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July 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT SMITH

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: ACROPOLIS EVENT

Burns on Acropolis speech: Mitsotakis has invited POTUS to speak at the Acropolis early Friday morning, July 19th. Remarks are brief, 3-5 minutes. Speech should celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of the emergence in Athens, Greece's universal bequest of democracy.

Perhaps reference that the worldwide revolution of freedom we see today was first sparked in Greece. Maybe that the first shot in the American revolution was fired from the canons of Greek democracy. Remember Curt, make an argument!

GREEK CONSTITUTION

Some excerpts...

"The sovereignty of the People is the foundation of the Government" (from Article 1)

"Respect and protection of the value of the human being constitutes the primary obligation of the State." (from Article 2)

"All Greeks are equal before the law." (from Article 4)

"Personal liberty is inviolable." (from Article 5)

QUOTES

- 1) "The beginning is half of the whole." (Aristotle)
- 2) In a democracy, "the many are supreme, not as individuals, but as a whole." (Aristotle)
- 3) "The love of liberty is implanted by nature in the breasts of all men." (Dionysius Halicarnassensis)

MORE GOOD STUFF ON THE WAY!!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1991

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *dmch*

SUBJECT: DEFINING THE NEW WORLD ORDER

I've attached David Gergen's piece from this week's U.S. News on the new world order, as well as Norman Kempster's piece headlined "Two Secessions a Rebuff to Bush's New World Order."

As I mentioned, I believe backing away from NWO would be a serious mistake. Defining it narrowly -- in terms of collective action against aggression -- is far better than simply dropping its use. Reiterating this point would not be exercise in revisionism. The existence of Kurdish refugees and unrest in Yugoslavia do not refute the fundamental fact that a new order is now emerging. Nowhere have we said the new world order means the absence of conflict. As the excerpts that follow indicate, we have quite clearly avoided "Wilsonian" excesses.

In more general terms, it is far too early to throw in the towel on defining this key term. The last "world order" was arguably almost three years in the making: from the close of WWII with the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance intact, to the time the Berlin Blockade in 1948 triggered the discussions that led to NATO in 1949 -- an alliance explicitly directed against our old Soviet ally. The period between these points -- while the Iron Curtain speech and Truman Doctrine stand out as signposts -- was fluid, to say the least. To cite just one example, even as late as 1948 the possibility existed of extending the Marshall Plan to the Soviet Union.

It remains my view that 1) a new order is emerging (even renewed conflict with the USSR would not be a return to the Cold War, a war of ideas won decisively by the West); 2) that the President, with his expertise in foreign policy, is well equipped to describe and define it; 3) that our adversaries will happily turn any backtracking on NWO into a stick to beat us with -- if not now, then in 1992.

EXCERPTS:

From March 6 address to the Joint Session of Congress:

....Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us

recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." **Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace.** But enduring peace must be our mission.

From April 13 speech at Air University:

....In the Gulf, nations from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world joined together to stop aggression, and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in the world. By joining forces to defend one small nation, we showed that we can work together **against aggressors in defense of principle.**

We also recognized that the **cold war's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace.** As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is, in part, a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

#

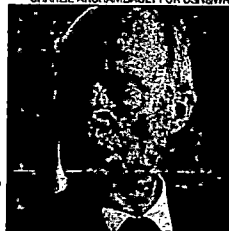
March 6, April 13

TOMORROW

BYE-BYE TO THE NEW WORLD ORDER

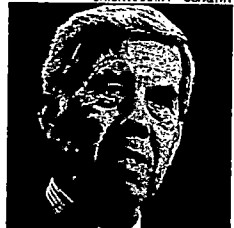
BY DAVID GERGEN

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR USN&WR



■ **National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft isn't happy with his own creation: the concept of a New World Order. Under his direction, the president's writers have buried the idea.**

CHICK HARRITY—USN&WR



■ **Republican Sen. Richard Lugar thinks the president will win his battle to maintain favorable trade relations with China. He expects a few Democrats to side with Bush.**

CHICK HARRITY—USN&WR



■ **NBC's Tim Russert says the media will force candidates to justify their ads and insist on a deeper level of debate. No more pictures from Boston Harbor or Army tanks, he promises.**

■ **A SHIFT IN FOREIGN POLICY.** Woodrow Wilson is remembered for his Fourteen Points; Franklin Roosevelt for his Four Freedoms; Harry Truman for the Marshall Plan. And George Bush? Well, not for a New World Order. After summoning Americans and others to build one during the Persian Gulf crisis—by one count, he used the phrase 42 times in his public statements back then—the president has almost entirely dropped the words from his lexicon, indicating another turn in U.S. foreign policy.

The call for a new order sprang from a conversation between Bush and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft soon after the Soviet Union said it would cooperate in a coalition against Saddam Hussein. The two men agreed that with Soviets on board, the United States could at last use the United Nations or other multinational forums to form alliances against aggression. Neither imagined that the phrase would stir both apprehension and ridicule in other countries. White House aides say that Scowcroft, growing ever more uncomfortable, has persuaded Bush to back off gently, dropping plans to spell out his vision in three speeches. The president still believes that the growing U.S.-U.S.S.R. cooperation on some issues augurs a major change in world affairs. But he reportedly is veering away from a grander vision beyond that and is returning to more cautious, day-to-day management of foreign policy. Some praise him, especially as Yugoslavia's disintegration proves yet again how messy the world is. "A healthy pragmatism is desirable, and besides, that's their strong suit," says Helmut Sonnenfeldt, veteran adviser of past presidents. Still, others of the president's strongest friends in Congress worry he is letting a special moment pass by without putting a U.S. imprint upon the future.

■ **A MISSED OPPORTUNITY.** Critics argue that victory in the Persian Gulf gave the United States a window of opportunity overseas, but just as Bush did not use his new popularity for a major new thrust at home, he has failed to act decisively in foreign affairs and the window is now closing. They point to stalled peace efforts in the Middle East; to the seeming contradictions in the United States' seeking an end to missile proliferation in the region while also selling billions of dollars' worth of new conventional weapons, and to continuing drift toward regional trading blocs in both Europe and Asia. Nonsense, answer administration officials: Triumph in the gulf has allowed the United States to shore up NATO and to ensure a long-term U.S. presence in Europe. Bush has also begun to revitalize other parts of the U.N. And they insist that political figures across Europe and Asia now look toward Bush for personal blessing and leadership. So desperate was one European leader for a meeting in the Oval Office that he threatened the fall of his government unless he was granted an audience.

Several key tests lie ahead. Bush soon faces a showdown with Congress over renewing trade relations with China. A majority in both chambers is certain to vote against the president, but Republican Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana predicts Bush will prevail by pulling together at least 34 Senate votes to sustain his veto. Lugar also thinks Congress will be unable to attach crippling conditions on further trade. A more difficult test for Bush comes in Geneva, where international trade talks are nearing a conclusion. Administration officials are huddling over a new strategy to break the deadlock, but so far, the French and Germans are hanging tough in their refusal to dismantle protective barriers for their farmers. If the trade talks fail, the world will teeter toward even greater disorder.

■ **A TOUGHER CAMPAIGN.** The Persian Gulf war, along with the recession, may have a strong ripple effect upon presidential politics next year. Faced with daunting costs from the war and a loss of advertising revenue, major news organizations want to restrict the number of reporters on the campaign trail in primary season. That would mean far less barnstorming by candidates because their campaign planes are heavily subsidized by high fees charged to the media. Some candidates could be squeezed into commercial travel and even forced to spend time talking with voters. Tim Russert, NBC bureau chief in Washington, expects media coverage to push campaigns toward more substance, too: Instead of transmitting staged pictures from campaign stops, he thinks the networks will subject candidates' positions to much greater analysis. "Candidates will have to spend more time thinking through their positions and compiling position papers," he says. Maybe the White House will have to dream up a substitute for the New World Order.



Associated Press

Joyous Croats wave their national flag outside Parliament in Croatian capital of Zagreb.

VICTOR KOTOWITZ / Los Angeles Times

Secession comes despite Western warnings of isolation.

By CAROL J. WILLIAMS, TIMES STAFF WRITER

LJUBLJANA, Slovenia—Croatia and Slovenia declared independence from Yugoslavia on Tuesday, delivering a death blow to the federation and to the 73-year struggle to unite the fractious Balkan nations.

The moves were in defiance of Western warnings that both states will face international isolation for unilaterally dissolving the union of southern Slavs created in 1918.

The federal Parliament in Belgrade reacted angrily, ordering the army "to undertake measures to prevent the division of Yugoslavia and changes in its borders."

But the lawmakers appeared to be overstepping their authority. The Yugoslav presidency is supposed to command the armed forces, but it collapsed five weeks ago because of an ethnic dispute.

Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic made a last-ditch appeal for unity a day earlier, claiming that any secession could lead to civil war and economic chaos.

Of the two republics' declarations, Slovenia's was the more definitive and clearly amounted to secession from what Ljubljana officials now refer to as "the former Yugoslavia."

While the Croatian declaration was less specific, stating only that a process of "dissociation" had begun, it may prove to be the more inflammatory because of Croatia's 600,000-strong Serbian minority, which is staunchly opposed to separation from the Yugoslav nation that binds them with Serbia.

The nationalist leadership of Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's six republics, has threatened to use any force necessary to prevent division of the Serbian people.

Slovenia and Croatia had previously said they would secede on Wednesday, but the two governments summoned lawmakers to

Please see SECESSION, A10

2 Secessions a Rebuff to Bush's 'World Order'

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Croatia and Slovenia, by declaring their independence from Yugoslavia in the face of nearly unanimous international opposition, presented the United States and the rest of the world Tuesday with an agonizing choice of strangling the new nations at birth or acquiescing in the possible disintegration of the system of nation-states.

For President Bush's post-Cold War "new world order," the action in the Balkans is a painful rebuff. Croatia and Slovenia asserted their

NEWS ANALYSIS

sovereignty less than a week after Secretary of State James A. Baker III visited Yugoslavia to warn them against taking the step.

Last week, the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—representing the United States, Canada and every nation in Europe—advised Yugoslavia that international economic and political assistance is dependent on preservation of its unity.

Please see ANALYSIS, A10

Kuwait to Lift Martial Law, End Tribunal

By SONNI EFRON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KUWAIT CITY—Kuwait will lift martial law today, ending four months of military rule and disbanding the controversial military tribunal that has been trying accused wartime collaborators, the minister of justice announced Tuesday.

The move is an important symbolic step forward for Kuwait, which has been under military control since a U.S.-led coalition drove Iraqi troops from the emirate Feb. 26.

But the end of martial law, which some Kuwaitis believe was hastened by international pressure, will have little immediate practical or political impact.

Kuwaitis have been free to travel, and no curfew has been imposed. Although the martial-law decree gave the military broad powers of search and arrest, the day-to-day functioning of the police and the army are expected to remain unchanged.

Many civil liberties, including freedom of speech and assembly, have been restricted since Kuwait's emir dissolved Parliament and suspended the constitution in 1986.

Opposition leaders said Tuesday that the repeal of martial law is meaningless unless Kuwait returns to democratic rule.

"We don't think it's going to make any difference, because there

Role in Diabetes Found

By I. MAUGH II
WRITER

Researchers believe have solved the how viruses can insulin-dependent condition afflicting 1 million in which the are unable to properly. Biologist Allan J. report today at National Diabetes Congress in D.C., that he and the mechanism the body's stem attacks the triggering insulin diabetes. DIABETES, A22

Kills Bush Relax the Rules

By TON
WR

WASHINGTON—The Senate on President Bush's expanded use of evidence in but it approved a to widen the scope of penalty.

7 in Family Killed as Blast Rips RV on Trip to Mexico

By LAURIE BECKLUND
and TRACY WILKINSON
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Seven members of a La Puente family, on a trip into Mexico to return their elderly aunt to her native Yucatan Peninsula, were burned to death when a leaking gas tank in their recreational vehicle exploded outside a town in northern Mexico, authorities said Tuesday.

The dead were from three generations of the family.

sion ripped through the vehicle, killing Garcia's wife, Gina, 34, and their four sons, ages ranging from 3 to 15. Serafina Quintal was Gina Garcia's aunt. Gina's sister, Maritza Ocampo, 21, was also killed; Mexican officials said.

Garcia escaped with minor injuries, but his 14-year-old daughter Rosy was burned over at least 70% of her body. She is scheduled to be airlifted to a Los Angeles hospital today. A third survivor was Maritza Ocampo's boyfriend, Gerardo

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A Patchwork of Nationalities

Yugoslavia is like a quilt patched together with Serbs, Croatsians, Slovenes, Bosnian Muslims, Macedonians and Montenegrins. Slovenia and Croatia are Roman Catholic and use the Latin alphabet. Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia follow Orthodox Christianity and have a Cyrillic alphabet. Muslims dominate in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Kosovo republic. The republic of Vojvodina is mainly Serb.

SERBIA (Capital, Belgrade)
Population: 9.83 million. Area: 21,609 sq. miles.
History: Serbs were conquered by the Ottoman Empire in 1389. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed in 1918. In 1929, the name was changed to Yugoslavia.

CROATIA (Capital, Zagreb)
Population: 4.68 million. Area: 21,829 sq. miles.
History: Croatia was part of Hungary from 1102 to 1526 and came under Hapsburg rule.

SLOVENIA (Capital, Ljubljana)
Population: 1.95 million. Area: 7,819 sq. miles.
History: Slovenia developed under the Hapsburg Empire and prospered with a higher standard of living than the southern Slavs.

MACEDONIA (Capital, Skopje)
Population: 2.11 million. Area: 9,928 sq. miles.
History: Settled by Slavs, it was conquered by Bulgars, Serbs and Turks. Later it was divided among Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece.

MONTENEGRO (Capital, Titograd)
Population: 640,000. Area: 5,333 sq. miles.
History: Montenegro became a separate entity on the breakup of the Serbian Empire. King Nicholas I was deposed in 1918.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (Capital, Sarajevo)
Population: 4.48 million. Area: 19,741 sq. miles.
History: Settled by Slavs, then conquered by Turks. Annexation by Austria-Hungary in 1908 helped touch off World War I.

over from the discredited Commu-
nist era, Markovic, although a
committed free-market reformer,
commands little respect in the
strongly nationalist republics.
In the Croatian capital of Zagreb;
Parliament Speaker Zarko Domjan
said, "Croatia no longer remains
within federative Yugoslavia."
The declaration of sovereignty
approved by the deputies in Zagreb
said, "By this act, the Republic of
Croatia initiates the process of
disassociation from the other re-
publics."
It was not immediately clear
whether further steps remained to
bring about full independence for
Croatia. Presidential adviser Darko
Bekic said earlier in the day that
Croatia still considers itself to be
within the framework of Yugosla-
via.
Both republic leaderships said
they recognize the statehood of
the other, but no other offers of
political solidarity were immedi-
ately forthcoming.
Slovenian citizens endorsed a
six-month process toward inde-
pendence last December, while
Croatia held a similar referendum
only a month ago.
Support for independence was
overwhelming in both republics.

