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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13764
Folder ID Number: 13764-001

Folder Title:
Greece 7/19/91 [OA 8325] [1]

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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 10:12 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 Kanelopoulos, 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, "*Hoş bulduk. Çok teşekkür 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

broadier 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.

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Athens

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Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

The
problem
of evil

tonomy. According to Existentialism and secular humanism in their multiple forms, the negation of theological transcendence is necessary in order to guarantee the absolute character of freedom; so state such thinkers as Dewey and Sartre. This radical existential freedom, however, has real meaning only if it is based on each individual's ability to choose his own happiness according to an absolute criterion of good and evil. According to the Christian Existentialist Søren Kierkegaard and the Jewish thinker Martin Buber, such a choice means being and putting oneself "before God."

Finally, the existence of evil has been at all times the strongest argument on the existential level in favour of the denial of God. Evil refers either to physical evils (such as natural disasters and cataclysms, poverty and war, sickness and death) that deprive man of sensual happiness or especially to moral evils (such as errors and injustices, betrayals and hostilities, hate and violence) that oppress the spirit of man. The horror of evil is that it often strikes the weak and the innocent. How are such phenomena compatible with the existence of an omnipotent and good God? To this question the theist observes that the denial of God and of immortality does not change the sorrow and suffering but only aggravates the situation by depriving the suffering individual of any hope of liberation from evil and by depriving the innocent individual of any right to obtain justice from an absolutely perfect and independent judge, whom men have called God. Christianity further claims that sorrow and suffering have been sanctified by the example of the Passion and death of Jesus Christ.

During the 1960s, in a movement arising under the convergent influence of the German theologians Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a "theology without God" was proclaimed. According to one of the theologians espousing it—most of whom are of the English-speaking world—the "death of God" is not a metaphysical category but a cultural one; contemporary man, in this view, is just not fitted to understand any real repentance through an exterior principle like the transcendent God: "Bonhoeffer invites us to accept the world without God as given and unalterable." According to the same author the second idea that marks Bonhoeffer's influence and importance is his plea for a nonreligious or religionless Christianity. Because the world has grown up and transcended its dependency situation, "the God of religion, solving otherwise insoluble problems, meeting otherwise unmeetable needs, is impossible and unnecessary." A last and more profound ground of this "theological atheism" is the kenotic movement, according to which the God who died in Christ is the God who thereby gradually ceases to be present in living form, emptying himself of his original life and power. According to another of the "death of God" theologians, Thomas J.J. Altizer, the death is, thus, "an inevitable consequence of the movement of God into the world, of spirit into flesh."

The possibility of universal atheism and even the atheism of large masses in wealthy modern society have placed all men really for the first time face-to-face with the basic alternative of being either with God or against God. But even for sophisticated modern man the decision is complicated by the danger of nuclear catastrophe, which threatens to destroy all the values of civilization, man himself, and his cosmos.

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(C.F.)

Athens

The capital of the kingdom of Greece and generally considered the nursery of Western civilization, Athens (Greek Athinai) lies five miles from the Bay of Phaleron, an inlet of the Aegean (Aigaion) Sea where Athens' port, Piraeus (Piraiévs) is situated, in a mountain-girt arid basin divided north-south by a line of hills. Greater Athens has an area of 167 square miles (433 square kilometres) and was the home of a little more than 2,500,000 people in the early 1970s. The central city, the old municipality, had over 862,000 inhabitants. The Kifisós River, a trickle in summer, flows through the western half; and the Ilisós River, often actually dry, traverses the eastern half, while the surrounding mountains of Párnis, 4,635 feet (1,413 metres), Pentelicus (Pendéli), 3,631 feet (1,107 metres), Hymettos (Imittós), 3,365 feet (1,026 metres), and Aigáleon, 1,535 feet (468 metres), add to the impression of barrenness. Yet such considerations are superficial when compared with the fecundity of Athens' spiritual bequests to the world, such as its philosophy, its architecture, its literature, and its political ideals.

THE ATHENIAN LEGACY

The Acropolis. Many of these concepts (all, if the theatre of Herodes Atticus may be regarded as an embodiment of the city's literature) are expressed in and around the Acropolis, the natural focus of Athens. Rising some 500 feet above sea level, with springs near the base and a single approach, the Acropolis was an obvious choice of citadel and sanctuary from earliest times. That it could be something more is evidenced in the Parthenon, one of the brightest jewels in mankind's treasury, let alone Athens'. As deceptively simple as Socrates' conversation, this columned, oblong temple is the expression—without a trace of strain or conflict—of a human ideal of clarity and unity. The architectural genius is concentrated in the exterior, for within was a shelter for the goddess Athena—the patroness who lent her name to the city—not a place for mass worship. Its spiritual quality, the sensation of being almost afloat, is enhanced by the lack of a single, straight, vertical line in the peristyle (the colonnade surrounding a building or court); each vertical is almost imperceptibly bowed, theoretically meeting some 11,500 feet up in the sky. The columns, of diminishing thickness toward the centre of the colonnade, with diminishing space between them, lean toward the centre,

The
Parthenon

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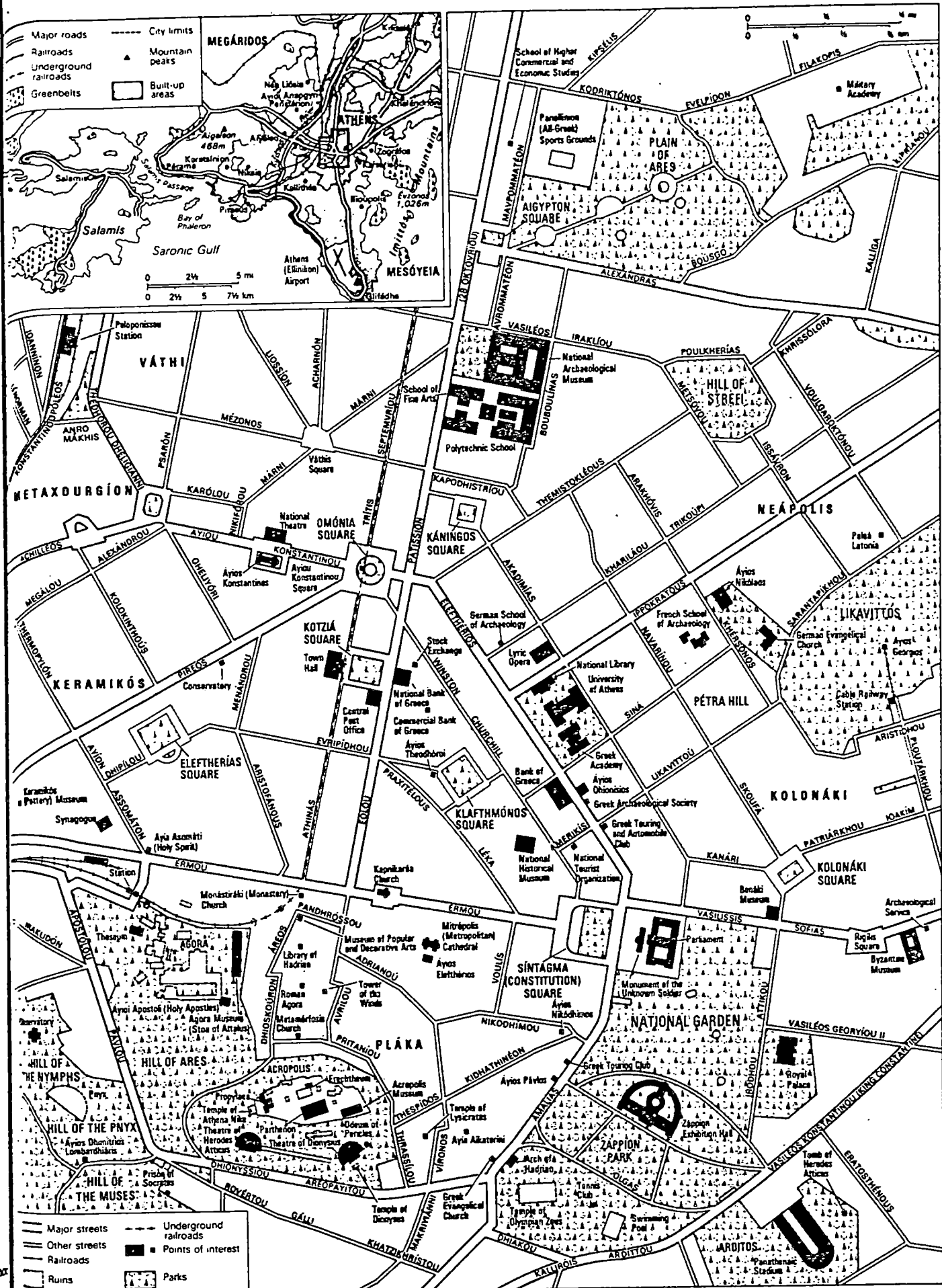
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The Parthenon



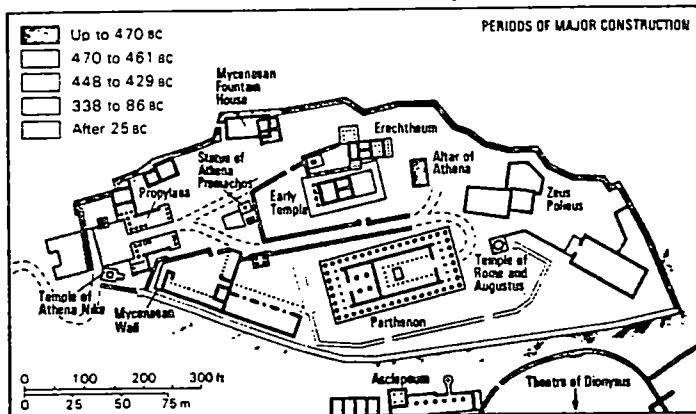
Central Athens and (inset) its metropolitan area.

too; all these differences are virtually invisible to the beholder. Even the 20 flutings (grooves) of each column diminish in width as they rise, and the humblest details of craftsmanship are perfect.

On the northeast corner of the interior are faint traces of Christian wall paintings, dating from the temple's service as the Church of St. Mary, and in the southeast corner of the porch is the stair leading to the minaret that poked through the roof when the building was a Turkish mosque. The Parthenon was also used as a powder magazine, when, on September 26, 1687, Venetian artillery, attacking the Turks from the Hill of the Muses, scored a direct hit. A member of the party with the field commander, General Königsmark, wrote, "How it dismayed His Excellency to destroy the beautiful temple which had existed three thousand years!" Conversely, Francesco Morosini, the commander in chief, when reporting to the Venetian government, called it "a fortunate shot." Wishing to bring home more than just good news, he also tried to lower Athena's horses in the centre of the west pediment, but his men's dexterity was not as highly developed as their marksmanship and the masterpieces smashed to bits on the rock below.

The Turks regained possession of the Acropolis the following year, and later began selling "souvenirs" to Europeans. The Duc de Choiseul, lately French ambassador in Constantinople, picked up a piece of the frieze and two metopes (space between two triglyphs, or ornaments in the frieze). Fourteen years later the British ambassador, Lord Elgin, arrived with an imperial decree permitting him to pull down Turkish houses on the Acropolis to seek fragments of sculpture. Among the 50 pieces he took home (the shipping charges were £75,000, a huge sum for those days) was most of the remaining Parthenon sculpture, which he later sold to the British Museum for £35,000. The Greeks have forgiven the clumsiness of the Venetian engineers, the accuracy of her cannoneers, and the vandalism of the Turks, but still nurture rancour against Elgin. His lordship also removed one of the caryatids (draped female figures serving as columns) from the Erechtheum, a temple of Athena called after a shrine dedicated to the legendary King Erechtheus or to Poseidon Erechtheus, but replaced her with a plaster cast. From London he graciously sent a town clock for Athens, duly erected in the Agora (marketplace) and lost in the fire of 1885.

Adapted from Westermann Grosser Atlas zur Weltgeschichte, Georg Westermann Verlag, Braunschweig



Plan of the Acropolis, Athens.

The Erechtheum (5th century BC), which later became a church under the Byzantines and subsequently the Turkish commander's harem, was originally dedicated to both Athena and Poseidon and was the most venerated of the Acropolis temples.

The Propylaea, the matchless entryway into the Acropolis, was the only opening in the surrounding wall. Just in front of it and to the left is the 27-foot-high pedestal for the thank-offering to Agrippa, the victor of the Battle of Actium, who interceded for Athens, which had supported the loser, Mark Antony. To the right was the temple of Athena Nike (Giver of Victory), 27 feet long and 18½

feet wide, which stood untouched until the Turks demolished it in 1686 to use the stones as defenses against the Venetians. In 1836 it was badly restored, and 100 years later its foundations began to slip into previously undiscovered Turkish cisterns, revealing the 6th-century foundations, of Peisistratus' earlier shrine to Artemis Epipyrgidea (Artemis on the Tower). The temple was then more accurately reconstructed. The northern wing of the Propylaea, the Pinakothek, was used by the Frankish dukes, who reconstructed the interior to make a two-story building. In the 12th century, Greek Orthodox bishops lived in the Pinakothek, and in the 14th century, the Acciajuoli dynasty of Athenian dukes from Florence turned the Propylaea into a fortified castle with a Tuscan tower, which Heinrich Schliemann, the German archaeologist who discovered Troy, paid to have dismantled in 1875.

When the Turks, who had occupied Athens since 1456, departed, they left the monuments in a state of ruin, the ground covered with garden plots, and 300 small huts. After Greece won its independence, Otho, the first king of the Hellenes, had everything that postdated the classical period swept away, set scholars to work identifying the remains, and encouraged some reconstruction.

According to Pausanias, the Greek traveller and geographer of the 2nd century AD, the colossal, 30-foot-high bronze seated statue of Athena Promachos (Athena Who Fights in the Foremost Ranks), by the 5th-century Athenian sculptor Phidias, was set up in the open behind the Propylaea, her gleaming helmet and spear visible to mariners off Cape Sunium (30 miles away). The 6th-century Byzantine emperor Justinian carried her off to Constantinople, just as Phidias' ivory and gold statue of Athena had been taken from the Parthenon by his predecessor Theodosius II. Both of these masterpieces were lost to other looters in the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople in 1204. Other statues stood in profusion amid small temples, such as the sculptor Myron's group of Marsyas and Athena, his Perseus, and his heifer; Phidias' Lemnian Athena and his Pericles; and a gigantic bronze effigy of the Trojan horse. There was an altar to Athena Hygeia (the Health Giver), a precinct sacred to the goddess Artemis Brauronia (named after a statue of her, brought from the town of Brauron), the Pandroseum (a building named after Pandrosos, a girl associated with Athena in legend), where the sacred olive tree of Athena grew, and beyond the Parthenon the great altar of Athena.

Other notable buildings. Below the Acropolis sanctuary, on the southwest slope of the hill, Herodes Atticus, a rich Roman, built a 5,000-seat odeum as a memorial to his wife in AD 161. A conventional Roman theatre, save that the semicircular auditorium was hollowed out of the rock, it was roofed in cedar and had a three-story facade of arches. Repaired but roofless, it is now used for the Athens summer festival of music and drama. A 300-yard-long portico stretching toward the theatre of Dionysius had been built some 300 years earlier. The Dionysiac theatre itself, scooped out of the south slope early in the 5th century, replaced the Agora stage as the drama centre. It also replaced the Pnyx as the meeting place for the popular assembly. Rebuilt many times, the ruined theatre now visible is largely Roman, the last construction work on the stage probably dating from the early 3rd century AD. The Dionysia, the spring festival, which drew crowds from many parts of Greece and colonies in Asia Minor and Italy, was held in this theatre, which had 13,000 seats in 67 rows. The jury had larger front seats and the ecclesiastical dignitaries small stone thrones, on which their titles can still be read. Three tragic and four comic plays were presented in competition for the prize. Production costs were met by private sponsors who, when their choruses won the prize tripod, displayed it in an elaborate memorial in the Street of Tripods to the east of the theatre. The only one of these monuments still standing is that of Lysicrates, erected 335/334 BC, a small circular temple 21½ feet high, its six columns an early example of the Corinthian order. Preserved through incorporation into a convent (in which the English poet Lord Byron had a study), the monument influenced British Georgian and Regency architecture through the engravings of the Edin-

The P.
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burgh artist "Athenian" Stuart. Farther east lay the Odeum of Pericles, and to the west are traces (420 bc) of the precinct of Asclepius, the god of healing, which took the form of a hospital portico for patients and temples decorated with votive reliefs.

