



# HELLENIC LINK–MIDWEST Newsletter

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## Upcoming Events

### The Challenge of Quality Assurance in Greek Higher Education

On Sunday, February 21, 2016, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents *Dr. Van Coufoudakis*, in a lecture titled: “*The Challenge of Quality Assurance in Greek Higher Education*”. The event will take place at 3 pm at the Four Points by Sheraton Hotel, 10249 West Irving Park Road at Schiller Park (southeast corner of Irving Park Road and Mannheim Road). Admission is free for current HLM members and students with ID, and \$5 for non-members.

*Dr. Coufoudakis* will review his experience as President of ADIP (The Hellenic Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agency) from August of 2012 to October 2014. ADIP, an independent agency of the government of Greece, created by an act of Parliament in 2005 to bring Greece in compliance with the procedures and institutions of the common European university space.

He will discuss ADIP's functions in the preparation and presentation of “*Plan Athena*”, the first serious attempt to revamp the unwieldy Greek higher education system. The presentation will also cover: the challenge of evaluating nearly 400 departments of Greek universities and TEI by external evaluators for the first time in Greek higher education history; the report submitted to the Greek Parliament in August 2015 on the state of Greek higher education; the challenge of introducing reform and evaluation in the Greek higher education system; the lack of planning in Greek higher education and the impact of the financial crisis on the TEI and the universities; and the post January 2015 political environment, Greek higher education, and the role of ADIP

*Dr. Coufoudakis* is Rector Emeritus at the University of Nicosia, Cyprus, Dean Emeritus of the College of Arts and Sciences at Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne, and professor Emeritus of Political Science. He also served as Assistant and as Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs. In August 2012 the government of Greece appointed him President of ADIP, a position he held until October 2014.

He is the author of three books, the editor of four books, and the author of one hundred journal articles and book chapters. His books include *International Aggression and Violations of Human Rights: The Case of Turkey in Cyprus*, and *Cyprus: A Contemporary Problem in*

*Historical Perspective*. He has lectured in major universities and institutions in the U.S., and Europe. He served as President of the Modern Greek Studies Association, and established the Foundation for Hellenic Studies a foundation dedicated to the promotion and support of the study of Greece and Cyprus in the United States. He served on the AHEPA Educational Foundation, as Director of the Indiana University Center for Global Studies, and as Honorary Consul of the Republic of Cyprus for the State of Indiana. He has been awarded the decoration and title of Commander of the Order of the Phoenix for his contributions to the study of Greece; he received from Indiana University the Ryan Award and the degree Doctor of Humane Letters, Honoris Causa; and the Governor of the State of Indiana presented him the “Sagamore of the Wabash” award. He holds a Ph.D. degree in Political Science from the University of Michigan, and a B.A. in Public Administration from the American University of Beirut.

### What Can We Learn from the Greek War of Independence?

On Sunday, April 3, 2016, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents *Stathis Kalyvas*, Professor of Political Science at Yale University, in a lecture titled: “*What Can We Learn from the Greek War of Independence?*” The event will take place at 3 pm at the Four Points by Sheraton Hotel, 10249 West Irving Park Road at Schiller Park. Admission is free for current HLM members and students with ID, and \$5 for non-members.

The goal of this talk is twofold. On the one hand, the speaker aims to revisit the Greek War of Independence and rethink some of our core assumptions about it in light of recent scholarly research. On the other hand, the speaker wishes to argue that this historical event provides us with a template for the history of Modern Greece. More specifically, the speaker will argue that the Greek War of Independence was the first of a series of seven boom and bust cycles characterized by parallel, recurring features that constitute the history of Modern Greece up to the present—an argument expounded in full in his recent book, *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know*.

*Stathis Kalyvas* is Arnold Wolfers Professor of Political Science at Yale University, where he also directs the Program on *Order, Conflict, and Violence*. He obtained his BA from the University of Athens and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, both in political science. He taught at Ohio State University, New York

University, and the University of Chicago, before joining Yale in 2003. He has held visiting professorships and senior fellowships at a number of universities and institutes.

He is the author of four books, and the author of over fifty scholarly articles in five languages. His current research focuses on global trends in political violence.

*Kalyvas* has received several prestigious awards, including for best book on government, politics, or international affairs, for best book in comparative politics, for the best article in comparative politics (three times), and for best book in politics and history. In 2008 he was elected in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

## ***In Brief***

### **Cyprus Negotiations**

The President of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus *Yiannakis Omirou*, speaking on Monday December 28, 2015, during visits to army camps on the occasion of Christmas and New Year celebrations, said that we want a solution the soonest, but one that will end the Turkish occupation, safeguard human rights, terminate the 1960 guarantees and will not provide for permanent derogations from the EU *acquis communautaire* (EU law).

