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Alexander's expedition was more civilizing than acquisitive. The British historian Tarn has pointed out 'what Alexander was to open up a vast new world to the Greeks and to advance scientific knowledge in many directions. Few men have produced so great a change in the world. He not only widened the range of human action: he broadened the range of human imagination. The Hellenistic world was his creation and this world, the whole of classical Greece, was his teacher of Rome, and through Rome has influenced the modern world. To Alexander's persistent effort to Hellenize Eastern Asia, Christianity owes the fact that it found an easy way of expansion'.

His successors, who divided his vast empire between them, in spite of their quarrels, continued his civilizing work. The Ptolemies and the Seleucids introduced and cultivated Greek art and thought as well as pre-existing Greek social institutions in their large kingdoms, which included Egypt and Syria, and Asia from the Aegean to the Indian Ocean.

This civilizing achievement was inherited by Rome, who then embarking upon the foundation of her own empire, in the course of her campaigns of conquest she subjected Greece (146 B.C.) which, worn out by centuries of wars, internal fighting and civil conflicts, was not able to withstand the onset of the Roman legions. But even in a subject state the Greeks (who later became known as 'Romei' from Roman) found a way to even the score with their lords and masters. With their superior civilization they became the teachers of their conquerors and taught them philosophy, music, oric, poetry, sculpture, drama, and the sciences. They ended their educating influence to a point where leading Romans were seriously concerned about the danger of the Hellenization of the Roman empire.

Such fears were, of course, exaggerated; but they were to a degree vindicated when, later, the Roman empire was divided into two parts, the eastern and the western. With the designation of Constantinople as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Greeks had the opportunity to advance their national community to leading positions in this new empire. Helped by their Christianity, which they had hastened to adopt more or less, en masse, they managed gradually to bring their way into governmental and administrative machinery of the Byzantine state which Constantine the Great had founded. With the help of the Great Church of Constantinople (the Ecumenical Patriarchate), the leadership which was completely controlled by Greek or Greek-speaking clergy, the Greek element became almost from the beginning the nucleus of the Byzantine empire. With the passage of time the empire advanced by leaps and bounds to a point after which one can speak of a truly Greek state.

The ancient civilization of which the Byzantines continued to be the inheritors and guardians, classical education, and Hellenic philosophy with Christian doctrine grafted onto it, formed the intellectual background of Byzantium, and led to the so-called Greek Christian civilization.

At the fall of Constantinople (1453 A.D.) the Greekness of the Byzantine state received clear confirmation and recognition from

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XI with his famous

had to some degree been prepared for the fall of the Byzantine empire by the crusades - especially the fourth, which led to the capture of Constantinople and the founding of a short-lived Latin state.

This systematic undermining of the Byzantine state was aimed against Orthodoxy, the leadership of which was then, as formerly, in Greek hands, as was science, education, art etc.

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

It is significant that after the fall of Constantinople many Greek intellectuals, philosophers, and scientists, who had held important positions in the intellectual world of Byzantium or appointments at court or in the state machinery, fled to the West, and particularly to Italy, taking with them not only the riches of their knowledge, which sprang from Greek education, ancient and Byzantine, but also the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers, historians, poets, and scientists who were then almost entirely unknown in the West. It has been demonstrated that this migration of the classical Greek spirit contributed to the great intellectual and artistic movement of the Renaissance which it is agreed owes a great deal to the Greek scholars and writers who emigrated at that time from Constantinople to Italy.

Ancient Greek civilization, which had passed through the form of medieval Hellenism - as our historians called the Byzantine period - was handed on to the West and laid the foundations for subsequent European civilization, of which it continues to be the constant background.

After the fall of Constantinople (May 29, 1453), the Greeks became enslaved to the Ottoman Empire. During the four hundred years of slavery which followed, the Asian conquerors attempted by methods often cruel and bloody to bring the Greek nation to its knees, but were unable to do so. The enslaved Greeks managed to keep unspoiled their religion, their language and their higher level of cultural development, as well as an invincible passion to free themselves of their foreign masters. During the four centuries which lay between the defeat of the Byzantine Greek state in 1453 and liberation in 1821, the conquered Greeks made repeated attempts to regain their national independence, by means of revolutionary uprisings, both local and general. Many of these uprisings were instigated by foreign Powers, such as the Venetian Republic, the Kingdom of France and Tsarist Russia, but these Powers made use of the Greeks only insofar as they were part of the Powers' own plans for attacks on the Ottoman Empire, after which the Greeks were abandoned to the rage and vengefulness of the Turks.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

In the end, the more enlightened Greeks realised - and did not hesitate to inform their compatriots - that they should rely only on their own strength, and not on support from overseas, if they were to regain their freedom. On the basis of this realistic approach, a secret organisation called the 'Society of Friends' was set up in 1814, and a methodical

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conspiracy developed, planned towards a general uprising of all the Greek inhabitants of the European section of the Sultan's Empire. Seven years later, in February - March 1821, revolution broke out, achieving notable successes right from the start, especially in the Peloponnese, Central Greece and the Aegean islands. The nucleus of the liberation army which fought in this revolution was made up of small, fierce and battle-hardened groups of guerillas known as «klephtes», who, isolated and unco-ordinated, had been fighting against Turkish power for centuries. Thousands of inexperienced Greeks rushed to follow the flags of these battle-scarred warriors, and in their turn went through the continuous fighting which trained them as guerillas, so that all together they composed an army which was ready for action, aggressive and decisive. This was the army which for years succeeded in facing victoriously the waves of armies which the Sultan sent against them. The same was true at sea. Small commercial ships, which were all the Greeks had, were converted into warships which also proved themselves worthy opponents of the Ottoman Empire's huge fleets, through their crews' outstanding seamanship and vigour in attack.

THE PHILHELLENES

The revolutionary struggle lasted for eight continuous years, with such significant victories that in the end three Great Powers - Britain, France and Russia - were forced to intervene. Beginning with diplomatic notes, and using more drastic measures later on, they obliged the Sultan to concede national and political independence to the Greek revolutionaries. The great movement of 'Philhellenism' played an important role in bringing about these actions on the part of the three European governments. Philhellenism had by then become a movement of great force in Europe as well as in the United States, and thousands of liberals - soldiers, politicians, intellectuals and scientists - moved and enraptured by the heroic struggle of the nation in revolt, came to Greece and fought bravely on the side of the Greeks, while at the same time special committees were set up in various European countries to collect money and supplies for the Greeks and help make their fellow-countrymen aware of the Greeks' right to live freely.

This broad movement, almost unique in history, roused the peoples of Europe and was a source of acute psychological pressure on the British, French and Russian governments, having a deep effect on their decisions. When the Sultan attempted to oppose the diplomatic representations of the three Governments, the united fleets of Britain, France and Russia provided a final military solution, attacking and decimating the joint Turkish - Egyptian fleet at the Battle of Navarino in October 1827. The Greeks by then had won their freedom, but the state which was founded under the aegis of the three Great Powers - who were even named 'protecting Powers' - was unbelievably small, since only some of the areas which had rebelled were incorporated into it; in other words, it consisted of the Peloponnese, Central Greece and a few of the islands.

THE FREE STATE

The first Governor of the new state was Ioannis Capodistrias a Greek diplomat of considerable reputation throughout

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Joseph Braddock

Prose

- RECOLLECTIONS OF AN BOYHOOD
 - ED HOUSES
 - BRIDAL BED
 - S: THE SHORES OF LIGHT
 - F IN HER MOUTH (NOVEL)
 - E A PAEAN FOR LESBOS
- Poetry*
- RD AND OTHER POEMS
 - D OTHER POEMS
 - D: A VERSE PLAY
 - A FLOWER: POEMS 1935-1960

THE GREEK PHOENIX

JOSEPH BRADDOCK



Coward, McCann & Geoghegan

New York

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Heroic Struggle

the rising was simple—Greece for
 rian Trikoupis, with other writers,
 members of the *Philike Hetairia* as men
 atriote Greek merchants imperfectly
 sition in Greece, the secret Society
 edessa in 1814 had, through the con-
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Philike Hetairia let it be believed they
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 ad refused to lead the rebellion and
 refusal, the *Philike Hetairia* had invited
 exander Ypsilantis and his brother
 lar heads of the two uprisings.

time for decision came, many of the
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 reek population's volatile enthusiasm
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 rtiot priest and political and military
 , rumours of the defeat of Alexander
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 as Papaphlessas and the Overlord
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 l and confined to garrison towns and

war was a savage people's war, a revolt
 phtic chieftains against their detested
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 cities committed by both sides. Many
 e were little more than massacre by

A Turkish tax-gatherer and his retinue were taken upon and murdered. A band of sixty Albanian mercenaries were surprised and butchered by three hundred Greek klephts. This was in March, 1821; and in April the insurrection was general. Everywhere, as though at a preconcerted signal, the peasantry rose, and massacred all the Turks—men, women, and children—on whom they could lay hands.

*In the Morea shall no Turk be left,
 Nor in the whole wide world.*

Thus rang the song which, from mouth to mouth, announced the beginning of a war of extermination. The Mussulman population of the Morea had been reckoned at twenty-five thousand souls. Within three weeks of the outbreak of the revolt, not a Moslem was left, save those who had succeeded in escaping into the towns.¹

Meanwhile the national uprising had found another leader in Bishop Germanos, the distinguished Metropolitan of Patras who, according to the accepted popular account of the war, with other clerics and notable laymen, on the 25th of March, 1821, raised the flag of national rebellion at the monastery of Aghia Lavra at Kalavryta in the north of the Peloponnese. Probably this was not their intention. They would have preferred to delay their commitment until they were more certain of Russian support. They had stopped at the monastery in a despairing attempt to stave off, or at least delay, a summons by the Turkish authorities for consultation at Tripolitza, where they suspected they would be held as hostages. Yet it was customary for the bishops and primates to meet twice a year at Tripolitza to receive through the Pasha the Ottoman government's orders concerning taxation and police measures. This year the pretext was that the Turks wanted a consultation to devise a policy to counteract the intrigues which Ali Pasha was carrying on among the Greek population. while he was being blockaded in Yannina by the Turkish *seraskier* Kurshid Pasha.

Today the monastery of Aghia Lavra stands in its shady garden,

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The Heroic Struggle

with its historic plane-tree, a few kilometres up a mountain road above the small town of Kalavryta, and there the standard of the revolution may be seen with its stirring inscription: "Here is the historic holy standard Banner, that the Archbishop 'Germanos' of ancient Patras hoist(ed) here the day of Greek Revolution out under the historic plane-tree." It presents the Assumption embroidered by a Greek woman (Chissos) from Smyrna. There is a bullet hole through the crown of one of the angels made during the battle of Kalavryta.

