

# NEWSLETTER

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## HELLENIC LINK Midwest

A CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC  
LINK WITH GREECE



### *Upcoming Events*

#### **Celebration of Greek Independence Day**

Hellenic Link Midwest, in cooperation with the Hellenic Professional Society of Illinois and the Greek Women's University Club, will present a celebration of the Greek Independence Day on Sunday, March 19, 2000, at 3:00 PM at the Greek Orthodox Church of Saint John in Desplaines, Illinois. The program includes: *Songs and Music of the Struggles for Freedom*, by Voula Karahaliou and Theodora Satolia and *Greek Dances* by the Orpheus Dance Troupe.

Voula Karahaliou is a professional singer since 1979. For seven years she was a member of the well known "Athinaiki Compania". She has worked successfully in music clubs and recordings with the well known Greek artists Yiannis Parios, Haroula Alexiou, Vicky Moscholiou, D. Mitropanos, A. Kaloyiannis, A. Protopsalti, Yiannis Pouloupoulos, L. Chalkias, George Zambetas, and many others. She has performed in Australia, Europe and Canada. She has a number of records, including two golden and one platinum. Voula has performed at the Cultural Center of Chicago and the Folk School of Music, and her performances have been broadcast by Chicago radio stations.

Theodora Satolia is a pianist who has given recitals in many prestigious concert halls in USA, including Carnegie Hall, Alice Tully Hall, Benaroya Hall of Seattle, and the Cultural Center of Chicago. She has also performed in Mexico, Spain, Germany and Greece. Her concerts have been broadcast in WQXR-FM of New York, WFMT of Chicago, Bavarian Radio of Germany, and Leeds National Public Radio of England. She has been a soloist with Elgin Symphony Orchestra of Chicago, Corpus Christi Symphony of Texas, Iasic Philharmonic of Romania, National Symphony of Greece, and many others. She is a first prize winner of the Gina Bachauer, Grace Welsh, Kingsville Young Performers, Pro Piano, Nena Plant Wideman, Hilton Head Island, International Institute of Music, and Ciudad de Carlet international competitions. At the age of seventeen she was awarded the Gold Medal of

the Athens Academy, previously only bestowed to Gina Bachauer, Dimitri Mitropoulos, and Dimitri Sgouros.

The Orpheus Dance Troupe is well known to the Greek Community of Chicago. It has been performing Greek Folk Dances in the Midwest since 1989. Orpheus has been featured in the local media - newspapers, and television - and the Greek National TV and radio.

### *In Brief*

#### **Turkish Minister Proposes New "Turkish Commonwealth"**

The Italian News Agency *Zenit* (Jan. 23, 2000) reported that, according to the Turkish Minister for relations with Turkish republics of the former Soviet Union, Russia no longer has the strength to oppose a united Turkish Commonwealth. Minister Abdulhaluk Cei proposed a Turkish Commonwealth uniting Turkey, "the Ottoman Empire successor," Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan. He said he hoped the Commonwealth would also include Slavic Ukraine and Islamic Iran as well. "We, the Ottoman Empire, ruled these territories for centuries," the minister said.

According to the Russian independent newspaper "Nezavisimaya Gazeta," higher government officials will likely not openly support Cei's proposal. However, Ismail Cem, Turkish Foreign Minister, indicated on December 31 that Turkey's priorities for foreign policy are the Caucasus and Central Asia. Afterwards, President Demirel said that Turkey should become the leading country of the region, fighting for peace, stability, and economic prosperity of all other countries in their region of the world. The Russian newspaper also pointed out the first likely victim of such a "Turkish Commonwealth" — the country of Armenia. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Turks carried out a holocaust against the Armenians of proportions unseen until the Nazis. The Christian country of Armenia would find itself cut off and surrounded by a league of Turkish and Islamic states.

#### **Nuclear Bids Are Tied In A Knot**

(From the Turkish daily "Çumhuriyet", January 17, 2000)

As the Turkish government remains unresolved as to which consortium to choose to build the Akkuyu nuclear plant, MHP (the National Movement Party) declared that it supports the Canadian AECL (Atomic Energy of Canada Limited) bid because it promises technology with a follow up of the atom bomb. Apparently, before he died a few years ago, the former leader of MHP (Alparslan Turkes) had told an ex-president of TEAS (the Turkish state electrical utility planning to build Akkuyu) that his preference was the Canadian consortium. MHP is now trying to fulfill the will of its (former) leader and is trying its best to ensure that the Canadian consortium will get the bid.

On the other hand, Mesut Yilmaz, president of ANAP (the Motherland Party) points out that there are different political interests for different parties concerning nuclear reactors, and says that each political party supports the consortium that reflects its interests. It has been stated that on the list of the TEAS Bidding Assessment Committee, NPI (Nuclear Power International) of France-Germany ranks highest, whereas ANAP supports Westinghouse, and MHP favors AECL. TEAS says it finds NPI technically and pricewise very satisfactory, but politically Westinghouse and AECL stand a better chance. The executive board of TEAS has turned into a nuclear arena for western countries. TEAS says AECL is popular because it promises nuclear technology know-how as well. MHP is lobbying intensively for AECL.