No effort has been made to
economically isolate Slovenia from
its established trading network,
and Ljubljana officials expect busi-
ness as usual with the European
nations that have given them a
political cold shoulder.
Much of Slovenia's motivation
for separation rests with the disas-
trous state of the Yugoslav econo-
my.
Serbia and other republics are
faced with bankruptcy and run-
away inflation. State workers have
not been paid for months, the
federal government has been
lurching along on only a third of its
usual revenues and most industrial
enterprises outside Slovenia are
deeply in debt and scaling back
production.
The Yugoslav dinar—the mon-
etary system to which Slovenia and
Croatia remain tied—has been de-
valued twice so far this year and is
rumored to be poised for another
major downward adjustment.
Peterle said that Ljubljana was
creating its own central bank and
that a Slovenian currency could be
issued within eight months.
A new Slovenian flag sporting
the Triglav mountain symbol of the
new republic will be unveiled in
Liberation Square today, when of-
ficial ceremonies will mark the

ANALYSIS: Secessions Seen as a Rebuff

Continued from A1
By inference, the group was warn-
ing that independent Slovenia and
Croatia would be isolated political-
ly and ostracized economically.
If the CSCE nations carry out
that threat, they could turn the two
republics into clones of Albania,
Europe's poorest country after four
decades of self-imposed isolation.
The Croats and Slovenes are gam-
bling that the world will not have
the stomach for the human suffer-
ing that such a policy would pro-
duce.
The way the United States and
most European nations see it, if the
two tiny Balkan republics success-
fully secede from the 73-year-old
Yugoslav federation, the move will
inflare ethnic independence
movements from Czechoslovakia
to Ethiopia to Iraq to the Soviet
Union. That, in turn, would under-
mine the world political system
that has endured since the end of
World War I.
"Everybody is trying to stave
this off, because states are very
reluctant to see other states break
up into their component parts,"
said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a former
State Department and National Se-
curity Council expert on Europe.
"It is not something that you
lightly dismiss."
Ethnic tensions, similar to those
that drove Slovenia and Croatia to
withdraw from Yugoslavia, are
fueling secession movements in
many of the Soviet Union's 15
republics, the Eritrea province of
Ethiopia and the Kurdish regions
of Iraq, as well as in Czechoslova-
kia, Turkey, Iran and Syria.
By and large, the world commu-
nity opposes the breakup of
states as a matter of principle,
regardless of the merits of individ-
ual cases. For this reason, the Bush
Administration has objected
strongly to the secession move-
ments in Slovenia and Croatia,
even though voting majorities in
both republics clearly expressed
their desire for independence in
referendums earlier this year.
Moreover, Washington's opposition
to independence has not been tem-
pered by the fact that Croatia and
Slovenia are the most Western and
most democratic of Yugoslavia's six
republics.
From Washington's point of
view, the one exception to the

...the Crown Prince
Saad al Abdullah al Sabah, who
was in London Tuesday.

The martial-law decree, extended last month for 30 days, was to have expired today, and Cabinet ministers were said to be evenly divided over whether to extend it for another 30 days. Samar did not explain the reasons for Tuesday's decision.

However, officials and citizens express mounting concern over a rise in lawlessness in Kuwait. Crime and domestic disputes have turned bloody as Kuwaitis spurn government calls to turn over the huge number of weapons they stockpiled during the occupation or collected from the retreating Iraqis.

"Every day we are witnessing accidents and tragedies as a result of the possession of weapons and explosives by weak and hot-tempered souls," an Interior Ministry official said in a newspaper interview published Monday. "The numbers in the death registers are increasing."

The government has given resi-

ANALYSIS

Continued from A10

general rule against endorsing secession movements is the three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The United States never recognized the forceful incorporation of the republics into the Soviet Union in 1940, so the Administration supports their renewed independence.

"The United States has stood, and will continue to stand, in solidarity with the Baltic peoples in their striving for freedom and self-determination," Bush said Tuesday in a report to Congress unrelated to the situation in Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, the Administration is concerned that the Slovenian and Croatian secession moves will touch off violence in Yugoslavia that might spill across its borders.

"The trouble is in that part of the world, when blood gets spilled, blood calls for revenge," said George Carver, former deputy director of the CIA. "It is bound to get messy, and it may be impossible to keep the messiness inside Yugoslavia's borders."

A senior Administration official said that Baker made it clear to Yugoslavia's federal government last week that Washington would oppose the use of the national army to stop the secession drives. In addition, there has been a proliferation of weapons in private hands.

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Akron/Canton

Albany

Allentown/Bethlehem
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Atlanta

Baltimore

Birmingham

Boston

Buffalo

Chicago

Cincinnati

Cleveland

Columbus, OH.

Dallas/Fort Worth

Dayton

Detroit

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A senior Administration official said that Baker made it clear to Yugoslavia's federal government last week that Washington would oppose the use of the national army to stop the secession drives. In addition, there has been a proliferation of weapons in private hands.

"In some republics, civilians are being armed," the official said. "It is different civilians and different minority groups in different republics, and in some places party people are being armed as party people. Now don't tell me that's not a powder keg."

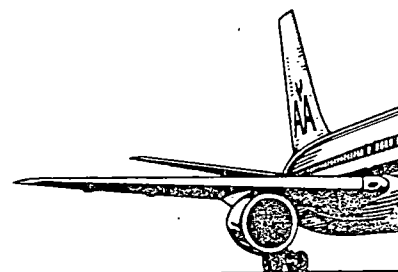
Baker said last week that "instability and breakup of Yugoslavia could have some very tragic consequences, not only here, but more broadly in [the rest of] Europe, as well." He warned that the United States would not recognize the independence of either Slovenia or Croatia, a threat that was reiterated by the State Department on Tuesday.

There is no doubt that the United States, the 12-nation European Community and other nations can turn Slovenia and Croatia into economic disaster areas if they choose to do so. Such action, however, would be certain to produce a new flow of refugees. It also could touch off additional violence.

In any case, the breakaway republics seem to be headed for difficult economic times, regardless of what the rest of the world decides to do.

"I don't see the sources of capital [for Croatia and Slovenia], particularly if investors are not sure where the politics will settle," said Robert Hunter, director of European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "You don't have to threaten sanctions. This is a self-generated sanction."

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Dallas/Fort Worth	\$139	\$69	Kansas City, MO
Dayton	\$179	\$89	Lake Tahoe, CA
Detroit	\$179	\$89	Little Rock
Fort Lauderdale	\$179	\$89	Memphis
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American

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Restrictions: Fares are each way based on round-trip purchase for Coach travel. Tickets are no advance, and tickets must be purchased at least seven days prior to departure or within 24 hours. Fares may not be available on all flights and are subject to change. Fares are valid for travel noon to midnight, 50% at all other times. Different day-of-week and/or length-of-stay requirements apply to travel. Child, aged 2-17, allowed per accompanying adult buying a fare listed above. Adult's and child's restrictions may apply. ♡ American Eagle is a registered trademark of American Airlines, Inc., and

July 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: MATERIAL PER YOUR REQUESTS

GREEK CONSTITUTION

I've included the english translation of Greece's constitution. Following are some appropriate excerpts.

✓ "The sovereignty of the People is the foundation of the Government" (from Article 1)

"Respect and protection of the value of the human being constitutes the primary obligation of the State." (from Article 2)

"All Greeks are equal before the law." (from Article 4)

"Personal liberty is inviolable." (from Article 5)

TURKISH CONSTITUTION

Ditto. Most of the meaning here is strangled by legalese.

The constitution "is entrusted for safekeeping by the Turkish Nation to the patriotism of its democracy..."

"Everyone possesses inherent fundamental rights and freedoms which are inviolable and inalienable."

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

Venizelos was the most prominent Greek politician and statesman of the early 20th century. His greatest bequest was the considerable expansion of Greek territory through diplomacy. Through his policy, Greece doubled in area and population during the Balkan Wars (1912-13).

Engineering the exile of the pro-German King Constantine during WWI, Venizelos led Greece into the war on the side of the Western Allies. He gained international reputé at the Treaty of Versailles (1919), negotiating separately with Italy, Bulgaria, and Turkey to Greece's considerable advantage.

State has faxed me some material which details: "In foreign policy Venizelos tried to diversify Greece's alliance system, in 1928 normalizing relations with Italy...and with its Balkan neighbors...He even established good relations with Turkey, for the first time in modern Greek history signing a treaty of friendship in 1930."

TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS

My contacts at State warn to tread carefully in pushing Greece and Turkey together. Continued Greek suspicion of Turkish designs finds root in over 600 years of Ottoman occupation. Ongoing regional disputes still hinder a closer relationship. Attempts at clearing things up in the Ozal-Papandreou Davos Process (in Davos, Switzerland) were largely fruitless. Moreover, Davos is not particularly popular with the Greek people. Mitsotakis would like to distance himself from the process, as he would like to distance himself from Papandreou.

Hope for improved relations has more recently surfaced with a renewed willingness for dialogue. Below I've excerpted some State cables on the new thaw:

- 1) Following is the response of a Turkish government spokesman to a question on P.M. Mitsotakis' remarks on relations with Turkey in a June 5 interview with Greek State TV:

"PM Mitsotakis' statement that he wants an honest and serious dialogue with Turkey and that there are many things to talk about is a notable development...Turkey, throughout the years and today persistently defends the view that the only ways to find solutions to the problems between the two countries are dialogue and negotiations...Turkey is ready to sit at the table with a comprehensive and clear agenda."

✓ **QUOTE FLASH:** "Do not fear of speaking the truth." (Kemal Ataturk, 1926)

✓ "The beginning is half of the whole." (Aristotle)

- 2) Following are excerpts from an interview with Greek PM Mitsotakis published in Turkish Daily "Hurriyet" June 15:

"After general elections in Greece, I was also the one who expressed our government's wish to enter a serious and sincere dialogue with Turkey. I have never set preconditions for such a dialogue...I favor developing relations between our countries in every field, especially the economic field. It is obvious that improvement in the political field will make these developments easier."

- 3) Following are Mitsotakis further remarks which were not included in the daily:

"Personally, I am ready to sign a treaty of friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation which would confirm rejection of the resort to any kind of force to solve the differences between Greece and Turkey...I want to come to Ankara, but when I come we must do something...I am coming, but first we must cross some distance on the Cyprus question. Afterwards, when I go there, I would like to sign a treaty of friendship, good neighborliness, and cooperation."

CYPRUS TALKS, UN GOOD OFFICES MISSION

Since 1963, the UN Security Council has given the Secretary General a Good Offices mandate. The mandate or mission has been given to convene and conduct negotiations between the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus to reach a political settlement between the two. In the 1960's, the island's two communities were more integrated.

In 1974, Turkish military intervention brought about a massive population shift, the Turks congregating in the north, the Greeks moving to the southern two-thirds of Cyprus. State's Cypriot desk officer has cautioned against talking of the invasion, he'd promised me a fax on suggested language on the UN mission.

9 July 1991

*thought I'd
give these to
you too.*

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT

FROM: JAG

SUBJ: MORE QUOTES FOR ACROPOLIS

- 1) "The basis of a democratic state is liberty."
--Plato, Dialogues, Parmenides, VI, 2.
- 2) "Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the State...only in
a democracy will the freeman of nature deign to dwell."
--Plato, The Republic, Book ii, sec. 319.
- 3) "Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring
states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators
ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of
the few; this is why it is called a democracy."
--Thucydides, Historia, Pericles' Ideal.

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MICROPÆDIA

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inople and initiated a sweeping ecclesiastical reform. He imposed strict discipline on the clergy, charged his bishops to live in their own dioceses, and restricted the wanderings of monks. Much of the source material on his reform effort, as well as on Byzantine social and economic conditions of the times, is recorded in a collection of 126 letters.

Athanasius' severe measures evoked opposition from the clergy, and Emperor Antiochus permitted his resignation. Popular support restored him to his patriarchal office; however, after his expulsion of the Latin Church's Franciscan monks from Constantinople in 1307, the unionist faction finally succeeded in forcing his retirement early in 1310 to the monastery of Xerolophus in Constantinople.

Besides his letters, other writings attributed to Athanasius are lectures on religious education and a liturgical verse composition, *Theotokaria*, an encomium to the Virgin Mary.

Athanasius the Athonite, Saint, also called **ATHANASIOS OF TREBIZOND** (b. c. 920, Trebizond, now Trabzon, Tur.—d. c. 1000, Mt. Athos, Greece), Byzantine monk who founded communal monasticism in the hallowed region of Mt. Athos, a traditional habitat for contemplative monks and hermits.

Originally named Abraham, he took the monastic name of Athanasius when he retired to Mt. Athos after forsaking the sophisticated, urban monastic life in Constantinople; there he had served as spiritual director to the general Nicephorus Phocas, later the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969).

In 963, with imperial support, Athanasius organized the scattered solitaries on Mt. Athos into the Great Laura (Greek *laura*, "monastery"). There, he introduced a *Typikon*, or rule, for cenobites (monks in community life) based on similar codes by the 4th-century monastic founder Basil of Caesarea and the 9th-century reformer Theodore Studites.

Various ecclesiastical and political factions opposed this monastic innovation and forced Athanasius to flee to Cyprus after the death of Nicephorus in 969. He returned to Mt. Athos, however, following the command of a reputed visionary experience. Financial assistance came from Nicephorus' successor, the emperor John I Tzimiskes, who in 971-972 had settled the controversy by granting Athos its first charter. Athanasius died in the collapse of a building he was about to dedicate. His further writings include a supplementary rule for monks (*Hypotyposis*), incorporating elements of Greek and Syriac monasticism; a detailed annotation (*Diatyposis*) of provisions for monastic transfer of authority; and a liturgical directory particularly for the Easter season.

·Nicephorus II and the church 13:64g

Atharvaveda (sacred literature): *see* Vedas.

atheism 2:258, the denial of God, as reflected either in a theoretical system of thought that excludes the possibility or the necessity of a transcendent first principle or in the way one practically conducts his private and public life. Atheism is opposed to any religion or worship of God. A synonym for atheist is freethinker.

The text article covers the divisions and principal forms of atheism and its historical development. The major section of the article is devoted to a critical examination of the questions that have given rise to the historical forms of atheism.

REFERENCES in other text articles:

- distinction from agnosticism 1:311h
- Existential views of man's freedom 7:73c
- Feuerbach's view of God 1:985c
- Hegelian development and criticism 8:733d
- Indian philosophical positions 9:314g

- Plato's condemnation as false belief 14:330c
- Shelley's problems as result of beliefs 16:659f
- skepticism's resemblance 16:830d
- Spinoza's denial of charge 17:509h
- theology in Eastern religion context 18:274d

Atheist's Tragedie, The (1611), play by Cyril Tourneur.

·literature of the Renaissance 10:1142b

Athelney, small eminence, formerly an island, rising above the drained marshes around the confluence of the Rivers Tone and Parrett in the county of Somerset, England. In 878 King Alfred sought refuge from the Danes in the marshes and constructed a stronghold at Athelney from where he broke out and won a decisive victory at Edington, near Chippenham. He later founded a monastery on the island as a thank-offering for his victory. The Alfred Jewel, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was found at Athelney in 1693.

Athelstan, also spelled **AETHELSTAN** or **ETH-ELSTAN** (d. Oct. 27, 939), first Saxon king to have effective rule over the whole of England. On the death of his father, Eadward the Elder, in 924, Athelstan was elected king of Mercia, where he had been brought up by his aunt, Aethelflaed, lady of the Mercians.

Crowned king of the whole country at Kingston on Sept. 4, 925, he proceeded to establish boundaries and rule firmly. His dominion was significantly challenged in 937 when Constantine of the Scots, Owain of Strathclyde, and Olaf Guthfrithson, claimant of the kingdom of York, joined forces and invaded England. They were routed at Brunanburh.