On the Hill of Ares, the god of war, to the right of the descent from the Propylaea, a legendary jury of gods spared Ares from execution for the murder of the sea god Poseidon's son. Trials for homicide continued to be heard on this hill through the ages, and the Supreme Court of Greece still bears the name.

Across Apostólou Pávλου (Apostle Paul Avenue) are the Hill of the Nymphs, where an Austro-Greek, Baron Sina, built an observatory in 1842; the Hill of the Muses, crowned with the remains of the marble monument to Philopappus, a Syrian who was Roman consul in the 2nd century AD; and the middle hill, the Pnyx, meaning "tightly crowded together," the meeting place of the Ecclesia, the assembly of 18,000 citizens who heard the great Athenian orators. (In fact, attendance of over 5,000 was rare, but it would still have been crowded.)

The Agora. The avenue leads down to the Agora, which the American School of Classical Studies started restoring in 1931, paying \$2,500,000 compensation to the several hundred families living there. Financed by, among others, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Marshall Plan, and the Greek government, the work went on until 1960. It includes what has been called "the pitiless replica of a 180-columned portico of the 2nd century BC," which serves as a museum.

At the approaches to the Agora is the best preserved of all Greek temples, the Theseum (5th century bc). Although virtually intact and absolutely genuine, it has all the deadness of a latter-day reproduction. The beauty, the mystery, and the genius that render the Parthenon incandescent eluded the architects and builders of the Theseum.

The Horologium and the Orthodox cathedrals. Another monument is the octagonal, 42-foot-high marble Horologium of Andronicus of Cyrrhus, usually called the Tower of the Winds because each side bears a weather-beaten figure of the wind from that particular compass point. It used to have a sundial, a water clock for telling the hour on cloudy days, and a weather vane. The Turks left it unchanged, believing it to be the tomb of two local prophets, Sakhratis and Aflaton (Socrates and Plato).

In the shadow of the 19th century, Neo-Byzantine Greek Orthodox Cathedral (Mitrópolis) nestles the old Mitrópolis, Áyios Elefthérios, one of three genuine Byzantine churches still surviving. It is red brick like the others and tiny, its Pentelic marble ruddied with age, its outer walls artfully, if promiscuously, decorated with classical Greek tidbits: panels, votive tablets, and morsels of frieze. Like its sisters, this retired cathedral is charming, unassuming, and comforting. (B.E.)

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS

The city in antiquity. *Factors inducing settlement.* The climate of Athens is benign: frost is rare (the minimum temperature is 32° F, 0° C) and snow seldom lies, while the summers, though hot (maximum temperature is 99° F, 37° C), are dry, and a fresh northeasterly wind often blows by day. The nights are always cool. All of this permits outdoor activity the year around and has had an important effect on both the style of architecture and the life and political institutions of the city.

The site of Athens has been inhabited since the Neolithic Period (before 3000 bc). Evidence for this has come from pottery finds on and around the Acropolis but particularly from a group of about 20 shallow wells, or pits, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, just below the Klepsydra spring. These wells contained burnished pots of excellent quality, which show that even at this remote period Athens had a settled population, with high technical and artistic standards. There are similar indications of occupation in the Early and Middle Bronze ages (3000–1500 bc).

The earliest buildings date from the Late Bronze Age, particularly about 1200 bc when the Acropolis was the

citadel. Around its top was built a massive wall of Cyclopean masonry (a type of construction using huge blocks without mortar). The construction of this wall probably marks the union of the 12 towns of Attica (the department in which Athens lies) under the leadership of Athens, an event traditionally ascribed to Theseus. The palace of the king was in the area of the later Erechtheum, but almost no traces of it have been identified. The town, insofar as it was outside the Acropolis, lay to the south, where wells and slight remains of houses have been found. The principal cemetery lay to the northwest, and several richly furnished chamber tombs and many smaller ones have been discovered in the area that later became the Agora.

Whether through the strength of its walls, the valour of its citizens, or its geographical position away from the main route to the Peloponnesus, Athens seems to have weathered the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages, troubled times, better than other, more important centres. There is no evidence of complete or widespread destruction, as at Mycenae and Pylos; in fact, the pottery styles show an unbroken development through sub-Mycenaean (a style later than the Mycenaean but not yet Greek) to Protogeometric (the earliest phase of Geometric) and Geometric (a style of pottery in vogue from 1000 bc to 750 bc). Furthermore, there is positive evidence that from about 1000 bc the city began to expand in a northwesterly direction, into the area that had previously been confined to cemeteries. Wells appear, indicating occupation by the living, and any graves in the area are increasingly confined to restricted plots or placed along the roads outside the town limits. The Agora and some of the public buildings seem, to judge from scattered notices in later writers, to have been located west and northwest of the Acropolis. Though there are few remains of buildings, the wealth and prosperity of the city can be appreciated from late Geometric graves found in the area of the later Dipylon and Erian gates. These graves were adorned with large vases, sometimes over five feet high, richly decorated with geometric patterns and having figured scenes of battles, processions, and funeral ceremonies.

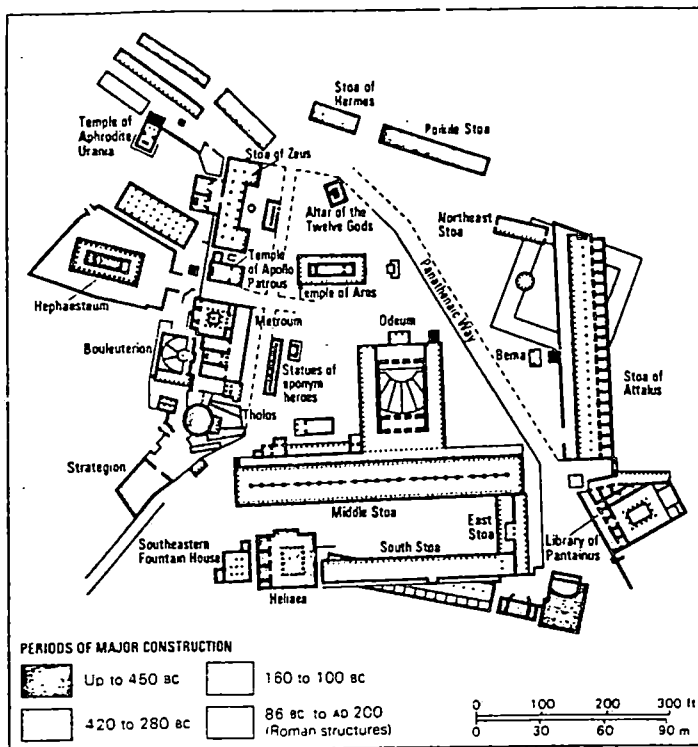
Athen's expansion. The 6th century bc was a period of phenomenal growth, particularly during the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons (c. 560–510 bc). On the Acropolis, the old primitive shrines began to be replaced with large stone temples. About 580 bc a temple to Athena, known as the Hekatompedon, or "Hundred-Footer," was erected on the site later to be occupied by the Parthenon. The pediments (triangular spaces forming the gable) of this temple were decorated with large-scale sculpture in gaily coloured, porous limestone, representing groups of lions bringing down bulls, and with snake-tailed monsters in the angles. These sculptures are now displayed in the Acropolis Museum. In 566 bc Peisistratus reorganized the Panathenaic Games in honour of Athena on a four yearly basis. About 530 bc a large peripteral temple (one having a row of columns on all sides) to Athena Polias (Guardian of the City) was erected near the centre of the Acropolis, on the site of the old Bronze Age palace. It had marble pedimental sculpture representing the battle of the Gods and Giants. Besides these two major temples there were five smaller buildings, treasuries and the like, and a wealth of votive offerings in marble, bronze, and terra-cotta. The Acropolis was now a full-fledged sanctuary.

This change from citadel to sanctuary is also reflected in the arrangement of the entrance at the west. Instead of a winding path suitable for defense, there was, from about the middle of the 6th century bc, a broad ramp, designed as a ceremonial approach, leading up to the gate. This basic change of attitude toward the Acropolis must mean that the whole lower town was now surrounded by a fortification wall, and the Acropolis was no longer needed for defense. The ancient historians Herodotus and Thucydides tell of such a wall, but no trace of it has been found, and its course and date are uncertain.

In the lower town, too, the 6th century was a period of great growth and change. The old Agora, below the western approach to the Acropolis, was now inadequate, and

Changes
in the 6th
century bc

Evidence
Early
habitation



Ground plan of the Athenian Agora.

Adapted from: Westermann Grosser Atlas zur Weltgeschichte:
Georg Westermann Verlag, Braunschweig

Building of the new Agora

a new one was therefore laid out in the low ground to the northwest. This was accomplished by demolishing houses and filling in wells and gullies, to create a broad, open square, which was used for gatherings of all sorts: political, judicial, religious, and commercial. Dramatic contests were held here, too, before the construction of a separate theatre. Various public buildings and shrines were erected around the borders of the square, including the Basileios (Royal) Stoa, where the archon Basileus, one of the chief magistrates of the city, had his headquarters, the Old Bouleuterion (or Council House), and a large enclosure (100 feet square), which probably housed the Heliæia, the largest of the popular lawcourts. At the southeast corner of the square a small fountain house was built, which received water from outside the city through a conduit of terra-cotta pipes.

In 480 bc this flourishing city was captured and destroyed by the Persians. The Acropolis buildings were burned, and the houses in the lower town mostly destroyed, except for a few that had been spared to house the Persian leaders.

Athens at its zenith. When the Athenians returned, in 479 bc, they immediately rebuilt their fortification wall larger than before. About 20 years later the famous Long Walls were built, connecting the city with its port, Piræus, four miles away. They were parallel over most of their course, forming a corridor 550 feet wide. These walls played a vital part in Athens' history during the Classical period, for they allowed it to carry the supplies brought in by its powerful fleet in safety to the city, even when enemy forces roamed the Attic countryside.

For 30 years after the Persian destruction, the Athenians built only fortifications and some secular buildings in the Agora, notably the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Colonnade, with its famous paintings by Polygnotus and Micon, one of which represented the Battle of Marathon. The Tholos, the round building that served as the headquarters of the executive committee of the council, was also built at this time. Lack of attention to the Acropolis was partly the result of the oath, sworn before the Battle of Plataea in 479 bc, that sanctuaries destroyed by the Barbarians would not be rebuilt but left as memorials of their impiety. In 449 bc, however, peace with Persia was at last officially established, and the oath was annulled. Athens, moreover, now had ample funds, for the silver

mines in the Laurium (Lavrion) Hills of southern Attica were in full production. These mines had always been exploited, but in 483 bc a big strike was made, the proceeds of which were used to build the ships that won the battle of Salamis, in 480 bc. Thereafter, the mines remained productive throughout the 5th and 4th centuries, providing Athens with the sinews of its strength in the great Classical age. Another source of revenue was the tribute that the allies had been paying, as members of the Delian League, to prosecute the war against Persia. Athens had been collecting and administering this money and now, even though the war was officially over, continued to collect it in spite of the protests of the allies, who degenerated into subjects of Athens. Pericles deemed it proper, over the protests of his opponents, to use this money on beautifying the city; in this way he could keep the money in circulation and provide jobs for the whole population. Thus began one of the largest and most enduring works programs in history.

In a period of 40 years the Acropolis was entirely rebuilt in gleaming white marble quarried from Mt. Pentelicon, ten miles north of the city. The first great work was the Parthenon, begun in 447 bc and finished, except for some details, in 438 bc. The architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, and Phidias was in charge of the whole artistic program. The building was considerably larger than was usual, having eight columns across the ends and 17 on the long sides, against six by 13 for the average temple. It was richly decorated with sculpture, having a running frieze all around the top of the cella (the walled-in chamber within the colonnade) wall outside, and sculptured metopes and sculptured pediments. Inside the cella stood the cult statue, the great gold and ivory figure of Athena, the work of Phidias. No sooner was the main work on the Parthenon completed than the Propylæa was begun. This was the monumental gateway with five doors at the head of the approach, designed by the architect Mnesicles. Its large outer vestibule was covered by a marble ceiling, supported by marble beams with a free span of 18 feet, about which Pausanias wrote, "the Propylæa has a ceiling of white marble which in the beauty and size of the stones remains supreme even to my time." Work on the Propylæa was nearly finished when stopped by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 432 bc, but, as things began to go well for Athens, the little temple of Athena Nike was erected on the bastion in front of the Propylæa, perhaps in 425 bc. At the time of the Peace of Nicias (421 bc), or perhaps a year or two earlier, the Erechtheum was begun. This was a small Ionic temple of highly irregular plan, which housed various early cults and sacred tokens. When the building was about half-finished, work was suddenly interrupted, probably because of the disastrous Athenian expedition to Sicily (415-413 bc), but it was resumed in 409 bc, and the building was completed in 406 bc. The final defeat of Athens two years later put an end to all building, but the Acropolis had been completed, and in later centuries only secondary buildings and monuments were added.

The second half of the 5th century also saw some building activity in the lower town. Even before the Parthenon, work was begun on the temple of Hephaestus (the Greek god of fire), the Theseum, which still stands on a low hill. In the Agora itself, a new Bouleuterion was built, and two colonnades, the Stoa of Zeus and the South Stoa, were constructed. On the south slope of the Acropolis, next to the theatre, Pericles built an odeon, a large enclosed concert hall, its roof supported by a forest of columns. Of the theatre itself there are no identifiable remains, but the arrangements were no doubt quite simple, and it is known that a theatre existed on this spot from the late 6th century bc because of the old temple of Dionysus (the god of wine) nearby, which dates from the same period. A sanctuary of Asclepius was founded on the south slope of the Acropolis in 420 bc.

Athens was slow in recovering from its defeat in the Peloponnesian War, but in 394 bc its admiral, Conon, won a decisive naval victory over Sparta off Cnidus, on the west coast of Asia Minor. As a result he rebuilt the Long Walls, which the Spartans had demolished to the

The building of the Erechtheum

Peace with Persia

music of flutes ten years before, believing they were inaugurating the freedom of Greece. The walls of Piraeus were also rebuilt, and those of the city were repeatedly strengthened in the course of the 4th century, notably by the addition of a ditch or moat as protection against siege machinery.

Apart from military works, there was little building in 4th-century Athens until the years 338–322 BC, when the orator Lycurgus was in control of the state finances and there was great activity. On the Pnyx, the broad-backed hill west of the Acropolis where the Athenian popular assembly had met since the reforms of Cleisthenes (a 6th-century constitution maker), a large auditorium was constructed. At the same time, two large stoas were started on the terrace above. The theatre of Dionysus was rebuilt and greatly enlarged, with stone seats to accommodate the crowds. (Lycurgus did another service to the theatre by having definitive copies made of the old plays.) The Panathenaic stadium was also built about then, partly with state funds and partly by private contributions: the land was donated by a certain Deinias, and one Eudemus of Plataea provided 1,000 yoke of draft animals to level the ground. The period was one of lavish private expenditure in other fields as well. The tripods won in choral contests were displayed on elaborate monuments, sometimes even resembling small temples: the best preserved of these is that of Lysicrates (334 BC), a small round building with six Corinthian columns. Tombs also became increasingly elaborate, often portraying the whole family in high relief. In 315 BC a stop was put to all this extravagance by the sumptuary laws of Demetrius of Phalerum.