Prof. Tolga Yarman, an ex-member of the Advisory Board for Atomic Energy of the Prime Minister's office and of the Nuclear Security Committee, says Turkey should close its eyes and ears to the nuclear arms race. Unable to hide his amazement to the fact that the subject of nuclear energy plants has been reduced to nuclear weapons, he reminds everyone of the 1981 NPT Agreement (the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which Turkey acceded to in 1980 and came into force in 1981), and the 1997 Agreement (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) which Turkey has signed as well. He also commented on the fact that the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) will very carefully control the plutonium from nuclear reactors. Pointing out the extreme difficulties in processing plutonium, Yarman said that even the USA avoids this and has adopted as its nuclear processing policy the burial of wastes. Yarman also commented that the dangers of the nuclear arms race of the 1950s were only recognized in the 1970s.

## ***From Our History***

### **Turkey's Long Standing Policy of Minority Turkification**

*This is the last part of excerpts from the book "The Tragedy of the Turkish Capital Tax" by Faik Okte. Faik Okte, an employee of the Turkish Ministry of Finance, played a leading role in the assessment of the capital tax and the execution of the law that imposed it.*

The discrimination feared by many members of the minorities exceeded all expectations. The majority of the assessments levied on non-Muslims was set on confiscatory figures bearing no relation to declared profits or capacity to pay. Practically no Muslim Turk suffered anything remotely comparable and those who did were almost exclusively members of the Dönme community, a group of Oriental Jews who in the seventeenth century had embraced Islam and became technically Turkified. The Dönme group had made a distinct contribution to later Ottoman and Republican Turkish intellectual and professional life and had amassed enough wealth to become a target of the Varlik tax:

*It soon became apparent that the really important data determining a taxpayer's assessment were his religion and nationality. From subsequent revelations, it is known that the taxpayers were classified in two separate lists, the M list, for Muslims, and the G list, for non-Muslims (Gayrimüslim). Later, two other categories were added, E for foreigners (Ecnebi) and D for Dönme, members of the Sabbatayan sect of Jewish converts to Islam. Dönmes paid about twice as much as Muslims, non-Muslims up to ten times as much. Foreigners, on instructions from Ankara, were to be assessed at the same rate as Muslims, but poor registration and inefficient administration led to the taxing of many foreigners as if they had been non-Muslim Turkish citizens, thus provoking the intervention of the foreign embassies and consulates on behalf of their nationals. (Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (Oxford: 1968) p.298.*

Throughout the winter of 1942-43 arrests of non-Muslims

and seizures of their property continued. At the same time, non-Muslim businessmen with tax debts were deported to the labor camp of Askale in an inaccessible spot in the mountain area west of Erzurum. Askale in the minds of the city dwellers was thought of as the "Turkish Siberia." Altogether, 1400 non-Muslim or Dönme Turkish citizens

were interned in such camps. Nor were the aged, the sick and infirm spared.

hesitant to enter their shops. Yet they gradually realized that we had only implemented

The flagrant differences shown in the assessments invites the charge that the Varlik tax had a dual purpose. Apart from purely fiscal considerations the tax sought to transfer to Turkish control many of the minority commercial establishments in Istanbul which had survived the policy of economic nationalism during the 1920s. As Nadir Nadi, the owner of the influential Cumhuriyet, pointed out:

*“according to a more specific explanation which was whispered from ear to ear, or even at times voiced out loud, a second objective of the tax was to free the market from the control of the minorities and open it to the Turks ... Thus, our Jewish, Creek Orthodox, Catholic and Gregorian subjects who were proud of being Turkish citizens had to sell out their property and wealth for nothing.”*

For the Jewish and Christian Turkish citizens the tax became nothing less than a small-scale bloodless financial massacre. By encompassing small wage-earners, craftsmen and peddlers, the Capital Tax had lost, from the outset, its character as an emergency fiscal measure against extraordinary war profits. The whole blame for including and savagely over-assessing Greeks, Armenians and Jews belonging to these categories lies with Premier Saracoglu.

The first criticism of the tax to appear in the Turkish press

was an article by Ahmet Emin Yalman, the editor of Vatan and a Dönme Muslim of Jewish origin. To break the silence and publish such a critical article was certainly a courageous act. The government of the day, however, was unable to recognize this and reacted by suspending the publication of Vatan. During the months that followed the abolition of the Capital Tax, Istanbul gave the impression of a stagnant city. The major Greek, Armenian and Jewish merchant figures were shaken and dislocated. The middle class was feeble and powerless. The artisans had lost their former vitality. Furthermore, because of market relations Istanbul Muslim and non-Muslim businessmen were interdependent and so were merchants and artisans. As a result, the Muslim Turks also felt, at least indirectly, the impact of the Capital Tax. Not only were many businessmen uprooted from their jobs, but a substantial number of them were forced out of legitimate business into largely black-market dealings. Many of the ruined non-Muslim taxpayers never managed to recover financially. In fact, after so many years their business careers are still in disarray. At first these unfortunate people were hostile both to me and to my colleagues at the Tax Directorate. Some of them even tried to pick a quarrel. For a while we were

instructions given to us from above and that we had been honest throughout this shameful affair.