Athelstan, detail of a manuscript illumination, 10th century; in the collection of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Corpus Christi Ms. 183)

By courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. photograph, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London

Six of his codes of law extant reveal stern efforts to suppress theft and punish corruption. They are notable for provisions to comfort the destitute and mitigate the punishment of young offenders. The form and language of his many documents suggest the presence of a corps of skilled clerks and perhaps the beginning of the English civil service.

Athena, also called **ATHENE**, in Greek religion, the city protectress, goddess of war, handicraft, and practical reason, identified by the Romans with Minerva. She was essentially urban and civilized, the antithesis in many respects of Artemis, goddess of the outdoors. Athena was probably a pre-Hellenic goddess and was later taken over by the Greeks. Yet the Greek economy, unlike that of the Minoans, was largely military, so that Athena, while retaining her earlier domestic functions, became a goddess of war.

Athena chose the Acropolis as her dwelling



Athena mourning the death of Achilles at Troy, relief, c. 470 BC; in the Acropolis Museum, Athens

Athena

place, probably because the king's palace was located there. She had no consort and no offspring. She may not have been a virgin from the beginning, but the characteristic was acquired very early and was the basis for the interpretation of her epithets Pallas and Parthenos. Aphrodite could not affect Athena: for a war goddess to accept domination or a palace goddess violation was intolerable.

In the *Iliad*, Athena, as a war goddess, inspired and fought alongside the Greek heroes; to possess her aid was synonymous with military prowess and was not considered an unfair advantage. Also in the *Iliad*, Zeus, the chief god, specifically assigned the sphere of war to Ares, the god of war, and Athena. Athena's moral and military superiority to Ares derived in part from the vastly greater variety and importance of her functions and in part from the patriotism of Homer's predecessors, Ares being of foreign origin. The qualities that led to victory were found on the aegis Athena carried when she went to war: fear, strife, defense, and assault, but not reason or prudence. Athena appears in the *Odyssey* as the tutelary deity of the king, and myths from later sources portray her similarly as helper of Perseus and Heracles (Hercules), perhaps originally Mycenaean priest-kings, suggesting that her efforts were extended to all who held that office. Yet the kingship as such did not claim her protection; Athena guarded rather the king's person and in so doing became goddess of good counsel as well as of war.

In post-Mycenaean times, the city, especially its citadel, replaced the palace as Athena's domain. She was widely worshipped, but in modern times she is associated primarily with Athens, to which she gave her name. Her emergence there as city goddess, Athena Polias, accompanied the transition from monarchy to democracy. She was associated with birds, particularly the owl, which became famous as the city's own symbol, and with the snake. Her birth and her contest with Poseidon for the suzerainty of the city were depicted on the pediments of the Parthenon. Hesiod, in the *Theogony*, told how Athena, having no known mother, sprang from Zeus's forehead, and Pindar added that Hephaestus struck open his head with an ax. The contest between Athena and Poseidon on the Parthenon's west pediment featured her offer to the Athenians of the olive, his of the horse or a spring of water.

Athena's birthday festival, the Panathenaea, concerned the growth of vegetation. The similarly purposed Procharisteria celebrated the

REFERENCES in other text articles:

- Alcibiades' political career 1:436f
- ancient ship design 18:651d
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- opposition to Macedonian supremacy *passim* to 227e
- Peisistratus' control and contributions 13:1110c

YOUR VISIT TO THE ACROPOLIS

- You will make an early morning visit to the Acropolis on July 19 with Prime Minister Mitsotakis. At Mitsotakis' request, you and he will make brief comments to the press corps on Greece's contribution to Western civilization and the 2,500th anniversary of Athenian democracy.
- The Acropolis, meaning "upper city," is the symbolic birthplace of Western democracy. The citadel, built atop a rock plateau, once was the center of Athenian religion and civic pride at the apex of the ancient Greek civilization. It is now the most hallowed, and the most universally acclaimed, temple site in all of Europe.
- The Acropolis has been occupied without interruption since Neolithic times, and as a result it supports the compacted remains of half a dozen successive civilizations. The four ancient buildings which make up the Acropolis today were built during the fifth century B.C., when Athens was at its imperial apogee. The most important, and magnificent, of the four is the Parthenon.
- The Parthenon is dedicated to the city's guardian deity Athena and demonstrates the grace, sophistication, and vigor of Greek culture at that time. Since then it has survived many sieges and flown the flag of many invading armies, from Spartans to Nazis. Over the years its treasures, including a 39-foot ivory and gold statue of Athena, were defiled or removed by conquerors and explorers. During its long history it also served as a Christian church for nearly 1,000 years, a Moslem mosque, and a Turkish arsenal. It was nearly destroyed by the Venetians during a siege of the occupying Turkish forces in the late 1600s.
- The Erechtheum (pronounced ir-ek-the-um) named for a harvest deity, is another of the four ancient buildings. In some ways it is the most sacred spot on the Acropolis. According to legend, it is built on the site where the goddess Athena created the first olive tree. The Persians invaded Athens and destroyed the tree, the legend goes, but when they were driven off, it grew back again. Legends aside, the Turkish military governor made practical use of the Erechtheum during the Turkish occupation by using it to house his harem of 40 wives.

→ Athena created the 1st
olive tree, whose branches
came to symbolize Peace

→ Athens created the 1st
democracy. Its branches
are now enveloped
the globe.

3593. — — —. How powerfully did we feel the energy of this organization in the case of the Embargo? I felt the foundations of the Government shaken under my feet by the New England townships. There was not an individual in their States whose body was not thrown with all its momentum into action; and although the whole of the other States were known to be in favor of the measure, yet the organization of this little selfish minority enabled it to overrule the Union. What would the unwieldy counties of the middle, the south and the west do? Call a county meeting, and the drunken loungers at and about the court houses would have collected, the distances being too great for the good people and the industrious generally to attend. The character of those who really met would have been the measure of the weight they would have had in the scale of public opinion.—To JOSEPH C. CABELL. vi, 544. (M., 1816.)

3594. GOVERNMENTS (European), Oppressive.—The European are governments of kites over pigeons.—To GOVERNOR RUTLEDGE. ii, 234. (P., 1787.)

3595. GRAMMAR, Rigor of.—Where strictness of grammar does not weaken expression, it should be attended to * * *. But where, by small grammatical negligences, the energy of an idea is condensed, or a word stands for a sentence, I hold grammatical rigor in contempt.*—To JAMES MADISON. FORD ED., viii, 108. (W., 1801.) See LANGUAGES.

3596. GRANGER (Gideon), Burr's enemy.—In the winter of 1803-4, another train of events took place which, * * * I think it but justice to yourself that I should state. I mean the intrigues which were in agitation, and at the bottom of which we believed Colonel Burr to be; to form a coalition of the five Eastern States, with New York and New Jersey, under the appellation of the seven Eastern States; either to overawe the Union by the combination of their power and their will, or by threats of separating themselves from it. Your intimacy with some of those in the secret gave you opportunities of searching into their proceedings, of which you made me daily and confidential reports. This intimacy to which I had such useful recourse, at the time, rendered you an object of suspicion with many as being yourself a partisan of Colonel Burr, and engaged in the very combination which you were faithfully employed in defeating. I never failed to justify you to all those who brought their suspicions to me, and to assure them of my knowledge of your fidelity. Many were the individuals, then members of the Legislature, who received these assurances from me, and whose apprehensions were thereby quieted. This first project of Burr having vanished in smoke, he directed his views to the Western country.—To GIDEON GRANGER. vi, 330. FORD ED., ix, 455. (M., 1814.)

3597. GRANGER (Gideon), Supreme Court.—I shall be perfectly happy if either you or [Levi] Lincoln is named, as I consider the substituting, in the place of [Judge] Cushing, a firm unequivocating republican, whose principles are born with him, and not an occasional ingraftment, as necessary to complete

* From a note enclosing draft of first annual message and requesting suggestions thereon.—EDITOR.

that great reformation in our Government to which the nation gave its fiat ten years ago.—To GIDEON GRANGER. FORD ED., ix, 286. (M., 1810.)

3598. GRATITUDE, Happiness and.—I have but one system of ethics for men and for nations—to be grateful, to be faithful to all engagements, under all circumstances, to be open and generous, promoting in the long run the interests of both, and I am sure it promotes their happiness.—To LA DUCHESSE D'AUVILLE. iii, 135. FORD ED., v, 153. (N. Y. 1790.)

3599. GRATITUDE, National.—I think * * * that nations are to be governed with regard to their own interest, but I am convinced that it is their interest, in the long run, to be grateful, faithful to their engagements even in the worst of circumstances, and honorable and generous always.—To M. DE LAFAYETTE. iii, 132. FORD ED., v, 152. (N. Y., 1790.)

3600. GRATITUDE, Principles of.—To say that gratitude is never to enter into the motives of national conduct is to revive a principle which has been buried for centuries with its kindred principles of the lawfulness of assassination, poison, perjury, &c. All of these were legitimate principles in the dark ages, which intervened between ancient and modern civilization, but exploded and held in just horror in the eighteenth century.—To JAMES MADISON. iii, 99. FORD ED., v, 111. (P., 1789.)

—GREEK LANGUAGE.—See LANGUAGES.

3601. GREEKS, Ancient.—Should these thoughts * on the subject of national government furnish a single idea which may be useful to them [the Greeks], I shall fancy it a tribute rendered to the manes of your Homer, your Demosthenes, and the splendid constellation of sages and heroes, whose blood is still flowing in your veins, and whose merits are still resting, as a heavy debt, on the shoulders of the living, and the future races of men.—To M. CORAY. vii, 324. (M., 1823.)

3602. GREEKS, Government of.—Greece was the first of civilized nations which presented examples [in government] of what man should be.—To M. CORAY. vii, 318. (M., 1823.)

3603. GREEKS, Sympathy for.—No people sympathize more feelingly than ours with the sufferings of your countrymen, none offer more sincere and ardent prayers to heaven for their success. And nothing indeed but the fundamental principle of our government, never to entangle us with the broils of Europe, could restrain our generous youth from taking some part in this holy cause. Possessing ourselves the combined blessing of liberty and order, we wish the same to other countries, and to none more than yours, which, the first of civilized nations, presented examples of what man should be.—To M. CORAY. vii, 318. (M., 1823.)

3604. GREENE (Nathaniel), Estimate of.—Greene was truly a great man. He had not, perhaps, all the qualities which so peculiarly rendered General Washington the fittest man

* Jefferson, at the request of M. Coray, wrote a paper outlining a system of government for Greece.—EDITOR.

6287. OPPRESSION, Colonies and.—A series of oppressions, begun at a distinguished period, and pursued unalterably through every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate, systematical plan of reducing us to slavery.—*RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA*. i, 130. *FORD ED.* i, 435. (1774.)

6288. OPPRESSION, Nations and.—It is, indeed, an animating thought that, while we are securing the rights of ourselves and our posterity, we are pointing out the way to struggling nations who wish, like us, to emerge from their tyrannies also. Heaven help their struggles, and lead them, as it has done us, triumphantly through them.—*REPLY TO ADDRESS*. iii, 128. *FORD ED.* v, 147. (1790.)

6289. OPTICS, Laws of.—To distinct vision it is necessary not only that the visual angle should be sufficient for the powers of the human eye, but that there should be sufficient light also on the object of observation. In microscopic observations, the enlargement of the angle of vision may be more indulged, because auxiliary light may be concentrated on the object by concave mirrors. But in the case of the heavenly bodies we can have no such aid. The moon, for example, receives from the sun but a fixed quantity of light. In proportion as you magnify her surface, you spread that fixed quantity over a greater space, dilute it more, and render the object more dim. If you increase her magnitude infinitely, you dim her face infinitely also, and she becomes invisible. When under total eclipse, all the direct rays of the sun being intercepted, she is seen but faintly, and would not be seen at all but for the refraction of the solar rays in their passage through our atmosphere. In a night of extreme darkness, a house or a mountain is not seen, as not having light enough to impress the limited sensibility of our eye. I do suppose in fact that Herschel has availed himself of the properties of the parabolic mirror to the point beyond which its effect would be counteracted by the diminution of light on the object. I barely suggest this element, not presented to view in your letter, as one which must enter into the estimate of the improved telescope you propose.—*TO THOMAS SKIDMAN*. vii, 259. (M., 1822.)

6290. ORATORY, Art in.—In a republican nation, whose citizens are to be led by reason and persuasion, and not by force, the art of reasoning becomes of first importance. In this line antiquity has left us the finest models for imitation; and he who studies and imitates them most nearly, will nearest approach the perfection of the art. Among these I should consider the speeches of Livy, Sallust and Tacitus as preeminent specimens of logic, taste, and that sententious brevity which, using not a word to spare, leave not a moment for inattention to the hearer. Amplification is the vice of modern oratory. It is an insult to an assembly of reasonable men, disgusting and revolting instead of persuading. Speeches measured by the hour die with the hour.—*TO DAVID HARDING*. vii, 347. (M., 1824.)

6291. ORATORY, Models for.—The models for that oratory which is to produce the greatest effect by securing the attention of hearers and readers, are to be found in Livy, Tacitus, Sallust, and most assuredly not in Cicero. I doubt if there is a man in the world

who can now read one of his orations through but as a piece of task work.—*TO J. W. EPPES*. v, 490. *FORD ED.* ix, 267. (M., 1810.)

6292. ORATORY, Modern and Ancient.—The short, the nervous, the unanswerable speech of Carnot, in 1803, on the proposition to declare Bonaparte consul for life,—this creed of republicanism should be well translated, and placed in the hands and heart of every friend to the rights of self-government.—*TO ABRAHAM SMALL*. vi, 347. (M., 1814.)

6293. — — — The finest thing, in my opinion, which the English language has produced, is the defence of Eugene Aram, spoken by himself at the bar of the York assizes, in 1759.—*TO ABRAHAM SMALL*. vi, 347. (M., 1814.)

6294. — — — I consider the speeches of Aram and Carnot, and that of Logan, as worthily standing in a line with those of Scipio and Hannibal in Livy, and of Cato and Cæsar in Sallust.—*TO ABRAHAM SMALL*. vi, 347. (M., 1814.)

6295. ORATORY, Scathing.—Lord Chatham's reply to Horace Walpole, on the Seamen's bill, in the House of Commons, in 1740, is one of the severest which history has recorded.—*TO ABRAHAM SMALL*. vi, 346. (M., 1814.)

6296. ORDER, Liberty and.—Possessing ourselves the combined blessing of liberty and order, we wish the same to other countries.—*TO M. CORAY*. vii, 318. (M., 1823.)

6297. ORDER, Maintenance of.—The life of the citizen is never to be endangered, but as the last melancholy effort for the maintenance of order and obedience to the laws.*—*TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES*. v, 414. *FORD ED.* ix, 238. (W., 1809.)

6298. ORDER, Preservation of.—Every man being at his ease, feels an interest in the preservation of order, and comes forth to preserve it at the first call of the magistrate.—*TO M. PICTET*. iv, 463. (W., 1803.)

6299. ORDERS IN COUNCIL, Repeal of.—The British ministry has been driven from its Algerine system, not by any remaining morality in the people, but by their unsteadiness under severe trial. But whencesoever it comes, I rejoice in it as the triumph of our forbearing and yet persevering system. It will lighten your anxieties, take from cabal its most fertile ground of war, will give us peace during your time, and by the complete extinguishment of our public debt, open upon us the noblest application of revenue that has ever been exhibited by any nation.—*TO PRESIDENT MADISON*. v, 443. (M., April 1809.) See *BERLIN DECREES* and *EMBARGO*.