Meanwhile, the philosophy schools flourished. Plato (c. 428–348/347 BC) established himself in the Academy, a gymnasium that had existed since at least the 6th century BC in the great olive grove about a mile west of the city. Plato himself had a house and garden near by. Aristotle and his Peripatetics occupied the Lyceum, another gymnasium, just outside the city to the east, and his successor Theophrastus lived near by. Antisthenes and the Cynics used the Cynosarges gymnasium to the southeast of the city. Zeno held forth in the heart of the city, in the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Colonnade, in the Agora, and his followers were therefore known as Stoics. Epicurus and his followers had a house and garden in town.

Apart from its temples and public buildings and its great avenues, however, Athens seems to have made a poor impression. A 3rd-century-BC visitor complained that the city was dry and ill-supplied with water, that it was badly laid out because of its great antiquity, and that most of the houses were mean. The streets were in fact narrow and winding, and the houses, it is true, presented a blank wall to the street except for the entrance door, but then they were built around a central courtyard, off which the various rooms opened. There was often an upper story, and the court had a well. Water brought in by the aqueducts was not considered good because it was hard (containing salts of magnesium or calcium) and caused rheumatism. Waste water was carried off in an elaborate system of underground drains beneath the streets. (For related information, see GREEK CIVILIZATION, ANCIENT.)

Hellenistic and Roman times. Athens in Hellenistic and Roman times depended for its embellishment less on its own resources than on the generosity of foreign princes. One of the Ptolemies (rulers of Egypt) gave a gymnasium, erected near the sanctuary of Theseus, and the Ptolemies were probably also instrumental in the founding of the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis. More important were the donations of the Attalids of Pergamum (a dynasty of Asia Minor); Eumenes II (197–159 BC) gave a large, two-story colonnade on the south slope of the Acropolis near the theatre. His brother Attalus II (159–138 BC), who had studied at Athens under the philosopher Carneades, head of the New Academy, likewise gave a colonnade. This was a large, elaborate, two-story building more than 350 feet long with a row of shops at the rear. It was located on the eastern side of the Agora and has been reconstructed in modern times (1953–56) to serve as the Museum of the Agora excava-

tions. The Stoa of Attalus was the first element in a large-scale reconstruction of the Agora. It was followed in quick succession by three buildings, the Middle Stoa, the East Building, and the South Stoa, which together formed a separate South Square in the southern half of the Agora.

The capture of Athens by the Roman general Sulla in 86 BC was accompanied by great slaughter and much destruction of private houses, but the only public building to be destroyed was the Odeum of Pericles, burned by the defenders of the Acropolis lest its timbers be used by the enemy. The Odeum was rebuilt on the same plan a few years later, through the generosity of King Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.

Under the Roman Empire, Athens enjoyed imperial favour. A spacious market for the sale of oil and other commodities was laid out east of the old Agora with funds originally provided by Julius Caesar and supplemented by the emperor Augustus. In the old Agora itself, a new odeum, or concert hall, was built in the middle of the square by Marcus Agrippa, the emperor's son-in-law and one of his chief lieutenants. A large building, perhaps a law court, was also erected at the northeast corner. At the southeast corner of the Agora a handsome library was erected about AD 100, the gift of one T. Flavius Pantainus and his family. It was decorated with a group of marble sculpture representing Homer flanked by the Iliad and the Odyssey. On the Acropolis a small round temple was erected to the goddess Roma and the emperor Augustus.

The emperor Hadrian (AD 117–138) completed the great temple of Olympian Zeus, started over 600 years earlier by the Peisistratids. This temple formed the chief ornament of the new eastern suburb of Athens, and Hadrian gave the area a monumental entrance through a gateway, the inscriptions on which proclaimed, on one side, "This is the Athens of Theseus, the old city," and, on the other, "This is the city of Hadrian, not of Theseus." Hadrian also built a library, a gymnasium, and a Pantheon (a sanctuary of all the gods). His aqueduct, which brought water from the mountains to the north, has been reconditioned and still serves the modern city.

In the reign of Valerian (AD 253–260), the walls of Athens, which had been neglected since Sulla's capture of the city in 86 BC and had fallen into ruin, were rebuilt, and the circuit was extended to include the new suburb northeast of the Olympieion. This was done because of the threat of a barbarian invasion, but when that invasion came, in AD 267, the walls were of no avail. The Heruli, a Germanic people from northern Europe, easily captured Athens, and though the historian P. Herennius Dexippus rallied 2,000 men on the city outskirts, they could only resort to guerrilla tactics. The lower town was sacked, and all the buildings of the Agora were burned and destroyed. The Acropolis, however, may have held out; at least there is no evidence of extensive damage at this time.

This sack of Athens is comparable only to that by the Persians in 480 BC, but now the reaction was quite different. The Athenians abandoned the outer circuit and established a new and much smaller line north of the Acropolis, leaving even the Agora area outside the walls. This new wall, which, on the evidence of coins, was built in the reign of Probus (AD 276–282), consisted of material taken from ruined buildings in the lower town.

Athens remained confined within this narrow circuit for several generations, but in the 4th and 5th centuries experienced a revival. The old outer circuit of the walls was restored, and many new buildings were erected. Athens at this time was still the cultural capital of the Greek world and a stronghold of Paganism. Its schools of philosophy, which retained their ancient names, however different their outlooks may have been, flourished, attracting students from all parts. These included the emperor Julian the Apostate and two Fathers of the Church, Basil and Gregory Nazianzene. While the schools existed, Athens remained a place of consequence, but when they were closed by the emperor Justinian in AD 529, Athens sank to the level of a small provincial town. Power and

Hadrian's devotion to Athens

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000 to 718,000. The city is still clearing slums that began as refugee colonies. After this, the city began to spread in two directions, south toward Piraeus and north toward the village of Kifissia, which first became a smart suburb when Herodes Atticus built his villa there in the 1st century BC. The 1940 census showed 481,000 inhabitants in Athens proper, and 1,124,000 in the Athens Basin.

In the decade before the next census, hideous things happened in Athens. During the German occupation, a truck toured the streets picking up the bodies of starvation victims, and the city began to fall apart from lack of maintenance. When the Germans left, part of the Allied-equipped Resistance refused to lay down its arms, and the civil war began. For a while the government held only the Parliament building, neighbouring embassies, and a part of Constitution Square, while the palace garden was used as a common grave.

Housing. Shortly after, a construction boom began, which had still not stopped by the early 1970s. New apartment houses pushing up everywhere erased old social boundaries, though the Kolonáki district on the southeast slope of Likavítós remained an enclave of respectable fortunes, and villages that had been attached to the city in the previous expansion lost their physical and political identities. A network of major highways was thrown up. The west side of the historic olive grove by the Kifissós River was shorn, and hillside greenery began to disappear under housing, either unauthorized or made legal through political skulduggery. Open space vanished, without provision for parks, playgrounds, or even schools, and Athens spread down to the sea by Glifada, joining up with Piraeus. Piraeus itself was transformed from one of the world's celebrated honky-tonk ports into a clean, new-built, flower-decorated city.

The Athens master plan was enlarged several times to keep pace with spread, which in 1964 already attained 75 square miles (195.6 square kilometres), with a built-up area of 17 square miles outside the plan altogether. Land values in the centre quadrupled, then octupled, and rose proportionately elsewhere. Traffic increased almost to the saturation point at rush hours, and the city continued to sprawl over the plain. As international tourism increased, Athens Airport, with 3,008,000 passengers in 1970, was expanded and modernized, and 25,000 hotel beds were still 5,000 too few in 1971's peak season.

The city water supply from an artificial lake at Marathon was insufficient to supply new building construction and the Mornos River 110 miles to the east was dammed and tapped. Installation of a modern sewer system was undertaken, together with controls to check the floods that roar into Athens when heavy rains pour off the denuded mountains.

Economic life. Commerce and manufacturing. Since World War I Athens has become the hub of all mercantile business, export and import. With the Piraeus, it is the most important manufacturing town in Greece. There are cloth and cotton mills, distilleries, breweries, potteries, flour mills, soap factories, tanneries, chemical works, and carpet factories. Exports include tobacco, wine, oil, currants, marble, and, recently, bauxite and magnesite. Publishing enterprises are important. The principal imports are coal, grain, and manufactured articles.

Transportation and shipping. By 1970 Athens accounted for more than half the nation's telephones, more than half its cars, trucks, and buses, and half the jobs in industry and handicrafts. Average earnings were three times higher than the national average. Furthermore, between 1967 and late 1970, the number of merchant ships registered in Greece (mostly at Piraeus) increased from 1,771 to 2,315 as Greek shipowners answered the government's call to bring their foreign-registered ships home (though 3,561 Greek ships remained under other flags). Likewise, shipping receipts rose in the same period from \$182,400,000 to \$269,760,000. In 1970 alone, 130 shipping offices opened in refurbished Piraeus, while on weekends, shipping magnates sailed to the nearby islands of Hydra and Spetse in chrome-fitted luxury yachts, flying Panamanian and Liberian flags. It hardly seemed to matter where the official city limits stood, since Athens

was overrunning everything: the population at the 1971 census was 2,530,207.

Environmental and modernization problems. The brilliant Attic light is now dimmed by the pall of pollution hovering over the city. To discourage new factories from adding to the problem and to stimulate modernization of other regions' economies an industrial wage tax was imposed in the Athens area, and a reduction of up to 40 percent tax on turnover was offered to new factories set up in other areas.

The older Athens has not entirely disappeared in all this hubbub. Older men may have given up smoking hookahs (pipes passing through water) in shadowy cafes but not their 33-bead *kombouloi* ("worry beads"), a tension-dissipating addiction acquired from the Turks.

Old Athens also lives on in the six streets sidling off Monastiraki, by the excavated Agora. Here are tiny open-fronted shops hung with tinsel folk costumes, boots apparently captured from German soldiers in 1944, and all the monuments of Athens reproduced in copper, plaster, plastic, and paint. There is an alley of antique dealers, a street of smithies, one of hardware merchants, and another of wildly assorted miscellany.

Close to this lively quarter is the Pláka, on the north slope of the Acropolis. Small, one-story houses, dating from about the time of Independence, are clustered together up the hillside in peasant simplicity. There are appropriately tiny squares, with *tavernae*, once celebrated for their folk music, dancing, and simple fare. There are vine-covered pergolas and some unpaved streets too narrow for cars. The baths built by the Turks still function morning and afternoon, but the *bouzouki*, local relative of the lute, is giving way to the electric guitar, the *taverna* signs are multilingual, and the ubiquitous kitchen chair is being replaced by the plastic-ribbed restaurant seat. Progress laps at the Pláka like a vengeful sea, but the Acropolis is just up above, just under the stars. (B.E.)

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(B.E./E.V.)

Atheriniformes

The order Atheriniformes contains 15 families of marine and freshwater spiny-finned fishes, including the flying fishes, needlefishes, silversides, and cyprinodonts. The last group, the Cyprinodontidae, is an abundant tropical

Enlarge-
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Old
Athens

1912-
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drums and a kettledrum; the leather lacings of the former are gripped by its player, enabling him to change the pitch as he exerts more or less pressure on them; the chief drum of the set is capable of an octave range and, in addition to tones, produces also the typical Yoruba glides by manipulation of the lacings.

East African drum chimes, of Asian heritage, are tuned to specific pitches; these instruments attained royal status in Uganda, where the largest chime consists of 15 drums requiring six musicians to play them.

Friction drums of the lower Congo area were once exclusively cult instruments but are now becoming desecralized. Whereas in Central Africa they are played only by men, women of the South African Pedi play them at female initiation rites.

African mirlitons can be most imaginative: standard material is a spider's egg membrane, and this may be added to apertures pierced in the bottom of xylophone resonators or applied to one end of an independent cane tube that is inserted into a nostril, as among the Fan of Gabon.

Afro-America. West Africans reconstructed their native drums in the New World, preponderantly as cult instruments. Small sets of two or, more often, three drums of graded sizes form an integral part of Afro-American rituals and, in the Caribbean, also of voodoo dances. Only the skins of sacrificial animals may be used for membranes among Afro-Bahians in Brazil, who baptize their new drums, preferably with "holy" water obtained from a Catholic church. Drums in Haiti are sacred objects and may even represent the deity itself: as such they receive libations. One type of bongo drum—there exist at least four of these—has been adopted by Western rhythm bands, as has the conga.

IN AMERICA

Pre-Columbian drums of Central America appear to have been played without sticks, regardless of their size, and to have been devoid of lacings, whether they were small pottery drums, such as those excavated in Costa Rica, or the large footed drums of Mexico. Slender pottery drums of the Guatemala highlands, open top and bottom, can be dated to the late classical period (c. 700–1000). Skeletons of wooden cylinder drums, very shallow, have been found in Peru. In shape but not in structure they are identical to the shallow drums played by North American Indians today.

The North American shallow drums are "medicine" (magic) and dance drums, having a heavy hide head struck by a hard beater and emitting a loud, staccato sound. Larger models are suspended and struck simultaneously by up to ten drummers seated in a surrounding circle. The "dream-dance" drum, a tub-shaped shallow drum, is elaborately decorated and has a bell suspended in its interior; it is credited with great medicine power.

Cylinder drums, made of a hollowed log of cottonwood, traditionally war and dance drums of tribes of the Southwestern United States, are now sold in tourist shops. Pottery drums, either potbellied, bowl-shaped, or footed, were formerly common among the eastern and southern tribes of the United States; the potbellied type remains in use among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest.

American Indian frame drums are usually circular; square shapes are rare, but rectangular frame drums are found in California, Mexico, and Bolivia and octagonal ones among the Cherokee of the Southeastern United States. All were war drums, regardless of whether they had one or two membranes. By adding a rattling device, a frame drum is converted into a medicine drum. The Eskimo frame drum, a shaman's instrument, is distributed over Greenland, northern Siberia, North America, and among the Lapps of northern Scandinavia and differs from other frame drums in that it has a fixed handle and is struck on the hoop, not on the membrane. It may be circular, oval, or fan-shaped.

Friction drums are rare; in Venezuela one is formed from a small barrel over which a piece of leather is stretched, with central perforation to admit a friction stick.

IN THE PACIFIC

Two forms of drum are distributed over this huge area. Elongated hourglass drums, usually with wooden handles of a piece with the drum shell, often beautifully carved and ranging up to six feet in height, are commonly in the hands of dancers and singers and are said to symbolize the transition from earth to heaven. Among the Wapenamundu of New Guinea they lack handles and are war drums. Such hourglass drums are not found in Polynesia. The other form is a conical, footed drum made of a tree trunk, reaching great dimension. Those of Polynesia are sometimes eight feet high and have elaborately carved pedestals. They are usually made of breadfruit tree wood or hollowed coconut palm, with a single, sharkskin head. Throughout the area drums are beaten with bare hands.

Whirled friction drums are met with in Hawaii, where a large nut or a calabash is furnished with a friction cord and swung through the air.

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(S.Ma.)

Pericles

The greatest statesman of ancient Athens, Pericles brought Athenian democracy to its zenith, built the most magnificent of ancient Greek buildings, and came near to establishing Athens as the leader of all Greece.

Anderson—Alinari



Pericles, marble herm. In the Vatican Museum.

Knowledge of his life derives largely from two sources. The historian Thucydides admired him profoundly and refused to criticize him. His account suffers from the fact that, 40 years younger, he had no firsthand knowledge of Pericles' early career; it suffers also from his approach, which concentrates exclusively on Pericles' intellectual capacity and his war leadership, omitting biographical details, which Thucydides thought irrelevant to his theme. The gaps are partly filled by the Greek writer Plutarch, who, 500 years later, began writing the life of Pericles to illustrate a man of unchallengeable virtue and greatness at grips with the fickleness of the mob and

Eskimo
shaman's
drum

finished rather puzzled by the picture he found in his sources of Pericles' responsibility for a needless war. These sources are not all ascertainable, but they certainly preserve an invaluable amount of fact and contemporary gossip, which is sometimes nearly as useful.

