax* (1911). Petros Apostolides (1866-1937) wrote in a sincere and graceful manner, under the pseudonym Pavlos Nirvanas. Gregorios Xenopoulos (1867-1951), the best of the prose writers, left a voluminous production of powerful short stories and novels that analyzed the psychology and customs of contemporary society.

Drama. After the liberation of Greece in 1821, plays appeared in abundance but, with some notable exceptions, were mediocre. Besides Matesses and Rangabé, the playwrights include Demetrios Byzantios-Aslanes (1770-1853), Demetrios Vernardakis (1834-1907), and Spyridon Vasiladias. In the movement to rejuvenate the Greek theater, Gregorios Xenopoulos took the lead. His plays have a fast-paced dramatic action and lively dialogue; his well-defined characters move and act naturally; and the construction of his scenes achieves a remarkable excellence. Spyros Melas, Demitris Bogres, Theodoros Synadinos, Panteles Horn (1881-1941), and several other playwrights also contributed to the repertory of the modern Greek theater.

Literature After World War I. A new period in Greek literature opened with the third decade of the 20th century. After the defeat in Asia Minor and the catastrophe of 1922, disillusion, skepticism, and loss of faith dominated the younger writers, while the older ones continued on their well-defined paths. Post-World War I literature, reflecting the new critical times, developed interesting modes of expression. In poetry there

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reached new heights of seriousness and solemnity. The drama that reveals the rates Myrivelis (1965), though of a kind included among the former has been in *Life in the Town* with descriptions of the vernacular folk literature as well as, influenced by his conceptions of nature, re-creates the Georgios Theotokis, a thoughtful author, who foundations in the latter World War I, a powerful, and descriptive historical past of his is one of the most of his era; his works are profound human description.

In the 1960's, literature. The critics Elio Ioannidis M. Panagiotis and Petros Hatzis authors appeared in works successfully modern Greek literature these studies were Panagiotis and Lina historical background the literary development

the 20th century, as working hard, wished to express romantic times; the a rich local tradition, currents, and contributions in literature.

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1821, when the a rich secular well-established Byzantine in the changed through the Byzantine

tation (see BYZANTINE MUSIC). This was the church music enjoyed on every religious occasion throughout the country. The single exception was the Ionian Islands, where, because of the repeated and long occupations by western Europeans, composers followed the musical development of western Europe, particularly of Italy.

Secular music consisted of the admirable folk songs. Despite their difference in color from one region to another and their great variety in type (dance songs, songs of the table, *klephtika*, mourning songs), they possess certain common characteristics:

- (1) They are monodic.
- (2) Most are modal, based on the eight Byzantine modes, as well as on the ancient Greek modes. (Some songs are based instead on Oriental chromatic scales.)
- (3) In some categories (*klephtika*, table songs, epic and historical songs, and others) the rhythm is free, giving the singers great opportunity for emotional improvisation. These songs usually end with refrains that, with a fast rhythm, change the musical climate produced by the main melody. Other categories (most of the love songs and dance songs, songs of work, and satirical songs) have a variety of rhythms, the most common of which are 2/4, 7/8, 6/8, 5/8, 9/8, and 3/4, as well as 6/4 and 5/4, with all their possible variations.

- (4) Their range is often limited, sometimes extending no more than the interval of a fifth or a fourth.

- (5) Frequently there are intervals of a half or a quarter of a tone, which together with Byzantine and Oriental practices transmitted in folk music, make its notation in the modern Western system almost impossible.

- (6) Most of the songs are unaccompanied. When, however, they have an accompaniment, it is used to keep the rhythm, especially in dance songs, or to form a rich and complicated harmonic texture, completely independent of the melody, and always improvisatory.

This is the music that the Greeks were singing during the time of their liberation from the Turks and that the majority of Greeks continued to sing.

When Greece became free, many Greeks living in other parts of Europe returned to their homeland, bringing with them their European musical culture. The contact with the rich musical tradition of the Ionian Islands became closer. The new leaders of Greece established bands, imported the first pianos, introduced the teaching of European music in schools, and invited musicians from the Ionian Islands, Italy, and Germany. Closer relations with European countries, the introduction of opera, the founding of many music schools, the organization of orchestras, choirs, and musical societies, and, later, the presentation of musical stage productions and the availability of the phonograph and the radio succeeded over several generations in changing the musical consciousness of the urban centers. Nevertheless, the churches, with few exceptions, continued to use Byzantine music, and the villagers still sang their folk songs.

The coexistence of these two kinds of music so different in character, the one imported and the other indigenous, became a real problem in modern Greek composition.

Composers of the 19th and 20th Centuries. The first Greek composers appeared in the Ionian

Islands, where they were dominated by Italian traditions. The leading figure was Nicholas Mantzaros (1796-1873) from Corfu. Others were Pavlos Karrer (1829-1896), Spyros Samaras (Spiro Samara, 1863-1917), and Dionysios Lavrangas (1864-1943). Almost all of them ignored the treasures of their local culture and patterned their music on the Italian romantic music of the early 19th century, to which they had become accustomed in the Ionian Islands and which they had studied in Italy.

The last quarter of the 19th century, which in literature brought the inspired generation of the 1880's, also had its impact on musical production. The composers of this period endeavored to reflect the new nation in their music. Three of them distinguished themselves in this direction: George Lambelet (1875-1945), Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), and Marios Varvoglis.

George Lambelet, though a native of Corfu who had studied in Italy, was attracted by Greek folk songs and emphasized the need for a new national music based on them. Manolis Kalomiris, a native of Smyrna, went to Greece after long periods of study in other parts of Europe and used his talent to create Greek national music. His basic romanticism and Wagnerian orchestration, however, were unaffected by the Greek subjects he chose. The quality of his operas and symphonies is high, but his chief influence in the creation of a national music lay in his appeal to his contemporaries. Marios Varvoglis reacted against the romantic tendencies, appreciated deeply the beauty of the folk music, and finally evolved his own style, influenced by French neoclassicism.