— **OREGON.**—See *LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION*.

6300. ORLEANS (Duke of), Unprincipled.—The Duke d'Orleans is as unprincipled as his followers; sunk in debaucheries of the lowest kind, and incapable of quitting them for business; not a fool, yet not head enough to conduct anything.—*TO JOHN JAY*. iii, 95. (P., 1789.)

* From a letter in regard to the employment of the militia.—*EDITOR*.

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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VOLUME ONE

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against
every form of tyranny over the mind of man."—*Thomas Jefferson*

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1550 Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert. . . . The magic of PROPERTY turns sand to gold.

ARTHUR YOUNG, journal entries for July 30 and November 7, 1787, *Travels* . . . , 2d ed., vol. 1, pp. 51, 88 (1794, reprinted 1970).

Public affairs

1551 My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is, never to turn aside in public affairs through views of private interest; but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the consequences with Providence.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, letter to Mrs. Jane Mecom, December 30, 1770.—*The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Jared Sparks, vol. 7, p. 497 (1838).

1552 An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character, and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy.

THUCYDIDES, "Funeral Speech of Pericles," book 2, section 40.—*Thucydides Translated into English*, 2d ed., trans. Benjamin Jowett, vol. 1, pp. 129–30 (1900).

Public opinion

1553 In the United States today, we have more than our share of the nattering nabobs of negativism. They have formed their own 4-H Club—the "hopeless, hysterical hyponchondriacs of history."

Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW, address to the California Republican state convention, San Diego, California, September 11, 1970.—*Congressional Record*, September 16, 1970, vol. 116, p. 32017.

William Safire, then a speechwriter for President Nixon, was the author of "nattering nabobs of negativism," according to *The Washingtonian*, March 1985, p. 11, and *The Washington Post*, August 27, 1987, p. C4.

1554 Nothing is more dangerous in wartime than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup Poll, always feeling one's pulse and taking one's temperature. I see that a speaker at the week-end said that this was a time when leaders should keep their ears to the ground. All I can say is that the British nation will find it very hard to look up to leaders who are detected in that somewhat ungainly posture.

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech, House of Commons, September 30, 1941.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897–1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6495 (1974).

1555 I had grown tired of standing in the lean and lonely front line facing the greatest enemy that ever confronted man—public opinion.

CLARENCE DARROW, *The Story of My Life*, p. 232 (1932).

Public service

always at work, to see the public interest steadily, to resist its subordination no matter what the political hazards.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, governor of Illinois, speech before the Colorado Volunteers-for-Stevenson dinner, Denver, Colorado, September 5, 1952.—*Speeches of Adlai Stevenson*, p. 23 (1952).

1568 Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbours, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognised; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition.

THUCYDIDES, "Funeral Speech of Pericles," *Thucydides*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, 2d ed., rev., vol. 1, book 2, section 37, pp. 127-28 (1900).

1569 Shortly after I was elected, in Nineteen Hundred and Forty-eight, I made up my mind that I would not seek another term. I have seen a great many men in public life, and one of their besetting sins is to stay in office too long. Nowadays, in such organizations as the Army and the civil service and industry, there is compulsory retirement, but no such regulations prevail in politics. I decided that I would not be guilty of this common failing, and that I should make way for younger men—and the Constitutional Amendment Number twenty-two, the two-term amendment, does not apply to me. The people responsible for the 22nd amendment thought I was not worth considering and that I'd be beaten in 1948—so I was exempted.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, speech to the Press and Union League Club, San Francisco, California, October 25, 1956.—Transcript, p. 30. The last sentence was added in longhand to the typewritten speech.

Truman had made similar remarks at a political rally in John Hancock Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, September 29, 1956, as reported by *The Boston Sunday Globe*, September 30, 1956, p. 38: "There is an old girl called Anno Domini that catches up with us and she has been trying to catch up with me. It just seems to me to make sense to move on and make way for younger men. It seems to me to make sense to move out of the White House voluntarily without waiting to be carried out."

1570 There is no cause half so sacred as the cause of a people. There is no idea so uplifting as the idea of the service of humanity.

WOODROW WILSON, governor of New Jersey, presidential campaign address, Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 31, 1912.—*The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 25, p. 493 (1978).

Wilson spoke to an audience estimated at between 12,000 and 16,000 persons. For two hours before he arrived, the crowd listened to various other speakers. Upon his arrival there was a "tumultuous ovation which lasted for more than an hour. Wilson was so moved that he forgot his prepared speech" (p. 493, footnote).

1571 The office should seek the man, not man the office.

Attributed to SILAS WRIGHT.—Edward Parsons Day, *Day's Collacon*, p. 684 (1884). Unverified.

DICTIONARY
OF
QUOTATIONS
(Classical)

By THOMAS BENFIELD HARBOTTLE
11

With Author and Subject Indexes

FREDERICK UNGAR PUBLISHING CO.
NEW YORK

“'Αλλ' οὐ γάρ πως ἔστιν ἀϋπνους ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ
ἀνθρώπους, ἐπὶ γάρ τοι ἐκάστῳ μοῖραν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι θνητοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.”

HOMER. *Odyssey*, XIX., 591.

“Yet not for ever void of sleep remains
Man: for the gods by rule of life dispense
Sleep on all mortals whom the earth maintains.”—(Worsley.)

“'Αλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι στέφανος οὐδ' εὐανδρία,
εἰ μὴ τι καὶ τολμῶσι κινδύνου μέτα·
οἱ γὰρ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐανδρίαν.”

EURIPIDES. *Fragment* 875.

“Of courage none makes proof, none gains the crown,
Save him who peril dares; for courage is
The child of enterprise.”

“'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε,
ἦμενοι αὖθι ἐκαστοὶ ἀκήριοι, ἀκλεῆς αὐτως.”

HOMER. *Iliad*, VII., 99.

“To dust and water turn,
All ye who here inglorious, heartless sit!”—(Lord Derby.)

“'Αλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται,
πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα.”

HESIOD. *Works and Days*, 100.

“Ten thousand other woes 'mongst mortals roam;
The earth is full of evils, and the sea.”

“(Τηλέμαχ'), ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσεις,
ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται.”

HOMER. *Odyssey*, III., 26.

“Telemachus, thine own mind will conceive
Somewhat, and other will a god suggest.”—(Worsley.)

“'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν προβέβηκεν, ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι
ἄργα· τὰ δ' ἐξοπίσω, τῶν φυλακὴ μελέτω.”

THEOGNIS. *Sententiae*, 583.

“Those things are past, undone they cannot be,
But what's to come watch thou with anxious care.”

“'Αλλήλοις ὁμιλεῖν ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ'
ἐχθροὺς, φίλους ἐργάσασθαι.”

PYTHAGORAS. (*Diogenes Laertius*, VIII., 1, 19, 23.)

✓ “We ought so to behave to one another as to avoid making enemies of our
friends, and at the same time to make friends of our enemies.”

“'Αλλος ἐγώ.” ZENO. (*Diogenes Laertius*, VII., 1, 19, 23.)

“A second self.”—(Zeno's definition of a friend.)

“'Αλλοτε μητρυνὴ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.”

HESIOD. *Works and Days*, 825.

“The day is now our mother, now our stepmother.”

the Great quotations

compiled by George Seldes

with an introduction by J. Donald Adams

A CAESAR-STUART BOOK : LYLE STUART, NEW YORK

and to live as well as I can, and, when I die, to die as well as I can.

Quoted by Gollancz, From Darkness to Light.

I exhort you also to take part in the great combat, which is the combat of life, and greater than every other earthly conflict.

Ibid.

For no man is voluntarily bad; but the bad becomes bad by reason of an ill disposition of the body and bad education, things which are hateful to every man and happen to him against his will.

Ibid.

Every king springs from a race of slaves, and every slave had kings among his ancestors.

Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the State, and, therefore, in a democracy only will the freeman of nature deign to dwell.

(The Republic Book II, sec. 319)

All men are by nature equal, made, all, of the same earth by the same Creator, and however we deceive ourselves, as dear to God is the poor peasant as the mighty prince.

Titus Maccius Plautus

(254?-184 B.C.)

Roman comic dramatist

The gods play games with men as balls.*

Captivi.

George Plekhanov

(1857-1918)

*Russian revolutionist,
political philosopher*

A great man is great not because his personal qualities give individual features to great historical events, but because he pos-

* See Einstein, letter to Max Born.

sesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the great social needs of his time, needs which arose as a result of general and particular causes.

The Role of the Individual in History.

It has long been observed that great talents appear everywhere, whenever the social conditions favorable to their development exist. This means that every man of talent who actually appears, every man of talent who becomes a social force, is the product of social relations. Since this is the case, it is clear why talented people can, as we have said, change only individual features of events, but not their general trends; they are themselves the products of this trend; were it not for that trend they would never have crossed the threshold that divides the potential from the real.

Ibid.

Pliny the Elder

(23-79)

Roman naturalist

It is ridiculous to suppose that the great head of things, whatever it be, pays any regard to human affairs.

Natural History.

The world, and whatever that be which we call the heavens, by the vault of which all things are enclosed, we must conceive to be a deity, to be eternal, without bounds, neither created nor subject at any time to destruction. To inquire what is beyond it is no concern of man; nor can the human mind form any conjecture concerning it.

Ibid.

Pliny the Younger

(62-113)

Latin author

No one has deceived the whole world, nor has the whole world ever deceived any one.

Panegyricus, lxii.

There is something servile in the habit of seeking after a law which we may obey . . . A successful life knows no law.

Excursions, Poems and Familiar Letters.

As for conforming outwardly, and living your own life inwardly, I do not think much of that.

Ibid. To Harrison Blake, August 9, 1850.

The law will never make men free; it is men who have got to make the law free. They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it. *Slavery in Massachusetts, 1854.*

I hear many condemn these men because they were so few. When were the good and the brave ever in a majority?

A Plea for Captain John Brown, 1859.

So we defend ourselves and our hen-roosts, and maintain slavery. *Ibid.*

Is it not possible that an individual may be right and a government wrong? Are laws to be enforced simply because they are made? or declared by any number of men to be good, if they are *not* good? *Ibid.*

A man is rich in proportion to the number of things he can afford to let alone.

Where I Live.

Ever insurgent let me be,

Make me more daring than devout;
From sleek contentment keep me free,
And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

Thucydides

(471?-401? B.C.)

Athenian historian

I shall be content if those shall pronounce my History useful who desire to give a

view of events as they did really happen, and as they are very likely, in accordance with human nature, to repeat themselves at some future time—if not exactly the same, yet very similar. *Historia, bk. 1.*

War is a matter not so much of arms as of expenditure, through which arms may be made of service. *Ibid.*

To admit poverty is no disgrace to a man, but to make no effort to escape it is indeed disgraceful. *Ibid., bk. 2.*

Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy.

Ibid., Pericles' Ideal.

The secret of Happiness is Freedom, and the secret of Freedom, Courage.

Funeral Speech for Pericles.

War is a bad thing: but to submit to the dictation of other states is worse . . . Freedom, if we hold fast to it, will ultimately restore our losses, but submission will mean permanent loss of all that we value . . . To you who call yourselves men of peace, I say: You are not safe unless you have men of action at your side. *Quoted in "Time."*

Samuel J. Tilden

(1814-1886)

American statesman, lawyer

The capitalist class has banded together all over the world and organized the *modern dynasty of associated wealth*, which maintains an unquestioned ascendancy over most of the civilized portions of our race.

John Bigelow, Life of Samuel J. Tilden.

9 July 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT

FROM: JAG

SUBJ: MORE QUOTES FOR ACROPOLIS

- 1) "The basis of a democratic state is liberty."
--Plato, Dialogues, Parmenides, VI, 2.
- 2) "Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the State...only in a democracy will the freeman of nature deign to dwell."
--Plato, The Republic, Book ii, sec. 319.
- 3) "Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy."
--Thucydides, Historia, Pericles' Ideal.

inhabitants thereof." / ~~And it was General Washington who said:~~
~~"The destiny of the Republican form of government [is] staked on~~
~~the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."~~ //

~~Later, this belief stirred another Nation whose leaders bore~~
~~names like Paine and Adams and Madison and Monroe.~~ / ~~They, too,~~
 knew, as Jefferson put it, that "Greece [was] the first of
 civilized nations, present[ing] examples of what man should be."

The United States was founded on the rights of the
 individual -- rights which form the essence of Greece. And in
 recent years, these rights have become -- more than ever -- also
 the message of Greece -- for they have been carried to every
 corner of the earth. //

Some Nations occupy the globe. Greece has changed the
 globe. Its ancient ideals have moved mountains -- or in East
 Berlin -- even moved a wall. Its values have enhanced human
 rights and opposed tyranny of any ideology. /

In Eastern Europe and the Middle East / in Africa and
 Central America / the tide begun at the Acropolis has cleansed
 and made men free. / It is liberty's tide. An economic,
political, intellectual and spiritual tide. It is the tide Plato
 praised when he said, "Freedom in a democracy is the glory of the
 State." //

Earlier today in the Greek Parliament, I presented a copy of
 the American Declaration of Independence. It speaks of human
 beings who are created equal, and how you can't kill an idea --
 nor destroy the human will. //

Those principles reflect the glory that is Greece -- and the greatness of her people. To them / to you / I offer heartfelt gratitude. God bless your wonderful country, and the United States of America.

#

(Smith/Grossman)
July 10, 1991
Draft One
BIRTHDAY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEMOCRACY SPEECH
ATHENS, GREECE
FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1991

Prime Minister Mitsotakis, my Greek and American friends.
Barbara and I are delighted to be here; today, we not only wish
to celebrate the birth of democracy, some 2,500 years ago here in
Athens. We also celebrate its progeny, for my country is among
them. //

It is a form whose genius rests upon the view that men are
endowed not by government but by their Creator with certain
unalienable rights. //

These rights were brilliantly expressed in your
constitution. It states, "The sovereignty of the people is the
foundation of the government." / It pledges that, "Respect and
protection of the value of the human being constitutes the
primary obligation of the State."

These words echo back those of the great Greek historian
Thucydides, when he wrote, "Our constitution does not copy the
laws of our neighbors. Rather, we are a pattern for others to
follow. Our government favors the many instead of the few; this
is why it is called a democracy."/

The first shot of the American Revolution was fired from the
canons of Greek ^{philosophy} ~~democracy~~. Recall these words on America's
Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the

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

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, Haghia 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 semi-domes, its six slender minarets and the lovely gray color of the stone set off by the gilded 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 overlooking both the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus

Constantinople, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, between 1453 and 1465. 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.

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 (Bogazici University), 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.

ROBERT COLLEGE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM: DAN JAHN, RESEARCH INTERN 
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REFERENCES TO NEW WORLD ORDER

Enclosed you will find research I have done on President Bush's use of the phrase "new world order." I have divided this document into three sections. The first section lists words and phrases commonly used by the President in reference to a new world order. The second section consists of extensive quotes by the President in which the phrase "new world order" is referred to and expanded upon. The third section is a summary of passing references using the phrase "new world order".

If you have any questions or further suggestions for research projects, please let us know.