Family background and education. Pericles was born (c. 495 BC) into the first generation able to use the new weapon of the popular vote against the old power of family politics. His father, Xanthippos, a typical member of this generation, almost certainly of an old family, began his political career by a dynastic marriage into the controversial family of the Alcmeonids. He soon left their political camp, probably on the question of relations with Persia, and took the then new path of legal prosecution as a political weapon. Perhaps outbid in his search for popular support, he was ostracized in 484 BC, though he returned in 480 to command the Athenian force at Mycale in 479, probably dying soon after. From him Pericles may have inherited a leaning toward the people, along with landed property at Cholargus, just north of Athens, which put him high, though not quite at the highest level, on the Athenian pyramid of wealth. His Alcmeonid mother, Agariste, provided him with relationships of sharply diminishing political value and her family curse, a religious defilement that was occasionally used against him by his enemies. A few days before Pericles' birth, according to the Greek historian Herodotus, Agariste dreamed she bore a lion. The symbolism, although ambiguous, is most likely to be unfavourable. That Pericles' skull was of unusual shape seems well attested, but one can hardly speculate about the possible psychological consequences.

Education
by the
Sophists

The only name associated with his early education is that of the musical theorist Damon, whose influence, it is said, was not just confined to music. The arrival of the Sophist philosophers in Athens occurred during his middle life, and he seems to have taken full advantage of the society of Zeno and particularly Anaxagoras, from whom he is said to have learned impassivity in the face of trouble and insult and skepticism about alleged divine phenomena.

The first known date in his life is 472 BC, when he paid for the production of the playwright Aeschylus' Persian trilogy. Nothing further is known until 463, when he unsuccessfully prosecuted Cimon, the leading general and statesman of the day, on a charge of having neglected a chance to conquer Macedonia; this implies that Pericles advocated an aggressive policy of expansion for Athens. Only rumour associates him directly with the political convulsion of the next two years, which drove Cimon into exile, swung Athens away from its alignment with Sparta, and decisively strengthened the democratic elements in the Athenian constitution; but he probably did support the democratic leader Ephialtes in this period, and his introduction of pay for juries, unfortunately undatable, is a logical consequence of Ephialtes' reforms.

Rise to democratic leadership. That Pericles immediately succeeded the assassinated Ephialtes as head of the democratic party in 461 is an ancient oversimplification; there were other men of considerable weight in Athens in the next 15 years. The outbreak of war among the Greek states in 459 put a premium on military talent, and Pericles' only recorded campaign in the next few years was a naval expedition in the Corinthian Gulf in 454, in which Athens defeated Achaia but failed to win more important objectives. Politically he is credited with some kind of rapprochement with Cimon, who is said to have been recalled and allowed to resume the war with Persia, much preferred to fighting other Greeks, but the date of Cimon's recall is uncertain, and the rumours are hard to disentangle.

Legislation
on
Athenian
citizenship

In 451 or 450 Pericles carried a law confining Athenian citizenship to those of Athenian parentage on both sides. No source provides any background to this proposal; it is not even clear whether it was retrospective. A correct assessment is vital for understanding Pericles, but explanations vary considerably; some argue that Pericles was merely forging a low-level political weapon for use against Cimon, who had a foreign mother. The upper classes certainly had no prejudice against foreign mar-

riages; the lower classes may well have had more, and, on the whole, it is possible to view Pericles here as championing exclusivist tendencies against immigrants who might break down the fabric of Athenian society. One hundred years later, an orator argued for firm distinctions of status on the ground that the law provided even the poorest Athenian girl with a dowry in the form of her citizenship. The law also may have passed because of a general wish to restrict access to the benefits of office and public distributions, but there was never any disposition on the part of Athenians to restrict economic opportunities for foreigners—who served in the fleet, worked on public buildings, and had freedom of trade and investment, with the crucial, but normal, exception of land and houses. To speak of this legislation as a move forward creating a "master race" is thus partly misleading, but the demagogic nature of the law seems clear.

Cimon died after 451, during his last campaign against Persia. The policy of war with Persia was abandoned and a formal peace probably made. The Persian War, begun as an ill-considered gesture in 499, could be considered ultimately successful. The city of Athens, however, was physically still much as it had been left by the Persian sack of 480, and its gods were inadequately housed.

Hostilities among the Greek states had also come to an end in the Five Years' Truce of 451. Pericles now embarked on a policy designed to secure Athens' cultural and political leadership in Greece. It had already dominated the alliance that had continued the Persian War after Sparta's withdrawal in 478, a leadership strengthened by the transfer of the alliance's considerable treasury from Delos to Athens in 454. If peace with Persia did not end the alliance, it may have ended the annual tribute paid to that treasury. Whether to regain this tribute, or simply to assert Athenian leadership, Pericles summoned a conference of all Greek states to consider the questions of rebuilding the Greek temples destroyed by the Persians, the payment of sacrifices due to the gods for salvation, and the freedom of the seas. Sparta would not cooperate, but Pericles continued on the narrower basis of the Athenian alliance. Tribute was to continue, and Athens would draw heavily on the reserves of the alliance for a magnificent building program centred on the Acropolis. In 447 work started on the temple later known as the Parthenon and on the gold and ivory statue of Athena (by Phidias), which it was to house; the Acropolis project was to include, among other things, a temple to Victory and the Propylaea (started 437), the entrance gateway, far grander and more expensive than any previous Greek secular building.

There was domestic criticism, however. Thucydides, son of Melesias (not the historian) and a relative of Cimon, who had inherited some of his political support, denounced both the extravagance of the project and the immorality of using allied funds to finance it. Pericles argued that the allies were paying for their defense, and, if that was assured, Athens did not have to account for how the money was actually spent. The argument ended in ostracism in 443; Thucydides went into exile for ten years, leaving Pericles unchallenged. It cannot be determined whether the glamour of the project had completely caught Athenian imagination or whether Pericles was now simply thought to be indispensable. Plutarch attributed to Pericles a desire to stimulate economic activity and employment in Athens, but these motives may be anachronistic and in actuality may not have influenced the voters very much.

There was also some initial allied resentment at the continuation of tribute, and some scattered revolts. Pericles met the situation in part by extending a network of Athenian settlements throughout what may now be called the empire, thus strengthening Athenian control and providing new land for the growing Athenian population. In establishing one of these, Pericles engaged in his most admired campaign, the expulsion of barbarians from the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli). A more serious crisis came in 447 or 446, however, when the cities of Boeotia, under Athenian control since 458, beat a small Athenian army and successfully revolted. Euboea, crucial

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to Athenian control of the sea and food supplies, and Megara soon followed suit. The strategic importance of Megara was immediately demonstrated by the appearance, for the first time in 12 years, of a Spartan army north of the Isthmus in Attica. Pericles thought and acted swiftly. The details were never fully known, but, possibly by bribery and certainly by negotiation, it was arranged that Athens would give up its mainland possessions and confine itself to a largely maritime empire. The Spartan army retired, Euboea was quickly reduced, and the arrangement was ratified by the Thirty Years' Peace (winter 446-445). For Athens, the essential loss was that of Megara, which meant that a Spartan army could appear in Attica at any time. That Pericles doubted the stability of the settlement and saw the need to develop an alternative basic strategy for Athens is shown by his immediate construction of a third Long Wall to improve the defenses of Athens and the port of Piraeus. Henceforth, in effect, Athens could be turned into an island at will.

Political and military achievements. There was a break in tensions for the moment. After Thucydides' ostracism, Pericles had little domestic opposition. His position rested on his continual re-election to the generalship and on his prestige, based, according to the historian Thucydides, on his manifest intelligence and incorruptibility. From his youthful demagoguery, he had moved to a more middle ground in politics, and there are traces in his later life of his being outflanked by more radical spokesmen. Athens was, Thucydides says, in name a democracy but, in fact, governed by its first man. Though Athenian democracy never gave more than severely limited powers to the executive, the assembly gave Pericles what he wanted. Thucydides, obsessed with the power of intellect, takes little note of the need of a statesman to work hard, and it is Plutarch who provided the glimpses of a man who took no interest in his own estates, who was never seen on any road but that to the public offices, and who was only recalled to have gone to one social occasion, which he left early.

Pericles' personal life

This picture is softened somewhat by what is known of his personal life. The identity of his wife, however, though certainly of wealth and high birth, is unknown. He married her in his late 20s but, as they were incompatible, divorced her some ten years later. Close to 50, he took Aspasia of Miletus into his house. By his own law, marriage was impossible, and, after the death of his two legitimate sons, their son Pericles had to be legitimated. Although she is clouded by scandal and legend, it is easy to believe she possessed great charm and intelligence. There is no reason to doubt that she was free and of good birth in her own city with its great intellectual traditions. It is clear that her own behaviour and Pericles' attitude toward her were surprising phenomena in Athens, where upper-class women were kept secluded. That Pericles was known to kiss her on leaving for and returning from work gave rise to speculation about her influence on him and, thus, on Athenian politics.

As the building program continued, Pericles demonstrated Athenian superiority in other ways. In 443 a Panhellenic colony was founded under Athenian auspices at Thurii, in south Italy, but did not form a continuing centre of Athenian influence in the west, as may have been hoped. At an unknown date, Pericles took a fleet into the Black Sea to demonstrate Athenian power and secure the corn route from south Russia. As the buildings on the Acropolis rose, celebrations of the festival of the Panathenaea grew more and more elaborate, and much was done to enhance the splendour of the Mysteries of Eleusis, symbolic, among other things, of the Athenian claim to have brought corn and civilization to mankind.

Pericles' last major campaign was the one interruption in these years. In 440, Samos, one of Athens' principal allies with a substantial fleet of its own, revolted, and, despite a victory by Pericles against superior numbers, the revolt nearly succeeded. The campaign to recover Samos, although long and costly, was completely successful, and became a model against which later Athenian generals measured their achievements.

There had been a serious possibility that Sparta and its

allies might intervene on this occasion, but they did not, and the Thirty Years' Peace was upheld until the end of the 430s. Tension grew as the decade progressed, particularly with regard to Corinth, Sparta's ally, whose interests conflicted more obviously with those of Athens. By 433 the situation was serious enough for Athens' finances to be put on a war basis, and, thereafter, the drift to war continued. Pericles' policy was one of firmness, coupled with careful manipulation of the diplomatic position to keep Athens technically in the right. The firmness was a puzzle to contemporaries, particularly his determination to enforce decrees excluding Megarian trade from the Athenian Empire. Was he, it was asked, influenced by some private grievance of Aspasia? Was he trying to divert attention from personal attacks on himself and friends by making war? Thucydides tells just enough to make his own interpretation plausible, that Megara was a small matter in itself but crucial as a symbol of Athenian determination to maintain its position. Consideration of Megara's strategic importance, which Thucydides consistently undervalues, may suggest further the possibility that the Megarian decrees were not the immediate cause of the war but the first blow in a war Pericles thought inevitable and that began in spring 431.

The drift toward war

Pericles' main strategic ideas are clear. He was an admiral rather than a general, and Athens' naval resources were immeasurably superior to its land power. He would evacuate the Athenian countryside, bring the population into the Long Walls, decline battle with the Spartan army, and rely on the fleet to assure Athenian food supplies and secure the empire on whose resources the expensive naval policy depended. Expenditure on building had been counterbalanced by annual savings from the tribute, and enough capital had been reserved, he thought, for a long war, though expenditure turned out heavier than he could have calculated. This is essentially Thucydides' analysis, though he failed to explain what end to the war, other than a stalemate, Pericles wanted or expected. There are some indications that Periclean strategy included more aggressive elements, such as the recovery of Megara, which would have considerably improved Athens' position.

This strategy, however, had marked political weaknesses. The Athenian population had deep roots in the countryside, and great firmness was required to bring them to abandon their land to Spartan ravages without a fight. The middle class army suffered in morale, and the living conditions of the lower classes, though they were allowed activity in the fleet, deteriorated in the overcrowded city. The overcrowding had an unforeseeable consequence in a plague, which in the second summer of the war took a quarter of the population. No obvious success counterbalanced the discomforts of war, and Pericles was deposed from office and fined. He was soon re-elected, but he took no new initiatives before his death in autumn 429.

Weakness of Periclean strategy

After the first campaigning season of the war, he had delivered the funeral speech over the fallen, which Thucydides reports at length. They had fallen, he said, in preserving a way of life that he described in detail. Athenian life often fell short of this Periclean ideal, but he conceived it with clarity and made it generally recognized. He conceived his Athens as "an education to Greece." If the last speech attributed to him by Thucydides is any guide, he cannot be accused of ignoring that the realities of power that made the Periclean age possible might also bring it down.

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5

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355] them with Perdiccas, and induced them to restore Therme to him; upon which Perdiccas at once joined the Athenians and Phormio in an expedition against the Chalcidians. Thus Sitalces, son of Teres, King of the Thracians, and Perdiccas, son of Alexander, King of the Macedonians, became allies of Athens.

[30] Meanwhile the Athenians in the hundred vessels were still cruising round Peloponnese. After taking Sollium, a town belonging to Corinth, and presenting the city and territory to the Acarnanians of Palaira, they stormed Astacus, expelled its tyrant Evarchus, and gained the place for their confederacy. Next they sailed to the island of Cephallenia and brought it over without using force. Cephallenia lies off Acarnania and Leucas, and consists of four states, the Paleans, Cranians, Samaeans, and Pronaeans. Not long afterwards the fleet returned to Athens. [31] Towards the autumn of this year the Athenians invaded the Megarid with their whole levy, resident aliens included, under the command of Pericles, son of Xanthippus. The Athenians in the hundred ships round Peloponnese on their journey home had just reached Aegina, and hearing that the citizens at home were in full force at Megara, now sailed over and joined them. This was without doubt the largest army of Athenians ever assembled, the state being still in the flower of her strength and yet unvisited by the plague. Full ten thousand heavy infantry were in the field, all Athenian citizens, besides the three thousand before Potidaea. Then the resident aliens who joined in the incursion were at least three thousand strong; besides which there was a multitude of light troops. They ravaged the greater part of the territory, and then retired. Other incursions into the Megarid were afterwards made by the Athenians annually during the war, sometimes only with cavalry, sometimes with all their forces. This went on until the capture of Nisaea. [32] Atalanta also, the desert island off the Opuntian coast, was towards the end of this summer converted into a fortified post by the Athenians, in order to prevent privateers issuing from Opus and the rest of Locris and plundering Euboea. Such were the events of this summer after the return of the Peloponnesians from Attica.

[33] In the ensuing winter the Acarnanian Evarchus, wishing to return to Astacus, persuaded the Corinthians to sail over with forty ships and fifteen hundred heavy infantry and restore him; himself also hiring some merce-

naries. In command of the force were Euphramidas, son of Aristonymus, Timoxenus, son of Timocrates, and Eumachus, son of Chrysis, who sailed over and restored him and, after failing in an attempt on some places on the Acarnanian coast which they were desirous of gaining, began their voyage home. Coasting along shore they touched at Cephallenia and made a descent on the Cranian territory, and losing some men by the treachery of the Cranians, who fell suddenly upon them after having agreed to treat, put to sea somewhat hurriedly and returned home.