During the republican period, and particularly after 1926, steady tax reform had made slow but steady progress in Turkey. But these improvements were reduced to nothing overnight. Together with the physical violence against the Ottoman Christian bankers (sarrafs) of Galata and the murders of viziers, the Varlik episode will be included among the most infamous events of our history.

The day that the details of the law were published in the press, my former Professor at the faculty of Economics, Fazil Pelin, telephoned me early in the morning to ask for an explanation. Professor Pelin was very fond of me and it was on his advice that I entered the Finance Ministry. Concurrently, he helped me get a job as a lecturer in the faculty of Economics at the University and we always had discussions on financial questions. That morning the professor was apprehensive:

- Faik, my boy, the text of the capital tax appeared in this morning's paper.
- Yes, Professor.
- Naturally, the journalists got it wrong, they have an incomplete text...
- No, in all the newspapers I saw the text was complete.
- How so, complete? No provision for objections or appeal! No indication of the rate of taxation ...
- That is the kind of tax it is, Professor.
- My boy, have you all gone mad!

Rectification of tax assessments also occurred in the case of foreign and minority schools, churches and hospitals. Initially, these community institutions were included in the tax on account of their income, which resulted from capital endowments. Eighty-eight Greek, Armenian and Jewish minority schools were taxed. The taxes collected were voluntarily deposited by the minority representatives on the first day of the implementation of the Varlik levy. The church representatives were not subjected to forced labor. At first Ankara instructed us to liquidate part of the immovable property of the minority communal institutions, without, however, crippling their operations.

Neither Muslim Turks nor foreign nationals would be sent to forced labor camps. Thus, the burden of the tax was shouldered by the Greeks, Armenians and Jews, who were

obliged to pay exorbitant taxes and, when they did not do so on time, were banished to labor camps in the interior of Anatolia. This was the saddest feature of the Varlik episode. Their property and businesses were bought out by Muslims and foreigners.

## **New World Order Or Re-Balkanization Of The Balkans?**

*A Lecture By Dr. Nikolaos A. Stavrou*

*Hellenic Link– Midwest  
Chicago October 24, 1999*

From March 24 to June 10, 1999 the United States of America and NATO conducted an illegal war against a sovereign state, Yugoslavia, allegedly for humanitarian reasons. In the course of this war, the U.S. Constitution, the UN and NATO charters, and practically all known principles of the international law have been violated.

The arguments used to explain aggression against a defenseless country was to avert a "pending humanitarian catastrophe". It was a remains a bogus argument. We must, therefore, seek explanations for the U.S. Balkan policy beyond humanism.

Logic, precedent, or law can hardly explain Balkan events but a glance at patterns of history may be a more appropriate way in looking at the region but with one caveat: in our time history is ignored or constantly revised by arrogant elites who have hijacked American democracy and who firmly believe the world was created to cater to their needs.

When history served as a prologue to the present, the operative assumption was that facts and milestones that defined succeeding civilizations were not in dispute. Today, this would be a risky assumption.

In contemporary American literature, the past is distorted, the present is vulgarized and the future, looms like well planned chaos to be managed by a-moral elites whose professional survival and material well being depend on chaos perpetuation. Not surprising, theories of "chaos management" and "political turbulence" have now become integral parts of the literature of International Relations. In universities we now train "managers of chaos" who are euphemistically called "security specialists", "conflict mediators" and the like. In fact, we produced so many of them that we export a great number to perhaps cause more chaos. They serve in many parts of the world as advisors, observers, instructors, consultants, human rights activists, mediators and the like. The conflict "mediators" in particular see themselves as global politico-psycho-

therapists in search of ethnic victims. But once they secure positions of power, they adopt the Pavlovian method of reward and punishment as the preferred way to modify the behavior of foreign elites and leaders.

Madeleine Albright and Richard Holbrooke are good examples of post-modern diplomatic psycho-mediators. According to press accounts, both of them had "psychoanalyze" Slobodan Milosevic so well that they were absolutely sure he would surrender after a few days of bombardment. In fact, senior U.S. policy-makers were so sure of Milosevic's thinking process that they had concluded he might even welcome few bombs for political cover and then proceed to sign the humiliating Rambouillet accords. Holbrooke and Albright worked very hard to start a war in Kosovo and senior officials made no secret of their preference for war over diplomacy. Thus a senior U.S. official is quoted as bragging: "At Rambouillet we intentionally set the bar too high for [Serbs] to comply; they need some bombing and that is what they are going to get".