The 1960 Treaty of Guarantee provides that “*Greece the United Kingdom and Turkey...recognize and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, and also the provisions of the basic articles of its Constitution... In the event of any breach of the provisions of the present Treaty,.. in so far as common or concerted action may prove impossible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs established by the present Treaty.*”

On July 20, 1974, Turkey, using as an excuse a military coup against President *Makarios*, invaded Cyprus, claiming a right under the Treaty of Guarantee to intervene to establish constitutional order in Cyprus, and a right to protect the Turkish Cypriots, although they were not affected by the coup. Turkey violated its obligations under the UN charter, which requires all members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, and all members to refrain “*from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.*” Even the legality of the invasion under the Treaty of Guarantee was “*seriously challenged—the treaty does not explicitly refer to military intervention.*”

*Omirou* pointed out that those who express optimism for a quick solution must be urged to exert their pressure on Ankara. He said that both the international and European community need a solution that will provide security, stability, peace and cooperation.

He also praised the role of the National Guard for safeguarding the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

Recently many reports have expressed optimism that a solution of the Cyprus problem can be imminent. In an interview to *The Associated Press* on January 15, 2016, Cyprus president *Anastasiades* said: “To paint a picture that we’re just shy of an overall settlement is a mistake.”

*Anastasiades* said *Akinçi*, the leader of the Turkish Cypriots, is expressing what he called “*positions that reflect concerns of the past.*” One such issue is an insistence that Turkish Cypriots remain the majority in terms of population and ownership of private property inside the constituent state they will govern as part of an envisioned federation.

Most property in the island's north, where the Turkish Cypriot constituent state would be established, belongs to Greek Cypriots forced by the Turkish troops to leave their homes. *Anastasiades* said any such limitations would be in breach of a person's right to choose where they would live.

The Cypriot president said Turkish Cypriot concerns may be assuaged by an accord that secures their right to run their own affairs, irrespective of how many Greek Cypriots reside in their zone.

The Turkish Cypriots also want a peace accord to keep in place military intervention rights that were given to Turkey, Greece and Britain under the existing Cyprus’ constitution that was imposed by the three *Guarantor Powers*, and used as an excuse by Turkey to invade and divide the island. *Anastasiades* proposed a beefed-up U.N. peacekeeping force operating under a new mandate to provide post-settlement security for a number of years. He said the new mandate would also empower the U.N. Security Council to impose sanctions on any side breaching the agreement.

*Anastasiades* said the cost of reunification will be high. Donations from other countries in combination with low-interest loans from international financial institutions will be needed to finance peace.

The Cypriot president added that a reunified Cyprus can serve as a prime example of Christians and Muslims living peacefully in a region tormented by sectarian-driven violence and facilitate regional diplomacy.

A deal could also allow Turkey to meet its energy needs with supplies of newly found, east Mediterranean gas and to fulfill its vision of becoming a key conveyor of gas to Europe.

### **Cyprus’ recovering economy**

On January 22, 2016, Cyprus’ Finance Minister *Harris Georgiades* told the European Parliament’s Economic and Monetary Affairs committee, that Cyprus is completing its reform program agreed with the European Stability Mechanism and the International Monetary Fund in March. It will have utilized less than €8 billion

out of the €10 billion available to it in bailout money, without requesting a new program, and without needing to employ a conditional credit line.

Responding to questions, he said Cypriot banks are no longer susceptible to regional economic tremors. But despite renewed confidence in the banking sector, the government eyes a much more ambitious reform program, including public administration reform and privatizations.

Asked to what extent the government of Cyprus assumes natural gas finds could be a potential economic windfall in the medium-term, *Georgiades* said “zero”—“*that was the policy we chose... to achieve whatever else is necessary in order to consolidate our finances and manage our debt.*”

Responding to criticism that Cyprus is a tax haven, boasting “one of the lowest corporate tax rates and one [registered] company per four inhabitants”, he said:

“Cyprus is not a tax haven, our tax regime is attractive, it is competitive, but it’s perfectly legitimate, and one which exists in other member states, too. We have been under the tight scrutiny of the IMF and the Troika for the past three years, and our legislation is stricter than that of other EU member states. Obviously, Cyprus is a service-based economy, offering international business services, and we’re not alone in doing that. But we are fully compliant with all the rules and legislations of the European Union.”

## ***From Our History***

### **Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind***(Continued from the previous issue)*

*From the Raleigh Lecture on History, read before the British Academy in 1933, by British classical scholar and writer Sir W. W. Tarn*

...We have seen that it was the business of kings to bring about Homonoia; but this was not the business of a Stoic, because to him Homonoia had already been brought about by the Deity, and it existed in all completeness; all that was necessary was that men should see it. ...

This is the point I want to make, the irreconcilable opposition between Stoicism and the theory of kingship, between the belief that unity and concord existed and you must try and get men to see it, and the belief that unity and concord did not exist and that it was the business of the rulers of the earth to try and bring them to pass .... Consequently, when Eratosthenes says that Alexander aspired to be the harmonizer and reconciler of the world, and when Plutarch attributes to him the intention of bringing about fellowship and Homonoia between men generally those men whom his arm reached then, wherever these ideas came from, they were not Stoic; between them and Stoicism there was a gulf which nothing could bridge. This does not by itself

prove that Alexander held these ideas; what it does do is to put out of court the only alternative which has ever been seriously proposed, and to leave the matter where I left it when considering the theory of kingship, that is, that there is a strong presumption that Alexander was their author ....