[34] In the same winter the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war. It was a custom of their ancestors, and the manner of it is as follows. Three days before the ceremony, the bones of the dead are laid out in a tent which has been erected; and their friends bring to their relatives such offerings as they please. In the funeral procession cypress coffins are borne in cars, one for each tribe; the bones of the deceased being placed in the coffin of their tribe. Among these is carried one empty bier decked for the missing, that is, for those whose bodies could not be recovered. Any citizen or stranger who pleases, joins in the procession: and the female relatives are there to wail at the burial. The dead are laid in the public sepulchre in the Beautiful suburb of the city, in which those who fall in war are always buried; with the exception of those slain at Marathon, who for their singular and extraordinary valour were interred on the spot where they fell. After the bodies have been laid in the earth, a man chosen by the state, of approved wisdom and eminent reputation, pronounces over them an appropriate panegyric; after which all retire. Such is the manner of the burying; and throughout the whole of the war, whenever the occasion arose, the established custom was observed. Meanwhile these were the first that had fallen, and Pericles, son of Xanthippus, was chosen to pronounce their eulogium. When the proper time arrived, he advanced from the sepulchre to an elevated platform in order to be heard by as many of the crowd as possible, and spoke as follows:

[35] "Most of my predecessors in this place have commended him who made this speech part of the law, telling us that it is well that it should be delivered at the burial of those who fall in battle. For myself, I should have thought that the worth which had displayed itself in deeds would be sufficiently rewarded by hon-

ours also shown by deeds; such as you now see in this funeral prepared at the people's cost. And I could have wished that the reputations of many brave men were not to be imperilled in the mouth of a single individual, to stand or fall according as he spoke well or ill. For it is hard to speak properly upon a subject where it is even difficult to convince your hearers that you are speaking the truth. On the one hand, the friend who is familiar with every fact of the story may think that some point has not been set forth with that fullness which he wishes and knows it to deserve; on the other, he who is a stranger to the matter may be led by envy to suspect exaggeration if he hears anything above his own nature. For men can endure to hear others praised only so long as they can severally persuade themselves of their own ability to equal the actions recounted: when this point is passed, envy comes in and with it incredulity. However, since our ancestors have stamped this custom with their approval, it becomes my duty to obey the law and to try to satisfy your several wishes and opinions as best I may.

[36] "I shall begin with our ancestors: it is both just and proper that they should have the honour of the first mention on an occasion like the present. They dwelt in the country without break in the succession from generation to generation, and handed it down free to the present time by their valour. And if our more remote ancestors deserve praise, much more do our own fathers, who added to their inheritance the empire which we now possess, and spared no pains to be able to leave their acquisitions to us of the present generation. Lastly, there are few parts of our dominions that have not been augmented by those of us here, who are still more or less in the vigour of life; while the mother country has been furnished by us with everything that can enable her to depend on her own resources whether for war or for peace. That part of our history which tells of the military achievements which gave us our several possessions, or of the ready valour with which either we or our fathers stemmed the tide of Hellenic or foreign aggression, is a theme too familiar to my hearers for me to dilate on, and I shall therefore pass it by. But what was the road by which we reached our position, what the form of government under which our greatness grew, what the national habits out of which it sprang; these are questions which I may try to solve before I proceed to my panegyric upon these

men: since I think this to be a subject upon which on the present occasion a speaker may properly dwell, and to which the whole assemblage, whether citizens or foreigners, may listen with advantage.

[37] "Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighbouring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favours the many instead of the few: this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if no social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes, or even to indulge in those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no positive penalty. But all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless as citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws, particularly such as regard the protection of the injured, whether they are actually on the statute book, or belong to that code which, although unwritten, yet cannot be broken without acknowledged disgrace.

[38] "Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure and helps to banish the spleen; while the magnitude of our city draws the produce of the world into our harbour, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own.

[39] "If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, although the eyes of an enemy may occasionally profit by our liberality; trusting less in system and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens; while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every

36-42]

legitimate danger. In proof of this it may be noticed that the Lacedaemonians do not invade our country alone, but bring with them all their confederates; while we Athenians advance unsupported into the territory of a neighbour, and fighting upon a foreign soil usually vanquish with ease men who are defending their homes. Our united force was never yet encountered by any enemy, because we have at once to attend to our marine and to dispatch our citizens by land upon a hundred different services; so that, wherever they engage with some such fraction of our strength, a success against a detachment is magnified into a victory over the nation, and a defeat into a reverse suffered at the hands of our entire people. And yet if with habits not of labour but of ease, and courage not of art but of nature, we are still willing to encounter danger, we have the double advantage of escaping the experience of hardships in anticipation and of facing them in the hour of need as fearlessly as those who are never free from them.

"Nor are these the only points in which our city is worthy of admiration. [40] We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show, and place the real disgrace of poverty not in owning to the fact but in declining the struggle against it. Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for, unlike any other nation, regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge at all events if we cannot originate, and, instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all. Again, in our enterprises we present the singular spectacle of daring and deliberation, each carried to its highest point, and both united in the same persons; although usually decision is the fruit of ignorance, hesitation of reflection. But the palm of courage will surely be adjudged most justly to those, who best know the difference between hardship and pleasure and yet are never tempted to shrink from danger. In generosity we are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring, not by receiving, favours. Yet, of course, the doer of the favour is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kind-

ness to keep the recipient in his debt; while the debtor feels less keenly from the very consciousness that the return he makes will be a payment, not a free gift. And it is only the Athenians, who, fearless of consequences, confer their benefits not from calculations of expediency, but in the confidence of liberality.

[41] "In short, I say that as a city we are the school of Hellas; while I doubt if the world can produce a man who, where he has only himself to depend upon, is equal to so many emergencies, and graced by so happy a versatility, as the Athenian. And that this is no mere boast thrown out for the occasion, but plain matter of fact, the power of the state acquired by these habits proves. For Athens alone of her contemporaries is found when tested to be greater than her reputation, and alone gives no occasion to her assailants to blush at the antagonist by whom they have been worsted, or to her subjects to question her title by merit to rule. Rather, the admiration of the present and succeeding ages will be ours, since we have not left our power without witness, but have shown it by mighty proofs; and far from needing a Homer for our panegyrist, or other of his craft whose verses might charm for the moment only for the impression which they gave to melt at the touch of fact, we have forced every sea and land to be the highway of our daring, and everywhere, whether for evil or for good, have left imperishable monuments behind us. Such is the Athens for which these men, in the assertion of their resolve not to lose her, nobly fought and died; and well may every one of their survivors be ready to suffer in her cause.

[42] "Indeed if I have dwelt at some length upon the character of our country, it has been to show that our stake in the struggle is not the same as theirs who have no such blessings to lose, and also that the panegyric of the men over whom I am now speaking might be by definite proofs established. That panegyric is now in a great measure complete; for the Athens that I have celebrated is only what the heroism of these and their like have made her, men whose fame, unlike that of most Hellenes, will be found to be only commensurate with their deserts. And if a test of worth be wanted, it is to be found in their closing scene, and this not only in the cases in which it set the final seal upon their merit, but also in those in which it gave the first intimation of their having any. For there is justice in the claim that steadfastness in his country's battles should be as a cloak

to cover a man's other imperfections; since the good action has blotted out the bad, and his merit as a citizen more than outweighed his demerits as an individual. But none of these allowed either wealth with its prospect of future enjoyment to unnerve his spirit, or poverty with its hope of a day of freedom and riches to tempt him to shrink from danger. No, holding that vengeance upon their enemies was more to be desired than any personal blessings, and reckoning this to be the most glorious of hazards, they joyfully determined to accept the risk, to make sure of their vengeance, and to let their wishes wait; and while committing to hope the uncertainty of final success, in the business before them they thought fit to act boldly and trust in themselves. Thus choosing to die resisting, rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonour, but met danger face to face, and after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, escaped, not from their fear, but from their glory.

[43] "So died these men as became Athenians. You, their survivors, must determine to have as unfaltering a resolution in the field, though you may pray that it may have a happier issue. And not contented with ideas derived only from words of the advantages which are bound up with the defence of your country, though these would furnish a valuable text to a speaker even before an audience so alive to them as the present, you must yourselves realize the power of Athens, and feed your eyes upon her from day to day, till love of her fills your hearts; and then, when all her greatness shall break upon you, you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honour in action that men were enabled to win all this, and that no personal failure in an enterprise could make them consent to deprive their country of their valour, but they laid it at her feet as the most glorious contribution that they could offer. For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten

with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart. These take as your model and, judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valour, never decline the dangers of war. For it is not the miserable that would most justly be unsparing of their lives; these have nothing to hope for: it is rather they to whom continued life may bring reverses as yet unknown, and to whom a fall, if it came, would be most tremendous in its consequences. And surely, to a man of spirit, the degradation of cowardice must be immeasurably more grievous than the unfelt death which strikes him in the midst of his strength and patriotism!

[44] "Comfort, therefore, not condolence, is what I have to offer to the parents of the dead who may be here. Numberless are the chances to which, as they know, the life of man is subject; but fortunate indeed are they who draw for their lot a death so glorious as that which has caused your mourning, and to whom life has been so exactly measured as to terminate in the happiness in which it has been passed. Still I know that this is a hard saying, especially when those are in question of whom you will constantly be reminded by seeing in the homes of others blessings of which once you also boasted: for grief is felt not so much for the want of what we have never known, as for the loss of that to which we have been long accustomed. Yet you who are still of an age to beget children must bear up in the hope of having others in their stead; not only will they help you to forget those whom you have lost, but will be to the state at once a reinforcement and a security; for never can a fair or just policy be expected of the citizen who does not, like his fellows, bring to the decision the interests and apprehensions of a father. While those of you who have passed your prime must congratulate yourselves with the thought that the best part of your life was fortunate, and that the brief span that remains will be cheered by the fame of the departed. For it is only the love of honour that never grows old; and honour it is, not gain, as some would have it, that rejoices the heart of age and helplessness.

[45] "Turning to the sons or brothers of the dead, I see an arduous struggle before you. When a man is gone, all are wont to praise him, and should your merit be ever so transcendent, you will still find it difficult not merely to overtake, but even to approach their renown. The living have envy to contend with,

[48]

while those who are no longer in our path are honoured with a goodwill into which rivalry does not enter. On the other hand, if I must say anything on the subject of female excellence to those of you who will now be in widowhood, it will be all comprised in this brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among the men, whether for good or for bad.

[46] "My task is now finished. I have performed it to the best of my ability, and in word, at least, the requirements of the law are now satisfied. If deeds be in question, those who are here interred have received part of their honours already, and for the rest, their children will be brought up till manhood at the public expense: the state thus offers a valuable prize, as the garland of victory in this race of valour, for the reward both of those who have fallen and their survivors. And where the rewards for merit are greatest, there are found the best citizens.

"And now that you have brought to a close your lamentations for your relatives, you may depart."

CHAPTER VII

Second Year of the War—The Plague of Athens—Position and Policy of Pericles—Fall of Potidaea

[47] SUCH was the funeral that took place during this winter, with which the first year of the war came to an end. In the first days of summer the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with two-thirds of their forces as before, invaded Attica, under the command of Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, King of Lacedaemon, and sat down and laid waste the country. Not many days after their arrival in Attica the plague first began to show itself among the Athenians. It was said that it had broken out in many places previously in the neighbourhood of Lemnos and elsewhere; but a pestilence of such extent and mortality was nowhere remembered. Neither were the physicians at first of any service, ignorant as they were of the proper way to treat it, but they died themselves the most thickly, as they visited the sick most often; nor did any human art succeed any better. Supplications in the temples, divinations, and so forth were found equally futile, till the overwhelming nature of the disaster at last put a stop to them altogether.

[48] It first began, it is said, in the parts of Ethiopia above Egypt, and thence descended into Egypt and Libya and into most of the King's country. Suddenly falling upon Athens, it first attacked the population in Piraeus—which was the occasion of their saying that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the reservoirs, there being as yet no wells there—and afterwards appeared in the upper city, when the deaths became much more frequent. All speculation as to its origin and its causes, if causes can be found adequate to produce so great a disturbance, I leave to other writers, whether lay or professional; for myself, I shall simply set down its nature, and explain the symptoms by which perhaps it may be recognized by the student, if it should ever break out again. This I can the better do, as I had the disease myself, and watched its operation in the case of others.

[49] That year then is admitted to have been otherwise unprecedentedly free from sickness; and such few cases as occurred all determined in this. As a rule, however, there was no ostensible cause; but people in good health were all of a sudden attacked by violent heats in the head, and redness and inflammation in the eyes, the inward parts, such as the throat or tongue, becoming bloody and emitting an unnatural and fetid breath. These symptoms were followed by sneezing and hoarseness, after which the pain soon reached the chest, and produced a hard cough. When it fixed in the stomach, it upset it; and discharges of bile of every kind named by physicians ensued, accompanied by very great distress. In most cases also an ineffectual retching followed, producing violent spasms, which in some cases ceased soon after, in others much later. Externally the body was not very hot to the touch, nor pale in its appearance, but reddish, livid, and breaking out into small pustules and ulcers. But internally it burned so that the patient could not bear to have on him clothing or linen even of the very lightest description; or indeed to be otherwise than stark naked. What they would have liked best would have been to throw themselves into cold water; as indeed was done by some of the neglected sick, who plunged into the rain-tanks in their agonies of unquenchable thirst; though it made no difference whether they drank little or much. Besides this, the miserable feeling of not being able to rest or sleep never ceased to torment them. The body meanwhile did not waste away so long as the distemper was at its height, but held out to a marvel against its ravages; so that

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both elements was now possible. It lay with Sparta to 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 convoying 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

army wintered in Thessaly under the command of Mardonius. By skillful diplomacy he drew the Greeks forward 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

The
cross-
roads

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 (Pindhos 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 Kólpos (*kólpos*, "gulf"). The forested Vérmion Óros and, beyond it, the barren inland basins around lakes Vegorritis and Kastorias 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

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distinctive basins and plains lie amidst these upland ribs. The northernmost, a rather broken spur called the Kamvounia Óri, runs along the coast of the Thermaikós 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 Ossa and Pílion (Pelion). The next spur on the west is the Óros Óthris range, which continues across the narrow Dhiavlos 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 Thessalia (Thessaly), Tríkkala (Trikala), and Lárisa, drained by the Piniós. Just to their south, the basin of Almíros, 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 Voioía (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 Korínthou (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 Taíyeros 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 Lakonia (Laconia), Messinía (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; Íónioi (Nísoi) 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), Skorpiós, Ítháki (Ithaca), Kefallinía (Cephalonia), and Zákynthos (Zacynthus), lie farther south. Lack of rainfall accentuates their gaunt, broken

limestone relief, although Levkás and Zákynthos have sheltered eastern plains.

The Aegean Islands (Nísoi Aiyárou). 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 Áyion Óros, is almost cut in two by the northern Órmos Pourniá and the deep southern harbour afforded by the Kólpos Moudhrou.

To the southeast, the rocky but sheltered islands of Lésvos (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 (Vorfai 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 Nisiros. 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,

Greece, Area and Population				
	area		population	
	sq mi	sq km	1961 census	1971 census
Regions (dhiemerismata)				
Aegean Islands				
Departments (nomoi)				
Cyclades	993	2,572	100,000	86,000
Dodecanese	1,044	2,705	123,000	121,000
Khios	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 Akarnania	2,103	5,447	238,000	229,000
Attikí*	1,303	3,375	205,000	258,000
Evritania	790	2,045	40,000	30,000
Évvoia	1,509	3,908	166,000	165,000
Fokis	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				
Iraklion	1,020	2,641	208,000	210,000
Khanía	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
Thesprotia	585	1,515	52,000	41,000
Greater Athens†	167	433	1,853,000	2,540,000
Ionian Islands				
Departments				
Kefallinia	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
Kastoria	651	1,685	47,000	46,000
Kavála	814	2,109	141,000	122,000
Khalkidhikí†	1,267	3,281	83,000	75,000
Kilkis	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
Pieria	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
Argolis	855	2,214	90,000	89,000
Arkadhía	1,706	4,419	135,000	111,000
Ilia	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
Messinia	1,155	2,991	212,000	173,000
Thessalia				
Departments				
Kardhítsa	995	2,576	153,000	134,000
Lárisa	2,067	5,354	231,000	232,000
Magnisia	1,018	2,636	164,000	161,000
Tríkala	1,289	3,338	143,000	133,000
Thráki				
Departments				
Évros	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 Oros (Mt. Athos), an autonomous administration. §Detail does not add to total given because of rounding. Source: Official government figures.