From the monastery on the 6th of April, 1821, Archbishop Germanos, with a force of several thousand armed men, descended into the plain against Patras. Only a portion of his army, composed of undisciplined peasants, carried guns, the rest merely slings, clubs and daggers fastened to the ends of long poles. The Archbishop was accompanied by the Greek primates Papadiamantopulos, Londos, Zaimis and Sotiri, primates of Vostizza and Kalavryta. The Greek population had already risen and proclaimed with fierce shouting the liberty of their country. The Greeks had set fire to the Turkish quarter of Patras and the Turks were launching shot and shell from the safety of the citadel. Greek and Turk indulged in a merciless massacre amid the burning ruins of the city:

the only prisoners that were spared, owed their lives to fanaticism, some Christian youths being circumcised by the mollahs, and some Turkish boys baptized by the priests. . . . Germanos bivouacked during the night of the 6th, and on the following morning, conducting his army to the yet burning town, shut up the Turks within the walls of the citadel. The Christian inhabitants welcomed him with great demonstrations of joy; a crucifix was elevated in the square of St. George, the Grecian banners floated from the mosques, and the conflagration that had raged for near three days was at length got under. The archbishop and the other Greek generals . . . set forth a proclamation containing merely these emphatic words,—Peace to the Christians! Respect to the Consuls! Death to the Turks!¹²

Unfortunately, the only immediate result of the rising at Patras

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Heroic Struggle

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Today the Struggle

was that the once flourishing port and capital of Achaia was des-
troyed; but every Turk who failed to reach the sanctuary of the
citadel was slain. The undisciplined Greeks, however, led by com-
manders of little experience, were unable to reduce the citadel;
and, as soon as it was relieved on April 15th by Yussuf Pasha,
Germanos and his men were forced to retire to the mountains.
Other unsuccessful attempts were made to reduce Patras; but the
citadel remained in Turkish hands until Ibrahim Pasha evacuated
the Peloponnese in 1828.

The long progress of the war, atrociously brutal, but heroically
borne and inspired by the peasant population, was uplifted by the
supreme heroism of such Greeks, for example, as Makriyannis. But
the pattern of events was complex, often obscure in motive, and
fragmented because of rivalries and sudden shifts of purpose among
the various factions. From such a tangled skein of events it is im-
possible to draw out a simple thread of narrative; but the three
main periods of the war can be clearly indicated. The first period
lasted until 1824 and during this time the Greeks had to "go it
alone", except for the help they received from bands of phil-
hellenes from the different countries of Europe. During the second
period from 1824 the tide turned against the Greeks when the
disciplined army of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, came to the aid
of the Sultan. The third period began with the *deus ex machina*
intervention of the European Powers in the autumn of 1827, and
lasted until the end. Although it seems that the war could not have
been won without the armed intervention of England, France and
Russia, it remains doubtful whether the intrepid spirit which ani-
mated the movement for Greek freedom could ever have been
permanently suppressed even if the Powers had persisted in their
neutrality.

In the Peloponnese the Turks in spite of copious warnings were
caught wholly unprepared, with the larger part of the Ottoman
army under Kurshid Pasha, out of reach, engaged against Ali Pasha.
The war began without any concerted plan or generally acknow-
ledged leadership. But in the deep rocky south of the still almost
unconquered Mani, Petrobey Mavromichalis, eighth and last and

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The Heroic Struggle

greatest of the sovereign overlords of the Mani (who became a paramount figure in Greek nineteenth-century history), led his clan against Kalamata and put all the inhabitants of the Turkish garrison to the sword:

It was from the Mani that the first blow was struck. Petrobey and three thousand Maniots with Kolokotronis and a number of the great Morean klephts advanced on the Turkish garrison of Kalamata. After its surrender he issued a declaration of the Greek aspirations to the courts of Europe signed "Petrobey Mavromichalis, Prince and Commander in Chief". The banners of freedom were going up all over Greece, and the whole peninsula burst into those flames which, after four centuries of slavery, demolished the Turkish power in the country for ever and gave rebirth to the shining phoenix of modern Greece. Petrobey, at the head of his Maniots, fought battle after battle in these ferocious years; he takes his place as one of the giants in the struggle. . . . No less than forty-nine of his family were killed during this contest and his capital of Tsimova was renamed Areopolis in his honour: the town of the war-god Ares.⁸

Theodore Kolokotronis, the klepht chieftain who had once served in the British Ionian levies, had now returned to the Peloponnese where, fortified by a vision of the Virgin, he captured Karytaena in Arcadia and massacred the Moslem population.

The revolt spread rapidly, fanned to a jubilant flame by these initial successes. In a matter of weeks every Turk had been cleared from the open country, the survivors of the Ottoman ruling class finding themselves miserably besieged in the fortified towns. In April the flames of Christian liberty had leaped the Isthmus of Corinth and engulfed the whole of Bocotia and Attica, and in early May the Turks were blockaded in the Acropolis of Athens. In the Peloponnese several Ottoman fortresses still held out, such as Coron, Modon, Navarino, Monemvasia and Tripolitza; but one by one these were captured, with a repetition of merciless scenes of slaughter. In October 1821 Tripolitza, the capital of the vilayet (a province of the Ottoman Empire) was taken by storm and the

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Heroic Struggle

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Today the Struggle

Greeks' cruelty reached a climax. Kolokotronis rode in triumph to the citadel over streets carpeted with dead bodies, and "the crown- ing triumph of the Cross" was celebrated by the cold-blooded murder of about two thousand prisoners of all ages and both sexes, but mostly women and children, some of whom were tortured before they were killed. These acts crowned and completed the success of the insurrection in the Peloponnese—a sorry climax—and now only Nauplia and Patras, with a few minor fort- resses, were left in the possession of the Turks.

In seeking to balance the relative barbarism of each side in this desperate contest between two great racial antagonists, several factors must be kept in mind. Turks and Greeks were peoples of opposed traditions and cultures, and the Turks were Orientals. Certainly, their heroic virtues helped, but their vices hindered the Greeks in their long struggle for nationhood. Probably the Turks were the more cruel of the two. For instance, if a klepht lay dying on a lost battlefield, he would very likely ask his companions to cut off his head and carry it away with them, rather than let it fall into the hands of the Turks. It is true that a Greek pallikar seldom spared a Turk who fell into his hands; but unlike the pasha's exe- cutioners, he had neither the leisure nor the taste to refine upon the torment of his victim, or make it last through several days.

North of the Gulf of Corinth the fortunes of battle had been ambiguous. In Eastern Roumeli, which was of more strategic value than the country west of the Pindus mountains because it provided the overland route from the north into the Peloponnese, the Greeks had struck with vigour, under brave but inexperienced leaders. In the past many Greeks had chosen to serve under Ali Pasha, accept- ing both his favours and the peril of his whims. Among these were three of the most colourful revolutionary leaders of the rebellion, Odysseus Androutsos, Makriyannis, and Athanasios Diakos "the Deacon", so nicknamed because he had once studied for the priesthood in a monastery. The last two men proved to be dedi- cated, passionate patriots and were destined to win for themselves golden opinions in the annals of the war. The career of Androutsos, however, was to say the least equivocal, and ended dishonourably. A famous klepht at sixteen and in Ali Pasha's bodyguard, he rose

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The Heroic Struggle

to be a captain of gendarmes, and was later made Commander-in-Chief in Western Greece. He was linked with the English philhellenes through his half-sister's marriage to Trelawney, the swashbuckling friend of Shelley and Byron. But his character was devious and jealous. He came to terms with the Turks through suspicion of John Kolettis (the Vlach physician to Ali Pasha, and Plenipotentiary for Epirus in the First National Assembly of 1821) then surrendered to Gouras, the garrison commander of Athens, and was imprisoned on the Acropolis. He was found dead at the foot of the "Venetian" tower in the southern wing of the Propylaea, and was supposed to have died by a fall in attempting to escape. Finlay is harsh in his judgement of Androutsos, branding him as a traitor guilty of charges of collaboration with the enemy, "at whose name the finger of scorn is pointed by every Greek".

Athanasios Diakos had served as a klepht under Androutsos and, likewise, had been a member of Ali Pasha's bodyguard. He was also a member of the *Philiki Hetairia*. On the outbreak of the revolution he had collected a troop of his compatriots to fight the Turkish forces which were moving southwards from Thessaly against the insurgents. In April the Greeks captured Amfissa and Levadia and very soon Athens (in those days no more than a large village, although strategically important) was blockaded. Kurshid Pasha's efficient commander Omer Vrioni, a Moslem Greek who was descended from the august family of the Palaeologi, inflicted a number of defeats on the Greeks. But now, moving south from Larissa, Vrioni's army was opposed in the plain of Lamia by the troops of Diakos at the bridge of Alamana, across a tributary of the River Sperchios, not far from the pass of Thermopylae where in 480 B.C. King Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans had resisted the Persians.

The bridge was heroically defended on May 5th by Diakos and the Bishop of Salona, with only seven hundred Greeks, against a far superior Turkish force. Unfortunately, after the most gallant fighting, both Diakos and the Bishop were captured and executed. Diakos was taken to Lala, impaled on a spit, and roasted alive by the Turks. The record of his defiant spirit during his martyrdom has been preserved in a popular folk-poem, one of the few ex-

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Heroic Struggle

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Today the Struggle

amples of a klephtic ballad which throws a definite light on Greek
 history:

DIAKOS

A great darkness is rushing down upon us, black as a raven.
 Is it Kalyvas who comes, is it Leventoyanni?
 "Tis not Kalyvas who comes, nor Leventoyanni;
 Omer Vrioni is rushing upon us with eighteen thousand men."
 Diakos, as soon as he heard of it, was sorely troubled;
 He cried out shrilly, and spoke to his lieutenant.
 "Gather my company together, collect the pallikars,
 Give them powder in plenty and bullets in handfuls
 And let them go down quickly to Alamana,
 Where there are strong bastions, and goodly entrenchments."
 They take light swords, and heavy guns,
 They come to Alamana, and occupy the bastions.
 "Take heart, my lads," he says, "fear not,
 Stand up boldy like Hellenes and like Greeks."
 But they were afraid, and scattered into the woods.
 Diakos remained under fire with eighteen warriors,
 For three hours he fought against eighteen thousand;
 His gun was shattered, and broke into pieces.
 And Diakos drew his sword and charged into the enemy's fire;
 He destroyed numberless Turks and seven buluk-bashis.
 Then his sword broke off at the handle
 And Diakos fell into the hands of his enemies alive.
 A thousand men went in front of him and a thousand behind.
 And Omer Vrioni asked him secretly on the way,
 "Will you turn Turk, Diako mine, change your faith,
 Make obeisance in the mosque and leave the Church?"
 But Diakos answered him, and spoke angrily;
 "Go, you and your faith, you infidels, to destruction!
 I was born a Greek, and a Greek I will die!
 If you wish a thousand florins and a thousand *mahmoutis*
 I would that you might grant me but five or six days of life,
 Until Odysseus and Thanasi Vaya come!"

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The Heroic Struggle

Soon as he heard this, Halil Bey wept, and said:
 "A thousand purses will I give you, and five hundred besides,
 If you will destroy Diakos, the fearsome klepht,
 For he will bring low Turkey and all its government."
 They took Diakos, and impaled him,
 They stood him upright, and he mocked them,
 Insulted their faith, and called them infidels.
 "Dogs, though you impale me, it is but one Greek lost.
 Odysseus is still well, and Captain Niketas,
 And they will bring low Turkey and all your government."⁴

Apart from the atrocious cruelty and stoical heroism of this ballad's story, it reveals a point of great interest. In the line "stand up boldy like Hellenes and like Greeks" the words Hellenes and Greeks imply an unusual sentiment in a klephtic ballad. Although for many years the Hellenic idea had been canvassed, and to a certain extent successfully popularized, the national bond which drew the Greeks together at this time was less Hellenism than Orthodox Christianity; not the classical body of the country but its Byzantine soul. The long static tradition of ikon-painting, with its glowing inner spiritual luminosity, may be regarded as the symbol and epitome of Greek continuity. It was the devotion of the Greeks to their Byzantine Christianity that enabled them to maintain, unchanged, an undying hostility to the infidel.

