

NEWSLETTER

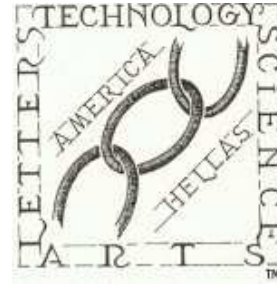
22W415 McCarron Road
Glen Ellyn, IL 60137
www.helleniclinkmidwest.org

EDITOR: Constantine Tzanos
EDITORIAL BOARD:
S. Sakellarides, T. Georgopoulos

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HELLENIC LINK Midwest

A CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC
LINK WITH GREECE



Contents

Upcoming Events

A Journey through the Architecture of the Greek World

In Brief

State Department critical of Turkey's human rights record

Computers in Greek Schools

Alexandria's Ancient Shoreline the Focus of Greek Team's Research

Meeting of Greek, Turkish Cypriot Parties

Cyprus and American Foreign Policy - The Evolving Picture (*A Lecture by V. Koufoudakis*)

From Our History

The Melian Dialogue

From The Riches of Our Cultural Heritage

THE SOVEREIGN SUN by Odysseas Elytis
(continued from previous issue)

Upcoming Events

A Journey through the Architecture of the Greek World

On Sunday, April 16, 2000, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents a lecture on *Towards an Architecture of Space - A Journey through the Architecture of the Greek World* by Anita Skarpathiotis. It will be held at 3:00 PM at The Embassy Suites Chicago, 600 North State Street.

There is a strong relationship between the natural landscape and the built environment as generated by a broad range of historical, cultural, social, and economic factors. This is especially true in the Greek world. A close study of Greek architectural history reveals the intimate union between vernacular architecture and place. Mrs. Skarpathiotis will discuss the dialectic interaction between indigenous architecture and the genius loci (spirit of place) of different Greek geographic regions by comparing paradigms in praxis. She will be projecting slides from various Greek regions and will be discussing the natural context of the indigenous architecture of these unique topographies.

Anita Skarpathiotis was born in the United States and raised in Greece. She graduated from the National Polytechnic University of Athens, Greece with a Bachelor degree in Architecture and pursued her graduate studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana. After working for a few years as an architect, she pursued a Masters degree in the History of Art and Architecture at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Currently she teaches Art History at the Illinois Institute of Art at Chicago. Mrs. Skarpathiotis has a continuing interest in photography and has formed a collection of over 1500 slides that she has photographed from Greece and the United States. Mrs. Skarpathiotis is married with three children .

In Brief

State Department critical of Turkey's human rights record

The State Department's 1999 report on human rights, released on Friday, notes that despite efforts by the present Ecevit government the situation in Turkey in 1999 was again marked by serious violations, including restrictions to the freedom of speech, murders, torture and disappearances.

Despite the lifting of the state of emergency in the country's southeastern regions, the armed forces continue to exercise real influence on political life, murders and torture have not stopped, prison conditions are bad and the behavior of security forces towards demonstrators is brutal. Restrictions to the freedom of speech is a "serious problem," and certain non-Moslem minorities, such as the Greek Orthodox, and to a lesser degree the Jewish and the Armenian, are often deprived of the right to the use of temples and other foundations. The Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch Vartholomeos has repeatedly expressed his interest in the re-opening of the theological school on the island of Halki, which was shut down in 1972.

Regarding Greece, the report observes that the Greek State generally respects human rights and that progress is being made in areas where there are still problems. However, the report claims that some religious discrimination continued and there were arrests of members of non-Orthodox creeds on charges of proselytization. According to the report, Jehovah's Witnesses continued to be subject to periodic checks by the authorities, although they are recognized as a religion. There are also references to police maltreatment of illegal immigrants.

Computers in Greek Schools

Every school in the European Union and Greece in particular should be supplied with computers by the year 2002 and every pupil should have its own computer, National Economy and Finance Minister Yiannos Papantoniou told reporters after a meeting with EU Employment and Social Affairs Commissioner, Anna Diamantopoulou on Friday. "It is a very ambitious target that it must be achieved because we have entered a new era," Papantoniou said.

Diamantopoulou stated that at the EU summit in Lisbon, the Commission and EU leaders would also seek to set indices on the use of Internet and computers by small and medium-sized enterprises.