All three of these composers, however, failed, in their main goal of creating a Greek national music based on the prototypes of the folk songs. In their works the impact of the baroque, of classicism, romanticism, and neoclassicism, and of impressionism and other modern movements is easily traced in form, technique, and spirit. Their problem lay in trying to express the periodic folk song with a notation system inadequate for the purpose and in alien European idiom. The outcome, while perhaps good music, was of a different character from Greece's real national music. This continued to be the main problem of modern Greek composition.

More successful in this regard was Petros Petridis. Instead of transplanting and harmonizing folk melodies, he used Byzantine and ancient modes and tried to reproduce the musical atmosphere of the folk songs. Other composers were influenced by impressionism, which they applied to music of an Oriental character. Émile Riadis (1890-1935), a pupil of Maurice Ravel's; Georgios Ponirides (Georges Poniridy); and Demetrios Levidis (1886-1951) were among the best of this school.

A dynamic group of young composers appeared immediately after World War II and startled the conservative concert-going audience of Athens with the new sound of their avant-garde music. Their works, performed by the symphony orchestras of various European capitals, soon made them internationally known. Born in the 1920's and 1930's, these composers followed the road that had been opened to them by Nicholas Skalkotas (1905-1949), a brilliant pupil of Arnold Schönberg's. Skalkotas' music was well known to European audiences and was introduced to the United States by the Greek-Amer-

ican conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896-1960), himself a composer of the Schönberg school.

One of the best representatives of this new movement was Iannis Xenakis. A mathematician and engineer, he used an electronic computer and applied calculus and the probability theory in writing his music. He attempted to produce, as he once stated, "a spray of sounds, a sonorous radiation, a stream of musical electrons." The quality of his music impressed specialists and audiences at international contests, and his compositions were introduced into the United States by Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic. Xenakis, a leader in the avant-garde movement and a resident of Paris, often traveled to the United States to lecture and conduct, and in 1968-1969 taught as a visiting professor at the University of Indiana. Some of his best-known compositions are *Metastasis* (1955), *Pithoprakta* (1957), *Achorripsis* (1958), *Morsima-Amorsima* (1962), and *Stratégie* (1964).

Another of the same group, Iannis Christou, held a degree in philosophy from Cambridge University. Through the use of a variety of contemporary techniques, he endeavored to express the deepest meaning of life, which he found in the perpetual conflict of opposing elements. After composing atonal music as well as music in the manner of the postserialists, who succeeded Anton Webern, Christou finally decided to write music that relied heavily upon chance. With conflicting musical colors, with subtle melodic statements woven into a rich and unusual harmonic texture, and with abrupt explosions of sound, he created extremely powerful effects. *Patterns and Permutation* (1962), *Phoenix Music* (1950), and *Enandioromia*, which was given its world premiere by the Oakland (Calif.) Symphony Orchestra in 1969, are among his most significant compositions.

Theodore Antoniou, one of the youngest in this movement, composed both serial music and music based on a 12-tone row. His works are lyric and often humorous. They received a number of awards in Germany, Austria, and Greece. He conducted American orchestras during a tour in 1966, and in 1969 he was a visiting professor at Stanford University. Other distinguished members of the same movement are George Sicilianos, Iannis Papaioannou, Ioannis Ioannidis, Stephanos Gazouleas, and Arghyris Koundis.

In no other branch of artistic expression of contemporary Greece can one find so many artists, and ones of such talent, as in music. While the post-World War II generation of Greek composers constituted part of an international movement that tried to express the agonizing complexity of modern life, its members felt happier "saying it in Greek." The Hellenic past, however, came to them as a poetic memory, which went deeper than in the superficial romantic revivals of the older generations. There was, indeed, a great affinity between Xenakis' work and the Pythagorean approaches to music, between Christou's compositions and Heraclitus' concepts, and between the work of all others and everything fine in the Greek tradition. Their relationship to the Greek past consisted of a similarity of approach, a reliance upon a cosmic view, and a restless search for fresh and appropriate media. It is for this reason they call themselves composers of *stochastic* (contemplative) music.

Musical analysis and history, which was established with the serious work of Minos

Dounias (1900-1960), has made great strides while the collection and systematic study of Byzantine and folk music was greatly enriched by the scholarly works of K. A. Psachos, Sima Karras, and Melpo Merlier.

After World War II, popular music took a new turn when versatile composers utilized genuine popular instrumentalization, as well as popular modes of musical expression. Two composers became internationally known—Manos Hadjidakis primarily because of his music for the film *News on Sunday* (1960), and Mikis Theodorakis because of his music for the film *Zorba the Greek* (1964).

ART

Folk art was almost the only Greek art between the classical age and the revolution of 1821. It was collectively produced over many centuries by large groups of people, from whom work and needs it sprang. It consisted of a blending of ancient and Byzantine features, Oriental and Western influences, and later autochthonous developments, resulting in a product that represents the most genuine expression of Greek artistic consciousness. In architecture, two main types were evolved, the common people's homes (*monospita*) and the houses of the nobles (*archontika*), both admirably fitting into their natural landscapes. Painting was connected with the architecture of churches, where the artists followed Byzantine patterns, or with houses, where they freely used their own imagination on a variety of subjects. Paintings of the latter type were either murals (frescoes) or paintings in tempera on woodwork. They were spontaneous and primitive, characterized by vivid colors and strong naturalistic features. Popular verses often were inscribed on paintings.

Sculpture and woodcarving were also connected with architecture. Marble or special stone was extensively used on gates, stairs, fountains, fireplaces, and pillars of homes and churches. Furniture and utensils were skillfully carved in wood. This minor sculpture was remarkable for the sensitiveness expressed in the patterns. In wood carving, abstract designs usually covering the whole surface presented a harmonious balance and symmetry.