And in a sense it is the same today. The ordinary Greek villager would be much less interested in such fabulous forbears as Homer, Plato, Pericles, Miltiades at Marathon or Leonidas at Thermopylae, than he would, were the subject broached, by a reminder of the deeds of the klephtic chieftains like Androutsos, Botzaris, Mavromichalis, Karaiskakis, and Kolokotronis wearing his fireman's helmet, in all the kilted and moustached pallikars, and of course in Diakos and his men waving their scimitars, fighting like lions by the bridge of Alamana against the blaspheming Turk.

Other men who have never lost their romantic gloss were the heroes of the Greek war at sea, led by such Admirals as Miaoulis of Hydra and Kanaris of Psara. The expertise of the thousands of

Struggle

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 rized, the national bond which
 s time was less Hellenism than
 lassical body of the country but
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 osity, may be regarded as the
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 ristianity that enabled them to
 g hostility to the infidel.
 ay. The ordinary Greek villager
 uch fabulous forbears as Homer,
 hon or Leonidas at Thermopylae,
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 ke Androutsos, Botzaris, Mavro-
 kotronis wearing his fireman's
 tached pallikars, and of course in
 r scimitars, fighting like lions by
 e blaspheming Turk.

st their romantic gloss were the
 led by such Admirals as Miaoulis
 The expertise of the thousands of

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anonymous sea captains and ordinary seamen was a second determining factor in the fortunes and progress of the war. Most Greeks had learnt to handle a boat from infancy, and grew up to be brave and adroit sailors; indeed, the long seafaring tradition of islands like Hydra and Chios persists to the present day in some of the wealthiest shipping dynasties. In a war fought for the most part on or near the large peninsula of the Peloponnese, whose principal fortifications lay along the coast, control of the routes of communications, entrances to the Gulf of Corinth and the Isthmus of Corinth, with the mainland were all-important.

While the Greeks were by nature and tradition the finest sailors in the Mediterranean, the Turks, from their origins, were by no means a maritime race. The Greeks were always prepared to dismiss them with contempt as "landlubbers". Certainly, late in Turkish history, in the early sixteenth century, a formidable navy had been forced upon the Turks by the genius and will-power of Kheir-ed-Din Barbarossa, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's High Admiral, who, acting from the Barbary Coast, had successfully fought Spain, Genoa and Venice, and made the Ottoman Fleet a terror and a byword for piracy. But those days were over. Now in April 1821 it was a different matter. When the islands revolted, Spetsai on the 7th, Psara on the 23rd, Hydra on the 28th and Samos on the 30th, the Ottoman Government found themselves in a predicament about equipping a fleet to fight the very people from whom they had formerly drawn their recruits. They were obliged to man their ships with impressed crews of untrained dock-labourers, peasants, fishermen and boatmen, supplemented by a motley collection of Algerian pirates and Genoese and Maltese mercenaries who were mostly ignorant of the sea. Although the Turks had once been invincible on land, they were more helpless at sea, and there was some derisive talk among British seamen, describing the Turkish fleet as being "adrift in the Archipelago". Although in bulk and tonnage the Turks were vastly superior, on many occasions they proved no match for the Greek brigs and fully armed frigates whose crews were well trained, if not always well disciplined. Under such circumstances, though the need for action was imperative, it was small wonder

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that the Ottoman navy was laggard in leaving the Dardanelles. When at last it did so, it had only eight warships and these were under-navigated by crews who had little more than a rudimentary knowledge of seamanship.

The Greck fleets were split into two squadrons, the larger one of thirty-seven sail under Admiral Iacobos Tombazis cruised the archipelago on the lookout for the appearance of the Turks. The other squadron, commanded by Andreas Miaoullis, sailed to blockade Patras and keep watch on the coasts of Epirus. It must, however, be here admitted that the Greeks opened the war at sea with some hideous atrocities, a counterpart to the cruelty of the war on land. Finlay records how eight brigs from Spetsai captured by surprise an Ottoman corvette of twenty-six guns and a brig of sixteen guns at Melos, and that the Turks on board were taken to Spetsai and tortured before being executed. Another such incident he describes thus:

Two Hydriot brigs, commanded by Sachturi and Pinotzi, captured a Turkish vessel with a valuable cargo, among which were some rich presents from Sultan Mahmud to Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt. A recently deposed Sheik-él-Islam, or patriarch of the orthodox Mussulmans, was a passenger on board, accompanied by all his family. It was said that he was on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was known to have belonged to the tolerant party of the Ottoman government. There were other Turkish families in the ship. The Hydriots murdered all on board in cold blood; helpless old men, ladies of rank, beautiful slaves, and infant children, were butchered on the deck like cattle. An attempt was afterwards made to extenuate this unmerciful conduct, by asserting that it was an act of revenge. This assertion is false. Those who perpetrated these cruelties did not hear of the execution of their own orthodox patriarch until after they had murdered the orthodox patriarch of their enemies. The truth is, that both by land and sea the war commenced as a war of extermination. Fanatical pedants talked of reviving the glories and the cruelties of classic times as inseparable consequences of Greck liberty. They told how the Athenians had

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success. The Hydriot Admiral was one of the most aristocratic and was an honourable and well-informed man to consulting his inferiors over things in his own better judgment. Very democratic. Perhaps not even maintained strict discipline in a fleet with a noble and every common sailor

A Greek squadron under Admiral [Name] an fleet. Although the Greek ships were inferior in size and weight of armament beyond range of the Ottoman gunnery to attack. This came on the day when a Turkish line-of-battle ship, during the night, was sighted north of the island and were soon overwhelmed. The Turkish captain altered under full press of sail; but unable to do so he again changed course and sailed on the north-west coast of Lesbos under the stern of the Turkish ship, which proved harmless to the Turk. Admiral Tombazis then called a council of war to meet on his flagship, which had been converted into a fire-ship, which had been converted into a "burner", who was successful in his plan under the prow of the Turkish ship, the "Moving Mountain". Now it was that he himself would almost destroy an enemy vessel. What happened on the island of Eressos is described by Finlay:

The sails of the fire-ship in an instant, the rigging were saturated with powder given by the wind over the bows of

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the line-of-battle ship, whose hull they soon enveloped in a sheet of fire. The flames and the dense clouds of smoke which rushed along the deck and poured in at the ports, rendered it impossible to make any effort to save the ship, even had the crew been in a much better state of discipline than it was. The cable was cut, and two launches full of men left the ship. Many of the sailors jumped overboard and swam ashore; but it is supposed that between three and four hundred persons perished. About 11 a.m. the magazine exploded, and left her a complete wreck. This conflagration was the naval beacon of Greek liberty.*

So Pappanikolis, whose marble bust may be seen today on the waterfront, became the hero of Eressos. After a few days, as a reprisal, the Turks massacred the Greek community at Aivali on the mainland.

Admiral Constantine Kanaris of Psara, who was to destroy the Turkish fleet off Chios a year later, was a man of incomparable skill and courage whose dashing naval exploits earned him an enduring fame beyond the limits of Greece. He was one of the heroes of the revolution.

But perhaps the best known and best loved of the Greek admirals was Andreas Miaoulis. From early childhood he had worked on his father's vessel where he acquired a mastery of seamanship. During the Napoleonic wars he had amassed a fortune by successfully running his cargoes through the French blockade of the Mediterranean. His personal character was exemplary, raising him high above some of the cruder self-seekers by whom he was surrounded. Miaoulis proved himself to be a natural sailor and a naval genius; yet he was so little literate that he could only laboriously add his signature to his letters and despatches. A photoprint copy of one of his letters in my possession, dated 12th of January, 1828, is addressed "To the Honourable Committee of the Chios!" who had escaped the terrible massacre of February 1822 on Chios and were then living on the island of Syra. A translation of part of it may be of authentic interest. The handwriting is that of Papadopoulos, one of Miaoulis's secretaries. Only the last four words were written by the Admiral:

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insula of Chalcidice where Mount the Christians had been worsted, is and return to their daily occupations. Peloponnese remained impressive; 7 garrison-towns and the island of all of the country south of a line east to the cape of Actium in the for the future, they felt confident Assembly before the close of 1821, 822 a Constitution at Epidaurus. taly on December the 11th, 1821. "The news of the Greeks continues . . . it may be said that the Peloponnese at Mavrocordato has been acting probably fill a high rank in the ic."

CHAPTER VI

Makriyannis

Contrary to some of the bitter and sordid brutalities of much of the first year's fighting, there is everything to lift the heart in the character of Makriyannis, one of the war's noblest heroes. Makriyannis (whose name by derivation means tall or long John) was as brave a champion as any of the uprising of his people against the tyranny of the Turk, and his life (1797-1864) for more than half a century was entirely bound up with the story of revived Hellenism. His *Memoirs* are invaluable for elucidating how the people felt while fighting during those long troubled years when modern Greece was being born. His work remains a record of supreme importance because it enshrines the conscience of a resurgent nation.

The facts of Makriyannis's life may be briefly tabulated. He was of humble origin, the youngest son of a poor shepherd from a tiny village near Lidoriki in the mountains of central Greece. He married in 1825 and had twelve children, but the first four died in infancy. He began as an illiterate; yet in early manhood he became a prosperous merchant. During his youth he had been sworn in as a member of the *Philike Hetairia*, and fought from the beginning of the rebellion and was eight times wounded. At the age of thirty-two he taught himself to write in order to record his memories, and eventually produced a work of historical value whose main ingredients are patriotism, religious fervour, and an uncompromising toughness in defending the Greeks' pride of achievement. Makriyannis's *Memoirs* are also a work of art; for he was a born writer, possessing a fiery imagination fed from the deep sources of both experience and traditional folk-song. Makriyannis rose

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from a shining commander of irregulars to become a general and he survived the war.

In weighing the literary importance of the *Memoirs*, it is impossible not to be impressed by the opinion of George Seferis, Greece's Nobel Prize winner for literature, who sent a gift-copy of the 1947 edition to C. M. Woodhouse with the inscription: "For my learned friend Monty, this illiterate my master in Greek"; and also by Woodhouse's own tribute to "the first great artist in written demotic". While reading Makriyannis, Woodhouse seemed, he says, to be listening "to the language of the Homeric *pallikaria*, spoken centuries before Homer" and points out that the General was a poet—"he could not have been Seferis's master otherwise". Makriyannis was, on more certain evidence than was Shakespeare. "self-school'd, self-scann'd, self-honour'd, self-secure".

But at the same time Makriyannis's honourable soul was enshrined in the body of a tall strong peasant. He was of course a tough man of his age who could, as occasion demanded, write a bawdy jest, be unrelentingly severe in taking what he considered just retribution, but also blame his own side when he believed it to be at fault. Above all, he repeatedly showed compassion for the wronged and suffering, whether they happened to be his friends or his enemies. An arbitrary quotation or two concerning the first year's fighting will illustrate the honesty and simplicity of his style:

In March 1821 I took some money and crossed to Patras. The Turks were suspicious when they saw a man of Roumeli; I was in danger. When I was in the Russian consulate . . . the Greeks began to ask me stupid questions. I was lodging in what was called Tatarakis's Inn. There were people from Yannina and Arta staying there. I went to the consulate, told them of the happenings in Roumeli and of the ill fate of Ali Pasha. He had made a sally from the fort opposite the palace in the city of Yannina and a multitude of his men were killed. He had lost the flower of his army.

These people did not believe a word of what I said—they

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r literature, who sent a gift-copy
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Makriyannis

wanted Ali Pasha to win and deliver them—him! Ali Pasha the
tyrant, to aid the cause of Greece and bring freedom to our
country, this man who, had he gained the day, would not have
left us our nostrils to breathe with!"