Alexandria's Ancient Shoreline the Focus of Greek Team's Research

The remnants of ancient Alexandria, the Hellenistic era's pre-eminent metropolis and a brilliant beacon of civilization in the Near East of later antiquity, apparently lie just offshore of the bustling modern city's port, according to recent finds by a team of Greek archaeologists. The researchers note that the ancient Alexandria's monuments and the remnants of the city Alexander the Great founded can be seen from the coastline's edge, underneath the surface of the Mediterranean Sea, which has risen over the past two millennia by about 2 meters.

"Alexandria's shoreline today sits on the ancient ruins, while the ancient shoreline is located at this moment under the sea's surface," the head of the Greek maritime archaeological team in the Egyptian city, Haris Tzalas, told the Athens daily "Eleftherotypia". The team has so far covered a narrow stretch of shoreline some 14 kilometers long, known in antiquity as the "towards Elefsina sea", roughly where the eastern portion of the ancient harbor stood.

Meeting of Greek, Turkish Cypriot Parties

Two Cypriot parties, Greek Cypriot Democratic Rally (DISY) and Turkish Cypriot Patriotic Unity Movement (PUM), have expressed their adherence to a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of a bizonal, bicomunal federation, as set out in UN resolutions. Officials from the two parties, who met at the initiative of the Turkish Cypriots, said in a joint declaration that Cyprus' accession process to the European Union "will act as a catalyst for a solution and will benefit both communities" and expressed hope that Turkish Cypriots will participate in this process.

The declaration, issued after the talks, said the solution of the Cyprus issue should be based on the application of the principles of human rights. The two parties also decided "to establish close cooperation both in Cyprus and abroad in their efforts" to establish a bicomunal, bizonal federation. They expressed hope that the Turkish Cypriot community "will respond positively and will participate in the EU negotiations." So far, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash has rejected an invitation from President Glafcos Clerides to nominate representatives to join the Cypriot negotiating team. The joint declaration expresses the determination of the parties to back bicomunal contacts, which Denktash has blocked for the past couple of years, and seek help from foreign diplomats to realize such contacts.

"We hope that we can create, together with the Turkish Cypriots, a broader public opinion among the Cypriot people which would enable the leadership to be positive in the (peace) negotiations for the goal we are both working for," Nicos Anastasiades DISY leader said after the meeting. Turkish Cypriot leader of the PUM, Izzet Izcan, said both parties "are going to work together on these fundamental issues", such as the solution of the Cyprus question and bicomunal contact. He said a Cyprus solution should be based on the UN resolutions and should be a bizonal, bicomunal federal solution, which will safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

Cyprus and American Foreign Policy - The Evolving Picture

A Lecture by Van Coufoudakis, Dean, School of Arts and Sciences, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne and Professor of Political Sciences

Philadelphia - January 2000

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I want to express my appreciation to AHEPA and to the AHI for their co-sponsorship of this workshop. Our organizations have promoted the rule of law in American foreign policy and the common interests of Hellenism and our own country.

My remarks will focus on the Cyprus problem and the challenge facing us, because of the general euphoria that has been created by the earthquake diplomacy between Greece and Turkey; by the improvement in Greco-Turkish relations; by the re-opening of talks under U. N. auspices between the president of Cyprus and the Turkish-Cypriot leader, and by the decision at the E. U. summit in Helsinki to grant candidate status to Turkey, under certain conditions.

Let me comment on the positive developments. I support moves leading to a Greco-Turkish reconciliation and to the peaceful resolution of legitimate disputes within the context of the rule of law. Please note the key sentence "legitimate disputes within the context of the rule of law. Further, I endorse measures supporting and contributing to a democratic,

secular, rule of law and European- oriented Turkey. But, none of these goals will be attained if we sacrifice the sovereignty and territorial integrity of either Greece or Cyprus, or the rule of law principles that established the regional status quo. Turkey, since 1974, has consistently challenged the legal status quo in Thrace, the Aegean and in Cyprus, and continues to do so to this very day. Only its tactics have changed since last December.

I also support Turkey's European vocation as long as Turkey meets the Helsinki criteria, and the membership criteria of the 1957 Treaty of Rome that established the E. E. C. (E. U. now). By accepting Turkey as a candidate country, the E. U. as a whole, rather than Greece alone, faces the challenge presented by Turkey's candidacy.