Our chaos managers, being firm believers in the slogan "you have a problem, I have a job", also assume that all international problems have a single cause: i.e. the "demonic personality", be it Milosevic, Sadam Hussain, Muammar Quadaffi, Gamal Abdel Naser or Makarios. In their scheme of things, nations are irrelevant in the making of history; only rulers and elites count. Decision-makers of the psycho-political persuasion, or as I call them, members of the "feel good society" reject history as a guide to policy formulations, be it in the domestic or foreign arenas. Disregard for history occasionally reaches comical levels. Thus, a national network informed us that in the most widely used American history textbook, George Washington's contributions to his nation and Mickey Mouse's cultural significance are given three paragraphs each while Marilyn Monroe gets six pages. Will Rogers once said, "all I know is what I read in the newspapers." Today all the American people know about the Balkans is what they see on CNN; and they see an orgy of disinformation parading as "news."

No matter how hard one tries to camouflage our Balkan policies behind a humanitarian facade, the fact is that this region is once again being used as the testing ground for a new world order and NATO's new strategic concept as well as for other bizarre geopolitical schemes.

I am aware of arguments that seek to explain Balkan and similar conflicts as inevitable consequences of the end of bi-polarity--an event that supposedly caught the west by surprise. Yugoslavia's fragmentation, the argument goes,

should be seen as the result of the trials and errors that invariably occur when a new world system is forged.

Though not enough time has lapsed to reach firm conclusions about the character of the emerging world order, trends now in motion are unsettling. Specifically, the sovereignty and security of small countries are at greater risk today than at any time since 1945; the economic well being of nations is more fragile today than at any time since the 1920s; and the ideals of justice, fairness, freedom, democracy and the rule of law are routinely sacrificed on the altar of opportunism. Moreover, the financial roulette that we all know as the Stock Market, makes the wealth of nations and their leaders, hostages to unscrupulous speculators and their political patrons.

In the post-Cold war era an inner directorate of major powers, reminiscent of the post-Napoleonic Concert of Europe, has de facto replaced collective security. Ironically, the first victim of this transformation in the global system is the very organization that for fifty years defined collective security: NATO. When it was founded fifty years ago, its success was assured because its mission was clearly defined. NATO was created, said Lord Ismay (its first Secretary General) "to keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down". It was not designed to be a police force, a meals on wheels organization, or a power agency that leases its air force to ethnic satraps (and in the case of Kosovo, to drug dealers) who, as General John McKenzie observed, would not hesitate to victimize their own people for the benefit of CNN.

The first Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, saw a more limited mission for the alliance than General Wesley Clark does and had even set a time limit for its usefulness: "If ten years from now American troops are still in Europe", Eisenhower said, "this will be a failure." That was 1949. Fifty years later, the nineteen "partners" seem to have adopted Senator Richard Lugar's thesis: "either NATO goes out of area, or out of business". Bosnia and Kosovo provided the business. What NATO needs now is a motto that best describes its new role. Though not asked, let me suggest one: "NATO: we have power, give us a problem."

NATO has de facto abandoned its defense role and is incrementally displacing the United Nations in all spheres. In that context, Bosnia and Kosovo serve three broader objectives :they facilitate the rearrangement of the global hierarchy of powers, they put the breaks in the development of common European defense and foreign policies; and they offer a new excuse to continue keeping the Russians out while propping the British up.

In its search for ways to be useful NATO leaves on its wake victims all around. We should count among its victims the Serbs, national sovereignty, self-determination, the rule of Law, the United Nations charter and the U.S. Constitution. Yet, NATO's inner directorate, jubilant with their performance over Kosovo, now seeks to expand its mission to at least cover the Caspian oilfields. They do so with the support of peripheral structures that have shaped its strategic doctrine that I am sure you have heard about: Partnership for Peace, G-7, Tri-Lateral Commission, Davos, Bildeburg and the like. The informal gathering of these semi-private clubs resemble the annual "synaxis Vlachon"(gathering of Vlachs) where everybody has a good time and an occasional sympetherio (match) might take place. But cumulatively these entities have been known to cause side effects. For example it was at G-7 and Davos gatherings that the desirability of circumventing the United Nations in peace operations was first discussed.

It is understandable if, at first glance, the new world order seems confusing. Confusion is to be expected when this order is formulated by an unholy alliance of big banks, smart weapons, media conglomerates, image-makers and policy enforcers. Collectively, they formulate, articulate, and apply decisions that are designed to demolish sovereignty and replace the nation-state with a capital-driven, border-less system, over which law and order would be imposed by some type of global police. In this system small nations like Greece are systematically marginalized and the Balkans are perceptibly placed in a limbo between Europe and the Levant. Ironically, small nations are also expected to internalize the illusions that they are equal "partners" in the making of the new world order.