- PRESIDENTIAL REFERENCES TO NEW WORLD ORDER -
current to MAY 17, 1991

Words and Phrases Commonly Used By The President in Reference to
A New World Order

Peace

- opportunity for peace
- new era of peace
- enduring peace
- United Nations; a peacekeeping force
- quest for peace

Justice

- the pursuit of justice
- justice for all

Strong/Weak

- strong respect and protect the weak

Rights

- rights of the individual
- human rights

Freedom

- commonwealth of freedom
- shared responsibility for freedom

Partnership of nations

- consultation
- cooperation
- collective action
- united world response

Rule

- rule of law
- no rule by force
- no rule of the jungle

Fair Play

Security

Soviet and American Forces Working Together

- nations prosper and live together

Elimination

- of war
- of violence

Democratic Values

New Era

- post cold war
- no threat of terror
- reduced and controlled arsenals

August 30, 1990 News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that there's a split in your administration-some who want to expand the goals to include the eventual ouster of Saddam. And also, there are many, many suggestions for a Middle East conference that would include in what you would call the post-postwar shape of the world, the perennial problems of the Middle East. What do you think on both-

The President. Well, I think on the second part of the question that we ought to get on with the business at hand, the shorter run business, which is the solution to this question: the making right the situation in Kuwait, meaning the pulling out of forces, obviously, and the restoration of the rulers. **As I look at the countries that are chipping in here now**, I think we do have a chance at a new world order, and I'd like to think that out of this dreary performance by Saddam Hussein there could be now an opportunity for peace all through the Middle East.

September 11, 1990 Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." Clearly, **no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. A new partnership of nations has begun.**

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, **our fifth objective - a new world order - can emerge: a new era-freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.** An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling

to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak. This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great, and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle.

...Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians, and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun.

September 24, 1991 Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a White House briefing for Representatives of the Arab-American Community

Our objectives remain clear: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition; Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored; the security and stability of the Persian Gulf assured; and American citizens abroad must be protected. And finally, a fifth objective can emerge from these; a new world order in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live together.

...This thing is so complex over there that it's pretty hard to give you a straight answer. Out of this, though, there could well be a new world order. And part of that must be the peaceful resolution of the division of Lebanon.

October 1, 1990 Address Before the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons and the terrible despots who would use them are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the Dark Ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War: a partnership based on consultation, cooperation, and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations; a partnership united

by principle and the rule of law and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment; a partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace, and reduce arms...This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

November 17, 1990 Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia

Every new nation that embraces these common values, every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom, advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within our reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent.

...From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity to draw upon the great and growing strength of the commonwealth of freedom and forge for all nations a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

November 19, 1990 Exchange with Reporters in Paris, France

And President Gorbachev is correct. The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States could work together not only to achieve an arms control agreement but to start looking into the future with harmony and in cooperation is very, very promising for the new world order, for a Europe whole and free, and for peace in the world. So, somehow that's been lost today, given the understandable concerns about the Persian Gulf.

November 19, 1990 Remarks and an Exchange with Reporters Following a Discussion With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Paris, France

Q. I'd like to know if you see any irony in coming together to sign this treaty that reduces conventional arms and celebrates peace in Europe while you push this tough hard line against Saddam Hussein.

The President. I don't see any irony in it whatsoever. What I see is the fact that we're able to enter into a CFE

[conventional armed forces in Europe] agreement with full cooperation and support of the Soviet Union who, heretofore, has been an enormous adversary of the West. And now this reduces to practically nil the tensions that have existed. It is the farthest reaching arms control agreement in history; and it signals the new world order that is emerging, and to some degree has emerged, and that is the best hope for rolling back the brutality and the aggression of Saddam Hussein, who has nothing to do with the CFE agreement.

So, what it does is show a solidification of forces that in recent history have been on opposite sides of some of these questions. So, if there's any message coming out of CFE for Saddam Hussein, it ought to be: Look what you're up against here. Here are people that since World War II have tension and, at times, conflict; and now they're together as they take a gigantic step forward in arms control. And they're together as they stand in the United Nations against your brutal, naked aggression. So, if there's any connection, that's the message that I'd like to see come out of all of this.

November 23, 1990 Remarks and a Question and Answer Session with Reporters Following a Discussion with President Muhammed Hosni Mubarek in Cairo, Egypt

President Mubarak. We are proud of this partnership which has helped us to advance the cause of peace and the fraternity among all nations, to stand for eradication of injustice, and the elimination of war and violence, and to contribute to the construction of a new world order-a world in which all nations, big or small, have a right to live in peace and dignity.

The President. You heard President Mubarak refer to that. This, the integration of Arab countries into a CSCE process, wasn't discussed but implicit in our optimistic assessment that once Iraq is out of the way-once the Iraq-Kuwait struggle is out of the way-we can have a new world order. And that new world order certainly offers a much better chance for peace for the Middle East.

Q. You said, President Bush, that a new world order would emerge once the Gulf crisis has been solved. How do you envisage this new world order?

The President. But as it relates to the Middle East, I think we've got all kinds of potentials for peace, given the fact that we've all come together almost unanimously, standing up against this brutal dictator. And out of that and out of the contexts that go with that, I hope we can be catalytic in solving other problems, and I think that will lead to a new world order that has much better chance for peace for our children and our grandchildren.

December 17, 1990 Remarks and a Question and Answer Session with Reporters

We've got an opportunity for a new world order, but that opportunity will be lost if an aggressor gets one single concession.

January 9, 1991 The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis

I listened to that 'Aziz meeting, and all he tried to do is obfuscate, to confuse, to make everybody think this had to do with the West Bank, for example. And it doesn't. It has to do with the aggression against Kuwait-the invasion of Kuwait, the brutalizing of the people in Kuwait. And it has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this newly-activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective. That is the only way the new world order will be enhanced.

...Q. So, the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his-

The President. And it has since August 2nd-exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of a lot of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So it won't.

January 16, 1991 Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Gulf

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order - a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful-and we will be-we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

January 23, 1991 Remarks to the Reserve Officer's Association

From the day Saddam's forces first crossed into Kuwait, it was clear that this aggression required a swift response from our nation and the world community. What was, and is, at stake is not simply our energy or economic security and the

stability of a vital region, but the prospects for peace in the post-cold war era-the promise of a new world order based upon the rule of law.

January 28, 1991 Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters

No one wanted a war less than I did. No one is more determined to seize from battle the real peace that can offer hope, that can create a new world order.

January 29, 1991 Address to the Congress on the State of the Union

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where **diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind-peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law.** Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future.

...The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where **brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.**

January 30, 1991 Remarks at the 50th Anniversary Observance of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Speech

As we look around the world at the events of the past year, we see how these very same beliefs are bringing about the emergence of a new world order, **one based on respect for the individual and for the rule of law - a new world order** that can lead to the lasting peace we all seek, where children will never have to repeat Quang's ordeal. And that's what's at stake-a new chapter of human history.

February 6, 1991 Remarks at a Meeting of the Economic Club of New York

Q. Mr. President, you have talked several times about basing the future on a new world order. Can you give us a definition of a new world order? And if it depends on the collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, how do events in the Soviet Union affect this concept?

The President. Well, it doesn't depend entirely on it, but it would be greatly **enhanced by a Soviet Union** that goes down the line with its commitment to market reform, to private ownership of land, to a free economic system, to a system that resists and does not use force to assure order amongst the

republics, that goes farther down the road with elections and all the openness that I give President Gorbachev credit for. And as well as the openness in terms of glasnost and the reforms in terms of perestroika-we're going to continue to support those concepts. But it was this, it was the farsighted vision of Mr. Gorbachev that enabled us to work together in the United Nations.

Now, my vision of a new world order foresees a **United Nations with a revitalized peacekeeping function**. I think most that follow the United Nations see the economic and social side of the United Nations as having performed well since it was founded. Most people that follow it find that the peacekeeping function for the most part has not been effective. And one of the reasons it isn't is because of the veto in the hands of the five permanent members of the Security Council-one of them being the Soviet Union.

When I was Ambassador 20 years ago in the U.N., we hardly ever voted with the Soviet Union. Now, we're with them on many, many things. So, the new world order I think foresees a revitalized peacekeeping function of the United Nations. But I cannot and I will not predict a Soviet Union going back, turning its back on reform-perestroika-turning its back on glasnost-openness. I don't believe, no matter what the ferment in the Soviet Union today, that they're ever going to go back to that. And I don't think anyone there wants to go back to that.

And so it would envision, though, much more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. And on matters of the Gulf, in international matters, not bilateral, it envisions a greatly enhanced peacekeeping function of the United Nations itself.

One of the reasons we have so much support for this is that we went to the United Nations 12 times. There are 12 resolutions that speak to the Gulf, and that has mobilized world opinion. And so when we are successful in fulfilling all 12 of those resolutions, I think there's going to be new credibility for the United States. But we should have and should strive to have Soviet cooperation all along the way. And that's why I'm not going to back off on my efforts to try to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Then we've left China out of the equation, and we ought not to do that. They've been through a difficult time. I took on some shots for trying to keep relations from China. I was offended as anybody else was by the human rights abuses at Tiananmen Square and spoke out on it. But I think it is in the interest of the United States to have continued relations with China. And I think it is vital to this new world order that that veto hold-member of the Security Council go along and be with us on these matters of trying to bring peace to troubled corners of the world.

February 25, 1991 Remarks on the Observance of National Black History Month

This was a war thrust upon us, not a war that we sought. But naked aggression, such as we have seen, must be resisted if it is not to become a pattern. Our success in the Gulf will bring with it not just a new opportunity for peace and stability in a critical part of the world but a chance to build a new world order based upon the principles of collective security and the rule of law.

March 2, 1991 Radio Address to Members of the United States Armed Forces Stationed in the Persian Gulf

The first test of the new world order has been passed.

March 6, 1991 Address before a Joint Session of Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, these hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided—a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict, and cold war.

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a world order in which "the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong..." A world where the United Nations—freed from cold war stalemate—is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. The Gulf War put this new world to its first test. And my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles—for the sake of the Kuwaiti people—we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador al-Sabah, tonight, Kuwait is free. And we're very happy about that.

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." **Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace.** But enduring peace must be our mission.

March 8, 1991 Interview With Middle Eastern Journalists
New World Order

Q. Mr. President, the Gulf war is the first of its kind to take place in the context of the new world order. How did the new world order influence the way the world dealt with this crisis? And what is the main lesson learned from the Gulf War?

The President. The new world order said that a lot of countries-disparate backgrounds, with differences-can come together, standing for a common principle, and that principle is: You don't take over another country by force. So, the new world order, to the degree it's emerged, so far, has been enhanced by this single concept that we're going to unite, no matter what other differences we may have had, what the bilateral problems may have been, and we're going to **stand up against aggression**.

It was enhanced by a more viable United Nations, a United Nations where the big powers didn't automatically go against each other. **In the cold war days**, we'd say this is black and the Soviets would say, hey, that's white. And you'd have a veto, and nothing would happen. And the peacekeeping dreams of the founders of the U.N. were dashed.

So, part of this new world order has been moved forward by a United Nations that functioned. We might have still been able to stand up and come to the assistance of Kuwait-the United States. I might have said to hell with them, it's right and wrong, it's good and evil, he's evil, our cause is right; and without the United Nations, sent a considerable force to help. But it was an enhanced-it is far better to have this collective action where the world-not just the Security Council but the whole General Assembly stood up and condemned it.

April 13, 1991 Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base War College in
Montgomery, Alabama

Here at Air University it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. And that's why I wanted to speak to you today about the new world taking shape around us, about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. For more than four decades we've lived in a world divided, East from West; a world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the cold war. Two systems, two superpowers, separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility.

For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map as a separate entity. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent, divided a world in

two, has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. And the sections that remain standing are but museum pieces. The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper-its demise reported in a story reported on page A16 of the Washington Post.

In the coming weeks I'll be talking in some detail about the possibility of a new world order emerging after the cold war. And in recent weeks I've been focusing not only on the Gulf but on free trade agreement, the Uruguay round table negotiations, and the essentiality of obtaining from the United States Congress a renewal of Fast Track authority to achieve our goals. But today I want to discuss another aspect of that order-our relations with Europe and the Soviet Union.

Twice this century, a dream born on the battlefields of Europe died after the shooting stopped. **The dream of a world in which major powers worked together to ensure peace; to settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation.** Today a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny. At long last, Europe is moving forward, moving toward a new world of hope.

At the same time, we and our European allies have moved beyond containment to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer driven by cold war tensions and animosities. You see, as the cold war drew to an end we saw the possibilities of a new order in which nations worked together to promote peace and prosperity. I'm not talking here of a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations or some supranational structure or institution. The new world order does not mean surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests. It really describes a responsibility imposed by our successes. It refers to new ways of working with other nations to deter aggression and to achieve stability, to achieve prosperity and, above all, to achieve peace.

It springs from hopes for a world based on a shared commitment among nations large and small to a set of principles that undergird our relations: **peaceful settlements of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples.**

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict- the aggression against Kuwait-did not serve as a proxy for superpower confrontation. For the first time, the United Nations Security Council, free from the clash of cold war ideologies, functioned as its designers intended- a force for conflict resolution in collective security.

In the Gulf, nations from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world joined together to stop aggression, and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in the world. By joining forces to defend one small nation, we showed that we can work together against aggressors in defense of principle.

We also recognized that the cold war's end didn't deliver

us into and era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is, in part, a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

...We must build on the successes of desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order, to use force wisely and extend the hand of compassion wherever we can. Today we welcome Europe's willingness to shoulder a large share of this responsibility. This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European allies is most evident and critical in Europe's eastern half.

...Let there be no misunderstanding, the path ahead for the Soviet Union will be difficult, and, at times, extraordinarily painful. History weighs heavily on all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.--liberation from 70 years of communism, from 1,000 years of autocracy. It's going to be slow. there will be setbacks. But this process of reform, this transformation from within, must proceed. If external cooperation and our progress toward true international peace is to endure, it must succeed. Only when this transformation is complete will we be able to take full measure of the opportunities presented by this new and evolving world order.

The new world order really is a tool for addressing a new world of possibilities. This order gains its mission and shape not just from shared interests but shared ideals. And the ideals that have spawned new freedoms throughout the world have received their boldest and clearest expression in our great country, the United States.

May 14, 1991 Proclamation 6292--Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1991

Knowing that any peace purchased by the surrender of principle can be neither genuine nor enduring, we pray for wisdom and resolve in our efforts to avert future conflicts and to establish a new world order based on respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Passing references

September

- 18 Rem. at a Fund Raising dinner for gubernatorial candidate in Los Angeles, CA
(Final objective: new world order-free from threat of terror, strong in pursuit of justice, secure in the quest for peace) see Sept. 11
- 19 Rem. at a Fundraising Dinner for Gubernatorial Candidate Pete Wilson in Los Angeles, CA
(A new world order is something which we have sought

for generations) see Sept. 11

-26 **Rem. at Fund Raising lunch-George Vionovich, Ohio Gov. candidate**
(New world order--final objective of the Gulf War)

-30 **Rem. U.N. World Summit for Children**
(A new world order as a partnership of nations free from the threat of terror, strong in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace.)
See September 11 speech

November

-22 **Rem. U.S. Army Troops, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia**
(A new world order is a vision of a safer and better world for our kids. The economic destiny of the world must not be threatened by a vicious dictator.)
See November 17 speech

December

-3 **Rem. Joint Session-Congress, Brazil**
(Every nation that joins the commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order.)