In writing his account of an action, similar to many others,
which took place in June when some eighty Greeks were attacked
in a mountain pass dominated by six thousand of Kurshid Pasha's
troops, Makriyannis reveals his qualities of fair-minded realism,
his faith in God and his patriotic fervour. The Greek position was
defended by Bakolas Gogos, an armatole under Ali Pasha and an
uncle of Karaiskakis:

After the Turks and the Greeks had fought like lions for more
than eight hours, over a thousand Turks were killed, and their
skeltons remained unbroken for a whole year; the bones had
dried hard. So many of them fell dead and were wounded that
Arta was full of fugitives. The Greeks drove them before them
with their daggers and hunted after them as far as Komboti,
causing great slaughter and seizing much booty. Neither the
Greeks nor the Turks could be accused in the matter of their
bravery; both sides fought like lions. However, injustice was
vanquished, for all bravery could do, because the Turks had
gone far from the ways of God. On that day all the leaders and
the soldiers did their duty. Gogos of beloved memory outshone
all others in his glory. Our country owes him thanks. He fought
like a lion and commanded like a philosopher. And, on that
day, our country raised its head again.²

Makriyannis always did his best to instil into his men a sense of
honourable behaviour. He was against all forms of atrocity, pillage
and looting, becoming furiously incensed if he found out that in
these matters his soldiers had disobeyed him. During the year 1824,
when he was fighting in Arcadia, he discovered that some of his
troops had plundered a village near Tripotamon in defiance of his
commands. When the abused inhabitants came to him weeping,
he could not help them and felt a deathly shame. So he went off

central Europe, was very much the exception. Greek entrepreneurs during the 18th century were very largely engaged in the export of raw materials from the Ottoman empire to western Europe and with the importation of western manufactured foods and colonial produce. By the end of the century Greek merchants had come virtually to monopolize the commerce of the empire, in the process presenting a formidable challenge to the established interests of British, French, Dutch and Italian merchants who enjoyed a privileged status under the capitulatory regime. By this time Greek had effectively become the *lingua franca* of Balkan commerce, and Greek mercantile *parokies*, or communities, had been established throughout the Mediterranean, southern Russia and central Europe and as far afield as Calcutta in India and New Smyrna in Florida. At the same time a flourishing mercantile marine developed in the three 'nautical' islands of Hydra, Spetsai and Psara, with Greek sea-captains and their crews making huge profits breaching the continental blockade imposed during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The venerable tradition of Greek piracy in Aegean waters, coupled with the fact that Greeks made up a large proportion of the crews of the Ottoman fleet, was to prove an invaluable asset during the War of Independence.

The existence of this prosperous and widely dispersed Greek mercantile bourgeoisie during the decades before independence is an established fact. But the political consequences of such a development were ambiguous. Some merchants, contrasting the order and positive encouragement to trade they encountered in the states of western Europe with the lawlessness and obstacles to the development of an orderly commerce within the Ottoman dominions, were moved to give their support to the nascent national movement. The majority of these merchants, however, particularly the more prosperous among them, were reluctant to jeopardize their newly found wealth. But where these merchants did unquestionably contribute to the development of a Greek national consciousness, to an awareness of a specifically Greek rather than merely Orthodox Christian identity, was in providing the material base for the intellectual revival that was such a pronounced feature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Besides endowing schools and libraries and subsidizing a growing literature in modern Greek, published almost exclusively outside the Ottoman dominions, these merchants enabled young Greeks to study in the universities of western Europe. Here they came into contact not only with societies where the rule of law prevailed but also with the intoxicating ideas of the European Enlightenment, the French Revolution and Romantic Nationalism.

They became aware, moreover, of the hold which the language and civilization of ancient Greece had over the minds of their educated European contemporaries and this, in turn, helped to stimulate within them an

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awareness that they were the heirs to a heritage that was universally admired throughout the civilized world. A key role in this effort to re-awaken a 'Sense of the Past' in his compatriots was played by Adamantios Korais. Korais was born in Smyrna in 1748. After an unsuccessful stint as a merchant in Amsterdam, he studied medicine at Montpellier and in 1788 settled in Paris where he remained until his death in 1833. Here he established a formidable reputation as a classical scholar and prepared editions of classical texts for his compatriots in the Greek lands. These he prefaced with improving exhortations in which he sought to instil a sense that the Greeks were the inheritors of the incomparable cultural heritage of ancient Greece and urged them to cast off the mantle of Byzantine ignorance in which they had been enveloped. He believed passionately that only through education could the Greeks prepare themselves for emancipation from the double tyranny of the Ottoman Turks and the monkish ignorance of the hierarchs of the Orthodox church.

By the early decades of the 19th century, then, Greek society was undergoing a process of rapid social change and (as Professor Svoronos has described in an earlier chapter) a small but growing number of Greeks, besides becoming increasingly resentful at the continuance of Ottoman rule, were developing a distinct sense of ethnic identity. But many of the élites of Greek society, the Phanariots, the hierarchy of the Orthodox church, the wealthier merchants, the *korabasis*, or provincial notables, were comfortably wedded to the Ottoman *status quo*. Moreover, the nationalist enthusiasms of the small intelligentsia, which was to be found more in the Greek communities of the Diaspora than within the Greek lands, largely passed over the heads of the great mass of the Greek people. It was only towards the very end of the 18th century that the first efforts were made towards concerting an armed revolt against the Ottomans.

The struggle for independence

The first to develop plans for a co-ordinated revolt against the Ottomans was Rigas Velestinlis, a Hellenized Vlach from Thessaly who had acquired his earliest political experience in the service of the Phanariot *hospodars* of the Danubian Principalities. During his stay in Vienna in the 1790s he had been strongly influenced by the French Revolution. The French example is clearly apparent in a number of political tracts which he had printed and with which he intended to revolutionize the Balkans, inciting not only the Greeks but the other Balkan peoples to throw off the insufferable tyranny of the Turks. The most important of these were the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* and the *New Political Constitution of the Inhabitants of Rumeli, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Aegean and the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia*. This latter was essentially a blueprint for a revived Byzantine empire but with republican institutions on the French model in the place

of monarchical, and with the Greek element in the empire in firm control. This was not yet a plan for a Greek national state. Nothing came of his grandiose schemes, however, for he was betrayed before he had even left Habsburg territory and, after being handed over with a handful of fellow conspirators, was strangled by the Ottoman authorities in the fortress of Belgrade in May of 1798. If Rigas' achievement in practical terms was nil, none the less his activities alarmed both the Ottoman Porte and the hierarchy of the Orthodox church. The apprehensions of both were further heightened by the French occupation in 1797, with all the panoply of revolutionary 'liberation', of the Ionian Islands, which had hitherto formed part of the Venetian Republic. The occupation of the Ionian Islands and Bonaparte's subsequent invasion of Egypt in 1798 brought the pernicious doctrines of the French Revolution to the very borders of the empire. Moreover, the fact that the Ionian Islands after 1815 constituted, notionally at least, an independent state under British protection afforded a suggestive example of an area of free Greek soil not under Ottoman control.

Although Rigas Velesinlis' achievement was much more symbolic than real, he was to inspire those Greek nationalists who believed that intellectual revival and an increasingly conscious Greek nationalism must be followed up by concrete plans for an armed revolt. The lead in such an undertaking was assumed by three somewhat marginal members of the Greek mercantile Diaspora, Emmanouil Xanthos, Nicholas Skouphas and Athanasios Tsakaloff. These founded in 1814, significantly not within the Greek lands themselves but in Odessa, one of the important centres of the Diaspora, the *Philiki Etairia* or Friendly Society. The *Philiki Etairia* had but one aim, namely the 'liberation of the Motherland' through an armed and co-ordinated uprising. Strongly influenced by Freemasonry, the *Philiki Etairia* embraced four categories of membership, who were initiated into the society with elaborate rituals. In its early years the Society made relatively little headway in its efforts to recruit members. From 1818 onwards, however, membership grew apace, particularly among the Greek communities of the Diaspora. From the beginning, the *Arche*, or leadership of the society, sought to cultivate the impression that it enjoyed the blessing of Russia, which the Greeks at large had been nurtured to consider as the most likely external power to emancipate their Orthodox co-religionists. Two attempts were made to prevail upon Count Ioannis Capodistrias, a Corfiote Greek who since 1816 had been the Tsar Alexander I's joint foreign minister and a man thoroughly versed in the ways of international diplomacy, to assume the overall leadership of the conspiracy. Capodistrias, however, considered the whole enterprise to be foolhardy and doomed to failure and counselled instead that the Greeks should await the outcome of the next in the seemingly interminable series of Russo-Turkish wars, when they might aspire to the kind of semi-autonomous status within the



A shadow puppet representing the Klepht leader Theodoros Kolokotronis. In the complicated manoeuvres after the war, Kolokotronis supported the Russian interests, rebelling against King Otto in 1833.

Ottoman empire enjoyed by Serbia. He did not, however, betray the conspiracy and, in 1820, the Society persuaded Prince Alexander Ypsilantis, a Phanariote serving as an aide-de-camp to Tsar Alexander, to assume the supreme leadership of the society. Nothing came of the elaborate schemes engineered by the leadership to stimulate an uprising that would also be supported by the Bulgars and the Serbs, for in many parts of the Balkan peninsula there was a growing resentment at Greek ecclesiastical and cultural hegemony. The *Philiki Etairia*'s chance was to come, however, when in 1820 the Sultan Mahmud II, as part of his policy of seeking to restore the authority of the central government, launched a campaign to destroy the power of Ali Paşa, the *ayan* who controlled much of mainland Greece. Such a campaign would inevitably tie up a substantial part of the Sultan's armies and presented an opportunity that was not to be missed. Ypsilantis, therefore, launched an invasion of the Danubian Principalities across the river Pruth in March 1821, issuing a call to arms with an appropriate invocation of the glories of ancient Greece. He had hoped to exploit a concurrent uprising of the native Rumanian inhabitants of the Principalities against the local *boyars*, or notables. But those who had rallied to the standard of Tudor Vladimirescu showed little enthusiasm for fighting on behalf of Greeks, whom they regarded as quite oppressive as the Ottoman Turks. It was not long, therefore, before Ypsilantis' ragged army of emigré Greeks and students was routed by Ottoman forces at the Battle of Drăgăşani in June and Ypsilantis himself was forced to flee across the borders into the Habsburg empire.

Soon afterwards (the precise degree of co-ordination between the two uprisings is not clear) scattered outbursts of violence culminated in a fully fledged revolt in the Peloponnese, an uprising which was to

meet with considerable initial success. The fighting was marked by atrocities committed by both sides and it was not long before the Turks, very much in a minority in this area of the Sultan's domains, retired to their coastal fortresses. To the initial element of surprise, the Greeks' long tradition of klephtic warfare and the rapidity with which their sea-captains were able to gain command of the sea, enabled the insurgents to seize the initiative during the early years of what was to prove a protracted struggle. The news of the uprising, moreover, aroused the enthusiasm of liberal opinion throughout the civilized world and it was not long before foreign philhellene volunteers, the most prominent of whom was Byron, began to arrive to offer their services to the embattled insurgents. These philhellenic volunteers came from a number of countries (a solitary Cuban is recorded) and numbered in their ranks, besides the genuine idealists, a number of do-gooders who saw in Greece a kind of laboratory for their various enthusiasms, together with a sprinkling of downright rogues. Some, indeed, became disillusioned when they discovered that the modern Greeks bore precious little resemblance to the worthies of Periclean Athens. Throughout Europe philhellenic committees were set up to raise money for the Greek cause and to relieve distress and these activities had some limited effect in eventually moving the governments of the Europe of the Holy Alliance, which initially looked upon the revolt with ill-disguised horror, to intervene in the conflict.