The citizen of the emerging new world order is buffeted by the winds of an a-molar consumerism and a relentless cultural brainwashing that incrementally de-ethnicizes citizenship presumably to make us feel comfortable wherever we might happen to be. In the post-modern world, feeling good is seen as equal to being good. The proponents of a de-ethnicized "citizenship" view religion, national identity, attachment to a geographic space, and loyalty, all central values among Balkan people, as characteristics of backwardness. To be perceived as "progressive", the citizen of the information age, must surrender his right to determine social values to the global trend setters and the value of our labor to the mysterious abstraction that we call market forces. Yet, these abstraction determine the economic well being of nations. Deviations from the "norm" are corrected with painful reminders. These reminders could be abrupt decline of GNP via currency devaluations, travel advisories to protect tourists, or phony humanitarian interventions to defend

victims, provided the latter have financial resources to hire Washington lobbyists and to assure CNN coverage of their victimhood.

The Balkan events of the 90s, if examined in isolation, would seem incoherent and illogical. But if looked upon in the context of the above analysis and under the prism of long cycles of history, they do fall into neat patterns.

Historically, tensions and wars occurred when major powers sought to redefine wealth, to maintain status, or conversely, when they felt arrogant enough to attempt global domination. In our time, the global redefinition of wealth, with information in its core, coupled with the overlapping roles of financial, political and military elites, have given rise to illusions of grandeur and an impetus toward a new, more dangerous form of internationalism. For lack of a better term we shall call it "inverted Marxism". The old Marxist internationalists had adopted the wrong class as their vehicle, they appeared in the wrong century, and failed miserably. Today's internationalists have corrected Marx's fatal error: they picked the financiers, not the workers, to flatten the nation-state. In the process they have reduced governments to the status of "Rent- a- Cop agencies" whose main task seems to be to make the world safe enough for capital to float from one market to the next in search of "bottomed out" economies and exorbitant profits. The fact that they leave in their wake economic wrecks like Malaysia, Russia, Indonesia and Brazil, is hardly their concern.

What the old and new internationalists have in common is their disdain for the nation- state, a concept that, in their view, impedes the globalization of an information-driven economic order. This disdain is particularly pronounced in cases where, identity, religion, geography, attachment to land, and traditions are more intense. The inescapable conclusion that we can reach is that Orthodox nations, with age old faith, strong attachment to their land, with loyalty and trust as their core values, are now targets of de-stabilization. Serbia is the first test case; it may not be the last.

Post-Soviet internationalists march under the slogan "bankers of the world unite". They prefer governments willing to clean up the mess their military and economic adventures leave behind. This is the inevitable outcome of the privatization of defense and foreign policies--a trend that has reduced small nations to the status of expandable "clients" or dependant feuds. No wonder loyalty and friendships are treated as anachronisms. The recurring question "how can Americans forget their World War II loyal friends, the Serbs and the Greeks, and now side with formed fascists has a simple answer: loyalties and

friendships, too, are determined by "market forces" and by the financial contributions to a corrupt American electoral system. The Albanians invested heavily in American political corruption, some say to the tune of eight million dollars, in the last two electoral cycles. The Serbs, like the Greeks, are content to wait for truth to prevail. However, both missed the boat and the sad reality of American politics. As Charles Freedman observed (WSJ16 June 1998), Washington lobbyists and handlers of ethnic groups have "convinced a growing number of donors, that [foreign] policy decisions, like nights in the Lincoln bedroom, go to the highest bidder." Serbs and Greeks were hardly competitive in the corruption sweepstakes.

Post-Cold War thinkers, be they Samuel Huntington with his bigoted treatise, *Clash of Civilizations*, Zbigniew Brzezinski with his *Grand Chessboard*, or George Soros with a semi-literal treatise titled *Crisis of Global Capitalism*, provide complementary models of the emerging new world order that has relevance for the Balkans. As you might have expected, their order is Washington-centered and is operationalized globally by multi-ethnic corporations and local national elites whose core members are routinely recycled in new types of American "intellectual" factories known as "think tanks". So, one should not be surprised when George Soros and his likes invests generously in these outfits, including one in Greece; he is an expert in coopting and corrupting elites, particularly those willing to apply his versions of open society--i.e. open to unhindered flows of capital.