-17 **Rem. A Q. and A. Session, Reporters**
(We have the promise of a new world order, with the United Nations as a peace keeping function.)

January

-9 **Letter to College Students, Persian Gulf Crisis**
(Lawlessness threatens the emerging new world order --rewarding aggression would end the promise of a new world order.)

-18 **President's News Conference, Persian Gulf Conflict**
(The end of the Gulf War will facilitate a new world order, which will have a conciliatory component to it, inviting countries to become part of the order. Even countries that have been opposed to the U.S. policies can join in this new world order.)

February

-1 **Rem. to Community Members; Seymour, Johnson, Base Cherry Point, Ft. Stewart (Three Speeches)**
(We are seeking to create a new world order.)

-27 **Rem. American Society of Association Executives**
(Allied troops in the Gulf War faced a defining in the new world order.)

March

- 1 **Press Conference-Persian Gulf Conflict**
(Use of U.S. Military force will not always be a part of the new world order.)
- 4 **Rem. Westinghouse Science Talent Search Banquet**
(Creativity, knowledge, education, and science are all important to a new world order, a new golden age.)
- 7 **White House Statement on Mass Destruction Weapons**
(There is no place for weapons of mass destruction in the new world order.)
- 7 **Rem. Medal of Freedom, Margaret Thatcher**
(The United Kingdom, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher became a leader in the new world order.)
- 18 **Rem. Elie Wiesel Foundation**
(Dr. Elie Wiesel of the Elie Wiesel Foundation endorses the concept of a new world order.)
- 20 **Rem. Welcoming Lech Walesa**
(The revolution in Poland led by President Lech Walesa helped shape a new world order.)
- 20 **Declaration of Relations Between the United States of America and the Republic of Poland**
(A new world order is based on democratic values and the rule of law)
- 25 **Proclamation 6265-Women's History Month**
(Women in the military stationed in the Gulf fought for a new world order.)
- 27 **Rem. State Department Employees**
(State Department employees are actively involved in illuminating a new world order.)

April

- 24 **Rem. Following Discussions-Pres. of Djibouti**
(Djibouti's support of the United States gulf initiative is indicative of a new world order.)

A new kind of Greek tragedy

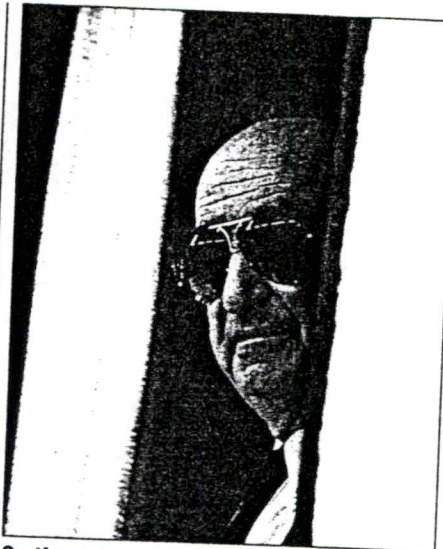
The land that invented democracy can't make it work

Democracy may be thriving almost everywhere else, but it has fallen on hard times in the land of its birth. Some 2,500 years after Pericles, Greece is an ordinary Eastern Mediterranean state of 10 million people more reasonably compared with neighboring Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey than with Athens's Golden Age. The Greeks' inability to govern themselves mocks the legend and is a warning to Romanians, Nicaraguans, Argentines and others that building a better future sometimes requires forgetting the past.

Greece cannot, or will not, and it is caught in a new age of paralysis. Its parliament cannot choose a new figurehead President, let alone face tough budget issues. Washington's recent decision to close two of the four U.S. military bases in Greece was a godsend; no local politician had the authority to negotiate their removal. Greece remains the second-poorest nation in the European Community, edging out only backward Portugal, and saved from catastrophe only by continuing aid from the EC and the United States. In the past two years, one government slithered into a pit of corruption, two national elections produced nothing more than futile coalitions, and now a third parliamentary vote on April 8 is likely to produce only another nonresult.

Placing all the blame on the last leader to hold real power, Socialist Andreas Papandreou, is easy. Charges of corruption and illegal wiretapping against him blackened Greece's image. But something deeper is behind Greece's failure to make democracy work.

Dig deep into why Greeks vote the way they do—for deadlock—and an immovable wall of passion and prejudice appears. Trikala, a relatively prosperous cotton-growing town of 45,000 in the province of Thessaly, mirrors the national mood: It is split between Papandreou's center-left Socialists and Constantine Mitsotakis's conservative New Democracy Party, with the Communists drawing perhaps 10 percent. No one is willing to change his vote, even if doing so would



On the right. Constantine Mitsotakis

mean producing a viable government.

The origins of this polarization lie in Greece's vicious 1947-49 civil war and, to a lesser extent, in a conflict over the monarchy that only flickered out in 1974. The civil war broke out when the Communists, who had led Greek resistance to the Germans during World War II, tried to take over. With strong U.S. support, they were beaten. But the war and the conservatives' subsequent repression of all opponents, not just Communists, created lasting divisions. "The civil war still helps dictate the way people vote," says Eleftherios Simos, chairman of Trikala's Chamber of Commerce. "It is a continuing self-destruction."

Vangelis Papadimitriou, an innkeeper and New Democracy supporter, says Papandreou exploits these passions. "He wants to convince Greeks that today's right will again persecute the left." Trikala folk who support Papandreou regard Mitsotakis's conservatives as fascists, says Labros Katsiambas, editor of the local newspaper. "People won't change their votes. They're fearful of betraying values established in the civil war and before." Adds tax consultant Theodoros Spathis, a Communist, "They'd forgive Papandreou anything just to block the right. There are people who vote for him who hate him."

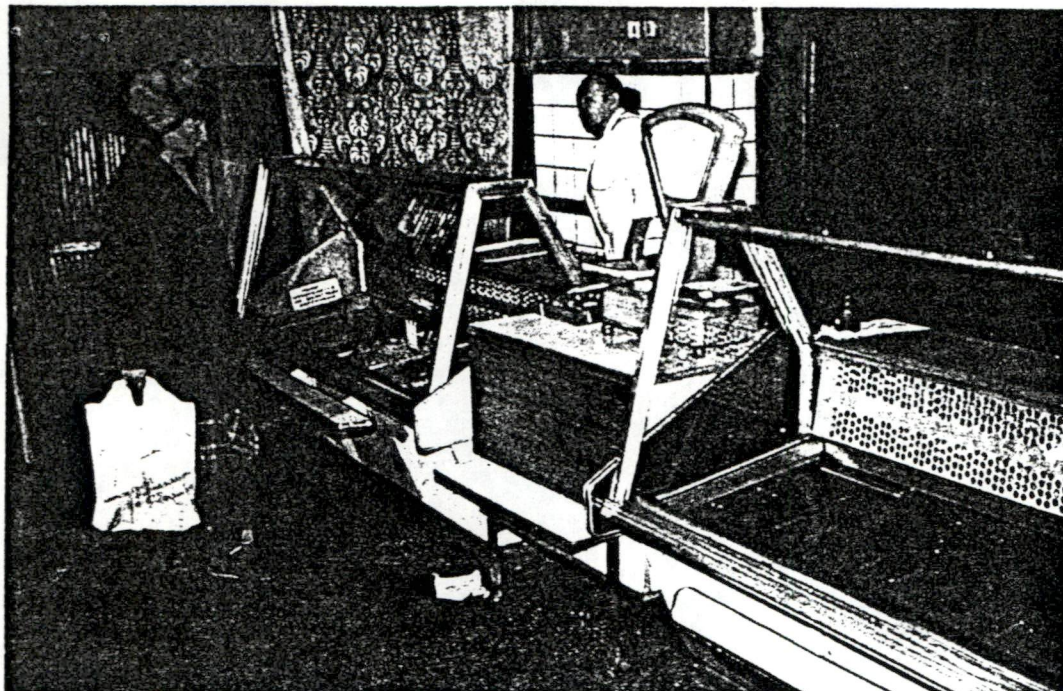
Digging up the past. There is an even older dimension to Papandreou's durability. His anti-Americanism, particularly on the issue of the bases, harkens back to the 400-year Turkish occupation of Greece, argues Mitsotakis supporter Papadimitriou. "We were disgraced by subordination to the Turks; Papandreou says we cannot be subordinated to the U.S."

The chances that Papandreou will stand trial for his alleged misdeeds have dimmed since his Socialists teamed up with New Democracy and the Communists in the latest do-nothing coalition. Absurdly, the ex-Premier and the old foe who beat him, Mitsotakis, recently were saying nice things about each other in closed-door strategy sessions. Less absurdly, there are signs of political compromise between Socialists and conservatives as free-market thinking takes hold across Europe.

There is even talk of putting the country on course with a left-right "government of national salvation," but hardly anyone believes that would be any more decisive than the present benumbed caretaker squads. Must Papandreou and Mitsotakis both step aside? Probably, say Trikala voters. But only a new willingness among Greeks to cast their votes for the future instead of the past can save Greece from itself. ■



On the left. Socialist Papandreou is trying for a comeback



had recently threatened to cut its 1991 contribution to the national budget by \$244 billion, or 83 per cent. And Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene told a news conference last week that her Baltic republic would continue its independent path. Declared Prunskiene: "Lithuania will not take part either in the union budget or in the currency or some other common funds and structures of the Soviet Union."

Gorbachev, meanwhile, has issued a flurry of recent orders designed to aid hungry consumers and contain social unrest. He assigned the KGB a new task: cracking down on theft and black-market profiteering. He installed Boris Pugo, the former head of the KGB in Latvia, as interior minister in charge of the country's regular police forces. He also reaffirmed his own

DUCLOS/SIPA-PONOPRESSE

Leningrad shopper in nearly empty store: billions of dollars' worth of foreign emergency aid

Curtain along its eastern borders, a possibility in which self-preservation would triumph over its commitment to democracy."

To help alleviate Soviet food shortages and show support for the embattled Gorbachev, foreign governments have sent billions of dollars' worth of emergency aid, technical assistance and credits. At a December meeting of the 12-nation European Community at which leaders agreed on a \$2.8-billion package of such aid, British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd declared: "It is not in the interests of Europe that the Soviet Union lapse into anarchy or that it should fall back into the hands of some backward-looking tyrant." Canada has

pledged easier terms for nearly \$1 billion in food credits.

The situation in the Soviet Union, however, remains precarious. Last Thursday, Gorbachev announced a temporary economic accord with rebellious republican leaders. The Soviet president said that agreement had been reached on food supplies for the coming year, and he hinted at progress in resolving disputes with the republics over who controls natural resources and hard-currency export earnings. But it was not clear whether the Kremlin had completely patched up differences with the Russian Federation, the largest republic, led by Gorbachev's archrival, Boris Yeltsin, which

intention to preserve the boundaries of the union. Those hard-line measures have sparked widespread speculation that Gorbachev was about to resort to dictatorial rule, and led to the sudden resignation of foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze last month. Gorbachev's aides say that the Soviet president's tough stance is a tactic intended to marshal conservative support for long-overdue reforms. With growing disorder and frustration within a fraying Soviet Union, however, failure could make dark predictions of a mass exodus increasingly realistic.

ANDREW BILSKI with **MALCOLM GRAY** in Moscow and **BOGDAN TUREK** in Warsaw

A PERILOUS WINTER EXODUS

They came by the thousands, stumbling along mountain paths, tunnelling under fences and swimming across freezing rivers to escape Albania, Eastern Europe's last bastion of orthodox communism. Most of the refugees were ethnic Greeks and their destination was Greece itself, on the far side of snow-covered Mount Tsamandás straddling the border. They fled despite promises by Albanian President Ramiz Alia to democratize his country, Europe's poorest nation. And they created an acute problem for Greece, where the government broadcast an appeal to their fellow ethnics, who make up about 10 per cent of Albania's 3.5 million people, to stay at home.

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis scheduled a Jan. 13 visit to Tirana, the Albanian capital, in an effort to hasten

the liberalization process. But a speed-up seemed unlikely—many Albanians are deeply skeptical about Alia's commitment to installing a measure of democracy. And even after Albanian border guards shot and killed five would-be refugees last month, the exodus continued, swelling to over 2,000 during December. There was a sudden surge over the holidays: Greek border police reported that 3,000 Albanians crossed the border on New Year's Eve alone. Some frontier guards made no attempt to stop them. In fact, some observers said that authorities in Tirana may have deliberately opened the frontier to allow the Greeks to escape. Clearhos Bolomos, 45, who made a 13-hour trek to freedom, said that one guard had let his group through even though he "told us we were traitors, pointed his machine-gun and spat at us."

Meanwhile, the exodus created a major problem in the Greek border zone. In Filiátes (population 5,000), 4,000 refugees crowded the muddy streets in search of food and shelter. Many of them were practically

without clothes, said Mayor Pantelis Koufalias, and many were sleeping in courtyards and on sidewalks, huddling around campfires for warmth.

Albania's 45-year-old Communist regime, once so rigid that it severed relations with the Stalinist Soviet Union in 1961, began minor reforms last year following the collapse of authoritarian governments in other Eastern European nations. Then, Alia undertook to accelerate the reforms after anti-government riots last month. He authorized opposition political parties and scheduled free elections in February. As well, a draft constitution, published in the state-controlled press just after Christmas, would give Albanians the right to enter or leave the country freely. But, for many of them, the changes were plainly too little, too late. Like most dictatorships, Tirana's faces its gravest dangers as it begins to reform.

JOHN BIERMAN with correspondents' reports

ALBANIA

Climbing Out of the Cage

As the communist regime confronts demands for change, ethnic Greeks flee to their motherland—and a less than rousing welcome

Snowcapped in winter and precipitous in many places, the Pindus Mountains, which straddle Greece and Albania, are all but impassable. That has not stopped thousands of desperate Albanians from crossing into Greece since the last week of 1990. In early December, four fleeing Albanians were shot dead near the frontier by soldiers of the Stalinist regime in Tirana. Last week, by contrast, refugees walked into Greece with little to deter them except the cold and the mountains. Instead of opening fire, border guards merely shot curses at the fugitives. By week's end about 5,000 refugees streamed into the northwestern Greek province of Epirus, doubling the population of the border area. Most of the fugitives belonged to Albania's large Greek minority, leaving territory once disputed by the two countries.

But even as Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis extended temporary-resident status to refugees claiming Greek ancestry, he pleaded with ethnic Greeks still in Albania to stay home to prevent a "na-



Exhausted refugees: better than Albania's wasteland of want

tional disaster." As for refugees in Greece, government spokesman Vyron Polydoras said, "We wish that the idea will ripen that they will return to their homeland."

With few volunteers for the trip back to Albania and more refugees expected in the months to come, Mitsotakis scheduled a trip to Tirana. He will be the first Western leader to visit since Albania withdrew into isolation at the end of World War II. Athens is aghast at the prospect of accommodating

a good part of Albania's estimated 400,000 ethnic Greeks, especially when it believes that Tirana is encouraging the flight to wriggle through political difficulties.

In mid-December student demonstrations, belatedly inspired by the upheavals in the rest of the East bloc, forced concessions from the government of President Ramiz Alia, including promises of fair elections and economic reform. According to spokesman Polydoras in Athens, Alia is trying to rid himself of the Greeks before the vote scheduled for February because the ethnic group, which exceeds 10% of the population, is opposed to his rule.