The initial successes of the insurgents were soon to raise the question of the governance of the newly acquired territories. It was not long before three provisional governments came into existence. Early in 1822 a highly democratic constitution was adopted, which reflected the aspirations of the westernizing intelligentsia and which was clearly intended to present an attractive image to enlightened opinion in Europe. It was not, however, until 1823, when a revised constitution was promulgated, that the three local governments were suppressed in favour of a unified central authority. But long before a successful outcome to the war was in sight factionalism began to threaten the whole enterprise. Power in the new central government was contested between rival groups and by 1824 outright civil war between the feuding factions had broken out. The underlying causes of this factionalism, which was to manifest itself during later periods of national crisis, are complex, and during the course of the war political alignments and alliances were in a state of continuous flux. The Peloponnesian *korabasis*, or local notables, sought to retain the power and privileges that they had traditionally enjoyed under the Turks, while the klephtic leaders such as Theodoros Kolokotronis were no less determined that their vital military contribution should be rewarded with an appropriate share of political power. The small group of westernizing intellectuals, while they lacked political and military muscle, fought to ensure that Greece was endowed

with the trappings of a liberal constitutional state on the European model. The island shipowners, whose contribution to the war at sea was substantial, also demanded their share of the political spoils. Broadly speaking the cleavage can be interpreted in terms of a struggle for power between the 'military' or 'democratic' party, in which the former klephtic leaders represented, if only by default, the interests of the broad mass of the Greek population, and the 'civilian' or 'aristocratic' party. The 'civilian' party was centred on the Peloponnesian primates, the island shipowners and the small group of Phanariot politicians who had gained their political experience under the Ottomans but who had chosen to side with the insurgents.

Another dimension to the cleavage was the confrontation that emerged between the modernizers, largely western-educated and dressing in the western fashion, *alafranga*, and the élites that had hitherto dominated Greek society and whose traditional outlook was reflected in their dress. These westernizers sought to develop a regular army on European lines and were anxious to equip Greece with the full panoply of the institutions of a liberal constitutional state and to place a firm limit on the powers traditionally enjoyed by the Orthodox church. The traditional élites, unlike the westernizers, had no fully articulated national consciousness. Instead they tended to see the war in terms of a religious crusade against the Moslem Turks. They had no concept that they were fighting for political democracy. Rather they were anxious to cling on to their traditional prerogatives and to protect the privileged position that they already enjoyed within Greek society. Essentially they thought in terms of substituting their own oligarchical rule for that of the Turks.

While these political divisions were dividing the insurgents, the military situation took a drastic turn for the worse. For the Sultan Mahmud II, in his determination to crush the Greek rebellion, had enlisted the support of his nominal vassal, Mehmet Ali, the ruler of Egypt, and of his son Ibrahim Paşa. The price demanded for their cooperation was high, but Ibrahim Paşa rapidly established himself in early 1825 in the Peloponnese and began mercilessly to harry the insurgents. With the military position fast deteriorating, the desperate Greeks looked increasingly to the Great Powers for help in resolving the crisis. By this stage of the war, the Powers, each increasingly fearful lest the other should profit from the continuing conflict, and with their commercial interests in the region severely affected, began to move towards a policy of cautious involvement. The Protocol of St Petersburg of 1826 provided for joint British and Russian mediation in the conflict, mediation to which France became a party by the Treaty of London of 1827. This policy, described by Canning, the British prime minister, as one of 'peaceful interference', was to culminate in the destruction by a joint British, Russian and French fleet of the Ottoman and Turco-Egyptian fleets at the Battle of Navarino in October 1827. This decisive, if not entirely planned,



'Mrs Greece and her rough lovers', an English caricature of 1828. Turkey: 'Down on your knees and beg my sublime pardon.' Russia: 'Leave that ugly old ruffian and I'll manage your affairs, my pretty dear.' Greece: 'Oh Lord, gentlemen, I'd rather have nothing to say to either of you.' In the background Britain and France quarrel over the lady. The medal, above right, sees the same situation from the opposite point of view. After the Battle of Neocastro, England, France and Russia raise an exhausted Greece from the ground.



intervention by the Great Powers was to ensure that some form of independent Greece was to come into existence, although it was to be several years before the borders of the new state were fixed and the precise terms of its governance and sovereignty settled. In 1827, a third constitution, again of markedly liberal hue, was enacted at the Assembly of Troezen and Count Capodistrias, who had resigned from the Russian service in 1822, was elected *kyvernitis*, or governor, of the liberated territories. He effectively deployed his very considerable diplomatic skills in negotiating the boundaries of the new state. These ran from Arta in the west to Volos in the east and included a number of the Aegean islands nearest to the mainland. Capodistrias was faced, however, with formidable problems in creating the basic institutions of the state and his refusal to be bound by the 1827 constitution, combined with his paternalist and authoritarian ways, alienated influential groups, including many of those who had been most active in prosecuting the war. Unrest culminated in his assassination in October 1831. Britain, France and Russia, who had taken upon themselves the role of protecting powers, had already decreed that Greece should be ruled by a European prince and their choice lighted on Otto of Wittelsbach, the seventeen-year-old son of King Ludwig of Bavaria.

The new state: aspirations and problems

The inheritance into which Otto entered in 1833 was not a promising one. The territories of the new state had been ravaged by the best part of a decade of

intermittent hostilities and Capodistrias' efforts to create the basic institutions of a state where none had hitherto existed had met with only partial success. Most problematic of all, the new nation, with its population of some three-quarters of a million, contained scarcely a third of the Greeks under Ottoman rule. Virtually all the great commercial centres of the empire, Smyrna, Constantinople and Thessalonica, in which Greek merchants had flourished and continued to do so, remained outside its bounds. This had as a consequence that, from the beginning, the *Megali Idea*, or Great Idea, of uniting all the areas of compact Greek population within the Near East, was to dominate the external and, to a substantial degree, the internal politics of the new state. The *Megali Idea* in its extreme form, which envisaged that Constantinople, in the words of the popular ballad, would with the passing of time 'once again be ours', was never in fact to be achieved, although for a time in the early 20th century it did not appear the fantastic dream it does with hindsight. It was to be nearly a century before the borders of Greece more or less reached their present extent. Moreover, during the course of the 19th century Greece's irredentist objectives, which consistently outstripped the physical means at her disposal, were to bring her into frequent conflict with the three 'protecting' Powers who had guaranteed the territorial integrity of the new state in a treaty, to which Greece was not a party, with the Ottoman empire in 1832. A pattern was thus established of Great Power interference in the internal affairs of Greece which has existed until the present day.

As Otto had ascended the throne when he was a minor, until 1835 the country was governed on his behalf by a three-man Bavarian regency. These regents showed little understanding of the aspirations of those Greeks who had actually fought for independence. Moreover, they ignored Greek sensitivities by fashioning the institutions of the new state on the west European model, by importing legal codes and administrative practices wholesale from the west, and by

22

tion

Morea Papaflessas had found that the anxious to begin a revolution. When how- Khursid Pasha, the vali of Peloponnese, join in the campaign against Ali Pasha, of beginning a revolt in the Morea were t still the primates were reluctant to move. o prevail upon them to make preparation. January and the early days of February he ings with them at Vostitsa. Speaking with ria, he pressed them to take action, saying, ' yourselves, the Turks will kill you.' But the out information of what was happening in nd their own envoys to Constantinople, to Pisa, to find out what the real strength of er it really had the backing of Russia. They to Papaflessas that at the very earliest they il 25 March. But the kapetanei had other begin a revolt without delay, taking advant- e. There is no evidence that they made plans volt with a rising in the Principalities. At orant of what was happening in the north, without knowledge of the change of plans. a, Papaflessas went to his native village of y certain klefts. From there he wrote on at Ismail. Highly indignant at being kept ed to know what Ipsilantis was doing. Was he ship that was waiting for him at Trieste? t it was dangerous to delay the rising in the er intended for Ipsilantis he pointed out that the secret of the eteria and that if action was then all would be lost. A few days later he s with other letters which he sent by the hand Athanasopoulos. When however this agent pple he found that the leading eterists were theless Papaflessas and other Moreot eterists ey of Mani that the revolution would take ns would send assistance, and that Ipsilantis bringing bags of gold. n for the danger to the eteria was not with- 20 March the Turks ordered the metropolitan nese and the primates to go to Tripolitza to

The outbreak of the Revolution

confer with them on the subject of Ali Pasha's intrigues. The Turks still attached more importance to these than to what they knew about the eteria. What they feared was that Ali might make a bid for Greek support, and their plan was to hold the leading Greeks of the Morea as hostages. Suspecting the worst, the primates of Achaia made excuses for their non-appearance. They wished to gain time: they wished to know first what was happening in the north. Mean- while Papaflessas and the kapetanei were pressing on with their preparations. Towards the end of March a ship arrived in Mani with ammunition from Smyrna and Aivali, and Nikitas Dikaïos, the brother of Papaflessas, went to bring it to Poliani where chiefs were gathering and recruits were flowing in. Certain chiefs began to force the issue. Soliotis attacked and killed a party of Turkish tax collec- tors. Another band in the Kalavrita region attacked Greek and Turkish moneylenders. Only then did the Turks begin to take alarm. They promptly seized the bishops and primates who had reported to Tripolitza and they cast them into prison. In vain did these hos- tages endeavour to convince the Turks that no Greek plot was in existence and that these outbreaks of violence were sheer acts of banditry.

The outbreak of the Revolution

Ipsilantis, on learning from Georgakis Olimpïos in January 1821 of Vladimirescu's revolt and having some intelligence of the campaign against Ali Pasha, decided to take action as soon as possible. On 5 March 1821, having bribed the Cossack sentries and having possibly come to some understanding with the local Russian command, he crossed the Pruth from Bessarabia with small forces. In Moldavia others joined him. Altogether he had only 4,500 men. These included Serbs, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Moldavians, and some 700 Greek students who formed the 'Sacred Battalion'. There were only four cannon and very few cavalry. He could indeed count on help from Georgakis Olimpïos, who had 1,500 followers in the region of Bucharest, and he still hoped that Vladimirescu might render assistance. This hope was not fulfilled. Vladimirescu first wanted to know what the Russians were doing. He visited Ipsilantis to find out the truth. But failing to get satisfaction he held aloof. Worse still, he passed on information to the Turks. Hence Ipsilantis, instead of getting help from Vladimirescu, had to detach a relatively large force to watch him. Right from the begin-

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Outbreak of the Revolution

ning Ipsilantis's venture was doomed to failure. The projected rising in Constantinople misfired completely and served only to provide a pretext for the massacres of the Christians that were soon to follow. There was no help from Russia. In reply to a letter of 8 March from Ipsilantis imploring Russia to save the Greeks 'from the horrors of a long and terrible struggle', the Tsar Alexander, who was then at the Laibach congress and under the influence of Metternich, expressed his sorrow that a man of birth should have stooped to such shady plots and should have raised among his fellow Greeks the false hope that they would have the assistance of a great power. In that same reply the Tsar ordered Ipsilantis to withdraw from the Principalities immediately: he would not be allowed to return to Russia; and he must forfeit for ever his Russian rank. This reply had been drafted by Kapodistrias who was almost in despair and who, like the Tsar, deplored Ipsilantis's action. It was sent through Stroganov, the Russian Ambassador at the Porte, who was instructed to show it to the Turks. In a covering letter Kapodistrias made it clear that he personally disapproved of the rebellion and he instructed Stroganov to keep a close eye on the Russian consuls in the Levant. Before receiving these communications Stroganov had already informed the Porte that Russia had given no encouragement to the Greek rebels. He had moreover urged the Patriarch and the leading fanariots at Constantinople to do their utmost to restrain the Christian population. This action was hardly necessary: the Patriarch, who also deplored the turn of events and who was much concerned for the safety of his flock, had excommunicated Ipsilantis and had called upon the faithful to maintain their allegiance to their lawful masters.

