



# HELLENIC LINK–MIDWEST Newsletter

A CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC LINK WITH GREECE

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## Upcoming Events

### Has the Opportunity for Reunification Passed Cyprus By?

On Sunday, February 18, 2018, Hellenic Link–Midwest presents Endy Zemenides in a lecture titled: “*Has the Opportunity for Reunification Passed Cyprus By?*” The event will take place at 3:00 pm in Room 1610, at the Oakton Community College, 1600 E. Golf Road, Des Plaines, IL 60016. Admission will be free.

The latest round of reunification negotiations in Cyprus progressed far enough for diplomats and commentators to declare that more was achieved in this round of negotiations than in any previous attempt. Yet the international Conference on Cyprus came to an abrupt and contentious end this past July.

Why did the conference at Crans-Montana end the way it did? Why was there such great hope that last August was the time for the solution of the Cyprus problem? Was this round of negotiations doomed from the start?

*Endy Zemenides* will review this last round of reunification negotiations – from the February 2014 joint statement to Crans-Montana – and give first-hand accounts of what was occurring in Nicosia, Athens, Washington D.C. and New York during that period. Zemenides will argue that the way Crans-Montana ended, combined with the political situation in Turkey and the shift in American diplomacy makes the present framework for a solution of the Cyprus problem unlikely to succeed. A new strategy is required in Cyprus, in Greece, and in the diaspora.

*Endy Zemenides* is the Executive Director of the Hellenic American Leadership Council (HALC), a national Greek-American advocacy organization. He oversees staff and fellows in Chicago, New York and Washington, D.C., and leads the organizations advocacy efforts at the federal, state and local levels, as well as HALC’s public education programs. Zemenides is in the Leadership Circles of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA), where he also was one of the CCGA’s Emerging Leaders Fellows.

He served as Senior Advisor to former Illinois State Treasurer and Democratic nominee for the United States Senate, Alexi Giannoulias; has served on the editorial board and board of advisors of the National Strategy Forum, as a participant in the Aspen Institute’s Socrates

Program, and has lectured in international relations and American foreign policy in DePaul University’s political science department.

He received a BA from DePaul University, an MA from the University of Essex (UK), and his JD from the Georgetown University Law Center, where he served as a fellow for the Harrison Institute for Public Law and an Editor of the Georgetown Journal of International Law.

### Poetry and Prose of Resistance

In Celebration of the Greek Independence Day, on Sunday, March 18, 2018, Hellenic Link–Midwest, presents *Yiannis Simonides* in a presentation titled “*Poetry and Prose of Resistance*.” The event will be held at 3:00 pm in Room 1610, at the Oakton Community College Des Plaines Campus, 1600 E. Golf Road Des Plaines, IL 60016. Admission will be free. This event is funded by the Hellenic Foundation, Chicago.

*Yannis* will offer us Greek and international poetry and prose on Resistance, in matters of political, military, financial, religious, racial, cultural, gender and workplace oppression. Samples will range from Sappho to Homer, to his great-great grandfather Simonides of Keos, to Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Pericles, Kleftika, Rigas Ferraios, dimotika, Byron, Greek Women’s Revolutionary songs, Makriyannis, and others, including some of his own verse.

*Yannis* was Born in Constantinople and raised in Athens, he is a Fulbright Scholar and a Yale trained actor/writer/producer. He has served as professor and chair of the New York University Tisch School of the Arts Drama Department and as the executive director of Hellenic Public Radio in New York. He is the founder and director of the Greek Theater of New York (*Greek Theatre Foundation—ellinikotheatro.org*) which is celebrating 39 years of continuous service. He recently took his international hit *Socrates Now* for its 462nd and 463rd performance in Armenia and Georgia, and staged a nightlong audience-participatory reading-celebration of Homer’s *Odyssey* at the Athens Concert Hall (*Megaro Mousikis*)—dedicated to the odysseys of the world’s refugees and under the aegis of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. He is currently developing a theatrical rendition of *Plato’s Republic*, *Euripides’ Bacchae* with Maori artists in New Zealand, and a solo performance of *Makriyannis’ Memoirs* for the American

School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Gennadios Library. He was recently honored by the city of Athens as Ambassador of Hellenism for his lifelong service to Greek arts and letters worldwide.