Fearing persecution, ethnic Greeks chose to flee at the first word that border guards would not stand in their way. The countryside the refugees left behind is a wasteland of want. Virtually the only meat rural families saw last year was half a chicken distributed to each household on Nov. 29, the National Day. By contrast, even the icy refugee camps, such as Kalpaki in northern Greece, seem like paradise, providing shelter and plentiful food. Said a high-ranking Greek official: "The question is, Where does one draw the line? We don't want to make them feel too comfortable because we want them to go back." But back to what? —By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.

Reported by Mirka Gondicas/Kalpaki

SOVIET UNION

Good News, Bad Times

Gorbachev seeks an economic truce with his restive republics, hoping to ease the country's tensions

With good news scarcer than sausage in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev made the most of what was available last week. Emerging jubilant from a Kremlin meeting with the Federation Council, a policymaking body that includes leaders of the 15 republics, the President announced that a temporary economic truce had been reached with the republics, finally making it possible to draft a national budget for the coming year. The central government and the republics, Gorbachev said, would also cooperate to overcome a deepening food crisis and set up a transitional administration until a new treaty reorganizing the federal structure of the Soviet Union was approved. "Months were lost in the tug-of-war between the center and the republics," Gorbachev complained. "We are specialists at going to extremes, but I am for common sense."

The embattled President could also claim some success in easing tensions in



Stopping the presses at a Latvian plant

the southwestern republic of Moldavia. Russian and Turkic minorities have tried to set up independent states there in opposition to a republican government that is dominated by the Romanian-speaking majority. In Kishinev, Moldavia's capital, the parliament bowed to an ultimatum from Gorbachev and agreed to reconsider laws promoting rights for ethnic Moldavians; in return, the parliament was assured that lo-

cal secessionists would halt their efforts to splinter the republic.

Gorbachev was clearly pleased to show that his newly enhanced presidential powers can produce results, but tougher tests lie ahead. Crucial economic disagreements must still be resolved with the powerful and populous Russian republic, whose parliament voted at year's end to withhold the lion's share of its contributions to the central government.

Elsewhere, the outlook was far from hopeful. General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, pledged last week that "not a single additional soldier" would be sent to the breakaway Baltic states, but that did not stop tensions from mounting in the region. Interior Ministry special forces seized Latvia's largest printing plant and brought publication of major newspapers in the republic to a virtual halt. Moscow officials said the raid in Riga was to recover Communist Party property, which was allegedly seized illegally by the republican government. In neighboring Lithuania, Interior Ministry troops took control of party headquarters, expelling local police units. Such bully tactics have raised questions about how repressive Gorbachev is prepared to be to hold his crumbling empire together.

—By John Kohan/Moscow

VOLUME 24

Russia to Skimmer

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA
AMERICANA
INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829



GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

SEEGER, Pete (1919–), American folksinger, folklorist, and composer, who was one of the leaders of the folk-music revival in the United States in the 1940's and 1950's. He was born in New York City on May 3, 1919. He left Harvard after two years to learn folk music at its source by traveling through the South and Southwest and in Mexico.

Seeger was a founding member of the Almanac Singers in 1940, and in 1941–1942 he toured with the pioneering American folksinger Woody Guthrie. In 1948, Seeger joined the Weavers, a vocal group that made some of the first folk recordings to become widely popular. From 1957 he was a solo performer, and his reedy baritone voice and five-string banjo were heard on college campuses, at folk-music concerts and festivals, and on radio and television. In later years, his concerts often benefited various ecological causes.

Seeger wrote such successful songs as *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?*, *If I Had a Hammer* (with Lee Hays), and, in collaboration with the Weavers, *Kisses Sweeter Than Wine*. Among his albums of recordings are *Frontier Ballads*, children's songs, work songs, and African freedom songs. His book of ballads and autobiography, *The Incomplete Folksinger*, was published in 1972.

SEEING EYE, the trademark of Seeing Eye, Inc., of Morristown, N. J., for guide dogs trained to lead blind people. Besides Seeing Eye, Inc., several other organizations around the world train guide dogs for the blind.

The main qualities looked for in potential guide dogs are intelligence, docility, tractability, eagerness to please, and a calm, sweet disposition. The breeds most often found with these qualities are German shepherds, Labrador retrievers, and golden retrievers. Other breeds are used to a lesser extent, including smooth-haired collies, Bouviers des Flandres, and boxers. Female dogs are preferred.

Puppies selected for training as guide dogs are socialized by raising them in foster homes rather than in kennels. When the dog is about a year old, it begins extensive training in a school for guide dogs. There it learns the basic obedience commands: "come," "sit," "down," and "stay." It then is trained in a harness to lead its owner rather than to walk in the "heel" position. The harness enables the dog's owner to sense its movements. The dog learns to stop at curbs and stairways, to avoid obstacles (including overhead obstacles), to cross busy streets, to move through crowded stores, and to travel on buses or other means of public transportation. In all these situations the dog is taught to avoid meandering and to take the initiative in avoiding possible hazards rather than merely to obey specific commands.

To learn how to use a guide dog, a blind person typically spends about a month at the guide-dog school learning both how to direct and how to follow the lead of the dog. Most of the training is "on location" on town and city streets and shopping centers and stores.

Dogs were occasionally used as guides for the blind at least as early as the 17th century. The use of a guide harness, which links man and dog much more closely than does a leash, was first proposed by an Austrian clergyman, Johann W. Klein, in *Textbook for Teaching the Blind* (1819).

SEERSUCKER, sēr'suk-ər, a cloth with puckered stripes produced by slack-tension weaving. Every other warp yarn is held under normal tension during the weaving, but the intervening yarns are slack. When the filling yarns are woven into place, the flat yarns pucker, while the yarns under normal tension remain straight. The resulting cloth has a pattern of alternating puckered and flat stripes.

SEFARDIM. See SEPHARDIM.

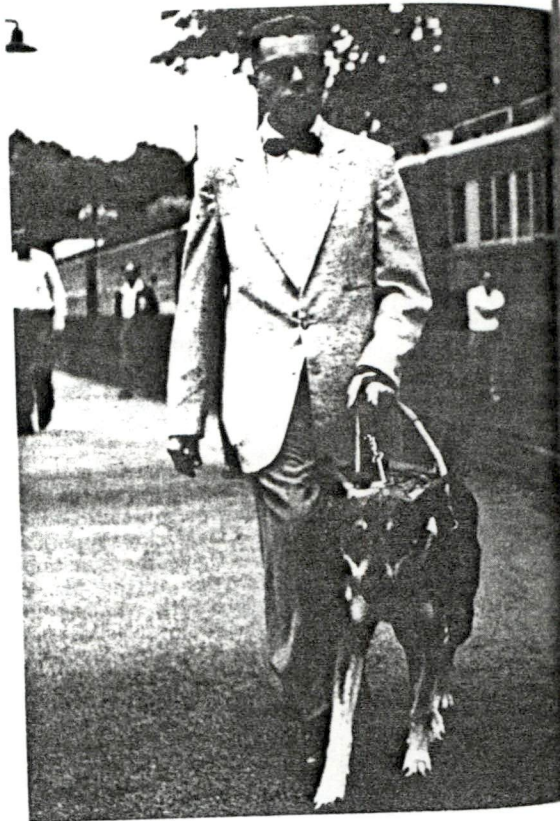
SEFERIS, se-fer'ēs, **George**, pen name of the Greek poet and diplomat Georgios Seferiades (1900–1971). His verse captures the classical character of modern Greece and the tragic experience of its people in the 20th century. Seferis was the first Greek man of letters to win the Nobel Prize for literature (1963). He also served his country in diplomatic posts, including those of ambassador to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Britain, and the United Nations.

Life. Georgios Seferiades was born of Greek parents in Smyrna (now Izmir), Turkey, on Feb. 29, 1900. His childhood in that largely Greek city on the Aegean Sea became a major source of inspiration in his later years, and it was there that he wrote his first poetry at the age of 14. He left Smyrna at the beginning of World War I to continue his education in Athens, graduating in 1917 from the First Classical Gymnasium.

Seferis studied law and literature at the University of Paris from 1918 to 1924. During this period he came to know French poetry intimately.

Well-trained dogs can help blind people find their way safely through hazardous areas such as train stations.

WALTER CHANDON



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WALTER CHANDON



ly, began to compose some of the poems published in his first volume, and earned a degree in law. After a visit to London in 1924-1925 to perfect his English, Seferis returned to Athens to enter the Greek foreign service. He remained a career diplomat until his retirement in 1962, serving in London, Cairo, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ankara, and Beirut, among other foreign posts. His final diplomatic appointments were ambassador to the United Nations (1956-1957) and ambassador to Britain (1957-1962). His work as a diplomat became especially significant during the Cyprus crisis of the 1950's, when he contributed tact and wisdom to the negotiations that resulted in the London Agreement (1959) making Cyprus independent of British rule.

Seferis married Maria Zannou in 1941. After his retirement, he and his wife lived in Athens, where he died on Sept. 20, 1971.

Writings. Seferis' first volume of poems, *Strophe* (1931), demonstrated that an original voice had come into Greek letters, a voice that was entirely contemporary, yet rich in echoes from the long Greek poetic tradition that began with Homer. In the six volumes that followed, *E Sterna* (1932), *Mythistorema* (1935), *Gymnopaedia* (1936), *Tetradio Gymnasmaton* (1940), *Emerologio Katastromatos I* (1940), and *Emerologio Katastromatos II* (1944), the poet perfected a sparse yet subtle style that remained both individual and influential. The younger generation of poets in Greece showed a great debt to Seferis' work.

Seferis also extended the range of his themes in these six volumes, creating out of personal materials a profound and moving portrait of his nation's mood before and during World War II. His two later volumes, *Kichle* (1947) and *Emerologio Katastromatos III* (1955), reveal a mature poet of genius surveying the destiny of his people, and of modern man generally, with unique compassion and understanding.

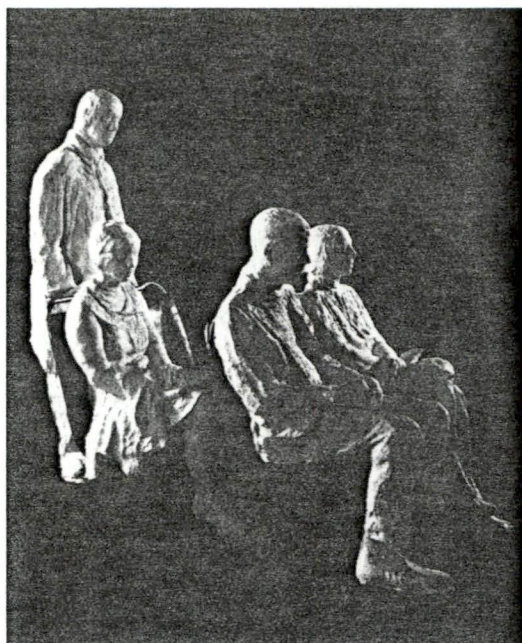
Seferis also earned a reputation as a distinguished critic and translator. He played a crucial role in introducing to his countrymen such major poets as Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, and he commented with insight on the principal writers in his own tradition.

EDMUND KEELEY
Coeditor and Translator of
"George Seferis: Collected Poems"

SEGAL, sē'gəl, **George** (1924-), American realist sculptor, best known for his white plaster figures cast from living models. Segal was born in New York City on Nov. 26, 1924, and studied art at Cooper Union and Pratt Institute. He began his career as a realist painter and had his first one-man show in 1956.

Segal turned to sculpture in 1958 and in 1960 began to wrap models in plaster-soaked bandages. When removed from the models, the white, rough-textured shells were combined in tableaux with objects often salvaged from junkyards. Typical examples are *The Gas Station* (1963) and *The Diner* (1964). The anonymous, ghostly figures in their mundane settings are tinged with sadness and seem to express the loneliness and alienation of modern life. His works were included in the 1962 "New Realists" show at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York and were critically acclaimed.

Segal subsequently made casts of the insides of his molds, resulting in greater detail, and add-



HIRSHHORN MUSEUM AND SCULPTURE GARDEN, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The American sculptor George Segal placed white plaster figures in everyday settings, as in *Bus Riders* (1964).

ed color to his figures, but otherwise strayed little from his original formula. In 1983 he completed *The Holocaust*, a memorial sculpture for San Francisco's Lincoln Park.

SEGESTA, sē-jēs'tə, was an ancient city in northwest Sicily, near the modern town of Calatafimi. Its extensive remains include an unfinished temple dating from the 5th century B.C., walls, houses, a temple of Demeter, a 3d century theater, and baths.

Although not Greeks, the Segestans were Hellenized by the 5th century. Athens tried to aid the city in its quarrel with Selinus, the traditional enemy of Segesta, in 415 but was badly defeated. Segesta became allied with Carthage after the Carthaginians sacked Selinus in 409. Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, took the city in 307 and killed many of the inhabitants, but Segesta recovered and continued as an ally of Carthage. In 262 during the First Punic War, Segesta turned on Carthage and surrendered to Rome. After raids by the Saracens, the city was abandoned in the 10th century A.D.

SEGHERS, zā'gərs, **Hercules Pietersz** (1589/1590-?1638), Dutch landscape painter and etcher, who was the first to print intaglio plates in color. It is thought that he was born in Haarlem. He studied under the Flemish landscape painter Coninxloo in Amsterdam and by 1612 was a member of the Haarlem guild. Between 1614 and 1631 he lived in Amsterdam. From the subject matter of his work—predominantly mountains—it is thought that he may have traveled during this time through the Alps to Italy. Later records place him in Utrecht and then in The Hague, where he was last heard of in 1633. It is assumed that he died there in the late 1630's.

Seghers' known work includes a number of etchings and four or five signed paintings, none of which is dated. The latter are chiefly awe-

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1 of 9 pages

THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS

Literature

Volume 3
1962-1987

Edited by
FRANK N. MAGILL

SALEM PRESS
Pasadena, California Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

GEORGE SEFERIS
Giorgos Stylianos Seferiades
1963

Born: Smyrna, Turkey; February 29, 1900

Died: Athens, Greece; September 20, 1971

Language: Greek

Principal genre: Poetry

One of the strongest of the many gifted poets who came to maturity in the interwar years and who reflected in their work the shame and terror of that time, Seferis was distinguished by his essential commitment to the grand Greek tradition of literature

The Award

Presentation

On December 11, 1963, the Nobel Prize in Literature was presented to George Seferis by Anders Österling, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy. In his presentation remarks, Österling noted that the award was given to Seferis "for his eminent lyrical writing, inspired by a deep feeling for culture." In his elaboration of that statement, emphasis is placed on aspects of Seferis' background and career: his beginning in a part of the world from which the Greek nationals had been expelled early in the 1900's, which gave him a sense of exile that affected his poetry.

His experience of exile, during which he traveled extensively with the Greek government in exile during World War II, and his service in several capacities in his last six years of service as ambassador in London, his deep understanding of the way in which his own life and work had not only been met personally by him in his travels but also to explore the constant mysteries of the human condition. Österling said, "Only communication with the dead

conversing on their asphodel meadows can bring to the living a hope of peace, confidence, and justice." That capacity to absorb the past history of Greece into his work did not preclude Seferis from celebrating "with eloquent joy" the beauties of the eternal landscape of his native land.