THE PEOPLE

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; Thessalia [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-

The % of pop. mun.

Yugoslavia 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.

Principal crops

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 Dhiavará, 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 Eleúsis (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

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 seascape 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 Patrai, 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-Patrai, 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 *nomós*); 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.

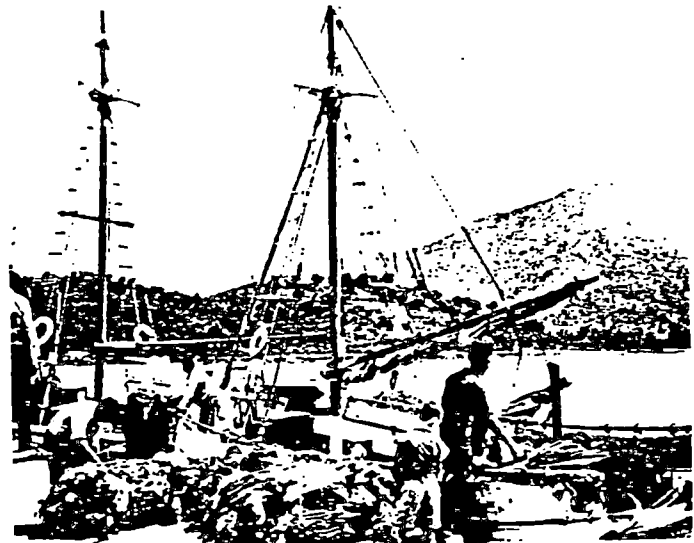
The United Left, a union of the United Democratic Left (EDA) and the two factions of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The EDA had been founded originally in 1951.

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

J. Allan Cash



The port of Palatá Epídhavros (Epidauros), 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

Public

Resource
scarcity

Dhiameris-
mata and
nomoi

interrogates witnesses and, if he decides that there is a 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, Piraiévs, Pátrai, 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, constructs 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, Thessaloníki, and Pátrai.

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 Thessaloníki.

Social insurance costs are largely financed by contributions paid into IKA by employees, 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.

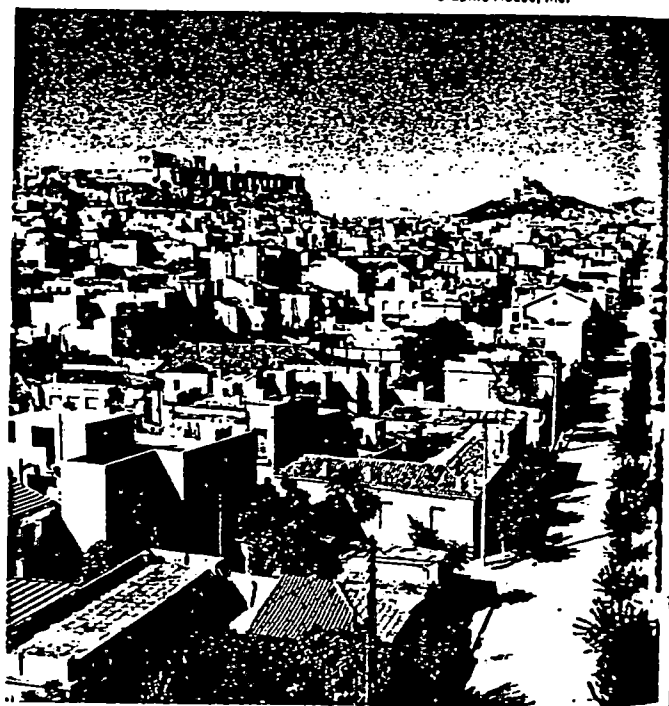
For higher studies there are universities at Athens (National Capodistrian University of Athens, founded in 1837, and National Technical University of Athens, founded in 1836) and at Thessaloníki (Aristotelian University of Thessaloníki, founded in 1925). The University of Ioánnina (1964) and the University of Pátrai (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 Thessaloníki (1958) also has university standing. (Ed.)

Univer-
sities

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

Graphic House, Inc.



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 Epídhavros (Epidauros). 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 Karankiós 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 Vasilis, and Theodora Vasilis.

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

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 dwell 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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The land. In addition to the general geographical works cited above, reference should be made to *Geological and Physicogeographical Bibliography of Greece (Géologiki kai fisikogeografiki vivliografia tis Ellados)* (1961), by D. HARALAMBOUS; specific publications dealing with individual aspects of the landscape include E.G. MARIOPOULOS, *Klimatografía ton diaforon periochon tis Ellados* (1960), a comprehensive discussion of climate; there is, however, only a very meagre literature on Greece's animal and plant life. Soils are covered in D.S. KATAKOUSINOS, *Les Sols de Grèce* (1963).

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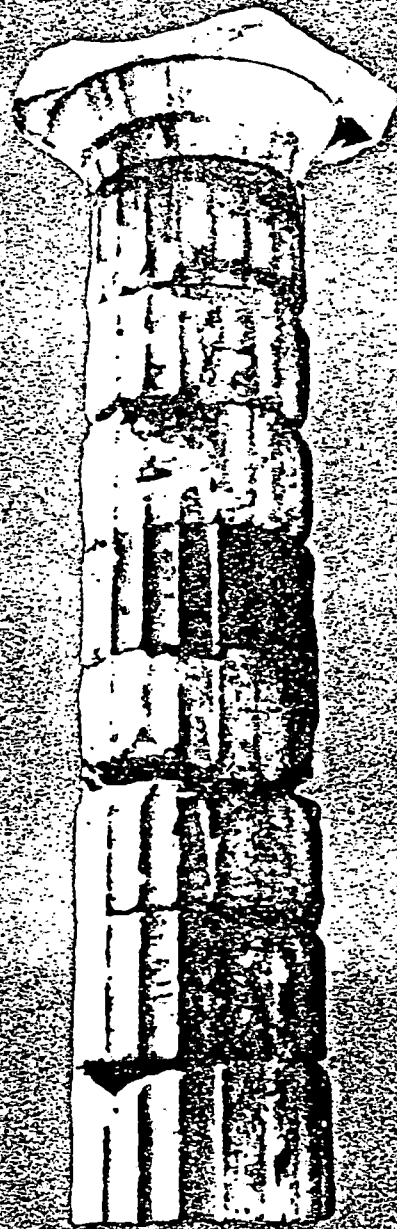
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**WELCOME
TO GREECE**



**AMERICAN
EMBASSY**

THE MISSION

General

Although the United States of America had numerous official contacts with Greece from the earliest days of the Greek struggle for independence beginning in 1821, it was not until 1866 that regular diplomatic relations were established. In that year, the United States accredited Charles K. Tuckerman of New York as its first resident Minister and the American Legation at Athens was opened. From 1862 until 1905, the American Ministers were also accredited to the new states of Serbia and Romania. The Legation at Athens was forced to close on July 10, 1941, when the Axis occupied Greece and its legitimate government withdrew to London. Nevertheless a Minister, raised to Ambassador after 1942, continued to be accredited to the Greek-Government-in-exile, first in London and then in Cairo.

When the Greek Government returned to Athens with the victorious Greek and British forces in the fall of 1944, Ambassador Lincoln McVeagh returned with them and the post, now raised to the status of Embassy, was reopened. The Embassy was immediately called upon to play an important role in the rehabilitation of Greece and lent its assistance to numerous endeavors towards that end, such as the provision of emergency relief and participation in the observation of the critical Greek elections of 1946. Meanwhile guerrilla warfare was being waged throughout Greece as the Communists and their sympathizers attempted to seize power by force. By the late winter of 1947 the British, who were maintaining military forces in the country and providing economic assistance to Greece and Turkey, felt their war-depleted resources inadequate to the task. In early March 1947 they therefore gave notice of their inability to continue their support of Greece and Turkey. Fearing that British withdrawal would mean the defeat of the Government forces by the Communists, the Government of Greece appealed to the United States for economic, technical and military assistance. Within a few days, on March 12, President Truman requested Congress to appropriate funds on an emergency basis for the support of Greece and Turkey. On May 22 Congress enacted the necessary legislation and the United States aid program was launched.

U.S. military and economic aid to Greece since the immediate postwar period has totalled over \$4 billion. This assistance helped Greece to recover from almost ten years of war, occupation and civil strife, and to establish a base for sustained economic growth. Economic assistance focussed particularly on infrastructure projects - e.g. the restoration

and development of the agricultural sector; transportation, power and communications projects; the establishment of key industries; and foreign exchange support to assist Greece in the importation of essential machinery and raw materials. As Greece effectively utilized these resources, most economic aid programs to Greece were phased out by 1962. Security assistance has continued under arrangements growing out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which Greece joined in 1952.

Military

The Office of Defense Cooperation - Greece (ODC/GR), consisting of a Headquarters and Security Assistance, Bilateral Affairs, and Services and Support Divisions, carries out the U.S. Security Assistance and other defense related programs. Staffing includes members of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. ODC/GR works closely with the Greek defense establishment and also acts as an intermediary between U.S. and Greek military components. The ODC/GR history dates back to 1947 when the United States assisted Greece in suppressing an active communist insurgency. In recent years, ODC/GR has assisted Greece in modernizing her armed forces, and administering the U.S. Foreign Military Sales and International Military Education and Training Programs in Greece.

USIS

The U.S. Information Service in Greece is an element of the U.S. Information Agency, whose mission is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives through media and cultural programs.

USIS Greece serves as the public affairs outlet of the American Mission. It performs its function through its two principal divisions, the Information Section and the Cultural Affairs Section.

The Information Section works with Greek media--press, radio and television--to provide information about the United States Government, foreign policy and American government action on issues of importance. It also reports the way in which issues of importance to the U.S. are viewed by the Greek media.

Radio/Television - As of October 1987, authority to operate national radio and TV broadcasting in Greece was vested in one legal entity, ERT S.A. This public corporation is the result of a merger between two previously independent networks, known as ERT-1 and ERT-2. The new entity operates two national

television channels, ET-1 and ET-2, and four radio channels. ERT S.A. is state-owned and -operated. Supervision is exercised by the Minister to the Prime Minister. Since January 1988, the law has permitted the establishment of local non-GOG radio stations and, since October 1989, the establishment of local non-GOG TV stations. According to law, supervision of radio and television is exercised by the National Broadcasting Council. In practice, however, the development of these media is proceeding in an anarchic fashion, subject only to economic and political considerations.

The Cultural Affairs Section administers the educational exchange program, the cultural program, the United States Information Service (USIS) American libraries in Greece, and USIS programs at the Bi-National Center, the Hellenic American Union.

Educational Exchange. The Fulbright Program in Greece from its inception in 1948 through 1989 has financed and administered more than 4,700 exchanges of Greek/American scholars. In addition, over 1,500 Greek students at American sponsored schools in Greece, such as the Athens College, have received full or partial grant scholarships from that institution. In fiscal year 1989-90, the allocation of the Fulbright program totalled \$526,000. More than 335 Greek professionals representing a host of disciplines have visited the U.S. to meet and exchange information with their counterparts under the International Visitors Program since the program began in 1950.

Cultural Program. The Cultural Program of USIS includes cultural presentations sponsored by USIA - lectures, concerts, art exhibits, plays, film showings, and other programs of cultural and educational interest. Many of these are presented at the Bi-National Center.

Hellenic American Union (HAU). The HAU is a bi-national center located at 22 Nassafias Street in central Athens, near the French and Goethe Institutes and the University of Athens. Its 7-story building was designed by Doxiadis and its construction funded by USAID.

The HAU, founded 30 years ago by Greeks and Americans, with active participation from the Embassy community, is a non-profit private Greek organization with the purpose of promoting better relations between Greeks and Americans. For a very nominal fee, members of the Embassy community may join the HAU thereby gaining the opportunity to voice their opinions in the conduct of its affairs and receive monthly updates on its cultural events.

The HAU is a cultural and education center. Its most active cultural season runs from October to June and includes

films, concerts, art shows, lectures and theatrical performances.

HAU courses are for adults. Over 3,000 students study English as a foreign language every trimester and another 200, modern Greek. Greek classes range from beginning through advanced and include a special preparatory course for foreigners planning to take the University of Athens language proficiency examination.

In addition to foreign language courses, the HAU has offered a variety of classes on Greek culture and creative arts: cinematography, theater, weaving, ceramics restoration, gemology, Greek art history, Greek cinema, drawing and painting, creative writing, journalism, computer operations, and business administration.

The HAU also houses the Clary Thompson Reading Room with a lending collection of approximately 8,000 books in Greek and 1,600 books in English about Greece.

For further information about the HAU please call the Executive Director.. (tel: 363-3167 or Embassy extension 213).

USIS Library. The USIS American Library in Athens is located at the Hellenic American Union and holds about 10,688 volumes and 175 periodicals. A branch library, which has 5,572 volumes and 80 periodicals, is located in Thessaloniki. More than 350 people visit the Athens Library daily: approximately three-quarters are university students. The libraries provide many reference services for educators, government institutions, scientific and professional organizations.

VOICE OF AMERICA

Greece is also the site for VOA transmitters beaming broadcasts to much of the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Asia. These are located on Rhodes and near Kavala.

GENERAL INFORMATION

HEALTH AND MEDICAL INFORMATION

General

The post's Health and Medical Information Report is included in your Welcome Kit. Be sure to keep your copy

GREECE

Geography

Greece is a peninsula jutting out into the Eastern Mediterranean, bounded on three sides by the sea - the Aegean, Ionian and Cretan Seas - and on the fourth by Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

The total area of Greece is 50,270 square miles (roughly the size of Alabama). This includes, in addition to continental Greece, 437 islands, large and small, of which only 134 are inhabited. These islands fall into a number of groups of which the principal are the Ionian Islands, the Cyclades, the Aegean Islands, and the Dodecanese. Largest of the islands is Crete (3,234 sq.miles). The peninsula of the Peloponnesos is an artificial island, being separated from the mainland by the Corinth Canal.

Greece has the longest coast line of any country in Europe. The coast is extremely indented, with large gulfs running deep into the mainland. Greece is thus mainly a maritime country, with a large seafaring population.

The physical geography of Greece has had a great influence on its history. The mainland consists of a large number of small valleys and plains isolated from each other by mountain ranges, the largest of which is the Pindus range; hence the development in ancient Greece of the city states. As there are few places in Greece which are distant from the sea, communication between various parts of the country was by sea rather than overland.

Greece is largely mountainous, with very little flat land. Only 25% is arable land under cultivation; roughly 40% can be used as pasture land for grazing of goats and sheep; and 35% is wholly unsuited for cultivation. Timber resources are very limited, and are confined largely to the northwest in the Pindus range. The principal flat lands are the plains of Boeotia, Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. These are the main wheat-producing regions. The rest of the arable land is in the foothills, the soil of which is well suited for the growing of tobacco, grapes, olives and fruit. Cotton of good quality is grown both on the plains and in the hills, wherever irrigation is available.

Greece has no navigable rivers. The main rivers are in the north and have their source in the neighboring countries to the north. In the spring, when the rivers are swollen from the melting snow in the Balkans, there is danger of floods, which often damage much of the adjoining countryside.

People

Current estimates place the population of Greece at 10.1 million. A large part of this population, over 3 million, is concentrated in the Athens metropolitan area which includes Piraeus. The next most important city is Thessaloniki (Salonica) with a population of approximately 1,000,000.

The rural population amounts to approximately 30 percent of the total. Farms are small, as the land has been much subdivided, the average being two acres per family.

The bulk of the population, about 98 percent, is Greek speaking, although a small part of the population is bilingual, speaking principally Turkish. Greek is used for business and official purposes. Among those of non-Greek origin, however, virtually all the children have learned to speak Greek, which is compulsory in the schools.