Shortly after the outbreak of the revolution in the Principalities Xanthos sent Stamatios Doukakis to Greece by way of Constantinople with letters and proclamations of war for delivery to the apostles of the eteria in Greece. Doukakis sailed in the ship of Georgios Prasinos which, leaving Constantinople on 13 March, arrived in Mani before the end of the month. At long last therefore the Moreots learned what was happening in the north. On 2 April Mani rose under Petrobey who advanced with his troops towards Kalamata, to which town he laid siege. On 9 April, styling himself commander of the Spartan troops, he issued the following appeal to the European courts:

24

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 massacres of the Christians that were soon
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The outbreak of the Revolution

"The insupportable yoke of Ottoman tyranny hath weighed down
 for above a century the unhappy Greeks of Peloponnesus. So ex-
 cessive had its rigour become, that its fainting victims had scarcely
 strength enough left to utter groans. In this state, deprived of all
 our rights, we have unanimously resolved to take up arms against
 our tyrants. All our intestine discord is plunged into oblivion as a
 fruit of oppression, and we breathe the air of liberty. Our bands
 having burst their fetters, already signalize themselves against the
 barbarians. We no longer run about day and night to execute
 corvées imposed by a merciless taskmaster. Our mouths are
 opened; heretofore silent, or employed only in addressing useless
 supplications to our tormentors, they now celebrate a deliverance
 which we have sworn to accomplish, or else to perish. We invoke
 therefore the aid of all the civilized nations of Europe, that we
 may the more promptly attain to the goal of a just and sacred
 enterprise, reconquer our rights, and regenerate our unfortunate
 people. Greece, our mother, was the lamp that illuminated you;
 on this ground she reckons on your active philanthropy. Arms,
 money, and counsel, are what she expects from you. We promise
 you her lively gratitude, which she will prove by deeds in more
 prosperous times."¹

Already on 5 April some 5,000 Greeks had assembled near
 Kalamata to receive the blessings of the Church; and on the follow-
 ing day, 25 March according to the Julian calendar, the metro-
 politan bishop of Patras, Germanos, had raised the flag of revolu-
 tion in the northern Morea at the monastery of Agia Lavra near
 Kalavrita, where the primates of Achaia, before taking their final
 decision to defy the Turks, had been waiting for news. It is this
 event at Agia Lavra (and not Alexandros Ipsilantis's crossing of
 the Pruth) which by tradition is celebrated as the beginning of the
 Greek revolution.

Before long the whole Morea was in arms and no less than 15,000
 out of 40,000 Turks perished. Those who survived sought refuge in
 the fortresses. On 16 April the Christian Albanian chiefs of certain
 villages in eastern Greece (the *Dervenochoria*) rose against the local
 Turks. Joined by the peasantry of Boeotia and Attica, they seized
 the towns of Salona, Livadia and Talanti, and, had they shown
 more enterprise, they could easily have taken Athens. On 15 April

¹ This English text is taken from Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek
 Revolution*, 1832, vol. 1, p. 183.

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Outbreak of the Revolution

the island of Spetses joined the revolution and was followed by that of Psara on 18 April and by Idra some ten days later. These three islands were to provide most of the crews and most of the warships which were to play an important part throughout the revolution. Already the large island of Samos had revolted. In western Greece, however, the chieftains were slower to move and it was nearly two months before they took the field. Further to the north in Epiros the eterists, who were in the midst of strong Turkish forces, were unable to move at all. Unlike the Souliots they refrained from joining the forces of Ali Pasha: they preferred to wait and see what happened in the struggle between the Sultan and his overmighty vassal.

Such then were the immediate origins of the Greek revolution—a vast conspiracy organized by intellectuals and financed by the merchant classes, a conspiracy which came to include and which gave some cohesion to the military classes (the *kleftes*, the *armatoli* and the *kapi*). Following the Napoleonic wars these military classes formed a more than usually restless element in the Turkish empire and, as a result of the conflict between Ali Pasha and the Sultan, were given the opportunity to revolt. Once the revolution began every Greek whether poor or rich became committed. Peasants, small traders and artisans, monks and parish priests, merchants, shipowners and sailors, and young intellectuals from the scattered Greek world all joined the *kleftic* bands and ships. Almost the whole nation went *sto klari* (became brigands), following the traditions of the *klefts*, of whose deeds they had been accustomed to sing. The rich landowners, the 'Christian Turks', who stood to lose so much in case the rising should prove abortive, had necessarily to join in, for fear that if they remained aloof they would be confounded with the tyrant. The higher clergy were in a somewhat similar dilemma. They naturally sympathised with the nationalist and religious feelings of the Greek people in general, but knew that the revolt might bring hardship and suffering upon them, as indeed it did to many in Constantinople, Aivali and elsewhere. When news of the uprising in the Principalities reached the capital, and again when about the middle of April the news of the massacres of Turks in the Morea arrived, there was an outbreak of fanaticism among the Moslems. Among the victims were the Patriarch Grigorios himself and several bishops. The Turks seized Grigorios, tried him for complicity in the Greek rising, found him guilty, executed him, and left his body to hang as a warning to his flock.



Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, an American philhellene, assisted the Greeks in their fight for independence from the Ottoman Empire. He also founded the Perkins Institute in Boston, a school for the blind.

The Triple Alliance—Britain, France, and Russia—gave the Greeks some assistance and lots of sympathy, but these countries wanted no war with Turkey themselves, so they avoided an open alliance. Individual Americans came to Greece to help out as private citizens, but the Greeks needed and expected official aid from the United States government. None ever came. The U.S. Navy stationed ships in the Mediterranean throughout the war, but naval personnel never officially went into action on behalf of the Greeks. In fact, their secret mission was to try to establish trade with Turkey.

The U.S. government never changed its official position, but the American public collected a total of eight shiploads of food and supplies for the civilian refugees of the war. Other American individuals served with the Greek forces or contributed other services on a private basis. The Americans and other foreigners who devoted themselves to the cause of Greek liberty during the War for Independence were known as philhellenes. They included such prominent figures as the British poet Lord Byron (who died of an illness contracted while he was helping the Greeks).

Greeks. Although they had more success in some years than in others, the Turkish army never finished the job before the approach of winter forced them to withdraw again to their bases in the north.

The Greeks established a revolutionary government early in the war so that they would be prepared to assume power if they were successful in driving out the Turks. But once the government was established, political discord arose. The Greek military leaders fought each other over the location of the government (it moved often during these years), who should head it, who should be represented in it, and how it should be organized.

(212) 570-3570

Kandout's (Kavos)
(nt. bond to)

Best contact: Father
→ Alex

Andy Thom

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→ (supported GB over Brit.)
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Jane Hall

GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA : 40

FASCIMILE COVER SHEET

10:55 am

DATE March 18th

NAME Kathy Rust

FASCIMILE NUMBER 202-456-6218

FROM DINA THEODOSAKIS

TELEPHONE NUMBER 212-570-3570

Number of pages: 2
(including cover sheet)

Archdiocese Fax Number: (212) 861-2183

COMMENTS

DEAR KATHY:
FR. Alex asked me to fax the attached
letter to you.
Thanks, Dina

Alex Kork

*Jane Hall
David
Compu
NSC
-Cypress
issue
-Macedonia
issue*

Any problems with the following transmission please contact the sender

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND ARCHBISHOP IAKAVOS
DURING SIGNING CEREMONY
FOR
GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY PROCLAMATION

The Roosevelt Room

11:26 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much for the welcome. Please be seated. It's a great pleasure to see so many friends here today. Of course, a very special pleasure ~~just now to welcome~~ Archbishop Iakovos back to the Oval Office. He's been there on ~~several occasions~~ since I've been President, certainly before, many times. But it gave me an opportunity to express my respect and appreciation for him. He's been a wonderful friend and a good counselor on very important matters.

~~I want to salute Ed Derwinski.~~ He's not Greek, but he was a former member of the Congress. (Laughter and applause.) He's got a lot of friends in the Greek-American community, I'll tell you. And I also am delighted to ~~see Ambassador Zaharakis who's here;~~ another man who's doing a superb job.

And I might say, before we get into the festivities of the day, that I'm very comfortable and pleased with the relationship between Greece and the United States. And I have great respect for Mr. Mitsotakis who is doing a superb job. I hope you will convey that to him, please, Mr. Ambassador.

But here we are to designate this day again, March 25th, Greek Independence Day. March 25th marks several turning points in history. And just as Americans and Greeks share many common values, we each hold this date in special reverence for the strides we've made in the name of freedom.

It was in the spring of 1584 that the first colonists set sail from England in search of new opportunities and independence. One hundred and seventy years ago, the day of annunciation, 1821, the Greek banner of revolt was first raised in the successful uprising in the name of liberty.

The shared significance of this date is more than a coincidence. It is just one example of the common ideals and values the people of Greece and America hold so dear: Freedom, democracy, human rights and justice. And under the current leadership of Prime Minister Mitsotakis, with whom I had the pleasure of meeting twice last year, the relationship does, as I said earlier, continue to flourish. And I hope that he and I will meet soon again.

I'd like to take a moment to thank the people of Greece for their support and cooperation in this historic coalition effort to liberate Kuwait from ruthless aggression. The people of Greece can take great pride in their country's role in protecting the rule of law.

And so now, after again saying how pleased I am to see so many friends here today for this occasion, it is my pleasure to put pen to paper and proclaim Greek Independence Day a national day of celebration of Greek and American democracy. (Applause.)

MORE

(The proclamation is signed.) (Applause.)

ARCHBISHOP IAKAVOS: Mr. President, on behalf of the 3 million strong Greek Orthodox community in the United States, I offer to you our most humble thanks for signing once again today, the 25th of March, 1991, after 170 years from the Greek independence -- the first -- proclamation which calls all of us to uphold the ideals and values upon which the ancient Greek and the modern American concept of democracy is founded.

We ask you to accept our warmest reassurance of our continued commitment to the full support of your historic efforts to have freedom and justice ultimately prevail, and follow the foundation for the new world order for which you so arduously labor.

God bless you. This is our prayer -- constant prayer -- Mr. President, and inspired strength to you as you lead the world towards a state of permanent peace.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. (Applause.)

END

11:42 A.M. EST



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

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

January 28, 1991

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President;

I join with all God-fearing peoples of the world to thank you and commend you for championing the causes of peace, justice and democracy. The citizens of planet earth owe you and our allies in "Desert Shield and Storm" our full support and appreciation for leading us, through unavoidable conflict and struggle, to the promise of a new age of hope and good-will among men. With the courageous, heroic acts of our armed forces, the strategical genius of our Commander-in-Chief and his key advisors and undergirded and inspired by the prayers of the faithful, we cannot, and will not, fail!

At a time when we are fighting on behalf of democracy and since as you rightly stated that our Nation's life must continue as normal as possible, I am emboldened to, once again, ask you to receive us at the White House around March 20th or 21st on the occasion of the 170th Anniversary of Greek Independence Day. This year the Congress will enact a resolution designated March 25, 1991, as Greek Independence Day: A Celebration of Greek and American Democracy. We would like to receive personally this proclamation and share with you our deep appreciation for all you do to champion peace, human rights and democracy around the globe.

Our prayers are with you and our armed forces as you set a standard of leadership not only for our Country but all nations as well.