## In Brief

### Sharia Court's power in Thrace

On January 9, 2018, the Greek Parliament passed legislation that limits the influence of Islamic Sharia law courts in the region of Thrace in northeastern Greece, which is home to some 100,000 Greek Muslims. The bill was submitted to Parliament after a complaint was filed by a Muslim woman in the town of Komotini, regarding an inheritance dispute, with Europe's Court of Human Rights.

The bill, which was backed by Greece's largest political parties, will abolish rules introduced almost a century ago, whereby many civil cases involving members of the Muslim community were referred to Sharia courts. The new legislation is "historic," as according to the new law, Greek courts will have priority, and all Greeks will enjoy the protection of their individual rights.

### ECHR orders Greece to pay damages

Last November Europe's top human rights court faulted Greece for failing to fully investigate the death of Vodafone's telecom engineer Costas Tsalikidis. He was found hanged in his apartment in Athens in March 2005, around the time that Vodafone Greece told authorities of widespread wiretapping of much of the government, including the prime minister, via Vodafone's network.

On two occasions, Greek judicial authorities ruled out foul play in Tsalikidis's death. His family took the case to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).

In its ruling ECHR said: "*The Court considers that the national authorities failed to carry out an adequate and effective investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Tsalikidis. The Court observes, in particular, that the difficulty in determining whether there was any substance in the applicants' claims that their relative was unlawfully killed rests with the failure of the authorities adequately to investigate the circumstances of the death. (The) Court notably bore in mind that the public prosecutor, during the initial investigation, had mentioned that the death had been causally linked to the wiretapping case. It had therefore been all the more important to take every measure necessary to investigate Costas Tsalikidis' death.*"

Then Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis and the foreign, defense and public order ministers were among about 100 people whose mobile phones were tapped for months around the time of the 2004 Athens Olympics.

In 2006 and 2007, Vodafone Greece was fined a total of 95 million euros by Greek regulators for breaching privacy rules.

A forensic expert contracted by Tsalikidis' family called the initial autopsy probe "grossly inadequate", while a second investigation launched after exhumation in 2012 revealed inconsistencies which should have been investigated further, the ECHR said in its verdict.

The Court ordered Greece to pay Tsalikidis' family 50,000 euros in damages for the state's failure to clarify circumstances surrounding his death.

### Aim of first memorandum to rescue investors outside Greece

According to the ANA-MPA News Service, on Thursday 7 December 2017, outgoing Eurogroup chief Jeroen Dijsselbloem admitted, in a reply to Europarliament Greek member Notis Maria, that "*There were mistakes in the first programme - we improvised. The way we dealt with the banks was expensive and ineffective. It is true that our aim was to rescue investors outside Greece and for this reason I support the rules for bail-ins, so that investors aren't rescued with tax-payers' money.*" He noted that it had been a huge crisis because the fiscal sector had faced the risk of a total collapse that would have left many countries with a high debt.

### IMF praises Cyprus "impressive recovery" highlight need to address legacy issues

The IMF Executive Directors commended the Cypriot authorities for the impressive recovery of Cyprus' economy from the 2012–13 banking crisis, which was facilitated by prudent macroeconomic policies, progress on structural reforms, and strong foreign demand.

Cyprus GDP growth has been accelerating for three consecutive years on strong foreign demand, reaching 3.8 percent during the first nine months of 2017, while rising labor demand has sharply lowered the employment rate to 10.3 percent as of September. IMF projects the Cyprus GDP to grow by 3.8% in 2017 followed by 3.6% in 2018.