Among handicrafts, pottery was developed especially on the islands and in southern Greece and included both purely decorative objects and those for everyday use. The forms were simple and graceful, and the designs, including both the naturalistic and the abstract, were executed with great dexterity. Handicrafts in copper, bronze, iron, silver, and other metals often replaced pottery in northern Greece, and to some extent throughout the country. Silver and gold were used especially in a highly developed jewelry art, not only for the embellishment of women's apparel, but also for the decoration of firearms, swords, knives, pins for men's clothes, and the like. Costumes, varying greatly with the occasion and the locale, preserved very old patterns in their design, material, and decoration. Woven materials of silk, cotton, linen, or wool, made on looms of various types, reached an exceptionally high quality as did embroidery, laces, stamped materials, leatherwork, and other branches of folk art.

The Ionian Islands, which had escaped the Turkish occupation, developed, in addition to folk art, a remarkable school of painting influenced

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Only Greek art before the revolution produced over mass people, from whom it consisted of a Byzantine features, and later resulting in a product of fine expression of architecture, two common people's houses of the nobility fitting into a connected roches, where the patterns, or with their own image.

Paintings of the islands (frescoes) of work. They were characterized by vivid features. Popular paintings were also common or special staircases, fountains, and churches skillfully carved in the patterns. It is usually covering harmonious balance.

was developed in southern Greece. Creative objects and forms were simple including both the executed with copper, bronze, often replaced to some extent and gold was developed jewelry of women's clothes, and the old patterns in decoration. Women's wool, made in an exceptionally places, stamped in other branches of

had escaped the addition to folk art, influencing

MODERN GREEKS, dressed in colorful costumes and masks, take part in a lively folk dance.



GREEK NATIONAL TOURIST OFFICE

the great Venetian masters and enriched by the experience of the Cretan painters who had settled in the Ionian Islands when Crete was invaded by the Turks in 1669. In comparison with the Byzantine art existing in other parts of Greece, the Ionian paintings have a freer design, a wider range of colors, naturalistic elements, and the use of chiaroscuro in the Venetian manner. The island of Zante was the center of this artistic production, which reached its peak in the 18th century. The most important artists were Panayiotis Doxaras (1662-1729), his son Nicholas Doxaras (1690?-1775), Hieronymos Plakotos (died 1728), Nicholas Koutouzes (1741-1819), and Nicholas Kantounes (1767-1834). In 1805 an art school was established on Corfu, where Paul Prosalentes, a pupil of Antonio Canova, taught and exercised a great influence.

19th Century Painting and Sculpture. After the liberation of Greece, a great impulse was given to the development of art in Athens by the opportunity offered by King Otto I to young men to study in Munich, and also by the establishment, in 1838, of an art school called the Polytechnion. Most of the artists who studied in Munich ignored their native tradition and painted according to the school of thought prevailing in mid-19th century Germany. The most distinguished were Nicephoros Lytras (1832-1904), with his restrained romanticism and sensitiveness to the use of color; and Nicholas Cyzes (1842-1901), with his masterly design and elegance and expressiveness of line. To the same generation belong Constantine Volonakes (1837-1907), well known for his seascapes, and George Iacovides (1854-1932), who introduced more realism and exactness in his paintings.

Most of the sculptors of the period also studied in Munich. They followed neoclassical prototypes, which harmonized with their own admiration for classical antiquity. Among them, John Vassalos (1823?-1872), Leonidas Drosis (1842-1904), John Vitsares (1843-1892), George Vinales (1840-1901), and Demetrios Philippotes (1840-1920) may be considered the best. Greatest of all was Giannoules Halepas (1854-1938), who unfortunately spent many years in a mental institution, but whose works remain the masterpiece of modern Greek sculpture. The warmth and grace of his works, and his power in handling the material, place him far above the level of his contemporary neoclassicists.

20th Century Painting and Sculpture. By 1900, several good painters appeared, whose work, though academic in character and still influenced by the Munich school, showed a slight tendency toward impressionism. Most important among them were the landscape painters Odysseus Phocas, George Hadzopoulos, Nikolaos Othonaios, Epaminondas Thomopoulos, and the portrait painter Spyros Vikatos.

Impressionism was introduced into Greece by Konstantinos Parthenes (1879-1965), rightly considered one of the greatest modern Greek painters. The main characteristics of his work were an abundance of light, soft colors, simplicity, elegance of forms, a subtle classical spirit, and a deep understanding of chromatic problems. The influence of modern European currents continually increased, and by the mid-20th century, Greece could boast of a whole group of modernists, the most distinguished of whom were the expressionists George Gounaropoulos, Constantine Bouzianes, and the internationally known Hadji-Kyriakos Ghikas and Iannis Spyropoulos. Other painters tried surrealism and cubism, but with less success.

There were two other categories of painters: the conservatives, who tried to give a realistic picture of what they saw, such as Vassilios Geramenos, Loukas Gerales, Pericles Byzantios, and Achilles Varvaressos; and those who took their inspiration from folk art, such as Spyros Vasiliou, Iannis Tsarouches, and Photes Kontoglou, who successfully revived the spirit and technique of Byzantine art. Many of these painters, however, did not belong solely to one school of thought but tried several paths.

Architecture. Architecture developed rather slowly after 1821. Village homes were built according to folk art patterns, but in the towns a neoclassical style was introduced for public buildings, mostly by foreign architects who were commissioned to design them. The private urban homes of the 19th century had many romantic features. In the 20th century contemporary Western architecture influenced urban building, while some efforts were made to adapt folk architecture to the building of private homes.

A significant contribution to the field of city planning was made after World War II by Konstantinos Doxiades. His bold architectural concepts were applied in the many settlements and towns he has built in various parts of the world.