As we address the Cyprus problem and that of Greco-Turkish relations in the American political arena and with the media, we must be cognizant of the new political environment that has been created over the past few months. Now, more than ever before, the thrust of our efforts must not only be on the rule of law theme we have promoted until now, but also on the obligation of our government and of the E. U. to enforce Turkey's compliance with the conditions set at Helsinki and expected under the 1957 Treaty of Rome of all members and potential members.

I emphasize the need to hold the administration, along with the Department of State and Defense, accountable for a number of reasons:

1. Because Washington supported and lobbied for Turkey's candidacy, without linking Turkey's compliance with any of the conditions set by the E. U. and expected of members and candidates of the E. U.;
2. Because what has changed in Turkey's foreign policy over the last few months are its tactics, but not its objectives! Turkey, in order to facilitate its E. U. aspirations, agreed to re-open talks on Cyprus and to seek a peaceful resolution of its differences with Greece. However, Turkey continues to question the Aegean status quo and to advocate a Cyprus solution legitimizing the invasion and occupation of the republic of Cyprus; and
3. The cynical nature of Washington's policy, which is shown in the gap separating words intended for public consumption and for electoral benefit, from actual policy. It is the unspoken public policy of our government on Cyprus that I want to talk about. The best manifestation of this policy was shown last December in the debate in the U. N. Security Council on the renewal of the U. N. peacekeeping force on Cyprus. In that debate Washington, once more, attempted to upgrade the regime of the occupied areas, while undermining the standing of the legitimate End internationally recognized government of Cyprus.

Today, Washington, capitalizing on the euphoria of the improved climate in Greco- Turkish relations, has embarked on a campaign of pressure not only on the governments of Greece and Cyprus to be responsive to Turkey's demands, but also to use the Greek-American community to exert its influence on Greece and Cyprus to promote Turkey's positions. Fortunately, AHEPA and AHI have recognized this. I wish other Greek-American organizations would do the same. We, as Americans of Greek or Cypriot descent, have our own views as to the importance of the rule of law in our foreign policy, and in the problems facing Greece and Cyprus. We do not speak on behalf of any government. The governments of Greece and Cyprus are accountable to their own publics for their decisions and action. We will continue to assist them, but we will not assist them to drink the cup, as our government would have us do!

Let me talk to you then about the current state of the talks on Cyprus, and how Washington, with British support, plans to close the book on Cyprus. Please note that I am using the term "to close the book" on Cyprus, rather than to seek a viable solution to the problem.

After 25 years of continuing Turkish occupation, some 35,000 American armed Turkish troops control 3 8% of the Republic of Cyprus; Cyprus has been ethnically cleansed; very limited progress has been made on the accounting of the 1600 Greek Cypriots who are still missing, while 90,000 Turkish settlers have upset the demographic balance on the island and are forcing the Turkish Cypriots to leave the island. Meanwhile, Turkey has been repeatedly found in violation of the European Convention on Human Rights, the latest case being the Loizidou case, while more than 100 unanimous UNSC resolutions remain unimplemented.

The puppet republic created by the Turkish army in the occupied areas in 1983 has been recognized only by Turkey, while the threat of its recognition by other states has become a new source of leverage to move the stalled negotiations on Cyprus forward. Why is it that after 25 years the Cyprus problem has not been solved? Let me give you four reasons:

1. Even though there is an agreement in principle that Cyprus will become a bizonal- bicomunal federation, there is disagreement on the exact meaning of these terms. The Greek Cypriots envision a viable federation observing

contemporary human rights standards (three freedoms: movement, settlement, and property). In contrast, the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey, along with the U. S., propose a loose, confederation of two independent states, with extensive Turkish Cypriot veto powers, Turkey's continued military guarantee and military presence on the island, and a very limited application of the "three freedoms."

2. The U. S. opposes the implementation of U. N. resolutions on Cyprus, which contain the fundamental principles for the creation of a viable federal republic.
3. Turkish and Turkish Cypriot negotiating intransigence. The Turks are fully aware that neither the U. S. nor the E. U. are likely to take steps that may affect their economic and strategic relations with Turkey. And,
4. Instead of utilizing the talks for the integration of Cyprus in the European Union as an incentive and as a means of overcoming obstacles in the talks (human rights, borders, etc.), the U. S. has attempted to use these talks, with assistance from Britain, to force new concessions from the government of Cyprus and to gain a place for Turkey in the next expansion of the European Union.