The post-Cold War world system abhors institutions with a legacy of endurance, nations with a sense of history and states who value sovereignty. They are viewed as out of sync with the information age and, therefore, must be redirected, by force if necessary, toward set of "shared values". Because transformation is difficult if nations know and value their history, induced historical amnesia, becomes an option. Amnesia makes easier the acceptance of a system with cyber space as its geography and Internet as its source of values. This imaginary world does not need place, space, or geography to exist. It could be a "placeless society", governed by values that have been "cleansed" of ethnic, national, religious or geographic references. The object of all this is for history to lose its significance in affirming a nation's identity and the continuity of civilizations. In other words, history should be removed from the path of the new internationalists. Because "the Balkans have produced more history than they can consume", they have always been treated as impediments by the old and new internationalists. A comparison between Comintern's and NATO's policies in the Balkans would reveal remarkable similarities. At the 1923 Comintern Congress Dmitry Manuilsky, its Secretary

General, identified Greece and Serbia as the main "obstacles to Balkan-wide Bolshevik revolution"; In the 1990s, Greece is ridiculed for daring to claim the Alexandrian age as integral part of its culture and Serbia is bombed, supposedly, for espousing ethnic purity. It matters little to the new internationalists that of all Yugoslav Republics Serbia is home to twenty four ethnic minorities call home, making it the most multiethnic society in the entire Balkans. On the other hand, America's so-called progressive friends, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo have long been monoethnic mini-satrapies.

The preceding part of our discussion provides, in my view, the theoretical context of recurring crises in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean and justifies the following observation :the post-Cold War western policies in these two critical regions have placed Greece (among other nations) in a precarious position. These policies are guided by a nostalgia shared by trendy western elites, and by extension decision-makers, who would like to see the Balkans revert to the days preceding the wars of 1912, when Thessaloniki was "multicultural" and ethnic groups were routinely imported or invented by major powers seeking to advance their own schemes.

It is no wonder, then, that no sooner did the East-West divisions evaporated than fancy scenarios about the Balkans competed for attention in Washington. Policy-makers and academics got busy with a variety of schemes to construct a post-communist world that would reflect their choice of values. But their main concern was to find something useful for NATO to do. Though it may sound ancient history, between 1989-92 a heated debate on the future of alliances was raging in western capitals. Senator Richard Lugar (R- Indiana, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee), Lee Hamilton (his U.S. House counterpart), the late Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Henry A. Kissinger, George Kennan, as well as the late William Colby and Admiral Stansfield Turner (both former directors of CIA) participated in the debate.

However, it was Senator Lugar's thesis for "an all purpose for all places" NATO that set in motion the transformation of a successful defense alliance into a de facto police force. In the midst of the debate on NATO's future, the unexpected happened: Saddam Hussein came to its rescue. For almost ten years he had served as America's buffer against Iranian fundamentalism but his usefulness had ended long before his annexation of Kuwait.

The Gulf War emboldened those who saw NATO as the nucleus of a global police force and sought its geographic expansion coupled with a changes of its mission. The 1992 Rome gathering of NATO defense chiefs legitimized the

alliance's role as global Gendarme. A drive to reach Russia's doorsteps by admitting newmembers and a similar thrust to reach China's borders via the Partnerships for Peace (PFP) has transformed NATO into a Eurasian peace-enforcer. Since NATO ceased being a defense alliance, it started searching for opportunities to test its new role. Bosnia, and now Kosovo came in handy, yet they both have implications beyond the obvious.

It was also during the 90s that several theoretical grand designs made their debut that concern Greece more directly. In academia, post-modernists and deconstructionists subjected Greek culture to a-historical interpretations that would result in the reduction of classic studies in Universities. Spearheaded by Martin Bernal's two volume anti-historical diatribe *Black Athena*, a debate is now raging in American universities that casts doubts about the Greekness of the classic era and questions modern Greece's links to its ancient roots. It is my contention that intellectual fads and strategic thinking about Greece and the Balkans have a common denominator: illusions of western cultural superiority. A logical question presents itself: if modern Greece is defined as unrelated to its classic past what would then, be the basis of its claim that it belongs to the west? What answer do we give to scholars and wondering "knapsack historians", who vociferously promote the idea that the Balkans lie to the East of the fault lines of civilizational clashes, they are not culturally part of Europe and the only thing they deserve from the west is a benevolent protectorate status? Make no mistake: in the post- Cold War era, theory, speculation, strategy and action have converged in the Balkans. Apparently disjoined, irrational actions, have coalesced into grand strategic scheme with the help of instrumental academics. Historical revisionists are now working overtime to produce the ideological rationale that would justify curving a dominant Balkan role for an Asiatic power: Turkey. Tentatively the new ideology is called Neo-Ottomanism but the revisionists seek deeper roots to rationalize the conversion of the ruling military and diplomatic Turkish elites into regional viceroys.

Thus when the 34-volume *Dictionary of Art* (now a major library source) was published by Grove Press (1996) *Time Magazine* hailed it as a "towering venture". The reviewer, was particularly pleased that this massive work affirms "the antitraditional view that ancient Helladic culture was not created by Greek indigenes, but by peoples who emigrated from [what is now] Turkey." This type of literary concoctions seek to foster the belief that Greece and Turkey have equal claim to the classic era and neither of them belong to the west. This debate is reminiscent of the times when NATO was created. The Atlanticists, led by George Kennan, did not want Greece in the Alliance

because it was culturally not European and strategically not Atlantic. The debate has been revived in the 1990s. Like then, Huntington sees Greece as "an anomaly, the Orthodox outsider in western organizations whose leaders seem to go out of their way to deviate from western norms". In his view, the logical thing for NATO would be to consider contraction in tandem with expansion. "The cultural configuration of these [western] organizations [EU and NATO] raise the issue of their possible contraction", Huntington wrote.