The IMF said that "*the current strong growth momentum is expected to persist for the next several years, underpinned by ongoing large construction projects and, albeit undesirable, weak payment discipline alongside slow progress with non-performing loans (NPLs) that will support consumption. This strong growth cycle could be threatened by excessive concentration of activity into construction and real estate and by potentially-volatile capital flows. Persistently slow resolution of NPLs would keep financial sector vulnerabilities elevated.*"

The IMF called for "*the prompt implementation of a comprehensive deleveraging plan, supported by measures to improve payment discipline," while "simultaneously reducing excessive private debt and banks' weak loan portfolios would help protect macro-financial stability.*" They also called for strengthening

competition and productivity to attract investment and help diversify the economy.

## **From Our History**

### **Some of the Critical Developments that Led to the Division of Cyprus.**

(Source: U.S. Consul General Charles W. McCaskill, July 7, 1993, Interview for Foreign Affairs Oral History Project)

Q: What was the feeling when you arrived in Cyprus, from your colleagues at the Embassy and in Washington, about where Cyprus was going? What was the feeling at the time?

McCASKILL: There was actually widespread interest in Cyprus when it became independent. It was one of the first newly-independent small republics. With a population of 600,000 it was considered a very small country in those days, and there was considerable interest in seeing that it worked. Because of the long fight against the British and the fact that the problem was debated at such length in the UN, everybody knew where and what Cyprus was.

Our own interests were several: (1) to deny the Soviets access to the Mediterranean through Cyprus - there was a well organized Communist Party of 10,000 members on Cyprus and in 1960 this was of considerable concern to us; (2) to insure the continued function of US facilities —our Federal Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS) facility, our relay facility, etc.—on the island; (3) to insure the continued functioning of the British Sovereign Bases (SBAs) on the island; (4) to work to prevent Cyprus from disrupting the southeastern flank of NATO by becoming an issue between our NATO allies Greece and Turkey.

These are given in no particular order, though there was some preoccupation with the "*communist threat*" in Cyprus, and even President Kennedy was said to be taken with the island and the problem in the early days.

Q: As the new republic began to take shape, what was CIA up to, what were they doing?

McCASKILL: You may remember that Agency reporting was distributed on a need-to-know basis, and since most of their reporting was political, I was not on distribution for their material. However, I knew the Agency people very well—we were good friends in fact—and while I did not see their reporting, I knew what they were talking about. The Chief of Station was also a good friend of mine. So while I was out of the loop officially, I was nonetheless privy to the substance of what they were sending to Washington.

One of the things that has haunted me about Cyprus, and continues to haunt me to this day, is that the Agency apparently was reporting that the island was going to blow up, that the two communities were arming

themselves to the teeth, and that a blow-up was inevitable. In fact, in early 1963, the Chief of Station indicated his strong belief that the situation would blow before the end of the year. What haunts me is that if they were reporting this back to Washington, wasn't anybody reading it? And why did we not do something to head off the crisis? In their book entitled *Facing the Brink*, reportedly based on Mr. Ball's papers, Edward Weintal and Charles Bartlett said something to the effect that it was "*inconceivable*" but true that no advance planning was done for the "*predictable*" Cyprus crisis. Mr. Ball says in his own book that the effort to maintain a balance between the two communities "*was bound to fail*".

So, based on all of this—recognition that the Cyprus "*experiment*" was bound to fail, good CIA reporting, etc.—why did we do nothing to head it off? We admitted in retrospect that Cyprus was a very strategic piece of real estate between two NATO allies which alone should have pushed us to try to head off the "*predictable*" crisis. And of course this was on top of the fact that we had failed to recognize the problem for what it was in the 1950s, that is, simply another problem of a colonial people wanting self-determination. It was complicated by the fact that self-determination for the Greek Cypriots meant union with Greece. And the fact that 20% of the population was Turkish Cypriot made it even more difficult. However, we handled it poorly all along, and that is something else which has haunted me all these years. It is of more than passing interest to me, in looking at the problems in the area overall, that the Turkish Kurds constitute 20% of the population of Turkey, as the Turkish Cypriots were 20% of the population of Cyprus.