Let me now turn to the latest American proposals on Cyprus which are based on the May 1998 Holbrooke proposals, and the so-called "G-8 formula" on Cyprus. U. N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in a letter to the president of the U. N. Security Council dated April 20, 1998, concluded that Turkey defined its Cyprus policy in the context of "two states and three problems." This included the recognition of Turkish Cypriot statehood as the prerequisite for a solution. In turn, the three problems in need of resolution are those of security, settlement of property claims, and the delineation of borders. Further, they demand the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of Denktash's government and its political procedures; the lifting of the economic embargo; the continuation of Turkey's military guarantee, and the acknowledgment of the political equality of the two sides in all aspects of the negotiations. Mr. Denktash also demands the withdrawal of the Cypriot application to the E. U., and demands that the U. N. and all external mediators accept this "new political reality."

Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in his letter of April 20, 1998, described these points as Denktash's "new positions" as a result of which the Turkish Cypriots rejected the intercommunal framework of earlier negotiations.

Over the last two years, the Clinton administration has repeatedly stated its intention to assist in the resolution of the Cyprus problem. In theory at least, this interest is welcome because the United States, with the support of the E. U., can influence Turkey's behavior. This interest would be welcome if it is sincere and meaningful. The Clinton administration has stated its support of a bizonal-bicommunal federation on Cyprus, and many have expressed their satisfaction with the president's statements. Unfortunately, I am not as optimistic!

There are many rumored plans about the actual constitutional solution for Cyprus. However, all proposals are based on the principle of land for constitutional concessions. The greater the concessions on land, the looser the confederation becomes, whether in a bizonal or trizonal framework. Various alternative models for the executive branch of the new Cypriot government have also been prepared.

However, Mr. Denktash has set as precondition for any talks the recognition of his pseudostate. How does the U. S. government respond to this demand? Let me walk you through the State Department's thinking on how the talks will be conducted:

- (1) By indicating that the U. S. will not support recognition as a precondition for the talks, but will not object to an outcome acceptable to the parties that involves recognition. American and British proposals will seek to satisfy the Turkish- Cypriot need for recognition.
- (2) That the U. S. is interested in having negotiations between the two parties to keep the momentum created by American initiatives and by the recent improvement in Greek-Turkish relations.
- (3) That for meaningful talks to occur, the Greek Cypriots need to come to terms with the reality that has been created since 1974, and to be sensitive to Turkish Cypriot needs and concerns. For Washington the problem is one of intercommunal power sharing and not one of invasion and occupation.
- (4) That it is up to the parties to decide what relationship they will have. They need to show flexibility, realism, and political courage. The U. S. will offer constructive suggestions and alternative scenarios to guide the talks.

- (5) What is important is not the constitutional label that may be given to the final settlement, but the substance of the settlement. Therefore, the Greek Cypriots need to drop the labels of federation/confederation. The key is that the two sides reach an agreement. Once more, the U. S. and Britain can offer constructive ideas.
- (6) Although federation may be desirable, the reality is that it must be wanted by both sides. At first, whatever constitutional arrangements are agreed on will be fragile and will need international support. The reality, however, is that this constitutional arrangement will imply at first an acceptance of elements of "legitimized partition" reflecting the conditions existing since 1974. A stable partition will be better than the current unstable status quo. And
- (7) The two sides need to negotiate the core issues, and not to debate issues like federation or confederation, invasion or occupation. The core issues involve boundaries, property exchanges, resettlement of displaced persons, three freedoms, and compensation claims. Therefore, in the upcoming talks, the substance counts, not the form! Once a settlement is reached, then, constitutional experts and politicians can name it whatever they may!

And now we come to the most critical issue, that of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot demand and precondition for recognition: How does the U. S. Department of State and the British government address this issue?