Prayerfully,

Archbishop Iakovos

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

AI:dt

GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE
OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

MAR 7 11:03

FASCIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE MARCH 7, 1991

NAME Kathy Rust

FASCIMILE NUMBER _____

FROM Fr. Alex

TELEPHONE NUMBER 212-570-3570

Number of pages: 3
(including cover sheet)

Archdiocese Fax Number: (212) 861-2183

COMMENTS

DEAR KATHY;
Fr. Alex asked that I fax the
attached to you.
Dina

Any problems with the following transmission please contact the sender

4/17/27 30
68

Celebrating Greek and American Democracy

**White House
March 22, 1991**

Suggested Invitees

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos
Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church
of North and South America

His Excellency Christos Zacharakis
Ambassador of Greece to the United States

Mr. George Argyros
President, Arnel Development Inc.

Mr. Andrew A. Athens
Chairman, United Hellenic American Congress
President of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. John A. Catsimatidis
President & CEO, Red Apple Companies
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
President, Courtelis Company
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Michael Jaharis Jr.
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Rev. Alexander Karloutsos
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America

Mr. Tom C. Korologos
President, Timmons & Company
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Peter T. Kourides, Esq.
Legal Counsel of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Andrew E. Manatos
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. John G. Rangos, Sr.
President, Chambers Development Company Inc.
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Alex G. Spanos
President, A.G. Spanos Construction Inc.
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

Mr. Angelo K. Tsakopoulos
President, AKT Developments Inc.
Member of the Archdiocesan Council
Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

The Hon. Edward Derwinski
Secretary of Veteran Affairs

The Hon. Paul S. Sarbanes
U.S. Senator of Maryland

The Hon. Michael Bilirakis
U.S. Congressman of Florida

The Hon. George W. Gekas
U.S. Congressman of Pennsylvania

The Hon. Nicholas Mavroules
U.S. Congressman of Massachusetts

The Hon. Olympia Snowe
U.S. Congresswoman of Maine

The Hon. Gus Yatron
U.S. Congressman of Pennsylvania

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: March 19, 1991

TO: ~~Siehan~~/Jim

FROM: LINDA CASEY
x2533

Jim, this follows up on our conversation today about the Greek Independence Day event next Monday.

I've called Mr. Courtelis' office to confirm that the event is taking place. He was already aware.

No doubt he will be on the guest list provided by Archbishop Iakovos; but if on the off-chance he is not on said list, he definitely should be invited. His assistant was very clear that Mr. Courtelis intends to come.

Thanks.

Celebrating Greek and American Democracy

Presidential Reception

March 25, 1991

11:30 am

Suggested Invitee List

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate*
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America
8-10 East 79 Street
New York, NY 10021
(212) 570-3570

Mr. Panagiotis Angelopoulos
c/o Pierre Hotel
Fifth Avenue @ 61 Street
New York, NY 10021
(212) 838-8000

Mr. Andrew A. Athens
United Hellenic American Congress
400 N. Franklin Street, Suite 215
Chicago, IL 60610
(312) 822-9888

Mr. John A. Catsimatidis
Red Apple Companies
823 Eleventh Avenue
New York, NY 10019
(212) 956-5803

Mr. William G. Chirgotis
William Chirgotis Architecture
37 Mountain Avenue
Springfield, NJ 07081
(201) 376-3200

Mr. Vaseleos Colevas
Colevas Group
PO Box 564
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
(301) 952-2300

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Courtelis Company
711 Avenue, Suite 1400
Miami, FL 33131-2822
(305) 379-8467

○ Dr. William Hunter
WN Hunter & Associates
2104-A Gallows Road
Vienna, VA 22182
(703) 847-9200

Mr. Michael Jaharis Jr.
1040 Fifth Avenue, Apt. 7A
New York, NY 10028
(212) 472-1333

Rev. Alexander Karloutsos
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese
8-10 East 79 Street
New York, NY 10021
(212) 570-3570

○ Mr. Tom C. Korologos
Timmons & Company
1850 K Street, NW - Suite 850
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 331-1760

Mr. Sotiri K. Kolokotronis
SSK Developments Inc.
7700 College Town Drive, Suite 118
Sacramento, CA 95826
(916) 386-0114

○ → Mr. Andrew E. Manatos
Manatos & Manatos
1750 New York Avenue, NW - Suite 200
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 393-7790

○ Mr. Timothy J. Maniatis
Maniatis Associates
1700 N. Moore Street, #927
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 276-8828

Presidential Reception

Monday, March 25, 1991

B-List

- Mr. George C. Andreas
Lantzsch-Andreas Enterprises, Inc.
8545 Leesburg Pike
Vienna, VA 22180
(703) 448-2222
- Mr. Philip Christopher
Audiovox Corporation
150 Marcus Boulevard
Happauge, NY 11788
(516) 231-7750
- Mr. Evangelos Gatzonis
C. Gatzonis Electrical Co.
23-24 Steinway Street
Astoria, NY 11105
(718) 626-1275
- Mr. Emanuel Fthenakis
Fairchild Industries Inc.
300 W. Service Road, Box 10803
Chantilly, VA 32021
(703) 478-5805
- Mr. Alex Karras
3815 West Drive Avenue
Burbank, CA 91505
- Mr. Harry Magafan
6109 Clearwood Road
Bethesda, MD 20817
(301) 229-3239
- Mr. James Moshovitis
Marsh Enterprises
1155 Connecticut Avenue, NW - Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 429-6513
- Mr. Nicholas G. Paleologos
Miller & Long Company Inc.
4824 Rugby Avenue
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 657-8000
- Mr. Peter Pappas
Peter Pappas & Sons Tomiato Repackers
1401 Okie Street
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 526-6461
- Mr. Kenneth N. Pontikes, Sr.
Comdisco, Inc.
6111 North River Road
Rosemont, IL 60018
(312) 698-3000
- Mr. Dean C. Popps, Esq.
1360 Beverly Road, Suite 305
McLean, VA 22101
(703) 734-0159
- Mr. Peter Sampras
6816 Verde Ridge Road
Rancho Palos Verde, CA 90274
(213) 541-1176
- Mr. Ron Seikaly
Miami Heat Basketball
721 NW First Avenue
Miami, FL 33136
(305) 374-1066
- Mr. Demetrios Tsintolas
Tsintolas Realty Company
3520 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 362-5400
- Mr. John Spanos
3303 Clearwood Court
Falls Church, VA 22042
(804) 534-4478

Tom Korologos
Charles Tsaffaras
John Catsimatidis
Father Alex Karloutsos

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Oval Office: White House photographer only.
Roosevelt Room: Pool coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- Archbishop Iakavos is escorted to the Oval Office and briefly visits the President.
- The President and the Archbishop enter the Roosevelt Room from the Oval Office where other guests are seated.
- The President makes brief remarks from the podium.
- The President seated and signs the proclamation.
- The President thanks the guests and departs.

Talking points provided by NSC -- in the morning.

215165

ALEC P. COURTELIS
701 BRICKELL AVENUE, SUITE 1400
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131-2822
(305) 379-8467

AC/ER

February 19, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Mr. John Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

I attach a copy of a letter that Archbishop Iakovos has sent to the President requesting a date to personally receive the proclamation designating March 25, 1991 as Greek Independence Day: A Celebration of Greek and American Democracy.

As you may recall, this has been done for the past couple of years. I would very much appreciate it if the President could find a little time to have this event again this year. I know how busy the President is; however, I feel that, given the new government in Greece which is quite pro-American, this gesture will go a long way to continue building and improving our relations with Greece.

Thank you for your consideration.

With kindest personal regards,


Alec P. Courtelis

APC/kes

Enclosure

Mr. Nicholas J. Nicholas Jr.
President & Chief Operating Officer
Time, Inc.
1271 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
(212) 522-3102

Mrs. Dina Oldknow, National President
Ladies Philoptochos Society
1161 Virginia Road
San Marino, CA 91108
(213) 681-5430

Mr. John G. Rangos Sr.
Chambers Development Company Inc.
10700 Frankstown Road
Pittsburgh, PA 15235
(412) 244-6120

Mr. James S. Scofield
Supreme President, Order of AHEPA
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St. Petersburg, FL 33707
(813) 893-8785

Mr. Alexander G. Spanos
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Mr. Angelo K. Tsakopoulos
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Dr. P. Roy Vagelos
Merck & Company
PO Box 2000
Rahway, NJ 07065
(201) 574-4000

His Excellency Christos Zacharakis*
Ambassador of Greece to the USA
2221 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 667-3168



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

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

January 28, 1991

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President;

I join with all God-fearing peoples of the world to thank you and commend you for championing the causes of peace, justice and democracy. The citizens of planet earth owe you and our allies in "Desert Shield and Storm" our full support and appreciation for leading us, through unavoidable conflict and struggle, to the promise of a new age of hope and good-will among men. With the courageous, heroic acts of our armed forces, the strategical genius of our Commander-in-Chief and his key advisors and undergirded and inspired by the prayers of the faithful, we cannot, and will not, fail!

At a time when we are fighting on behalf of democracy and since as you rightly stated that our Nation's life must continue as normal as possible, I am emboldened to, once again, ask you to receive us at the White House around March 20th or 21st on the occasion of the 170th Anniversary of Greek Independence Day. This year the Congress will enact a resolution designated March 25, 1991, as **Greek Independence Day: A Celebration of Greek and American Democracy**. We would like to receive personally this proclamation and share with you our deep appreciation for all you do to champion peace, human rights and democracy around the globe.

Our prayers are with you and our armed forces as you set a standard of leadership not only for our Country but all nations as well.

Prayerfully,

+ I A K O V O S

Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox
Church of North and South America

AI:dt

ALEC P. COURTELIS
701 BRICKELL AVENUE, SUITE 1400
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131-2822
(305) 379-8467

February 19, 1991

Mr. John Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

I attach a copy of a letter that Archbishop Iakovos has sent to the President requesting a date to personally receive the proclamation designating March 25, 1991 as Greek Independence Day: A Celebration of Greek and American Democracy.

As you may recall, this has been done for the past couple of years. I would very much appreciate it if the President could find a little time to have this event again this year. I know how busy the President is; however, I feel that, given the new government in Greece which is quite pro-American, this gesture will go a long way to continue building and improving our relations with Greece.

Thank you for your consideration.

With kindest personal regards,


Alec P. Courtelis

APC/kes

Enclosure

bc Father Alex

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL (Date)

TO: (Staff Official's Name)
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: (Asst. to President or Office Director)

REQUEST: (Meeting, briefing, speech, reception, etc.)

PURPOSE: (Reasons why the President should honor the request; is it congruent with Administration goals or themes; what is the desired outcome?)

BACKGROUND: (Additional Pertinent information)

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: (The President's previous participation with this organization or individuals)

DATE AND TIME: (OPEN if no specific date is given)

DURATION: (Amount of the President's time required)

LOCATION:

PARTICIPANTS: (List attached if more than five)

OUTLINE OF EVENT: (Including description of the President's participation)

REMARKS REQUIRED: (Major speech, keynote, brief remarks, etc.)