Q: *on the Turkish Cypriot leadership.*

McCASKILL: The Turkish Cypriot community had one real leader, Rauf Denktash, very bright, very fast on his feet, and heads and shoulders above anybody else in the community. Fazil Kucuk was the nominal leader, but in truth Denktash had pushed Kucuk aside. I believe that, after the troubles started, no solution but partition was acceptable to Rauf Denktash, and the Greek Cypriots played right into his hands. In the 1950s, the Turkish Cypriots had countered the Greek demands for union with demands for partition. In fact, the Turkish Cypriots had traditionally taken that tack. So partition was not a new concept. As I indicated previously, Denktash was very, very bright. He had been a Queen's Counsel, in Cyprus, and had tried some very delicate Greek Cypriot cases during the EOKA period, I think maybe the first cases of Greek Cypriots sentenced to hang. It is not beyond the realm of reason to assume that the British pushed him to the fore in the Turkish Cypriot community. It is the kind of thing the UK did throughout the former colonies.

*(To be continued)*

# *From the Riches of Our Cultural Heritage*

## **Ποίηση Ιουλίου Τυπάλδου**

### Η ΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΦΤΗ

—Έχετε γειά ψηλά βουνά καί κρυσταλλένιες βρύσες  
χαράματα με ταίς δροσιάς, νύκτες με το φεγγάρι,  
καί σείς, μαύρα κλεφτόπουλα, πού τήν Τουρκιά  
ετρομάξτε!

Αρρώστια δέν μ' επλάκωσε καί πηάνω να πεθάνω  
κι' ἀν πάρη βόλι τό κορμί, πάλ' η ψυχή απομένει  
Μαύρο πουλάκι θά γενώ, μαύρο χελιδονάκι,  
Να' λθώ το γλυκοχάραμα να ιδώ που πολεμάτε  
καί σα σκολάστη ο πόλεμος, κ' ἔβγη τ' αχνό φεγγάρι,  
πάλι θέ νά' λθω νά σταθώ 'ς ένα κυπαρισσάκι,  
τα λίγα τά κλεφτόπουλα πού βρώ στή γή νά κλάψω  
μέσα στής νύκτας τήν ερμιά στόν ύπνο πού κοιμώνται,  
ν' ακούσουν οι μανάδες τους να τα μοιρολογήσουν  
—Γιά ιδές η θύρα τού Πλασσά, καί πάψε τό τραγούδι,—  
Έχετε γειά ψηλά βουνά, τρεχούμενα ποτάμια  
αδέλφια νά μέ θάψετε σέ μια ψηλή ραχούλα,  
ν' ακούω τ' άηδόνια πώρχονται καί φέρνουν τόν Απρίλη  
κι' όταν απ' την Αγια Σοφιά, το μέγα μοναστήρι,  
έβγουν τά μοοσκολίβανα μέ τό Χριστός Ανέστη,  
λευκό πουλάκι θά γενώ στήν Πόλι νά πετάξω,  
καί σάν παράδεισος πουλί γλυκά νά κιλαιδήσω.  
Τό λόγο δέν απόσωσε κ' ἔπεσε σκοτωμένος.  
Στον τόπο πού τόν έθαψαν εβγήκε κυπαρίσσι,  
καί κάθε γλυκοχάραμα μέ τού Μαγιού τές αύρες,  
έρμο πουλάκι κάθεται στό έρμο κυπαρίσσι,  
κοιτάζει τήν ανατολή, κοιτάζει κατά τήν Πόλη,  
καί λέει τραγούδι θλιβερό καί παραπονεμένο.