THEATER

After the American playwright Maxwell Anderson visited Greece in 1947, he wrote: "I felt a surprise when I noted that the dramatic art in Athens stands on a higher level than in New York." Exaggerated though this may seem, it is a fact that the Greek theater by the middle of the 20th century had reached an extraordinarily high level. It was not only the number of excellent actors and producers and the careful selection of plays from the world repertory that gave this impression, but also the fact that, in Athens at least, there was a theatrical ferment expressed in the divergent tendencies of the various companies, ranging from classicism to the most advanced modern currents.

This development, however, came late. Behind it lay a century of struggles and disappointments, experiments and hopes, during which the modern Greek theater passed through four stages. The first centered in the Greek communities in Odessa, Russia, and Bucharest, Rumania; the second in the Ionian Islands; and the remaining two in Greece proper.

Greek Theater in Odessa and Bucharest. A Greek theater appeared in Bucharest in 1810, but it was only after 1814 that the theater played an important part in the life of the Greek community of that city and of Odessa. The Philike Hetairia (Society of Friends), which was preparing for revolution against Turkish rule, made use of the theater to promote national consciousness. The plays were given at first in private homes, but soon were presented in public places that could accommodate larger audiences. At the outset the casts were all male, but women were added shortly, a step that was taken in Greece proper only after the middle of the 20th century. The repertory consisted mostly of baroque tragedies, which were the most effective for arousing the audience's passion for freedom. Using classical examples, they denounced tyranny and extolled the ideals of heroism and of sacrifice for the country. Thus there were performed in Greek translation the plays of Alfieri, Metastasio, Voltaire, and Racine; the ancient Greek tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides; and a few plays written by contemporary Greeks (Nicholas Piccolos, George Lasanes, Ioannes Zambelios, and Iakovos Rizos Neroulos) on neoclassical models. Audiences received all these plays with great enthusiasm. The revolution of 1821 brought an end to the theater in these cities.

Greek Theater in the Ionian Islands. The Ionian Islands boasted an old theatrical tradition when the revolution broke out in 1821. On the island of Zante plays had been performed since 1571, either in private homes by the sons of prominent families, or on open-air stages by the people. The first theater was built in 1750, and shortly thereafter three Greek comedies were performed on its stage. In Corfu the first theater was built in 1690, but it presented only Italian operatic companies. The first Greek play, *Polyxene*, by Iakovos Rizos Neroulos (1778-1849), was performed there in 1817. After the revolution the struggle between theater and opera, which was later to hamper theatrical development in Greece proper, began in the Ionian Islands. The predominance of opera was so great that only a few theatrical companies had the opportunity to give either contemporary Greek plays or Greek translations of foreign plays.

19th Century Theater in Greece. The history of the theater in Greece proper falls naturally into two periods, the first from 1821 to 1900, and the second from 1900 on. The Aegean island of Syros founded a theater in 1830. Six years later, Athens established its own theater, an open-air and poorly equipped affair. Its all-male companies produced several Greek plays, as well as French and Italian plays in Greek translation. By 1840 the competition of opera had become so strong that the theater closed. Many attempts were made to revive the theater, but until 1900 the various companies performed only sporadically in Athens.

Theater After 1900. The turn of the century was marked by two important events. In 1900, after efforts that had lasted 20 years, the Royal Theater was built in Athens with donations from Greeks abroad. It operated regularly for about seven years, and on its stage were presented 16 plays, including 27 by Greek authors. It was badly organized, however, and the productions were poor, the actors were free to act as they wished, and all the plays were given in the popular language. In 1901 the return of Konstantinos Christomanos from Vienna gave a new impetus to the theater. He established the Nea Skene (New Stage), where he produced, according to the most advanced dramatic conceptions, modern German, Russian, and Greek plays, as well as those of Henrik Ibsen. The translations were in the vernacular, the casts were carefully selected and directed with masterly skill, and the scenery and costumes were well conceived. The Nea Skene was active until 1906 and marked a great step forward for the Greek theater. When both the Royal Theater and the Nea Skene ceased to operate, other companies were formed with actors from both theaters.

The greatest progress was made in 1906 when, with government support, the National Theater was established. With fine casts, inspired directors, and a modern and thoroughly equipped stage, its productions rose to a high level. It staged some of the best plays of the world repertory. Other companies that contributed to the development of theater in Greece after 1900 included those of Marika Kotopoule and Katerina Andreade, Charles Coon's Theatro Technes (Art Theater), and the short-lived United Artists.

E. P. PANAGOPOULOS
BEATA MARIA PANAGOPOULOS
San Jose State College, Calif.

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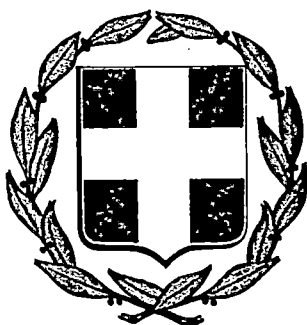
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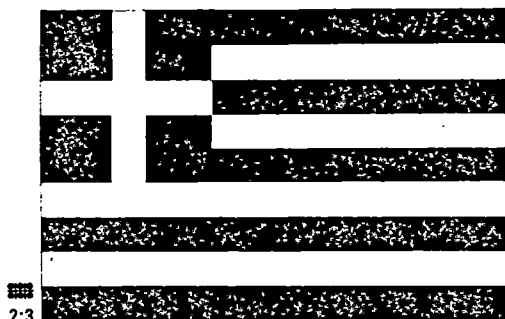
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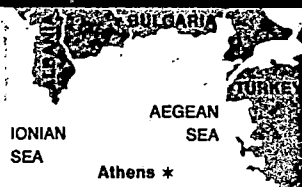


STATE ARMS

Officially
hoisted
March 1822;
reestablished
22 December
1978.



Greece has frequently used a flag of blue with a white cross extending to the four edges of the flag. That flag was flown on land by private citizens (except in seaports) until abolished in 1970. Reinstated in 1975 as the sole official flag for all purposes, in practice it was not used on ships, which continued to display the striped flag. The latest flag law reverts to the situation of 1970-1975, the striped flag being official for all purposes on land and at sea.