- (8) That recognition will not be granted to the Turkish Cypriots in advance of the talks, but will be the outcome of the talks.
- (9) That Raouf Denktash and the Turks are realists and will come to the talks with something less than the full recognition of the "TRNC" as an independent and sovereign state. Raouf Denktash will accept an "acknowledgment" by the government of Cyprus that he and his administration represent the Turkish Cypriots and speak on their behalf. Once granted such an acknowledgment he will negotiate in good faith. The U. S. Department of State, Britain, and, as of late, Australia, suggest that the September 93 exchange of letters between the government of Israel and the Palestinians be used as a precedent.
- (10) That such an acknowledgment by the government of Cyprus does not have to be disclosed publicly until negotiations have reached a satisfactory stage.
- (11) (1 1) "Acknowledgment" amounts to recognition of the Denktash administration as the de facto government of the territory under their control.
- (12) Political acknowledgment will not have other legal consequences. Assurances are being given to the Greek Cypriots that the international community, with the exception of Turkey, will not recognize *de jure* a Turkish Cypriot state. And,
- (13) When a final agreement has been reached, the international community will allow "a brief moment of sovereignty" to the Turkish Cypriots, so that both sides can form a new partnership on Cyprus based on the political equality of the two constituent states.

AT THIS POINT THEN APPEALS ARE MADE TO BOTH SIDES TO

- look to the future and not to the past.
- not to debate whether the events of '74 were an invasion or an intervention.
- not to debate abstract notions of federation /confederation, or the nature of sovereignty.
- and leave out of the negotiations humanitarian issues such as those of the settlers
- and the missing.
- The U. S. is also pressing the government of Cyprus to commit to confidence building measures including the gradual lifting of sanctions against the so-called "TRNC."
- Appeals are also made to President Clerides and Mr. Denktash to show political courage and imagination and to close their careers with an agreement, because they have the moral authority over their respective publics, and can unburden their successors from politically costly choices.

This summarizes the thinking at the Department of State, and in the British Foreign Office. Most of you are not aware of these details which were first presented by Dick Holbrooke to the government of Cyprus in May '98.

Words like confederation are avoided in favor of watered down versions of federation schemes, while selective provisions from the Swiss, the German, the Belgian, and the Canadian constitutions are provided as justifications of how sovereignty can be divided in a confederation of two sovereign states.

While pressing the Cyprus government for an acceptance in principle of a Turkish Cypriot political entity, Washington insists that is not pre-judging the outcome of the negotiations, it only places the burden of the acceptance of confederation on the government of Cyprus.

As in the case of the 1999 crisis in Yugoslavia, Washington has once more taken steps to undermine the United Nations by bringing the Cyprus problem to the meeting of the G-8 in Cologne, Germany, on June 20, 1999. The attempt to minimize the role of the United Nations is not new in the case of Cyprus. It has been a constant element of American policy since the 1950s.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan, under instructions from the G-8 and two Security Council resolutions endorsing the G-8 formula (Res. 1250, 1251), invited the "two sides" to a new round of talks based on the following principles:

1. talks without preconditions
2. discussion of all issues
3. sustained talks in good faith and until a solution is found
4. accounting for the previous U. N. resolutions and other international agreements

The risks in these talks are many. First though the "good news." Reference to the U. N. resolutions implies an endorsement of a bizonal-bicommunal federation, with single sovereignty, international personality, and citizenship. Further, earlier resolutions condemn the pseudostate created by the Turkish army in the occupied areas, and call for its non-recognition. The "bad news", however, is that "the parties" can put on the table all issues without preconditions. That means that Mr. Denktash can present himself as president of a sovereign and independent state, and that he will be free to present his proposal for a confederation of two sovereign states, as it has also been implied in the 1998 Holbrooke proposals! The reference to "other international agreements" implies the discussion of the Treaty of Guarantee and Turkey's rights of intervention in Cyprus.

Holbrooke's 1998 proposals and the G-8 formula are also reflected in the report by Secretary-General Kofi Annan of June 22, 1999, to the Security Council, where he recognizes that the issue of the political status of the Turkish Cypriots needs to be addressed in the round of talks currently under way.

This is the reality facing the government of Cyprus now that the U. S., the G-8, and the Secretary-General appear determined that the government of Cyprus will have to make the ultimate concession of acknowledging the existence of a Turkish Cypriot political entity in order to get the Cyprus negotiations off dead center and in order to improve Turkey's candidacy status in the E. U.