The theories about "civilizational/cultural clashes" are central in the definition of security environment in the Balkans and so are several additional trends now visible in the horizon.

First there is a systematic effort by the creators of the Israeli-Turkish alliance and their American sponsors, to elevate Turkey to the status of "pivotal" state by assigning to it a sphere of influence that would encompass the "Turkic cultures", stretching from Bosnia all the way to China. Converting Turkey into a regional pivot has the added benefit of relocating the Middle Eastern tensions to the Balkans.

Paradoxes abound in our Balkan policies. American elites, who for generations had caricatured Muslims and Arabs in the mass media and Hollywood productions, have now flipped over to defend blond Balkan Muslims to the degree that they are prepared to ignore even risks to American security. Thus when Iranians pumped close to half a billion weapons and several thousands Mujahedins into Bosnia, Gen. Clark who was then advising the Croats, did not see a thing; and when Osama Bin Ladin set up shop in Albania and Kosovo we only took notice after the tragedies in our Embassies in Nairobi and Dar el Salem.

It is generally accepted that Turkey does not have much of a chance to join the European Union. To compensate for it, Ankara's Washington patrons seek to carve a new role for Ankara's elites that would facilitate several objectives: safe passage of Caspian oil, a counterbalance to Arab nationalism, a permanent arbitrator in the Balkans, and last but not least, a power that would keep Orthodoxy indefinitely busy. Indeed, it would be just like the good old days: Orthodoxy entangled in "civilizational clashes" with Islam that our chaos managers" will be happy to handle, leaving the culturally pure Euro-Atlanticists free to march to the information age and the new millennium. The proponents of a new role for Turkey see one minor but correctable problem, Kemalism; it is a narrow national ideology, not suitable for a pivotal actor. Graham Fuller of the RAND Corporation came to the rescue. He advises the Turks to undertake a "re-examination and re-evaluation of Ottoman history" so that they "may come to see themselves



as the center of a world re-emerging around them on all sides rather than the tail end of a European world". (R-4232, Santa Monica, 1992, p. 13).

Fuller's neo-Ottomanism is complimented by the revival of the "Near East" concept that first made its reappearance during the Bosnian war. The old "Near East" stretched geographically from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf; ideally, the new Near East should cover the same space. If fully operationalized, it would advance the Huntington-Brzezinski scenario of distancing the Atlantic/western cultures from the Orthodox Balkans, thus keeping the west relatively immune to the emotionalism of Mediterranean cultures. It is worth mentioning the critical components of the old version of "Near East". At its core was Ottoman power exercised by Albanian and other Muslim Balkan Lords; the Orthodox were an agrarian minority within an imperial sovereignty; and commerce was the domain of transplanted ethnic minorities, totally dependent on the charity of the Sultan and, therefore, eager to serve him.

It is premature to predict what the ultimate outcome of the Washington-made tragedy in Bosnia and Kosovo would be. But at least one idea that has been floated deserves closer attention that it has been given thus far. It is the idea of a Lausanne-type international conference to "deal with all outstanding problems in the Balkans" and "impose a solution" once and for all. The refrain "we are tired of those barbarians" is now loudly voiced among speculators of the future. All Balkan states are seen as potential hot spots, including Greece, which is now described in various "reports" as a society with imaginary and real ethnic minorities exceeding one million people, harboring real or imaginary grievances against the majority. For example, the 1998 edition of *Ethnic Groups World Wide* lists eleven minorities in Greece that could, potentially, need the help of the "human rights industry." One wonders, what items would be loaded into the agenda of a Balkan Conference of the Lausanne type proposed by, among others, Senator Max Cleland (D-Georgia) and the former Foreign Minister of Hungary, now Ambassador to Washington. We can certainly count on the inclusion of the Greek-Turkish "disputes".

The immediate future, however, points to disturbing demographic stresses for Greek society. Masses of displaced persons and economic migrants from the Eastern bloc have Lebanonized the country irreparably. If the scenarios about Greece, now being floated, are operationalized (one of them envisions Thessaloniki's conversion into a Balkan Hong Kong with four million inhabitants), Greece could not be any more secure in the new millennium than Yugoslavia was in 1989. The

industries of victimology and human rights did not end their quest to re-Balkanize the Balkans.