Before leaving Stoicism, I must return for a moment to Zeno's distinction of the worthy and the unworthy; for Alexander, as we saw, is said to have divided men into good and bad, and to have excluded the bad from the general kinship of mankind and called them the true barbarians. Might not this distinction, at any rate, have been taken from Stoicism and attributed to him? The reasons against this seem conclusive, apart from the difficulty of discarding a statement made by so sound and scientific a critic as Eratosthenes. First, no Stoic ever equated the unworthy class with barbarians; for to him there were no barbarians .... Secondly, while the unworthy in Zeno, as in Aristotle, are the majority of mankind, Alexander's "*bad men*" are not; they are, as Eratosthenes says, merely that small residue everywhere which cannot be civilized. One sees this clearly in a story never questioned, his [Alexander's] prayer at Opis, when he prayed that the Macedonian and Persian races (without exceptions made) might be united in Homonoia. And thirdly, we know where the idea comes from: Aristotle had criticized some who said that good men were really free and bad men were really slaves (whom he himself equated with barbarians), and Alexander is in turn criticizing Aristotle; as Indeed Eratosthenes says, though he does not quote this passage of Aristotle. The matter is not important, except for the general question of the credibility of Eratosthenes, and may conceivably only represent that period in Alexander's thought when he was outgrowing Aristotle; it does not conflict, as does Zeno's conception of the unworthy, with a general belief in the unity of mankind.

There is just one question still to be asked; whence did Zeno get his universalism? Plutarch says that behind Zeno's dream lay Alexander's reality; and no one doubts that Alexander was Zeno's inspiration, but the question is, in what form? Most writers have taken Plutarch to mean Alexander's empire; but to me this explains nothing at all. One man conquers a large number of races and brings them under one despotic rule; how can another man deduce from this that distinctions of race are immaterial and that the universe is a harmony in which men are brothers? It would be like the fight between the polar bear and the parallelepiped. The Persian kings had conquered and ruled as large an empire as Alexander, including many Greek cities; why did Darius never inspire anyone with similar theories? It does seem to me that what Plutarch really means is not Alexander's empire but Alexander's ideas; after all, the frequent references in antiquity to Alexander as a philosopher, one at least of which is contemporary, must mean something. *(to be continued)*

*From the Riches of Our Cultural Heritage*

**“Nefelai” (“The Clouds”) by Aristophanes**

*(Continued from the previous issue)*

PHEIDIPPIDES

But Father, what's the matter with you? Are you out of your head? Almighty Zeus, you must be mad!

STREPSIADES

"Almighty Zeus!" What musty rubbish! Imagine, a boy your age still believing in Zeus!

PHEIDIPPIDES

What's so damn funny?

STREPSIADES

It tickles me when the heads of toddlers like you are still stuffed with such outdated notions. Now then, listen to me and I'll tell you a secret or two that might make an intelligent man of you yet.

But remember: you mustn't breathe a word of this.

PHEIDIPPIDES

A word of what?

STREPSIADES

Didn't you just swear by Zeus?

PHEIDIPPIDES

I did.

STREPSIADES

Now learn what Education can do for you: Pheidippides, there is no Zeus.

PHEIDIPPIDES

No Zeus?

STREPSIADES

No Zeus. Convection-principle's in power now. Zeus has been banished.

PHEIDIPPIDES

Drivel !

STREPSIADES

Take my word for it, It's absolutely true

PHEIDIPPIDES

Who says so?

STREPSIADES

Sokrates.  
And Chairephon too...

PHEIDIPPIDES

Are you so far gone on the road to complete insanity you'd believe the word of those charlatans?

STREPSIADES

Hush, boy. For shame. I won't hear you speaking disrespectfully of such eminent scientists and geniuses. And, what's more, men of such fantastic frugality and Spartan thrift, they regard baths, haircuts, and personal cleanliness generally as an utter waste of time and money—whereas you, dear boy, have taken me to the cleaner's so many times, I'm damn near washed up. Come on, for your father's sake, go and learn.

*[Some time later]*

*Enter Strepsiades from his house, counting on his fingers.*

STREPSIADES

Five days, four days, three days, two days, and then that one day of the days of the month I dread the most that makes me fart with fear—the last day of the month, due date for debts, when every dun in town has solemnly sworn to drag me into court and bankrupt me completely. And when I plead with them to be more reasonable "But PLEASE, sir. Don't demand the whole sum now. Take something on account. I'll pay you later." — they snort they'll never see the day, curse me for a filthy swindler and say they'll sue.

Well, let them. If Pheidippides has learned to talk, I don't give a damn for them and their suits. Now then, a little knock on the door and we'll have the answer.

*He knocks on Sokrates' door and calls out.*

Porter!

Hey, porter!

*Sokrates opens the door.*

SOKRATES

Ah, Strepsiades. Salutations.

STREPSIADES

Same to you, Sokrates.

*He hands Sokrates a bag of flour.*

Here. A token of my esteem.

Call it an honorarium. Professors always get honorariums.

*Snatching back the bag.*

But wait: has Pheidippides learned his rhetoric yet— ....

*(to be continued)*