If the United States and Britain are truly interested in viable solution of the Cyprus problem, then they can do so by focusing on the opportunities offered by the integration of Cyprus in the European Union, and by the implementation of all the U. N. resolutions on Cyprus. Otherwise, Cyprus will remain a source of international tension, and a solution acceptable to Turkey will neither improve Greco-Turkish relations, nor stabilize Turkey's uncertain political future.

Greece, Cyprus, and the U. S. agree on the need for a democratic, secular, rule of law, and European oriented Turkey. However, secularism alone does not guarantee democracy or rule of law conduct on the part of Turkey. Nor sacrificing the Republic of Cyprus will stabilize the region. Large and small states alike have a special responsibility to make the rule of law the foundation of international politics in the 21st Century. Let us not forget that on the eve of the 21st century Cyprus remains the last divided and occupied country of Europe.

Thank you.

From Our History

The Melian Dialogue

In the course of the Peloponnesian war, Athens decided to add to its Aegean empire the island of Melos, whose inhabitants, though of Dorian stock and so sympathetic to the Spartan cause, had so far remained neutral. Before doing Melos any harm, the Athenians sent envoys to negotiate with the Melians. Thucydides' account of the proceedings, is a classic exposition of the arrogance of power:

ATH.: "Well, then, we Athenians will use no fine words; we will not say at length, without carrying conviction, that we have a right to rule because we overthrew the Persians or that we are attacking you now because we are suffering any injury at your hands. And you should not expect to convince us by arguing that, although a colony of the Lacedaemonians, you have taken no part in their expeditions or that you have never done us any wrong. You must act with realism on the basis of what we both really think, for we both alike know that in human reckoning the question of justice only enters where there is equal power to enforce it and that the powerful exact what they can and the weak grant what they must."

MEL.: "Well, then, since you thus set aside justice and make expediency the subject of debate, in our judgment it is certainly of advantage that you respect the common good, that to every man in peril fair treatment be accorded, and that any plea which he has urged, even if failing of the point a little, should help his cause. Your interest in this principle is quite as great as ours, since if you fall, you might incur the heaviest vengeance and be an example to mankind."

ATH.: "The end of our empire, even if it should fall, does not dismay us; for ruling states such as Lacedaemon are not cruel to their vanquished enemies. But we are not now contending with the Lacedaemonians; the real danger is from our subjects, who may of their own motion rise up and overcome their masters. But this is a danger which you may leave to us. We will show that we have come in the interests of our empire and that in what we are about to say, we are only seeking the preservation of your city. We wish to subdue you without effort and to preserve you to our mutual advantage."

MEL.: "It may be your advantage to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves!"

ATH.: "By submission you would avert the most terrible sufferings, and we should profit from not destroying you."

MEL.: "But must we be your enemies! Would you not receive us as friends if we are neutral and remain at peace with you!"

ATH.: "No, your enmity does not injure us as much as your friendship; for your enmity is in the eyes of our subjects a demonstration of our power, your friendship of our weakness."

MEL.: "But do your subjects think it fair not to distinguish between cities in which you have no connection and those which are chiefly your own colonies, and in some cases have revolted and been subdued!"

ATH.: "Why, they believe that neither lack pleas of right, but that by reason of their power some escape us and that we do not attack them out of fear. So that your subjection would give us security, as well as an extension of empire, all the more as you are islanders, and insignificant islanders."

MEL.: "But do you not think that there is security in our proposal! For, once more, since you drive us from the plea of justice and urge us to submit to you our interest, we must show you what is for our advantage and try to convince you, if it really coincides with yours: Will you not be making enemies of all who are now neutrals! When they see how you are treating us, they will expect you some day to turn against them; and if so, are you not strengthening the enemies whom you already have and bringing upon you others who, if they could help it, would never dream of being your enemies at all!"

ATH.: "We consider that our really dangerous enemies are not any of the peoples inhabiting the mainland who are secure in their freedom and will defer indefinitely any measures of precaution against us, but islanders who, like you, are under no control, and all who are already irritated by the necessity of submission to our empire; for without calculating, they would be most likely to plunge themselves, as well as us, into a danger for all to foresee."

MEL.: "Surely then, if you and your subjects will brave all this danger, you to preserve your empire and they to be quit of it, how base and cowardly would it be for us, as we are still free, not to do and suffer anything rather than be your slaves."