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Adoption of a definitive national flag—the same design in use today—took place following the proclamation of Greek independence on 13 January 1822. The flag was stated to symbolize "the wisdom of God, freedom, and country." The blue is generally seen as a reminder of the sea and sky, white indicating the

purity of the independence struggle. The cross in the canton is a reminder of Greek religious faith, while the nine stripes of the flag correspond to the nine syllables in the war cry of independence: "Freedom or Death." The shade of blue has varied over the years, sometimes unofficially and sometimes to indicate political and dynastic associations. For example, in the 19th century the Greek royal dynasty was of Bavarian origin and a medium blue was employed. The military junta which ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974 insisted on a very dark blue, while the latest flag law speaks of "light blue" without giving any scientific definition to the term.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT
ATHENS, GREECE

JENNIFER
TRIP
SPEECHES

MR. PRESIDENT -- I AM GREATLY HONORED TO HAVE YOU WELCOME ME HERE TODAY, AND TO SEE PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, I VISITED ATHENS ONCE BEFORE IN THE EARLY 1960'S AS A PRIVATE BUSINESSMAN. I COME NOW AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN THEIR LONGSTANDING TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE OF GREECE.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER WAS THE LAST U.S. PRESIDENT TO VISIT GREECE, IN DECEMBER OF 1959. THE WORLD WAS A VERY DIFFERENT PLACE THEN. TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WERE ESCALATING. THE RESOLVE OF THE ALLIANCE IN UPHOLDING THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WAS BEING TESTED. AND THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY IN MANY COUNTRIES WAS ALREADY EXTINGUISHED BY TOTALITARIAN RULE.

DURING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S VISIT, OUR TWO COUNTRIES REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE OBJECTIVES OF NATO. TO UNITE FOR THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND FOR PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY. TO DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND THE RULE OF LAW. THE ALLIANCE ROSE TO MEET EVERY CHALLENGE TO ITS MEMBERS AND ITS BELIEFS. IT HAS PROSPERED AND FLOURISHED. TOTALITARIANISM HAS BEEN ERODED BY ITS DEFEATS AND COLLAPSED UNDER ITS OWN UNSUSTAINABLE WEIGHT.

I HAVE JUST COME FROM THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT MEETING IN LONDON. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY HOLDS MORE PROMISE THAN EVER BEFORE. I SEE EVERY REASON FOR HOPE. EVERY REASON TO JOIN IN BUILDING A WORLD ORDER FOUNDED ON THOSE SAME TRIED AND TRUE ALLIANCE PRINCIPLES. AND ONE REASON I AM HERE TODAY IS TO DISCUSS THAT FUTURE WITH GREECE'S LEADERS.

I AM ALSO HERE TO AFFIRM AMERICA'S INTEREST IN A STRONG AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AND TO HONOR THE COUNTRY WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO DEMOCRACY IN THIS VERY CITY 2,500 YEARS AGO.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER WAS HERE IN A COLD WINTER OF THE COLD WAR. I AM FORTUNATE TO BE WITH YOU IN THE SUN-WASHED SUMMER OF GREECE AND A NEW AGE. PERHAPS YOUR OWN NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING POET GEORGE SEFERIS SAID IT BEST: "A LITTLE FARTHER -- WE WILL SEE ALMOND TREES BLOSSOMING -- THE MARBLE GLEAMING IN THE SUN -- THE SEA BREAKING INTO WAVES. A LITTLE FARTHER -- LET US RISE A LITTLE HIGHER."

LET US RISE TOGETHER. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT BUSH
TO THE GREEK PARLIAMENT

MR. SPEAKER:

I APPEAR BEFORE THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT WITH A GREAT SENSE OF HONOR.

THE LAST FOREIGN HEAD OF STATE WHO SPOKE TO THIS CHAMBER WAS THE GREAT FRENCH STATESMAN CHARLES DE GAULLE. AND FOUR YEARS BEFORE THAT, ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST BELOVED PRESIDENTS, DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF STANDING HERE.

GREEK DEMOCRACY, OF COURSE, HAS A SPECIAL STANDING IN THE WORLD. IN HIS DECEMBER 15, 1959 ADDRESS TO THIS ASSEMBLY, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER REMARKED: "IN THIS CITY OF ATHENS, MORE THAN A SCORE OF CENTURIES AGO, DEMOCRACY - IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND IN ITS PRACTICES - FIRST WON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF MEN. THIS HOUSE OF FREE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT SYMBOLIZES THE VIGOR OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN ITS ANCIENT BIRTHPLACE; DEMONSTRATES THAT THE WILL OF MEN TO BE FREE IS IMPERISHABLE."

ONE MAN WHO WAS ACTUALLY PRESENT ON THAT COLD WINTER MORNING TO HEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S WORDS IS ALSO HERE TODAY. HE IS A MAN WHO LED HIS PEOPLE THROUGH THE DANGERS AND CHALLENGES OF THOSE SAME YEARS. ONE WHO LATER RESTORED DEMOCRACY TO GREECE, AND THEN BROUGHT HIS COUNTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. THAT GREAT STATESMAN IS, OF COURSE, YOUR PRESIDENT, THEN PRIME MINISTER -- CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS.

(TURN TO ADDRESS KARAMANLIS) TO HONOR YOU, AND OUR FRIEND AND ALLY WHOSE PRESIDENT YOU ARE, I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOU TO WASHINGTON IN 1992. I HOPE YOU WILL ACCEPT, AND LOOK FORWARD TO RECEIVING YOU IN OUR CAPITAL.

PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM DURING PERILOUS TIMES. BUT THE U.S. AND GREECE HAVE A LONGSTANDING RECORD OF FIGHTING TOGETHER ON THE SIDE OF THOSE SACRED PRINCIPLES. WE HAVE SHARED A UNITY OF PURPOSE IN ALL OF THE MAJOR CONFLICTS IN THIS CENTURY. WORLD WAR I. WORLD WAR II. THE KOREAN WAR. WHILE ALL WERE TERRIBLE STRUGGLES, THE FORCES OF JUSTICE AND RIGHT TRIUMPHED EACH TIME.