MEDIA COVERAGE: (Type of media, photo coverage if any)

RECOMMENDED BY:

OPPOSED BY:

STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. George C. Andreas
Chairman of the Board and CEO
Lantzch-Andreas Enterprises Inc.
8545 Leesburg Pike
Vienna, VA 22180
(703) 448-2222

Mr. George L. Argyros, President
Arnel Development Company
950 S. Coast Drive, Suite 200
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(714) 241-4900

Mr. Andrew A. Athens, Chairman
United Hellenic American Congress
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Mr. John Catsimatidis, President
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Mr. George C. Chimples
Chairman of the Board
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Springfield, NJ 07081
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Mr. Vaseleos Colevas
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Contact: Dean Popps
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Mr. Alec P. Courtelis, President
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PAGE 2

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Seward, Raphael & Kourides
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Peter Pappas & Sons Tomato Repackers
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Washington, DC 20002
(202) 526-6461

Mr. John A. Payiavlas, President
Automatic Vendors Inc.
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Warren, OH 44403
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GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

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

File
J

July 15, 1991

Mr. and Mrs. Sichan A. Siv
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Siv:

We take great pleasure in announcing that the annual observance honoring our beloved spiritual leader, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos on the occasion of his Nameday, will be given this year at a 2:00 pm Luncheon on Sunday, October 13th at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel (Park Avenue between 49 and 50 Streets).

This year's celebration will highlight His Eminence's 80th Birthday as over 1500 faithful and friends will gather to pay tribute to our Archpastor who is recognized as the dean of America's religious leaders and the leading Orthodox prelate in the Western Hemisphere. As Primate of over three million Greek Orthodox, he has worked indefatigably for over 32 years to bring greater vitality and unity to the Church, championing human and civil rights, initiating reforms and advancing the frontiers of Eastern Orthodoxy.

We would be deeply honored if you would accept our invitation to be our honored guests at the Testimonial Luncheon. Your participation in his birthday celebration, would, we believe, most properly reflect the ideals and purposes of our efforts and you can rest assured that His Eminence will be quite moved to have you share in this most auspicious day. The Luncheon will be preceded by a VIP Reception in the West Foyar at 1:00 pm.

I have asked Father Alexander Karloutsos to call your office to confirm, hopefully, your acceptance.

Faithfully,

+ Metropolitan Iulias

+ S I L A S
Metropolitan of New Jersey

dt

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1991

The President today signed the following legislation:

S. J. Res. 59, which designates March 25, 1991, as "Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1991

GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY: A NATIONAL DAY OF
CELEBRATION OF GREEK AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, 1991

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

The peoples of the United States and Greece enjoy a rich friendship based on strong ties of kinship and culture -- ties fortified by our common devotion to the ideals of freedom and democracy. Our shared values and mutual interests make the celebration of Greek independence on March 25 a significant event for all Americans.

Although we celebrate on this occasion events that took place just 170 years ago, the values shared by the peoples of Greece and the United States are rooted far deeper in history. Indeed, it was the ancient Greeks who, with their profound observations of human nature and their seminal experiments in civil order and justice, enkindled the light of democratic thought among men. Our Nation's Founders were well-schooled in classical languages and Greek literature, and the ideas of Solon, Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers and statesmen greatly influenced their own. Indeed, in his historic treatise on the Rights of Man, Thomas Paine wrote: "What Athens was in miniature, America will be in magnitude. The one was the wonder of the ancient world; the other is becoming the admiration and model of the present." His words reflect the inspiration and insight that this Nation's Founders derived from the ancient Greek city-states as they worked to establish an enduring representative democracy in America.

Widely regarded as the "cradle of democracy," Greece stands today as a strong ally of the United States, aligned with us by its commitment to freedom and human rights. As partners in the NATO Alliance, we have worked together to defend democratic ideals and to promote the collective security of Europe. Recently Greece also cooperated with the United States and other nations in the historic coalition effort to uphold the rule of law and to liberate Kuwait from ruthless aggression. The people of Greece can take pride in their country's role in this endeavor, carried out in enforcement of resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Today, as we join in commemorating the 170th anniversary of Greek independence, we celebrate the continued friendship between the Greek and American peoples. We also give thanks, knowing that the light of democratic ideals continues to grow in strength and brilliance around the world.

more

(OVER)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1991

Dear Friend,

Please find enclosed materials pertaining to the President's proclamation signing ceremony honoring the 170th anniversary of Greek independence.

If you have any questions or if we can provide any additional information please call Jim Schaefer or myself at (202) 456-7120.

Sincerely,



Sichan Siv
Deputy Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1991

Dear Friend,

Please find enclosed materials pertaining to the President's proclamation signing ceremony honoring the 170th anniversary of Greek independence.

If you have any questions or if we can provide any additional information please call Jim Schaefer or myself at (202) 456-7120.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Sichan Siv", with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Sichan Siv
Deputy Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1991

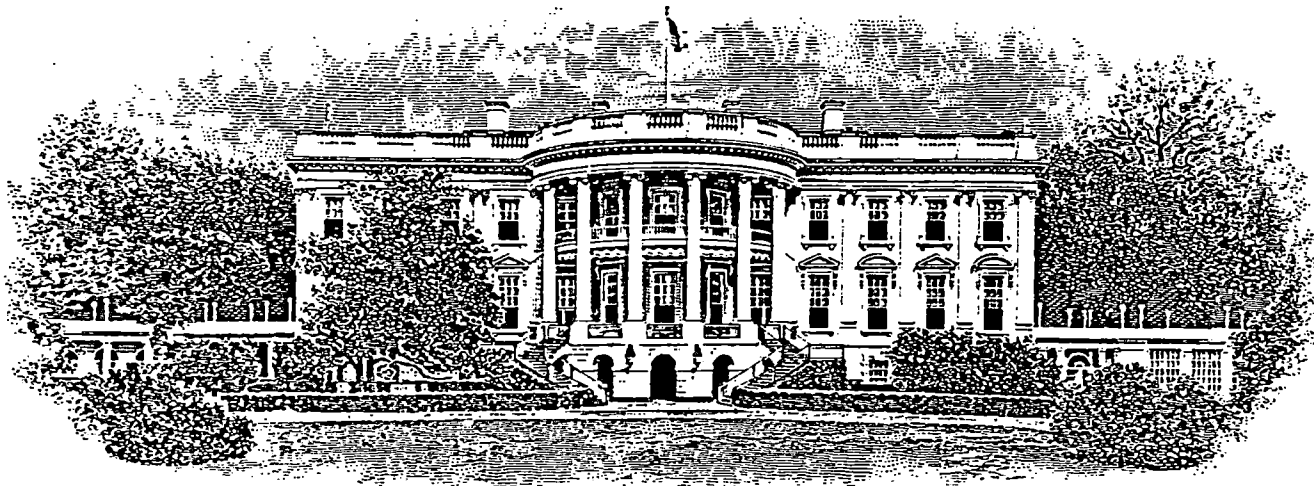
The President today signed the following legislation:

S. J. Res. 59, which designates March 25, 1991, as "Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE 5-25-91

TO Father Alex

FAX NUMBER 785-1255

OFFICE NUMBER _____

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

FROM Jim Schaefer

COMMENTS These would have gotten
to you too late via messenger.
Faxing, was the best solution.
Best wishes.

OFFICE NUMBER 202-456-7120

Also:

Mr. Spiro Skouras
High Pastures
364 East Middle Patent Road
Greenwich, Connecticut 06831

(203) 322-0222

Per Fred Zeder of OPIC, he is
a big supporter, and the President
has met him.

*Thanks
Jan B.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 25, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN CEREMONY FOR GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Rose Garden

11:18 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the Rose Garden on this beautiful day. We're so pleased to have you all here. Thank you for the welcome for His Eminence and me, and it's a pleasure to welcome you -- many of you, most of you -- back to the White House.

First, may I pay my most sincere respects to Archbishop Iakovos, a true spiritual leader for whom we have enormous respect. And I'm just delighted that he's here with us today. (Applause.) And I want to thank our Cabinet Minister Ed Derwinski, who is so well-known in Greece and Ambassador Zacharakis who is here, and also our congressional contingent, Mike Bilirakis, over here; George Gekas was to be here, but he may have been kept away by work. And, of course, Senator Arlen Specter is with us today.

I would like to welcome Mr. Angelopoulos from Athens, who presented me this commemorative medal in the Oval Office just a minute ago. We are delighted you are here, sir. (Applause.) This Greek American -- this Greek Independence Day -- I say Greek American day because Americans of Greek heritage celebrate it -- it's a wonderful day for the Greek American community and for all of us who cherish freedom.

Greece can never be just another country to the United States; and the U.S. and Greece are the firmest of friends, the strongest of allies. And I might take this opportunity to salute Prime Minister Mitsotakis, with whom I have a very cordial relationship -- most cooperative relationship. I talked to him just the other day on the phone.

We are committed to maintaining the close cooperation that has developed with his government, and we will continue to serve as a catalyst in the U.N. Secretary General's effort to negotiate a fair and a permanent settlement to the Cyprus issue. (Applause.) In our view, there is one Cyprus, and we are going to continue to heal the division that scars this lovely island. (Applause.)

Now, we have consistently made clear our view that the time has come to settle this question, and I am going to continue to give it my personal attention. We're also sensitive to Greek concerns about the breakup of Yugoslavia, and I've been in touch again, I mentioned, with my dear friend, Prime Minister Mitsotakis about this highly sensitive issue. And as his government works towards a solution to this, it can be assured of our support.

Neither Greece nor America is a stranger to the struggle for freedom. And as allies in NATO we've worked in common cause to preserve the peace. Today we remember that our ideals and values have been preserved at high cost; the valor and sacrifice of our nations' finest young men and women. Greek heritage is, in so many respects, American heritage. And I'm deeply moved to realize how important it is to interpret for future generations the significance of our independence days.

MORE

We must not forget, and we cannot let our children forget, lest the struggle be repeated. And so we celebrate these anniversaries of freedom, and we tell the old stories in order to preserve that which we value so highly. This morning I want to commend the Greek American community for the way you've preserved your traditions. The Greek American culture continues to provide a model for greatness. I can cite many examples, but I want to particularly commend the value that this wonderful community places on family and on tradition.

Through your commitment to strong families, those great traditions have endured, and your culture has thrived in this new land. These values, the ones that we pass along from one generation to the next, are the greatest of all legacies. But these are not just a comfortable luxury. They are a vital part of the social capital that a nation must possess if it's to be great; but more significantly, if it's to be good.

Today, as we join with you to commemorate the 171st anniversary of Greek independence, we also celebrate Archbishop Iakovos's 33rd year as Archbishop of the Americas. (Applause.) As His Eminence was at the forefront of the march for civil rights, now the Greek American family is at the forefront in the modeling for today's generation those enduring personal and family values that are the necessary underpinning for continued democracy and freedom.

I still remember Archbishop Iakovos's benediction at our convention in 1988, and he prayed in a nonpartisan way, I want to say -- (laughter) -- but he prayed that we would -- and here was the words: "Carry, renew and redefine the legacy and mandate to keep this nation under God in an unending quest for unity, justice, moral integrity and spiritual alertness and readiness."

On this Greek Independence Day let that be the prayer and the challenge to us all.

And now it is my real pleasure to put pen to paper and proclaim Greek Independence Day a national day of celebration of Greek and American democracy. (Applause.)

(The document is signed.) (Applause.)

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS: Mr. President, on behalf on all of us present and those absent, I would like to express to you our most sincere gratitude, for you have been always a champion for democracy, democratic values and principles.

I am particularly moved today because you remembered my 33rd year of service to the Greek American community and to America as well, for I am very proud to have been a Hellene, but also an American citizen.

I would like to assure you that your challenge today, that we continue in a democratic way, it has been described deep in our hearts by our parents and the mandate of our history, both the American the Hellenic history. If there is any spot without any stain of blood on this old planet of ours, it is the heart and souls of men and women, who are Americans and Hellenes. And I can assure you, Mr. President, that we shall hold that heritage very dear to our hearts and very sacred for as long as we live.

Thank you, once again, on behalf of all of us, Mr. President.