ATH.: "Not if YOU deliberate with sound sense; you are in an unequal contest; not about your good character and avoiding dishonor: you must think of saving yourselves by not resisting far superior forces."

MEL.: "But we know that the fortune of war is sometimes impartial and not always on the side of numbers. If we yield, hope is at once gone, but if we act, we can still hope to stand unbowed."

ATH.: "Hope comforts men in danger; and when they have ample resources, it may be hurtful, but is not ruinous. But when her spendthrift nature has induced them to stake their all, they see her as she is only in the moment of their ruin; when their eyes are opened, and they would at last take precautions, they are left with nothing. You are weak, and a single turn of the

scale may be your ruin: do not desire to be deluded; or to be like the common herd of men; when they still, humanly speaking, have a chance of survival but find themselves, in their extremity, destitute of real grounds for confidence, they resort to illusions, to prophecies and oracles and the like, which ruin men by the hopes which they inspire in them."

MEL.: "You may be sure that we think it hard to struggle against your power and against fortune if she does not mean to be impartial. But still we trust that we shall not have the worst of the fortune that comes from heaven because we stand as righteous men against your injustice, and we are satisfied that our deficiency in power will be compensated by the alliance of the Lacedaemonians; they are bound to help us, if only because we are their kinsmen and for the sake of their own honor. And therefore our confidence is not so utterly unreasonable."

ATH.: "As for the gods, we expect to have quite as much of their Favor as you: for we are not claiming or doing anything which goes beyond what men believe of the gods and desire in human relationships. For we believe of the gods by repute, and of men by clear evidence, that by a necessity of nature, wherever they have the power, they will rule. This law was not made by us, and we are not the first who have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and shall bequeath it to all time; we obey it in the knowledge that you and all mankind, with our strength would act like us. So much for the gods; we have no reason to fear any lack of their favor. And then as to the Lacedaemonians - when you imagine that out of very shame they will assist you, we congratulate you on your blissful ignorance, but we do not admire your folly. "

MEL.: "That is the very reason why we are now particularly reliant on them; they will look to their interest, and therefore will not be willing to betray the Melians, their own colonists, lest they should be distrusted by their friends in Hellas and play into the hands of their enemies."

ATH.: "Then you do not think that the path of expediency is safe, whereas justice and honor involve action and danger, which none are more generally averse to facing than the Lacedaemonians."

MEL.: "No, we believe that they would be ready to face dangers for our sake, and will think them safer where we are concerned. If action is required, we are close to the Peloponnese; and they can better trust our loyal feeling because we are their kinsmen."

ATH.: "Yes, but what gives men security in joining in a conflict is clearly not the good will of those who summon help but a decided superiority in real power. To this none look more keenly than the Lacedaemonians; so little confidence have they in their own resources that they only attack their neighbors when they have numerous allies; and therefore they are not likely to find their way by themselves to an island, when we are masters of the sea."

MEL.: "But they might send others; the Cretan sea is a large place, and the masters of the sea will have more difficulty in seizing vessels than those who would elude detection in making their escape. And if the attempt should fail, they might invade Attica itself and find their way to allies of yours whom Brasidas did not reach; and then you will have to make efforts, not for the conquest of a land which is not yours, but nearer home, for the preservation of your confederacy and of your own territory."

ATH.: "Some of this may happen; we have actually experienced it, and you are not unaware that never once have the Athenians retired from a siege through fear of others. You told us that you would deliberate on the safety of your city; but we remark that, in this long discussion, you have uttered not a word which would justify men in expecting deliverance. Your strongest grounds are hopes deferred, and what power you have, compared with that already arrayed against you, is too little to save you. What you have in mind is most unreasonable, unless you ultimately come to a sounder decision after we have withdrawn. For surely you will not fall back on a sense of honor, which has been the ruin of so many, when danger and dishonor were staring them in the face. Many men with their eyes still open to the consequences have found the word honor too much for them and have let a mere name lure them on, until with their own acquiescence it has drawn down upon them real and irretrievable calamities; through their own folly they have incurred a worse dishonor than fortune would have inflicted upon them. If you are wise, you will not run this risk; you will think it not unfitting to yield to the greatest of cities, which invites you to become her ally on reasonable terms, keeping your own land and merely paying tribute; you will find no honor, when you have a choice between two alternatives, safety and war, in obstinately preferring the worse. To maintain one's rights against equals, to be politic with superiors and to be moderate toward inferiors is generally the right course. Reflect once more when we have withdrawn, and say to yourselves over and over again that you are deliberating about your one and only country, which a single decision will save or destroy."