WE WERE VICTORIOUS ONCE AGAIN OVER AGGRESSION WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN ATTEMPTED TO ANNEX HIS NEIGHBOR, KUWAIT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROSE UP TOGETHER TO DEFEAT THIS TYRANT. IT WAS AN AWESOME COLLECTIVE EFFORT. AND PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS RESPONDED JUST AS I EXPECTED HE WOULD. HE KNEW WHAT WAS AT STAKE. HE GAVE THE FULL, UNSTINTING SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO THAT NOBLE CAUSE. I HAVE TOLD HIM, BUT WISH NOW TO ALSO SAY TO ALL OF YOU HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATED GREECE'S HELP IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO MOVE US FORCES AND EQUIPMENT QUICKLY TO THE REGION. WE WILL REMEMBER THIS.

AS I STAND HERE NOW, I AM REMINDED OF THE GOALS WE SHARE AS PARTIES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY. TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF OUR PEOPLES. OF THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH THOSE GOALS REST -- THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW. SINCE 1949 THESE IDEAS HAVE GUIDED THE ALLIANCE IN STANDING FIRM AGAINST THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION AND TOTALITARIANISM. WE HAVE PERSEVERED. AND WE HAVE SUCCEEDED. THE WARSAW PACT IS NO MORE. GREECE IS NOT ONLY MORE SECURE, BUT WE ARE WITNESSING IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR THE EMERGENCE OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND FREE MARKETS. FRAGILE IN SOME CASES BUT NURTURED BY THE LONG SUPPRESSED HOPES OF MILLIONS.

GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER FOR ALL THESE EPOCHAL CHANGES. WE WERE NATO PARTNERS. WE WERE GOOD FRIENDS. OUR WORK IS NOT FINISHED. WE MUST AND CAN MEET THE NEW CHALLENGES OF PEACE JUST AS WE DID THE OLD -- BY WORKING TOGETHER CLOSELY.

THE FACE OF EUROPE -- ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ITS STRUCTURES -- ARE CHANGING ALMOST DAILY. CHANGE REPRESENTS NEW OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES, AND HORIZONS FOR THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE. WE DISCUSSED MANY OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN LONDON FROM WHICH I HAVE JUST COME. I WANT TO MENTION A FEW OF WHAT SEEM TO ME TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS FROM THAT MEETING TO YOU NOW.

INSERT SUMMIT POINTS

WE ARE HEADING, I BELIEVE, TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER THAT HAS AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT A TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH STRETCHES FROM VANCOUVER TO VLADIVOSTOK. A COMMUNITY BASED ON THE CENTRAL VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC LIBERTY WHICH UNDERPIN DEMOCRATIC, FREE MARKET SOCIETIES. A COMMUNITY FREE AND AT PEACE.

GREECE HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NEW ORDER. MANY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS IN THE BALKANS ARE VALIANTLY STRUGGLING -- SOME FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER -- TO IMPLEMENT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND TO RESTRUCTURE THEIR POLITICAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS.

BUT THERE IS YET MORE WHICH GREECE CAN DO. THE BALKANS HAVE BEEN AN HISTORICALLY TROUBLED REGION. AND NOW, RESURGENT ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM ONCE AGAIN THREATEN STABILITY AND PEACE. THESE FORCES UNDERMINE THE ONGOING ATTEMPTS TO NURTURE STILL INFANT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. WE LOOK TO GREECE TO SERVE AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY IN THE BALKAN REGION.

I HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ABILITY OF STATES IN THE NEW TRANS-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHICH IS UNFOLDING BEFORE US TO PUT OLD ENMITIES BEHIND THEM. THE UNITED STATES ENJOYS GREATLY IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE ALLIANCE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED A TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE. GERMANS HAVE SET ASIDE THE BITTER DIVISIONS OF THE COLD WAR YEARS AND REUNITED THEIR COUNTRY. GERMANY AND POLAND HAVE AGREED ON THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR BORDER. THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES HAVE EXPRESSED A STRONG INTEREST IN AFFILIATION WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE ARE WITNESSES TO ONE OF THE GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES FOR THE GOOD THAT MODERN MAN HAS EVER SEEN.

TOMORROW I WILL TRAVEL TO CRETE. WHILE THERE, I WILL LAY A WREATH AT THE TOMB OF ONE OF GREECE'S GREAT MODERN STATESMEN -- ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS. I WILL STOP THERE TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF HIS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF 1930 -- THE TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE WITH TURKEY. THIS HISTORIC MILESTONE WAS ACHIEVED

BECAUSE VENIZELOS' VISION OF THE FUTURE WAS SHARED BY THE FOUNDER OF MODERN TURKEY -- KEMAL ATATURK. THEIR PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP, AND THE PEACE THEY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, REMAIN AS PROUD LEGACIES TODAY.

IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF 1930 MAY TODAY INSPIRE THESE TWO GREAT COUNTRIES, BOTH VALUED FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES, TO INVOKE THAT SAME SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES SHARE THE ASPIRATION FOR SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD. IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD BE WARMLY WELCOMED NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT THROUGHOUT EUROPE. YOU HAVE MY EVERY WISH FOR SUCCESS.