Religion

Ninety-six percent of the population professes the Orthodox faith, the remaining four percent being divided between Roman Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Jews and Gregorian Armenians. The Greek Constitution guarantees freedom of religion and all the non-Orthodox communities have their own churches and ecclesiastical authorities.

Since the days of Constantine the Great, the first Roman Emperor to espouse Christianity, the relationship between church and state has been an intimate one, and the tie between the Greek people and their church is very close. During the four centuries of Turkish domination, the church, in a large sense, became the repository of Greek learning.

The Service of the Orthodox Church, known as the Divine Liturgy, is beautiful and impressive, as is the choral singing in the larger churches.

History of Greece

Classical Greece was a conglomeration of city states, kingdoms, and democracies, and its achievements in the field of learning are world-renowned.

Classical Greece reached its cultural, political and colonial zenith in the 5th century B.C. By 46 B.C. it was reduced to a province of the Roman Empire, although Greek

values continued to permeate that Empire for centuries. When the eastern half of the Empire became separately organized with its capital in Constantinople, it formally adopted Greek manners, language, and theology.

Through much of the Byzantine era, including the some 400-year occupation of Greece by the Turks, the central Greek mainland was a backward area. There were, however, important commercial and trade towns in northern Greece at this time, and the Greek islands always preserved their important maritime tradition.

The history of modern Greece begins in 1830 when, after a seven-year struggle (1821-1828) for freedom from Ottoman rule, the first independent Greek state in modern times was established under the guarantee of the three protecting powers -- Great Britain, France and Russia. The frontiers of the new nation were drawn just north of Lamia.

Greek foreign policy in subsequent years was directed towards retrieving its territories which still were under foreign occupation. In 1864, Great Britain ceded to Greece the Ionian Islands which had been a British protectorate since 1815, and for four centuries before that, part of the republic of Venice. Thessaly was annexed from Turkey in 1881. After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, Macedonia, Epirus, Crete and the Aegean Islands were returned to Greece. At the end of World War I, Bulgaria ceded Western Thrace (1919) and, finally, after World War II, Italy ceded the Dodecanese Islands (1947).

In 1919, Greek forces attempted to occupy Eastern Thrace and part of Asia Minor, but were repulsed in 1922 by the Turks under Ataturk. An agreement concluded in 1923 provided for an exchange of populations of the area which resulted in a mass influx of almost two million Greek refugees.

On October 28, 1940, Greece rejected an ultimatum from Italy and, when attacked, threw the Italians back into Albania. Nazi support, however, resulted in the defeat and occupation of Greece by Germans, Italians and Bulgarians. By the end of 1944, the invaders withdrew and the Greek government in exile returned to govern. A plebiscite in 1946 was in favor of the monarchy.

The attempts by Communists to gain control of the country after World War II resulted in civil war (1946-1949), which caused enormous damage to the country and delayed the work of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Instrumental in the final defeat of the Communist forces in 1949 was American aid as first enunciated in the Truman Doctrine in 1947.

Greece is a member of the United Nations, and contributed forces to the UN command during the Korean War. In 1952, Greece joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

After World War II and in the wake of its civil war, Greece was not on friendly terms with her Balkan neighbors. Relations improved first with Yugoslavia when, a year after its break with the Comintern and while the Greek civil war was in progress, Greece's northern neighbor closed its borders to Greek communist guerrillas. Subsequently Greece resumed normal diplomatic relations with Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania and has signed commercial agreements with them.

Greece's relations with Turkey, its largest and most important neighbor, have alternated historically between various periods of strain and cooperation (e.g. under Verizelos and Ataturk). Relations deteriorated seriously as a result of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July 1974, and were further strained because of bilateral differences over the delimitation of the continental shelf and air space in the Aegean. The two countries are at present attempting to resolve these disputes through peaceful negotiation.

History of Athens

Athens is one of the most ancient towns in Greece, a neolithic kernel which grew into a small Mycenaean town. Its Acropolis, which according to ancient legends was built by Kekrops, and was named Kekropia after him, had a king and a sovereign lord. One of these kings, Theseus, united the twelve hamlets of Attica and founded Athens which, up to the time of the death of Kodros, was ruled as a monarchy. After the death of Kodros, Athens was proclaimed a democracy. In 146 B.C., after a long and glorious history, Athens was conquered by the Romans. It maintained its spiritual leadership over the world, however, until the closing of its philosophical schools in the 6th century and the banning of its ancient temples in the 5th century.

From the 7th century A.D. until the 19th century Athens was a provincial town with little of the importance it had had in classical times or was to enjoy in modern times. It was a Byzantine town for centuries; then in 1204 the French seized Athens and it became the dukedom of Athens under De La Roche. The Catalans followed De La Roche and remained until 1457, when the city was conquered by the Turks. Athens was liberated from the Turkish rule after the Greek Revolution in 1821. In 1834 it was proclaimed the official capital of the newly founded Kingdom of Greece.

Until 1821, Athens was a small town confined to the north and the east foot of the Acropolis hill, much of which was destroyed during the war. A new town with wide roads was planned by the architect Stamatis Cleanthis in cooperation with the German architect Schubert. To the former, Athens owes many of its neoclassic buildings. Large buildings were erected, squares and avenues constructed and gardens planned, stretching the new town to the north and the west of its old site.

During the hundred years since then, Athens has undergone continued change; its population of 600,000 in 1935 has increased to about 3,027,000 people in greater Athens area today. Former suburbs have now joined the center of the town, forming a large metropolitan area spreading from Phaleron Bay and the port of Piraeus to the south slopes of Parnes and Pendeli, to the southeast foot of Mount Hymetus, and to the west of Mount Aegaleo and Korydalos. This huge city is interconnected and served by a network of roads and public transportation.

Important Dates of Greek History

Circa 2000 BC	The Pelasgians, earliest known inhabitants of Greece
Circa 1500	The Hellenes
Circa 1194-84	Trojan War
776	Beginning of Olympiades
490-480	Second and Third Persian Expeditions against Greece
437-404	Peloponnesian wars
336-323	Rule of Alexander the Great
146	Destruction of Corinth. Greece and Macedonia united to form the Roman province of Macedonia
323-337 AD	Constantine the Great. Christianity becomes the state religion
395	Partition of the Roman Empire
605	Defeat of Slavs at Patras
966-967	Beginning of the schism between the Roman and the Eastern churches

1456	Athens captured by the Turks under Osman
1716	Peace of Passarovitz, confirming Turkish possession of the Morea (Peloponnese)
1821	Beginning of Greek war of independence
1832	Second Protocol of London. Greece becomes an independent kingdom
1864	Great Britain cedes the Ionian Isles to Greece
1881	Turkey cedes Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece
1912-1913	Balkan Wars
1940	Greece wins first Allied victory by routing Italian invasion
1941-1944	German Occupation
1944-1949	Communist uprising and guerrilla warfare
1947	Paul I becomes King
1950	Greece sends forces to Korea
1952	Greece joins NATO
1964	Constantine becomes King
4/21/67-7/23/74	Military Junta
July 1974	Return of democracy
November 1974	Elections, Prime Minister Karamanlis (New Democracy Party) wins a majority
12/18/74	Monarchy abolished by referendum
June 1975	New Greek constitution adopted
October 1981	Elections, PASOK party under Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu wins a majority
June 1985	Elections, PASOK party under Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu wins a majority
June 1989	Elections. New Democracy party wins but without a majority

GOVERNMENT

Greece is a presidential parliamentary republic.
Constantinos Karamanlis is the President of the Republic.

Listed below are the ministers of the present government.

GOVERNMENT LIST

Prime Minister - Constantinos MITSOTAKIS

Deputy Prime Minister - Tzannis TZANNETAKIS

Deputy Prime Minister - Athanasios KANELLOPOULOS

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Minister - Antonis SAMARAS

Alternate Minister - George PAPOULIAS

Ministry to the Prime Minister

Minister - Miltiadis EVERT

Ministry of Interior

Minister - Sotiris KOUVELAS

Ministry of National Defense

Minister - Ioannis VARVITSIOTIS

Alternate Minister - Alexandros PAPADONGONAS

Ministry of National Economy

Minister - Constantinos MITSOTAKIS

Alternate Minister - Elthimios CHRISTODOULOU

Ministry of Finance

Minister - Ioannis PALEOKRASSAS

Ministry of Agriculture

Minister - Michalis PAPACONSTANTINOU

Ministry of Labor

Minister - Aristidis KALANTZAKOS

Ministry of Health, Welfare and Social Security

Minister - Marietta YANNAKOU

Ministry of Justice

Minister - Athanasios KANELLOPOULOS

Ministry of Education and Religion
Minister - Vassilis KONDOYANNOPOULOS

Ministry of Culture and Science
Minister - Tzannis TZANNETAKIS
Alternate Minister - Anna PSAROUDA-BENAKI

Ministry of Public Order
Minister - Ioannis VASILIADIS

Ministry of Environment, Town Planning and Public Works
Minister - Stefanos MANOS
Alternate - Achilleas KARAMANLIS

Ministry of Commerce
Minister - Athanansios XARCHAS
Alternate - Sotiris HATZIGAKIS

Ministry of Transport & Communications
Minister - Nicolaos GELESTATHIS

Ministry of Merchant Marine
Minister - Aristotelis PAVLIDIS

Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace
Minister - George TZITZIKOSTAS

Ministry of the Aegean
Minister - George MISAILIDIS

Ministry Without Portfolio
Minister - Nikis THEODORAKIS

ECONOMY

During 1966-1979 Greece's gross national product averaged a real growth rate of 6 percent annually. Greek GNP increased from \$8 billion to \$37 billion and on a per capita basis from \$914 to \$3,770. From 1980 to 1983, GNP at constant prices virtually stagnated. The Greek economy started to expand again in 1984, but the recovery lost momentum in 1985. In October 1985, the Greek Government changed its policy from an expansionary to a contractionary one, and it implemented a two-year stabilization program aimed at reducing the country's external and internal imbalances. GNP grew at about 0.7 percent in real terms in 1986 to dollars 39.3 billion, and the per capita income reached dollars 3,935. The continuation of the stabilization policies, aimed at reducing inflation and the public sector and current account deficits rather than expanding the economy, resulted in the economy stagnating in 1987. Economic activity picked up again in 1988 following the relaxation of the incomes policy. GNP grew at 3.5 percent. In 1989 there was further relaxation of the incomes policy in the first half of the year followed by more cautious policies adopted thereafter. GNP is expected to rise by about 2.5% in real terms to \$52.9 billion in 1989 with per capita income at about \$5,270.00. Greece, which before World War II was primarily rural, both socially and economically, now derives over 30 percent of its GNP from secondary production and about 15 percent from agriculture. About 40 percent of the population lives in Athens and Thessaloniki metropolitan areas. Along with rapid development have come new problems -- need for city planning, improved social services, including better vocational training and education, and environmental protection.

Greece became a member of the European Economic Community on January 1, 1981. The present Government has recognized that structural reforms in the economy are necessary to accommodate the adjustment involved in Greece's accession to the EC.

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Greece

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Dwight D. Eisenhower



1959

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1959

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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 Karanlis, 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 10:12 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 2 days aboard the Des Moines en route to Tunisia.

ISTANBUL

A poet writing fourteen centuries ago described Istanbul as being surrounded by a garland of water, and the city still owes much of its spirit and beauty to the waters that bind and divide it. The former capital of three world empires, ~~Istanbul is the only city in the world which stands upon two continents.~~ The main part of the city lies in Europe and is separated from its Asian suburbs by the Bosphorus. The Golden Horn divides the European city into two parts, the old imperial town of Stamboul on the south bank and the more modern town of Galata on the north.

Tradition says that the original settlement of Byzantium was established where the Topkapi Palace now stands, in the seventh century B.C., although the actual date was probably much earlier. Known from the beginning as an important center of ~~trade and commerce~~, during its first millennium Byzantium had much the same history as other cities in the region. This changed when Constantine the Great, fresh from reuniting the Roman Empire under his control, decided to reconstitute the Empire with Byzantium as its capital. In 330 A.D. the city was rededicated as New Rome, which soon changed to Constantinople. For the next eleven centuries Constantinople served as the imperial and religious capital of the Byzantine Empire. This first golden age of the city is symbolized by the magnificent Haghia Sophia church, which was considered the center of the orthodox Christian world.

The combination of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the great land walls built by the early rulers protected Constantinople from numerous sieges. Indeed, the city was taken by force only twice by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The city taken by Mehmet the Conqueror was a pale shadow of the former imperial Byzantine capital. The Ottomans repopled and rebuilt it, making it by the beginning of the sixteenth century a thriving and populous metropolis, once again the capital of a vast empire. The Ottoman empire reached its peak during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, who ruled from 1520 to 1560. This second golden age of the city is symbolized by the great Suleymaniye Mosque built in 1557.

When the Ottoman empire foundered at the end of the First World War, Istanbul was occupied by the victorious allied armies. Kemal ~~Ataturk~~, leader of the Turkish nationalist forces, decided to make a clean break with the imperial past of the city, and placed the capital of the new Turkish Republic in Ankara. Its imperial past reflected in the unforgettable skyline of the city, Istanbul today remains a vast metropolis that continues to serve as the economic, industrial and cultural heart of Turkey.

HAGHIA SOPHIA AYA SOFYA

The history and architecture of Haghia Sophia make it one

of the church of the Divine Wisdom, was dedicated by the Emperor Justinian on December 26 in the year A.D. 537. For nearly a thousand years it served as the cathedral of Constantinople and was the center of the religious life of the Byzantine Empire. For almost five centuries after the Turkish Conquest in 1453 it ranked first among the imperial mosques of Istanbul under the name of Aya Sofya Camii. In 1935, during the early years of the Turkish Republic, Hagia Sophia was converted into a museum. The architectural genius of the building is most evident in its magnificent dome, which was pictured by the ancients as being suspended from heaven by a golden chain.

SULTAN AHMET CAMII THE BLUE MOSQUE

Not far from Hagia Sophia, the Sultan Ahmet Camii, commonly known as the Blue Mosque, is a splendid example of Ottoman Imperial architecture. It forms one of the principal landmarks of the Istanbul skyline, with its graceful cascade of domes and minarets. The blue tiled ornaments on domes and minarets. The blue mosque was founded by Sultan Ahmet I and constructed between 1609 and 1616. The mosque is celebrated for the light that streams in from its 260 windows as well as for the splendor of the tiles used in the interior--hence the name "Blue Mosque."

TOPKAPI SARAYI TOPKAPI PALACE

Topkapi Sarayi, the Great Palace of the Ottoman Sultans, is the most extensive and fascinating monument of Ottoman civil architecture in existence. It served as the seat of Ottoman power for over 400 years. Perched on a hill with the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus

Constantinople, Fatin Sultan married, born in Constantinople, 1965. It served not only as the private residence of the Sultan, his harem and his court, but was also the seat of the supreme executive and judicial council of the Ottoman Empire, known as the Divan, as well as the home of the largest and most select training school for the Imperial civil service. The Palace is divided into four courts and surrounded on its slopes by gardens and parks. It also houses a museum with superb collections of porcelains, armor, fabrics, jewels, illuminated manuscripts, and calligraphy.

DOLMABAHCE SARAYI
DOLMABAHCE PALACE

Dolmabahce Palace stretches for 600 meters along the shore of the Bosphorus ~~near where the first Bosphorus bridge (1974) links Asia and Europe~~. It was built in 1853 by Sultan Abdul Mecit who found Topkapi too old fashioned. After completion, it served as the chief residence of the Sultans until the end of the Empire. Ataturk stayed there when in Istanbul and died there on November 10, 1938. Predominantly ~~Western~~ in style, Dolmabahce Palace is most noted for the baroque extravagance of its decor. It houses, among other things, an incredible crystal staircase and an alabaster bathroom.