It is established beyond doubt that the dismantling of the Balkan security system was no accident. The dismantling crews are American policy makers and a media cabal and the means are lots of PR money and disregard for history. The opening salvo was fired by the U.S. Congress in November 1990 when it enacted and the President signed Public Law 101-518. This law instructed all agencies to suspend direct assistance to Yugoslavia and to use the U.S. veto in world financial institutions contemplating routine loans to that country. The same law also instructed the State and Treasury Departments to provide assistance only to individual Republics willing to "hold free and fair multi-party elections within six months of the enactment of this act." As written, Public Law 101-518 served as an invitation to all Balkan satraps to re-invent themselves as democrats and bail out of the Federation. At the smell of money and almost a year prior to a shot being fired in Yugoslavia, Croat Fascists, Islamic Fundamentalists, repentant Marxists and assorted petty crooks, piously trekked to Washington carrying with them the agendas of the 40s. It is worth noting that Public Law 101-518 did not ask for fair, free, multiparty elections to be held in Yugoslavia as a whole. The makers of new Balkan order, applying old fashioned feudal principles, equated democratization with separation.

After the fact we are told by some academics with one foot inside the policy-making tent, that Yugoslavia was used by our phony humanists as the test on how to handle the impending collapse of the Soviet Union that was also breaking up along ethnic lines. We are hardly surprised by such revelations. The Balkans were always used by major powers as political guinea pigs for their strategic schemes of the immoral kind. It is there that grand designs of a new world order are now hammered out which still seek to keep Russians out and down, bring the Turks in, prop the British up and demolish the Orthodox cultures--all under the pretext of progress. All other explanations about the Balkans, to paraphrase Napoleon, consist of elaborate sets of lies, articulated by our highest officials who count on the pervasive ignorance of history by the American electorate, to pursue the creation of a new international system that would make even Karl Marx envious.

## *From The Riches Of Our Cultural Heritage*

### *THE SOVEREIGN SUN by Odysseas Elytis*

*(continued from previous issue)*

#### *Narrator*

Full of suspicion and complaint  
the world turns thrice in its constraint  
midnight evening and noontide  
all the rooms are opened wide  
on threshing floor and farmyard gate  
clairvoyant spirits watch and wait  
on glowing embers of a star  
they bring and burn their streaming hair  
then stop the smallest angel stum-  
bling by to play their fie-fo-fum.  
My dear you've grown too grim and grey  
yet you've not withered the world away  
they say that both your black and white  
are blown by every wind in sight  
and a small girl but nine years done  
sings for the sake of everyone.

#### *Girl*

Two for you and three for me  
a game of five green stones you see  
I enter through the garden trellis  
and how's your health Miss Amaryllis!  
Waterpools and fountain streams  
and all my dissipated dreams!  
O cricket mine now go crick-crick  
and spin the spinning spindle quick  
if to the right I hop with glee  
I'll bump the pomegranate tree-  
if to the left I hop and carry  
I'll fall in bushes of raspberry  
in my one hand I grasp to see  
an enormous bumblebee  
and in my other hand hold high  
a large biting butterfly.

#### *Chorus*

A pebble cast in dearest water  
is this girl's longing so long sought for  
circles opening ring on ring  
then all your form encompassing  
the mountain's a flowerpot held high  
with gold geraniums of the sky  
Sun O Sun O thrice my Sun  
send me a word, if only one.

#### *Winds*

Now come and hear us also, who have just returned  
of islands and of cities we have known and learned  
of Crete and MitiIini, Samos and Ikaria  
Naxos and Santorini, Rhodes and Kerkira  
of houses large and whitewashed, houses that hum and  
drone  
perched high above the waters, perched on deep dark  
stone  
Xanthi, Thessaloniki, Verria, Kastoria  
Yannina, Mesolongi, Sparta and Mistra  
of belfries and of rooftops in the cloudy skies  
that both compose a sorrow and a Paradise.

#### *The Sun*

I've never seen so strange or beautiful a land  
as this that fate has chanced to make my fatherland.  
He casts a net for fishes, sets up ships on turf  
then catches birds on wing, plants gardens on the surf  
kisses the ground and weeps, then sails to lands afar  
remains at all five crossroads, and grows to manhood  
there  
takes up a stone at random, then drops and lets it be  
but when he cuts and carves it, what wonders form and  
flee  
sets foot on a small dinghy, and sails far out at sea  
goes searching for rebellions, hungers for tyranny  
gives birth to five great men, but bears them black and blue  
and then heigh-ho, good riddance, he glorifies the crew.

#### *Chorus Of Men*

There's nothing much a man may want  
but to be quiet and innocent  
a little food a little wine  
at Christmas and at Easter time  
wherever he may build his nest  
may no one there disturb his rest.  
But everything has all gone wrong  
they wake him up at break of dawn  
then come and drag him to and fro  
eat up what little he has and lo  
from out his mouth from out of sight  
and in a moment of great delight  
they snatch his morsel in an evil hour.  
Hip hip hurrah for those in Power!

#### *Chorus Of Women*

Hip hip hurrah for those in Power  
for them there is no "I" or "our."  
Hip hip hurrah for those in Power  
whatever they see they must devour.

*(To be continued)*