IN THIS CONTEXT I ALSO SHOULD BRIEFLY MENTION CYPRUS. WE ARE ACTIVELY WORKING TO SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL IN HIS GOOD OFFICES MISSION. ALL INTERESTED PARTIES MUST ACCEPT THAT COMPROMISE AND GOOD-WILL ARE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS OF ANY SOLUTION. AND ANY SOLUTION MUST, OF COURSE, PROVIDE FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. SUCH A SOLUTION NEEDS TO BE FOUND SOON AND CAN BE. WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP, BUT IN THE END, THE SOLUTION MUST BE NEGOTIATED BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

THESE ISSUES ARE AMONG THE ONES WHICH I EXPECT TO DISCUSS WITH PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS WHEN WE MEET LATER TODAY. I WAS

PLEASED TO MEET HIM IN WASHINGTON WHEN HE VISITED THERE IN JUNE 1990. SINCE THAT TIME WE HAVE DEVELOPED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP, EXCHANGING IDEAS OVER THE PHONE AND BY LETTER. I LOOK FORWARD TO RENEWING OUR PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCESHIP IN ATHENS, AND WHEN I VISIT HIS HOME IN CHANIA. I WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN HIS HOSPITALITY WHEN HE VISITS WASHINGTON THIS FALL FOR AN OFFICIAL VISIT.

I BELIEVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. WE ENJOY GOOD COMMUNICATION, EXCELLENT COOPERATION, AND MUTUAL TRUST. PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH US TO FIND WAYS OF IMPROVING EVEN FURTHER THE MUTUAL RESPECT AND BENEFIT WHICH CHARACTERIZES OUR RELATIONSHIP.

OF COURSE, PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS AND I HAVE HAD MANY ADVANTAGES IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES. AMERICANS OF GREEK DESCENT ARE AN ACTIVE ETHNIC GROUP IN THE PLURALISTIC MELTING-POT WHICH IS AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE ALSO HAVE OUR PARTNERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE. FINALLY, WE SHARE A COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE OUR SOCIETIES AND GOVERNMENTS, AND A DESIRE TO SEE THESE PROSPER AND FLOURISH THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

WE OWE YOUR ANCESTORS A GREAT DEBT. THEIR CONCEPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES HAVE SHOWN AS A LIGHT WHICH WAS NEVER EXTINGUISHED, EVEN DURING THE DARKEST MOMENTS OF HUMAN HISTORY. GREECE WILL BE CELEBRATING THE 2500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES IN ATHENS THIS FALL. FREE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE WILL WISH YOU WELL IN THIS. FOR WE ALL ENJOY THE LEGACY YOUR ANCIENT FORBEARERS LEFT AS A GIFT FOR ALL MANKIND.

BUT GREECE TODAY IS NOT A SIMPLE REFLECTION OF ITS PAST. IT IS A VIBRANT SOCIETY WITH A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS EXPANDING ITS DIPLOMACY AND ITS INTERESTS. WE WELCOME THAT PROCESS AND LOOK FORWARD TO COOPERATING WITH YOU TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER THE TIES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. MAY THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES NOURISH RELATIONS BETWEEN US. AND MAY OUR COMMON DEVOTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND MARKET ECONOMIES HASTEN THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY WHERE FREE MEN DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

WE HAVE MUCH TO ACCOMPLISH. LET US NOT DELAY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

RETURN TOAST TO KARAMANLIS
STATE DINNER -- JULY 18

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, FOR THAT WARM WELCOME AND THOSE KIND WORDS. I CANNOT TELL YOU HOW PLEASED I AM TO BE IN GREECE ONCE AGAIN AFTER SO LONG A TIME.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE OFTEN SPEAK OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIBERTIES AND THE RULE OF LAW. THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS GROUNDED ON RECOGNITION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES. MANY OTHER COUNTRIES LONG AGO BASED THEIR GOVERNMENTS ON THESE IDEAS. AND WE ARE NOW WITNESSING THE TRIUMPH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT OVER TOTALITARIANISM AS THE SPARK OF DEMOCRACY FLICKERS AND CATCHES IN VIRTUALLY EVERY CORNER OF EUROPE.

WITH THE REFORMS OF CLEISTHENES, SOME 2,500 YEARS AGO, DEMOCRACY WAS FIRST BORN HERE IN ATHENS. GREECE WILL BE CELEBRATING THAT SEMINAL OCCASION THIS FALL, AND I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS AND CONGRATULATIONS.

YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, HAVE PLAYED A TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN PRESERVING THE FLAME OF DEMOCRACY. IT WAS YOU WHO RESTORED DEMOCRACY TO GREECE IN 1974. MANY WORLD LEADERS HAVE WORKED WITHIN AN OPERATING DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. BUT ONLY A GALLANT FEW HAVE FACED THE CHALLENGE OF REVERSING AUTOCRACY AND RETURNING

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES TO GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. YOU ARE A BEACON IN THAT SMALL, VERY DISTINGUISHED GROUP. YOUR SUCCESS IN THIS PROFOUND ENDEAVOR WAS A VICTORY FOR GREECE AND FOR US ALL.

TWICE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE, AND NOW TWICE PRESIDENT YOU ARE AN INSPIRATION NOT ONLY TO YOUR PEOPLE, BUT TO ME AND MANY OTHERS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I ASK YOU TO RISE AND JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS, TO THE ENDURING TIES OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE HELLENIC REPUBLIC, AND TO THE IDEALS FOR WHICH WHICH WE STAND. LONG MAY THEY PROSPER.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SOUDA BAY, CRETE

PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS, CAPTAIN AND CREWS OF THE LEMNOS AND
USS _____, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

I CAN'T IMAGINE A MORE GLORIOUS SETTING FOR HONORING THE
SERVICEMEN -- AND WOMEN -- OF GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES THAN
THIS MAGNIFICENT HARBOR. I WAS, AS SOME OF YOU KNOW, A NAVAL
PILOT DURING WWII. IT IS THEREFORE ALWAYS A SPECIAL PLEASURE
FOR ME TO VISIT A U.S. NAVY SHIP. I ALSO WANT TO THANK THE
GREEK NAVY, AND IN PARTICULAR ADMIRAL LAGARAS, FOR MAKING IT
POSSIBLE FOR ME TO PAY MY FIRST VISIT TO A GREEK NAVAL VESSEL.