Nobel lecture

In a manner consistent with what had often been said of Seferis by friends, he used the occasion of the Nobel lecture to talk with considerable generosity and scholarship not of his own work but of that of others, tracing the history of Greek letters through the centuries as it worked its way back and forth over the battleground, ranging from fastidious propriety to "the vulgar,

quotes

"Freedom or Death"
 1821 uprising against
 Turks.

popular, or oral tradition." His intention, as he put it, was to name some of the writers who had fought the fight to free Greek letters from pedantry: "Our difficulties began with the Alexandrians who, dazzled by the Attic classics, began to teach what is correct and incorrect in writing, began, in other words, to teach purism. They did not consider that language is a living organism and that nothing can stop its growth."

In a charming mixture of literary and political history, Seferis continued through the centuries, remarking on the fact that the Gospels were written in the popular language of the time and that the two currents of the scholarly and the common language in literature ran parallel until the Greek Byzantine Empire fell. With that fall, Greek literature entered its dark ages, until the sixteenth century, when the arts began to flourish in Crete. Eventually, in the next century, the Cretan influence was to move onto the mainland and to bring about, in part, the revival of Greek letters.

In part, Seferis' lecture was a lesson in the development of contemporary Greek poetry, but it was also an opportunity for him to pay homage to the writers who preceded him, often in the difficult days of Grecian servitude and sorrow: "I have spoken to you about these men because their shadows have followed me ever since I started on my journey to Sweden and because their efforts represent to my mind the efforts of a body shackled for centuries which, with its chains finally broken, regains life and gropes and searches for its natural activity."

The speech is typical of Seferis' magnanimity and his awareness that as the first Greek to be awarded the prize, he needed to say something about why and how Greek letters, the glory of European civilization, had fallen so long on hard times and how he had come that day to accept the award, not only for himself but also for his nation, past and present.

Critical reception

The response to the award was to be wider-ranging than usually is the case, simply because Seferis, unlike most Nobel recipients, was well-known throughout the world as a political figure and was, to a lesser extent, looked upon as a member of the artistic community. As a result, he was known as a public personality of some considerable sophistication. He was only recently retired from service as the ambassador for Greece in Great Britain, where he had been much admired for the way in which he had responded to the Cypriot crisis. The job was difficult, since the British had sustained considerable pain from the deaths of British citizens caught in the murderous battle between the Turkish and Greek nationals, both bent on freedom, but on insolubly different terms.

The *New Statesman* (November 1, 1963), reporting on the pleasure which the award had given to Seferis' many friends in London, went on to comment on his deft handling of the Cypriot crisis, despite the fact that this "quiet,

Nobel Prize

he put it, was to name some of the Greek letters from pedantry: men who, dazzled by the Attic incorrect in writing, began, in consideration that language is a living thing."

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George Seferis

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gentle, deeply cultured man was the last personality one expected to meet at the centre of that violent situation." The *New Statesman*, like many of the other journals, recognized in Seferis something of the last of a breed, the man of letters as diplomat, which could be traced back to the poets of the age of Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in the early sixteenth century. Seferis' use of historical and literary analogies in his attempts to explain the frustrations of the Greek freedom fighters in Cyprus was also noted as a mark of his gifted understanding of arts and letters and their inextricable relation to life.

Most popular journals seemed satisfied to mention the phenomenon of the man of affairs winning this literary prize, and notice of the same tended to appear as often in the general pages of public gossip as in book pages. In *Time* magazine (November 1), news of the award appeared in the "People" section, reporting on his career as a diplomat and on the fact that his eyes filled with tears at the news of the award, but the article included nothing about his peculiar talents as a poet. *The Illustrated London News* (November 2) published a small picture of Seferis, with a perfunctory comment on the award. There was, in short, much approving, if desultory, notice of the event, and, in the main, it was confined to admiration for the idea of a rare man of both letters and action having been honored with the prize in an age in which the arts and the real world are usually kept well apart.

Readers were obliged to wait a few months for more substantial comment. In the spring of 1964, G. Georgiades Arnakis put the award in context in his essay "The Tragedy of Man in the Poetry of George Seferis" in *The Texas Quarterly*, but there was little indication that the award had precipitated a sudden rush of interest in his work, and no serious objection to the award was to surface. Mildly experimental in form but deeply civilized and thoughtful in tone, his poetry seems not to have roused immoderate praise or bellicose disdain, which is not always the case with Nobel winners.

In *The New York Times Book Review* (November 19, 1963), this capacity to please was attributed to Seferis' "disarming humility." Kimon Friar praised Seferis' poetry for its subtlety, calling his work "indirect, evocative, illusive, and allusive." Seferis' prose was appreciated for its simplicity, directness, precision, and logic. Perhaps the ultimate comment on the award was made by Henry Miller, who on this occasion was properly moderate and viewed Seferis as "the man who caught the spirit of eternity which is everywhere in Greece."

Biography

George Seferis was born in Smyrna, on the east side of the Aegean Sea, a port city which had a stormy history in the constant contention between Greeks and Turks. Smyrna was part of the Ottoman Empire at the time of Seferis' birth, but the city passed into Greek control after World War I and

then back into Turkish control shortly thereafter, with tragic consequences for the citizens. Seferis' father was a law professor, and he brought his family out of the dangers of Smyrna in 1914, settling in Athens.

Seferis studied law in Paris between 1918 and 1924 and became familiar with European intellectual and political movements. A gifted student, he entered the Greek diplomatic service, serving his early apprentice years in London. He was the consul in Albania between 1936 and 1938 and, just before World War II, returned to Athens to serve as press attaché to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. By this time he had established a solid, if modest, reputation as a poet of stature (his first book of poems was published in 1931), but his real work was as a diplomat.

Seferis moved about with the Greek government in exile during the war, and after the war he served as Greek ambassador to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. He reached the height of his career as ambassador in London from 1957 to 1962. Seferis then returned, in retirement, to Athens, where he continued to write and publish modestly. *George Seferis: Collected Poems* first appeared in 1967. He died in Athens in 1971.

Literary Career

Commenting on the publication of his first volume of poems, *Strophe* (1931; *Turning Point*, 1967), Seferis admitted that it was his ambition to write poetry using simple language and that he presumed that the public would not like it. Certainly, he was breaking with the existing tradition of Greek contemporary poetry, refusing to use the conventional rhythms and meters and freeing his work from the clutter of ornamentation in the older Greek version of Georgian verse. The title of his book can be read as simply referring to technical matters or it can be correctly read, in the wider meaning of the original Greek title, as a new departure, a "turning point," per the English translation. Seferis, relatively unknown at the time of the first book, was to be the first of the new Greek poets. Kostis Palamàs, an older poet who wrote in the traditional Greek style, recognized immediately the significance of Seferis' work and publicly approved of the innovations which the younger man was bringing to Greek letters.

In retrospect, Seferis seems considerably less innovative than he must have been viewed in his time, and there is, even in his experiments, a modesty, a tentativeness, that has always been a mark of his work. There is a sparseness, a fastidiousness, in the way in which he uses the influences of the French Symbolists, the obvious attractions of Stéphane Mallarmé and Paul Valéry, which he had absorbed during his six years in Paris. Yet the voice of the modern man—intelligent, wary, skeptical, searching for truth in a world which seemed on the edge of chaos and speaking with measured, restrained lyricism—was clearly established as the new voice of Greek poetry. Seferis was to be followed by several other young poets; together, they are part of what

Nobel Prize

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George Seferis

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has been called the "1930 generation of Greek poets."

In 1932, Seferis published a book of poetry in the same mode: *E sterna* (1932; *The Cistern*, 1967). It was in his *Mythistorema* (1935; English transla-
tion, 1960), however, that he was to take a step into the mainstream of Eu-
ropean and, indeed, world letters, and produce the kind of poetry for which
he is best known internationally. In *Mythistorema*, Seferis abandons meter
for free verse, and he addresses a subject which is addressed only loosely in
his earlier works: the deepening gloom and apprehension of the intellectual
and political community during the rise of Fascism in Europe. The lack of
center, of leadership, of understanding of what was happening in Europe,
had already captured the attention of poets such as W. H. Auden, and T. S.
Eliot's influence, both technically and thematically, can be seen in Seferis'
work from this point onward.

The poetry in *Mythistorema* is still, however, restrained and austere, never
inclined to the overt displays of learning that characterize the work of Eliot
and Auden. One can detect a determined attempt to use European influ-
ences without allowing them to overpower the poetry, and that was to remain
the case throughout Seferis' career. He had his own distinctive voice, which
he possessed from his first volume, and he was not to change that.

Seferis was, however, to bring to his version of the twentieth century intel-
lectuals' response to the threatening world of mid-1930's politics peculiar in-
sights unpossessed by others. He had, for example, a long-standing sorrow
for the loss of his native land, for Asia Minor and for Smyrna, now closed by
Turkish dominance. He knew what it meant to be a refugee, however proud
and aware he was of his Greek racial identity. He also had an abiding pride
and pervading awareness that, as a Greek, he had connections with one of
the great civilizations of the past and that his poetry could be used to explore
that connection. Seferis wanted to embrace his Greek heritage not only to la-
ment all that was lost but also to discover all that that glorious history could
mean to modern man reeling about, spiritually lost and politically confused.
The image of Ulysses, of the great Greek naval empire, was always present;
as Seferis once said, wherever he traveled, Greece still wounded him. In
Gymnopaedia (1936; English translation, 1967), he continued to wed Greek
myth and history to the growing dilemma of modern European politics, and,
in the same year, he translated a selection of T. S. Eliot's poems into Greek,
adding to the book a critical apparatus which was to indicate his gifts as a
critic.

During the war Seferis moved constantly, particularly after the fall of
Greece to the Axis forces, but he continued to write, and a series of small
volumes appeared throughout the war, one from Athens in 1940, one from
Cairo in 1944. The tragedy of the war pervades these poems. An air of fear,
of constant angst and uncertainty, is struggled with actively and with honor in
poems which display touches of Eliot and William Butler Yeats, and always

of the memory of the Greek battles of the past. Some of Seferis' best poems were written at this time, including the much-admired "The King of Asine," but the early poem "I Woke with This Marble Head," from *Mythistorema*, best expresses Seferis' obsession with the constant struggle to make sense of the world in the light of his Greek patrimony:

I woke with this marble head in my hands
Which tires my elbows and I do not know where to put it;
It was falling into the dream as I was rising from the dream
Thus our lives joined and it will be hard for them to disentangle.

Seferis published a considerable amount of work in the 1940's, some of it written during the war and attempting to make sense of that tragedy. In 1947, he published the very difficult poem *Kichle* (1947; *Thrush*, 1967) based on the fact that during the war the Germans had sunk a ship of that name in the harbor on the island of Poros, where Seferis had spent some time in seclusion after the conflict. Despite his debt to Eliot, Seferis was a writer of much wider interests than his mentor, whom, it might be said, really had only one theme: the spiritual degradation of twentieth century man. Seferis often wrote intimately of human relations, and the last section of *Thrush*, subtitled "Light," is deeply admired as the best example of his more personal work.

There was a long period of silence in the late 1940's and the early 1950's, but *Emerologio katastromatos III* (1955; *Logbook III*, 1967) broke the silence courageously with a careful, deeply moving exploration of the Cyprus problem. Seferis had visited Cyprus in 1953 and saw in that murderous conflict parallels with the tragedy of the Trojan War. Laconic, sputtering, almost incoherent poems of grief seem to be literally dragged out of Seferis in this collection, and they mark just how limited it is to speak of him simply as a lyric poet; he can often go much deeper, into heartbreaking tenderness and pain.

After the Nobel award, Seferis continued to write poetry, but the main emphasis in his subsequent published work was on criticism and translations, both of some considerable quality. Also, his work on Greek poetry is very good. In addition, an interesting journal, covering the years 1945 to 1951, was published after Seferis' death.

Sadly, George Seferis seems to have fallen somewhat out of fashion. His work is very difficult to find, and it is rarely anthologized. It may be that he is best read in the context of his entire canon, although his lyric simplicity seems to suggest otherwise. For all of his supposed difficulty, Seferis can be stunningly clear, as in this piece from *Mythistorema*:

The Stars of night bring me back to the longing
Of Odysseus for the dead among the asphodels.

July 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: GEORGE SEFERIS

George Seferis (se FER ees), pen name of Greek poet and diplomat Georgios Seferiades (1900-1971). Born in Smyrna (now Izmir), Turkey. His verse captures the glory of classical Greece, and the dimmer moments of its modern history. Seferis was the first Greek writer to win the Nobel Prize for literature (1963). He also served his country in diplomatic posts including those of ambassador to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Britain, and the United Nations.

Among his writings: Strophe (1931), E Sterna (1932), Mythistorema (1935), Gymnopaedia (1940), Tetraidio Gymnasmaton (1940), Emerologio Katastromatos I (1940), Emerologio Katastromatos II (1944), Kichle (1947), and Emerologio Katastromatos III (1955). His style is said to be sparse and subtle. Seferis' influence has enriched the pages of succeeding Greek poets.

Date: 7-10-91

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IOANNA TSATSOS

ii

MY BROTHER GEORGE SEFERIS

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK BY
JEAN DEMOS

WITH A PREFACE BY
EUGENE CURRENT-GARCIA



George Seferis in Paris, 1921

A NOSTOS BOOK
North Central Publishing Company
1982

GEORGE SEFERIS

Biographical Note

George Seferis was born in Smyrna on February 29, 1900, the son of Stelios Seferiadis and Despina Tenekidis. His father was a university professor of Law, both in Athens and in Paris, and he enjoyed a world-wide reputation in the field of international law. He was also a poet and translator of Greek tragedy.

Seferis received his elementary education in Smyrna, and passed his childhood summers at Skala, old Klazomenae. When he was 14, he moved to Athens with his father and mother, his younger brother Angelos, and his sister Ioanna, who later became the wife of Constantine Tsatsos. In 1917, he received his diploma from the First Classical Gymnasium of Athens.

In 1918 the family moved to join the elder Seferis in Paris, where he had for several years been practicing law. Paris was to be the poet's home for six years. They were years torn between poetry and law studies, but in 1924 he received his degree in law. He then spent almost two years in London with the special purpose of perfecting his English. In 1926 he returned to Athens to qualify for the Foreign Service, where he served until 1962. In 1941 he married Maria Zannos.

His thirty-six years of government service alternated between assignments in Athens and posts abroad. His first foreign tour of duty was at the Greek Consulate in London. He was consul at Koritsa in Albania and served as counsellor to the Greek Embassy in Ankara and London, respectively. He was ambassador to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, and later to Great Britain for five years, from 1957 until 1962. During the Axis Occupation of Greece, he was with the Government-in-Exile in Egypt, South Africa, and Italy. During the

If you want more
on Seferis.

-JAG

Regency he was Director of the Political Bureau for Archbishop Damaskinos and at the time of the deliberations on Cyprus, he was a member of the Greek delegation to the United Nations. In 1969 he made known his opposition to the dictatorship in a published declaration.

Seferis was the recipient of many honors, among them an honorary degree at Cambridge University and the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1963. He was a member of the Princeton Institute of Advanced studies in 1968-69, during which period he also lectured at Harvard and other American universities.

He died at the Evangelismos Hospital in Athens, on September 20, 1971. He was escorted to his grave in the First Cemetery by thousands of young people for whom, even in advanced years, he had been an eloquent spokesman. During the decade since his death, his writings have enjoyed great popularity and have also been the subject of much discussion by scholars and critics. He continues to be recognized as one of the most important leaders of the new Greek poetry.