### **Ποίηση Διονυσίου Σολομού**

Ο ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ (από το «Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι»)

Έστησ' ο Έρωτας χορό με τον ξανθόν Απρίλη,  
Κι η φύσις ηύρε την καλή καί τη γλυκιά της ώρα,  
Και μες στη σκιά που φούντωσε καί κλει δροσιές καί  
μόσχους  
Ανάκουστος κιλαΐδισμός καί λιποθυμισμένος.  
Νερά καθάρια καί γλυκά, νερά χαριτωμένα,  
Χύνονται μες στην άβυσσο τη μόσχοβολισμένη,  
Και παίρνουνε το μόσχο της, κι αφήνουν τη δροσιά τους,  
Κι ούλα στον ήλιο δείχνοντας τα πλούτια της πηγής τους,  
Τρέχουν εδώ, τρέχουν εκεί, καί κάνουν σαν αηδόνια.  
Έξι αναβρύζει κι η ζωή σ' γη, σ' ουρανό, σε κύμα.  
Αλλά στης λίμνης το νερό, π' ακίνητο 'ναι κι άσπρο,  
Ακίνητ' όπου κι αν ιδείς, καί κάτασπρ' ως τον πάτο,  
Με μικρόν ίσκιον άγνωρον έπαιξ' η πεταλούδα,  
Που χ' ευωδίσει τς ύπνους της μέσα στον άγριο κρίνο.  
Αλαφροίσκιωτε καλέ, για πές απόψε τι 'δες.  
Νύχτα γιομάτη θάμματα, νύχτα σπαρμένη μάγια!  
Χωρίς ποσώς γης, ουρανός καί θάλασσα να πνένε,  
ουδ' όσο κάν' η μέλισσα κοντά στο λουλουδάκι.  
Γύρουν σε κάτι ατάραχο π' ασπρίζει μες στη λίμνη,  
μονάχο ανακατώθηκε το στρογγυλό φεγγάρι,  
κι όμορφη βγαίνει κορασία ντυμένη με το φως του.

### THE EXECUTION OF THE KLEPHT

"Farewell high mountains and crystalline springs,  
refreshing dawns and moonlit nights,  
swarthy young klephths, terror of the Turks!  
No illness smites me, yet I go to my death;  
when the bullet strikes my body, yet my soul will live;  
I shall become a small black bird, a small black swallow,  
coming with the sweet dawn to see where you are fighting.  
And when the battle ends, and the pale moon rises,  
again I will come to stand by a small cypress,  
to lament for the few klephths I shall find on earth;  
in the solitude of night, while they are sleeping;  
so their mothers will hear me and keen them a dirge.  
See the gate of the Pasha! I had better stop my song.  
Farewell high mountains, flowing streams;  
Brothers, bury me on a high hill,  
that I may hear nightingales ushering in April,  
and when they bring out the frankincense with the Christ is  
Risen,

from Saint Sophia, the great basilica,  
I shall become a white bird and fly to Constantinople,  
I shall sing sweetly like a bird of paradise!"  
He had barely said these words when he fell down dead.  
On the spot where they buried him a cypress has grown,  
and each sweet dawn when the May breeze blows,  
a lonely bird perches on a lonely cypress tree.  
He looks eastward, toward Constantinople,  
and he sings a sad and plaintive song.

### TEMPTATION (from "The Free Besieged")

Eros and blond April began to dance with joy,  
and Nature found her greatest and her sweetest hour:  
out of swelling shadows enfolding dew and scent came  
a most exquisite melody, languorous, soft, and faint.  
Water clear and sweet, full of charm and of magic  
flows and pours itself into a fragrant abyss,  
taking the perfume with it, leaving coolness behind,  
showing to the sun all the wealth of its sources.  
it runs here and there and sings like a nightingale.  
But over the water of the lake, that is still and white  
still wherever you look at it, all—white to the bottom,  
with a little, unknown shadow a butterfly plays,  
that amid fragrance had slept inside a wild lily.  
my seer, light-of-shadow, tell us what you saw tonight:  
"A night full of miracles, a most enchanted night!  
There was no breeze stirring on earth, nor on sky or ocean,  
not even as much as makes a bee brushing a tiny blossom.  
Around something motionless that glows in the lake  
the round face of the moon merges in close embrace,  
and a fair maiden comes forth dressed in its silver light.