THE PRESENCE OF THE LEMNOS CALLS TO MIND THE RECENT VICTORY OF
THE COALITION FORCES OVER THE BLATANT AGGRESSION OF SADDAM
HUSSEIN. HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ROSE TO DEFEAT THAT
TYRANT. THIS VESSEL'S PARTICIPATION IN THAT GREAT ENDEAVOR IS
TRIBUTE TO GREECE'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS
WHICH INEVITABLY PREVAILED OVER SADDAM. OFFICERS AND CREW OF
THE LEMNOS AND YOUR SISTER SHIP IN THE GULF EFFORT, THE ELLI,
-- I SALUTE YOU.

THE BOW-TO-BOW MOORING OF THESE TWO SHIPS SYMBOLIZES, FOR ME,
THE CLOSENESS OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONS. THE BILATERAL
SECURITY RELATIONSHIP BENEFITS BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. THAT
RELATIONSHIP -- IN CONCRETE TERMS -- IS NOW BASED ON THE

1990 MUTUAL DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT. THAT AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR USE OF OUR FACILITY AT THIS SPLENDID BAY, AND OF OUR COMMUNICATIONS STATION AT IRAKLION.

FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE A COMMITMENT TO GREECE TO ASSIST IN MODERNIZING YOUR MILITARY FORCES. LET ME SAY THAT WE FULLY INTEND TO ABIDE BY THAT PLEDGE. GREECE'S ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF AND CARRY OUT ITS NATO ROLE ARE IMPORTANT TO US. PART OF THAT COMMITMENT IS FULFILLED THROUGH PROVISION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THESE FUNDS HELP YOU PURCHASE U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT. (THE GREEK GOVERNMENT RECENTLY ANNOUNCED THAT IT INTENDED TO PURCHASE 20 ADDITIONAL F-16 AIRCRAFT. IT WILL PAY FOR THOSE AIRCRAFT BY DRAWING ON OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FUNDS. I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER EXAMPLE THAN THIS OF THE VITALITY OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.) THIS, AND OTHER LIKE SALES, ARE PROOF POSITIVE OF THE DYNAMISM OF OUR BILATERAL SECURITY TIES.

U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TAKES SEVERAL FORMS. THE TRANSFER OF EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES HAS BEEN ANOTHER IMPORTANT WAY THAT WE HAVE TRIED TO ASSIST WITH THE MODERNIZATION OF YOUR MILITARY. SINCE OUR FISCAL YEAR 1990, WE HAVE TRANSFERRED EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES VALUED AT OVER \$81 MILLION FOR USE BY YOUR MILITARY SERVICES. THIS PROGRAM IS A KEY COMPONENT OF OUR OVERALL

ASSISTANCE PACKAGE. AND I HAVE SOME NEWS WHICH I THINK GEN. STATHIAS WILL BE HAPPY TO HEAR. I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACCELERATE THE DELIVERY SOME OF THE 28F-4E AIRCRAFT YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO RECEIVE UNDER THIS PROGRAM. TEN WILL NOW BE AVAILABLE ON JULY ?.

AS FOR THE NAVY, YOU ALREADY KNEW, OF COURSE, THAT WE WILL BE LEASING YOU FOUR CHARLES F. ADAMS-CLASS DESTROYERS. WE HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME OF YOUR STRONG INTEREST IN OBTAINING FRIGATES. OUR OWN NAVY, ESPECIALLY DURING DESERT STORM, NEEDED THOSE FRIGATES AND NONE WERE AVAILABLE FOR LEASE. AS AN EX-NAVY MAN, I TAKE PARTICULAR PRIDE IN INFORMING YOU THAT WE ARE NOW ABLE TO LEASE YOU THREE KNOX-CLASS FRIGATES. I BELIEVE ADMIRAL LAGARAS WILL AGREE THAT THESE VESSELS WILL GREATLY ENHANCE THE GREEK NAVY'S ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE CAPABILITIES. I KNOW YOU WILL USE THEM WELL IN CARRYING OUT (YOUR ALLIANCE MARITIME ROLE.)

OUR SECURITY TIES ARE STRONG. THEY ARE HEALTHY. AS WE LOOK TOWARD THE FUTURE, I SEE SECURITY COOPERATION CONTINUING TO REFLECT THE CLOSENESS OF RECENT YEARS. I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHARES THIS VIEW. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT AND UNDERSTANDING.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON
THE ACROPOLIS

I WISH THAT EVERYONE COULD VISIT THIS ANCIENT PLACE BY GREECE'S
FABLED MORNING LIGHT. CENTURIES AFTER ITS CONSTRUCTION, THE
PARTHENON REMAINS THE UNIVERSALLY-RECOGNIZED SYMBOL OF ONE OF
THE PROUDEST PERIODS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

ATHENS WILL CELEBRATE THIS AUTUMN THE TWO THOUSAND FIVE
HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ITS DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS. THIS WILL BE AN HISTORIC OCCASION FOR THE
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE TODAY WHO ENJOY THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES
GUARANTEED BY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

ARISTOTLE, IN HIS POLITICS, WROTE, "DEMOCRACY AROSE FROM MEN'S
THINKING THAT IF THEY ARE EQUAL IN ANY RESPECT, THEY ARE EQUAL
ABSOLUTELY." THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE'S ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS ON
THE GREAT THINKERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT DIRECTLY AFFECTED THE
BELIEFS OF OUR FOUNDING FATHERS. OUR CONSTITUTION RESTS ON THE
FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES FIRST ESTABLISHED HERE.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, GREAT POPULIST AND THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES WROTE, "IT IS AN AXIOM IN MY MIND THAT OUR
LIBERTY CAN NEVER BE SAFE BUT IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE
THEMSELVES." LET US CHERISH OUR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. AND MAY
DEMOCRACY PROSPER HERE IN ITS FIRST HOME -- AND AROUND THE
GLOBE.