The Melians, after consulting among themselves, gave the following answer: "Men of Athens, our resolution is unchanged; and we will not in a moment surrender that liberty which our city, founded seven hundred years ago, still enjoys; we will trust

to the good fortune which, by the favor of the gods, has hitherto preserved us, and for human help, to the Lacedaemonians; and we will endeavor to save ourselves. We are ready, however, to be your friends and the enemies neither of you nor of the Lacedaemonians and we ask you to leave our country when you have made such a peace as appears to be in the interest of both parties."

The Athenians said as they quitted the conference: "Well, we must say, judging from the decision at which you have arrived, that you are the only men who find things to come plainer than what lies before their eyes: your wishes make you see the secrets of the future as present realities; you put your faith in the Lacedaemonians, in fortune and in your hopes; none have more than you at stake, and none will be more utterly ruined."

The Melians decided to fight-and lost Their city was besieged and finally they surrendered unconditionally to the Athenians, who, so Thucydides tells us, "put to death all men of military age whom they captured and sold the women and children as slaves. Melos itself they took over for themselves, sending our later a colony of 500 men. "

From The Riches Of Our Cultural Heritage

THE SOVEREIGN SUN by Odysseas Elytis

(continued from previous issue)

Narrator

The Sun the Sun the Sovereign Sun
of all stone-players the champion

has only to open his mouth a bit
for a spring fragrance benefit

then every bird bursts out in song
and bovine beasts moo all day long

and all the winds to all their heights
are filled with many-colored kites.

The Sun

What can I say to you women, and what cannot I say
of truth and consolation, nor yet be ashamed to say?

I've only at times to hear you to grow sad and bowed
and then I take to darkness or hide behind a cloud

but then at times by God I preen and strut with pride
put on my crimson garments then march out and ride

down to the very earth where roots participate
where flowers turn toward me and with me fecundate

till medicines that cure us and all loveliness
form firmest ties with poisons in all secretness.

The light I carry with me, and love itself I fear
for both of these even I, the sun, must pay most dear

all the world's dirty linen, all its sludge and slime
time casts them all within me to the end of time

and as I hang on high above the water's wash
and as I travel far through darkest Tartarus

all tyrannies tormentors killers and murderers
I put them to the grindstone for our future years

I grind them and I churn them and on earth alight
that gave us this grim darkness, to drink them up as light.

Take courage O my pigeons my anemonies
my beauties my companions and my love-e-lies

whatever dark and gloom is woven and spun all day
turn into small small suns, my dears, and grind away

evil itself does bring to birth the blessed day
and every narrow lane must lead to the broad highway

and there exactly in both dark and ruination
memory sinks deep roots in fragrant exhalation.

Root O bitter rootstem and my secret spring
now give us of your pride and take away our sting

by all the windows of every room in every house
strawberry trees and laurel leaves and palm tree boughs

their sleeves rolled up around a table with red wine
youngsters and oldsters and grown men sit down and dine.

Take up a flaming mood, take up your mandolin
take up your golden speech, take up your tambourine

and let the song begin, and let nostalgia rise
till mind and thought both give and take of Paradise.

What with the "get" and with the "full" and with the "ness"
the whole world's wrongs now fall into for-get-ful-ness.

The Crazy Boat

A boat adorned and decked sails out for mountains oh
and there begins maneuvers with heave-to, heave-ho

weighs anchor by a pine tree grove and takes aboard
a cargo of fresh mountain air at lee and port.

She's made of blackest stone, she's made of flimsy dream
her boatswain is naive, her sailors plot and scheme

she's come from the deep depths of ancient bygone times
and here unloads her troubles and her trembling sighs.

O come my Lord and Jesus, I speak and am struck daft
on such a loony vessel on such a crazy craft

we've sailed for years on end, and still we've kept afloat
we've changed a thousand skippers on this balmy boat

we never paid the slightest heed to cataclysms
but plunged headlong in everything with optimisms

and high up on our lookout mast we keep for sentry one
who ever and anon remains our Sun our Sovereign Sun!