ROBERT COLLEGE

Located on a hill overlooking the Bosphorus in Arnavutkoy, Robert College is a private American coeducational high school founded in 1871 as the American College for Girls. It was the first modern high school of its kind in Turkey and produced many women who played a leading part in the life of their country. In 1971, on the occasion of its centennial, it was combined with the boy's high school of the old Robert College, taking the latter's name. (The original boys' school, located a short distance to the north on the Bosphorus, today houses Bosphorus University (Bogaziçi Üniversitesi), one of Turkey's most prestigious institutions of higher learning.) Robert College is still considered by many the best high school in Turkey, and its graduates continue to occupy prominent positions in all walks of Turkish life.

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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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—dependent 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, "*Hoş bulduk. Çok teşekkür 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

broader 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.

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 10:12 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, "*Hoş bulduk. Çok teşekkür ederim*" [We are happy to be here. I thank you very much].

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. the diplomatic corps, and by U.S. Ambassador Fletcher Warren. He was met by President Bayar, Turkish civilian and military officials, members of

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

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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.

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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.

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GREECE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREECE ARRIVAL
ATHENS, GREECE
THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1991

SC
President Karamanlis, our Greek and American friends. I am greatly honored to receive this welcome, and to see Prime Minister Mitsotakis and other distinguished members of the government. /

More than two hundred years ago, my Nation was forged in the fire of liberty. Today, Barbara and I are delighted to visit the Nation that gave birth to democracy in this very city 2,500 years ago -- and whose principles inspire all who love and cherish freedom. //

article (draft)
Ike's arrival
statement
Thirty-two years ago, the last American President to visit praised "those great Greek city states that we learned to love and admire from the days when as little boys we learned our ancient history." // Dwight Eisenhower understood how Greece's glory had shaped and enriched the world -- and especially the United States. He was right to say, "the spirit of the West, the modern spirit, is a Greek discovery, and the place of the Greeks is in the modern world." //

This glory did not die with the ancient city-states, of course. It still lives; still summons our values and ideals. We stand for government by the people. We endorse the rights of self-determination, equal protection under the law, and freedom

of thought and worship. / We believe that these rights derive from the sanctity of the individual -- the bond which binds our Nations. //

A great poet once said, "Of all peoples the Greeks have dreamt the dream of life best." I saw that when I visited here in the early 1960s as a private businessman. But we also have seen the Greek people respond to the harsh realities of life. //

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Let us recall, for a moment, how that world looked in 1959, when President Eisenhower visited. Tension between East and West was rising. The communist world was testing the Alliance's resolve in upholding the cause of democracy. In many countries, totalitarian rule had snuffed out the lamp of liberty. //

But our nations responded immediately. We reaffirmed our support for the objectives of NATO. // We united for the collective defense and to preserve peace and security. / We defended the great principles of democracy. / We knew that liberty does not come about by chance; it survives only through hard work and sacrifice. And as years passed, our Alliance met every challenge to its members and beliefs. //

Today, totalitarianism lies disdained and discredited / a victim of its own brutality and inadequacy. As a result, freedom's tide swells, as the tide of Communism recedes. Men like Prime Minister Mitsotakis have pressed passionately for freedom -- and offered new hope to the world. //

infor from lib. of Congress Aristotle once spoke of the criteria of leadership -- support of the constitution, experience and aptitude, and a love

of virtue and justice. Prime Minister Mestotakis not only meets those criteria -- he embodies them. / He realizes that Greece is a bedrock of Balkan stability. He understands that we must act decisively on the Cyprus question -- and he is determined to do so. He believes -- as I do -- that we can build a new world order on the beliefs that have strengthened NATO and linked our two countries.

He also has begun the hard work of liberating an economy and building the basis for growth and prosperity. I look forward to working with him on all these issues this week. //

Socrates said it best: "I am not an Athenian or a Greek, but a citizen of the world." // In that spirit, Greece stood tall for democracy in the Persian Gulf by insisting that aggression must not stand. ~~President Karamanlis~~ ^{PM Karamanlis}, I thank you for that -- for the boldness of your leadership, and for the inspiration that your life has given to so many lovers of liberty. You greeted President Eisenhower 32 years ago, and greet me today -- a distinction I consider a great honor. //

Dwight Eisenhower came here during a cold winter of the Cold War. I join you in a brilliant summer / with visionary Greek leaders / in an age of hope / in a time of peace. // Once, your Nobel Prize-winning poet, George Seferis, wrote: "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." //

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Mr. President, we have the chance to go "a little farther" -
- and far beyond -- in the next two days. Let us rise together -
- for all the children of the world. Thank you very much.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Athens, Greece)

For Immediate ReleaseJuly 19, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE GREEK-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BREAKFAST

Intercontinental Hotel
Athens, Greece

8:55 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And thank you for that warm welcome, and the welcome from various members of this association that I see all around the hall here. And let me salute Ambassador Sotirhos -- proud of his Greek heritage -- doing a fantastic job for the United States of America here in Athens and in this great country. And I'm proud of him, I'm proud of his wife, and I am delighted with the job he is doing for all of us. (Applause.)

And may I salute Mr. Petsiavas and Mr. Ioannou and Mr. Tsomokos and the members of the Greek and foreign diplomatic corps who are with us today. I see the Dean over here. But others are here, I am sure. And I just want to say again how pleased Barbara and I are to be here.

If we look a little bit that we've been outside, the answer is, we have. We had a fantastic visit up at the Parthenon, and there we had a chance to salute 2,500 years of democracy and commitment to individual rights. (Applause.)

And this is quite a scene, if you think about it. I notice that Mike very generously said I was a businessman, but when he said profit and loss, I thought he put a little too much emphasis on the last one. (Laughter.) But far be it from me to be critical. And he was right about the risk-taking and trying -- which I think has given me a little more understanding about what your lives are all about as you try to build the productivity of this country and the productivity of our great country.

So it is quite a scene. Here we have a number of citizens -- accomplished citizens from many countries -- gathered in the capital of Greece -- Athens -- in a hotel run by an American company. And that certainly symbolizes the kinds of ties that our nations enjoy, and ties that I want to talk to you about today. I am sorry I wasn't here for the breakfast. They told me that inside the eggs there was going to be broccoli. And I decided I would come in later -- (laughter) -- just for the very end of all of this.

But, you know, we brought with us from England two gentlemen that are known to many here. For those that don't know them, I just want to single them out. Sons of Greece, great friends of Greece, but people who have joined us here and who have done great things for the United States, and I'm talking about my dear friends Alex Spanos and Alec Kortelas. I'd like them to stand if they're here. (Applause.) There they are.

I single them out because really there are others -- many others right in this room like them. There are many others in the United States like them. But they show that opportunity can translate into prosperity. And in many ways their example ought to serve as a beacon for Greek businessmen in Greece. They show that a new world order applies old world genius to new world realities. So Alec and Alex, our businessmen. They remind me from time to time that time is money. So in the interest of keeping profits high, I promise to keep this morning's talk short. I know that will come as

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a great relief to all of you.

Let me just talk a little bit about improving economic relations between the United States and Greece, and to express my support -- strong support -- for the economic path that Prime Minister Mitsotakis has charted for this great country. The Prime Minister has taken a giant first step towards strengthening the Greek economy by outlining some goals that sound very familiar to this American President.

He wants to cut the red tape, privatize the economy, reduce the cost and size of the public sector, of the government sector, and get his economy on a growth path.

Prime Minister Mitsotakis deserves enormous credit for working to lift the veil that for too long kept Greece out of the international economic mainstream. He understands that free markets, not state-management, can help Greece invigorate its economy, reduce its deficit, pay off its external debt, and remain a member in good standing of the European Community.

We shouldn't underestimate, given the state of the world economy, the difficulty of the Prime Minister's task. We shouldn't underestimate its importance either. So let me just tell you what he and I talked about, what I told him.

First, we believe in the reform efforts. And I might ask you to take a rather global look at this point. It isn't simply Greece that is moving on this important path that I have outlined above. Take a look at what is happening in Eastern Europe. Take a look at the aspirations inside the Soviet Union towards privatization and market reform and convertibility and all of the things necessary to improve the lives of the people through trade. Far better to do it that way than through some aid program that screeches to a halt because it has no underpinnings.

So we are embarked here on a program that really makes a difference -- this reform program. I think his reforms will work. I think they can make a big difference in Greece. You see, we also believe strongly in the benefits of trade. I left that economic summit there in London more determined than ever to press for open markets, free and fair trade around the world, and open investment opportunities everywhere. This isn't to benefit solely the United States, and yes, we would benefit, but it is to benefit every single country that participates in achieving these goals.

You see, the litter of communism provides eloquent testimony to what happens when people forget about the virtues of free enterprise and avoid the tough discipline that competition provides. If we want to make the most of the talent of our people in America, in Greece, in Europe and all around the world, we must advance the cause of free and fair trade.

Our administration remains totally determined to reach a successful conclusion of the GATT -- of this Uruguay Round -- and I remain optimistic that we can do so.

As I look at the various economies around the world, I am absolutely convinced that Greece would benefit enormously from a successful conclusion of the GATT Round. The more Greece opens its markets to foreign investment and the more it works to develop its export industries, the more secure its future will be. And I am happy to say that our trade relationship with Greece is growing stronger every single day. The United States enjoys what I think is a special and strong relationship with Greece. And, again, I salute the Prime Minister for his key role in all of this.

That relationship should make a lot of people happy. Consider the bottom line. U.S. exports to Greece increased 10 percent last year, and Greek imports to the U.S. increased by \$30 million. But, you see, if you look at the big picture -- and you all understand this -- that was only a beginning. Our governments

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recently have signed a bilateral customs agreement, a new civil aviation agreement, a joint declaration on tourism. And I believe that these initiatives will increase the number of commercial flights between the nations, speed the flow of goods through customs, and generate more tourist business.

I couldn't help but stand there -- Barbara and I talked about this -- standing there just in the wish that many and all Americans could someday share the joys that we felt standing in the midst of that history just a few minutes ago. The Greek and the U.S. governments are cooperating effectively in this worldwide fight against terrorism, and this effort is obviously going to remain a priority for both countries. We're trying to expand trade and investment opportunities for American companies that want to do business in Greece. And we have worked to protect intellectual property rights, patents, copyrights, trademarks and the like for American firms doing business in Greece. We have worked with the government of Greece to ensure the swift and fair repatriation of profits. It has to happen. And we hope to improve the prospects for American firms interested in bidding on Greek government contracts.

This progress -- and I'm not saying there is not more that needs to be done. There is. But this progress demonstrates that the Greek government is ready to do business with American companies and that it welcomes American investment. And this is a refreshing change. And it explains why, for the first time in more than a decade, OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, can offer insurance and financing for private-sector investment projects. The investment climate here seems more hospitable than ever for Americans.

And now the United States need to take advantage of the welcome that the Prime Minister has given us. So, as I announced yesterday in my speech to the legislature, I have asked Commerce Secretary Bob Mosbacher, known to many in this room, to lead a presidential trade and investment mission to Greece this autumn. And that mission can persuade even more American businesses to take advantage of the opportunities that are already here and the opportunities that will be here in the future.

In the days and months ahead, our governments will continue working to improve economic relations and eliminate these obstacles to growth. But in the end, good business is common sense, and common sense ought to guide us as we work to build a more prosperous future.

I am happy to say that I think, as you look at this country and our country, things look good. In the United States, as everyone here knows, we've been facing substantial, tremendous economic problems. Our country has been in recession, albeit by historical standards statistically rather mild. But some of our people have been hurting because of this recession. Most of the indicators now are that the recession is over and that growth is beginning. And it is my own view that if that growth pattern continues, and I think it will, this will benefit businesses all around the world. The dynamism and the size of the American economy relates to economies of small countries and medium-sized countries all around the globe.

So we are more optimistic today about the economies at home. I must tell you, as President, I think it is tremendously important that we keep a vigil out. Last year, about this time, I lost about four quarts of blood fighting with Congress on a budget agreement. But I can tell you that the results of that budget agreement, controversial though it may have been, painful though it may have been, we now have caps -- real caps -- on government spending. It is fine for me to come to Greece and lecture the Greeks about how they ought to control the government sector. But we'd better do something about it ourselves in the United States. And so we have put caps -- real caps, that are holding, on our own spending. And I think that will result in the government sector getting more under control and freeing up the private sector, as our economy

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recovers, to do the dynamic things that only private enterprise can take care of.

So I am going to fight for those caps. I am going to keep them on. And I don't care how much blood it takes in the future, I am not going to let the Congress take them and let us go back to reckless government spending that hurts the enterprise and hurts the American people. (Applause.)

And so, as one firm says, I am bullish on America. And I'm not advertising for one firm against some of the others I see around here. But I have reason to be. And let me just tell you something very personally. This is a fantastic and challenging time, a rewarding time to be President of the greatest and freest country on the face of the Earth. As you look around the world and you see what has happened in Eastern Europe, as you see the changes that are already beginning to take hold in the gigantic Soviet Union, as you see our own hemisphere -- the Western Hemisphere -- with all but one country moving down democracy's path. As you take a look at Asia and the dynamic trade relationships that we have with Asia and that they are continuing to grow, we remain, in spite of our affinity and affection for the people of Greece and Europe -- we are also a Pacific power. And you see those trade relationships strengthening. I can tell you, it is an enormously rewarding time -- in spite of the problems we face -- to be President of the United States.

I happen to believe that the action that we took collectively with allies -- and I will always be grateful to Greece for their participation -- the action we took against Saddam Hussein gave the United States a new respect and credibility around the world. And I am very grateful, obviously, to the men and women who served under our banner. But the other day I had a chance to reward the French general, the British general, with high honors, expressing our appreciation that this was not a United States unilateral move; it was a revitalized United Nations, and it brought together Greece and the United States and Turkey and many other countries who stood up against -- for a common purpose -- and that purpose is aggression, bullying, one neighbor against another, will not stand. It did not stand. And we've set a principle out there for the world. It will not stand in the future. And I am very grateful to everybody that participated. (Applause.)

And so that achievement of that common purpose of turning back aggression from a bullying and brutal dictator now leads us to what I call a possibility of a new world order. And let me just assure you -- this isn't on the subject of commerce, it's on the subject of political rivalries, it's on the subject of world peace -- that we will use every bit of this newfound political power or this worldwide credibility to do our best to bring peace to the historically troubled corners of the world.

As you see the changes that are taking place in your sphere, and then you couple those with the changes that are taking place in the political sphere, I think we all conclude that we have a historic opportunity. I must tell you, I felt very strongly about that when I sat down with Mikhail Gorbachev the other day in London. They are trying. They've got enormous economic problems. But we sat there and we finalized a strategic arms reduction treaty -- (applause) -- the first time that we have been able to significantly reduce the destabilization of the world through intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is a wonderful achievement -- not just for the American people, not just for the people in the Soviet Union, for I think it reflects on everybody in Greece -- the feeling that we can curtail the unprofitability that goes into these massive arms and then bring the power of private enterprise to bear, helping the people of the countries around the world. These are exciting times. These are not times to be pessimistic about the world in which we live.

And so things do look good. The President of this great country and the Prime Minister have felt, as we're back to bilateral relations now, have helped forge what is a new beginning here -- a

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new beginning to an old friendship. And so my challenge to you all is let's make things even better.

I want to thank you for inviting me this morning. I got a good shot of your strong coffee next door, which added to the warm welcome here, I might add. And now Barbara and I have the thrill of doing what I am sure everyone here has done -- go to Crete -- as for us will be a first time, though this visit to Athens was not the first for either of us, which has been fantastic.

But I think we will take away a lot of things with us when we leave after this very short visit to Greece. But we won't ever forget the warm reception. We won't forget this meeting, because as you look around the room and see the numbers, you keep in mind the world opportunity that private business brings.

And so thank you all. And may God bless Greece, but may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.
(Applause.) Thank you all. It's a pleasure to be with you.
(Applause.)

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9:20 A.M. (L)